

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

582. ₂ *gaʔi or *gaʔyʷ 'high' > HS: CS *čʷgʷy v. 'be\become high' > Hb ḥḫḫ čʷgʷy|w (pf. gāʔā, ip. -gʷē) v. 'be\become high, grow tall', JA [Trg.] čʷgʷy|y 'be high', Sr čʷgʷy|w TD 'bear oneself grandly, magnificently, with pride'; Hb ḥḫḫ geʔē 'exalted, proud; hochmutig' (> MHb 'proud'), Sr W ḥḫḫ gēʔā, ḥḫḫ gaʔyā 'glorious, stately, proud', Hb ḥḫḫ gaʔāwā 'majesty, pride', pCn *gaʔān- > BHb ḥḫḫ gāʔōn 'height, majesty; pride', Pun [Poen.] pl. cs. GUNE BEL 'exaltation of Ba'al', Ug {OLS} gʷn 'arrogancia' ¶ KB 161-2, KBR 168, BDB no-s 1342-4 and 1346, HJ 207, OLS 142, JPS 57, DRS 92 || U: FP *kaʷyʷ- v. 'rise, become visible' > Prm: Z kaʷy- v. 'rise, climb, go upstream' | Lp: L {LLO}

kuojijtit v. 'rise' (of the moon), N {N} guojeti- v. 'get clearer' (of weather) || Er {W} kaye- 'aufgehen (Saaten)' || Chr H koyaš, kyaš v. 'appear, be visible' ¶ Tv. WG33 125-6, LG 115, ≠ UEW 642-3 (rejecting the Z cognate and interpreting the stem as meaning 'be visible, appear').

583. ₂ *gʷa (or *güʷa) 'to butt, to stab, to strike' > HS: C *gʷaʔ- {AD} v. 'butt, strike', {E} v. 'strike' > Bj ✓ gʷʔ (1s: p. a-¹gʷʔ ~ a-¹gʷaʔ = {R} a-gǔʔ ~ a-gǔáʔ, pres. a-nɡʷīʔ) 'stoßen, puffen, einen Stoß geben' ({E} v. 'knock, thump, give a blow') || SC: Irq {E} gʷaʔaη 'broken' (stem gʷaʔ-) (not mentioned in MQK) ¶ E PC no. 57, R WBd 86 || WS *✓ wɡʔ (pr. st. [> Ar ip.] *^o-gaʔ-) v. 'stab\butt\hit' > Gz ✓ wɡʔ (js. -wgaʔ) v. 'pierce\prick\butt\gore\hit', Tgr ✓ wɡʔ ~ ✓ wɡʔ G 'pierce', Sq {L} ʔoɡe v. 'hit', Ar ✓ wǧʔ (ip. 3m ya-ǧʔ-u) 'percussit (cultro vel manu)', v. 'hit with the knife or with the palm of hand' ¶ L G 607, Fr. IV 436, BK II 1486-7, DRS 488 || Eg {Vc.} ≈ *wigʔat- 'coup' > Cpt Sd oʷaʔe uace, Cpt B Baxi baʔi 'coup'; in the Eg texts (Dynasty XX) only a specialized term wɡʔ is attested; it was interpreted by EG as 'Art Getreide oder Verarbeitung desselben', but in Vycichl's view it actually meant something like 'blé battu' ¶ Vc. 242, EG I 376 || A: Tg *guya- v. 'butt' > Ewk guya-, Lm guya-, Neg goya-, Ork guya- v. 'butt', Neg goya 'horns', Orc guya 'fang (of a wild boar, of a musk deer)', Ud guya, {Krm.} guya, Nn Nh goya 'fang' ¶ STM I 168, Krm. 223, On. 117 ¶ Tg *-y- is likely to have appeared in hiatus after the loss of *-ʔ- ◊ The origin of the initial *w- in WS and Eg is not yet clear. It may have resulted from mt. (**✓ gʷʔ > *wɡʔ) or from some restructuring of the root in the WS perfect tense and in the Eg derived noun ≈ *wigʔat-. The original form of the verbal stem (without *w-) is preserved in C *gʷaʔ- and in the Ar ip. (-ǧʔ-).

583a. ₂ *gʷʔʔ v. 'build' > K *g- > G, Mg, Lz g- v. 'build, construct' ¶ K 57, K² 24 || HS: Ch: Msg gàʔè id., Mtk {JI} ga 'make, do', Gsg ga id., Mb {Lk.} gíyà 'verfertigen, formen', Hrz {Mch.} gi, Uld {Mch.} ga / gi, Mada {Mch.} gi, Zlg {Mch.} gə / gi 'faire' ¶ JI II 229, Mch. VCSP 188, Lk. ZSS 182 ◊ O HSN (N *gaʔʔ 'build' > K, Msg + err. Eg ʔʔʔ 'build' [i.e. Eg fXIX {EG} ʔʔʔ 'Gebäude vor dem Tempel', Eg Gr ʔʔʔ v. 'einen Tempelteil rbauen, einen Götterbild erstellen', cf. EG V 532]) ◊ I am thankful to G. Takács for helping me to find cognates in the Ch lges.

584. *gaʔû 'catch, take, receive' > K: (pK or GZ) *g- / (?) *gʷ- 'acquire, gain, have' > OG g- 'possess' (m0-i-g- 'mitnehmen'), G g- 'acquire, gain (sth.)' (3s aor. m0-i-g0 < *-gʷ-a), Mg {Q} g- id., 'win', Lz

g- 'gain': inf. o-g-apu 'to gain (sth.)'; ? Sv: UB/L {TK} lē-g, UB {GP} and LB/Ln {TK} lə-g 'stands, there is' (adduced by FS) belong here only if *g- 'be (exist)' (> OG g- id.) is the same √ (which is not certain) ¶¶ K 57, K² 24-4, Chik. 457, FS K 69-70, Ser. 17, 103, Q 211, TK 544, GP 150, 198
 || HS: Eg MK з^с v. {EG} 'catch fish', {Fk.} 'spear fish' ¶ EG V 534, Fk. 320
 || IE *g^heH_u- > NaIE *g^hā_u- 'receive, catch' > Lt inf. gā_utī 'to receive, to get, to obtain', Ltv inf. gū_t id., 'to gain', {ME} id., 'to catch, to snatch (fangen, haschen)', {ME} inf. gau_t 'to snatch (haschen), to try to obtain, to receive' || YAv gao_na- n. 'gain (Gewinn)' ¶ Frn. 141, ME I 613, 687, Brtl. 482-3 || A *ga- 'take' > Tg *ga- 'take' > Ewk, Lm ga- 'take, receive, buy', Sln, Orc, Ud ga-, Ork ga- 'take, buy', Neg ga- 'buy; marry (a woman)', Ul, Nn {STM} ga-, {On.} ga- 'obtain, buy; gather (berries)', WrMc {Z} га_й- 'take, receive; marry (a woman)', Mc Sb {Mrm.} gā- ~ gā_i- ~ gā_i- 'take', {Y} gæ- 'take, be given, get, receive', Jrc gā_i-bi 'take' ¶ STM I 133-4, On. 95, Z 299-300, Klz. MS 176, Y no. 1402, Kiy. 135 [no. 680] || pKo {S} *kà- > MKo kà-č_i-, NKo ka_zi-, Δ ka- 'take' ¶ S QK no. 10, Nam 8, MLC 27, Rm. SKE 83 || T: [1] ?σ T *°Kā- > OT {Cl.} qā- ≈ heap, pack'] [2] pT *°K_u;- > ?φ Chv xыв- 'take away, throw down (скидывать, снимать)'; ??σ MT qo- and Kr qo- 'put' (if 'put' is from 'carry' ← 'take', as in the prehistory of Sl *bъra-ti 'to gather, to take', see s.v. *ba^ʔeri 'hold, take') ¶ Cl. 57, Jeg. 314 ¶¶ (For both [1] and [2]): SDM 525 (pA *ga 'take, put' > Tg, Ko, T *K_o 'put'), DQA no. 470, Ash. XVI 80-3, Fed. II 379, Jeg. 314, Rm. SKE 83 (Ko, Tg), Lee CSMK 111
 ◇ IS I 225 [no. 77] (*g_al_hl_u), IS MS 356.

585. (₂?) *gu_f∇ 'to perceive, to care' > HS: SC: Irq {MQK} ga_fa_w- 'look at\after', {E} ga_f- v. 'watch', ga_fa_w- v. 'guard', Brn {E} ga_fid- v. 'nurse in sickness', Kz {E} ga_fam- v. 'understand' || Dhl {EEN} ga_f- vt. 'smell' ¶ E SC 236 (s.v. *ga_f- v. 'feel, sense, take notice of'), MQK 36, EEN 30 || Eg L w_z^с 'offenbar sein' (w- going back to the HS px of intransitivity?) ¶ EG I 406 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 87 [no. 18.5] || IE: NaIE *g^how(ē)- ({EI} *g^hou_u-) v. *g^hou_u- 'perceive, pay heed to' > L favē-ō / -ēre / fāvī / fautum 'be favourable to, help; pronounce no words of bad omen' (favē- < *fovē- in view of the Um cognate), Um FON_S 'favens' (pl. FONER) (< *fowenis) || ON inf. gá (< *gawōn) 'achtgeben, sich kümmern', ge_yma, AS inf. z_ieman, OSx inf. gōmian, OHG inf. goumen 'beachten, sorgen für, hüten, sich kümmern', {Kb.} 'to care, to guard', inf. bi-goumen 'to watch, to care for', NGr Sw inf. gaume 'to care for little children', Gt

inf. *gaumjan* (· βλέπειν, διαβλέπειν, ἰδεῖν, κατανοεῖν) 'bemerken'; ON *gaumr*, *gaum* 'attention', OHG *gouma* & *gauma* 'prüfendes Aufmerken', (→) 'enjoyment' ({Schz.} 'Genuß', {OsS} 'Wohlleben'), *gouma nēman* 'pay attention, notice' ||| OCS 1s pres. **ГОВѢИХЪ** /inf. **ГОВѢТИ** 'εὐλαβεῖσθαι 'religiose vereri, be pious', {StSS} 'быть набожным/богобоязненным', R inf. **ГОВЕТИ** (pres. **ГОВЕЮ**) 'to prepare oneself to confession \ to the Eucharist; to fast', SCr inf. **ГОВЕТИ** (1s pres. **ГОВĚМ**) & *gòvjet i* (1s pres. *gòvijēm*) 'to obey', Cz inf. *hověti* 'to indulge in sth., to give oneself up to', {P} 'begünstigen, schonen, nachsehen' ¶ WP I 635-6, P 453, EI 418, WH I 464-6, Bc. G 335, Vr. 151,158, 165-6, Schz. 153, OsS 345, Kb. 402, Ho. 129, Fs. 207, Vs. I 423-4, ESSJ VII 72-3, StSS 173 ||| ???σ **A**: NaT **Kūy-rumor*; fame, reputation' (*on*₂; × N ***Κῳαῖεῖω** 'to hear, to notice', q.v. ffd.).

586. *gab (| | | ▽) 'head' (→ 'top', 'skull') > **HS**: S **gabb-* 'top of sth.' > BHb **גב** *gab* / **גבב** *gabb-* (pl. *gab¹bōt*) 'back of the body' (so called because it is the highest part of pack animals), 'elevation (of altar)', 'mound (for illicit worship)', 'boss, or convex projection, of a shield', *gab¹bōt* *ʿēnāw* (sc. 'gab¹bōt of his eyes') 'his eyebrows', Ug {OLS} *gb* 'lomo, dorso', JA **גב** *gab*, em. **גבב** *gab¹b-ā* 'back (dorsum)', **גבב** *gab¹b-ā* 'hill', Sr {Br.} **גבב** *gab¹b-ā* 'hump-backed (gibbosus)', Ar ✓ *ğbb* (pf. **جَبَّ** *ğabba*) 'surpasser (en mérite, en vertu)', Ak *gab¹b¹u* 'forehead (of an animal)' | +ext.: [1] S *✓ *gbh* v. 'be high' > BHb, JA **גב** *gbh* 'be high\haughty', BHb **גב** *gb¹h* 'high', EpHb *gbh* 'height', IA *gbh* v. 'be high', v. 'be haughty' (of voice), JEA **גב** ✓ *gbh* *G* 'rise up, be raised', Ar *ğabh-at-* 'forehead', *ğabah-* 'prominence of forehead', Mh *gɜbhēt* 'front', Jb E *gɜbhēt* id., 'brow', Ak *gab¹u* 'summit (Gipfel)' (probably here rather than with *✓ *gbɜ* because *ɜ would have caused a change of S **a* to Ak *e*); [2] CS (+ext.) *✓ *gbn* > MHb **גב** *gab¹n* 'eyebrow', JA **גב** *gab¹n*, em. **גבב** *gab¹n-ā* id., JEA *gab¹n-ā* {Sl.} 'eyelid', Sr (pl.) **גבב** *gab¹n-ē* 'eyebrows', **גבב** *gab¹n-ā* {Br.} 'vertex, cacumen', {JPS} 'eyebrow', {Br.} *rām gab¹n-ē* 'superbus' (lit. 'high-eyebrowed'), IA *gbyn*, Ar **جبين** *ğabīn-* 'forehead' ¶ KB 163-4, KBR 170, 167, OLS 142, BDB no-s 1354, 1360-4 and 1389, Js. 203-8, Sl. 254, 256-7, Br. 100-2, JPS 59, BK I 246, 249-50, L G 179, Jo. M 113, Jo. J 69, A no-s 617 and 620, Sd. 272, HJ 208-9, DRS 94-7, ≈ MiK I no. 1.66 (S **gabb-(at)-* *'eyebrow, eyepit, front', no. 68 (S **g▽bh(-at)-*

*'forehead, front') and no. 69 (S *g ∇ b(b) \bar{i} n- *'eyebrow, front') || C: SC {E} *gab- 'above, upon' > Irq {MQK} gawa 'top, place higher up', Kz {E} gawato 'hill' || Dhl {EEN} gáppo 'on, above', {To.} gábbu 'above, upon' || EC: Arr {Hw.} gubbá 'top, upper side' (× N ? *g \bar{U} 'b ∇ 'hill, mountain'), ? ϕ Rn gámbar 'top part of a camel's hump' (× N ? *g \bar{u} |ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' and N *gumb ∇ 'back [dos], [?] hump') ¶ Hw. A 363, PG 121, E SC 234, MQK 37, To. D 133, EEN 30 || IE: NaIE *g^heb^h-el- / -o.l- / -lo- 'head, top', {EI} *g^heb^hōl 'head' > Gk κεφαλή id. || Mcd [Hs.] κεβ(α)λή 'head' || Gmc: [1] OHG gēbal 'skull, forehead', gibil 'skull', gibilla 'skull, head', MHG gebel 'skull'; [2] AdS of Gt gibla (Γιερύλιον) 'Giebel', OHG gibil 'summit', NHG Giebel 'gable, gable end', π 'summit', AS zafol, zēafel 'gable', ON gafl 'Giebelseite', Spitze einer Insel' (< N ? *g \bar{U} 'b ∇ (L ∇) 'hill, mountain'); NrGmc \leftrightarrow Fr gable 'gable' \rightarrow NE gable || Tc A śpāl 'head' \leftrightarrow śpālū 'excellent' ¶ P 423, EI 260, F I 806, 835-6, Vr. 152, Ch. 508, 522, OsS 281, 320, Fs. 214, Kb. 321, 334, KM 257, Ho. 122, HDEL 536, Wn. I 488, Ad. H 131 || A (?) *gab|p- > Tg *ga^bun- > Ul gaun_i, gaun_i-qta, Ork gawnaxi ~ gaunaxi, Nn Bk gaoúa(n-), Nn Nh/KU {STM} gaoña, Nn Nh {On.} gaoñã: 'dry high ground, dry hill (with trees and bushes)' ¶ STM I 144, On. 98 || pJ {S} *kâmpú 'helmet' > MJ kâbútuo, J T kábuto, J K kâbútò, J Kg kabutó ¶ S QJ no. 875, Mr. 431, Kenk. 747 || D *ka ∇ u \bar{u} - 'cheek, jaw' (× N *gAb ∇ 'jaw, cheek', q.v. ffd.) \diamond \approx Blz. L no. 111g (he added Tg and SC to the comparison with IE *g^heb^h-, but did not distinguish between the reflexes of N *gab ∇ and those of N ? *g \bar{U} 'b ∇ 'hill, mountain' [q.v.]) \diamond \approx Gr. II no. 201 (*kabel 'head') (IE, OJ kabu(ri) 'head' + unc. A, Ko, Gil, CK, EA).

587. ₂ *gob ∇ 'plain (Ebene), (?) earth' > HS *g \bar{u} ∇ bb- 'earth, plain' > S * \check{g} bb > Ar ġabāb-at- 'plaine, champ, désert', ġabūbat- 'morceau \ motte de terre \ de boue', ? Ak gabīb- ε 'land suitable for pasture' ¶ BK I 246, CAD V 6, DRS 94-5 || Eg P gbb 'Geb, the Egyptian god of the earth (Gk Κηβ)' ¶ EG V 164, Fk. 288 || EC: Sd {Mrn.} gobā ~ gobba 'campagna, fuori', {C} guobā 'fuori', {Hd.} gobba 'country, outside, exterior', {Gs.} gobba 'world, earth, the country where one lives', {Gs., Hd.} gobbā adv. 'outside', {Gs.} gobbā no dargi 'the place in front of the house', Ged {Mrn.} gobā 'fuori', ?σ Rn {PG} gōb 'village, clan' ¶ Mrn. S 218, C SE II 201, Gs. 124, Hd. 366, PG 137 ¶¶ Coh. no. 119, Cal. 214 [no. 880] || A: M *gobi 'sandy steppe without grass, desert, the Gobi' > WrM gobī {MED} id., HIM {MED} id., {BMR} 'steppe without grass, desert, the

Gobi', WrO γ ob*i*, Brt γ ub*и*, Brt A γ ub*i* 'desert, steppe', Kl Ö {Rm.} γ öw*ĩ* ~ γ öw*ĩ* 'graslose Steppe, Sandsteppe, Gobi', Dg γ ob*i* 'sandy steppe without grass, desert', Ord γ u*w*i 'desert', M \rightarrow Tv χ ov*u* 'steppe, field' ¶ Pp. IM 29, MED 357, BMR I 409, KW 153, Kow. 1025, Krg. 313, T DgJ 132, Chr. 159, Ms. O 318, TvR 478 ◊ IS MS 858 s.v. 'равнина', IS SS no. 6.14.

588. ? * γ ü|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' > HS: WS * γ 'u' b₁∇₁n- 'hump' > JPA אנתל'ג γ b_yn*t*? id., 'hill', ζ Ar {KB ← ?} جبن γ 'ubn- 'hunchback', BHb גבן γ i**b**'bēn 'a hunchbacked person' (derived by means of the pattern li2'2e<3 used to denote persons with a deformity or another [usually abnormal] physical\psychical quality), ζ Gz {DRS ← ?} γ ʷəbən 'hunchbacked', Grg Mh {L} γ ʷəbən, Grg Go {L} γ ʷəbana id. ¶ KB 167, KBR 174, Sl. P 119, DRS 96, L EDG III 257, ≈ MiK I no. 1.67 || EC: Or {Grg.} γ ōba 'hump of cattle', Or B {Sr.} γ obō 'hump of a cow\camel', Or O {Sr.} γ obō id., 'hunchback', Or Wt {Sr.} γ ōwō 'hump of a camel', Or Wl {Brl.} γ obō 'gobbo, gibboso' ¶ Grg. 180, Sr. 313-15, Vnt. 62, Brl. 177 || A: M * γ übe- γ en 'hillock, knoll, mound' (× N ? * γ 'u' b₁∇ (L∇) 'hill, mountain') > WrM {MED| γ übege(n), HIM {MED, BMR} γ үвээ 'hillock, knoll, mound', Brt γ үбээ 'hillock, knoll, a height'; M * γ übey- v. 'rise as a hillock' > WrM γ übei- {MED} v. 'protrude, stick out; rise (as a hillock)', HIM {MED} γ үвэй- id., {BMR} γ үвий- 'возвышаться, erhaben sein (быть выпуклым), 'hügelig sein (быть бугристым)', Brt γ үбы- 'hügelig sein (быть бугристым)', Kl {Rm.} γ öwē- 'etwas hügelig sein, sich wie ein Hügel erheben' ¶ MED 388, BMR I 467, Chr. 163, KW 138 || D: *kup-(∇r)- 'hump' (× N * κ uP₁∇₁∇ 'hump', q.v. ffd.) || IE (× NaIE * γ eǵb^h- 'bend' < N * κ ib∇ 'hump, bend; to bend', NaIE * γ ʰeub- 'bend' < N * γ u'ʔb'∇ 'to bend' [trans., intr.]): L γ ībbas, VL {ML} * γ ūbbus 'hunchback' > Port γ ebo, Ctl γ ep, It γ obbo, It Pv γ üb id., d.: It γ obbino 'humpbacked' \rightarrow Fr γ obin id. ¶ ML no. 3755, WH I 597 ◊ Qu. (the S word can be explained as belonging to the root * $\sqrt{\gamma}$ bn 'bend', and alt. connection may be found for M and D as well). Mentioned here as one of the alternatives ◊ ≠ IS I 237 (the M $\sqrt{\gamma}$ * < N * γ üpA 'to bend' [tr., intr.]).

589. ₂ * γ aʔb∇ 'thick, dense; large' > HS: S * $\sqrt{\gamma}$ ʔb > Ar γ aʔb- 'épais, massif, vigoureux' ¶ DRS 92 || C: SC {E} * γ áb- 'stout, strong, thick' > Irq {MQK} γ awid 'hard, difficult', {E} γ awit 'hard', ? γ aw*i* 'huge calabash', SC \rightarrow Mb - γ ábi 'become fat' || EC * γ aʔb- ({Ss.} * γ abʔ- ~ * γ obʔ- or * γ aʔb-) {AD} 'fat, thick' > Yk {Ss.} κ eʔp-ey- 'become fat', Or B {Sr.} γ abb-ā (f.

gabb-ō) adj. 'fat, thick', Af {PH} gabule- 'become fat', Bs {Bnd.} ḳab-i 'fat', Kn {BISO}, Gdl {Bl.} kapp-, Gwd {AMS} kōpī adj. 'fat', Gln {AMS} kōp-ō 'Körperfett', kōp-ō-lakkó 'fettleibig'; fettes Fleisch' || Bj {Rop.} габ̄а 'rich; satiated', габ- 'be rich, be satisfied', ḳ {Blz. ← Bnd} gōb 'fat' ¶ Ss. EDB 74, Sr. 308, BISO 66, Bl. G 132, H 107, AMS 209, 241, Rop. 183, Blz. CL 178, Bnd. LE s.v. 'fat', E SC 234, MQK 37 || **A**: NaT *Kāba 'thick' (of hair), 'bushy', 'plump' > OT {Cl.} qabā 'thick, protruding' (esp. of hair, beard etc.), VTt, Qzq qaba, Qq qapa 'bushy' (beard), Osm qaba id., 'coarse', Tk каба 'thick' (of tapets, feather beds), 'large', Tkm qāba 'bushy' (beard), 'thick' (hair), Az qaba 'bulky, rude', ?σ Ggz kaba 'soft, fresh' (bread), 'light, loose' (soil), ET X qowa 'large' ¶ Cl. 580-1, Rs. W 21, ET KQ 158.

590. *guʔbʷ ∇ 'to bend' (trans., intr.) > IE: NaIE *gʰeub-/*gʰub- 'bend' (trans., intr.), 'bent, crooked' > AS ʒeap 'crooked, curved', 'cunning, deceitful', MHG göufler 'thief', göuflich 'diebisch, raubschützenmässig' || Lt dvì-gubas 'twofold, double', trì-gubas 'threefold, triple', Ltv inf. gubt 'to sink, to bow down', inf. gubā́t 'to stoop', inf. gubā́tiḗs vr. 'to crook, to bend, to stoop' | SI *gъb- (< *gʰub-)/ *g+b- (< the IE lengthened grade *gʰūb-) ⇨ SI *gъbežь n. 'bend, curve' > OR, RChS ГЪБЕЖЬ гъбеžь id., 'joint (articulation)', SI *gъb-ъкъ-јь 'flexible' > Blg 'Гъбък, Cz, Slk hebký id., SI *g+b-ъкъ(-јь) id. > McdS гибок, гипка, SCr g`бак, Slv g`bek, Cz, Slk hуbký, P g`bki, R 'гибкий id.; SI inf. *gъnqti (< **gъb-nq-ti) vt. 'to bend' > RChS, OR inf. ГЪНЪТИ гъnuti ~ ГЪБНЪТИ гъbnuti id. (the variant гъbnuti with restitution of b on the analogy of the forms preserving b, like the ip. -гъbatī), Blg 'Гъна v. 'bend', P inf. giǎc / 1s pres. gnę v. 'bend', HLs inf. hnuć vt. 'to bow', LLs inf. gnuć, R inf. гнуть 'to bend'; SI ip. *g+batī inf. 'to bend' > SCr inf. g`batī, OP inf. g`bac, P Δ inf. g`bac, R Δ inf. ги'бать id., as well as with pxs: OCS inf. сѣгъбатн съ-гъbatī 'to bend, согнуть', R inf. с-ги'бать, из-ги'бать, вы-ги'бать ip. 'to bend' ¶ P 450, Ho. 125, Lx. 75, Frn. 140, ESSJ VII 187-9, 216-19, StSS 647 || **HS**: WS *√gwb ~ *√gbb > Md √gwb ~ √gbb, JA/MHb {Js.} √gbb G vt. 'curve', JEA {Sl.} √gbb G vt. 'bend, bend over', Sr габ̄ī'б-ā 'humpbacked', Gz √gbb D (pf. gabbaba) 'be bent', Amh √gʷbb (pf. gʷebbēbē), Tgr gēb beḷe v. 'incline' | OSA ωgb 'return, zurückkehren' ¶ Sl. 256, Js. 203-4, DM 79, Lb. I 307, Jo. M 127, Jo. J 80, L G 177, LH 582, DRS 94 || Eg G gb 'sich neigen, sich verbeugen', Eg OK ωзб '(sich) umwenden' ¶ EG I 408 and V 162 || C: EC: Af {Clz.} gūb-

'piegarsi, curvarsi, inchinarsi', 'gūbā 'curvamento, piega-mento, inchino', Or {Brl.} gūggūf- 'chinarsi, curvarsi, piegarsi' → DhI {EEN} guḡuβ-it- v. 'stoop' ¶ Clz. 117, ≈ Brl. 187 (Or gūggūf- is not a frq. of gūfaw- 'urtare, inciampare'), E SC 330, EEN 32 || Ch: CCh: Msg P {Trn.} gʷb' 'se pencher' || ECh: Ke ḡòbé vi., vt. 'bend (biegen, sich biegen)' ¶ Eb. 51, ChC s.v. 'bend', Trn. LM s.v. gʷb' ¶¶ ≈ IS I 235 (* ÷ S *gawb- 'shield' [> Ar D جوب ḡawb 'shield', Mh gawb, Jb C/E gub 'shield'] and the corresponding C word for 'shield'), Tk. SCC 88 [no. 18.11], Tk. I 400 || A: pKo {S} *kòp-, *kup- 'be bent', MKo kòp-, kup-, NKo kop-, kup- 'be crooked\bent' ¶ ≈ Rm. SKE 124, S QK no. 1066, Nam 52, 63, MLC 163, 202, 220 || ?σ Tg: Ewk ḡiʷz 'мимо, vorbei' (acc. to IS I 237, possibly from 'crooked, bent') ¶ STM I 148, IS I 237 || K: Sv L gib- v. 'dislocate (a limb)' ¶ Dn. s.v. gib- ◇ Not here M *gübe- ~ *göbe- 'sich erheben', *gübe ~ *göbe 'small hill' (⇔ IS I 237, F N ? *gü|ub|pE 'heap, hump' and N ? *g'U' bɿ∇ 'hill, mountain' (q.v.); against IS's opinion (IS I 237) this M root does not mean 'быть выпуклым' ◇ The discrepancy between the IE and Or ev. (both pointing to a N *p) and that of S, Eg, Af, ECh, Tg and K (indicating N *b) may be explained by postulating N *-?b-, suggested by Msg -b-. The N lr. *? is the only one leaving no traces in NaIE (as well as sometimes in S and Eg). IE points to a N *u; the Ewk and Sv vw. i is still to be explained ◇ IS I 236-7 [no. 92] (N *gūpA).

591. *gafb∇ (or *gaɸb∇?) 'hold, seize; collect' > HS *√gɸb > S *o√gɸb > Ar جعب √ḡɸb (ip. -ḡɸab-) v. 'collect', 'ramasser, réunir' ¶ Ln. 428, BK I 298 || C: Ag *gab- v. 'hold', (→) 'prevent, refuse' > Bln {R} gab- 'hold', Q {R} gab- 'verweigern, abschlagen, verwehren, verhindern', Xm giḡeb- 'verweigern, abwehren, verhindern' ¶ R WB 134-5, R QW 61, R Ch II 46 || Ch: WCh ≈ *gʷb'∇b- v. 'hold, seize' > Bl {ChL} gʷzèb-, Ngm {ChL} ḡḡap- v. 'seize' || SBC: Bg {ChL} kubye v. 'hold, seize', Gj {ChL} ngiḡi, Plc {ChL, ChC} gubùn 'hold', Dw {ChL} kɸḡiy v. 'seize' || NrBc: Mbr {Sk.} ḡɸf-, Ngz {ChC} žibu 'hold' ¶ Stl. ZCh 214-15 [no. 647] (*g/ḡab- v. 'hold, seize'), ChL, ChC s.v. 'hold' and 'seize', Sk. NB s.v. 'hold' || IE {Blz.} *gʰeHbʰ- > NaIE *gʰabʰ- v. 'seize, hold' ~ *gʰab- v. 'seize', {EI} *gʰabʰ- 'take, seize' > Vd gabhastih 'forearm, hand', KhS ḡḡośtä 'hand', Wx gawust 'fist' || L habē- v. 'hold, have', Osc HAFIEST 'habebit', HIPUST 'habuerit', ?φ Um HABE habe 'has', haburent 'ceperint' || Clt {Manas.} *gab-yo- 'take, hold' > OIr gaibid,

-gair 'take', OW ad-gabael, MW caffael 'get, receive', W gafael 'das Festhalten', MBr caffout 'take, hold', OCrn [ʏ] gauael 'prehensio', Gl gabi 'take!' (2s inv.), CltI kabizeti 'takes' || Gt gabei (·πλοῦτος) 'Reichtum', OHG gebigi 'wealth', OHG Al kepic, AS ziefiz 'rich', ?φ Dt gappen 'to filch' || Lt gabanà, gãbana, Ltv gabana 'armfull' || pSl inf. *gaba-ti (< L-gr.) > Slk MS inf. haba-t' 'to take, to appropriate (with greed)', Slk inf. haba-t' 'to take (from so.)' ('brát, zabavovat'), 'to rake/shovel up, to seize greedily' ('hrabat, chamtivě brát'), Cz {Kott} inf. habati, Uk {Grinch.} inf. 'габати 'to grasp', Cz Δ inf. habati 'to appropriate', Blr inf. га'бацб 'to grasp, to take, to touch' ¶ P 407-8, EI 563, Mn. 310, Dv. no. 535, M K I 322-3, M E I 463-4, Bai. 91, WH I 630-1, Bc. G 317, 336, LP § 34, Thr. § 756, YGM-1 230, Fs. 175-6, Ho. 129, WW 94, Kb. 322, Matas. E 148-9, ≠ Vr. N 183 (< Moo. I 319) (an unc. hypothesis: Dt gappen ← Yid NB 'šaver 'thief' ÷ Yid 'חבר 'comrade' [in fact ← Hb 'חֵבֵר ḥā'ḇēr id.]), Frn. 126-7, ESSJ VI 76; Ma. CS 119, GK 120 || D *kaṽ- ({{GS} *k-) v. 'grasp' (× N *kAḥw∇ 'seize, grasp, hold' and N id. *kAp∇ ~ *kAp∇ 'seize?') > Tm kavār v. 'seize, grasp, catch, steal, receive', kavvu ({{Km.} < *kavi|avu) v. 'seize, grasp with eagerness', Ml kavarte, kavate 'taking by force, seizing, plundering', kavaruca v. 'plunder', OTI {Km.} kavvu (*kaviyu) v. 'seize, seize by mouth, take away by force', OTm {Km.} kavavu 'embracing, copulation', OTI {Km.} kavavu v. 'embrace, copulate'; D ⇨ OI kavarakī - 'a captive female prisoner' ¶¶ D no. 1326, Km. 327 [no-s 264 and 266] (< *kAp-∇-) ¶ The D √ is ambiguous (*-∇- may go back either to ppD *-∇- or to ppD *-p-) || A: NaT *Kāba- > Tkm qāba- v. 'pen (sheep), besiege, fence in, blockade'; (× NaT *Kama- v. 'surround\encircle\besiege [enemies], drive [cattle, horses] into an enclosure, capture' < N *kam∇ 'to grasp, to press', q.v. ffd.): Chg {Rl.} qaba- 'umgeben, belagern, umschließen, schließen', [BL] {Brv.} 'besiege', Chg {Bu.} qaba- ~ qabṽa- 'encircle', ET X {Ml.} qaba- 'surround', ??σ ET Δ {Mng.} qaba- 'um... herumlaufen' ¶ ≈ ET KQ 159, Ml. X 157, Mng. G 773, Bu. II 2, Brv. BL 21, Rl. II 435 ◇ In several lges there is coalescence with N id. *kAp∇ ~ *kAp∇ v. 'seize' (q.v.). Both N *gaṽb∇ and N id. *kAp∇ ~ *kAp∇ may be ideophonic words or have ideophonic associations. Cf. IS I 313-15 s.v. *kaba ~ *kap 'а 'хватать' ◇ ≈ Blz. EIAL 16 [no. 61] (IE *g^heHb^h- + unc. S [Ar ✓ ḡḥf v. 'gather, take

out', Jb ✓ǰħf 'take everything', Gz ✓għf 'take away, remove, carry off' [instead of the above-mentioned HS *✓gɪb]).

592. *g'uy' b ▽ 'to heat' (→ 'to cook, to roast, to burn, to dry') > **HS:** S *°✓gbb > Ak D ✓gbb v. 'roast' (inf. g u b b u b u), g u b b u b u adj. 'roasted' ¶ CAD V 117 || EC *gub- vt. 'burn' > Sml, Rn, Or gub-, Bn kub-, Kns kup-, Ged {Bnd.} gûb^u- (<b- Or?) id., Ya {Ss.} kup- 'rot' ||| DhI {EEN} guβ- vt. 'burn', guβ-iṭ- vi. 'burn' ¶ Bl. 182, BISO 89, Ss. PEC 17, Hn. S 61, PG 128, Sim 15, 25, Grg. 184, EEN 32, Blz. CL 177 || Ch: WCh: Sy {ChL} gúbḡ vt. 'burn' ¶ ChL I 212 ¶¶ AD SEC 132 [no. 6.7] || **K** *gab-/ *gb- vt. 'cook, boil' > G gb- v. 'cook (e.g. silk thread), boil', Lz gub-, gib-, ṣib- v. 'cook, boil', Mg g3b- ~ gib- v. 'boil silk thread', Sv ṣäb-/ṣb- v. 'cook', Sv UB/Ln li-ṣab, Sv L li-ṣbi msd. vt. 'cook\boil sth.', vi. 'be cooked, boil' ¶¶ K 58, K² 25, FS K 70-1, Chx. 182, GP 191, TK 487 || **U:** FU *kuywa- 'dry' > F kui va adj. 'dry', Es kui v 'dry, arid' | ?σ Lp: Lp L {LLO} kui'fē, kuffi 'wer nicht begreift, wem es schwer fällt lesen zu lernen' ("dry-brained"), Lp Sw {SK} kufe, kuiwe 'dumm, einfältig', Lp Vfs {Lgc.} gūff3, kūffε 'dumme, unwissende Person' ||| Os {KrT}: V qōyam-, D/Kz χōyam- 'fallen, sich vermindern' (vom Wasser) ¶ UEW 196-7, Lgc. SL 63 [no. 880], Lgc. no. 2763, SK 231, LLO 253 || **A** *gübæ- (or *güþæ-) v. 'smoke, roast' > Tg *gü:ḡb- ({SDM} *gü:b-) > WrMc {Z} г у в а х я н ь 'fireplace, furnace', {Hr} gûwahiyān 'Kochloch', 'Gestell, an dem der Kochtopf über dem Kochloche hängt', NTg *°gīb- > Ewk gī- v. 'smoke, cure in smoke, dry (meat\fish over weak fire)', gīwun 'place for smoking meat\fish' ¶ STM I 147 and 165, Z 354, Hr 397 || **T** *k'übeç 'earthenware cooking pot' > OT {Cl.} kūveč 'ε pot', XwT XIV kūveč 'cooking pot', Tk gūveç, Az güväž 'earthenware cooking pot', Tkm göweč 'jeweller's crucible', Uz Δ köwäš 𐎠 käwäš 'earthenware pot, pot for milk', Ggz güveč 'large bowl of clay (макитра) ¶ Justified only if the primary meaning is 'cooking pot' rather than 'earthenware pot' in general ¶ Cl. 687-8, ET VGD 53-4, GRM 121 || pKo {S. SDM} *kūb- 'bake, fry' > MKo kúp- (→ kú'í-), NKo kúp|w- ¶ S QK no. 535, Nam 63, MLC 220 ¶¶ The long vw. in NTg is probably a Tg innovation ¶¶ SDM 558 (pA *gīūbe v. 'smoke, roast' > T, Tg, Ko + unc. pJ *káw3r- v. 'smell, fumigate' [probably from pA *k'ayū < N *Kæ'h'uy ▽ 'to heat, to singe, to burn']), DQA no. 537 || **IE:** NaIE *°g_Lh₁ob_Lh₁- or *°g_Lh₁wob_Lh₁-, *°g_Lh₁ub_Lh₁- 'fire' > Olt {Mnhr., Schleicher} gabi ja ~ gubija, 'fire', Lt gabi ja {Frn.} 'von der Hand gefertigte Wachskerze, Leuchter', Olt {Blz.} Gubija ({Las. →

Mnhr.} G u b i e) 'goddess of fire' ¶ Frn. 126, Blz. LN I no. 14, Mnhr. 51, 172 ◇ Blz. KM 115 [no. 8], ≈ Blz. LN I no. 14 (suggesting to add OLT + err. φ FU *küpe(-ń▽) 'sparkle') ◇ The absence of the reflex of N *y in the Blt word still requires explanation.

593. *g'U' b ɿ ▽ (L ▽) 'hill, mountain' > HS: S *✓ gbɿ 'hill' > Ug g b ɿ {A} 'mountain, rock', {OLS} 'hill, height, summit', Hb הַבַּיִת גִּבְעָה, JA אַתְּבַבְלָה גִּבְעָה^a 'hill', Ar ġ ub a ɿ- (a place name) (KB: 'kleine Hügelsstadt'), ? Ak g a b ɿ u 'summit (Gipfel)' (why did not *ɿ produce the regular change *a > e?), ı Amh {DRS} g u b a 'colline, tertre', ? Amh ገበታ g e b e t a (< **gabɿat-) 'high hill' → Gz ገበታ g a b a t ā id.] with loss of *ɿ due to rdp.: CS *gabgab- 'hill' > JA אַבְבָּל גִּבְבָּה 'hill', Ar ġ a b ġ a b - a t - 'pierre\rocher dont quelque part sort de l'eau'] + ext. *-l-: S *gabal- 'mountain' > Ar جَبَل ġ a b a l -, Mh {Jo.} g ɿ b ē l, Jb E/C {Jo.} g i ' e l id., Hb d. בְּבֹרַת גִּבְעָה id., 'landmark, boundary', Ph, Yd g b l 'border, boundary', Ug g b l {A} 'mountain, rock', {OLS} 'peak, mountain', Ar ġ u b l - a t - 'bosse du chameau' ¶ KB 163-4, 167, KBR 171-4, BDB no-s 1354, 1360-4 and 1389, A no-s 617 and 620, OLS 143, Js. 203-8, Br. 100-2, BK I 246, 249-50, L G 179, Jo. M 113, Jo. J 69, Sd. 272, HJ 208-9, DRS 94-7 || EC {Ss.} *gub(b)- 'mountain' > Af g u b b - i 'high spot in undulating country', Or g u b b - ā 'up, above; top', {Grg.} g u b b a postp. 'above, over, on', g u b b ē 'top (of head)', {Th.} g u b b a 'il disopra, cima, sommità, tetto; sopra, in alto', Arr {Hw.} g u b b á 'top, upper side', Dsn {Ss.} g u m, Hr, Dbs g ú p ò, Gln g ù p ó, Gwd q u p o, Brj 'gubba 'mountain', Dsn {To.} g ù m m u t i 'hill' || DhI {EEN} g í p e '(ant)hill', {E} g i p e 'hill, mountain' || SC: Kz {E} k i p e t o 'anthill' (× N *k u p ɿ ▽ 'heap, hill; cone, protuberance') ¶ Ss. B 85, Ss. PEC 15 (Dsn -m < *-b), AMS 159, 201, 233, Grg. 184, Th. 175, Hw. A 363, To. DL 501, EEN 31, E SC 237, Blz. CL 179 || NrOm {Blz.} *°g ▽ p p | b b - 'mountain' > Kf {C} g e p p o, {Msr., HHM} g e p p o 'hill', {Beke} 'g u b b o 'hill, mountain', Mch {L} 'g ä p p o 'slope, hill' ¶ Blz. OL no. 109, C SE IV 436, 446, L M 29, 32, Msr. 161 and 138 (Kf g e p p o 'colle, montagna'), 232 (Kf g e p p o 'collina'), HHM 118, Beke LDA 98 || Ch {JS} *✓ g ʷ ' b ' 'mountain' > CCh: Gdf {IL} ṣ ó b à, Gv {ChL} ṣ ú b à, Nkc {ChL} ṣ ù b á, Glv {Rp., ChL} ṣ ʷ à, Dgh {Frk} g ʷ à ʔ à, Ngs {IL} ṣ w á id. | Gude {IL} g i w a, Gudu {ChL} g i ŋ w à id. | Lmn {Lk.} g w à id. | ZmB {J} g ɿ b ɿ ɿ, ? {Sa.} g ʷ ò ʔ ì, ? Zm {ChL} g o y id. ¶ JS 186, ChL, ChC s.v. 'mountain' ¶ Ch *-b- < *-bɿ- || ???σ,φ Eg P ω ɿ b 'riverbank, riparian lands, shore' (only if from 'hill, high place' and if b goes back to *bɿ) ¶ EG I 409, Fk. 76 ¶¶ Tk. I 400 (Eg, EC, CCh), OS

no. 223 || IE: NaIE *^og^h|g^h∇b_la₁- > MHG gupf(e) 'höchste Spitze' ⇨ dim. MHG gūpfel, gipfel > NHG Gipfel 'summit', ON gafll 'Giebelseite, Spitze einer Insel', AS zafol, zēafel 'gable', (× N *gab∇ (|Í∇) 'head', q.v.): Gt gibla (· πτερύγιον) 'Giebel', OHG gibil 'top\summit', NGH Giebel 'gable, pediment'; NE gable (< ME ← MFr ← a Gmc lge) goes back to the same source ¶ OsS 281, 320, Kb. 334, KM 257-8, Ho. 122, HDEL 536, ≈ P 423 || D *kop- ~ *ko|upp- (< N *k_up∇ 'heap, hill' [q.v.]) > [1] {att. in SD} *kop- ({θGS} *k-) > Td kofoy 'top of a hill', Kn kobe, Tu kubæ, Krg kobe 'top of a coconut tree', Kn kobal₁u, Tu kubal₁ə, Krg kobal₁ 'top of a roof'; [2] *ko|upp- ({θGS} *gUbb-?) > Tl gubbali 'mountain, hill', ? goppu 'small elevation in a field', Prj koppa 'small hillock', Gnd gubbal, Kui kupa, Ku kupli 'hillock', ? Tl koppu 'the crest or ridge of a roof', kopparamu, kopramu 'top, summit' ¶¶ D no. 1731 (a) and (b) ¶¶ × D *kupp- v. 'heap', {GS} *kup- 'heap' (D no. 1731(a), GS 50 [no. 124]) || U: FU *k_ä:₁ppä 'hill' > FΔ kääppä 'hill, stony ground (in a field), heap of stones', Es kääp (gen. kääba) 'aufgeworfener Hügel, Grabhügel' (× kääbas id. [< East Baltic *kāpas, represented in Lt kāpas and Ltv kaps 'Grab, Grabhügel']) || Vg: T/LK/P kääp, UL kap 'hill' ¶ UEW 138 (FU *kääppä) || A: M *gübe-_{ven} 'hillock, knoll, mound' (× N ? *gü|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Ch *-b-, Om and FU *-pp- and D *-p- ~ *-pp- go back to the N cluster *-b₁- ◇ D, M, EC and Ch point to a pN labialized vw. of the first syll., while the FU and IE roots are explainable if the pN vw. was *a or *ä (infl. of N *gab∇ 'head'?) ◇ ≠ IS I 237 (the M √ * < N *g_upA 'to bend' [tr., intr.]), ≠ Blz. DA 161 [no. 92] (unc. equation of HS with D *k_u∇₁i- 'mountain' [D no. 2178] [reconstructed by Blz. as *ku₁∇₁i-]), ≠ Blz. NDA no. 96 (unconvincing comparison of EC *gubb- 'high point' [that belongs to the N etymon in question] with D *k_o 'mountain', some SS and Eg words).

594. *^rg¹abhE ~ *-hb- 'blunt, weak' > HS: SS *√gbh > Mh g₃bh 'blunt', g₀b₃h v. 'blunt', g₁b₃h v. 'be blunt', Jb C g₃b¹hun 'blunt', Tgr, Tgy √gbh G 'become blunt' ¶ Jo. M 113, LH 583, DRS 95 || IE: NaIE *k^hābh- ~ *k^hōbh- 'blunt(ed), weak, powerless (abgestumpft, kraftlos)' > Gk κωφόρς {LS} 'blunt, dull, obtuse', κηφής 'drone; a worn-out, decrepit person', Gk [Hs.] καφάς 'drone' || L hebes / hebetis 'blunt, dull', hebeo / -ēre 'be blunt\dull' || Sl inf. *xab-i-ti 'to spoil, to blunt' (*-i- is a caus. sx) > ChS {Mikl.} inf. xab^hiti 'corrumpere', Blg

ха'б'я v. 'work in vain, spoil, blunt', SCr inf. *habiti*, Cz inf. *chabí ti* 'to spoil' ¶ WP I 348-8, F II 64, WH I 637-8, ≠ ESSJ VIII 8-9 (looking for different IE connections of the Sl verb) ¶¶ NaIE *k^h is likely to go back to N *g + a vl. lr. || А *gä_l:_lb- > Т *Kä_l:_lb- 'weaken' > OT Kr/U {Cl., MKD} *käv-* (aor. *kävä:-r*) vt. 'weaken', [MhK] *küč'i: kävdim* 'I weakened his strength', Osm *gävšäk* 'loose, lax, slack; relaxed, weak, feeble', Ggz *gevšek* 'weak, meager', Qrg *köpšök* 'schlaff, welk', {Jud.} 'friable, flabby (рыхлый, дряблый)', Тк *gevšek* 'weak, locker', OT *kevre-* vi. 'weaken', Az {Rl.} *küvrä-* 'become weak\brittle', Тк *gevre-* v. 'weaken', Chv L *xavša-xavša-* 'crack with dryness (рассыхаться)' (of tubs, barrels), vi. 'become dry, weaken, become flabby', *xavšak* 'weak, decrepit, flabby (welk, дряблый), locker' ¶ ET VGD 9-10, Cl. 687, 691, MKD 104, DTS 304, Ash. XVI 23-5, Fed. II 304-5, Jeg. 283, Md. 37, 167, Rh.1595, Rl. II 1524, Jud. 427 || Tg: WrMc {Z} *гэбсэхунь* 'lean, meager, emaciated', {Hr} *gebsehun* 'abgemagert, spindel-dünn', {Z} *гэбсэрэ-* v. 'become lean\meager\ emaciated' ¶ Z 318, Hr 839 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 535 (pA *gēbo 'light, empty' > Т *k'eb- 'soft, mild, gentle; become weak' and Tg *gebu 'thin, lean; empty' + [not going back to N *'g'abħE ~ *-ħb-] M *güyi- 'shallow, light').

595. *gub_l∇_lRE ~ *guRb∇ 'back, back side, nape (of neck)' > HS: S: Ak *gubār u* 'nape (of the human body)' ¶ CAD V 117 || C *g^ω∇r∇b- > Ag *g^ω∇rb- > Bln {R} *gūr'bet* 'back (dorsum), back part', Xm {R} *žirbā*, Q {R} *gibrā* id.; Ag ⇨ Amh *žerba* id. and Tgr {Mnz.} *gurbet* 'back (dos)' ⇨ Sa {R} *gūr'bet* id. | EC (mt.): Sml *garab*, Sml N *gárab* (pl. *gárb-ó*), Rn {PG} *gáràb* (pl. *gàrbó*) 'shoulder, shoulder blade', *garbó* 'shoulders, upper back', pBn {Hn.} **káràb* 'shoulder' > Bn Bi *kárub*, Bn Sa/J/Ba *kárab* id., Or {Grg.} *gurmū* id., {Brl.} *gur'mu* 'spalla, collo', {Th.} *gurmu* 'la spalla presa nell'insieme', Or Wt {Vnt.} *gurmuni*, Or B {Anr.} *gurmū* 'shoulder' ¶ Hn. S 60 (pSam *'gáràb- 'shoulder blade'), Hn. BD 127, ZMO 154, Abr. S 87, PG 121, AD SF 73, R WB 160, LH 575, Brl. 191, Grg. 188, Vnt. 66 || IE: [1] NaIE *^og_l^h_lω_lurb_l^h_l- > Sl *gъrbъ 'back (dorsum)' > Blg *гpъb*, McdS *гpб*, SCr, Slv *gr̂b*, OR, RChS *гъpбъ* *гъrbъ* ~ *гpъbъ* *grъbъ* ~ *горbъ* *gorbъ*, R Δ *горб* 'dorsum' (R на *горбу* *таскаты* 'to carry on one's back'); to separate from Sl *gъrbъ, *gъrba 'hunchback' (> Blg *гъpба*, SCR *gr̂b*, *gr̂ba*, Cz *hrb*, P *garb*, R *горб* id.) (related to Lt *cuprà*, L *gibber* id.) ¶ ESSJ VII 199-201, ≈ Ma. C 183 || [2] NaIE *g^ωerwā ~ *g^ωrīwā 'nape of neck' (× N

***kôrih|χû** 'throat, neck', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The merger with N ***kôrih|χû** accounts for the loss of the precons. ***b^h** and for the cns. ***g^ω-** (instead of the expected ***g^{hω}-**) || **А:** Tg ***gure-Ke** 'nape' (× N ***gúrĕE** or ***gūrĕV** 'throat, neck') > Nn Bk gur(з)хз, Nn KU gurухз 'nape', Nn Nh gurзхз {STM} id., {On.} 'загривок', WrMc {Hr.} гурехе, {Z} ġурэхэ 'a large sinew on cattle's neck, breite Sehne am Rinderhalse' ({Z}: 'большая становая жила'), {Z} ġурэхэ-лэ- 'tie around (a bow or sth. broken) with oxen's sinews (to strengthen it)' ¶ STM I 174-5, On. 122, Z 363-4, Hr 385 ¶¶ In pA there is no phonemic opposition between the N ***w** and ***b**, so that the loss of N ***b** in this word may be understood as follows: N ***gub₁V₁RE** > ***gubRE** (≈ ***guwrE**) > A ***gūrE** ◇ Blz. L no. 6b (EC, Sl + unc. Eg gbз, gзb 'arm' and Gmc ***kruppaz** 'Kropf').

596. (₂?) ***gičV** 'injure, irritate' > **HS:** S ***√gθθ** > Ak gаṣṣu 'raging, furious', **√gṣṣ** v. 'gnash the teeth', v. 'bare the teeth', v. 'rage, be raging' (× HS ***√g^ωS** 'tooth' > C ***√g^ωS** id. [F AD SF 70-1]), Ar **√ğḡḡ** (pf. جَظَّ ḡaḡḡa) 'tourmenter, affecter d'une peine \ d'un chagrin', **√ğwḡ** (pf. جَاظَّ ḡāḡa) 'affecter quelqu'un, lui causer du tourment \ des craintes \ des inquiétudes' ¶ CAD V 52-4, BK II 298, 356 || ? Ch: WCh {Stl.} ***gac-** v. 'insult' > Hs {Abr.} gāçĕ 'replying rudely and recklessly to a superior', {Ba.} 'sarcasm'. (Abr., Sk.) gāçĭnĕ 'sneering grimace' | Ang {Flk.} kass 'abuse, cursing, defilement' | ?σ Tng k^ωadε v. 'fight over sth.' ¶ Stl. ZCh 216 [no. 662], Abr. H 311, Ba. 372, J T 107, ≠ Sk. HCD 80-1 (Hs gaçe ← Hs gāça 'bite') || **IE:** NaIE {Mn.} ***ǵ^heǵsd-** ~ ***ǵeǵsd^h-** v. 'rile, irritate, injure' > OI hīd₁- v. 'make angry, vex', hīd₁i'ta- 'erzürnt, aufgebracht', hēd₁aḥ (hēdas) n. 'anger, hatred', OI BdhSk hēṭ₁hati 'verletzt, beleidigt', Av zōiždišta- 'der abscheulichste' || W† g^ωγ₁th 'anger, wrath' (< ***ǵ^heǵsd-**) || Lt 1s pres. žeidžiū / inf. žeĩsti v. 'injure, wound', žeidimas 'injury, wounding', žaizdà 'wound' || -d> ***ǵ^hoǵsd-** > Lt žaizdà 'wound' || var. ***ǵeǵsd^h-** > AS inf. cídan 'to chide' ({Ho.} 'streiten, klagen'), NE chide ¶ Mn. 413, M K III 601, M E II 819, MW 1300, 1303, Ho. 47, Frn. 1285, 1296, ≠ WP I 547, 554, ≈ P 427 || ?σ **U:** FU {UEW} ***kičV** 'illness, be sick' > F kitu- 'be tormented, suffer pain; languish, suffer', Es kidu-, kidi- 'kränkeln', kidune- 'grow sickly, be in bad health', kide (gen. kide) 'Kränklichkeit' | Prm: Vt G kīž 'Krampf', {Wc.} křž 'Krankheit, Krankheitsgeist', Z {W} kīž 'totgeborenes Kind' || Os: V kēča, O qaš'i 'illness, sick', D kēča 'illness' ¶ UEW 153, Sm. 543 (FU ***ki|eci** 'illness' > FP ***kič'i**, Ugr ***kīčī**) ◇ FU

*kič̣∇ belongs here if the semantic change was v. 'wound' → 'cause illness'.

597. $_2$ *gi'č̣'∇ (or *gič̣'∇?) 'hip, thigh' > HS: S *gi'ṣ̌ṣ̌' - 'thigh, hip, flank' > Sr 𐎎𐎍 gēs'sā 'side, flank, haunch', Ar D ḡiššā 'corpse, dead body', Mh ḡššēt 'body, corpse', Jb C {Jo} 'ge'ṣ̌t (pl. 'gi'ṣ̌ε?) 'side', Ak ḡilṣ̌u ~ ḡišṣ̌(u m) 'hip, flank', MHb 𐎎𐎍 'gēsēs, JA 𐎎𐎍 'gisə's-ā 'side, arm' ¶ Br. 126, JPS CSD 75, Js. 241, 261, Lb. D 283, CAD V 73, Sd. 288, Jo. J 79, Jo. M 126, DRS 195-6, MiK I no. 1.97 (*giṣ̌ṣ̌- 'torso, body') || Ch {Stl.} *gōṣ̌- 'shoulder' > WCh: Mnt {ChL} táη-ḡól id. | Plc {ChL} ḡgʷṣ̌ṣ̌ id. || Gude {Hsk.} gʷálà 'upper arm' || ECh: Skr {Nc.} 'kō-gol id., Mgm {JA} ḡūl (pl. ḡòllillá), Mu {Lk., J} ḡòl 'shoulder' ¶ Stl. IF 196, JA 89, Lk. ZSS 35, 182, ChL, ChC s.v. 'shoulder' || **D** (att. in CD) *kiṭṭ- (={ǰGS} *k-) 'hip, waist' > Prj kiṭṭa 'hip', Gdb kiṭṭe 'waist', kiṭe pūn 'hipbone' ¶ D no. 1537 ¶¶ This is the only known case of D *-ṭṭ- apparently from N *-č̣- (but there are several cases of D *-ṭ- or *-ṭṭ- going back to N *-č̣-). The problem needs investigating. A possible solution: N *gič̣'∇ with HS deglottalization of *č̣ || AdS of IE: NaIE {P} *keṷs- 'arm, thigh, shank' (× N *ḳič̣'∇ 'thigh' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The IE cns. *k- proves that the main source of IE *keṷs- is N *ḳič̣'∇ rather than N *gi'č̣'∇.

598. *gad'a' 'bank, shore, side of sth.' > HS: CS *'giday- ~ *'guday- 'bank, side of a river', *°gadd- id. > BHb 𐎎𐎍𐎎𐎍 gad-ō't-āw ~ 𐎎𐎍𐎎𐎍 gidu-ō't-āw 'its banks' (presumably forms of 𐎎𐎍𐎎𐎍 *'gid'uyā), Md gada, gida, g(i)dada 'bank, riverside, waterside', JA 𐎎𐎍𐎎𐎍 gud'd-ā 'wall', JEA gud'd-ā 'wall, side', Ar 𐎎𐎍 ḡudd- 'côté, bord (de toute chose)', 𐎎𐎍 ḡidd-, 𐎎𐎍𐎎𐎍 ḡidd-at- 'bord, rive (d'un fleuve)', 𐎎𐎍 ḡadd- 'rivage, bord (d'un fleuve), surface de la terre' ¶ KB 171, KBR 178, GB 130, BDB 152, Js. 218, Sl. 265-6, BK I 260, DM 73, 88-9, DRS 100-1 || ?σ B: Ah e-ḡēde, ETwl agidi 'dune de sable', Sgl {NZ} igidu, igidi id., 'sable', Gh ižidi 'colline de sable', Izn, Rf, Shw, Mz, Wrg, Jrb iždi 'sable', Kb iždi id., 'gravier', Si iždi, Nf židi 'terre'; B belongs here only if the meaning 'dune, colline de sable' is primary ¶ Fc. 394, Dl. 359, NZ 721-2 || C *✓gdm > Bj {R} ge'dim (pl. gidma) 'edge, bank, side' || Ag *g∇d∇m 'side, range, bank' > Bln {R} gədu m 'side, edge, bank'; Ag ⇨ Gz 𐎎𐎍𐎎𐎍 gədm 'side, direction', Tgr ḡədm 'edge, side', Tgy ḡədm i 'side, bank'; ? Bln {R} 'gadī 'riverbed, valley, wadi' (unless ⇨ Ar wadi id.) || EC: Sa {R} 'gade ~ 'gadde (pl. gadu'wā) 'riverbed, valley, wadi' (unless ⇨

Ar wadi) ¶ E PC no. 44 (+ unc. EC *gudm- 'shoulder'), R S II 145, R WB 139 ¶ An alt. hyp.: Bj ge'dim and Bln gædum ← EthS gædm (possibly connected with the Gz verb ✓ gdm 'be in horizontal position, be inclined'); but this latter hypothesis fails to explain the et. of the EthS words || Om {Blz.} *gad_ld_l- 'earth, land' > NrOm: Oyda {Fl.} gædde id., Zs {C} gadē 'terra, paese', Wl/Zl/Gf {C} gadē 'paese', Bdt {C} gadā id., Mch {L} gadó 'clod of earth' || SOM: the meaning 'bank of river' is likely to have been preserved in Ari {Bnd.} gidib (unless ← Amh gædæb 'dike, dam, barrier') ¶ Blz. OL no. 105, C SE III 202, Fl. OWL, L M 30, Bnd. AL 145 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gādžə 'lake, pond', ı Ngm {OS ← ?} gōdō 'lake' ¶ ChC s.v. 'lake', Sch. DN 63, OS no. 869 ¶¶ R WB 139 (C, S), OS no. 869 (S, WCh, Ag, Sa; *÷ Bdm {Nc.} rğáda 'river', actually a loan from Knr {Lk.} rğádà 'small river' [Lk. B 121]) || A: M *gada 'outside, the outside' > Dg {Mr., T} gāda 'the outside, out of doors', {Pp.} g_ad_a 'outside' (direction), Ba {T} gade 'outside, out of doors', Mnr H {SM} g_ad_a 'dehors, à l'extérieur de, à l'entrée de la maison; l'extérieur', Mnr M {Pot.} хата 'outside' (direction); ⇨ : [1] MM [HI] qada_un [gada_un] 'à l'extérieur', WrM {MED} gadagun 'outside of, outside the house', HIM гадаа(н) {MED} id., {BMR} id., adj. 'exterior', adv. 'near'; [2] M *gada-na 'outside' > MM [HI] qadana 'à l'extérieur', WrM {MED} gadana (adv., postp.) 'outside', (adj.) 'exterior', HIM гадна {MED, BMR} id., Dx gadane 'outside, out of doors', Mgl {Rm.} çadana 'außen, außer', Ord g_ad_ana 'à l'extérieur, à la proximité de la maison'; [3] M *gadaɣa > WrM gadaga {MED} 'out of, outside; outer', HIM {MED} гадаа, {BMR} гадаа(н) id., Ord g_ad_a 'à l'extérieur, dans le voisinage immédiat (d'une habitation)', Dg {T} gādag ~ gādig 'outside'; [3a] M *gadaɣadu > MM [MA] gadadu, WrM {MED} gadagadu 'outer, external, exterior; foreign, strange', HIM гадаад {MED, BMR} id., Brt гадаад 'external', Dx gadadu id., Ord g_ad_at 'extérieur', (emprunté à la langue littéraire) g_ad_ag_ad_u id., [3b] M *gada-g-si 'outwards' > WrM {MED} gadagsi 'outside' (direction), HIM {MED, BMR} гадагш id., Brt гадагша id., MMgl {Iw.} çadāqš_i 'outside, outwards', Mgl {Rm.} çadaqš_i 'nach außen', Dx gadaš₊ 'outwards', Mnr H {SM} g_ad_as₃ 'vers le dehors', Ord g_ad_agš_i ~ g_ad_aš_i 'vers l'extérieur'; [4] M *gada-r_l∇_l > WrM gadar {MED} adj. 'the exterior, outside', HIM гадар {MED} id., {BMR} n. 'external, outward, outside cover', adv. 'outside, outside the house', Brt гадар 'outside cover, external side', Kl {Rm.} gadr_g 'das

Äußere, Obere', Ord *g_ad_ar* 'extérieur, l'étoffe extérieure d'un vêtement doublé'; [5] M **gada-γur* > WrM *gadaγur* {MED} adv. 'outside, on the exterior of, in the vicinity if, near', adj. 'exterior, outer, upper (clothes); n. the exterior, outside', HIM *гадур* {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'по внешней\наружной стороне', Brt *гадур* 'по внешней\наружной стороне, outside', postp. 'außer, помимо', Ord *g_ad_ūr* 'du côté extérieur, par le côté extérieur (en passant)', par le voisinage immédiat (d'une habitation)' ¶ MED 342-3, BMR I 331-8, Chr. 138-9, KW 141, Rm. M 28, Iw. 104, SM 114, T 324, T DnJ 115, T BJ 137, Pot. 412, Pp. MA 173, Ms. H 85-6, Ms. O 284-5 ¶ In M **gada-na* the element *-na goes back to the locative pc. *na < N **ʔin'A'* 'place' (q.v.) || D **kaṭ(-ay)* ({ʔGS} **kaṭ-*) 'end, side, beach' > Tm *kaṭay* 'end, limit, boundary', MI *kaṭavv* 'beach', Kt *kaṭ paṭ* 'the end, at last', Td *kaṭč* 'end (of thing, event)', Kn *kaṭe* 'end, termination, limit', Kdg *kaṭe* 'end (of row, event etc.)', Tu *kaṭe* 'verge, margin, end', Tl *kaṭṭakaṭa* 'the very end', Prj *kaṭa* 'end, side'; D ⇨ OMrt *kaṭe, kaṭa* 'edge, side' ¶¶ D no. 1109, cp. GS 206-7 [no. 522], 28 [no. 16], 164 [no. 407], 166 [no. 417] (**kyad-* v. 'pass through, cross').

599. *gad∇ '(to be) suitable\good; luck' > HS: WS **gadd-* 'happiness, fortune' > Hb *ḡaḡ* *gaḡ* 'fortune', *ḡaḡ* *bə-ḡaḡ* 'feliciter', Pun, Nbt, Plm, Htr *gḡ*, JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} *ḡaḡ* *gadd'-ā* 'genius, god of fortune; luck', Sr *gaḡ / gadd'-ā* 'fortune, luck, success', Md *gaḡa* 'fortune, success, luck, fate', NMd *gād* 'Glück, chance', Ar *ḡadd-* 'good luck, chance, fortune', Gz *ḡadd* 'luck' ¶ KB 169, KBR 176, Js. 210, Sl. 260, HJ 212-13, JPS 60, DM 73, Mc. NM 207, L G 180, DRS 100 || C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} *gud* 'good, nice', {ZL} *gudi* 'good' || ?σ Bj {R} *gūd* ~ *gud* 'Menge, Größe', *gūd-* 'be many\much\big' || EC **gudd-* ~ **gūd-* 'big, much' > Kns *kutt-* id., Or *gúdd-aʔ*, Dsn *gudd-u*, Elm {Bl.} *gūt-iḡa* 'big', {Ss.} *gūt* 'many', Arr *guddá* 'big', *gudda-haḡ-* 'grow big, become many\much'; ?σ Sml *gídd-i* 'whole, entire', Bs *gidd-i*, ? Af *gadd-a* 'wealth' (unless ⇨ EthS); HEC (⇨ EthS?): Hd {L} *gadaʔa* 'luck' ¶ L G 180, Hz. NSA 138, ZL Ag 8, R WBd 90, Bl. 106, 140, Ss. PEC 16, ZMO 162, Hw. A 363, To. DL 501, PH 108, Blz. CL 180 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} *gādá* 'beautiful' ¶ Wdk. BY 123, Lm. Y 345 || IE: NaIE **ghedh-* / **ghodh-* v. 'be suitable\good' > Gmc **gōðā* 'suitable' > Gt *gōps* ~ *gōds* (·-ἄγαθός, χρηστός, καλός) 'gut, tüchtig, schön', ON *góðr*, OHG *guot*, NHG *gut*, OSx *gōd*, AS *zōd* 'good', NE *good*; Gmc **gað-* 'gefallen' > MLG *gaden* id., OHG *gi-gat* *ḡ* *ge-gat* 'suitable' || Sl inf. **goditi* (se) v. 'to suit, to be fortunate' > OCS inf.

ГОДНТИ 'to satisfy', 'gratum esse, morem gerere, placere', Blg **ГОДА** v. 'arrange, prepare', **НЕ МИ ГОДИ** 'is not to my advantage', SCr inf. **gòditi** 'to make a deal', Slv **to mi godi** 'it is pleasant, I like it', Cz inf. **hoditi se**, R inf. **годиться** 'to be suitable', P inf. **godzić** 'to bring to an agreement', **godzi się** 'it is permitted\lawful'; \rightarrow Sl ***godь** 'appropriate time' > OCS **ГОДЪ** 'time (hora, tempus); year; appropriate time', SCr **gòd** 'holiday, year, appropriate time', Cz **hod** 'religious feast', OR, RChS **ГОДЪ** 'time, year', R **год** 'year'; \rightarrow Sl ***god-ьнъ** (jb) 'suitable, appropriate' > ChS **ГОДЬНЪ**, Blg **годен**, P **godny**, R **годный** id. | Ltv inf. **gadīties** 'to happen, to occur, to be found', Lt {Bg.} inf. **godyti** 'aufspüren, ausfindig machen', Ltv **gòds** 'honour, glory', Lt **guõdas**, Lt Zh **goda** 'honour' || ? OI **gadhya-** 'what one readily holds fast, what suits one' ($\times \leftarrow$ **gadh-** 'cling to, hang on to') || pTc ***kāt̥k-** > Tc A/B **kāt̥k-** 'rejoice, be glad' || amb Gk **ῥηθέω**, Gk D **ῥᾷθέω** 'rejoice' (\times IE ***gāwedh-**, whence L **gaudē-** 'rejoice, be happy') ¶ P 423-4, \approx EI 64 (unc.: Gmc ***gōðā** 'suitable' etc. < IE ***gʰedh-** 'join, fit together'), Fs. 218, M K I 320-1 (**gadhya-** \leftarrow **gadh-**), Vr. 181, Kb. 345, 416, Schz. 148, 155-6, OsS 246, 358, KM 277-8, Ho. 134, Ho. S 28, ESSJ VI 187-92, StSS 173, Wn. LE 32, Wn. I 197-8 (Tc ÷ Gk), Ad. 150, Frn. 159-60, Tr. 74, F I 303-4 (the Gk word is from ***gāwedh-**) || D ***kaṭ-** ({θGS} ***gaḍ-**) 'fixed time' ($\times \leftarrow$ ***kaṭ-** v. 'pass' [\leftarrow N ***gäṭṛâ** 'to pass through\over', q.v.] and/or ***kaṭ-** 'end' [\leftarrow N ***gad'a** 'bank, shore, side of sth.']) > Tm **kaṭu**, **keṭu** 'fixed time, period, term', Ml **gaḍu**, **keṭu** 'term, instalment', Kt **gaḍv**, **gayr̥** 'fixed or appointed time', Td **koḍf** 'stipulated period of an agreement', **koṛy** 'fixed period (of imprisonment or purgatory), fixed time for paying a loan', Kn **gaḍa**, **gaḍavu**, **gaḍi**, **gaḍu**, **gaḍuba**, **gaḍuvu** 'limit, limited time, period', Tu **gaḍu** 'a time, fixed time or place', Tl **gaḍuvu** 'term, period, limit of time' ¶¶ D no. 1109 ◇ Hardly here T ***kata** 'times' ('mal') > OT **qata** id. (Cl. 596), which is semantically conceivable as a cognate, but the vl. T ***-t-** for the expected ***-ḍ-** makes the connection hardly acceptable.

600. *gædi 'back part; occiput, nape of neck' > **ḥ** ***gædi** 'back (of the head), behind' > M ***gede** > WrM **gedē** {MED} 'nape or back of the neck, occiput', HIM {BMR} **гэд** 'occiput'; HIM {MED} **гэдээ** 'nape or back of the neck, occiput'; M ***geziḡe** (from ****gedige**) 'nape of neck, occiput, back part'; M **geziḡe** {MED} 'nape of neck, plait\braid of hair, pigtail, queue', HIM **гэээг** {MED} id., {BMR} 'occiput, plait of hair', Brt W

гэзэгэ 'occiput', Brt гэзэгэ 'plait of hair'; M *gederg $\nabla_{\perp n}$ > MM [MA] gedergü 'backwards', WrM gedergüü {MED} adv. 'backwards, to the rear, back, in the opposite or reverse direction', HIM гэдрэг {MED} id., {BMR} 'backwards, обратно', Brt гэдэргэ id., Kl {KRS} гедргэн gedərgän id., 'вспять', {Rm.} gedṛgə ~ gedṛgṅ 'zurück, auf dem Rücken (liegend); rückwärts gebogen', Mnr {SM} g_id_ierg_u, {T} gedergu 'backwards', Ord g_ed_erge 'en arrière, vers la partie postérieure, sur le dos (couché), à reculons', ¶ MED 372, 381, BMR I 477, 479, Chr. 168-9, KRS 135, KW 131, Pp. IM 118, Pp. MA 169, SM 136, T 322, Ms. O 255 || Tg *gedi- 'occiput' > Ewk гэдимук ≍ гэдэмук, гэткэн, Neg гэдэмук id., Lm гэдэкэ, гэдэмэк ~ гэдэмэк id., 'occiput bone', Ud гэдигэ 'occiput, nape of neck' ¶ STM I 177 || NaT *Kæði- 'backwards' > OT, Chg kädin 'behind', ET keyin ~ käyin, Qrg kiyin adv. 'afterwards, later', postp. 'after', Tkm Δ keyin 'backwards', Qzq keyin id., 'backwards', {Rl.} kein 'behind', StAlt kiyin, Ln kiin 'back part', Qq, Uz keyin 'backwards; afterwards, after', Xk кизин kizīn adj. 'hind' (of animal's legs, wheels etc.), Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} kezīn, Kü/Shor {Rl.} käzīn 'back part, backwards', adj. 'hinder' ¶ Hardly here T *köt 'backside, buttocks' (Cl. 704) ¶ Cl. 704, ET KQ 23-4, Pp. VG 24, 53, Rs. W 246-7, Vld. 206, BIG 73, Rl. II 1054, 1137-8, 1176-7, 1344-6 || pJ {S} *kítà 'North' > OJ k(ḷ)ita, MJ kítà, J T kitá, J K kítà, J Kg kíta ¶ S QJ no. 811, Mr. 452, Kenk. 981 ¶¶ SDM 535-6 (pA *gědì 'back [of head], behind' > Tg *gedi-muk 'back [of head] [затылок]', M *gede / *gežige 'back [of head], plait', T *ged-[for *Kæð-] ;back, after'), DQA no. 492, ADb. KL, ADb. SR 4, S AJ 71, Rm. EAS I 48, Vld. 206, Pp. VG 24, 53, Kol. ChA 101-3 || ?φ K: GZ *ked-'back of the head, neck' > OG ked- 'neck', G ked- 'nape of neck', Mg kindir id., 'back of the head' ¶ K² 214, Chx. 1546 || HS: Ch *gidaH-'neck, occiput', {Stl.} *giHad-~ *gidaH-'neck' > WCh: AG: Su {J} žet, Kfr {Nt.} žèt 'occiput' || BT: Krkr {Sh.} ṅgidò, Krf {Sh.} ṅgìdò, Glm {Sch.} ṅgìryà 'neck' || Dir {Sk.} ṅgwádù id. || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} gèr, EDng {Fd.} gǎjá, Skr gét-im, ? {Sx.} gèrè, Kjr kīda id. ¶ JI II 252-3, J S II 67, Nt. 16, Stl. IF 174 (without AG), Sch. BTL 57, 87, Cp. 62, Fd. 312, Blz. EChWL no. 59 || C: Ag: Xm T {CR} gīd- adj. 'de derrière' || EC: Sd {Hd.} gidensa, gedensa 'after', {Gs.} gedensa 'last, the end', gedensanni, gedensā 'aftwards', Sml {DSI} gadā 'behind' ('dietro, indietro') ¶ AD SF 239, Hd. 19, Gs. 179, DSI 248 || ? NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} gedo(n) 'la parte di dietro', gedon 'dietro, dopo' ¶ Mrn. O 31 || ?φ IE: NaIE *g^hed- 'anus', (→ ?) 'defecate'

(× NaIE *^oǵ^h|ǵ^hed- 'hole' > ON *gat*, OFrs *jet* 'hole, opening', AS *zea t* 'doors, opening', OSx *gat* 'hole') > Gk [Hs.] *χόδανον* accus. (· τὴν· ἔδραν) 'podex', Gk *χέζω* 'defecate' ||| OI 'hadati 'defecates', Av *zadāh-podex* ||| Arm *ծես* *zet* 'tail' ||| pAl {O} **zeča* or **zetya* > Al *dhjes* (aor. *dhjevā*) 'defecate' ¶ The contamination with NaIE *^oǵ^h|ǵ^hed- 'hole' may explain the cns. **d* for the expected **d^h* ¶ WP I 571-2, P 423, M K III 573-4, F II 1078-9, LS 1996, O 83, Sl. 176-7 ¶ IE *^oǵ^hed- was adduced by IS MS 342 (→ S CNM 5), but omitted in IS I ◇ The roots of M, Ch, C and (if here) IE suggest a N **ǵ-*, while K (GZ) **k-* still requires explanation ◇ IS MS 342, IS I 227-8 [no. 81], AD NM no. 106.

601. (₂?) **ǵud*▽ (or **ǵü*▽?) 'ε to cut, to tear' > HS: S **ǵdd* ~ SS **ǵdy* 'cut, chop' > BHb *ǵdd TL* (Hithpo'el) (ip. *ǵǵǵ* 'yitǵō'dād) 'make incisions in one's own body', MHb *ǵdd G* 'cut, cut off', BA *ǵdd G* (inv. pl. *ǵǵǵ* 'umhauen', Sr *ǵdd G* 'cut off/out', {Br.} 'abscidit, amputavit; discidit', Md *ǵdd* 'cut off, put an end to', Ar *ǵdd* (pf. *ǵadda*) 'cut out (a garment), cut off (a fruit)', ? Sb *ǵdd Sh* '(?) assign (allouer, attribuer)', *ǵdy Sh* (pf. *ǵgd*) 'make a grant of land', *ǵdyt* 'grant of land', {Rk.} 'allotment', Qt {Rk.} *ǵdyt* 'portion, allotment, assignment', {DRS} *ǵgd* 'repartir, accorder', Tgr pf. *G ǵdda* 'tear off, separate', Gz *ǵddū* 'piece of wood cut off with an axe\saw', Ak *ǵdd G* (inf. *ǵadādū*) 'chop'; +ext.: CS **ǵd* v. 'chop (off)' (< **ǵdd* influenced by S **ǵt* 'cut\break off' < N **ǵut*▽ [or **ǵut*▽?]) 'cut off, tear [off]', q.v.) > Hb, JA, Sr *ǵd* *G* id., Ar *ǵd* *G* 'cut off' ¶ In Aram there was a merger with S **ǵδδ* 'cut, break into pieces' (> Ar *ǵδδ* *G* [pf. *ǵadda*] id.) ¶ KB 169-70, 173, 1685, Js. 210, 213-14, Br. 103, 105, JPS 60, Hv. 79-81, BGMR 49, Rk. 52, ≈ Rk. IQ 36 (*ǵdyt* 'allotment' ← {Lundin} Qt\Sb *ǵdyt* 'renewal'), L G 180, CAD V 8, DRS 99-102 || Ch: Ngz {Sch.} *ǵdú* vt. 'snap in two (a rope etc.) by pulling, pluck (fruit from tree)', *ǵdú* vi. 'snap in two' (as a rope), 'snap off (fruit off tree)', 'break loose (sth. tied by rope)' ¶ Sch. DN 59, 64 || A: AmTg **ǵude-* v. 'be torn apart' > Orc *ǵud*-, Ul, Nn Nh *ǵud*-, Ork *ǵud* id., Nn Nh *ǵud* {On.} 'hole (in clothes)', {DTS} id., 'rags', {On.} *ǵud* 'be torn'; ⇨ : AmTg **ǵude-çi* 'tear asunder' > Nn Nh *ǵud*-, Orc *ǵud*-, Ud *ǵud* id. ¶ STM I 167, On 118-19 || ?φ T **K_l:₁δ-* (unless it is **K_l:₁ǵ-*) 'ε cut, chop' (delabialized from **K_u:₁δ-* due to the infl. of the final unrounded vw.?) (× N **ǵut*▽ 'cut off, tear

[off]. q.v.) > OT [MhK] qIy- (ol jixāč qIyđī 'he cut the piece of wood on the slant'), Chg XV qIy- 'cut into small pieces', Tk kIy- 'chop', Ggz, StAlt кЫЙ- qIy- 'cut, cut off (twigs, small trees)', Qmn qIy- 'chop, cut on the slant', ?σ Tv χIdI- 'exterminate' ¶ Qmn -y- may be from T * -δ- , ср. Qmn ayaq 'foot, leg' < * aδaq), but Xk χIy- 'cut, cut off' points to T * -y- (unless a loan from a -y- language) ¶ If the pT root is $\text{* K}_{I,:}y-$, it does not belong here ¶ Cl. 595, ET Q 200, Rl. II 688-90, BT 102, B DK 230, BIG 297, TvR 499 || $\text{?φ IE: NaIE *g}^{\omega}ed^h-$ 'destroy' (\times N $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{ōd}^{\nabla}$ 'destroy, break, cut' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ If NaIE $\text{*g}^{\omega}ed^h-$ does not belong here, the N etymon may be either *gud^{∇} or *gūd^{∇} .

602. $\text{*gu}_{\text{L}}\text{?}_{\text{dE}} \text{~} \text{*gū}_{\text{L}}\text{?}_{\text{d}^{\nabla}}$ (or $\text{*gu}_{\text{L}}\text{?}_{\text{žE}} \text{~} \text{*gū}_{\text{L}}\text{?}_{\text{ž}^{\nabla}}$) 'to guard, to watch, to be on the watch for' > HS: C: Bj \checkmark $\text{g}^{\omega}\text{?d}$ pcv. 'guard' ($\{R\}$ 1s: p. $\text{a-gū}^{\text{r}}\text{ad}$, pqp. $\text{ī-gū}^{\text{r}}\text{ed}$, pres. $\text{agū}^{\text{r}}\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{nīd}$) ||| pEC $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{ga}^{\text{r}}\text{z}^{\text{r}}$ - (or $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{ga}^{\text{r}}\text{z}^{\text{r}}$ - ?) > EC: Or {Th.} gād- , {Brl.} gad- v. 'spy', 'darsi al brigantaggio', {Grg.} gād- v. 'plot against, plan to destroy, spy on', {L} gadō 'thief'; possibly (but not certain): HEC {Hd.} gāz- v. 'wage war, raid', *gāzō 'war, campaign' > Kmb {L} gāžžō 'raid', {Hd.} gāzu 'war, campaign', gāz- v. 'wage war', Tmbr {L} gažžē 'raid', Hd. {Hd.}, Sd {Gs.} gād- v. 'wage war', gādō n. 'war, campaign'; without HED the EC rec. may be *gad- ¶ AD SF 301, Hd. 164, 278, 317, 363, L Z 120, Th. 144, Brl. 158, Grg. 154 || $\text{?σ S}^{\circ}\checkmark$ gδω > Ar \checkmark ğδω (pf. أَجَدَّ ğāδā) 'se tenir d'un pied ferme sur qch., se dresser sur les doigts du pied (pour mieux voir)' ¶ BK I 270, \neq DRS 103 ||| A: NaT *Kūδ- ~ *Kūt- v. 'wait, lie in wait for' > OT {Cl.} kūδ- id., Qq kūy- ~ kūt- , Az күд- gūd- 'trace, track (следить, выслеживать), look for', Tki kūt- , Qrg kūt- , VTt, Bsh kūt- , Uz kut- , ET kūt- 'wait', Qzq, Nog kūt- 'wait for', Ln kūt- 'wait, lie in wait for', Yk kūt- ; the variant *Kūt- is based on metanalysis (from forms like *küttim [*kūδ-ti-m] 'I waited') ¶ Cl. 701, Rs. W 312, ET VGD 107-8, ARL 188 ||| E: El kū-te- 'sehen, schützen' ¶¶ HK 544-5 ◇ The rec. with N *ž is valid if the Ar and HEC cognates are accepted. But if they are rejected (for semantic reasons), a better N rec. will be $\text{*gu}_{\text{L}}\text{?}_{\text{dE}}$ or $\text{*gū}_{\text{L}}\text{?}_{\text{d}^{\nabla}}$.

602a. $\text{*ga}_{\text{L}}\text{y}_{\text{di}}$ (\sim $\text{*ga}_{\text{L}}\text{y}_{\text{ti}}$?) 'kid, young goat', ? '(ε) antelope' > HS: S $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{gadiy-}$ 'kid' (\rightarrow 'lamb') > BHb גִּדְיָא $\text{gā}^{\text{r}}\text{dī}$ 'kid, lamb' (pl. גִּדְיָאִים $\text{gādā}^{\text{r}}\text{yīm}$ with -ā- possibly due to the generalized model of pl. of the segolate nouns), EpOHb גִּדְיָא $\text{gd}^{\text{r}}\text{y}$, Pun gd^{r} , [Plt.] GADE 'kid', Ug gd(y) {OLS} 'kid (cabrito)', pl. {A} gdym , OA gd^{r} 'goat', JA [Trg.] גִּדְיָא $\text{gad}^{\text{r}}\text{y-}$ ā 'kid, lamb', JEA $\text{gad}^{\text{r}}\text{y-ā}$, Sr גִּדְיָא $\text{gad}^{\text{r}}\text{y-ā}$, Md gadi a 'kid, young

goat', Ar ḡadū- 'kid (chevreau)', Ar NY žadi 𐤆 židi id., Ak NB gadū 'male kid' (← WS) ¶ KB 171, KBR 178, HJ 213-14, OLS 144-5, Lv. T I 126, Sl. 260-1, JPS 60, DM 73, BK I 267, Ln. 393, Bns. NJ I 206-7, CAD V 9, DRS 100-1 || B *yaid 'kid, (young) goat' > Ah {Fc.} e-yaid (pl. i-yaid-ən), Ty, ETwl e-yayd (pl. i-yayd-ən, Ty i-yayd-ən) 'chevreau', Gh {Nh.} i-yid (pl. i-yid-ən), Gd {Lf.} a-yid (pl. yid-ān) id., Izd {Mrc.} i-yayd (pl. i-yayd-ən) 'young he-goat (jeune bouc, chevreau)', Tz a-yād 'he-goat'; fem. *tV-yaidV-t 'she-goat, female kid' > Ty, ETwl te-yaydat 'chevrette' (pl. Ty tiyaydad, ETwl šiyidad), Gd tayidēt (pl. tayidād) id.; Gd tē-yat ~ tē-yet, Kb t̄a-yat (pl. t̄i-yat̄in), Tz ta-yāt (pl. ti-yat̄in), Izd {Mrc.} ta-yat (pl. ti-yat̄in), Si tyāt (pl. tyāt̄in), SrSn tayat 'she-goat' ¶ Fc. 1711, Lf. II no-s 1869, 1876 and 1921, Mrc. 37, 51, Stm. 160, 227, GhA 75 ¶ The emphatic *y (for the expected *g) is puzzling || EC: Or {Brl., Th.} gadamsa 'kudu antelope', Or B {Vnt.} gadamsa (nom. -ni), Brj {Ss.} ga'dama 'greater kudu antelope', Ged gadansa 'antelope, buffalo' (← Or?) ¶ Ss. B 75, Brl. 157, Th. 142, Sr. 308, Vnt. 57, Hd. 20, 192, 240 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gada 'e antelope' > Hs gādā 'common (crested) duiker (antelope) *Cephalophus Grimmii* (= *Sylvicopra grimmia*)' || BT: Gera gadere 'bushbuck' || NrBc: P' {MSk.} gatará 'buck' || ? Sbc: Jm {Gw.} kitō, Gj {ChL} kitī, Buli {Gw.} kīt, Zar {Gw.} kīdī, Sy Zk {Gw.} kīdū 'antelope', Dw {ChL} kidī 'duiker' || Ngz {Sch.} gādūwā 'crested duiker' || CCh: ZmB {J} gódāy, {Sa.} gútay 'buck', Dgh {Frk} ʒédé girè 'antelope' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'antelope', Abr. H 282, Ba. 339, Sch. DN 64 ¶¶ Sk. HCD 74 || IE: NaIE *gʰǵʰaidō- '(young) goat', {EI} *gʰaidō-s 'goat' > L haedus 'kid, young goat' || Gt gait̄s (· χίμερος) f. 'Ziege', ON geit, OSx gēt, OHG geiz 'goat', NHG Geiß 'she-goat', AS ʒāt 'goat', NE goat ¶ P 409-10, EI 229, WH I 632, Fs. 186, Schz. 150, Kb. 324, KM 242, Ho. 124, Ho. S 26 ¶¶ The *media* *-d- (for the expected *dʰ-) is puzzling. It may be explained if the IE word is a loan from HS or from one of its branches (F IS DIES 4 [IE ← S], AD IEH 14 and fn. 11 [IE ← early pS]) || D *kʰaʰt̄-, {GS} *kyad̄- 'young male of horned domestic animal' > Tm kaṭā, kaṭavū, kaṭay 'male of sheep\goat\buffalo', kaṭāri, kiṭāri 'heifer, young cow', kiṭā 'buffalo, bull, ram', Ml kaṭā, kiṭā, kiṭāvū 'young male of cattle', Kt kaṛč̄ naḡ 'buffalo calf between 2 and 3 years', kaṛč̄ kurl 'cow calf between 2 and 3 years', Kn kaḍasū, Kdg kaḍ+č̄i, Tu gaḍasə 'young cow\buffalo', Gnd kāṛā 'young buffalo', Knd grālu, Kui grādu 'calf', Kui

kṛāṅ 'young female buffalo\goat', Krx kaṛī id., kaṛā 'young male buffalo', Brh xaṛ 'ram', xaṛās 'bull, bullock'; D ⇨ pInA {Tu.} *kaṭṭa- and *kaḍḍa- 'young male (horned domestic) animal' (*kaṭṭa- > Lhn kaṭṭa 'buffalo calf', Hnd kaṭiyā 'buffalo heifer', Kshm kaṭḥ 'ram, sheep in general' and OI Sk kaṭahā- 'young female buffalo'; *kaḍḍa- > Ori kaṛā 'castrated male buffalo', kaṛāṅ 'young buffalo cow') and OI Sk kaṭahā- 'young female buffalo' ¶¶ D no. 1123, Tu. no-s 2645 and 2658, GS 166 [no. 416], 28 [no. 15] ◇ The B and IE precon. *ṅ / *y and D {GS} *-ya- suggest the presence of *y before *d (or *t). Alternatively, a mt. (possibly favoured by root structure patterns in B and IE) may be assumed (if we believe that S *'gadiy- preserves the original position of *y). IS DIES 4 supposed that IE *gḥajdo- is a loan from S, because the root-internal vw. *a is not typical of IE. But I do not find it a sufficient argument for a loan hypothesis because there are still other genuine IE nominal roots with an internal *a ◇ AD NM no. 49, Blz. NDA no. 53 (D, HS, IE).

603. *gudE?▽ 'belly, middle' > **HS:** C {AD} *g^ω▽d- 'middle, belly' > EC *gud- > Af {PH} gude (pl. gudēda) 'middle, waist', Sml {DSI, ZMO} n. gudo, {ZMO} gude n., Sml N {Abr.} gúdi 'inside' (and Or goda, gadi {Ss.} id., {Grg., Sr.} 'down'??), Hd {Ss.} gud-a 'half, middle'; EC {Ss.} *gidd- 'middle' > Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} židd-ū id., 'between', Or Wl {Brl.} gidddu id., židdu 'inside' (adv.), 'between', Or H {Ow.} židdū 'between', Hr, Dbs, Gwd kitte 'middle', Gln kitte id., 'half', HEC {Hd.} *giddo 'inside' > Sd, Ged giddo, Brj {Hd.} gididi 'inside, interior'; ? HEC {Hd.} *godoba 'belly' > Sd {Gs.} godobá, Ged godoba, Hd godabo, Kmb godaba id. ||| Bj {Blz. ← Rop.} g^ωadāb (pl. g^ωadaba) 'chest, front part of the body' ¶ AD SF 239-40, PH 116, DSI 277, Abr. S 97, ZMO 168, Ss. PEC 16, 18, Grg. 139, 176, Sr. 339, Brl. 175, 265, Ow. 265, AMS 164, 208, 258, Hd. 26, 84, 193, 242, 279, 318, 365-6, Blz. CL 176 (Bj ÷ HEC), ≈ Blz. EDB 13 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gádâvâ 'between' ||| CCh: Gdr {Mch} g3d3f 'belly', Bu P {Mk.} kūtā id. ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} gīd3, ? Nd D {J} gūž, Kwn kážā 'belly' ¶ JI II 21, Sch. DN 63, Eb. 51, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'belly', ChC s.v. 'belly' || **IE:** NaIE *gud- / *geud-, *gudo-m 'gut' > OI gu'dam id. ||| Mcd [Hs.] γόδα (-ἔντερα) 'guts, bowels' ||| Gmc: NLG kūt 'gut', NGr B kūtz 'e part of bowels', MDt kūt 'Weichteile im Tierkörper', Dt kuit, kiete 'fish roe, calf of the leg', N E Δ kyte, kite 'belly, stomach (Magen)' (but not NE gut, which is of different origin!) ¶ P 393, M K I 339, EI 179 || **K:** GZ *guda 'leather bag, wineskin' > OG, G, Mg, Lz guda- id. ({K} GZ ⇨ IE gudo- 'entrails') ¶ K²

34-5 || **A** *güdi_{ye} _n > M: [1] M {ðPp.} **güdi_{ye} > *gü_{ze}ye 'stomach of animals' > MM [MA] g_üž_ēn_i ač_a,a_n 'pack carried on the belly', WrM g_üž_eg_e {MED} 'stomach of animals', 'rumen used as container for butter, kumiss etc.', HIM г_үз_{ээ} {MED} id., {BMR} 'Pansen, paunch; rumen used as container for butter, kumiss etc.', Brt г_үз_{өө}(**H**) 'Pansen, belly', Dg {T} g_üž_ē, MMgl {Iw.} g_üž_ān 'belly', Kl {KRS} г_үз_ән g_{üz}ān 'Pansen, peritoneum, belly', {Rm.} g_{üz}ēn 'Wamme, third stomach of the ruminants (Blättermagen)', Ord g_üž_ē 'panse de ruminant, ventre', Mnr H {SM} g_už_iē 'estomach, panse', {T} g_už_iē 'stomach, belly'; ↗ Ewk PT/Brg/Y/I/Nr g_udi_ṣṣ, Sln g_ud_zg_z, g_ud_zg_z 'belly, peritoneum', Ud g_udi_z, {Krm.} g_ud_ē, Mc Sb g_už_ug_z 'peritoneum, container for liquids (made of a dried stomach)' | [2] with delabialization *ü > *e: M *gede-sün 'belly' > MM [HI] gedesün 'intestine', MM [IM] گ_{سسون} ges_üs_ün ({Iw.}: < *gedsün), WrM {MED} gedes_ü(n) ~ ged_üs_ü(n), HIM {MED, BMR} г_{эдэс}, г_{эдсэ}н, Brt г_{эдэ}h_э(**H**) 'belly, stomach', Kl {Rm.} ges_ṅ 'Eingeweide, Magen (im Allgemeinen), Darm', Mnr Nr {SM} g_id_iēs_z, Dg {Pp.} g_zd_{əs}, Dx kiž_iēs_un 'intestine, belly', Mnr H {T} gedese 'belly', Ord {Ms.} g_ed_üs_ü 'ventre, intestins', Mgl {Rm.} ges_ān 'stomach' ¶ Pp. MA 172, Pp. DN s.v. г_{эдэ}д_эс, Ms. H 56, Ms. O 255, 274, MED 373, 393, BMR I 470, 478, KRS 148, KW 135, 140, Rm. M 28, STM I 167, Krm. 223, SM 136, 140, T 322-3, T DnJ 123, T DgJ 20, Iw. 103-4 || Tg *g_udi_{ye}n 'belly, peritoneum' > Ewk g_udi_ṣṣ ɖ g_ud_i, Lm g_udi 'peritoneum, stomach', Neg g_udi 'peritoneum, content of an animal's stomach', Sln g_ud_zṣ_z ~ g_ud_zṣ_z 'belly, stomach', Ud g_udi_z 'peritoneum', Nn Nh {On} g_udi_z, {STM} g_už_z 'stomach (of animals)', WrMc {Z} г_үз_эч_жи_жэ 'stomach' (some of these words may be loans from M) ¶ STM I 167, On. 118, Z 368 ¶¶ SDM 552 (pA *g_iod_ṽ 'belly, stomach' > M *gede-sün, Tg), STM I 167 || **U**: FU *küte 'middle, middle of the body' (× N *k^ot^é 'belly', q.v.) > Chr: L к_ыд_ал к_ь'б_ал 'waist (поясница)', H к_ы'д_ал 'к_аб_ал id., {Rm.} к_ьб_äл 'Hüfte', H к_ы'д_ал_аш к_а'б_ал_аš, {Rm.} к_аб_äл_äš adj. 'middle, L к_ьб_а'л_аn 'in the middle', Uf к_ьб_ал 'middle of the body, middle', B к_ьб_ал 'Weichen' || ObU {Ht.} *k_üt 'middle' > pVg {Ht.} *k_üç_ál > LK/MK/UK k^ωäç_í, UL/Ss k_oç_í id.; pOs {HT.} *k_öt > Os: V/Vy k_öt, Ty/Y k_öt, D/K q_öt, Nz/Kz q_üt, O qut 'space between', d. Os: V k_ötəw, O qutəp 'middle', D q_ötəp_{nə} 'in the middle' || OHg k_öz n. 'middle', Hg k_öz 'interval, intermediate space' ¶ UEW 163, Coll. 91, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *k_üti, Ugr *k_üt_i 'middle'), MRS 264, 275, Ber. 15, Rm. BT 46, MF

379-80, Ht. no. 337, Trs. VD 145 || D *kuṭ- ({{GS}} *k-) 'entrails' (× N *guṣṣ 'entrails, pluck', q.v. ffd.) ◇ U *-t- and IE *-d- suggest an ancient *-t- from pN *-dṽʔ-, C, Ch and K *-d- are likely to point to a N voiced *-d-, while M and Tg *-d- may go back to both *-d- and *-dṽʔ- ◇ Blz. LNA no. 15 (suggesting to add the D cognate).

603a. *gæʔd'üšṽ (= *gäʔd'üšṽ?) 'late, evening' (→ 'yesterday') > HS: S *'gawiš- > Ar {Fr., Ln.} جَوْشُ ǧawš- 'middle of the night' (or 'part of the night') → {Fr.} ǧawš- 'iter per totam noctem factum', Ak (from lists of synonyms) ǧêš u, translated in CAD and by Sd. as 'spend the night', 'übernachten' ¶ CAD V 64, Sd. 287, Fr. I 325, Ln. 487 ¶ The Ak vw. -ê- could have pointed to a lost S *ʔ or *h (inf. *gaḥāš|θ|šum, *gaʔāš|θ|šum, *gaš|θ|šāʔum or *gaš|θ|šāḥum), which would suggest a lr. in the N √, but this is ruled out (the expected lr. is absent in the IE cognate). A preferable solution is to assume that the Ak word is not a *CaCāC-um-infinitive, but a different nominal pattern, possibly S *'CaCiC- (like S *'raʔiš- 'head' > Ak rêšum), sc. S **'gaw|yiš- from HS **√gwc (with *c < *d|tš) with reg. *a, i > Ak ē ¶ The Ar word ǧawš- is likely to result from merger of S *'gawiš- 'night' and S *'gaw|ṽ, ṽ- 'breast, middle' (> Ar ǧawš- 'breast, middle of the man'), hence the meaning 'middle of the night' (one of the semantic variants registered by mediaeval Arab lexicographers and later by Lane) ¶ S *w in *'gawiš- goes back to N *ü || Ch {AD} *gaʔš-, {Sh.} *√gs₂ 'night' > WCh: Gj {Sh.} ǧàsì, Buli {Sh.} ṅǧàsɩ, Tule {Sh.} ǧašè, Zul {ChL} ǧèsí id. ¶ JI II 258, ChC s.v. 'night', ChL || ?? NrOm: ?? Kf {HHM} 𐎠𐎢𐎣 (yɜč i) yič i 'yesterday' | ? Dzd: Mj {AY} gota 𐎠 ǧōt, Shk {AY} ǧōta, {Fl.} gotɜ, Na {Fl.} ǧodɜ? id. ¶ HHM 421, Fl. OWL, AY WShND s.v. 'night' || K: OG, G ǧušin 'yesterday' ¶ Ser. 73, Chx. 217 || IE: NaIE {P} *ǧʰdyes / ? *ǧʰdis (> simplified variants *ǧʰe(:)s, *ǧʰyes) 'yesterday' > OI 'hyas id, (< *ǧʰyes), hyastanaḥ 'gestrig', OPrs diya(ka), NPrs دِيگ dīg ~ دِي dī, Sgd ʔzyy myð, Oss: I znon and D äzinä 'yesterday' (< *zi-na-) || Gk χθέç 'yesterday', Gk El [Hs.] σερ-ός (σερ- < *ǧʰyes) id. || pAl {O} *de > Al dje id. || L herī, herě id. (< IE *ǧʰesi), hes-ternus 'gestrig' || Clt {Matas.} *ǧdesi adv 'yesterday' > OIr in-dé (< NaIE *'ǧʰdyes), MW doe ~ ddoe, W doe id., OCrn [ȝ] doy 'heri', Cm dē, MBr dech, Br {Hm.} dec'h, {LP} deac'h 'yesterday' || ON í gær (< Gmc *ǧēz-), OSw i gár id. (< IE *ǧʰēs), OHG gesteron 𐌿 gesterēn, NHG gestern, MDt gisteren, AS ʒeostra(n) 'yesterday', NE yester-day; ?σ Gt gistra-dagis ('

αύριον) 'tomorrow' ¶ P 416, Bc. 1000, EI 654 (*^(d^h)ǵ^hyes 'yesterday'), M K III 614, M E II 822, Ab. IV 313, Vl. I 946, 953, LP § 28, SEv. 221, YGM-1 193, ECCE 231, Huld BAE 53, O 68, F II 693, Pis. AHC, Vr. 197, Fs. 215-6, Kb. 330, Schz. 151, OsS 311, Ho. 128, KM 254, Matas. E 155, Hm. 146
 || A: T *k'āç (or *k_āç?) 'late, evening' > OT {Cl.} kēč 'late, lateness', Cmn keč 'late', Chg ≥XV keč 'late, slow; long time', geč qurun 'late evening', Tk geç, Tkm gīč, Az keч gež, Ggz, Qmq geč, CrTt, Qrg keč 'late', VTt kiš, Bsh kis 'evening', Blq keč 𐌆 kēs, Kr Cr, Uz keč, ET káč, StAlt keć, Nog, Qzq, Qq keš 'late, evening', Chv каç каś 'evening, night'; (->) T *k'āçä (or *k_āçä?) 'late in the evening' (→ 'night', 'yesterday') > OT {Cl.} kēčä 'late in the evening, late evening', Ggz gežä '(by) night, late in the evening', Tk gece id., 'late evening', Tkm gīžē, Az keчә gežä '(by) night', Qmq geče, Nog keše, Qrg S keče, VTt † кичә kišä 'night', VTt кичә kišä, Qz keše, StAlt keće 'yesterday', Bsh kisä, Qq keše id., 'evening', Uz keča 'night, yesterday', ET kečä, Xlj {DT} kīęčä 'evening, night', Xk (d.?) кичее kižē 'yesterday', Tv kežē, Tf кʷеžε, Yk kīāsä ~ kīāsā 'evening, in the evening' ¶ The quality of the pT vw. (*-ā-) is reconstructed on the ev. of Chv, while in the NaT lges we cannot distinguish between *-ā- and *-ē- ¶ Cl. 692-3, Rs. W 245, ET VGD 50-2, Md. 35 (*kēć 'late, evening'), GRM 107-8, KumRS 99, Jud. 383, Nj. 666, BT 81, KrkR 320, NogR 164, BIG 78, DT 150, Ra. 202-3, Pek. 1077, Ash.VI 140-1, Fed. I 237-8, Jeg. 93, ChVS 73 ¶ The long vw. in T *k'āç is due to the contraction of the N disyllable *-æ^rd'üš- (> T *-āç) ◇ The original structure of the word is problematic. The proposed tentative N rec. *gæ^rd'üš ▽ suggests the following later phonetic changes: [1] N *gæ^rd'üš ▽ > **güdüš ▽ > **güdš ▽ > K *guš ▽ and HS *guš ▽ (> -> S *^lgawiš- and Ch *gaš-), [2] N *gæ^rd'üš ▽ > **gēdiš ▽ > pre-IE **gēdiš ▽ > IE (stressed) *ǵ^hdyes / (unstressed) *ǵ^hdis, [3] N *gæ^rd'üš ▽ > T *k'āç (complementary lengthening) > A *^og'āç ▽ > T *k'|k_āç.

604. *ga₁ü₂gæ 'covet, long for', (→ ?) 'mate, copulate' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^heǵ^h- 'covet' > Gt inf. ga-geigan (· κερδῆσαι) 'gewinnen', inf. faíhu-geigan (· ἐπιθυμεῖν) 'begehren', with the *n-infix: OHG inf. gingen 'to long for', gingo 'das Verlangen', inf. gingein 'to require' || ? Lt inf. giēžti 'Groll hegen', {P} pa-giēžti 'to crave for revenge', pagiežà 'rancour, craving for revenge' (unless <- Lt inf. giēžti, pa-giēžti 'im Halse kratzen' or Lt {Frn.} gaižūs 'ranzig, bitter, herb') ¶ P 427, Fs. 136, 181, Schz. 151, Kb. 363, Frn. 129 || U: FU *kE₁y₂ ▽ - v. 'utter a mating call' (of birds in courtship ritual), v. 'sing' (partially × FU *kü₁ye

[or *keye-] 'lust, amorous calling sounds' < N *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want', [in descendant lges] → 'be in heat, lust') > pLp {Lr.} *kikε- v. 'emit amorous calling sounds, mate' (of birds) > Lp: L {LLO} kiĥkāt v. 'mate' (of birds), N {N} giĥkāt, Kld k+gge-(δ) id. | Prm *koy- ({LG} *koy-) > Z N koy-, Z US koy- 'utter a mating call, mate' (of birds), Z Δ koyt, Yz 'kuť 'mating place of birds (ток)' ||| pObU {Ht.} *kēy- ~ *kōy- v. 'mate\copulate' (of birds), 'utter a mating call' > pVg *kǎy- id. > Vg: T kiy-, LK/MK/UK/P/SV/LL kǎy- id., UL/Ss kay- id., 'sing a magic song' (of shamans); pOs {Ht.} *köy- ({}HI.} *kǎy-) 'mate, utter a mating call' ({}Trs.} 'токовать, ворковать') > Os: V/Vy köy-, Ty kǎy-, Y köy-, D këy-, K kǎy-, Nz/Kz key- id., O qoy- v. 'prophecy, exercise magic by singing' | Hg kéj 'carnal\sensual pleasure; pleasure, enjoy-ment' ¶ Coll. 79, UEW 143-4, Sm. 543 (FU *kixi 'rut' > FP *kixi-, Ugr *kǐgǐ-), LG 128, Lt. 45, MF 346-7, Ht. no. 231, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 596-7, Trs. S 167 ||| а ≈ *gü:ǎgâ- (or *gü:ǎgâ-?) > NaT *Kü:ǎg- 'be in heat, mate' > OT {Cl.} küǎg 'the mating of rams and wild animals in the mating season', Qrg kü-gö kel- 'be in heat, be ready to be mated' (of female animals) (lit. 'come [kel-] to [-gö] the heat'), Qzq küyǎ- v. 'mate' (of cattle, sheep and dogs) ¶ Cl. 709-10, Jud. 472-3 || M *guyy- v. 'ask, implore, require, beg' ({}Pp: 'bitten, betteln') (× N *gEhōwy∇ 'to go\drive away', q.v. × N *gâ?y∇ 'to wave one's hand, to point with one's hand\finger' [→ 'to wave to so., to beckon']) > MM [HI, S] guyy- 'ask, solicit, require', [MA] {Pp.} guyy-* 'ask' (att. guyyulduba tedenlē 'asked together with them'), WrM guyy- {MED} 'ask, request, beg, solicit', HIM {MED, BMR} guy- id., Kl {Rm.} gū- 'bitten, werben', guí gū- 'betteln', {KRS} huyy- yū- 'betteln; aufdringlich bitten (клянчить)', Ord g_uy- 'supplier, prier, demander avec insistance; mendier'; ⇨ M *guyyilǎ- > WrM {MED} guyyili, HIM {MED} guyль, Kl {KRS} huyль yūí n. 'alma', {Rm.} gūíí, guíñ 'Almosen, das Betteln', ⇨ : [1] WrM {MED} guyyilincí 'beggar', HIM {MED, BMR} guyлинч, {BMR} guyланч id., Mnr H {SM} gue'súzi ~ guz'ci 'mendiant'; [2] M *guyilǎ- > WrM {MED} guyyilǎ- (caus. of guyy-) 'make ask\request\beg', HIM guyльга- {MED} caus. of guy-, {BMR} 'bitten', Kl {KRS} huyльh- yūíh- 'betteln, выпрашивать, выманивать', {Rm.} gūíyαl- 'betteln, sich von Almisen nähren', Ord g_uylǎ- 'faire supplier, faire demander avec insistance'; [2a] M *guyilǎ- > WrM {MED} guyyilǎ n. act. 'asking, begging', n. 'request, demand, petition, supplication', HIM guyльга {MED} id., {BMR}

'Bettelei; Almosen; Bitte', Brt гуйлга 'Bitte, Gesuch (прошение)', K1 {Rm.} гуйль 'Bitte, Werbung, Anbetung; die Almosen', {KRS} һууль һуульһн 'Bettelei', Ord гуульга 'action de supplier \ de mendier' ¶ Ms. H 92, Pp. MA 180, H 74, MED 365-6, BMR I 455-7, Chr. 159, KRS 171, KW 156-7, SM 124-5, Ms. O 311, ≠ Pp. VG 49 ¶ M *-y- is likely to go bay to **-гу- in ppM **гугуу- (cf. Introduction, § 2.1, remark 9a) ¶ ≠ SDM 555 (pA *gijōlo 'be unhappy, endure' > T *Kōl- 'beg' + [not belonging here]: Tg *gil- 'be sore, ache', M *golu- 'be unhappy with smth., consider smth. bad' and pJ *kžrāpā- 'endure'), Pp. VG 24, 49, 137, ADb. KL 10 || **HS**: CS *✓ gɣgɣ (or *°✓ gɣgɣ) > MHb ʒ ʒ ʒ ʒ ʒ i ʒ 'gū ʒ ʒ 'longing for, paternal love', ? Ar تَجَفَّعُ tağğafğaf v. 'throw oneself on the ground out of grief' (unless <⇧ ʒ ʒ ʒ ʒ 'kneel' [of camels]) ¶ Lv. I 350, Js. 261. Hv. 91 ◇ The S root suggests an internal *ʕ within the N word. The contraction of the N internal *-aʕū- accounts for the long vw. in T. The transformation of N *-aʕū- into IE *-eḷ- still needs investigating.

605. *gEhōwy ▽ 'go away, drive away (forttreiben)' > **HS**: WS *✓ ghḥ ~ *✓ ghɣ 'run away' > Ar ✓ ḡḥḥ (pf. جَهَّاهَا ḡahha) v. 'drive away', {BK} 'chasser ignominieusement', Sr ✓ ghw|y (pf. جَاهَا ḡahā) 'flee, escape', Md ✓ ghw|y (act. prtc. ḡahīa) 'flee from', Gz ✓ ḡwy (js. ḡa-way) 'run, run away, flee', Tgy ✓ ḡwy G 'flee, run way', Amh (zn) ḡw ʕy 'one who flees', Sq {L} *✓ ḡwy 'flee' ⇨ ṣi-ḡuḥa 'fugitif', ? ḡe v. 'flee, hurry' ¶ Br. 106, DM 81, L G 209, L LS 105, BK I 341, DRS 104 || SC ({E} *ḡow- 'go out(away)': Irq {Mgw.} ḡw v. 'flee', {MQK} ḡōw-, {E} ḡow- 'run away'; ⇨ (caus.) pRt *ḡu-s- > Irq {MQK} ḡūs- 'chase, drive away', {E} ḡus- 'drive out', Alg {E} ḡuṣim- 'chase away' ¶ E SC 238-9 [no-s 36 and 42], Mgw. 114, Wh. SI, MQK 40, 42 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ḡwa / ḡa8 (= *ḡaw|y) vt. 'chase, drive' ('treiben') > Ang (rdp.) kwok v. 'drive away; gallop' || pBT ✓ ḡy v. 'run (away), chase', Tng kay- (vb. n. káy|) v. 'chase, drive, pursue', ka| pi 'run after!' (inv.), Krkr {Lk.} guy- 'run away', ?σ Bl {Lk.} ḡay- 'ride' || Bks ḡá 'wegtreiben', Fy ḡwè id., 'wegstoßen', DfB ḡâh 'wegtreiben, vertreiben, verjagen', ḡâh '(weg-)treiben (wie ein Hirt)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 219 [no. 695], J R 86, 142, 215, J T 96, Flk. s.v. kwok, ChC s.v. 'drive (wegtreiben)' and 'run' ¶ ≈ OS no. 910 (BT, SC, Gz; OS did not distinguish this ✓ from S *-gī? - to come', EC *ḡay- 'arrive', CCh *ḡw ▽ - 'enter' and ECh: Kbl ḡiy ʒ 'come'), Stl. ZCh 246 [no. 43], Lk. PVB II 135, J

T 96 || IE ***g^heH(j)-** (IE {EI} ***g^heh₁-** 'leave [go away]'): NaIE ***g^hē(j)-** /***g^hi-** or ***g^hē(j)-** /***g^hi-** v. 'go away' ('fortgehen'), (× N ***g^ha'ž∇** 'to go; way, path') > OI 'jīhī tē' 'geht fort\hervor', {MW} 'start forward' (× md. of the √ ***g^heH₂-** 'leave, abandon') > OI ✓ hā-, Av ā-zā- 'herangehen' || Gk Hm κλχάνω, Gk A κλχχάνω (based on the pres. form *κί-χῆ-μι) v. 'reach (erreichen, erlangen)' (← *'go' ← *'go away') || Gmc: OHG inf. gā-n ȝ gā-en ȝ kēn, NHG inf. gehen, OFrs, OSx inf. gā-n, A inf. ȝā-n, OSw, Odn inf. gá, Sw, Dn inf. gǎ, Gt Cr inf. geen 'to go', NE go || Blt (× NaIE ***g^hā-** < N ***kuṣa** 'to go, to advance, to follow', q.v.): Lt Δ inf. gó-ti 'to go', Ltv gāijū 'I went' ¶ WP I 542-4, EI 349 (***g^heh₁-**) and 115 (on IE ***g^heh_h-** 'come' see N ***kuṣa** '↑'), ≈ M K I 426, MW 1296, F I 208-10 and 861-2, Ho. 123, Ho. S 24, Schz. 146, Kb. 312, Hlq. 316, Fs. 182, 213, Frn. 161, Kar. I 337-8 ¶ It is doubtful that OI 'jahātē' 'leaves, abandons' and Av zazāhi 'entlasse' belong here ¶¶ NaIE ***g^hē(j)-** may be also explained as going back to ***g^hēu(j)-** ¶¶ AD NGIE || U ***kuy∇** '≈ drive (so., sth.)' > Ugr ***kuy∇** {Rd.} 'treiben, jagen' > Vg: Ss {BV}, LK/Ss {Kn.} xuyt- v. 'entice (an animal), set (a dog) on', 'verführen, antreiben', N {MK} xujti-, ML {MK} khujti-, P {MK} khujtéti- [xuytati-], khwqjti ~ khujti 'hetzen, aufbringen, aufreizen, rufen, locken, treiben', P {Rd.} kuyt- 'entice (манить)' | OHg hajt- '(zu etwas) bewegen, treiben', Hg hajt- v. 'drive (treiben, jagen); incite, urge on (anreizen, anziehen, antreiben)' || Sm ***ku-** vi. 'drive by the water stream', vt. 'drive sth.' (of a stream\wind) > Ne T d. inf. xuy''-ла-сь ~ xuy''лесь 'to be driven by the water stream', Ne F {Lh.} χυῖ'ā-, χυῖ'ῑ'ῑ' 'von der Strömung getrieben schwimmen', Ne T BZ xuyβ, Ne T Y xuy, Ne F {Lh.} χυῖ ȝ χυ 'vom Wasser an das Ufer getriebener Baum', ?φ,μ Slq Tz {Prk.} kur+- ~ qur+-, {KKIH} d. kur+-qo 'carry sth.' (of a stream, wind), 'swim with the stream' ¶¶ UEW 858, BV 142, MK 117, EWU 515, Jn. 76, KKIH 122, WVD VII 140 || ?σ A ***gob∇** 'pursue, hunt', ({ADb.} ***gōw-** v. 'hunt, pursue, look for') > T ***Kob-** 'follow, pursue, chase' (× T ***Kog(∇)-** < N ***gokE** [= ***goki?**] 'track' [→ 'way'], 'follow the tracks of' [q.v.] and N ***kuṣa** 'go, advance, follow', [← ?] 'track (game), follow the tracks' [q.v.] > OT [QB, MhK] qoṽ- v. 'follow, pursue, chase', MT XIII [a tefsir] qoṽ- v. 'hunt', Chg, XwT XIV qaω- v. 'pursue, drive away', MQp qoω- v. 'pursue', Osm qoω- ~ qoψ-, Tk koṽ-, Δ qoψ- ȝ goψ-, Tkm qoω-, Az goω-, Xk χoψ-, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Uz quω-, Ggz kū- 'chase, follow, pursue', Qrg, StAlt qū-, Tlt {Rl.}, Tb/QK {B} qoψ-, VTt qu-, Bsh

qъw- 'follow the tracks of, pursue', Qmn q0- 'keep an eye on, pursue, look for', Sg/Qc/Qk/Qb {Rl.} q0ʏ-, Xk xop- - x0ʏ- v. 'follow so.', ET q0ʏ- li- v. 'pursue, chase, follow' || Chv L xǎb- - xъv-, Chv Δ xɥ- - xу- ɛ xɥa- ɛ {Md.} xъv- 'drive away, chase, pursue' ¶ Cl. 580 (? T *kōb with a long *ō [unj. rec. of length on the insufficient ev. of MK's spelling with ɟ, at variance with the ev. of Tkm]), DTS 461, Rs. W 275 (*q0ʏ-), ET Q 9-10, Rh. 1490, Tkr 402, ARL 83, Nj. 605-6, BN 124, BT 97, B DChT 128, B DK 223, B DLT 164, BIG 283, Rl. II 515, 663, 883-4, 1040, KRPS 372, Ash. XVI 140-1 and 305, Fed. II 315-16, Jeg. 288, MM 455, ≈ Md. 44, 169 (pT *k'0.b- with unj. *k'-), TvR 483 || Tg *gob(jo)- v. 'hunt, drive (a wild animal)' > Ewk PT g0ʏ-, Ewk Tmt g0wɥo-, Ewk NB/Skh/Urm g0wjo- v. 'hunt with a dog for sables', Lm A gobja- 'hunt by driving (a wild animal)', Lm Ol/A/B/P obja- 'hunt with a dog, hunt for mountain rams', Neg gobjo- 'hunt with a dog (on fresh snow)', Orc gobžono- 'drive sables on snow', Ork gobdo- 'hunt with a dog, hunt for sables, hunt in winter' ¶ STM I 157 || ?ф,σ M *guyy- ~ *guyi- 'ask, implore, request, beg' (← *'pursue?') (× N *gafūgæ 'covet, long for' [q.v. ffd.], N *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want') > MM {H} quyi- 'bitten. verlangen, vordern', [HI, S] quyu- 'ask, solicit, require', [MA] {Pp.} quyu- * 'ask' (att. quyulduba tedenlē 'asked together with them'), WrM {MED} quyu-, HIM {MED. BMR}, Brt guy- 'ask, request, beg, solicit', Kl {Rm.} gū- 'bitten, werben', {KRS} hyy- yū- 'beg for alms; 'aufdringlich bitten (клянчить)', Ord guyu- 'supplier, prier, demander avec instance; mendier' ⇨ M *guyuli, d. *guyulinč'i > WrM {MED} guilinc'i n. 'beggar, mendicant', adj. 'beggarly, begging', HIM {MED} guylinč id., {BMR} guylinč ~ guylanč 'beggar, попрошайка', Kl {KRS} hyyul yūí 'begging, alms', {Rm.} gūíí, guíñ 'Almosen; das Betteln', Mnr H {SM} g_ue'śś_i ~ g_uzć'i 'beggar', ? g_ue'rla- 'demander avec instance, prier, mendier' ¶ Ms. H 92, Ms. O 311, Pp. MA 180 ('bitten, betteln'), H 74, MED 365, BMR I 455-7, Chr. 159, KRS 171, KW 156-7, SM 124-5 || pJ *kəp- 'ask, beg' (← *'pursue') > OJ kop-, MJ kəp- id., J T kó-, J K\Kg kò- {Kenk.} 'ask, request, invitem beg' ¶ Mr. 714, Kenk. 1082¶¶ SDM 560-1 (pA *gðbè|ò 'search, hunt' > Tg, M, T, J), S AJ 81, Pp. VG 24, 49, 137, ADb. KL 10, KW 156, Vld. 160, 272, Oz. NM 202-3 ◇ Blz. EIAL 13 [no. 45] (S, IE).

606. ₂ *gokE (= *goki?) 'track' (→ 'way'), 'to follow the tracks of' > HS: C {AD} *gʷ∇g|k- > Ag *gūk- > Bln {R} gūg- (pl. gūkək), Xm T {CR}

g^w u g 'way' || Bj {R} g ī g - scv. 'go away' || HEC: Hd {AD, Hd.} gō gō 'road', Kmb {C} g o g g o 'way'; ?σ C ⇨ Gz ✓ g g w (pf. gō g a w a, js. y a g o g ū) v. 'err' ¶ AD SF 256, AD MLX s.v. gō g o, R WB 144, R WBd 93, Hd. 280, L G 185, (?) Ap. ANH 23 (suggesting assimilation from HEC *dō g o 'way' as an alt. et. of Hd gō g o and Kmb g o g g o) || Om: NrOm: Zs {Si.} 'g o g e 'road', Shk {Bnd.} kō k u, Mj {C} k o k id. || SOm: Ari {Bnd.} gō g í 'road, path' (loans from HEC?) ¶ AD SF 256, Bnd. AL 157, Si. ACh 6 || Ch {JS} *✓ g k 'path' > WCh: Dr {J} g ó k ó, Bl {Mk} g o g o 'road', Pr {Frz.} k ó k k o 'way' ¶ JS 200, ChC s.v. 'road', Frz. P 36 || | A ≈ *g o k i 'run, send' > T *K o l : g (∇) - {SDM} vt. drive, pursue' (× T *K o b - 'follow, pursue, chase' < N *g E h o w y ∇ 'go away, drive away', q.v.) > ET Δ q o y a l -, Xk χ o y -, StAlt q o y - vt. 'drive (sb.), pursue (гнать, гнаться, преследовать)', Tk k o ģ - 'drive out\away' ¶ Shch. SFTJ 194 (pT *K o g -), ET Q 9-10 (s.v. *q o w -), Rs. W 275 || ?φ M *g ū y i l y i l - 'run' ({SDM} 'run, gallop, flee') > MM [S] {H} g u i y i - 'laufen, rennen', [HI] {Ms.} g ũ (y) i -, [MA, IM] {Pp.} g ũ i - 'run', WrM {MED} g ũ i - ~ g ũ y ũ - 'run, flow', HIM г y й - {MED} id., {BMR} 'run', Mnr H {SM} g u ē - 'courir' (homme), 'couler', {T} g u ī - 'run', Mgl {Rm.} g ū ī -, Brt г y й - 'run', WrO g ũ ũ -, Kl {KRS} г y y - g ū - 'run, flee', Ord g ū i - 'courir, galoper', 'marcher vite' (personne à pied), 'couler', Dg {Mrm.} g u i - 'laufen, rennen' ¶ Pp. MA 172, 437, H 52, Ms. H 57, 59, Ms. O 275, MED 389-9, BMR I 471-2, Chr. 164, Klz. D I 135, Krg. 775, KRS 150, KW 140, SM 140, T 323, Rm. M 28, Ms. O 275 || Tg {SDM} *g i k - > Nn Nh/KU g i q o - v. 'run at a trot' (a horse), WrMc {Z} г y a л ч a - 'run (in an easy, beautiful way)' (a horse) ¶ STM I 137, 149, On. 104, Z 370 || ?φ pJ {S} *k à k á - 'run, gallop, flee' > MJ k a k a - id., J T k a k é -, J K/Kg k à k è - {Kenk.} 'run, gallop' ¶ S QJ no. 804, Mr. 702, Kenk. 787 ¶¶ SDM 554 (pA *g i ð k ' ó > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 530, Rs. W 275, Pp. VG 24, 137 || | AdS of U *k o k e - v. 'see, experience, find' (× N *K o K e 'look, see' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ IS I 309-10 [no. 183] (*K o k i 'идти по следу, следовать': U, A), AD NM no. 31, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts about the T cognate because [as far as Vv. thought] it is isolated within A), S CNM 6 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST).

607. *gaKt'ä' 'couple, one of a pair' > HS: NrOm: Gng: Kf {C} g u t - v. 'be two', g u t t o 'two', {Fl., Msr.} gutto, Mch {L} 'gutto, Anf {MYTY} gutto, {Gt.} g u t t ó, {C} g u t t o, Mch {Lm.} gutto, Amuru {Fl.} gitta, Shn {Lm.} g i t t à 'two' ¶ C SE IV 308, 451, L M 34, Lm. Sh 316, Fl. OWL s.v. 'two', Msr. 86, Gt. 353, MYTY 117 ¶ Acc. to C and Lm., the Gng numeral is a loan from EthS k a l p e t t - 'two' (hardly convincing) || Eg {EG, Vc.} *z w t 'twenty' (this approximate reading of the numerical sign for '20' is

assured by two wordplays) > Cpt: Sd **ⵍⵔⵓⵛⵜ** *zuōt*, B **ⵍⵛⵜ** *zōt* 'twenty' ¶ EG V 252, Vc. 333 || **U** **kakta* ~ **käktä* 'two' > F *kaks* (gen. *kahden*), Es *kaks* (gen. *kahe*) id. | pLp {Lr.} **kōktē* > Lp: N {N} *guok'te*, S {Hs.} *guokte*, L {LLO} *kuokte*, Kld *kūḫ:t* id. | pMr {Ker.} **kaḫt* > Er *kavto* *kavto*, Mk *kafta* 'kafta' id. | pChr **kokt* > Chr H/L/E attr. *kok* *kok*, subst., pred. L *koktyt* *kokt't*, H *kokty* *kokt* id. | ItPrm **kūk* > Z, Vt *k+k*, Yz *κ^κ* 'two'; acc. to Lt. 192, Prm **ū* (for the expected **ǰ* < FU **ä*) is due to the infl. of **ūt* 'one', the original **ǰ* being preserved in Z *kōk'jamyš* *kzkyam+s*, Z I, Prmk *Δ k+k'yam+s*, Vt XVIII *k'k'jamyš* 'eight' > Modern Vt *tjamyš* id. (in the Prm lges 'eight' < 'ten [**m+s*] without two' [**kūk*]) || pObU **kīt*(∇) 'two' > pVg **kīt*∇ id. > OVg *kitta* *κitta*, Vg: T *kiç*, LK/MK/UK/P, NV/SV, LL/UL/Ss *kit*; pOs **kit-* / **kät-* id.: the variant **kit-* is found as a bound morpheme in derived and compound forms of Os E and some other Os dialects: V/Vy {Trs.} *kitta*, Ag/Uy/Ty/Y {Trs.} *kitanti*, Sl {Trs.} *kitanta*, Sh {Stn.} *kītamtak* 'both', Sl {Trs.} *kitkōfāṅ* ~ *kitkōfōṅ* 'twelve', Ag/Ty/Uy {Trs.} *kitsāt* 'two hundred', Sl {Trs.} *kitsir* 'of two kinds (дворякий)', *kitmātəḫ* 'for the second time (вторично)', while in the free morpheme (the attr. numeral 'two') and the subst. numeral 'two' the stem is always (in all Os dialects) pOs {Ht.} **kät* > Os {Ht.}: V/Vy *kät*, Ty/Y *kāt*, D *kēt*, K/O *kāt*, Nz/Kz *qāt*, {Stn.} Sh *qāt* 'two' (attr.), subst. numeral: Os V {Trs.} *kātkan* (-*kən* is a formant of du.), Os Sh {Stn.} *qatan* 'two' || Hg *két* (attr.), *ketto* 'two' || Sm {Jn.} **kitä*, {Hl.} **kite* 'two' > Ng {Mik., Hl.} *śiti*, {Ter.} *siti* *siti'*, En {Ter.} 'siðe, En {Cs.} X *sire*, B *sice*, Ne T *sидя*, T O {Lh.} *śide*, Ne F {Popova} /*šita*/ [*šiččæ*], {Lh.} *šičzä*, Slq Tz {KKIH} *šitt+*, Slq Tm {KD} *šida*, Kms {KD} *šide*, Koyb {Sp.} *сыда*, {Pl.} *tschidä* *джидя* 'two', Mt {Hl.} **kid_ld_e* 'two' (Mt: M {Sp.} *кыды*, {Pl.} *kiddä*, K {Pl.} *gide*, M/T/K {Mll.} *kiddē*) || ? Y: T {IN H} *ki-*, *kiy-* 'two', {Krn.} *kiyōn*, {Ku.} *kiyūōn* 'are two', {Ku.} *kiyūol-* 'be two', {Iox. → Ang.} *kijol* 'two', *kiji* 'zu zweit' ¶¶ Coll. 21, Coll. CG 406, UEW 118-19, Sm. 537 (U, FU, Ugr **kektä*, FP **kakta*), LG 140, SK 146, Lr. no. 509, Lgc. no. 2880, Hs. 686-7, Ker. II 51, Ber. 18, LG 140, 151, Lt. J 130, Ht. no. 339, Trs. S 104, 114-15, Trs. VD 58-9, Stn. OG 58, 144-5, Jn. 71, Ter. NgJ 149, Ter. EJ 446, Cs. 92, KP 191-2, Hl. MNJ 214, Hl. M no. 481, Ppv. 121, Ptp. 50, 100, IN H 209, Krn. JJ 182-4, Ku. 91, Ang. 117, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [no. 16] (Y ← U) || **A** **gagta* 'one of a pair' > Tg **gagda* (~ *ç* **gakta*) 'one of a pair' > Ewk, Neg, Orc *gagda*, Nn Bk/KU *gagda*, Nn Nh (d.) *gaqsja*, WrMc {Z} *такда* ~ *такта* 'one-armed, one-handed, one-legged,

one-eyed', Mc Sb gadз 'one of a pair', Lm gād id., 'half', Ud gagda 'one of a pair, the other one, second'; (-d → ?) Tg *gagsi > Nn Nh (d.) gagsia 'one of a pair' (on mittens and footwear), WrMc {Z} гакси 'one of two men (performing smth. together) ¶ STM I 135, Ci. 299, Vas. 80, On. 96, Z 302 || pJ {S} *kātà 'one of two sides' > OJ kātà id. ¶ S QJ no. 1311, Mr. 442 || M *gagča > MM [MA] {Pp.} гaqča, [HI] qaqca (= gagča), [IsV] qaqča (= gagča) 'alone', [S] {H} hahca 'einzig, allein', WrM {MED} гaгca 'alone, single, the only one', HIM {BMR} гaгц, Brt гaгca id., Kl {Rm.} gакca 'allein', Ord g_aqč'a 'unique, seul', WrO гaqca 'sole, only', Dg {Lg.} gašvā, {T} gašqā(r) 'alone' (< d. *gagčavar id.); the var. *ganča 'alone' (> WrM {MED} ганca, HIM {MED, BMR} ганц, Brt ганca, Kl {KRS} һанц, {Rm.} ганca, Ord g_anč'a id.) is akin to WrMc {Z} ганьчжи 'all, whole' and may result from paradigmatic merger of both mentioned roots ¶ Pp. MA 175, Ms. H 88, H 56, Lg. VMI 41, MED 343, 347, BMR I 331, 379-84, Krg. 310, Chr. 138, 145-6, KRS 15, KW 141, 143, T DgJ 131, Ms. O 287, 291, Z 301 || T *Ka₁:₁ta 'time(s) (Mal)', 'whole' (× T *Kat 'layer, row' < N *kañ|ń ▽ (t ▽) 'stalk, trunk of a tree') > OT {Cl.} qata '(so many) times' (bir qata 'once', üç qata 'three times', qač qata 'many times'), OT [MhK] {Rl.} qada 'time (Mal)', MT [Tefsir], OXwT XIV qata id., Tk kat, Kr T/G kat, Qmq, VTt, Bsh qat 'time (Mal)', Chv L хут хut, Chv Δ хот хот id., Chv L хута хud_a 'whole' (кун хута '[for] the whole day'), хуташ хud_aš 'together', Az gat '-fold\ple' (with numerals: üç-gata 'threefold, triple'); Shor/Sg/ Bltr/Qc {Rl.} qada, Xk хада хаda, Tv qatay 'together', StAlt qatay id., 'side by side (рядом)'; ? Yk хат 'for the second time, again' (← *'the other one' ← *'one of a pair') ¶ Cl. 593, 596, ≈ ET KQ 335-6, Ash. XVI 250-2, 257, Fed. II 371-4, Jeg. 310-11, Rl. II 305-6, BIG 262, TvR 231, JkR 488, Pek. 3393-4 ¶¶ SDM 525-6 (pA *gāgtà 'one of a pair' > Tg. M, J + unc. T *Kat 'layer'), DQA no. 472, Rozycki MM 85 (Tg, M) ◇ AD SShS 299-300 (U, A, HS).

608. *gaʔuK ▽ 'long, high, far' > U: FU *kawka 'long' > F каука 'das Ferne', каукаа 'from afar, at a great distance', кауан 'long, for a long time', Es кауа id., кауге 'distant, far, remote' || Er kuvaka, Mk ku'vaka 'long' || ? Lp Ar kāw'kaš-saууен 'an einem entlegenen, langweiligen Ort' || Os: V коу, D хōw 'long, far, remote', V kokka, D хōwa, O хōwi 'far' ¶ UEW 132 || A *gUKd'E' 'high; peak' > Tg *gugda 'high' > Ewk gugda 'high, tall', Sln гугда, Lm gūd, Neg gogda, Orc, Ud gugda, Ul, Ork, Nn Bk гугда, Nn Nh/Bk gogda 'high' WrMc {Z} годохонь 'высокий и прямой

ростом, голговязый' (a person), 'прямо растущий' (tree); 'прямо стоящий'; without the sx *-da: Ud gugana- v. 'jump up' (of animals) ¶ STM I 166, On. 110, Z 341 || M {DQA} *gögde-gür 'hilly, convex' (← **gögde 'hill') > WrM {MED} gögdūgūr 'hilly, uneven', Kl {Rm.} gögdəgr 'hügelig, uneben', (M *güde-gür?): WrM gūdūgūr {MED} protruding, jutting, projecting, convex, vaulted', HIM гүдгэр {MED} id., {BMR} 'convex, abschüssig (покатый), возвышенный, рельефный', Brt гэдэгэр 'die Brust wölpend (с выпяченной грудью)', Kl {KRS} гедгр gedgar id., {Rm} gedəgr 'mit zurückgebogenem, erhobenem Kopfe, mi steifem Nacken; zurückgebogen', Ord g_ü_d_ü_g_ü_r 'convexe, bombé, voûté'; ?σ M *güdü₁∇₁- > WrM gūdūi- {MED} v. 'protrude, jet out, project', HIM гүдий- {MED} id., {BMR} 'become convex, become uneven, hügelig werden (статья бугристым), bulge out, торчат', Brt гэды- 'die Brust wölpen (выпячивать грудь), откидывать назад корпус', Kl {KRS} гедə- gedä- 'выгибать спину, откидываться назад', {Rm.} gedē- 'seinen Kopf aufwärts/rückwärts halten, den Kopf heben und steif halten' ¶ MED 386, 388, BMR 468, Chr. 168, KRS 131, 135, KW 137, Ms. O 274 || pKo *kòkái 'peak, height' > MKo kòkái, NCo kogä id. ¶ S QK no. 222, Yu 61, MLC 134, HMC 156 || pJ *kúkì 'peak (mountain)' > OJ kukì, MJ [RJ] kúkì ¶ S QJ no. 293, Mr. 462 ¶¶ SDM 564 (pA *gók'ì(-d∇) 'high; peak' [supposing that Tg -da and M *-de go back to a sx] > Tg, M *gögde-, J, Ko), DQA no. 549 (id.), Pp. VG 19, 51, S AJ 288, 295 || IE: NaIE *ko|auk|k̄- 'high' > Gmc *'hauha-/ *hau'ga- id. > Gt hauh-s (· ύψηλός) 'hoch', ON hárr (from OScn *hauha-R₂), OHG hōh, NHG hoch, AS hēah 'high', NE high || ?φ pTc {Ad.} *keuč > Tc: A koc, B кац 'high, up, above' ¶¶ Fs. 249, Vr. 210, KM 312, Ad. 209, ≈ P 589 || ?φ HS: B *√Hgg > Ah aǵǵ, WTwl ugag, Ty igag, Shl T {Stm.} agug 'be far\remote, go\move away (s'éloigner, sich entfernen)' ¶ Fc. 405, PGG 82 ¶ The origin of B *H- (a px?) is still to be discovered ◇ IE *k- (rather than *g^h-) is due to the IE incompatibility law that rules out a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same root. The A labialized vw. (for N *a) may be due to the infl. of N *w ◇ Blz. L no. 104d (IE, FU), ≈ Blz. LNA no. 31 (N *k̄a|wk|ga 'high, long' > IE, FU), ≠ Blz. LNA no. 11 (equating the A root with FU *kokka 'Hervorstechendes, Spitze', Y kókä [sc. pY *kōkə] 'head' and D *kukk- id., see N *k̄akU [or *k̄okU?] 'hook' and N *k̄âRk̄ub|p∇ 'top, summit, crown [of the head'])).

609. *gaLE 'shout, cry' (→ 'weep', 'ask for') > IE (× [2?] *k'a'ṪX'E' 'call [appeler], shout'): NaIE *g^he| - v. 'call, shout (rufen, schreien)', {EI}

'cry out; sing' > ON inf. gjalla ~ gella 'laut tönen, schreien', OHG inf. gëllan {EI} 'to resound loudly' (> NHG inf. gellen 'to shrill'), AS inf. zīellan 'to shout, to yell', NE ȝell; ON inf. gala (p. gōl) 'to shout, to sing', AS inf. zalan 'to sing, to call, to shout', OHG inf. galan 'to sing, to conjure, to enchant'; WGmc cd *nahta-galōn 'nightingale' (< 'cantatrix nocturna') > OSx, OHG nahtagala ~ nahtigala, NHG Nachtigal, AS nihtegale 'nightingale', NE nightingale ||| Sl: R Δ inf. 'Галить' 'to shout, to cry, to weep', 'to shout in a fit of anger, to be angry', inf. на'Галить 'to shout/sing rythmically (while working)' | ???σ names of birds: Gk χελιδών (< *χελιδών) 'swallow', rdp. κίχλη, Gk D κίχλη 'thrush', ?? Sl *galъ, *galъka 'jackdaw, crow' > Blg гал 'jackdaw', McS Δ gal 'crow', OR galъka, R 'Галка 'jackdaw' etc. (the Sl words may alternatively be connected with Sl *gal- denoting black color, F ESSJ VI 96-7) ¶ WP I 628, P 428, EI 89, Vr. 169-70, OsS 252, 296, 635, Ho. 123, 129, 236, Ho. S 54, Kb. 311, 324-5, KM 245, 500, ESSJ VI 92-4 (without distinguishing this R verb from homo- and paronymous verbs such as га'лить 'to play pranks', OCS ГАЛѢТИ galiti 'to jump, to rejoice') and 96-7, F I 862 and II 1084-5 ||| A: Tg *gele- v. 'ask for, beg' (× N *goīn 'look for, wish', [?] 'look') > Ewk g3l3-, Orc g3l3- v. 'ask, wish', Sln g3l3- v. 'look for, ask', Lm g3l3- id., Δ v. 'wish', Neg g3l3- v. 'ask', Ud g3l3- v. 'call for, ask for, wish', Ul g3l3- ~ g3li-, Ork g3l3- v. 'ask, require, look for', Nn Nn Nh/Bk {STM, On} g3l3- v. 'ask, invite, look for'; Tg *gele₁ne- v. 'go to fetch (sth.)' > Ewk g3ln3-, Sln g3l3n3-, Lm g3ln3-, Orc g3nn3- ~ n3nn3-, Ud g3n3- id.; Tg *gele₂kte- v. (rp.?) 'look for' > Nn Nh/Bk g3l3kt3- rp. 'look for', Ewk g3l3kt3-, Lm g3l3t- & g3l3ç-, Orc, Ul, Ork g3l3kt3-, Ud H galakta- 'look for' ¶ STM I 179, Krm. 224, On. 126 ||| HS: WS *-gīl- ~ *-gūl- > Ug {OLS} ✓ gl v. 'rejoice (regocijarse)', gl 'an ecstatic cry of joy (grito estentóreo, de júbilo)', Hb ✓ gyl (3m ip. ג'ל, yā-'gīl) v. 'shout in exultation, rejoice', ג'ל gīl 'rejoicing', Tgr ✓ gwł (pf. ג'ל gōla) v. 'dance and sing', ?σ ג'ל gōla 'banquet, revelry', Tgy ג'ל g^wyla 'e popular dance' ¶ OLS 145, KB 182, KBR 189-90, LH 591 ◇ Tg *gele- < **gale- (regr. as.).

610. *gE1n (or *gE?an) 'stalk, twig' (→ 'stick', 'trunk of a tree') > IE: NaIE *g^halg^(h)- '(flexible) twig, pole' ({EI} 'pole, stake') > Arm ճաղկ 'rod, switch, stick' (< *g^halgā) ||| Gt galga (Γαλγὰ) 'Pfahl, Kreuz', OHG galgo 'gallows, cross', ON galgi, AS zēalza, OFrs galga, OSx galgo, NHG Galgen 'gallows' (< 'cross'), NE gallowes ||| Lt žalgà

'perch, pole, rod', {Ju.} žaĩgas id. ¶ Ptrs. H 155 explains the alternation *-g^h-/*-g- by different generalizations in the paradigm *ǵ^ho|g^h / gen. *ǵ^hǵ^hn-es. The extension *-g^h-/*-g- is of obscure origin (as almost all extensions) ¶ WP I 540, P 411, EI 442 (*ǵ^ha|g^heh_β-), Slt. 314-15, Fs. 189, Ho. 125, Ho. S 24, Schz. 146, Kb. 311, KM 229, Vr. 153, Frn. 1284-5 | | **K**: eNG, NG gal-i 'tree trunk without boughs' ¶ SSO I 130, DCh. 160, Chx. 152 | | **U**: FU (< d.?) (att. in ObU) *°kälta > ObU ≈ *kält∇ (× N *k'ä'ǵ^hǵ^h 'stick, hook, bar' [q.v. ffd.]) > Vg Ss {Ht.} kalt 'pole, Stange' in pāts-kalt 'a pole of the перевес (a device for catching ducks)', Vg N {MK} patəs-kält 'Stange des Vogelnetzes'; pOs *kält > Os: V/Vy kält, Ty/Ag kâ t, Y kâ t(t), Kr/K kâ t, O kâ lt 'a long pole supporting the net for catching ducks' ('eine der beiden langen Stangen, zwischen denen das Entennetz [перевес] aufgehängt ist'), Nz qat, Kz qat id., 'poles on both sides of the opening of a fish trap (Reuse)' ¶ Ht. no. 747, Trs. S 101, MK 188, BV 70, Stn. D 622 ¶ Since there are no ObU words with *łt or *łt (in contrast to the existing cluster *lt, F Ht. no-s 590 and 684-5), we may suggest that the opposition *l ↔ *ł ↔ *ł was neutralized before *t (a cluster *Lt) | | **A** (from a cd?) *K_a:;Kig∇∇ (or *K_a:;Kib∇∇) 'flexible branch/trunk of a tree' (cf. ffd. N *koíHa 'oak') > T *Ka_a:;gil- > OT qaḡil ({Cl.} qāḡil) 'a fresh willow shoot, a rod used for chastisement', Xk χāl 'rod' ¶ Cl. 610 (supposing that the vw. ā was long on the supposed ev. of Maḥmūd al-Kašgarī's Arabic spelling with the letter 'alif), Rs. W 220 | | **M**: [1] M ≈ *gaqu^ʿβ^ʿuli 'fishing rod' > WrM {MED} qaquuli ~ qaquul id., 'fishhook', HIM {BMR} хачуул, {MED} хачууль ~ хачуул id., Brt хачуули 'fishing rod',. Kl {KRS} һачуль ʿaχul id., {Rm.} gaχūl; 'Angelhaken, Angelrute' ¶ In WrM, HIM and Brt as. *gaq- > qaq-, χaq- ¶ MED 947, BMR IV 72, Chr. 564, KW 141, KRS 162 ¶ The strange shape of the word and the unexpected long vw. ū in HIM, Brt and Kl suggest borrowing | [2] M *qayila-sun, 'elm' > MM qayilasun, WrM {MED} qayilasun, HIM {MED} хайлс id., Ord χālasū 'orme'; M *qayila^ʿa-sun 'elm' > HIM {BMR} хайлаас(ан) id.; Dg χaylās id., Brt хайлааһа(һ) 'elm, Siberian elm' ¶ Lew. II 7, MED 912, BMR IV 18, 72, T DgJ 172, Ms. O 346 ¶¶ SDM 630 (pA *k|k'ag∇∇ 'willow, elm' > M *qayila 'elm', T *K_a:;agil 'rod'), SDM97 s.v.*k'óía 'oak' ¶¶ The cns. *K_a- in pA *K_a:;Kig∇∇ is likely to belong to the initial component of the cd that undelies this pA word | | **HS**: S: Ar جَالَة ǵāl-at- 'washer(wo)man's beetle' ('battoir de blanchisseur') BK I 519 | | **D** ?φ

*kīl(-) ({ǵGS} *k-) 'peg, pin, nail' > Tm kīlam 'nail, pin, spike', MI kīlam 'wedge, bolt, nail', Td kī'sū 'handle (of pot, spoon, axe, knife)', ku'l 'hinge of box', Kn kīl, kīlu 'pin, peg', kīla 'stake, peg', Tu kīlъ, kīlъ 'joint, hinge, peg', Tl kīlu 'joint, hinge', cīla 'iron nail, wooden pin'; probably D ⇨ OI (attested in the Mahabharata and reconstructed from later InA lges) kīla-ḥ {MW} 'sharp piece of wood, stake, pin, peg, bolt, wedge' (⇨ OI kīla-ka-ḥ id.), reborrowed in some D lges (e.g., Tm kīlakam 'pin, bolt, wedge, joint') ¶¶ An alt. et. (proposed in D 510 [App. no. 510]) is that the D √ is a loan from InA, but the OI word has no clear IE et., except for postulating (after Mayrhofer) that *k̄l̄-lo-s is derived from NaIE kelā- 'strike' and connecting it (at the level of "Wurzelverwand-schaft") with Sl *kolъ 'stake, picket' (the connection with OHG kīl, NHG Keil 'wedge' is rejected by Mayrhofer, because OHG kīl goes back to Gmc *kī'dla-, / WP I 544) ¶¶ DED no. 1346, D 510, M K I 216, Tu. no. 3202, WP I 436-8 ◇ The discrepancy between the ev. of IE *ǵh- (suggesting a front vw. in N) and that of IE *-a- (pointing to N *a) may be resolved by supposing that the N source was *ǵEʔal∇. D *ī seems to suggest N *ǵiʔal∇, but the absence of the expected traces of N *i in IE is against the rec. of *i.

611. *ǵil'U' 'illness, pain, distress' > IE: NaIE *ǵhe|-/*ǵho|-/*ǵh̄|- (or *ǵh̄al-?) id., {P} *ǵhalar- 'Schade, Gebrechen' > Clt {Matas.} *ǵalaro- 'sickness, distress, pain' > MBr galar id., Crn glachar id., MW galar 'grief, lament', W galar {YGM} 'mourning, grief', OIr galar {P} 'illness, grief' (IS: Clt from NaIE *ǵh̄|-) ||| ON, Ic galli 'defect, vice', OSw galli id., 'pain', MLG galle 'wounded place on the skin', AS zealla 'galled place on the skin', NE gall id. ||| Lt žalà 'harm, hurt, injury', Ltv žalba ~ zelba 'injury, wound, pain' | Sl: R Δ на'зола, на'зол 'sorrow, annoyance, grief', inf. на'золить, до'золить 'to vex, to distress', Uk inf. на'золити id., зол'лок 'painful place in a wound' || ?σ (adduced by Ped. H 38 [and after him Szem., P, Čop and EI]): Ht kallar- adj. 'ungünstig, unheilvoll', {Pv.} 'inauspicious, unpropitious, nefarious', {EI} 'sth. evil/unpleasant' ¶¶ ≈ P 411 (*ǵhal-, *ǵhal-ar-), EI 43 (*ǵhalH-r/n-, BSl < *ǵhalH-o/eh̄-), SB 108, LP § 284, YGM-1 230, Vr. 154, Bv 211, Frn. 1286, Vs. II 39, Dal II 417, Matas. E 149, Pv. IV 20-1, Ts. E I 465 ||| **K:** GZ *ǵlow- 'grieve, deplore' (× N *ǵol'í∇ 'to weep, to grieve' [q.v. ffd.]) ||| **HS:** SS *√ǵl'w' ~ *√ǵyl > Mh {Jo.} √ǵlw (pf. ǵēlɜw, sbjn. ɟɜ-ǵlɜw) 'be ill/fevered, have a short illness', Hrs √ǵlw (pf. ǵēlɜw, sbjn.

уэгл̄ω) 'be fevered, have fever', Jb E/C 'gi'z̄i 'be ill\fevered', Mh, Hrs ḡōl̄εω, Jb E/C 'ḡōl̄ε?, Sq {Jo.} 'ḡōl̄ε 'fever', Sq {L} 'ḡ(υ)ol̄ε 'illness', Tgr guyuł pp. 'von einer schleichenden Krankheit befallen' ¶ Jo. M 119, Jo. H 40, L LS 109, LH 596, DRS 108 || **A** *gil̄∇ > Tg *gil̄(a)-, gil̄k- > Ul̄ ḡēl-, gil-, Nn Nh/KU ḡil̄k̄ī v. 'ache (ныть, болеть)', WrMc {Z} гила- 'be sad\ melancholy\worried', Lm Sk ḡil̄ko- v. 'ache' (of the heart), ḡil̄kon 'melancholy, sadness, anxiety', Ork ḡil̄ç̄i- v. 'ache' (of a wound, an injury) ¶ STM I 151, Vas. 100, Z 334, Ci. 301 || pJ *k̄òrápá- ~ *kuòrápá- 'endure' (× N *ḡoł̄|í∇ 'to weep; grief') > OJ {S} k̄(ω)orapa-, MJ korapa-id., J T koraé-, J K/Kg k̄òràè- {Kenk.} 'bear (with), endure, forbear (from)' ¶ Mr. 712, Kenk. 1054, S QJ no. 887 ¶¶ SDM 555 (pA *ḡj̄òl̄o 'be unhappy, endure' > Tg, J + unc.: M *ḡoł̄u- 'be unhappy with sth., consider sth. bad' and T *K̄oł̄- 'beg' [actually *K̄oł̄:ł̄- v. 'ask for', going back to N *ḡUł̄?ł̄|∇ 'speak, call']), DQA no. 2655 (id.). The M verb may be alternatively (and phonetically better) connected with N *ḡoł̄|í∇ '↑'. If nevertheless the T and M cognates are accepted, the N rec. must be something like *ḡiyoL̄∇ ◊ IS I 229 [no. 83] (*ḡil̄∇).

612. *ḡoLu (or *ḡoy∇Lu?) 'head, skull' > IE: NaIE *ḡ^hoł̄ω- / *ḡ^hoł̄u- / *ḡ^heł̄u- (or *ḡ^hoł̄ω- / ḡ^hoł̄u- / *ḡ^heł̄u-) 'head' > Arm գլուխ (gen. գլխոյ) 'head' || Lt galv̄à, Ltv gal̄va id., Pru galωo 'toe of a boot', glaωo (erroneously for galωo) 'head', galbo [galv̄o] id. || SI *ḡoł̄va (accus. *ḡōl̄v̄o) 'head' > OCS глава glava, Blg гла'ва, SCr gláva, Slv glāva, Cz, Slk hláva, P głowa, R голо'ва (accus. 'голову), Uk голо'ва id. ¶ P 39-50, Me. EAC 36, Sl̄t. 298, Frn. 131-2, En. 174-5, Tr. P E-H 261, Glh. 230, ESSJ VI 221, StSS 169, ≠ EI 45 (BSI and Arm < *ḡ^hoł̄H'ω-eh̄- 'baldpate') || **HS:** S *gul̄gul̄₁-(at-) 'skull' > Ak gul̄gullu, gul̄gull-at-u id., BHb גולגולת gul̄'gol̄eṯ, JA {Js.} גולגולת gul̄gul̄'tā ~ גולגולת gul̄gal̄'tā, JEA {Sl.} גולגולת gul̄gōl̄'tā id., Ar {RB} جُلَّةٌ ḡulḡul-at- id. (the word is not mentioned in dictionaries of Classical Ar {Fr., BK and Ln.}, but only in those of the modern lge, but its existence in Ancient Ar is suggested by its CIAr metaphoric sd.: جُلٌّ {Ln.} ḡulḡul- 'small bell, consisting of a hollow ball of metal'), Sr ḡāḡūl̄'t̄ā 'Golgotha' (< JA?), Ar جُلَّةٌ ḡalaḡ-at- 'skull, head' ¶ KB 183, KBR 191, Sl. 268, Js. 221, RB 426, BK I 311, Ln. 438, JPS 60, DRS 118, MiK I no. 1.79 || Eg fOK ʒ̄ʒ̄ʒ̄ 'head' ¶ EG V 530-1, Fk. 319 || NrOm: Mj {Fl.} geli, gaylli, Mj DJ ḡâli 'head', Shk geri, gari id. (-r- < *-l-) ¶ Fl. OAM 28 || Ch: ECh: Kwn {J} ḡól̄ò, Kwn M {J} ḡòl̄ó 'head' || CCh:

Mkt gə̀l 'head' ||| WCh: ? Hs gùlǔ̀lù 'ball of earth at top of spinning-spindle' ¶ JI II 183, Ba. 406, Abr. H 340 ¶¶ Tk. I 322 ||| A: Tg: WrMc {Hr.} giyolo, {Z} riōlo 'crown of head' ¶ STM I 160, Z 375, Hr 368 ◇ WrMc riōlo and Mj gaylli 'head' may be interpreted as suggesting an element *y∇ within the N etymon (*goy∇Lu?) (cp. WrMc гялты [\leftarrow or = *giyaltu] 'ε a marine fish that resembles a long belt' [or 'cuttlefish?']) < N *ga'yU'1'ū|u 'tortoise', q.v. ◇ IS I 237-8 [no. 94] (*gU'1'∇ 'round, ball': IE, S [words for 'skull, head'] + Hs gùlǔ̀lù 'ball of earth'; *÷ words meaning 'round', 'turn round').

613. *gō1∇ 'look for, wish', (?) 'look' > IE: NaIE *g^{wh}el- ~ *g^hel-, {EI} *g^{wh}el- v. 'wish' > Gk ἐθέλω ~ θέλω 'I am willing' (of consent rather than desire), 'I wish', Gk [Hs.] φαλίζεω (*θέλω) v. 'wishes' ||| Sl *želě- ~ *žela- v. 'wish' > OCS inf. жєлѣ-ти želě-ti ~ жєла-ти žela-ti 'to desire, to wish' (ἐπιθυμῆν, θέλω), SCr inf. жєлєти ~ željēti / 1s pres. жєлїм, željīm, Slv inf. želēti / 1s pres. želijm, OCz inf. želeti, Slk inf. želet', Blg же'ла-я, R inf. же'ла-ть / 1s pres. же'ла-ю, Uk inf. же'ла-ти v. 'wish' ||| MHG inf. gileren 'betteln', ON inf. gilja 'verlocken, verführen', Dn inf. gilje, Nic, Far, NNr, Sw inf. gilja 'zur Liebe verlocken, werben', ON gildra, gildri 'trap, snare', OSw gæl-, giælskaper 'Unzucht' ||| ? Arm գեղճ գեղճ 'a wish, Sehnsucht' ¶ The Gk cognate points to IE *g^{wh}-, while the Gmc cognate suggests *g^h-, the Sl and Arm reflexes being ambiguous ¶ P 489, EI 629, F I 258-9, 447-8, Vr. 167, Lx. 73, Vs. II 40-1, StSS 215-16, Glh. 707, Ped. GDIE 2Off. (adducing Arm գեղճ), Sl. 33-4, Xud. I 269 ||| A ≈ *Kō₁1- > NaT *Kō₁1- v. 'ask for' (× N *gU'1'1'∇ 'speak, call', q.v. ffd.) || pJ {S} *kār- vt. 'hunt for, demand, search; drive' > OJ kar-, MJ kār-, J: T kār- ~ kār-, K/Kg kār id., StJ kar- vt. 'drive, prompt, urge on (a horse)' ¶ pJ *-a- due to regr. as.?) ¶ S QJ no. 1367, Mr. 704, Kenk. 856-7 ||| HS: Ch: ECh: Ke gòlé v. 'look', gòldé v. 'seek (suchen)', Kwn {J} kalǫ́é id., Kbl {Cp.} gowól, Ll góól v. 'see' ||| CCh: Glv {Rp.} ʏal v. 'beg, beseech, want, ask', ?μ Gdr {MCh.} ηgēl v. 'want', ?μ Msg P {Trn.} ǫ̀g^{wh}1' v. 'look' ||| WCh: NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} gul-, Sir {Sk.} ηgúlu- v. 'see' | SBc: Zar K {Sh.} gali id. ¶ JI II 284-5, ChC s.v. 'look for', 'want' and 'see' (with words of different Chadic lges throughout ChL I-III), Eb. 52, Trn. LM RpB 42 || SC: Kz gal- v. 'see', SC ⇨ Mb -gali v. 'try' ¶ E SC 235 (equating Kz and Mb with Irq giris- v. 'select' and reconstructing SC *gal- or *gāl- v. 'look at, look over') || ??σ Eg XIX gə̀w 'staunend blicken, beaufsichtigen', gə̀gə̀w

'staunen über, staunend blicken auf' ¶ EG V 151 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 87 [no. 18.3].

614. *goL∇ 'foetus, baby' > IE: NaIE (< N *goL∇ bA) *g^ωelb^h- / *g^ωolb^h- 'womb; young (of an animal)' (from earlier **g^ωh^elb^h-?) ({EI} *g_L^ωelb^hu-s 'womb') > OI garbhah₁, Prth gr^ʔb, YAv garəβa- 'womb', Av garəbuš 'young of an animal' ||| Gk δελφύς, gen. δελφύος 'womb', δέλαφαξ 'young pig', δελφύς, -ύνος 'dolphin' (sc. 'womb-[fish]') ||| ON kalfr, OHG calb, NHG Kalb, AS céalf 𐌺 𐌺ielf 'calf', NE calf; Gt kalbō 'junge Kuh, Kalb', OHG kalbā 'female calf'; OHG kilburra 𐌺 kilbra 𐌺 kilbira 𐌺 chilburra 'lamb', AS cīlfor- / céolforlamb 'ewe lamb', NGr Sw kilbor 'young ram' ||| NaIE (in Indic and Gk) *sm̥-g^ωelb^h(e)yo- 'born from the same womb' > OI 'sa-garbhya₁ id., Gk Hm/I ἀδελφεός, Gk A ἀδελφός 'brother' ¶ P 473, ≠ 359, EI 615, M K I 329 and III 414, M E I 474-5, Bai. 81, F I 19, 863, Ch. 18-19, Fs. 305-6, Schz. 179, Kb. 525, 540, OsS 469, 487, Ho. 45, 48 ||| HS: C: Ag *gār ({Ap.} *gār) 'calf' > Bln {R} gær (pl. gæl), {Plm.} gΛr, Q {Ap.} gār, {R} gær, pl. gæltī, Km {Ap.} gār, {CR} gær (pl. gæltā ~ gæltī), Aw {Fl.} gara 'calf' ¶ R WB 157-8, Ap. WLQ 4, Fl. p.c. || NrOm: Wl {Luchon} gallua 'calf' ¶ Luchon s.v. gallua ||| A: M *gölEgen 'young animal', esp. 'young dog' (× N *gUhÍE ≈ canine animal, q.v.) > WrM {Kow.} gölige, {MED} gölige ~ gölüge 'pup (young of a dog)', HIM {MED} гөлөг id., {BMR} гөлөг(н) 'puppy, kitten', Brt гүлгэ(н) 'puppy (щенок)', Kl {KRS} гөлг gölög 'young animal', esp. puppy (щенок)', {Rm.} gölgə 'junges Tier, junges Hund', Mnr H {T} gōlgo, Mnr {SM} g_uōrg_uō 'le petit du chien, jeune chien', Ord g_olōgō 'jeune de chien \ de chat'; M *gölEgele- > WrM {MED} gölügele- v. 'whelp', HIM гөлөглө- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'whelp' (of dogs), Brt гүлгэл-, Kl {KRS} гөлгл- id., {Rm.} gölg- 'Junge werfen' (von Hunden), Ord g_olōgōlō- 'mettre bas' (chien, chat) ¶ The M element *-gen may be connected with the M dim. sx *-qan/*-ken (F Pp. GPMJ 107, Pp. IM 239) ¶ MED 386, BMR I 444, Chr. 165, Kow. 2602, KW 137-8, KRS 146, SM 143, T 323, Ms. O 270 ◇ The element *-b^h- in the IE cognate goes back to N *bA (adjectival pc. forming analytical [→ derived] names of quality bearers, nomina possessoris and animal names): IE *g^ωelb^h- < N *^ogoL∇ bA. The plain voiced *g^ω- (for the expected *g^ωh-) in the attested IE languages may be due to regr. dis. (a kind of Grassmann's law, but functioning not only in Indic and Gk, but in Gmc as well; for other cases in Gmc see Prok. CGG 203-4 and Collinge 57-8).

615. ₂ *g_oL∇ 'tail' > HS: Om {Blz.} *g_ol- id.: SOM: > Ari {Bnd.} g_o(:)li, Dm {Bnd.} g_o(:)lan, Hm {Fl.} gulo ~ goli id. || NrOm: Bsk {Bnd.} g_ol'si, Dk {Fl.} g_olse, Dwr {Lm.} goilano, Wl {Lm.}, Gf {Mrn.} g_oyna, Gm {Hw.} g_olná id. ¶ ≈ LmS 380-1, Hw. EG s.v. 'tail', Bnd. AL 159 || B: ASgr ažlal, BMn ažlāl 'tail' ¶ Ds. B 294, Blz. NDA no. 28 || | D (att. in NED) {†GS} *g|k_ol|l- 'tail' > Krx x_olā, Mlt q_oli id. ¶ D no. 2135 ◇ Blz. DA 155 [no. 29] (D, Om), Blz. NDA no. 28 (D, Om, B).

615a. *g_ol|í∇ 'to weep, to grieve' > HS: B: Si g_ols v. 'weep' (× N *kaLč∇ 'to speak\cry') ¶ La. S 279, NZ 786 || | D *k_ol- (†GS) *g_ol- 'grief; weep' > Td g_o·l, g_o·lm 'sorrow', Tu g_ol_u, g_ol_u 'grief, lamentation', Tl g_ola 'wailing', ? g_od_u 'grief, affliction' ¶¶ D no. 2252, GS 159-68 (on reflexes of D *-l-) || | K: GZ *g_lo(w)- 'grieve, deplore' (× N *g_iL'U' 'illness, pain, distress') > OG g_l- / g_lo_v-, G g_l-, g_lo_v- 'grieve, deplore' (m-g_l-an 'ich bedaure', lit. 'it saddens me', e-g_lo_v-s 'er betrauert'), Mg r_g(w)- 'mourn' (v-i-r_g-zn-k 'ich trauere') ¶ K 63 (*g_lo-), K² 31 (*g_lo(w)-), Abul. 94, Q 304, Chik. 259, FS K 82 and FS E 86 (*g_l-) || | ?σ A *g_oL∇ 'consider sth. bad; endure' > M *g_olu- 'consider sth. bad, be dissatisfied with' > MM [HI] {Ms.} q_olu [g_olu-] 'trouver mauvais, avoir en aversion', WrM g_olu- {MED} 'abhor, be fastidious; reject', HIM r_olo- {MED} id., {BMR} 'consider sth. to be unworthy\bad, be dissatisfied with what is offered', Brt r_olo- 'have an aversion (r_onušat'sja), disdain, avoid', WrO {Krg.} r_olo- 'reject, be dissatisfied, neglect, despise', Kl {KRS} r_ol- 'condider sth. bad\unworthy, браковатъ', {Rm.} y_ol- 'mit etwas unzufrieden sein, ausmustern', Ord g_olo- ~ g_oly- 'ne pas vouloir (de qn ou de qch.), ne pas agréer, dédaigner' ¶ MED 359, BMR I 427-8, Chr. 156, Krg. 314, KRS 166, KW 150, Ms. H 90, Ms. O 305 || pJ {S} *k_ər_əp_ə- ~ *ku_ər_əp_ə- 'endure' (× pA 'ache, endure' < N *g_iL'U' 'illness, pain, distress') > M J kora_ə- id. J T koraé-, J K/Kg k_or_ə- {Kenk.} 'bear (with), endure' ¶ S QJ no. 887, Mr. 712, Kenk. 1054 ¶ The pA *-l- (rather than *-í-) is suggested by pJ *-r- ¶¶ SDM 555 (pA *g_il_o 'be unhappy, endure' > M, J + unc. T *K_ol- 'beg' [actually *K_ol_u- v. 'ask for', going back to N *g_ul_u∇ 'speak, call']), DQA no. 2655, KW 150.

616. *g_ulE 'go (away), start going (away), set out' > K *g_wal- 'go!' (used in inv. only) > OG g_wale 'go!' (inv.), Sv (← G?): UB {FS} g_wäle, {TK} g_wäl, L {FS} g_wal 'go!' (FS: 'geh, mach dich auf!') ¶¶ K 60, K² 28, FS K 78, FS E 81-2, TK 179, Top. Sh III 69 (Sv ← G) || | HS: S *√ g_lw

'depart, leave one's place\country, be sent away (out of one's country)' > BHb \checkmark g_lw|y (pf. הָלַךְ gā'lā) 'leave; go into exile', גָּלוּת ga'lūt 'exile', JA \checkmark g_lw|y (pf. יָצַא gə'lā ~ הָלַךְ gə'lā) 'go into exile, go away, disappear', JEA \checkmark g_ly G vi. 'emigrate, go into exile; withdraw', Sr \checkmark g_lw (pf. gə'lā) 'go into exile, flee', Md \checkmark g_l? D v. 'exile, send away, banish', g_lu_ta 'exile, banishment', Ar \checkmark ġ_lw G (pf. جَالَ ġalā) 'go forth, emigrate', Sh (pf. أَجْلَى aġlā) 'cause to emigrate' (drought etc.), 'emigrate', Jb C {Jo.} \checkmark g_l? ~ g_lw|y: צָגַלְתִּי 'move from one's place', e'goli 'shift (animals) from one place to another', e'gle vt. 'shift from one place to another', Gz tagalgala pf. 'was taken into exile', Ak {Sd.} NA/NB g_alū 'go into exile' (← Aram?); Ar \checkmark g_wl G 'aller, courir' ¶ KB 183-4, KBR 191-3, BDB 162-3 [no. 1540], Js. 248, Sl. 286, Br. 115, DM 92-3, BK I 319-20 and 358, Hv. 96, Jo. J 74-5, L G 190, Sd. 27, DRS 120-1 || B * \checkmark g_lH 'go, go away' > Ah aġal (pf. iġla < pB *yə-glah) 'go away (partir, s'en aller)' (Fcj. 25 = Pcj. I A 7, pattern {Pr.} *-BCih/-BCah), ETwl, Ty ɣglu ({Pr.} *ǣglu) 'partir, passer, continuer son chemin' (Pcj. I A 7), Gh tažali 'départ', Kb {Dl.} jlu (= {Dl.} g_lu) (pf. yə-jla) 'go'; ? Izd {MT}, Tmz AH {MT}, CM {NZ} gulu 'arriver, parvenir à' ¶ Fc. 421, 2001, Crt. 24, GhA 51, Dl. 254, MT 152, NZ 767-8 || ?σ C: EC *gal- 'enter, go home' > Sml gal- ɖ gel-, Bs, Brj gal-, Rn gel-, Bn kal- 'enter', Or gal-, Kns, Gdl kal- 'enter, return home', Dsn gál 'go and spend the night', Arr gal- 'enter a house, go home', HEC *gal- 'stay overnight' > Sd, Ged, Kmb gal-, Hd gār- id. | Dh_l {EEN} gāliy-, {E, To.} gālij- 'go home' ¶ Bl. 182, Ss. PEC 17, Ss. B 76, AD SF 61, PG 124, Abr. S 89, Grg. 161-2, Hw. A 359, E SC 235, EEN 31, To. DL 499, To. D 133 (Dhl gālij- ← Or) || ECh *gal- 'go out' > Ndam gál-žoyo, Mb gale id. ¶ Lk. ZSS s.v. Mb gale, J KKS s.v. Ndam gál-žoyo :¶¶ OS no. 879 (HS *gal- 'go, enter'), O HSN 120 (pN *g^ol^ol^o > K, Ar \checkmark g_wl, B, C + unc. AfS *gil-'run' and WCh *gal-/gul 'run' || A: Tg *gūli- 'set out/off' (sich auf den Weg machen) > Orc gūli-, gūlin-3- 'set out (sich auf den Weg machen), go away', Ud gulin-3 'set out', Ork, Ewk PT gūlisin-, Ewk {Cs.} gūlina-, Lm Ol/P gūlan-, Lm O gūl3n- id., 'move on (to a new place)' (of nomads, Nn Nh/Bk {STM} gūlin- id., Nn Nh {On} gūlin- 'sich auf den Weg machen' ¶ STM I 170, On. 120 || U: FU *kulke- 'move, go (on land or on water), wander' > FU: F kulke- 'go, walk, travel, wander', Es kulge- 'proceed, take one's course, pass' | pLp {Lr.} *kolk3- vi. 'run (of water), float, roam, wander about' > Lp: L {LLO} kál'ká-, N {N} gq_l'gâ- id., S {Hs.} gǎlgedh, Kld

kolke- 'flow' | Er koίge-, Mk koίgə- 'drip, run' (of liquid), 'leak' | Prm: Z kivt-, Z Δ kilt- 'swim (with the stream)', Z Δ kila- 'swim/travel on water (with the stream), float, drift on water', Yz {UEW} kAlt- 'flow (with the stream)' || pOs *kɔʋə- > Os: V qɔʋə- 'walk, step (schreiten)' (↔ 'run'), D χοχət, Kz χῶχə- 'run' | OHg halad- 'vorangehen', Hg halad-, Δ hallad- 'go, make way, advance, go on, proceed, travel' ¶ UEW 198, Coll. 26, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *kulkī-, Ugr *kũlkĩ- 'run'), Lr. no. 442, Lgc. no. 1896, Hs. 552-3, Ker. II 64, LG 149, Trs. VD 148, MF 525, EWU 516-17 ¶ Both Coll. and UEW adduced the Sm stem of Ne T xɥ" ласъ 'to be driven by the stream', but since U *-l- is not preserved in Sm, while -l- of the Ne form belongs to a sx, the comparison of the underlying Sm {Jn.} *ku- vi. 'treiben' with FU *kulke- is not reliable (≠σ,φ).

617. *gūtA 'dwelling, (→ [in descendant lges] 'house') > **U**: FU *kūl|ä 'dwelling, house, village' (× N *Kūt'ä' 'clan, village') > F kylä, Es küla 'village', F Δ külä 'dwelling, house' | pLp {Lr.} *kɜlɜ- v. 'visit, pay a visit' > Lp: L {LLO} kaljē, N {N} gāli-, I {TI} kolli-, Kld kɜlɜyē id. || Vg: T kü, LK kʷä, P kʷä, käl, Ss kol 'house' ¶ Coll. 93, UEW 155-6, Lr. no. 303, Lgc. no. 2343b:2, TI 105 || **A** *gū:| or *gū:|E 'dwelling, hut, house' > T *k|k_ü:| ~ *k|k_i:| 'house, home' > Tk gil {Deny} 'la famille, le chez soi, l'habitation', Xzr (in names of towns): Es-kil, Es-gil (lit. 'old city/village'), Σαρ-κελ שרקי *[šarke|il] (lit. 'white city'), Yk kūlä 'porch (сени), covered passage in a building' (unless from Tg), Chv L kil, Chv Δ {Md.} kü 'house, dwelling, home' ¶ If the Yk word is not a loan, the initial syll. in pT is long ¶ Rm. EAS I 48, Rs. W 270, Deny 347, Ash. VI 208-9 and VII 69, Fed. I 291-2, Jeg. 112, Gomb. BTL 200 || Tg *ogūle > Ewk gūlɜ 'dwelling, house, hut' ¶ STM I 171 || pJ {S} *kùrà 'shed (Schuppen)' > OJ kura, ML kùrà id., J T kurá 'godown, warehouse, storehouse, cell, cellar', K kùrà, Kg kùrá id. ¶ S VL 218, S QJ no. 259, Mr. 464, Kenk. 1108 ¶¶ The long vw. in Ewk may be an innovation ¶¶ SDM 570-1 (pA *gūli 'dwelling, cottage' > Ewk, J, Chv, Yk), DQA no. 575, S VL 218 (pA *gū:| or *-ū-), Rm. EAS I 48 || **HS**: EC: Sml {R} gōl 'Zimmer, Stube', {DSI} gōl 'piega nella parte anteriore della futa, dove le donne usano mettersi oggetti', {R} gōla 'eingeschlossener Raum, Gemach, Stall für das Vieh', {ZMO} gōle 'enclosure, chamber; meeting place', Or Wt {Sr.} gōla 'room', Or {Grg.} gōla 'innermost private part of house', Or Wl {Brl.} gōla 'ambienti separati in capanne Galla per diversi usi; stanzino; cella; camera', Sd {Gs.} gōllo 'stable, cowshed, manger; inside of'; EC →

Wl {C} guollē 'house'; EC → EthS: Gz gōl 'stable, crib, manger', Tgr gōl 'stable' ¶ R SS II 168, DSI 271, ZMO 164, Sr. 314, Gs. 27, Grg. 177, Brl. 179, L G 189 || Ch: WCh: Ywm {J} kálúk, Bgm {J, Sh} kwàl, Buli {IL} kálà 'hut, house' || CCh: Gdr {Srp.} gělá id. || Ech: Nd D {J} gèlè 'house', Ke kuli 'village, house', Kwn kùlù, Smr kùlú, Ll kúl 'hut' (× N *Kūl'á' 'clan, village', q.v.) ¶ JI II 202-3, ChC s.v. 'house' and 'hut' ◇ The delabialization *ü > *i in T *k'il (< N *gūlA) needs investigating ◇ IS MS 341 (*gūlA 'жилице'; U, Tg).

618. *gūLâ 'bend, be crooked' > IE: NaIE *g^hwel-/*g^hul- id., 'go astray' > OI 'hvaratē 'goes crookedly, goes astray, deviates', hvalati 'gerät auf Abwege, strauchelt', hvalā- 'das Irren', Av zbar- 'go crookedly', NPrs zūr 'false; liar' || L fall-ō / -ēre / fefelli / falsum 'deceive' || Lt inf. pa-žvil-ti 'sich neigen', pažulnūs 'sloping, slanting', Ltv inf. zvaltītiēs 'to reel, to stagger', 'wanken, schwanken' || Sl *zъlъ (f. *zъla, ntr. *zъlo, dadj. zъlъ-jъ) 'bad, wicked' > OCS zъlъ zъlъ id., Blg зъл, SCr zǎo (f. zlǎ, ntr. zlǒ, aadj. zlī), Slv zěl, Cz, Slk zlý, P zly, Uk злий id., R злой (pradj. зол) 'wicked, cruel, angry' || Gk φορκός- '(?) bandy-legged' ¶ WP I 643-4, P 489-90, ≈ M K III 619-20, Frn. 23-4, 560, Glh. 692, Vs. II 99-100, StSS 240-1 || **HS:** Ch: WCh: Gmy/Cp {ChL} kul, Ang saɾ-kul, Kfr {Nt.} dá-kùl 'left (gauche)' || CCh: Mf {BLB} gúlá, MfG {Brr.} 'gùlà, Lgn M {Bou.} gèlì, Ms {ChL} gulu, BnnM {ChL} gula id. || Ech: Ll {Grgs} kàb gùlà, Kbl {Cp.} kèbi-gùlà, EDng {Fd.} gèlè id., Ke {Eb.} gùlà 'links', Mgm {JA} nù-gìlá 'left hand', nùgùl 'gaucher; de gauche' ¶ ChC s.v. 'left', ChL, BLB 158, Brr. MG II 124, Eb. 53, JA LM 112, 153 || ?σ S *√glɪd (< d. or cd?) > Ar √ǧlɪd D 'renverser' ¶ BK I 317, DRS 131 || **K:** G Kzq glun-i '(am Ende) gekrümmter Stock (zum Spielen)' ¶ Chx. 198 || **A:** M {Rm.} *ogulu-yi- > Kl {Rm.} gulī- 'seinen Kopf seitwärts wenden, schief sein, schielen (mit den Augen)' ¶ KW 154 ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 99b (IE, Ch, M + unc. EC *gur- 'left').

619. *gohlV 'fire, glow of coal', 'to burn (brûler)' > HS: WS *√ghl v. 'glow as coal' > Hb ga^hεlεt 'glow of coal', pl. gəhā^hlīm id., Ar Y ḡayhal, miḡhal 'stick for raking coals', Amh ገለ galɜ v. 'be red-hot, be burning' ¶ KB 180, KBR 188, Rb. AWA 26, L CAD 203, DRS 112 ¶ Here we reconstruct S *ḥ (rather than *χ) because of the incompatibility of an initial *g and medial *χ in the same √ in pS || **D** *kōl- ({ǧGS} *gōl-) > Tl gōlinɛu, Gnd RSr gōlis- vt. 'fry' ¶¶ D no. 2246 || **K:** [1] *ogwal- v.

'parch by its heat' (of the sun parching the soil) > G gval-/gol- id.]]]
 [2] GZ *gwal- 'be' (of drought) (× N *g'U'Í∇ 'season without vegetation' ['drought, dry season', 'winter'], q.v. ffd.) ¶ K² 28, Chx. 189, Abul. 97, DCh. 317 || A *gU|'a' 'burn' [tr.], 'fire' > M *gal 'fire' > MM [MA] accus. غالى ḡālī ([ḡāl-ī?]), [IsV] قال qāl ([ḡāl]), [HI, S] qal (= [ḡāl?]), WrM gal {MED} 'fire, conflagration', HIM гал {MED} id., {BMR} 'fire, bonfire', Brt гал id., 'Brand', Kl {Rm.} gal 'Feuer', Dg gal^yi ~ gal^yb ~ gal^y 'fire', Ord ḡal 'feu, braison', MMgl [Z] ḡāl, Mgl ṽā:l (ā: due to the impact of the Persian-Tajik labialization ā > ā: ~ ȳ), Mgl M ṽāl, Mnr H {SM} gar 'feu', Ba {T} xal, {Pot.} гал 'fire'; M *golumtan 'hearth' > MM [MA] golumtan id., [S] ḡolumta [golumta] 'Feuerbecken, Herd', WrM golumta {MED} 'fireplace in a yurt, hearth in a tent', HIM голонт {MED} id., {BMR} 'hearth', Brt гүланта id., Ord ḡulumt'a 'foyer au centre du t'ulga (appareil en fer sur lequel on place le chaudron et au centre duquel est le foyer)' ¶ MED 346, 359, BMR I 362-5, 427, Chr. 143, 159, KW 141-2, T DgJ 130, T BJ 149, Ms. H 87, Ms. O 288, 313, 679, H 57, 65, Pp. MA 174, 179, Lg. VMI 41, Iw. 105, Pot. 411, Rm. M 28, Wr. 177, S AJ 235 [no. 31] ¶ M *a in *gal is still to be explained (infl. of the pA final *-a, as suggested in SDM and DQA?) || Tg *ḡu|o|- v. 'kindle, light a fire' > Ewk ḡul- v. 'flash' (a lightning), Lm ḡu|-, Nn Bk gola- v. 'kindle, light a (bon)fire', Lm ḡu|u- v. 'catch fire', Ewk ḡuluwun, Lm ḡulun, Neg ḡolowun 'a (bon)fire', Orc ḡoḡžo(n-), Ul, Nn Bk ḡo|žo(n-), Nn Nh ḡo|žō 'hearth (очар)'; WrMc {Z} голонь тыва 'fires (by night in a road\ field\camp)' does not belong here, because its literal meaning is 'road fire' (голонь is genitive of голо 'road', and тыва is 'fire') ¶ STM I 169, On. 113, Z 341-2, 765, S AJ 225 [no. 291] ¶¶ SDM 554-5 (pA *ḡi|o|'a or *ḡi|a|o 'burn' [tr.], 'fire' > Tg, M), DQA no. 526, S AJ 294 [no. 490] (*ḡu|a|-), SDM95 s.v. *ḡual∇ 'burn, fire', SDM97 s.v. *ḡō|'a' id., Pp. VG 24, 75 || ?φ IE (mt.): NaIE *ḡ^hlō- (or *ḡ^hlō-) 'coals, charcoal' > ON ḡlóð, AS ḡlæd, OFrs ḡlēd, OHG ḡluot 'glowing coals, red heat', NHG ḡlut 'embers, heat', OHG inf. ḡluoen 'to burn, to glow', AS inf. ḡlōwan 'to glow', NE ḡlow || Clt {Matas.} *ḡlowo- 'charcoal' > MW, W ḡlo 'coal', Crn ḡlow 'charcoal', OBr {SB} ḡlaou id. (not confirmed by Flr. and Matas.), MBr ḡlou ~ ḡlaou, Br {Hm.} ḡlaou 'charcoal', MBr {Ern.} d. Glouher n. pr. (← 'charbonnier', cp. W ḡlōwr 'coalminer, collier'), snglt.: W gloyn, MBr {SB} glouenn, Br ḡlaouenn 'piece of coal' ¶ Vr. 175, Ho. 133, Schz. 153, OsS 338-9, Kb. 397, KM 263, SB 120, ≠ P 433 (unc. et. of the Brtt word), YGM-1 235, ECCE 246, Ern. 261,

Matas. E 161, Hm. 315 ¶ NaIE *g^h|g^hlō- represents a metathetic variant **g_ol_h∇; the labiality of the guttural stop was lost in the preconsonantal position ◇ This N word may have semantically influenced T *k'ül (or *k_ül?) 'ashes, cinders' (< N *k'ü'ly∇ [or *k'ü'ly∇?] 'dirt, mud', q.v. ffd) ◇ D *-l- suggests a N plain *-l- ◇ S NS no. 17 equated A *k'jalū (> T *k'ül 'ashes', Tg *χjal 'coal') with IE *g_eu_l- / *g_ue_l- 'coal'. In my opinion, they go back to different N words (Altaic from N *goh_l∇ 'fire, glow', IE from N *k_∇?ū_l∇ 'glowing coals; to heat\roast\fry\cook') ◇ Cf. AD AltAD no. 15.

620. *gowlu (or *gowlü?) 'deep; valley' > IE: NaIE *g_lel(u)- (or *g_l^{ωh}el(u)-) 'deep; valley' > Blt: Lt gilū^s, Ltv dziļš, Pru (f. accus.) gillin 'deep', Lt gỹlis, gelmē 'depth', Ltv dzelme / dzelmenis 'depth, deep place (in water)' ||| Clt: OIr glenn, Ir gleann 'valley', W glyn, Br glen 'valley', Crn glyrn 'deep valley' ¶ Frn. 151, Kar. I 253, En. 177, Mz. PKP I 550, Thr. 215, ECCE 246, YGM-1 236 ||| HS: EC *g_ol_U 'valley' > Af {PH} g_ol_o 'gorge into which a stream runs, valley', Or E g_ol_ū 'valley', Or g_ola 'gorge', Sml g_ol 'foot of hill', Gln/Gwd {AMS} k_ólle, Gwd {AMS} kollé 'river', Cm {Hbl.} g_ole 'small river', Brj g_ol_ō 'slope', as well as possibly Or g_ola 'corner, edge' and EC {Ss.} *g_el- {AD} 'below, under, (?) deep' > Or žal-a (→ Brj žálo), Kns, Gdl kel-a 'below, under', Hr, Dbs, Gln kalá 'under', kálu 'below', Sa {R} gale 'deep' ¶ Ss. B 83, 109, PH 115, Abr. S 94, Bl. 183, Th. 172, AMS 242, 275 ||| Ch: WCh: Hs g_úlbí 'river' ||| CCh: Dgh {Fk.} glág^ωà, {ChL} g_úlág^ωà 'river' ||| ? ECh: Ke {Eb.} k₃l₃mi 'deep' ¶ Abr. H 339, Ba. 405, Eb. 67, ChL, ChC s.v. 'river' ||| ? B *✓g_lmm > Ah äğəlmam, ETwl agəlmam, Ty egəlmam, Tdq ağəlmam, Gh ažəlmam 'lac, bassin, mare', SrSn {Rn.} agg^ωəlmäm, Izn ayəlmäm 'lake, pool, puddle', Shl {NZ} ag^ωlmim 'mare, étang', CM {NZ}, Rf agəlmam ə ayəlmam ə aželmam, Shw agəlmam, agəlmim id., 'abreuvoir, bassin', BSn gəlmam 'small lake', Kb ag^ωəlmim 'point d'eau stagnante, mare' ¶ Rn. 354, NZ 781-2, DI. 257 ||| S: Ar جَلْهَابْ ġilhāb- 'valley' (going back to a HS cd?) ¶ BK I 319 ||| A *g_ol_U 'valley' > NaT *K_ōl id. (T *-ō- < **-o_ω- < pA *-ob-) > OT {DTS} [MhK] q_ol 'valley, wadi', {Rs.} [QB] q_ol 'lowland, riverbed', Tkm q_ōl 'lowland', Qmq q_ol 'valley', SY q_ol 'water bed', Tv χ_ol 'dry riverbed', VTt qu_l id., 'ravine', Xk χ_ol id., 'valley', Qrg (in place names) q_ol 'riverbed, river valley', Sg/Shor {Rl.} q_ol 'lowland, valley (without river), Chg/ET {Rl.}, SbTt Tr {Rl.} q_ol 'lowland, riverbed', QrB

{Rs.} q0l 'small valley, brook' ¶ Rs. W 277, ET Q 43-6, TL 90, DTS 453, Rl. II 582-3, BIG 285 || M *g0w|∇ 'valley, riverbed, river' > WrM {MED} g0u| 'river, riverbed, valley', HIM r0л {MED} id., {BMR} 'river, riverbed', Kl {KRS} h0л √0l 'river', {Rm.} g0l 'Fluß, Flußbett, Flußtal', Brt r0л 'river', Mnr H {T} g0l 'river', {SM} gū0r 'rivière, fleuve, espace entre deux montagnes où une rivière a eu ou a encore son lit', Mgl √0l 'river bed', Ord g_0l 'rivière, fleuve' ¶ MED 362, BMR I 419-20, SM 125, T 325, Rm. M 28, KRS 165, KW 149-50, Ms. O 305 || Tg (Tg *-o_l;- < **-o_w- < pA *-ob-): WrMc {Z} r0л0 'main deep part of the riverbed, valley; province', Mc Sb {Mrm.} g0l0, {Y} /g0lə/ [g0l] 'province' ¶ Z 341-2, Hr 347, Klz. MS 182, Y no. 1032 || pKo {S} *k0r 'valley' > MKo k0r, NKo k0l id. ¶ S QK no. 683, Nam 51, 90, MLC 156 || pJ {S} *kura > OJ kura, kuratani 'deep valley' ¶ S QJ no. 1604 ¶¶ SDM 561 (pA *g0blu 'valley' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 543, SDM97 (A *g0w|∇lu 'valley'), S AJ 19, 70, Rm. SKE 121 (Ko, T, M, Tg), Rm. EAS I 48, KW 150, STM I 160 (M, Mc), Whtm. 191, 222, Mr. KJ 245, Mr. CL 39 || D *k0lli ({ǵGS} *k-) 'valley' > Ml k0lli 'valley, corner', Kn k0lli, kolle 'a bend, corner, gulf, bay', Klm k0lli 'small stream with rocky bed', Tu k0lli 'a bay' ¶¶ The meaning 'corner, bend' may be due to contamination with a different √ ¶¶ D no. 1839 ◇ The expected initial cns. in IE is *g_l^wh_l-. In the prehistory of Clt the labiovelar cns. is likely to have lost its labiality in the preconsonantal position ◇ Hardly here FU *k0l|∇ 'crack, slit, gap' (> F k0l0 'hole', Vt k w a l d- 'sich spalten', pOs *k0l- / *k0l- 'Spalte, Zwischen-raum' etc.; see UEW 174-5) because of the cns. *-l- and for lack of typologically reliable semantic connection (⇔ Blz, LNA) ◇ ≠ IS I 231-2 no. 86 (*g0l|H0 'heart' in K *g0l- id. and A {IS} *g0l|∇¹ 'middle'), ≈ Blz. DA 161 [no. 94] (suggesting to adduce Clt, WCh and CCh + unc. U), Blz. NDA no. 99 (D, HS + unc. U and [?] Clt *glendo- 'edge, valley').

621. ?₂ *gū|u_lʔ_l|∇ (= *gū|u_lʔ_l|∇ (m∇)?) or *gū|u_lʔ_lL∇ (m∇) '≈ roe deer, antelope, (?) goat' > HS: S *o_l√glm > Ar جَلَمٌ ḡalam- (coll.), pl. ḡilām- {BK} 'espèce de mouton de Taïf (aux jambes hautes, dépourvues de laine); bouc; chevreau' ¶ Fr. I 298, BK I 318 || C: Bj {R} ḡūlāh 'female *Sterpsiceros* antelope' ¶ R WBd 95 || A: NaT *k'ü_l;_llmiz (or *k_l;_llmiz) roe deer' (*Capreolus*) > OT Kr külmiz 'female roe deer', Shor, Xk külbüs, Tv x y л б γ с 'male wild goat', StAlt külmüs, Sg/Qb {Rl.} külbüs, Tf hū lbūs 'male roe deer' ¶ Cl. 718, Shch. Zh 121, ET KQ 139, TL 153-4, Ra. 192, BT 99, BIG 95, Rl. II 1479 ◇ NaT *k'- may be explained

as going back to N *g...?. If the NaT cns. cluster *-lm- is ancient, the original *-l- cannot be excluded, hence the N etymon is to be formulated as *gū|u_l?_l∇ (m∇).

622. *gōl_l?_l∇ 'belly, entrails' > K *gul- 'heart, breast' > OG, G gul-i id., Mg, Lz gur-i, Sv: UB/LB/Ln {TK} gwi, L {TK} gu, Δ {K ← ?} guh- 'heart' ¶¶ K 66, K² 35, FS K 88-9 and FS E 93-4 (in all four sources *gul-); K p.c. (*gw_l)-) (F in IS I 231 fn.), Schm. 103, Chik. 65-6, TK 181-2 || D *kōl- ({†GS} *k-?) 'belly, entrails' (× N *k∇L_l∇_ly∇ 'lumbar region?') > Krx kūl 'belly, stomach, womb', Mlt {Drs.} kólī 'abdomen', Brh xōl 'womb, entrails'; D ⇨ OI ∧ kō'la- 'breast, lap', Prkr kōli 'breast, bosom', Lhn kōlī 'chest of an animal' etc. (F Tu. no. 3607) ¶¶ ≈ D no. 2244 (hyp. with a query: D ⇨ InA), ≈ Pf. 169 (the same hyp.), Tu. no. 3607 (admitting that the word is originally not Aryan) ¶ To my mind, the D word was borrowed not from, but into InA at an early epoch (probably from the northern dialects of D, with which OI first came into contact) || IE: NaIE *g^hel-ond- / *g^hol-ŋd- 'entrails' > Gk χολάδες pl. 'bowels, guts', χόλκκες pl. 'guts/bowels of oxen' || SI *želqđb, *želqđ-ъкъ, *želqđ-ъсб 'stomach' > OR želudъ, želudъкъ, RChS želudъкъ, R, Uk же'лудок, Blg же'лудък, SCr žèludac, Slv želôdec, Cz žaludek ~ žaloudek, P źoładek id. ¶ P 435, F II 1108-9, ≠ Vs. II 44, Glh. 707 ¶ The lack of labialization in *g^h- still remains unexplained || HS: Ch: WCh: Cg {Sk.} gālèn, Kry {Sk.} g^walánží 'heart' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} gálbìne ~ gélbìne, Mgm {J} gàlbígè 'heart', Ll {WeibP} mú-gúlú, {Grgs} múglú, Ms {ChL} mugula, Bnn {ChL} mōgũla, BnnM {ChL} mugulna, Msm {ChL} mugul 'heart' ¶ WeibP s.v. mú-gúlú 'heart', ChL III, ChC s.v. 'heart' ◇ The long vw. in D (and the short *e in IE) may point to a lr. after the N cns. *l. The loss of that eventual N lr. in IE (*g^hol-ŋd-) suggests that the lr. could be only *? ◇ ≠ IS I 231-2 no. 86 (*gōlH∧ 'heart' in K *gul- id. and pA {IS} *gōl∧ 'middle'). In the light of the facts known today, the A word is not akin to K *gul- 'heart', but belongs to N *gōwlu (or *gōwlü?) 'deep; valley' (q.v.).

622a. *ga^ryU^ll^rü|u 'tortoise' > HS: CS *gall- id. > MHb 𐰇𐰪 gal (pl. 𐰇𐰪𐰪 gal'lī m) id., Sr 𐰇𐰪 ~ 𐰇𐰪 gal'lā, Md gala id. ¶ Lv. I 328, Br. 115, DRS 126 || Ch: ECh: Mkl {J} gâlè 'tortoise' || WCh: Dr {ChL} gùldúkú 'small tortoise' || ? CCh: Lm {Lk.} kúl^rkúrédí 'tortoise' ¶ ChL I 133, ChC s.v. 'tortoise' || IE *g^heluh_x- ({EI} *'g^heluh-(s)) > NaIE *g^helū- ~ *g^h(e)lōy 'tortoise' > Gk χέλις, χελύνη id. || SI *žel+ / *želъv- > RChS жєлѣ

želɤ, gen. ЖЕЛЪВЕ želɤv-e, SCr (Δ?) žèlva, Slv žēlva, OCz želva, P źółw, gen. źółwi, R Δ ЖОЛВЬ 'tortoise' ¶ WP I 631, P 435, EI 595, F II 1086-7, Vs. II 41, Ma. CS 593, HIK 443 || A: ? Tg: WrMc {Z} гялты 'a marine fish that resembles a long belt' (or 'cuttlefish?') ¶ The palatalized initial stop (g iɥ- [ǵ-]) is still to be explained ¶ STM I 138, Z 372, Sin. TM 272 (on the Mc palatalized cnss spelled as C iɥ-) || D: [1] D *kull- ({{ǰGS} *g-) 'shellfish, shell' > Tu gulla 'small shellfish', Tl gulla 'a shell, a white pustule', Prj gula 'snail', gulli 'shell, cowrie', Kui gola, goli 'shell' (reborrowing of the D word from Oriya?) || [2] Tm kiliricil 'bivalve, mussel, oyster shell', Ml kilirici 'a shellfish', kiliricil 'oyster shell' ¶¶ D no-s 1585 and 1795 ◇ The odd element -iɥ- in the Mc cognate suggests that the original word had some additional internal phonemes, so that the N etymon may be something like *ga'y∇'l'p̄u (cp. WrMc [Z 275] r iōπo 'crown of head' [{STM} ǵōlo ~ ǵōlu] and Mj gaylli 'head', both possibly from N *goy∇Lu 'skull' [see s.v. *goLu 'head, skull']). D *- in Tm kiliricil and Ml kilirici points to N *l + a laryngeal; the only laryngeals that can disappear in S are N *ʔ and *h (denoted together as *ʔ). D *-u- in *kull- suggests a labial vw. before *-l-, sc. a N etymon *ga'yU'l'p̄u. Tm kiliricil points to a N word-final *ū as preferable to *u. The pIE final *H may suggest the existence of a lr. in the final syll., supporting the rec. of N *ga'yU'l'p̄u.

623. ₂ *goLy∇, lɥ∇ 'pudendum muliebre' > HS: WS *✓gɥ 'clitoris, foreskin' > Mh {Jo.} gɥlōt, Jb E/C {∂Jo.} giŝ'ɥɥt 'clitoris' (assimilatory glottalization *-lɥ- > *-ŝɥ-), Sr gəlaɥ't-ā 'foreskin', Ar جلع ✓ǵɥ G 'ôter\enlever le prépuce (dans la circoncision)' (× Ar ✓ǵɥ G 'ôter l'habit, le vêtement') ¶ Jo. M 118, Jo. J 75, JPS 71, Br. 119, BK I 316, DRS 131, MiK I no. 1.76 || SC: Irq {MQK} gʷalāy (pl. gʷalē), {E} gʷalay, Qz {E} gilaʔiko 'vagina' ¶ E SC 372, MQK 42 || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} gùlé, {ChL} gʷùléy 'vagina', Msg {Mch.}, Msg Ng {GKrs. → Lk.} gi'liŋ, Msg {Röd. → Lk.} 'gili 'pudendum muliebre' ¶ ChC s.v. 'vagina', ChL, Lk. M 56 || D *koLy∇, lli ({{ǰGS} *ʳg¹-) 'pudendum muliebre' > Kn, Tl gollī, Tu koyilæ id. ¶¶ D no. 2138 ◇ Blz. DA 155-6 [no. 37] (D, SC, Ch), Blz. NDA no. 36 (D, ?S, C, Ch).

624. *giT'h'o 'to shine, to glitter, to sparkle' > IE *ǵʰelʰH₂ω¹- / *ǵʰleHω¹- ({{EI} *ǵʰel- ~ *gʰel- 'yellow') > NaIE *ǵʰelə- / *ǵʰlō- 'yellow, green' > OI 'hari-h̄ 'pale, yellowish, greenish', Av za'ri- 'yellow(ish), gold-colored', Av za'rita-, Phl zart, NPrs زرد zärd 'yellow, pale', زر

zär 'gold', KhS *ysar* - 'be reddish\yellow', *ysar ūna* 'yellow, red', NPrs زريون *zär-yūn* {Sg.} 'yellow; green and pleasant', Sgd *z r ḡ ω n* 'green'; -> OI *hiranyam*, Av *zaranya-*, OPrs *daraniya-*, Sgd *zyrn* 'gold', KhS *ysarrnaa-* 'golden' ||| Gk *χολή* 'gall' (< *'yellow'), *χλόη* 'the first green shoot of plants (in spring)', *χλωρός* 'greenish-yellow, pale green' ||| L *helvus* 'honey-colored, isabel-yellow', (*h*)*olus*, -*eris*, †*helus* 'culinary vegetable, potherb' (< *'green') ||| Clt {Matas,} **gelo-* 'yellow, white' > OIr *gel* 'white, shining', NIr *geal* 'bright, white', MW, W *gell* 'yellow', OBr {Flr.} *gel* 'brun, roussâtre', MBr *guel(l)* (*gell*) 'bai, roux, brun', Br *gell* 'brown' ('brun, bai'); a Clt lge -> L *gilvus* 'pale yellow' (of horses) (Ert ED 169-70) ||| ON *gulr*, OHG *gēlo* (adj. *gēlawēr*), NHG *gelb*, OSx *gelo*, AS *ǰeolu* 'yellow', NE *yellow* ||| Ltv 1s pres. *zeļū* / inf. *zeļt* 'become\grow green', Lt 1s pres. *želiū* / inf. *želti* 'grow, sprout' (of plants), *želvas* 'greenish, yellowish'; Lt *žalias*, Ltv *zaļš*, Pru *saligan* ({En.}: [*zalyan*]?) 'green' || SI **zelenъ* (jъ) 'green' > OCS *зеленъ* *zelenъ*, Blg *зелен*, SCr *zelen*, Slv *zelèn*, Cz, Slk *zelený*, P *zielony*, R *pradj.* 'зелен, attr. зеленýй, Uk *зелений* id.; pSI **zelyje* > OCS *zeli je* 'λάχανον, vegetables', OR *zeli je* id., 'potion', R 'зелье' 'potion', Blg 'зеле, Cz *zelí* 'cabbage', SCr *zělje* = *zělje* 'greens; sorrel', Slv *zélje* 'grass' ||| -> NaIE (dial.) **ǵʰel-t-* / **ǵʰol-t-* 'gold' (<- NaIE forms that had lost **a* in the prevoc. position?) > Gmc: Gt *gulþ*, ON *gull* ~ *goll*, NNr *gull*, Sw, Dn *guld*, OHG *gold*, NHG *Gold*, AS *ǰold* 'gold', NE *gold* ||| Ltv *zēlts* 'gold', Lt E *želtas* 'golden, gold-colored' || SI **zolto* 'gold' > OCS *злато* *zlatо*, Blg 'злато, SCr *zlāto*, Slv *zlatō*, Cz, Slk *zlatо*, P *złoto*, R, Uk 'золото' ¶ P 429-30, Mn. 413-14, M K III 581, M E II 805-6, F II 1104-6, 1109-10, Vl. II 126, Sg. 612-17, Gersh. AM 25, 29, Bai. 346-8, WH II 600, 639, 654, SB 112, Flr. 173, Ern. 296-7, Matas. E 156, Hm. 311, Dnn. 354, OsS 296, 340, Kb. 325, KM 244, 264, Ho. 127, 134, Ho. S 25, Vr. 194, Hlq. 311-12, Fs. 224-5, Frn. 1287, 1296-7, En. 241, Glh. 694-7, Vs. II 92-3, 103-4, StSS 235, ≈ EI 654 (**ǵʰel-* ~ **gʰel-* 'yellow' with the var. **gʰel-* based on Lt *geĩtas* 'yellow' [that in fact belongs to IE **gʷʰel-* 'yellow, gall' > L *fel* 'gall' etc.]) || HS: S ***ǵlʰ* > **ǵlʷ|y* > Ar *جلو* *ǵlʷ* (pf. *ǵalā*) 'rendre brillant\éclatant\ resplen-dissant', n. *ǵilāʔ-* 'éclat, brillant' and n. act. of *ǵlʷ* 'rendre brillant' ¶ BK I 320-1 || U: FU (att. in BF) **okīl|∇-* v. 'glitter, shine' > F *kiilu-* v. 'glimmer, glisten',

kiil-tä- v. 'shine, glisten', Es *kiilas* 'glossy, glazed', Vp *kiłtata-* v. 'shine (glitter, sparkle)' ¶ SK 191, ZM 205 ¶ The BF √ is ambiguous. It might alternatively belong together with IE **ǵel-* 'bright; to shine', but the corresponding M and Tg roots indicate that the initial cns. was voiced, hence it is preferable to equate all of them with IE **ǵʰelH^ω-*, which is confirmed by the long *ī* in BF (pointing to a presence of a lr. in N) ||

А **gil*∇- 'shine (glänzen), glitter' > M **gilü-*, **gila-* > MM [MA] *gile-* in *gilečikū hodut* 'shining stars', WrM {MED} *gilūgen* 'shimmering, bright'; WrM {MED} *gilai-*, {Rm.} *gilai-* ~ *gilui-* v. 'shine', HIM *гялай-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'glänzen', Brt *ялай-* 'glänzen, glittern', Kl {Rm.} *gili-* 'blinken, schimmern, funkeln', as well as possibly M **gilu|üŋ* > WrM {MED} *giluŋ* ~ *gilüŋ* 'shiny, smooth', Ord *gölöŋ* 'brillant, reluisant, uni', Mnr {SM} *з̣ilōn* 'shimmering, bright, smooth', Kl {Rm.} *gilŋ* 'shimmernd, hell', {KRS} *гилŋ-гилŋ ги-* 'чуть блестеть, слегка поблескивать'; ? M **gilba-* > WrM *gilba-* {MED} v. 'flash, beam', HIM *гялба-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'ярко блестеть; сверкать', WrM *gilbe-* {MED} v. 'flash\shine in the distance', HIM *гилбэ-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'полыхать', Brt *ялбэ-* 'сверкать', Kl {KRS} *гилвк-* *gilwakə-* v. 'shimmer, gleam (мерцать, поблескивать)', {Rm.} *gilwa-* 'glänzen, schimmern', Ord *gilba-* 'faire des éclairs, briller, scintiller' ¶ M **gilba-* may go back to pA **gilu-a-* with *-u- from N *-o in **giṭṭʰo* ¶ Pp. MA 172, MED 382-4, BMR I 485-6, Chr. 798, KRS 144, KW 136, SM 87, Ms. O 265-6, 270 || Tg **gil-*, **gil-ta-* ~ **gil-te-* vi. 'glänzen' > Ewk PT/Brg/Y/Np *giltana-*, Ul *giltən-*, Nn Nh/Bk *giltən-*, Sln *gilūtə-* id., Ew Ucr/Chmk *geltan*, Ewk Brg *giltas* adj. 'shining (glänzend)', Ork *gilzmji* 'shining' (of eyed), WrMc {Z} *гилтахунь, гилтари* 'shining, clean, bright' ¶ STM I 151-2, On. 105, Z 335 || pJ {S} **kirà-* 'shining, glittering' > OJ *kṷṷira-kṷṷira-si* 'beautiful', MJ *kirà-kirà* {S} 'shining, glittering', J T *kira-kira*, J K *kirà-kirà*, J Kg *kira-kira* 'glitteringly', J T/Kg *kira-mék-*, J K *kirá-mék-* v. 'glitter, glisten, sparkle' ¶ S QJ no. 805, Mr. 708, Kenk. 969 ¶¶ SDM 544-5 (pA **gile|i|o-* v. 'shine, glitter' > Tg **gilta-*, M **gil(b)a-*, J), DQA no. 510, KW 136, IS I 230 ◇ The N lr. is tentatively reconstructed as **h* (which is the only N lr. that both yields **a* in NaIE and is liable to be lost in S [between vowels], later yielding Ar -ʔ- in certain hiatus positions) ◇ In some lges we observe the meaning 'smooth' (Lv *kīlaz*, M **gilu|üŋ*), either resulting from an independent metonymic change (smooth things [such as ice] are shining) or induced

by words going back to the paronymous N etymon ***gU₁E₁hU** 'be smooth') ◇ ≈ IS I 229-30 [no. 84] (***gi^rh₁u** = ***gi^rh₁u** 'smooth and shining': IE, FU, M, Tg; ***÷** words for 'smooth' [N {AD} ***gU₁E₁hU**]) ◇ Gr. II no. 337 (***kel** 'shine') (IE, U and A [all = IS], J + qu. Gil).

625. *gU₁E₁hU 'be smooth' > IE ***g^hleH^ω-d^h-** / ***g^hlH₁^ω-d^h-** 'be smooth', {EI} ***g^hleHd^h-(ro-)** 'smooth' > NaIE ***g^hlōd^h-** / ***g^hlad^h-** 'be smooth' > L *glaber* 'smooth, without hair, bald' || ON *glǫðr*, OFrs *gled*, OHG, MHG *glat*, NHG *glatt* 'smooth'; the semantic variant ON *glǫðr*, OHG, MHG *glat* 'shining, glänzend', AS *zlae|æd* id., 'glad, pleasant', NE *glad* is due to the infl. of (or goes back to) the reflexes of N ***gi^rh₁o** 'to shine, to glitter' || Lt *gluodnūs*, *gluōdnas*, *glodūs* '(uo < *ō < *eH^ω) 'smooth', {Frn.} 1s pres. *glódžiu* / inf. *glósti* v. 'polieren, schleifen, glätten', Ltv 1s pres. *glāstu* / inf. *glāst(t)īt* v. 'stroke, caress', Pru *glosto* 'whetstone' || Sl ***°gladъ** > SCr † *glad* 'smooth'; Sl ***gladъ-къ(jь)** 'smooth' > OCS **ГЛАДЪКЪ** *gladъкъ* 'smooth' ({StSS} 'гладкий, ровный'), Blg 'гладък', SCr *glāđak*, Slv *gládek*, Cz, Slk *hladký*, P *gładki*, R, Uk 'гладкий', Uk *гладкий* 'smooth'; caus. v. Sl inf. ***gladiti** 'make smooth' (→ v. 'iron, stroke') > OCS inf. **ГЛАДНТИ** *gladiti* (· *λάυνειν*, *laevigare*, *limare*, *mulcere*) 'гладить (glätten, streicheln), R inf. 'гладить', Uk inf. 'гладити', SCr inf. *glāđiti*, Cz inf. *hladiti*, P inf. *gładzić* id. ¶ P 431-2, EI 529, WH I 603, OsS 335, WW 115, Kb. 325, Lx. 73, KM 260, Ho. 132, Frn. 158, En. 179, IS I 230, Vs. I 409. Bern. I 300-1, ESSJ VI 114-17, StSS 170 || **HS**: WS ***√g^lh** 'be bald' > BHb, JA [Trg.], JEA **𐎠𐎡𐎢** *√g^lh D* (caus.) 'cut/shave the hair', Ar *√ǧ^lh* (pf. **جَالِحَ** *ǧaliḥa*, ip. -*ǧlaḥ-*) 'lose one's hair on both sides of the head', (pf. **جَالِحَ** *ǧalaḥa*) 'eat away the bark of trees, leave the tree "bald" (without bark)' (of camels), *ǧalaḥ-* 'baldness on both sides of the hair', Gz *√g^ωl^h* (pf. *g^ωalḥa*) 'be shaved', Tgr *√g^lh G* 'be bald, shave one's hair', Tgy *√g^ωl^hy* (pf. *g^ωeḥayē*) 'raser la tête (pendant la période de deuil)' ¶ KB 185, KBR 193, GB 141, Sl. 285-6, Js. 247, Ln. 441-2, BK I 312, Hv. 94, L G 191, LH 441-2, DRS 123, StSS 170 || C: Bj {R} **g^ωǎl^ʔa** 'Glatze am Vorderkopf' ¶ R WBd 95 || **K** ***°glu₁ω₁-** 'smooth' > G *glu*, *gluV-i* 'smooth, even', *gluV-* 'be smooth' ¶ Chx. 198, DCh. 324 || **U**: FU ***kü^l∇-** 'be smooth/slippery' > Prm ***gúlit** > Vt *g^ll^t* 'smooth, slippery', Z *g^ll^d* 'slippery, slipping (скользящий)', 'good for skiing \ driving in a sledge' (of snow-covered ground) || ?? Lv *kīlaz* 'smooth, covered with ice' (× N ***gi^rh₁o** 'to shine, to glitter', as

suggested by the final -az, common with Es -as [Es kiilas 'glossy, glazed'] || pOs *kōl̥ə ([HL] *kūl̥ə) 'smooth, slippery' > Os: V/Vy kōli, Y kōli, Nz qūl̥ə, Kz qūli, O quli ¶ UEW 156, Coll. 80, LG 84, Stn. D 625, Hl. rHt 71, Tv. FUI 54, Kt. 133 || ?φ **A**: (× N *gīT'h'o '↑') M *gilu|ūŋ 'smooth, bright' > WrM gilur̥ ~ gilūŋ 'shimmering, bright, smooth', Mnr {SM} z'ilōn 'luisant, lisse, uni, glabre', Kl {Rm.} giləg 'blank, glänzend, blinzelnd', Ord g_ölōŋ 'brillant, reluisant, chauve, uni' ¶ MED 382-3, KW 136, SM 87-8, Ms. O 270 ◇ IE *g^h- (rather than *g^{wh}-) is because of its preconsonantal position ◇ ≈ IS I 229-30 [no. 84] (*gī'ʔ'ḥu 'smooth and shining': S, K, IE; *÷ words for 'shining' [our N *gīT'h'o]).

626. ₂ *gūLz̥∇ 'bend, twist' > **HS**: S *^o✓glz > Ar ✓ğlz G 'plier, ployer, rouler; tortiller, tordre avec force' ¶ BK I 314, DRS 122 || B: [1] *^o✓glz > Rif sə-gilləz 'bouleverser' || [2] ?σ B *^o✓gllz > Kb gliləz, Wrg glilləz 'se rouler, se vautrer sur le sol'; SB with the px *z∇ -: Ah zə-ğğələlləh, ETwl, Ty zəgəlluləz, Gh pf. iszğələləz 'se rouler dans la poussière' ¶ Dl. 258, Pr. H 41 [no. 100], Fc. 435, Dlh. Ou 96-7, NZ 791 || **A**: M *gulz̥ay̥i- vi. 'bend' > WrM gulzai- {MED} id., HIM гулзай- {MED} id., {BMR} 'кривиться, коситься, sich krümmen', Kl {KRS} һулжи- gulž̥i- 'be bent\crooked', {Rm.} gulž̥ī- 'seinen Kopf abwärts oder seitwärts drehen' (vom Pferde), Ord g_ulž̥ī- 'être recourbé en bas; laisser pendre la tête'; ⇨ : [1] WrO gulzū 'turned, twisted', Kl {KRS} һулзү gulzū 'twisted' (adj.), {Rm.} gulzū ;gedreht, verwirrt'; [2] M *^ogulz̥agay̥i > WrM gulzagar {MED} 'bending under its own weight', HIM гулзгай {MED} id., {BMR} awry, twisted, bent, slanting'; [3] M *^ogulz̥agay̥i,r > WrM gulzagar {MED} 'bending under its own weight', HIM гулзгар {MED} id., {BMR} awry, twisted, bent, slanting'; Kl {Rm.} gulž̥iṽār 'schiefhalsig; schiefäugig; schief (nicht gerade aus), sich seitwärts biegend', Ord g_ulž̥igir 'dont le bout est recourbé en bas' ¶ MED 367, BMR I 460, KRS 168-9, KW 154, Krg. 319, Ms. O 312.

626a. ₂ *gA|l̥∇ 'wind (ventus)' > **HS**: ECh: Smr {J} gāl̥e, Nd D }J} gāl̥, Tmk {Cp.} gāl̥ 'wind' || Lai: Kbly {Cp.} kàl̥z, Ll {Grgs} kàl̥o 'wind' ([reg.?] devoicing *g- > Lai k-) ¶ ChC s.v. 'wind', Cp. s.v. gāl̥, Cp. KL s.v. Kbly kàl̥z, J LS s.v. gale || **D**: [1] *kāl̥i 'wind' > Kn gāl̥i, gāl̥, Tu gāl̥i, gāl̥i, Knd, Ku gāl̥i, Tl gāl̥i 'wind, air', Kdg ga·li, Klm ga·li, Nkr ghāl̥i, Nk ghāl̥y, Gnd gāl̥ 'wind'; ? [2] Tm kāl̥ 'air, wind', Ml kāl̥u 'wind' ¶¶ The unexpected cns. l in Tm and Ml is still to be explained ¶¶ D no-s 1499 and 1481 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 162 [no. 97] (suggesting to equate Ch with D and erroneously

with T *kaI-, sc. with OT {Cl.} qalIq 'air, atmosphere, [visible] sky', sc. 'space above the earth' [in fact derived from OT qalI- v. 'rise in the air', see N *kaI_hi 'high; be high' and Cl. 620]).

627. *g^rUⁱÍ∇ 'season without vegetation' ('drought, dry season', 'winter') > K: GZ *gwaI- 'be' (of drought) (× N *gohI∇ 'fire, glow of coal', 'burn [brûler]') > OG gual-, G gval-/gol-, Mg goloP- 'be' (of drought), OG gualva, G gvalva 'drought' ¶ K² 28, Chx. 189, Abul. 97, DCh. 317 || **HS:** EC *gi_;laI- 'dry season, winter' > Sml {DSI} žīlāl 'stagione secca; stagione di siccità e carestia; inverno', Sml N žīlāl 'dry season', Af {PH} gīlal 'winter', Sa {Wlm.} gīlal 'highland harvest season' ¶ DSI 344, PH 113, Wlm. S s.v. gīlal || **A:** T *KIÍ 'winter' (× N *giÍ∇ ᵀ∇^rd^r∇ 'ice, frost; to freeze' [q.v.] or its initial component *giÍ∇) > OT {Cl.}, XwT XIV, OQp XIV qIš, Tk kIš, Tkm, Az gIš, Ggz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Ln, Qrg, StAlt, Xlj qIš, Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY, Yk qIs, VTt, Bsh qbš, Uz, ET qIš, Xk χIs, Tv, Tf qIš, Chv xěл xьl 'winter' ¶ Cl. 670, ET Q 253-4, Rs. W 268, Ra. 224, Md. 70, 131, 168, IS AG 342 [fn. 15], Pek. 1438, Ash. XVII 15-17, 19-20, Fed. II 341-2, Jeg. 297, ChVS 248 ¶ Possible contamination with (or infl. of) T *KöÍ- (> NaT *Köš-) 'feel cold' (see N *küÍ∇ or *kuÍE 'cold; to freeze') ◇ The delabialization N *u > T s* I occurs in several N words and needs further investigation. It is not necessarily explained by the infl. of N *giÍ∇ ◇ ≠ S NSShS (equated GZ *gwaI- with pA *k'q|u|öla 'get/make dry', see N *KoxLa 'be dry').

627a. *gUhÍE ≈ 'canine' > **HS:** B: Ah {Fc.} a-ǧūlah 'male wolf' (< *gūI∇β < N *°gUhÍE bA with *bA of animal names?) ¶ Fc. 429, Pr. H no. 95, NZ 779 || C: Bj {R} ga'lāb (pl. ga'lab) 'striped hyena' < N *°gUhÍE bA || SC: pRt {E} *g^wehela 'jackal' or 'dog' > Kz {E} g^wehela 'jackal', Brn {E} g^wehera, Alg {E} g^wihira, g^wehera 'dog' ¶ R WBd 95, E SC 328 || Ch: WCh: Grn {Jgr, ChC} g^yulúm 'hyena' || CCh: Gudu {ChC} kúIzm id., ? Mtk {Sb.} ηǧəléηǧəlé, ?? Glv {Rp., ChC} ηǧəlaχbáǧəvà, {ChL} ηəlexbáǧəvà id. ¶ JI II 204-5, Jgr 185, ChL, ChC s.v. 'hyena' || **K:** GZ *mgel- 'wolf' > OG mgel-, G mgel- ~ gel-, Mg ger-, Lz mge(r)- ~ gwer- ~ mžwer- 'wolf' ¶ K 130, Chik. 87 ¶ The initial *m- is a nominal px || **A** *gōÍEg- 'young canine, whelp' (or 'young mammal?') > M *gōIEgen 'young animal', esp. 'young dog' (× N *goL∇ 'foetus, baby') > WrM {Kow.} gölige, {MED} gölige ~ gölüge 'pup. young dog or cat', Brt гүлгэ(н) id., HIM {MED} гөлөг id., {BMR} гөлөг(н) id., Kl {Rm.} gölgə 'junges Tier, juunges Hund', {KRS} гөлг göləg 'young animal', esp.

'young dog', Mnr H {T} gōlgō, Mnr {SM} g_uōrg_uō 'le petit du chien, jeune chien', Ord g_olōgō 'jeune de chien \ de chat'; M *gōlEgele- > WrM {MED} gōlūgele- v. 'whelp', HIM rθlθrθ- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'whelp' (of dogs), Brt rγrγθr-, Kl {KRS} rθlθrθ- id., {Rm.} gōlg]- 'Junge werfen' (von Hunden), Ord g_olōgōlō- 'mettre bas' (chien, chat) ¶ The M element *-gen may be connected with the M dim. sx *-qan/*-ken (F Pp. GPMJ 107, Pp. IM 239) ¶ MED 386, BMR I 444, Chr. 165, Kow. 2602, KW 137-8, KRS 146, SM 143, T 323, Ms. O 270 || T *k_lk'ṓlek > Blgh ⇨ Hg kōlγōk 'young of an animal; whelp, puppy, kitten' || NaT *k_lk'ṓšæk 'a young animal' > OT {Cl.} kōšäk id., MQp kō:šæk 'camel colt', Tk kōšæk, Tkm kōšæk, Az kōšäk, Ggz, Qq kōšæk, Uz Δ {Shch.} kōšäk, kōšäläk id., Osm XIV kōšæk id., {Rl.} 'young of an animal' ¶ Cl. 753, Shch. Zh 106, ET KQ 126-7, Rl. II 1305, MT II 608 ¶ A *g- suggests that the initial vns. in T is *k_l-. According to IS (IS AG 339-42) A *g- is a regular reflex of T *k'- ¶¶ SDM 717 (pA *k|gṓl|e(k∇) 'young of animals' > M, T), DQA no. 898, Pp. VG 25, 78, IS AG 341, KW 137 ¶¶ The pA semantic component 'young' is probably connected with the dim. sx *-g-.

628. *gií∇ r∇'d'∇ (= *gií∇ h∇'d'∇?) ice, frost; to freeze' (and *gií∇ 'ice, frost') > IE: NaIE *g^he_lad- 'ice, hail' > NPrs رآل , رآله žāle 'hoarfrost, dew; hail', Tj жолa 'hail, dew' (acc. to Rast. SGZIJ 107, *-ld- > pIrn *-rd- > NPrs and Tj -l-) || Gk Hm χάλαζα n. 'hail' || Sl *želd- > OCS {P} жлѣда h_lda 'frozen rain', Slv žlěd 'ice-covered ground, Glatteis', P žlódz 'frozen rain, ice-covered ground', Uk ожеледа 'rain with snow, ice-covered ground' ¶ WP I 629-30, P 435, EI 287 (*g^he_lh₂d- ~ *g^h](h₂)ed- 'hail'), Vl. II 175 (NPrs رآل žāle 'hail'), BM 265, Sg. 636, Horn 152, RTdS 187, 975, F II 1065-6, Mikl. E 407-8, Brü. 665 || HS: S ✓ gld 'freeze' > Ar ✓ ġld (pf. جلد ġalida) 'be frozen' (of ground), جليد ġalīd- 'hoarfrost, ice', JA {Trg.}, JEA رآل ġalīd-ā, MHb رآل ġalīd 'ice', Sr رآل ġalīdā 'ice, crystal', P aġlīd-ā 'ice, frost', NNEA {Orh., DRS} رآل ġlīdā 'ice'; in the S lges there is secondary association and sometimes coalescence with the root *✓ gld 'be(come) hard' ¶ BK I 313-14, Hv. 95, Lv. I 331, Sl. 287, DRS 118, JPS 70, Orh. 86, DRS 119 || A *gií_ld∇ (or *gi'í_ld∇ and *'g'í_ld∇) 'cold, winter' > Tg *gil'd∇ 'cold' > Ewk gilli ≈ gildi, Neg giligdī ~ gilisi, Lm gildə ≈ gilrə ≈ gilla adj. 'cold' (of a liquid), Ud {Rm.} gilihi adj. 'cold' ¶

STM I 151, Krm. 222 || T *KIÍ 'winter' (× N *g'U'Í∇ 'season without vegetation' ['drought, dry season', 'winter'], q.v.) > OT {Cl.}, XwT XIV, OQp XIV KIŠ, Tk KIŠ, Tkm, Az qIŠ, Ggz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Ln, Qrg, StAlt, Xlj qIŠ, Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY, Yk qIS, VTt, Bsh qḅŠ, Uz, ET qIŠ, Xk χIS, Tv, Tf qIŠ, Chv xěл xбл 'winter' ¶ Cl. 670, ET Q 253-4, Rs. W 268, Ra. 224, Md. 70, 131, 168, IS AG 342 [fn. 15], Pek. 1438, Ash. XVII 15-17, 19-20, Fed. II 341-2, Jeg. 297, ChVS 248 || pJ *kìsàra-(n)ki 'second month of the lunar calendar (February-March)' > OJ k_Ly_J isarag_Ly_Ji, MJ kisaragí id., J T kìsaragi, J K kísárágí, J Kg kisaragí {Kenk.} id., 'February' ¶ Mr. 451, Kenk, 975 ¶¶ The absence of the reflex of pA *d in T and J is still to be explained. The T and J words may go back to N *giÍ∇ without the second N component *ʔ∇'d'∇, as in pCK {Md.} *ʔīl 'ice, block of ice' (Md. ECK 42) ¶¶ SDM 545 and DQA no. 511 (A *gìíò 'cold' > Tg, T, pJ), Rm. EAS I 110, Ml. JKA 114, TL 76 ◇ The IE velar *g^h- is quite reg. In the framework of AD's theory on N vowels in the IE prehistory (AD NGIE and NVIE) it is explained as follows: N *giÍ- > pre-IE *g^hαj̥l- > *g^hαl- (loss of glides before a sonant) > IE *g^heɫ- (*α is transformed into the apophonic vw.). IE *g^h...d for the expected *g^h...d^h is still to be explained (ds?). The vw. *ə in NaIE *g^heɫəd- suggests that N *ʔ is to be reconstructed as *h.

629. ₂ *g'A'm∇ (and *g'A'mɛ∇?) 'altogether, full' > HS: S: [1] CS *✓ gmm 'be full; gather' > Ar ✓ ḡmm (pf. جَمَّ ḡamma) id., 'be filled up' (of a well), 'collect in a well' (water), 'fill', Ar Mgr ✓ ḡmm D 'remplir la mesure jusqu'au bord', possibly also BHb 𐩦𐩣 gam, Ug gm, M'b, J'd gm 'also'; [2] WS *✓ gmɛ (× S ✓ gmɛ 'fist, handful' < N *góm∇ or *gómɛ∇ 'hand, fist') > Ar جمع ✓ ḡmɛ, Mh ✓ gmɛ (pf. ḡūma, subj. yəḡmē ~ yəḡmē?), Jb C ḡī v. 'gather', Ar ḡumɛ- 'totalité, le tout' ¶ BK I 321-2, 326-9, HJ 225, KB 187-8, KBR 195-6, OLS 147, Jo. M 120, DRS 141-3 || B: Shl gum, 3m igum 'be enough', Kb ḡḡamḡam 'être plein à ras de bord' ¶ NZ 797, 799, Dl. 259 || C: HEC *gumʔa 'all' (possible infl. of Ar ḡumɛ- 'réunion à un seul') > Hd, Kmb guʔma 'all', Sd {Gs.} guma- vi. 'assemble, gather' || SC: Brn {Blz. ← ?} ḡoŋ 'all' ¶ Hd. 19, 280, 319, Gs. 133, Blz. RL 256 || Ch: WCh: AG {Hf.} *gam 'fill, be(come) full' > Gmy/Mnt {Hf.} gam id., Su {J, Hf.} gam, {IL} gàm, Tal {IL} gàm 'full', Su {J} vt. 'fill', Ang {Lax} gàm id., {Flk.} gam vt. 'fill, complete' || BT: Dr {Nw.} ḡmì, Pr {Frz.} kémò 'fill' (*g- > Pr k-), ? Bl {Lk.} gom- 'zusammentreffen', ? BT *ŋ-g∇m- > Ngm {Sch.} ŋgama 'full', Bl {IL} ŋg^ωómáni 'full', Krkr {Sch.} nžàmú 'fill', Gera ŋgùm-tì-mí, Glm {Sch.} ŋgànd-ǎlà vi. 'be full', vt. 'fill', Grm ñàm-tǎ 'fill'; ?

Pr kómú-ràŷ 'everybody' ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} gəm 'also' ¶ JI II 156, ChC s.v. 'full', J S 66, Hf. AG 24, Flk. s.v. gam, Nw. KL 125, Lax 113, Sch. BTL 87, 119, 137, 144, Lk. PVB 135, Frz. P 36-7, Eb. 50 ¶¶ OS no. 888 (*gam- 'be full': S, WCh) ||| A *gæ̌mu 'all', 'fill in' and *^ogām∇ 'all' > Tg *gemu ~ *gāmu 'all': [1] Tg *gemu > Ork {Pt.} гэм гэм ~ гым (? : there is no Ork phoneme ы) 'all of them, all, everything', WrMc {Z} гэмц 'all (of them), altogether', {Hr} gemu 'alle, insgesamt, sämtlich', Mc Sb {Mrm.} gem, gemu 'alle, alles, sämtlich, insgesamt', {Y} /gumə/ [gum] 'all', Jrc {Kiy.} gemur 'altogether', gemur ina 'all of it'] [2] Tg *gāmu > Orc gām 'all (of them), every, all kind of', WrMc {Z} ганьчжи 'all (of them, of him, of it) ¶ STM I 138, 179, Z 301, 321, Pt. JO 72, Z 301, 321, Hr 334, 343, Klz. MS 177, Y no. 2816, Kiy. 138 [no. 757], 145 [no. 841], S AJ 207 [no. 2] (Tg *gemu) || pJ {S} *kəm- 'be filled in, be stuffed' > OJ kòm- id., J T kóm-, J K/Kg kòm- {Kenk.} 'be crowded\packed' ¶ S QJ no. 865, Mr. 712, Kenk. 1042 || ??σ M {SDM} *gömürüge 'storage, depository, buttry' > MM {Lew.} гумерге, WrM {SDM, BMR} gömürge, HIM гөмрөг {BMR} 'склад, кладовая', Ord gürümek 'assemblage d'objets' ¶ Lew. II 20, BMR I 445, Ms. O 279 ¶¶ Tg *gāmu (and pA *^ogām∇) may go back to N *g^rA¹m∇ ¶¶ SDM 539 (pA *gèmo 'to complete, to fill in' > Tg *gemu, J, Ko, M), DQA no. 496 ◇ It is hard to decide if the basic HS √ is *√gm or *√gm∇, hence the N etymon may be either *g^rA¹m∇ or *g^rA¹m∇ (*g∇m∇ being less probable, because the cluster *m∇ is more likely to undergo as. to *η∇ that the cluster of *m with the approximant *∇). We cannot rule out the possibility that the N word with *∇ and that without it are two different words.

630. *g^re¹m∇ 'strong, firm' > HS: WS *√gmm > Ar √ğmm (pf. ^ωجَمَّ gamma) 'be abundant', 'be rich' (of vegetation), Jb {DRS} gim 'abonder, se collecter à nouveau' (water after being depleted) (× √gmm 'gather') ¶ BK I 321-2, Hv. 97, Jo. J 76, DRS 141 || Eg: DEg {Er.} gm 'Kraft, Stärke', Cpt: Sd бом com, B зом зом 'force, power' ¶ Er. 580, Crn. 330, Vc. 340 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gam- '(be) strong' > Su {J}, Ang {ChC} kam 'strong', {ChL} kam 'strength', Gmy kəm {ChC} 'strong', {ChL} 'strength' || Krkr {Stl.} n-gam, Tng {J} kwamunη 'firm' (*g- > Tng *k- regularly) || ? Hs gàmzō {Abr.} 'powerfully-built man' ¶ Stl. ZCh 217 [no. 674] (AG, Krkr), ChC s.v. 'strong', ChL I 21, 54, J T 187, Abr. H 294, Ba. 355 ||| U *k^re¹mä > FU *kämA 'hard, firm' > F kämä 'stiffness,

rigidity, inflexibility', *kä me ä* 'thick, firm' || Er *keme*, Mk *kemä* 'hard, firm' || Hg *kemény* id. || Sm: Slq Ke/NP {Cs.} *kô m*, Slq B {Cs.} *kû m* 'zäh, hart', Slq LTz {KD} *qō men*, Slq Tm {KD} *qō m* id., Kms {KD} *kom·d̪á m* vt. 'harden', *bãzã kom·d̪á m* 'harden iron', {Cs.} *komdeám, komdlám* '(Eisen) härten' || pY {IN H} **kimčz-*, **kimyuz-* > Y: K {IN} *kimdžš-* {IN} 'tighten', *kimdī-* v. 'fight', K {AD} *kimji-k* inv. id., 'bear up!' ('крепись'), {Iox.} (Iox. JR) *kimžeck* 'stand firm, take heart\courage' ('крепиться, мужаться'), {Ang. ← Iox. [texts]} *kimdeš-*, *kimdieš-* 'fest bleiben' ¶¶ UEW 137, Coll. 87, Sm. 545 (FU, FP **kämä*, Ugr **kämä*- 'hard'), MF 349-50, ERV 251, Cs. 121, 181, 232, KD 32, Iox. JR, AD YN, IN H 211, IN UJ 227, 306, Ang. 117, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [no. 20] (Y ← U) || D (att. in SD) **kēm-* ({†GS} **k-*) 'strong, hard' > Ml *kēmam* 'strength, solidity', Kn *kēmā* 'callosity, as that of a wart' ¶ D no. 2003 ◇ The correspondence between FU **ä* and D **ē* is irregular; it may be suggested that FU **ä* goes back to U **e* (as. **e...ä* > **ä...ä*), cf. pY **i* ◇ Blz. SNE no. 2 (U, D, ? Hs), ≈ Blz. KM 134-5 (incl. Ch, Eg, D).

630a. **gUm∇* 'heavy' > K: Sv: UB, LB, Ln *gʷämi*, Ls *gʷami* 'heavy' ¶ TK 179, Ni. s.v. 'тяжелый', GP 93 || HS: CCh: Msg Ng {Lk. ← GKrs.} *gumá*, Msg P {Trn.} *gɜma*, Mbara {TrnSL} *gímáy*, Mlw {Trn.} *gè má* 'heavy' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} *gʷòm*, Ll {Grgs} *gùmýá* 'big' ¶ TrnSL 262, Trn. LDM 24, Trn. MVM, Trn. LM 90, ChC s.v. 'heavy' and 'big', ChL, Grgs L s.v. *gùmýá*, Cp. KL s.v. Kbl *gʷòm* ◇ Connected with N **g'e'm∇* 'strong, firm'? ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 134-5 (incl. K and Ch; Blz. did not distinguish this etymon from N **g'e'm∇* '↑').

631. **goʃm∇* or **gomʃ∇* 'hand, fist' > HS: WS (or CS) **✓ g m ʃ* 'hollow\closed hand' > Sr *gə m ā ʃ ɿ ə ɿ t ā* 'handful, fist (manipulus, pugillus)', Ar *جمع* *ǧumʃ-* 'fist, back surface of the fist' ('poing, poignée, main fermée; partie extérieure de la main, les doigts étant fermés)', ? Jb {DRS} *ǧǧǧ*, *ʔama*, *ʔami*, *ʔāmʃah* 'fist' ¶ Br. 121, BK I 327, ≈ DRS 143 || C {AD, HL} **ganaʃ-* 'hand, palm of hand' > Bj R *garʔa* id., Bj A {AD} *tʊ* 'ganaʔa 'palm of hand' || EC: pSam {Hn.} **gaʃām* 'hand, arm' > Sml *gaʃān*, pl. *gaʃāmo*, Sml J *ǧǧǧ*, pBn **kàʔán* > Bn Bi *kaʔan*, Bn J/Ba/K *kaʔán*; Bs *gene* 'hand, arm'; Elm {HL} *gene* 'hand', Kns *kanʔā-ta*, Gdl {HL} *kana(ʔ)a-ta*, {Ss.} *kanaʃ-at*, Gato {HL} *kanʃa-te*, Or Wt {Hn.} *ganáʔ*, Or BI {Sr.} *ganā* 'palm of hand', Hr/Gln {AMS} pl. *kanáʃe*, Gwd {AMS} *kanʃate*, Brj {Ss.} *ganáʔ*, {Hw.} *ga'nā* 'palm of hand. ball of finger', Sa {HL} *ǧinnaʃ-ta* 'palm of hand', Af {PH} *gennaʃ*, *gennáʃa* 'palms of hand,

soles of foot' (snglt. *gennaŋ-ta*), Ya {HL} *kinneʔe* 'hand'; see also Sa/Af {R} *gā'mad* (pl. 'gā'mōd) 'hollow hand, fist' (but the Af word is not found either in PH or in Clz.) ¶ AD SF 316, Bl. 161, Hn. S 82, Hn. BD 111, Hn. W 62, R S II 156, R A II 59, Ss. B 77 (EC **ganŋ-* 'hand'), HL 99 (C **ganaŋ-* 'hand, arm'), PH 112, Sr. 310, AMS 167, 207, 247, Blz. CWL, Blz. CL 178 || U **kom∇(r∇)* 'hollow hand' > pLp {Lr.} **kōmērē* 'handful' or sim. > Lp: Kld {TI} *kuzmmeř* 'handful', N {N} *goabmer* 'the two curved open hands put together to receive\catch sth.' | ?? F *kahmal*, *kamahlo*, Vp *kamahł* & *kahmał* & *kahmā*, Es *kamal* 'hollow of one's hands', Lv *kōmal*, Lv W *kā:mal* 'handful'; -hm- in F and Vp and the vw. a may be due to the infl. of the BF verbs represented in F *kahmaa* 'blindlings greifen' and F *kahmi* - 'nachschnappen, хватать'; it is tempting to suppose that this h is a trace of N **ʔ*, but in the light of U comparative phonology such conjecture is not valid | Er *komoro*, Mk *komop* *komar* 'handful' | Z {W} *kam+r* id. || Sm {Jn.} **kāmā* ~ **kemā* '(outstretched) arms' > Ne T *sewa* id., d. *seway* 'armful', Ne O {Lh.} *śēβ·a'·i*, Ne F {Lh.} *śie·mmā* id., Slq Tm {KD} *q'ā:m* 'outstretched arms', Slq Tz d. *qō'mal-* v. 'embrace', Kms {KD} d. *q'ā:məru* 'outstretched arms'; ? -> Sm **kām∇r-* (~ **kām∇l-*, **kem∇l-*) v. 'embrace' > Mt {Hl.} **kāmər-* 'umarmen, mit beiden Händen umfassen' (Mt M {Sp.} *kamyrnam* 'I embrace') ¶¶ UEW 175-6 (rejecting the BF cognates), Lr. no. 472, Lgc. no. 2639, TI 134, Ker. II 65, Kt. 149, ZM 175, Jn. 63-4, ККИН 164, KD 24, Hl. M no. 464 || A **KomP∇* (= **k'omP∇?*) fist, wrist' > Tg **komb∇-* 'wrist', 'ε part\bone of the hand\forearm' ({SDM} **komba-* 'wrist, hand, spoke bone') > Neg *kombox̄l* 'wrist, metatarsus, radius (bone)', Orq *qomū* 'wrist, funny bone', Nn KU *qombi* 'back side of the hand, wrist', Nn Nh *qombio* {STM} id., {On.} 'wrist', Ud {Krm.} *komugu* 'carpus, ankle (запястье, щиколотка)' ¶ STM I 409, On. 224, ADb. SR 260, 300-1, Krm. 249 || pJ {S} **kəmpusi* 'fist' > MJ *kòbùsì*, J T *kòbuśi*, *kóbuśi*, J K *kóbùśì*, J Kg *kobúśi* ¶ S QJ no. 883, Mr. 453, Kenk. 994 || ?φ NaT **Ko:rp-*, **Ko:pa-k* 'fist, wrist' > Qrg *qobuq* 'arthritis of metacarpus', Tb, QK *qoboq* 'wrist', StAlt *qoboq* 'ε illness of an arm', Tv *qowades*, Tf {Cs.} *kofadeš* 'fist' ({SDM}: < **Kop-adI*) ¶ Jud. 391, BT 84, ADb. SR 194 (acc. to ADb, the Tv-Tf word may be a reborrowing of the Tk word from Tg and Ket, which is rejected by SDM) ¶¶ SMD 718 (pA **kòmpo* 'fist, wrist' > T, Tg, J + unc. M **kombo-* 'round' [esp. of hooves]) ¶¶ The

change A *-mp- > T *-p- has not yet been explained. The pA cns. *k_L'_L- may go back to N *g...ǀ-.

632. *gumb∇ 'back (dos), (?) hump', (→ ?) 'hill' > HS: C: EC: Sml gúmbúr 'small hill, low isolated hill', Dsn {To.} gummuti (pl. gummusam) 'hill', Rn {PG} gámbàr 'top part of a camel's hump' (× N ? *gũ|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' and N *gab∇ (|ǀ∇) 'head') ¶ Abr. S 96, ZMO 169, To. DL 501, PG 121, ≈ Blz. DL s.v. 'mountain' || Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} gumb 'back', Ari {Bnd.} gemar, Hm {Bnd.} 'gεmεr 'mountain, hill' || NrOm: Kf {C} gubbο, Mch {L} gúbbο 'back (dos)' ¶ Fl. OO 316, C SE IV 436, L M 29, Bnd. AL 155, Blz. DL s.v. 'mountain' || Ch.: WCh: Dr {ChL} gúmà, Cg {Sk.} gúmá 'buttocks' || ?φ CCh: Gdr {Mch.} 'gɜbbο 'buttocks' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'buttocks' ¶¶ But Hb gab, Ug gb and JA gab' bā 'back' do not belong here (⇔ Blz. DA), but go back to S *gabb- 'top of sth.' (the back is the highest point of animal's body) < N *gab∇ 'head' (q.v. ffd.) || U: FU (or FV?) *kump∇ 'hill' > F kumpu 'hill' || Lp L {LLO} kåbbå 'Anhöhe, kleiner Berg, Hügel' || Mk kumba 'hummock. tussock' || ?φ pVg *kämp 'hill, heap' ({MK} 'Hügel, Haufen') > Vg: T/K {MK} kämp, N {MK} kamp ¶ LG 83, MK 190, ≈ UEW 203 (without distinguishing between this √ and U *kump∇ 'wave') || D (att. in SD) *kump- 'back (dos)' > Tm kumpam 'upper part of the back between the shoulders', Ml Δ kumbi 'buttocks', Td kub 'back; behind' ¶ D no. 1747 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA no. 27 and Blz. NDA no. 27 (D, HS, including [unc.] HEC *gōb- 'neck' and S *gabb- [presumably 'back'; in fact, S *gabb- 'top of smth.' goes back to N *gab∇ 'head' → 'top', 'skull', q.v.]).

633. ₂ *gim_L∇,ǀ∇ 'to make a grimace with one's mouth and/or nose' ([in some descendant lges] → 'to grin, to smile, to mock, to laugh') > HS: S *√gnç > Ak StB ∧ √gnç G, Ak StB D (inf. gurruṣu) {CAD} 'sniff, wrinkle one's nose', {Sd.} 'Nase, Lippen hochziehen', Sr {PS} جُنْحٌ gurnāṣā 'derisio, subsannatio, irrisio'; ?σ Ar √ǵnç D (pf. جُنْحٌ ḡannaṣa) 'ouvrir/écarquiller les yeux (de frayeur)'; ?φ WS *√km|nç > Ar √knç D (pf. kannaṣa) 'renifler, remuer le nez pour se moquer de quelqu'un', EthS: Gz kamsūs 'one who smiles', Tgr kamsəs belə, Tgy kəmɜss bɛlɛ vb. clc. 'smile' ¶ The vl. k- in Ar and EthS still defies explanation (lexical attraction of a different word?) ¶ CAD V 40, Sd. 280, PS 755, BK I 339, L G 286, DRS 160 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gāmsú 'laugh' || NrBc: Kry {Sk.} ǰɜmɜcɜ, Wrj {Sk.} ǰɜnc-, My {Sk.} ǰamá's-, Mbr {Sk.} ǰɜn'sa, Jmb wumaš- id. || SBc: Bg {Sh.} kómás, Zr K {Sh.} g'āmšé,

Grn {Hrn.} ηγάησι id. || CCh: Bu {Hf. from unprofessional records} kumš i 'laugh, laugh at' | ? Gude {Srp.} wúsin 'laugh' | Mtk ηg^was id. | Dgh {Frk} ḡḥàsá id., Glv {Rp.} ṽubas- 'laughter' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} ḡemís, {J} ḡàmàsé, Jg {J} ḡims-, Brg {J} ḡèmsí 'laugh' | Tmk {Cp.} ḡáž, Nd D {J} ḡésâ id. ¶ JI I 108 (Ch. * \checkmark gms₂) and II 218-19, Nw. no. 79 (Ch. *ḡamsə), Sch. DN 68, Sh. BZ 36, Hrn. G 46 [no. 265], Jgr 186, Hf. B 260, RK 90, Cp. 60, Lk. ZSS 182 || **D** (att. in SD) *kič²-/*kinč²- 'make a grimace by showing the teeth, grin' > Kt ḡinž²- 'show teeth with a snarl' (a dog), kič²v- 'make a grimace (of derision etc.) by opening mouth and drawing back lips', Kn kiš i 'expand/open/withdraw the lips from the teeth so as to show them; grin', Tu kiš ɓ 'grinning, kiš i -kiš i 'a titter, laugh'; D → InA *k^hiss- v. 'grin' ¶ D no. 1510, Tu. no. 3889 ◊ Lack of as. *-mç|č²- > *-Nç|č²- in Ch (and EthS?) suggests the existence of a vw. between the Inlaut cnss and its loss in the prehistory of S and D.

634. *ḡ^ru¹m₁∇₁č²∇ 'to incline, to bow, to bend' > HS: S * \circ \checkmark gmç|θ > Gz \checkmark gmç v. 'incline, bend', Tgr ḡz mčuy 'crooked, perverted' ¶ L G 195-6 || ?φ,σ Ch {Stl.} *ḡuž i-n 'knee' > CCh: Mdr {Mk} uḡž e, {Mch.} úkj e, Glv {Rp.} ṽùnž a, Gdf {ChC} ḡ^wíz à, Dgh {Frk} ḡ^wìž é, {IL} ḡ^wíz e, Gv {ChL} ḡ^wíz à, Nkc ṽ^wunž a id. || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} ḡuž ä id. ¶ JI II 215, Stl. IF 193, ChC s.v. 'knee', ChL || **U**: FU *k^ru¹ńć∇ (or *ko|ańć∇) 'bent' > ObU {Ht.} *kūńć id. > pVg {Ht.} *kūš nā > Vg: ML {Mu.} khāš nē, K {Mu.} khās nē ~ khās nā 'elastisch, biegsam', N {Mu.} χās nē, ML khasnā 'der elastische Teil des Holzes', Ss {Kn.} xūs na 'der aus Birkenholz bestehende Teil des Bogens'; ?? possibly Vg: T {WVD} k'ôš k'-, MK {WVD} k'^wās s-, P {WVD} kōšš-, LL {WVD} k'βašš- (= k'^wašš-) '(seinen Kopf) neigen, sich verbeugen'; pOs {Ht.} *kuńć- > Os: V/Vy/Ty quť, D χuńť, Nz/Kz χűś, O χuś 'obere Birkenholzlage am Bogen' ¶ Ht. 153-4 [no. 298], MK 112, WVD VII 130 || **D** *kunč²- ({ǰGS} *k-) ≈ low; to bow' > Ml kuńćuka v. 'stoop, bow', Td kwič² 'humble, low', Tl kunču v. 'depress' ¶¶ These words belong here unless they are connected with Tm kuruηku v. 'bend', Ml kuηkuka v. 'sink low' etc., as in DED no. 1474 and D no. 1767 ¶¶ ≈ DED no. 1474 ◊ The lack of as. *-mç|č²- > *-Nç|č²- in HS suggests the existence of a vw. between the word-medial (→ root-medial) cnss and its loss in the prehistory of U and D.

635. *ḡ^rā¹m₁∇₁s a 'ε waterfowl, ε bird (a shore bird?)' > IE: NaIE *ḡ^hans- 'goose' > OI hamisa-ḡ 'goose', hamis-ī 'female goose, swan' || Gk χήν (gen. χηνός), Gk D/B χᾶν (< *χαυς, gen. *χαιυός) 'goose' || Clt

{Matas.} *^ogansi- 'swan' > OIr géis 'swan' (< f. *^ghans-ī ÷ OI ham̄s-ī)
 ||| Gmc *gans-iz (transformed into a noun with an *i-stem) > ON gás
 (pl. gæs), OHG gans (*i-stem), NHG Gans, AS ȝōs (pl. ȝēs) 'goose',
 NE goose (pl. geese); Gmc *gans-iz ⇨ Sl *gōsь 'goose' (an inherited
 word would have had an initial *z-) > Blg ræc m., Slv gōs (gen. gosī),
 OCz, Cz Δ, Slk f. hos (gen. husi) f. 'goose', Cz (restructured) husa f.
 'goose', P gęś, Blr rycь (gen. ryci) f. id., Uk rycь f. 'female goose',
 OR rьcь gusь, R rycь m. 'goose' ||| Lt žasīs (žãsi), Ltv zòss, Pru
 sansy ({En.}: [zansi]) id. ||| with a sx *-er-: L ānser (< *hānser)
 'goose', Gmc: MHG ganzer ~ ganser 'male goose', NHG (with
 restructuring) Gänserich id. ¶ P 412, ≈ EI 236 (*^ghan-s, "perhaps
 derived from *^ghan- 'yawn, gape'"), M K III 571, M E II 799, F II 1094-5,
 WH I 52, LP § 26.10, Vr. 157, Ho. 135, OsS 261, Kb. 316, Lx. 53, KM 231,
 Frn. 1292-3, En. 242, ESSJ VII 88-9 (unconvincingly rejecting the Gmc
 origin of Sl *gōsь), Bern. I 342-3 (recognizing the Gmc origin of Sl *gōsь
 as a possibility), Matas. E 151 ||| **HS**: Eg MK ȝms ({EG} ȝmś)
 {Fk.} 'avocet (*Recurvirostra*, a shore bird)', {EG} 'ε Vogel (mit aufwärts
 gebogenem Schnabel)' ¶ EG V 574, Fk. 322 ||| **A** ≈ *gAsa 'crane,
 waterfowl', (? ⇨ A ≈ *gAsA^rK^ræⁿ '[ε ?] bird') > Tg *gasa 'waterfowl,
 bird' > Orc gasa, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} gasa 'waterfowl, duck',
 Nn Nh {On.} gasa 'bird; duck', gasaqã dim. 'duckling, small duck', {STM}
 gasaqa 'pigeon', Ud ga^{Hä} 'bird, duck', {Krm.} gahä 'duck', Neg gasa
 'swan', Ewk gasa 'crane', WrMc {Z} raxa, Mc Sb gasxχx 'bird' ¶ STM I
 143, On. 100, S AJ 207 [no. 10], Krm. 221, Z 304 ||| **M** *geske 'fish
 eagle' (< *gAsa-ken?) > WrM {Kow.} geske 'faucon\épervier qui a sur la
 queue et les ailes une raie blanche', Kl {Rm.} geskə 'Fischadler,
 weißgeschwänzter Adler' ¶ Kow. 2458, KW 135 ¶¶ SDM 532 (pA *gasoli
 'crane, aquatic bird' > Tg, M), DQA no. 484 (id.), S AJ 289 [no. 338] |||
U: [1] *^okânś|ć∇ > Sm: Kms {Cs.} korzu? 'gull (Möwe)' ||| [2] ?φ FU
 *kaś∇ (or °-ć-) 'ε duck' > Prm *kuos∇ ({Lt.} *kuos∇) > Vt kwaśi 'male
 duck' ||| ObU *kās- > pOs *kas- > Os: V/Vy qas, Ty/Y qās, Kz χɔs
 'merganser', D χos 'a wild fish-eating duck with a pointed beak'
 ||| [3] ?φ FU (att. in FP) *k^rō¹s∇ > Chr: L kos, E koso 'golden-eye
 (*Bucephala*)' ||| Prm *k^rō¹s+ś ({Lt.} k^rō¹s+ś) > Z kos+ś 'grey duck', Yz kūsīs
 'merganser' ||| ?? F koskelo 'merganser (Gänsesäger, Ganstaucher,
 Sägetaucher), Es koskel 'ε waterfowl' (Prm *ō points to a pFU *ō) ¶¶
 The adduction (UEW 111) of Slq (Slq LTz čerj kueče 'graue Wildente', Slq

Ke *kuetj* ~ *kuettjə* ~ *kodje* and Slq N *kuēč* [in compound names of species of ducks]) is highly questionable for phonetic reasons ¶¶ Cs. 181, ≈ UEW 111 (*kać∇ ~ ? *kańć∇) and 673, MRS 225, Ü 75, Lt. 51, Lt. J 139, LG 135, Trs. S 146 ◇ The lack of *as*. *-mS- > *-nS- in the prehistory of Eg suggests the presence of a *vw*. between the N word-medial *cns* ◇ Gr. II no. 182 (*ka(n)s 'goose') (IE, A, CK).

636. *gAn|ń∇ 'see, perceive' > HS: Ch {JS} *gan- ~ *gin- 'see' > WCh: Hs gání 'see, look at' | Tmbs {Sh.} à gíńí 'you see!' || ECh: Skr {Sx.} génìyé, {Lk.} géna-gō 'see' ¶ JI II 284-5, Abr. H 298-9, Ba. 359-60, ≈ Sk. HCD 77 || K: GZ *gen-/*gn- 'learn (erfahren), apprehend, understand' > G gen-/ gn- 'learn, understand' (še-v-gen 'I learned, ich erfuhr', še-gn-eba {DCh.} 'to understand, to learn, to guess', {FS} 'erfahren, erkennen'), Mg gin-, g3n- 'understand, learn' (v-i-gin-en-k 'I understand, I apprehend', ki-i-b-g3ni 'I learned [ich erfuhr]', kī-gin-u 'he learned'), Lz gn- 'learn', {K²} 'hear' (n-a-gn-u 'er begriff', o-gn-u 'erkennen', o-gn-i 'I understood'), Sv (<b- G?) ma-mgan-a 'I suppose' ¶¶ K 63, K² 27-8, FS K 75-6, FS E 79, DCh. 1401-2 || D {Pf.} *kāñ- / *kañ- ({ǾGS} *k-) 'see' > Tm, Kn kāñ, Ml kāñuka, Kt kañ-/ kañ-, Td koñ-, Kdg kañ-, Tl kanu, Brh xanīñ 'see', Tu kāñṅṅṅāṅvuni ~ kāñṅṅṅāṅvuni v. 'show, represent', Klm kañṅt, kañṅakt 'seen, visible', Nkr kank er- 'appear', Prj kañṅp- 'look for, seek', Gdb kañṅp- v. 'search', Krx xan- 'be pleasant to the eye' || possibly also D *kañ, *kañṅṅ, {Pf.} *kañ, {GS} kañ- 'eye' > Tm, Kn kañ, Ml kañ, kañṅṅu, Kt, Gdb, Knd, Mnd kañ, Td koñ, Kdg kañṅṅi, Tu kañṅṅṅ, Tl kanu, Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gnd kan, Png kañga, Kyu kanu, Ku kan(n)u ~ kannū, Krx xann, Mlt qanu, Brh xan id. ¶¶ D no-s 1159 and 1443, Pf. 2, GS 168 [no. 425].

637. *genû 'jaw, cheek' > IE: NaIE *ĝ^henu-/*ĝ^henw- 'jaw, chin' > OI hanu-h 'jaw', Av zanu- id. (attested: accus. du. zanva 'jaw from both sides'), Prt znx, KhS ysanuwa 'jawbone', ZPhl zānak ~ zanak 'jaw', NPrs زَنخ zānāx, Psh zana 'chin' || Phr α-ζήν (accus. α-ζένα) 'beard' ({EI}: < *h₁ŋ-ĝen- '[that which] on the chin') || Clt {Matas.} *genu- 'jaw' (× IE *ĝ|genu- < N *kān₁y₁u [or *kān∇y₁u] 'cheek, side of the face') > OIr gin (gen. geno) 'mouth', MW gen 'cheek', W gēn (pl. gena) 'jaw, chin', OBr {Flr.} gen 'jaw', {Matas.} [ʏ] gen 'maxilla', MBr {Flr., Matas.} guen 'cheek', Br {Hm.} gen 'joue'; Brtt {RE} *genowes (ancient pl.?) > W, OCrn gena, MCrn ganow, OBr, MBr, Br genou 'mouth' || Tc (× IE *ĝ|genu- < N *kān₁y₁u '↑'): Tc A {Wn.} śanw- (att.: du. śanwe-m̄, {Ad.}

śanwe-m) 'jaw' ¶ WP I 587, P 381-2, M K III 576, M E II 801, Brtl. 1662 and 1689, Vl. II 149, Sg. 624, Horn 118, Bai. 345, Mrg. 102, Fs. 312, Vr. 309, OsS 489, Ho. 49, Ho. S 41, KM 369-70, LP § 72, RE 113, Flr. 174-5, YGM-1 233, Matas. E 158, Hm. 312, Wn. I 470-1, Ad. H 110, ≈ EI 322 (OI *hanu-h* < IE **ǵenu-* 'jaw' [unt. because of *h-*], see N **kān₁y₁u* 'cheek') || HS: C: Bj {R} *ge'nūn* (pl. *ge'nin*) 'jaw, jawbone', {BechG} *gu'nūn* 'jaw' (but Rop. translated the word as 'gum [of teeth]') ¶ R WBD 99, Rop. 136 || Ch: WCh: AG {Hf.} **gen* 'cheek' > Gmy {Hf.} *gen*, Mnt {Hf.}, Kfr {Nt.} *gɜn*, Su {J} *gěn* id. | BT: Gera {ChL} *geni* 'face', Dr {J} *gǝngá* 'cheek' | NrBc: Wrj {Gw.} *gana* 'chin', P' {MSk.} *gànčǝka* 'cheek' | SBc: Sy *gúyḡ*, Buli *gùḡǝ* 'cheeks' || CCh: ZmD {KNC} *gín*, {Srp.} *gín*, ZmB {Sa.} *gìn* 'cheek', Lame {ChL} *gíní*, LamP {ChL} *ng^uen* 'cheeks' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} *gîn* (pl. *gényó*) 'forehead' ¶ JI II 68-9, 76-7, Stl. ZCh 218 [no. 678], Hf. AG 25 [no. 218], ChL I 72, 196, 208, III 197, 205, ChC s.v. 'cheek', Lk. ZSS 182, KNC 8 || WS **ʔgn* ~ **ʔwgn* > Ar *ʔaǵn-at-* ~ *ʔiǵn-at-* ~ *ʔuǵn-at-* {Fr.} 'gena, praesertim superior ac prominentior malae pars oculis et temporibus proxima', {BK} 'pommette, partie saillante de la joue au dessous de l'œil', *waǵ(a)nat-* ~ *waǵinat-* ~ *wuǵnat-* 'joue saillante', Ar Eg {DRS} *wagna* 'cheek', Ar O {DRS} *waǵna* 'pommette', Mh *wɜgnēt* 'cheekbone', Hrs *wɜgnēt* (pl. *wɜgēn*) 'cheek', Jb E/C {Jo.} *'εgɜnt* 'cheekbone', Jb C {Jo.} *ōgɜn* 'have prominent cheekbones' ¶ Fr. I 16, BK I 14 and II 1494, Jo. M 424, Jo. H 134, Jo. J 288, DRS 493-4, ≈ MiK I no. 1.84 (S **gu/in-*, **ʔ/wɜgn-* '[area including] cheekbone and eye socket') || B (a root with an ext.?) **ʔgnz* 'forehead' > Sll {Ds.} *i-gɜnzi*, Shl {NZ} *ignzi*, Tz {Stm.} *i-ginzi*, Dmn {Rn.} *tagunza*, Kb {Dl.} *tag^wanza* 'forehead', Ntf *taunza* 'frisettes du front' ¶ Stm. 188, La. MChB 112, Ds. 136, Rn. 356, Dl. 266, Dray 229, NZ 841 ¶¶ Blz. EDB 11-12 (Bj, Ch, B) || D (att. in SD) **ken₁n-* ({ʔGS} **k-*) 'cheek' > Tm *cen₁ni*, *cen₁ai*, Tu *kenni*, *kennæ* id., Ml *cenni*, *kenni* 'temples', *cennam* 'jaw, cheek', Kt *keyn* 'cheek just in front of ear', Kn *kenne* 'the upper cheek'; D ⇨ OI *kenāra-* 'temples, upper part of cheek' ¶ D 1989 ◇ In some of the descendant lges there was mutual infl. (sometimes coalescence) of the etymon in question and N **kān₁y₁u* 'cheek, side of the face' (q.v.) ◇ WS **ʔ-* and **w-* in **ʔgn* ~ **ʔwgn* are likely to be due to the restructuring of the root in the derivational and phonetical prehistory of Semitic words ◇ ≈ Blz. DA no. 6 (D, IE, HS **gin*, *gun* 'face, cheek, forehead' without distinguishing between the reflexes of N **genū* and N **kān₁y₁u* ↑').

637a. *g'oʔa'n∇ 'much, big' > **K**: Sv: UB/Ln *gun*, L *gūn* 'very; plenty of' ¶ TK 176, GP 94 || **HS**: EC **gān-* 'be(come) big' > Brj *gān-* id., *gann-an-ē* 'big', Kns *kān-* 'be left to grow big', Gdl *kān-* 'big', Dbs *kāna* 'big', *kān-* 'grow' || Dhl *gāno* 'big, large' || SC: Kz {E} *kantaʔawu* 'very', ʔσ Brn {E} *gōŋ* 'all' ¶ Ss. B 73, 78, AMS 16, E SC 236 (pSC **gāŋ-* 'very, very much'), E K 14, To. D 133 || WS *√*gnn* > Ar √*ğnn* (pf. *ğunna*) 'become abundant\dense\luxuriant' (of herbage), Tgy √*gnn G* (pf. *ğennēnē*) 'be numerous\strong', Gz √*gnn G* (pf. *ğanna*, sbjn *yəğnən*) 'become important', Tgr √*gnn G* (pf. *ğennēnē*) 'exceed the measure', Amh √*gnn G* 'être abondant, augmenter', Grg So √*gnn* (pf. *ğennēnē*) {DRS} 'be very large', {L} 'exceed' (*səməw yəğennēnē* 'famous', lit. 'whose name is exceeding'), Grg Wl *genē* 'large' ¶ Ln. 462, L G 198, L EDG III 284, DRS 146-7 || ? WCh: Mnt {Nw.} *kun* 'big' || ECh: Nd D {J} *gánâ* 'thick (dense)' ¶ NwM CChPhL 241, 232, ChC s.v. 'thick (dense)', J KKS s.v. Nd D *gánâ* || Eg fP *gn* '≈ angesehen sein, mächtig sein' ¶ EG V 173 || B: Shl *gigan* ~ *kigan* 'beaucoup' ¶ NZ 818 || **IE**: NaIE **g^whono-s* {P} 'üppig, reichlich', **g^when-* 'be abundant' > Gk εὔ-θην-ύα 'plenty, prosperity' || Arm **յոգն** *yogñ* 'much, many' ({P}: < *i + *o-*g^whono-* or *o-*g^whno-*) || ʔσ: Lt *ganà*, Ltv *gan(a)* 'enough' || Sl inf. **goněti* > OCS **ГОНѢТИ** *goněti* 'to be enough' || ʔσ OI *gha'na-* 'dense, compact' ¶ EI 3, P 491, M K I 84, 357, F I 586-7, Frn. 132-3, ESSJ VII 22, StSS 174 || **D** (att. in SD) **kaŋ-* '≈ heavy' > Tm *kaŋa* 'heavy, stout, abundant', Ml *kanakka* 'become solid\heavy', Td *ken* 'densely' (of shade) ¶ D no. 1404 || ʔφ **A**: *AdS* of T **k'|k_æŋ* 'wide, broad' (< N ***gānh∇** 'side [of sth.], width', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The discrepancy of vowels (C and D *-a(:)-, Sv u), the labial element in IE **g^wh-* and the length of the vw. in EC and Sv L may be accounted for by a highly hypothetical N ****-oʔa-** ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 134 [no. 10] (incl. K, C, Ch, Eg, IE, D).

638. *g'o'ʔiñ∇ 'to beat, to strike' > **IE** **g^when-*/*g^whono-*/*g^whn-*/*g^whŋ-* 'strike' > OI 3s pres. 'han-ti 'strikes, kills' (3p pres. 'ghn-anti, inv. ja'hi, pp. ha'ta-), 'hatya- 'Erschlagen', ha'tyā n. act. f. 'killing', Av ža'n-ti 'strikes', OPrs a-žanam 'ich erschlug', (→) 'ich besiegte' || Arm **գան** *gan* (gen. **գանի** *gani*) 'bastinado, blows with a stick\whip\lash', **գանեմ** *ganem* 'I cudgel\scourge\whip', **ջնեմ** *žnem* 'I beat\cudgel\whip' || Gk θείνω 'I strike', rdp. ἔπεφνον 'I slayed', n. φόνοϛ 'murder, slaughter' || L of-fend-ō/-ěre 'strike, knock, dash against', de-fend-ō/-ěre 'repel, ward off, defend' (-n- is not an infix

of the pres., which is evidenced by the pfc. of *-fendi/de-fendi* and the sup. of *-/de-fensum*) ||| Clt {Matas.} **g^wan-o-*'strike, kill' > OIr *gonaid, -goin id.*, MW *gwan* 'hit, injure', MBr *goanaff* 'punish', Br *gwanarñ* {Hm.} 'piquer, percer; châtier, tourmenter, affliger' ||| Gmc **gunþjō* (÷ OI *hatyā* 'Tötung' < **g^wh^htiā*) > ON *gup-r, gunn-r*, OSx *gūth*, AS *zūð* 'fight, battle', OHG *gunda* 'fight' ||| Lt *Δ ginčias* (< **g^wh^htiā*), Lt *ginčas* 'argument, controversy', *ginklas* 'weapon' || Sl **gon-* v. 'struggle, harm' > SCr *прéгон* & *prijeгон* 'fight', Sl **gonoba, -obъ* > Slv *gonóba* 'damage, ruin', Uk *гоноба*, Blr *Δ гонаб* 'annoyance, vexation' ⇨ Sl **gonob-i-ti* 'to ruin, to harm' > Slv *gonobíti id.*, R *Δ гонобить* 'to tire, to cause suffering' ||| Tc A {Wn.} *kuñac* 'fight, battle' ¶ It is possible (but not certain) that the BSl verb for 'chase, drive' (> Sl 1s pres. **žen-ŕ* / inf. **gъna-ti id.*, Ltv 1s pres. *dzenu* / inf. *dzīt* id., Lt 1s pres. *genu* / inf. *ginti* 'drive [to the pasture]') belongs here as well, the underlying semantic development being 'beat' → 'push' → 'chase, drive away' || Ht *kuen-* 'smite, raze, slay, kill', Ld {Gsm.} *qān-/qēn-* in *f-is-qān-* v. 'destroy' ¶¶ WP I 679-81, P 491-3, EI 548, Mn. 379-80, M K III 575-7, M E II 800-1, Sl. 80-1, F I 657-8, Ch. I 425-6, WH I 332-3, Thr. § 756, Vr. 195, Ho. 140, Ho. S 29, OsS 57-8, Kb. 415, Frn. 152-3, ESSJ VII 24-5, 196-7, Tls. 433, Matas. 144, Hm. 347, Wn. I 243, Pv. IV 206-12, Ts. E I 604-6, Gsm. LW 127 || **HS**: C: EC *gan-* 'beat, strike' > Sml {Abr.} *gan-* 'aim\fire a arrow at', {DSI} *gan-* v. 'strike, shoot, throw', Rn {PG} *gana* v. 'shoot; bleed an animal for food', Sd {Gs.} 'beat, strike, hit', {Hd.} 'hit', Ged {Hd.} *gan-* 'hit, whip', Hd {Hd.} *gan-* 'hit, thresh by driving ox', *gan-am-* v. 'fight' (lit. 'hit each other') ¶ Abr. S 96, DSI 254, ZMO 153, PG 121, Hd. 80, 241, 271, Gs. 112, AD VZ 211 || S: Ak *Λ gēnû* 'to butt, to gore', *z* Gz {Dillm.} *g^wanʔa* 'thresh' (unless misinterpretation of 2 Esdras 23.15, as supposed by L) ¶ CAD V 60-1, Sd. 284, Di. 1177, L G 196 || **A**: Tg: Ewk Ucr *gunçā-*, Ewk Z/Sm/Tkm *g3nç3-* v. 'punish' ¶ STM I 172 || T **KI_L:_Ly_LI_Lna-* 'beat (so.), cause suffering' (× <⇨ *z* T **KIy-* 'be difficult', if Qrg *qiyit-* 'make difficult\tormenting' is derived from it rather than from **qiyŋ-*) > VTt, Bsh *qъyna-* 'beat', Tv *χiyŋa-* 'be difficult, torment', ET *qiyŋi/a-* ~ *qižni-*, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qmq, Qrg, StAlt *qiyŋa-* v. 'torment, torture', Uz *qiyŋa-* id., 'make difficult', Chv *хѣне- хьне-* 'beat, flog', ? Osm *qiyŋn-*, Tk *kiyŋn-* 'feel languor and aching in the limbs' (unless derived from **qiy-* 'cut'); T **KI_L:_Ly_LI_Ln* 'punishment, torture' > OT *qiyŋ*, OT

Kr qin ~ qiyn, MT [Tf.] {Cl.} qiyn, Chg qin id., XwT XIV qin 'pain, torture', Cmn XIV qin 'suffering, martyrdom', VTt {Rl.} qbybn 'punishment, flogging' ('Strafe, Prügel'), StAlt qiyn 'punishment, torture, suffering, oppression', Qry {KRPS} qiyn 'suffering', OOsM qin 'torture, pain', {Rl.} 'Qual, Plage', Qmq qiyn 'labour, work', Tk kiyn 'oppression, cruelty', Chv xěh xbn 'suffering, misfortune, Elend', T б → OHg, Hg kír 'pain, torture, torment'; in some lges → 'difficult, complicated': VTt, Bsh qbybn, Qrg qiyn, ET qiyn ~ qižin 'difficult', Qmq, Nog, Qzq qiyn, Uz qiyn id., 'complicated', Qq qiyn 'complicated' ¶ Cl. 631, ≈ ET Q 218-19, Rl. II 718, 726, Rh. 1510, TatR 309, BR 355, BT 103, Ash. XVII 21-4, ChvS 248, Fed. II 342-3, Jeg. 298, KrkR 379, Sht. 272-3, BN 122, Nj. 632, Gomb. BTL 95, EWU 753, Ash. XVII 21-4 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 571 (pA *guna 'rob, attack, torture' > Tg *gun- v. 'punish' + unc.: M *guni- 'be sad, be anxious', T *Kun 'attention', 'care' etc.) ◇ The transformation of N *-¹o¹?i- into T *-iyi- and the origin of Ewk 3 still need investigating. In IE the loss of the pre-sonantal *j (< N *?i) is a phonetic law. T *k' < N *g...?-. N *-?i- may be helpful in solving the problem of Ak e, because *a?i regularly yields Ak ē (cp. S *¹ra?iš- 'head' > Ak rēš- id.). But why here the vw. e is short? ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA no. 12 (N *gon(y)∇ 'kill'; he suggested to add [unconvincingly] ħ Hb/Aram ✓ gn? 'concussit', ħ Eg gn.t 'wound, slit' [absent in EG; did he mean Eg gn 'gravieren, einritzen?'] and Kl {Rm. ← Zw.} gonḥ 'die Toten').

639. *gAHn∇ 'lie (liegen), sleep' > HS: B ✓ gHn v. 'lie, sleep' > Ah {Fc.} aǧan (pf. i-ǧan) (Pcj. 30) 'être accroupi (les membres antérieurs et postérieurs repliés)' (of camels, oxen etc.), ETwl/Ty aǧan (pf. ETwl i-ǧbn, Ty ya-ǧbn, Pcj. I.A.5) id., Tnsl ižbn 's'accroupir' (of a camel), Gh aǧan 'kneel' (animal), Kb jən v. 'sleep, lie', Shl, Izd ✓ gn, Tmz Iz, ASgr {MT} gen ~ žen id. ¶ Fc. 452-6, 2002, GhA 55, 246, Pr. M VI-VII 102-6, Dl. 262, MT 158, NZ 816-18, DCTC 289 ¶ Pcj. I A 5 (= Fcj. 30) implies the presence of a lr. in the root *✓ 1h∇3 || WCh: BT {Stl.} *gand∇ v. 'lie down' > Bl {IL} gandi, {Lk.} gand, Maha {Stl. ← ?} gandi id., Dr {Nw.} gándè 'put down (a mat), lay down (a person)' ¶ Stl. VZCh, Stl. ZCh 246 [no. 39], Nw. M s.v. gandi, Nw. K 125, Lk. PVB II 135, ChC s.v. 'lie (down)' || **D** {tr., GS} *kaṇ- ({ǧGS} *k-) v. 'dream, sleep' > Tm kaṇavv- v. 'dream', kaṇā, kaṇavv n. 'dream, sleep', Ml kināvv, kana(:)vv, Kt kaṇčn, Td konof (obl. konot-), Kn kana, kanasv, Kdg kenači, Tu kana, n. 'dream', Gnd kaṇčk- ǰ kaṇčk- ǰ kansk- ǰ kanisk- v. 'dream', Krx xandr-,

Mlt qandre v. 'sleep', Mlt qanqe- n. 'sleep' ¶¶ D no. 1407, Pf. 93 (*kan- < ka1-n-), GS 158 [no. 392b] and 32 [no. 38] || A: T: Chv L {Ash., Md., ChVS} канăç kanăś 'покой', Chv Δ {Ash.} канěç id. and (× pA *k'ăŋ∇yU 'light [levis], thin' < N *KăN∇yû 'light [levis]') Chv {Ash.} канас kanas 'безделье, покой, отдых') ¶ Ash. VI 53, 57, Md. 35, ChVS 68 ◇ D *-ŋ- (the usual reflex of N cns. *-n- outside cns. clusters) suggests that the lr. was lost in pre-D prior to the change of N *-n- into D *-ŋ-.

640. *gūñh₁i – *gūh₁ñi (or *gūñ₁i – *gūh₁ñi) 'to think' > K *gon- 'think, (try to) remember' > OG gon- 'think' (me esre mgonies 'so I think', Rom. 8.18), gonebaу 'understanding (Verstand)', G gon- (aor. -gon-e-) 'think, (try to) remember', gun-eба 'state of mind, thought', Mg gon-: mo-gon-ua 'to recall (sich erinnern), to make up (a story), to feign', Lz (n)gon-: mo-vi-ngonap 'I remember, il m'en souvient (припоминаю)', Sv gwn- ђ gn- / gon-: {FS} li-gn-eω-i 'ausdenken, suggerieren, zu verstehen geben', aor. at-gon-ω-e 'er suggerierte, er gab ein', Sv {TK}: UB li-gwn-eω-i, LB lignewi, L lignwi, Ln li-gon-ăω-i msd. 'to invent' ¶¶ K 63-4, K² 31, GM S 288, IS I 284, Fn. KW-4 no. 5, ≈ FS K 81, ≈ FS E 87-8 (*gon- 'think'; *÷ forms belonging to K *gn- 'hear'), Chik. 262-3, Q 21, Marr 135, TK 429 || HS: Eg fp gn.t 'Andenken', Eg MK {Fk.} gn.ωt 'records, annals' ¶ EG V 173, Fk. 290 || A *gūn∇- 'think' > ?σ M *guni- > WrM гуни- {MED} v. 'grieve, be afflicted/sad', HIM гуни- {MED, BMR} id., Kl {Rm.} гуñi- 'traurig sein, leiden, betrübt sein', Ord gūnid- 'avoir du chagrin'; WrM гуниг {MED} 'sadness, grief, anguish; sorrow', HIM гуниг {MED} id., {BMR} 'sadness, grief, Gram, Scchwermut (тоска)', Vrt гуниг id., Kl Ö {Rm.} гуñig_ 'Kummer, Traurigkeit, Langweile', Ord d. gūniğš-i- 'avoir du chagrin, ressentir du regret' ¶ MED 368, BMR I 461, Chr. 160, KW 155, Ms. O 314 || Tg *gūn- 'think, say' > WrMc {Z} гуни- 'think, remember' (Rm.: 'denken, nachdenken'), Mc Sb {Mrm.} guni- 'denken, nachdenken', WrMc {Z} гунинь, Mc Sb {Mrm.} gunin 'thought', Ewk, Neg gūn-, Lm гун-, Orc gūn-, Sln, Orc, Ud gun- 'say' ¶ Z 347-9, Klz. MS 184, ≈ STM I 171 || pKo {S} *kìnir- 'take care of, look after' > MKo kìnir'ù-, NKo kìniri- id. ¶ S QK no. 754, Nam 66, MLC 232 || pJ {S} *kèzè-m- {Mr.} v. 'like, be fond of, wish' > OJ konom-, MJ kònòm- id., J T konóm-, J K kónóm-, J Kg kònòm- {Kenk.} v. 'like, fancy, be fond of' ¶ S J no. 210, Mr. 712, Kenk. 1050 || T *Ku.;,n ≈ thought' > VTt кон qбn 'attention, care', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} qūn

'Geist, Seele, Wunsch', Bsh Δ q̇ḃnt, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Uz qunt 'attention, care', VTt Δ, Bsh q̇ḃnar, Qrg qunar 'usefulness', VTt Δ q̇ḃṅq̇- v. 'get used, become accustomed', Chg {PC} quruc-, StAlt, Tb {B} qunuc- 'grieve (about(for))', Tv qunuc- v. 'yearn', Chg {PC, Rl.} quruc, Tki {Zn.} qunuc 'sad, grievous', Tv qunuc id., 'impressionable, sensitive' ¶ ET Q 147-50, TvR 265, Zn. II 723, PC 440, Rl. II 908 ¶¶ SDM 571-2 (pA *gũno- 'think' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 577, Mr. 464, ≈ S AJ 291 [no. 405]; ≈ S VL 218 (pA *gũni- 'think' > M, Tg, J), Pp. VG 24, KW 155 ◇ IS I 234 [no. 89] (*g u^r Hⁱ 'think' > K, A [T, Tg]) ◇ The long vw. in Tg suggests the presence of a N lr., that, acc. to the K data, may be *ʔ, *h, *ɣ or *ħ. The Eg cognate favours the rec. of a N *h or *ʔ (the laryngeals most liable to be lost in Eg).

641. *gānh ▽ 'side (of sth.), width' > K *ogan- 'side, width; outside' > OG, G gan- id., G ganieri 'broad'; ?σ GZ *gan- 'outside, outwards' (preverb) > OG gan-, G ga(n)-, Mg, L gō- id., 'out of, from'; compound preverbs: K {K} *ga-mō- 'heraus-, out of' > OG ga-mō 'out of, from', OG, G ga-mō-, Mg, Lz gō-mō- id.; compound adv.: GZ *ga-re '(in the) outside, beyond' > OG, G gare, Mg, Lz gale id. ({Q} 'voilà, outside, outdoors'); K *o-gan > OG, G -gan 'from, out of' (case ending) < N *ogānh ▽ nu 'from the side (of)' (see N *nu 'from, out of, of') (× N *gay ▽ nu 'from the side', see N *gay ▽ 'side, outside') ¶ K 59, K² 26-7, FS K 72-3, Ser. 17, 21-36, Q 212-13, 218, Dt. 14 ¶ This K √ may have contributed to the meaning and form of K *gan- 'outside' < N *gay ▽ '↑' (q.v.) || HS: WS *√ gnh > Ar جَنجَ ḡinh- 'side, side of the road', جَنجَ ḡunh- 'side, place at the side of a road (where people stop to rest)', جَنَاحَ ḡanāh- 'arm, wing', Jb {Jo.} ḡenah 'wing', Sq {Jo., DRS} ganh 'side' ¶ BK I 337-8, Jo. J 77, DRS 157, MiK I no. 1.86 || ?σ SC: Irq {MQK} ganḡēfi 'edge of the higher area around a house, screen, shield', {E} ganḡɜfi 'rim of hat' ¶ E PC no. 378, MQK 37 || Eg P ɜrh 'wing', ? Eg XVIII ɜrh 'leg or its part' ¶ EG V 577-8 ¶¶ MiK I no. 1.86 || D (att. in McTm) *okān-al 'seashore' > Tm kān-al 'seashore, salt marsh, saline soil', Ml kān-al 'sandy barren land' ¶ D no. 1508 || A: NaT *k'|k_ǣn 'wide, broad' > OT {Cl.} kēn, MQp XIV, XwT XIV kēn, Chg ≥XV gēn id., Tk gēn, Az κεν ḡen 'wide', Tkm ḡīn, Qmq gēn, Blq keñ ~ gēn, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Tb, Uz, Ln, SY keñ, VTt, Bsh kiñ, ET kān, Yk {Pek.} kīān, {Md.} kān 'broad, wide', -> : Tk gēniš, Ggz gēniš, Az ḡēniš 'broad, wide' ¶ Cl. 724-5, ET VGD 46-7, Rs. W 254, Pek.

1074, Md. 9, 167 ◇ T *-ŋ is probably a normal reflex of N *-nĥ-. The long vowels in D and T point to the loss of a ancient Ir., while D *-ŋ- suggests that the loss of the N Ir. *ĥ preceded the change of the N intervoc. *-n- into D *-ŋ-.

642. *g∇n̄₁∇₁b∇ or ≈ *g∇n̄₁∇₁b?∇ 'side, edge' > HS *ganb- 'side (of the body, of sth.)' > WS *ganb- id. > Plm gb id., Sr gab'b-ā, Ar ġanb- 'side of man's body, side', BA gab, gabb- 'side(?)', Mh, Jb C ganb, Jb {DRS} yanb 'side'; ⇨ WS *√gnb v. 'put aside (auf die Seite bringen)' > Ar √ġnb G 'put aside (mettre sur le côté)', Mh 'gatnɜb Gt v. 'take so. aside from the group', Md √gnb v. 'put aside, steal', Hb √gnb G 'steal, take by stealth', Pun, IA √gnb v. 'steal, rob', JA, Sr √gnb G 'steal' ⇨ OA, IA gn̄b, JA, Sr gannā'ḥ-ā, Md ganaba 'thief'; Aram ⇨ BHb gan'nāḥ id.; Sb √gnb v. 'be beside, se trouver à côté de' ¶ GB 145, 899, KB 163, 190-1, KBR 198, BK I 334-5, HJ 207, BDB 170 [no-s 1589-90], OLS 142, Sl. 293-4, Js. 256-7, DM 77, 95, Jo. M 122, Jo. J 77, BGMR 50, DRS 150, MiK I no. 1.85 || C: EC *gabb- ({Ss.} *gab-) 'side; near, at' > Af gabbe 'side (of back)', Sml gebi 'riverbank', Kns kapa 'next to, near', Brj 'gaba, Hr, Dbs kape, Gln kápe, Gwd kapa 'side'; a variant EC *gamb- may be represented in Af gámbi 'side, direction' (unless an Arabism) and in Or gama 'direction' || Ag {Ap.} *gap- 'side' > Bln {R} gaf 'side of body, side, half', gaba 'side, riverbank', Xm {Ap.} gɜwa 'near', Q {R} g(a)ba 'side, near', {Ap.} gab-ɜl 'near'; Ag ⇨ EthS: Gz gabō, Tgr gəbo, Tgy gobo 'side' || Bj {R} gəb ~ geb 'side', gebi 'near' ¶ AD SF 234 (C *g∇p̄(p̄)-), Bl. 136, R WBd 87-8, Ss. B 74, 76, AMS 268, PH 109, Ap. AV 10, E PC no. 378 (Bj, Ag, Irq), L G 176 || ? Ch: Hs {Ba.} gǎḥà 'bank of a river or stream', {Abr.} 'steep river bank' (unless a sd. of Hs gáḥà 'joint, limb'), ? Cg {Sk.} gefe zardɜn 'bank (of a river)' ¶ Ba. 335, Abr. H 279, Sk. HCD 73, ChC s.v. 'bank (of a river)' || ?? Eg √wɜb 'riverbank, riparian lands, seashore'; ? Eg [WCP] gbɜ '(eastern, western) side' (unless a sd. of Eg MK gbɜ 'arm') ¶ EG I 409, V 163, Fk. 76 ¶¶ AD SF 234 (C, S), OS 193 [no. 856] (C *÷ Hs, cf. S, Eg) || IE: NaIE *g^{ra}mbhā ≈ 'jaw' > Gk [Lyc.] γαμφαί, Gk γαμφηλαί 'jaws (of animals)' || amb Sl *gŏba 'mouth; jaws (of animal) (Rachen)' (× Sl *gŏba 'lip, mushroom' < N *kañ|mp∇ 'excrescence, lip, mushroom', q.v.) > OCz hŭba, Cz, Slk, HLs hŭba, ULs gŭba 'muzzle, mouth', Blg 'rɜba, Uk 'rɜba, P gɛba 'mouth, muzzle', SCr Δ gŭ̀ba, SCr d. gŭ̀bica, Slv d. gŏbāc 'mouth (of animals), muzzle', R Vlg/Vt rɜba 'chin' ¶ WP I 534; ≠ F I 288 and Ch. 209 (Gk γαμφηλαί 'jaws of

animals', bf. $\gamma\alpha\mu\varphi\alpha\acute{\iota} \div \gamma\acute{o}\mu\varphi\omicron\varsigma$ 'bolt', $\gamma\omicron\mu\varphi\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ 'grinder tooth'); \approx Vs. I 468, \approx ESSJ VII 78-80, \approx Glh. 252 (referring Sl *gŏba exclusively to N *kañ|mp∇) || U: FU *^ok∇mp∇l∇ > ObU {Ht.} *kīm(p)al- 'Saum, Rand' > pVg *kīmplī > Vg: T kiplī, LK/MK/UK/NV/LL kēpəl, UL/Ss kēmpli id.; pOs *kiməl id. > Os: V/Vy/O kiməl, Ty/Y kiməϕ, D/K kimət, Nz kīmat, Kz kīməϕ id. ¶ Ht. no. 272 ◇ Eg g b ʒ '(eastern, western) side', Ag {Ap.} *gap- 'side' (acc. to AD SF 234, from C *g∇p̄(p̄)-) and Hs gāḇā 'bank of a river/stream' suggest a Ir. *ʔ within the N etymon (to be reconstructed as \approx *g∇ñ̄,∇, bʔ∇) ◇ IE *g...b^h (rather than *g^h...b^h < N *g...b) may be due to a kind of dis. similar to the later obligatory dis. in OI (IE *g^h...b^h > OI g...b^h) and in Gk (IE *g^h...b^h > *k^h...p^h > Gk κ...φ).

643. *gændû 'male' > A *gænd∇ 'male, self' > M *gendü(n) 'male animal' > MM gendū 'id., [S]gendū, WrM gendū(n) {MED} 'male of carnivorous animals; small male panther; male tiger', HIM {BMR} гэндүү 'male of carnivorous animals', Brt гэндэ & гүндэ 'male sable', Kl {KRS} гендн gendən 'male (of some animals)': гендн ножа 'male dog', гендн барс 'male tiger', {Rm.} gendŋ 'male (of any animal)' ¶ H 49, MED 376, BMR I 480, Chr. 165, 171, KW 133 || NaT *Kændü ({SDM} *^rg¹ent|dü) '(him/her/it)self' > OT {Cl.} kāntū & kāndū, Chg, OT Qp, OOsM kǎ|endū, Ggz kendi id., Tk kendi, Δ {Rs.} kändü, ḡändi id., 'one's own', Yk kini 'he, she, it' ¶ Cl. 728-9, ET KQ 38-9, Rs. W 252, Rs. MTS 38-9, Rs. W 728-9, Ubr. SS ∇ ¶¶ SDM 541 (pA *g|kænt∇ 'male, self' [with unjustified *t] > M, T), DQA no. 498, Pp. VG 25, \approx KW 133 (M, T; *÷ Tg *ŋen 'dog' *÷ Kms men 'dog') || HS: C: SC: Irq {EldM, MQK} g^ωanda, Alg {EldM} g^ωandū 'ram', Brn gondi 'male sheep' ¶ EldM 61, MQK 42 || B: Rif {Rn.} a-gænduz, Izn/SrSn {Rn.} ayænduz, Kb {Dl.} agænduz 'calf', Tmz {MT}, BSn agænduz ~ ayännuz 'veau (à sa naissance)', CM {NZ} agænduz & ayännuz, Snd agændus 'calf', Shw agænduz 'calf (two-year-old)'; B → Ar Mrc {Bss.} \approx gænduz 'calf', Malt {Aq.} gendus 'a bull, young ox'; the final -uz ~ -us suggests reborrowing of a Berber word from African Vulgar Latin or Afro-Romance ¶ Rn. 356, MT 159-60, Dl. 264, NZ 827-8, Bss. s.v. gænduz, Aq. BM 301 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 89 [no. 18.15] (SC, B) || ?σ CS (or Aram → Ar?) *gund- > IA F gnd[?] 'band, troop', JA گندگ gundā id., {Lv.} 'Heer, Schar', JEA gundā 'troop of soldiers', Md gundā 'army', Ar جند g^hund- 'comrades, body of warriors, army', 'any kind/species of creatures or created things, regarded as alone \ by itself' ¶ HJ 228, Lv. I 312, Js. 223, Sl. 269-70, DM 84, Ln.

400-1, BK I 338, DRS 153-4 || **D** {tr.} *kañt̥-, {GS} *gand̥- 'male (person, animal)' > Tm kañt̥an̥ 'warrior, husband', kañt̥i 'buffalo bull', kañavan̥ 'husband', Ml kañavan̥ id., kañtan̥ 'male' (esp. of cat), Kt gañd̥ 'male', Td kođñ 'Badaga husband', Kn gañd̥u 'male sex, a male, man; strength, manliness', gañd̥a 'strong manly male person, husband', Kdg kañd̥ə 'male' (of dogs and wild animals), Tu gañd̥u 'male, valiant', Tl gañd̥u 'male' (of the lower animals), 'bravery, strength', Nkr gañek 'man, male', Mlt geñd̥a 'male'; D ⇨ OI ∧ gañd̥a-, gañd̥īra- 'hero' ¶¶ D no. 1173, GS 25 [no. 8], 184 [no. 462] ◇ The semantic change 'male person' → '-self' (in T and Ar) has parallels in other lges, such as Lt p̥āta, Av -pati- 'himself' from NaIE *p̥oti- 'husband, lord'. The vw. *u in S is probably connected with the N *û of the second syll. ◇ The D cognate points to N *ä (or *a). ◇ IS I 226-7 [no. 79] (A, D).

643a. ₂ *gond̥ ▽ 'ε ant' > HS: C: Ag: Xm {LmS} g̥ʷand̥ən (= {R} g̥ŭn'd̥ən) 'ant'; Ag ⇨ Amh ጉንዳን gundan 'ε black ant' ||| EC: Or {Grg.} gondā 'ε ant' ¶ LmS 380, Grg. 180, L A 214, R Ch II (s.p.) 47 || WCh: DfB {J} gándîf 'small red ant' | Dr {J} gúndám 'ant' ¶ J R 214, J DK s.v. 'Ameise', ChC s.v. 'ant' ||| **D** *koñt̥- 'ε ant' > Gdb konđkī ~ konđke, Gnd gōde ≃ gōđo 'large black ant', ?? Klm kanđa 'big ant' ¶¶ D no. 2096 ◇ Connected with N ≈ *gôť ▽ 'ant'?

644. *gän̥ ▽, *p̥̥̥ ▽ (~ *gän̥ ▽, *p̥̥̥ ▽?) 'stem, stalk, stick, stake, picket' (← 'thin trunk?') > IE: NaIE *g|ǵomb̥_Lh₁- ~ *g|ǵomp- (< **g|ǵh̥omp-?) ~ *o|ǵn̥ob̥_Lh₁- 'stake, picket, (a cut off) piece of wood' (× N *kañ|ń ▽ (ť ▽) 'stalk, trunk of a tree', q.v.): [1] *o|ǵomp- > ON kumbr, AS cumbor 'wood block', MHG kumpf 'sth. pruned, blunt (gestutzt, stumpf)', ? Nr Δ kump 'Klumpen', ? NNr {Ar.} kump 'meat dumpling'] [2] *o|ǵgenb̥_Lh₁- / *o|ǵonb̥_Lh₁- / *o|ǵn̥ob̥_Lh₁- (× N *kañ|ń ▽ 'stalk, trunk of a tree' [→ 'log']) > Gmc: OHG kembil 'Fesselblock', ON kumbr 'Holzklotz', kōppustein 'Rollstein', Dn kampesten id., NE cump; Gmc *knab(b)-, *knap(p)- > NGr Δ Knabe 'Stift, Bolzen', ON knefill 'stake, pole, stick', NHG Knebel 'short and thick packing stick, clog', Sw Δ knape 'Pflock, Knoten'; ON knefill 'pole', MLG knevel 'short and thick transom (kurzes und dickes Querholz)', NHG Knebel 'branch, club', Sw Δ knavel 'thin pole'] [3] NaIE *ǵomb̥h̥o-s 'tooth' (× N *k̥äb̥?â 'bite', q.v.) > OI 'jambha-h̥ 'tooth, tusk' ||| Gk ὄμφο-ς {EI} 'large wedge-shaped bolt or nail', Gk ὄμφ-ύο-ς 'grinder tooth, molar' ||| pAl {O} *zamba > Al: T dhēmb, G dhamb 'tooth' ||| Sl

*zǫbъ (gen. *zǫ'ba) id. > OCS зѣбѣ zǫbъ, Blg зѣб, SCr zŭb, Slv zōb, Cz, Slk z u b, P z a b, R, Uk з у б 'tooth' || Blt *žambas 'tooth' (↳ BltF *šambas > F hammas id.) > Ltv zóbs id., Lt žam̃bas 'sharp corner, edge', d. Žam̃bis 'wooden plough' || OHG kamb 'comb', {Kb.} 'crest, crown', ON kamb r, NNr kamb, Sw, Dn kam, OSx kamb, NHG Kamm, AS camb 'comb', NE comb || pTc {Ad.} *keme > Tc A kam, Tc B keme 'tooth' ¶ P 369, 378-9, Vr. 334, 342, Ar. 411, 465, Ho. 54, 63, Kb. 534, ≈ OsS 500-1, Lx. 111, 118, KM 380-1, F I 319-20, O 82, Glh. 699-702, BER I 650-1, SJSS XII 692, XIII 755, XXIII 524-5 and XXVI 115, StSS 242, Frn. 1288-9, 1294-5, Srz. I 1015, Vs. II 102, 106, 110-11, Glh. 699, 701-2, Vr. 299, Ho. 43, Ho. S 40, OsS 470-1, Slt. 254-5, Wn. I 186, Ad. 194, Ad. H 34, 38, EI 594 (*'gombʰos 'tooth', *gembʰ- 'show the teeth, bite') || HS: C: Ag *gзnp- > Bln {R} genbi ~ g emb i / pl. genfűf, Aw {R} gum b, gum bi, Xm {R} gi b 'stick, staff', but in the Q-Km branch with k-: Q {R, CR} kenbī 'stick, staff, rod', Km {CR} kembē, kām bī 'stick, staff, pole' || EC: Sml {R} gambāl 'Keule, Totschläger', Qbn {L} gummá 'stick', Ya {Lm. ← ?} kuma 'club' ¶ R WB 154, R Ch II 44, R QW 84, R SS II 171, CR LK 214, Lm. Sh 309 || NrOm: Kf {C} gum bō 'long stick', Mch {L} 'gumbo, Anf {MYTY} gumbo, Dwr {L} gomba 'stick', Gm {Hw.} gūpé id., {Lm.} gūfe, Shn {Lm.} gum'ba 'club, stick' || SOM: Ari {Bnd.} gufa 'stick' ¶ Lm. Sh 309, C SE III and IV 444, L M 31, MYTY 117, Bnd. AL 159, Hw. EG s.v. 'stick' || D *kāmpo ({}GS) *k-) 'stalk, trunk, bamboo' > Tm kāmpu 'bamboo; flower stalk, handle, shaft', MI kāmpu 'bamboo; stem, stalk, stick', Kt ka·v, Ku kamba ~ kām ba 'handle', Td kō'f 'hollow stem, handle of tool', Kn kām u, kām v u, Tl kām a 'stem, stalk, handle', Gdb kāmē 'stalk of a spoon', kām e 'handle of ladle', Kdg ke'mbi 'bamboo (≈ *Oxytenanthera monostigma*)', Gnd kāmē 'stalk of a spoon' ≍ kām e 'handle of ladle', Ku kamba ≍ kām ba 'handle' ¶¶ D no-s 1454-5 || U: ppU ≈ *kām w E > FU *kām E (/ *kUm E?) '(hollow) stalk' > F käämi 'winding spool, quill', 'катушка, бобина, шпулька' || Lp N {N} gâbme / gâme- 'long feather; stalk of a feather, caulis pennaе' || Prm *g'ó'm∇ 'hollow stalk' > Z gum (gen. gumy-) 'hollow stalk; staff (of a flail)', Vt gum†, Vt Ur gúmo' 'hollow stalk'; the Prm vw. may go back to FU *ā with the labializing infl. of *m and/or the infl. of the labial element (*w) of the next syll. ¶ Coll. 86, LG 82, ≠ UEW 422 ¶ The absence of the expected labial stop may be explained as follows: *gān₁∇, pE > pre-U **kän|m w E > *kām w E ◇ Qu. ◇ If the original N etymon is *gān₁∇, 'p'∇, the IE initial *g|g- (rather than *gʰ|gʰ-

) is accounted for by the IE law ruling out combination of an aspirated voiced stop and a vl. one in the same $\sqrt{\text{}}$ (**g^h|g^homp- > *g|gomp-).

645. *gañt√ 'hold, carry' > IE: NaIE *g^hend-/*g^hŋd- 'hold, get, contain' > Gk χανδάνω (aor. ἔ-χαδ-ον) 'take in, hold, contain' (1s ft. md. χείσομαι) || Lprehend- (< *praj_h-hend-) 'lay hold of, seize, grasp' || OIr ro-geinn 'is contained, finds place in' (< *g^hŋd-ne-t), eNW {DvM} genni 'contineri, comprehendi, capi', W genni † vb. n. 'being contained' ¶ Not here Gmc *git- (> NE get etc., see N *gātâ 'grasp, take, possess') ¶ P 437-8, Mn. 319, 326-7, F II 1071-2, EM 803f., WH II 359, Vn. R 40, SB 111, YGM-1 233, ≈ EI 564 (*g^he(n)d^h- 'seize, take in' with unj. *-d^h-) || U *kanta- 'carry' > Fkanta-, Es kand- v. 'carry' || pLp *kōntē- 'carry' > Lp: L {LLO} kuoddē- id., N {N} guod'de-/dd- 'carry, bear', Kld {TI} kū'nte- 'carry', S {Hs.} guödd'e-me 'das Tragen' (n. act. of *guödd'edh 'carry') || Er кандо- kando-, Mk кандо- kandə- 'carry, bring' || pChr {Ber.} kondə- 'bring' > Chr: L/H канде- kande- id., Uf {Ü, Wc.} konde- id., {Ps.} 'tragen (*?), bringen' || ObU *kūnt-~*k̄nt- 'carry (on the back)' > pVg *kūnt- 'carry' (> Vg: P/NV kunt-, UL/Ss xūnt-), pOs *kantəm- 'carry on the back' (> Os: V/Vy qantəm-, Ty qāntəm-, D/K xontəm-, Nz xontəm-); ObU *kūnt~*k̄nt 'basket carried on the back' > pVg *kūnt id. (> Vg: T kōnt ~ kōt, LK xūt, MK kut, UK kūt, P kunt), pOs *k̄nt id. (> Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y q̄nt, D/K xent, Nz x̄nt id.) || Sm {Jn.} *kāntā-, {Hl.} *kanta- v. 'carry' > Ne Т хана-сь, Ne F {Lh.} kānnāś, En {Ter.} kada-ś 'to carry', Slq Tz {KKIH} qznt+- 'carry away', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. kūz'ndab_ id., Kms {KD} quń'im, quń'om, qundoϕam, qunduϕam 'I carry away', qundoíám 'I carry\bring\lead', Koyb {Sp.} куналдыгамъ, кунадлагамъ 'I carry', Mt {Hl.} *kandə- v. 'carry, drive (fahren)' (Mt M {Sp.} кандыямъ 'везу' [vt. 'ich fahre'], кандіямъ 'ношу' ['ich trage'], кандїямъ 'тащу' ['ich schleppe']) || Y: K {IN H} qontə- 'carry', T {IN H} qandey- 'accompany', {Krn.} qandeyl 'to accompany (проводятъ)', K/T {IN UJ} qontə- 'carry away, lead away (относить, отводить)', K {IN RJ} qontə-, 1s хонто-м 'carry' ¶¶ UEW 124, Coll. 22, ≈ Sm. 538 (U *kānti- 'carry' > FU *kāntā-, FP *kanta-, Ugr *kānta-, Sm *kān-), It. no. 21, Lr. no. 521, Lgc. no. 2863, Hs. 683, MRS 175, Ep. 38, Ü 73, Ps. OT 45, Wc. TT 56, Ber. 19, Ht. no. 292, ≈ Jn. 59-60 (Sm *kāntā- < *kān- 'go'), Hl. M no. 415, KKIИ 160, KD 34, IN H 385, IN UJ 278, IN RJ s.v. нести, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [no. 17] (Y < U) || D (att. in NED) *k√nt- 'possess,

purchase' > Krx xēnd- / xindyas v. 'buy, purchase', Mlt qende- 'take along with, possess' ¶ D no. 2001 ◇ ≈ AD LRC no. 136, ≈ IS MS 332 s.v. 'братъ' *kantʰ.

646. ₂ *gUñ∇ or *gUñ∇ 'male genitalia' > HS: EC: Dsn {To.} gun-u (pl. gunti) 'testicles' ¶ To. DL 501 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gʷñi (pl. gʷñáñín), Bd {ChL} gʷñán 'penis' || Pdl {ChL} gʷùn, Tr {Nw.} gun, Mtk {ChC} ḡgʷʷʷn id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'penis', ChL, Sch. DN 60, Nw. WLT 38 || **D** (att. in SD) *ku|oññ∇ ({ʃGS} *k-) 'penis' > Ml kuṇṇa, Kn Δ kuṇṇe mar i, Kdg kuñṇe, Tu kuṇṇæ id. ¶ D no. 1697 ◇ Blz. DA 155 [no. 32], Blz. NDA no. 31 (D, C, Ch).

646a. *gaṇ∇ (or *gaʔṇ∇?) '≈ flesh of leg, thigh, buttocks' > IE: NaIE *gʰengʰ- / *gʰṅgʰ- '≈ leg \ thigh \ buttocks' > Gk κοχώνη (< *καχώνῆ < *κῆχ-) 'perineum', {F} 'Stelle zwischen den Schenkeln, Hinterbacke' || OI 'jaṅghā 'shank, lower part of leg', 'Unterschenkel', ja'ghanah m. 'rear part, buttock, pudenda', Av zangā-, zangā-'ankle', bi-zangra- 'having two legs', čaθbarə-zangra 'having four legs', Phl zang 'ankle, shank', Oss: I zäng, D zängä 'shank' ¶ P 438-9, F I 937, M K I 411-12, Ab. IV 297 || HS: ECh: Mkl {J} gîṅgîné 'cuisse', Smr {J} gʷñiṅ, Nd D {J} gʷñ 'buttocks' ¶ J LM 102, ChC s.v. 'buttocks' || **D** (+ext.) *kañt- 'flesh of thigh, flesh' > Kt kañt-po't 'flesh of hind thigh of animal', kañt-ka'l 'calf of leg', Kn kaṇṇa 'flesh, meat', Kdg kañṇa 'piece/lump of meat', Tl kaṇṇa id., 'flesh', Nkr kʰañṇe 'piece, piece of flesh', Gnd kʰāñṇum 𐌆 kʰāñṇ 'flesh, mutton', Knd kañṇa 'meat, flesh, muscle'; in some D lges (e.g. in Nkr and Gnd) there is contamination with the loan from InA (going back to OI kʰañṇa- 'piece') ¶¶ D no. 1175, Tu. no. 3792.

647. *id.* ≈ *güʒaṅ'o' 'voice; to produce a sound' (→ 'call' etc.) > IE: NaIE *gʰwen-/ *gʰwon-, {EI} *gʰwonos 'a sound, voice' > Arm ճայն ջայն 'voice, sound, cry (shout), noise' (< *gʰwon-yi-) || pAl {O} *žana, {Huld} *zan (gen. *zan-i) > Al T zē (pl. zēra), Al G zâ (pl. zana) 'voice' || pTc {Ad.} (?) *kene > Tc: A kaṇ, B kene 'melody, tune' || pSl *zvbñě-ti 'to ring' > ChS, OR ЗВЪНѢТИ zvbñěti (· ἤχεῖν) 'schallen, tönen', Slv zveněti, Cz zníti, Slk zniet', R зве'нетъ 'to ring', Blg (pres.) звини'я v. 'ring', pSl *zvонъ (~ *zvono?) 'ringing, clanging', (?) '≈ sound' > OCS ЗВОНЪ zvonъ (· ἤχος) {AD} 'noise, sound' ({StSS} 'шум, грохот'), McdS зvono, SCr zvōn, zvōn, zvōno, Slv zvōn, R звон, Uk (д)звiн 'ringing, clanging', Cz, Slk zvon, P dzwon 'bell' |||

variant stems ****g^hweng^h-** ~ ****g^hwenk-** in BSl: Lt *žvėng-ti* (1s pres. *žvėngiu*), Ltv (← Cur?) *zvāņdzināt* 'to neigh', Lt *žvangėti* 'to clank, to clang, to ring, to tinkle, to clatter'; Sl **zvokъ* 'sound' > R, McdS *звук*, SCr *zvok*, Cz, Slk *zvuk* id.; Sl **zvękъ* > Blg *звек*, McdS *звек*, SCr *zvēk*, Slk *zvēk* 'ringing, clanging', P *dzwięk* 'sound' ¶ P 490-1, EI 534, Sl. 315-16, Huld 134, O 521-2, Glh. 703, Vs. II 86-8, StSS 234, Frn. 1325-6, Wn. I 186, Ad. 193, Ad. H 27, 37 || **HS**: S **o√gɣm* > Ar *√gɣm* (pf. *جعم* *ǧaɣima*) 'have a gruff voice', Sh (pf. *جاء* *ǧaama*) 'groan' ¶ BK I 301-2 || B: ?on. Gd *ǧaŋǧaŋ* 'have a gruff voice, speak with a gruff voice' ¶ Lf. II no. O518 || **U** **kaŋ∇-* 'call, ask' > ?? OHg, Hg *hí v-* 'call, name, summon' || Sm {Jn.} *kāŋ-*, {Hl.} *kaŋ-* 'call, ask (for)' > Ne T *ханзъ*, Ne T O {Lh.} *χάńć* id., En {Pu.} *kāŋa* 'er ruft', En B {Cs.} 1s aor. obcn. *kaŋabo* 'I called\asked', Mt {Hl.} **kan-* 'bitten (?)' (Mt M {Sp.} d. *кагнама* 'прошу') ¶¶ UEW 125-6, Coll. 14 (**k+ŋa-*), EWU 564, Jn. 56, KP 79, Hl. M no. 424 || **A** **gi|I, aŋ-* > Tg **gi, aŋna-* > WrMc {STM} *giyaŋna-* ({Z} *гянна-*) 'explain, interpret (толко-вать), declare', Orc, Ul *gaŋga* 'ask riddles', Ud *gaŋŋa* 'riddle'; ? Ewk *gundz-* 'speak' ¶ STM I 140, Krm. 220, Z 369, S AJ 225 [no. 295] || ? T id. **KI,;ŋ-* + ext.: [1] **KI,;ŋira-* v. 'ring, clank' > Tv *qŋŋira-*, StAlt *qŋŋira-* id., Qrg *qŋŋira-* v. 'jingle, clank', *qŋŋir* 'sound of jingling\clanking'; [2] Tlt {Rl.} *qŋŋila-* 'leise für sich singen', [3] NaT **KI,;ŋsi-* > Tlt {Rl.} *qŋŋsi-* 'heulen, wimmern, winseln', Tlt/Alt/QK/Shor {Rl.} *qŋŋzi-* 'wimmern', StAlt {RAIS} *qŋŋzi-* v. 'yelp' (of a dog) ¶ Jud. 491, RAIS 204, OTS 179, Rl. II 709-10, RAIS 55 || **D**: McTm **kumuɾ-* > Tm *kumir_u* v. 'resound, trumpet, bellow', *kumur_al* 'roaring, resounding', *kumur_u* v. 'resound, roar', Ml *kumur_uka* v. 'make thundering sound' ¶ D no. 1744 ◇ A N final labialized vw. is suggested by S **m* (< N **-ŋ-* near a labialized vw. [reg.?]), but it could not be either **u* or **ü* (that survive a IE **u/ü*), so that it must have been N **-o* ◇ D **-m-* as a reflex of N **-ŋ-* may be tentatively explained by the influence of the adjacent labial vowels **-u-* (compare D **kum-* 'knob, hump' < N **gona* (P∇) 'nose' [q.v.]). On D **-m(m)-* from N **-ŋ-* cf. Introduction, § 2.1, remark 16 ◇ T **I* (in **KI,;ŋ-*) results from delabialization (**I* < **u*) and regr. as. (**u* < **ü*). The delabialization **I* < **u* is rather typical and needs investigating ◇ Qu. (onomatopoeic associations of the word [→ root] at different historical levels).

648. *g^rä¹ŋ^rX¹a 'to step, to climb' > IE: NaIE *ġ^heng^h- v. 'step' ('schreiten'), n 'step' ('Schritt'), {EI} v. 'step, walk' > Gmc *ginxti ~ *o^oganxti ({Pk}: < ġ^heng-ti ~ ġ^hong-ti): AS ȝīht 'going (Gang)', MHG gīht id., 'trip', Gt gāhts in cds: fram-gāhts (· προκοπή) 'Fortschritt', inn-at-gāhts 'Eingang', un-at-gāhts (· ἀπόστροφος) 'unzugänglich'; *o-grade: Gt gagg 'Weg, Straße', ON gangr, AS ȝanz, OHG gang n. act. 'going', 'course, way', MHG ganc, NHG Gang n. 'going'; -> *gangan 'to go' > Gt gaggan (3s pres. gaggiþ, 3s p. gaggiða) 'geh', ON ganga, OSx, OHG gangan, AS ȝanzan id. || OI 'jam^hah^h ntr. {MW} 'moving, going, course', {P} 'Schritt, Flügel-schlag' (but OI {Bt., M} 'jam^hah^h 'Schwinge, Flügel' is likely to belong together with OI 'ja^hghā 'shank, lower part of leg' to NaIE *g^heng^h-/*g^hng^h- '≈ leg\thigh\buttocks' < N *ga^h∇ [or *ga^ho^h∇??] '≈ flesh of leg, thigh, buttocks', see s.v.) || Clt: W rhy-gyngu 'to amble' || Lt žēngti (1s pres. žēngiū) 'to step, to walk, to march', ži^hngsnis 'a step' ¶ P 438-9, EI 546, M K I 410-12, M E I 562-4, Bt. II 246, MW 407, Ab. IV 297, Ho. 123, 130, Kb. 314, Lx. 53, 73, Fs. 164, 181-2, 294, Vr. 156, Schz. 147, KM 230-1, Frn. 1299-300, F I 937-8 || HS: S *^o√gn^h > Ar جج^h √ġ^hn^h 'walk quickly', Gt 'marcher d'un pas précipité' (of a camel) ¶ BK I 337 || U: FU *ka^hŋk^h∇- 'climb, step up' > Z kay-, Yz 'kay- 'climb' || ObU {Ht.} *k^hŋk^h- 'climb (klettern)' > pVg *k^hŋk^h- > Vg: T kā^hŋk^h-, LK xān^h, MK/SV k^hŋk^h-, UK/NV/LL k^hŋk^h-, P ka^hŋk^h-, ML kā^hŋk^h-, UL/Ss xān^h- id.; pOs {Ht.} *k^hŋk^h- ~ *ka^hŋk^h- id. > Os: D/K χonχ^h-, Nz χuŋ^h-, Kz χōŋk^h-, O χon^h- id. | Hg hág^h- 'step up, mount, ascend' ¶ UEW 127, MF 239, LG 115, Ht. no. 301 || A: ?σ Tg: Nn Nh gan^h- v. 'ski' ¶ STM I 139 ◇ Here we may suppose peculiar phonetic developments within clusters of *N + uvular consonants: in the prehistory of IE and FU the N Ir. *X is likely to have merged with the preceding *ŋ into the IE cluster *-ng^h- and the FU cluster *-ŋk^h-. An alt. solution: Ar √ġ^hn^h is a loan from another S lge or dl. (merging S *χ and *ħ) and goes back to S *√gn^hχ < pre-S *√gn^hq with Semitic de-emphatization from *√gn^hq, so that the pN etymon can be reconstructed as *g^rä¹ŋga > FU *ka^hŋk^h∇ and IE *ġ^heng^h- (for **ġ^henk^h- due to the IE incompatibility law that rules out a vd. asp. and a vl. cns. in the same root) ◇ The U and Tg *a (most probably from *ä) may be due to synharmonic as. (regr. as.).

649. *guŋ^rK¹E or *g^hüŋ^rK¹∇ 'nape' (→ 'neck'), 'rear part of the head' > A: Tg *o^ogun^h∇ > WrMc {Hr, PSchm.} ḡun^hḡu 'back of the

head', ḡuṅḡulu 'tuft\crest of birds (Haube, Federtolle, Schopf)', {Hr} ḡuṅḡuluṅḡe 'having a tuft on one's head' (a bird); *see* also WrMc {Z} ḡuṅḡaṅḡ 'Adam's apple' ¶ STM I 172-3, Hr 384, Z 349 || **D** (att. in SD) * ku|oṅk- 'nape, neck' > MI koṅṅa 'throat', kuṛici 'nape of neck', Kn kuṅke id., 'shoulder', ḡoṅka 'throat', ? ḡóṅ 'neck' ¶ D no. 1645 || **HS**: Om: NrOm {Blz.} * ḡaṅḡḡ- > She {C} ḡoṅṅo 'collarbone, clavicle', Cha {C} ḡaṅṅē 'neck', Kcm {Blz. ← ?} ḡoṅṅo 'nape of neck', Gnj {Si.} 'ḡoṅil', Drz {Fl.} ḡana-morge , Oyda {Fl.} ḡanna 'neck', Dk {Blz. ← ?} ḡəṅṅá 'upper back' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 80, C SE III 135, Fl. OWL s.v. 'neck', Si. ACh 17 || Ch: CCh: Tr {Nw.} ḡaṅà (cs. ḡandè) 'back', Bdm {Lk. ← Nc.} 'ḡḡuṅḡi' 'Nacken' || ?σ WCh: Ang {Flk.} ḡwongwon 'Adam's apple' ¶ Nw. WLT 38, Lk. B 123, Flk. s.v. ḡwongwon ¶¶ Blz. OLBP no. 80 (Om, CCh) || **IE**: NaIE * knok(k)o- / * knek(k)o- 'nape of neck; hill' (× N * ḡiḡa [or * ḡiḡa ?] 'cervical vertebra, neck, nape of neck' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ADb. MER 10 [no. 59] (Tg, D) ◇ In Tg there is progressive assimilation * $\text{ḡ...ḡ} > \text{Tg } *ḡ...ḡ$.

649a. ? $\phi \approx *ḡoṅ'H'ā|ṅ \sim$ mt.: * $\text{ḡo|H'ṅṅ} \sim$ 'forearm' > **HS**: C: Bj {R} $\text{ḡ}^{\omega}\text{en'hā|}$ 'forearm (Vorderarm bis zum Ellenbogen)', $\text{ḡ}^{\omega}\text{hān}$ (= $\text{ḡ}^{\omega}\text{alhān}$), 'ḡ \check{u} l \check{h} e (= $\text{ḡ}^{\omega}\text{alhe}$) 'forearm' || ??,ϕ SC: Kz {E} ḡuhuluko 'ankle' ¶ R WBd 95-9, E PC no. 534 || ? ϕ B * $\text{ḡ}^{\omega}\text{il-}/*\text{ḡ}^{\omega}\text{all-}$ 'arm' (if * $\text{ḡ} < \text{HS } *ḡ+\chi$) (× N * ḡawo|ṅ 'leg, bone of a limb', q.v.) > Ah, BSn aḡil (pl. iḡallən), BMn ḡil , Izn aḡil , Gd āḡil (pl. ḡallən) 'arm', Zng {TC} iḡy 'avant-bras' ¶ Fc. 1719, Lf. II no. 1219, TC D 4, TC Z 310 || **A** (* ḡā|ṅ 'hand'?): Tg * ḡāla 'hand' > Ewk ḡā|ṅ ḡāla , Sln nāla nāli , {Iv.} ḡala , Lm ḡā| , Neg, Orc $\text{ḡāla} \sim \text{ḡala}$, Ud, Ul ḡala , Ork, Nn Nh ḡāla , Nn Bk nāla , Nn KU $\text{nāla} \sim \text{ḡala}$, WrMc {Z} ḡala , Jrc {Pvn.} ḡala id. ¶ STM I 656-7, On. 284, Z 306-7, Pvn. 262 || T * ā|ig , {ADb.} * ā|ḡ 'hand' (× N * ḡæ|ṅ 'hand', q.v. ffd.) || **U**: (with loss of N * ḡoṅ-) FU * ā|ṅ 'space between the arms, armful; lap, bosom (of a garment)' > Chr: H ə|tem eltem , L ə|te el'te , Uf öltö, öltəš 'armful', H eltäle- , Uf öltala- , B eltala- 'put one's arms round, embrace, carry in arms' || Er e| , Mk ä| 'bosom of a garment' || Prm {LG} * ō| id. > Vt {Bor.} a| id., 'lap', Yz ō|l|ž , Prmk ō|l|ž , Z: LLz ō|l|ž , USs ə|l|ž 'bosom of a garment used to carry things' || ObU {Ht.} * ā| {AD} 'lap, space between the arms' > pVg * ā| > Vg: Ss $\text{ā|}-\text{tā|}$ 'armful' (tā| 'full'), T ā| , LK/MK/UK/NV ā| , P/SV/LLz ā| 'lap'; pOs * ā| 'lap' > Os: V/Vy ā| , Ty ā| , D ā| , Nz at , Kz a| , O ā| id., N $\text{ā|}-\text{tē|}$ 'armful' (tē| 'full') ¶ It. 291, Coll. 77, UEW 23, MRS 773, Ep. 18, LG 61, Ht. no. 18

|| AdS of IE *χ^wel- or *χ_xol- (/ *Xel-?) 'elbow' ({EI} *h₃el[∇]n-) > NaIE *ōlenā, *o|elni- id. (< N *ΓUL[∇] 'knee, elbow', q.v. ffd.).

650. ₂ *gæʔ^ʔUp[∇] 'body' > HS: WS *gūp- ~ *^ogīp- 'body' > BHb הַבָּיִת *gū'pā* 'corpse' (att. cs. תַּבְּיִתַּת gū₁pāt, pl. תַּבְּיִתַּת gū'pōt), JA, MHb הַבָּיִת gū'p 'body' (JA kem. תַּבְּיִתַּת gū'pā), JEA gū'pā 'body, self', Htr גַּוַּר 'person' (or 'corpse, dead body'), Ar جيفة ġīf-at- 'corpse', Jb C مَجْدِفَات 'corpse, carcass' ¶ ≈ KB 176-7, ≈ DRS 108, ≈ MiK I no. 1.100 (all of them connect the root with WS *gawp- 'hollow' [see N *gup[∇]?^ʔ 'hollow, empty, hole'], which is semantically unj.), Sl. 270-1, BK I 362, Jo. J 72, HJ 231, OS 205-6 [no. 909] || CCh: Lmn {Lk.} γὺνᾶ, HgN ḡwà, Kps ḡvᾶ 'body' ¶ ChC s.v. 'body', ChL II || A: [11] A *k'æp'a^ʔ- 'body, trunk of a body' > T *k'|k_æbdæ(η) id., 'body, corpse' > OT k|gōvdōr, Tkm ḡōwde 'corpse, trunk of a body', VTt γᾶυδᾶ ḡāwdä, Nog кевде kewde 'body, trunk of a body', Qzq кеуде kewde 'torso, trunk of a body, chest', Qq ḡewde ~ kewde id., 'body', Qrg kōdō(n), Uz ḡavda id., Chv Δ_{Ash., Fed., ChVS} кевте 'body, trunk of a body', Chv L {Jeg.} хевте хewd_e 'trunk of a body', Chv L хевте хewd_e {Fed., Jeg., ChVS} 'energy, strength, бодрость', Tk ḡōvdē, Az кевдә ḡōwdä 'trunk of a body\tree' (× N *Kop[∇] 'trunk, log', accounting for the semantic narrowing: 'body' → 'trunk of a body?') ¶ Cl. 688, TkR 193 Rs. W 688, ET VGD 52-3, TL 267, TkR 193, TatR 120, Fed. II 339-40, Ash. VI 187, XVI 77-8 and XVI 15, Jeg. 297, ChVS 82, 248 || Tg *kepe[∇] > Lm kēbēz 'stomach of squirrels or calves (with its contents)', WrMc {Z} хэфэли ~ хэфали 'belly', Mc Sb кевәлә ~ хевәлә 'stomach, belly, bosom', Jrc {Kiy.} хefuli 'belly'; Jrc {Kiy.} хевуде 'belt'; WrMc {Z} хэбтэхэ 'women's abdominal band, women's wide belt (женский набедрник, широкий женский пояс)' ¶ STM I 387-8, Z 405, 416, Kiy. 227, Ci. EApk 124 || M *kepe[∇]li and *kepe[∇]eli < *kepe[∇]li) 'belly, pregnancy' > MM {Lew.} ke'eli, {Battal} kāhāl, [IM] kilī id., WrM kege[∇]li {MED} womb, pregnancy, embryo; belly', HIM {MED, BMR} хээл id., {BMR} хэвэл 'belly; womb', Brt хээли 'belly; pregnancy', Kl {Rm.} kē'ij 'Schoß, Bauch; Gebärmutter', kew'ij 'Bauch', Dg {T} kē'li, Dx kī'eli 'belly', Ba ke'le 'stomach', Mnr H {SM} k'ē'liē 'ventre', {T} kē'liē 'belly', Ord k'e'weli 'matrice, sein', k'ē'li 'foetus (chez les animaux)' ¶ MED 442, BMR IV 203, 230, Chr. 655, KW 229-30, T 338, T DgJ 149, T BJ 141, T DnJ 123, SM 198, Ms. O 410, 419 || pJ {S} *kámpánái 'corpse' > OJ kábáné, J T kabane ¶ J *a of the first syll. is probably due to regr. as. ¶ S QJ no.

1380, Mr. 431, Kenk. 745 || [2] A *^rk^ʷæb|p∇r- 'body, trunk of a body' > T *k^ʷ|kæbræ id. > OT {Cl.} kōv^re 'body', OT Kr kōv^re {SDM} 'carrion', Tkm гөв^re göw^re 'trunk of a body' (not 'corpse', as in SDM 771) ¶ Cl. 690, Tkr 193 || M: (1) M *keʷür (from **keβür?) 'corpse, dead body' > WrM {MED} kegür, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt xγγp id., WrO küür, Kl {KRS} кγp 'corpse', {Rm.} kūr "Leichnam; Grab, Grabplatz", Ord k'ūr 'cadavre; tombe'; (2) M *kebördek > WrM {Krg.} keberdeg, WrO köbö(r)döq 'torso, trunk', Kl {KRS} көврдг kövrdäg 'trunk (of a body), torso, breast', {Bdm.} 'trunk of a body (туловище)', Kl Ö {Rm.} köwrdak 'Brust, Brustknochen, Rumpf', Ord k'emerdek 'thorax, poitrine' ¶ MED 443, BMR IV 195, Krg. 736, 746, Chr. 634, KRS 309, 326, KW 242, 250, Bdm. 84, Ms. O 413, 438 || ?φ Tg {SDM} *^oχ₁e^buren 'corpse' > WrMc {Z} зорэнь ~ орэнь ~ үрэнь id. ¶ STM II 289-90, Z 60, 131, 177 ¶¶ (For both [1] and [2]) SDM 668-9 (A *kēp'∇ 'belly' > Tg *kepel, M *keweli [i.e. *kebeli], T *gep- [i.e. *k'æb-]), SDM 667-8 (A *kēp∇ 'upper part of a body [trunk]' > T *gebde- [i.e. *k^ʷ|kæbdæ] + [not belonging here, but going back to pA *^rk^ʷæb|p∇r-, q.v. above] M *keberdeg 'body' + [not belonging here] Tg *keb-te 'belt', v. 'bulge' [of belly]) and SDM 770-1 (A k'ébá 'corpse' [an unc. semantic interpretation] > M *keʷür and Tg *^oχ₁eburen), DQA no. 992 (A *k'ébá 'corpse' > T *k'Ébre, M *keʷür, Tg, J), TL 267, ADb. SR 5, Vld. 205, Ci. EApk 124, KW 250, MYC 395 ◇ A *K- is likely to go back to N *g∇?-.

651. *gup∇^rú^r 'hollow, empty; hole' > HS: WS *gawp- 'hollow' > Ug gpt (= *gōp-āt-) 'caves', Ar جوف ḡawf- 'hollow, inside of a house, belly', ḡawfu-l-layli 'middle of the night', pl. ?agwāf- 'entrails', Tgr gōf (pl. ?agwāf) 'interior, heart, soul', Mh, Hrs ḡawf- 'chest'; S *^o✓gwp (prm. *-gwap-) 'be hollow' > Ar ✓ḡwf (ip. -ḡwaf-) id., 'be empty' ¶ ≈ KB 176-7, BK I 357, Hv. 105, A no. 684, LH 594, Jo. M 127, DRS 108, ≈ MiK I no. 1.100 (*gawp- 'chest and abdominal cavities of body\corpse') || EC: Sml N {Abr.} ḡōf 'empty hollow in ground', 'empty well, dried-up well', Sml {ZMO} ḡōf 'dried-up well', 'dry riverbed', {DSI} ḡōf id., 'orbita dell'occhio', ?φ Arr yūb 'hole, den' (for *g- > y- cp. Arr yirr 'upper arm' < N *gAr∇ '≈ hand, arm') ¶ Abr. S 93, DSI 273, ZMO 165, Hw. A 400 || Ch: ECh: Smr {J} ḡúbè 'hole' || WCh: Dw {ChL} gup, Zar {ChL} ḡūp 'chest' || Dir {Sk., ChC} ḡúbàdù 'chest' || ?? CCh: Gude {ChL} ḡúwa, FIJ ḡùw'ì, Nz {Mch.} ḡówε, {ChL} ḡòʔo, FIB {ChL} ḡùʔùn, Bcm {ChC} ḡwé, {ChL} ḡwèy, FIM {ChL} èḡw'ǒ 'hole', Lmn {Lk.} òḡhùbù, óḡhbù id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'hole'

and 'chest', ChL || IE: NaIE *geu̯p-/*go̯u̯p-/*gu̯p- 'hollow, pit' > Gk γύπη [Call.] 'cave', [Hs.] 'hollow in the earth; lurking place, den; vulture's nest' || Gmc: ON kofi 'small chamber, hut', Ic kofi 'hut', NNR kove 'larder, storeroom', MHG kobe 'stall, pigsty; cage; cavity (Höhlung)', NHG Kobern, NLG Kofen 'pigsty', AS cofa 'cave, chamber, pigsty', NE cove 'concavity or recessed place in a structure' || Sl *župa > P župa, Uk 'жу́па' 'salt pit', OCS d. жоупище župišče 'grave' ¶ IS I 232, FI 335, Ch. 243, Vr. 323-4, Ar. 452, Lx. 112, KM 386, Paul 338, Ho. 56, Vs. II 65-6, StSS 221 || U **kōppE (× N *kohP_∇ 'cave, pit') > FP *kōppa ~ (?) *°kōppE 'hollow; sth. hollow' > F kuoppa 'pit', Krl K kūōppa, Krl A kūōppu, Krl Ld kūōp:, Vp kop 'pit', Es koobas (gen. koopa), Es Δ kōp 'cave, cavern, grotto' | pLp *kop_∇- 'hollow out' > Lp L {Wk.} ko3po- id.; pLp {Lr.} *kopē 'hollow, depression' > Lp: N {N} goppe / -b-~ -v- 'hollow; round-shaped bottom', S {Hs.} gūppie 'Loch, Tunnel', L {Wk.} ko3pe- 'Aushöhlung; enger, runder Alpental', Fr/O {Wk.} g_u3p^ε 'sledge produced by hollowing out a tree trunk', Krsv {Lgc.} k'ōprijε & k'ōrijε 'pit' & 'depression, small valley in the mountains', Klt {It.} kãp̃p̃, Kld {TI} ko_р:ē_, {SaR} коабпъ 'pit' | Prm *gōp ({{JLG}} *gōp) 'pit, depression' (< **gūp < pre-Prm *kūpp_∇ < *kōpp_∇) > Vt gor 'pit, depression'; hollow, narrow gully', Z g3p 'small pit, hole (in the ice), puddle, small lake', Yz gōp 'deep quiet place in a river, depression, pit'; Prm *gōp (⇔ Rd. rLG 421) may belong here, suggesting the following prehistory: FU *kōppa > (due to the labializing infl. of *pp) *kūpp_∇ > pre-Prm *gūp > Prm *gōp ¶ SK 240, Lr. no. 456, Lgc. no. 2561, N II 177, Wk. EUL 272, Wk. LLW 45, Hs. 697-8, TI 147, SaR 113, LG 80, Lt. J 106, ≈ IS I 233 (** ÷ F koppa ** 'hollow' [erroneously for 'basket'] and Mr and Os words for 'skull', better explainable as belonging to N *k_ᵛa'w_ᵛo_ᵛp_ᵛE or *k_ᵛa'w_ᵛo_ᵛp_ᵛ_ᵛ_ᵛ_ᵛ 'skull; occiput', N *gUbʻE' 'basket' and/or N *K_ᵛabʻEʻ_ᵛ_ᵛ 'wickerwork, bag' [q.v.]) ¶ Rd. rLG 421 was right in pointing out that F uo does not correspond to pPrm *ǵ (= {{JLG}} *ō), but in his etl. dictionary (UEW) he did not propose any et. either to F kuoppa or to the Prm √. To my mind, this phonetic discrepancy may be explained by postulating a pre-harmonic U *kōppE, that due to vw. harmony may have yielded both *kōppa (> BF *kōppa > F kuoppa) and *°koppE (> Prm *kōp) || A: [11] pA *g'o' b_∇ > M ≈ *°gobilja > Kl D {Rm.} gōwā 'niedrige Stelle, Tal'; M *gobil 'cavity, hole' > WrM {MED} gobil id., 'pit, hollow, groove; depression', HIM говил {MED} id., {BMR} 'cavity; ravine, gully

(лог, ложбина, балка), Brt гобил 'gully (ложбина); furrow; впадина по обеим сторонам носа', Kl {KRS} һовль ʏowáí 'niedriges Gelände, впадина по обеим сторонам носа', {Rm.} ɣowíí 'niedrige Stelle, Vertiefung'; M ↗ Qrg ɣobul 'groove, rut (in the ground)', Tv ɣovul, Tf һобул 'groove'; a T lge ↗ Brt жобол 'gitter (желоб)', Kl {Rm.} ɣowí 'kleine Rinne oder kleines rohrformiges Loch', Kl Ö {Rm.} ɣowodí 'Rinne; kleine lange Truhe', Oyr ɣobul 'groove, small hole' ¶ MED 357, BMR I 408, Chr. 153, Kow. 1025, KRS 164, KW 152-3, 191, Krg. 313, Jud. 361, TvR 478, Ra. 189 || ?σ AmTg *gebu(n-) 'empty' > Orc, Ork gɜwɜ(n-) ~ gɜun(n-), Ud gɜu, Ul, Nn Bk gɜu(n-), Nn Nh gɜũ id. ¶ STM I 176, On. 129 || [2] ??σ A *gupE '≈ extinguish, lose (verlieren)' (semantic infl. of the pA reflex of the paronymous N word *kuP₂sa 'extinguish, exhaust'?) > AmTg *gūp- > Nn gūpu-, Ork gupu-, Ul gūpu-, gōkpi- 'extinguish', Nn Nh gūp-, gūkpu-, Ork, Ul gūptu- 'go out' (fire) ¶ STM I 159, On. 121 ¶ The Nn and Ul cluster -kp- is to be explained (mt. from *-p-k-, where *-k- is a sx?) || ? M *geɣe- (< **geβe-?) v. 'lose (verlieren)' > WrM {MED} gege-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt гээ- 'lose, abandon, leave', Kl {Rm.} gē- 'verlieren, verloren gehen lassen, wegwerfen', {KRS} геε- 'verlieren (терять, утратить)', Mgl {Rm.} gē- 'lose', Dg {T} gē- 'lose (терять, утратить, лишаться), Mnr {SM} gē- 'abandonner, quitter, laisser', Ord g₂ē- 'perdre, laisser en arrière, omettre (par négligence/mégarde), répudier (une femme)' ¶ MED 373, BMR I 485, Chr. 176, KW 135, KRS 135, T DgJ 131, Mr. D 149, SM 131, Ms. O 254 ¶¶ SDM 560 (pA *g₂ùp₂'a|u 'extinguish' > Tg + unc. T *Kip- 'spark, ashes'), DQA no. 540 ¶¶ The vw. *e in the initial syll. of Tg *gebu(n-) and M *geɣe- is probably due to regr. as. ¶¶ Illich-Svitych (IS I 311) connected (with a query) the Tg root with IE *g^wes- 'extinguish' and U *kupsa- id. and suggested that in Tg this cluster may have been contracted to *-p-, which is unconvincing || D (att. in McTm) *ku|opp- > Ml копрам 'pitfall for catching elephants', Tm копрам 'keddah (an enclosure constructed to trap wild elephants)' ¶ D no. 2103 ◇ Tg *-b- in *kobi rules out N *-p- (sc. N *gup₂'ú¹). U and D *-pp- go back to an earlier *-p- from N *-p₂∇?- ◇ FU *ō belongs to the heritage of N *kohP₂∇. M *o (as a representative of N *u) still requires explanation. The vowels of the second syll. in the A lges (T *i and *u, Tg *u, pJ *ua) point to a N high labialized vw. (*u or *ü) ◇ IS I 232-3 [no. 87] (N *gop₂'a 'hollow, empty').

652. (₂?) *gop₁a₁ka 'hook, sharp stick' > A *gop₁ak^{ra} > M *gop₁a₁n₁ 'crook, hook' > WrM {MED} gop₁a, HIM {MED, BMR} rop₁(on), Brt rop₁o id., Kl {Rm.} gop₁o 'Haken, Klammer (womit etwas festgemacht oder angehakt wird)' ¶ MED 363, BMR I 440, KW 149 || Tg *gop₁ak^v 'hook' > Nn Nh gop₁o 'hook for hanging up a cauldron', Nn Nh/Bk gop₁o 'hook', Ewk, Orc gok₁o 'hook', Ewk gugarka 'part of harness (a piece of iron with a ring)', WrMc {Z} rop₁on^b 'hook, hook for hanging up sth.' ¶ Some of the forms present in Tg are loans from M (e.g., Nn and Neg gop₁o 'hook'), for other forms (with medial -k-, -q-) Mongolic origin is less plausible, but not ruled out ¶ STM 158-9, On 109, 116, Z 339 || pJ *k^aak- 'hook, key' > OJ kag(y)i, MJ k^agⁱ, J T kagⁱ, J K k^agⁱ, J Kg kagⁱ id., StJ {Kenk.} kagi 'key', OJ kak(a)-, MJ k^aka-, J T kak^e-, J K/Kg k^ak^e- v. 'attach, hang', StJ {Kenk.} kake- v. 'hook, hang, suspend', OJ kaka-r-, MJ k^ak^a-r-, J T kak^ar-, J K k^ak^ar-, J Kg k^ak^ar-, StJ {Kenk.} kakar- 'be attached' ¶ Mr. 433, 702, Kenk. 756, 784, 787 ¶¶ SDM 570 (pA *g^uð^ok^a 'curve, hook' > M *gok- 'hook', J, Ewk gugarka + unc. Tg guk- 'bent upwards' [of a head], 'convex, hill') || U: FU *kopkka (or, with an alt. phonological interpretation, *kopka) 'crook, hook, sharp point' > F koukka, koukku 'crook', Es Δ kouk (gen. kouga) '(ε) hoe', pLp {Lr.} *k^okk^e (× U *kokka 'protruding point, hook' × N *k^aakU [or *k^ookU?] 'hook') > Lp: N {N} goakke 'hoe', I {It.} ko^akk^o, Kld ku^akk^a 'hook', K k^oa^okk^a 'hoe, hook' || Chr kopka 'ploughshare' (Üpymarij quoted the word only within the cd kopka-parña 'crooked end of a ploughshare', lit. 'ploughshare's thumb', Coll. quoted Chr kopka 'plough' without indicating the source) || ?? acc. to LG 77, Z gog⁺n, Z US gog⁺n, Yz gog^gt 'scraper (скобелъ)' (≠ Rd. rLG 421) ||| pOs *ka^oap 'fishhook' (× FU *^okok₁k₁^vp^v 'ε hook' < N *k^aâRk^ub|p^v 'top, summit, crown [of the head]' [q.v. ffd.]) > Os {KrT}: Vy qa^oap^w, Y qa^oap, Try q^aap, qu^op-, D {KrT} xa^oap 'wooden fishhook for pikes' ¶ Coll. 90, UEW 171-2, Stn. D 459, SK 208-9, 225-6, Ü 74, Lr. no. 468, LG 77, Trs. S 142, KrT 291-1 || ? IE: the expected IE cognate is likely to have coalesced with the IE reflex of N *k^aakU, which is NaIE *kog-/*keg- 'hook, claw' > Gmc *x^oka-, *xakan-, *xēkan- 'hook' > ON hækja 'Krücke', OHG hāco ~ hākko ~ hāgo, NHG Haken, AS hōc 'hook', NE hook ||| Sl *kog^oty ~ *kog^oty > OR, R 'kogat', Cz Δ kohát 'claw', Hls kocht 'awn; brome (*Bromus*)' ¶ P 537-8, Vr. 278, OsS 365, Kb. 423, KM 283, Ho. 167, ESSJ X 109-10, Trof. 86 ◇ In many descendant there

is assimilation within the post-N cluster *-P_LK- (< N *-P_La_LK-) > *-K_LK- (> *-kk-, *-k-) ◇ Cf. AD AltAD no. 19.

653. *gä^hp_L∇_LsA 'hand, arm' ([in U] → 'paw') > IE *g^hhes-r-, *g^hhes-to- 'hand': [1] IE {Sturt., Pis., Hamp, F, Ch., EI} *g^hhesr- > Ht *kessar* (dat. *kesri*) 'hand', SAn: Lw *is(sa)ri-*, HrLw *istr(i)-*, Lc *izr(i)-* id. ({Pv.}: before front vowels IE *g^h- > SAn zero) || NaIE *g^hhes-r- 'hand' (but hardly NaIE *g^her- 'hand' [P 447, Dv. no. 270], see N *gAr∇ 'hand, arm') > Gk χεῖρ / gen. χεῖρ-ός 'hand', Gk D χήρ / χηρός, Gk Ae accus. sg. χέρρα, pl. χέρρα id. || Arm *óbnū zērn* (gen. *óbnhū zērin*) id. (< accus. *g^hhesr-m) || pAl {O} *dārā (singularized ntr. pl.) > Al T *dorē* (pl. *duar*), G *dor* 'hand' || Tc A *tsar*, Tc B *ṣar* id. || [2] NaIE *g^hesto-, {EI} *g^hosto-s 'hand' > OI 'hasta-h', Av *zasta-*, OPrs, KhS *dasta-*, NPrs *دست* *dāst* 'hand' || ? L *praestō* adv. 'present, at hand' (< *pra_Lhestōd 'at hand', cp. Gallius: *praesto* 'quod prae manibus est') || Lt *pa-žastē*, *pa-žastis* 'space under the arm, armpit' ¶¶ P 447, EI 254, Sl. 316-17, F II 1082-3, Ts. E I 558-63, Sturt. CG 89, 118, Pis. SLS 121, Hamp PA 115, Ch. 1251-2, M K III 588, M E II 812, WH II 356, Huld 54, O 70-1, Horn 126, Frn. 560, Wn. I 521, Ad. 649-50, Ad. H 128, 146, Pv. IV 160-5, Ivn. SANA 153, Ivn. XJ² 85 || HS: Ch: WCh: SBc: Buli {ChL} *gāpūšā* 'shoulder', Gmy {ChL} *kšat* id., ? Ngz {Sch.} *gāptā* id. || CCh: Lmn {Lk.} *ḡabàzàk* id. || ?? ECh: Ke {Eb.} *kósí*, Kwn {J} *kosī* 'hand, arm' (unless *ko-* is a px) ¶ Eb. 73, ChC s.v. 'arm', 'hand' and 'shoulder', ChL, Sch. DN s.v. *gāptā* || U: FU *kEpsä (*kāpsä ~ *kipsä) 'paw, animal's leg\foot, fell from a paw\leg' (× N *K_LEP_L∇Z∇ 'paw, hoof') > F *käpsä* 'harefoot (for dusting etc.)', Krl A *käpčü* 'foot (of ducks and other birds); paw', Krl Ld *käpč* ~ *käpš* 'foot (of birds etc.)', Vp *käpš* '(hen's) foot; paw (of dogs, otters)', Es *käps* 'heel', {W} *käps-jalad* 'cooked pig feet' | Chr: B *küpš* 'nap of cloth' (< *'nap made of the skin of animals' legs'), L *küpš* 'strands of wool in home-made woollen cloth' | Prm *kūs 'fell from an animal's leg' > Z *кыс* *kıs* id., 'footwear made of a fell from an animal's leg with the fur on the outside', 'a fell from a leg used to line up the bottom side of ski (for braking when skiing uphill)', Yz *kōs* 'skin of the legs of an animal (horse, elk etc.) (used as brakes under the ski when skiing uphill)', Vt *kusla-* v. 'brake (when skiing uphill)'; {UEW}: Prm *ū < *i or *ä due to the labializing infl. of *p || ObU {JHl.} *kōpəθ ({Ht.} *kōpəθ) 'fell from an animal's leg (Pfotenfell)' > pOs {Ht.} *kōpəθ ({JHl.} *kōpəθ) id. > Os: V/Vy *kōwəɭ*, Ty *kōpəθ*, Y *kōpəθ*, D/K/Nz *kepət*, Kz *kepəθ*, O

kopəl; pVg *kūt 'skin of an elk's leg' > Vg: LK/MK/UK k^ωāt, P kāt ~ k^ωāt, NV/SV/LL k^ωät, UL/Ss kot id.; ObU *ō, Cht ü and Prm *ū are due to the labialization caused by *p (F Rd. rLG 421) ¶ Coll. 87, UEW 159-60, ≈ Sm. 544 (FU, FP *kū p s ũ 'leg skin', Ugr *kū p θ -; Sm. did not take into account BF), LG 154, Lt. J 133, Ht. no. 303, Hl. rHt 71-3 || D {tr.} *kač|y∇, {Pf.} *kay/*key ({θGS} *k-) 'hand' > Tm kai, Ml kai, kayyi, Kt, Kdg kay, Tl cēyi (accus. cēti), ce(y)yi, Klm ki· ɘ key ɘ kīy ɘ kiyu, Nkr kī, Kui kayu, kagu, Ku kēyu(:) ɘ ke(y)yu ɘ kayyu, Krx xekkhā id., Ml kayyu, Tu kai, Tl kēlu, kai, Nk kī, Prj, Png key, Gdb ki ɘ kiyu ɘ kiy, Gnd kay, Knd kiyu ɘ kivu, Mnd kiy, Mlt qeqe 'hand', Kn kay, kayi, kayyi, key 'hand, forearm' ¶¶ If GS's pD rec. *keŷ- 'hand, arm' is right, the D word does not belong here ¶¶ D no. 2023, IS I 227, Pf. 45, GS 186-7 [no. 471] ◇ ≈ IS I 227 [no. 80] (IE *g^hes-, D *kač- + qu. Om *✓kč 'hand'; *÷ FU *käte 'hand', F s.v. N *Kät∇ 'hand').

654. ₂ *gEqû 'to pour, to flow' > IE: NaIE *g^heu-/ *g^hu- v. 'pour', *g^heu-mn̥ 'sth. poured, libation' > OI ju'hōti v. 'sacrifices' (esp. 'pours butter into fire'), hu'tah pp. 'sacrificed', 'hōman- 'libation, sacrifice', Av zaotar, zaōθr- 'priest, sacrificer', OI 'hōtrā 'an offering, sacrifice (Opfergabe)', Av zaōθrā 'libation' || Gk χέ(ι)ω 'I pour' ('ich gieße, ich schütte), Gk Hm aor. ἔχευα 'poured' (< *e-g^heu- + *-σα), Gk χεῖμα 'that which is poured, a stream, libation' || Phr [Hs.] ζευμῶν ('πηγῆν) accus. 'stream (?)' (< *g^heu-mn̥) || Arm ճոյլ շօյլ 'what is smelted\cast\ founded', n. 'font, cast' (< *g^heu-lo-), ճուլեմ 'I cast\smelt\found' || L fū-tis 'water(ing) can', fū-tilis 'easily poured, brittle' || pTc *ku- > Tc A, B ku- v. 'pour' ¶ WP I 563-4, P 447-8, EI 448, M K I 442, M E II 821, F II 1090-3, WH I 563-4, Sl. 259, Bdr. 433, Wn. I 239, Ad. 179-80 ¶ The absence of traces of the expected lr. (< N *q) requires explanation. One may suggest a mt. + subsequent loss of the lr.: *gEqû > eIE *g^hHeu > IE *g^heu- || HS: CS *-gīχ- ~ *-gūχ- v. 'pour forth, gush out' (of water) > Hb ✓gyḥ (-gīḥ-) 'burst forth' (of dashing water, of sea), JA [Trg.] ✓gyḥ G 'break forth, stir up', Sr ✓gwh (pf. gāh, ip. nə'gūh) 'gush out, pour forth' (of water), 'flow' (of tears), ?σ Ar ✓ğw|yχ (pf. جَاخْ ḡāχa) 'ronger et enlever la berge' (of water) ¶ KB 181, KBR 189, BDB 161 [no. 1518], Js. 237, Br. 108-9, JPS 63, BK I 350, DRS 107 ◇ An alt. comparison (with better semantic connections, but with phonetic problems): N ? *kEzû 'pour, flow' (q.v.) > IE *g^heu-/ *g^hu- v.

'pour' ÷ HS: S *^o✓kɪw 'pour', SC: Irq {MQK} kuʔūs-, Brn kuʔus-, Alg kuʔumis- v. 'spill, pour'.

655. ₂ *gAr∇ 'hand, arm' > HS: Eg fP ʒr.t 'hand, handful' ¶ EG V 580-5, Fk. 323, Tk. I 319 || EC: Arr yirr 'upper arm' ¶ Hw. A 400 || ȷȷ IE: acc. to P 447, NaIE ?? *ġ^her- 'hand' (> Arm ábnū ʒeṛn 'hand' || Gk χεῖρ 'hand' || pAl *dārā > Al: T/G dorē [pl. T duar, G duer] 'hand'), but in the light of Ht kessar- 'hand' Pokorny's rec. is to be replaced by pIE *ġ^hesr- (see N *gā^rp¹∇, sA 'hand', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Dv. no. 270 (ġ^her- 'mano come cosa attiva'), P 447 (s.v. *ġ^hesto-), O 70, Huld 54, Sturt. CG 89, 118, Pis. SLS 121, Hamp PA 115, Slr. 316-17, F II 1082-3, Ch. 1251-2, Pv. IV 160-5, Ts. E I 558-63 || ¶ A *gar^ra¹ 'arm' > T *Kar 'arm' > OT, MT qar, Qzq, Qrg qar, Chv xop 'arm', Bsh qar 'shinbone of animal'; NaT *Kari 'forearm' > OT qarī, Qzq, Qq qarī id., Tv, Tf qiri, Yk xari 'ulna', MT qarī 'forearm, arm', Uz qari, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, Shor, StAlt qarī 'arm', Chg qarī ~ qarū 'arm, upper arm', Az Δ garī 'upper half of animal's leg', Xlj qarī 'half fathom', Tkm garī id., 'lower leg of a quadruped, shinbone', VTt Δ qarь 'length of an arm from elbows to fingers', Nog qarī 'length of a forearm', ET Tr kerī 'arm's length, cubit', Chv {Ash.} xypǎ xurь 'a unit of length (≈ 2 m)', {Fed.} xyp ǎ xop ' {Ash.} xyp xur ǎ xypǎ xurь 'a unit of length (≈ 2 m)', {Fed.} xyp ǎ xop id., 'elbow', {Jer.} xyp 'elbow', 'a unit of length (double distance between the elbow and the end of the middle finger)', {ChVS} xyp 'a unit of length (two ells, половина маховой сажени)', ET Tr kerī 'arm's length, cubit', StAlt, Shor, Uz Δ qarī 'upper arm', Tv qiri 'ulna', Tf qiri id., 'forearm', Yk xari, xarī id., 'lower part of the foreleg' ¶ Cl. 644-5, ET KQ 278-83, ADb. SR 160-4, 195-8, TL 246-7, Ash. XVI 191 and 221, Fed. II 361, Jeg. 306, ChVS 255, Dr. TM III 461-2 [no. 1477], Jud. 355, BT 74, Ra. 223, Md. 103, 166 || M *gar 'hand, arm' > MM [MA] gar, [IM, IsV] qar, WrM {MED} gar, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt гар, Kl {KRS} hap gar, {Rm.} gar, Ord q₋ar, ShY, Mnr H {SM} q₋ar, MMgl {Iw.} gar, Mgl qar, Dg gar, gari, Dx. qa, Ba xar 'hand, arm' ¶ MED 350, BMR I 386-7, Lew. 46, KRS 157-8, KW 144-5, T 325, T DgJ 130, T DnJ 124, T BJ 136, Mr. D 148, Ms. O 292-3, SM 118, Iw. 104, Rm. M 31 || Tg: WrMc {Z} гарга, гаргань 'two arms, two legs' ¶ STM I 141, Z 310 ¶¶ SDM 530-1 (pA *gà|èr^a 'arm' > M, T, Tg + unc. pJ *kàtá 'shoulder' [going back to N *K^üy₁t₁∇₁P₁∇ 'shoulder', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 482 (id.), S AJ 290, S QJ no. 200, KW 145, Vld. 391, Pp. VG 24, ADb. SR 310-1, Kol. ChA 96-7 ◇ If P's rec. of the alleged IE cognate is

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

655a. ₂ ***gER∇** 'entrails' > HS: S: Ar جَرِيَّةٌ ḡirrīy-at- ~ جَرِيَّةٌ ḡirrīṭ-at- 'estomac (d'oiseau)' ¶ BK I 272 || C: Ag *gīr- (*gīr-/ *gīl-) 'gut(s), entrails' > Bln {R} gīr ~ žīr (pl. gīlil ~ žīlil), Q {R} žīr, Xm {R} zil'lā 'Darm', zil'il 'Eingeweide', Km {CR} žar 'entrails' || amb Bj {Rop., Fl.} gari 'body, trunk' (× N ***gARṡ∇** 'belly, inside', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ AD SF 205, R WB 158, R QW 74, E Ch II 469 (s.p. 95), CR LK 205 ¶¶ ≈ AD SF 205 (C, S) || IE: NaIE *ḡ^her- 'gut(s)', *ḡ^hor-nā 'entrails' > OI hi'rā 'vein, artery', 'hira-h₁' 'band, strip' || Gk χορδή 'gut, string of gut' || L haru-spex 'one who foretold the future from the inspection of entrails', hīra 'gut, intestine' || ON gorn 'gut', pl. garnar 'entrails' (< *ḡ^hor-nā), OHG mitti(la)-garni, AS miczern, OSx midgarni 'internal fat, suet' || Lt žarnà (accus. žárna), Ltv zârna 'gut' ¶ P 443, EI 180 ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 73 (IE, HS + unc. U, HS, D reflexes of N ***guR∇** 'belly' (→ 'body') and N ***gARṡ∇** 'belly, inside' [q.v.]).

656. ₂ ***geR∇** 'throat' > HS: WS *gīr-, *√grr > MHb הַרְגָּה gērā 'neck' (Lv.: 'Hals', eig. 'der Ort, wo das Tier die Speise heraufbringt'), Tgy ገ-ር-ር-ገ ḡ^werəro 'throat, trachea'; CS *gīrān- > BHb ስገገገ ḡārōn (cs. ḡārōn, st. pron. ḡārōn-, pl. [attested in MHb] ḡārōn-ōṭ) 'throat, neck' (ḡārōn is a bf. from the stem ḡārōn- in cs., st. pron. and pl.), Ar جَرَانٌ ḡirān- 'front part of a camel's neck'; rdp.: S *garg^ra^r- 'throat, gullet' > BHb pl. t. ስገገገ ገገ *gargārōṭ* 'throat', (→) 'neck' (att: +ppa. 2m: ስገገገ ገገ ḡarḡarōṭ'ēkā 'thy throat') ({KBR} 'pharynx' → 'neck'), MHb ስገገገ ገገ ḡar'ḡerəṭ 'Gurgel', Ug {OLS} grgr 'garganta (?)', Sr ḡaggar't-ā 'throat', Md ḡangarata 'throat, tonsils' (pl.), Ar [Nbg.] جَرَا جَر ḡarāḡir- 'throat (?)' (originally pl. fractum), Tgy ḡ^warg^wa^rit 'goitre' (Bsn. 'gozzo'), Ak ḡagḡurīt_u 'e part of the body of an animal: ? throat' ¶ GB 147-8, KB 194, KBR 201-2, OLS 151, Lv. I 355, 358, Br. 103, DM 77, Hv. 87, Bsn. 872, L G 201, CAD III 9, DRS 175-7, MiK I no. 1.95 (S *gīrān-) and no. 102 (S *ḡ^war(g^w)ar(at)- 'throat, gullet') || C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} gurér 'throat' ¶ Hz. NSA 139-40 || B *√grgr > Ntf {La.} aḡarḡur, {Dray} ahengur, aḡerḡur, CM aḡarḡur, BSn aḡarḡur, Izn aḡarḡur 'goitre' ¶ La. N 57, Dray 243, NZ 854 || Ch (× N ***guṡṡE** or ***güṡṡ∇** 'throat, neck', q.v.): WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} ḡāḡarāk 'throat' (× N

***guR'k'U'** 'throat(?)' | BT: Krkr {Kœ.} *gurgosli* 'throat' | P' {MSk.} *gùrg^ωà^šá* id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} *γùγ^ωà^r* id., *g^ora* 'neck' (if the glottalization of *g* reflects the lr. of N ***gúr^ςE** or ***gúr^ς∇**) | BB: Gude {Hsk.} *id. gùr^ςk* 'swallowing noisily' | Lame {Sa.} *id. gùròk* id. | CCh (+ext.) ***√grđ** 'throat; to swallow' > Msg G {Trn.} *gurđok*, Mlw {Trn.} *gùrđòk* 'throat', Mtk: Mf {BLB} *g^orđ-* 'swallow with difficulty', MfG {Brr.} *g^orđan* 'palate' || ECh: Mu {J} *g^oró* (pl. *g^orà^r*), Tmk {Cp.} *g^oè^r* 'neck' (unless from N ***gædi** 'back part; occiput, nape of neck'), Kwn {J} *k^oz^o d^o* *k^oz^oí*, Ke {Eb.} *k^or* 'neck' (in KwK ***g-** > **k-** regularly) ¶ Hsk. 194, Nt. 14, ≈ Sk. HCD 194-5, MSk. 179, Sch. DN 127, Cp. 62, Nw. WLT 38, Trn. LM 92, Trn. LDM 22, BLB 149, Brr. MG II 120, Mch. D 196, Sa. L II 502, ≈ Stl. VZCh no. 76, ChC, ChL, Eb. 75 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 960 || **U**: FP ***ker∇** 'throat, gullet' > F *kero*, *kerus* id., Es *k^orⁱ* 'throat, larynx' | pLp {Lr.} ***k^or^os** 'windpipe, trachea' > Lp: S {Hs.} *g^oí^rse*, L {LLO} *karas* id., Kld *k^or^os* 'throat, windpipe' | Prm ***g^or-** ({JLG} ***g^or-**) 'throat' > Z *ropw gorš* 'throat, larynx', Z US *gorš*, Yz *gorš* id., Z Le *goraⁿ* 'Adam's apple' (acc. to LG, -š and -aⁿ are likely to be dim. sxs) ¶ UEW 660, SK 184, Lr. no. 319, Lgc. no. 1268, Hs. 612, LG 79.

657. *g'i'r∇ 'hate, be hostile' > HS: S ***√g^or** ~ ***√g^ory** > Mh **√g^or** (pf. *g^oz^oō^r*, sbjn. *γ^oz-^og^oē^r*), Jb **√g^or** (pf. Jb C *g^oēr*, Jb E *g^oer*) v. 'oppress', Ak **√g^ory** (inf. *ger^u*, p. -*g^ori*) 'be hostile', *g^oēr^u* 'foe', Ug **√g^ory G** 'attack', IA **√g^ory G** 'sue, institute suit against'; ?σ (× ***√g^ory** 'incite, provoke') BHb **√g^ory D** 'stir up strife', **√g^ory TD** 'engage in strife', JA **√g^ory TD** ('*ג^oר^oר^o י^oי^o ת^oג^oר^oר^o* {Js.} 'attack', {Lv.} 'sich reizen', JEA **√g^ory TD** 'fight, contend', Sr **√g^ory TD** (pf. *ג^oר^oר^o ל^oר^oר^o* *pe^otgarī*) 'provoke \ stir up strife, pick a quarrel' ¶ Jo. M 128, Jo. J 81, CAD V 61-3, OLS 152, HJ 234-5, KB 195, BDB 173, Js. 268, Lv. T I 359, Sl. 300, JPS 77 || Eg fP *z^oz^oy* 'be hostile', fMK *z^oz^oy.t* 'wrongdoing', *z^oz^oy^ω* 'opponent', ?? Eg: {EG} MK *z^or^oz^or* 'fremde Länder', *z^or^oz^or* 'aus der Fremde kommen' (of birds), NK *z^or^oz^or* 'fremder Mann', *z^or^oz^or* 'fremd\feindselig handeln (gegen den Bruder)', MK {Fk.} *z^or^oz^orⁱ* 'stranger', *z^or^oz^ory* 'strange' ¶ EG V 514-18, 604, Fk. 318, 324 || **IE**: [1] ?? Ht *kurur* 'enmity (Feindschaft), enemy' || [2] (+ ext.) NaIE ***g^hers-** 'repugnance, abhorrence' > Arm **q^ow^op^oz^oh^ouf** *garšim* 'I abhor, I detest, I hate' || ON *gersta* 'ärgern, böse machen', MHG *garst* 'rancid taste, stench', MHG, MLG *garst* 'rancid', Dt *garstig* 'rank, rancid, musty', NHG *garstig* id., 'nasty, foul, disagreeable' ¶¶ Not here (⇔ P) Av *grāhma-*, interpreted by P as 'Sünder, Frevler', but

actually meaning '≈ gift' (Bai. 442, Brtl. 530) ¶¶ Ts. E I 665-7, Pv. IV 280-6, ≈ P 445, Slr. 371-2, Vr. 165, Vr. N 185, Lx. 53, KM 233 ¶¶ Acc. to AD's theory of vw. changes in the prehistory of IE (AD NGIE, AD NVIE), the lack of palatality in the NaIE initial cns. is reg. (*g^hi > *g^hα_i > *g^he_i > *g^he [loss of a glide before another sonant]) || D *k_ir_u-ukk-, *ke_r- ({ǵGS} *k-) > Tm c_er_u v. 'hate, dislike', c_ir_ukk_u 'be angry with', Kt ċ_ir_v- id., Td k_ir_uk 'violent anger', Tl c_ir_ura, c_ir_uru 'anger, displeasure', Brh k_ir_eṅ 'abuse' ¶¶ D no. 1597.

657a. ?σ₂ *g_iR∇ 'leg, ≈ bone of the leg' > HS: Ch: WCh: Wrj {Sk.} g_èrdá_i, Cg {Sk.} g_èrdé 'leg' ||| CCh: Zm {J} g_ùrà_y 'thigh', ZmD {Srp.} g_ore, BtD/BtG {Srp.} g_ěrgač_ě 'leg' ¶ JI II 220, ChC s.v. 'leg' and 'thigh', ChL || A: Tg *g_iram 'bone' > WrMc {Z} г_iр_ан_ь, Mc Sb g_iram 'bones, corpse', WrMc {Z} г_iр_ан_гi, Jrc g_irang_i 'bone(s)', Ewk g_iramna id., Sln giranda, Ul g_iramsa 'bone', Lm O g_iramna, Neg g_iyamna 'skeleton', Orc giamsa 'bone(s)', Ork giransa 'bone(s)', Ud ge_äma_{Ha}, Nn KU g_iramna, Nn Bk g_irmasa id., 'skeleton', Nn Nh/KU g_irmaksa {STM} id., {On.} 'bone' ¶ STM I 154, Kiy. 125 [no. 510], On. 107-8, Z 336 ◇ Doubtful because of the semantic difference between 'leg' and 'bone' (but compare German B_ei_n).

657b. ₂ *g_uR∇ 'belly', (?) 'trunk of a living being' (→ 'body') > HS: C: SC: Irq {MQK} g_ura? 'belly, interior', Irq/Alg {Wh.} g_ûra, Grw/Brn {Wh.} g_ura?a 'stomach' ¶ MQK 41, Wh. IC 25 ||| U *k_ur∇ 'body', (?) 'trunk of a living animal' > Lp: N {N} g_qrod ~ g_qrog 'body, carcass', L k_ârot id., 'trunk of a living animal', I kor_ōd_ 'carcass' ||| ObU *k_{ūr} 'body' > pOs *k_ōr > Os: Kz e_č-χ_or 'body, surface of a body' (e_č 'body'), V k_ōr 'shape\image (of a guardian spirit, person, animal), Vy/Ag/Ty/Y {Trs.} k_ōr 'shape, appearance (образ, вид)'; pVg *k_{ūr}ī 'shape, image', {Alq.} 'Schattenbild, Gestalt' > Vg: P is-kor, Ss is-χ_or 'Schattengestalt', MK is-k^ωâr id., 'spirit', LK χ_or, Ss {Ht.} χ_uri 'Bild, Gestalt, Form' || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} χ_ar- 'self' (χ_ar?n 'myself', χ_art 'thyself', χ_arta 'him\her-self'), En: X ke_e?, B ke_e? 'self' (rf. prn.) ¶¶ UEW 216, Trs. S 183, Ht. no. 312, Ter. 891 ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 73 (SC, U + unc. HS, D and IE reflexes of N *g_ER∇ 'entrails' and N *g_AR_z∇ 'belly, inside' [q.v.]).

657c. *g_uR∇ 'forest' > HS: Ch: CCh: Ms {ChL} guruda, ?φ Lgn {Bou.} garga, BnnM gura 'forest', Bnn {ChL} gora 'bush (forest)' ||| ECh: Mu {J} g_ùr_á 'bush', Nd D {J} g_árm_íṅ 'forest' ¶ Cp. also Hs k_úrm_ī {Ba.} 'copse, forest', {Abr.} 'thickly-wooded country' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'forest', J Mu s.v. g_ùr_á, Ba. 353, Abr. H 564 ||| IE: NaIE (att. in Blt) *^og_l^{wh}er- > Lt gir_ià, Lt

Z gîrê, Ltv dzir̃a ~ dzire 'forest', Pru garian ~ garrin 'tree' ¶ ≈ P 478, ≈ Frn. 153 (both equate it with Sl *gora, OI giri- and Av gairi- 'mountain') || U *kur̃ 'forest, bushes (Gebüsch)' > Er куро kuro 'bush (shrub), bushes (Gebüsch)' || Os: D χār 'coniferous forest, forest with much game', Kz χār 'woods' (χār tāχīy mǎntī 'move to the forest for hunting [whole families]); Vg: T {MK} khār(é)ρ 'grove (Hain)', {Kn.} kǎ́í-kārp 'birch wood' (kǎ́í 'birch'), N/ML {MK} khwārρ ~ khuorρ 'birch wood (березняк)', LL/P {MK} khōrρ, K {MK} khōréρ ~ khworéρ ~ kh(ω)q̃réρ 'pine-fir-wood' || Sm: Ne F {Lh.} kūr 'thicket (thick wood\bushes) on riverbanks' ¶¶ {Rd.}: FV *-ρ- is a sx ¶¶ UEW 217, ERV 31, MK 109, Lh. 213.

658. ₂ *gUR̃ 'to roll' > K *gor-/*gr- vi. 'roll, wallow' > OG gor-, ngor-, G gor- vi. 'roll, wallow' ('rollen, sich wälzen'), Mg gorgol-, Lz ngor-/ngr-, Sv gur-/gwr- v. 'roll' ¶¶ K 64, K² 31, FS K 83-4, FS E 88-9, Chx. 202, Abul. 96, Ser. 41 || HS: EC: Sa {R} gūr- 'rollen, wälzen, in Kugelform bringen' || SC: Irq {E} gʷangʷaraʔa- v. 'roll (downhill)', {MQK} gʷangʷarāʔ- 'roll, roll down' ¶ R S II 160-1, E SC 372, MQK 43 || WCh: Hs gárà v. 'roll any circular object rapidly along the ground' ¶ Ba. 362 || ?σ Eg P gǝǝ v. 'turn over (kentern)' ¶ EG V 149 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. SCC 89 [no. 18.13].

659. ₂ *gÜR̃ 'beast' > IE: NaIE *ǵʰwēr- ({EI} *ǵʰwēr, genitive *ǵʰwer-os) 'wild animal' > Gk: A θήρ (gen. θηρός), L φήρ, Th φείρ 'beast' || L ferus (f. -a, ntr. -um) 'wild' (L e [rather than ē] is due either to Celto-Italic shortening of long vowels [Dybo's law, / Db. SDKI 13] or to generalization of {EI} *ǵʰwer- obl.) || BSl: Lt žvėr̃is, Ltv zvērs 'beast', Pru accus. pl. swīriñs 'beasts' ([zv-]) | pSl *zvĕrb̃ 'wild beast' > OCS звѣрь̃ zvěrb̃, Blg звяр̃, McdS звер̃, SCr звѣр̃ zvjēr̃, Slv zvēr̃, Cz zvěř̃, Slk zver̃, P zwierz̃, R зверь̃, Uk звір̃ id. (in BSl the word was transferred to the *i-declension on the basis of the accus. sg. form with Baltic *-i, Sl *-ь < IE *-m̃, *-ñs) || Tc B d. sérwē 'hunter' ({Ad.}: < *ǵʰwer-wō- 'he of the animal'), d. sér- v. 'hunt' ¶ WP I 642-3, P 493, EI 23, F I 671-2, WH I 487-8, Tr. 374-5, Frn. 1327, ME 409, En. 261, Vs. II 87, StSS 235, Glh. 702, Ad. 633-4 || A *gURE- 'deer, wild herbivorous animal; game' (× N *gor̃Hæ 'to track [game], to smell, to hear; ear'] and N *gur̃X̃a 'antelope, male antelope') > M *göreʷen 'wild animal', *göreʷe-sün 'wild herbivorous animal, antelope' > [1] M *göreʷen 'hunt', (?) 'wild animal' (× M *göreʷen n. 'hunt, chasing; game' < N *gor̃Hæ) >

MM [S] göre₁e 'Wild', Kl {Rm.} görē 'Wildtier; Hirsch, Jagdtier; Jagd', HIM {BMR} гөрөө 'Jagd, Fischerei, охотничий промысел', Ord g₁örō 'chasse'; [2] *göre₁e-sün 'wild herbivorous animal, antelope' > MM [S] göre₁esün id., [MA] görēsün 'wild goat', [IM] görēsün 'antelope', WrM {MED} güregesün ~ görügesün id., 'game, wild beast', HIM гөрөөс(өн) {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'antelope', Brt гүрөөһэ(н) 'wild goat, roe', Ord g₁örōs 'gibier, animal sauvage', Kl {KRS} гөрөсн göräsən 'saiga antelope (*Saiga tatarica*)', {Rm.} görēsñ 'wild animals, deer or antelopes', MMgl {Iw.} görēsün 'wild ass', Dg {T} gurēs 'antelope, wild beasts', {Mr.} gurēse 'a quadruped, wild animal', Mnr H {SM} k'ūōrosэ 'bête féroce, bête sauvage; sauvage' ¶ SM 215, Iw. 104, H 51, Pp. MA 172, 437, MED 387, BMR I 446-7, KRS 147, KW 138, Chr. 166, Mr. D 153, Ms. O 271. T DgJ 133 || Tg: [1] Tg *gōrma-(kun) 'hare' > Nn Nh/KU gormaχō, WrMa {Z} гүлмахунь 'hare', Jrc {Kiy.} гүлмаһай 'rabbit'; Nn Nh {STM} gurmэ toqsa 'sacred hare', {STM} gorma-qsa, {On.} gormaχoq-qsa 'hare's hide'; [2] NrTg *g^ru^rrn- 'e small fur-bearing animal' > Ewk gurnun 'squirrel', Lm gurnata 'weasel' ¶ STM I 161, 174, On. 115, Z 352, Kiy. 105 [no. 150] || pKo {S} *kōrání > MKo kōrání 'deer, elk', NKo korani 'elk' (× N *guR^rX^ra 'antelope') ¶ S QK no. 271, MLC 138, Rm. SKE 125, Choy 902-3, Vv. AEN 16 (suggesting that Ko is a loan from pChK *qorañi 'reindeer') ¶¶ SDM 574-5 (pA *gú|óri|e or *gú|óri|e 'deer, game' > Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 572, S CNM 6-7 || AdS of U *kouya 'male animal' (× N *kouR^r∇ 'male animal' [q.v. ffd] × a derivative from U *koue 'male, man' < N *goy∇ 'man, people') ◇ IS I 237 [no. 93] (IE, M). Cf. N *guR^rX^ra 'antelope, male antelope' (≈ Gr. II 8: *gura '[wild] animal'), O HSN 121 (N *gUyRä 'wild [animal]' > IE, A + err. HS *g∇r- 'young animal, dog' [going back to pN {AD} *gur₁E₁w∇ 'young (carnivorous) animal']).

659a. *gE^r?^ror∇ (or *gEwor∇??) 'grain' > HS: Ch: [1] WCh {OS} *gi?ur- 'millet' > Hs {Abr., Ba.} gēro 'bulrush millet (*Pennisetum typhoideum*)', Gw {Mts.} gero 'millet' | Su {J} gēwuro id. | Sy {Sk.} goro 'sorghum' | Ngz {Sch.} gāv₁r₁kà ~ gāv₁r₁kà id. || CCh: Zm {Srp.} guirany 'corn' ||| Ech: Smr {J} g₁r₁áwe 'e corn' || [2] *g∇r- 'bean(s)' > WCh: Ang {ChL} g₁zram id. | ? Fy {J} kerem id. ||| CCh: Mdr {Mch.} g₁r₁e, {ChL} g₁ire, Glv {ChL} ?ág₁ùrà, {Rp.} àg₁zra, Gv {ChC} ng₁z₁è, Nkc ng₁zre, Dgh {Fk.} ñgrè id. ||| Ech: EDng {Fd.} gèr₁èñ 'haricots blancs', Jg {J} g₁r₁(k) 'beans' ¶ ChC s.v. 'millet' and 'bean(s)', ChL, Sk. HCD 83, Abr. H 315-16, Ba. 377, Sch. 219, J S s.v. gēwuro, J R 87, J J s.v. g₁r₁(k), Fd. 322 || S: [1] S *gir(-at)-

'≈ small grain' > MHb הַרְגָּא gē'rā 'seed of carob (St. John's bread, *Ceratonia*)', Ak gir ū 'twenty-fourth part of a sheqel' ⇨ BHb הַרְגָּא gē'rā id. | [2] CS *gargir- 'a berry, small grain' > BHb pl. הַרְגָּאִים gargā'r-īm 'ripe olives', MHb הַרְגָּא gar'gēr, JA [Trg.] הַרְגָּאִים gargā'r-ā 'berry, small grain, Ar ġirġir- 'bean' ¶ DRS 177, 181, KB 193-4, Klein 108, Js. 266, Löw II 403, Ln. 401, BK I 274-5, Sd. 291 ¶¶ OS no. 211 || IE *^og^hg^heg^hg^hr- (or *^og^hg^heg^hg^hr-?) (× IE {P} *g^her- 'hart darüber streichen, reiben') > Gk κάρπυς 'parched barley', κέϕχρος 'millet' ¶ ∈ P 439, LS 425 || D *kor- 'millet, a grain' > Knd kor'en 'a grain', Tm kural 'Italian millet', Kt koy], Kui kueri '*Setaria italica*', Kn korale, Tl korralu, Prj koyla '*Panicum italicum* (a kind of millet)', Gnd kohala(:) 𐎎 koʔla '*Panicum miliare*', gorraṇ 'mandeya corn, *Eleusine coracana*' ¶¶ D no. 2163 ◇ The D and S data suggest that the N internal cns. was not *w (but most probably a weak lr. *ʔ or *h). If this is true, the cns. -w- in several Ch languages is a hiatus-filling innovation influenced by the labialized vowel ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 160 [no. 82] (D, HS, IE) ||| Cp. also ?? N₂ ≈ *gER∇Sd∇ (or cd *gE^rʔ¹or∇ S∇d∇?) '∈ cereal' > IE {EI} *^hresd^h(i)- (gen. *^hr¹sd^h-os) 'barley' > NaIE: L hordeum id. ||| OHG, OSx gērsta, NHG Gerste, Dt gerst id. ||| ?φ Gk Hm κῆρ 'barley', Gk κριθᾶ pl. 'barley corns, barley' ||| Aldrithē 'grain' || Ht karas ntr. ({EI} = [kras], [kars]?) {Ts.} 'wheat (?)', {EI} '∈ wheat' (absent in Pv.) ¶¶ EI 51, P 446 (IE *g^herzd^h-), GI 565 (IE *^h(e)rd^h-), Bc. no. 8.44, WH I 656-7, KM 250, O 75, Ts. W 34, Ts. E 498 || HS: CCh: Msg {Rlf.} gerda 'sorghum', {Ov.} girda 'Korn, Getreide', ZmB {ChC} giran 'corn' ||| ECh: Smr {J} gárđwē 'corn' ¶ ChC s.v. 'corn', Lk. DQM 56.

659b. *giʔ^or∇ '∈ grass' > HS: S: Ar ġaʔr- 'herbe grande, longue, d'une végétation riche' ¶ BK I 244 || IE (mt.; × N *goRho 'be\become big\long, grow?') *g^hreh^w-/*g^hr^h^w-: +ext.: NaIE *g^hrōs-/*g^hrās- 'grass, herbs' > Gt gras (· χόρτος, λάχανον) 'Gras, Kraut', OFrs gres, gers, OSx, OHG gras, NHG Gras, AS zraes, zærs 'grass', NE grass ||| L grāmen 'grass, turf' (< *g^hrās-men) ||| Sl *grōzdъ (genitive *grōzda), *grōzdъ 'cluster' > OCS гроздѣ grozdъ, Slv grōzd 'cluster of grapes', SCr grōzd id., 'grapes', Blg грозд, R гроздь, Δ грозд 'cluster (of berries, grapes etc.)', OR, RChS гроздѣ grozdъ 'grape' | + another ext.: AS zraed 'grass' ||| L herba 'springing vegetation, green plant' (× N *goRho 'be(come) big\long, grow', q.v.) || Ht {Pv.} kariyant- 'grass', karitasxa 'grassland, lawn' ¶¶ WP I 645-6, P 454,

KM 268, 272-3, 275, Schz. 154-5, Kb. 413, Ho. 137-9, Ho. S 28-9, Fs. 220, Bern. I 355, ESSJ VII 142-3, StSS 178, Glh. 250, WH I 639-40, Pv. IV 80, Ts. E I 507, 510 || **A** *K₂ö|ü:₁r- > NaT *Kö:₁rän 'sedge' > VTt, Bsh kürän, SbTt kürän, Brb {RI.} körön, Xk köreṅ ot, StAlt, Tlt {RI.} körön id. ¶ ET KQ 147-8, RI. II 1251, 1454 || M: WrM {MED} kürmeli, HIM {MED, BMR} xypmэл 'sedge (*Carex*)', Kl {Rm.} kürsṅ 'eine Pflanze (giftig), sedge (*Carex*), henbane' ¶ KW 248, MED 506, BMR IV 190, Kow. III 2650 || **D** *kīr- 'greens, vegetables' > Tm kīraṅ id., 'potherbs', Ml cīra 'greens, eatable leaves', Δ kīra, cīra 'spinach', Kt ki·r, Td ki·ry 'Amarantus', Kn kīre, ki·re '(various species of) greens', Tl kīra, kīre 'herb, vegetable, greens' ¶¶ D *-r- < post-N **-ʔr- < N *-ʔ'o¹r- ¶¶ D no. 1617 ◇ T *k'- and M *k- are probably from *gʔ < N *gīʔ- ◇ Blz. L no. 71c (suggesting the comparison between IE, D and T).

660. *ge¹ʔr¹ 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place' (→ 'to build walls\huts') > **HS**: C: EC: Ged {Hd.} gōʔre, Brj {Hd.} gōre 'shed for animals', Or {Grg.} gōrrō 'partition, wall' ||| SC: Irq {Wh.} gâr¹ʔai (pl. gâr¹ʔâwe) 'wall of the verandah', {E} garʔay 'verandah of house', {MQK} garʔāy 'front of the house, area near the house' (× N *gAR¹ʔ 'belly, inside?') ||| Bj {R} gāʔra ~ garʔa ~ gara 'fenced courtyard around the house'; eBj or Ag *gaʔrat ⇨ (or ⇨ ?) Tgy {R} 𐎔𐎍𐎗𐎕 𐎔𐎍𐎗𐎕 𐎔𐎍𐎗𐎕 𐎔𐎍𐎗𐎕 𐎔𐎍𐎗𐎕 ⇨ Bln/Sa {R} 'qāʔrat id. ¶ Tgy 𐎔𐎍𐎗𐎕 is isolated within S and EthS, while Bj gāʔra has cognates among the C lges, suggesting a C origin of the Tgy word ¶ R WBd 87, R WB 234, Grg. 181, Hd. 94, 242, Wh. SI, MQR 37, ≈ E SC 233 (pSC *gād- 'dwell, reside, abide' based on an unc. comparison of the Irq word with Dhl *gād- 'stay') || Ch: WCh: Hs gáʔgáʔí 'low wall or mound to prevent rain water from flowing into a booth' ||| ECh: Mkl {J} gârà (pl. gâr-dârí) 'clôture d'épineux' ¶ Ba. 366, J LM 98 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 852 (*gaʔur- 'wall, yard') and no. 956 (*gōr- 'wall, house, dwelling') || **A** *gæ¹i¹r¹ 'house, tent, wooden framework of a tent' > M *ge¹ir 'house' > MMgl {Iw.} gehir 'house', MM [S] {H} gehit pl. 'houses', [LM, S, MA, IM, IsV] ger, WrM {MED}, WrO ger, HIM {MED, BMR} rṅp 'yurt (Mongolian tent), house', Ord, Mnr H {SM} g_er, Mgl {Rm.} geʔ, Brt rṅp, Ba {T} gar, Dg {Mrm., T} geri, geʔ, Dx gie 'house' ¶ H 49-50, Pp. MA 170, 437, Pp. L III 69, Lg. VMI 30, MED 377-8, BMR I 481-2, Chr. 171-2, Ms. O 259-60, Krg. 770, SM 133, T 322, T BJ 136, T DgJ 131, T DnJ 114, Klz. D I 133, Iw. 103, Luv. 133, KRS 138 || T *k¹kæräk¹ü 'latticework wooden frame of a yurt', 'yurt (tent)' > OT {Cl.} kārä:kü: 'latticework wooden frame of a yurt', {DTS} kerägü 'yurt (tent)', OT Kr

[MK] *kerəkü* 'yurt', Tkm † *gerege*, Bsh *kirägä*, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg *kerege*, Alt/Tlt {RI.} *käräṣä*, Uz *keraga* 'latticework wooden frame of a yurt' ¶ Cl. 744, DTS 300, ET VGD 24-5, RI. II 1090, Sht. 125, KrkR 315, UzR 209, Dr. TM III no. 1629 || *AdS* of (infl. on) Tg **gerbe-* 'make perches, clean trunks from boughs' < N **gor*∇*b|p*∇ 'scratch, scrape', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 542-3 (pA **gēr*∇ 'house, house poles' > Tg **gerbe-*, M **ger*, T **gErekü* [without taking into account MMgl *gehīr* and MM pl. *gehīt*]), DQA no. 503 (T, M, Tg) || | D **ker-* ({{GS}} **k-*) > Kn *kir* v. 'confine, close, shut, block up, make a fence, cover', Tm *cer* v. 'control (as the senses), hinder, prevent', *cirai* v. 'restrain, imprison, dam up', Ml *ceriyuka* 'be thronged', *cerukkuka* 'dam up, enclose', *cira* 'enclosure', Kt *čer* 'imprisonment', Td *kerf-* '(water) is dammed', Tl *cer* 'prison, imprisonment', Knd *ker-* v. 'close, shut (as a door, box); build a board (as enclosure)' ¶¶ D no. 1980 || | ? K: G *da-v-h-gurgur-eb* 'ich hege um' ¶ Chx. 217 || | Possibly an *AdS* of IE (NaIE) **ǵ^hor-to-* 'encircled land'; the N etymon in question is hardly the main source of NaIE **ǵ^hor-to-*, because the latter has no long vw. (the expected trace of the N lr.) (see N **ǵāRd^ā* 'encircle, surround, fence in', q.v. ffd.) ◇ It is tempting to adduce FU *k^ār*∇ > Prm **kar* 'settlement, fortified settlement', but the FU vw. *ā* (> Prm **a*) suggests that the word belongs to N **q*∇*yo¹R*∇ 'heap of stones, stone wall, (walled) settlement' ◇ The N lr. (probably **ʕ*) is suggested by the reflexes in Bj (?), Tgy (ʕ), K (lack of **ʕ*) and M; the N vw. between **ʕ¹* and **r* is suggested by the M and D ev. (D **-r-* from intervoc. **-r-* rather than from a **r*-cluster).

661. **g¹ur*∇ 'look, look for' > K **og¹r*∇ (or **oga|ār*∇) > Lz, Mg *gor*-v. 'look for' ¶ Chik. 264-5; GM S 334-5 and Test. KV ∇ (both on the origin of Lz and Mg 0) || | HS **√gr* > S **√gr* *'look, see' > Ar جَعْرَانَةٌ *ǵīrān-at-* 'eye' ¶ BK I 300 || | Eg fMK *z¹r* v. 'search out, investigate; seek' (× N **č¹ur*∇ ~ **č¹ur*∇ 'to see, to look' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 539, Fk. 320 || | EC: Af {PH} *gorrise* v. 'look for, search, seek', *goran* 'searching, studying', Sa, Sa I {R} *gūr-* 'look for', {Wlm.} *gúro-kiō* 'I shall look for' ¶ PH 115, R S II 161 || | ? B: Nf *sə-ggar* 'look for', possibly also **√grw* 'find' > Ah, Tdq *aǵru*, ETwl, Ty *aǵrəw*, Gh *aǵraw*, Tnsl *iǵrəw* id. ¶ La. S 214, NZ 857, 895-6 || | Ch {JS} **√gr* 'look for' > CCh: Db {LnG} *g¹r*, Msy {Mch.} *gar*, Ms {J} *gārā*, ? Bdm {Lk.} *ker* id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'look for', ChL,

JS 171, Lk. B s.v. *kerā*, LnG s.v. *gūr* || IE: NaIE **ǵ_lh₁erā-* ~ ? **ǵ_lh₁werā-* > Sl inf. **zbrěti* / 1s pres. **zbrǫ* 'look, see' > OCS *зѣрѣти* *zbrěti* / *зѣрѣ* *zbrjǫ* {StSS} 'see, look', SCr *zrěti* / *zrēm*, Slv *zrīti* / *zrēm*, R *зреть* / *зрю*, P *źrzeć* / *zrzę*, Cz *zříti* / *zřím* id. | Lt *žiurėti* 'to look (at)' ¶ Frn. 1316, Tr. 366, StSS 242, ≈ Glh. 700 (??σ: Sl **zbrěti* < IE **ǵ_lh₁erā-* / **ǵ_lh₁rē-* 'shine') || A **gor^ri-* (or **gōr^r∇-??*) 'see, look' > T **k'ör-* (or **k_lör-*). 'see' > OT, MQp, XwT, Chg *kör-*, Tk *gör-*, Az, Tkm, Qmq *gör-*, ET, Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, SY, Xk, Tv, Yk *kör-*, CrTt *ko^r-*, VTt, Bsh *kür-*, Uz *kwr-*, Qzl {Dom.} *kör-*, {Jk.} *kör-* ~ *kör*, Qb {Cs.} *kör-*, Tf *k^lör-*, Chv *кур-* *kur-*, Chv *Δ.кoр-* *kor-* 'see'; T **k'ör* (or **k_lör*) 'eyes' (< N **ǵ^rü^r∇yⁱ*, where **yⁱ* 'a couple' is a marker of dual) > OT {Cl.} *kō:z*, XwT, MQp *köz*, Chg, OOSm *göz*, Tk *göz*, Az *ğöz*, Tkm *гөз* *göδ*, CrT *gōz* ~ *koz*, Qmq *göz*, XT {Dr.} *ge^rz*, Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Tb, ET, Ln, SY *köz*, Uz *kωz*, StAlt, Xk *kös*, VTt *küz* (↪ Chv *күç* *kuś* ~ *koś*), Bsh *küδ*, Qmn *köz* ~ *kö* ~ *küs* 'eyes' ¶ Cl. 736, Rs. W 292, 295, ET VGD 60-3 and 77-9, Ra. 240, Md. 49, 170, Ash. VI 307-17, Fed. I 310-11 and 314-15 (Chv *күç* ↪ VTt *küz*), Jeg. 118-20, ChVS 96, ≠ Md. 50 (T **k'ör's* 'eye') || Tg **ǵur-* 'learn (erfahren)', **ǵurpun-* 'hinausschauen' > Sln *guru-* 'learn (узнaть), understand', Ul *gurpun-*, Ork *gōrpon-* ~ *gurpon-* 'look out (hinausschauen), appear (выглянуть, показаться)', Nn Nh *gurpun-* {STM} id., {On.} id., 'anblicken, schauen' ¶ STM I 163-4, 174, On. 121 || M **gori* n. 'hope, expectation' > WrM {MED} *gori*, HIM {MED, BMR} *горь*, Brt *гори* id., Ord *g_lori* and *g_lori-_ug^ωī* 'c'est en vain, cela n'ira pas' (with *-u_g^ωī* 'without') (÷ WrM *gori* *ü_geⁱ* 'without hope) ¶ MED 361, BMR I 439, Chr. 157, Ms. O 307 || pKo {S} **kírì-* 'long for, miss, think of' > MKo *kírì-*, NKo *kiri-* ¶ S QK no. 915, Nam 68, MLC 237 ¶¶ SDM 567-8 (pA **ǵōre* 'see, understand' > Tg, M, T, Ko), DQA no. 554, S AJ 281, Rm. PKE 85, ADb. SR 14 || D **kur_li_l* ({ǵGS} **g-?*) 'mark, sign' > Tm, Ml, Kn *kur_li* 'mark, sign, aim', Tm *kur_li-* v. 'draw, sketch outline in painting, design', Kt *guryv* 'good aim', Td *kur_ly* 'aim', *kur_lp* 'a mark (made by a person to show he was there)', Kn *kur_li* v. 'mark, take note of, regard', Kdg *kuri* 'drawing, sectarian mark', *kuri-* v. 'paint', Tu *guri* 'aim, mark', Tl *gur_li* 'an aim, design', Ku *gur-* v. 'aim at', Mlt *kurke* v. 'write' ¶¶ D **-r_l-* goes back to post-N **-r-* (with loss of N **ǵ*) < N **-ǵr-* ¶¶ D no. 1847 ◇ If the N vw. was **ü* (suggested by IE), we still have to explain the M back vw. **o* (regr. as. ***ü*...*â* > **o*...*∇*??).

662. *gæhR∇ or *gæRhæ 'sunshine, day, light (Licht)' > IE *ǵʰerH₂-/ *ǵʰreH̄- > NaIE *ǵʰerə-/ *ǵʰrē- '≈ shine' > OIr grían f., NIr grían 'sun' (< *ǵʰrējnā) || ON grá-r, NNr, Dn grå, OFrs grē, OHG grāo, NHG grau, AS Ʒræw, ƷræƷ 'grey', NE gray ~ grey ('grey' ← *'bright') (Gmc *ē < NaIE *ē < *eH̄); with the sx *-u-: ON grújandi f. 'dawn' || Prusari ([z-]) f. 'Glut', Lt žarà f. 'aurora, sunray', Žāras id., Žerėti 'to shine, to sparkle, to twinkle', Ltv zars 'ray' | SI *zo'ra (accus. *zò'rq) 'sunrise, aurora' ("stem I" *ǵʰerə-) > OCS pl. зорѣ zorje, McdS зора, SCr zòra, Slv zórja, Cz zoře, P zorza, R pl. 'зори, Р Δ зорѣ (pl. Р зори); SI *za'ra id. > OCS зарѣ zarja 'aurora, light, ray of light', Blg, R за'ря, Slv zárja, Cz záře 'aurora, Morgenrot' ¶ P 441-2, Thr. §§ 222, 470, ≈ Bc. 54, Dnn. 383, Vr. 185, Schz. 154, Kb. 405, KM 268, Ho. 135, Frn. 1290, En. 242, StSS 232, 239, Glh. 699-700, EI 514 (*ǵʰer- 'shine, glow') || HS: WS *✓ghr > Ar جهر ✓ǵhr G v. 'dazzle so. with the sunlight' (of the sun), Sr ✓ghr G 'be dazzled' (of the eyes), Mh {Jo.} ✓ghr (pf. ǵhēr, sbjn. Ʒǵhör), Jb E/C ✓ghr id., Sq {L} ✓ghrr 'être\devenir clair', Tgr ✓ghr G v. 'glow, coal (verkohlen)' ¶ BK I 343, Hv.102, Br. 107, JPS 62, L LS 104, Jo. M 117, Jo. J 73, LH 559, DRS 104 || Ch: Hs ǵarī 'sky' || CCh: Msg {Rlf.} ǵerna 'day', Msg G {Trn.} ǵèrnâ, Msg P {Trn.} ǵèrna, Msg {Ov.} ǵirná 'today', Msg G {Trn.} ǵèrvzèdî 'daytime', Msg P {Trn.} ǵèrvzèdzy 'moment', ǵèrvzèdzy marbay 'noon' (marba- 'in the middle') ¶ Ba. 367, Abr. H 306, Trn. LM 90, Trn. LDM 17, 23, Lk. M 56, ChC s.v. 'day' || A *gaRæ- or *gæRâ- 'light [lux]' > M *geren 'light, brightness' (× N *g'e' Ʒrâ 'fire, hearth') > MM [IM] gere 'light', [S] gere 'brightness (Glanz)', WrM gere {MED} 'light, lustre, brightness; dawn; torch', HIM гэрэз {MED} id., {BMR} 'torch (лучина, факел), light before dawn, Morgenrot; Beleuchtung', Brt W гэрэ 'torch (лучина)', Kl {Rm.} ǵerā 'Fackel, Licht (für nächtliche Wanderungen)', Ord ǵere 'lumière', Mnr H {SM} ǵzrîē 'lumière, clarté, éclat, rayon', {T} gere 'brightness, lustre (сияние, блеск)', Dx ǵīeren 'light, ray'; ⇨ M *gerel 'light, brightness, beam of light' > MM [HI] gerel 'light', [S] gerel 'Glanz', WrM gerel {MED} 'light, beam of light', HIM гэрэл {MED, BMR} id., Kl {KED} ǵerl gerel id., {Rm.} ǵer] 'Licht (light), Glanz', Ord ǵerel 'clarté, lumière' ¶ Pp. MA 437, H 49, KW 134, MED 378-9, BMR I 484, Chr. 1733, KRS 139, KW 134, SM 134, T 322, T DnJ 114, Ms. H 56, Ms. O 260 || Tg: [1] Tg *garpa 'ray' > Ewk garpa, Ork ǵarpa, garpa 'ray', Lm garpa, ǵarpu 'rays of the sun', Neg ǵatpa id., 'ray of light'; Tg

*garpa- v. 'shine (leuchten)' > Ewk garpa-, Lm garpu-, Neg gatpa-, UI garpač̣i-, Orc gappa- id., Ud gakpa- 'rise' (sun, moon, stars), Ork galpa-, garpa- 'shine' (sun, moon), Nn Nh garpa- {On.} 'rise, shine' (sun, moon), {STM} 'shine' (sun, stars) ¶ STM I 142, On. 99] [2] ?φ Tg: WrMc {Z} гэрэ- v. 'dawn', Mc Sb {Y} гeрeмe 'to break' (of a day), WrMc {Z} цснхa гeрншe-мбн 'a\the star shines' ¶ Z 324, Y no. 2662 ¶¶ SDM 531 (pA *gar|ři or *gar|řo 'light [lux]' > M, Tg *garpa), DQA no. 1535 ◇ IS I 228-9 [no. 82].

662a. *gaHR∇ (= *gaʔR∇?) '(ε?) fish' > HS: Eg G gr 'fish' (coll.) ¶ EG V 180 || C: ? SOM: Hm {Ldl} kara 'fish' ¶ Bnd. AL 150, Ldl H s.v. kara || U *kōre 'ε fish' ('whitefish?') > F kuore / kuoree- 'smelt, *Osmerus*', Krl kūrēh, Vp korēh id.; BF ↪ R kopюxa, kopюшka id. | ? Z, Vt gurina 'gudgeon' || Sm: Slq: N {Cs.} kor, UO {Cs.} kuor, Tz {Cs.} kuor, kōr, Kar {Cs.} kūr 'Coregonus muksun (a Siberian whitefish)' (Castrén's k is very likely to represent Slq q), Kms {Pls.} kuru 'lenok' ('*Salmo lenoc*' [= '*Brachymystax lenoc*'?]), Koyb {Coll. ← Pls.?)} hurru '*Salmo corregonoides*' ¶¶ Coll. 29, SSA I 441-2, Vs. II 344, LG 83, Cs. 118, 181, Pl. Z no. C-356, Rs. W 282, BIG 287, Rl. II 550 || D: McTm *kāraj > Tm kāraj 'a sea fish', Ml kāra 'a fish' ¶ D no. 1476 ◇ D *-r- (reg. from *r-clusters) and the long vw. in U and D suggest the presence of a lr. (sc. D *-r- < N *-HR-); U *ō < pre-U *ā < N *aH; on U *ō < pre-U *ā see Db. OS xxv-xxvi. The absence of the lr. in Eg suggests that the N lr. was *ʔ (= *ʔ or *h, which are the only laryngeals liable to be lost in Eg) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 158 [no. 65] (suggested to equate D with T, U, SOM + unc. with Tg).

663. (₂?) *gūʔw¹R∇ '(roof of a) hut; to dwell' > HS: WS *-gūr- v. 'dwell' > Hb -gūr- (pf. ᠭᠠᠷ gār, ip. ᠭᠠᠷᠢᠭᠠ ya-'gūr) 'dwell (as alien and dependent)', MHb -gūr- (ᠭᠠᠷ gār / ᠭᠠᠷᠢᠭᠠ ya-'gūr) 'dwell (wohnen)', Ug {TOu I} gr (✓ gw r) 'être un hôte, séjourner', {OLS} ✓ gw|yr N 'hospedarse, acogerse', ✓ grgr 'avecindarse', Md guara 'temporary dwelling, (?) exile', Sb ✓ gw r v. 'visit (a sanctuary)'; ↪ WS *gaʔwir- 'inhabitant' > BHb ᠭᠡᠷ gēr 'protected citizen, stranger living in so.'s country', MHb ᠭᠡᠷ gēr, JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} ᠶᠢᠭᠤᠯᠠᠭᠢᠨ giyyūō'r-ā 'stranger, proselyte', Sr giyō'r-ā 'alien, foreigner, stranger; proselyte', Ar ᠭᠠᠷ ḡār-, Gz ᠭᠠᠳᠠᠭᠠᠷ tagār, Tgr, Tgy ᠭᠠᠳᠠᠭᠠᠷ gor, Mh ᠭᠢᠯᠠᠭᠠᠷ gwayr, Hrs gor, gwār 'neighbor'; ↪ : Gz ✓ gw r TL (pf. tagāwara) 'dwell together in a neighborly way', Jb C pf. ᠶᠢᠭᠡᠷ (sbjn. ᠶᠢᠭᠡᠷ) 'become so.'s neighbor' ¶ KB 193, KBR 184-5,

201, TOu I 588, BGMR 51, Js. 236, OLS 150, Sl. 278-9, JPS 68, DM 82, L G 207, LH 592, Jo. M 128, Jo. H 42, Jo. J 80, DRS 109 || EC: Sml {ZMO} guri 'house, home', Rn gūra 'move to a new dwelling place', ?σ Arr gūr- 'migrate' (unless akin to Arr gōr 'road, way'), Sd {Gs.} gare 'tribe, people, village' ¶ ZMO 170, DSI 281, PG 131-2, Hw. A 32-3, Gs. 116 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gar∇ 'town' > Bl {ChL} gə̀rú, {Bnt.} 'gōru, ɔ Ngm {Stl.} < ?} gargu, Krf {Sch.} gírí 'town' | Hs gàrĩ, Gw {Mts.} gèrí 'town, inhabited environment' | Dw {ChL} gə̀rí (<b- Hs gàrĩ?) 'town', Jm {Gw.} girga 'village' ||| ECh: Jg {J} gēr 'village', EDng {Fd.} gēgēr 'town' ¶ Stl. ZCh 218 [no. 685], Stl. VZCh 67, Abr. H 305, Ba. 367, Bnt. 22, Sch. BTL 54, ChL, ChC s.v. 'village' ¶¶ Not here Wl {C} gɔollē 'house', which is probably a loan from Or (Or {Brl.} gola 'a room within a hut', {Sr.} gola 'room', {Th.} gola 'capannuccia') (see N *gūĀ 'dwelling' [→ 'house']) ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 78-8 ||| D *kūr- ({{GS}} *k-) ≈ roof, hut' > Tm kūrāi 'sloping roof (commonly thatched with grass or palm leaf), small hut', Ml kūrā 'hut, thatch', Klm kurođi 'hog house' ¶ D *-r- < N *-wr- ¶¶ D no. 1904 ||| ?φ ɲ: AmTg *guy- 'roof' > Ork gui-~ guyu(u)-, Nn Nh gui-, Nn Bk guyu- id., Ul guyu- id., 'v. 'thatch'; ⇨ : Ork guidɔ ~ guydɔ, Nn Nh guičɛ, Nn Bk guycɔ, Ul guičɔ ~ guyčɔ, guiptɔ 'a roof' ¶ STM I 168 ¶ This AmTg word is a valid cognate only if the absence of *-r- in AmTg can be explained (AmTg *-y- < **-ry-?) ◇ The N cluster *-'w'R- yields D *-r- (while intervoc. *-r- would have yielded D *-r-).

664. *gar^r 'i 'old' > HS: EC: pOr {Bl., Ss.} *geri- 'grow old' > Arr gēr 'old man, elder, husband', Or žār- (< *žar- < [mt.] < *žar-), Gato, Turo, Kns ker-, Msl, Bss kerʔ-, Gdl {Ss.} kerʔ-, {Bl.} kerđ- id., Arr gair 'old', Or {Grg., Brl.} žarsa 'old person', {Brl.} žar-ti 'old woman', ?φ Arr žàʔár 'old woman' (generic) ¶ Bl. 207, Ss. PEC 37, AD VZ 208, Hw. A 360, 369, Grg. 229 || Ch {JS} *√gr ({{Nw.} *garʔ) 'grow old' > WCh: BT: Krkr {ChL} gārà 'old', Krf {Sch.} gārò 'old' (of a thing) | NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} ɣērā 'grow old', gārā sánna 'old (person)', gārìyák^wái 'old woman', ? g^yàráná 'old' (of a thing), Cg {Sk.} gārúisén 'old' (man), gárúmé 'old woman', Kry/Mbr {Sk.} ɣár-, Jmb {Sk.} ɣâr- 'grow old', My {Sk.} ɣàràhòzèhè 'old man', ɣàràhòzákù 'old woman', P' {MSk.} ɣarà 'grow old', Sir {Sk.} ɣrā id., ɣâr^wá 'old' (thing), gžrā 'old woman' | SBc: Grn {Gw.} garan 'old man', {Hrn.} gāgārìn 'old person', Buli {ChL} gòrmbàm id., gòrmɔsè 'old woman' | Ngz {Sch.} gārú 'grow old' | ? Hs gířmā 'exceed in age, be older than' (unless <ɔ Hs gířmā 'bigness; to grow big') ||| CCh: Tr {Nw.} gōrɔ, ? Gzg

{Nw.} gal 'grow old' ||| ECh: ? Skr {Lk.} gúé 'grow old' ¶ ChC s.v. 'old (man)', ChL, Nw. no. 64, Ba. 390-1, Abr. H 326, Hrn. no. 170, Sch. DN 69, Sk. HCD 85, Lk. ZSS 33 || IE: Ht kar ū 'early, formerly', kar u(u)ili 'former, ancient' ¶ Pv. IV 112-15 || A: NaT *KarI 'old' (of human beings and animals) (× N *kiryaHa [= *kiryaHa?] 'old') > OT, MQp XIII, Osm ≥XIV, Chg XV qar I, Tkm г арры, Qq garrI, Qq, Qrg, StAlt qarI, Uz qari, ET qeri, Xk к ир и kirI id., Qzq {DQA} qāri id., {MM} qariya 'old man', ET qeri, Xk к ир и kirI id., Az gari 'old woman', Tk karI, Ggz qarI 'wife, married woman', d.: Qq qariya 'old man'; pT *K'ari- ({Md.} *K'ari-) > OT qarI- ({Cl.} qarI:-) 'be(come) old', Tk karI-, Tkm garrI-, Uz qari-, ET qeri-, Qrg, StAlt qarI-, Tv, Tf qiri-, Xk к ир и – kirI-, Yk kiriy- 'grow old', Az gari- 'remain unmarried after the common age for marrying' (of a woman) ¶ The variant with i, I or e of the first syll. (T ≈ *KEri > *Kiri?) may be due to the infl. of the reflex of N *kiryaHa 'old' (q.v.) ¶ Cl. 644-5, ET KQ 311-12, Ra. 223, Ra. 223, Md. 103, 166 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 671-2 (pA *k_l'_jēru 'old, worn out' > T + qu. pJ *kūtā- > J kutabire- 'be tired' + err. M *qari-, *qar_la_j-si- v. 'weaken, become old'), ≈ DQA no. 775 || E: AchEl qa-ra 'alt' ¶¶ HK 437-8 ◇ The rec. of N *ʕ is based on EC {Ss.} *ʕ, which is only tentative (what is certain is that it is a lr. resembling *ʔ and lengthening the preceding vw. in Or). Therefore our N *ʕ¹ here is tentative and not free of doubts. A hypothetical connection between this N etymon and N *goRho 'be\become big\long, grow' may be suggested only if one can explain away the discrepancy created by the difference between the laryngeals and the final vowels involved ◇ Blz. E no. 68 (E, HS) ◇ Gr. II no. 283 (*kara 'old') (IE, A + err. J + qu. EA).

665. ₂ *gARʕ∇ 'belly, inside' > HS: pC {E} *garʕ- > LEC {Bl.} *garʕ- 'belly' > Gwd {AMS} karʕ-étto, Gln {AMS} karʕitto, Hr/Dbs {AMS} karaʕ-čé, Or gara-ʔ ({Bl.}: < *gara-a < *garʕ-a), Kns kár-itta, Turo kér-itta, Gato kár-a, Msl, Bss karʔ-a, Gdl karḍ, Dsn gēre, Elm g'ére, Arr geréʔ id. ||| ?? amb Bj {Rop., Fl.} gar i 'body, trunk', Bj A {AD} garoyy- 'self', e.g. ʔU ga'rōy-u 'myself', ʔU garō'yok 'thysself' (× N *gER∇ 'entrails', q.v.) ||| SC: Irq {MQK} garʕāy 'front of the house, area near the door', {E} garʕay 'verandah' (× N *geʕ¹∇¹r∇ 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place', q.v.) ¶ E PC no. 500, ≈ AD SF 205, R WBd 87, Rop. 186, Bl. 207, AMS 167, 207, 232, Hn. NBLK 205, Hw. A 360, To. DL 49, MQK 37 || D: SD *kar(a_l)- 'entrails' > Ml kar a_l, kar u_l 'lungs and heart; liver, bowels; heart', Ml kar i_l, Kt kar l 'heart', Kn kar u_l, kar a_l u 'an entrail,

bowels', Kdg *karī* 'interstines', Tu *kar(ā)īu* 'bowels, liver' ¶ D *-r- < N *-R̥- ¶ D no. 1274 ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 73a (incl. C, D; no distinction between the reflexes of N *gAR̥, N *gER̥ 'entrails' [q.v.] and N *guR̥ 'belly' [→ 'body'] [> U *kur̥ 'body, SC *gur̥ 'belly'])).

666. *gīR̥ 'to cut' > HS: WS *✓gr̥ 'cut' > BHb *גַּרַג* ✓gr̥ 'cut down, trim (a beard), diminish', JA ✓gr̥ 'cut (head hair, beard), diminish', JEA ✓gr̥ G 'be inferior, shave the head', Sr ✓gr̥ 'shave (hair\beard), deprive of hair, make a tonsure', Plm *גַּרְטָן* gr̥t̥ pl. 'hairdressers', Mh ✓gr̥ (pf. *גִּרָא*, sbjn. *יִגְרַעַף*) 'shave (usually the head)', Jb C ✓gr̥ (pf. *גִּרָא*, sbjn. *יִגְרַעַף*) 'cut, shave off (all the head hair)', Sq {L} ✓gr̥ (pf. *גִּרָא*) 'cut (hair)' ¶ KB 195-6, KBR 203-4, Lv. I 363, Sl. 304, Br. 134, JPS 79, HJ 235, L ESAC 16, Jo. M 123, Jo. J 78, DRS 190 || EC: Sa, Af ✓gr̥ 'cut (off)' > Sa {Wlm.} -igr̥- id., Sa {R} ✓gr̥- (p. *'i-gr̥ī*, inv. *e'gr̥ī̄ ~ i'gr̥ī̄*) 'ab-\ein-schneiden', Af {R} ✓gr̥- (p. *'i-r̥g̥ī*, inv. *i'r̥g̥ī̄*) 'abschneiden (Baum, Hals)', {PH} *ir̥g̥ī* 'cut, cut down, harvest', *gar̥ī* v. 'cut off in the middle of doing sth.', *gar̥ū* 'harvest, mutilation', ?φ Arr *קָרַר*- 'cut, reap, castrate, cut down'; but EC *gawra- v. 'cut the throat' is probably derived from the reflex of N *gūr̥E or *gūr̥ 'throat, neck' (q.v.) ¶ AD SF 316, R S II 161-2, R A II 60, PH 110-11, 137, Hw. A 381 || U *kir̥ > FP *kir̥ä- 'hew, strike' (× N *k̥i'r̥ū̄ 'strike, hit' [q.v.]) > Er *ker̥a*- v. 'hew, fell' | Chr L *кър-ащ*, *кър-ем* v. 'beat, strike, thresh', Chr E *кър-ем*, Chr M *ki'r-ем* 'I strike (with a stick\hammer)' | Prm *ker̥- v. 'hew' > Z *kerav-*, Yz *keral-*, Vt *kora-* id. ¶ It. no. 398, UEW 666, Sm. 552, LG 121-2, MRS 270, Ü 97 || pY {IN H} *kīre* (?) > OY O {Mat.} *кире* or *кирье* ({IN *kīre*} 'knife' ¶ It. no. 398, UEW 666, Sm. 552, LG 121-2, MRS 270, Ü 97, IN HDY 213, IN UJ 306, ≈ IN UJ 228 || A *gir̥ū- 'cut, carve, shear' > Tg *giri- 'cut out, cut out cloth for dressmaking' > Ewk *gir-*, Lm *gir-*, Neg *gī- ~ gīy-*, Orc *gī- ~ gīyi*, Ud *gī-*, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/LU *giri-* id., WrMc {Z} *гирн-* v. 'trim; cut off (grass, branches)' ¶ STM I 153-4, On. 107, Z 337, Bz. 21-2 (*g̥rl̥-), S AJ 224 [no. 280] (*giri-) || M **gur̥- ⇨ [1] M *gur̥ībi- n. 'cutting' > WrM {BMR} *горби* n. 'carving', HIM *гурви* {Luw., BMR} 'резьба, нарез', Brt *гурьба* n. 'cutting, cutting into pieces (резка, нарезка)', Kl {Rm.} *gūr̥wi* 'Ornament, eingeschnittenes Basrelief', *gōr̥wi* 'Zierate, Ornamente (auf Silber und andere Metallen)' ¶ BMR I 463, Luv. 127, Chr. 161. KW 152, 156 | [2] (× N *g̥o'R̥Hw̥ 'to pound, to scrape' or sim.): WrM *гуранзу* 'whetstone', HIM *гуранз* {MED} id.,

{BTM} 'точило, наждак' ¶ MED 369, Luv. 127, BMR I 463 || pJ *kìr- 'cut' > OJ k̄ir-, MJ k̄ir-, J T k̄ír-, J K/Kg k̄ir- ¶ S AJ 272 [#194], S QJ no. 194, Mr. 704, 709, Kenk. 974 || ? pT *°K̄i_L;_Jr- > MT [IM] k̄i¹r- 'cut off, clip' ¶ Cl. 643 ¶¶ The vw. *-u- in pM *gur- may be due to regr. as., hence the most probable pA rec. is *ḡiru- ¶¶ SDM 556-7 (pA *ḡi_Ló_r | r̄o > Tg, M + unc. pJ *kár- 'shear, mow' [going back to N *k̄āRt∇ 'cut', q.v.]), DQA no. 528, S AJ 288 [no. 297] (pA *ḡir∇ > pJ *kir-, T, Tg) || D *kir∇ ~ *ker∇ ({ǂGS} *k-) 'shave, cut (with a sickle)' (partial coalescence with N *K̄ir¹X¹∇ 'scrape, scratch') > Tm c̄ir̄a_i 'shave, cut with a sickle', Ml c̄ir̄a 'shaving', Kn k̄ir̄i 'shave', Tu k̄ir̄ej̄un̄i 'cut (as straw, grass stumps)', Klm k̄er̄k-, Nk k̄er-, Mlt q̄é̄re- 'shave', ? Brh k̄ar̄ȳiṅ 'shear, crop down, mow down' ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-R̄_L- and *-r¹X¹- ¶¶ Tm c̄ir̄āy 'get scratched', Ml c̄ir̄ek̄ka '(shave), scrape' and Kn k̄er̄e 'scratch' go back to N *K̄ir¹X¹∇ '↑' ¶¶ D no. 1564.

667. *ḡoR̄_L∇ ≈ hill, (small?) mountain' > HS: S: Tgr ḡC̄ó ḡ3r̄f 'Bergkamm, mountain ridge' (hardly ← Tgr ḡ3r̄f 'neck, throat'), ??σ Ar ḡar(a)ḡ-at- 'monticule de sable, terrain sablonneux' (if 'monticule' is the primary meaning) ¶ LH 576, BK I 281 || C: [1] EC: Sml {DSI} guro 'the highest point of sth., summit', Or {Ss} ḡōrr̄ō 'mount, small hill', {Th} ḡōr̄o 'elevazione, collinetta, terrapieno', {Brl.} ḡoro 'terrapieno, mucchio, luogo elevato, collinetta' (Brl. did not indicate the length of vowels) || [2] C *ḡā¹r- (× N *ḡaRH̄ā 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point') > Ag: Q {R} ḡara 'rock' || EC: Or {Th.} ḡāra (nom. ḡārr̄i) 'montagna, catena di montagni, altezza', {Grg.} ḡāra 'mountain', Sd {Gs.} ḡāra 'hill, small mountain' ¶ DSI 282, Ss. B 84, Th. 151-2, 173, Brl. 182, AD SF 61, Grg. 157, Gs. 175 || NrOm: Shn {Lm.} ḡur̄á, Anf {Gt.} ḡur̄á, HzMa {Fl.} ḡura, Na {Fl.} ḡ^uara, Shk {Fl.} ḡ3ra 'mountain' ¶ ≈ Lm. Sh 311, Gt. 352, Fl. OWL || Ch: WCh: Sir {Sk.} ḡîr̄í 'rock' (but EDng {Fd.} ḡîrp̄i and Mgm {JA} ḡû^hrb̄ú 'rock' are plausibly cognate with S *√grb 'rock, highland') || ? CCh: Gdr {Srp.} ḡirm̄āa, {Mch.} ḡarm̄a 'mountain' ¶ ChC s.v. 'mountain' and 'rock', JA LM 89 || K: GZ *ḡōra- 'small mountain, hill' > G ḡora, Mg ḡola- ~ ḡvala- 'mountain', Lz ḡola- 'summer roaming place' ¶ K 64, K² 31-2 || IE: NaIE *°ḡ_Lω_{JL}h_Jer- (att. in BSI) 'mountain', ? 'forest' (× N *kur_L∇h_J∇ 'hill, mountain', q.v. ffd. × N *ḡuR̄∇ 'forest') > pSl *ḡo¹ra (accus. *ḡōr̄o, accentual paradigm C) 'mountain' > OCS rop̄a ḡora, R, Uk rop̄a, SCr ḡōra, Cz, HLs hora, P, LLs ḡóra id., Slv ḡóra id., 'mountain forest', Blg rop̄a 'forest,

wood(s)', Slk *hora* id., 'woody mountain' | Lt *girià*, Lt Z *gìrè*, Ltv † *dzir̃a*, *dzire* 'forest, wood(s)' ¶ ESSJ VII 29-31, StSS 174, Vs. 438, Frn. 153 ◇ Cp. FP **kur*∇ 'hill, steep slope' and D **kur*- ({{GS} *k-) 'hill country' (both most probably from N **kur*∇*h*∇ '†') ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 111d (suggesting to add Shn, Anf, Dng and Mgm), ≈ Blz. KM 133-4 [no. 7], ≈ Blz. LNA no. 17 (*÷ OSA ✓ *grb* 'campus montanus, saxum', M and pJ words for 'stone').

668. (₂?) **g*∇*Ræ*∫*û* (= **g*∇*Ræ*∫*û*?) '≈ to fell, to strike; to fall in' > IE: NaIE **gʰrēu*-/**gʰrau*-/**gʰrū*- 'fall upon, attack, assail' > Gk χράω, Gk Hm ἔχρα(ν)ε 'fall upon, attack, assail' || L *ingru*-*ō*-, -*ere* 'fall upon, assail' || Lt *griáuti* (pres. *griájū*) 'to bring\throw down, to overthrow; to tear down, to demolish', Ltv *gr̃aû*t (pres. *gr̃aûjū*, p. *gr̃â*∇*u*) 'to destroy, to wreck', Lt *griúti* (pres. *griū*∇*u*) 'to fall (down), to crash\tumble down, to fall in', Ltv *gr̃ū*t 'to collapse, to break down' ¶ ≈ WP I 647-8, ≈ P 460, F II 1114-15, WH I 700-1, Frn. 171 || HS: S *°✓ *gr̃*∫ > Ar عرج ✓ ḡr̃∫ *Gt* 'break (a piece of wood)', *Sh* (ṣaḡraṣa) 'fall' ¶ BK I 280 || EC: Sml N {Abr.} *garā*∫- 'hit', 'beat (a drum)', Sml {ZMO} *garā*∫- 'knock, beat, thrash' ¶ DSI 25, Abr. S 87, ZMO 154 || ?φ K: G *ngr*- 'destroy (a building); fall in' ¶ Chx. 927-8, DCh. 977 ¶ In G *ngr*- the initial n is strill to be explained ◇ If G *ngr*- belongs here, the N rec. is with *∫ (**g*∇*Ræ*∫*û*). otherwise it is with *∫.

669. (*id.* ?) ≈ **g*E*rH*∇ 'to belch, to eruct' > HS: B [1] *✓ *gr̃y* 'belch' > Ah *ágr̃i* v. 'belch', Ah *ta-ḡray*-t (pl. *ti-ḡraīn*) ~ *tuḡray*t (pl. *tuḡraīn*), Gh *ta-žray*-t (pl. *č̃i-žrain*) n. 'belch, eructation'; [2] ? *id.* eB *✓ *gr̃*∫ > †→ Ar Mgr ✓ *gr̃*∫ 'belch' (in Ar Mrc {DMA} pf. *gerrā*∫ 'cause to belch', pf. *tgerra*∫ 'v. 'belch, burp') †→ Kb {Dl.} ḡḡarḡa∫, {NZ} ḡḡurra∫, BMn {Bs.} *gurra*∫, Izd {Mrc.} *garra*∫, Shl/CM/Fgg/Shw/Mz {NZ} ✓ *gr̃*∫, CA *gurra*∫, Zng {NZ} *agarra*∫ v. 'belch' ¶ Fc. 483, Dl. 273, DMA I 44, 167, NZ 899, 903 ¶ The root is likely to originate in eB (at the time when *∫ still existed in B) or have its *∫ due to onomatopoeia || ECh: Ke {Eb.} ḡḡr̃h̃í v. 'belch', Smr {J} ḡḡrs̃́, Mkl {J} ḡḡr̃è id. ¶ Eb. 50, ChC s.v. 'belch' || U: FU **ker*∇- 'belch, ruminare' > Prm **gör*ž- ({{LG} **gör*ž-) 'belch' > Z *гордзъöd*- *gorž*zd-, Yz 'guržòt-, Vt *гурзыны* *gurž*-, Vt B *gör*ž-, Vt SW *gür*ž- id. || Vg: T *kērkañtākt*-, LK *kerā*t- 'belch', Sg *kēra*t- id., 'ruminare' | Hg *kér*ódz- 'ruminare' ¶ UEW 151, MF 354, LG 78 || A ≈ **k'āk*'Er- 'belch' > T **k'āk*ir- (or **k_āk*ir-) id. ({{Md.} *k'āk*ir- = {{Md.} **k'ēk*ir-) > OT *kāgir*- ~ *kākir*-, OT Kr *kekir*-, MT {PC} *gegir*-, {MA}

kekir-, Tk gegir-, Ggz gīr-, Tkm gāvir-, Az кәжир- gäyir-, Xlj {DT} gāgür-, VTt, Bsh кикер- kiky-, Qzq кекір-, Uz kekī(r)- & kekiy-, CrTt, Kr Cr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg kekir-, StAlt kegir-, Tv кегир- kevir-, Xk кигір- kigir-, SY kekirt-, Yk кәҗәрт- kevert- (with shortening *ā̄ > e in a polysyllabic stem?), Chv какәр- kaḡr- id. ¶ Cl. 712, Rs. W 248, ET VGD 37, TkR 239, Jeg. 85, Ash. VI 23, Fed. I 213, Jeg. 85, ChVS 65, Md. 35, DT 117 || M *kekere- 'belch, eruct' > MM [MA], WrM {MED} kekere- id., HIM хәхрә- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'eruct', Brt хәхәр-, Kl {KRS} кекр- кекыр- id., {Rm.} kekṛ- 'rülpsen, aufstoßen' ¶ Pp. MA 213, MED 446, BMR IV 228, Chr. 654, KRS 290, KW 223 || Tg *keker- v. 'eruct' > Ul кәхәрзәчү-, Nn кәрзәчи- id., WrMc {Z} кәхәрә- id., 'hiccup' ¶ STM I 445, Z 266 || ??φ on. pKo *kài'ò- 'vomit' > MKo kài'ò-, NKo keu- id. ¶ Nam 29, MLC 109 ¶¶ SDM 633-4 (pA *kāk'í v. 'belch, choke' > M, T, pKo + unc. Tg *каха- 'choke'), S VL 200 (pA *kāk'ir∇) ¶¶ The pA root ≈ *kāk'Er- may be explained by rdp. and as.: reduplicated *gErH∇-gErH∇ > **gErHgErH∇ > **gErk'ErH∇ (*Hg > *k') > (regr. as.) *kErk'Er∇ > *kāk'Er∇ (loss of *r with Ersatz-dehnung) || ?? on. D: Kn ḡar_r_a (sound in imitation of loud belching), Tl ḡar_r_u (sound produced in belching) ¶¶ Kn, Tl a < N *ā̄, unless this word is an independent onomatopoeia ¶¶ D no. 1401.

670. *goRho 'be\become big\long, grow' > IE *gʰreH^ω-/*gʰrH₂^ω- > NaIE *gʰrō-/*gʰrā- 'grow, become green' > ON gróa, OHG gruoen 'to flourish, to grow', OSx grōian 'grünen', AS ʒrōwan 'to grow', NE grow] ⇨ ON græn-n, NNr, Dn grøn, Sw grön, OHG gruoni, NHG grūn, OFrs grēne, OSx grōni, AS ʒrēne 'green', NE green] + ext.: (× N *gi?'o'r∇ 'grass') AS ʒræd 'grass' || L herba 'springing vegetation, green plant, weed'] ?? WGmc *grauṭa- 'big' > AHG groz, NHG groß, OSx grōt, Dt groot, AS ʒrēat id., NE great ¶¶ WP I 645-6, P 454, Vr. 190, 192, KM 268, 272-3, 275, Schz. 154-5, Kb. 413, Ho. 137-9, Ho. S 28-9, Fs. 220, WH I 639-40 || HS: S (+ext.) *°✓grhm > Ar جرهم, ḡirhām- 'huge' (of a camel), 'huge camel', ḡurāhim- 'big, huge' ({Fr} 'magnus', {BK} 'gros, corpulent') ¶ Fr I 271, BK I 284 || B *-Hgur- (> *-:g^ω∇r) 'be bigger than', ?? B *°✓grw 'be much\many' > Kb {Dl.} aj^ωar (3m pf. yuj^ωar), Sll {Ds.} ag^ωar (3m pf. yūḡar), Ah {Fc.} aḡar, Izn, Rf {Rn.} aḡar v. 'surpass', Tmz {MT} aḡar (pf. uḡar), ASgr {MT} aḡar id., 'be older\ bigger, be more numerous, be better', ETwl {GhA} aḡar (3m pf. oḡbr) 'être plus grand que, être supérieur à', Gd {Lf.} āḡar (3m pf.

yū́ger) 'l'emporter sur, surpasser, être plus grand que', Ntf {Dray} agur
 (3m pf. yuger) 'surpasser', Zng {TC} pf. yuger 'être plus grand', ?? Izn
 {Rn.} yarru ({Rn.} ✓grw) 'be much\many' ¶ Fc. 468, GhA 56, 246 (on
 Pcj. I A 3), Rn. 352, MT 162-3, Dl. 267-8, Ds. 270, Lf. I 255 and II no.
 O524, Dray 452, DCTC 289 (fn. 29), NZ 846-8 || Ch: [1] *✓gr v.
 'surpass' > WCh: BT {Stl. VZCh} *gar- id. > Krkr {Lk.} gar-, {ChL} gîrân,
 g̃ru-, Ngm {ChL} gîrá, {Nw.} garan id. || ECh: Kwn {Lk.} garáte 'big' | [2]
 Ch *g∇r- 'long' > WCh: Ngm {ChC} g̃râ, Bl {IL} garan 'long', Kry {Sk.} g̃r
 'long (a long time)' | CCh: Nz {ChL} g̃r, Bcm {ChC} g̃rêg̃rê 'long' ¶ Stl.
 VZCh no. 71, Stl. VZCh B no. 93, JS 257, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'big', ChC s.v.
 'long' and 'long, a long time', ChL || K *°gwar- > G gvar- 'wachsen,
 gedeihen' ¶ Chx. 189 || A: Tg *gora 'far', 'long' (of time) > Ewk goro, Lm
 gor, Orc, Ud gō, Nn Nh/Bk/KU goro, WrMc {Z} ropo id., Sln goro 'far' ¶
 STM I 161-2, On. 115, Z 345-6 || ??σ M: MM gür [HI] {Lew.} 'universel,
 général, vaste, grand', {Ms.} 'universel, entier, multitude', [S] {H}
 'universal, allgemein, sämtlich, gesamt', ?σ WrM gür ~ güre {MED}
 'crowd of people; cavalry; brigade', HIM {MED} ryp id., {BMR} 'crowd
 of people; state', Brt rypэ(н) 'state' ¶ H 52, Ms. H 58, MED 391, BMR I
 375, Lew. II 39, Chr. 166, Rs. W 319 ¶ The M cognate may be valid only if
 Lewicki's interpretation as 'vaste, grand' is justified || ?σ T *kür > Tk
 gür, Az, Chg, Tkm gür, Kr kür, Qmq kür id., VTt/Bsh kör 'courageous,
 stout-hearted', Qrg kür 'powerful', Tv xür 'healthy, well-fed', Yk kür
 'wide, broad', Chv L кёр 'thick; stout-hearted', Chv L кёре, Chv H кёрё
 'fest (крепкий; прочный), strong', OT {Cl.} kür 'stout-hearted,
 courageous' ¶ Rs. W 310-11, Cl. 735, ET KQ 106, Ash. VII 275-6, 287,
 Fed. I 277-8, ChVS 84-5 || D ?φ *kar- ({†GS} *k-) > Tm karu māy
 'strength, greatness', Ml karu, karu 'stout, hard', Kn kara, karu
 'greatness, abundance, power', Tl karamu 'much, great, very' ¶¶ D no.
 1287 ◇ IE *h^ω, S *h and D *-r- (regularly from N *-RH- rather than
 from N *-r- between vowels) point to the presence of a lr. in the N
 etymon ◇ A hypothetical connection between this N etymon and N
 *gar^{r̥}i 'old' may be suggested only if one can explain away the
 discrepancy created by the difference between the laryngeals and the
 final vowels involved ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA no. 13 (N *gori 'long, far, high' > Ch,
 A, WGmc *÷ K *gr̥ze]- 'long' [see N *gaRž∇ '≈ to stretch'], FV *korka
 'high' [see N *KâR̥ub|p∇ 'top, summit']).

671. *gārĥ ▽ 'try to obtain, wish, need' > **HS:** WS *✓grĥ > Ar جرح ✓gĥrĥ 'look for, try to obtain (as animals looking for food)', {Ln.} 'apply oneself with art and diligence to get\obtain\gain\acquire', Ar D {L←?} Ar جرح ✓gĥr G (mt.) 'emporter', Sq {L} ✓grĥ G 'ramasser' ¶ BK I 275, Ln. 405, L LS 115 || **IE** *g^her₁h_x- > Ht kar-i(ya)- 'be gracious towards, gratify', Ht kargaranti 'readily, willingly, eagerly' (acc. to Ts., a fossilized dat.-loc. of a prtc. from *kar-kar- with intensive rdp.; according to Pv. ← Lw sg. ntr. pres. prtc. [in -anti-] of *kar-kar-) || NaIE *g^her₁a₁-, {EI} *g^hor-(ye/o)- 'desire' > OI ✓har-: 'haryati 'yearns for, likes, is fond of', ? Av zara- 'striving, aim' (if this semantic interpretation of the word is valid) || Gk χαίρω v. 'rejoice', χάρις 'grace, favour' || Um heri 'vult', HERIEST 'volet', L horior, hor(i)tor v. 'urge on, incite' || OHG girī 'greediness, covetousness, ambition', NHG Gier n. 'wish, desire', Gt gairnei (· προθυμία, ἐπιπόθησις) 'Wunsch, Begeh'r'; OHG ger 'covetous, greedy' ({Schz.} 'verlangend, begierig nach'), gerno 'voluntarily, greedily', NHG gern(e) adv. 'willingly, gladly, with pleasure', ON gjarn, AS zeorn 'desirous, eager', Gt gairnjan (· ἐπιποθεῖν, ἐπιθυμεῖν) 'begehren, gelüsten', ON girna, OHG gerōn 'to desire, to wish, to strive to', NHG begehren 'to covet, to desire', AS ziernan id., 'to yearn', NE yearn ¶¶ Pv. IV 80-1, 89, Ts. E I 511, Frd. HW 101, P 440-1, EI 158, M K III 583, M E II 804, F II 1062-5, WH I 657-8, Bc. G 336, Fs. 186, Kb. 327-9, 369, Schz. 150-1, KM 60, 250, 257, Vr. 168, 170, Ho. 127, 129 || **U** *karma- v. 'want, wish' > Er/Mk karma- v. 'want, intend' || Sm: Ne O {Lh.} χαρῶν v. 'wollen, Lust haben, mögen', En X {Cs.} κόμα, B {Cs.} κομα- v. 'want', Ng {Cs.} karbutu- id., Mt {HL.} *karznžzr- (or *harznžzr-?) 'want' (Mt: M {Sp.} харынджёргамъ 'I want') ¶¶ Coll. 22, UEW 128, Cs. 304, Hl. M #429 || ?φ,σ **A**: NaT *k^hærgæ- ~ *k^hæraek- (or *k_hærgæ- ~ *k_hæraek-) 'be necessary' > OT {Cl.} kargä- 'be deficient (?), be worthy (?)', OOSm كركمك k^he^hr^hg^hek-, Tk gerek-, CrTt, Nog kerek-, SbTt kāräk- 'be necessary'] ⇨ NaT *k^hærgæ-k 'necessary', 'necessity' > OT {Cl.} kargäk id., Tk gerek, Az кәрәк gāräk, Tkm герек gerek 'is necessary', 'necessity', Qmq gerek, CrTt, Qry Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, SY kerek, Bsh kāräk 'is necessary', Blq, StAlt kerek id., 'need'; T ⇨ M: WrM kereg {MED} 'need, necessity', 'thing' (abstr.), 'matter'. HIM хэрэг {MED} id., {BMR} 'business, activities (дело, занятие, деятельность)',

'event, case, fact' \rightarrow : Tv $\chi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\kappa$, StAlt $kerek$, Xk $kirek$, Yk $kere\chi$
 'business, matter' ¶ Bsh and SbTt point to a NaT *ä of the first syll. ¶ Cl.
 742-3, Rs. W 256, ET VGD 25-7, TvR 475, MED 455-6, BMR IV 222-3 ||
 ?σ D (att. in SD) *kar- ({{ǰGS}} *k-) 'aim at, intend, think, point' > Kn
 $karu$ v. 'point, aim at', Tm $karutu$ v. 'intend', Kt $kart$ 'purpose, aim
 strenuously striven for' ¶ D *-r- < N *-rĥ- ¶ D #1283 ◇ Ar ĥ and Ht
 zero point to N *ĥ. The absence of traces of the lr. in NaIE is still
 puzzling. But cf. NaIE * $\overset{\circ}{g}h_1er\bar{a}$ - 'look' (see N * $\overset{\circ}{g}h_1ur\bar{a}$ - 'look, look for').
 U *a in the first syll. of *karma- is likely to be due to vw. harmony: eU
 *kärma- > U *karma- ◇ ≈ Gr. II #93 (*keri 'desire') (IE, U, A, Ai, EA).

672. * $\overset{\circ}{g}ur_1E_1w\bar{a}$ (T∇) 'young (carnivorous) animal' > HS: S (or WS)
 * $\overset{\circ}{g}ur_1i_1w$ - id. > BHb $gūr$ 'cub (of a lion, a jackal etc.)', JPA $gūr$
 'cub', JEA $gūr$, Sr $gūr$, Ar $gūr$ 'young lion', Ar $gūr$ -
 'young carnivore', 'cub', ?φ,σ Ak LB $girru$ 'lion' ¶ KB 177, KBR 185, GB
 125, BK I 283, AD V 94 || B: Rf Bq a-garrud 'young partridge', SrSn
 awarrud 'young of an animal' ¶ Rn. 352, NZ 866 || A: NaT *Kürt- 'wolf'
 > OT, OUg MOg, Chg xv qurt, XwT qurd, Tk kurt, Tkm gūrt, Az gurd,
 CrTt {Rs.} qurt, XT gurt \neq gurt \neq gōrt \neq gōrt, Bsh Δ qōrt 'wolf', Ggz kurt
 'predator' ¶ Cl. 648, DTS 203, Rs. W 303, ≈ ET Q 167-8, ≈ TL 160 (unc.:
 ← *kurt 'worm' as an Og tabuistic replacement; in fact, the word is
 present in different ds of OT and in different branches of NaT, within
 proper names and in the totem name $i\bar{d}i\ qurt$ ['lord-wolf'] of ancient
 Turks, see TL 643), DH ChT s.v. gurt || D {tr.} *kur- ~ {tr., GS} *kuṛ-
 'young of an animal' (× N * $\overset{\circ}{k}uRy\bar{a}$ - 'young of an animal, child', q.v. ffd.)
 ¶¶ D *-r- in *kur- belongs to the heritage of N * $\overset{\circ}{k}uRy\bar{a}$ - ◇ O HSN 121 (N
 * $\overset{\circ}{g}UyR\bar{a}$ - 'wild [animal]' > HS * $\overset{\circ}{g}Vr$ - 'young animal, dog' + err. IE [{AD}
 * $\overset{\circ}{g}h_1w\bar{e}r$ - 'wild animal'] and A [{AD} * $\overset{\circ}{g}UR\bar{e}$ - 'deer, wild herbivorous
 animal'], which goes back to N {AD} * $\overset{\circ}{g}UR\bar{a}$ - 'beast').

673. ?σ (₂?) * $\overset{\circ}{g}h_1o^1R\bar{a}Hw\bar{a}$ 'to pound, to scrape' or sim. > IE: NaIE
 * $\overset{\circ}{g}h_1hr\bar{a}u$ - 'scrape, rub away' > Gk $\chi\rho\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ * (att.: ipf. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$, cnj. aor.
 $\chi\rho\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta$) v. 'scrape, graze, wound slightly' || ON $grjón$ 'groats, flour'
 (< *'ground corn'), Far $grón$, $grún$, NNr $grjon$, Dn, Sw $grun$ 'groats'
 ¶ ≈ P 460-2 (* $\overset{\circ}{g}hr\bar{e}u$ -/* $\overset{\circ}{g}hr\bar{a}u$ -/* $\overset{\circ}{g}hr\bar{u}$ - reconstructed due to adduction of
 highly qu. cognates and stem variants with extensions), Vr. 190, F II
 1115-16, 1120-1 || U: FU * $\overset{\circ}{k}h_1r\bar{a}w\bar{a}$ - 'scrape, whet, rub' (× N
 * $\overset{\circ}{g}or\bar{a}b|p\bar{a}$ - 'scratch, scrape', q.v. ffd.) || A: M (× N * $\overset{\circ}{g}iR\bar{a}$ - 'to cut'):

WrM {MED} гуранзи, HIM гуранз {MED} whetstone', {BMR} 'точило, наждак' ¶ MED 369, BMR I 463.

674. *guR'X'a 'antelope, male antelope' > HS: C {AD} *√gʷr'h¹ > Bj {R} гаруа 'das Männliche von Agazen \ der Kuhantilope' ||| EC: Sd {Gs.} guruʔm-iččo (pl. guruʔme) id., 'gazelle, roe' ||| SC: Irq {MQK} gʷarēh, {Wh.} gʷarêhi, Grw {Fl.} gʷeraʔahi, Alg {Fl.} gʷeraʔai, gʷarehe 'dik-dik antelope', Brn {Fl.} gʷereha 'decula antelope' ¶ AD SF 72-3, R WBd 102, Wh. DI, MQK 43, Fl. p.c., Gs. s.v. guruʔm-iččo || NrOm: Wl/Dwr {C} gārā id. ¶ C SO 30, Blz. OL no. 157 || Ch: WCh: Gmy žirri ~ žirri 'roe', Ngz {Sch.} gərəfìyà 'e antelope' ||| CCh: Bdm ḡǵrì, Lgn (Lk.) garia 'antelope' ||| ECh: Kwn {J} žármā id. ¶ Sch. DN s.v. gərəfìyà, Hf. AG, ChC s.v. 'antelope' ||| **A** *gūran or *guran (× N *gūR∇ 'beast') > M *gura(n) (= *gūra(n)?) 'antelope', {STM} 'roebuck' > MM гурa {IS ← ?} 'e hornless antelope', WrM гурa(n) {MED} 'roebuck, wild goat', HIM гур {MED} id., {BMR} 'male roe', {Gl.} '(male) saiga (a sheeplike antelope *Saiga tatarica*)', Brt гурa(н) 'male roe', Kl Ö {Rm.} guru 'Rehbock, eine männliche Antilope, Saiga', Ord gūrurū 'cheval svelte'; M → Ewk S gūran 'wild goat'; the length of pM *u is suggested by the loanword in Ewk ¶ MED 368, BMR I 462, Gl. II 230, KW 155, Chr. 160, Ms. O 316 || pKo {S} *kòrání > MKo kòrání 'deer, elk', NKo korani 'elk' ¶ S QK no. 271, MLC 138, Rm. SKE 125, Choy 902-3, Vv. AEN 16 (suggesting that Ko is a loan from pChK *qoraŋi 'reindeer') ¶ S QK no. 271, MLC 138, Rm. SKE 125, Choy 902-3, Vv. AEN 16 (on the ev. of Ko Δ korani & koreŋi & koreŋ Vv. suggested that the Ko word is a loan from pChK *qoraŋi 'reindeer') ¶¶ SDM 574-5 (pA *gú|óri|e or *gú|óri|e > M, Ko + unc. Tg *gurm∇ 'hare' and *gurn∇ 'squirrel' [{AD} from N *gūR∇ 'beast', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 572 (id.), Yu 63, MLC 138, Rm. SKE 125 ||| **D** *kuṛ- ({{GS} *k-) 'e deer, antelope' > Ml kūrān 'hog deer', Klm kori, Prj kuri, Ku kurhu & kruhu & kluhu 'antelope', Gdb kuruy 'deer', Gnd kurs 'deer, antelope', Kui kruhu & krusu 'barking deer, jungle sheep'; D → OI kurariga- 'e antelope', 'antelope\deer (in general)' ¶¶ D no. 1785 ¶¶ D *-r- suggests an original cns. cluster (*-R'X¹-) ◇ IS I 234-5 [no. 90]. Cf. N *korê ≈ e deer, antelope' and N *gūR∇ 'beast' (≈ Gr. II 8: *gura '[wild] animal') ◇ AD NM no. 36, Vv. AEN 16 (doubts about the Ko reflex), S CNM 6-7 (÷÷ Sino-Tibetan, Yeniseyan; Starostin suggested a different interpretation of M *gūra, equating it with pTg *ḡūr 'male' [of

small wild animals] and probably with T *uri 'male child, son' < pA *ɲura [*ɲ- > *g regularly]).

675. *gor▽b|p▽ 'scratch, scrape' > IE: NaIE *g^hreb^h- id., 'dig' > Gt graban (· σκάπτειν) 'graben', ON grafa 'to dig', AS zrafan, OHG graban 'to dig, to carve', NHG graben, OSx gravan 'to dig' ||| Ltv grebt (pres. grebju) 'to carve, to hollow out, to scrape', greblis 'gouge, scraper', Lt grėb-ti 'to rake', greblỹs 'rake' || SI *greb- v. 'scrape, rake, dig, row' > OCS 1s pres. грѣбѣ grebq / inf. грѣти greti, R 1s pres. гре'бѣ / inf. грѣ'сти v. 'row', Blg гре'ба 'draw (liquid), dig, row', SCr 1s pres. grėbēm / inf. grėpsti 'scrape, scratch', Slv 1s pres. grėbem / inf. grėbsti 'dig, scratch', Cz 1s pres. hřebu / inf. hřebsti ~ hřesti 'bury', Slk 1s pres. hriebú / inf. hriebst' 'dig, rake up', P † grześć 'to bury'; -> SI *grebt (gen. *grebene) 'comb' > Blg 'гребен, SCr grėben, Slv grebēn, VCz hřeben, Slk hrebeň, P grzebień, R 'гребень, Uk 'гребінь id. ||| -> NaIE *g^hrob^h- (with sxs) 'pit' > Gt graba (· χάραξ) 'Graben', AS zrafu 'cave, grave', ON grqf id., 'pit', OSx graf, OHG grab 'grave, tomb', NHG Grab, AS zraef 'grave', NE grave ||| SI *grobь 'grave, pit' > OCS гробъ гробъ 'grave, sepulchre', {StSS} 'могила, склеп, гробница', Blg гроб 'grave, tomb', SCr grōb, Cz, Slk hrob, P grób, Uk гріб 'grave', Slv grōb id., 'pit for potatoes', R гроб 'coffin' ¶ WP I 653-4, P 455-6, EI 159, Fs. 218-19, Vr. 184, 193, Ho. 135-6, Ho. S 28, Kb. 403-4, Schz. 153, KM 266, Kar. I 310-11, Frn. 165-6, ESSJ VII 109-13, 133-4, StSS 178, Glh. 245-9 ||| HS: WS *✓grp (prm. *-grup-) 'sweep away, (?) scrape' > BHb ✓grp G (ip. yī-'grōp) {BDB} 'sweep away', Ar ✓ǧrf جرف G (ip. yaǧrufu) id., MHb, JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓grp G 'scrape, sweep', JEA {Sl.} G 'rake (an oven), scrape clean', Ar SL جرف ✓ǧrf G vt. 'rake up', Mh {Jo.} ✓grf G (pf. gṣrōf, sbjn. yṣgrēf), Jb E/C ✓grf G 'sweep \ muck out', {DRS} 'balayer' ¶ Hv. 86, BK I 280, Jo. J 78, Jo. M 124, BDB 175, Js. 272, Sl. 305, ≈ DRS 190-1 ||| U: FU *k^or w▽- 'scrape, scratch, rub' (× N ? *g^or w▽H w▽ 'to pound, to scrape' or sim., q.v.) > F kar v i- 'scrape, scratch, rub, polish' || Prm {LG} *kur- (or *kEr-) 'scrape, rake (out, together)' > Vt kuryar i-, Vt Ur kúrjal-, Vt B ko'ryal- ({JLG} kErjal-) 'scrape, eat the rest of the food', Z kur-av- 'scrape\rake out, gather, eat the rest of the food', kurt- v. 'rake (hay), kuran n. 'rake' ||| Vg MK karśal- '(mit der Angel kratzend) umhertappen,

(mit dem Hamen im Teiche) durch das Wasser ziehen (um Fische zu fangen)' | Hg Δ horol-, hurul- 'rub, whet, scratch' ¶ F -i- in karvi-, Prm *-al, *-yal-, Vg -śal- and Hg -l- are sxs of frequentativity ¶ UEW 188-9, MF 302-3, LG 146, Ht. no. 239 || D *kōr- v. 'scratch' > Kn gōr̄a id., Tm kōr̄aḡ 'a scratch (as on the body)', Tl kōr̄a vt. 'scrape with a grater, scratch', Kui grōpa / p. grōt- vt. 'claw, scratch' ¶¶ D no. 2257 ¶¶ The length of *ō is due to the loss of *w in the cluster **rw (Ersatzdehnung). The ancient cns. *r changed to D *r̄ after the loss of *w || A: Tg *gerbe- v. 'clean trunks from boughs, prepare perches (incl. those used in building a tent)' > Ewk ḡarb̄- id., Lm ḡarb̄n- 'prepare perches from trunks', Ork ḡalb̄n- id., 'cut (sticks, boughs)', Neg ḡyb̄- 𐌺 ḡdb̄- 'go to prepare perches', Orc ḡbb̄- 'prepare perches', Nn ḡrb̄- 'make perches by cutting trunks, prepare rods, cut twigs' ¶ STM I 181, On. 138-9 ¶ The unexpected vw. *e of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as. ◇ IE, D and possibly U point to N *b, while S suggests N *p, and Tg data are ambiguous. This discrepancy is still to be explained.

676. *gaRŪ'ĉ'a 'crush, break into pieces' (or *g∇RŪŝ|ĉ∇ 'crush') > HS: WS *√grŝ 'crush, crumble' > Ar جرش √ğršš (pf. ġarašša, ip. -ğrišš- ~ -ğrušš-) v. 'bray, bruise (wheat, salt)' (-> جارشة ġāriššat- n. 'hand mill for groats'), BHb 𐤂𐤒𐤔 √grs G 'be ground', (→) 'languish', 𐤂𐤒𐤔𐤓 wayya-g'res 'caused (teeth) to grind' (𐤂s < ŝ in late BHb), IA {HJ} √grs D 'grind', JA/MHb {Js.} √grs D 'crush, split, grind', SmA √grs G 'crush, mash', Sr √grs G (pf. gə'res) 'be broken into pieces, be shattered\ crumbled', JEA, Sr √grs D 'break into pieces', Amh √gʷrs (pf. (a)gʷerresə) 'make coarsely ground flour', Gz d. ġārŝā 'soft or powdery food'; -> CS (or WS?) *'gar̄∇ŝ- 'crushed grain' > BHb 𐤂𐤒𐤔𐤓 'ğerēš 'crushed grain, groats', Sr gār's-ā {JPS} 'meal, flour', SmA grs 'crushed grain'; -> CS *garīš- 'ground' > Ar جريش ġarīš- 'coarsely ground, roughly milled (wheat); groats', MHb 𐤂𐤒𐤔𐤓 gə'rīs 'groats', JA 𐤂𐤒𐤔𐤓 garī's-ā id., 'crushed beans' ¶ KB 195-6, KBR 203-4, HJ 235, Sl. 304, Js. 270-1, Tal 159, Fr. I 266, Hv. 85, HJ 235, JPS 72-3, L G 203, DRS 192-3 || IE: NaIE *gʰreus-/ *gʰrou̯s- vt. 'crush, break into pieces' > Sl *grušiti 'to crush, to pound' > SCr gr ūšiti 'to pound', Cz hr ūšiti id., 'to crush', R Δ rpy'шитъ 'to destroy, to break, to break into pieces', Blg 'rpyша v. 'destroy'; Sl *gruša > Slv gr ūša 'coarse sand,

gravel', possibly Sl *gruxati > Blg **грухам** vt. 'thresh (corn), pound (corn)', R Ps 'грухатъ 'to rumple, to press in (мять, вминать)' || Gmc: MLG **grūns** 'broken stones' ¶ ESSJ VII 156-7, ≠ 155, ≠ P 405-6 || **А**: Tg: WrMc {Z} **гарчжа-** vi. 'fall to pieces, burst, break into pieces (трескаться, растрескиваться, разбиваться вдребезги, разламываться, портиться)' ¶ STM I 141, Z 312 || Cf. also (??) T: OT **qirčat-**, **qirčal-** 'hit and split' (< N ***ḱ'i'RûCâ** 'to strike', q.v.) ¶ Cl. 647 ◇ If the Tg cognate is rejected, the N rec. must be ***g∇Rûš|č∇**.

676a. ₂ ≈ ***g∇Rć∇q∇** or ***g∇Rq∇ć∇** 'ε stinging insect' > K: GZ {K} ***grçq-il-** 'flea' > OG **grçgil-**, G (r)çgil-, G X **girçqil-**, M çqir-~çqær-, Lz **mçķi(r)-**, **mçir-** id. ¶¶ ≈ K² 33 (G, Zan + unc. adduction of Sv **zisq-~z3sq-** 'flea') || **HS**: CS ≈ ***g∇rķ∇s** > 'ε stinging insect' > Sr {DRS} **gargā's-ā** ~ **gargī's-ā** 'ε mosquito', Ar SL **ğirğis-** 'bedbug', ? Ar **qirqis-** 'ε petit moucheron' ¶ DRS 18, BK I 275 and II 723 || Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} **garsī** 'clothing louse' ||| NOM: Gf {Blz. ← ?} **angarço** 'ε insect' ¶ Fl. OWL, Blz. KM 134 || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} **ηársâ**, Msg P {Trn.} **ηarsa** 'louse' ||| ECh: Kwn {J} **ηârsí**, Ll {Cp.} **ηgársà**, Nd D {J} **~gársà**, Tmk {Cp.} **ηgársà** ~ **ηgársá**, Skr {Lk.} **ηgársà**, Mkl {J} **gèrsé** id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'louse', Trn. LDM 27, Trn. LM 109, Cp. 88, J LM 101 ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 134 [no. 8] (incl. K, Om), ≈ Blz. LNA no. 10 (Om, Ch, K + unc. EC ***?azgir-** 'louse').

677. ***gäRd'ä** 'encircle, surround, fence in' > IE ***ǵherdh-** ~ ***ǵhṛdh-/ǵhordh-**: **[1]** ***ǵherdh-** 'surround, encircle; a fence' > Lt **žárdiena** 'abgeschlossene Wiese um das Gerüst zum Erbsen-, Flachs- und Getreidetrocknen', **žar̃dis** {Frn.} 'Roßgarten, großer umzäunter Weideplatz', {DLKZ} 'aptverta vieta gyvuliams', **žárdas** 'cattle pen'; ? Lt **žárdas** 'grate for drying flax, peas and corn' and Ltv **zārd̃s** (pl. **zārdi**) 'Gestell, worauf Erbsen, Leinsamen usw. zum Trocknen aufgestellt werden', 'rack, **стожары, вешала**' (unless Lt **žárdas** and Ltv **zārd̃s** are loans from Sl [cp. P **žerdž**, Blr **жердзь**, R **жердь** 'pole, rod']), Pru **sardis** ([z-]) 'Zaun, umzäunter Raum' || Sl ***zordь** > R **Δ zo'pod** 'fenced place for a stack; stack' ||| Phr (Latinized) **-zordum** 'city, town' (in **Manezordum** and other names of settlements) ||| Gmc ***garda-s** (< IE ***ǵh|ǵherdh-** × IE ***ǵhordh-to-** 'encircled land' [f below **[3]**]) > Gt **gard̃s** (· **αὐλή, οἶκος, οἰκία**) 'Hof, Haus, Familie', OSx **gard** 'field' (pl. 'house'), ON **garðr** 'fence, hedge, courtyard', AS **zearð** id., 'enclosure', NE **yard**; ⇨ Gmc ***gardan** > Gt **garda** (· **αὐλή**) 'Hürde,

Viehhof' (Joh. 10.1: 'sheepfold'), OFrs *garda*, OHG *garto*, NHG *Garten*, OSx *gardo* 'garden'; Gmc \rightarrow OFr Nr *gardin* (\rightarrow NE *garden*), MFr *jardin* (\rightarrow Sp *jardín*, It *giardino*), Fr *jardin* 'garden' || Clt {Matas.} **gorto-* 'fence, inclosure, pen' > OIr *gort* 'field', W *garth* 'field, pen', OBr *-(o)tth* 'pen', MBr *garz id.*, Br {Hm.} *garzh* 'haie, clôture', Gl n. l. *Gorze*, **gortia* \rightarrow Fr Δ (Limousin) *gorsu* 'fence' || amb Ht *gurtā-* 'citadel, acropolis' (< **gh̥gʰr̥dʰo-* or **gh̥hor-to-*, see below [3]); the vw. *u* is puzzling ({Čop}: *gurtā-* < IE **gh̥rdʰo-* "mit Schwa secundum gerundeter Art") || [2] There is a variant NaIE stem **gh̥rdʰ-* / **gh̥ordʰ-* 'fence', v. 'enclose, fence' > OI *gr̥'ha-h̥* 'house', Av *gər̥dā-* 'cave of daēvas' || Lt *gār̃das* 'pen; fence, enclosure' || Sl **gorditi* 'to enclose, to fence' > OCS *градити graditi id.*, 'to build' (οἰκοδομεῖν, κτίζειν, aedificare), Blg *градя* v. 'build, erect, fence', SCr *grāditi* 'to make, to build', Slv *gradíti*, OR *goroditi*, R *горо'дить*, Uk *горо'дити* 'to enclose, to fence', P *gradzić* 'to enclose by a fence', Cz *hraditi id.*, 'to fortify', R *ого'родить* 'to fence in, to enclose'; Sl **górdъ* (gen. **gor'da*) 'wall, enclosed settlement' (\rightarrow 'town, city', 'garden') > OCS *градъ gradъ* (· πόλις, κώμη) 'civitas, urbs', (· τεῖχος) 'Stadtmauer', (· κήπος, παράδεισος) 'hortus, garden, Park' ({StSS} 'сад, парк'), Blg *град*, P † *gród*, R, Uk 'город' 'city, town', SCr, Slv *grād id.*, 'fortress', Cz *hrad*, P *gród* 'fortress, castle', Slk *hrad* 'castle', OR *городъ gorodъ* 'fence, fortress, city\town', Blg 'града, R Δ 'город' 'fence' || pAl {O} **garda* > Al T *gardh* 'wicker fence, fence' || ? Phr *-gordum* (in place names, like *Mannagordum* 'city of Manne') || [3] **gh̥gʰordʰ-to-* > NaIE **gh̥gʰor-to-* 'encircled land' (\times N **ge'ʕr̥r̥* 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place', q.v. ffd.) > Gk *χόρτος* 'enclosed place, farmyard' || L *hortus* 'garden', *cohors* / gen. *cohortis* 'an enclosure, yard (esp. for cattle, poultry)' (**kon-* + IE **gh̥r̥tis*) || Clt: Gl {Billy} **gorto-* 'enclos', **gortiā* 'haie' ({Wb.} \rightarrow Fr *gourse*, Prv Δ *gorsu* and place names), OIr *gort* · "seges" 'field', NIr *gort* 'field, corn field, garden', MW, W *garth* 'enclosure, garden', OBr {Flr.} *gortth* 'enclos' (in cds), Br *garzh* 'haie, clôture', Gl \rightarrow It Lm *gorz* 'sieve, cespuglio' ¶ *-to- in **gh̥ordʰ-to-* is a sx of pp., so that **gh̥ordʰ-to-* has the etl. meaning 'encircle+-ed' ¶ The loss of palatalization **gh̥r̥dʰ-* > **gh̥rdʰ-* may be due to the preconsonantal position (the morphophonemic sonant **r̥* has phonetic features of a cns.); the apophonic grade **gh̥ordʰ-* is an Ablaut from **gh̥r̥dʰ-* ¶¶ WP I 608-9, P

442-4, EI 199 (*^lg^hord^hos ~ *^lg^hortos 'fence, hedge; enclosure, pen, fold'), M K I 344, F II 1113-14, WH I 42-3, 660, LP § 64, SB 115, Dtn 260, Billy 84, Flr. 179, YGM-1 232, Hm. 310, Wb. fasc. IV 200-1, TF 129, Ho. S 24, Vr. 156, Fs. 197-8, Ho. 125, Ho. S 24, Kb. 319, Schz. 148, KM 233-4, O 110, Frn. 135-6, 1290-1, DLKZ 966, En. 242, Vs. II 105, ESSJ VII 35-8, Glh. 242-3, StSS 177, Ts. E I 658-60, Pv. IV 275-6, Čop IAU 15, Dv. no. 668, Matas. E 164-5 || **HS:** (mt.?) WS *^lg^hdr 'fence' > BHb גִּדְרֵי gā'dēr 'stone wall', JPA גִּדְרֵי gādē'r-ā id., Ar جَدْرٌ ḡadr- 'wall (mur, muraille); enclosure, fence', d. ḡidār- (pl. ḡudr-, ḡudur-) 'mur, muraille', ds: جَدَارٌ ḡidār- id., جَدِيرٌ ḡadīr- 'enclosed by a wall', Mn {MA} ḡdr 'wall (mur), enclosure', Mh ḡīdōr, Jb E 'ḡi'dar, Jb C 'ḡe'dar 'wall, cairn, piled stones', Hrs ḡəddōr 'cairn, wall', Tgr {d'A} ḡudur 'parois de la hutte, mur de la maison', Tgy {LH} ḡidarō 'Schuppen aus Holz und Dornen für die Tiere'; Ar جَدْرٌ ḡdr (pf. ḡadara, ip. -ḡdur-) v. 'wall, enclose (sth.) in walls', Mh ḡdr (pf. ḡəddōr, sbjn. yəḡdēr), Hrs ḡdr (pf. ḡəddōr), Jb E/C ḡdr (pf. 'ḡə'dar) 'pile up stones, build a wall'; Pun *ḡadir → B: Ah a-gādir, Gh a-dažir (mt.), Sll {Ds.} a-gādir 'mur', Tmz {MT} a-gadir 𐤀 ayadir (pl. i-gudar-ḡ) 'mur, muraille' (the borrowing is suggested by the vocalism of the B form: full vowels for the expected *ə in the inherited pB words, *see* La. MChB 3) ¶ KB 173-4, KBR 181, BK 263, MA 36, Jo. M 114, Jo. J 71, Jo. H 38, LH 600, DRS 102, Fc. 400, MT 447, NZ 734-5 || **A:** T *Kä:;rtä > Bsh kārtä 'fence, stall', VTt kirtä 'fence, cattle pen', SbTt Tō kirtä 'cattle pen', Chv карта kard_a 'fence, cattle pen, farmyard' ¶ TatR 258, Ash. VI 110-17, Fed. I 232 (unc.: Chv карта ← кар- v. 'fence' [in fact 'curtain off'] < T *ker- 'stretch'), Jeg. 91, ChVS 71, Tm. 99 ¶¶ But Sln *x3rj3 'kitchen garden' is hardly a genetic cognate (x- instead of the reg. ḡ-); it may be a loan from some T lge (< pT *Kärtä, cp. Bsh kārtä 'fence, stall', T → R Sb карта id.) or from Yk χαρῆαχ 'a fenced-in pasture' (*see* STM I 482, Pek. 3367) ◇ The cns. *ḡ^h for the expected *ḡ^h in the IE variant stem *ḡ^hrḡd^h- / *ḡ^hord^h- still requires explanation (in *ḡ^hrḡd^h-: loss of palatality in preconsonantal position?).

678. ₂ *ḡE|aRd▽ 'to plait, to tie, to gird (to wear sth. around one's waist)' > IE: NaIE *^oḡ^h|ḡherd^h- v. 'gird' > Gmc: Gt bi-gaírdan and uf-gaírdan 'umgürten', ON gyrðá, AS zyrðan, NE girth, OHG gürten 'to gird', Gt gaírda (·[ὠνη]).'Gürtel', ON gjǫrð 'belt, girdle', d.: ON gyrðill, OHG gürtil ~ gürtel, NHG Gürtel, AS zyrðel 'girdle, belt', NE girdle ¶ ≈ WP I 608-9, ≈ P 444, EI 199 (*ḡ^herd^h- 'gird'

-d> *^hg^hord^ho-s 'fence, hedge, enclosure', see N *gärd∇ 'encircle, surround, fence in'), Fs. 90, 185-6, Vr. 171, 197, Ho. 140, Ho. S 24, Kb. 418, Schz. 156, KM 277 || HS: EC: Or B {Sr.} gurdā v. 'belt; sth. worn around the waist', Or Wl {Brl.} gurdā id. ¶ Sr. 317, Brl. 190 || ? CS *✓grd > MHb {Lv.} גרד ✓grd G 'weave', גרד גרד 'gered', JA {Lv.} גרד גרד gar'dā ~ גרד גרד gir'dā 'Faser\Franse eines Gewebes', Sr {Br.} גרד גרד gar'dā 'web (tela, textura)' ¶ In these forms there is contamination with Hb, JA, Sr v. ✓grd 'scrape, comb' (BHb גרד גרד hitgā'red 'scrape oneself'); Sr גרד גרד gardāyā'yā and JA גרד גרד gar'day ~ גרד גרד gir'day 'weaver' are contaminated with (or borrowed from) Gk ὑέρδλος ~ ὑερδλόγ 'weaver' ¶ KBR 202, Br. 132, Lv. I 356-7, Sl. 299 ◇ Cf. N *keRt∇ 'to tie, (?) to plait'.

679. *guR'k'U' 'throat' > HS: C: Ag *g^ωErK^ω∇m 'gullet, throat' > Bln {R} gūrgū'mā (pl. gūrku'm) id., 'Adam's apple', Knf {TBZAC} gurgum, Aw {Hz.} gurgóm, Dmt {CR, R} g^ωergem 'neck'; Ag ⇨ Tgy {Bsn.} גרגג g^ωzrg^ωzmma 'trachea' || Bj {R} 'gūrgū'ma 'Adam's apple; gullet, throat, Rachen' || EC: Sa {R} dūrgū'mā id., Af {R} gūrdū'mē 'gullet, throat' ¶ R WB 161, R WBd 101, R S II 114, R A II 60, Hz. NSA 139-40, Blz. CWL, Bsn. 872 || B *^o✓grgf > Tmz, CM {NZ} gərgəf 'swallow a big gulp of liquid' | B _i *g∇rgv^m > Si {Bs.} ta-gorgum 'gosier' (if not a misspelling for ta-goržumt), B (× AfR reflex of the VL *gūrga [accus. *gūrgam] 'gorge' [> Fr gorge 'throat', OIt gorga 'Kehle, Schlund']) ⇨ Ar Mgr {Bss.} قرجم qržm, {Dl., Beg.} garžuma ⇨ North Berber words for 'throat, oesophagus': Tmz a-gəržum, Kb a-jəržum, ta-jəržum-t, Wrg tkuržamt, Sll ageržum, Izd agəržum, Nf taguržama, Si tagəržumt; in view of the exact corr. of B *^og∇rgv^m with Bj 'gūrgū'ma, Aw gurgóm etc. the VL word cannot be the only source of the North Berber word ¶ MT 166-7, Dl. 274, Dlh. M 63, Dlh. Ou 155, Ds. 143, La. S 244, Beg. 236, NZ 874, Dauz. 368, Kö. no. 4401 (VL *gūrga, *gūrgēs 'Strudel, Schlund, Gurgel'), ML no. 3921 || WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} gəgərák 'throat' (× N *gúr₁E or *gūr₁∇ 'throat, neck') ¶ Nt. 14 || U: FU *kur₁k₁∇ 'throat, neck' > F kurkk₁, Es kurk 'throat, gullet' | pre-Mr {Ker.} *kurga > pMr {Ker.} *kzrga ({}Ker.} *kərga) 'neck' > Er кирьга kírga, Er Kal/Trb {Ps.} korga, Mk крга kərga id. | Prm *gūr₁k 'hollow (in a tree trunk)' > Vt g+r₁k id., 'cavity', Z g+r₁ksa 'having a hollow' (of a tree trunk), g+r₁k 'cavity within a body (e.g. abdominal cavity)' (μφ: 'throat'

→ 'entrance into a cavity', like Fr *gorge* in the meaning 'entrance into a flower' or 'entrance into a hollow in timber' [in carpentry]) || ? Sm: Ne T *xopaka* 'throat; neck opening of a garment (βοροτ)', Ne T O {Lh.} *χōrak·ã* 'oberster Teil der Brust und unterster Teil des Halses; Kragen', Ne F {Lh.} *korrã·k·ã̄b̄* 'oberster Teil der Brust', Koyb {Sp.} *κυρυ* 'voice, shouting' ¶¶ IS I 235-6, ≈ Coll. 89, ≈ UEW 676, Ker. II 61, PI 130, ERV 266-7, Ps. M 86, LG 85, Ter. 771, Lh. 192-3 ¶¶ IS rejected the hyp. (shared by SK, Vr. and other scholars) about the NrGmc origin of F *kurkkū* and Es *kurk* (ON *kverk* would have yielded F **verkk*∇) ¶¶ Acc. to Jn [p.c.], the corr. between the FU and Sm vowels is irreg. || A: Tg **gôrka-kta* > Neg *gorkakta* ~ *gurkakta* 'palate', Ork *gojaqta* ~ *gojjoqta* 'uvula, root of the tongue' ¶ STM I 161 || Gil: Gil A *qorqr* / *χorqr* / *gorqr* [*gorg-r*], Gil ES *qorqr* 'throat' ¶¶ ST 145, Krn. N 476 ◇ ≈ IS I 235-6 [no. 91] ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 390 (**kur* 'throat') (U, Gil + err. IE, A).

680. *gARʔAm∇ 'scrape, pound to small pieces, grind' > IE: NaIE **gʰrem-* 'crumble, grind, zerreiben' > Gt *gramst* (· *κάρφος* [?]) '(?) Holzsplitter', NGr Sw {TF} *grummelle* 'kleiner Brocken, Brosamen, Griebe' || Lt *gré mžti* (pres. *grè mžiu*) 'to scrape, to scratch', *grá mdyti* 'to scrape', Ltv *grēmžt* 'to gnaw' || (+ext.) NaIE **gʷhrendʰ-* (< **gʷhremdʰ-*), {EI} **gʰrendʰ-* 'grind' > Gmc **ogrindan* 'to grind, to scratch, to rub' > AS *zrindan* id., NE *grind* || L *frendō* / *-ēre* vt. 'crush, bruise, grind', vi. 'gnash the teeth' || Lt *gré sti* (pres. *grè ndžiu*) 'to scrape, to scratch', int. *grandýti* ¶ WP I 655-7, P 458, EI 247, TF 142, Fs. 219-20, WH I 545-2, Frn. 167, ≈ 172, HDEL 1518, Ho. 137-8 || HS: CS **✓grm* > JA *✓grm D* 'grind bones' (× *gar'm-ā* 'bone), BHb *✓grm* 'gnaw\break bones' (× *←d* 'gερεm 'bone'), Ar *جرم* *✓ǵrm* (ip. *-ǵrim-*) 'cut, lop off (a palm tree), shear (sheep), bone (the meat)' ¶ KB 195, KBR 203, BK I 270, Hv. 86 || D (att. in McTm) **karant-* > Tm *karantū* v. 'scrape, paw (as a dog), gnaw (as a rat)', Ml *karantuka* v. 'scrape the inside of metal vessels with a grating noise' ¶ D no. 1268 ◇ D *-r- points to a N cns. cluster, possibly *-RH- (most probably *-Rh- or *-Rʔ-, because the N lrs *h and *ʔ are the only that may disappear in S).

681. *gUrاند∇ 'log, trunk of a tree' > IE: NaIE **gʰrendʰ-* 'log, beam' > L [ʏ] *grunda* {EM} 'gutter of a roof, gargoyle', L *suggrunda* ~ *sugrunda* {EM} 'projecting roof, entablature, dripstone' || ON *grind* 'grating, grated door', AS *zrindel* 'bar, bolt', OSx *grindil* id., 'plough

handle', OHG grintil 'bolt, bar, plank; Riegel, Balken, Stange', MLG grindel, grendel id., 'transom (Querholz)' || Lt grindis, griñdas, grindà 'floor board', grandà 'plank in the flooring of a bridge', Ltv grīda, grīds 'floor', grōdi pl. 'planks, beams (of a bridge, below the floor etc.)', akas grodi 'framework of a well, well curb', Pru grandico · "Bohle" 'plank' | Sl *grē'da (accus. *grēdō) 'log, beam' > Blg гpe'да, SCr, Slv gréda, OCz hřada, Slk hrada id., RCS ГРАДА gređa [grʲa'da] 'beams, the top of a building', R Δ 'Гряда ~ гряда 'crosbeam, shelf', P grzędą 'roost (for hens)', Cz hřada id., 'roof beam, rafter'; Sl *grēdъ > RCS ГРАДЪ grēdъ [grʲad], Slv grēd (gen. grēdī) 'perch, beam, shaft'; it is not clear if P grzędą, RCS ГРАДА, Uk 'Гряда 'oblong height, ridge, bed in garden' and R 'Грядка 'bed in garden' belong here ¶ P 459-60, WH I 623-4, EM 283-4, Vr. 189, Kb. 409, Schz. 154, OsS 352, Ho. 138, Ho. S 29, Frn. 170-1, Turk. 181, En. 180, ESSJ VII 120-2, Glh. 246, Kmc 572 || D *kuṛaṇṭ- ({{ṬGS}} *k-) 'log, tree trunk' > Ml kuṛaṇṭu 'log', kuṛaṇṭi 'board used as seat; stump', kuṛaṭu 'piece of wood', Tm kuṛaṭu 'small block or chump of wood, plank', Td kuḍ 'large stick, club', Kt kuḍ id., 'bar of door, log', Kn, Tl koṛaḍu 'trunk of a lopped tree, stump', koḍaṇṭi 'log', Kdg kuṭṭi 'small piece of wood', Tu kuḍaṇṭi, koḍaṇṭi 'small log', koṛaḍ 'log, stump'; cp. N *kuyR∇ 'wood (Holz), log' ¶¶ D no. 1842 || HS: SS *gund- 'trunk of a tree' > Gz gʷand, gund 'log, trunk, stem of a tree', Tgy gʷandi 'trunk', Tgr gāday, Amh gānd id., Mh gāndēt (pl. gānēd), Jb E gāndēt, Jb C gān'det (pl. gā'nudtə) id.; EthS ⇨ Sa {R} 'gūnde, Af {R} 'gūndi (pl. Sa, Af 'gūned) 'Holzstrunk, Strunk eines Baumes', Brj {Hd.} gundā 'trunk' ¶ L G 197, Jo. M 122, Jo. J 77, R S II 157, R A II 59, Hd. 195, ≠ Ss. B 86 (EC *gund-), DRS 153 || EC *ginde 'tree stump, (lower) trunk of a tree' > Ged {Hd.} ginde, Kmb {Hd.} gidēla id., Rn gindó 'base, lower trunk of a tree', Arr gín 'base, bottom, bole', gína ḵoret 'trunk of a tree'; ?σ: Sd {Hd.} ginde 'heel' and Arr ginnbá id. ¶ Hd. 93, 242, 318, 366, PG 125, Hw. A 361 ¶¶ In S and EC *-nd- < **-rnd- (due to S and C morphophonemic laws) || U: FU *kanta 'stump, tree trunk' (→ 'basis; Stand, Ständer, Halter') (× N *kañ|ń∇ (ṭ∇) 'stalk, trunk of a tree' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The loss of *r before the cns. cluster in FU, S and EC (FU *-nt-, S and EC *-nd-) is due to S, C and U morphophonemic laws.

682. (₂?) *gER5∇ (probably *gāR's|š'∇, if this is the main source of FU *°kärs|š'∇) 'congeal, grow numb, stiffen' > HS: B *✓grs v. 'freeze' >

Kb əjrās id., ajris 'froid glacial; glace, gelée', Ah tağrāst, ETwl tagrāst, Ty tagarāst, Tnsl tažrāst, Awj tegerišť 'winter', Rf B afris 'gelée', Shl {NZ} agris ~ ag^wrs 'givre, gelée blanche', CM ✓ grs 'geler, être gelé', Gd εgrās 'be very cold' (of weather), Zng {TC} atgārs° 'saison froide' ¶ Dl. 276, Fc. 487, GhA 59, Rn. 353, Lf. II no. 0462, NZ 887-9, TC D 11 || IE: NaIE *g^hers- v. 'stiffen', {EI} 'stiffen' (of hair), 'bristle' > OI {MW} 'harṣatē', hrṣyatī v. 'become erect\stiff\rigid, bristle' (hair of the body), 'become on edge' (teeth), Av zaršayamna- 'feathers upright', Psh ziž 'rough, stiff', KhS {Bai.} ʔsīra- 'rough' || Gk χέρρος, Gk A χέρρος 'dry land, Festland' || L horreo, -ēre v. 'be rough, bristle' || AS gorsť 'gorse, Steckginster', NE gorse ¶ P 445-6, EI 547, MW 1303, M K III 583-4, M E II 807-8, Bai. 352, F II 1089-90, WH I 659 || ? U: FU (att. in ObU) *kārs|š ▽- (× N *KāR₁ʔ₁ūs|š ▽ 'to congeal') > ObU {JHl.} *kāraθ- / *kēraθ- 'grow numb (with cold etc.)' > pVg *kārt- 'grow numb (erstarren)' > Vg: T kārtawy-, LK kōrt-, MK kōrt-, NV kārt- / kart-, P/SV/LL/UL/Ss kārt- id.; pOs *kēraθ- ({JHl.} *kīraθ-) 'become numb with cold \ from illness etc. (steif werden, erstarren)' > Os: K kārāt-, Kr kērt-, Nz qārāt-, Kz qarθa-, O qārļa- ¶ Ht. no. 320, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 679, BV 34.

683. *gaRž ▽ '≈ to stretch, to drag' > HS: S ✓ grš (~ ✓ grš) v. 'drag, drive out' > BHb ✓ grš G ✓ grš v. 'drive out', 'cast out (a wife)', ✓ grš D 'drive out (vertreiben)', M'b grš 'drive away', SmA ✓ grš D 'expel', ? OAk ✓ grś G, Ak ✓ grš G 'come\go to so.:'; *°✓ grš > Mh ✓ grš G 'drag, pull out, push', Jb ✓ grš G 'drag into' ¶ KB 196, KBR 204, HJ 236, Br. 135, Tal 160, Sd. 272, CAD V 49, Jo. M 125, Jo. J 79 || K *grž- v. 'stretch' ('натягивать, вытягивать'), be long' > OG, G grž- v. 'prolong, continue', Mg ginž-or- v. 'stretch, pull out', Sv {TK}: L gž-ən- (msd. li-gžən-e), UB/Ln gž-ən- (msd. li-gžən-e) v. 'stretch'; ⇨ GZ *grže-l- 'long' > OG gržel-, G g(r)žel-, Mg gžrža-/e- ~ girže- ~ gžnza-/e-, Lz ginže-, gunže- id. ¶¶ K 65, K DE 361, K² 33, FS K 86-7, TK 428 || IE *g^herHx- / *g^hreHx- / *g^hroHx- / *g^hrHx- v. 'be salient, be prominent (hervorstechen)', v. 'grow' (of plants) > Gk χοιράς (gen. χοιράδος) {F} 'Meerklippe', {P} 'emporstehend, hervorragend; hervorragende Klippe im Meer' (< *g^horyo-), Gk [Λ] χάρμη ([?] = ἐπιδορατύς) 'point of a lance, spearhead', Gk [Hs.] χαρῖα (= βουβός) 'hill, mound' || ? Sl *grotь 'sharp point' > P grot 'head of a spear, dart, javelin', Cz hrōť 'sharp point, spitzen Ende, острие', R † грот 'spear, dart' || Gmc: Nr Δ gare 'point

(Spitze)', *g^hrē-ti- > MHG grāt (pl. græte) 'sharp fish bone (Fischgräte), awn, peak (of a mountain), mountain ridge', NHG Grāt 'edge, ridge', Gräte 'fish bone' etc. (× NaIE *g^her-, *g^herə-/ *g^hrē- 'sharp point' < N *gārHä 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 440, F II 1075 (no et. of the Gk words), Hofm. 420, LS 1978, 1980, 1996, F s.v. χολράς, ESSJ VII 140 ◇ The correspondence between IE *H, S *š and a K vd. sibilant suggests a N sibilant *ž, but the affricate *ʒ for the expected *z in K is still without clear explanation (the variation *ʒ ~ *z is a rather usual phenomenon in K). The appearance of a lateral *š in SES is puzzling, too.

684. *g^oRžæ 'to feel' > K: OG, G grʒn- v. 'feel, perceive; understand' ¶ Ser. 41, Chx. 207-8, DCh. 331 || IE: [1] NaIE *g^hreH- (< IE *g^hreH-?) vt. 'smell, scent out, feel' (× N *gōRHæ 'to track [game], to smell, to hear; ear' [q.v.]) > OI jighrāti, 'ghrāti 'smells (sth.)' (pp. ghrātā-), ghrānam, grānā n. 'smell, nose' || Gk ὄσ-φραίνωμαι 'catch scent of, smell, track' (< *odes g^her-) (Gk aor. ὠσφρόμην) || [2] ? NaIE (in Blt only) *g^og^herd^h- > Lt girdéti (3s pres. girdi, 1s pres. girdžiù), Ltv dzirdēt 'to hear' ¶ WP I 697, Frn. 153, ≠ P 478, P 495-6, ME I 552, M K I 433, F II 438-9 || HS: B *√grz > Tmz {MT} t-graz 'se repentir, regretter' (used in 3f only in an impers. construction with the [pro]noun of the person as an indirect object: targaz iyī 'I am sorry, I regret' [literally '{it} sorries to me']), Sll {Ds.} at-g^oaz 'se repentir', Ah {Fc., Crt.} mu-ǵrāz 'se repentir de, regretter', ETwl, Ty m^h-gr^hz (rf.) 'regretter (vivement), se repentir de', a-m^h-gr^hz 'regret, repentir', Zng {MH → Nic.} 3m aor. i^hammugraz 'repent' ¶ ≡: Sp lo siento mucho 'I am very sorry about it' ← 'I feel it much' ¶ MT 469-70, Ds. 247, Fc. 1173, Crt. 407, 413, GhA 60, Nic. 315, NZ 899, 901-2 ◇ The K affricate *ʒ|ž and the IE cns. *-d^h- (in Blt) point to a N affricate *ž. In IE *g^hreH- the lr. seems to suggest N *z, but this apparent ev. is not decisive because IE *g^hreH- goes back to a merger of the N etymon in question with N *gōRHæ.

684a. (on.?) *gARṽ (ʀṽ) 'to thunder' > IE: NaIE *g^hrem- v. 'thunder, roar, rage', *g^hromo-s ({EI} *g^hromo-s) 'thunder, loud and low sound' > Av gram 'be angry/furious, be angry at so.', NPrs غرم ṽār(ä)m 'anger' || Gk χρόμη, χρόμος 'crashing sound', [Hs.] 'neighing of horses', Gk χρεμετίζω, [Hs.] χρεμίζω 'neigh, whinny' || ON gramr, AS ʒram 'angry', OHG gram 'furious, gloomy', OSx gram 'hostile

(feindselig)', *grīman* 'to rage, to roar (with anger)', MHG *grīmen* 'to rage with distress or pain (vor Zorn oder Schmerz wüten)', AS *ꝥruméttan* 'to roar, to grunt; to rage' || Lt *grumėti* 'to thunder', Pru *grumins* ('dunreyn') 'drizzling rain' ({Bzb.}: ← 'a distant thunder?'), ? *grīmikan* 'song' | SI **gr̥mǣti* 'to thunder' > OCS **ГРЪМѢТИ** *gr̥mǣti*, SCr **гр̑мети** & *gȓmjeti*, *gȓmljeti*, *gȓmiti*, Slv *grmėti*, Slk *hrmiet'*, Pol *grzmieć*, OR, RCS **ГРЪМѢТИ** *gr̥mǣti*, **ГРЕМѢТИ** *gremǣti* 'to thunder', Cz *hřměti*, *hřmíti*, R *гре'меть*, Uk *гре'мити* id., 'to produce a crashing sound', Blg *гър'мя* v. 'thunder'; SI **gr̥om̥* 'thunder' > OCS, OR **ГРОМЪ** *gromъ*, Blg, R *гром*, SCr *gȓom̄*, *gȓom̄*, Slv *gȓom̄*, Cz, Slk *hrom*, P *grom*, Uk *грім* id. ¶ P 458-9, Mn. 337-8, 340-1, EI 582, Brtl. 529, Vl. II 605, Sg. 885, F II 1116-17, Vr. 184, Ho. 136, 139, Ho. S 28-9, Kb. 405, Schz. 154, OsS 347, Lx. 76, Frn. 163, En. 181, ESSJ VII 138, 163-4, StSS 179, Glh. 249 ¶ Some of the words apparently belonging to this IE √ (such as MHG, MLG *grummen* 'brummen, murren') may be independent onomatopoeic innovations || K **gr̥gwin-* v. 'thunder' > G *gr̥gvin-*, Mg *gurgin-*, g*virgvin-*, Lz *girgin-*, Sv *gurgwn-* id.; K **gurgwal-* id. > G *gurgwal-*, Lz *gurgul-* id., Sv *gərgal-* 'produce a crashing sound' ¶¶ K 64, 66, K² 32; FS K 89-80 and FS E 94 (K **gurgw-*) || HS: Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} *g̃ə̃r̃z̃ən* 'thunder, lightning' || CCh: ? Bdm {Nc.} *ǰirgāgālo* 'thunder' ¶ Sch. DN 60, ChC s.v. 'thunder(storm)' || D **kaṛa^rL¹*- ({ǰGS} **k-*) v. 'thunder' > Tm *kaṛaṛu* id., Klm *karadil* v. 'strike with lightning' (for 'it lightens' they say 'the sky [abar] strikes with lightning'), Nk *kaṛalil* v. 'lighten' (*īǰ kaṛalil* 'the lightning [*īǰ*] lightens') ¶¶ D no. 1354.

685. *gæra - *gærya or ***gE^rara - *gE^rarya** 'to step, to walk' > A **g^ræ¹, ar[∇]*- 'walk, step' > T **k^rær-* (or **k₋ær-*) v.. 'walk about' > OT *käz-* id., 'travel, traverse', XwT XIII-XIV *kez-* 'walk about\through', Chg \geq XV *kez-* 'ramble, travel', MQp XIII, Cmn XIV *kez-* 'traverse', Kr Cr *gez-* 'go for a walk (spazieren gehen)', Az *gäz-*, ET *käz-* ~ *gäz-* id., 'walk', Tk *gez-*, Tkm *geḍ-*, Qmq *gez-* id., 'travel', Nog, Qrg *kez-*, Tf *kes¹*- 'walk about', Uz *kez-*, ET *kez-* ~ *käz-*, Ggz *gez-* id., 'walk', Qq *gez-* id., 'travel', VTt *giz-*, Bsh *giḍ-* 'travel', Tv *kez-* 'make the round of snares and traps (to check them)' ¶ Cl. 756, Rs. W 260, ET VGD 10-11, DTS 305, KumRS 94, TatR 115, BR 149, Ra. 203 || M **gara-* 'go\come out, climb, pass over\across' > MM *gar-* ([ChSc] *ḡar-*, [ArSc] *غار-* *ḡar-*) 'go\come out',

WrM *gar-* {MED} id., 'emerge, climb, ascend, pass over/across, through', HIM *гара-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'go\come out, go away, appear', Brt *гара-* id., 'go out', Kl {KRS} *һар-* *ʋar-* id., {Rm.} *ʋar-* 'hervortreten, herauskommen, empowachsen, bergauf gehen, sich zeigen', ShY *gar-* 'go\come out', Mnr H {SM} *g_ari-* 'sortir, germer, naître, se produire, monter, apparaître', Ord *g_ar-* 'sortir, disparaître; apparaître; se produire; monter' ¶ H 61, MED 350, BMR I 387-9, Chr. 148, KRS 159-60, KW 145, SM 120-1, Ms. H 88, Ms. O 293-4, Pp. MA 176-7 || Tg **g_iari-* ~ **g_ira-* v. 'step (schreiten), go for a walk' > Ewk *gira-hta-* v. 'step (schreiten), Lm *g_iraŋ-*, *g_iraq̣-* id., 'walk', Neg *g_iyān-* 'шагнуть', Ul, Ork, Nn *g_iran-*, Orc *gia-*, Ud *geāna-*, *geä-li-*, Ul *g_eri-*, Nn Nh *g_iari-*, Orc *gä:ri-*, Ud *geä-li-* 'go for a walk' (гулять), WrMc {Z} *гяри-* 'обходить, объезжать' ¶ STM I 142, 147, 154-5, On. 103, Z 373-4, S AJ 224 [no. 285] || J **kàtí* n. act. 'walking' > OJ *kati*, MJ [RJ] *kàtí*, J T *káćí*, J K *káćí*, J Kg *kaćí* id. ¶ S AJ 272 [no. 199], S QJ no. 199, Mr. 444, Kenk. 747 ¶¶ SDM 550-1 (pA **g_ǎrá* v. 'walk, step' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 518, S AJ 74, 289 [no. 321], SDM97 s.v. **g_ǎra*, ET VGD 11, ADb. SR 13, Mill. JAL 125-6 || **HS:** WS **√gry* > Sr *√gry|w G* (pf. *gə'rā*) 'run\trickle down, be dragged\carried away', Ar *جری* *√ǧry* (ip. *-ǧriy-*) *G* 'run, flow', Mh *√gry* (sbjn. *y3-grā*, condit. *y3-'gr3y-3n*) v. 'precede', 'pass' (of time), Hrs {Jo.} *√grw|y G* (pf. *g3rō*, sbjn. *y3grī*) 'run' (blood, water), 'flow', Jb C *√gry* (pf. *'ge're*, sbjn. *'yeg3r*) 'follow, go after' ¶ JPS 77, BK I 284-5, Ln. 415-16, Jo. M 125, Jo. J 79, Jo. H 41, DRS 186 || ?ϕ B *-*gūr-* (< *-*guyr-* or *-*guHr-*?) v. 'go, walk' > Rf Wr/B/A *u-ʋur* (habit. *əggur*), Izn *uyur* (habit. *əggur*) id., Mz *-žur* (inv. *ižur*, pf. *yi-žur*) 'marcher, couler', CM {NZ} *ggur-* (aor. int.) 'go, go away, walk', Shw *ugir* ~ *ug^wir* ~ *uyir*, Nf *ugur* 'go, walk' ¶ Rn. 352, Dlh. M 70, NZ 854-5 || C: Bj {R} *gerwel-scw*. 'schnell gehen' ¶ R WBd 102 || **IE:** NaIE (+ext.) **ghredh-* v. 'step, walk', {EI} 'step, go' > Av {P ← SLv.} *aiwi-gərəθ-* 'begin' || L *gradior* 'I step', *gradus* 'step' || Gt **grips* (attested: the accus. *grid*) (· *βαδμός*) 'Schritt', MHG [ʋ] *griet*, *grit*, *griit* 'step', NGr B *gritt* id. || (*-n-present): Clt {Matas.} **grind-o-* 'follow, drive' > OIr *do-greinn* id., {P} OIr *in-/ad-grenn-*, *to-grenn-* 'pursue' (-*enn-* < *-*ṅdh-n-*), ?σ MW *grynnyaω* 'push. press, thrust' || Lt *gridyti* 'to walk, to roam' || (*-n-present) Sl **gręd-* (inf. **gręsti*, pres. **gręd-*) > OCS inf. **ГРѦСТН** *gręsti* / 1s pres. **ГРѦДѦ** *grędę* 'go, come', Blg Δ **Гредам**, Blg SW **ГрендѦм** id., SCr inf. *gręsti* / 1s pres. *grędēm* 'go, walk', Uk inf.

гря'сти / 1s pres. гря'ду 'run\drive (fahren) quickly and noisily', R Δ гредут 'they go' ¶ WP I 651-2, P 456-7, EI 546, WH I 615-16, Fs. 222, LP § 566, Thr. §§ 842, 857, Frn. 170, Bern. I 349, ESSJ VII 123-4, StSS 180, BER I 277-8, Glh. 246, Matas. E 168 ¶ IE *g^h- was not palatalized (reg. in preconson. position) ◇ Tg *gⁱarⁱ- suggests pN *gæʔa^{ra} or *gæʔa^{Rya} ◇ O HSN 120-1 (N *giʔa^{ra} 'ходить' > A, HS).

686. *go^ræ 'hot; to heat; embers' > IE: NaIE *g^wher- 'burn, heat' > [1] v.: OI ghr^o'n^a-h² 'ardour, heat', Λ, Γ ghr^o'n^oti 'shines, burns' ||| Clt {Matas.} v. 'warm up, heat' > OIr {P} fo-geir v. 'heats', guirid 'warms', OIr {P} gorim 'I heat, I warm', MⁱIr {Matas.} geirid, -geir 'warm up, heat', NⁱIr {P} goraim id., 'I hatch', NⁱIr {P} gor 'heat', Br {Hm.} gor 'chaleur', 'chaux', W {P} gori 'to hatch'; Brtt {RE} d. *guressākos 'warm, hot' ({P} < *g^whre-ns-0-) > W gwresog, Cm gwresak, B gwrezek id. ||| Sl *gorěti (3s pres. *gori-ťb) vi. 'to burn' > OCS горѣти gorěti (3s pres. горитъ goritъ), SCr гòрети & gòrjeti, Slv goréti, Cz hořeti, Slk horiet', P gorzeć, goreć, R го'реть, Uk го'рїти vi. 'to burn', Blg го'ря vi. 'burn' ||| [2] NaIE *g^whoros ntr. 'heat, embers' > OI ḡ 'haras- 'flame, heat' (one of the possible semantic interpretations) ||| Gk θερος 'summer', θερομαι 'become hot\warm' ||| pAl {O} *žera > Al zjarr {AlbED} 'heat', {BFU} 'fire' ||| Arm զեր ջեր 'heat, warmth; fine weather' ||| Lt gāras 'steam, vapor, carbon monoxide in the air', Ltv gars 'steam' | NaIE *og^whēro- > pSl *žarъ > SCr, Slv žār, P źar, R, Uk жар 'heat, embers', Cz žár 'heat' ||| [3] NaIE *g^whrē- vt. 'warm, heat' > Sl *grē-ti (pres. *grē-j-ŋ) ~ μ *grēja-ti (< pres. *grej-) 'to warm, to heat' > OCS грѣяти grějati (pres. грѣѣ grějŋ) ('θερμαίνειν, calefacere') id., RChS, OR грѣти grěti id., OCS грѣти сѧ grěti сѧ 'to warm oneself', R греть (pres. грею), Uk грїти, SCr grějati ~ grījati & Δ grèti, Slv gréti, Cz hřáti, Slk hriat', P grzać (pres. grzeje) 'to warm, to heat', Blg грея v. 'warm' | Ltv grēmens & Δ grēmeles & Δ grēmes 'heartburn' ||| pAl {O} *en-grāya > Al ngroh- ~ ngrof- vt. 'warm' ||| [4] NaIE (+ext.) *g^whermo-, *g^whormo- 'warm, warmth', {EI} *g^wher'mo-s 'warm' > OI ghar'ma-h² 'glow, heat', Av gar^əma- adj. 'hot', n. 'heat', KhS grāma- 'hot' ||| Gk θερμός 'hot, warm' ||| L Γ formus, L formidus id. ||| Gmc *warmā- (< IE *wer- < N *wAr'E' 'to burn, to heat', q.v. ffd.) > ON varmr, AS wearm, OHG, NHG warm adj. 'warm', NE warm adj., Gt warmjan (· θάλπειν) 'wärmen' ||| Thr {EI} ger mo- 'warm' ||| Arm զերս ջերմ

'warm' || pAl {O} *žerma > Al G/T zjarm n. 'fire' || Ltv gar̂me 'warmth', Pru gorme id. || [5] another NaIE d.: *g^ωhor-no-s 'oven, heating fire' > L fornus ~ furnus 'oven' || OIr gorn 'fire' || pSl *gьrnъ ~ *gьrno > SCr gr̂no 'burning coal for heating iron in a smithy', Slk gr̂no, OR ГЪРНЪ гьrnъ, R, Uk ГОРН 'forging furnace' ¶ P 493-5, EI 88, 263, M K I 357-8, 360 and III 579, M E I 513, 515-16 and II 804, Bai. 92, F I 664-6, WH I 532-4, Fs. 552, Thr. § 184, YGM-1 245, LP § 38, Hm. 323, Dnn. 378, RE 143, Vr. 646, Kb. 1147, Ho. 387, Hamp AIEW 146, BFU 642, O 296, 524-5, AlbED 966-7, Slt. 73, Frn. 134-5, En. 179, ME I 652, ESSJ VII 42-3, 116-17 and 210-11, StSS 145, 180, Vs. I 441, 456 and II 35, Glh. 239, 248, Chr̂n. I 291-2, Matas. E 146, Hm. 323 || HS: S: Ar جَرَّةٌ ġarr-at- 'pain cuit dans les cendres'; (× N *g^re¹lyr̂â [or *g^re¹ir̂â] 'fire, hearth'): Ar جَايِرٌ ġāyir 'feu; grande chaleur dans le corps, causée par la soif\fièvre\colère' ¶ BK I 272, 361 || C: Bj {R} ✓ g^ωr v. 'cook, fry' (1s: p. a'gūr, pres. an'g^ωīr; vb. n. 'g^ωārī-) ¶ R WBd 99 || Ch: WCh: Hs ġūrā v. 'cause fire to blaze up' | AG: Ang {Flk.} kūr 'charcoal', Su {J} kūr 'ashes' | BT: Tng kuro 'charcoal' | Tmbs {J} kuru id. || CCh: Dgh {Frk} g^wv^ré (sc. g^wv^ré?), {ChL} ùvùre, Glv {Rp.} yúvra, Gv {ChC} yùvùrà id. | Lgn {Lk.} gurwake 'embers' || ECh: Ke kóráy 'ashes', ? Bar ġarūi 'firewood' ¶ Stl. VZCh no. 72, Ba. 411, J T 106, J S s.v. kūr, ChC s.v. 'charcoal' and 'ashes', ChL, Eb. 73 || A: T: [1] T *k^oīr or (in view of MOg) *k^oīr 'embers, live coal' (× N *kūr^r∇ 'to shine; flame' → 'to produce heat') > OT {Cl.} kōz, MQp, XwT, Chg, OOSm kōz, MOg gōz, Tk kōz, Tkm κεζ kōδ, Az kōz, Bsh Δ kūδ, Ln, Xk, Tv kōs 'embers, live coal', Tf kōs 'live coal', Ch кавар к̂var, Δ к̂var id., 'burning embers'; [2] T *Kōi:īr 'live coal' > Bsh κυζ quδ, Qq qoz id., StAlt qos id., embers' ¶ Cl. 756-7, ET KQ 85-6. ET Q 74-5, TL 365-6, TkR 411, ARL 173, RI. II 1300, Grøn. 155, Ra. 204, ≈ DTS 321 (OT kōze- 'stir'), ≈ Md. 48, 170 (*k^oīr with unjustified *k^o), ChVS 77, Jeg. 97, Fed. I 247 ¶ The paronymous T word *Kōr 'embers' belongs to N *k^oarH₂U¹ 'to burn (sth.), to heat' ¶ ≈ SDM 857 (pA *k^oūr^k∇ 'glowing coals' > T *k^oīr + [not belonging here] Tg *χurk- 'soot, sulphur'), ≈ DQA no. 1161 (id.) ◇ ≈ IS MS 337 (s.v. *g^or̂n 'гореть'), ≈ IS I 239 [no. 95] (*g^oUR̂n 'burning coal').

687. *gur^r∇ (d∇) (or *gur∇y∇ (d∇)-) 'hip, side' ([in some descendant lges] → 'back side') > K: GZ *gwerd- 'side, flank' > OG gwerd-i id., 'rib', G gverd-i 'side, flank', i-gurd-i v 'near, side by side',

Mg gverd-i, gwerd-i, Lz gver(d)- 'half' ¶ K² 29, Ser. 42, DCh. 312, Q 216
 || HS: B: Sll {Ds.} agərru (pl. igurra), Shl {NZ} agrru 'hip (hanche)' ¶ Ds.
 150, NZ 848 || WS *✓grd > Ar جرد ġarad- 'back (dos)' (← *'back
 side' ← *'side'), Tgr žėrid '(muscles of the) neck', Grg Sl ġərđid 'nape of
 neck' ¶ Fr. I 264, BK I 276, LH 550, L EDG III 291, MiK I no. 1.92 || Eg fOK
 {EG} žrww 'Rippengegend des Körpers, Seite', {DW} žrww(ww)
 'Seitenfläche; hintere Rippengegend; Seiten-fläche der Nase', {Fk.}
 žrww 'side, flank (of a body)', 'wall (?)' ¶ EG V 602, DW 1909-10, Fk.
 324 || Ch: CCh: ZmD {J, ChC} ġuráy, {KNC} ġuráy 'thigh', ?? Mln {ChL}
 ġirgátigí id. (unless derived from or compound with CCh *ġir∇ 'bone')
 || WCh: Cg {Sk.} ġárábùn 'rib' ¶ ChC s.v. 'rib' and 'thigh', ChL, KNC 9 || A:
 T *Ku₁:j' > NaT **Kuz > OT {Cl.} quz 'the northern (shady) side of a
 mountain', Tk kuz, Δkoz ɘ guz 'shady side'; NaT *Kuzaj|ð' > Az гүзей
 guzey ~ гүзей ġüzey 'the northern (shady) side of a mountain', Tkm
 guḃay 'shady side (of a mountain, of a house etc.)', Tk kuzey 'north';
 d.: Tb {Rl.} qusqay 'northern' ¶ Cl. 680, ET Q 106-7, Rl. II 1015, ARL 86,
 89, Tkr 207 || D {tr.} *ku₂∇₁η₁k°, {GS} *kuḃuḃ 'thigh, loins' (× N *kûr'U'
 'foot, hoof', q.v.) > Tm kurakū, Kt korg, Tl kuruvu, Klm kudug, Prj
 kudu ɘ kuḃu, Gdb kuyug, Gnd kuruku ɘ kurki ɘ koχki, Knd kurgu, Mlt
 qosge, Kui kužū 'thigh', Ku kudugu id. ɘ kūdgū id., 'lap', Ml kuraku,
 kuravuvu 'thigh, loins, quarter of animals', Krx kosgā 'leg, thigh' ¶¶ D
 no. 1840, Zv. 51, 95, 139, GS 151 [no. 382], 55 [no. 152] || ? Gil: Gil A
 kədr / ʔədr / ġədr [ġədr] 'back (dos)' ¶¶ ST 125 ◊ D *-r- (rather than
 the expected *-r̥- < N *r') may be due to the merger with N *kûr'U'.
 Alternatively, T *-r- may go back to **-ry- < N *-r∇y-.

688. *g'e¹ly₁râ (or *g'e¹ʔirâ) 'fire, hearth' > HS: S *g'i¹rr-, *✓grr ~
 *✓gyr > Ak fOB ġirru 'fire', Amh ✓grr (pf. ġerrərər) {L} 'be scorching'
 (sun), {DRS} 'étinceler, être brûlant' (feu); Ar جائر ġāyir 'feu, grand
 chaleur dans le corps (causée par la soif\faim\colère)' (× N *goræ 'hot;
 to heat; embers') ¶ CAD III 93-4, L CAD 207, BK I 361, DRS 192 || Eg G
 žr ≈ fire' ¶ EG V 595 || C: EC *ġīr-a 'fire' > Sa, Af ġira id., HEC *ġīra
 id. > Sd, Hd, Ged, Kmb ġīr-a 'fire', Brj žīr-a 'flame', Sd, Hd ġīr- vt.
 'burn' || SC: Brn {E} ġiʔru, Alg {E} ġiʔri 'embers', ?? Irq ġilʔi {E} id.,
 {MQK} id., 'red-hot charcoal' ¶ Ss. B 110, Hd. 64, 279, 366, E SC 238,
 MQK 39 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 210 || U: FP *ker∇- {UEW} 'offener Steinofen' > Es
 keris (gen. kerise, kerikse), Δkiris (gen. kirise) {W} 'upper
 part of a stove (in peasants' houses), lighthouse', {Slv.} keris

'vaporizing furnace (with big heated stones)' | Prm {LG} *gǫr ({{LG} *gǫr) 'stove' > Vt гур gur, Vt B/SW gur, Prmk, Yz gur 'stove', Z gōr / gory-, Z US gǫr 'stove in a sauna\barn' ¶ UEW 660, LG 78, W EDW 265, Slv. 110 || А *gÉrE- > Т *Kír- 'get\be hot' > МТ XIV [IM] qiz- 'be warm', MQp XIV, Chg ≥XV, OOSm qiz- 'be hot', Cmn qiz- 'glow with heat', Tk kiz-, Qmq qiz-, VTt кыз- қыз-, Bsh қъδ-, Tv qis- 'get very hot', Chv хёр- хыр- id., 'калиться, накалиться; закаливаться', Tkm gıδ-, Nog qiz- id., 'get warm', Az gız-, Qzq qiz- 'get warm', Ggz kiz-, Qq qiz- 'get very hot, flame up'; NaT *Kızı- > Qrg qizi-, Uz, ET qizi- 'get very hot', StAlt qizi- id., 'catch fire'; it is possible (but not certain) that one may adduce the pT verb *Kír- 'get red' (× N *gæhR∇ or *gæRhæ 'sunshine, day, light (Licht)') (> OT qiz- 'get ruddy' [of complexion], Tv qis- 'get red') and its d. *Kírıl 'red' (> OT qizıl, Chv хырл, Tk kizıl, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qzq, Qrd, StAlt qizıl, Tkm gıδıl, Uz, ET qizıl, Yk qihıl 'red') ¶ ≈ Cl. 681 (unc.: qiz 'be hot' ← qiz- 'be red') and 683-4, ET Q 187-9, 194-7, Md. 70, 168, TkR 228, Ash. XVII 27-8, Fed. II 343, Jeg. 298, ChVS 249, Ra. 223-4, Rl. II 875, PC 447 || ?σ М *geren 'light (lux), brightness' (× N *gæhR∇ or *gæRhæ 'sunshine, day, light [Licht]', q.v.) > MM [IM] gere 'light', [S] gere 'brightness (Glanz)', WrM gere {MED} 'light, lustre, brightness; dawn; torch', HIM гэрэз {MED} id., {BMR} 'torch (лучина, факел), light before dawn, Morgenrot; Beleuchtung', Brt W гэрэ 'torch (лучина)', Kl {Rm.} герэ 'Fackel, Licht (für nächtliche Wanderungen)', Ord g_ere 'lumière', Mnr H {SM} g_зrîē 'lumière, clarté, éclat, rayon', {T} gere 'brightness, lustre (сияние, блеск)', Dx gîeren 'light, ray'; ↪ М *gerel 'light, brightness, beam of light' > MM [HI] gerel 'light', [S] gerel 'Glanz', WrM gerel {MED} 'light, beam of light', HIM {MED, BMR} гэрэл id., Kl {KRS} герл gerel 'light, ray, brightness', {Rm.} герл 'Licht, Glanz', Ord g_erel 'clarté, lumière' ¶ Pp. MA 437, H 49, KW 134, MED 378-9, BMR I 484, Chr. 1733, KW 134, KRS 139, SM 134, T 322, T DnJ 114, Ms. H 56, Ms. O 260 ◇ ≈ IS MS 337 (s.v. *g'or̄n 'гореть', vi. 'burn'), ≈ IS I 239 [no. 95] (N *gUR̄n 'burning coal') ◇ The SC cognates (Brn gı?ru, Alg gı?ri) and the long i in EC suggest the presence of a lr. (*? = *?|h) in the N etymon (unless both SC *? and the EC vw. length are of prosodic origin) ◇ If the N etymon is *geyrâ, the N vw. *-e- was narrowed to a pre-T *-i- (> Т *-i- due to vw. harmony) under the infl. of the adjacent *y or *?i.

688a. *gūr̥E or *gūr̥∇ 'throat, neck' > HS: EC {Ss.} *gawraɪ- 'cut the throat' (× EC *✓grɪ 'cut' < N *gīR̥∇ 'to cut', q.v.) > Sml gowraɪ-, Rn gōrraħa 'slaughter an animal by cutting its throat', Bn kūr̥aʔ-, Sd gorʔ-, Kmb gor-, Or gorraʔ- 'slaughter an animal'; Or ⇨ Brij gorraʔ- v. 'slaughter' ¶ Ss. B 84, Abr. S 96, ZMO 166, Grg. 182, PG 127 || WS *gurɪ- 'throat, gulp (gorgée)' > Gz g^warɪē 'throat, neck, palate', Tgr 𐌒𐌗𐌕𐌔 gɜrɜɪ 'throat', Ar جُرْعَة ġurɪ-at- ~ جُرْعَة ġarɪ-at- 'gulp (gorgée, ce qu'on boit et avale d'un coup)', ✓ ġrɪ (pf. جَرَعَ ġaraɪa) 'swallow at one gulp' ¶ L G 200-1, BK I 280, Hv. 8, ≈ DRS 175-6 || Ch (× N *geR̥∇ 'throat?'): WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} gàgárák 'throat' (× N *guR̥'k'U' 'throat?') || BT: Krkr {Kœ.} gurgosli 'throat' || P' {MSk.} ġùrg^wàšá id. || CCh: Msg G {Trn.} gurđok, Mlw {Trn.} ġùrđôk 'throat' || Mtk: Mf {BLB} ġɜrđ- 'swallow with difficulty', MfG {Brr.} ġérđan 'palate' || Tr {Nw.} ʔùʔ^wàr id., ġora 'neck' (if the glottalization of ġ reflects the HS lr.) || BB: Gude {Hsk.} id. ġùr̥ák 'swallowing noisily' || Lame {Sa.} id. ġùr̥òk id. || ECh: Mu {J} ġōró (pl. ġōrār), Tmk {Cp.} ġē̃r̃, Kwn {J} k̃z̃r̃ k̃z̃rí, Ke {Eb.} k̃ur̃ 'neck' (in KwK *g- > k- regularly) |||| Cf. also nouns with supposed pxs: Ngz {Sch.} ngúɽááíyá 'throat', Db {Mch.} mungur lum, Hs màk̃óġwàr̃ō, Gw {Mts.} màk̃óngòro id. ¶ Hsk. 194, Nt. 14, ≈ Sk. HCD 194-5, MSk. 179, Sch. DN 127, Cp. 62, Nw. WLT 38, Trn. LM 92, Trn. LDM 22, BLB 149, Brr. MG II 120, Mch. D 196, Sa. L II 502, ≈ Stl. VZCh no. 76, ChC 'neck', ChL, Eb. 75 ¶ Gude ġùr̥ák and Lame ġùr̥òk are results of secondary ideophonization (cf. R [in fairy tales and literature for children] зайчик прыг-прыг 'the hare jumped', lit. 'little hare jump-jump', where the deverbal d. прыг [without being ideophonic by origin] functions as an ideophone) ¶ The Tmk and Tr words for 'neck' belong here if the retroflexity of r̃ in Tmk and the glottalization of *g in Tr reflect the HS lr. in N *gūr̥E or *gūr̥∇ || B *-gur̥/ɽ̥- 'neck' (possibly from *gurɪ-at-) > Kb aġ^war̥ (pl. iġ^war̥an, iġ^war̥ya) 'neck opening of a garment, collar (encolure, col)', Awj {Prd.} a-ġar̥áɽ̥ (pl. ġar̥'ɽ̥á:wən) 'neck', Zng {MH → Nic.} aġar̥ (pl. ġar̥ɸun) 'gosier; haut du cou', {Bs.} اġر̥د aġar̥d 'gosier', {Nic., Bs.} اġر̥ض aġar̥d 'goulot', Izd {Mrc.} aġar̥d (pl. iġur̥dan) 'cou, goulot, encolure', ?σ Ah eġar̥ad 'têtière (de licol)', ETwl, Ty eġr̥b̥d (pl. iġr̥b̥d̥n) id., 'nape of neck', ZAS {Loub.} aġar̥d, Zn {Rn.}, Tmz {MT} a-ġar̥d 'shoulder', Tmz ✓gr̥d (inv. ġar̥d) 'tordre le cou; avoir le cou tordu'; d.: Sll {Ds.} amġġar̥d (pl. imġr̥ā̃d), Izd {Mrc.} dim. tamġar̥d (pl. timġr̥ad), Zn {Rn.} amġr̥d 'neck', ZAS {Loub.}

amgərǫ 'cou, col', Kb amjərǫ (pl. iməjraǫ) 'neck, nape of neck'. Cf. also Wrg {Dlh.} a-gərduɿ (pl. i-gərdaɿ) 'gorgée longue de liquide' (survival of *ɿ in a B dialect??). In addition, it is worth paying attention to B *guHr∇z_L∇y_L (< **gurH∇z_L∇y_L?) > Ah ā-ǧūrāh 'larynx', ETwl, Ty a-gurzɔy (pl. i-gərzan) 'throat', Ttq {Msq.} korzī 'throat over the Adam's apple', as well as to Kb a-jərǯuǯ ~ a-jərǯuǯ (pl. ijərǯuǯən) 'throat, larynx, trachea' and to Ntf {La.} a-gərgur 'goitre' (× N *g e R ∇ 'throat') ¶ Prd. 163, Rn. 352, Ds. 77, MT 465-6, Dlh. Ou 62, Fc. 480-2, Loub. 547, Mrc. 64, 281, Pr. H no. 110, GhA 58, 60, Dl. 273-4, Msq. 139, Msq. Z 501, Nic. 313, Bs. MS I 124, La. N 57, NZ 868-9 || A ≈ *guræ-g|kæ > M *güreæen '(ε part of the) neck', {SDM} 'front part of he throat' > WrM gūrege(n) {MED} 'area of the neck below and in front of the ear', HIM rypəə(н) {MED} id., {BMR} id, 'Halsader', Brt rypəə 'carotid', Kl {Rm.} gūrēn ~ gūrē '{?} die Seite des Halses', Ord gūrē 'les côtés du cou, veine d'eau souterraine', MM [IM] gūrū:n sudusun 'arteria cervicalis', WrM {MED} gūregen-ū sudasu, Kl {Rm.} gūrēn sudasŋ 'Halsader' (sudusun, sudasŋ, sudasu is 'vein, sinew'); M ⇨ Chg [MA] kūrū:n in kūrū:n tamur 'arteria cervicalis', Qrg kūrō, kūrō tamir 'jugular vein', WrMc {Z} rypəəxə id. (r̄y- [rather than ry-] is usual in loanwords) ¶ MED 392, BMR I 475, Chr. 166, Pp. MA 172, KRS 149, KW 139, Ms. O 278, MYC 309, Jud. 470-1, Z 363, Hr 385, ≈ STM I 175 || T *Kô_Lrgak 'palate' > Shor qurqaq id., Xk xurɣax id., Brb qorɣaq 'jaw' ¶ TL 230, Dm. JBT 154, Rs. W 303 || Tg: [1] Tg *gorga-hta 'palate, hind part of the tongue' > Neg gorgakta ~ gurgakta 'palate', Ork goǯoqta ~ goǯǯoqta 'root of the tongue, uvula', WrMc {Z} rynkanь 'Adam's apple' ¶ STM I 161, 173, Z 549 || [2] Tg *gure-ke 'nape' (× N *gub_L∇, RE 'back, back side nape [of the neck]', q.v. ffd.) > Nn Bk gur(з)хз, Nn KU guruxз 'nape', Nn Nh gurзхз {STM} id., {On.} 'withers (загривок)', WrMc {Hr.} gurexe 'breite Sehne am Rinderhalse', {Z} rypəəxə 'a large sinew on cattle's neck' ('большая становая жила'), r̄yрəəxə-ləz- 'tie around (a bow or sth. broken) with oxen's sinews (to strengthen it)' ¶ STM I 174-5, On. 122, Z 363-4, Hr 385 ¶¶ SDM 573 (pA *gurgi 'palate' > Tg *gorgakta, T, M) || D *kuṛuŋk- ({ǧGS} ≈ *guṛuŋg-) > Nk guṛuŋga 'neck', Gnd B guṛuŋgā 'oesophagus', Gnd Ch/G/HMB/KM guṛuŋga 'throat', Gnd DM guṛuŋgā id., 'neck', Gnd RSr guṛuŋga, Gnd A gurŋā 'Adam's apple', Ml koṛṛā, Kn goṛke 'throat', ? gōr̄ ~ gōr̄ 'neck' ¶¶ D no. 1645 ||] The N word in question may be an AdS of D *kUral- 'throat, voice' (< N

kôrih|xû* 'throat, neck', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D **kuṛuŋk-* (≈ **guṛuŋg-*) suggests N **-r̥-*, while D **kUraI-* (if it belongs here) points to N **-rH-* (unless D **-r-* belongs to the heritage of N **kôrih|xû* ◇ M **ü* suggests either a N **ü* or a N vw. **u* influenced by the front vw. of the next syll. ◇ The N etymon is qu. and hard to reconstruct, because the potential cognates outside HS are not distinguishable from N **kôrih|xû* '↑' (due to the neutralization of the glottal oppositions in anlaut) ◇ ≈ IS I 235-6 [no. 91] ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 390 (kur* 'throat') (A + err. IE, U, Gil).

688b. **garHä* 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point' > IE **g^her-*, **g^herH̄-*/**g^hreH̄-* > NaIE **g^her-*, **g^hera-*/**g^hrē-* 'sharp point' (partially × N **gaRž* ▽ '≈ to stretch, to drag') > Gk χάρμη 'point of a lance, spearhead' (< **g^hr̥o-* without *lr.*) ||| Nr Δ *gare* 'point (Spitze)'; **g^hrē-ti-* > MHG *grāt* (pl. *græte*) 'sharp fish bone (Fischgräte), awn, peak (of a mountain), mountain ridge', NHG *Grat* 'edge, ridge', *Gräte* 'fish bone', MDt *graet* id., Dt *graat* id., 'ridge' ||| Sl **grōtъ* 'sharp point' > Cz, Slk *hrot* id., P *grot* id., 'arrow, dart' ¶ P 440, F II 107, Lx. 75, KM 268, Vr. N 217, ESSJ VII 140 ||| U **kara* 'sharp bough (of a coniferous tree), stick' > F *karā* 'peg, bar (of a lock), tang (of a knife), (metal) rod, denuded tail of a bull', *karahka* 'bough, young fir tree', *karas* 'young fir tree, long bough of a fir', Es {W} *karā* 'denuded tail of an animal (entblöbte Rute der Tiere)', *jummi-karā* 'icicle' || Sm: Ne: Т х ар в, Т О {Lh.} χārβ, F {Lh.} kārβ 'larch'; Ng {Cs.} 'karu 'dry larch', En B {Hl.} kaδī, {Ter.} kaδī 'spruce', {Cs.} kađi, {Prk.} kađe 'fir tree', En Kr {Dolgix} kađi, En X {Cs.} kari id.; the metonymy 'bough' → 'tree' is parallel to that found in F *karahka*, *karas* ¶¶ SK 160-1, W EDW 208, Ter. 747, Lh. 166-7, Cs. 47, 245, KP 80 ||| A **garæ* 'sharp edge' > Tg **gara* 'bough, stick' > Ewk *gara* 'bough, dry branch, stick', Sln *gar*, *gara* 'branch', Neg *gaya*, Orc, Ud *gā*, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk *gara* 'bough, branch, rowlock (made of a bough) in a boat', ? WrMc {Z} г ар га, гаргань 'bough, branch' ¶ STM I 141, On. 99, Z 310-11 ||| T {S} **kær* ({S} **k_{er}*) 'notch of an arrow' > OT Kr *kez*, Az *gäz*, Qzq *kez*, Bsh d. kiđe, Tv, Tfl *kes* id., MT *kez* 'arrow shift', Tkm *keđlik* 'small knife', Tk *gez* 'rear sight of a gun (прорезь прицела)', Ggz {ET} *gez* ~ *kez* 'noth on an arrow (for a shooting bowstring), Tk d. {THADS} *kez* 'Kerbe' ¶ Cl 756, Rs. W 260, ET VGD 12 ||| pKo {S} **kār^h* 'knife, sword' > MKo *kār* / *kār^h*-, NKo *k^hal* ¶ S QK no. 415, Nam 19, MLC 1669 ||| pJ {S} **kātà^{nà}* 'knife' > OJ *katana*, MJ *kātà^{nà}* id., J K *kātà^{nà}*, J Kg *kataná*, J T *kataná* ~

katána {Kenk.} 'sword, blaze' ¶ S QJ no. 419, Mr. 443, Kenk. 872 ¶¶ SDM 531-2 (pA *gǎ́r̥á 'sharp edge' > Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 483, Mr. KJ 251 (Ko, J), Lee CSMK 111 || D *°kar° > Tm karu 'prong, barb, spike'; D *kar∇kk- ({†GS} *k-) > Tm karukku 'teeth of a saw\sickle, jagged edge of palmyra leafstalk', Ml karukku 'teeth of a saw\file, thorns of a palmyra branch', karikku 'edge of teeth', Kn karaku, karuku 'a jag, notch, dent, toothed part of a file\saw', Tl karagasamu 'a saw' ¶¶ D no. 1265 || HS *g∇r_LH_J- 'thorn, sharp point' → (?) 'summit of a mountain' > WCh *✓gr 'thorn' > Klr {J} gírím. (pl. gířēr), gíríf. (pl. gírýér) 'thorn' | Ang {ChL} gēr 'thorn' | ? Hs gársání 'a very thorny weed', ? mágáryá 'jujube (a thorny tree) (*Zizyphus jujuba*)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 225 [no. 741] (*h₂gar∇ 'thorny plant'), ChL, ChC s.v. 'thorn', J R 352, Ba. 369, 744, Abr. H 534-5 || C *g^{ra}r- 'rock, mountain' (× N *g^oR∇ '≈ hill, [small?] mountain', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ IS I 226 [no. 78] (IE, U, D, Tg; *÷ M *gar- 'go\come out, emerge, appear'); OS RPV I 67 no. 4 (adduction of the Hs and Ang words to N) ◇ IE and D (D *-r- goes back to N cns. clusters with *r or *r̥) suggest the presence of a lr. The absence of traces of the N (and IE) lr. in Gk χάρμη is puzzling.

688c. *g^or̥Hæ 'to track (game), to smell, to hear; ear' > IE: NaIE *g^{wh}rē- vt. 'smell, scent out, feel' (× N *g^or̥ǵæ 'to feel' [q.v.]) > OI jighrāti, 'ghrāti 'smells (sth.)' (pp. ghrā'ta-), ghrāṇam, grāṇā n. 'smell, nose' || Gk ὀσ-φράνομα 'catch scent of, smell, track' (< *odes g^{wh}r-) (Gk aor. ὠσφρόμην) | ⇨ NaIE *g^{wh}rē-ti-s n. 'smell, smelling (Geruch)' > OI grāti_h id., Gk ὀσ-φρησις 'the sense of smell' ¶ WP I 697, P 495, M K I 433, F II 438-9 || HS: B *✓grH > Zng {TC} ɔgrīh 'hear', {Bs., Msq.} gəra (pf. i gra) 'listen, hear', ?σ: Ah aḡru 'discerner (comprendre et distinguer)', ETwl ɔgru, Ty aḡru 'discerner, apercevoir', Tnsl {Pr.} aḡrəh 'discerner', {DTM} pf. iḡrəh 'discerner, comprendre, voir' ¶ Bs. MS I 169, Msq. Z, Pr. H no. 106, DCTC 288, NZ 876-8, Ks. VZ 84-5 (claiming that -h in Zng is secondary, but cf. Tnsl) || Eg Md gry.t 'a part of the ear (earhole?)' ¶ EG V 181, DW 921 || EC: Kns kurrá, Mos koworó 'ear', Or: {Th.} gurra, nom. gurri, {Grg., Brl.}, B/O {Sr.}, W {Sr., Hn.} gurra, T {Mrn.} 'gurrā, H {Ow.} gurrá, M {AD} 'gurrā, nom. gu'rri' 'ear', W {Sr.} gur(r)ī 'earwax'; an unknown C lge ⇨ Amh ḡoro 'ear' ¶ Th. 180, Brl. 191, Grg. 188, Sr. 317, Hn. W 67, AD MO, Lm. SKE 534 ¶¶ Blz. DA no. 12 || AdS of S *°✓grh > Ar جرح ✓ḡrḥ G 'look for, try to obtain (as animals looking for food)' (< N *gārḥ∇ 'try to obtain, wish, need') ¶ BK

I 275 || **A:** M *göreven n. 'hunting, chasing; game' (× N *güR∇ 'beast', q.v.) > WrM gōr ŭ ge(n) {MED} 'hunting, chasing; game', HIM гөрөө {MED} id., {BMR} 'Jagd, Fischerei, охотничий промысел', Kl {KRS} гөрә gōrā 'Jagd', {Rm} gōrē 'Jagd; wildes Tier', Ord g_ōrō 'chasse'; M *göreve-le- v. 'hunt' > WrM {MED} gōr ŭ gele- id., HIM {MED, BMR} гөрөөлө- id., Kl {KRS} гөрәл- gōrāl- id., {Rm.} gōrēl- 'auf die Jagd ziehen, jagen (Wild)', Brt гүрөөл- v. 'hunt', Ord g_ōrōlō- 'aller à la chasse, chasser' ¶ MED 387, BMR I 446-7, Chr. 166, KRS 147, KW 138, Ms. O 271 ¶ The M stem either contaminated with M *göreve-sün 'wild herbivorous animal' (< N *güR∇ '↑' (q.v.) [whence WrM gōr ŭ ge(n) 'game']) or goes back to it. In the latter case the M √ does not belong here || **D** *kuṛ- 'ear ring, ear' (× N *qUR_LW_L∇ [= *qUR_LW_L∇?] 'ear' [q.v.] × N ? *ko^r_LW_L∇ 'ear [external ear]?') > Tm kuṛaṭ, Ml kuṛa 'ear ring, ear', Kn B kōḍige, Tu koḍarṅgæ, Klm kuḍka, Gnd kuṛka 'ear ring', Tu kuḍka, kuḍki 'female's ear ornament' ¶¶ D no. 1823 ◊ Blz. DA 152 [no. 13] (D, HS), Blz. NDA no. 12 (Q, HS).

689. ₂ *gEy∇ŝ∇ 'to cast (spear); spear' ([in S]: → 'wage war'; 'host [armed force]') > IE: NaIE *g^ha₁so-s, {EI} *g^ha₁so-s ~ *g^ha₁ses- 'javelin, spear' ({EI} 'throwing spear') > OI 'hēṣah₁ 'weapon', {EI} 'missile' (?? ← hiⁿas-ti ~ Vd 'him^sati 'injures, hurts, destroys') ||| Clt {Matas.} *gayso- 'spear' > OIr {P} gáe, {Matas.} gae 'spear', {P} fo-gae (later foga) 'javelin (Wurfspieß)', OW {Flr.} guoiu, MW gwaew, W gwayw 'spear', OCrn [γ] hoch-wuyu 'venabulum', Crn gew 'spear', OBr guugaiou id., Br {Hm.} goaf 'lance; gaffe, perche munie d'un croc' (× Fr. gaffe 'boat hook, gaffe'), Gl *gayso- → L gaesum and Gk γαῖσος ~ γαῖσον 'long heavy javelin (originally a Gaulish weapon)' ||| Gmc *gaizaz > AS zār, OSx gēr, OHG gēr, NHG Ger, ON geirr 'javelin, spear' ||| ?? Gk χαῖος 'shepherd's staff' (μφ from 'spear?') ¶ WP I 528, P 410, EI 537, WH I 575-6, SB 104, Flr. 204, YGM-1 260, Matas. E 154, Hm. 320, LP §§ 14, 23 (3) and 34 (3), Billy 76, F I 282-3 and II 1061-2, Vr. 161-2, Kb. 327, Schz. 150, Ho. 124, Ho. S 25, KM 249; ≠ M K III 595, 601, 611 and M E II 820-1 (in both: 'hēṣah₁ * ← hi^s- /hēṣ- 'injure, hurt' without IE et.) ||| **HS:** WS *¹gayaŝ- 'troop, armed force' > MHb 𐭅𐭆𐭇 'gayis (< AHb *¹gayiŝ) (pl. 𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉 gāyā's-ōt), JA 𐬔𐬕𐬎𐬌 (*gay_Lyā'sā) 'troop; pack of robbers', JEA {Sl.} 𐬔𐬕𐬎𐬌 gay_Lyā'sā 'band of marauders\ robbers', Sr W 𐬔𐬕𐬎𐬌 gay's-ā 'troop, army', Ar جيش ḡayš- 'army', Sb g_Yŝ 'unit, detachment', d.: Mh ✓ g_Yŝ (pf. ḡyōŝ) v. 'rally, collect the tribe (in troubled times)', Jb E ✓ g_Yš (pf. ḡeŝ), Jb C Sh ṣṣḡeŝ

id. ¶ Dlm. 73, Br. 114, Sl. 279-80, ≈ Lv. I 325 (erroneous vocalization MHb 𐌆𐌿𐌸𐌰 𐌵𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰), BGMR 52, Jo. M 128, Jo. J 81, DRS 116 || C: EC *✓gš̥ ({{Ss.}*gš̥i) pcv. 'kill' > Rn {Ss.} -gīs-, {PG} -gīs- / p. -gīs- / -gās- (n. act. 0gōš), pBn {Hn.} *-igās- / *-igīs- (> Bn K -igās- / -igīs-, B/J -iyās- / -īs-), Arr {Hw.} -ekēs- / (ip.) -akās- (1s ?igīs-, inv. 2s ?igís) 'kill', Dsn {Ss.} -ēs-, {To.} ?ās / -es- (pcv.), Elm -ekis- id., whence scv.: Or {Ss., Grg.} ažēs-, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} ižēs-, Kns {Ss.} ikaš- / išš-, HEC ({{Hd.} *siy-): Sd {Ss.} šiy-, Kmb/Ged {Ss.} šī-, Hd {Ss.} š-, Brj siy- 'kill', Brj si'yā 'warrior' ||| Bj {R} ✓gʷš̥? (1s: p. a-'ugš̥a?, pres. agʷan'š̥ī; prtc. 'gʷiš̥?a) v. 'cast a spear' (and *'throw' → ✓gʷš̥? 'zu Boden strecken, unterjochen') ||| SC *✓gʷs 'kill' > Kz gaʔis-, Asa gas, Alg, Brn gas- 'kill', Irq gās- 'kill, break'; SC 𐌆𐌿 Mb -gaʔa 'kill' ¶ R WBd 103, Ss. B 167, PG 62, 238, Hn. BD 114, Grg. 11-12, Sr. 331, Hw. A 267-9, Hd. 86, To. DL 200, E SC 263, E K 11, MQK 37, Blz. CP s.v. 'kill' || ?σ Ch: CCh: Mofu {Brr.} -gàâ- 'throw', MfG {Brr.} -'gʷâ- 'throw, drop' ||| WCh: ? Kry {Sk.} kuse, Kir {ChC} guse v. 'throw' ||| ECh: Jg {J} giš̥- 'throw' ¶ JS 267, ChC s.v. 'throw', Brr. MG II 121 ◇ FU *küš̥∇- v. 'fall' (Coll. 79, MK 225-6) should be kept apart (it has a better et. connecting it with N *küš̥'∇ 'to fell, to fall', q.v.).

690. *g'ä'yš̥∇ʔa 'be frightened\sorrowful, worry' > IE: NaIE *gʰeįs- 'be frightened, be scared', {EI} 'frighten' > Av zaēš̥a- 'horrible', zōi(ə)š̥nav- zusammenschreckend, schaudernd', KhS ysās̥ʔa 'hateful, hostile', NPrs زشت zešt 'hideous, ugly; bad' ||| Gt us-geisjan (ἐκπλήσσεισθαι, ἐξίστασθαι) 'sich entsetzen, er-staunen', us-gaisjan 'erschrecken', Ic geisa 'to rage, to be ferocious', geiski n. 'fright, terror', ON geiska-fullr 'frightful' (lit. 'full of fright') ¶ Hardly here (for both phonetic and semantic reasons and against P's opinion) NaIE *gʰoįsd- > OI 'hēđa- 'anger', OHG geist 'spirit, soul', NHG Geist 'spirit', AS zæst ~ zāst 'spirit, ghost', NE ghost; OI 'hēđa- 'anger' is likely to belong to N *gič̥∇ 'injure, irritate' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ EI 214, ≈ WP I 553-4, ≈ P 427, Brtl. 1651, 1692-3, Bai. 353, Sg. 617, BM 260, Vr. 162, Fs. 531-2, Kb. 324, Ho. 122, Bv 219 ||| A *gasa- > Tg *gasa- v. 'worry, grieve' > Neg, Ork gasa- v. 'worry', Ul gasa- 'be sad, grieve (тосковать)', Nn Nh/Bk gasa-, Nn KU gaso- 'be sad, grieve, worry', WrMc {Z} гаса- 'grieve, be sad (сетовать скорбеть, высказывать скорбь)', {Hr} гаса- 'beklagen, bemangeln; unzufrieden sein, sich beschweren', Mc Sb {Mrm.} gasa- id. ¶ STM I 143, On. 100, Z 304, Hr

337, Klz. MS 175 || M *gasala- 'be sorrowful\afflicted, grieve' > WrM {MED} gasal-, gasala- {MED} id., HIM гасла- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'morn over (оплакивать)', Kl {Rm.} gasl̥- 'betrübt sein, sich grämen', Ord g₁asal- 'se désoler, s'affliger, se lamenter'; ⇨ M *gasalan̥ > WrM gasalan̥η {MED} 'sorrow, grief, affliction, misfortune; discontent', HIM гаслан(г) {MED} id., {BMR} 'sorrow, grief. affliction, misfortune, переживание, тревожение', Kl {Rm.} gasal̥an̥ ~ gasl̥η 'Gram, Betrübnis, Unglück', {KRS} наслн̥ ʧasl̥n̥ 'grief, sorrow', Ord g₁asalan̥ 'charin, affliction; cause de chagrin \ d'affliction' ¶ MED 353-4, BMR I 392-3, KRS 160-1, KW 146, Pp. MA 178, SM 121, Ms. H 89, Ms. O 296 || HS: S *^o✓gśʔ > Ar جشأ ✓ǧšʔ G 'éprouver une agitation\secousse\inquiétude' (se dit du cœur en proie à quelque émotion), {Fr.} 'commota et excita fuit' (anima moerore vel concepto terrore) ¶ Fr. I 279, BK I 295, Hv. 90.

691. ?₂ *g^uʔś∇ʔa (~ *g^uʔś∇ʔ∇) 'belch, vomit' > HS: S *✓gśʔ ~ *✓gśʔ > Hb (mt.) ✓gśʔ TL (pf. hiṭṭgōʔeś) 'vomit loudly', Sr pf. G ḡəʔsā (*✓gśʔ) 'vomit', Ar ✓ǧšʔ G 'belch', Gz ✓g^uśʔ G 'belch, vomit', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} ḡzšō, Sq ✓gśʔ, Jb C {Jo.} šz-ʔgeśi 'belch', Ak LB ḡeš ū (*✓gśʔ) 'to belch' ¶ KB 200, CAD III 64, Br. 126, JPS 75, BK I 295, L G 205, L LS 117, Jo. M 126, Jo. H 42, Jo. J 80, Sd. 287, Mik I no. 2.17 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ga^ʔ - 'belch' > Hs ḡ^uāçè | NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj ṣzš-, Kry ṣzšz-, My ḡzla- id., Cg ḡāzān n. 'belch', Jmb žižáśú, Diri ḡzšá v. 'vomit' | Ngz {Sch.} ḡàḏžú 'belch' || ECh: Dng {Fd.} ḡḡlṭyè 'vomir quelques gorgées de boisson' ¶ Stl. ZCh 217 [no. 669], ChC s.v. 'belch' and 'vomit', Sk. NB 12, Sch. DN 66, Fd. 329, ≈ Tk. NB 178-9 (pNrBc *ḡzš- > *ḡzž- ~ *ḡzç- [secondary glottalization]) || A: T *Kus- 'vomit' (× N on... *quʔ₁∇, sê 'to vomit, to cough', q.v.) > OT quš- 'vomit', Tk kus-, Tkm quθ-, Az gus-, Ggz kus-, Uz, ET, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, SY qus-, Qzq қҫс-, VTt qʔs-, Bsh qʔθ-, Xk χus- id., Chv хăс- хъс/z- id. (рвать, плевать, изрыгать) ¶ Cl. 666, Rs. W 301, ET Q 174-5, Ash. XXVI 365, Fed II 334-5, Jeg. 295, ChVS 247 ◇ Qu., because the supposed T cognate has an alt. et.

692. ?₂ *gAʔit∇ 'body, flesh' > HS: ?σ,φ EC *gid- 'body, flesh, meat' > Rn žíḏ- 'flesh, meat', Sml žiḏ, Sml J žiṛ 'body', Hr {AMS} gid-0 'mageres Fleisch' ¶ PG 166, ZMO 220, Hn. S 61 (pSam *gid), AMS 158, ≈ Ss. WOKS 133 (EC *gid), Blz. RL 260 || Eg fP ž.t 'Leib, Körper' (reinterpretation of *žtʔ) ¶ EG V 503-6 || D: SD *kaṭṭ- 'body, corpse' > Tm kaṭṭaḡ id., Kn

kaḍuku 'a headless trunk'; D ⇨ OI kaṭa- 'corpse' ¶ D no. 1152 ◇ EC *-ḍ- points to the existence of a N *ʔ (*-ʔ...t- > EC *-ḍ-).

693. ₂ *gû't'₁H₁∇ 'small, little' > HS: C: SC {E} *gʷat₁-/ *got₁- ({}E} *gʷat₁-/ *got₁-) 'child' > Irq {E, MQK} garma 'boy', Qz goʔolayo 'bull calf' ||| Dhl {EEN, To.} gʷícca 'child' ||| C ⇨ Mb -gitutú 'little, small' ¶ E SC 263, WQK 37, EEN 32, To. D 134 ||| D {tr.} *kuṭṭ-, {IS} *kudḍ-, {GS} *guḍḍ- 'small' (× N *kUṭ∇ 'small') > Tu giḍḍa 'short, small', Kn giḍḍu, guḍḍu 'shortness, smallness', Tl giḍḍa 'small, dwarfish', Δ guḍḍu 'short', Tm kuṭṭa 'smallness; young of a monkey', Ml kuṭu 'small, narrow', kuṭṭan 'boy, lamb, calf', Td kuṭ, Kdg kuṭṭi 'child (of any caste except for Coorgs)', Kui gūṭa 'short, dwarfish', Krx guḍru 'dwarfish', Brh ṣudḍū, guḍḍū 'small' ¶¶ D no. 1670, GS 166 [no. 419], 184 [no. 465] ◇ IS (p.c.) supposed here a sx with a lr. ** -t-H- > D *-ḍḍ- (cf. IS SS 320) ◇ Both the SC rec. and the pN one are questionable.

694. *gäṭâ 'grasp, take, possess' > IE: NaIE *gʰed- v. 'acquire', n. 'acquisition' > Oss I zɜd, Oss D zud 'greedy, greediness' ||| Gmc *git- > Gt bi-gitan (·εύρισκεν, ἀνεύρισκεν, ἔχειν) 'finden', ON geta 'to create, to obtain, to procreate' (NrGmc ⇨ ME geten > NE get), OHG bi-gezzan 'to get (erhalten), reach', OSx bigetan 'to find', AS bi-zietan 'to receive, to find; to procreate' (> NE beget) ||| OL praída, L praeda 'booty' (< *praiḡ-heda) ¶ WP I 589-90, P 437-8 (*gʰend- and *gʰed-), Fs. 90, Mn. 317 (*gʰed-; *÷ ChS žadati 'to desire'), Ab. IV 317-18, WH II352-3, Vr. 165, WW 113, Kb. 331, Ho. 120, Ho. S 26, HDEL 119, 554 ¶ WP and P postulated a variative root *gʰend- ~ *gʰed-, based on Brugmann's theory of a nasal infix (BD II/3 293ff.) and therefore adduced the reflexes of IE *gʰend- (> Gk χανδάνω 'ich fasse', {LS} 'take in, hold, contain', L praehendō [> prēhendō] id. etc.), but Mn. is probably right in rejecting it and reconstructing a separate root *gʰed- (our *gʰed- with *gʰ- on the ev. of Oss I zɜd, Oss D zud 'greedy') ¶ IE *-d- rather than *-t- (< N *-t-) is due to the IE incompatibility law ruling out voiced aspirates and voiceless cns in the same root ||| HS: C: EC {Ss.} *gaḍ- > Brj gaḍ- 'take', Rn χāta (< *kāt- < mte. *gāḍ-) 'take; capture, seize', pKns *kēḍ- v. 'take' > Kns, Turo, Gato qēḍ-, Msl gēḍ-, Gdl kēḍ- id., ?σ Or E (with a caus. sx) gaḍḍīs- 'set free, let go' ||| Dhl {EEN} geṭ- 'take, send', geṭṭokum- 'carry', {To.} get- 'bring, send' ||| ? SC (× N *gôṭ∇ 'pull, draw??): Irq {Wh.} -gagár-, {MQK} gagār- 'carry (a load)', {E} gagar-, Alg geger- 'carry' ¶ Ss. B 75, Bl. 254, PG 186,

≈ AD SF 245, EEN 31, Th. 143 (Or *gaddisu* ~ *gaḏisu* 'congedare, licenziare, lasciare andare'), ≈ E SC 237, To. D 134, Wh. SI, MQK 36 || ?σ S *^o✓ gtt > Ar ✓ ḡtt (pf. جتّ ḡatta) 'touch a domestic animal in order to know if it is fat' ¶ BK I 251 ¶ S *-t- for *-ṭ- is due to deglottalization in S (likely to be compulsory in certain conditions, as can be concluded from the absence of *g-ṭ-roots in pS) || U: FU *katt∇- v. 'grasp, hold' (*katt∇ from **kättâ due to vw. harmony?) > Prm *kut- > OPrm, Z kut- 'catch, hold', StVt inf. кутыны, Vt S kut-, Vt G {W} kut+- 'catch, seize' || OHg hat- 'possess', Hg hatalo, 'power, violence' ¶ UEW 130-1, LG 147-8, MF 275-6 || D *kat- ({ṭGS} *k-) v. 'seize' > Tm katuvu 'seize, grasp', Kn kaḏubu 'seize or hold firmly', kaḏi v. 'steal', Tu kaḏipu, kaḏupu, kaḏpu n. 'stealing, theft', Tl kaḏumu 'seize' ¶¶ D no. 1200, ≈ Km. 322 [no. 242] (*kač- > kat-).

694a. ≈ *gôṭ∇ 'ant', (?) 'worm' > HS: EC: Sd {Gs.} gōṭāmo coll. 'ε ants', gōṭān-čō 'ant', as well as (with as. *g...ṭ > *ḡ...ṭ): Ged {LmS} ḡōṭāmo 'ant' and Sml {ZMO} quḏānyo 'ants', ??? Sml god 'ε ant' (in godka qurānyada), Dsn {LmS} kūḏin 'worm' ¶ AD SF 249, LmS 380, ZMO 334, 452, Gs. 130 || NrOm: Wl {LmS} guṭṭun-iyā 'worm', Omt {Mrn.} guṭune, Gf {Mrn.} guḇəne 'worm', Gm {LmS} guḇune 'worm, meat worm', Malo {LmS} guṣine, Dc/Zs {LmS} guḇume 'worm' ¶ AD SF 249, LmS 380, Mrn. O s.v. guṭune || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} (mt.) gāndīf 'ant' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gòḏnòy 'ε ant' ¶ ChC s.v. 'ant', J R s.v. DfB gāndīf, Eb. 51 || U: FP {UEW} *kutke 'ant' > Es kuk-lane (gen. kuklase) 'ant', Lv kukki 'bug, insect' || pLp {Lr.} kotkə 'ant' > Lp: S gārke, U gādhka, L kār'ħkå, N {N} goṭ'kå, Kld kot:k id. || pMr {Ker.} *kutkə- > *kotkə- > Er коткудав, {W} kotkodov id. || pChr {Ber.} kutkə- id. > Chr: Н кыткы 'кѣткѣ, Л кутко 'kutko, Uf/B kutko id. || Prm: pZ *kōt|d > Z кодзувкот kožuv-kot, Z US kožul-kō, Z K kot-kožul 'ant' (kožul 'ant') ¶ UEW 678-9, Lr. no. 463, Lgc. no. 2581, ERV 298, Ker. II 68, Ber. 25, MRS 250, 272, Ep. 53, LG 135 || D *kott- ({ṭGS} *g-) > Kn godda 'ε black ant' ¶ D no. 2096 ◊ Blz. DA 159 [no. 72] and Blz. NDA no. 74 (in both: C, NrOm, D).

695. *gôṭ∇ 'pull, draw' > HS: C {AD} *✓ g^ωt 'draw, pull' > Ag: Xm {R} g^ωit- id.; Ag ⇨ Tgr {LH} gətət ʔabla, Tgy g^ωətətə id. || ?? EC: pSam {Hn.} *gīt/*gītā v. 'pull' (unless it is EC {Ss.} *zīt- v. 'pull' < N *zed_hü|u 'pull, drag, draw', q.v. ffd.) > Sml žīd-, Rn {Hn.} žit / 'žita, {PG} žīta 'pull, drag', pBn {Hn. BD} *(hǎ́)-šīd or {Hn. S} *šīd 'pull' > Bn: Bi (hǎ́)-šīd, J/Kj hǎ́-šīd, K hǎ́-sīd id. || ??φ SC (× N *gātâ 'grasp, take,

possess'): Irq {Wh.} -gagár-, {MQK} gagār- 'carry (a load)', {E} gagar-, Alg geger- 'carry' ¶ AD SF 245, R Ch II 363 (s.p. 49), Hn. S 61, Hn. BD 122, Abr. S 140, Sim 11-12, 15, PG 166, Wh. SI, MQK 36 || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} ΓΟΧΗ- v. 'pull, draw' ¶ STM I 163, Z 344-5 || E: AchEl ku-ti-iš 'er trug, führte mit sich, brachte', NEI ku-ti-na 'er soll tragen!' ¶¶ HK 546-7 ◇ Blz. E no. 101 (E, HS) || ?? U: FU (??) *°kut(t)∇- ({MF} *°kut∇-) v. 'tear, draw' > Vg T/P kat- and Vg LK/Ss xat- v. 'tear' (unless these Vg verbs go back to pUgr *kupэ-тэ- 'pull, draw' > Vg Sg xūpt- 'put on boots, put load on one's back', Os Ty qop+t∇ 'zerstückeln', Os D χāpāt- 'fällen' and Os O χāpāt- 'loswinden' [UEW 859]) ¶ MF 3123-3 ◇ WrMc {Z} -c- (-s-) points to a N *-t̥-. HS *t results from deglottalization of N *t̥ (a regular process).

696. *gät̥t̥ā' 'to pass through\over, to get through, to cross' > HS: WCh: BT: Bl {Lk.} gād- 'vorbei-\weiter-\hinein-gehen; übertreffen', {Bnt.} gā'dāwō 'pass by', Krkr {Lk.} gād- id., ?? Tng kadε vt. 'go to meet' ¶ Stl. VZCh, Lk. PVB II 135, Bnt. 24, J T 95 || S *°✓k̥t̥t̥ v. 'go through, cross' > Ar ✓q̥t̥t̥ (ip. -q̥t̥aṣ-) v. 'cross (a river), traverse (a country)', 'migrate (from a cold land to a warm one)' (of birds of passage)' (unless from ✓q̥t̥t̥ 'cut') ¶ Fr. III 465, BK II 768 ¶ The S glottalized initial cns. *k̥- is due to as. within forms with a cns. cluster (**-g̥t̥aṣ- > *-k̥t̥aṣ) || A *gæt̥ā' - 'go, come', (?) 'pass through\over' > M: [1] M *gatul- v. 'cross (a river\mountain)' > WrM {MED} gatul-, HIM {MED, BMR} гатла- v. 'cross a river', Kl {Rm.} gat̥l̥- '(ein Wasser) überschreiten, überfahren (mit dem Boot)', {KRS} һатл- gat̥l̥- 'cross a river \ a mountain', Brt гатал- id., Ord g̥at̥'ul̥- 'traverser', g̥ol̥ g̥at̥'ul̥- 'passer une rivière'] [2] M *getül- > WrM {MED} getül- v. 'traverse, cross, ford, wade', HIM гэтл- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'cross (a river); 'get across (переходить на другую сторону)', Ord g̥et̥'ül̥- 'traverser (rivière)', Kl {Rm.} get̥l̥- 'über (einen Fluß) fahren, hindurchwaten', Brt гэтэл- 'cross (a mountain, a river)'; ?σ: Kl {KRS} гетл- 'get rid of', WrO getel- v. 'save from, escape', Brt үбшэнһөө гэтэл- 'get rid of an illness' ¶ MED 354-5, 380, BMR I 393-4, Krg. 766, Chr. 151, 173, KW 135, 147, KRS 141, 161, Ms. O 263, 299 || NaT *k'æt- 'go, go away' > OT {Cl.}, MQp XIII ket- id., XwT XIII, Chg XV get- 'go', MQp [CC] ket-, CrTt, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Ln ket-, ET kät-, Δ ket-, VTt, Bsh kit-, Ggz get- 'go away', Tk git-, Tkm git- (aor. gider), Az ġet-, Qmq get-, Nog, Uz ket- 'go, go away' ¶ Cl. 701, ET VGD 49-50, Rs. W 258 || pJ {S} *kítá-r- 'come, arrive' > OJ k̥itar-, MJ kítár-

, J: T kitár-, K kítàr-, Kg kìtâr- id. ¶ S QJ no. 1389, Mr. 709, Kenk. 982 ¶ pJ *-i- is due to regr. as.? ¶¶ SDM 534 (pA *gǎt'ì 'go, come' > M *getül-, T, J), DQA no. 489 ¶¶ The vw. *a in M *gatul- is probably due to regr. as. || D {Km., Zv., Pf.} *kaṭṭ-/ *kaṭ-∇ ({GS} *kyaḍ-) v. 'pass through, cross (sth.)' > Tm kaṭa v. 'pass through, traverse, cross', Ml kaṭakka v. 'pass over/out, transgress, surpass', Kt kaṛv- (p. kaṛd-) v. 'cross (a river)', Td kaḍ- v. 'leave, pass, cross', Kn kaḍe v. 'pass over, transgress, get through', Kdg kaḍa-, Prj kaḍp-, Gdb karp-, Mnd kṛā- v. 'cross', Tu kaḍapuni v. 'cross, ford, pass', OTI\TI kaḍacu, TI gaḍacu, gaḍucu id., Knd gaṛvi- v. 'go beyond the boundary of a village', Kui gṛāsa- v. 'pass sth. over/through', Ku grānčali- v. 'cross over', Krx kaṭṭ-, Mlt kaṭe- id., v. 'cross', Brh xarr- v. 'proceed on foot, make one's way' ¶¶ D *-ṭṭ- / *-ṭ- < post-N *-t- (deglossalized *-t- due to the infl. of the lr. *-ṣ-) < N *-ṭṣ- ¶¶ Zv. 101, ≈ D no. 1109 (without distinguishing between this √ and *kaṭ- 'end'), Km. 236, Pf. 65 [no. 404], 84 [no. 534], GS 206-7 [no. 522], 28 [no. 16], 164 [no. 407], 166 [no. 417] ¶¶ D *-ṭ- ({GS} *-ḍ-) is probably from *-ḍṣ- < N *-ṭṣ- (as.) ◇ The origin of NaT *-e- (that DQA interprets as pointing to A *-a...i) still needs investigating.

697. *gǎwṣ∇ (or *gǎwṣ∇?) 'to call' > IE *ǵʰoʷ(H₂)χ- 'call to, invite, invoke' > NaIE *ǵʰoʷ(ə)- 'call, invoke', *ǵʰoʷo-s 'a call', pp. *ǵʰu(:)-to- 'called, invoked' > OI 'hāvātē 'calls, invokes', hū'ta- 'called, summoned, invoked', Av zāvā'ti 'ruft verwünschend an', Av zāvā- n., OI 'hāvā-h 'call, invocation' || Gk καυχ-άουαι 'speak loud, boast' (the vw. -α- is due to contamination with N *kaw∇ 'call [exclaim], shout') || OIr guth 'voice' (< *gutu-s) (× *g- because of contamination with N *kaw∇) || Lt žavėti 'to charm, to fascinate', Ltv zavēt 'to charm, to cast a spell, to conjure' ('zaubern, hexen') (← *'to invoke charms') || Sl *zъvǎ-ti (1s pres. zǎv-ǎ) 'to call (rufen, звать, appeler, crier)' > OCS зъвати zъvati / 1s pres. зовѣ zovǎ (· καλεῖν, κράζειν) {StSS} 'звать, зывать, восклицать, кричать', SCr zǎtǐ / 1s pres. zǎm, Slv zǎti / 1s pres. zǎm 'call (nach j-m rufen), name', OCz zǎti / 1s pres. zovǎ, Cz zǎti / 1s pres. zovǎ, Slk zǎt' / 1s pres. zǎm, P zǎć / 1s pres. zǎę, R звать / 1s pres. зову, Uk 'звати / 1s pres. зову 'call (nach j-m rufen), name', Blg зова 'I call (invite), I name') || Tc B {Wn.} kuwā-, {Ad.} kwā- 'call, invite' ¶ P 413-14 (NaIE *ǵʰau(ə)- 'call, invoke', *ǵʰawo-s 'a call', pp. *ǵʰu(:)-to-), EI 89-

90 (IE *ǵʰau(H)-), M K III 585-7, M E II 809-11, F I 802-3, ≈ LP § 62 (OIr *guth* < NaIE *ǵʷoʷ- [> Gk βοή 'a loud cry, shout']), Frn. 1203, Vs. II 85, Glh. 702, Wn. I 292 (Tc < IE *ǵʰāu-), JGH 59, Ad. 235 || **HS**: CS *✓ǵry v. 'call, low' > Sr ✓ǵry (pf. ǵə'ā) v. 'call out\upon, implore, low, bellow', BHb ✓ǵry (pf. ǵā'ā) v. 'roar, low', MHb ✓ǵry (p. ǵā'ā) 'cry loudly, roar, low', Ug ǵt 'lowing of cattle', JA ✓ǵry (p. 'ǵā'ā, ǵā'ā) v. 'low' ¶ KB 191, KBR 199, A no. 679, Br. 127, Js. 261, DRS 164 ¶ The meaning 'low, bellow, roar' is due to onomatopoeic reinterpretation of the verb || ?φ Eg fP ǵry 'call upon' ('rufen, anrufen') (× N *ǵúw'i'ǵ ▽ 'shout, cry, utter sounds' [*inter alia* of an animal] [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 550-1, Fk. 321 ¶ The loss of the expected *ǵ is still hard to explain || **A**: M *ǵryu- v. 'ask, implore, require' (← 'pursue') (× N *ǵryE 'be hungry, desire, want' × N *ǵEhōwry ▽ 'go away, drive away') > MM [HI, S, MA] ǵryu- 'ask, solicit, require', WrM {BMR} ǵryu-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt ǵry- 'ask, request, beg, solicit', Ord ǵry- 'supplier, prier, demander avec instance; mendier', Mnr H {SM} d. ǵryrla- 'demander avec instance, prier, mendier' ¶ M *-u- of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as. ¶ Pp. MA 180, H 74, MED 365, BMR I 457, Chr. 159, SM 124, Ms. H 92, Ms. O 311 || **D** *kauv- ~ *kav- 'sound', v. 'call' (× N *kaw ▽ 'call', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D *a suggests that the N front vw. is to be specified as *ā, but the D ev. is not conclusive (because of the ambiguous origin of the D √).

698. *ǵay ▽ 'side, outside' > **HS**: SC: Irq {Wh.} ǵayú 'aside', {E} ǵayu 'beyond, on the other side', {MQK} ǵayu 'other side (esp. of a river), area on other side', ? C → Mb {E} ǵána, ǵahana 'outside' ¶ Wh. SI, E SC 237 [no. 22], MQK 37 || **K**: [1] a compound preverb: GZ {K} *ǵa-mo- 'heraus-, out of' > OG ǵa-mo 'out of, from', G ǵa-mo-, Mg, Lz ǵo-mo- id.; [2] compound adverbs: GZ *ǵa-re '(in the) outside, beyond' > OG, G ǵare, Mg, Lz ǵale id. ({Q} 'voilà, outside, outdoors'); [3] GZ *ǵan- 'side, outside' (× N *ǵānh ▽ 'side [of sth.], width', q.v.) > OG, G ǵan- 'side, outside', GZ *ǵan- 'outside, outwards' (preverb) > OG ǵan-, G ǵa(n)-, Mg, L ǵo- id., 'out of, from'; [4] K *ǵan (× N *ǵānh ▽ nu 'from the side [of]', see N *ǵānh ▽ 'side of' and N *nu 'from, of') > OG, G -ǵan 'from, out of' (case ending) ¶ K 59, K² 26-7, FS K 72-3, Ser. 17, 21-36, Q 212-13, 218, Dt. 14 || **U** *ka|oy ▽ (or *ka|o' ▽ \ *ka|o' ▽) > Sm {Jn.} *ka'ay 'side' > Ng {Cs} kai, kei, {Mik.} kɜy id., Slq Tz {KKIH} qō 'side of body', qōq+t prep. 'near' ¶ Jn. 57-8, KKIH 163 || **A**: Tg *ǵa 'out!', 'BOH!' > Neg ǵa

'out!' (a ritual interjection of chasing the illness spirit), Nn ga id. ¶ STM I 132, On. 95.

699. *goy ▽ 'man, people' > HS: S (or WS) *ga w y- 'people (Volk)' > BHb 'l̄ gō y 'people, nation; people (persons)', EpHb pl. g y y m 'the heathens', Ph, Pun g ω 'community, corporation', Sb g ω - m, g ω y, Mn g ω 'community group', Ak M g ā (ʔ|w|y)-um 'people (Volk)' ({DRS}: ← Cn) ¶ KB 175, KBR 182-3, HJ 215, 221, BGMR 51, MA 57, Sd. 284, CAD V 59, DRS 107 || U *koye 'man (male person), male' > FU: Lp Kld {SaR} k̄j̄j̄, {TI} kuj, Lp T {Gn.} k̄j̄j̄ 'husband' || ObU {Ht.} *kūy 'male' > pVg *kūy > Vg: MK kuy śīs, P kuj śēs 'male wolf', Ss xuy śīśi 'male ermine'; pOs {Ht.} *kuy 'male' > Os: V qu / quy-, D/O χoy 'man, husband'; (in cds: animal name X + *kuy): Vy/Ty quy, K/O χuy, Nz/Kz χūy 'male (X)' || Sm: StNe T x a e π ā - v. 'have a husband, be married' (of a woman), Ne T O {Lh.} χ ā y ū - p ā - 'having a husband, married' (of a woman) || pY {IN} *kōy 'man (vir)' > Y K/T {IN H} kōy 'young man, boy', K {Krn.} koy 'young man' ¶ Coll. 13, UEW 166-7, SaR 131, Ht. no. 232, Jn. 76, Ter. 72O, 76O, IN H 215-16, IN UJ 22, Krn. JJ 236, ≈ Rd. UJ 38 [no. 21] (Y ← U) || A: Tg *goy^r 'other, different' (← *'stranger') > Ul goy ~ goy_i, Ork go_i ~ goy, Nn Nh goy, Nn Bk go_i id., WrMc {Z} г y в а, Mc Sb quā 'other, different, strange (fremd)', WrMc {Hr} г y в а r̄alma, {Z} г y в а нялма 'another person, stranger' (r̄alma {Z} нялма] means 'person') ¶ STM I 157-8, On. 111, Z 244-5, 353, Hr 397, Y no. 3O23 ¶ For the meaning cp. Hb gōy 'people' → 'heathen' → 'not Jewish' ◇ AD LRC no. 133 (HS, U).

700. *gā_ry ▽ 'to wave one's hand, to point with one's hand\finger' ([later] → 'to wave to so., to beckon') > U: FU (att. in Vg) **°°kây ▽ - > Vg: P {Kn.} kuyt- v. 'wave to so., beckon', LK/Ss {Kn.} xuyt- 'verführen, antreiben', N {Mu.} χ u j t i, ML {Mu.} k h u j t i, K {Mu.} k h u j t i ɘ k h ω ɔ j t i 'hetzen, aufreizen, rufen, locken, treiben' ¶ UEW 858, MK 117 || A: Tg *gay ▽ ω - v. 'wave one's hand, point with one's hand\finger' > Ewk Brg/Z/Np gayiω- 'wave to so., beckon', Ul gayawčy- ~ gayaoč_i- v. 'point with one's finger at', gayawčy(n-) čumučy(n-) 'index finger', Nn Nh {On., STM} gayāč_i- v. 'show the direction to dogs', {STM} gayaoč_i- ~ {On., STM} gayos_i- ~ gayoč_i- v. 'point with one's hand\finger' ¶ STM I 136, ≠ SDM 527-8 (unc.: Tg *gayi- < pA *gay ▽ 'surprise' [> M *gayika v. 'wonder, marvel' and pT *Kay- 'pay respect']), On. 95 || HS: Eg P 33y 'extend (an arm), oppose to', {EG} id., 'das Gesicht jemandem zuwenden' ¶ EG V 514, Fk. 318.

701. *gǎhya 'throw, leave, let' > **U**: FU *kaya- 'throw, pour' > Er/Mk kaya- 'throw away, take off (clothes), pour' | Prm {LG} *koy- 'throw, throw away' > Vt koy- id., Z koy- id., 'scoop out, pour out' | Hg hajit- 'throw, hurl, cast, fling' ¶ UEW 116-17, MF 215-16, LG 128 || **IE**: NaIE *ǵhē(j̥)- 'hurl, cast' > OI ✓ hay-: hi'nōti 'hurls, casts, sends forth, sets in motion, impels', Vd hē-'ti-ḥ 'missile weapon', Av zaena- 'weapon' || Gmc: Lngb gaida 'spear', AS ȝād 'goad, point' (< *'spear') > NE goad ¶ WP I 546, P 424-5, M K 595-6, M E II 802-3, MW 1297, 1303, Ho. 121 || **HS**: CS ✓ ghy v. '≈ let, be set free' (× N *gEhōwy▽ 'go away, drive away?') > Sr ✓ ghy (pf. |^o gə'hā, ip. neg'hē) 'flee, escape', Sh (pf. ʔag'hī) 'set free, deliver, eschew', Md ✓ gh? 'flee, escape', BHb 𐎠𐎡𐎢 gē'hā 'healing', ✓ ghy|w G (ip. yig'hē) 'heal, cure' (< *'set free from the illness'), Ar ✓ ḡhḡh TD (pf. taḡahḡaha) 'reculer, se reculer, s'abstenir de qch.', ✓ ḡhh G (pf. ḡahha) 'chasser ignominieusement' ¶ Br. 106, JPS 61-2, KB 174, KBR 181, BK I 341, DRS 104 ◇ U *a (for the expected *ä) may be due to vowel harmony (regr. as.).

702. *goXey▽ 'light, sunshine, dawn, daybreak, aurora' > **HS**: WS *gawḥ- 'aurora, dawn' > Ar D {Lb.} جَوْحُ ḡawḥ (or d. جَوَّاحُ ḡuwaḥ) 'la lumière qui précède la lune avant qu'elle se lève, la première clarté qui précède le soleil levant, l'aube', Gz ḡōḥ, Amh ḡoh 'dawn'; WS v. *✓ gwḥ 'dawn' > Gz ✓ gwḥ (pf. ḡōḥa), Tgy ḡohā v. 'dawn', Ar D ✓ ḡwḥ (pf. جَوْحُ ḡuwaḥ) 'luire, briller' ¶ L G 207, Lb. 308, Lb. D II 906-7, DRS 107 || EC {Bl., Ss.} *guyy- 'day' > Or {Bl.} ḡúyya?, {Grg.} guyyā 'day', Or M {AD} guyya', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} guyy(ā) 'day, daytime', Or Wl {Brl.} guya 'giorno, chiaro del giorno', Or H {Ow.} guyā 'day', {Th.} guya, Or Wlg {Brl.} guya-awu v. 'dawn', Kns {Bl.} kuy'uāta, Gln kuyy-a?-akkó 'day', kuyyú, Gwd kúyy-ankó 'today' ¶ AD SF 220, Ss. PEC 44, Bl. 134, 213, Grg. 191, Th. 178, Brl. 193, Sr. 318, Ow. 262, AMS 210, 248, 272 || NrOm: Wl {C} gey- v. 'dawn (albeggiare)' ¶ C SO 30 || **IE**: *g^wheHy-/*g^wh₂y- > NaIE *g^whāj̥- - *g^whāj̥- 'light (hell), bright' > Gk φατός 'grey, of any color mixed of black and white' (< *g^whāj̥wos - *g^whāj̥sos) || ? (d.?) NaIE {EI} *g^whāj̥dro-s 'bright, shining' > Gk φαδρός 'bright, beaming, beaming with joy' || Lt giēdras 'clear, serene' (of weather, sky etc.), giedrà ~ gaidrà 'fine weather', Ltv dziedrs 'light-blue', dzidrs 'clear, serene', dzidrumis 'clearness, serenity, limpidness, lucidity' ¶ If Gk φατός is from *g^whāj̥sos, it may be equated with Lt gāissas 'glow' ¶ P

488-9, F II 981, 984, Frn. 128, EI 83 || **U**: FU *ko_{ye} 'redness in the sky (daybreak, evening glow), light in the sky' > F ko_i 'dawn, daybreak', Es d. ko_it id., cd ko_i-va_{lge} 'evening glow' || Z k_{ya} k_{ta}, Δ k_{iva} 'redness in the sky (aurora)' || ObU ≈ *kūy > pVg *k'ū'y > Vg: T ko_y ({MK} k_ho_j ~ k_ho_j), NV/UL ku_y, ML/LL/P {MK} k_hu_j, N {MK} χ_u_j {Coll.} 'morning redness', {MK} 'Morgendämmerung', {Ht.} 'зарница' ¶ But Hg h_{aj}na_l 'dawn, daybreak' and pOs *ku_ñá_l 'redness in the sky' do not belong here (⇔ UEW, MF 246-7), they go back to N *K'ū'y_ñá_l ~ *K'ū'y_ñá_l 'sunshine, daybreak' (q.v.) || Sm {Jn.} *k_āy_ā, {Hl.} *ka_{ya} {AD} 'sun, daylight, bright sky' > En {Ter.} ka_{ya} 'sun', Ne d.: NeT O {Lh.} χ_āy_{erā} 'leuchten', StNe T xaepa-_{cs} 'to start shining (заблестеть)', 'to become sunny' (weather), 'to clear up' (the sky), xaep_{cs} 'to shine, to glimmer, to sparkle' ⇨ xaep_{cs} 'sun', Ne F {Lh.} k_āy_{erā}- 'klares Wetter sein', χ_āy_{er}? 'sun', Ng {Cs.} ko_u 'sun', d. ko_ur_u? 'clear' || ?? Slq: Tz {Cs.} k_ue_t, NP {Cs.} k_ue_t, UO k_ue_te 'Hitze' || Kms {KD} k'ū_{ya}, Koyb {Sp.} ky_{ya} 'sun' || Mt {Hl.} *ka_{ya} 'sun, day' (Mt: T {Mue} c_haj_a, K {Muel.} c_hai_i, M {Pls.} k_{ai}ja id., {Muel.} c_há_{ja} 'sun') || pY {IN H} *qo_y- > Y K/T qo_y 'God', Y T {Krn.} qo_y-_l, {Ku.} xo_i-_l, T K/T {Iox} xo_iž 'God', OY K {Bil.} c_hai_l 'God', K {IN H} qo_yid_āy_e, T {IN H} qo_yrid_āy_e 'priest', cd: K {IN H} qo_yn-numö 'church' (lit. 'God's house') ¶¶ Coll. 90, ≈ UEW 167 (Os < *ku_y-n_{al}), ≈ Sm. 543 (FU, FP *ko_{ji}, Ugr *ko_jī 'dawn'), It. no. 93, LG 148-9, Ht. no. 742, MK 116, Jn. 58, Ter. 720-1, Cs. 124, 236, KD 33, Hl. M no. 389, Krn. JJ 274, Ku. 304, Ang. 255, ≈ Rd. UJ 38 [no. 22] (Y ⇨ U), IN H 383 || **A** ≈ *g_æ'y'∇ (⇨ ≈ *g_æ'y'U'w'∇??) 'day, daylight' > Tg *g_E-a_wan 'dawn, daybreak (aurora)' > Ewk, Neg g_Ewan, Lm g_āw_{un}, Orc g_āwan, Ud {Krn.} g_āwa, g_āwa, {STM} g_Eā_{wa}, {Krn.} g_āwa ~ g_āwa, Ul, Ork g_Ewan(n-), Nh/KU g_iw_ā, Nn Bk g_iwan(n-) id. ¶ STM I 145, Krn. 221, On. 103, SDM 553 (Tg *g_iā_{nam} with unj. *-ñ-) || pKo {S} *k_úi 'dawn' > MKo h_áis-k_úi, NKo h_äk_wi id. ¶ S QK no. 467, Nam 484, MLC 1815 || pJ {S} *ka(i) 'day, period of time' > OJ ke id., -ka 'days' (sx): pa_{tu}-ka 'twenty days', i_{tu}-ka 'five days' etc. ¶ S QJ no. 1597, Mr. 430, 448 || M: **[1]** M *g_ey_i- v. 'beam, shine, emit light, dawn' > M M [MA] {Pp.} g_ei_l- 'shine, emit light, glitter', [S] {H} g_ey_i- 'hell werden' (Tag), WrM g_ei- {MED} 'shine, emit light, dawn', HIM гий- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'освещаться, озаряться; 'clear up' (sky, weather), Brt гий- v. 'dawn', WrO g_ii- 'shine', Kl {Rm.} g_i- 'leuchten, klar machen', g_En 'hell; Licht, Tageslicht', Dg g_ey_i- 'get light' (the sky), Ord g_i-

's'eclaircir, se mettre au beau' (temps) ¶ Pp. MA 169, H 50, MED 374, BMR I 400, Krg. 773, Chr. 153, KW 135, 137, Ms. O 265 | [2] M *gegeʁen 'dawn, daylight' ({SDM} *gegeʁe < *gegeʁe) > MM gegeyen, gegen, WrM gege(n), gegenge(n), HIM, Brt гегээ(н), Dg gegēn, Ba gegəŋ id., Mnr H {SM} g_əg_ēn 'clair, serein, lumineux, brillant', Kl {KRS} гегəн 'daylight, dawn', adj. 'hell', {Rm.} gegēn 'Tageslicht; hell, licht', Ord gegēn n. 'clair' ¶ MED 373-4, BMR I 476-7, Chr. 167, KRS 134, KW 132, SM 132, Ms. O 256 ¶¶ SDM 553-4 (pA *gǵǵǵ 'dawn, daylight' > Tg *giańam (for Tg *gE_awan with unjustified *-ń-), M *gegeʁe [> *geʁeʁe], J, Ko + err. T *k'üń(e)l ~ *k'üńal 'sun, day, sunny place, sun heat' [going back to N *k'u'ńyaHÍE ~ *k'u'yńaHÍE ~ *k'u'ńaHÍE 'sunshine, daybreak']), DQA no. 531 ◇ The IE lr. *H (rather than the expected *ĥ), NaIE *ā and *a need explaining. We may suppose an early loss of the N vw. *E in the prehistory of IE: N *goXey∇ > **goXy∇ > IE *gʷheHy- / *gʷhHy- and (+ suffixes) NaIE *gʷhajdro-s. Tg *gE_awan and Sm {Hl.} *kaya suggest a final vw. *a in N (*goXeya), which is at variance with the FU and M ev. (*-e in FU *koye, *-i- in M *geyi-) ◇ IS I 230-1 [no. 85]; IS compared IE, U, A, C (Or) and Om cognates, but did not adduce the S root *✓gʷh 'dawn' (probably because the Ar D and the appropriate EthS sources were not available to him). He reconstructed *gohya, but indicated that on the ev. of U (lack of lengthening of the vw.) this *H is likely to be identified as *ĥ. Now the S material confirms his theoretical prediction. This is one of the cases of IS's linguistic insight similar to Leverrier's discovery of Neptune. Another case is Jb χαν¹ṭi 'front, front part', which was unknown in the 60's and has become a brilliant confirmation of IS's historical phonology and of his rec. of the etymon *qanṭa 'forehead, front' (see N *qañṭ∇ id.).

703. *gaź∇ 'slanting, skew, bent' > K: G gez-ad 'schief, schräg, schieel' ¶ Chx. 187 || U: FU *°kâś∇ > Vg N {MF} kusī 'curved' (of a tree) ({MF} 'görbe', {Stn.} 'schief [Baum]'); Os: V/Vy qǎsaʁ 'schief, gekrümmt (Baum)', D/Nz/Kz χασəŋ 'krumm, gekrümmt, schief', Vy qǎsaʁ lǵʁ {Stn.} 'Pferd, das den Kopf aufrecht trägt' (misprint for '...nicht aufrecht...?'), D/Kr χασə 'Biegung, Krümmung' ¶ Ht. no. 761, Stn. D 564 || HS: Eg fMK gśǰ ({EG} gśǰ) 'sich neigen, schief sein', {Fk.} v. 'tilt, favour (so.)' ¶ EG V 205, Fk. 292 || A ≈ *gaǰi- > M *gaǰi- > WrM {MED} gǰi- vi. 'warp, bend, get out of shape', HIM гажи- {MED, BMR} id., Brt гажə- id., 'become crooked', Kl {Rm.} gǰi- 'sich biegen, seitwärts gebogen sein, schräg\ schief sein', Ord gǰi- 'se tordre, se courber'; M

*гаžig₁∇₁ > WrM {MED} гaзиг 'crooked, bent; deviation, anomaly', HIM гажиг {MED} id., {BMR} 'perversion, distortion; deformity, abnormality', Kl {KRS} гажг гаžъг 'crooked, bent', {Rm.} гаžig 'schräg, schief, zurückgebogen'; M *гаžig₂∇₂ 'crooked, curved, slanting, corrupt' > WrM гaзигу {MED} id., HIM гажуу {MED} id., {BMR} 'crooked, curved, bent', Brt гажуу id., Kl {Rm} гаžū 'krummgebogen, schief, schräg', Ord гažigū 'pervers, dépravé, faux, injuste' ¶ MED 356-7, BMR I 340-2, Chr. 139, KRS 152, KW 141, Ms. O 286 || T *Kiy- > OT [MK], MT қiy-, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Tv қiy-, Tkm giy-, Uz қiy-, Xk χiy- 'cut aslant, make notches', OT {Cl.} қiyiq 'crooked, cut on a slant' ¶ SDM 544 quoted the above-mentioned words and erroneously adduced Ggz қiy- 'cut into small pieces', Tk кiy- {SDM} id., {Akd.} v. 'mince, chop up' and Chv Δ.жăйă 'лучина' ({SDM} 'chip, sliver'), which belong to pT *qiy- 'cut' (cf. ET Q 197-200, Fed. II 318 and Jeg. 289) ¶ SDM 544 (pA *giyō 'notch', v. 'cut aslant' > T *Kiy- + [not belonging here]: Tg *gia- 'plane, notch; chips, shavings' and pJ ki 'notch'), Cl. 676 (supposing that OT қiyiq goes back to pT *kiδik), Rs. W 261, ET Q 197-200, Akd. 601 ¶ T *-iy- may go back to pre-T *-ayī- (regr. as.) ¶ ≠ SDM 544 (pA *giyō v. 'notch, cut aslant' > T + pJ *ki n. 'notch' and Tg *gia id., v. 'plane'), ≠ DQA no. 509 (id.).

704. (2?) *g^{ra}ž¹∇ 'to go; way, path' > K {K, K²} *gza-, {FS} *gz- 'way, path' (× N *gü'ž¹∇ or *gu'ž¹E 'tracks, path; to go, to pass') > OG gza-y, G gza 'way, path', Mg za- 'way' (pl. za-l), o-rz-oli 'Wegzehrung', Lz (n)gza- 'way', o-gz-a-l-u 'to go', Sv UB/L lī-z-i, Sv LB/Ln lizi msd. 'to go away', Sv lā-z-i 'wegzuehend', mē-z-i 'hingehend', nā-z 'gegangen', zz- ~ z9z- v. 'send' (n. act. li-zz-i) ¶¶ K 62-3, K DE 359, K² 30, FS K 81, FS E 84-5, Shan. ESh 733-4, 736, TK 489 || **HS:** S *o-gū'š¹- > Ak NA ✓ gωš (inf. gūāšū 𐎡 gāšū, p. -gūš) v. 'go, come' ¶ CAD V 58 (determining the meaning of the word on the basis of recent research), ≠ Sd. 283 (gāšū "etwa 'schnell laufen'") || ? **IE:** NaIE *g^hē(ḷ)-/*g^hi- or *g^hē(ḷ)-/*g^hi- v. 'go away' ('fortgehen') (× N *gEhōwυ∇ 'to go\drive away' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ P 418-19 (without distinguishing this √ from the paronymous verb *g^hē-, *g^hēḷ- 'be empty, lack, abandon'), AHDI 21 (considering the stem with meaning 'go' to be the middle voice' of *g^hē- 'release, let go'), M K I 426 and II 589, M E II 813-14 (connecting OI jīhītē with the root hā- 'leave' only) ◇ In K *gza- there is merger of the N etymon in question and of N *gü'ž¹∇ or *gu'ž¹E '↑'. The main

source of the K root is likely to be N *g'a'ẓ∇ (as suggested by the K cns. *z).

705. ₂ *gæẓ∇ 'ε hair, wool' > HS: S *gizz- 'wool, fleece' > BHb ṭḥ 'gez 'fleece of sheep' (Dt. 18.4, Job 31.20), MHb ṭḥ 'gez 'wool', Sr ṭḥ^o gez'z-ā, Ak gizzu 'fleece of sheep', CS *gizz-at- > BHb ṭḥ^o gizzā 'fleece, wool', JEA {Sl.} ṭḥ^o gizz-ā 'fleece', JA [Trg.] ṭḥ^o gizzat-ā, Sr ṭḥ^o gizzat-ā, Md gizzat id., SmA gz {Tal} n. act. 'shearing', Ar جَزَّة ḡizzat- 'wool clipped at one time; fleece'; S *gizz- ⇨ S *gzz v. 'shear, cut (wool)' > Hb, Ug, Amr, JA, Plm, Sr, Md, Ak gzz, SmA gzz 'shear (sheep)', Ar gzz id. ¶ KB 178-9, KBR 185-6, OLS 154, HJ 219, G A 19, Sl. 273-4, 279, Tal 139-40, DM 89, BK I 285-6, DRS 110 || EC: pDI {Tk.} *gāz- 'hair' > Gln {AMS} kās-o, Cm {Hbl.} gāz-o, Gwd {AMS} gēs-o id. | ?σ Sd gāze 'long (hair)' ¶ AMS 246, Gs. 117 || Ch: WCh ({Stl.} *g'a'ẓ∇) 'hair' > Hs gāšì (pl. gāšúwà, gāšú, gāšúkà) 'hair, feather', Gw gāša 'hair, beard, feather'; ?? Hs gīzō 'long matted hair on a man's head', ?? Hs gēzā 'mane' (qu. because of Hs {Ba.} gířāzā, considered by Ba. as pl. of gēzā) | NrBc {Tk.} *gəz- 'hair' > Cg gə'síyá, Wrj gəžáy, Kry gəžì, P' ngèzá, Mbr ngəží, My ágəžù, Sir gəží, Jmb gəza 'hair' | Ngz gùzáj (pl. gùzàzín) 'pubic hair' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} g^ωĉc, Gzg D {Lk.} ng^ωič 'hair' | Glv {Rp.} gùžá, Gdf {IL} g^ωúž[^] id. | ?φ Tr ṽos id. | ZmD {Srp.} gesaúa, ZmB {Sa.} ngəzā wá id. ¶ JI I 85 and II 176-7, Nw. no. 66 (pCh *gas i 'hair'), Stl. ZCh 216 [no. 658], Ba. 370, 379, 393, Abr. H 309, 316, 329, Mts. G 42, Sch. DN 77, Sk. NB 25, Tk. NB 172 ¶ The presence of three different roots in Hs suggests that here there are several Ch roots, only one of them being the legitimate descendant of the N etymon in question ¶¶ Tk. PAA 16 (NrBc, DI), ≈ Sk. HCD 83 || IE: NaIE *g^ha₁s₁s₁- > Av gaēsa- 'Kraushaar, Lockenhaar', Prs gēs 'herabhängende Haare, Locken' || Clt {Matas.} *^ogaysseto- 'mane, hair of beasts' > Mlr {Matas.} gaisid id., {P} 'steifes Haar, Borste' ¶ P 410, Matas. E 154-5 || A: M *gežige > WrM gežige {MED} 'plait or braid of hair, pigtail, queue; hair in general', HIM гэзэг {MED} id., {BMR} 'Zopf', Brt гэзэгэ id., 'Zöpfchen der Männer', MM [MA] gežige 'withers', Kl {KRS} гижг gižag 'plait\braid of hair', {Rm.} gižigə 'Haarzopf', Ord g_ež_ige 'natte portée dams le dos; cheveux' ¶ M: × M *gežige (< *gedige) 'nape of neck' (> WrM gežige, HIM гэзэг id., Kl {KRS} гижг gižag ~ gižgə 'occiput', {Rm.} gižigə 'Nacken', Ord g_ež_ige 'nuque'), akin to M *gede-ŋ, *gede-s

'zurück' and to T *kæð id., 'back part' ¶ MED 381, BMR I 479, Pp. MA 170, Cr. 169, KRS 142, KW 131, 135, Rs. W 946, Ms. O 255.

706. *gū^ʒ∇ or *gu^ʒE 'tracks, path; to go, to pass' > K {K, K²} *gza-, {FS} *gz- 'way, path' (× N *g^až∇ 'to go; way, path' [q.v.]) > OG gza-y, G gza 'way, path', Mg za- 'way' (pl. za-l), 0-rz-0li 'Wegzehrung', Lz (n)gza- 'way', 0-gz-a-l-u 'to go', Sv UB/L lī-z-i, Sv LB/Ln lizi msd. 'to go away', Sv lā-z-i 'wegzugehend', mē-z-i 'hingehend', nā-z 'gegangen', zz- ~ z9z- v. 'send' (n. act. li-zz-i) ¶¶ K 62-3, K DE 359, K² 30, FS K 81, FS E 84-5, Shan. ESh 733-4, 736, TK 489 || **HS:** S: [1] WS *-gūz- v. 'go, pass' > Ar جون ✓ǧwz (pf. ḡāza, ip. ya-ḡūzu) v. 'go, go through, walk, pass', SmA ✓ǧwz 'go across, pass', BHb ✓ǧwz (pf. ٿ̣ḡāz, pf. c. ٿ̣ḡāy) 'pass (vorübergehen)', JA, ChrPA ✓ǧwz G 'go through', JEA {Sl.} ✓ǧwz G 'cease, pass away', Sb ✓ǧwz (pf. gz) v. 'go, pass, pass through' ¶ KB 175, KBR 182, Tal 134-5, Lv. I 309, Sl. 268, BK I 353-4, BGMR 51, DRS 106-7] [2] S °*✓gzɤ > OYmn ✓gzɤ 'go, go away', Ar Y جزع ✓ǧzɤ 'go, go away, pass by' (× S °*✓gzɤ > Ar ✓ǧzɤ 'cut, cross'; the merger accounts for ɤ) ¶ Slw. 61 || C *gi₁ɤ₁ɤ- 'road, way' > Ag: Bln {R} giɔ (pl. giz) 'way'; Ag ? ⇨ Gz gəɤz 'journey, wandering, walk' ||| pEC *giz- > pLEC d. *gitt- (< *gid-t-) > Af gita 'trail, road, way', Sml N {Abr.} žid (pl. židad), Bn šid 'road', Rn žít (pl. žítát) 'road, path' ¶ AD SF 60-1, R WB 139, L G 175, Bl. 184, Hn. S 61, PG 168, PH 114, Oo. 71 ¶ The origin of Gz ɤ (← C *₁ɤ₁?) is not clear (a merger with some other ✓?) || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) *^oküć∇- v. 'follow the tracks of, follow the way' > pOs {Ht.} *kōć- ({}HL.} *kūć-) v. 'follow the tracks of; to find the tracks; to follow' > Os: V kōť- 'Spuren verfolgen; nicht vom Weg abweichen, den Weg finden', Vy kōť, D qōť-, Nz/Sh/Kz/Sn qūs- 'Spuren verfolgen, (ver)folgen' || OHg kíser- v. 'go with, accompany; to follow (verfolgen)', Hg kíser- v. 'go with, accompany' ¶ MF 367, EWU 756-7, Stn. D 707-8 ◇ The rec. of N *ž rather than of *z is based on K *gza-, but since the latter is of ambiguous origin, N *ž is not certain.

707. ≈ *gUžTŪ (or ≈ *gUžTŪ) 'laugh, amuse' > **HS:** S °*✓gɔl > Ar ḡaɔil- 'merry', ✓ǧɔl (np. -ḡɔal-) v. 'be merry' ¶ BK I 269-70, DRS 103 || Ch ({}JS} *✓g₁ɤ₁ v. 'laugh'): WCh: Klr {J} giɤel 'laugh' || NrBc: Sir {Sk.} ɤàtlí id. ||| ECh: Nd D {J} gúsâ, Tmk {Cp.} gáž id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'laugh', Cp. 60 ||| **IE:** [1] NaIE *gh₁leu₁- (< IE **gh₁leu₁- < **gužlu-?) v. 'be merry, joke' > Gk χλεύη 'joke, jest' ||| ON glý 'joy', AS ʒlēo, ʒliez, ʒlīw 'mirth,

jest, ridicule; music; pleasure' || Lt Δ gláuda 'a joke', gláudoti, Ltv glaudāt 'to joke' || Sl *gluma > OCS ГЛОУМА gluma ('vaniloquentia, magniloquentia') 'Geschwatz, Prahlerei', {ESSJ} 'болтовня, хвастовство', Blg глума 'joke, mockery', SCr glúma 'шутка, веселье, игра', Slv glúma 'joke'; Sl *glumiti > OCS ГЛОУМИТИ СѦ glumiti сѣ (· ἄδολεσχεῖν, μετεωρίζεσθαι, μετεωρεῖν', loqui, garire) 'пустословить, хвастаться', R inf. глумиться 'to mock, to jeer' ||] [2] NaIE *gʰoǵlos 'merry, wanton' > Gt gailjan (· εὐφραίνειν) 'erfreuen', AS ƶǣl 'wanton, frivolous', OHG gēil 'wanton, insolent', geili 'haughtiness, insolence', NHG geil 'luxuriant, voluptuous', ON géilig-r 'beautiful' ¶ WP I 634, P 451-2, EI 255-6 (*gʰleu- 'revel'), ESSJ VI 147-50, F II 1103, Fs. 185, Ho. 123, Kb. 323, Schz. 149, KM 242, Vr. 161, Bern. I 308, Frn. 155 ||] А: Т *k'ül- (or *k_ül-) v. 'laugh' > OT, MQp, Cmn, XwT, Chg kül-, Tk güл-, Tkm, Ggz güл-, Az күл- ḡül-, Uz күл- kwл-, Blq, Qry Cr, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, Yk küл-, VTt, Bsh көл- kbл-, Chv L күл- kul-, Chv Δ.кол- id., Xk küл- id., 'smile' ¶ Cl. 715-16, ET VGD 98-100, Md. 69, 171, Rs. W 307, Ash. VI 271-3, Fed. I 304, Jeg. 115, ChVS 94 ◇ The IE and T cognates are likely to go back to the variant *gUŽTŪ.

708. ₂^* gUŽŷŷ ▽ 'wish, be hungry' > HS: WS *✓gšŷ > Ar جشع ✓ǧšŷ G {Ln.} 'be affected with the most vehement desire \ eagerness \ avidity', {BK} 'désirer ardemment qch., en chercher avec avidité', Jb C {Jo.} gžšŷ 'greedy person' ¶ Ln. II 427, BK I 296-7, Jo. J 79 || EC: Sml gāžō, Sml N gāžō 'hunger' ¶ DSI 243, Abr. S 85 || Ch: WCh: BT: Bele gùhì 'hunger', gùž-àmmá 'thirst' (àmmá 'water'), Glm gúšì, ? Grm kúžú 'hunger' || Ngz {Sch.} gžžì, Bd ʔžžan 'thirst' || Zul {ChL} gùzumì, Plc guzum 'hunger' ||] CCh: Lgn {Lk.} ʔ|ʔqžžm 'hunger' ¶ JI II 196-7, Sch. BTL 147, 155, Sch. DN 59, ChC s.v. '(be) hungry, hunger' and 'thirst, -y', ChL, ≈ Stl. ZCh 221 [no. 707] (*guzi 'hunger', Stolbova included words belonging to both N *gUŽŷŷ ▽ and to N *Kas,ʔ, ▽ 'be hungry, wish'), Lk. L 95 ||] А: Tg *guje(-n)- > Ewk, Neg gujɜn-, Lm gujɜn-, Ork gujɜlɜ-, gujɜlɜ-, gujɜlɜ- v. 'love, caress', vt. 'pity (жалеть)', Lm gujɜn n. 'love, tenderness', Sln gujɜn- v. 'love', Orc gužan-, gužasi-, Nn Bk gužin- vt. 'pity' ¶ STM I 167-8.

709. *gûb ▽ 'to plait, to interlace, to wattle' ([in descendant lges] → 'to weave') > IE *χub- / *χweb- 'plait, interlace' > NaIE *ubʰ-/*webʰ- v. 'plait, weave' > OI ubh'nāti v. 'laces up', 'ūrṇā-'vabhī- 'spider' (← *'wool spinner'), Av ubdaēna- 'made of web' ||] Gk ὑφή 'web', ὑφος id., ὑφάκνω 'weave' ||] ON vefa, OHG weban 'to weave, to plait, to

spin', NHG *weben*, AS *wefan* 'to weave', NE *weave*; AS *webbian* 'anspinnen' || pAl {O} **webn̥ya* (< **webʰnyō*) > Al *ve j* 'weave' || pTc {Ad.} **wāp-* > Tc: A *wāp-*, B *wāp-* 'weave' || Ht {Pv.} *hup(p)ai-*, *huppiya-* v. 'interlace, entangle, ensnare', *hup(p)ala-* 'net' ¶¶ WP I 257, P 1114-15, EI 572 (**h₂|h₃ebʰ-* 'weave'), Mn. 1495, M K I 107, F II 976-7, Vr. 649-50, Kb. 1155, Schz. 312, Ho. 387-8, O 498, Pv. III 384-6, Wn. I 557, Ad. 586, Ad. H 35 || K: GZ {K, FS} **ʷob-*, {K²} **ʷweb-* v. 'wattle, weave' > G *ʷob-* v. 'weave, wattle a fence, fence in', Mg *ʷob-* 'plait, fence in', Lz *ʷob-* v. 'plait'; -d> K **ʷob-e-* 'wattle fence' > OG, G *ʷobe-*, Mg *ʷober-*, Lz *ʷobe(r)-* id., Sv *ʷweb* (pl. stem *ʷob-*) 'beehive' ¶¶ K 205, K² 225, 231, FS K 350, FS E 393, DCh. 1354, ≠ K IEK 72-4 (K ← IE; unc.: plaiting is not a new technology [as K claimed], but one of the most ancient industrial techniques) || HS: S: Ar ✓ *ʷbn G* (ip. -*ʷbunu*) 'fold and hem (the edge of a garment, a skin)', {BK} 'faire un pli et le coudre pour raccourir le vêtement' ¶ Fr. III 257, BK II 433, Hv. 516 ◇ If the Ar cognate is rejected (by those who do not recognize the legitimacy of cognates that are isolated within HS), the N etymon will be reconstructed as **ṛúbn̥*.

709a. **gaʳc̥¹n̥* (or **gaʳic̥¹n̥*?) '(leafy) branch, bough' > HS: S **ʷn̥c̥¹-* ~ **ʷ|x̣aʳcc̥¹-* > Ar *ʷuʒn-* (pl. *ʷiʒan-at-*) 'branch', bough, shoot', Ak M {CAD} *ḫaʒʒ-u* 'leafy branch' ¶ BK II 473, Hv. 526, CAD VI 12 || ?σ C: Ag: Xm {R} *χaʒā* (pl. *χaʒ*), Bln {R} *aʒā* (pl. *aʒ*), {Bnd.} *āšā*, Q {R} *aʒā*, Aw {CR} *χaʒ ī*, {Bnd.} *ʷuci* 'leaf' || EC: Kns {BISO} *hāššā* id., ?σ Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} *ḫāšše* 'Kaffeeblatt, Kaffeepflanze', Cm {Bnd.} *ḫāšše* 'leaf' ¶ AD SF 157, R WB 55, R Ch II 272 (s.p. 58), R QW 35, BISO 34, AMS 163, 253, Blz. CL 179 || ?σ NrOm: Dwr {Bnd.} *ḫayca*, Anf {Gt.} *ēčo* or *ēžo*, She {Bnd.} *aīsi* 'leaf', Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} *ḫayca* id. (× or ← *ḫayca* 'ear, orecchio') ¶ AD SF 157, Bnd. PO, Mrn. O 146 || IE **χχosd-o-* 'bough' > Ht {Pv.} *ḫasduer-* 'twigs, sticks, brush(wood)' || NaIE **osd-* 'branch, bough' > Arm *nun ost* (**o-stem*) id. || Gk ὄζος, Gk L [Sappho] ὕσδος, Gk Ae ὕσδος 'bough, branch, twig' || Gt *ast̥s* (· κλάδος, βαίον, στοιβάς) 'Ast, Palmzweig, Streu', OHG, OSx *ast* 'branch, bough' ¶¶ EI 80 (**h₂osdo-s* 'branch'), Pv. III 239-40, Mn. 893, F II 353, Fs. 60, Ho. S 4, Kb. 47, EWA I 373-5, Schz. 91, KM 34, Sl. 324, IS I 277, ≠ P 785 || A: M **ačan* 'bifurcated branch of a tree' > WrM {MED} *aca(n)* 'fork; pitchfork; bifurcation', 'bifurcated, split', HIM *ac(ah)* {MED} id., {BMR} 'pitchfork; bifurcated branch of a tree (развилина), рогулька', Brt *aca asa* 'bifurcates branch (in a tree\boughs), pitchfork', Kl {KRS} *ac*

acъ 'bough, branch; bifurcated, double', {Rm.} acā 'Ast, Gabelung', Mkl (ArSc) {Wr.} āčā 'Astgabel, Gabelstock (für Zelte)', Ord ač'a 'fourche de bois, branche fourchue, bifurcation' ¶ MED 7, BMR I 180-1, Chr. 62, KRS 58, KW 18, Chr. 63, Wr. B 118, Ms. O 34-5 ◇ ≠ IS I 276-7 (*^ςαζα 'branch'; IE + unc. S *^ςαζ {IS's interpretation of S *^ςι^ς-} 'tree' and allegedly related Eg, B, C and Ch words). See AD PNCPh § B (discussion of the problems of comparison).

710. ? (₂?) *^ςg¹oK¹∇ŝ|Ĉ¹∇ (R¹∇) '∈ canine' > HS: (mt.) B *^ς✓w¹sk¹n 'jackal' > BSn, Rif, BSlh, BMn, Kb, Shw uššān, pl. uššān, Gd {CM} uššān id. ¶ Dl. 976, Hy. DFCh 93, Rn. 282 || Om {Blz.} *aksi 'dog' (× N *^ςkaĉ¹∇ 'young dog' and N ? *^ςka³∇ '[young] dog'??) > SOm: Ari {Bnd.} (?)aksi 'dog', Ari B {Fl.} aks, aksi (pl. aksān), Ari U {Fl.} aksi, Ari G {Bnd.} akšī, Hm B {Fl., Ldl} kaski, Hm K {Fl.} kaski id. ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'dog', Blz. OL no. 124, Ldl H s.v. kaski || S *^ο✓^ςŝ¹rb > Ar ^ςušarrab- 'lion' (*-b- is a sx of animal names < N adjectival particle *^οb¹A forming animal names [q.v.]) ¶ BK II 470 || U: FU (in ObU only) *^ο✓^ςw¹ok¹ŝ¹∇r∇ 'fox' (× N *^οw¹U¹ŝ¹E¹K¹o ~ *^οw¹o¹K¹∇ŝ¹∇ '∈ a canine', q.v.) > pObU *^οwākšār > pOs *^οwāksar ({Hl.} *^οwāksar) 'fox' > Os: Y wāqsar, Nz/Kz wōχsar, D/K wāχsār, O ōχsār id.; pVg *^οčkšār id. > Vg: T okšār, LK/MK oksar, P/ML oxšar, Ss oksar id. ¶ Ht. no. 679 || ?ϕ A: Tg: Ewk guskā 'wolf' ¶ STM I 175 ◇ Qu., because the sound correspondences are not exact, and several supposed cognates have alt. etymologies.

711. *^οg¹e¹r¹∇ (w¹∇) 'to rise in waves' (of water) > HS: S *^ο✓^ςly > Ar ^ςغلى ✓^ςly G (ip. -^ςlī) 'boil' (of a cooking pot) ¶ Fr. III 292 || K: OG ^ςvelva-^ς 'tempestas (aquae)' (Luke 8.24), 'waves' (Mark 4.37), G ^ςvelva 'Wogen, Wellengang' ¶ Ser. 169, Chx. 1619, DCh. 1358, ≠ K² 222 (^ςvelva ⇨ ^ςvel- 'be nervous') || IE: NaIE *^οald^h- 'wave' (*^ο-gr. of **el-d^h-?) > ON alda 'Welle', Nic, NNr, Far, OSw alda, ODan aldaē 'wave', NrGmc ⇨ F aalto, Vp ālto id., Lp L altā 'big wave', Lp Sw (pl.) {Fri.} aldoh 'fluctus, unda maior' ¶ WP I 92, P 31-2 (≡σ: the NrGmc word ← NrGmc word for 'trough' < NaIE *ald^h- 'trough'), Vr. 5, SK 1, Fri. 17, LLO 23, Qv. NLL 88, Vs. II 540, Ho. 84 || D *^οe¹r¹∇v- 'a wave' > Klm elava 'a wave', Gnd helva 'a wave, flood' ¶ D no. 830.

712. N *^οg¹ūL¹∇ (= *^οg¹ū¹∇?) 'to destroy, to fight; war' > HS: S *^ο-^ςū¹- > Ar ✓^ςw¹l (ip. -^ςū¹l) v. 'cause to perish, destroy; attack suddenly' ¶ BK II 518, Hv. 539 || C: (pC {AD} ✓^ς*^ςw¹l or *^ςū¹l-, {E} *^ςū¹l- v. 'fight'): EC *^ςū¹- > Sml ūól 'army, enemy', Rn hól 'quarrel, argument (involving

physical violence); anger', Bn B/J/K $\acute{o}l$ 'war, quarrel', Elm $i\acute{s}-o\acute{l}o\acute{l}-$ v. 'quarrel', Sd {C} $o\acute{l}-$ v. 'fight', Hd $o\acute{r}-a$ 'fight'; rdp. {JE} $*\acute{\varsigma}o\acute{l}\acute{\varsigma}o\acute{l}-$ > $**o\acute{l}\acute{o}l-$ > Arr $l\acute{o}l$ 'anger', $l\acute{o}l-$ 'be angry', Or $l\acute{o}l-$ v. 'fight' ¶ Bl. 243, Ss. PEC 21, Hn. S 77, Hn. BD 136, PG 142, AD SF 162, E PC no. 492, Grg. 265-6, Hw. A 382 || IE $*\chi^{\omega}\nabla l-/*\chi o l-$ 'destroy, defeat' > Ht $hulla-$, $hulliya-$ {Pv.} v. 'smash, defeat' ({Frd.} $hullāi-$ 'bekämpfen, niederschlagen'), $hullanza-$ {Frd., Ts.} 'fight', {Pv.} 'defeat' (× N $*h\acute{u}L\nabla$ 'push, butt, pierce') || NaIE $*o\acute{l}-$ (× N $*w\nabla L'h'\nabla$ 'to hit, to attack' [q.v.]?) > Gk Hm/A $\acute{\upsilon}l\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\iota$ (< $*\acute{\upsilon}l-\nu\acute{u}-\mu\iota$) 'destroy, make an end of', Gk $\acute{\upsilon}l\lambda\acute{o}\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'destructive, deadly' || L $ab-o\acute{l}\bar{e}-$ 'destroy' ¶¶ Frd. HW 73-4, Frd. HW EH II 73-6, Pv. III 13-14, 363-8, Ts. E I 273-80, WP I 87, P 777, EI 158 ($*h_3el\acute{h}_1-$ 'destroy'), WH I 4-5, F II 378-9 (no et. of the Gk words) || K: GZ $*\psi u l-$ 'destroy, beat' > OG {FS} $m\acute{o}-m-\psi u l-a\acute{l}i$ 'destroyed', {FS← Abul.} 'zerquetscht, zertreten, vernichtet', G $m\acute{o}-m-\psi u l-a\acute{l}i$ 'beaten (a track)', Lz $m\acute{e}-\psi u r-u$ 'vernichten, zerstören, verwahrlosen', $m\acute{e}-\psi u r-a\acute{s}$ 'will be destroyed' ¶ FS K 358, FS E 402, Abul. 270 || ?σ D (att. in McTm) (× N $*\acute{\varsigma}o\acute{l}\nabla$ [= $*\acute{\varsigma}o\acute{l}\acute{u}?$] 'starve, die'): Tm $u\acute{l}a\acute{i}$ 'perish, be ruined', $u\acute{l}a\acute{k}k\acute{a}\acute{i}$ 'end, ruin, death', Ml $u\acute{l}a\acute{c}a\acute{i}$, $u\acute{l}a\acute{\nu}u$ n. 'ruin' ¶ Tm and Ml $-l-$ suggests N $*-l-$, but this ev. is not decisive, because the MvTm root is contaminated with N $*\acute{\varsigma}o\acute{l}\nabla$ ¶ D no. 671 || ?σ E: NEI $hul-lak$ 'er wurde geplündert\ausgeraubt\ gebrandschatzt', $hi-u\acute{l}-li-i\acute{n}$ 'Plünderung, Beute', MEI $hi-il-la-an-ra$ 'einer, der plündert\raubt', $hi-il-la-\acute{a}\acute{s}$ 'er entnahm, er nahm an sich' ¶¶ HK 660, 673, 691 || ??σ A: T $*\acute{o}l-$ 'die' and M $*\acute{o}l\acute{u}-$ 'starve' (× N $*\acute{\varsigma}o\acute{l}\nabla$ [= $*\acute{\varsigma}o\acute{l}\acute{u}?$] 'starve, die; dead', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Blz. E no. 92 (E, HS) ◇ If Tm $u\acute{l}a\acute{i}$ and Ml $u\acute{l}a\acute{c}a\acute{i}$, $u\acute{l}a\acute{\nu}u$ belong here (which is qu.), the N rec. must be $*g\acute{u}l\nabla$ ◇ The D root was added by Blz. (Blz. L no. 55 and Blz. LNA no. 18).

713. $*g\acute{i}l^{\prime}u^{\prime}$ 'boy, young man' > HS: CS $*^{\prime}\psi a\acute{l}_L\nabla m-$ 'young man, a youth' > Hb גַּלְמָּוּ 'galēm, paus. "galēm, Ug $\acute{\varsigma}lm$ id., Pun {HJ} ALAM 'man' or 'young man', Plm $\acute{\varsigma}lm$ 'servant'; ⇨ CS f. $*^{\prime}\psi a\acute{l}am-at-$ 'maid, young woman' > Hb גַּלְמָּא $\acute{\varsigma}al^{\prime}m\acute{a}$ 'young woman (until the birth of her first child)', Ph $\acute{\varsigma}lmt$, ALMA 'virgin, maid (demoiselle)', Ug $\acute{\varsigma}lmt$ 'girl (demoiselle)', Plm $\acute{\varsigma}lmt$ 'female servant'; ⇨ (dim.) CS $*\psi u\acute{l}aym-$ 'boy, young man' > OA $\acute{\varsigma}l\psi m$ 'child', IA, Nbt, Plm $\acute{\varsigma}l\psi m$ 'servant', JA גַּלְמָּא $\acute{\varsigma}ul\acute{e}^{\prime}m\acute{a}$, JEA {Sl.} גַּלְמָּא $\acute{\varsigma}ul\acute{e}^{\prime}m\acute{a}$ 'young man', Sr $\acute{\varsigma}al\acute{a}\psi m-\acute{a}$ 'boy, a youth', Ar $\psi u\acute{l}\acute{a}m-$ 'young man, lad, young slave', ⇨ CS f. $*\psi u\acute{l}aym-at-$ 'maid, girl' > SmHb $\acute{a}l\acute{i}ma$ 'maid', IA $\acute{\varsigma}l\psi m^{\prime}h^{\prime}$, $\acute{\varsigma}l\psi mt-$, Plm $\acute{\varsigma}l\psi mt?$

'female servant', Ar ψ ulāmat- 'young girl, female slave' ¶ KB 790-1, KBR 835, JH 214, HJ 862, FrdR § 229, A no. 2150, OLS 156, Sl. 847, Br. 528 || EC *il∇m- ({Bl.} *ilm-) (× ← EC *il- 'give birth, beget', cf. Sd, Ged, Kmb il- id.) > Or {Grg.} ilm-a 'boy', Or B/O {Sr.} ilma 'son', pSam {Hn.} *ilem- > Sml ilm-o 'child, baby', Sml N {Abr.} ílmó 'child', pBn *éleŋ > Bn J/B éleŋ (pl. Bn B/K iyâl) 'boy'; Sd {Gs.} ilme 'young of donkeys and horses' ¶ The Bn pl. form suggests that *-m- may go back to a sx ¶ Bl. 221, Hn. S 65, Hn. BD 96, Abr. S 128-9, Grg. 224, Gs. 175, Hd. 70, Sr. 332 || U: FU: [1] FU ≈ *il|]m∇ 'person' > F Δ ilminen, Ing ilmihīn id., ?? Es inemine id. | ? pLp *ǝlm- 'person, man' > Lp: S almedje, P almmaš, L almatj 'person', N âlmai 'man' ||| Vg: K {Mu.} ēlām-χolās, W yēlm-kals, N ēlām-χōlas 'person' (χōlās, kals, χōlas 'strange') ||| [2] FU (att. in FL) *°ülkä 'boy, young man' > F ylkä 'bridegroom', Es {W} ülg 'Bräutigam, Mann'; pLp {Lr.} *ǝlkē 'boy, son' > Lp: S {Hs.} älgie 'son', L {LLO} al'hkē 'boy (between 8 and 10 years)', I alge 'son, boy', Kld {SaR} алльк, {TI} e:lg_ǝ_ 'son' ¶ SK 105-6, 1859, W EDW 1272, Lr. no. 10, Lgc. no. 47, Hs. 234-5, TI 8, SaR 24, SSA I 225, ≈ UEW 81, 627 (deriving F ilminen from * ψ ilma 'sky, heaven' > F ilma 'air, weather'), ≠ Ht. no. 189 (deriving Vg K ēlām-χolās from pVg *yīlām 'weather' < ObU *yīlām 'weather, world') ¶ The labialization *i- > *ü- in *°ülkä may be caused by N *-U. The elements *-m∇ and *-kä are likely to go back to sxs || D *il∇ 'young, young man' > Tm, Ml i|a 'young, tender', Tm i|ai 'youth, tender age', Td e| 'young', Kt e| id., 'time of youth', Ka e|, e|a, e|e 'tenderness, youth', Kdg ǝ|eǝ 'youth', Tu e|atb, e|e 'tender, not fully grown', ellpāye 'a youth, junior', Tl ela 'young, tender', Prj ileđ 'young man, youth', ile 'young woman, girl', Gdb ile 'bride', ? Brh ilum 'brother' ¶¶ D no. 513 ||| N *gil'U' may underly diminutive and hypocoristic suffixes in K, NaIE and U (unless they are a reflex of the N diminutive pc. *l∇, q.v. ffd.): K *-il- ~ *-∇|-, diminutive sx (G P mam-il-a 'daddy, Väterchen' from mama 'father', in other Georgian dialects vocative forms: mam-il-o 'daddy!', ded-il-o 'Mütterchen'; Sv dīn-ōl- [dim. of dīn 'girl']) ¶¶ Vogt ACS 104, Chinch. XT 82-4, K'ob. 161, GP US 96 || IE: NaIE *-el∇-/ *-l∇-, sf. of diminutives, e.g. *porĕ-el- '(young) pig' (← *porĕo- 'swine') > L porculus, OHG farhilī(n), NHG Pferkel, Lt paršēlis id.; OI sí'sūla-s 'Kindchen' (← 'sí'su- 'Kind'), Gk ἄρκτύλος 'bear's cub', L animula (hypocoristic from anima 'soul'), OHG niftila (dim. of nift 'niece'), Lt tévėlis

(hypocoristic of *tévas* 'father'), *mergēlē* 'girl' (< *mergà* 'maid') ¶ BD II/1 364-7 || U *-_li_l∇- ~ *-_li_l∇-, diminutive *sx* > F *pyörülä* 'small circle, small ring' (< *pyörü* 'wheel'), *iso-la-mpa* 'a bit larger' (from *iso-mpa* 'larger'), Z *gop-al* 'small pit' (from *gop* 'pit', Os Vy *kulaí+* 'a small fish' (< *kuł* 'fish'), Hg (dial.) *hãńjāí* 'ant' (from Hg *hangya* id.) ¶ Sz. 88, Coll. CG 259, Lh. PUAS 145-52, Rus. SXJ 164, TmK 171, Slv. 138, W EDW 399 ◇ Blz. DA 156 [no. 46] (D, EC, FU) ◇ The rec. of N *_l is based on the ev. of D *_l (reg. from N *_l or *_ĺ) and of Vg _l (reg. from N *_l or *_ĺ) ◇ Blz. DA 156 [no. 46] (D, EC, FU).

714. **g^ro^llpa* (or **guLpa*?) 'weak, small' > K: G Gr *ψalp-i* 'weak', ? G I *ψlap-* 'baby' ¶ Shar. GL 71, Ghl. 582, 591 || IE **χ^welp-* / **χ^wlp-* 'small' > Ht *huelpi-* 'young, new, fresh, unripe; newborn animal' || NaIE **olp-* / **alp-* / ?**lp-* > OI 'alpa- 'small, little' ¶¶ P 33, ≈ EI 528 (adducing Ht *alpa(nt)-* 'sick, weak' and reconstructing [with "??"] IE **h_helpos* 'weak'), F I 64, Pv. III 331-2, Ts. E I 259-60, Kron. EHS 266, M K I 56, ≠ M E I 129 (rejecting all connections of OI 'alpa-) || A: M **ulba|u-* (unless with **φ-*) > WrM *ulbai-* {MED} 'be(come) soft\weak\limp\feeble\exhausted; waste away', HIM *улбай-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'schwach\schlaff\welk werden', Kl {KRS} *улви-* *ulwi-* 'schwach\schlaff sein', {Rm.} *ulwi-* 'weich\schlaff sein'; M **ulba|u-gar* > WrM {MED} *ulbagar* ~ *ulbugar*, HIM {MED, BMR} *улбагар*, Kl {KRS} *улвһр ulw^byr* 'soft, tender, weak', {Rm.} *ulwaφar* 'weich, zart' ¶ MED 872, BMR III 323, KRS 531, KW 449 ◇ M **ulba|u-* suggests a pN **u*, but in the light of the K cognate a N **o* is preferable ◇ ≈ IS I 239-40 [no. 96] (K + unt. IE **help-* 'weak', Tg *alba* 'unable', see N ?σ **ʿ^lal_lo_lp∇* 'weak, exhausted').

715. **gaí∇* 'cereals' > HS: S (WS?) **✓_lll* > Ar *ψall-at-* 'crops', OYmn *xl_ll* ({Slw.} *ψalīl-*) 'mixture of cereals', Ar *ψalīl-* {Ln., Slw.} 'date stones mixed with *قَتّ* *qatt-* (ε trefoil) or with dough for a camel, which is fed therewith' ¶ Hv. 531, Ln. 2278-9, Slw. 166 || K: G *ψalva* 'zu mähendes reifes Korn'; ? *ψala* 'reicher Ertrag des Feldes' (unless a loan from Ar *ψall-(at)-* through a third lge) ¶ Chx. 1611 || IE **χel_l∇_lĝ_lh_l-* ≈ 'cereals, grain' > NaIE **al_l∇_lĝ_lh_l-* id. > Gk *ἄλιξ* {Ch.} 'gruau d'épeautre', {EI} 'spelt' → L (h) *alica* 'spelt, cooked spelt' || Irn **arzana-* > NPRs *ارزن* *ärzän*, Psh *ždän* ({Asl.} *гдән*) 'millet' || Tc B *lyeksyue* 'millet' || Ht *halki-* 'grain, corn, grain crop', ? Lc *qelehi* 'of the grain god' ¶¶ Pv.

III 35-9, Juret 20, WH I 29 (ἄλλξ ← ἄλέω v. 'grind'), F I 73 (quoting the above et. of Gk as a possibility), EI 237 (IE ? *h₂h₃(e)lg₁h₁ 'grain' or 'millet'; Gk ἄλλξ ← AnIE), Mrg. 106, Asl. 486, Ad. 567 || A *a¹∇ 'ε vegetables as food (corn, berries)' (× N *ʔ¹a¹'U' 'food') > T *a¹ 'corn (cereals), seed, crops' (→ 'craft, scion [Pfropfreis, привой]') > Qrg aš, Yk as, ahilīq 'fruit of some wild plants, berry', Qmq {Stb.}, StAlt aš, Xk as 'seed, cereal, crops', Nog as 'grain, seed', QrB aš-ügü 'ε a cultivated plant', OT Kr aš-līq 'crops', Kr, QrB, VTt, Bsh, ET, Slr ašlīq, Uz ašlīq, Qzq, Qrg aštīq 'crops' ¶ ET Gl 210-12, Jud. 83, Stb. 73, Rs. W 30 || M *alirsun (unless it is *φalirsun) > WrM alirsu(n) {MED} 'red bilberry, cranberry, *Vaccinium vitis*', HIM алирс {MED} id., {BMR} 'cowberries', Brt алирһан 'bilberry, aftergrass (отава)', Kl {Rm.} älsn 'Spreu', ?σ 'Schale der Früchte'; M *°alir- (unless it is *°φalir-) > Brt алир- 'be covered with succulent grass' ¶ MED 32, BMR I 77, Chr. 43, KW 22, Luv. 31 bivvh9j || Ko al 'seed, grain, corn' ¶ Rm. SKE 6-7 || ??σ Tg *aluϕ 'currants', 'ε berry' > Ewk aluϕ, Neg aloy, Ul āly, Ork ally 'currants', Orc ālä: 'моховка (a kind of berry)' ¶ STM I 33 ¶¶ SDM 294-5 (pA *a¹∇ 'fresh crops, germinated seeds' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 32 ◇ AD NM no. 17, S CNM 13.

716. ₂ *ʔ¹am∇ 'mouth', (?) '(inside of) cheek' > HS: EC: Sml ɣan, ɣam- (pl. ɣam-an), Sml N ɣán, pl. ɣám-án {Abr., DSI, R} 'cheek', {E} 'inside of cheek' ¶ Abr. S 13, DSI 87, R SS II 59, E PC no. 475 || ? S *°✓ϕmm '≈ mouth of animal, muzzle' > Ar d. غمام (and غمامة) ɣimām-(at-) {Hv.} 'covering for the mouth of a donkey or a camel', غمامة ɣimām-at- {BK} 'sac en cuir qu'on met sur le museau d'un chameau pour l'empêcher de manger ou de mordre', غمام ɣumām- 'prepuce' (← *'front part ["muzzle"] of a penis') (× ✓ϕmm 'cover') ¶ Fr. III 292-3, BK II 498-500, Hv. 534 || ? Ch: WCh: Wrj {Sk.} ɣwùmáɣ, My {Sk.} áwùm 'cheek' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} ʔúmɜla 'cheek', FIG ɣwòlòmõ id. (mt.?) || ECh: Mu {J} gǔmí, pl. gòmàm 'cheek', Mgm {JA} gàmè, Nd D {J} dá-gòm id. ¶ JI II 68-9, ChC s.v. 'cheek', JS 65, ChL, RpB 96, RpM 150 || A *aman 'mouth', *ama- v. taste' (and *ama-s∇, *am∇-t∇ n. 'taste?') > M *aman 'mouth' > MM [HI, MA, L, IM] aman, [S] ama(n), WrM {MED} ama(n), HIM {MED, BMR} ам(аН), Brt ама(Н) id., Kl {KRS} амН 'mouth, orifice', {Rm.} amη 'Mund, Mündung, Öffnung, Loch', Mnr H {SM} ама, Dx, Ba, ShY aman, Dg am(ã) 'mouth', Ord ama 'bouche, ouverture, orifice'; M

*amsa- v. taste' > MM, WrM {MED} amsa-, HIM {MED, BMR} амса-, Brt амһа-, Kl {KRS} амс-, {Rm.} аmsa-, Mgl, Shr amsa-, Mnr {SM} amusa- 'goûter', Ord amsa- 'apprécier par le sens de goût, goûter'; M *am_lu_ltan n. 'taste' > WrM {MED} амта(n), HIM {MED, BMR} амт, Brt амта(н) id., Kl {KRS} амтн амтѣn id., {Rm.} амтѣ 'Geschmack', Mgl amta, Dg anta n. 'taste', Mnr {SM} amut'a 'goût, saveur', Ba amtæg n. 'taste', Ord amt'a 'goût', Dx anda-tu 'tasty', Dg anta- v. taste' ¶ Pp. MA 99, 432, Lg. VMI 16, Iw. 85, MED 35, 39, BMR I 83-4, 92-3, Chr. 46-7, 50-1, KW 9-10, KRS 40, 42, T 314, SM 5, 7, T DnJ 110, T BJ 133, Rm. M 22, Ms. H 35, Ms. O 18-19, 21-2, H 6 || Tg *am_la_lḡa 'mouth' > Ewk amḡa, Δ amma, Sln amma, {Iv.} amá, amaxá, amḡá, Lm amḡъ ѓ amḡa ѓ amḡa, Neg amḡa, Orc amma, Ud, Ul aḡma, Ork, Nn KU amḡa, Jrc {Md.} amḡa, {Kiy.} amḡa, WrMc {Z} аḡга, Mc Sb aḡa 'mouth'; WrMc аḡга has several meanings: 'mouth', 'mouth of animal', 'mouth of a river', 'orifice, ravine' and hence may go back to a merger of three words: Tg *aḡa 'mouth of animal', Tg *am_la_lḡa 'mouth' and a WrMc loanword аḡга 'fissure, cleft, ravine' (← WrM аḡ 'fissure, ravine'); NrTg *amta- v. 'taste' > Ewk, Neg amta-, Lm amtъ- id.; Tg *amtan n. 'taste' > Ewk, Orc, Ud, Ul amta, Lm, Neg amtan, Ork apta, Nn Nh amtã id., WrMc {Z} амтань, Mc Sb amtan id., 'sweet taste' ¶ STM I 38-9, Z 16-17, 46, Kiy. 124 [no. 494], Md. ChF 133 ¶¶ SDM 296-7 (pA > Tg, M, J, Ko + unc. pT *um-, *um-sa- 'hope, envy'), DQA no. 34, S AP I 79-81, II 88-9, 185, 205 || pJ *ámá- 'tasty, sweet' > OJ ama-, MJ áma- id., J T àma-, J K ámà-, J Kg áma- {Kenk.} 'sweet'; pJ *ántí n. 'taste' > OJ adi, MJ ádí, J T àḡi, J K áḡí, J Kg áḡi id. ¶ Mr. 389, 825, Kenk.15, 26 || pKo *más 'taste (Geschmack)' > MKo más, NKo mas mat ~ məs mət ¶ Nam 203, MLC 588, 614 ¶¶ SDM (pA *ámō 'mouth', *amo-ta, *amo-sa 'taste' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), Rm. EAS I 116, 140, Pp. VG 68, Mr. KJ 248, Kol. ChA 73-7, S AJ 467, 70, 291 ◇ Cf. otherwise IS I 244-5: IS interpreted M *ama(n) 'mouth', Tg *aḡa or *aḡma (sc. *am_la_lḡa) 'mouth' and T *am 'vulva' (actually from N *Xam∇ 'womb, vulva', q.v. ffd.) as a pA derivative *aḡma ← *aḡa- v. 'open (F N *ḡaḡa 'to open').

717. *g∇m∇ 'darkness, night' > K: GZ {FS} *ḡam-, {K} *ḡamen- 'night', {K} *ḡame- 'last night' > OG, G ḡame- 'night, at night', Mg ḡuma 'last night', Lz ḡoman ~ ḡoma 'yesterday' ¶ K 200-1, K² 220, FS K 342, FS E 384, Chik. 198, Q 352, Ser. 169, DCh. 1356-7 || HS: WS *✓ḡmm ~ *✓ḡmy|w 'be dark\dim' > BHb ✓ḡmm *Hoph* (ip. 𐤒𐤍𐤏 ḡ-ū-ḡam) 'be

darkened' (of gold) ([Vulg.] 'obscuratum est'), MHb [Tos.] **םחמ** ✓ *ʕmm* *G* (pf. **םחמ** *ʕā'mam*) 'be dim (cease to flame)' (of coals), JA [Trg.], **םחמ** ✓ *ʕmm* *G* (pf. **םחמ** *ʕā'mam*) {Js.} 'be(come) dim', {Lv.} 'be(come) dark\darkened', JA ✓ *ʕmy|w* *G* (pf. **יחמ** *ʕā'mī* ~ **יחמ** *ʕā'mā*) 'be\become dark\dim', **יחמ** *ʕam'y-ā* {Lv.} 'darkness', {Js.} 'dimness, twilight', JEA ✓ *ʕmy* *G* 'grow faint', Ar *ʕamm-* 'dark' (e.g. *laylat-un ʕamm-un* 'a dark night') (× v. ✓ *ʕmm* 'cover'), Mh *ʕzmōm* 'fog', Jb C/E *ʕiūm* 'heat mist, fog', Mh C ✓ *ʕmm* *Sh* (pf. *aʕmēm*) 'see only as a blurred image, see as in a fog', Jb C ✓ *ʕmm* *Sh* (pf. *aʕ'mim*) 'make a smoke screen \ dust cloud' ¶ KB 800-1, Lv. T II 223, Lv. III 661-2, Js. 1087, 1089, Sl. 870, BK II 498-500, Jo. M 137, Jo. J 86 || C: Bj {R} 'humnay ~ 'humne 'late afternoon, evening', {Rop.} *himni* 'afternoon, the period between 2 p.m. up to sunset' || EC: Hd *hēmačā* 'black', Hd {Hd.} *hīmo* 'evening, night', Sml J *hamīn* id. (× pSam {Hn.} **hibēn* id.?) || Dhl *himmate* 'black' || C → Mb -*háme* id. ¶ R WBd 121, Rop. 196, Blz. CL 177, Hd. 282, Hn. S 63 || **A** Tg: Ewk Sm *umulgz* 'shadowy place under a tree' ¶ STM II 270 ◇ IS MS 368 (s.v. **ʕam* 'dark'), IS SS no. 9.4.

718. *geñ'ä' 'be large, be copious' > HS: WS *✓ *ʕny* > Ar *ʕanīy-* 'riche, opulent', **غنى** *ʕinā(-n)* 'richesse, opulence', Mh *ʕe'nay*, Jb E/C 'ʕa'ni 'rich', WS *✓ *ʕny* *Sh* (caus.) 'make so. rich' > Ar ✓ *ʕny* *Sh* (af'ala), Mh pf. *heʕnō*, Jb C pf. *aʕ'ni* id., Ar ✓ *ʕny* *T* 'become rich', Jb C *T* pf. *ʕutni* id. ¶ BK II 512-13, Jo. M 139, Jo. J 87 || **U** *eñä 'big, large, much' > F *eñä* 'big, much' (*eñä* 'more', comp. *enempi* 'more'), Es comp. *enam* 'more' || pLp {Lr.} **ēnē* 'much' > Lp: N *ædne*, S *jienje*, L *iednē*, Kld *jiēne-* id. || Er *ine*, Mk *inä* 'big' || ObU **ᵛyēn* 'big' > pVg {Ht.} *yänəʃ* > Vg: T *yinəw* *ᵛ* *yänəw*, LK/UK *yäni*, MK *yāni*, P/NV/SV/LL *yäniʃ*, UL/Ss *yaniʃ* 'big', T *yünt*, P/NV/SV/LL *yānt*, UL/Ss *yaniṭ* 'as big as', pOs {Ht.} **eñä* 'big' > Os: V/Vy *eñə*, Ty *āñə*, D/K *enə* id. || Sm {Jn.} **inā* 'elder brother' > Ne T dim. **нинека**, {Lh.} *ńiń'ē'k'a* id., Ne F {Lh.} n. + ppa. 1s *ńiyəkām* 'my elder brother', En {Ter.} *inā* 'elder brother', Ng {Mik.} *ńiñt* 'father's younger brother', Slq NP {Cs.} *inré* 'elder brother' ¶¶ UEW 74-5, SSA I 106, Lr. no. 231, Lgc. no. 866, Ht. no. 191, Jn. 27, Cs. 107 || **A**: NaT **æŋ* > OT {Cl.} *eŋ* (before adj.) '(the) most' (pc. of sprl.), Cum *eŋ*, Tk *en*, Tk Δ , CrTt, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Uz, StAlt, Tv *eŋ*, Tkm, Qmq, VTt, Bsh *iŋ*, Az *än*, Ggz *hen* id., T → (?) Kl {Rm.} *eŋ*

'sehr, ganz' ¶ Cl. 166, Rs. W 45, MM 148, ET Gl 365-6, KW 122 ◇ Gr. II no. 236 (*ena 'large') (U, T, CK + qu. M, Tg).

719. $_2$ ***g**¹ûh|h̄|h̄ ▽ (or ***g**¹ûh|h̄|h̄ ▽) drink, eat' > **HS**: C: LEC {Bl.} ***ɣ**un- > Sml **ɣ**un-, Rn **h**un- 'eat', Or {Th., Brl.} **h**un- v. 'sip, take a sip, taste (a beverage), suck', Arr {Hw.} **ʔ**un- v. 'taste, drink a small amount of' ¶ Bl. 105, 161, 207, Th. 206, Brl. 219, Hw. A 344, Abr. S 243, PG 144 || **ʔ**σ S ***o**-**ɣ**īn- (or ***o**-**ɣ**ūn-) > Ar ✓ **ɣ**un G (ip. -**ɣ**īnu) 'be thirsty' ¶ BK II 526 || **D** {tr., GS} ***u**ñ- 'drink, eat, suck' > Tm **u**ñ 'eat or drink, suck (as a child)', Ml **u**ññka 'eat (esp. rice), suck', Td **u**ñ- 'drink', 'take breast' (a child), Kn **u**ñ 'eat', **u**ñ*i*ke 'taking a meal', Kdg **u**ññ- 'eat a meal', Tu **u**ñ(**u**)pini id., 'dine, eat rice', Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gdb, Mnd **u**ñ-, Gnd undāna, Knd, Png **u**ñ-, Kui **u**ñba, Ku **u**ñdali **ɔ** un-, Mlt {Drs.} óne v. 'drink', Krx **o**ñ- v. 'drink, eat (rice)', **ʔ** Brh kunih 'eat, drink, bite' (k- by contamination with Sindhi **k**^hājnu 'eat') ¶¶ D no. 600, GS 175 [no. 443a], 55 [no. 151] ◇ The rec. of N ***g**- is unequivocal only if the S cognate is valid, otherwise it may be N ***ɣ**-, ***ɣ**- or ***g**-.

720. ***gar**¹i 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' > **HS**: CS ***ɣ**ār- 'valley, cave' > Ar غار **ɣ**ār- 'lowland' (BK: 'terrain plat et plus bas que les lieux d'alentour, terrain encaissé, pays plat entouré de hauteurs'); 'hole, cavern, cave'; S d. ***m**▽-**ɣ**arr-at- ~ ***m**▽-**ɣ**ār-at- 'cave' > Hb מַעְרָה mə^əārā, Ph מערת m^ərt, Ug m^ərt, IA cs. מערת m^ərt, IA, Plm em. מערת m^ərt[?], JA [Trg.], JEA מערת m^əārət-ā, Sr مَعْرَة m^əart-ā, Ar مَعْرَة ma^əarat- ~ مَعْرَة mu^əarat- 'cave', Cn (Ancient Ph?) **h**→ Gk μέγαρα ~ μάγαρα nom. pl. 'sorte de cryptes dans lesquelles, aux Thesmophories, on jettait des porcs vivants', {LS} 'pits sacred to Demeter and Persephone, into which young pigs were let down in the Thesmophoria', (?) Gk Hm μέγαρα 'grande salle; appartement des femmes', {LS} 'the chief room in the Homeric palace; women's apartment'; Cn **h**→ Eg N {Alb.} m^əgrt 'cave' (in syllabic spelling magarata); cp. also CS (or WS) *¹ɣaw₁i₁r- (← ***ɣ**ār-?) > Ar ɣawr- 'bottom, lowest part', Ug {OLS} ɣyr 'depresión, pozo, profundidad' and possibly Sq {L} ¹ɣeyreh 'lake' ¶ KB 582, KBR 615-16, JH 163, HJ 672, Fr. II 189 and III 301, Sl. 697, BK II 516, Ln. 2307-8, Ch. 674, EG II 164, Alb. VESO 44, OLS 161, L LS 308 || **K**: GZ ***ɣ**are- 'gutter, furrow' > MG [VTq.] ɣar- 'groove' (VTq. 608), G ɣar- 'gutter, furrow', Mg ɣore- 'gutter of mill; wooden dam' ¶ K² 221, Chx. 1615, DCh. 1357 || **IE** ***χ**ery- ~ ***χ**ry- ({EI} *¹h₂eryo-s) 'cavity' (× N ***χ**ar¹ü¹ 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' ×

[possibly] IE *HaHr- 'valley, low place, cave' < N *ǵ'a¹Hr∇ 'low place, valley' > Ht har i-s (gen. hariyas) 'valley' || NaIE: Lt armuō (gen. armenōs) {PiesS} 'soil, ground; precipice, abyss' || Arm ալբայր 'cavern, grotto, den, antre' ¶¶ Ts. E I 172-3, ≠ WP I 56 and P 50 (in both: Arm ալբայր ÷ Gk ἄντρον 'antrum', 'a cave, inner chamber'), Pv. III 143-4 (IE *A₁er-y- ÷ *A₁rōy-), EI 96, Frd. HW 57, Čop IGW-2 135, PiesS 55, Xud. I 43, Bdr. 22 || U: FP *ar∇ in the meaning 'valley, ravine' (× N *ǵar∇ or *ǵaǵr∇ 'earth, land, place') > F arō 'vallis inter colles' || ?? pPrm *ǵ¹r- > Vt N {UR} ur-kīrem 'ravine, gully' (kīr- 'break through, wash away'), Z kзǰ-зрэм 'old riverbed in the bend of the watercourse' (kзǰ 'bend of river'); of course, the other semantic variety of FP *ar∇ ('lowland, [?] low place, riverbed') goes back to N *ǵar∇ '↑', and the meaning 'grasbewachsenes Tiefland' of the F word arō is probably due to both sources ¶ KW 9, SK 24, UEW 17, LG 207, UR 310, Ht. 196 [no. 712], ≈ Coll. 72 || A: T: [1] NaT *āra 'space between two places' (× N *ǵaǵr∇ 'earth, land, place', cf. N *ǵar∇ id.) > OT ara-miz-da 'among us'; in later T lges it is used in the meanings 'space between two objects, interval' and 'middle': Tk ar a, ET, CrTt, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, StAlt, Tv ara, Uz ara 'space between two objects, interval', Tkm āra, Kr, Qmq, QrB ara id., 'middle', Az, Nog, SY, Xk ara 'space between, between', Yk āra 'in the way, one in the way between two places', Chv L {Jeg., ChVS} вap n. 'middle, centre, belly, stomach' ¶ The length of the first vw. (preserved in Tkm and Yk āra) may be explained as the heritage of N *ǵaǵr∇ (see s.v. N *ǵar∇ 'earth, land, place'); [2] another case of partial merger is probably pT *ö:ǰ¹ 'valley' > OT öz, OOsm, Tk Δ öz id., OT Kr özi 'passage between two mountains', Chv L {Ash., Fed., ChVS} вap 'deep and dry ravine, trockenes Flußbett', ({Ash., Fed.} 'обдернелый овраг с пологими краями, лог, дол': this T word is likely to go back primarily to N *ǵar'ü¹ 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' (q.v.) with T *ö- due to regr. as. ¶ Ash. V 167, Cl. 196, 278, 281, ET Gl 162-4, ≈ 506-8, TL 532, Pek. I 126-7, TkR 47-8, Ash. V 162, Fed. I 100-1, Jeg. 47, ChVS 28 ◇ Čop I-1974 32 (IE, FU), ≈ Blz. LNA no. 21 (N *Har i 'pond, bank'; unc. equation of IE and FU with the HS and D reflexes of N *ǵe₁ǰ¹r∇ or *ǵer₁ǰ¹∇ 'brook, stream', q.v.).

721. *ǵor∇ 'cry, speak, produce vocal sounds' > K *ǵar-/ǵr- 'cry, sing' > OG, G mǵer- 'sing', eNG [SSO], G ǵr- (ǵr-ial-) 'shout, bellow, cry (weap loudly)', Mg ǵor- ǰ ǵvar- v. 'shout, low', Lz mǵor- id., Sv ǵar-/ǵr- 'sing' ¶¶ FS K 343-4, FS E 385-6, K 201, Q 352, DCh. 914-15,

1366, Chx. 898, 1649-5, Chik. 349 || HS: SES *✓ ʏry > Mh {Jo.} ʏzrōy (pl. ʏzryēh), Jb C/E 'ʏa'rdʔ n. 'talk, speech, language', Hrs ʏzrōy (pl. ʏzrīyʔn) 'speech, language; words'; Mh/Hrs ✓ ʏry Gt (pf. Mh 'ʏatri, Hrs 'ʏatʔri) v. 'speak', Sq ✓ ʏry Gt (pf. {Jo.} 'ʏtʔri) 'call', {L} pf. 'ʔetiri 'speak' ¶ Jo. M 142, Jo. J 88, Jo. H 46, L LS 326-7 || ?φ Eg {AnC} ʏrʷ 'crier', Eg fO ʏr 'says he, says N' (devoicing *ʏ > ʏ due to syntactically conditioned as.), Eg NK ʏrt.ʷ 'utterance (of a god, a king), oracle' (× N *qU₁?₁∇ 'speak, call?'), ?σ Eg fP ʏrʷ 'voice' ¶ AnC-1 10, EG III 317-18, 324-5 || IE *χʷe(:)r-/*χʷr- ≈ speak, call' > NaIE *ōr-/*ar- > L ōrā- v. 'speak, pray', Osc URUST 'oraverit' ({EI} 'he pleaded') || Gk ἄρᾶ, Gk ἰ ἄρῆ 'prayer', Gk ἄράομαι 'pray, curse', Gk ἄρῶ 'speak, call' || Sl: R o'pa-тъ 'to yell, to bawl', SCr òriti se 'to resound, to be heard' (of a sound) || Lv {EI} hīrūt- 'curse' ¶¶ Ht ar(ʉ)wai- ('prostrate oneself, fall down, make obeisance' rather than 'pray, worship') and OI ārya-nti ({M} 'they acknowledge' (rather than 'praise'), adduced by some scholars, are to be kept apart ¶¶ P 781, EI 450 (*h₁|h⁴er- 'ask the gods, consult an oracle', *h₂eru- ≈ pray, curse') and 536 (*h₁|h⁴er- 'speak a ritual formula'), WH II 224, Pln. II 709, F I 127, 158, Vs. III 149, Glh. 456, Pv. I-II 183-5, M K I 78-9, M E I 172 || A *ôri- 'cry (schreien), shout' > M *uri- ~ *ori- 'shout, call, invite' > MM [HI] uri- 'call (appeler)', [MA] uri- 'invite', Dg {T} ori- 'shout, call, invite', WrM {MED} uri- 'call, summon, invite', HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt цри- id., Ba {T} ure-, Dx {T} uru- 'call, invite', Mnr H uri- {T} id., {SM} 'inviter', Ord uri- id.; M *ori-la- > WrM {MED} orila- 'cry out, shout, scream', HIM орило- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'weap', Kl {Rm.} or]- ~ or]- 'schreien, rufen'; ? WrM {MED} urila- 'call, summon, invite' (unless a WrM derivative from WrM uri- id.) ¶ Ms. H 106, Pp. MA 366, MED 619, 881, 884, BMR II 489, KW 289, T 369, T DgJ 160, T BJ 148, T DnJ 137, SM 476, Ms. O 740 || Tg *orē- > Ewk orē- 'shout, bellow', Ewk orē-, Nn Bk orinda- 'imitate the beckoning call of a female Manchurian deer', Sln orē- 'call (призывать)' ¶ STM II 23 || T *ori- 'shout, outcry' > OT {Cl.}, MT XIV [IM] ori- id.; ⇨ NaT *o₁:r-la- 'make a loud noise, shout' > OT orla- id., Xk orla- id., 'howl, bellow, emit a loud noise' (of animals), Qb {Rl.} orla- v. 'moo'; (?φ) ⇨ *uran > Qzq ʏpān uran, Qq uran 'war cry; public address (призыв)', Qzq {Rl.}, Chg {Bu., Rl.}, Qrg {Jud.} urān ({ET} < *uraʏan) 'war cry', Tlt {Rl.} urān 'Geschrei', Brb {Rl.} uran 'Schrei', uran-la- 'cry (schreien)', {Tm.} ōran 'war cry', Qq {KrkR} uran, Qzq {MM}

ұран 'боевой клич во время битвы, Aufruf, parole', Shor {Rl.} uran-na- 'cry (schreien)', 'sing' (of drunk people), Yk uran 'родовой клич' ¶ Cl. 197, ET Gl 601-2, BIG 130, Rl. I 1064, 1653-4, Bu. I 121, MM 489, Sht. 290, KrkR 67, Tm. 162, MM 489, KrkR 678, Jud. 806 || pJ {S} *úru-tápa- v. 'complain, sue' > OJ urutapa-, MJ uttáφ- id., J K úttáe-, J Kg ùttàè-, J T ùttae-, uttaé- 'sue' ¶ S QJ no. 1487, Mr. 781, Kenk. 2117 ¶¶ SDM 1061-2 (pA *óru 'cry, shout' > T, M, Tg, J), DQA no. 1582 (id.), IS MS 345 ◇ IS MS 345 (pA > M, Tg).

722. *gU¹y¹q¹R∇ 'skin' > HS: WS *y¹u¹rr- > Ug {OLS} ḡr 'skin', BHb עור פֹּר (pl. עוֹרוֹת פֹּר 'rōt) 'skin, leather', Ph ʿrt pl. 'skin', ? Ar yurr-at- ~ yarr-at- 'pli (d'une peau, d'une étoffe)', rdp.: Mh {Jo.} yzryār, yzryzrōt 'side of throat', Jb C {Jo.} yzr'yzrōt, yar'yzrōt 'dewlap', ?σ Ar yuryur-at- ~ yarvar-at- 'bird's gizzard' ¶ OLS 159, KB 803, Tmb. 256, Hv. 520, BK II 457, Jo. M 141, Jo. J 88, MiK I no. 1.106 || D *ur₁i- v. 'peel' > Tm uri v. 'peel (skin, bark)', Ml urikka v. 'flay, skin (a jackfruit, a coconut)', Td ušt v. 'take off (ring, bangle, shirt, coat)', Kn uricu v. 'flay, strip off skin\covering', Tu (u)rumbu v. 'tear off (as leaves from a twig)', rumbu 'stripping, plucking', rumbuni v. 'strip\pluck off', Nkr uyp- v. 'take off (clothes wrapped round middle)', Prj uyk- v. 'slough its skin' (of a serpent), Gnd Mn uy?- id., Gnd Mu uy- 'be flayed', Gnd K uysp- v. 'flay', Krx ur-nā 'rub off the leaves of a branch', Mlt uryre ~ urwre 'fall off' (hair), 'slip off'; D *ur₁i, n. 'skin, peel' > Tm uri n. 'rind, bark, peel, skin stripped off', urivaḡ 'skin, hide, peel', Ml uri 'skin', Ku žuka 'slough of snake' ¶¶ D no. 652 || A: M *örümen 'scum on boiled milk' > WrM {MED} örümē id., Brt ypmə(н) id., HIM epəm {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'Sähne', Dg {Pp.} úrüm, {T} urum 'scum', WrO örömö 'cream', örömede- v. 'cream over, get scummy', Kl {KRS} epm 'scum on boiled milk, saure Sähne (сливки)', {Rm.} örmḡ 'Schmand, Rahm', Ord örmö 'crème du lait codifiée par cuisson'; Mnr H {SM} yermiän id., 'crème du lait'; M → WrMc {Z} oromy, Ewk urumu 'scum on boiled milk, cream', Yk örümä ~ ürümä id., 'film' ¶ MED 644, BMR III 41, Krg. 150, KRS 424, KW 300, Chr. 513, SM 492, T DgJ 171, Ms. O 538, STM II 288, Z 133 || ? IE: NaIE ≈ *erph- (< *Heyp^h-?) / ? *werph^h- ≈ 'tear off', 'skin (that can be torn off)' > Gk ἕρπος 'a skin (e.g. of a serpent)' || ?σ Arm qerphē m 'I plunder\ravage\pillage' || ?σ Sl *vьrp- / *vorp- > OR inf. вьрпстн vьrpsti / Is pres. вьрпѣ vьrpv v. 'tear, plunder', {Srz.} 'spoliare',

ChS d. **НАВРАПЪ** na-*vrapъ* 'pillage', Kshb **варрас** 'reißen, ziehen', Slv {Mikl.} z-*vrapati* 'entreißen' ¶ Ch. 377 and F I 571 (both: no et. of Gk ἔρπος), ≈ Vs. I 355, Srz. I 462, WP I 291-2 ◇ D *-r- (usually going back to a N cns. cluster with *R) suggests that in the pN etymon there was a cns. (*w, *y or *ʔ?) adjacent to *R, that later disappeared in the descendant lges, but this cns. has not been identified so far. The N cns. *w is ruled out by the M cognate (N *w > M *b). The N cns. *y|ʔ is more likely to have preceded (rather than followed) *R, because in the IE lge N *y|ʔ disappears before a sonant. Therefore the most probable N wtymon is *gU'y|ʔ'R∇.

723. *garH∇ 'crush (the soil), grind' > K: GZ *yerʷ- v. 'grind (coarsely)' > G yerʷ- id., Mg yarʷ- id., 'talk nonsense'; ⇨ K *yerʷil- 'coarse-ground flour' > OG yerʷili 'ground grains', G yerʷil-, Mg, Lz yarʷil- 'course-ground grains' ¶ K 202, K² 223-4, FS K 346, FS E 388-9, Chx. 1620-1, Chik. 173 || HS: S *^o✓ ʷ|χrr > Ak \wedge ✓ χrr (inf. χarārū) 'grind' ¶ CAD VI 92 || IE *Her₁Hχ]- or *Har₁Hχ]- ({EI} *^h_herh₃ye/o-) > NaIE *ar(ə)- v. 'plough' > Gk ἄρῶν v. 'plough, till' || Gt arjan (· ἄροτραῖν) 'pflügen', ON erja, OHG erien, erren, AS érian 'to plough, to till', NE Δ ear v. 'plough, till'; OHG art 'cultivation, aratio' || Lārā- v. 'plough' || Clt {Matas.} n. 'ploughing', *ar-yo- v. 'plough' > OIr ar {Matas.} 'tilling, the land ploughrd, husbandry', ar- (pres. airim) v. 'plough, till', aired 'arable land', MW {Matas.} ar 'ploughed land', arddu n. 'ploughing', W {P, Vn.} arddu, {YGM, Bc.} aredig, MBr {Matas.} 'p[oughing', Br arat v. 'till, plough', {Hm.} 'labourer'; Clt. {Matas.} *aratro- n. 'plough' > OIr arathar n. 'plough, tillage', MW aradr, MBr arazr id. || Lt árti (pres. ariù), Ltv art (pres. aru) id., Lt artójas, Pru artoys 'ploughman' | SI *oráti (1s pres. *ṓr̥q) 'to plough' > OCS, OR inf. **орати** ora-ti (1s pres. **орѣ** orjǫ), SCr inf. orati (1s pres. òrēm), Slv inf. oráti (1s pres. orjem), Cz inf. orati (1s pres. ořu), Slk inf. orat' (1s pres. oriem), P inf. orac (1s pres. orze), R †, Uk inf. о'рати (1s pres. R о'рю) id., Blg о'ра v. 'plough' || Arm **արար** arar 'a plough' || Tc A, B āre id. ¶¶ Not here Ht hars-, harsiya- 'till the earth' (← S *^h✓ hrθ id.) ¶¶ P 62-3, Bc. 495, EI 434, F I 147-8, WH I 69, Vn. A 43, 81, Fs. 56-7, Vr. 104, Ho. 94, EWA I 347-9 and II 1129-32, Schz. 126, Frn. 17, En. 143-4, Tp. P A-D 107-8, Tr. 13, Vs. III 148-9, StSS 415, Glh. 456, Slit. 126, Me. EAC 152, Ad.49, Matas. E 40, 42-4, Hm. 41 || D *ar- (+ suff.) n. 'plough' > Tm

araka n. 'plough with bullocks etc.', Mlt are n. 'plough' ¶¶ D 198 ◇ D *-r- < N cns. cluster with *r (in this case *-rH-). In IE and D the N word *garH∇ 'to crush' acquired new meanings: 'to plough' (sc. 'to crush soil') and 'a plough', connected with the appearance of agriculture.

724. ₂ *g∇R∇b∇ (or *-p-) 'dark' > IE: NaIE {P} *ēreb^(h)- / *ōrob^(h)- 'dark' > Gk ὀρφυός 'dark, dusky', ὀρφυαῖος 'dark, murky', ὀρφυη (Gk ἰ ὀρφυᾶ) 'the darkness of night; night', ὀρφυίνος 'brownish grey' || ON iarpr 'brown', OHG {OsS} ěrpf 'fuscus', AS earp 'dusky, dark', eorþ 'swarthy' ¶ P 334, F II 431-2, Vr. 291, Sw. 48, 52, Ho. 93, OsS 150 || HS: S *✓ ʔrb 'dark' > Ar ✓ ʔrb G (pf. غَرِبَ ʔariba) {Ln.} 'be black', {BK} 'être très noir', Ak fOB erēpu inf. 'to become dusky\dark', StB erpu (~ erbū) 'dark', BHb בֵּרַב 'ערעב' 'evening'; (× S *✓ ʔrb 'enter' [> Ug, Ph ✓ ʔrb, Ak erēbu id.], responsible for the unexpected ʔ-): Ug ʔrb 'sunset', Sb mʔrb 'west'; on CS *ʔara'pill- 'dark cloud' (< N *ʔ∇R_L∇_LP∇ 'cloud' with infl. of *g∇R∇b|p∇) see s.v. N *ʔ∇R_L∇_LP∇ ¶ BK II 449, Ln. 224O, CAD IV 234-5, 279-80 and 304, OLS 87-8, KB 830-1, BGMR 18, Rk. IQ 123 || C: Ag: Bln {R} arəb- 'be black\blue', arə'ba 'blackness, black color' || EC: Sa {R} ôr'bā, war'bā 'a cow with black spots' ¶ R WB 47-8, R S II 44 ¶¶ R WB 47 (C, Ar).

725. *gu'rir'∇ (or *gu'∇ - *gu'∇r∇ - *gur'∇?) 'skill; ruse, deceit; to deceive' > K *ʔor- v. 'deceive, tell lies' > G, Mg ʔor- id., Lz ʔor- v. 'tell lies, lie to', ʔord-, ʔerd- 'deceive', Sv ʔr- 'tell lies, deceive' ¶¶ K 205-6 and K² 232 (G, Z), Chik. 350, FS K 351, FS E 394, Chx. 1543, Q 351-2 || HS: WS *✓ ʔrr, *-ʔurr- ~ *-ʔrur- v. 'deceive' > Ar ✓ ʔrr G (ip. -ʔurr, msd. ʔurūr-) 'deceive, allure', ʔarrār- 'deceiver', Mh, Hrs, Jb E/C ✓ ʔrr G 'deceive' (sbjn.: Mh, Hrs yʔʔrōr), Jb C ʔʔʔ'rer 'be led astray' ¶ BK II 445-7, Jo. M 139-40, Jo. H 45, Jo. J 87 || A *ūr'∇ 'craftsman' > T *ūr' > NaT *ūz- > OT {Cl.} ūz 'skilled craftsman', MT uz, StAlt, Tv us 'master, skilful, skilful craftsman', ET us {Naj, BN} 'ловкость, skill (умелость)', ئوز uz ({Naj.} üz [err.ü?]) 'skilful craftsman, master; skilful', Xk us 'skilful craftsman', Yk ūs id., 'craftsman', Tk uz 'good, fit', Tkm † ūδ 'good, excellent, beautiful', Qrg uz 'skilful; skilled craftsman' ¶ Cl. 277, ET Gl 569-70, Naj. 123, 126, BN 162 || M *ura- ⇨ [1] M *ura-n 'skilful; art, craft, skill' > MM [HI] uran 'artisan', [MA]uran 'skilful, masterly', [IM] uran 'handicraft', WrM uran {MED} n., adj. 'artisan, craftsman; art, craft'; adj. 'artistic, crafty', adv. 'artistically, masterly', HIM ʔp(ан) {MED} id., {BMR}

'Meisterschaft, art; artistic, crafty, изящный', Brt уран adj. 'skilful, masterly', Kl {Rm} урḡ 'Künstler, Meister; Handwerker', {KRS} урн n. 'Meister', 'Meisterschaft', adj. 'skilful, artistic', Mnr H {SM} уран 'dexterité, habileté', Dx {T} уран 'master', Dg {T} уран id., 'skilled craftsman', waran 'skilful (искусный)', 'Gewandtheit, skill (ловкость, умение); skilful (искусный)', Ord уран 'habile, habileté'; **[2]** M *ura-la- 'make (sth.) skilfully, use artifice' > WrM {MED} урала- 'make (sth.) artistically\skilfully', HIM {MED} id., {BMR} урла- id., vt. 'мастерить', Brt урла- ~ урал- id., Kl {KRS} урл- id., {Rm.} ур]- 'etwas meisthaft ausführen, feine Arbeit machen, ein Meister sein', WrO {Krg.} урала- v. 'contrive, use artifice; be master of, be a craftsman', Ord урала- 'faire un travail avec grand soin et habilité'; **[3]** WrM {MED} урасуд pl. 'artisans, craftsmen', HIM {MED, BMR} урчуд id., WrO ураси 'craftsman', Kl {Rm.} урḡ 'Meisterin, sehr geschickte Frau', Ord урац'ūt pl. 'artisans, artistes, couturières' ¶ Ms. H 106, Pp. MA 365-6 and 449, MED 879-90, BMR III 338, 346-7, 351, Chr. 472-3, 476, KRS 536-7, KW 451, Rs. W 451, SM 473, T DnJ 137, T DgJ 129, 171, Krg. 179, Ms. O 738 ¶¶ The length of the pA vw. *ū- may have been caused by compensatory lengthening (*ūr- < **ur- < N *-urir-?) ¶¶ SDM 1505 (pA *ur'∇ 'craftsman' > M *uran, T *ūr), Pp. VG 102, Dr. TM II 145 (err.: M ← T) || ?σ D: McTm *orur- 'spy out' > Tm orru v. 'spy out', Ml orru 'private intelligence, secret information', orran 'a spy' ¶ McTm *o- (for the expected D *u-) needs investigating (cp. SD *o < D *u before a derivative *a, see Zv. 65-70) ¶ D no. 1022 ◇ D *-ur- and S *-ur' suggest the presence of a second *r in the N etymon. T *-r- is probably from *-ry- < N *-rir-?

726. ₂ *gotk'∇ 'popliteal space (inside of the knee), armpit' > HS: S (att. in SES) *o✓ ytk' > Jb C {Jo.} yat'ket (pl. 'ye'tjktz), Jb E {Jo.} yat'ket 'popliteal space', Mh {Jo.} yat'kayt (pl. yat'ktzn) 'hollow at the back of the knee' ¶ Jo. J 90, Jo. M 144 || A: d.: M *ogu-da-sun 'armpit gore of clothes' (unless with *φ-) > WrM {Kow.} ogudasun id. ('chateau de l'habit de dessous le bras'), Kl {Rm.} oγadaḡ, oγdaḡ 'Ärmelzwickel' ¶ KW 283, Kow. 365, S AJ 243 [no. 254] ¶¶ S AJ 297 [no. 594] (pA *oK'∇ 'popliteal space, armpit' > M + err. Ko), SDM97 s.v. *ok'∇, KW 283 ¶¶ S AJ 297 suggested a Ko cognate *òkóm 'popliteal space' (> MKo òkóm, NKO ogim id., Ko Kw oγumpē {Vv.} 'the inside curve of the knee\elbow'), but Vv. AEN 16 rejected it on morphological grounds: òkóm ({Y} ωòkwóm)

←d ok- 'bends (inside) with a nominal sx -óm || AdS of IE: NaIE *aks- ~ *aġ(e)s- (and/or *ok-?) 'shoulder, armpit' (< *XakEC∇ 'shoulder [Achsel], armpit'): *aks- > Gmc: OHG {Kb.} uohhisa ~ uochisa ~ uohasa 'shoulder (Achsel)', MHG uohse, ũehse 'armpit'; with a sx *-n-: OHG uochsana 'shoulder (Achsel), armpit', AS ōxn 'armpit'; with a sx *-t-: ON óst, óstr 'throat pit' ('Halsgrube'), Nr Δ ōste, AS ocusta ~ ōxta id., NE oxter 'armpit'; (NaIE *aġs-el- ~ *aks-el- >) ON oxl, AS eaxl, OHG ahs(a)la 'shoulder' > NHG Achsel id. || L āla (< *aksla) 'armpit; wing'; L axilla 'armpit' (with a dim. sx -illa); ↳ OIr oxal 'armpit' || Arm ախուլք արտհ (< *asnuth) 'armpit' || ?φ OIr ochae 'hollow of the armpit' (suggesting IE *ok- without *-s-?) || Av ašayā gen. du. 'of both shoulders (Achseln)' ¶ P 6, Dv. no. 243, ≈ EI 516 (*h_ṛeḱs- 'shoulder, shoulder joint; axle'; *h_ṛeḱsleh_ṛ- 'shoulder'), WH I 25, KM 6, Vr. 421, 689, Ho. 87, 234, Kb. 11, 1117, OsS 7, 1058, EWA I 114-16, Lx. 259, Vn. O 6, 36 ¶ The connection between *aks- 'armpit' and *aks(-el)- 'shoulder' is not clear (derivation or semantic change [and if so, in which direction?] or secondary semantic association between originally unrelated stems?). Connection with IE *aḱs- 'axis' (supposed by many scholars) is unc. for lack of sufficient semantic ties ¶¶ The IE root may belong here only if N *tḱ may yield IE *ks (cp. AD SShS) or if IE *-s- is a sx ◇ In AD NM no. 107 I reconstructed the N word as *go|atḱE (> HS, A, IE), S CNM 12 ("*Go|atKe ... The A and IE forms point rather to *Ho|aKe"; this is a misunderstanding: here "*Go|atKe" is S's notation for N *go|atḱE. N *g yields regularly A zero and IE *H; there is a contraction *tK (from N *-tḱ-) > *K, so that *Ho|aKe is a reduced variant of N *gotḱ∇); Vv. AEN 16 (rejecting the Ko cognate and misquoting my former rec. of N *go|atḱE as *go|atḱE).

727. *gužê ≈ 'sheep, goat' > HS: S: Ar d. ṽaḍīy-, ṽaḍawīy- 'kid (young of goats)', ṽaḍ(aw)īyu-l-māli 'young of camels' ¶ BK II 445 || Ch: it is tempting to adduce BT (Bl {Mk} oš'i 'billy goat', Krkr ṽōč'í and Ngm {Mk} oš'i id.), but in the light of the Krkr pl. ṽōkàṽ 'goats' it seems more plausible to equate the BT forms with Jmb àk^ωá 'goat' and similar forms of other Ch lges (< N *H'o'kE 'goat' [q.v. ffd]) || U: FU {Db.} *ūčē, {UEW} *učē 'sheep' (or 'ē an animal resembling a sheep') > F uuhi (gen. uuhen), Es utt (< prt.), Δ uhe 'ewe' || Mk yča u'ča, Er Kd uč'a 'sheep' || Chr: L yжга už'ja, Uf/B užja, H ыжга 'bžja 'fir coat'

|| Prm {LG} *ůž > Z, Vt ЫЖ †ž 'sheep' || ObU {Ht.} *āč id. > pVg *āš id. (> OVg E TM осч, Vg: LK ős, MK/UK ős; OVg W P/Sol ошъ, Vg: P oš [du. ősš̄x], NV/ML oš, SV/LL oš / ősī id.; OVg N: SoG/Ber ősч, Chd/SoO ошъ, Vg Ss ős id.; OVg S: Vt ачь, SSs асч, ősč id.), pOs *ač id. > Os: V/Vy ач, Ty/Y ач, D oš ь оч, K oš, Nz/Kz ьš, O аs id. ¶ The long *ū- (suggested by F u u h i) may be accounted for by the loss of the initial *g- ¶ UEW 541, Sm. 552 (FP *u u č i 'sheep'), Db. OS xxxii, Ker. II 178, MRS 625, 762, LG 328, Ht. no. 4 ¶ UEW reasonably remarks: "Das Vorhandensein des Wortes für 'Schaf' in der FU Grundsprache ist noch kein Beweis für die Schafzucht, aber durchaus für das Kennen eines schafähnliches Tieres". Since wild *Oves*, *Caprae* and *Capreoli* are (and were) absent in the presumed homeland of FU (both sides of the Urals, Northwestern Siberia), but are typical of the Turan and the mountains of Southern Siberia, this word suggests a southern (Turanic, South-Siberian?) ancient habitat of the early pU lge. Napolskikh (Nap. IU 122-3) suggesting a possibility of reconstructing pFU *oč̄a and supposing that it is a loan from Indo-Iranian *až̄a (> OI a'j̄a-h̄ 'male goat', a'j̄a 'goat') < IE *aḡ̄(a) 'goat'. But his *oč̄a is at variance with the phonetic laws (F u u h i cannot go back to *oč̄a), so that his hyp. is untenable || A: NaT *ǖ:ǰkü ~ (dis.?) *ē:ǰkü 'goat' > Chg ≥xv üčkü, Tv öškü 'goat', ET öčkä ~ ečkü, Xk ösk̄ 'goat, he-goat', Ln öčkü, SY üškö, Sg üskī ~ üskä 'he-goat', OT e|äčkü, XwT XIV ečkü, MQp, MOg, Tk Δ, Uz, Kr, Qmq, Qrg ečkī, StAlt ečkī, VTt Δ ичкī, Nog, Qq eškī, Qzq eškī 'goat' ¶ Cf. T *k'äçī 'goat' < N *k'ä'č̄U or *k'ä'č̄∇w∇ 'wild goat' (q.v. ffd.) (mutual infl. of both T roots?) ¶ NaT *-kü may go back to a dim. sx ¶ Cl. 24, ET VGD 35-6, Shch. Zh 117-18.

728. (₂?) *gUž̄∇ 'feel, smell (sth.)' > HS: Eg G ʳz̄ v. 'smell, hear', Eg fMK ʳz̄ v. 'perceive' ¶ EG I 238, Fk. 51 || S *°✓ ʳδ̄δ̄ > Ar ʳā̄δ̄δ̄ 'sentiment, sens, faculté de sentir' ¶ BK II 443 ¶¶ Acc. to Tk. (Tk. I 176-86 and 263), the Eg cognate of S *δ̄ is z̄ rather than ž̄. This is true about the word-initial position, but for the Inlaut Tk. quoted only two lexical correspondences: [1] Ar ✓ š̄δ̄f 'obtain, get' ÷ Eg š̄z̄p 'empfangen, entgegennehmen, ergreifen', [2] Ar ✓ ħ̄δ̄w 'be over against, be opposite to' ÷ Eg ħ̄z̄p 'face aggressively, meet (enemy), turn back, turn away'. The example [2] is highly suspicious, because the real meaning of the Ar word (acc. to BK) is 's'asseoir, se placer en face, vis-à-vis à qn'. Eg ʳz̄ contradicts Tk.'s law of sound corr. (for the Inlaut position) and suggests the necessity either of reformulating it or to find explanation of ž̄ in Eg ʳz̄ || A *ǖž̄æ- (× N *ħ̄ǖž̄E (g∇) 'look, see', q.v.) > M *ǖž̄e- v.

'see, look' > MM [HI, IM, IsV] $\check{u}z\bar{e}$ -, [MA] (h) $\check{u}z\bar{e}$ - 'see, look', WrM {MED} $\check{u}z\bar{e}$ -, HIM {MED, BMR} $\check{y}z\bar{e}$ - 'see, behold, look at', Brt $\check{y}z\bar{e}$ - 'look at, betrachten (рассматривать)', Kl {KRS} $\check{y}z\bar{e}$ - $\check{u}z\bar{e}$ - 'look at, see', {Rm.} $\check{u}z\bar{e}$ - 'sehen, durchsehen', Mnr H {SM} $u\check{z}\bar{i}\bar{a}$ - 'voir, regarder, examiner', {T} $u\check{z}\bar{e}$ - 'see, look at'. Dx $u\check{z}\bar{e}$ -, MMgl $\check{o}\check{z}\bar{a}$ -, Mgl {Rm.} $\check{u}\check{z}\bar{a}$ - v. 'see', Dg $u\check{z}\bar{i}$ -, $\check{u}\check{z}\bar{i}$ - v. 'see, look at', Ord $\check{u}\check{z}\bar{i}$ - 'voir, apercevoir, regarder' ¶ Ms. H 108, MED 1014-15, BMR III 398-400, Chr. 498, KRS 547, KW 460, SM 465-6, T 368, T DnJ 137, Pp. MA 190, 377, 499, Ms. O 749, Lg. VMI 72, Iw. 121, Klz. D II 140 || T: [1] NaT $*\check{u}:\check{z}\bar{i}$ - v. 'feel passion, feel sexual desire' > OT {Cl.} $\check{u}\check{z}\bar{i}$ - 'feel sexual desire' (?); \rightarrow NaT $*\check{u}:\check{z}\bar{i}$ -ig 'passion, sexual desire' > OT $\check{u}\check{z}\bar{i}$ g id., XwT $\check{u}\check{z}\bar{i}$ g 'passion' ¶ Cl. 39, 50, DTS 622 || ?? [2] NaT $*\check{o}:\check{z}\bar{i}$ - > OT \check{o} - 'think, understand', Yk $\check{u}\check{o}\check{y}$ - id. ¶ Cl. 23, Rs. W 368 || Tg $*e$ je- v. 'understand, remember' > Orc $\check{z}\check{z}\bar{e}$ -, Ud $\check{z}\check{z}\bar{e}$ - 'understand', Ul, Nn Nh/KU $\check{z}\check{z}\bar{e}$ - v. 'remember', Ork $\check{z}\check{z}\bar{e}$ mu 'get accustomed', WrMc {Z} $\check{z}\check{z}\bar{e}$ - v. 'notice, remember', Mc Sb $e\check{z}\bar{a}$ - 'memorize' ¶ Tg $*e$ - of the initial syll. is due to regr. as. ¶ STM II 439, On. 522, Z 84 ¶¶ SDM 491 (pA $*\check{e}\check{b}\check{z}\bar{o}$ 'see, understand' > Tg, M, T $*\check{o}:\check{z}\bar{i}$ -) || IE $*H^w\check{e}d$ -, $*Hod$ - > NaIE $*od$ - v. 'smell (sth.)', $*od$ -mā n. 'smell' (× N $*h^1ot$ ▽ 'to smell (odorare, olere)' ◇ Qu., because the IE, T and M cognates have alt. etymologies.

729. (${}_2$?) $*\check{y}^ra^{\check{c}}\check{z}\bar{u}$ ▽ 'bite, chew' > K (K or GZ) $*\check{y}e\check{c}$ - v. 'chew' > G $\check{y}e\check{c}$ -, Mg $\check{y}a\check{c}$ -, Lz $\check{y}van\check{c}$ -, Sv $\check{y}ar\check{c}$ - id.; acc. to Mach. (Gm. SSh 21), Mg $\check{y}a\check{c}$ - goes back to pre-Z $**\check{y}a\check{c}\check{k}$ - with subsequent loss of $*\check{k}$ due to dis. (in the presence of $*\check{y}$) ¶ Acc. to FS, Sv $\check{y}ar\check{c}$ - is a loan from Mg ¶¶ Gm. SSh 21 (G, Zan), K 202-3, K² 224, FS K 347, FS E 389, DCh. 1359, SSO II 250 || HS: S $*\check{o}\check{v}$ $\check{r}\check{h}\check{h}$ 'bite' > Ar $\check{e}\check{z}\bar{z}$ $\check{r}\check{h}\check{h}$ L 'bite each other'; ??? (with secondary lateralization?) $\check{e}\check{z}\bar{z}$ $\check{r}\check{h}\check{h}$ 'bite' ¶ BK II 276-7, 291 || ?φ A: Tg: WrMc {Hr} $\check{a}\check{z}\bar{u}$ -, {Z} $\check{a}\check{z}\bar{u}$ - 'put into one's mouth, hold in one's mouth, chew', Mc Sb $\check{r}\check{a}\check{z}\bar{u}\check{m}\check{z}$, $\check{r}\check{a}\check{z}\bar{u}\check{m}\check{z}$ 'hold in one's mouth' ¶ Z 29, Hr 62, STM I 60, Y no. 1538.

730. ?φ $*\check{r}\check{a}\check{c}\check{z}\bar{u}$ (= $*\check{r}\check{a}\check{c}\check{o}$ or $*\check{g}\check{a}\check{r}\check{i}\check{c}\check{z}\bar{u}$?) (ε) grass' > K $*\check{o}\check{y}\check{i}\check{c}\check{z}\bar{u}$ > G $\check{y}\check{i}\check{c}\check{a}$ {Chx.} 'Sonchus, Gänsedistel', {DCh.} $\check{o}\check{c}\check{o}\check{t}$ (*Sonchus*), $\check{c}\check{e}\check{r}\check{p}\check{y}\check{h}\check{a}$ $\check{p}\check{o}\check{l}\check{e}\check{v}\check{a}\check{y}$ (*Serratula*, sawwort), G K/Kx/P $\check{y}\check{i}\check{c}\check{z}\bar{u}$ -i 'wolfberry (*Lycium*)' ¶ Chx. 1635, DCh. 1363 || U $**\check{a}\check{c}\check{z}\bar{u}$ > FP $*\check{a}\check{c}\check{z}\bar{u}$ ~ $*\check{a}\check{c}\check{o}$ 'meadow, grassland' > F $\check{a}\check{h}\check{o}$ 'meadow', 'clearing (left waste)', {SSA} 'aufgegebene Schwende (viljelemättä jätetty pelto) (clearing), Brache, trockenes offenes Gelände', Krl $\check{a}\check{h}\check{o}$ 'old clearing on which a young forest has grown', Es Δ

a hu 'useless barren field' | pPrm {LG} *ež̃a 'turf (Rasen, дерн)', 'fallow land (залежь)', 'meadow' > Z эжа ež̃a 'turf, virgin soil, fallow land, meadow, grass', Yz iž̃a, Vt ožo ož̃o 'grass' ¶ LG 331, SK 6, SSA I 54 || A: ??φ T *o t 'grass, vegetation' (× N *q'a' t ∇ 'ε tree, stick', q.v.) > OT, Chg o t id., Tk o t, Tv ō t, Uz ω t, Xlj ūō t, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, StAlt, Xk, Yk o t, Ux ω t, VTt † ut id., Chv ʘTǎ ud_ʘ {Ash, Fed, Jeg.} 'hay', {ChVS} 'hay, grass', Chv Δ {Fed.} BʘTǎ vud_ʘ 'hay', QrB o t 'poison', Tf ō t' 'unmown grass (used as fodder for cattle)' ¶ KW 291 mentioned Kl o t_0 'Pflanze, Kraut; Kräuter (als Heilmittel verwendet)', probably a loan from T ¶ Róna-Tás suggested Tc origin of the T word (Tc A/B ā ti 'grass' < IE *adōs 'cereals') (see Dm. NTE 172) ¶ Cl. 34, Rs. W 366, ET Gl 481-3, TL 119-20, Ra. 213, Ash. III 328-30, Fed. II 294, Jeg. 279, ChVS 234-5 || ?φ HS: SC: Irq {MQK} g i c_ō 'grass' ¶ MQK 40, Blz. CP s.v. 'grass' ¶ The unexpected Irq g- (if recorded well) is still to be explained ◇ The T word is a dubious cognate (the supposed change N *č̣ > T *t has no parallels in other N words). Irq {MQK} g i c_ō (if it belongs here) suggests that N *Γ āč̣'U' is to be interpreted as *g āč̣'U'. The vw. *o in NaT *o t may be due to regr. as. (N *ā...o > *o...). The vw. *i in K *o y i c_∇ and in Irq g i c_ō may be interpreted as suggesting the presence of the vw. *i within the N etymon (*g ā ? i c_∇'U'?). Irq g- from N *g-??

731. *ʘōč̣_∇ 'bone', (?) 'backbone' > HS: S (+ext.) *'ṣaθam- 'bone, (?) backbone' > Hb ʘʘʘ 'ṣεçεm (pl. ṣāçā'mō t), SmHb 'ṣā:ṣām (pl. ṣā:ṣā:māt), Ph ṣṣm, Ug ṣθm, Ar ṣaθm-, Ak eṣemtu, Eb {Krb.} a-za-mu-um 'bone', Sr ṣa t m ā {Br.} 'coxa, latus', {JPS} 'thigh, side', JPA {Sl.} ʘʘʘ ṣ t m 'thigh of an animal', Md a t m a 'thigh, side, flank', Mh ṣāθṣmēt and Hrs ṣaθ' m e t 'back', Gz ṣaṣ m ~ ṣaṣ m 'bone' (either lateralization of the sibilant due to the infl. of SS *✓ ṣṣ 'bone' [> Jb C 'ṣ i ṣ'εṣ, Jb E 'ṣay ṣ'εṣ, Mh, Hrs ṣā'ṣayṣ 'bone'] or a purely spelling variation because of the merger of ṣ and ṣ in New EthS [acc. to Voigt]) ¶ KB 622-3, KBR 869, BH IV 215, A no. 2082, OLS 96, Br. 520, JPS 410, DM 13, Sl. P 401, Js. 1063, L G 58, Jo. M 14, 39, Jo. J 39, Jo. H 6, 14, MiK I no. 1.25 || ?φ Eg G ṣṣ 'bones' (dis. *ṣṣ > ṣṣ?) ¶ EG III 210 || NrOm: Mj/Shk {Fl.} ṣus 'bone' ¶ ≈ Fl. OO 317, Fl. OWL || Ch: WCh: Tng {J} wos, Krkr {IL} ṣsu, osu, Krf {Sch.} wōšáńí, Bl {IS} ṣṣki, Gj {Sh.} ṣṣī 'bone' || CCh: Zm B {J} úšó, ? Lgn {Bou.} ṣē'č̣ē id. || Ech: Ll {Grgs} ísī, Kbl {Cp.} ṣṣí, Skr {Sx.} ṣsīńí, {Lk.} óšēńgí, Mgm {J} ṣāšú, Mkl {J} ṣōšé, Jg {J} ṣaso, Brgt {J} ṣásó 'bone' ¶ JI II 36-7, ChC s.v. 'bone', Blz. EChWL s.v. 'bone' || K: G ṣōž-i 'fang, a

large tooth' ¶ Chx. 1646, DCh. 1365, K² 232 (G ὄστρον-i ↔ Zan ὄστρον-
 'swine'??) ¶ -ṣ- for the expected -č- due to as.? || IE *χ₂ost₁h₁- (E)I
 *h₂ost [gen. *h₂est-s]) 'bone' > OI asthi-, Av ast- id. || Gk ὄστρον id.
 || Los (stem oss-) id. || Clt {Matas.} *astn₁iy₁o- 'rib' > OIr asna ~
 esna 'rib', MW ass-en 'rib, lath'; W, OCrn asen 'rib'; Brtt cd {RE}
 *askornos 'bone' > MW ascwrn, W asgwrn, OCrn, Crn ascorn, MBr
 asco(u)rn, Br asko(u)rn id. (a cd, with the second element seen in
 W mi-gwrn, Br mi-gourn 'cartilage', W llos-gwrn 'tail') || pAl {O}
 *ašti|a > Al asht 'bone' || Arm nulyr oskr id. (E)I < *h₂ost-w₁o || Tc
 B pl. āsta 'bones' || Ht hastai, hasti-, Lw has(s)a- 'bone' ¶¶ P
 783, EI 77, M K I 67, M E I 150-1, WH I 225-6, F II 436-7, Vn. A 94-5,
 RE 84, O 11, Ad. 45-7, Pv. III 233-7, Ts. E I 202-3, Ivn. SANA 153,
 Matas. E 44 || A *ūč'a 'back, backbone' (× N *h₁U₁w₁č₁∇ [or *h₁U₁w₁∇č₁∇]
 'loins, lap') > NaT *ūč'a 'sacrum, coccyx, backbone, back (dos)' > OT uč'a
 {Cl.} ≈ loins, haunches, rump', MQp XIV ūžā, [CC] uč'a 'back', OOSm XV
 už'a 'buttocks', Chg لچو (and هچو) uč'a 'back (dos)', Tkm ūž'a 'rump;
 dock (part of animals' body adjacent to the base of the tail); sacrum',
 Osm {Rh.} už'a 'a stump, the bottom part of a thing', Tk uca [už'a]
 'coccyx', VTt oca ḃś'a, Bsh oca ḃsa 'pelvis, buttocks', StAlt yca uca
 'back (dos), haunch, loins', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} uč'a, Shor/Sg {Rl.} uč'a
 'Hinterteil, Kreuz, Rücken (bei Tieren und Menschen)', Qrg, QK {Rl.} uč'a,
 už'a 'rump', QK {Rl.} +ž'a, Tb uč'a, Qmn {Rl.} +ž'a 'back (dos)', ET, Ln uč'a
 'rump, back (dos)', StAlt uca 'thigh, rump, meat of the hind part of an
 animal, back', Sg uč'a 'rump, back, hind part of an animal', SY už'a ~ uč'a,
 Nog uša, VTt ḃś'a, Bsh Δ ḃsa 'loins', Tv už'a 'fatty tail (of a sheep), rump',
 Yk uha 'hind part of an animal', Chv {ChVS} ыса шәмми +z_a š'mmi
 'sacrum, rump', {ET} ыса +z_a 'rump' ¶ Cl. 20, ET Gl 566-7, Rh. 239, Bu.
 I 116, TkR 656, Rl. I 1384, 1721-3 and 1734, BT 169, B DChT 162, TvR
 435, Rs. W 509, Pek. 3075, Chv. 288 ¶ Tkm ū provides ev. for a long pT
 *ū, while Yk u is likely to point to a pT short vw. (unless this is a
 shortening in uncertain conditions [before an open second syll.?],
 mentioned by Poppe [F Pp. J 55]) ¶ The length of T *ū- may belong to the
 heritage of N *h₁U₁w₁č₁∇ or *h₁U₁w₁∇č₁∇ ¶ T ↔ M: MM [LV, MA, IsV],
 MMgl [Z] ūč'a, WrM {MED} uɣuca 'croup, sacrum, loins', HIM yyc
 {MED} id., {BMR} 'sacrum, loins, hind part of animal's trunk', Brt yyc
 'croup, sacrum', Kl {KRS} yyc 'croup of a horse, rump, back (Rücken)',
 {Rm.} ūc'a 'das Kreuz im Körper, Hinterteil, Rücken, Steiß', Ord ūc'a 'la

partie postérieure du dos (chez un animal)', Mgl {Wr.} у́а 'Rücken'. The opposite direction of the borrowing (M *ū́а → T *ū́а) is hardly acceptable for two reasons: [1] chronological difficulties: the T form у́а is attested from the 8th c. A.D., sc. long before the Mongolian conquest; [2] pM long vowels lose their length in HIM, Brt and Kl, while here the vw. of these lges is long; so that the only possible solution is to accept Ligeti's proposal (Lg. VMI 71) of the T origin of the M word] ¶ MED 864, BMR III 372, Chr. 481, KRS 543, KW 455, Ms. O 545, Wr. 183, Lg. VMI 71 || Tg *u|o|:|ç∇ka 'fish fin' > WrMc {Z} у́чика 'fin under the belly of fish (подбрюшные плавательные перья у рыб)', Neg о́чаха & о́чака 'fish fin on the back' ¶ Z 165, STM II 29, 29O, Hr 942 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 1482-3 (pA *ū́'í 'end, edge' > T *ū́ç- 'end, edge' + [not belonging to pA *ū́а 'back, backbone']) M *ǘǘgür 'end, edge' and pKo *úuk 'top of a tree, upper branches'), ≠ DQA no. 272O (A *ū́'∇ 'behind, rump, fish fin') ◇ The A and SS reflexes of the N word suggest an ancient meaning 'backbone' that coexisted with the wider meaning 'bone'.

731a. ≈ *'y'ay'e'c∇ 'seek, look for' > HS: S *°✓{s}ŝŝ (~ *°✓{y}ŝŝ?) > Ar ✓{s}ŝŝ (pf. řaŝŝa) v. 'seek, acquire'; ? Gz ✓{x}ŝŝ (js. řaxŝŝ) v. 'seek, look for, desire' (a loan from an unknown C source **°✓{y}ŝŝ with further as. *-yŝŝ- > -xŝŝ-?) ¶ BK II 259, L G 266 || C: HEC *has- v. 'want, seek' > Brj hās-, Ged, Hd, Kmb, Sd has- id. ¶ The unexpected HEC *h- needs explanation ¶ AD SF 153 (s.v. *hAŝ- 'искать', 'хотеть'), Hd. 163, 195, 244, 281, 32O, 369, Ss. B 88 || U: FU (att. in BF) *°e'c'c'∇- > F ețsiä v. 'seek, look for', Krl A ečči-, Krl Ld ećci-, Vp eć-ťa, eć-ťä, Vo зccia, Es oțsi-, Es Δ oțsi-, Lv v o'ččā id. ¶ SK 42, Kt. 506 ¶ SK equated the BF word with Lp N occāt v. 'seek' (< pLp {Lr.} *oc3 id.), but acc. to the reg. sound laws Lp *oc3 does not belong here, but is akin to F udella v. 'be curious, inquire' < FU *učč∇, F Krh. 159, SSA I 109, Lr. no. 799 || IE: NaIE *aṷs-, *aṷs-sk̄- v. 'seek, wish' ({EI} IE *h₁aeṷs- 'wish for, seek out') > OI 'ēṷati 'seeks, looks for', ē'ṷah₁ 'wish, choice', ic'chatī (< *aṷs-sk̄-) 'looks for', Av iṷa'tī 'wishes' || Arm այց ալս^h (< *aṷs-sk̄ā-) n. 'search, inspection' (→ 'visit') || L aerus-c-ō / -āre v. 'beg, ask', Um EISCURENT 'arcessierint' || Clt {Matas.} *isk-ā- 'look for lice' > Mlr v.n. escaid 'looking for lice' || OHG eiscōn 'to search, to question, to require', OSx êscōn, ēscian 'to require', AS āscian 'to try, to require, to ask (a question)' (> NE ask) || Lt ls pres. íeškau / inf. ieškoti 'look for', Ltv iēškāt 'to louse' || Sl inf. *jbskǎ-ti 'to look for, to seek' > OCS inf. ИСКАТИ iskatī (ls pres. ИСКѦ isko ~ ИЩѦ

išťq), R inf. ис'каты (1s pres. и'щү) id., Blg 'ища 'I look for', 'искам 'I want', SCr inf. ìskati 'to wish' (1s pres. ìšťēm), Slv inf. ískati, OCz inf. iskati 'to look for', P inf. iskać 'to louse, to seek, to search' ¶ Dv. no. 14, P 16, EI 629, M K I 85, WH I 19, Bc. G 333, Ho. 7, Ho. S 17, EWA II 1022-3, Kb. 196, Frn. 182, Slt. 366, ESSJ VIII 238-9, StSS 264-5, Glh. 278 || **A** (?) *iĉ'∇ 'hope', (?) 'see' > M *iĉa- (unless it is *φiĉa-) 'hope' > WrM {MED}, WrO iĉa-, HIM {BMR} яца- v. 'hope for, expect', Kl {KRS} иц- iĉ- id., 'believe', {Em.} iĉa- ~ iĉa- 'hoffen, vertrauen; glauben'; WrM iĉaġ, HIM {BMR} яцаġ, WrO iĉaġ, Kl {KRS} ицġ iĉaġ n. 'hope', {Rm.} iĉaġ 'Hoffnung, Vertrauen' ¶ Gl. I 190, MED 397, BMR IV 470, Krg. 99, KRS 275, KW 211-12 || ?σ Tg *iĉe- 'see' (× N *hūžE 'look, see') > Ewk, Neg iĉe-, Lm it-, iĉ-, Orc iĉe-, Ork ite-, Ud ise- 'see', Sln isö:- 'appear' ¶ STM I 334-5 ¶¶ SDM 579-80 (pA *iĉ'∇ v. 'hope, see' > Tg, M), DQA no. 588 ◇ M *i- < N *-y'e'-?

732. *ϣAĉ'∇ 'cut, cut into pieces' > K *°ϣeĉ- > Mg ϣeĉ- 'cut (hair), cut' ¶ Q 49 || **HS:** WS *✓ϣŝw 'divide, separate' > Ar عضو ✓ϣŝw (ip. -ϣŝū) 'dépecer (un mouton etc.), séparer par membres\parties, partager'; S d. *ϣiŝ- 'piece, portion' > Ar ϣiŝ-at- id., Gz ϣəŝ, ϣəŝā, Tgr ϣəŝ, Tgy ϣəŝa, ϣəŝa 'lot' ¶ BK II 283, L G 57 || ?σ C: **[1]** Irq {MQK} haĉ'á? 'different, other', haĉ'īĉ'īm- 'differentiate, sort out', {E} haĉ'a 'other'; **[2]** ??φ SC: Irq {MQK} ĥaĉ'īt- 'share, receive one another, take turns', {E} haĉ'it- v. 'share' ¶ ≈ E SC 336 (reconstructing SC *haĉ- v. 'be separated, be divided up'), MQK 47, 49 || Eg fOK ϣž {EG} 'hacken', Eg MK {Fk.} ϣž 'hack up, destroy' ¶ EG I 238, Fk. 51 ¶ Hardly akin (⇔ Tk. I 44, 249) to Sa {Wlm.} -uϣuġ- v. 'dig', Ang {Flk.} ok 'dig', Ll yagi 'dig' || **D** *aĉ- v. 'cut' > Gnd aĉĉ'ānā v. 'cut off (hand, foot etc.), split, saw', Mlt aϣye v. 'chisel' ¶¶ D no. 46 || ?φ IE *χat- 'cut, pierce' > Ht hat-t- 'make a hole (in), pierce, stab, slash'; AnIE ↗ Arm ĥawun hat 'cut, cutting; fraction, fragment, piece', ĥawunawunel hatan-el 'to cut' (not an inherited word because of -t-, while in an inherited cognate one expects -t' < IE *-t-) || OIr áith adj. 'cutting, piercing' ¶¶ Pv. III 248-255, Ts. E I 215-17, Grp. IVAA 53, Vn. A 54 ◇ The rec. of N *ϣ- is based on S *ϣ-, Ht h- and K *ϣ-. The IE reflex is qu., because it has not been proved that N *-ĉ- yields IE *-t-.

733. ₂ *Γûd'∇ 'to tie; thong' > K *ϣwed- 'thong, belt, leash' > OG ϣwed- (spelled ϣued-) 'thong, leathern tie of a yoke', {K} 'leash of yoke', G ϣved- 'thong; leathern belt', G J ϣved- 'leathern tie of a yoke',

Mg $\psi\upsilon\epsilon(n)d-$ 'thong, saddle girth', Lz $\psi\upsilon\epsilon d-$ 'thong, leathern belt', Sv $\psi\upsilon\omega\epsilon d$ 'thong, strap' ¶¶ K 203, K² 225-6, ≈ K IEK 74-5 (K * $\epsilon b-$ IE), GP 269 || IE * $H\chi e\upsilon d^h-$ /* $H\chi o\upsilon d^h-$ /* $H\chi\omega\epsilon d^h-$ v. 'tie', n. 'tie, thong': [1] IE * $H\chi e\upsilon d^h-$ /* $H\chi o\upsilon d^h-$ > Lt inf. $\acute{a}u\acute{s}t\acute{i}$ (1s pres. $\acute{a}u\acute{d}\acute{z}i\acute{u}$), Ltv $a\hat{u}\acute{s}t$ (1s pres. $a\hat{u}z\acute{u}$) 'to weave', Lt $\acute{u}\acute{d}i\acute{s}$ 'einmaliges Gewebe' || R $\Delta\upsilon\epsilon\pi\omicron$ 'web in the initial stage of weaving' || Arm $qo\eta$ z- $\acute{o}d$ 'withe, band; tie, bond', $qo\eta b\acute{u}$ z- $\acute{o}dem$ 'I tie\ bind\fasten\attach' (on the prepositional element z- see Me. EAC 94), $jo\eta\upsilon$ - $\acute{o}d$ 'bond, tie, link; articulation, joint, juncture', $jo\eta b\acute{u}\upsilon$ - $\acute{o}dem$ 'I tie\bind\unite', ? $o\eta\acute{o}d$ 'shoe' (Arm $o\acute{o} < eArm a\acute{u}$) ||| [2] IE * $H\chi\omega\epsilon d^h-$ 'attach, tie' > OI ' $\upsilon adhra-h_2$ ' 'leathern strap' || Gk [Hs.] $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\mu\acute{o}\acute{\varsigma}$ (' πολλοός, δεσμοός, πλόκαμοι) {Mn.} 'chains', 'ropes' or sim. || OIr $fedan$ 'Gespann, Geschirr', {Mn.} 'yoke, team', OIr $fedil$, W $gwedd$ 'yoke' || Gt $ga-widan^*$ (' συζευγύναι) 'verbinden' (attested: 3s p. $ga-wap$), OHG $w\acute{e}tan$ vt. 'to yoke, to join' ¶ P 75-6, 1116-17, Mn. 1497-8, F I 448, Fs. 211-12, Kb. 1186, OsS 1132, Frn. 26, Vs. IV 171, Slr. 290-1, ≠ Ach. III 412-13 and IV 607-8, M K IV 137 (rejecting the connection of OI ' $\upsilon adhra-$ with IE * $\omega\epsilon d^h-$) || D * $u\acute{t}\acute{t}$ - 'be trapped, be caught in a trap' > Gdb $u\acute{t}\acute{t}$ id., Gnd $urr\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ 'be jammed in a trap' (of fish) ¶¶ D no. 595 ◊ Not here WrM $\acute{u}de-$ ~ $\acute{u}d\acute{u}-$ 'fasten with thongs, cord or thread passed through a hole or holes', because it goes back to pM * $\varphi\acute{u}de-$ (> Ba {MYC} $\chi\acute{u}du-$), see KW 455, MED 995, MYC 688 ◊ IS MS 364 (* $g\acute{u}d\acute{\alpha}$ 'свръзывать'), IS SS no-s 3.13 and 9.2.

734. (₂?) * $\Gamma UL \nabla$ 'knee, elbow' > IE * $\chi^{\omega}el-$ or * $\chi\chi ol-$ (/ * $\chi\chi el-$?) 'elbow' > NaIE * $\acute{o}l\acute{e}n\bar{a}$, * $o|elni-$ id. (× N ? $\phi \approx$ * $gon^{\prime}H^{\prime}\acute{a}l \nabla$ ~ mt.: * $gol^{\prime}H^{\prime}\nabla\bar{n}\nabla$ 'forearm?') > Gk $\acute{\omega}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}v\eta$, $\acute{\omega}\lambda\acute{\eta}v$ 'the arm from the elbow downwards, elbow', [Hs.] $\acute{\omega}\lambda\lambda\acute{o}v$ 'elbow' || L $ulna$ 'elbow bone, half ell' || Gt $aleina$ (' $\pi\acute{\eta}\chi\upsilon\varsigma$) 'Elle', ON qln 'forearm, ell', AS {Ho.} $\acute{e}ln$ id. (> NE ell), OHG $elina$ 'elbow, ell, ulna' > NHG $Elle$ 'ell' || Clt {Matas.} * $ol\bar{i}n\bar{a}$ > OIr $uilen$ 'elbow, angle', OW $elinou$, W, MCrn $elin$, Crn $elyn$, MBr $elin$, Br $ilin$ 'elbow' || OI $a'ni-h_2$ ~ $\bar{a}'ni-h_2$ 'the part of the leg just above the knee', ?? NPrs $\acute{u}r\bar{a}n$ 'ell' || ? σ Tc: A $\bar{a}lem du$. 'palms of hands', B $alyiye$ 'palm of hand' || Ht $haliya-$ v. 'kneel, genuflect', $halihla(\acute{i})-$ v. 'genuflect' ¶¶ P 308, EI 176 (IE * $h_3el \nabla n-$ 'elbow, forearm'), WH II 812, M K I 72, F II 1146-7, Vn. U 18, YGM-1 214, Fs. 35, Vr. 686, Ho. 90, Kb. 197, EWA II 1044-9, Horn 5, Matas. E 297-8, Hm. 394, Ad. 27, Pv. III 28-9, 31-2 || K: Sv: UP $\psi\upsilon l\acute{a}y$ (gen. $\psi\upsilon l\acute{a}i\acute{s}$, pl. $\psi\upsilon l\acute{a}r$ ~ $\psi\upsilon l\acute{a}r$), LB/Ln $\psi\upsilon l\acute{a}$, L $\psi\upsilon lay$ 'knee', L {Dn.} $li-\psi\omega lay-$

e 'to kneel' ¶ TK 797, Ni. s.v. 'колѣно', Dn. s.v. ყულაყ, GP 269 || **HS**: ? EC: Sa/Af {R} helūf ~ holūf 'elbow, ell' (Sa/Af {R} h = [h]?) (Sa/Af h- is a reg. representative of N *Г- [cp. Af h́éray 'pigs' < N *Г ▽ R ▽ 'wild boar', q.v.]) ¶ R S II 181 ¶ The cognate is valid if Reimisch's h = [h].

735. *Г uñ ▽ 'bend, be bent' ([in A] → 'fall') > **K**: GZ *ყun- > OG ყun-/ყon- 'bend', G ყun- 'biegen, krümmen', Mg ყun- 'bend' ¶ Abul. 129, 303, Chx. 1655-6, K² 22-3 (adducing OG bყun- 'bend' and reconstructing GZ *bყwen-/ *bყwn-) || **HS**: Ch: ECh: Kbl {Cp.} wòηlì 'bend' ¶ Cp. KL s.v. wòηlì, ChC s.v. 'bend' || **A** *ō|ūn ▽- 'fall, lie on one's back' > M *una- v. 'fall' > MM [MA, L] una-, [IM] on-, WrM {MED} una-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt уна- v. 'fall, fall down', Kl {KRS} ун- un- id., {Kl.} un- 'fallen, herabfallen, umstürzen', Dx una-, Mnr {SM} unā- 'tomber'; 'être perdu' (procès, récolte), {T} unā- 'fall', Mgl {Rm.} unō-, Dg wana-, Ba nā- ~ na- v. 'fall', Ord уна- 'tomber, s'abatre', ShY nā- v. 'lie (liegen)' ¶ Pp. MA 363, 449, Pp. L II 1261, MED 875, BMR III 331-2, Chr. 469-70, KRS 534, KW 450, SM 471-2, T 368-9, T DnJ 137, T BJ 143, Rm. M 41, MLC 674, Ms. O 732-3 || Tg *ōηk- 'fall flat \ lie on one's back, (?) turn over' > Ewk òηkān- 'fall on one's back (упасть\опрокинуться навзничь)', Ewk Np òηnī- vi. 'turn over', Lm òηkì, Neg óηkapkī, òηkiskī, Ul òndì, Ork òndon, Nn Nh óñžì, Nn Bk уñžì 'навзничь (rücklings, auf den Rücken)', WrMc {Z} оньчохонь id., '(lying\falling) facing upwards (лицом вверх)', Mc Sb {Y} ρонѣзһән, ρонѣuhun 'facing upwards', {Mrm.} онѣχон 'ausgebreitet, auf dem Rücken liegend' ¶ STM II 21, On. 312, Z 142, Y no. 525, Klz. MS 238 ¶¶ SDM 1054 (pA *ō|ūn ▽- 'fall, lie [liegen]' > Tg, M).

736. *Г on̄_l ▽_l ga 'fingernail, claw' (→ 'hook') > **HS**: Eg fOK ʕ n. t 'fingernail, claw; thumb' > DEg ʔ n. t 'fingernail, claw', Cpt Sd e i n e, i n e, Cpt B i r i 'thumb; hache à deux tranchants, instrument du charpentier' ¶ EG I 188, Er. 63, Vc. 64-5 || **K**: G I/Lch/Gr ყvanყv-a-l-i {Chx., Ghl.} 'hook\peg for hanging up baskets' ({Chx.}: 'Haken [zum Aufhängenvon Körben]', {Ghl.} 'grip of a basket') ¶ Chx. 1622, Ghl. 587 || **IE** *H^ωeng_l^h_lH_χo- / *H^ωnog_l^h_lH_χ- '(finger)nail, claw' (> NaIE *ong^ω_l^h_lH_χo-, *nog^ω_l^h_lH_χo-, ? *ənog^h_l_l- id.), ({EI} *h₃nog^h(ω)-) > OI na'kham 'finger-\ toe-nail, claw', pIrn *naħa- > Oss I ных пзχ, D ni χ 'fingernail, claw', ZrPhl n^ʔhωn, NPrs نأخن nāχon ~ نأخون nāχūn, Ygn naχna id., KhS nāhune 'nails' ||| Arm Եղուկն eł-ungn 'finger-\toe-nail, claw, iron hook' (< a cd *ełn-ungn 'hind's\roe's hoof?') ||| Gk ὄνυξ,

gen. ὄνυχ-ος 'finger-\toe-nail; hoof (of horses and oxen); claw' (acc. to Bks, υ is due to dis.: ὄνυχ- < *onog^h- < *H₃nogh [sc. *H^ωnog^h-]) ||| L *unguis*, gen. pl. *unguium*, [Υ] *υνη* 'finger-\toe-nail' ||| Clt {Matas.} *ang^ωīnā 'nail' > OIr {P} *ingu*, *inga*, *ionga*, {Flr.} *ingen*, OW *eguin*, W *ewin*, OBr {Flr.} *euin* ~ *eguin*, Br *ivīn* 'fingernail' ||| pGmc d.: ON *nagl*, OHG *nagal* 'nail' (> NHG *Nagel*) (cp. L *ung-ul-a* 'hoof'), OSx *naga*, AS *næẏl* 'nail, claw', NE *nail* ||| BSl: Lt *nāgas*, Ltv *nags* 'finger-\toe-nail', BSl d. (dim.?) **noguti-* > Lt *nagūti-s* 'finger-\toe-nail' (dim.), Pru *nagutis* 'finger-\toe-nail', pSl **nōgъtъ* (gen. *nōgъta*) id. > OCS **НОГЪТЪ** *nogъtъ* id., 'claw', R 'ноготь', Cz *nehet*, P † *nogieć*, Slv *nōhet*, Blg 'нокът', pl. 'нокт-и', SCr *nōkat*, gen. *nōkt-a* 'finger-\toe-nail' (Blg and SCr -k∇t- < *-gt- by as. in the oblique cases and in pl. with subsequent generalization of -kt- in the declension paradigm) | BSl **nog-ā* > Lt *nagā* 'hoof', Ltv *nagas* pl. 'both hands, hands and feet', Pru *nage* 'foot', pSl **no'ga* 'leg, foot' > OCS **НОГА** *noga*, R но'га (accus. *ногу*), Blg но'га, SCr *nōga*, Slv *nóga*, Cz, Slk *noha*, P *noga* id. ||| ?φ pTc {Ad.} **mekwā* > A *маку* pl., B *меква* pl. '(finger-\toe-)nails' ({Ad.}: **m-* < **n-* by as.) ¶ P 780, Mn. 879, EI 389, Flr. 169, Frn. 478-9, En. 213, Glh. 440, StSS 383, Vs. III 78-80, Ma. CS 321-2, M K II 124, M E II 4, Ab. II 217-18, Bai. 181, WH II 818-19, Vr. 403-4, Kb. 711, Schz. 219, Ho. 230, Ho. S 54, KM 501, Bks IELG 47, Slr. 147-8, Vl. II 1271-2, F II 398-9, Ad. 467, Matas. E 36 ¶¶ IE *-ng^hωH- < pre-IE *-ngH- < *-ng- regularly ||| U: FU **oηt∇* 'thorn, spear' > Chr L {Ü} *умдо умдо*, *ундо* *ундо*, Chr M *unto* 'spear, sting of insects', Chr Uf *unδъ* 'bayonet, sting of insects', Chr B *unδo* 'Bärenspieß, spear, sting' ||| ObU: pOs **oηtə(p)* ({Hl.} **ǣηtə(p)*) 'Bärenspieß, spear' > Os: V/Vy *oηtəw*, Ty/Y *ǣηtəp*, D *oηtə*, Sh *ēηtə*, Kz *oηti*, O *oηti*, N {Ahl.} *oηti*, *uηti* id.; pVg **ǣwt∇* 'spear' > Vg: T *awtā*, LK/P *owtə*, Ss *owta*, ML {Mu.} *ǣwtä* ~ *ǣwté* id. ||| ? Sm **ǣηtъ* 'blade (Schneide)' > Ne Т нянд, Т О {Lh.} *há':nt*, Ng {Mik.} *ηatə*, En {Cs.} *Kh eddo*, En {Cs.} B *naddo*, Slq Tz {Prk.} *āηti*, *oηti*, Slq Tm {KD} *āηd*, Mt {Hl.} **āndā* (misprinted as **āndā*) id. (Mt K {Pl.} *éndide* id. [+ ppa. 3s]) ⇨ Mt {Hl.} **āndəkā* (misprinted for **āndəkā* [?]) 'sharp' (Mt M {Sp.} *андыка* id.) ¶¶ Coll. 105, UEW 342, Sm. 542 (FU **o|uηtǣ* 'spear' > FP **oηta*, Ugr ? **uηta*), Jn. 20-1, Hl. M no. 74, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 144-5, MK 399 ||| ?φ D **āñi* 'nail, peg' > Tm *āñi* 'nail, small spike, peg, linchpin', Ml *āñi*, Tu *āñi* 'peg, nail', Kt *āñy* 'nail of metal or wood', Td *ōñy* 'nail', Kn, Tl *āñi* 'nail, linchpin' ¶¶ The word is

etymologically connected with OI $\bar{a}n̥iḥ$ 'pin of the axle' and Pali $\bar{a}n̥i-$ 'linchpin, bolt, peg', but the direction of the borrowing is not clear: Caldwell suggested that the OI word is from Dravidian, while the 2nd ed. of the Dravidian Etym. Dict. assumed the opposite direction of the borrowing. Since the IE et. of OI $\bar{a}n̥i-$ (presumably from IE $*el-ni-$, whence OHG lun 'bolt, nail of a wheel' and NHG $lunse < *l-ni$, as suggested with a query by Mayrhofer) is highly qu., the D origin of the stem is still rather plausible. If D $*ān̥i$ is an inherited N word rather than a loan from IAr, its $*ā-$ (for the expected $*o-$) remains enigmatic ¶¶ The unexpected D $*ā-$ is still to be explained ¶¶ Cald. CGDL² 454ff, DED no. 295, D app. no. 10, M K I 72 ◇ But GZ $*nek̥lu-$ 'little finger' is not related to the above-mentioned IE root [\Leftrightarrow Blz. KM 138], because the change 'finger' \rightarrow 'little finger' contradicts the laws of semantic typology; on the origin of $*nek̥lu-$ see N $*n̥ik̥ʔu$ 'small, little'.

737. *Γaṅṅ'ĉ'U 'cheek' > HS: C: SC: Alg {E} $\varsunĉa$, Irq {MQK} $\varsunĉa$ 'inside of cheek', {Mgw.} $\varsunĉa$ 'cheek', Brn {E} $\varsuĉa$ 'cheek' (and/or Irq {MQK} $\varsanĉamō$, {Wh.} $\acute{a}nĉamo$ 'molar', Brn {Wh.} $\bar{a}ĉimo$ 'tooth' [pl. $\bar{a}ĉo$]?) ¶ AD SF 307, E SC 278, Mgw. 115, Wh. IC 26, Wh. SI, MQK 15, 112 || U: FU: pOs {Ht.} $*ōñĉəʷ$ 'jaw' > Os: V/Vy $ɔñĉəʷ$, $oñĉəʷ$, Ty $ōñĉəʷ$, Y $ōñĉəʷ$, D/K $unšə$, Kz $w\hat{w}ñšĩ$, O $onsi$ id. ¶ Ht. no. 39 ($*\div$ Vg $*ānəʷ$ 'jaw') ¶ The final $*-əʷ$ in Os may be explained by the infl. of ObU $*ā'naʷ$ 'jaw' (< N $*Xān'ā'k̥$ 'jaw, palate', q.v.) || K {FS, K²} $*ʷaĉw-$ 'cheek' > OG $ʷaĉu-$ 'cheek' [Mt. 5.39], 'jaw' [Ψ 31.9], G $ʷaĉv-i$ 'cheek', $ʷaĉu$ 'the upper part of a cheek', Sv Lx $ʷāĉa$ 'cheek', Sv π $ʷāĉ-o$ (with a dim. sx) id. ¶¶ FS K 344, K² 222 || A: NTg $*anĉa$ 'cheek' > Sln $anĉā$, Lm A $añĉi$, Lm B/O $añĉin$, Neg $anĉān$ id., Ewk $anĉān$ \mathfrak{d} $hañĉan$ 'cheek, cheekbone' | ? (cd, d.?) AmTg $*andasj$ 'cheek' > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh $andasj$ ¶ STM I 44, On. 43 ◇ Not here B $*gā'z̥z̥$ 'cheek' (> Ah $aǵaz̥$, pl. $iǵaz̥z̥an$, Gh $aǵaz̥$, Gd $aǵεz̥z̥$, pl. $ǵεz̥z̥εn$) because of the initial $*g-$. It $g\bar{u}anĉia$ 'cheek' does not belong here either, because it goes back to a loan from a Gmc lge (probably Gt $*wanġo$ 'cheek', attested in a derived word: Gt $waggarrja$ dat. 'Kopfkissen') (see KM 837, ML no. 9499, Fs. 540).

738. *Γoñt̥ 'heat; to heat' > K: GZ $*ʷwent-$ v. 'melt (wax, fat)' (\times K {K²} $*ʷwent-$ 'stream down' > Sv $ʷwēnt$ 'drop?') > G $ʷvent-$ (inf. $daʷventeba$) 'melt', Mg $ʷvant-$ v. id. ¶¶ K DE2 175, K² 226, Fn. KW-1 no. 72, FS K 348, FS E 390 || IE $*χχend-$ 'be hot; set fire to' > Ht $hantais-$ n. 'heat', Pal (bf.) $hā-$ 'be hot' || NaIE $*o\bar{v}nd-$ (= $*ond-$?) > OIr $and-$ v. 'kindle' (prtc. $andithe$ 'accensus', vb. n. $andud$) ¶¶ Ped. H 48

(Ht, OIr), Pv. III 107, Ts. E I 154, Vn. A 75 (no satisfactory et. for OIr) || **U**: FP *onta 'heat, warmth' > Prm: Z öдэд (obl. эдү-) 'embers in a stove; speed', {Rog.} öдд 'heat in a sauna', Vt öды эд+ 'strength' || Lp Pa {TI} qud_:'b_ 'Anlage; Eifer' || BF (with an irreg. *i-): Es Δ i n d (gen. i n n a) 'rut, heat' (of animals) ('kiima'), F i n t a 'desire, lust' ('halu, himo'), i n t o 'eagerness, ardour, zeal' ¶ UEW 719 (suggesting that the irreg. BF *i- is due to as.), TI 312, SK 108, LG 209 ◇ The absence of the expected labialization in IE (*x^we- > *o-) still requires explanation.

739. *Γûrû 'to flow, to stream' > **K**: GZ ≈ *ÿwar-/*ÿwr- > G ÿvar-/ÿvr- 'pour (out)', ÿvar-i 'stream' ('Regenbach, Gießbach, Strom [von Schweiß, Blut etc.]'), Mg {Q} ÿvarÿval- vi. 'flow, leak, boil', ÿvarÿval-i 'stream, strong current, boiling', ? Mg/Lz {Chik.} ÿvar- v. 'get soaked (промокать, мокнуть)' ¶ Chx. 1622, 1628-9, Q 350, Chik. 347 || **IE** *χχwr- ≈ 'sprinkle' > Ht hur nai-, hur niya- v. 'spray, sprinkle', Pal huwarninai 'sprinkles' || NaIE *w_ṛn-/*ūr-/*aur- v. 'rain, drip, trickle' (× N *w^ra¹qR∇ [or *w^ra¹Rq∇?] 'to rain, to drip, to trickle, to be strained' [q.v.] and possibly N *war∇ 'stream of water' [q.v.]) > Gk ῥάινω 'I sprinkle' (< *w_ṛn-y-ō), ῥανίς (gen. ῥανίδος) n. 'drop' || L ūr ī n a 'urine' (semantic infl. of Gk οὔρον 'urine' < NaIE *wors- / *wers- 'rain, dew' < N *w^r∇R₁∇,3∇ or *w^r∇3∇R∇ 'to pour, to flow', q.v.), ?σ L ūr ī n o r / inf. ūr ī n ā r i v. 'dive' || ON úr 'light rain, moisture', ON úrigr 'dewy', AS ūriȝ 'moist', ON aur-r (?) 'moisture, wetness' || Pru wurs (< Blt *ūras) 'pond' (× NaIE wer-/*ūr- 'flowing water' < N *war∇ '↑') ¶¶ Pv. III 402-4, P 80-1, 1182, F II 639-40, WH II 840, Vr. 20, 635, Ho. 372, En. 278, ≈ EI 636 (IE *¹welohr 'water') || **A** *ôrEs- v. 'flow, stream' > M *urus- 'flow, run, stream' > MM [MA, IsV] urus- id., WrM {MED} urus- id., v. "float; dissolve", HIM урса- {MED} id., {BMR} 'flow, stream', Ord urus- 'couler, devenir liquide', Mnr H {SM} urosz- v. 'flow, leak', {T} uröse- 'flow, stream', Dx {T} urusu- 'flow', ? Brt урша байһан уһан 'fließendes Wasser', ?φ Brt урда- v. 'flow' ¶ Pp. MA 368, Lg. VMI 71, MED 886-7, BMR III 543, Chr. 475, 478, SM 478-9, T 369, T DnJ 137, Ms. O 743, Pp. IM 203 || T *ö^rö's > Yk örüs 'river'; T *ö^r- (< {DQA} *örs-) v. 'flow, stream' > Az Δ üz- v. 'flow, stream'; T *ö^r 'river' > Tk Δ öz id.; ⇨ T *örsän (> NaT *özän) 'river, river bed' > Tk Δ, Qmq, Qzq özen, Kr özen ≈ öžän ~ ezen, CrTt ozeń, 'river', Qrg özön, Uz ұзан ωzan 'river bed', QbB, Nog özen 'valley' (← *'river bed'), Tv özen, Tkm Δ öböñ id., Chv L васаһ vaz_an {Ash.} 'seichtes trockenes

Bachbett, in dem bei Regen und im Frühling Wasser fließt' (неглубокое отлогое сухое русло, по которому в дождь и весной течет вода)', {Jeg.} 'ravine (ложбина, лог, лощина)', Chv Δ. {Jeg.} васан 'tiny brook (ручеек)', VTt üzän, Bsh übän 'valley, depression (дол)' ¶ ET Gl 510-12, UzR 579, NogR 256, TkR 499, Pek. 1968, AzDDL 399, Ash. V 179, Jeg. 47 ¶¶ SDM 1063 (pA *orusi 'river', v. 'flow' > M, T), DQA no. 1584 (id.), Pp. VG 102 (M, Tg) || D *ūr- v. 'spring, flow (as water in a well), ooze' > Tm ūr- id., Ml ūr-uka v. 'spring as water, ooze', Kn ūr- u, Tl ūr- u id., 'leak out', Td u'ūr- 'spring forth, ooze', Kdg utt-, Tu ūjuni, ūsuni, Gdb ūr-ēr- v. 'ooze', Klm u'r- 'leak' (of a house), Nkr ūr- v. 'leak, drip', Gnd ūsā 'flow of water, flood', Knd ūsa 'spring', Kui ur- pa / ur-t- v. 'ooze, spring up', Ku ūta 'spring, fountain', Mlt orbe v. 'fall in showers' ¶¶ D no. 761 ◇ IS I 240-1 (K, D, A + qu. S). It is worth paying attention to Sq {Ls.} 'εεϋρεη 'lake' and Ug {OLS} ϣϋρ 'depression, well' ('deposición, pozo, profundidad'), but they are more likely to belong together with Ar ϣawr- 'bottom, lowest part' < CS *ϣawir- < CS *ϣār- < N *gar'i 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' (q.v.).

740. ₂ *Γ∇R∇ 'wild boar' > K: GZ *ϣor- 'swine' > G ϣor-, Mg, Lz ϣež- id. ¶ K 205, K² 232, FS K 351-2, FS E 394-5 || HS: EC: Af {PH} héray 'pigs' (snglt. heráytu 'pig'), {R} hə'rāy, Sa {R} 'hə'rā coll. 'wild boars' (snglt. -yṯā), Or {Brl.} eria 'wild boar'; C ↷ Gz harāwya 'swine' ¶ R S II 19, PH 128, L G 244, Brl. 138.

741. *ϣeR?∇ 'eagle' or sim. > IE *χ̂er-/*χ̂or- 'eagle, big bird' > NaIE *er-/*or- > Clt {Matas.} *eriro 'eagle' > Mir irar ~ ilar, MW eryr, MBr erer ~ er, Br/Crn (hpl.?) er 'eagle' || Gmc {P} *aran- > Gt ara ('ἀετός)'Adler', ON ar i, qrn (< Gmc *arnuz) 'eagle', AS earn, OHG ar o 'eagle', NHG A ar 'eagle; big bird of prey'; MHG adel-ar (lit. 'noble eagle\bird of prey') 'eagle' > NHG Adler id. || BSl d.: Lt erēlis, Δ arēlis, Pru [El.] arelie (ce. for arelis), Ltv ērglis (< *ērdlis) 'eagle' || Sl *o'rb'lb (gen. *orb'la) 'eagle' > OCS oрѣлъ oрѣлъ, Blg o'pел, SCr o'rao (gen. órla), Slv órel (gen. órla), Cz orel, Slk orol, P orzeł, R o'pел (gen. oр'ла), Uk o'pел id. || Gk ὄρνις ~ ὄρνις (gen. ὄρνιθος), Gk D ὄρνις (gen. ὄρνιχος) 'bird', Gk ὄρνειον id. || ?σ Arm nppp oʃoʃ 'sea mew, sea gull, cob', nppp uxux 'buzzard' || Ht haras, haran-, Pal haras(-) (gen. ḥaranas) 'eagle' ¶¶ P 325-6, EI 173 (*h₃or- 'eagle'), F II 421-2, LP § 256, Fs. 54-5, Vr. 13, 688, Ho. 86, Kb. 44, EWA I 341-4, KM 1, Frn. 122, En. 143, Tp. P A-D 101-3, StSS 415,

Glh. 455-6, Bdr. 57O, 58O, Matas. R 117-18, Pv. III 137-9, Ts. E I 170-1, Carr. P 8-9 || **HS**: S * $\text{ʕar}_L\text{a}_J\text{y}$ - > Ak OB/MB/NB $\text{er}\hat{\text{u}}$ (~ $\text{ar}\hat{\text{u}}$) 'eagle', Ak LB $\text{ar}\hat{\text{a}}\text{ni}\check{\text{s}}$ 'like an eagle', OA {HJ} (?) ʕr 'bearded vulture', JA [Trg.] ʕr ʕar , em. $\text{ʕar}'\text{y}-\bar{\text{a}}$ {Js.} 'e bird of prey' (prob. 'bearded vulture, *Gypaëtus barbatus*'), {Lv.} 'e eine Adlerart, Aar' (but {Dlm.} ʕr ʕar , em. $\text{ʕar}'\text{r}-\bar{\text{a}}$ 'e bird of prey') ¶ CAD I/2 231 and IV 324-5, Sd. 247, HJ 884, Lv. TM I 239, Js. 1109, Dlm. 307 || C: Bj {R} ' $\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{e}}$ ' 'white-tailed sea eagle' ¶ R WBd 28 || **K** *orb- 'eagle' > G orb-i, Sv werb id. ¶¶ K *b- goes back to the pN pc. of animal names N *bA ¶ DCh. 994, Blz. NDA no. 59 || **D** (att. in McTm) * eruvay > Tm eruvaj 'e kite', Ml eruva 'eagle, kite' ¶ D no. 818 ◇ D *-r- goes back to N *R-clusters, which suggests the presence of an additional cns. after N *R. In the light of Bj ' $\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{e}}$ ' and IE it is likely to have been N *ʔ. The IE evidence favours N *ʔ, because it is the only lr. lost (rather than yielding NaIE *ə) in interconsonantal position (see Gk ὄρνις ~ ὄρνις) ◇ Blz. NDA no. 59 (D, HS, K, IE) ◇ ≈ Blz. IELA 19 [no. 79] (S * $\text{ʕar}(\text{an})$ - [err. for * ʕar -] 'eagle', IE).

742. ?σ * $\text{ʕ}_L\text{E}^{\text{e}}\text{aRgE}$ 'big beast, beast of prey' > IE * χr̥k̥to- ~ * χr̥tk̥o- 'bear' ({EI} * $\text{h}_2\text{r̥tk̥o-s}$) > Ht $\text{hart}(\text{ag})\text{ga-}$ (= {Pv., EI} hartka) 'bear' || NaIE {WP, P} * r̥k̥p̥o-s 'bear' > OI r̥k̥sa- , Av arša , Oss ars id. || Gk ἄρκτος id. || Arm արջ arž id. || L ursus id. || Clt {Matas.} *arto- 'bear' > OIr art 'bear, hero, warrior', MW, W arth , Br arzh 'bear' || pAl {O} *ar (> OAl XVII [Bgd.] ar) ⇨ pAl *arina > Al ari , pl. arinj id. || Lt irštva 'bear's den' ¶¶ Pv. III 201-2, WP II 322, P 875, EI 55-6, F I 141-2, LP § 28, Vn. A 91, WH II 84, Slt. 131-2, O 8-9, Matas. E 42-3, Hm. 49, ≈ Frn. 187 || **A** * yarg|k' 'wild beast of prey' > pKo {S} * írhi 'wolf' > MKo írhi , NKo iri id. ¶ S QK no. 273, Nam 406, MLC 1327 || Tg * yarg|ka 'leopard' > WrMc {Z} ярга ~ ярха 'leopard (with black spots)', Jrc {Kiy.} yārha 'panther', Ud yaga ~ yagá 'leopard' ¶ STM I 337, Z 191-2, Kiy. 105 [no. 148] ¶¶ SDM 602 (pA * jārgi|o 'wild beast of prey' > Tg, Ko), DQA no. 627 || **HS**: S * ʕrg > Ar عراج ʕurāğ - pl. 'hyenas', ʕurğāʔ-u 'hyena' (the vowels belong to derivational patterns) ¶ BK II 210 ◇ IE *- $\hat{\text{k}}$ - is due to as. (**- $\hat{\text{g}}\text{h}t$ - > IE *- $\hat{\text{k}}t$ -) ◇ DQA no. 627 (A, IE).

743. * $\text{ʕ'o}^{\text{e}}\text{Rkô}$ 'bend, be bent\crooked' > **K**: OG, G $\text{ʕrek-}/\text{ʕriḳ-}$ id., OG ʕreḳil- 'crooked', Mg $\text{ʕiraḳ-}/\text{ʕiriḳ-}/\text{ʕirḳ-}/\text{ʕiroḳ-}$, Lz $\text{ʕriḳ-}/\text{ʕliḳ-}/\text{ʕveliḳ-}$ v. 'bend', Sv ʕwrek- v. 'wind' ¶¶ K 206, K² 229 (GZ

*ϕ(ω)r-ek- / *ϕ(ω)r-ik- / *ϕ(ω)r-k-; Sv ϕwrək- "derives from a G source"), FS K 353-4, FS E 397, Chx. 1647, Chik. 270-1, Marr 201, IS I 240 || IE *Herkw- or *Herku- (IEI] *h₂erkw₀-s) > NaIE *ark^ω- - *ark^ω- 'a bow', v. 'be bent' (× N *ǰar^ǰku' 'sinew' [q.v. ffd.]) > OL gen. ar^qu-ī, L arcus, -ūs n. 'bow', Um arc^lat^af 'articulatas, circular cakes' || pGmc *ar^xωō (*'belonging to a bow' →) 'arrow' > Gt d. ar^hazna (βέλος) 'Pfeil', ON q^r (gen. q^rvar), OSw ar^f, AS ear^h 'arrow', NE ar^oω ¶ WP I 81, P 67-8, EI 78, EM 78-9, WH I 64, Fs. 56, Vr. 688, Ho. 85, Coll. ULF 174, IS I 240, F I 142-3 || HS: CS *√^rrk^l v. ≈ twist\distort; stray from the right way' > JA [Trg.] ער^qקל (pf. ar^qel) {Lv.} 'verkehren, krümmen, verdrehen' (gab^rā d^amā ar^qelîn millô^rî 'ein Mann, dessen Worte verkehrt sind', Trg. of Prov. 29.19), Sr ער^qקל {PS} 'torsit, implexit, irretivit' (mā ar^qel p^ur^hā 'tortuosam reddit semitam'), Ar عر^qقل (pf. ar^qala) v. 'stray from the right course; distort' ({Fr.} 'deflexit a proposito; distorsit [sermonem]') (semantic infl. of *√^rrk^l 'turn, twist' [Aram\Sr "Par'el conjugation"]) ¶ Lv. T II 247, PS 2964, Fr. III 145 || Eg: it is tempting to adduce Eg fOK ar^q 'bend', but Cpt Sd/B ωak o^lk'plier, courber, contractor' suggests an Eg word-medial *l rather than *r (Vc. reconstructed the pronunciation of Eg ar^q as *ar^lq), so that the Eg verb belongs here only if HS *-rk- yields Eg *-lk- ¶ EG I 211, Vc. 249 || A: Tg *ur^rχ^lu^l- vt. 'bend', adj. 'crooked, slanting' (?) > WrMc {Z} ур^xу 'кривой, косою, слонившийся на сторону', ур^xури 'crooked', ур^xу- vi. 'bend, become crooked, слоняться на сторону', {Hr} ur^xu, ur^xur i '(zu)geneigt, schief', ur^xu- 'zur Seite neigen, schief sein', Lm uru-, Ork urru- ~ uru- vt. 'bend', Ewk ur^{ik}ēn-, Neg uy^{ix}ēn-, Ul ur^īn-, Nn Nh ur^{iz}-, Nn KU ur^{iz}- vi. 'bend' ¶ The absence of any reflex of N *k^l (and Tg *χ) in NrTg and AmTg is to be explained ¶ STM II 285, On. 432, Hr 969, Z 1734 || D *ōr- 'crooked' > Td w^īry (Em.) w^īry 'steep hillside', Kn o^ra, o^re 'state of being aslant, oblique, bending; declivity, crookedness', Kdg o^re 'slanting', Tu o^re 'crooked, bent', Tl o^ra 'oblique, sidelong, bent', Knd o^ra ki- v. 'bend slantingly' ¶¶ D *-r- goes back to a N cns. cluster ¶¶ D no. 1062 ◇ The N vw. *o of the first syll. is suggested by D and possibly by K (if the rec. *ϕw- is right). The final *o or *u are evidenced by IE (labialized velar *k^ω - *ku). ◇ Cf. IS I 240 (N *gar^qu > IE, K) ◇ The N vw. *o of the first syll. is suggested by D and possibly

by K (if the rec. * ψ w- is right). The N final *o or *u are evidenced by IE (*-k^w or *-ku).

744. $\text{₂} * \psi \nabla R_{\downarrow} \nabla_{\downarrow} P \nabla$ 'cloud' > HS: S * ψ arap(-at)- (~ * ψ ∇p∇r-) 'cloud' > Ak fOB erpetu ~ Ak YB urpatu, Ak \wedge erpu 'cloud', Ug ψ rpt, Mh {Jo.} ψ āfōr, Jb C ψ a'fōr id., Hrs ψ āfōr 'cloud, dusty wind' (× W S * ψ a'par- 'dust' > Hb ψ ā'pār-, Ar ψ afar- 'dust'); (× N * ψ ∇R∇b|p∇ 'dark', q.v. s.v. * ψ ∇R∇b|∇) CS * ψ ara'pill- 'dark cloud' > BHb ψ ā'pār (pl. MHb ψ ā'pār) id. (> NHb ψ ā'pār (∅)ara'fel 'fog'), Ug ψ rpl 'nube, nubarrón', Sr ψ arpel'l-ā 'dark fog, mist, thick darkness'; CS * ψ - in * ψ ara'pill- belongs to the heritage of N * ψ ∇R∇b|p∇ ¶ Sd. 243, 1432, CAD IV 302-4, OLS 90, 160, A no. 2102, Jo. M 15, Jo. H 7, Jo. J 8, KB 840-1, Br. 549, JPS 429 || C: Bj B {Alm.} 'afra^t, Bj {Rop.} afra^d (pl. afra^{da}), {R} 'afra 'cloud' ¶ Alm. BS III 2, R WBd 9, 358, Rop. 145 || K: MG [VTq.], G ψ rub-el-i 'cloud' ¶ Chx. 1652, DCh. 1567 ◇ Not here (⇔ Tromb. CCS II 149 and Bm) NaIE *erb^h-/orb^h- 'dark' and S * ψ rb (~ * ψ rb??) 'evening, sunset', see N * ψ ∇R∇b∇ (or *-p-) 'dark' ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 25c (without distinguishing between N * ψ ∇R_↓∇_↓P∇ and N * ψ ∇R∇b∇ [or * ψ ∇R∇p∇] 'dark').

745. (₂?) * ψ ∇R_↓∇_↓'g'∇ 'gnaw' > HS: CS * ψ rk v. 'gnaw' > BHb ψ rk (G prtc. pl. m. ψ rk'īm) 'gnaw away', Sr ψ rk G 'gnaw, crunch', Ar ψ rq G 'strip (a bone) of the flesh' ¶ KB 841, KBR 808-9, Br. 550, JPS 429, Hv. 466 || K: GZ * ψ er ψ -, * ψ ry ψ -w η -, {FS} ψ ry ψ - v. 'gnaw' > G ψ ry ψ -, Mg ψ iry ψ on-, Lz ψ iry ψ ol-; G ψ er ψ - ¶ K 207, K² 235, ≠ 223 (* ψ er ψ - not distinguished from * ψ er ψ - 'grind'), FS K 356 || ? ϕ possibly IE (with several assimilative transformations and with onomatopoeic infl.) * ψ g ψ ru \bar{k} |k- ~ * ψ g ψ ru(:) \bar{g} ^h-/* ψ g ψ rou \bar{g} ^h ~ * ψ g ψ ru(:) \bar{g} -/* ψ g ψ rou \bar{g} - v. 'gnaw, bite' (× N * ψ kiR \hat{u} _↓h_↓gæ 'to gnaw') > Gk βρúκω ~ βρúχω 'eat greedily, gobble, gnash\grind the teeth' ||| BSl (< * ψ g ψ rou \bar{g} _↓h_↓-/* ψ gru(:) \bar{g} _↓h_↓-) > Lt gráuzti (1s pres. gráuzti), Ltv graūzt 'to gnaw' | pSl inf. *griz-ti / 1s pres. *griz-q v. 'gnaw' > OCS pres. грѣзѣ grizq / inf. грѣсти gristi v. 'gnaw, bite' ({ESSJ} 'грызть, кусать, глотать'), Blg гриза 'gnaw', R грызть, SCr grīsti, Slv grīsti, Cz hrúzti, P gryźć, OR, RChS грѣзѣ grizti 'to gnaw with teeth', Cz hrúzti, Slk hrúzti', P gryźć 'to gnaw (грызть, глотать)', Slv grīsti id., 'to eat, to bite' ||| Arm կրծեմ kərsem (< *kurcem < NaIE * ψ g ψ ru \bar{g} -) 'I gnaw\nibble' ¶ P 485-6, F I 272-4, Sl. 447-8, Frn. 164-5, ESSJ VII 160-1, StSS 179, Glh. 237.

746. (₂?) *on.* *Γ∇RΓ∇H₂T∇ (= *g∇Rg∇H₂T∇?) 'ε waterbird' > K *γarγād- 'goose' > OG γeryed- ~ γeryeτ- id., Mg γorγonǰ-, Lz γorγoǰ-, Sv: UB γarγād, LB γarγad, L γarγānd id. ¶¶ K 201, K² 221, Chik.103, TK 792-3 || **IE** *Here|oHχd-/*HerHχd- 'ε waterbird' ({EI} ? *h₁orHdeh_ǝ- ~ *h₁r(o)Hdeh_ǝ- id., 'heron [?]) > NaIE *a|arōd- / *a|arad- > Gk ἑρωδιός, ῥωδιός, ἄρωδιός 'heron' || L ardea id. || ON arta, OSw ärtā 'teal (Kriekente, *Anas crecca*)', AS earthe, ON d. ertla 'wagtail (*Motacilla*)' || SCr rōda 'stork' ¶ WP I 146-7, P 68, EI 268, F I 572-3, WH I 64, Mn. 31, Vr. 15, 105, Ho. 86 || ?φ **HS**: S: *on.* Ar γarγarat- 'female partridge' ¶ BK II 457 ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 67 (K, IE). If Ar γarγarat- belongs here (rather than is an independent *on.*), the N rec. must be *g∇Rg∇H₂T∇.

747. *γ'ū'š∇ 'live' > **IE** *χχwes-/*χχweus- 'live, dwell, stay' ({Pv.} *A₁éws-/*A₁wés-) 'live', {EI} *h₂wes- 'dwell, pass the night, stay' > Ht hues- / hwis- / hus- 'live, be\stay alive' || NaIE *wes- 'be, live, dwell' > OI 'vasati 'dwells, lives, stays', Av varḥa'ti 'verweilt' || Gt wisan (·εἶναι, ὑπάρχειν, ὑλνεσθαι) 'sein', ON vesa, vera, NNr vera, Sw vara, Dn være, AS wesan (whence NE p. was, pl. were), OSx, OHG wesan 'to be', NHG p. war 'was', prtc. gewesen 'been', Wesen n. 'being, essence' || Clt {Matas.} *wos-0- 'spend the night, remain' > OIr fo-aíð, -foi'spend the night, sleep with someone', MIr fóc(a)íð 'spends the night, stays', {SB} foss 'Bleiben, Ruhe', MW, W gwesti 'lodging', W gwest 'lodging, rest' || Arm qnǰgoy 'is, there is', qnǰgon '(they) are', ագանիմ aganim 'I spend the night' || Tc B wäs- v. {Pv.} 'rest, reside', {Ad.} 'dwell, abide, remain, lie (on)' || ? Gk λάω 'sleep, pass the night' (λάω νύκτα 'pass the night') (< {Pv.} *A₁wés- / *A₁ew-s-) / aor. ἔεσα(νύκτα) (< {Pv.} *A₁wes-s-ṃ) (⇔ F I 706, Ch. 454) ¶¶ Pv. III 332-41, Ts. E I 265-6, P 1170-1, EI 171, 281, M K III 171-2, SB 277-8, Matas. E 428, YGM-1 265, Fs. 567-8, Vr. 657, Ho. 391, Kb. 1183, Schz. 320-1, KM 854, Gd. 41, KT 210, Wn. I 564-5, Ad. 597-8 || **HS**: WS *-fīš- 'live' > Ar ✓ fūš G (ip. -fīšū) 'live' ({Fr.} 'vitam duxit'), عيش fūš- 'life', Mh ✓ fūš (3m pf. fāyōš, sbjn. yāyēš), Jb ✓ fūš (pf. fēš, sbjn. yfīš) 'live, survive' ¶ Fr. III 249-50, Jo. M 38, Jo. J 20 || **D** *uĉ-, {GS} *us- v. 'live' > Tm uḡ- 'live, subsist', Ml uḡir ~ uśir, Kn usir, usur, usiru, Tu usuru, usulu, Tl usuru, usuru, Knd usur 'life, breath', Kt uĉr, Td ü·r, us+r 'life', Kdg us+r+ 'breath', Krx uĉĉ- 'have life,

reside, become animated', Mlt $u_2^z e$ v. 'live', n. 'life' ¶¶ D no. 645, Zv. 56, 75, 112, GS 124-5 [no. 320], 53 [no. 133] || **A**: NaT * $\text{æ}sæn$ 'in good health, sound; safe' > OT {Cl.} äsän id., MQp XIII, OOsM \geq XIV, Chg \geq XV esen , Tk esen , VTt $\text{isän} \sim \text{äsän}$, Bsh $\text{i}\theta\text{än}$, Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY esen , Uz, ET esän , Qrg $\text{esän} \sim \text{isän}$, StAlt, Tlt, QK, Sg, Kü ezen , Xk izen id., Tkm $\text{e}\theta\text{en}$ 'благополучный' ¶ Cl. 248, ET Gl 308-9, TL 684 (* esän), Rl. I 873, 889-90 ¶ Clauson was right in warning before confusing this \checkmark with NPrs أسان āsān 'easy' ($\neq \sigma, \phi$: {ET} T from NPrs āsān) || M * esen 'healthy' (\leftarrow T?) > MM [IM] esen , WrM {MED} esen , HIM {MED, BMR} эсән id., Kl {Rm.} $\text{es}\eta$ 'gesund' ¶ MED 333, BMR IV 439, KW 128, Pp. MA 437 ¶¶ The pT (and pA?) vw. * æ - of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as.

748. ($_2$?) * $\text{r}'\checkmark^1 i\hat{s}\nabla b\nabla$ (or: either * $\text{r}'\checkmark^1 \ddot{u}\hat{s}\nabla b\nabla$ or * $\text{r}'\checkmark^1 i\hat{s}U b\nabla$) to grow; vegetation' > HS * $\checkmark^1 \hat{s}b$ 'grass; to grow' > S * $\checkmark^1 \hat{s}b$ v. 'grow luxuriantly' (grass) > Ak inf. G $\text{e}\check{s}\bar{e}b\text{u}$ id.; S * $\checkmark^1 \hat{s}i\checkmark^1 u\checkmark^1 b$ - 'grass' > Hb בְּשֵׁב ' $\text{e}\hat{s}\varepsilon\beta$ ', pl. בְּשֵׁבוֹת $\checkmark^1 \hat{s}b\bar{o}t$ 'herbage, weed', BA בְּשֵׁבָא $\checkmark^1 \hat{s}b\bar{a}$, JA {Js.} בְּשֵׁבָא $\checkmark^1 \hat{s}b\bar{a}$ 'herbage, grass', JEA {Sl.} בְּשֵׁבָא \sim עֵשְׂבָא $\checkmark^1 \hat{s}b\bar{a}$ 'herb', Plm $\checkmark^1 \hat{s}b\text{u}$ pl. 'herb', Sr دَهَب $\checkmark^1 \hat{s}b\bar{a}$ / دَهَب $\checkmark^1 \hat{s}b\bar{a}$ 'green herb, grass', SmA عَسْب $\checkmark^1 \hat{s}b$ 'grass', Ak $\text{i}\check{s}b\text{ab}t\text{u}$ 'e grass\weed', Ar أشْب $\checkmark^1 \hat{s}b$ - 'green grass'; Cn \rightarrow Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} $\checkmark^1 a\text{-}\check{s}\text{-}b\text{u}$ 'grass (?)' ¶ KB 842, KBR 889, HJ 890, Js. 1097, Sl. 860, Tal 648, JPS 420, BK II 260, Sd. 253, 392, CAD VII 233, Hlk no. 39, SivCR 78 || B \approx * $a\text{-k}\check{s}i|u\beta$ > Gd $a\text{-}\check{s}\check{s}\text{a}\beta$ 'herbe bonne pour le bétail', Ty, ETwl $a\text{-}\checkmark^1 b\text{sa}$, pl. $i\text{-}\checkmark^1 b\text{sat}\bar{n}$, Ah $a\text{-}k\text{asa}$, pl. $i\text{-}k\text{as}\bar{a}t\bar{n}$ 'herbe fraîche et abondante' ¶ Lf. II no. O167, GhA 101, Fc. 909 || CCh: Mdr {Eg.} $\acute{o}sb\acute{a}$, Ngs {IL} $s\acute{a}p^h\grave{a}$ 'grass' ¶ \approx JS 123, ChC s.v. 'grass', Eg MM s.v. $\acute{o}sb\acute{a}$ || ? σ EC: pSam {Hn., Bl.} * $\checkmark^1 usub$ 'new' > Sml $\checkmark^1 us\acute{u}b$ 'new, fresh', Rn $\checkmark^1 us\acute{u}b$ 'new' ¶ ZMO 73, PG 144, Hn. S 78, Bl. 243 || **A**: Tg * iseb - v. 'grow, vegetate' (\times N * $\text{wi}\hat{s}\nabla$ 'to grow'??) > Lm isu - v. 'grow, vegetate', Neg $\text{is}\checkmark^1 w$ - id., Ewk $\text{is}\checkmark^1 w$ - v. 'grow', Ud {Krm.} yiu -, {Shn.} $\text{y}\checkmark^1 Hu$ - v. 'grow' ¶ STM I 332, Krm. 242 || ? ϕ K: G Kx $\checkmark^1 o\checkmark^1 o\checkmark^1 \checkmark^1 i$ 'junges Gras; Trieb des Keimes' ¶ Chx. 1646 \diamond The vw. * u in pSam * $\checkmark^1 usub$, in Ar $\checkmark^1 us\checkmark^1 b$ - and the vw. \bar{o} in G Kx $\checkmark^1 o\checkmark^1 o\checkmark^1 \checkmark^1 i$ may be explained in three ways: (1) the pN etymon was * $\text{r}'\checkmark^1 \ddot{u}\hat{s}\nabla b\nabla$ (with delabialization * $\text{-}\ddot{u}\text{-}$ > * i in the pre-history of EC, Tg and most S lges), (2) pN * $\text{r}'\checkmark^1 i\hat{s}U b\nabla$, and (3) a less plausible hyp.: infl. of * b , causing labialization of * i .

749. $_2$ * $\text{r}'o^1 w\nabla$ 'wild sheep\goats', (\rightarrow or \leftarrow) 'wild game' > HS: Eg fOK $\checkmark^1 w.t$ 'small cattle (goats and sheep)', 'wild game', 'quadrupeds' ¶ EG I

170-1, Fk. 39 || ?? Ch ≈ *ϣ∇ω∇ 'goat' > WCh: pAG {Stl. VZCh} *ϣ∇ id. > Su {J, Hf.} ϣḗ, Ang ƿf̄ {Hf.}, Ywm ƿḗ, {J} Gmy ƿf̄ {Hf.} id. | Ron: Fy {J} ƿḗ id. | ? Wrj {Sk.} áwáy id. || CCh: BB: Nz {Mch.} hḡwḡ, Bt G {Srp.} hũé id. | Mdr: Nkc ɔʁ^ωa {Blg.}, Glv ʔág^ωà {ChL}, ág^ωà {Rp.}, Dgh ʁ^ωwè {Frk}, ʁ^ωè {ChL} id., pMM {Ro.} *aw(-ak) id. > Gzg ʔáw, Mada, Myn, Mkt, Vm, Zlg àwák, Hrz àwá, Mlk áwàk; McMs: Zm {Srp.} hḡ, ZmB {Sx. in ChC} úh^ωú id. || ? ECh: Skr {Sx.} ā-tú (pl. áw-tí) 'wild mountain goat', EDng {Fd.} áw-kò id. ¶ JI II 166-7, ChC s.v. 'goat', J R 88, J S 67, ChL, Hf. AG 25, no. 226, Stl. VZCh A no. 8, RpB 4, Lk. G117, Ro. 260 [no. 311] || IE *χ₁^ωωi- ({{EI} *h₂ωi-s, gen. *h₂eωy-os) 'sheep' > Ht {Ts.} UDU-iš [*haw-is], Lw xaw-i-, HrLw {Mer.} ha-wa-s, Lc χawã id. || NaIE *h₁ωi-(s) 'sheep' > OI 'av-i- id. | Wx ƿobc (< Irn *āvi-č̌i-) 'ewe' || Gk ῥύς, Gk Arg ῥύς 'sheep' || L ωi-s id., Um OUI, accus. pl. υνεφ 'oves', υνεμ accus. 'ovem' || Clt {Matas.} *ωi- 'sheep' > OIr {P} ói, MÍr {Matas.} oí (misprint for ói?) id.; Clt {P.,Matas.} *ωīka- {P} 'cerva' ({{Matas.} 'hind, doe') > Brtt: W ewig, OCrn euhic {P} 'cerva'; Clt {Matas.} *ωigno- 'lamb' > MÍr úan, MW oen, ŵyn, MBr oeb, Br oan id., OCrn oin 'agnus', Crn oan ~ on 'lamb' || ON ær 'ewe', OHG ou, (?) ouwi 'ewe', OSx éwi, AS éowu, éowe 'ewe lamb', NE ewe, ds: Gt awistr (·αὐλή) 'Schafstall', awepi (·τοίμνη) 'Schafherde' || Lt avìs, Ltv avs 'sheep'; Lt āvinas, Ltv àuns, Pru [El.] awins 'ram' | Sl *ovb-'ca (accus. *ovb-'cŏ) (← dim.) 'sheep' > OCS OВЬЦА овьса, SCr, Slv óvca, Cz ovce, Slk ovca, Powca, Blg, R ов'ца, Uk вівця 'sheep'; Sl *ovb̌ňb̌ 'ram' > OCS, OR OВЬНЪ овьнъ, SCr óvan ~ óvan, Slv óven, Blg o'вeн, Cz oven || Arm հոսիլ հօսիւ (< *h₁ωi-pā-) 'shepherd'; in addition, Mn. and Grgv. adduced OArm աւղիք aw-đi-k^h 'sheep' (pl.) (đi 'flesh, body' + -k^h [marker of pl.]) || Tc B eyē ({{Ad.}: < *h₂ωēǰs) 'sheep', pl. awi 'ewes' ¶¶ WP I 167, P 784, EI 510, Mn. 897, M K I 59, M E I 135, F II 367-8, WH II 329, Bc. G 340, Vn. O 14, Mn. AIE 56, 179, Me. EAC 31, Grgv. BEO 128 (believing that OArm awđi 'sheep' goes back to a Phr loan from DM), Sľt. 174, Vr. 681, Fs. 70-1, Schz. 230, Kb. 751, 754, OsS 134, Ho. 93, Ho. S 17, Frn. 28, En. 149, Tr. APS 679, Tp. P A-D 178-80, Vs. II 113, 116, StSS 104, Glh. 461-2, Matas. E 301-2. Ad. 92, Ts. E I 230, Mer. HHG 58-9 ◇ Blz. IELA 10 [no. 28] (HS. IE) ◇ Cf. Bm. TPN 265 [no. 252] (IE, Eg) ◇ ≈ AD NM no. 42, S CNM 10 (comparing A *āba with IE *awā v. 'wound, hurt' [which I reconstruct as *wā-/wā-] and equate it with Eg ωḥḥ 'hew [stones]; pluck; cut [crops]');

÷ ÷ ST, Yn), ≠ Vv. AEN 17 (rejecting the A cognate because of unj. doubts about the metonymy 'wild game' → 'hunt' in A).

750. *Γοϋ∇ 'carry, bring' > **K** {K} *ϣω- 'have, carry', {K²} *ϣ(ω)- 'take, take away', {GM, FS} *ϣ- v. 'carry' > OG ϣω-, G ϣ(ω)-, Mg ϣ-/ϣν- 'take, carry, have (sth.)' (msd. ϣνena 'have'), Lz ϣ-, Sv ϣ-/ϣω- 'have (sth. inanimate); take off (some article of clothing)' (msd. λιϣωενε 'to have', λιϣε 'to take off') ¶¶ K 203 (*ϣω-), K² 224, Chik. 343-4, Q 347-9, Schm. 138; FS K 341 and FS E 382-3 (in both *ϣ-), GP 175 || **HS: B** *✓Hω^ry¹ > Ah aωi 'carry, bring', Gh {Nh.}, Snd {Prov.} aωi d 'bring' (3s aor. iωi d; d 'her-'), Izn, Rf, SrSn, Sll aωi 'carry (away)', aωi d 'bring', SrSn T uωi id., Zng 3m aor. yuwa-ddāh 'brings' ¶ Fc. 64, Nh. 123, Prov. ZQS 99, Rn. 283, Ds. 18, 226, TC FL 2 || ??φ C {AD} *✓ħyω 'give' > Bj {Rop.} -hi(ω)- 'give' (pret.: 1s a'hε, 2m 'thīa, 3m yi'he, 2p 'thīna, 3p yi'hīn, inv. m. 'hīa, neg. inv. m. 'bahīwa, n. act. mīaυ), Bj A {AD} -hiy-/he 'give' || Ag *?3ω- 'give' > Bln {Bnd.} 3ω-, {R} uω-, Xm {R} eω- ~ (i)uω-, Xmt {CR} iyω-, Q {R} yuω-, Aw {Hz.} 3y- id. ||| EC {AD} *-ħiω-/*-ħuω-/*-ħuy- 'give' > Sa {Wlm.} -u-ħoy-/o-ħoy-/a-ħay-, pf. -o-ħoe, inv. uħu, Af {Ss.} -eħe-, {PH} 1s pf. eħē (inv. aħuω / aħuy / uħuy), HEC {Ss.} *uω(ω)-, {Hd.} *uωω- > Sd {C} uω-, (ω)oy-, {Mrn.} o- ~ u-, Hd/Ged {Hd.} uωω-, Brj {Ss.} uωω- id. ¶ Blz. CL 179, AD SF 151-2, Rop. 79, R WB 59, R QW 151-2, R Ch II 344 (s.p. 30), Ss. B 185-6, 230 (EC *-ħuω-), PH 95, Hd. 70, 224, 264, 302 ||| **D** {tr., GS} *oy- 'carry, drag' > Tm oy- v. 'drag along' (as a flood), 'launch' (as a boat), 'send forth, give', Td üy- v. 'chase', Kn oy, uy v. 'carry off, carry, convey', Tu oyipuni v. 'draw, pull, drag', Knd o- 'carry, take away', Prj uy-, Gnd oy-/ō- id., 'take', Png ō-, Mnd ū- 'take', Kui opa / ot- 'lead away, take away (persons)', Ku o_lyali-, ō- 'take away, remove', Krx ho?o 'take, receive, transport', Mlt oye- 'take away' ¶¶ D no. 984, GS 72 [no. 233].