

## NOSTRATIC ETYMOLOGIES

### General remarks:

The alphabetical order of consonants is as follows: \***p** (incl. \***P**), \***f** (incl. \***ɸ**), \***b**, \***c** (incl. \***č**, \***č̄**, \***č̄̄**, \***C**), \***ç** (incl. \***č̄**, \***č̄̄**, \***č̄̄̄**, \***C̄**), \***č̄**, \***č̄̄**, \***č̄̄̄**, \***č̄̄̄̄**, \***g**, \***ḡ**, \***y** (incl. \***Γ**), \***h**, \***H** (incl. \***H**, \***H<sub>1</sub>**, \***H<sub>2</sub>**), \***h̄**, \***k** (incl. \***K**, \***K̄**), \***k̄** (incl. \***K̄**), \***l** (incl. \***l̄**, \***l̄̄**, \***L**), \***l̄**, \***m**, \***n** (incl. \***n̄**, \***n̄̄**, \***n̄̄̄**, \***N**, \***N̄**, \***N̄̄**), \***n̄**, \***n̄̄**, \***p** (incl. \***p̄**, \***P̄**, \***P̄̄**), \***q** (incl. \***Q**), \***q̄**, \***r** (incl. \***R**), \***r̄**, \***s** (incl. \***s̄**, \***s̄̄**, \***S̄**), \***s̄**, \***s̄̄**, \***t** (incl. \***T**), \***t̄**, \***w**, \***x** (incl. \***X**), \***y**, \***z** (incl. \***z̄**, \***z̄̄**, \***z̄̄̄**, \***Z̄**), \***z̄**, \***z̄̄**, \***z̄̄̄** (incl. \***z̄**, \***z̄̄**, \***z̄̄̄**, \***Z̄**), \***z̄̄̄**.

The letter \***h** precedes \***H** (incl. \***H**, \***H<sub>2</sub>**) in the word-initial position only. In the word-internal position the letters **h**, **H**, **H<sub>1</sub>**, and **H<sub>2</sub>** occupy the same place in the order of entries.

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

The entries are arranged as follows:

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

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

(a) those without any third consonant,

(b) those without second strong Inlaut-cns. that have a weak cns. before the word-medial strong one,

(c) those without second strong Inlaut-cns. that have a weak cns. after the word-medial strong one,

(d) those with a second strong Inlaut-cns.

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

[3] Within each group of entries with identical consonants the entries are arranged according to the first vowel. Order of vowels: \***a** (incl.

\*A), \*ä (incl. \*æ), \*e (incl. \*E and \*ê), \*i, \*o (incl. \*ô), \*u (incl. \*U, \*û, \*â, \*î), \*ü, \*ν.

The entries with consonants of doubtful identity (with brackets <sup>r</sup><sub>r</sub>) and of doubtful presence (with brackets <sub>l</sub><sub>l</sub>) are treated (concerning the alphabetical order) as those with regular consonants. The optional second element of a N compound word (that within plain brackets ( )) is not taken into account in the order of the entries.

See Introduction, §§ 9-14.

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

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

Two important uncertainty signs:

<sup>r</sup><sub>r</sub> - uncertainty brackets: <sup>r</sup>a = a or similar,

<sub>l</sub><sub>l</sub> - uncertainty brackets: <sub>l</sub>a = a or nothing.

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

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

1. \*?a, pc. of plurality: it is found in the N cds. \*m<sup>i</sup>?a 'we' (q.v. ffd.) (\*m<sup>i</sup>' + \*?a of plurality) and \*t<sup>r</sup>ü?a ~ \*s<sup>r</sup>ü?a 'ye (vos)' (q.v. ffd.) (N \*t<sup>r</sup>ü? ~ \*s<sup>r</sup>ü? 'thou' + \*?a), as well as in HS: S nomina collectiva (→ plural forms) with the prefix \*?a- (× N \*h<sup>1</sup>a, pc. of collectiveness, q.v. ffd.) > Ar <sup>أَرْجُلْ</sup> <sup>أَرْجُلْ</sup>?a-rğul-un 'feet' (← rığl-un 'foot'), ?a-yyām-un 'days' (← yawm-un 'civil day [24 hours], сутки'), ?amṭār-un 'rains' (← maṭar-un 'rain'), OSA ?b<sup>6</sup>l 'owners' (← b<sup>6</sup>l 'owner'), ?hgr

'towns' ( $\leftarrow$  *hg̚r* 'town'), Gz *?a-znāb* 'tails' ( $\leftarrow$  *zanab* 'tail'), *?adbār* 'mountains' ( $\leftarrow$  *dabr* 'mountain'), *?aṣrār* 'enemies' ( $\leftarrow$  *ṣarr* 'enemy'), *?abyāt* 'houses' ( $\leftarrow$  *bēt* 'house'), *?ahkūl* 'fields' ( $\leftarrow$  *hačl* 'field'); this patterns is used mostly (but not always) with inanimate nouns; if used with inanimate nouns, it is syntactically treated (in the predicate verb) as f. sg. ] S \*-ā, ending of pl. in the fem.-and-inanimate gender: pred. \*-ā, nom. \*-ā-t-u(m), accus.-gen. \*-ā-t-a(m); pred. f. pl. \*-ā > Ak -ā (mars-ā 'they [f.] are ill'); in WS the stative turned into a verbal form denoting state and later into a "new perfective", accordingly the form with \*-ā became a form of f. pl. of this aspect of state and of the "new perfective": \*mawit-ā 'they (f.) are dead' → 'they (f.) died' (> Ar māt-ā 'they [f.] died'); nom. \*-ā-t-u(m), accus.-gen. \*-ā-t-a(m) are S forms of f. pl.: \*ban-ā-t-um nom. f. pl. df., \*ban-ā-t-im accus.-gen. f. pl. df. 'daughters' (> Ar bānātun nom. \*banātin accus.-gen. 'daughters', BHb bā'n-ōt 'daughters' [without case distinctions]) ¶ Br. AG 98-9, Bst. 26, GBr. JJAP 56, Di. G 267-72, Jo. M 61, Sd. G 100-1, 8\* || C: Bj ?a, article of m. pl. (nom.-voc. case) ¶ AD KJ 106, Rop. 9 ◇ The initial lr. of the pc. (as suffix) is tentatively identified as N \*? because this is the only lr. that does not cause lengthening in NaIE (\*me-s 'we' ather than \*mē-s, the "secondary" ending of 2p \*-te rather than \*-tē). The original bisyllabic form of the prn. for 'we' has left traces in Tg \*bue 'we' (excl.) and possibly in OHg miū [mīū]. But the Krl Ld diphthong in müö 'we' is likely to result from a secondary development (\*mē > \*mō > \*mūö).

**2. \*?a** 'to become, to be' > **HS**: S \*-a 'is', ending of the predicative case (m. sg.) > Ak zero ending of the predicative case ("stative" of nouns and adjectives, "permansive" of verbs), WS \*-ā, ending of the 3 m. sg. of the new perfect (developed from the predicative case of deverbal adjectives: pS \*mawit-a 'is dead' > WS \*ma'wit-a 'has died' > Ar māt-a, Hb מָתַּה met, Gz mōt-a 'died') ¶ Dk. JDPA 213, 241-6 || ?C: the final component of the EC, Bj, and Aw sxs. of person/number/gender of the suffix-conjugated verbs that go back to prefix-conjugated forms of an aux. verb (or verbs) (which may have been either \*-Ha- [belonging to the N etymon in question], or \*-hay- 'be' [akin to S \*hyw 'be', FN \*how<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> 'become, appear'], or both): cf. the paradigms of suffixal conjugation: Bj (past) 2m -t-ā, 2f -t-ā-y, 3m -y-ā, 3f -t-ā, 1p -n-ā, etc., Aw (past) 1s \*-?a (> glottalization of the stem-final cns. + -a), 2s -ta, 3m -a, 3f -ta, 1p -na, (prs.-ft.) 1s \*-ré (glottalization + -é), 2s -té, 3m -é, 3f -té, 1p -né, Sml (past) 1s -ày?, 2s -

tày?, 3m -ày?, 3f -tày?, 1p -này?, Or S {Sr.} (prs.) 1s -a, 2s -ta, 3m -a, 3f -ti, 1p -na, Sa (prs.) 1s -a, 2s -ta, 3m -a, 3f -ta, 1p -na, Or S, Sa (prs.) 1s -e, 2s -te, 3m -e, 3f -te, 1p -ne ¶ AD KJ 119 (table 45), 126-9 (tables 56, 58, 62), 14O (table 76), Sr. 13O || ? B: Zng {TC} 3m aor. yí? , 3m pf. ya? 'be, exist' ¶ DCTC 293 || A: M \*a<sub>L</sub>; - 'be' (× N \***š|Γa?**Ν [= \***š|g|γa?**Ν] 'grow, become') > MM [S] a- 'dasein, sich aufhalten, wohnen, leben', [HI] a- 'être, demeurer, exister, passer ses jours de quelque façon', [PP] a- v. 'be', WrM a-, Dg ā- id. ¶ Pp. IM 74, MED 1, H 4, Ms. H 33 || D {Km.} \*ā- 'be, become' (× N \***š|Γa?**Ν '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I 243 [#1O2] (D, A: M + unc. (with a query) Tg \*-ā, which actually belongs to N \***hōw'ī'** 'become, appear' [q.v.]).

**2a.** (2?) \***?A**, a marker of the male sex (← '[young] man'??) > **HS**: C: Bj A {AD} -a, sx. of masculine in verbal forms of the 2nd person: pret.: 2m ti-dir-a 'you (sg. m.) killed' (↔ 2f ti-dir-i. cp. 1st person a-dir, 3m i-dir, 3f ti-dir) || S \*-a in \*pant-a 'thou' m. (↔ \*pant-i 'thou' f., cp. C \*anti 'thou' without gender distinction) (see s.v. N \***č'ū'** 'thou') ] Ar pa- in the nominal pattern pa-CCaCu for the masc. gender of adjectives (comparative, adjectives of colours, etc.: paşyaru 'smaller' m., paşfaru 'yellow' m., pabyağu 'white' m.) ↔ fem. C<sub>N</sub>CCā?u (şaŷrā?u 'smaller' f., şafra?u 'yellow' f., bayğā?u 'white' f.) || D \*-aŋ ([?] ~ \*-a), marker of masc. > Tm mak-an 'son', manн-an 'king', kātal-an 'lover', iлаj-ya-an 'young man', muti-ya-an 'old man', Ml mak-an 'son', tacc-an 'carpenter', taṭṭ-an 'goldsmith', vānn-an 'washerman', Kt kurđ-n 'blind man', kaļn (< \*kaļ-n) 'male thief', Td koļn (< \*koļ-n) id., toṭxī-n 'goldsmith', konodžy-n 'Canarese man', Kdg kaļ]-ž<sub>1</sub> 'male thief', obb-ž<sub>1</sub> 'one man', kiવđ-ž<sub>1</sub> 'dumb man', Kn O mag-an 'son', aras-an 'king', Kn Bd kaļ]-a(n) 'thief', aňň-a(n) 'elder brother', Tl -an (marker of masc.), Knd -a (e.g. kaň-a 'blind man', danṛ-a 'young man', dokr-a 'old man'), Png -en, -an (ṭond-en 'brother', potl-en 'father-in-law', dūt-en 'old man', nāṭak-an 'villager', haruk-an 'a small man'), Klm -an / -en / -on (mar-an 'spouse's brother', mal-an 'man of barber caste', ko·lav-an 'Kolam man', tōr-en 'younger brother', okk-on 'one man'), Nkr -en ~ -an (tōl-en 'brother', kīk-en 'son', kaym-an 'spouse's younger brother'), Prj -ed / (before case sxs.) -en- (tol-ed / tol-en- 'brother', bert-ed / bert-en- 'big man'), Gdb toṛ-on 'brother', Mlt -e (maq-e 'son', qad-e 'son') ¶ The final \*-ŋ in the sx. \*-aŋ is due to the generalization in the paradigm of

cases, where \*-n- (from the N genitive pc. \*nu) was originally present in obl. cases || | IE: possibly one of the sources of NaIE \*-o- / -e (nom. \*-o-s, voc. \*-e), sx. of derived adjectives in the masc. gender ( $\leftrightarrow$  \*-ā fem.), e.g. \*'dejwō-s 'heavenly' ( $\rightarrow$  'god') > OI de'veh 'heavenly, divine; god', Av daēvā- 'demon, false deity', OL deivos, L deus 'god', OIr díə 'god', Germanic \*tejwaz > ON Týr 'war god', OHG Ziu, Zio 'Mars', Lt diēwas 'god' (cp. \*'dejw-ā > L dea 'goddess', Osc deívaí 'deae'), derived from NaIE noun \*dyēus ~ diyēus 'heaven, sky, day' > OI 'dyāuh id., Gk Ζεύς 'Zeus', L gen. Iovis 'of Jupiter', Osc dat. Diúveí, Διουφεί 'to Jupiter', OIr die 'day', Arm սիլ tiw 'day' ||| The autosemantic word underlying this marker of masc. may be tentatively discerned in Eg MK iw 'Junge' ◇ The fact that in the Bj verbal conjugation the marker of masc. -a is separated from the 2nd person morpheme ti- suggests that the marker of masc. goes back to an address word: Bj ti-dir-a 'you (m. sg.) killed' goes back to N \*t'ū 'thou' + verb + the N address word \*?A ('[?] man', marker of the male sex) (cp. the similar situation with the marker of fem. in HS, see s. v. N \*?a'yā 'mother').

3. \*?e (~ ? \*?ā) 'not' > U \*e- (~ ? FU \*ā-) 'do(es) not', negative verb > F e- id. (1s en 'I do not', 2s et, 3s ei, 1p emme, 2p ette, 3p eivät), Vp e- id., Es ei 'do\does not' (negative pc.), Es S e-s~i-s 'did not' (negation in the past tense), Es Δ negative verb: 1s e-si-n, 2s e-si-d\_, Lv neg. copulative verb ä- (1s, 3s, 1p, 3p ä'b\_, 2s äd\_, 2p ät), Lp N i- / æ- / ē- id. (1s im~in, 2s ik~ih, 3s ī~ii, 1d æm~æm, 2d æp'pe, 3d æba~æbă, 1p æp~æp, 2p ēppit, 3p æi), Lp L i-/ī-/ä-/ā-/e-, Lp S {Hs.} eä-/i-/ie-, Er stem e- of the neg. verb in the past tense (1s e-žir̄, 2s e-žit̄, 3s e-ś, etc.), Mk i- id. (past 1s i-žer̄, 2s i-žet̄, 3s i-ž, etc.), Chr L ы- ь- id. (past 3s ь-ś, 1p ь-ś-na, 2p ь-ś-đa, 3p ь-ś-t, etc.), Chr H a- (ъi-) id. (past 3s, 3p aś, in other personal forms a is reduced to zero: 1s šam, 2s šac, etc.), Prm \*e- (neg. verb in p.) > OPrm i-, Yz 'i- (1s 'i-g 'I did not', 2s 'i-n, 3s 'i-z, etc.), Ze- (1s e-g, 2s e-n, 3s e-z), Vt з- (1s öй з-y, 2s öд з-d, 3s öз з-z), Vt SW o'- (= {LG} θ-) (o'-y, o'-n, o'-z), ? pPrm \*en prohibitive > Z, Vt en, Yz 'in; as to the Chr neg. verbal stem of the present tense: Chr L o-, Chr H a-, it is most probably of different origin, since these vowels are not reg. reflexes of FU \*e- || pVg \*ā(-) > Vg: T ä, äk 'nein', K īt, īti, P ītäm, Ss īti 'is not'; ? pOs {Ht.} \*ənta ({Hl.} \*iñta) 'not' (negative pc. before the verb in indicative) >

Os: V/Vy *ənt̥š~ənt̥a* before cns., *ənt̥* before vowels, Ty *ənt̥e*, *ənt̥*, Y *ənt̥a*, D *ənt̥a*, *ənt̥*, *ən*, Nz *ənt̥*, *ən̥o*, Sh *ənt̥*, *ən̥o*, *ən*, Sn *ət̥*, O *ən̥o*, ? pOs *\*ənt̥v̥m* 'is not' > Os: V/Vy *ənt̥im*, etc., ?pOs {Ht.} *\*ənt̥ä* ({Hl.} *\*int̥ä*) 'nein' > Os: D *ənt̥a*, Nz/Kz/Sh/Sn *ənt̥a* || Sm {Jn.} *\*i-~\*e-~\*v̥-*, {Hl.} *\*i-*, neg. verb > Ng {Ter.} *r̥i-* (aor. 1s *r̥i-n̥dym*, p. 1s *r̥i-s̥a-m̥a*), proh. 2s {Prk.} *ńi?*, {Cs.} *r̥e?*, En (aor. sg. 1) {Cs.} *i-*, {Ter.} *r̥e-*, (proh. 2s) {Cs.} *i?*, Ne T {Ter.} *ńi-*, {Lh.} *ńi-* (aor. 1s *ńi-dm'*, 2s *ńi-n*, 3s *ńi*, proh. 2s *ńeń n̥ōn*), Ne F *ńi-* (neg. verb), Kms {KD} *e-* (neg. verb: prs. 1s *e-m~ə-m*, p. *ej*), *i?~i~š* 'do not' (proh.), Mt {Hl.} *\*i-* 'do not' (neg. verb) (Nh, En, Nn *ńi-* is a reg. prosthetic cns. before *\*i-*) || Y {Rd.} *\*e-:* {Jc} *e1e* 'nicht, nein', *e1* 'not', *o1i-*, *e1i-:* *oile* 'nicht dasein, nicht dagewesen sein; nein', Y {Schf.} *e1* 'not' ¶ UEW 68-7O, SK 32-4, Hs. 145-6, LG 331, RMarS 366-7, Ht. 198 [#725], Stn. D 121-3, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 26, KD 164-5, Hl. M 172-3, #331, JN III 187, 231-3, 248-9, 388-9, 431-2, 45, ≈ Rd. UJ 35 [#7] (Y ↔ U) || A {SDM95} *\*e*, {AD} *\*e|ä* 'not' > Tg *\*e-*, neg. aux. verb (like in FU) > Ewk, Sln, Lm, Neg, Orc, Ud, Ork ȝ-id. (Ewk ȝ-si-m *sārȝ* 'I do not know', ȝ-sīn *sārȝ* 'he does not know'); in Nn there are only relics of this verb: prtc. ȝ-śi and ȝ-či following the main verb have become morphemes of negation of verbs ¶ Mng. TS 236-7, STM 432-3, Bz. 124 || M *\*e-se-*, neg. verb > MM *eše*, preverbal negation ([S] *e-se*, [MA] *ءے*, and [IM] *لے* *eše* 'not' (acc. to Ligeti, this form preserves M *e* contrasting *e* [from *\*ä*]), WrM *eše-* (past *eše-be*, nomen futuri *eše-kü*, nomen perfecti *eše-g-sen*, etc.), HlM *eš*, Ord *eše*, Mnr H *sʒ* 'not'; the final element *\*-se* was explained by Illich-Svitych (IS I 265) as going back to a desiderative sx. ¶ Pp. IM 286-9O, Pp. MA 165, 437, Lg. NVMI 119, SM 341 ¶ Pp. IAL 65, KW 128, IS I 265, DQA #407 (A *\*e* 'not') || HS: S *\*ʔi* (= *\*ʔiy*) ~ *\*ʔay* 'not' > Hb *אַ* *ʔi*, Ph *ʔy* 'not', Ar Δ *ʔa-*, Sq {L} *ʔē* 'not', Gz *ʔi-* 'not' (preverb: *ʔi-nəkl hawīra* 'we cannot go'), Tgr *ʔi* 'not', *-ay* (as in *ʔəndəy* 'while not' < *ʔəndo-ay*), Amh *y-* (< *\*ʔi-*) in *y-alla-m* 'there is not' (cp. *alla* 'there is'), OAk {G} *ē* (before a cns.) / *ay* (before a vowel) (< *\*ay-*) 'do not!', 'may not' (prohibitive pc.), Ak *ay* ~ *ya* (written *a-*, *a-i*, *a-IA*, *IA*) (< *\*ayya*, intensified variant of *\*ay*) 'do not' (proh.), *ē* 'no' ('nein'), *ē...ē* 'not...lest' ¶ KB 37, JH 11, HJ 43-4, LLS 47-8, LG 1, G OA 1-2, CAD I/1 218-2O and IV 1 || ?? Eg fOK *iw.i* 'welcher nicht' ¶ EG I 45 || ? EC: Brj *-ay?*, Hd *-yyo*, suffixes of negative forms of verbs ¶ Hd. 266 || ???φ (t)-WCh: AG: Ang {Flk.} *hai* 'no!' (a decisive negative), Mpn {Frz.} *háyí* 'no!' (may

occur at the end of interr. sentences) ¶ Frz. GM 21, Flk. s.v. **hai** ¶ ~ Tk. PAA 14 (AG, S, Eg; err.: pHs \*h-) || D \*-ā, negative affix (→ infix) of verbs > Klm -e- (sī-e-n 'I do not give, shall not give'), Nk -e- (āṛ-e-n 'he does not play'), Prj -a- (čuṛ-a-ta 'non vides, non videris'), Gdb -a- (var-a-n 'I do\did\shall not come'), Tl -z- (1s čεpp-ž-ṇu 'I do\did\shall not say', 2s čεpp-ž-wu, 3m čεpp-ž-ṛu, 3f\3n čεpp-ž-du), CITm -ā- (3n) / -Ø (all other person-gender-number forms), MI -ā- (vār-ā-nínu 'did not come'), -ā (nān ceyy-ā 'I am not doing, I shall not do'), Kdg -a (ting-a 'do\does not eat'), Kn -a- (3n) / -Ø- (negation in other person-gender-number forms). Subrahmanyam reconstructs a D negative sx. of verbs \*-ā, while Bur. and An. prefer to see here a sx. (\*-ā) forming a pD negative gerund, that served later as the first component of negative tense forms ¶ Cald. 468-77; Subram. N 32-43; Sbr. DVM 370-4; Bloch S 51-2, Bur. rBloch 255, An. SG 400-19 ◇ D \*ā and pVg \*ā suggest the existence of a N variant pc. \*?ā ◇ In grammatical morphemes pN \*h- and pS \*h- (just like \*?-) yield Ar and Gz ?, hence a N \*h- in this etymon cannot be ruled out. We reconstruct here N \*?- (= \*?|h-) ◇ Cf. AD LRC #55 (S, U, A [M, Tg]), IS I 264-5 (HS [S, C], U, D, A [M, Tg]), Gr. I 214-7 ("negative E/ELE" in U, Y, A, ChK).

**4. \*?a?** 'female', (in descendant lgs.) → marker of feminine (sex or grammatical gender) > **HS**: S: Ar -ā?-u, fem. ending of adjectives (mainly those of the ?affalu-form): ṣafrā?u 'yellow' f. (↔ ḡaṣfaru id. m.), ḥawrā?u 'one-eyed' f. (↔ ḡaṣwaru id. m.), ḥasnā?u 'beautiful' f. (↔ ḥasan- id. m.) ¶ Br. AG 83, Br. G I 410 [§ 225.B.1] || SC: Irq -o?o, {MQK} -o?ō (sx. of fem. sg.): {Nb.} ḥ-o?o, {MQK} ḥ-o?ō 'sister' (↔ ḥ-iya? 'brother'), {Nb.} kʷal-o?o, {MQK} kʷalo?ō 'widow' (pl. kʷaēli), {Nb.} wawut-o?o, {MQK} wāwito?ō 'queen' (↔ wāwitā 'kings'), irqʷat-o?o ({MQK} irqʷato?ō) 'Iraqw woman' (↔ irqʷatu 'Iraqw man'), Alg {E} -o?o (fem. gender sx.), Brn {E} -it-o?o id. (with a noun-particularizing sx. -it-) ¶ Nb. 64, E SC 54, 60, MQK 50, 57, 64 || **IE**: NaIE \*-ā (< IE {Bks.} \*-eh or < IE \*-aH), ending of the fem. gender in adjectives, nouns, and pronouns > OI, Av -ā, Gk D -ā, Gk A -η / -ā, L -a, Lt -a, pSl \*-a, e.g. [a] \*new-ā ~ \*now-ā 'new' f. > OI 'naवā, Gk νέα, L nova, pSl \*nova > OCS **ΝΟΒΑ**, [b] NaIE \*eḱw-ā 'mare' (↔ \*eḱw-o-s 'horse') > OI 'aśvā, Av aśpā-, L equa, OLt ašvā ~ ešva (not necessarily a pNaIE d., it may well have been derived in the separate history of each branch of NaIE), [c] NaIE \*wedhōw-ā 'widow' > OI vi'dhavā, Av viḍavā-, L vidua, Ir fedb, Gt widuwō, OHG wituwa, Pru widdewū, OCS вѣдѡва

**νεδονα** [d] NaIE \*s-ā (f. of \*s0-), distance-deictically neutral dem. prn. > OI 'sā, Gt sā id., Gk ἦ (df. art. f. sg.), OL sā-psa 'ipsa' ¶ NaIE \*-ā coalesced with a suffix (or suffixes) of different origin, with different meaning (not denoting females) and with a different lr. (or lrs.), which is suggested by the K word \*wenaq- 'vine' (> OG wenaq-, G venax-, Mg binex-, Sv wenäq-), which is a loan from IE \*wojn-aH- id. (> NaIE \*wojnā > Gk οἴνη 'vine') ← IE \*wojno-m 'wine'. The Kartvelian cns. \*q rendering the IE lr. shows that the latter was different from \*? (I reconstruct it as \*-x, but it may have been phonetically identical with [χ] or even [q]) ¶ Brg. KVG 354-6O, 373-4O1, BD II/1 161-2, Bur. S 83, Bks. 182-3, Bks. ONI 2O-8, K 83, AD IEH 21 || D \*ā, \*ān 'female (animal)' > Tm ā, ān 'female of ox\sambar\buffalo', Ml ā, ān, Kt a·v, Kn ā, Tlg āvə, Krx ᄀy 'cow', Mlt óyu 'cow, ox'; D \*-a<sub>L</sub>; marker of feminine (?) > Kdg əbb-a 'one woman' (↔ əbb-ə<sub>1</sub> 'one man'), mōv-a 'daughter' (↔ mōv-ə<sub>1</sub> 'son'), Gnd əiyu-ā 'young woman', ? Gnd K kūt-o 'lame woman' ¶ D #334, Shanm. DN 51, 66, 69 ¶ \*-n in \*ān is from forms of obl. cases, sc. goes back to N \*nū 'from'.

5. ? (Ll.) \*paba ~ \*papa 'daddy, father' > HS: S \*pab- 'father' (nom. \*pab-u, -um, accus. \*pab-a, -am, gen. \*pab-i, -im) > BHb בָּבָה 'pābā', cs. pābī, +ppa. pābī-/pābī- (e.g. pābī-kā 'thy father', pābī-kem 'your [pl.] father'), Ph pāb, cs. pābī (as reflected in Ak and Gk transcriptions of proper names, FrdR § 24O), Ug pāb, Amr {G} pābum, BA בָּבָּם 'pābā', st. pron.: pābūk 'thy father', JPA pāb'bā, Sr pābbā, Ar pāb-, cs. pābū / pābā / pābī, st. pron. pābū- / pābā- / pābī-, Sb pāb, Mh df. 'hayb, indf. 'pīb, pl. df. 'hawb, Hrs hayb, pl. hōb, Jb C pīy, Sq {Jo.} pīyf-, Ak abu(m), +ppa.: abū-, abī- ¶ DRS 1, KB 1-2, GB 1-2, 823, OLS 1-2, G A 13, Jo. M 2, Jo. J 1, Jo. H 1, Jo. DA, L G 2, Sd. 7-8; on the pS oxytonic stress and its infl. (the lengthening of the vw. in the case ending in cs. and st. pron.) see AD PhSS 1, 3-4, 7-8, AD PSH 1O1-3 || EC \*pabb-/\*abb- 'father' > Af abba, Sml ábbe, Rn {PG} ábba, Bs ábo, Or {AD, Bl.}, Arr ábba?, {Grg.} abbā, Kns áppa, Gdl áppā, Gwd áppa; this etymon may be the source of EC \*pab-(-uyy-, -iyy-) 'maternal uncle' (derived from the word for 'father', like in L patruus?) > Af abo, abu, Sml ab-tí, Or abuya, Kns abuyyáta, Gdl apa, apuyy, Dbs, Hr, Gwd papyya, Gln papyya, Brj abuy'yā 'maternal uncle' ¶ Bl. 1OO, 112, 174, Ss. PEC 15, Ss. B 21, Hn. S 51, PG 58, Grg. 4, Brl. 2-3, Hw. A 336, Oo. 67, HL 59, AMS 31 (DI apuyya & apiyya 'avunculus' interpreted as 'weiblicher Vater', sc. 'representative of

one's mother's clan'), 148, 194, 258 || Ch ≈ \*? $\nabla$ b- (~\*? $\nabla$ ap-) 'father' > WCh \*? $\nabla$ b/p- 'father' ({StL} pHAB \*? $\nabla$ ab $\nabla$ [ŋg<sup>1</sup>-]) > WCh: Hs  $\grave{u}$ bá | Cg {Sk.}  $\grave{o}$ bán, P' {MSk.} ábatí, ábanáni, Jmb, Dir  $\grave{a}$ bá | Jm {Gw.} abawá, Gj {ChL} ábá, ? Bg pán | Ngz {Sch.}  $\grave{a}$ fík, Bd {ChL}  $\grave{a}$ fán || CCh: ? Nz {ChC}  $\grave{a}$ bá (independent creation as a Ll.?), Bdm {Lk.} abú, {Cfr.}  $\grave{a}$ pá,  $\grave{a}$ pá, Lgn {Bou.}  $\grave{a}$ bá, Msg P {Trn.}  $\grave{a}$ pí, Msg {Mch.} ap, ZmB {J}  $\grave{a}$ ba || ECh: Smr {J}  $\grave{a}$ b, Tmk {Cp.}  $\grave{a}$ wá, ? Bar {Lk.}  $\grave{a}$ ba ¶ ChC, ChL, Ba. 1O67, Sk. HCD 277, Lk. B 89 || **H** {DQA} \*áp'a 'father' ({SDM97} \*ápa 'father, grandfather') > T \*apa 'father, ancestor' (→ 'bear, ursus') > OT apa id., Tkm Δ, Az Δ, ET Ili aba, Tk Δ aba, appa 'father', Qrg aba 'uncle, elder brother', Alt aba 'elder relative (of ego's clan), wife's elder brother; bear', Chv үпa ub\_a  $\grave{a}$  ob\_a 'bear' ¶ Cl. 5, ET Gl 54-58, DTS 1, Rs. W 1, Jeg. 274, Fed. II 281-2, Jud. 17, BT 11 || M \*abu 'father' > WrM abu, HIM a $\bar{v}$ , a $\bar{v}$ a 'father, grandfather', esp. applied to an old father (endeavouring), WrO  $\grave{a}$ ba 'father, daddy', Kl a $\bar{v}$   $\grave{a}$ βy id., MnR H  $\grave{a}$ b\_a ~  $\grave{a}$ wa, Dx aba, Ba  $\grave{a}$ be 'father'; d.: M {ADb.} \*aba-gay 'father's younger brother' > MM [S, MA, HI] abaya 'paternal uncle', WrM abaga, HIM a $\bar{v}$ ga, WrO abaya, Kl a $\bar{v}$ h a $\bar{v}$ y id., MnR H awu 'elder brother' ¶ MED 2-3, 5, Krg. 11, T 313, T BJ 132, T DnJ 11O, SM 1, 16, H 1, Pp. MA 4O2, Ms. H 32 || Tg: Neg apa 'grandfather; father's\mother's elder brother' ¶ Ci. N 193, STM I 47 || pKo \*ápí > MKo  $\grave{a}$ pí 'father' (< \*apa-i with a diminutive \*-i), apá:-nim 'father', NKo abə, $\check{z}$ i, vl abi id. ¶ S QK #7O6, Vv. AEN 7, Nam 338, MLC 1O74 ¶ DQA #8O, Rm. EAS I 14O, DQA #8O || **D** \*appa 'father' ({GS} \*ap-) > Tm appan, appu 'father', Ml appan, Kn appa, Kdg appa, 'father', Tu appa, appæ (affix of respect added to proper names of men), Tl appa 'father', Gnd  $\grave{a}$ pō $\grave{a}$ | $\grave{a}$ l 'father', ? majpo 'my father', ? mi-apo 'thy father', Knd aposi 'father' (with reference to the 3rd person) ¶ D #156 (a), Zv. 88 [#7O], GS 37 [#64] ◇ The common origin of the HS, A, and D stems is qu., since each of them may be an independent Lallwort creation. The Ll. origin may be responsible for the variability \*-b- ~ \*-p-. ◇ AD NM #118, S CNM 5 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST).

**6. \*? $\nabla$ oh<sub>2</sub>b $\nabla$  (= \*? $\nabla$ ohb $\nabla$ ?) 'clan' > **HS**: Eg fOK  $\grave{b}$ b.t 'family' ({EG} 'Familie, die Angehörigen') ¶ EG I 7, Fk. 2 || **IE**: NaIE \*épi- 'friend', {E} IE \*Hépi-s 'confederate' > OI  $\grave{a}'$ píh 'ally, friend, acquaintance', 'ápyam 'confederation, alliance, friendship' || ?σ Gk ἄπιος 'gentle, mild, kind; favourable' (⇒ Ch. 415) ¶ WP I 121-2, P 325, EI 116, M K I 75, F I 641 ¶ Acc. to Froehde PN 33O and Hirt E 228, Gk η is not from**

\*ā, because the Greek tragic authors never used ā instead. But if this argument is disregarded, the IE stem may be reconstructed as \*ā|ēpi || A: NaT \*ōba 'clan, extended family, dwelling place of such a unit, small encampment or large tent' (× N \*?r̥o'm̥n̥ 'kin, clan, everybody', q.v.) > OT oba (Cl.: obā) 'small social unit, clan', Chg oba 'small tents which nomads pitch and in which they reside', Osm ≥XIV oba 'a small encampment; family living in one tent', Tk oba 'large tent, nomadic family', Δ 'clan', Tkm ūba, ET {Ml.} ōpa, Uz Δ owa 'tent', ET ōpa {Ml.} id., {Nj.} 'shepherd's cabin', Az oba 'nomadic extended family (кочевъе)', 'separated farm (отселок, хутор)', 'tent (of nomads)' ¶ Cl. 5-6, ET Gl 400-1, Rl. I 1157, Äz. 270, Bu. I 107 || M \*obug ~ \*omug 'clan, family' (× N \*?r̥o'm̥n̥ '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ DQA #1603 (A \*ōp'v̥ 'clan, family') ◇ A N lr. preceding \*b is suggested by the length of the vowels in T and IE. IE \*-p- (instead of \*-bh-) may be accounted for by the infl. of a vl. lr. This N lr. could hardly have been \*? (the N cluster \*-?b- had to yield \*p > IE \*p) or \*h (which would have survived in Eg). It is most likely to have been \*h.

7. 2 \*?r̥a'bHn̥ 'water, watercourse' > HS: Eg G īb̄x ({EG} ībh̄) ~ 'water' ¶ EG I 64 || C: Bj {R} ab̄a 'river, brook' || EC: Or B {Tut.} abā (nom. abofni) 'river', Or {Brl.} 'valle stretta con pochi guadi', {Th., Brl.} abbai 'the Blue Nile' ¶ Th. 4, Tut. s.v. abā, Brl. 3 || IE: NaIE \*ab- ~ \*a(:)p- 'river' (× N \*qapn̥ 'to stream, to flow' → 'watercourse'): \*ab- > OIr ab (gen. abae) ~ aub ~ ob 'river', Brtt {RE} \*abonā id. > W afon, OCrn auon, Crn avon, MBr aupn, auen, Br aven 'river'; OBrtt Abona (name of a river), × Aþoç 'the Humber (river)' (in Ptolemy's *Geography*) || L amnis '(< \*abnis) 'stream of water, river' || NaIE \*a(:)p- > OI ap-/āp-, Av ap- (nom. sg. af-š), OPrs ap- 'water' || Pru ape 'creek, small river'; ??σ Lt ūpē, Ltv upē 'river, stream' (ū- is irreg., see Tp. P A-D 97-8) || Tc A/B āp- 'water, river, stream' ¶ Pv. III 114-5, Frd. HW EH II 11, Ts. EI 159-60, Mlc. CL 54, P 1, 51-2, EI 486 (\*h₂eb(h)- 'river'), 636 (\*h₂ēp- ~ \*h₂ep- 'living water, river'), WH I 40, M K I 74-5, M E I 81-2, Vn. A 4-5, RE 122, Hm. 55, Frn. 1169, En. 142-3, Tp. P A-D 97-8, Wn. 166 (× N \*qapn̥ 'to stream, to flow' → 'watercourse' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ Hardly here FU \*ōwa ~ \*uwa 'stream; to stream', more plausibly belonging to N \*hōw̥, \*hōw̥ (or \*hōw̥) 'to flow, to stream; a stream' (q.v.).

**8.** <sub>2</sub> \*?**i**brE 'fig tree' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>?ibar- > Ar ?ibr-at- 'sycomore tree' (pl. ?ibar-); hardly ← ?ibr-at- 'needle' ¶ BK I 3, Gass. 8O8, DRS 5 || C: Or {Brl.} abru 'fig tree', {Th.} abru 'sycamore tree, wild fig tree', ? (mt.) Or M {LLC} harbu 'fig tree, wild fig tree' ¶ Brl. 5, Th. 6, LLC 75 || Ch: Gzg {Lk.} purof~?zrof 'sycamore tree' || ? Hs þauþe 'rough-leaved fig-tree' (< \*þabre), with þ > \*þb || ? Mgm bârá (pl. bârri) 'figuier (rouge)' ¶ Ba. 96-7, JA LM 68 || **D** (in SD) \*ir-~ir- 'fig (tree)' > Tm irattí 'joined ovate-leaved fig', 'subserrate rhomboid-leaved fig, Ficus gibbosa tuberculata', iratakam 'joined ovate-leaved fig', irali 'white fig', irri 'tailed ovate-leaved fig', itti 'white fig, Ficus infectoria', 'stone fig, Ficus talboti', Ml itti 'waved leaved fig-tree, Ficus venosa', Kdg itti 'Ficus (gibbosa?)' (< -tt-\*rt-) ¶ D #46O ¶ N \*b was lost in D due to the D morphophonemics ruling out cns. clusters (other than nasal + stop) which presupposes simplifying the N clusters (↔ Zv. DP 363) ◇ AD NM #1.

**9.** <sub>2</sub> \*?**ŋ**ŋ**č**|**č**ŋ**h**ŋ**č** 'back (dorsum)' > **HS:** EC \*?**ŋ**da**h**- 'spine, back (dorsum)' > Af {PH} ádha 'back, back-bone, spinal column', Sml {ZMO} adah, Sml N {Abr.} adáh, df. adáh-di 'spine, backbone', Rn ?adáh 'back' ¶ PH 32, Abr. S 4, ZMO 7, PG 6O || **K** \*<sup>o</sup>ačŋ > Mg očiši 'back (dorsum)' (here -iš- may go back to the ending of gen.) ¶ Q 295.

**10.** \*?**ač**P**č** 'in leaf-bearing tree' ('aspen' or the like) > **IE:** NaIE \*aosp- ~ \*aops- 'aspen' ({EI} IE \*h<sub>2</sub>h<sub>3</sub>osp- id., 'poplar') > ON qsp, OHG, OSx aspa, NHG Espe, AS æspe 'aspen', NE asp, aspen || Pru abse, Ltv apse id., Lt āpušē ~ ēpušē id. (dim.?), Lt Δ apušis id. ({Bg.}): Lt u is due to the infl. of pušis 'spruce') | pSl \*osa (< \*opsa) 'aspen' > P, Cz Δ osa, LLs wosa id., → Sl \*osina id. > OR осина osina, R осина, Cz Δ, Posina; → Sl \*osika ~ \*asika id. > Blg осика ~ ясика, Slk osika, SCr jasika, Slv jasika || Arm nփփօրփ 'poplar' (< \*aopsiyā- = {EI} IE \*h<sub>2</sub>h<sub>3</sub>opsiyohə-) ¶ P 55, EI 33, 599-600, Frdr. PIT 15, Frdr. PITA 49-53, HDEL 77-8, Frn. 14, En. 136-7, Bg. KS 226, Vs. III 159, Glh. 29O-1, EWA I 37O-1 || **A:** T: NaT \*absak (~ \*as'<sup>p</sup>ak) 'aspen' > Alt aspaq ~ {BT, RI.} Tlt/QK {RI.}, Qmn {B} apsaq, Shor {RI.}, Qmn {B, RI.} aspaq, TbTt {RI.} awsaq, VTt usaq, Bsh uθaq, Xk os, Chv ՚v՚s id. ¶ BT 22, RI. I 82, 554, 618, TatR 594, BsR 581, B DK 2O3. ET Gl 6O7-8 || **HS** (rdp.?) CS \*çapçə:<sup>p</sup> - 'willow' > BHb, MHb צַפְצָפָה çapçā:<sup>p</sup>ā, Ar şafşāf- (snglt. şafşāfat-) 'willow' ¶ KB 983, Löw III 325ff., Js. 1298, BK I 134 ¶ Semantic infl. of N ?Φ \*<sup>z</sup>**ŋ**č|**č**ŋ**č** '≈ willow' (q.v.)? ◇ The aspen is known

in Europe, Anatolia, Transcaucasia, and the northern part of the Near East. The aspen and the willow belong to the same family of plants.

**11. \*?<sup>?</sup>ač<sup>?</sup>ṇ** 'low place, depression, wadi, pond' > **HS:** S \*?<sup>?</sup>aš- > Ar <sup>?</sup>ašā(t-un) 'étang, mare d'eau stagnante', <sup>?</sup>ašā?(un) 'terrain bas rempli de cailloux' || BK I 38, DRS 31 || **U:** FU \*ača '(brook-)meadow, valley' > Es aas (gen. aasu ~ aasa) '(gute) Wiese, Bachwiese' || Prm \*až 'meadow, flood-lands' > Z aðz až 'flood-lands of a river', Z IL až 'river valley', Z Lu až 'meadow', Vt až-dor 'woodless land' (dor means 'country') || OHg aſzó 'river, brook', Hg Δ aſzó 'valley (with a stream during the rainy and snow-melting seasons)' || UEW 3, LG 3O || **D:** \*ač- (+ sxs.) 'mud, mire' > Tm acařu id., aγam id., acumpru 'soft mud, miry place', Ml aγam, Tl aſalu 'mud, mire' || D #41.

**12. <sub>2</sub> \*?<sup>?</sup>A<sup>'d'</sup>ṇ (= \*?<sup>?</sup>A<sup>'d'</sup>ṇ?)** 'foot' (and 'leg'?) > **HS:** EC: pSam {Hn.} \*áddim 'leg' > Sml addin, Sml N {Abr.} áddin (pl. áddímmó), pBn {Hn.} \*ídt̩ (pl. \*ídt̩im-̩) > Bn {Hn.}: Bi īdd̩, J/Kj īdd̩, K ītt̩ 'leg' || ?σ SC: Irg {MQK} ?adah- v. 'tread on, step' (unless akin to Bj -?at pcv. 'step, tread' < N \*?<sup>?</sup>at<sub>1</sub>?ṇ 'come') || Abr. S 5, Hn. S 51 (pSam \*addin), Hn. BD 115 (pSam \*áddim), MQK 9 || **D:** \*ač-, {θGS} \*ač- 'foot' > Tm ači 'foot, footprint', Ml ači 'sole of foot, footprint', Td oṛy 'foot', Kt aṛy 'foot (measure)', Kn ači id., 'foot, step', Kdg ači 'place below, down', Tu ači 'bottom, base', Tl ačugui 'foot, footprint', Gnd ači 'beneath', Knd ačgi 'below, underneath' || D #72 ◇ The initial N cns. is most probably \*?<sup>?</sup>- (= \*?<sup>?</sup>- or \*h-), but N \*?<sup>?</sup>- cannot be ruled out either (because N \*?<sup>?</sup>- is sometimes lost in Sam) ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#41] (C, D) ◇ The N cns. \*d is reconstructed with a query, because Sml dd, Bn d, and D \*-č- may go back both to \*d and to \*t.

**13. \*?<sup>?</sup>ūHdṇ(Rṇ)** 'breast' > **IE:** NaIE \*ōuḍh-/\*ūd<sup>h</sup>- 'female breast, mammilla' in two derived stems: [1] \*ōuḍh(e)r-/\*ēuḍh(e)r-/\*ūd<sup>h</sup>er- 'udder, female breast' with a heteroclitic stem variety \*ūd<sup>h</sup>(e)n- in obl. cases (= {EI} \*'<sup>?</sup>h<sub>1</sub>oūHd<sup>h</sup> / gen. \*h<sub>1</sub>uHd<sup>h</sup>n-os) > OI 'ūdhar / ūdh'n-ah 'udder' || Gk οὐθαρ / οὐθατ-ος id. || L ūber, -eris 'udder, mammilla, female breast' || Gmc {Vr.} \*eūdura > ON jú(g)r, OHG ūtar(o), ūtir, MHG ūter, iuter, NHG Euter, OSx, AS ūder 'udder', NE ūdder || Lt E ūdrō-ti v. 'be pregnant' (of a sow) ] [2] \*<sup>?</sup>ūd<sup>h</sup>-men- > pSl \*v̄mę (gen. \*v̄mene) 'udder' > OR ვԵՄԱ վյմէ, Blg վիմետ, SCR վիմէ (gen. վիմենա), Slv v̄ime, Cz výmě, Slk v̄emä, P wymie, R 'вымя (gen. вымени) || P 347, EI 82, Dv. #251, M K I 115, FI 442-3,

WH II 738-9, Ho. 375, Vr. 294, KM 177, Kb. 1125-6, Vs. I 358-9, Glh. 671 || **HS:** Eg LL *i̥dr* 'heart' (× N \*dūr $\nabla$  ~ \*dUrE 'entrails, heart' [q.v.]?) § EG I 155 || Ch \*?ud- ~ \*w $\nabla$ d- 'female breast, milk' ({Nw.} \*wəd $\bar{i}$  'breast, milk', {JS} \* $\check{w}$ d 'female breast') > ECh: Mkl {J} ?ùdú 'milk', ?ùd $\bar{i}$ -só~?ùd $\bar{u}$ -só (pl. ?ùd $\bar{i}$ yágí) 'female breast' | Skr {Nc.} wát- 'breast' || WCh: BT: Bl w $\ddot{o}$ dí, Krf {Sch.} w $\ddot{u}$ dí, Dr {J} wófí, Krkr {J} ?yedí 'female breast', Pr {Frz.} wúd $\bar{i}$  'breast', Tng w $\ddot{i}$ d $\bar{l}$  'breast, udder' | Ywm {Sh.} w $\dot{j}$ t id. | SBC: Jmb {Sk.} ifa á wúd $\bar{i}$ r id. § JI I 2O and II 46-7, J LM 189, J T 161, Frz. P 53, Sch. BTL 141, ChL, WeibP 18 §§ In 1977 Stolbova (Stl. SF) reconstructed pHAB \*wäd $\bar{i}$  $\nabla$  'female breast', but in 1987 (Stl. ZCh 239 [#857]) she interpreted the WCh  $\check{v}$  as \*w $\acute{u}$ rdi 'breast, milk' (unj., since -rd- is nor attested in any descendant lge., while pWCh \*-d- accounts for the observed facts rather well) || **D** \*ut-(al-, -amp-), {GS} \*oðal- 'body, chest of body, belly' > Tm ut $\bar{a}$ l, ut $\bar{a}$ lam, ut $\bar{a}$ r, ut $\bar{a}$ mpu 'body', Ml ut $\bar{a}$ l(am) 'body, trunk', ut $\bar{a}$ mpu 'body, anus', Td wi $\dot{r}$ þ 'chest of body', Kt o $\dot{r}$ l 'belly, trunk of body', Kn oðal 'body, belly', oðambi, oðambe 'body', Tu uðála, uðala, oðála, Tl oðalu, o $\ddot{r}$ lu, Knd o $\dot{r}$ ol 'belly' §§ D #586, GS 78-9 [#249] ◇ The N element \*R $\nabla$  (found in IE and Eg) may be a second component of a cd. (→ sx.).

**13a.** (2?) \*?ü'x|y'd $\nabla$  (or \*?uhd $\nabla$ ?) 'one' > **HS:** S \* $\check{v}$ hd ~ \* $\check{v}$ whd 'one' > [1] \* $\check{v}$ hd 'one' > Ak édu 'individual, solitary, single', BHb דָּחֶד  $\gimel$ ?é'hād (< \*?ah'hād), Ph ?hd, Ug ? $\bar{a}$ hd, (AkSc) ?ahadu, BA דָּחֵד  $\gimel$  had, Sr had, ha'dā, Ar ?ahad- 'one', Gz ?ahad-ū 'one'; [2] \* $\check{v}$ whd 'one, alone' > BHb יְחִידָה yahad $\bar{d}$  'together', יְחִידָה yá'hid $\bar{d}$  'alone, the only', Pun (LSc) YAD 'together', Ug yhd 'alone, unique, isolated', Amr {G} yahadu 'one, alone', Ar waħad- 'alone, unique', wāħid- 'one', waħid- 'lonely, apart', OSA wħid 'together, in unison', Gz wāħad 'unique, only, one', Ak (w)édu 'only, alone' § CAD IV 36-7, Sd. 1495, KB 29-3O, 387-8, 17O4, BL H 219, OLS 16, 524-5, G A 22, Br. 215, Ln. 27, Hv. 4, 855, BK I 15 and II 1497-9, BGMR 159, L G 12, 612 || C: EC: Ya {Hn.} wəħe(t), wəħetu 'one' || Dhl {EEN} wəttukʷe 'one', {To.} vattukʷe 'one' m., vattékʷe 'one' f. || ?σ SC: Asa wataka 'all' § Hn. YI 4O, To. D 150, EEN 43, E SC 384, Blz. CL 18O || ?φ U: FU \*ükte ~ \*ikte 'one' > F yksí (gen. yħden), Es üks (gen. üħe) | pLp {Lr.} \*zktz 'one' > Lp: S aktə, L akta, N qktâ ~ âktâ, Kld {SaR} ēħht ~ eft 'one' | Er veyke, Δ vij\_kä, Mk (i)fkä id. | pChr {Ber.} \*iktə > Chr: L ikte, adj. ik, H iktə, adj. ik

'one' | Prm \*ötik > Z öтик зtik / öти зtі, Prmk зtik, Yz ötik, Vt одиg одig, ог og id. || Vg: T ük, LK äk<sup>w</sup>, P äk, Ss ak<sup>w</sup>a 'one' ¶ UEW 81 (FU \*ikte [\*ükte]), Lr. #7, Lgc. #35, SaR 425-6, Ber. 9, MRS 128-9, Ep. 21, LG 212 || ?φ K \*ode 'hardly, just, while' (< \*\*'only'?) > OG oden conj. 'while', es-oden 'so much', G -ode 'only' (ori-ode 'only two', samiode 'only three'), Sv wode 'hardly, while' ¶ K 150, K<sup>2</sup> 145 || D \*ut- 'a match, equal' > Tl uddi id., Tu udrī 'a match, pair' ¶ D #623 || ? A: Tg: Nn sx. -ragda ~ -r3gd3 'only' (ogdadiragda 'only in/by boats'), ?σ Ewk -ragda ~ -r3gd3 'in one place' (ilaragda 'three objects in one place') ¶ On. RNS 234, Vas. 785 ¶ -r- may be connected with the Tg collective sx. \*-r- || ?φ IE: NaIE \*°ed<sub>L</sub><sup>h</sup>- in Sl \*ed(ъ)-va 'hardly, only just' (> OCS єΔ(ъ)вѧ jed(ъ)va, SCr, Slv jedva, Cz jedva, OR од(ъ)ва, R ед'ва, R Δ одва) and Sl \*ed-inъ ~ \*ed-ъпъ 'one' (> OCS єΔИНъ јединъ, єΔЬНъ једъпъ, R один, P jeden, etc. with the sx. \*-inъ < IE \*eijn- 'one'); Pedersen (Ped. PD 231) supposed that this morpheme ({Ped.} \*jed-) originally meant 'only' ¶ ESSJ VI 11-3, 16 ◇ AD SShS 300-1 ◇ The FU, K, and Tg cognates are valid if N \*χ|y may be lost in the K clusters and if N \*-yd- (or \*-χd-) may yield U \*-kt- and Tg \*-gd-. If the FU and Tg cognates are rejected, the N rec. must be something like \*?uhdN.

14. (2?) \*pediN<sup>Δ</sup> 'pater familias' (or 'owner'?) > HS: S \*padān- 'lord, pater familias' > Hb יְהוָה יְהֹוֹן 'lord, master', Ph ?dn padōn 'lord' (→ Gk Ἀδων-ις), Pun ?dn id., (GkSc) λαδούν (with λ- 'to') 'to the lord', Ug ?dn, (AkSc) adānu 'father', d.: Eb {Co.} a-da-na-du padāntu(m) 'signoria, padronanza', Ph, Plm ?dt (< \*padattu > S \*padān-atu) 'lady' ¶ KB 12-3, KBR 12-3, HJ 15-7, A #86, OLS 9, Hnr. 1O4, Alb. rGUH 388-9, Co. SQF 74, DRS 9 || Eg: MKL iðn 'govern; serve instead of, replace', MK iðniw 'Vertreter, Verwalter' ¶ Alb. rGUH 388-9, EG I 154, Fk. 35 || A \*edin 'master, lord, owner' > NaT \*eδi 'lord, host' > OT {Cl.} iδi, [QB] idä 'lord', Qzl {Jk.} ǎz i 'Chinese emperor', Ln iði 'host' ¶ Cl. 41, Rs. W 36, 169, Rl. I 1507, ≠ ET Gl 237-241 (does not distinguish the reflexes of \*eδi from those of \*igä 'master, lord') || M \*ežin (< \*edin) > MM [S, HI] ežen 'owner, lord', [IM] ežin-ū 'of the owner', [PP] ežen 'ruler, master', WrM ežen, HlM эзэн, Kl эзн ežn 'owner, lord', Dg əžin 'lord, master, owner, king' ¶ MED 336-7, H 42, Pp. MA 436, Iw. 1O3, Mr. D 142, Klz. D II 128, KRS 693 || Tg \*edi(n-) 'husband' > Ewk,

Neg ȝdī, Lm, Ork ȝdī, Ul ȝdi(n-), Nn ȝȝi id., Orc ȝdī 'male animal, husband' ¶ STM II 437-8 ¶ Pp. VG 53, 105, 137, 157, Rm. EAS I 57, ADb. SR-D 12, ADb. KL 15, DQA #414 (A \*ȝdȝ 'host, husband') || ?σ IE: NaIE \*°edhno- ('≈ clan'?') or cd. \*sw-edhno- ('≈ one's own clan') > Gk ἔθνος 'a number of people accustomed to live together; nation' → ὕβρις 'foreign, strange' (< 'belonging to a different ἔθνος'); Gk ἔθνος → Cpt ȝeθnōc hethnos, Arm հեթանոս hethanos 'heathen, pagan, gentile', and Gt haiþnō 'heathen, pagan' (the latter in contamination with the Gmc word that is represented by ON hēdin, OHG heidan, AS hēdin, and NE heather [pGmc {Fs.} \*hayðanaz 'feld-\\steppenbewohnend']); the presence of the component \*sw- is suggested by h- in the Cpt and Arm loans (pointing to an initial Gk h- < \*s-) ¶ FI 448-9 and Ch. 315 (both: ἔθνος d. < IE \*swe- 'one's own'), Ch. GH I 150 (on the word-initial F-; \*éθnōc > ἔθnōc: "l'esprit rude a disparu par dissimilation d'aspiration"), Fs. 237-8 ◇ If NaIE \*°edhno- belongs here, the N rec. is to be reformulated as \*pediñv ◇ AD NM #115 (HS, A), ≈ Vv. AEN 9-10 (unc.: M ← T \*eði), ≈ S SN 154 (A \*pedi), ≈ S CNM 12 (N \*pedi, because M and Tg \*-nV is a nominal sx. [in my opinion, the original \*-Nv was reinterpreted in A as a sx.]; ÷ NrCs), Yuliya Krivoruchko [p.c. 1999] (suggested the Gk cognate).

**15.** <sub>2</sub> Ll. \*ȝaga 'uncle, elder person' > HS: C \*ȝag- 'maternal uncle' > Ag {Ap.} \*ȝag- id. > Bln ȝag, Xm ȝg, Km ag, Aw ag, -ága || SC: Asa {Fl.} ȝagok 'mother's brother' ¶ Ap. AV 1 || A: NaT \*aȝga 'elder brother, uncle' > Tkm áȝa, VTt aȝa id., CrTt, Kr, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg aȝa, Uz aȝa 'elder brother', Osm {Rh.} aȝa 'eldest paternal uncle; lord, master' and a title of respect, Tk aȝa 'chief, patron', Az aȝa 'mister' (word of address), 'landlord', Xk aȝa 'grandfather'; → MM [LM] {Pp.} لـا aȝa 'brother', [IM] {Pp.} لـا aȝa 'elder brother, lord' ¶ The long á in Tkm (and pT?) is puzzling (is due to its specific syntactic function and intonation as an address word?) ¶ ET Gl 70-1, TL 291-2, TkR 19, Bu. I 60-1, Rh. 146, Pp. L II 1256, Pp. MA 432 || M \*aga 'lady, dame' > WrM aȝa, HlM aȝaa id.; M \*agaȝȝi 'paternal uncle' > MMgl {Iw.} aȝai, Ord {Ms.} aȝ\_á id. ¶ MED 12, Iw. 84, Ms. O 6.

**15a.** <sub>2</sub> \*ȝæg̚vRv '≈ bone of the leg\foot' > HS: S ȝig̚v̚r- > Ar SL {MS} ȝiȝər, {Bart.} ȝəȝər, Ar D ȝiȝr, Gz ȝəȝr 'foot' ¶ DRS 7, MiK I 9 [#1.7], Lb. 63 || A: M \*°eȝerȝeg (unless it is \*ψeȝerȝeg) > WrM eȝerȝeg, HlM ȝəȝərȝeg 'femoral bone; hip joint' ¶ MED 298.

**16.** ?σ \*?**ʔa<sup>h</sup>'a** 'thing(s)', collective pc. of inanimate ('≈ de ça') > HS \*mi **ʔaha** 'what thing?' (with \*mi 'what? < N \***mī** id.) > CS \*mah 'what?' > Ug **māh** ~ **mā**, Hb **ma** +gmc. 'what?', Ph **mu** (< \***mā** < CS \*mah), OA, Nb, Plm **mh**, JA, Sr E **mā** (< CS \*mah), Ar **mah** ~ **mā** 'what?', OAk, Ak fOB/OA **mā** 'what?, why?' (expressing doubt \ disbelief) ¶ KB 522-3, BL H 263, OLS 266, HJ 599ff., Sl. 643-4, DM 234, Ln. 3016, LG 323, Sd. 570, CAD X/1 1-4, Br. G I 326-7 [§ 11O] || B \***maH** ({Pr.} \***mā**) 'what?' > Tw, Gh, Shl **ma**, Tmz **ma**, **may**, **mayd** id., Wrg **ma** id. (used in special syntactic constructions: **ma i argaz i təzrid** 'was ist der Mann, den du gesehen hast?', lit. 'quoi ce l'homme ce tu a vu?') ¶ Pr. M I-III 216-8, Fc. 1141, Nh. 19, Ds. 237, MT 393, Dlh. Ou 181 || EC {AD} \***maha**, {Ss.} \***ma?** 'what?' (either from HS \*mi **ʔaha** or a new cd., like Sml **maħā** 'what' < ma **wahħā**) > Arr **méh**, me, HEC {Hd.} \***maha** > Kmb **maħa** ~ **maha**, Hd **maha**, Sd **mā**, **ma**, Alb **ma** 'what?' ¶ Ss. B 146, Hw. A 233, 384, Hd. 167 || ?Ch: WCh: Sha **mà**, **má** 'what?' || CCh: Msg **má** 'what?' || ECh: Ke **má** in **má mó** 'what?' (where **mó** is a general marker of question, that is used in all interr. sentences), EDng **mā**, Jg **mē**, Bdy **má**, Mkl **mō~mō**, Mgm **mē~mē** 'what?' ¶ J LM 141, J J 115, J R 259, JA LM 161, Eb. 78, Fd. 108, AlJ 96 ¶ The Ch word belongs here unless its form (its vw.) is explainable as going back to N \***mī** 'what?' without additions ¶ S \*-ā, ending of f. pl. of adjectives (pred. case) > Ak stative 3f pl. -ā (Sd. G § 73b), e.g. **šexxer-ā** 'sont petites'; in the nom., accus., and gen. (substantive cases) the pl. form of fem. and of many inanimate nouns have an ending \*-ā-t-u(m) (nom.) and \*-ā-t-i(m) (accus., gen.) (e.g. BHb **לִילוֹת** 'nights', Ak **līlātum** nom. / **līlātim** accus./gen.) (\*-ā + substantivizing morpheme \*-t- + case endings \*-u and \*-i + [in st. det. → later st. abs.] a determiner ending [of sg.!] \*-m); this form has the case ending and the determiner of sg. and is treated as sg. in the sentence (the verbal predicate in Ar id f. sg.), which suggests that it was not an etymological pl., but rather a form of collectiveness ¶ here also (?) S: px. \***ʔa-** in nomina collectiva (→ pl.) (× N [751a] \***h'a**, particle of collectiveness, q.v. ffd.; the short vw. \*a suggests that the main source is N \***h'a**) > the Ar patterns **ʔa12ā3-** (**ʔaqdām-** 'footsteps' ← sg. **qadam-**, **ʔasmā-** 'names' ← **ʔism-** 'name', **ʔabwāb-** 'doors' ← **bāb-** 'door'), and **ʔa12u3-** (**ʔanfus-** 'souls' ← **nafs-** 'soul', **ʔawḡuh-** 'faces' ← **waḡh-** 'face') (both patterns form mostly pl. of inanimate nouns, treated as syntactical singular, sc. requiring a sg. f. form of the verbal predicate), Gz patterns **ʔa12ā3** (**ʔaznāb** 'tails' ← **zanab** 'tail', **ʔadbār**

'mountains' ← dabr 'mountain'), ?a12ū3 (?ahgūr 'cities, towns' ← hagar 'city, town', ?ahkūl 'fields' ← hukl 'field'), ?a12ə3 (?ashəl 'cups' ← šāħl [šahl] 'cup', ?abkəl 'mules' ← baħl 'mule'), OSA pattern ?123 (?hgr 'cities' ← hgr 'city') ¶ Wright 209-11, Grande V 41O, GBr. JJAP 56 || IE \*-h₂ > NaIE \*-ə, ending of pl. ntr. (nom./accus.) (× N [751a] \***h'**a, particle of collectiveness, q.v. ffd.) > OI -i (asti 'bones'), Av -i (nāmāni 'names'), Gk τέταρ-α 'four' (pl. ntr.), OI ca'tvār-i id.; in the paradigm of thematic nouns IE \*-eh (the stem-final vw.\*-e + pl. ntr. ending \*-h) yields: NaIE \*-ā, e.g. \*yūgā pl. ntr. (nom./accus.) 'yokes' > Vd yū'gā, Gk ζυγά, L iuga, Gt juka, OCS iga ¶ Brg. KVG 393 || AnIE \*-a, ending of pl. ntr. (nom./accus.) > Ht, Lw, Lc, Ld -a ¶ Mer. SGA 275, 284-5 || U: FU \*ma 'what?' (< N \*mi **?****h'**a 'what thing[s]?'') > Chr: L mo mo, Uf/B mo, H ma 'what?' | Prm: Vt ma ma 'what?' (see N \*mi 'what?') || ? A \*°ma (< N \*mi **?****h'**a '↑') > Chv ma 'what?' (see N \*mi 'what?') || D \*-a, inanimate pl. ending in pronouns of the 3rd person > Ml iu-a 'they', CITm -e- (from \*-a) in av-e-ū, uv-e-ū, iu-e-ū 'they' (inanim. pl. of pronouns); acc. to An. SG 265, Tm aveū goes back to \*av-a with an additional -ū (due to hypercorrection) ¶ An. SG 262-3, 265 ◇ The comparison is dubious ◇ If S \*-ā, S \*?a-, and NaIE \*-ə~-ā (with zero reflex of the lr. in AnIE) do not belong here (but rather to N \***h'**a '↑') we may suggest to compare the second element of FU \*ma 'what' and Chv ma 'what' (both from N \*mi **?****h'**a) with Eg fOK iχ.t 'thing', Eg MK/NK, DEg iχ 'what?' (see below s.v. N \***?aq** 'thing[s]') > Cpt {Vc.} \*ōχe > Cpt: Sd/B **?** aš, F ēš eš, A ē<sup>2</sup> e<sup>2</sup> 'what?' (EG I 123-4, Fk. 29, Er. 41, Vc. 20). The resulting N reconstruction will be \***?aq** 'thing'. In this case N \*mi **?****aq** (underlying the FU and Chv pronouns) must have meant 'what thing?'. If this alt. hyp. is right, the IE ending \*-h₂ (> NaIE \*-ə, AnIE \*-a) does not belong to N \***?aq** and may be compared with HS abd D only. B \*maH 'what?' and EC \*mah₁a 'what?' may represent a contamination of both N words or belong to either of them.

17. <sub>2</sub> \***?a'**kē 'to chase, to drive away, to take away' ('ГНАТЬ, уГНАТЬ, забРАТЬ') > IE: NaIE \*ag̃- ({EI} IE \*h₂eǵ-) 'drive' ('treiben, führen, in Bewegung setzen') > OI 'ajati 'drives (treibt)', Av azaiti 'treibt, führt weg' || Arm **աՃԵՄ** ac-em 'I carry, fetch, bring' ({EI} 'I lead') || Gk ἄγω 'I lead' || L ag-o / ag-ēre 'drive' (vt.), 'do, act', 'behave', Osc ACVM 'agere', ACTVD 'agito' || OW agit 'goes', W, Crn, OBr, MBr a

(\*aget) 'goes' ||| pTc {Ad.} \*āk- > Tc A/B {Ad.} āk- 'lead, guide, drive' ¶ P 4-5, EI 170, M K I 23, FI 18, WH I 23-4, Bc. G 311, Slt. 75-6, Flr. 50, Wn. 158, Ad. 36, Ad. H 18 ||| HS: S \*°✓?kk > Ar ✓?kk (ip. -?ukk-) 'propulit, pressit', 'éloigner, chasser qn.; presser' ¶ Fr. I 45, BK I 42.

**18. \*?äka** 'be evil, hate' > HS: WS \*✓?kk~\*✓?ky v. 'hate, be evil' > Sr ?akk-ət-ā 'wrath, anger', Ar ?akk-at- 'hatred', Gz ✓?ky G (js. үә?кәү) 'be evil, bad, wicked'; EthS → Bln {R} ekaу 'evil' ¶ LG 17, Br. 16, BK I 42, DRS 18 || C: amb Bj {R} aka 'Unheil, Verderben, Widerwertiges' (unless ← Ar ḥakka 'hatred') ¶ R WBd. 12 || IE \*H<sub>o</sub>ag- (or \*?oag-?), \*H<sub>o</sub>agos 'pain, ache', (?) 'guilt' > OI 'āgas-' 'guilt, sin' || NLG āken, AS acan 'to ache', ece 'pain, ache', NE ache || ???φ Gk ἄγος ~ ἄγος {LS} 'any matter of religious awe' (incl. 'curse', 'pollution, expiation'), {Ch.} 'consécration', {El} 'guilt, pollution' (× the IE source of Gk ἄγιος 'saint, consacré', related to OI 'yajati 'worship through sacrifice'); Gk α and the spiritus asper belong to the heritage of the IE root of ἄγιος ¶ P 8, EI 509 (IE \*'<sub>h</sub><sub>2</sub>ēgos / gen. \*'<sub>h</sub><sub>2</sub>eges-os > Gk ἄγος ~ ἄγος), M K I 70, F I 14, WP I 115, Ch. 13 (believes that Gk ἄγος ~ ἄγος 'consécration' is connected with ἄγιος 'saint'), 25-6, LS 14, Ho. 2, 87 || U: FU (in BF only) \*äk<sub>l</sub>k<sub>a</sub>|ä > F äkä 'anger, wrath, malice', Krl äkä id. ¶ SK 1871, SSA III 497 || A: Tg \*eke 'evil' > WrMc eke, Mc Sb зыз 'evil (зло, порок)', 'bad (злой, худой)', WrMc екси, ехеси, Mc Sb зхзпъи 'slander', Jrc {Md.} ехе-be accus. 'bad', Nn Nh/KU зхзлз 'bad (плохой, худой)', зхзпъи- vt. 'slander, defame (so.)' ¶ STM II 444, Kiy. 116, [#341], Md. ChF 133 || Blz. (← Kpl.) adduces here Ko ak<sup>h</sup>ata 'böse sein', which is valid unless it is from OChn ḥk 'evil' ¶ Hardly here (≠φ) T \*egsü- 'decrease, be insufficient', M \*egel- 'low, uneducated, not very good', and pJ \*äk- 'be bored, satiated' ¶ ≠ DQA #420 (A \*ěka|o 'bad, weak': Tg + unc. σ: the above T, M, and J stems) ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE I #9 (IE, U, Ko).

**19. \*?r<sup>o</sup>ikE** (= \*?r<sup>o</sup>ikü?) 'self' (→ 'myself') > HS: [1] \*-a<sub>l</sub>;ku 'I' (postnom. subject marker of 1s) > S \*-āku id. > Ak -āku id. (gašr-āki 'I am strong'), WS \*-ku (sx. of 1s in the new pf. of the verb ← predicative deverbal adj.) > Gz -kū, OSA -k (sx. of 1s in the new pf.), Mh, Jb, Sq -k id. (Mh kз'tabk, Jb, Sq kз'tobk 'I wrote'), Hrs -ak id. (kзtōbək 'I wrote'), Ar NY K -ku ə -k<sup>w</sup> ə -k id. ¶ Sd. G § 75, Jo. MSA 16, Bns. NJ I 114-7 (maps 65, 66) || Eg -k<sup>w</sup> ~ -ky 'I' in stative (= old perfective) (irx.kw ~ irx.ky 'I know') ¶ Lpr. 65-6 || LbB: B {Pr.} \*-ay,

verbal ending of 1s > Tw {Pr.} -äꝝ, Kb -əꝝ, Gd -ε̄ || Gnc -EC [\*-ek] id. ¶ Pr. M VII-VIII 9-16, Lf. I 292-305, AiM 176, 221 ॥ \*pan-a<sub>2</sub>ku 'I' (aut. [emphatic] prn. of 1s) > S \*panāku 'T' > Ak anāku, Amr {G} \*panāku, Ug ꝑnk, (AkSc) a-na-ku ({Hnr.} [panāku<sub>2</sub>]), OCn [EA] a-nu-ki, BHb אָנָּקְיָהּ, Ph/Pun ꝑnk, ꝑnky, Pun [Plt.] ANECH, ANEC, M'b ꝑnk, Yd ꝑnk, ꝑnky 'I' ¶ In SCn (> OCn [EA], Hb, Ph) and possibly in Yd this prn. has a final -ī on the analogy of other morphological markers of 1s ¶ KB 69-70, FrdR § 110, Hnr. 293, HJ 82, OLS 39, G A 13, 50, Rai. EAT 63 || Eg īnk 'T' > Cpt: Sd/B ἈΝΟΚ, A/F ἈΝΑΚ 'T' ¶ EG I 101, Vc. 12 || B {Pr.} \*ənakk<sup>w</sup> 'T' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} năk (năk) / năkku, Ah {Fc.} năk, Gh {Nh.} năkk / năkkunan, Kb năšš (năkk) / năššini, Tmz năkk / năkkint / năkkin ă năč / năčin, Wrg năš / năššin, Mz năš / năšši / năššin, Gd năšš / năššən ¶ Pr. M I-III 179, AiM 215, Di. 562, Fc. 1364, Nh. 26, MT 485, 874, Dlh. Ou 226, Dlh. M 140-1, Lf. I 349 || IE \*pegh<sup>h</sup>-m / \*pegh<sup>h</sup>oh 'T' nom. > NaIE \*eǵō ~ \*eǵ<sup>h</sup>o(m) > OI a'ham, Av azəm (~ GAv h.l. azə), OPrs adam 'T' || Gk ἐγώ, ἐγών 'T' || Legō 'T' || Vnt eǵo 'T' || Gmc \*ik ~ \*īk 'T'; \*ik > Gt īk, OHG īh (> NHG ich), OSx īc, ON eik; Gmc \*īk > AS īc (> NE [ai]) || Arm ես es 'T' || Olt eš, Lt aš, Ltv es, Pru as 'T' | pSl \*jazъ (< {Fort.} \*jězъ or {Brg.} \*ězъ) ~ (> ?) \*azъ 'T' (< IE \*eǵ<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>om) > OCS αζъ azъ, h.l. [Mar.] ězъ ězъ, RChS, OR αζъ azъ ~ ταζъ jazъ ~ τα ja, Blg аз, Δ'jaze, ja, McdS jas, SCr jā, SCr Δ, Slv jàz, OCz, OP jaz, Cz já, Slk, HLs, LLs, P ja, R, Blr, Ukr я || Ht uk, ugga 'T' (u due to the infl. of ammuuk accus. 'me') ¶ P 291, Bks. 207-8 (IE \*h<sub>1</sub>eǵH<sub>2</sub>om ~ \*h<sub>1</sub>eǵe|oH), EI 454 (\*h<sub>1</sub>eǵ, \*h<sub>1</sub>eǵ<sup>h</sup>om), FI 441, WH I 395-6, Frn. 18, BD GVG<sup>1</sup> II 801, Fort. L 224ff., StSS 67, Bern. I 35, ESSJ I 100-3 (argues for the antiquity of Sl \*azъ), ESISJ-SGZ II 73-4, Ts. W 95, Mer. SGA 316, Rsk. 66 ¶ IE \*pegh<sup>h</sup>- / \*pegh<sup>h</sup>oh is likely to go back to N (?) \*r<sup>o</sup>íkE **h<sub>2</sub>oy** 'myself' (\*r<sup>o</sup>íkE 'self' + \*h<sub>2</sub>oy [= \*hoy?] 'my'); NAIE \*-m in \*pegh<sup>h</sup>-m may reflect either N \*m i 'T' or N \*m A (pc. of accus.), cp. NaIE \*twe(:)-m 'thee' (see s.v. N \*t'ü' 'thou') || A: T \*ok ~ \*ök 'oneself, just X' > OT oq (if attached to back-vowel words) / ök (with front-vw. words), enclitic pc. with pronouns and nouns, which means 'X ('I', 'he', etc.) and no other else' (bän ök 'I and no one else', özüm ök 'I myself', ol ok öt teŋri 'that same Fire God'), OT U, XwT XIV -oq / -ök, Yk {Rm.} -ox 'eben, selbst', Chg ≥XV oq 'exactly', Qrg {Jud.} oq (pc. of delimitation: özum oq 'I myself, I and nobody else'), Nog oq, VTt, Bsh uq, Xk ox (pc. of delimitation), Alt oq 'же' (ol oq

'ОН ЖЕ', анауир оқ аутти 'ОН сказал так же'), Chv {Rs.} -x, -ax, -bx, -xa, -xb (pc. of delimitation) ¶ Cl. 76, Rs. W 359, ET Gl 438-9, Rs. MTS 30-40, 248, Jud. 564, BT 115 || ? M \*kü / \*gü 'precisely, just (this\that)' (pc. of delimitation of the preceding word) (x N \*K'ü [dem. prn.] x probably N \*kə [adversative-thematic and reminding pc. 'whereas, but, also; doch', 'же, ведь']) > MM [HI] gü (Ms.: "particule corroborative") (e.g. {Lew.} neyide-gü 'justement ensemble', teñiri-gü 'le Ciel', sc. ≈ the Heaven (God) himself', inu-gü 'his', sc. {AD} 'justement de lui'), [S] kū ~ gu = kü, gü 'precisely, just (this\that)' (mün kū tede 'eben jene', lit. 'he-precisely those'), WrM kū, HlM κῢ (MED: "particle emphasizing the preceding word"): WrM tere kū 'the same' (tere means 'that'), WrO {Krg.} kū 'precisely, just this' ¶ The variation \*kü / \*gü is likely to have been positional (intervoc. N \*-k- > M \*-g-) ¶ H 105, Ms. H 57, Lew. II 37-8, MED 494, Krg. 745 || E: MEl -k 'I' (apposition, subject of a subordinate predicate): sunki-k 'I the king', huttan-k 'faciens ego' → 'me faciente', hutta-k 'I made' ¶ Rnr. EL 77, 84-5, 94-5, 99-105, Dk. JDPA 100-5 ◇ AD PP 65-71, 82-3, notes 1, 8, 38 (IE, HS, El, ChK) ◇ The HS reflexes admit either N \*?- or \*h-, while the lack of preservation of the N vowel quality in E suggests an IE \*?- (a zero-lr.) and hence a N \*?- ◇ In IE, HS, and El the N "corroborative pc." was confined to 1s (IE \*egHō < N ? \*?o'kE ḥ₂oγν 'myself'), while in A it joined different words (pronouns, nouns, adverbs) ◇ This etymon may be identical with N \*'h₂'okU 'head' (q.v.). If it is so, we may reconstruct N \*?o'kū 'head' → 'self' (≡σ: G tav- 'head' → '[one]self', Hs kāj 'head' → 'self' [n̄ dà kāj-na 'I myself'], Gz rə? (ə)s 'head' → [+ppa.] 'self', Q {R} aχʷē, aωē 'head' → 'oneself') ◇ The original final vw. \*ü (suggested by HS and M) is at variance with the IE evidence (suggesting \*ä or \*e) ◇ ≈ Gr. I 77-81 ("pronoun base GE" in IE, CK + err. in Hg).

**20.** <sup>2</sup> \*?o'k'âLנ 'e to eat' > HS: S \*✓?k₁ (G prm. \*-?kul~\*-?kal) v. 'eat' > OCn ✓?k₁, Hb ✓?k₁ G, ip. 3m אֲבָלִי yō'kal (< \*ya-?kal-u), Ph, Ug ✓?k₁, BA ✓?k₁ G, ip. 3m לְאַבְלִי yē'kul (< \*yi-?kul-u), Sr ✓?k₁ G (ip. 3m נְאַקְלִי נְאַכְלִי, Sr W ne'kul), Ar ✓?k₁ G (ip. 3m ya-?kul-u, imv. kul), Ak akālu G inf. 'eat', p. 3m īkul (< \*'yi-?kul); d. \*'i?uk₁נ - 'food' > Hb ḥ₂oķe₁, Ar ?uk₁- id., Gz ?ak₁ 'food, bread, corn', Sb ?kl 'grain crops, corn', 'meal', Ak uklu 'Verpflegung'; d. \*'i?akנ - > Ar ?ak₁- 'eating' (or

?akul- 'food'), Ak **ák(a)l-** 'bread'; Eb {Krb.} ?akalum 'to eat', 'food' (or 'bread') || KB 44-45, KBR 46-7, OLS 21, Sd. 26-7, 14O6, BK I 43, Fr. I 46-7, L G 15, BGMR 4, DRS 18, Krb. EG 4, 6 || **A:** Tg: Lm օզել- v. 'eat (berries)' || STM II 9.

**21.** Ll. \*?**a**kk**a** 'elder relative, grandfather' > **HS:** Eg BD իՅk 'alt, bejahr't' ({Tk.}: is to be read իk) || EG I 34, Tk. SCC 97 || C: [1] EC {Ss.} \*?**ā**kk- 'grandfather, grandmother' > Kns **ā**kk-a, Gdl ahh-ayya, Gwd, Gln ?akkawo, Brj 'ākk-i, akk-ē'hano 'grandfather', Bs akk-o, Or {Bl.}, Or B/O {Sr.} akk-ō, Gdl ahh-ot, Brj ák'k-ō 'grandmother', Hd **ā**kk-o 'mother's father', **ā**kk-ē 'mother's mother', Gln ?ajj-aye 'great-grandmother', Brj **ā**kk-inga lubb-ō 'grandparents' (lit. 'grandparent's soul') || SC: Irq/Grw {E} **ā**ko 'old man', {MQK} **ā**kō id., 'grandfather', Asa akuya 'grandparent' (in address) || [2] EC \*?**ā**kāk- 'grandfather' > Or {Bl.}, Or S {Sr.} **ā**kākū, Or {Grg.} **ā**kākayyū id., Kns **ā**kāko 'old man', ? Bj ahāhačči 'mother's father' || Ss. B 21, Bl. 112, Hd. 72, E SC 377, MQK 10, Fl. AA 11, Ap. AV 1, Grg. 13, Brl. 13, Sr. 261-3 || **Tk. I 83, Tk. SCC 97 [#27.7]** || **A:** M \***aqa** 'elder brother, elder person' > MM [HI] {Ms.}, [S] {H} **aqa** 'elder brother', [LM] {Pp.} **أقا** | **aqa** id. in **aqa dū** 'brother(s)' (lit. 'elder brother [and] younger sibling') (**dū** < **diyü** 'younger sibling'), WrM **aqa** 'elder brother; elder, senior, older', Ord, Brt **aχa**, WrO **aχə**, Dg {T} **ak'ā** ~ **aga**, MnR H {SM} **aq\_a** ~ **āq\_a** 'elder brother', {T} **āga** 'father's younger brother', Kl **ax aχ'ā** 'elder brother; elder', {Rm.} **aχa** id., 'uncle'; → WrM {Kow.} **aqai**, WrO **aχai** 'father, daddy, papa', **aχāi** 'elder, elder brother', Kl {Rm.} **axā** 'brother' (address), Brt **aχai**, Ba {T} **age** 'elder brother'; M \***aqaγi** 'father's sister' (cd. with the reflex of N \*?**ā**γγ 'mother') > MM [HI] {Ms.} **aqai** 'father's sister', WrM **aqai**, HIM **aχai** 'madam' (respectful term used to address a married woman), Ord **aχā** ([=] a title of respect for women) || Ms. H 36, Pp. L II 1256 and III 57, MED 59-60, Kow. 22, KRS 56-7, Rm. KW3, Ms. O 8-9, Krg. 8, Chr. 65, SM 2, T 313, T DgJ 118-9, T BJ 133 || NaT \***aka** 'elder brother, elder relative' > Alt, SY, Ln **aqa**, Tv **aqI** 'elder brother', ?? Qrg **ake** and Qq **äke** 'father', Qrg **ake**, ET, Ln, Alt **aqa**, Tv **aqI** - a respective address word for an elder man || ET Gl 121-2 || Tg \***aka**, \***akay** 'elder brother, father's\mother's younger brother' > Ewk **akā**, **akāy**, **akī**, Lm **aqa**, Neg **aga**, **axa**, **axay**, **axā**, **axāy** id., Sln **axī** 'elder brother', Nn **āga** id., **āg-** ~ **āq-** ~ **āŋ-** (+ppa.), **aga** (form of address), WrMc **agū**, Mc Sb **aku** 'elder brother', Orc **aka**, **āki**, Ud {Kom.} **aga?**, Ul, Ork **ag-** ~ **aq-** ~ **aŋ-** (+ ppa.)

id., 'father's younger brother' ¶ STM I 23-4, Krm. 2O3 ¶ S AJ 28O [#38O] || D: (att. in SCD) \*akka > Prj akka, Gnd B {Tr.} akkō, Gnd ChM {BE ← LuS} akko, Png ako 'mother's father', Kui ake, Ku akku 'grandfather' ¶ D #24.

**22. \*?älä**, pc. of prohibition and categorical negation > HS: WS \*?al 'do not!', prohib. and emphatic negation > BHb נֹאַל 'do not!', 'nicht doch!' (?al bə'nī ?al-'nā nē'leק kū'lānū 'Nay, my son, let us not all now go' [II Sm 13.25]), Ph, Yd, OA, IA ?l, BA נֹאַל ?al, Ug ?al 'do not' (prohib.), Sb ?l negation (?l ð..., ?l m, 'there is no, *нечего*', ?l mn 'there is nobody who...') and prohib. pc., Gz ?al-bə- 'il n'y a pas dans\chez...': ?albəya bēta 'non est mihi (in me) domus', Tgr, Tgy ፻፻፻- ?alebu 'there is not', Amh, Gft, Har, Grg al- - negation of the verb in pf., DA ?l 'no, kein' ({HJ} 'absence of'), Amh, Grg, Gft ale 'without', Sq {Jo.} ?ɔl, {L} ?al 'not' (negation with nouns and verbs), {L} əl... wəl 'neither... nor', Mh {Jo.} ?ɔl (usually ?ɔl... lā) 'not', 'do not' (neg. and prohib.), Hrs ʌl 'not', ʌl... w-ʌl 'neither... nor', Jb ?ɔ(l) 'do not!', ?ɔl...lɔ? 'not' | it is not clear whether Ak ulla > ul (OAK, Ak A ulla, B ul 'not') (neg., but not prohibitive) has any connection with pWS \*?al or should be explained (as in Sd. 14O6-7) as going back to \*wa lā 'and not' ¶ KB 46-7, JH 13, HJ 55, GB 36, 894, A #18O, OLS 22-3, Bst. 47, LG 17-8, L LS 6O, Jo. M 4-5, Jo. H 2, Jo. J 2, Sd. 14O6-7, DRS 19 || C: Af {PH} alēy 'no' (= 'nein'), Sa {R} '?allō 'Nichtigkeit', allō qah 'verneinen, nein sagen' ¶ PH 38, R S II 29 || ? NrOm: Kf/Anf {C} allo, Shn {C} āli 'non esserci' ¶ C SE IV 398 || U \*äla > \*älä/\*ala ~ \*elä 'do not!' (prohib.) (the variant \*elä may be due to the infl. of the negative verb \*e- 'do\does not') > BF \*älä/\*ala ~ \*elä, 2s imv. of the neg. v. ('do not') > F äla, äl-, Δ elä, Krl Kelä, el-, Krl A älä, äl-, Krl Leļa ~ älä ~ aļa, Vp aļa, Vo elä, Es ära, Δ äla ~ aļa, Lv aļa ~ äla id. | Lp: S {Hs.} aalie- (imv. of the neg. v.), N {N} alē ~ älē (2s imv. of the neg. v.), Lēlē id. | Er iļa ~ iļak id. (2p iļa-do) || pObU \*äl (~ \*\*w-▽l) 'do not!' (prohib.) > Vg: 1) pVg \*äl > Vg T äl id., 2) pVg \*\*w▽l > Vg: K wil, P(w)ul, N ul id. (the origin of \*w- still needs elucidating); pOs \*äl id. > Os: V/Vy äl, Ty/Y å‡, D åt å ot, Nz at, Kz å‡, O ål ¶ IS I 264 adduces the pPrm verb \*ołe- (> Vt alit- v. 'forbid', Z ɔl- v. 'calm, quiet, soothe', Yz öl- v. 'forbid, calm'; Prm \*ö < FU \*ä), suggesting development (derivation?) of a lexical verb from a negation (cp. NHG *verneinen* ↔ *nein*) || Sm: Kms εl- neg. v. (3s sbcj. εl 'is not') || pY {IN} \*ɔl, neg. pc. > Y: Y T {Krn.} eł 'does not', 'do not!'

(negative and prohibitive pc.), YK {AD} ?ǟl id. (tu'dēl 'pǟl šōgi 'he did not enter', ?ǟl šōj'läk 'do not enter!'), K {Krn.} ēlē 'not', {AD} ?ǟlōj 'is not', K/T {IN} āl(a) 'do not, not' (with verbs and nouns) §§ Coll. 4-5, UEW 68-70, SK 33, Hs. 146, Ht. 198 [#728], Stn. D 55-6, MK 692, KD 164, Krn. JJ 28O, 284, AD YN, IN 218 || D \*all-, neg. v. > Tm all- id. (1s allēn ~ allēn 'I am not', 2s allay, 3m allan, 3f alla], 3n anru, 3pn alla, etc.), Mlt alla 'is not that, not thus', Kn alla, Kt alā neg. v. (for all persons), Td alosy 'except' (lit. 'not being'), Gnd hal(lē)~haillē, Mlt -l- neg. morpheme, Brh all- neg. v. (in past tenses), ala, alavā 'certainly not, not a bit of it'; IS assumes that the latter form may represent a trace of the former meaning of "categoric negation" §§ D #234, Stv. IDL 24 ◇ Cf. IS I 263-4 (S, C, Ch, U, D + unc.: Gar(a) 'no, not', S \*✓l? (sc. \*lā) 'not' (actually from N \*la,?y▽ - \*lay,?▽ 'not; to disappear', q.v. ffd.), and M \*üli 'not'). It is tempting to unite M \*üli (Pp. IM 288-91), Ak ul(a) 'not', and pVg \*\*w▽l 'do not!' (> Vg: N ul, P (w)ul, etc.) as going back to a combination of some (conjunctional?) \*w-element (cognate to S \*wa 'and'? ) with the N negation \*pǟla or \*la,?y▽ - \*lay,?▽; see also Gr. I 214-7 ("negative E/ELE", "ELE" being supposed by him in U, M, ChK, EA, Ht).

**23. \*ʔel▽ 'clan, tribe' (→ 'all', prn. of plurality) > HS: S \*pāl- 'clan, family' > Nbt ʔl 'family, clan, tribe', Ar pāl- 'family, relatives', Ak āl-u(m) 'village, city' § JH 13, HJ 55, Fr. I 7O-1, CAD I/2 379-88 ] WS \*pil(l)ay 'these' (and possibly \*ʔul(l)... 'those') (× N \*lA analytical [→ synthetical] marker of collectivity, q.v. [or N \*ʔE1A, dem. prn. of collectivity] × N sequences \*'h'i|r'e' lA and \*'h'u lA [with the deictic particles \*'h'i or \*h'e' and \*'h'u, q.v.]) > BHb, BA אֲלֵהֶן 'ʔel, BHb (GkSc) ελλε, ελη, Ph ʔl, Pun [Poen.] ʔLY, OA ʔl, ʔln, BA ʔillēn 'these', ʔillēk 'those', IA ʔlh 'these', Ar Δ ʔilā id., Sb m. pl. ʔln, f. pl. ʔlt, Sq {L} əlhə, əl'hena 'these', əl'həgən 'those'; WS \*pil-l-ū m. pl., \*pil-l-ā f. pl. (with the endings \*-ū m. pl. and \*-ā f. pl.) > Ph ʔlw, MHb [BS] אֲלֹוּאַיְלָוּ, MHb אֲלֹוּאַיְלָוּ 'these', Gz ʔell-ū 'these' m. pl., ʔell-ā f. pl.; Ar {Br.} أَوْلَىَ ʔawly ʔulā 'ii' (dem. prn. with neutral deixis), Ar hā-ʔulā?i 'these', ʔulā?i-ka 'those', that may have the vw. u due to the infl. of S \*pulli- 'that' (> Ak ullū(m) 'that' m. sg. / ullītū(m) f. sg., ullūtū(m) 'those' m. pl. / ullītū(m) f. pl.) § KB 48, 5O, 1666-7, BL H 261, Deg. 59, HJ 61, FrdR § 113a, Br. AG 8, 29, Fi. DB 1O2-3, 1O7, BK I 7O and II 1459, BGMR 37, GBr. JJAP 91, L G 17-8, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2],**

DRS 19, Cer. ArJ 22O || C: ? Sa {R} a'lē (pl. 'ālēl) 'clan, family, tribe', Or {Th.} āli (subj. case āli-n) 'concittadino, compatriota, conterraneo', ? Arr ḡollah 'village, neighbours' ¶ R S II 26, Th. 16, Hw. A 343; alternatively, Sa a'lē may be from Ar ḡal-, and Or āli may be from Ar ḡahl- 'family' || IE \*?ol- > NaIE \*ol-yo-, \*ol-no- ('everybody' → ) 'whole, all, each' > Gt ałls 'all, each, whole', ON ałlr, OHG al / ałl-, NHG, OSx ałl, AS eall 'all, each', NE ałl || ? Clt {SB, Loth} \*olyo-s > OIr, NIr uile, W, Crn oll 'all', OW ełl, yll 'each, every', Gl olio- (in proper names) (Dtn. 276); but RE 78 prefers pBrtt \*sollos 'all' (> OW hól, MW hóll, oll, Crn, OBr, Br hóll) (< IE \*sol-no-) to pBrtt \*ollos 'all' from IE \*ol-no- || Osc {Mul.} ALLO (FAMELO) (?) 'das ganze (Vermögen)' (not confirmed by Pln. and Bc.) || Lt aliai {Frn.} 'all, jeder, ganz, völlig' (aliai vienas, alvienas 'each, everyone' [vienas 'one'], aliai mētai 'every year', aliai rytais 'every morning') ¶ ≈ EI 64 (identifies this IE stem with {EI} \*haelnos 'beyond', see N \*<sup>r</sup>h'ał, <sup>r</sup>v'E 'on the other side'), SB 52, Fs. 4O, Flr. 213, Loth WKS I 441 and II 354, EWA I 129-3O, ≈ Mn. 873 (wrongly adduces Oss I ał(l)z, Oss D ał(l)i 'all kind of', see N \*śałū 'intact' and Ab. I 48), Mul. 19, Fs. 4O, Vr. 7, Ho. 84, KM 13-4, ≈ Frn. 7 (denies the Lt-Gmc connection) || A: T \*ēl 'tribe, people, political unit' > OT ēl {Cl.} 'a political unit organized and ruled by an independent ruler', {DTS} 'tribal league, tribe, people', MT چل el 'Herrschaft, Reich', Chg, OOsm eł 'country, state, people', Tk eł, Tkm īl 'people (Volk), tribe', Tk ił 'country (Land), province', VTt, Bsh ił 'country, state (Land, Staat)', Nog, Qq eł id., 'people (Volk)', Az eł, ET ił 'people (Volk)', Kr eł id., 'people (Leute)', Qzq eł 'people (Volk), inhabitants', Uz, Qrg, Alt eł 'tribe, clan, people', Qmq eł 'village', CrTt eł, Chv jał 'village, people' (ja- is one of the reg. reflexes of T \*e- [acc. to Lvt. IF]), ? Yk īał 'family; neighbour'; T → Chr yel 'country; village' ¶ The etl. doublets in Tk (eł, ił) must be due to inter-Turkic loans ¶ F Rs. W 39, Cl. 121-3, DTS 168-9, ET Gl 339-43, TL 494, Jeg. 352, Fed. II 497-8 || D \*ell- ('everybody' → ) 'whole, all' > Tm ełlām 'whole, all' (personal as well as impersonal), ełlavārum, ełlārum 'all persons', MI ełlām, ełlāvārum, Kt, Td eł, ełm 'all', Kn ełla 'all, everything, the whole', ełlārum 'all persons', Kdg ełlā, Tu -la (= -lā ?) 'all', TI ełla 'all, whole', ełlāru 'all persons, all men', Klm ittar eł 'both', Ku ełeʔe 'whole' ¶ D #844 ◇ K: MG XVII eł-i 'country', G eł-i 'Nomaden-

\Hirten-volk', G T **el-i** id. (Chx. 38, DCh. 49O, Qub. II 434) is a questionable cognate, since it may be a loan from Tk (which is highly plausible in the light of its meaning). According to IS I 268 (with a query) OG **er-** 'people, army' (> G **er-** 'people') goes back to N \***?e1A** (sc. \***?e1V** 'clan, tribe'), which is untenable since G **-r-** is not a reg. reflex of N \*-l- ◇ Hardly here (↔ Čop IU I-1974 19 [#2]) U \***u1V(-yV)** 'viel, groß' ◇ IS I 267-8 includes S \***?āl-**, T **\*ēl-**, and the dubious K **\*er-**, \***el-** into the etl. entry \***e1A** 'to live' (untenable, because U \***e1ā-** v. 'live' [justifying IS's semantic rec.] does not belong together with the abovementioned S and T roots, but goes back to N \***Xe1A** 'dwell, live' [q.v.]).

**24. \*?E1A**, dem. prn. of collectivity (connected with N \***?e1V** 'clan, tribe' [q.v.?]) - an alternative reconstruction instead of **1249** (N \***1A**, an analytical marker of collectivity).

**25. \*?e1V** 'deer' (and 'mountain goat'??) > HS: S \***?ayl-** 'ram' > BHb **אִיל** (pl. **אִילִים**), Ug **?il** (= \***?ēl-u**) 'ram', ? Ak (**y**)**āl-u** id., JA {Lv.} **אִלָּא** 'Schafbock'; the ancient meaning 'deer' is preserved in the S d. noun \***?aylāl-** 'deer, mountain goat' > BHb **אִלְּעַל** 'fallow deer (*Cervus dama*)', Ug **?ayl**, Amr {G} **?ayyalum**, JA {Lv.} **אִלָּא** **?ēl-ā**, JEA {Sl.} **אִילָּא** **?ayya'l-ā**, Sr W/E **?ayal-ā** 'deer', Md **aiala**, pl. **ailia**, f. **ailata** 'deer, hart', Ar **?ayyil-**, **?iygal-** ~ **?uygal-** 'mountain goat, stag' ({Fr.} 'Caper montanus, cervus'), Gz **hayyal** 'ibex, mountain goat' (the origin of **h-** is not yet clear), Ak **aayyal-u** 'deer'; Cn → Eg NK **iyr** 'deer' or 'ram' (= \***?ayyāli** ~ \***?ayyōli** gen., acc. to Vc.), (EgSSc) {Hlk.} **?e-yu-l** 'deer' > Cpt: Sd/B **ειεογλ ειευλ, ιεογλ ιευλ** 'deer', Sd **οειλε οειλε**, B **ωιλι σιλι** 'ram' ¶ KB 38-9, KBR 4O, A #165, 185, OLS 25 (**?il** 'carnero'), G A 13, Lv. I 64, Sl. 113, Br. 15, DM 14-5, Fr. I 76, LG 221, Sd. 24, DRS 17, EG I 38, Vc. 62, Hlk. #1, SivCR 77 || | IE \***?hēl-n-** 'deer' ({EI} \***h<sub>1</sub>e1h<sub>1</sub>ēn** / gen. \***h<sub>1</sub>e1h<sub>1</sub>nos**) > Gk **ἔλλος** (-λλ- < \*-ln-) 'young deer'; (with the sx. \*-b<sup>h</sup>o-) Gk **ἔλαφος** 'deer' (<**e1-n-b<sup>h</sup>o-s**) || Arm **եղս** **e1n** (gen. **եղին** **e1in**) 'female deer' || OIr **e1it** (< \***e1n-t-**) 'chamois', W **elain** 'female deer' || OLt **ellenis** 'deer', Lt **élnis**, **élnias** 'deer', **élné** 'female deer', Ltv **ālnis** 'elk', Pru [El.] **alne** · "Hindin" 'hind' and "Tyer" 'beast' || Sl \***e1enъ** 'deer' > OCS **ιελενъ** **jelenъ**, Blg **елен**, SCr **jēlen**, Slv **jélen**, R, Uk **о'лень**, P **jelení**, Cz **jelen**, Slk **jelen** id.; OCS **αλένη** **а1енji** ~ **λανη** **lanji** f., ChS **λανь** **lanь**, R, Uk **лань**, P **łani** (gen. **łania**), OCz **laní**, Cz **laň**

'hind, female deer, fallow dear' || pTc {Ad.} \*yäl > Tc: A үäl, B үal  
 'gazelle' ¶ IE \*ħel-n- is likely to go back to the oblique form (with \*-n-) of a heteroclitic stem ¶ NaIE \*rełk-/\*jłk- (most probably from a N cd. \*ṛēlṇ KE) > OI 'ṛśyah 'male antelope', KhS {Bai.} rūš 'Ovis Poli (Marco Polo's sheep), wild sheep', Wx rūš 'wild mountain sheep' || Gmc \*algi-z 'elk' > OHG elah, elaho, NHG Elch, AS eolh, NE elk, ON elgr || Sl \*olśb > OR лось losь, R, Uk лось, P ɬoś, Cz los 'elk' ¶ P 303-4, EI 154, F I 483-4, Vr. 100, Ho. 92, EWA II 1030-1, Frn. 120, En. 140, Tp. P A-D 77-8, Vs. II 458, 522, III 134-5, M K I 124-5, M E I 260, Bai. 367, Ma. CS 175, 257, 275, Glh. 296, Slt. 146-7, Wn. 591, Ad. 485-6 || U: Y: YT iłe 'deer' ¶ Ku. 57 || A: NaT \*elik 'roe-buck, female wild goat' > OT {Cl.} älik id., MQp XIII elik 'male gazelle', MU {ADb.}, OOsm älik, Tk Δ elik 'roe', Shor, Qrg, Qq elik 'roe-buck', Tv elik, Tf elik 'female roe', Xk ilik, StAlt elik 'roe-buck, female wild goat', Az älik, Qzq, Q, Alt elik 'roe', Bsh ilik 'female wild goat', Yk älik 'mottled (чубарый) reindeer' ¶ ET Gl 265-6, Cl. 142, TL 153 (\*älik), BT 191, Ra. 180, DTS 171 || M \*ili > WrM ili, HIM, ил il 'young deer, fawn', Kl ил ilə id. ¶ KW 206, MED 407 || NrTg \*elkēn (unless it is \*xelkēn) 'deer' > Ewk զլկն 'wild reindeer', Lm: Ol jēlkən, Okh զլկն 'domesticated reindeer (leader in herd)' ¶ STM II 448 ¶ DQA #425 (A \*ṛēlṇ(-kṇ) 'deer') || D \*il(ar)ṇ- 'deer' > Mlt ilaru 'mouse deer' || Tl irri (< \*il-rṇ) 'antelope', ? Tl lēti ~ lēdi id. ¶ Not here (↔ IS I) SD \*iral]- (> Tm iralay 'stag', Kn erale~erale, Tu erale 'antelope, deer', OTl iri 'stag') ¶ D #476 || K: USv, Sv L {TK} ilw, Sv LB {Kald.} il ~ hil 'roe, косуля', Sv L {Dn.} ilw 'chamois, серна' ¶ TK 284, Dn. s.v. ilw, Marr SR 38, Kld. L 187, GM SAKS 85 ◇ NaIE \*rełk-/\*jłk-, NaT \*elik, and NrTg \*elkēn suggest a N cd. \*ṛēlṇ KE ◇ IS I 272-3 (HD, IE, D, A, K); IS also adduces words going back to D and K \*ir- 'deer' (actually belonging to the N etymon \*řiR'i' '[male, young] big ungulate' [q.v.]) ◇ AD NM #37, S CNM 4 (÷÷ ST), Vv. AEN 3.

**26. \*řil'A'** 'stand still, stay; place to stay' > HS: CS [1] \*řil-, \*řilay 'towards' > Hb נִלְאֵן ~ נִלְאֵי-, Ar ئِلَّى, +ppas.: CS \*řilay ka 'towards you' (m. sg.) > Hb נִלְאֵן-קָא, Ar ḥilay-ka, etc.; [2] ??σ S \*řilw > Ar ڻلـ (pf. ڻالـ, ip. ڻالـ ڻالـ ڻالـ) v. 'be unable to do, neglect, be late in' ¶ Cf. also S \*la 'to' (see N \*lA, locative pc.) ¶ DRS 19, KB 48-9, BK I 48-50 || ??φ Eg ڻر- 'to, towards' (with pronominal suffixes: ڻر-k 'tibi', etc.) / ڻر ~ ڻ 'to, towards' (with

nouns); it is a qu. cognate, because both DEg *r* and most Cpt dialects (Sd/B **εpo-** **εpo**, P **αpo-** **aro-** 'to, towards, for') suggest the reading [r] rather than [], but cf. Cpt F **ελα-** **εla** id. ¶ EG II 386-8, Er. 236-8, Vc. 37, Tk. I 141 || EC: Rn {PG} *ił* 'earth, ground; land, country' ¶ PG 151, Blz. RL 258 || IE \**?elɪ̄* (or \**χ̄helɪ̄*) ~ ? \**?ił-* > NaIE \**elɪ̄*, \**el-*, \**ił-* v. 'rest, stillstehen' > Gk ἔλινός 'I rest, I do not act' || ? OI *i'layati* 'stands still' || ?σ Lt *iłstū*, inf. *iłsti* v. 'get tired' ¶ P 304-5, F I 495, ≠ M K I 92, ≠ M E I 196, Frn. 184 ¶ Lt *ił-* (< NaIE \**]-*- without NaIE \**a-* < IE \**H-*) suggests IE \**?-* || U: FU \*-*lala/-lää*, sx. of nomina loci (> ending of local cases [× N \**lA*, locative pc., q.v. ffd.]) > F *taka-la* 'a place behind (der hinter befindliche Platz)', *eite-lä* 'south' (lit. 'a place in front of sth.') | Lp S (Vfs?) {Sz.} *maŋŋē-l-t* 'hinten', *maŋŋē-l-ī* 'hinter', Lp S {Hs.} *miŋŋelde* & *miŋŋeälde* 'nachher, hinterher' (*maŋŋē-*, *miŋŋe-* 'das Hintere') | Er *vasolo* '(place) in the distance' (*vasov* 'far away' [direction]), Chr *üłəł* 'situated below' (*üł-* 'das Untere') | Vt, Z -*la*, ending with locative meaning: Vt, Z *kužala* 'lengthwise' (Vt, Z *kuž* 'long') || Hg -*föl*, *föl-* 'das Obere' (*fő* 'head, top') ¶ Sz. 63-4, Hs. 932-4, LG 144, U3S 226-7 || A: Tg \*-*lā* / \*-*lē* (locative case ending) (× N \**lA* '↑') > Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm -*lā/-lā*, Nn, Orc, Ul, Ork, Ud -*la/-lā*, e.g. \**mō-lā* 'in a/the tree' (> {Ci.} Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm *mōlā*, Nn, Orc, Ul, Ud *mōla*), \**dō-lā* 'within' (from \**dō* 'Inneres') (> {Bz.} Ewk *dōlā*, Sln, Neg, Lm *dōlā*, Nn *dōla*, Orc, Ud *dōlo*, WrMc *dōlo*), Tg \**dū-lē* ({Bz.} \**dūi-lā*) 'oben am Hang' (> WrMc *dēle*, Ewk *dēlā*, Lm *dēlā* ~ *dēlā*, Nn *duylā*, Ork *dila* id., Ud *dilā* 'abseits') ¶ Ci. 257-267, Bz. 84, 96-8 || D: SD \**illə* 'house, home, place' (× N \**xəlA* 'dwell, live', q.v.) > Tm *ił* 'house, home, place', *illam* 'house, home', Ml *ił* 'house, place', Kdg *illa-vən* 'man who is a relative' (lit. "house-man", with \*-*vən* 'man', see Tm *i-van* 'this man', *a-van* 'iste vir'), Tl *illu* 'house, dwelling', Tu *illv* id., 'family', Klm, Nkr *ella*, Gnd, Png, Mnd *ił*, Knd *ilu*, Ku *illū* ~ *illu* 'house', Kui *iđu* 'house, dwelling' ¶ D #494 || D \*-*il*, marker of a locative function of the noun > Tm (-*iñ*)/-*il*, Irl (-*i*)*li*, Ml -*ił*, Kt -*l*, -*ł*, Td -*ł* ({JEm.} -*ł*), Kdg -*lī* ¶ D #494, Zv. CDM 32; Zv. reconstructs here \*-*iñ*/\**il*, but the variant \*-*in* (> Tm -*iñ*) is very likely to go back to the N genitive marker (> marker of oblique cases) \**nu* ¶ Not here the D loc. case ending \*-*uł* (< N \**lA* '↑' × D \**uł* n. 'inside' < N \**?uh₁v₁* 'hut' [q.v.]).

27. \***ʔiːlā** 'eye' > HS \***ʔhil-** (it is represented in C, Ch, B, and probably in Eg) > C \***ʔill-** 'one eye' > Ag \***ʔɔll-** 'eye' > Xm, Km **ɔl**, Aw **ɔll**, Bln **ɔɔl** (the unexpected **ɔ-** is possibly due to the infl. of Tgr **ɔin** 'eye' or to the ancient morphological infl. of the old Cushitic pl. form \***ɔintā** 'eyes') (F Ap. AV 3) || EC \***ʔil-** '(one) eye' > Sml, Rn **íl**, Or B **íl-a**, Kns, Gdl **íl-**, Bs, Elm **íl**, Dsn **íl**, Arr **ʔil**, Sd, Ged, Kmb **il-l-e**, Hd **il-l-i**, Brj **'il-a**, Ya **il** || Dhl {EEN} **ʔila**, {To.} **ʔila** 'eye' || SC: Irq {MQK} **ʔila**, Brn/Alg {E} **ila**, Kz **ilito**, Asa **ʔilat**; SC → Mb **iʔilá** 'eye' || Bj {R} 'lile ~ 'lili, {Rop.} **līlī** 'eye' ¶ Bl. 1O5, Sr. 332, Ss. PEC 5, 22, Ss. B 1O4-5, Hd. 6O, PG 151, Hw. A 34O-1, HL 66, AD SF 144-5, MQK 54, E PC #326, EEN 21, To. D 128, To. DL 482, R WBd 158, Rop. 212, Blz EDB 18-9 ¶ In EC the word refers to one eye, while the correspondent plural \***ɔint-** is based on N \***xiːyñā** 'see, look; eye' (q.v.) || Ch \***?iːlā** 'eye' > CCh: Lmn {Lk.} **ílī**, Lmn Hd {Wl.} **ílī**, Lmn Vz {Wl.} **illi**, **iri**, Lmn A {Wl.} **il-yia** id. | Bdm {Lk.} **uīl**, {Cfr.} **uēl**, Glf {Lk.} **ɛl** 'eye' || ECh: Mkl {J} **e le** 'eye' ¶ JI I 6O and II 126-7, Wl. G 65 || B {Pr.} \***✓H11** (< \***✓ʔhil1**) 'eyes' > Kb **allən**, SrSn AA, Izd **allən**, Sll {Ds.} **ällən** 'eyes', as well as possibly Ah **iħāll** (imparfait intensif) 'pleurer bruyamment' (vb. n. **tāħala**), Tnsl, Ty **aħħ** id. (Pr.'s B root \***✓ħ₂ħ₁**); forms like Gd **awall** 'eye', pl. **wallən**, SrSn **iwažən** 'eyes' might appear at first glance as suggesting that the form **allən**~**wallən** belongs to the root \***✓w₁** 'see' (> Ah **aul** 'avoir l'œil sur', Izn **wāla** 'voir, apercevoir'), but in my opinion the form of pl. abs. **wallən**~**iwažən** (like in Gd and SrSn) goes back to a generalization of the status annexus **w-allən** 'eyes' (F in Izd: abs. **allən**, ann. **w-allən**, or in Sll: abs. **ällən**, ann. **ūw-ällən**, e.g. **snät ūwällən** 'two eyes'), and Gd **awall** 'eye' is a bf. from pl. **wallən** ¶ Pr. H #487, Fc. 1493, Dl. 44O, Rn. 286, Ds. 2O3, Mrc. 18O, 292, ABs. EGLK 29-31 || ? Eg fOK **ir.t** 'eye' [= (GkSc) **ἰρι**], **ir** 'das Sehen' (personification), **ir** v. 'see' (att. in the imv. form in the set phrase **ir tw** 'pay attention!') (see EG I 1O6-8, Vc. 6O); the comparison with Eg is questionable, because it presupposes that the Eg character **r** represents [l], which is at variance both with the Greek transcription **ἰρι** and with the Cpt reflex (**p r** rather than **λ l**) in the nomen actionis **iεirε** (preserved in the compound noun **banieire** 'qui a le mauvais œil', see Vc. 6O) || The HS **✓** is used not only in nouns, but in verbs as well: C \*\***ʔilāl-** v. 'look' > EC \***ʔilāl-** v. 'look, watch' > Sa {R} **ilāl-** v. 'look, wait for', Or **ilāla-** v. 'watch, look', Kns **ilāl-** v. 'follow with the eyes' (said of an infant or a person with

impaired vision), Ag: Bln {R} **\*aləl-~aləl-** v. 'look'. This verb is obviously derived from the C noun \*ill- '(one) eye'. Consequently, the HS √ is probably nominal ¶ Bl. 1O7, Grg. 223 ¶ Tk. SCC 97 [#27.6], AD SF 144-5; an alt. hyp: OS #112 (HS \*?ir- > Eg ̄ir, Ch \*?ir- 'eye') ||| HS ~ \*?ilima 'tears' (< N cd. \*?īl̄N \*mûhi ~ \*?īl̄N mûhyi 'eye-water') > C: Dhl {EEN} ̄ilima 'tears' || SC \*?ilima > Asa ̄elelema, → Mb īilima id. | Ag {AD} \*?z̄l̄z̄w- 'tears' ({Ap. AV} \*?z̄r̄z̄w-, {Ap. VSA} \*?ir̄t̄w-) (Ag \*ŋ < C \*m) > Bln ̄z̄r̄z̄w̄a, Xm ̄z̄r̄z̄w̄, Km (y)eren || EC \*?ilm- > Sml ilmo, Bn ilmi, Rn ilím, Or {Bl.} i(m)mimm-āni, {Grg.} immimān, Or S imimāni, Kns ilmāmā, Gdl ilmama, Brj 'ilma, il'mā, Yk ilmamu 'tears' ¶ E SC 292, Ap. AV 5, Ap. VSA 23, Ss. B 1O5, Bl. 221, PG 152, Sr. 333, Grg. 224, EEN 21 || SOM: Ari erma 'tears' ¶ Lm. SKE 534 || ? Eg P r̄my 'weep' ¶ EG II 416-7 ¶ Tk. SCC 1O2 [#32.8], AD SCLC 199 [#37] (C, Eg), Lm. SKE 534 [#15] (EC, Ari) || ? IE: Clt: Brtt (× N \*P\_īl̄N 'a hair, tuft of hair'): OW {Flr.} aɪl 'eyebrow', W ael 'supercilium; ora', {YGM} 'brow; aisle', OBr GUORAIL 'supercilium' (Flr.: cd. with GUOR-'upper') ¶ Flr. 198, SB 3 ({SB} pClt \*aili), Bc. 22O, YGM 6 || A {WNL} \*ila- 'seen, visible' > Tg \*jle- id. > Orc iłz-mu- v. 'show', iłz-kcž- v. 'appear, become visible', Nn iłz 'явь' ('sth. visible'), 'видное место' ('place easy to see'), Sln iłz̄x̄z̄ 'apparent, visible', Lm ił'la 'in (people's) sight', WrMc iletu 'sichtbar' ¶ STM I 311-2, Hr. 492-3 || M \*ile- 'clear, visible' > MM [S] ile 'visible', [MA] ile 'clear, manifest', WrM ile, HlM ил, Ord {Ms.} ile 'clear, manifest; visible', WrO {Krg.} ile, Kl ил iłe, Kl {Rm.} ilä, ilä 'clear, evident, manifest', MMgl [Z] ilä 'clear', Dg {MYC} ił̄t, MnE {MYC} hele (with a secondary h-?) 'open, clear, evident, obvious' ¶ H 81, Pp. MA 195, MED 4O4-5, Krg. 94, KRS 267, KW 2O6, Iw. 1O7, MYC 4O7 || T: OT [MhK] iłär- v. 'be visible, strike one's eye' ¶ DTS 2O7, Cl. 15O || pJ \*àràp-ar- v. 'come in sight, appear' > OJ àràpar-a, J: T/Kg arawaré-, K áráwáré- 'to appear' ¶ Mr. 677, S QJ #589 ¶ WNL NC, DQA #597 (A \*ila 'evident, visible') || E: NEI, AchEl eł 'eye', MEI eł-ti 'eyes' ¶ HK 393, 396 || ?φ D: Zv. finds a stem a·li 'eye' (mainly within cds.) in the lgs. of the Nilgiri area: Irl {Zv.} vɔ]lena·li ~ vɔ]leya·li, AlK 'bɔll-a·li, PaK bɔ]je a·li 'the white of the eye' (vɔ]lena-, vɔ]leya-, bɔ]je means 'white'), JKr kariya·li 'the eyeball' (lit. 'black eye'), PaK kaññali·li and a·li 'iris of the eye' ¶ Zv. BNTL 658; on the vw. {Zv.} ē [ʒ] / Zv. IL 11 ◇ Blz. BNED 3 (E, HS, D), Blz. DA 14. Cf. WNL NC s.v. 'eye' ◇ I am grateful to V. Blažek for drawing my

attention to the possible cognates in Celtic and the D lgs. of the Nilgiri area ◇ Blz. DA #13 (D [1], HS).

**28.** \*<sup>7</sup>ʔ<sup>1</sup>ol<sup>1</sup>ṇ 'that (visible)' > **HS:** S \*<sup>7</sup>pull- > Ak ullū̄ m. 'that, remote' (< \*<sup>7</sup>ullip-<sup>7</sup>-u), f. ullī̄tu(m), pl. m. ullū̄tu(m), pl. f. ulliā̄tu(m) ¶ Sd. 141O, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2], Dk. AkJ 91 || EC \*<sup>7</sup>ṇl-, deictic prn. (× N \*<sup>7</sup>ha<sup>1</sup>ṇ 'this', q.v.) > Gdl <sup>7</sup>éle (nom. <sup>7</sup>élu) 'that' (remote from the speaker), Dsn -(a)l- 'this', Arr -ló 'this': faraw-ló 'this horse', <sup>7</sup>ummo-ló 'these children' ¶ Hw. DP 13, Hw. A 191-200, To. DL 226-7 || **IE:** NaIE \*ol- 'that (remote)' > OL ollus 'that (remote)', Lōlim 'at that time', ultrā 'beyond, on the far side (of)', uls 'beyond, on the other side', ulterior 'on the other side', ultimus 'farthest, last', Osc úlleis gen. 'of that (m.)', ulas gen. 'of that (f.)' (× IE \*<sup>7</sup>al-, \*<sup>7</sup>ol- 'on\from the other side, {P} darüber hinaus' < N \*<sup>7</sup>h<sup>1</sup>al<sup>1</sup>ṇ? E 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WH II 206-7, 813 || ? **U:** Slq Tz <sup>7</sup>l-na, <sup>7</sup>l-tam 'iste, que voilà, BOH τοτ' ¶ KHG 293, KKIH 196 || **A:** T \*ol 'that' (remote deictic prn.), 'he' > OT ol id., Tkm, Qzq, Qrg S, Xk, StAlt, Tv ol, Bsh ul, Chv v̄b̄l, Δ v̄b̄l id., Yk ol 'that', VTt ul, SY ol 'he'; Qrg, Tb al 'that' is probably an unexplained phonetic variant of \*ol rather than a prn. of different origin ¶ Cl. 123-4, ET Gl 444-6, Fed. I 106 || NKO {MLC} ol 'this, the present', ol- in {Rm.} ol-t<sup>7</sup>ha~or-ha v. 'be such', or-hä ol-hay 'this year', and onal (< ol-nal) 'this day, today' ¶ Rm. SKE 176, MLC 1207-9 ¶ Rm. EAS II 75 [§ 41], Rm. SKE 176; ≠ SDM97 (A \*<sup>7</sup>o(1ṇ) 'this, that') and DQA #1556 (A \*o id.) consider T \*ol to be an extended var. of the deictic pc. \*o.

**29.** \*<sup>7</sup>ʔ<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ṇ (or \*<sup>7</sup>oyi<sup>1</sup>ṇ?) 'bough, hook' (→ 'hang on a hook') > **HS:** CS \*<sup>7</sup>al<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>- 'stick' > MHb {Js., 'ASh.} ?אַלְהָ 'lance, fork, sign-pole', 'Spitzkeule, Pfahl, Gabel', {Lv.} ?אַלְהָ ?אַלְהָ ~ {Lv. T} ?אַלְהָ ?אַלְהָ 'Holzstange, Kolben, Stange' (the form ?אַלְהָ ?אַלְהָ, unless a mistake in one variant of the traditional pronunciation or in Levi's personal vocalization, may be due to contamination with ?אַלְהָ ?תֵּרֶבֶת 'terebinth tree'), Ug {OLS} <sup>7</sup>al<sup>1</sup>t 'soporte, pilar', JA {Js.} אַלְהָ ?al<sup>1</sup>lā 'club, bat', אַלְתָּא ?allā<sup>1</sup>t-ā 'post, pole, door-post', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} אַלְתָּא ?allā<sup>1</sup>l-ā, אַלְתָּא ?allā<sup>1</sup>t-ā 'Kolben, Stange', Ar <sup>7</sup>all<sup>1</sup>at- 'broad-headed spear' ¶ Js. 66, 73, 'ASh. I 86, Lv. T I 29, Lv. I 80, OLS 32, Fr. I 28, Hv. 11 || **B:** SrSn ala 'ramée, ∈ branchages', Ah ali vi. 'hang (être pendu\suspendu)', s-ili caus. v. 'hang' ¶ Fc. 1016, Rn. 336 || **SC:** Alg {E} elemi, Irq {MQK} halmi (pl. halēmō ~ halēmā), Brn {E} alema

'branch' ¶ E SC 336, Mgw. 103, MQK 44 || A: Tg \*ol- > Nn Nh olr̥, U1 ūrpun 'hook close to a stove (used to hang vessels and rags on)', Ud Sm {Krm.} olo?u, Ork olži?a, Orc orjija, Ewk oldon ~ ollon ~ olron, Neg olōn, Lm olrāwun 'hook over the fire (used to hang a kettle or a tea-pot)', ~ \*ol-san- vt. 'hang (a kettle) on a hook over the fire' > Ewk ollon-, Lm olrān- ~ oldān- ~ ollān-, Neg olōn- 'hang (a kettle, a tea-pot) on a hook over the fire' ¶ STM II 14-15, Krm. 275 || pKo {S} \*ori > NKo ori 'a fishing hook with several barbs' ¶ S QK #792, Rm. SKE 178 || ?φ NaT \*īl- v. 'hook, hang on (sth.)' (× N \*?**?**æz̥Eku 'thorn, hook?') > OT īl- {Cl.} 'to catch sth. (with the hand, a hook, etc.)', {DTS} id., vt. 'hook (под-, за-цеплять; ловить [крючьями])', Tkm īl- vi. 'hook to' ('прицепляться, зацепляться'), Yk īl- 'hang on, load (smth. on an animal's back)', Qmq, Qrg, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, Tk Δ īl-, Qzq īl- ьl-, VTt, Bsh эл- ьl-, Xk īl- ьl- v. 'hang on', StAlt īl- vt. 'hook (за-, под-цепить)' ¶ DTS 207, Cl. 125, ET Gl 343-6, BT 63, BIG 67 ¶ #648 \*jōle 'hang (on) sth.' (Tg, Ko, T + M \*elgū- 'to hang on', actually belonging to N \*?**?**æz̥Eku '↑') || B: YT walūol- vi. 'hang, hang over, lean down (висеть, свешиваться)', welie- vt. 'hold (sth.) hung' ('держать развешанным'), vi. 'hang (by) (повиснуть на)' ¶ Ku. 48 ◇ If T \*īl- belongs here, the N rec. may be \*?**?**oyiłv (with T \*ī from \*-oyi-), otherwise the N etymon is \*?**?**o'lLv ◇ Alternatively, there may have been two N words, one designing 'bough, hook' and the other meaning 'to hang', with lexical interaction between them in some descendant lgs.

**30.** <sub>2</sub> \*?**?**ułv 'soil, foundation, earth' > HS: Eg ɻ iż.t {EG} 'Ort, Stätte', {Hng.} id., '(bewohnter) Erdhügel' (× N \*?**?**arv 'earth, land, place') ¶ EG I 26, Hng. 22 || C: EC \*?**?**uł, a > Sa {R} 'ūla 'place', Bs {HL} ūl 'earth', HEC {Hd.} \*ulla 'earth, land' > Hd {Hd.} ulla, Kmb ulla(-ta) id., Sd {Hd.} u:lla 'earth', Hd {Hd.}, Sd {Gs.} ūlla, Alb {PB} ū'lata ~ ū'lata 'land' ¶ AD SF 195, Hd. 55, 88, 423, HL 66 || pOm {Blz.} \*?**?**all- ~ \*yill- 'earth' > SOM: Dm {Bnd.} (y)īl 'earth, soil, ground', {Fl.} yīlu, yēle 'earth' || NrOm: Mj {Fl.} yellu id. | Zs {Si.} ?a'la, Hrr {Fl.} allá? id. ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'earth', Si. ACh s.v. 'earth' || Ch {JS} \*?**?**il (= \*jil?) 'earth' > WCh: pAG {Stl.} \*jil, {Hf.} \*yil 'ground, earth, country' > Su {J} yíl id., Ang {Flk.} yíl 'earth, land, country', Tal {IL, Sh.} díl 'earth' | Ron: DFB šin-jíl 'earth, ground, country' | BT: Tng {J} yili 'earth, ground', Pr illíy 'ground', GIm {Sch.} yíl, Krf īlī 'earth (soil)', ? pBT {Stl.} \*?**?**öli

'earth (soil)' > Bl {Lk.} *ʔoli*, {SIL} *wɔli*, Krkr {Lk.} *ʔeli* id. ¶ JI II 116, ChC, ChL, JS 91, Stl. VZCh #245 (pHAB \*yö1 $\nabla$ ), ~ Stl. ZCh 24O [#863] (unc.: pZCh \**þyasi* 'earth'), Hf. AG #181 ¶ *y-* in Om and Ch is prosthetic (\**þi-* > \**i-* > *y i-*) ¶ Blz. OL (HS \**yil-* ~ \**yul-*) || A: NaT \**u:<sub>1</sub>* 'foundation, basis' > OT *u:<sub>1</sub>* id., {Gb.} *ul* 'Boden, Sohle', OT U *xul* ({Cl.} *ūl*) 'sole of foot', Osm XIV *ul* 'foundation', ET Δ {Jr.} *ul* 'foundation, earth floor' ¶ Cl. 124 (OT *ūl* without sufficient ev. of a long vw.), DTS 608, Jr. 322, Rs. W 512, U3 #23/8 || M \**ula* > MM [S, HI] *ula* 'sole of foot', [MA] *hula* 'sole of footwear', WrM *ula*, HlM *үл* 'sole of foot\footwear, basis, foundation, Kl {Rm.} *ul<sup>ø</sup>* 'Sohle', Ord {Ms.} *u<sup>1</sup>la* 'semelle', MnR {SM} *ulā* 'plante des pieds, semelle', Dg {T} *wuala* id., MMgl {Z} *ulā* 'leather sole' ¶ H 162, Ms. H 105, Pp. MA 186, MED 868, KW 448, SM 469, T 368, Iw. 139-40 ¶ The M cognate is legitimate only if *h-* in MA is a secondary development (confirmed by the absence of *h-* in other MM texts [S, MI], in MnR, Dg, and MMgl) || Tg \**olā-çi-* 'unti (boots of reindeer leather)' > Ewk *olōt* ~ *olō(t)çu* ~ *olōçik*, Lm *olāçlq*, Neg *olot*, Ork *ollōči* 'short unti', Orc *olōçi* 'unti', Ul *olžvma* 'footwear (made of elk's legs)' ¶ STM II 16 ¶ DQA #2723 (A \**ūla* 'sole, footwear').

**31. \**þü,Lud*¶** 'to grow' > HS: S \**þüld* > Ar *ladid-at-* 'hortus florens' ¶ Fr. IV 97 ¶ Hardly here Eg fP *rd* vi. 'grow' > Cpt Sd/B/A **PWT**, Cpt F **AWT** id., which may be better equated with WS \**þudy* > Ar *þudy* 'increase, augment', Sq {L} *þudy* id., Gz *þudy* 'pay interest' (see EG II 462-3, Fk. 154, Vc. 179, Tk. I 242 [Eg *rd* ÷ S \**þudy*]) || IE \**þleudh-*/\**þloudh-*/\**þludh-* ({EI} \**h<sub>1</sub>leudh-*) 'grow' > NaIE \**leudh-*/\**loudh-*/\**ludh-* (and \**:leudh-* after pxs.) vi. 'grow, thrive, rise' > OI *rōdhati* ~ *rōhati* 'grows', with lengthened vowels of pxs.: Vd *vī'rudh-* 'a plant', *anū'rudh-* 'nachwachsend', *svārudh-* 'aus der eigenen Wurzel wachsend'; Av *raoð-* 'grow', Prt *rwd-*, BdhSgd *rwð-* 'grow', KhS *rvittā* 'grows' (< \**rauðati*), NPrs 3s prs. *رُوِيدْ* *rūy-äd* / inf. *رَسْتَنْ*, *ros-tän* 'grow, come forth, appear', Vd *rōh-* (3s prs. *rōhati*) 'grow' (Mayrhofer explains the change *-h-* < *-dh-* by the infl. of the roots with *-h-* < *-z̥h-* and by the need to avoid homonymy with *ruh-* 'check, restrain, keep back') || L **Liber** (an old Italic god of growth and agriculture), Osc *Iúveís Lúvfreís* 'Iovis Liberi' (pl.) || Vn *Louzera* 'Libera' || OIr {P} *luss* n. 'plant' (< \**ludh-stu-*), OCrn *les*,

MCrn *ley̥s* (pl. *losow*), W *lly̥s* 'grass', pl. *lly̥siau* ~ *lly̥sau* coll. 'vegetables, herbs', MBr snglt. *lousouenn* 'plant', Br *louzouù* coll. 'plants' (snglt. *louzaouenn*) || Gt *liudan*, OSx *liodan*, AS *léodan* 'to grow', OHG *liotari* 'to sprout', ON *loðinn* 'zottig, grasreich', NLG *loden* (< \**louðh-*) 'to grow, to sprout'; Gt *laudi* 'shape', MHG *lōt* 'formed, shaped', NLG *Lode* 'spring, shoot' ¶ P 684-5, EI 248, Mn. 683, 711, M K III 77-8, M E II 467-8 (IE \**h<sub>1</sub>leudh* 'grow'), Bai. 367, VI. II 32-3, 85, Sg. 575, WH I 792, LP §§ 181.5, 182.5, Ern. 377, Fs. 323, 332-3, Vr. 363, Ho. 199, Ho. S 47, Kb. 622, OsS 565 ¶ M E reconstructs IE \**h<sub>1</sub>leudh* 'grow', \**h<sub>1</sub>* postulated on the basis of long vowels of the prefixes with Vd *rōd̥h-*. This \**h<sub>1</sub>* is best interpreted as \*?, because \*? is likely to be the only lr. lost in the word-initial preconsonantic position (rather than yielding \**H<sub>0</sub>-* > \**θ-*); this is confirmed by S (loss of the initial lr.) || A: M \*<sup>o</sup>*üłži-* (< \**üldi-*) > WrM *üłži-* v. 'live, live on something, subsist' (unless it is pM \**φüłži-*, which cannot be determined for lack of ev. in MM, in the f/h-preserving Mongolian lgs. or in loanwords in TM lgs.) ¶ MED 1OO7.

32. \*<sup>?</sup>EL<sub>1</sub>i, mA 'tree' ('elm' or the like) > IE: NaIE \**lmo-* 'elm' ({EI} IE \**h<sub>1</sub>elem* ~ \**h<sub>1</sub>(e)lmos* 'mountain elm [*Ulmus montana*]') > L *ulmus* 'elm' (→ Kb *ulmu* id. [coll.], *tulmut* 'elm', OHG *ulmboum*, NHG *Ulm* id.) || OHG *elm*, *elmo*, MHG *ilmē*, ON *almr*, ME *elm* 'elm' > NE *elm*; a Gmc source (or pSl {Trb.} \**jy̥lъmъ* '*Ulmus*'?) underlies a word for 'elm' in the West and East Slavic lgs.: Cz *jilm*, OP *iləm*, P *ilm*, *ilma*, Plb *jělm*, *jělmā*, OR *илемъ* *iləmъ* 'ulmus', R *ильм*, R W Δ *илем*, *ильмина*, Blr *ільма* 'elm' || Sl: Uk *льом* '*Ulmus montana*', R Δ *лёмок* 'young elm', LLs *lom* 'ulmus'; LLs *welm*, *welm* 'ulmus' and R Δ *вильма* 'mountain elm' may go back to pSl \**ъlъmъ* (or be somehow connected with L *ulmus*?) || NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>*limā* > OIr *lēm* 'elm' || NaIE \**lejmos* > W *llwŷf-en* (pl. *llwŷf*) 'elm' ¶ WP I 152, EI 178, WH II 811-2, Vr. 7, EWA II 1O56-60, Kb. 1O63, Dl. 454, Bern. I 424-5 (Sl ← Gmc), ESSJ VIII 222-3 (pSl \**jy̥lъmъ* and \**ъlъmъ* '*Ulmus*'), Vs. II 126-7, SRNG XII 186, Dal II 41, 92, YGM-1 315 || A: T \**ilmä* (~ \**elma*?) 'elm' > VTt *əlmä* 'elm', Qmq *elme* 'elm, English elm (вяз, карагач)', Blq {Rm.} *elme* 'oak', Nog *elmen* 'asp', Chv *ъlme*, Δ *imle* 'elm' ¶ Jeg. 78, KumRS 374, TatR 683, NogR 434, Ash. III 121, Fed. I 194, ≈ Rs. W 41 (unc.: ← R *ильм* 'elm', Δ *илем* '*Ulmus campestris*'; this R word is used mostly as a technical term or a name for a special species, but is not attested in most R dialects outside the western area [in R the normal words for

that tree and its species are вяз and берест], hence Рильм, илем can hardly be the source of the alleged loan) || M \*ilama 'mulberry-tree' > WrM ilama ~ ilma, HlM ялма, Brt ялма модон id. (модон 'tree'), Kl илм ilma 'mulberry-tree' ¶ MED 4O2, KRS 268, Chr. 799 || HS: [1] ?φ S \*pallān- → \*ʔillān- 'e tree, oak' > BHb אַלְוָן alōn 'any big tree; oak, acorn', MHb אַלְוֹן alōn 'oak', JA אִילָן ilan ~ אִילָן [ʔillān], JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} em. Sr אִילָן-ilān-ā, Sr אִילָן-ilānā (Sr W ʔillān-ā) 'tree', Ak fOAk ʔallānu 'oak'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ʔal-l<sub>2</sub>-lū-na 'oak' ¶ KBR 52, Js. 49-5O, Sl. 116, Sd. 36, Hlk. #4, SivCR 77 || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} ʔalūwūn 'tree', Msg G {Trn.} luwun, luwūy id., Mbara {TrnSL} lūn 'tree, wood' | Gdr {Mch.} wulānə, {Srp.} wulanga id. || WCh: DfB {J} lan 'Wildnis, Busch' ¶ J R 217, ChC s.v. 'bush' and 'tree', TrnSL 269, Trn. LM 1O2, Trn. LDM 17, Trn. EM ¶ [2] ?φ S \*ʔayl- '(big) 'tree' > BHb אִילְיָל ayil (pl. אִילְיָם ayim) {KB} 'mighty tree'; CS \*ʔil-at- > MHb אַלְהָה alah 'terebinth, (?) oak', Sr אַלְתָּה alatā 'small tree, forest'; S \*ʔall-at- 'e tree' > BHb אַלְהָה alah 'magnetic tree', ? Ug {OLS} ʔalit 'soporte, pilar' ¶ KB 39, 5O-2, KBR 4O, 54, OLS 32, Js. 49-5O, 68-7, Br. 15, CAD I/1 354-5 ¶ OS #31 ¶ S \*pallān-, \*ʔillān-, and their Ch cognates belong here only if the N cs. \*m in the HS word-final position changed into \*n (due to reinterpretation of \*m as a morphological ending [the S determiner \*-m?]); S \*ʔayl-, \*ʔall-at-, and \*ʔil-at- may have originated as cases of bf. for the same reason ◇ The NaIE zero reflex of the initial lr. (in \*ʃmo-) points to a N \*ʔ- (otherwise we should expect NaIE \*elmo-, \*elimo-).

**33.** \*ʔaía 'food' > HS: CS (or WS?) \*ʔaly-at- → \*ʔaly-at- 'fat tail of a sheep' > BHb אַלְיָה ʔalyā, JA [Trg.] {Sl.}, JEA {Sl.} אַלְיָתָא ʔalyatā (pl. JEA אַלְיָתָא ʔalyatā), Sr אַלְיָתָא ʔalyatā ~ אַלְיָתָא ʔalyatā, Sr E ʔelī'tā 'fat tail', Ar أَلْيَةٌ ʔalyat- id., 'mollet, gras de la jambe; gras de la cuisse', آلى ʔālā 'qui a la queue grosse et grasse; qui a les fesses charnues' | ? EthS: Amh lat 'sheep's tail', Har {L} lat id., Grg Sl lat 'meat of a sheep's tail' ¶ KB 53, KBR 55, Br. 23, Sl. 134-5, PS 2O8, BK I 49, DRS 2O, L LH 1O1, L EDG III 374, MiK I #1.5 || C: EC: ??? Or alal {Th.} 'carne pura', {Brl.} 'carne che si mangia cruda, carne monda per i musulmani', {IS ← Vit.} 'raw meat (as food), fat' (Th. supposes that the word is of Arabic origin) || ? SC: Kz {E} aħito 'fat, oil' || Dhl {EEN} ɻáħi 'oil' ¶ The

SC/Dhl word belongs here if \*-**ɸ**- < \*\*-lh- with a \*\*h- of secondary (suffixal, hiatal?) origin ¶ Th. 15, IS I 259, BrL. 16, EEN 2O, ~ E SC 285 (s.v. \*?aśi 'fat, oil'); on SC \*-**ɸ**- < \*-lh- F AD SCL || WCh: Krkr {J} rílmū, {Al.} rílmò 'fat' ¶ JI II 132 || ?? B: IS I 259-6O adduces Ah āllun 'corn' (presumably from pB \*√Hl̥w, the final -n [originally marker of pl.] being re-interpreted as belonging to the √, hence pl. āllūnən 'kinds of corn') ¶ Fc. 1O9O || IE \*?al- (or \*Hēl- > NaIE \*al-) v. 'feed, nourish' (→ v. 'rear, breed', 'grow') ({El} \*hael- 'grow') > Gk ἄν-ἄλ-τος 'unsatisfiable' (lit. 'un-nourish-ed [enough]') || L alō, al-ēre 'nourish', d. altus 'high' (← \*'fed') || OIr al- v. 'nourish', W alu, Br ala v. 'bring forth' || ON ala, AS alān 'feed, rear, bring up', Gt alān 'grow' (↔ 'be fed'); d.: Gt alpeis, Gt Cr, OHG alt, OSx ald, Dt ound, AS eald 'old' (← \*'grown up' ← \*'fed'), NE old ¶ WP I 86, P 26, EI 248, FI 1O2, WH I 31-2, Vr. 4-5, Fs. 34, 4O, EWA I 171-4, Vn. A 57, Mn. 16-7, Ho. 3, 83-4, KM 16-7 || A \*<sup>r</sup>ál̥v- ({DQA} \*jōié) 'food' > T \*aíl̥ 'food' > NaT \*aš > OT aš, Tk aš, Tkm, ET, CrTt, Qmq, Qrb, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt aš, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Xk aš, Tv aš, Yk aš id., Uz aš 'hot food', Az aš 'porridge, gruel (каша), pilau', Ggz aš ~ aš 'fodder' ¶ On the ev. of Tkm and Yk, the NaT vw. \*a was short (↔ Cl., Sev. [\*ā], DT [half-long \*a·]) ¶ ET Gl 21O-2, Rs. W 29-3O, DTS 61-2, Cl. 253, Rl. I 583-6, DHST 189, DT 82, VI. I 38, Jeg. 38 || Ko al 'seed, grain, corn ¶ Rm. SKE 6-7 || ?φ M \*öl- > WrM {MED} öl, HIM ολ 'food', Brt γλ, Kl ολ 'nutritiousness', {Rm.} öl 'stärkende Speise', Ord, Mnr E {MYC} öl 'nutritiousness, food' ¶ The pM origin of the word is questionable because of its strange phonetic shape (monosyllabic noun without final vw., not typical for pM) and its absence from MM sources; one of possible sources is T \*ȫl 'fresh' (→ 'fresh\nutritious grass') ¶ MED 633, KRS 413, KW 29, Chr. 499, Ms. O 53O, MYC 541 || ?φ Tg \*ul̥i- 'feed' > Ewk ul̥i-, Lm, Nn Nh ul̥i-, WrMc ulebu- id. ¶ STM II 26O || ~ S AJ 186, 285, ~ SDM97 (A \*ēlu 'seed, grain, food') ¶ DQA #32 (A \*aíl̥ 'fresh crops, germinated seeds' > T \*j̥aíl̥ 'food' + unc.: M \*alir-su [> Kl ālsŋ 'chaff', HIM alirs 'blue-berry'] and Tg \*el̥u > Ewk əl̥u- v. 'hatch'); qu.: DQA #641 (pA \*jōié 'food' > T \*j̥aíl̥, \*j̥aíl̥-a 'food', M \*öl 'food', Tg \*ul̥i- 'feed') || It is tempting to adduce (after IS I) D \*a](-av-) > Klm la·v 'fat', Tm a] 'strength', Gnd lāv, Kn a]a(vu/i) 'power, strength', Tl alavu, alavi id., lāvu 'strength, fatness', Knd alvi 'energy', lāvu 'much' (D #291). But the D stem belongs here only if the meaning 'fat' (as in Klm and Tl) is the original

one, which is questionable ◇ Cf. IS I 259-60: HS (S, Or, B), IE, A (T, Ko), D ◇ ≠ Gr. II #330 (\**ał* 'seed') (untenable).

**34.** \**?uh₁ṇ₁íṇ* 'hut' > **HS:** S \**?uh₁a₁-* 'tent, hut, family' (~ \**?ah₁a₁-*?) > Hb *'wāhēl* 'tent', pl. *g̃hā'līm*, Ug *g̃hl* {A} 'Zelt, Wohnung', {OLS} 'tienda, mansión', Amr {G} *wahlum* 'tent, house', JA {Lv.} *אַהֲלָה* *אַהֲלָה* *אַהֲלָה* {Js.} *אַהֲלָה* *אַהֲלָה* {Sl.} *אַהֲלָה* *אַהֲלָה* 'tent', Sr *yah'l-ā* *yi'hal*, em. *yah'l-ā* {Br.} 'gens, caterva (hominum)', {JPS} 'troop, band, cohort', Ar *wahl-*, pl. *wahl-ūna* 'people who live in the same tent' → 'family, household, people', Tmd *w̃hl*, *w̃l* 'tent, family, clan', Sf *w̃l*, Lh *w̃hl* id., Ak *ālu* (< \**wahlu*) 'Ortschaft, Stadt'; S → Eg N *ihr*, (EgSSc) {Hlk.} *w̃a-hi-l* 'nomad's tent' ¶ DRS 10-1, KB 18-9, KBR 19, A #104, OLS 15, Sl. 86, G A 13, BK I 65-6, Br. LS 299, JPS 189, Brn. ITh 511, Brn. TTPh 160, BGMR 3, EG I 119, Hlk. 11, SivCR 78; the vw. *a* of the first syll. (in Ak, Ug, Ar, and Sr) is probably due to the infl. of \**h* || SC: Irq {MQK} *w̃isāñw* (pl. *w̃isēri*) 'watch hut in the field', {E} *išaŋ* 'out-structure, hut or shelter away from house', ? SC → Mb *ašaƿú* 'calf hut' ¶ Irq, Mb *ś* < \**h1* ¶ ESC 285 (s.v. \**pářáša*), MQK 58 || ? WCh: pAG \**lu* 'hut', {Hf.} 'compound' > Gmy {Hf.} *lū* 'compound', Su {J} *lú* 'Hütte, Raum', Mnt {J} *lú*, Ang *lu*, Cp {Kr.} *l̥t* 'hut, house', Kfr {Nt.} *lú* 'house', Mpn {Frz.} *lú* 'house, hut, room' ¶ J S 73, ChL, Hf. AG 21 [#135] (pAG 'compound'), Nt. 25, Frz. M 34 || E: MEI *ul-hi* 'Wohnstatt, Tempel-Cella' ¶ HK 1216-7 || D \**u]* 'house, in, inside' > Prj *ole(k)* 'house', Gdb *ule*, Gnd *rōn* ~ *tōn* id., Knd *lo?o/i* 'inside', Krx *ulā* 'inner room; in, inside', Mlt *ule* 'inside, within', Brh *urā* 'house, wife'; Tm *u],* Ml *ullu* 'inside', Td *u‡* 'the inside' ¶ D #698 || A \**u]íṇ*: ?σ T \**°o|o|u|u|* 'inside' > {Cl.} *oš*, OT {DTS} *uš* 'the heart\centre (qalb) of tree-trunk, branch, or horn', {MKD} *öš* 'core (of tree, branch, horn)' ¶ Cl. 255, DTS 617, MKD 49 || ?σ M \**u]:lus* 'tribe, population' > MM [S] *ulus* 'Volk, Stamm, Staat', WrM *ulus*, HIM *uls* 'people, nation; state, kingdom, empire; dynasty', MnR H *luss* 'peuple, état, contrée' ¶ MED 873-4, H 163, Kow. 403, SM 228; the M stem may belong here only if the final element \*-*(u)s* can be explained.

**35.** \**?ü|uí,g,a* 'cold (Kälte)' > **IE:** NaIE \**algʰ-* 'cold', \**algʰ-e/os-* n. 'cold, frost' ({EI} ? IE \**h₂algʰ-* 'cold') > L *alg-or* 'frost, cold', *alg-ē-* v. 'freeze, feel cold', *alg-i-dus* adj. 'cold' || pGmc \**algiz* (< NaIE \**algʰ-es-*) > ON gen. sg. *elgiar*, Ic *elgur* 'Schneegestöber mit starkem Frost,

halbgeschmolzener Schnee', 'snow-drift' § P 32, EI 113, WH I 29, Vr. 100 || HS: ECh: Bdy {AlJ} *Þolgà* n. 'froid', *Þòl* (pl. *Þòlòw*) 'refroidir', EDng {Fd.} *Þlà* 'froid', *Þlè* 'rafraîchir', Jg {J} *Þolâñ* 'cold' § J J J 116, AlJ 104, 145, Fd. 40, JI II 80-1 || ? S \*<sup>o</sup>wlg > Sr W {Br.} ~~Þawleg~~ <sup>Þawleg</sup> 'frigidus, jejunus evasit', but acc. to PS, the word means 'fatuus, insipitus factus est' § Br. 301, PS 65 || A {AD} \*üli-, {SDM94, SDM95} \*uíñ > T \*üli- v. 'freeze, congeal' > OT [MhK] \*üši- 'be very cold, shiver with cold', MQp üši- 'be cold', [CC] 'be frozen', Tk üšü- v. 'suffer from cold', Az, QrB, Qrg, ET üšü-, Tkm üše-, Δ üši-, VTt üšü- id. (→ Chv věš- v. 'blow' [of a cold wind?]), Nog üsi- v. 'get frost-bitten', Qq, Qzq üs(i)- v. 'freeze, suffer from cold', StAlt, Tv üžü- v. 'freeze, become stiff with cold' § Cl. 256-7, Rs. W 52, ET Gl 644, DTS 628, BT 171 || M \*\*üliü- (not attested in the available M sources) → Yk ülüj- 'frieren' § Rm. SKE 73, Klz. MJ 121, Rs. W 523 || Tg \*ułāñ 'unfrozen patch of water in an icebound river' > Neg ołan, Ul uła(n-), Nn ołā id., Ewk ułāñ 'patch of water on ice, наледь; glade, полынья' § STM 258 §§ SDM97 (A \*uíñ v. 'freeze') and DQA #2519 (A \*ülije 'to freeze' > T, Tg) consider Yk ülüj- to be an inherited T word and hence have to reconstruct pT variants: \*üli- ~ \*üli- (without explaining the variation); Rm. (SKE 73) adduces Ko iriril-ča, -tə, -l- v. 'tremble, shiver' (to be rejected as ideophonic) ◇ T and M \*ü- may go back either to N \*ü or to \*u with synharmonic palatalization (due to \*i of the next syllable).

**36. \*pamñ (= \*hamñ?)**, dem. prn. ('iste'?), 'now' > HS: S \*þham- > Ak A ammiu 'that, jener' (f. ammītum), amma 'voilà', OAr T/SA þam-, Ar D þam-, Ar NY NE þam-, m-, Ar NY T þam- ~ m- ~ þim-, Hmr {Blv.} þam- df. art., ? IA hn 'this' § Sd. 43-4, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2], Br. G I 317 [§ 107e], Bns. NJ I 64 [map #24] and II 33, Blv. XJ 116-7, Kfl. I 74, HJ 287-8 || EC: Af {PH} ama 'istud' (= 'that [thing] close to you'), Sa {R} a'mā 'dieser, jener' (= 'iste'?), Or {Grg., Th.} amma, Or S a(m)ma 'now' § PH 9, R S II 84, Grg. 16, Sr. 263, Th. 18 || K \*ama- 'this' > G ama-/am- 'this', Mg amu-, Lz (h)amu- id., Sv ama-s dat. 'to that', ama-w 'here, so far' §§ ~ K 44, ~ K<sup>2</sup> 2-3 (K considers the stem to be compound of \*a- and \*-ma-) || A: NaT \*am + -ti (> \*amtī, \*amdi, \*ämdi) 'now' (< 'in this?'), ? \*am 'now' > OT am-tī 'now', Tv, Tf amdi, ET ämdi, Alt {Rl.}, StAlt, Qrg emdi, Alt Δ {GAJ} amdi, Ln ämde ~ ämdi, Shor, Xk, Sg {Rl.}, Tv am, Tv Δ, Tf amdi 'now' § Rs. W 18, Cl. 157-8, DTS 42, ET Gl 357-8, Rl. I 643, BT 191, TvR 56, Ra. 154 § Cl. supposes that am is a contraction of

\*am-tı (Cl. 157-8); amti (> amdi) and ämdi (> emdi) may be two synharmonistic variants (resulting from progressive vs. regr. as. [vowel harmony] in a bi-morphemic word) ¶ On the other hand, T \*<sup>r</sup>e'mdi may be connected with pKo \*ima- (> NKo ima-žə,k) 'lately, nowadays', pJ \*ima 'now' (> OJ ìmá, J T ima), and possibly with Tg \*ime- 'fresh, new' (> Ewk imzkin, Nn B imki(n-), Nn KU imzki id., Neg imzxin, Ork imz̥w, imzu 'fresh', Ud imzxi 'new'); in this case it goes back to A {DQA} \*imé 'now' (DQA #599, STM I 314) || E: MEI, NEI, AchEl a-am, am 'now' ¶ HK 48 ◇ If IA hn belongs here, the N initial cs. is \*h-, otherwise it is \*?-, sc. N \*?h- (\*h- is not ruled out, since in grammatical morphemes pN and pS \*h- may yield Ar ?-).

**37.** Ll. \*?**em**A 'mother' > HS: S \*?**imm-** id. (pl. \*?**immā'h-āt-**) > Hb מֵם / -מֵם ?imm- (?im'm-ī 'my mother'), pl. ?immā'hōt, Ph ?m, Ug ?um \*?**umm-**, pl. ?umh̥t, Amr {G} ?umm-um ~ ?imm-um, JA, Sr ?im'm-ā, JEA {Sl.} אַמְּמָה ?im'mā, Ar ?umm-, OSA ?m, pl. ?mh̥t, Gz ?əm, Mh ḥ-ām, indf. ?ēm, Hrs ḥ-ām, Jb C ?em, Sq {L} ?em- +ppas., Gz ?əmm, pl. ?əmmāt, Ak սմմս(m) ¶ KB 59, OLS 34, DRS 22-3, Sl. 116-7, G A 14, Jo. M 5, Jo. H 2, Jo. J 3, L G 22, L LS 62, Sd. 1416-7; the variant with u is due to the ass. infl. of mm || B ≈ \*yimmā 'my mother' > Kb {Dl.}, Snd {La.} yəmma, BMn {Ds.} yemma, Jrb {Bs.}, Gd {Lf.} yəmma~imma, Izn {Ds.} yemma~imma, Mtmt {Ds.} yimma id., BSn imma {Bs.} id., {Ds} 'mother', Rf {Bi.} imma id., SrSn/Grr {Bs.}, Kb Z {Bs.} imma 'my mother'; the form \*yimmā may go back to \*y- 'my' + \*?**imm** 'mother' ¶ Dl. 921, Ds. B 219, Bi. R 86, Lf. II #O95O || C: ? (unless an independent Lallwort) HEC {Hd.} \*ama > Brj a'ma~ā'ma 'mother, woman, wife', Ged/Sd/Alb {Hd.} ama, Hd {Hd.} ama, amo?o 'mother', ama(ti) 'mater familias', Kmb {Hd.} amata, amayye voc. 'mother' || SC: Irq/Grw {Wh.} āma 'old woman', Irq {MQK} rāma id., 'grandmother, wife', ? Irq {Wh.} ámēni 'woman' ¶ Hd. 1O2, Ss. B 25-6, Wh. IC 26, MQK 13 || ? Ch (here unless an independent Ll.): CCh: Mrg ámā, Klb ama, Wmd սմա 'mother' || ECh: Ke àmá 'mother' (address word) ¶ ChC, ChL, Eb. 26 ¶ This N etymon is the most probable source of the fem. ending of pronouns in B, Eg, and Ch: HS \*k<sup>v</sup>-m 'thee, thy' f. > B {Pr.} \*kamm 'thou' f. > Tw kъm id. (Ah {Fc.} kəm, Ty/ETwl kъmm 'thou' [autonomous prn.], kъm [preverbal]), Kъ щəmm, Zng {Ai.} kum ~ kəm, Shl kimi, Si šəm, Tmz šəm, kəmmin 'thou' f.; B {Pr.} \*-(ī-)k-am 'thee' f. > Tw {Pr.} \*-kъm ~ \*-īm id., Ty/ETwl {GhA} -kъm ~ -im, Kb, Shl -kəm, Zng kəm ~ -m, Si -im, Tmz -ikəm, -šm,

Wrg -šəm; pB {Pr.} \*-əm ~ \*-ī-m 'thy' f. possessoris > Tw {Pr.} -əm ~ -im, Ty/ETwl {GhA} -(ə)m ~ -əm, Kb, Zng, Shl, Si, Tmz, Wrg -m; B {Pr.} \*hā-m 'to thee (f.)' > Ah {Pr.} hām id. (preverbal), -ām id. (postverbal), Ty, ETwl am, Kb, Wrg -(i)am, Shl, Si, Tmz -am id. ¶ Pr. M I-III 164-7, 173-9, Fc. 807, GhA 93, Dl. 404, AiM 215-7 || Eg: OEg enclitic marker of f. -m: c m 'thou' f. ↔ cw 'thou' m.; aut. pronouns: cmt 'thou' f. ↔ cwt 'thou' m. ¶ Ed. §§ 166-7, 172 || Ch \*-m (marker of f.) in \*kñm 'thee' f. > Ngz {Sch.} k̄m, Bd ḡm, Bdm {Lk.} -ḡm id., Ch \*°kñm > Bdm {Lk.} -ḡum 'thy' f. possessoris ¶¶ AD PP 71-3, 122 || u {UEW} \*emä 'mother, female' > F emä 'female, mother, womb', emäntä 'Hausmutter, Wirtin', emäsi ka 'sow', Es ema 'mother, womb' | pLp {Lr.} \*ēmē 'womb' > Lp S {Hs.} jiemie yiemie id., Lp N {N} \*æbme, æm-: æmest 'von der Geburt an', æme-lii'ke 'die Haut des neugeborenen Kindes' || OHg eme 'female (animal), Hg Δ eme (accus. emét) 'sow' || Sm {Jn.} \*emä, {Hl.} \*eme 'mother' > Ne T {Lh.} nēb\_e, StNe T небя, Ne F Ny nēme, En X ē, (+ ppa. of 1s) ēb\_ō, Ng {Cs.} nāme id. | Slq: Tz {Prk.} ȝm̄t, LTz {KD} ämä, Tur ȝm̄t 'mother' | Koyb {Pl.} имадь, Mt {Hl.} \*EmE (poss. forms \*ima|ä-) 'mother' (Mt T {Mll.} emē, emmē id., Mt M {Pl.} иммеда 'his mother', имамъ 'my mother') || pY {IN} \*emeу 'mother' > OY: K {Bil.} amea, {Kl.} amey, Ch {Mat.} eme 'mother', O {Mat.} emomъ '(my) mother'; Y K {IN} emey 'mother', emmē 'mammy' (address) ¶¶ UEW 74, Sm. 536 (U, FU, Sm \*emä), Jn. 23, Lr. #228, Lgc. #1735, Hs. 781, Hl. M #64, IN 217, 299, ~ Rd. UJ 35 [#8] (Y ↔ U) || A {DQA} A \*ēme 'woman, female', {AD} 'mother, woman, female' > T \*ämä 'mother, female' (→ 'old woman') > Az Δ ämä 'grandmother', Qrg {Jud.} eme, Alt emegen 'old woman', Qmd {Rl.} emegen 'old woman, wife', Tlt {Rl.} ämäyän 'Mütterchen' (address to an old woman), Chv ama 'mother, female, old woman' ¶ S AJ 196 [#246], Rs. W 42, ET Gl 220-2, Jeg. 25, Fed. I 38-9, Rl. I 948-9 || M \*eme 'woman, female' > MM eme, eme güün 'woman, wife; female (animal)', WrM eme id., HIM em 'woman', Brt eme id., WrO eme 'woman, female, lady', Dx ȝmz(kun), Dg {T} emeg, {Mr.} emehe, {Pp.} emēg 'wife', {T} emgūn, {Pp.} emgūn, Ba ȝmz (kuŋ) 'woman', Mnr H {SM} imu in xara imu ("black woman"), ritual name given by a girl to herself in front of her parents the day of her marriage ¶ S AJ 238 [#106], T BJ 152, T DnJ 144, T DgJ 139, SM 192, Klz. D I 129, H 43, Ms. H 54, Pp. MA 153-4 || Tg \*em'e' 'mother, woman, female' > Ewk ȝmugdз 'female'

elk', Sln {Iv.} *e'mo* 'mother', *emi'ge* 'wife', Nn KU *zmxz* 'mother-in-law', WrMc {Z} *eme* 'mother', *emxe* 'wife's mother', *emeke* 'husband's mother', Mc Sb {Mrm.} *eme* 'mother', *emxe* 'Schwiegermutter', *emhe* 'wife's mother' ¶ S AJ 221 [#221], STM 451-2, Klz. MS 157-8 || MKo {S, Vv.} *ámi* 'mother', {Vv.} *éma:-nim* id.; less likely pKo {S} \**ámh* 'woman, wife, female' > MKo *ám* / *ámh-*, NKo am id. ¶ Vv. AEN 372, S AJ 89, 256 [#135], SDM97, S QK #135 || OJ *omo* 'mother' ¶ Vv. AEN 372, JdH 164 ¶ S AJ 279 [#112], ≈ DQA #428 (incl. T, M, Tg, pK \**ámh*) ◇ Words shaped as *a(m)ma* in individual IE lgs. (OHG *amma* 'nutrix, nurse', ON *amma* 'nun', Al G 'amē' 'mother', F Dv. 47O [#423], Kf. 39, O 4, EWA I 205-6), in El (OE1/ME1/NE1/AchEl) *am-ma* 'mother' (HK 51-3), and in D \**amma*, {GS} \**am-* 'mother' (> Tm *ammā*, Ml, Kn, Tl, Tu *amma*, Klm *amma*, Brh *ammā* 'mother', Knd *ama* 'grandmother', Png, Mnd, Kui *ama* 'father's sister', Ku *amma* 'aunt', F D #183, GS 108 = #280), OJ E {Vv. ← JdH} *amo* 'mother' (Vv. AEN 372, JdH 49) are unlikely to belong here, they are better explained as independent Ll.-creations ◇ T \**ä-* for the expected \**e-* (< N \**e-*) may be explained by the Lallwort-factor ◇ AD NM #116, S CNM 3 (÷÷ Yn and err. ÷ ST), Vv. AEN 7 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #430 (\**eme* 'woman') (U, Y, A, Ko, Gil, CK + unc. OJ *me* 'woman').

**38. \*?***em*▽ 'seize, hold' (→ 'take') > **HS**: Eg fOK *zmm* v. 'seize, grasp' (EG: 'mit der Faust ergreifen'), → Eg fXVIII *zmm.t* 'Griff, Faust', {Fk.} n. 'grasp' ¶ EG I 10-1, Fk. 3 || B \*<sup>o</sup>H*miy* > Sll *ämi* v. 'hold\contain' (of a recipient), 3s pf. *jūmī* (Pcj. I A 3) ¶ Ds. 74, Pr. M VI-VII 96 || Ch {Stl.} \*?*am-* 'catch, seize', {JS} \**am* 'take' > CCh: Tr {Nw.} *ōm* 'catch', ZmB *pám* {J} 'take', {Sa.} 'steal', ?? Msg {Mch.} *i mā* v. 'seize', {Lk.} *i me*, *i mē* 'fangen, ergreifen, nehmen' || ECh: Ll {Cp.} *ōm* v. 'hold', Kbl {Cp.} *ám* 'catch', Mkl {J} *pámbē* v. 'take' ¶ Stl. IF 123, JS 261, ChC || ?*φ* C: Bj {Rop., R} -*?amit* (1s: p. *a-?a'mit*, prs. {R} *a-?am'mít*, {Rop.} '*?ammít*) v. 'grip, grasp' (rf. {R} -*?amāt* 'an sich nehmen, nehmen': p. 1s *a-?amāt*, prs. 1s *a-t-<sub>1</sub>?a'mít*), {R} *m?amāt* 'fist', {Rop.} *ma?mat* 'fistful' || HEC: Sd {Gs., Mrn., C} *amad-* v. 'catch, hold, seize, take', Hd {PB} *amad-* 'fassen, nehmen', Kmb {C} *amad-* v. 'take' ¶ R WBd 19, Rop. 150, Gs. 12, PB 135, C SE II 189, C S 656, Mrn. S s.v. *amad-* || ?*σ* Om: SOm {Fl.}: Dm *t̥m-*, Hm, Ari B *im-* 'give' || NrOm: Kf {C} *i m-* ~ *em-*, Mch {L} *?immi-*, Wl {LmS} *imm-*, Zr/Cha {C} *i m-*, Gm {Hw.} *?ímo-*, Ym {Wdk.} *íma-* id. ¶ Fl. OO 318, C SE IV 390, LM 16, LmS

286-7, Hw. EG s.v. 'give', Wdk. BY 126 || IE \*<sup>r</sup>̥em-//\*<sup>r</sup>̥<sub>o</sub>m-/ {Mn.} \*m̥- (< \*<sup>r</sup>̥m̥-) v. 'take, get' ({EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>em- 'take', ≠ 'distribute') (× N \*qAm̥<sup>Δ</sup> 'grasp, seize' × N \*HEñom̥<sup>Δ</sup> 'take hold of') > Lem- v. 'take' (only in cds.), v. 'buy', pfc. ēmpsi (< \*ēm-, cp. Lt ēmiaū 'I bought'), Osc PERT-EMEST 'perimet', PER-EMUST 'perceperit', Um emantu(r) 'accipiantur' || OIr em- in ar-fo-em- v. 'take, receive' || Lt im-ū, im̥-ti v. 'take', Ltv jemū 'I take', Pru īmt 'to take' | Sl prs. \*(j)yb̥m̥-q / inf. \*jē-ti 'take' (× NaIE \*yem-//\*yb̥- < N \*h̥am̥<sup>o</sup> 'squeeze, grasp') > OCS prs. ȢMѢ im-q / inf. ȢATH jētī 'take' (\*jyb̥- with prosthetic \*j- [encouraged by the contamination with NaIE \*yem-//\*yb̥-], the stem \*yb̥m̥- being preserved in cds., e.g. v5z6m0 ȢBΖ-yb̥m̥-q 'I [shall] take'), SCr Ch jéti 'to take', Slv jéti 'to begin', P jāć 'to grasp, to take, to catch'; → Sl inf. \*jyb̥m̥-ti > OCS prs. ȢMAMЬ imamЬ 'apprehendo, colligo, accipio', Blg имам 'I have', SCr īmati 'to have', Cz jímati 'to take, to catch', Slk mat', jimat' 'to have', P īmać 'to take, to have', R Δ имать 'to catch', Uk мати 'to have'; Sl \*jyb̥m̥-ti 'to have' > OCS, OR ȢMĒTH iměti (1s prs. ȢMĒTH īmějō), R иметь, Slv īměti, Cz míti, P mieć id. || ?σ Arm ȢMASH- iman- v. 'understand' (Mn. connects it with IE \*em-, while Solta hesitantly proposes a different et.) || ?φ Ht wəmiya- ~ umiya- 'finden, treffen, antreffen' (so acc. to Ped. H, and P) ¶ P 31O-1, WP I 2O7, ≈σ EI 564 ('distribute'), Mn. 24O, WH I 4OO-2, Bc. G 333, Frn. 184-5, En. 184, Vs. II 128, ESSJ VI 71, Glh. 276, Slt. 91-2, Ped. H 82, 135, Ts. W 1O4-5 ¶ The zero-grade \*<sup>r</sup>̥m̥- is probably represented by the pp. \*<sup>r</sup>̥m̥-to-s or \*<sup>r</sup>̥<sub>o</sub>m̥-to-s (> Lemptus, Um īmps, Lt īmtas, Pru īmtā f., OCS ȢATЬ jētъ). The fact that the initial IE lr. in precons. position (#\_C) has not yielded \*ə, but rather a "schwa secundum" \*<sub>o</sub> or even a zero, suggests that this is IE \*?- || K: ?σ Lz {Marr} -m- (msd. m-o-m-a-la) v. 'carry, bring' ¶ Marr 164 || U: FU (in Prm only) \*<sup>o</sup>e<sub>L</sub>:m<sup>Δ</sup> > pPrm \*em ({LG} \*ēm) 'there is' > Z īm em, Yz 'im 'there is, exists', Z īm, īmlun, īmbur 'goods, property' ¶ LG 332, Lt. 134, Lt. J 119 ¶ Contamination with FU \*ōm<sup>Δ</sup> 'own' (UEW 717) is possible ◇ Cf. AD LRC #72 (IE, HS + \* U), IS I 27O (HS, IE, K) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #381 (\*amu 'take') (IE + err. U [< N \*<sup>r</sup>̥<sup>o</sup>am̥<sup>Δ</sup> 'give'], A).

**39.** \*<sup>r</sup>̥<sup>o</sup>m<sup>Δ</sup> 'kin, clan, everybody' > HS: S \*pumm-(at-) 'kin, clan' > BHb נָמָּה ?um'm-ā 'tribe, small group of people', pl. ?um'm-ōt, ?um'm-īm, Ug ?umt, ?ummat- 'kin, clan (?)', Sr ?ūm(m)a'tā {JPS} 'race, nation, people; a class, genus', Ar ?umm-at- (pl. ?umam-) {Fr.} 'coetus,

multitudo, gens, familia viri, populus', {BK} 'assemblée, foule; famille; peuple, nation', Ak սմման-սմ 'people, army', {Sd.} 'Menschenmenge, Heer, Arbeitsgruppe', սմմատ-սմ 'Hauptmasse' ¶ KB 6O, KBR 62, Grd. UT 36O [#225], JPS 6, Hnr. 107, Fr. I 57, BK I 52, G OA 45, Sd. 1413-5, DRS 23 || C: EC: Af սմման 'all, every', սմմատ 'inhabitants, populace', Sa {R} սմման 'totalità, Gesamtheit' ¶ R S II 283, PH 2O4 ¶ This N etymon may be the source of \*- $\nabla\text{m}$ -plural in several C lgs: EC: Dsn -am ~ -ām, ending of pl. of nouns and adjectives (damad-ām pl. of damaddi 'thigh', Պօյօր-ām pl. of օյօր 'black', alč-am pl. of Պալչս 'fighting-stick'); Arr -mé ~ -má, sx. of "multiple reference plural" (dačal-mé - pl. of dačál 'cheek', dēbi-má - pl. of dēbí 'cabbage') || ??? SC: Irq -ēmo sx. of pl. (dāŋgēmo 'twins' - pl. of dāŋgi 'twin') ¶ For further details see Zab. MNPC ∀ ¶ To. DL 86-9, Hw. A 166-72, Mous 47, 58-9 || IE \*? $\text{H}\text{om}$ - 'every' > Lomnis id., Osc úmbn- 'omnis' || Arm ամէն amēn (gen. ամենի ameni) 'all' ( $\times \div$  OI սա'mah̥ 'equal, like', Av համա- 'jeder beliebige', Gk ἀμό- in ἀμοῦ [Gk A ἀμοῦ] 'somewhere, other', Gt սամս, AS sum 'irgend einer', NE some) ¶ Slt. 269-270, ≈ WH I 2O9-1O || Pv. II 373-81 convincingly rejects the adduction of Ht hūmant- 'every, each, all' ¶ Ped. H 165 ¶ ? NaIE \*-ōm, sx. of genitivus pl. (e.g. with \*-o-stems: Vd carāth-ām 'der beweglichen', Gk λύκ-ων, OHG wolf-o, Lt vīlk-ū, OCS влъкъ wlъk-ъ 'of wolves', L dēum 'of gods'; with \*-n-stems and \*-r-stems: OI սան-ām, Gk κυν-ῶν 'of dogs', L homin-um 'of men', Lt akmen-ū. OCS каменъ kamen-ъ 'of stones', Gt түггөн-ō, OHG zungōn-o 'of tongues', L mātr-um, Gk μητέρ-ων, OCS матеръ mater-ъ 'of mothers', GAv dugədr-ām 'of daughters'); in several lgs. the ending \*-ōm was lengthened due to metanalysis: OI -nām, L -ōrum (OI սրկānām, L lupōrum 'of wolves') ¶ Brg. KVG 394-5 (§§ 486-7) and the table "Übersichtstabelle zur nominalen Kasusbildung" after p. 398; Bks. 113-7, 173 || U \*' $\text{o}$ 'ma > ?σ Mk u'ma 'pen, enclosure for cattle' || Sm: Slq Tz {Hl.} զմտ 'tous les autres, оставльные', {KKIH} զմտ 'некоторый, оставльной', զմոն 'a relative' ¶ PI 284, Hl. (p.c.), KKIH 145 || A: NaT \*ōba 'clan, extended family, dwelling place of such a unit, small encampment or large tent' ( $\times$  N \*? $\text{P}\text{oh}_2\text{b}\nabla$  [= \*? $\text{P}\text{ohb}\nabla?$ ] 'clan', q.v. ffd.) || M \*omug ~ \*obug 'clan' ( $\times$  N \*? $\text{P}\text{oh}_2\text{b}\nabla$ ) > MM [S] oboh 'family', WrM օբսշ ~ օմուշ 'clan, tribe, family, surname', HIM օբօց ~ օմօց id., Ord օմօց, WrO օմօց 'family', Mnr H օմօց 'nom de clan, nom de'

famille' ¶ H 12O, Krg. 115, MED 598, 611 || D (in SD) \*-um 'all', a morpheme used as a final component of cds. and frame constructions: Tm ellā-m 'everything, everybody', ellā- + case sxs. + -um, ellā ... - um 'all, everybody' (e.g. ellā maṇitarkaļukkum 'to all people'), cakala + case sx. + -um 'all, tous' (e.g. accus. cakalattiyum, dat. cakalattukum) (An. TL 23, An. GTJ 96-8), interr. prn. + -um have the meaning of 'every...': yāvum 'everything', yāvaiyum 'all, whole', yārum 'everybody', ēvatum 'everything', Ml -(u)m 'all, any' (e.g. eññum 'anywhere', cp. eññu 'where?'), Td -m 'all, any' (e. g. etm 'in any direction', cp. et 'in which direction?'), Kn -m (e.g. ettam 'wheresoever, cp. etta 'where?') ¶ D #5151 ◇ This N etymon may be the origin of the HS marker of pl. m. \*-um ~ \*-im in personal pronouns and pronominal sxs. of 2pm and 3pm (S \*?antim ~ \*antum 'you' pl. m., \*-kum ~ \*kim 'you' accus. pl. m., 'yours' pl. m., \*šum ~ \*šim 'they' pl. m., \*-šum ~ \*-šim 'them, their' pl. m., C: Ag: Bln {R} kūm 'you' accus. pl. m., Hs kum 'yours' pl. m.) and of the D marker of pl. \*-m in pl. \*nīm 'you' pl. (cp. \*nī 'you' sg.), \*nām 'we incl., and \*yām 'we' excl. (Zv. CDM 36-44).

**40.** <sub>2</sub> \*?amga 'dry, thirst(y)' > HS: S: Ar ✓ ?mğ 'be thirsty': pf. حمْجُ <sup>ج</sup>?amiğ 'be thirsty', حمْجِيْ رamağ- 'thirst; excessive heat (of weather)' ¶ Fr. I 58 || EC: pSam {Hn.} \*'ángèg 'dry' > Sml engeg-, Bn aneg 'dry', Rn àngàgà 'be dry, dry out\up' || SC: Irq {MQK} agē-ηʷ 'dry season', Alg {MousK} ēgē, Brn {MousK} aŋəŋ id.] On C \*✓ hgg '(be) dry' see N \*Xag∇ 'dry, hard' ¶ Ss. B 82, 169, Bl. 183, Hn. S 5, PG 65, Hw. A 361-2, R WB 189, AD SF 256, Ap. 12, To. DL 500, Blz. CL 177, Blz. SCL s.v. 'dry' <sub>2</sub> || A: WrM aŋga-, HlM aŋga- 'be dry', gazar aŋga-qu 'for the soil to dry out', unless identical with WrM aŋga 'be thirsty', which is from M \*ψaŋq̥a (> MM [S] {H} hanq̥a- v. 'be thirsty', Dg {Mr.} hanke- 'get thirsty, need water', hankā 'make a person go without water, parch, make thirsty') ¶ MED 43, H 74, Pel. 2O3, Mr. D 156 ◇ Qu. because of the uncertainty of the supposed M cognate.

**41.** <sub>2</sub> \*ämp∇ '≈ wolf' > HS: EC \*°?aₖm₁P- > Sd {Gs.} ambōma, nom. ambōmi 'hyena' ¶ Gs. 14 || CCh: Nz {Mch.} yāñba 'dog' ¶ ChC || u (att. in Ugr only) \*ämp∇ 'dog' > OHg XVI eþek [äbek], Hg eþ 'dog' || pObU \*ämp∇ 'dog' > pVg \*ämp∇ > Vg: T ämp, LK/MK/OK ãmp, Ss ämp 'dog'; pOs \*ämp > Os: V/Vy ämp, Nz/Kz amp, O åmp 'dog' ¶ UEW 836, MF 137, Ht. 126 [#33].

42. \*?*am<sub>1</sub>ṇ<sub>2</sub>Rṇ* (or \*?*am'ō(-₁Rṇ<sub>2</sub>)?*) 'morning, daylight' > HS \*✓?*mr* 'morning, daylight' (× N \*?*?'r'ō'mrE* 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', 'dawn', q.v. ffd.) > C {AD} \*✓?*mr* 'morning, dawn' > Ag {E} \*?*amer-* 'morning' > Bln {R} *amerī*, Q {R} *amerē* 'morning, tomorrow', Xm {R} *amir*, Xm T {CR} *amər* 'tomorrow', → Gz *?amīr* 'sun, day, time', Gft *aymēra*, Grg *imir*, *yimṣr* 'sun' | SC: ?σ Irq {Wh.} *omār* 'previously', ?σ SC {E} \*?*āma* 'night' (acc. to E PC; the representation in individual lgs. is not indicated) ¶ AD SF 132-3, E PC #453, L G 26, Wh. SI || IE \*?*h₂ām(e)r* / \*?*h₂ām-n-* ({EI} \**h₂eHmer*) 'day' (× N \*?*?'r'ō'mrE*) > Gk: Hm ἡμαρ, gen. ἡματ-ος, D/AC ἡμαρ, -ατος id. → Gk A ἡμέρα 'day' (initial *h*- on the analogy of ἐσπέρα 'evening') 'day' || Arm **աւր** *awr* 'day' (< \**aumr* < \**amur* < \**āmōr*), gen. *awur* ¶ P 35, ≈ EI 149 (unjustified morphemic border: \**h₂eH-mer*), F I 634-5, Ch. 412, Slt. 4O9-411, Hamp AA || U: [1] FU \**a'm<sup>1</sup>ṇ<sub>2</sub>rṇ* 'sun, heat' > F *aurinko* 'sun', Lp Tn *awrət* 'flame', Lp T *aūr* 'glowing embers', (× N \*?*?'r'ō'mrE* 'burn' [intr], 'shine', q.v.) Vt *omýr* 'embers, heat (in a stove)', тыл *omýr* 'flame' || [2] ?FU {IS} \*?*amo* > FP \**'a'mṇ* / \**oma* 'morning, early' > ?F *aamu* ↗ *ahmu* 'morning', eF [Agr.] *amu* ~ *aamu*, Krl *oamu*, *uamu* id., Vp *āmu* 'long ago' (the length of the initial vw. and the dialectal *h* are innovations due to unknown factors) | Er *umok* 'long ago' ¶ Coll. 2, Coll. CG 4O5 (U \**oma*), IS I 261, UEW 337-8, ≠ UEW 8O4-5, SK 29, SSA I 46, 9O, UZS 32O ◇ FP \**'a'mṇ* / \**oma* may belong here if the syll. \*-rṇ was lost (metanalysis?) or if \*-Rṇ did not belong to the N etymon (was an additional element, sx.?) ◇ Cf. AD LRC #73 (IE, HS [C and Gz], U); IS MS 37O and IS I 26O-1 (both: HS, IE, U).

43. \*?*r'ō'mrE* 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', 'dawn' > U: FP \**umrṇ* 'fire, flame' > Chr *umъr* 'warm\calm' (of weather), Chr B *umъr* 'warm und ruhig', (× N \*?*am<sub>1</sub>ṇ<sub>2</sub>Rṇ* 'morning, daylight', q.v.) Prm \**ūmir-* > Vt G *om̄r* 'flame', StVt *omýr* 'heat (from a stove)', StVt тыл *omýr*, Vt Y *t̄l-om̄r* 'flame' (тыл *t̄l* 'fire'), Vt Uf *t̄l om̄re* 'das Feuer lodert auf', Z *tmraw-n̄t*, *tmirt-n̄t*, Z UV *tmral-* 'blaze (as a stove), emit heat (пыхать, веять теплом)' ¶ UEW 8O4, LG 329, U3S 32O ] possibly a contribution to the meaning of FU \**amṇrṇ* 'sun, heat' > F *aurinko* 'sun', Lp Tn *awrət* 'flame', Lp T *aūr* 'glowing embers', Vt *omýr* 'embers, heat (in a stove)', тыл *omýr* 'flame' (× N \*?*am<sub>1</sub>ṇ<sub>2</sub>Rṇ*, q.v.) || A {DQA} \**obri[e]* {AD} 'be bright, shine' (× N \**?u<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub>rṇ* 'light [lux], fire' × N ??φ \**X'a<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub>a<sub>3</sub>rE* [or \**XawErṇ*] 'bright, white', q.v.) >

NaT \*ürün̥ (~ \*°Ewrüñ?) 'shining, bright, white' > OT, Yk ürün̥ 'white', Chg XV ewrüñ 'shining, bright; clear weather', MU ürün̥ 'bright, clear', MQp XIII {Cl.} ūrūn, {TL} ürün̥ 'milk', Tk Δ ürün̥ 'milk, yoghurt', ? Qrg ürün̥ baraŋ 'morning twilight, dawn; sth. dimly seen in the dark' ¶ Cl. 233-4, TL 601, S AJ 193 [#190] || M {DQA} \*öwr̥ 'dawn' > MM [MA] ür or ör 'aurore', WrM {MED} ür, {Gl.} ör, HlM ūr, Ord, Kl ör 'dawn, daybreak', WrO ör 'morning, dawn, daybreak', MnR H ör 'aube du jour' ¶ Pp. MA 382, MED 1010, S AJ 243 [#216], Krg. 147, SM 294, KW 298 || Tg \*°oru (or \*°xoru) > Ewk orumna- v. 'flame up (вспыхнуть)' (of fire) ¶ Vas. 327, STM II 25 ¶ The Tg root belongs here only if it is \*°oru ¶ DQA #1580 (A \*obri|e 'dawn'), S AJ 288 (A \*ör̥ 'white, light [hell], dawn'); KW 298, Rs. W 375, SDM97 s.v. \*orE 'white, dawn' (all four sources: T, M) || HS \*✓?mr (× N \*?am₁N₂R₂ 'morning, daylight'): B \*✓'w'mr > Ah emmar 'le soleil, le feu, tout corps en combustion qui chauffe à une distance; chaleur rayonnée', ɻsammær 'rayons du soleil chauffant doucement', Ty, ETwl asɻsammær id., Rf summær 's'ensoleiller, se mettre au soleil', Izd asammar 'sunny side of a mountain', SrSn, Izn sammær id., ɻamiri 'moon-light' ¶ Fc. 1223, Rn. 385, GhA 131, Mrc. 237 || C {AD} \*✓?mr 'morning, dawn' (× N \*?am₁N₂R₂ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Other alleged cognates within HS (S \*✓?mr v. 'see, be seen', etc., as well as some Ch, Eg, and B words), adduced by IS (I 260-1), are semantically and/or phonetically unfit for comparison || IE \*?Hxām(e)r / \*?Hxām-n ({EI} \*h₂eħmer) 'day' (× N \*?am₁N₂R₂ '↑', q.v. ffd.).

**44.** \*?omśa 'flesh, meat' > U {Coll.} \*omśa id. > pLp {Lr.} \*jńcé 'flesh' > Lp S {Hs.} oǎddjie, Lp N {N} oǎž'že, Lp Kld {TI} ɻužń:č, Lp T {TI} ɻžń:če id. || Sm {Jn.} \*ъmså, {Hl.} \*ъmsa 'meat, flesh' > Ne T ɻamza, Ne O {Lh.} ɻamcă, Ne F {Lh.} ɻams·ă, Ng {Mik.} ɻamsu, En X {Cs.} uđa, B {Ter.} ossa 'meat', Mt {Hl.} \*amsa ~ \*absa 'meat, body', {AD} 'flesh, meat' (Mt: T {Sp.} apca 'flesh\meat', K/M {Mll.} amsa 'caro'), Slq Tz {KKIH} apst 'food' ¶ Coll. 104, ≈ Sm. 542 (FU \*onśå 'flesh; hind' > FP \*onśa, Ugr \*ǎnća), Lr. #835, TI 762, Jn. 15 (supposes that Sm \*ъmså 'meat' is d. from \*ъm- 'eat'), KP 160, KKIH 100, Hl. M #36, ≠ UEW 133 (Lp from \*oća ~ \*ońća 'to divide') || HS: ? S: Ar ɻamis-, ɻamis- 'pickled raw meat; veal jelly' ¶ Fr. I 59, BK I 55 ¶ The emphaticity of the final cns. is still to be explained || Eg fXVIII sms 'piece of beef' (IS: partial rdp. of \*bms?) ¶ EG IV 141 ¶ I do not

adduce here ( $\Leftrightarrow$  IS) the NrOm word for 'cow' (Kf {C} *mīnčō*, etc.) because the sibilant\affricate element belongs probably to a nominal sx. (singulative?) - cp. Kf {C} *mīmō* 'cow',  $\mathcal{F}$  Lm. Sh 355. For similar morphological (and semantic) reasons I reject the alleged Or cognate {Th} *ammejsa* 'milch cow' & Or B {Vnt.} *amessa* 'un animale che ha latte e che è dato in prestito a chi non ha cibo' (Vnt. 8, Th. 18) || IE: NaIE \**mēms-* 'meat' (< \*\**?mēms-* [reduplicated stem]), {El} \*'*mē(m)s* (gen. \**mem's-os*) > OI *mām'sa-*, '*mās* 'flesh, meat' || Arm **միս** mis id. || pAl \**miša* > Al *mish* id. || Gt *mimz* id. || Pru *mensā*, Lt Zh *meisa* (Frn.: < \**mensā*), Ltv *miesa* id. | Sl \**męso* id. > OCS **мęco** *męso*, SCR *męso*, P *mięso*, R 'мясо' || L *membrum* 'limb' (< \**mēms-ro-*) || OIr *mír* 'piece of meat, mouthful, food' (< \**mēms-ro-*) || Tc B *mīsa* 'meat, flesh' ¶ P 725, EI 374-5, WH II 64-5, Fs. 361, Vn. M 54-5, Frn. 427, En. 21O, O 267, Slt. 51-2, Ad. 464 ¶ The loss of the lr. \*? in the initial clusters (\*? + cns.) is reg. (cp. \**?s-* > \**s* in \**?es-ti* 'est' - \**s-onti* 'sunt') ◇ IS I 252-3, AD NM #66, S CNM 3 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #161 (\**mim* 'flesh') (IE, U + unc. Tg, Ko, J, Ai, EA).

**45. \***?*in'A'* (= \**?in'A'*?) 'place' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'in') > **HS**: S \**?ina* 'in' > Ak: OAk, OB *ina* ~ *in* 'in', OA *ina* 'in'; Eb *in* 'in' | in WS traces of \**?ina* have been preserved in Hb **אתמול** *אתמול* 'yesterday' < \**?ittəmōl* < S \**?ina timāli(m)* (lit. 'in [the day of] yesterday'; cp. Ak *ina timāli(m)*, Sd. 136O); \*-tə- > \*-t- reg.,  $\mathcal{F}$  AD PSH 113 (rule 63c), BL H 193 (§ 12h'), in JEA/JPA **אתמול** *ait'māl* (*?it'māl* & *?it'māl*) and in Sr **אתמול** *et'māl* 'yesterday'; there is syntactic ev. (the adnominal [so-called "genitive"] case of nouns following \**?ina*) suggesting that this prep. (like other S prepositions) goes back to a noun, hence the final \*-a in S \**?ina* is an ending of accus. (typical of adverbials of place) and provides no ev. as to the final vw. of the pN stem ¶ CAD VII 141-2, Penn. SPE 298, Lv. I 185, PS 4459 || B \**in* 'to, into' > Nf *in* id.: 'ugur in al'madrasat' 'go to school', ugūraꝝ in ḫarāblas 'I went to Tripoli', Si *i-* (pre-nominal) 'à, dans': ikim i-ddəlu 'il entra dans le seau', Gd -i (postnominal) 'dans': allūn-i 'dans un trou', as well as possibly Ntf {La.} -n, -ən (locative-delative pc.: iaf-n 'he found **here**', ašk-ən 'partir') ¶ Lf. II #1704, Beg. 13O, La. S 128-9, La. N 186 || NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} -n, loc. ending in adverbs: gaça-n 'in the middle', giddo-n id., 'in between', bolla-n 'above', garsa-n 'under', mata-n 'near', sinça-n 'in front', goye-n 'behind', awa-n 'where?', Zs/Wl/Zl {C} -n (loc. sx.: Zs

anā-n 'where?') ¶ Mrn. O 61, C SE III 192 || C: HEC: Sd {C} -nne, (?) -ne, loc. (of time and place): le'ū bar'ti-nne 'in six days', alba-n'ne 'anticamente' (lit. 'in avanti'), gan'de ({C}: mt. < \*gad-ne) 'in war' ¶ C SE II 125 || K \*-na, \*-n 'in', surviving in adverbs (→ adjectives): OG ſi-na 'inside', ci-na 'in front (of)', ze-na 'upper' (← 'above'), uč(u)a-na 'behind', gušin 'yesterday', Lz ψομα(n) id. (cp. G ψαμε 'night'), Sv ladeψ-n 'in the daytime' (cp. ladäψ & ladeψ 'day'), Sv {Marr}, Sv L {Dn.} ψošg-in 'behind' (cp. ψošg 'back [direction], назад') ¶ Shlm. 27-3O, Shan. G 158, DCh. 52O-1, 1217, 152O-1, 1681, Marr SS 12O3-4, Dn. s.v. ψošg || IE \*?en/\*ŋ, \*?eni ({EI} \*h₁en(i)) 'inside'; in, into' > Gk ἐν, (π) ἐντ adv. 'inside' (Gk Hm: ἐν δὲ οὐλ ἀσκὸν ἔθηκε οὐνοῦ 'she put inside also a skin of wine'), ἐν, ἐντ, (π) ἐντ prep. 'in' || Mcd īv 'in' || Msp īn 'in' || L īn 'in', Osc -EN id. || OIr ī n- 'in', ī n- pv. 'in-', Brtt {RE} \*in 'in' > OW īn, MW, W, OCrn, Crn үн, Obr īn, en, MBr, Br en, e, Br V īn || Gt, OHG, OSx, AS īn, ON í in' || Lt ī and īñ, Pru en 'in' | pSl \*v̥b, \*v̥n- > OCS вънъ, вън-вън-, Blg въ, SCr ү, Slv ү, Cz ү, үе, ү(n), Slk ү, үо, Pwē, R в, во, Uk в, ү 'in, into' || Tc (px.) A ү-, үн-, B ү-, īn-, en(e)- 'in' (in adverbs: A ү-kom̥, B īn-kaum̥ 'in the day-time', B ene-stai 'in secret'); A anne, B enem̥ 'within, herein' || Ld īn (pv., postp.) 'in, in-' || IE \*?endo > OL endo, Lindu 'in' || Gk ἐνδον 'within, at home' || ?σ OIr īnne 'entrails' || ? AnIE: Ht anda 'in, darin' (adv. and postp.), Lw andta, HrLw àntá id., Lc ñte (pv. and postp.) id.; the AnIE cognates are qu., because they may well be explained otherwise, as akin to Gk ἐνθα 'there' and going back to a N prn. + locative pc. \*da < N \*d<sub>1</sub>oy,a 'place (within, below), inside' ¶ P 311-2, EI 29O, Mn. 241, FI 5O8-9, 511, WH I 687-8, 694, LP §§ 189, 431.17, RE 1O6, Frn. 181, En. 166-7, Tp. P E-H 34-9, Wn. 124, 154-6, Ad. 83-4 (Tc < IE \*h₁on-, \*o-grade of \*h₁en- = our \*?en-), Mer. SGA 366-8, KrlSh. XLJ 42, Glh. 648, Pv. I 76-7, Kron. EHS I 351-2 ¶ The zero-grade \*ŋ- (rather than \*ən-) suggests N \*?- | IE {BD} \*-en, ? {Joh.} \*-ne, locative sx.: Ht -an id. (andan 'inside', appan 'behind', piran 'in front'), Vd 'kṣām-an 'on earth, L super-ne 'upwards, from above', infer-ne 'below', OHG ūfa-na 'from above', Gt īnna-na 'within' ¶ BD II 178, Joh. MS III 146ff., Ts. W 4, 64, Kb. 1O62 || U: [1] FU \*'i'ññ▽ 'place' > pPrm \*in > OPrm īn, Z īn 'place', Vt инты int 'place', īn-az 'в пользу, впрок (of profit\benefit to)' (lit. 'to the place'), {Wc.} īn, īñ 'Ort, Stelle' || OHg, Hg Δ eny 'geschützter Ort, wo der Mensch und das Tier vor Wind, Regen, Schnee, Sonnehitze gedeckt sind' ¶ UEW 592-3,

MF 156-7, Wc. W 59 | [2] U \*-na/\*-nä (or \*-n̄a/\*-n̄ä) locative case ending ('in') > F *koto-na* 'at home', tā-nä pāivä-nä '(in) this day', eF *echtona*, Vo зhtogo-na, Lv ȝ:dъ-n, Lv W i:dъ-n~ū:dъ-n 'in the evening', Vo talvз-na, Er тельнятие-ńa, Z tзl-+n, Vg N {Mu.} tēliä-n, Hg téle-n 'in winter', Lp N {N} hâr've-n 'in (during) the rain'; in Sm lgs. it has survived in forms with pronominal stems: Ne tay-na 'there', Ng {Ter.} tз-n† 'here, at this moment', tam-nu 'there, on that side', En kunne 'where?', Slq Tz ku-n id., as well as in adverbs: Slq Tz ūt†-n 'in the evening', taŋ†-n 'in summer'; it is found within the pSm ending of loc. {Hl.} \*-kъn (> Slq \*-qən, Kms -χən, Mt {Hl.} -gən/-kən) ~ \*-kāna ~ \*-kāne (> Ne T -χăna, En {Ter.} -χone, Mt {Hl.} \*-gāna ~ \*-gāna ~ \*-kāna ~ \*-kānä) ¶ Coll. CG 286-95, Majt. SM 247-250, It. LFL V, Ter. NgJ 282-9, Ter. EJ 453, KHG 270-8, Hl. M 139-40 || A (\*īn▽, {SDM95} \*īn▽ 'hollow, pit'): T \*īn 'hole\lair of an animal' > OT {Cl.} īn id., Tkm hīn (with a secondary h-) id., VTt өн īn, Bsh īn id., Chv јнь id., 'sheath (of a knife)', Yk īn 'pit' ¶ The length of the pT vw. needs explaining ¶ Cl. 166, Rs. W 172, DTS 209, 261, Jeg. 79, Fed. I 195-6, Pek. 938 || ?φ Tg: WrMc {Z} үн (үнъ) 'straw-littered bedding-place in a pigsty' ¶ Z 139 | A \*-na/\*-nä, locative ending: M \*-na/\*-ne: [1] M \*qoyi-na adv. 'in the rear, back' > MM [MA, HI] qoyina, [S] χoyina, WrM qoina, HIM χойно, Ord {Ms.} χօնօ, MnR H {SM} χւե՞նօ id., [2] M \*dotu-na 'inside' > MM [S] dotona, WrM dotuna, HIM дотно, [3] M \*gada-na adv. 'outside' > MM [S] {H} ḥadana (= g|yadana), WrM gadana, HIM гадна, Mgl {Rm.} yadana, Dx gadane, [4] M \*doru-na 'in the east' > MM [S] dorona id., 'east', [HI] dorona, WrM doruna, HIM дорно 'east', [5] \*ψörü-ne 'west, western side' (< 'in the west') > MM [HI] höröne, WrM örtü-ne, HIM өрнө 'west, western side' ¶ MED 263-4, 343, 644, 954, Pp. MA 306, Ms. H 91, 61, H 37-8, 55, 69, SM 177, Rm. M 28, T DnJ 115 || T: [1] \*-n within the compound locative sx. \*-tin / \*-tin / \*-tün / \*-tun / \*-din / \*-dün / \*-dün / \*-dun in adverbs (→ adjectives and locative nouns): > OT tašdin 'outside', küntün 'in the south', kēdin, Chg [MA] keyin 'behind' | [2] \*°-ni in OT qa-ni 'where?' ¶ Gbn. ATG 89 [§ 183], Cl. XLII, 633, 705, Pp. MA 306 || ? J: OJ -ni, ending of loc.-dat. (um-i-ni 'in the sea') ¶ Syr. AJL 89-90 || D \*-iŋ, \*-ŋ▽ 'in' (loc. case ending) > OTm -iŋ 'in' || OTl -ə(n), -ni: perumatən 'in the west', bāraŋəsi-ŋi 'in Benares'; possibly here also Tl -na, -n: Tl oḍḍu-na 'on the bank', lōn(a) ({Shanm.}: < \*ula-na) 'inside',

{Sank.} *iṇṭan* 'at home' ||| NED: Mlt -no~-eno~-ino, Krx -nu(:), -nō 'in' || CD: Nk -in/-un/-en /-n, Gdb -in/-un/-n, Knd -an §§ Zv. DCM 28-33, An. SG 22O-1, Subb. 156, DzG 726, Ptrn. 81, Shanm. DN 315, Sank. TED 145 ◇ D \*-n̄ 'in' points to pN \*-n̄ ◇ IS I 11, IS MsN (s.v. \*-na locative), Coll. UA 1O (on endings in U and A), Schrd. DU 1O1 (on endings in D and U), Gr. I 15O-2 (IE \*-en, \*-ne, U, A [T, M, J, qu. Ko and Tg], Gil, EA), ~ Gr. II #221 (\*ena 'inside') (IE, U + unc. Ko, J, Ai, CK, EA), ~ Heg. MÜ 71-3 (U, A, D, HS, IE).

**46.** \*?**ןְּנָנָן** 'self, the same' > HS \*?an- > Eg OK ִן, a pc. introducing the focalized nominal subject in a cleft sentence ¶ Lpr. 64-5 ¶ The initial component of aut. pronouns of the 1 and 2 persons: (1) HS \*?an-āku 'I' (emphasized) > Eg OK ִnk T (> Cpt: B/Sd **אָנוֹקָן** anok, A **אָנוֹקָן** anak) || pS \*?anāku T [> Ak anāku, Hb אֲנָךְ ?ānō'kī, Ph ?nk ~ ?nky, Ug ?nk, (AkSc) ?anāku(:), Amr {G} ?anāku, Yd ?nk] || pB \*<sub>a</sub>nakk<sup>w</sup> T > Tw năk, Kb nəšš, Zng nik, Sll, Tmz nakk, ASgr năč ~ năšš, SrSn năk, Si niš, năš, Mz, Wrg năšš, Nf, Izn năč (Pr. M I-III 179, AiM 215, Fc. 1364, Lf. II #1O9O, Dlh. M 14O-1, Dlh. Ou 226, Dl. 5O2, La. S 1O8, MT 485); (2) HS \*?an-ī T > pS \*?anī (> Hb אֲנֵי ?ānī, Ar NY T ?anī [Bns. NJ I 71, map #31]) ~ \*?ana(:) (> JA אֲנָא ?ānā, Sr E {Sl.} ?enā = ?ānā [Sl. 143], Ar ?anā, Gz ?ana, etc., a secondary variant, probably on the analogy of 2m \*?anta 'thou' m., or representing a special form for 1m sg., as in some Ar Y dialects opposing ?an-ā m. and ?an-ī f.), pS enclitic object prn. \*nī 'me' (> Hb, Aram, Ar, Gz -nī, Ak -nī, Bln ?an, Aw ān; EC: Sml ani-ga, ani-gī, Rn àní, Or àna, Sa a'nu (-u from the case inflection of nomina [nom.?] ), Sd ane aut. prn. 'T' ||| Dhl ?áni T ||| SC: Irq ?án, ?aní, Brn, Alg an, ana aut. prn. 'T', Asa -ana 'my', → Mb ání (E SC 283 s.v. SC \*áni 'T', Mous 112) | a subject prn.: Sml ān, Or àní (F AD SF 21O-1); (3) HS \*?ant<sup>rī</sup> 'thou' (aut. prn.) > C: Ag: Bln ?əntí, Aw ənt̄í, EC: Sml adi-ga, adi-gī, Rn àtī, Or átī, Sa a'tu (-u from the nominal case inflection), Dhl ?átt̄a 'thou'; C → Mb ?átt̄a 'thou' (F E SC 282, AD SF 133-4, PG 4O) || S \*?anta 'thou' m. (> Ar ?anta, Hb הַתָּאָתָּה ?at'tā, Amr {G} ?atta, Gz ?anta, Ak atta) and \*?anti 'thou' f. (> Ar ?anti, Hb הַתָּאָתָּה ?attā, Gz ?antī, Ak attī); in S the distinction between pronouns of m. and f. is either an innovation (probably due to the influence of \*ka 'thee, thy' m. and \*ki 'thee, thy' f.) or a HS archaism: \*?anta m. < \*?ant<sup>rī</sup>-a (with a HS masc. pc. \*-a, surviving in the 2m forms of the Bj verb, as well as in Mb ?átt̄a 'thou', possibly a former masc. form that lost its gender

meaning || Eg fOK *ínt-k* 'thou' m. and *ínt-c* 'thou' f. (restructured by adding personal sxs.: -k 2m, -c 2f) (Lpr. 65, Ed. 79-8O) §§ AD PP 69 || **U** \*on|hē ~ \*on|hā (= {Jn.} \*oni and \*onā) > pSm {Jn.} \*åñb 'self', used with ppas. to form reflexive personal pronouns: Slq Tm on-äk 'myself', on-änt̄ 'thyself', on-t̄ 'himself, herself', etc., Ng ñonənə 'myself', ñonənt̄ 'thyself', etc. § Jn. 18, KHG 29O-3, Ter. NgJz 428 || **A:** T: OT U onā 'precisely, exactly' § Cl. 17O, TT5 32 (note B 8O) || M: WrM önük-i, HIM ονεσεξ 'the one in question, that very (thing or person)', e.g. WrM önuki kereg 'that very matter' § MED 639 || pJ \*zñz 'self, the same' > OJ ono, ónorè 'self', ònází 'the same', J: T ònore, K ónóré, Kg onoré 'self', T ònažì, K ònází, Kg onaží 'the same' § Mr. 5O7, S QJ #1483, Syr. DJ 92-3 §§ OT öjüŋ 'desert' (Cl. 168: 'desolate, uninhabited, desert', but in the text the only meaning is 'desert') hardly belongs here (for lack of reliable semantic connection) §§ ≈ DQA #42 (A \*oñne 'self, [→ ?] same, only' > incl. M, J) ◇ AD PP 91 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #333 (\*ana self) (Sm, J + qu. Hg).

**47.** \*?ayñā or \*?äyñā 'nothing, there is no...' > **HS:** S (or WS) \*payñ- ~ \*?in- > BHb אֵין 'payin 'non-existence; not, no', אין 'ren 'there is no...', M'b ?n, Ug ?n [\*?en<sub>1</sub>▽<sub>2</sub>] id., Ar ?in 'there is no...', neg. pc.: ?in ?al-ħukmu ?illā-lillāhi 'there is no judgement except for (belonging to) God', ? Ak yānu 'is not' (unless from ?ayyānu 'where?', 'where from?'), Gz ?ən- neg. element in: [1] 1s ?ənbī 'I am not in a position to...' (literally 'there is not in me'), 2m ?ənbəka 'you (m. sg.) are not in a position to...', etc., [2] ? ?əndāřī 'I do not know' § KB 4O-1, KBR 41-2, OLS 37-8, LG 27-8, ≈ LNP ∀ (hyp.: Ar ?ayna ↔ ?in 'verily, indeed'), ≠ Br. G II 5OO [§ 253], 577 [§ 37Oo] (hyp.: the negative ?ayna ← ?ayin 'where?'), Sd. 414 || Eg ín, adv. within the Eg N neg. construction bñ ... ín, Cpt Sd/B ḥN an, Cpt A/L/F†EN en, component of the neg. construction an ... an ~ en 'not' § EG I 9O, 456, Vc. 11 || **A** ({AD} \*an▽ ~ \*äna, {SDM95} \*ana, {DQA} \*äni 'not', negative pc. and v.): T \*än ({S} \*an) > Chv an ← pPrm \*en prohib. > Z, Vt en) || Tg \*ana 'there is not, without' > Orc, Ul ana 'there is not', Lm āŋ 'not having, without', Ork ana, anā, anaꝝa, Nn anā id., 'there is not' § STM I 41 || pKo \*än- 'not' > MKo àn(i)-, NKo an(i)- '(is) not' § S QK #62, Nam 334, MLC 1O68 || J: [1] pJ {S} \*ína 'nay' (disagreement) > OJ íná, J T ína id.; pJ \*ína-m- ~ \*ína-b- v. 'deny, decline, refuse' > OJ inam-~ ínà-b-, J T

inam- id.; [2] ? pJ \*-(a)n- 'not' (verbal negation) ( $\times$  N \***ñi** 'not', q.v. ffd.) || S QJ #56, Mr. 424, 697 || S AJ 95-6, 277 [#54], SDM95 s.v. "\*ana 'not', neg. verb",  $\approx$  DQA #74 (A \***ñi** 'not', neg. verb > incl. T, Tg, Ko, pJ \***ñá**, \***ñá-b-**) || U: FU: pPrm \*en prohib. > Z, Vt en, Yz 'in (unless it is a form of the Prm neg. verb \*e- [{LG} \***e-**] with an enigmatic \*-n) || LG 331 || E: MEI, NEI, AchEl iñ-ni, AchEl iñ, NEI, AchEl iñ-na 'not' || HK 757-8 ◇ If the N etymon is \***?äyñā** (especially \***?äyñā**), Tg \*a- of the first syll. may be explained by regr. as. ◇ The origin of S \*-ay- still needs investigating.

**48. \*?ANsN** (\***?aNsN**)  $\approx$  'in foot' > HS: Eg fOK iñs.t 'calf of leg, shank' || EG I 99, Fk. 24 || ?σ S \* $\check{v}$ ?nš > Ug **?anš** 'muscle, sinew' ('músculo, tendón') || OLS 41 || B: Ah ti-nse 'foot (of animals), toe', Kb tñ-nsa pl. 'sabots des bovidés; pattes cuites de bovidés' || Fc. 1415, Dl. 576 || NrOm: Dz: Mj {All.} àšu, {All.} ášu, {Fl.} aššu, Na {AY} ?ášu, {Fl.} ašo, Shk {Fl.} a·šus 'foot' || All. PhD 341, AY WShND, Fl. OWL || Ch  $\approx$  \***?aŋsΨ** (Nw.'s \*asΨ) 'leg, foot' > CCh: MsgP {Mch.} azʒ, pl. àŋzi: 'leg' || Suk {IL} nás, {Mk.} nās 'leg' || WCh: SBc: Tala asəŋ, Zul ?às̩mè, Plc as̩m, Gj àsəŋ, Buli às̩iŋ, Tule ?as̩n, Zar GL {Sh.} yàsəŋ, Zar L yás̩n, Zar K s̩n, Sy Z yás̩n, Sy B yás̩n, Sy Zk yášs̩ŋ 'leg', Wnd ?ás̩n 'leg, foot' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} às̩e, Mgm {J} ?ás̩n, Mkl {J} zíná (pl. zón̩) 'foot, leg', Jg {J} ?is̩ntó, pl. ?is̩án, Brg {J} ?is̩n 'leg', Mu s̩n, pl. s̩nè 'leg, foot' || Nw. 81, JI II 22O-1, ChL, Sh. SB 25 || D \*anča 'foot, footprint' > Tl anca 'foot, footprint, step, stride', ( $\times$  D \*ažža > N \***?ARčA** 'trace'): Tl ajja 'foot, footprint', Kt až 'footprint', Td ož 'step', Tu ajæ 'footprint, track, trace' || ≈ DED App. #6 (derives the D root from InA padýā 'footsteps',  $\neq$  Tu. #7778) || A: Tg \*asi- v. 'track (game)', \*asi-lga 'footprint, track' (unless it is \*xasi-, \*xasi-lga) > Ewk asi-lga-aši-lga 'track (of an elk)', Lm asb-γ- asb-łg- asa-łga- v. 'find the tracks', asb-m- asa-m- id., Neg asł-lga 'track (of an animal)' || STM I 56 ◇ Blz. LB #1OOa (suggested to add Dz).

**49. \*?aníN** '≈ friend(ly), favourable, useful' > HS: CS \* $\check{v}$ ?nš > Ar **?ns** G (Panis-a / -nasu) v. 'be polite, kind, social', Panisa bi- 'have an intimate connection with', Panisa ńalā 'become acquainted and familiar with', Pibnu ?insi-ka 'thy intimate friend', ? Ug {A}  $\check{v}$ ?nš G v. 'be friendly', D 'freundlich hegen, besänftigen', ?anšt 'Freundin' || Fr. I 64, A #319,  $\Leftrightarrow$  OLS 41 (alt. interpretation of Ug  $\check{v}$ ?nš as 'languidecer, ponerse enfermo; ponerse lívido, enfermo [de ira]') || IE: NaIE \*ans- v.

'be favourable' ({P}: 'wohlgeniegt, günstig sein') > Gt **ānsts** 'joy, favour', OHG **ānst** 'goodwill, grace, thanks', **unst** 'favour', AS **āst** 'Gunst, Gnade', ON **ást**, **óst** 'favour (Gunst), love' || Gk ἀπ-ηνής (< \*ἀπ-ανσής) 'unfriendly', προσ-ηνής (< \*προσ-ανσής) 'gentle, kindly, soft' ¶ WP I 68, P 47, EI 198 (? \*h<sup>4</sup>ens- 'be gracious to, show favour'), F I 121, Fs. 53, Vr. 16, Kb. 33, 1104, EWA I 265-7, Ho. 244 || **A:** T \*as 'advantage, use, benefit' > Yk as id., Chv **yc** us **đ** os 'use, benefit', Uz Δ as **gwr-** 'be of use\benefit to'; d. T \*as-iγ 'advantage, profit, benefit' > OT **asiγ**, Chg **asiq**, Tk **as̥i**, Tv **aži** id., Chv **ycă uz\_ň đ oz\_ň** 'use' ¶ Cl. 244-5, DTS 60, Rs. W 29, ET Gl 196-7, TL 344-5, Bu. I 48, Rh. 131, Ash. III 295, 300, Fed. II 290-1 ◇ Cf. AD LRC #75: S, IE.

**50.** (2?) \*?**?**īnāšē 'person, man' > **HS:** S \*?**i**naš- 'person, man' (pl. \*?**i**na's- + pl. ending [bearing the stress]) > Hb **אִישׁ** **?**īš 'man (vir), husband, human being' (< \*\*?**?**ī~š- < \*?**i**nš- < S \*?**i**naš-), pl. **אֲנָשִׁים** **?**ānā'š-īm 'viri, homines' (< S accus./gen. pl. df. \*?**i**na'sī-ma), Ph **?**š, Pun **?**š, **?**yš ([Plt.] **YS**), DA, Yd, IA **?**š 'man (vir)' Yd **nšy** (pl. cs.), OA pl. **nšn**, Ug **nšm**, (AkSc) {Hnr.} **nāš-ūma** 'men, people', Ug derived v. ✓ **?**nš 'mannhaft sein, sich ermannen', Ar **?**ins- 'hommes, genre humain' (coll.), 'ami', **?**ins-ān- 'person' (-ān- is a sx. of singulatives); d.: coll. WS \*?**unāš-** 'homines' > BHb **אֲנוֹשׁ** **?**ānōš 'Menschen' (coll.), Ug **?**nš 'people (gente)', JA **?**nāš **?**ānōš id., Sr **?**nāš, em. **?**nāš, **?**nāš-ā id., JEA {Sl.} **?**ānōš **?**ānā'šā 'man; people (gente)', SmA **?**nš ({Tal} = ēhāš) 'people, men', Ar **?**ins- ~ **?**nāš- id., Tgr **?**anas 'man'; another d.: Ak **nīš-ū** 'Menschen, Leute' ¶ KB 41-2, 68, KBR 43-4, 73, HJ 115-21, A #319, Hnr. 155, Sk. 120, OLS 41, Lv. I 115, Tal 52, Br. 31, LH 371-2, Sd. 796, DRS 26 || B: Ah {Fc.} **āynās** (pl. **eynāsan**) 'young man' ¶ Fc. 702 || C: Ag \*nāš-/\*nōš- 'man (vir)' > Bln {R} (derived adj.) **nās-ānāx** 'männlich', ?φ Xm {R} **ās-aū** ~ **ās-ō** id. || ?φ EC {Ss.} \*?**i**s- 'self, oneself' (× N \***y**i 'he' or \***h**i 'iste' [or 'hic'] + N \***s|šEwN** 'oneself, self', q.v. ffd.) ¶ R WB 285, R Ch. II 28, Ss. PEC 35, 54, Ss. B 107, Bl. 17 || NrOm: Anf {Grt.} **nūšē**, GeMa/HzMa {Fl.} **nūše** 'husband' ¶ Grt. 357, Fl. ML || WCh: Ron: DfB {J} **nīš**, Bks {J} **nūs-** 'brother' ¶ J R 145, 219, 388 || **U:** FU (in FV only) \***injñše** 'person' > eF **inhe-minen**, **inhi-minen**, **inih-minen**, F **ihminen** (gen. **ihmisen**), Δ **inehmo**, **inehminen**, **inehmino** id., Es **inemine**, **inimine** id. | Er **inže**, Mk **inži** 'guest' ¶ UEW 627-8 || **A:** ?σ Tg:

WrMc **έšε** 'husband's younger brother' ¶ WrMc **ε-** for the expected **i-** is puzzling (onfl. of the Lallwort-factor?) ¶ Z 72 ◇ Blz. LB #106a (suggested to add cognates from Ah, NrOm, and Ron), Blz LNA #1 (suggested to add Ah and NrOm).

**51. \*?**Ν<sub>τ</sub>Ν<sub>τ</sub>Ν (or \*?Ν<sub>τ</sub>Ν<sub>τ</sub>Ν?) 'he', relative 'he who, that which' (in descendant lgs.: → a sx. of participles and derived nomina) > **HS:** B \*?**u**inta (? ~ \*?**n**Ν<sub>τ</sub>tta) > Ah {Fc.} **ənta** aut. pron. 'he, she, it' (f. **ənta-t** 'she'), ETwl/Ty {GhA} **ənta** aut. pron. m. 'he, it', Kb, Wrg, Tmz, ASgr, Shl, Si **natta** id. (f. **natta-t** 'she') ¶ Fc. 1422, GhA 151, MT 5O3, Ds. 173, Ds. AS 235, La. S 254, Bs. E98, Dl. 579, Dlh. Ou 228 || S: Gz **?anta** rel. prn. f. 'who, that which' (reinterpreted as f. due to the cns. **t**), ? Tgr {L} **?at ?anta** 'while she is', Har **intē** 'she is' ¶ L G 33 || C: Ag sx. of n. ag. \*?**a**nt<sub>τ</sub>: Bln {R} -**əntā** (pl. -**əntī**), e. g. **fə'd-əntā** 'seaman', **ȝi'b-əntā** 'seller', **ku'w-əntā** 'murderer', Aw {Hz.} -**tánti** (f. -**tánt-a**), e.g. **dibs-tánti** 'talker' (↔ **dibs-** v. 'talk') ¶ R BilS 662 ¶ ≈ JB PrB 1O9, L G 33 (Gz ÷ B) || **IE** \*-ent-/\*-ont-, sx. of participles: NaIE \*-ent-/\*-nt-/\*-ŋt-, sx. of active present participles, e.g. \***bhero-nt-** 'carrying' > OI **bharant-**, Gk m. **φέρων** (gen. -**οντ-ος**), L **ferēns** (gen. **fērent-is**), Gt **baírand-s**, OHG **beranti**, OCS **бєрти** **beri** (gen. **бєржшѧ** **berqštѧ**), Tc: A -**nt-**, B -**ńc-**, sx. of pres. act. participle (Tc A **aśant-**, Tc B **aśenča** 'transporting'); NaIE \***s-ent-/\*s-ŋt-** 'being' > OI **'sant-**, Gk D **ἔντ-ες** id. (Gk f. **ἔντι**), L **prae-s-ens** (gen. **-ent-is**) 'present' || Ht -**ant-**, sx. of active prtcs. of vi. and that of pp. of vt. ¶ The Gk forms of prtcs. ntr. **ὄντι**, m. **Ὥντι** (gen. ntr./m. **ὄντ-ος**), f. **οὖσα** 'being' are contractions from Gk Ep ntr. **ἐόντι**, m. **ἐώντι**, f. **ἐοῦσα** (< IE \***(e)s-ont-** ↔ \***es-** 'be'), unless they represent IE \*\***ont-** (monomorphemic stem of a prtcs. without verbal √) ¶ Mer. SGA 361-2, Brg. KVG 315, Bks. 249-5O, Kron. VLFH 21O, Krs. T 44 || **U:** Sm {Jn.} \*-**ntā**, sx. of active prtcs. and n. ag.: \***ilä-ntā** 'living, alive' (↔ \***ilä-** v. 'live') > En X {Cs.} **iłedde**, En B {Cs.} **jiredde**, Slq MO/UO {Cs.} **ilndi**, **ilnde**, Slq NP {Cs.} **ilandie**, Nn Т иленя, илена, Ne T Sy {Lh.} **yil'e-n'e**, Nn {Cs.} **jílene**, **jílena** id., Mt {Hl.} \***ilzndä** id. ({Mll.}): Mt T/M **ilínde**, Mt K **illende** 'vivus') || FU nominal derivational sx. \*-**nt**Ν > [1] deverbal: F **etsintā** n. act. 'searching' (↔ **etsi-** 'look for'), **perintö** 'heritage' (↔ **peri-** 'inherit'), **syönti** n. act. 'eating' (↔ **syö-** 'eat') | Lp N **râgâd** 'season of mating (of reindeer)' (↔ **râkkâ-** v. 'mate') | Vt Чыпет **čipet** 'dam, pond' (↔ **čip-** v. 'dam'), думет **dumet**, Z Δ

домёд домзđ 'bridle, rope' ( $\leftarrow$  Vt dum-, Z US дом- v. 'tie, bind'); Vt - t and Z -d < pPrm -d < FU \*-nt $\nabla$  | [2] denominative: Z сёнёд сзңзđ 'sinewy, brawny' (of men, draught animals) ( $\leftarrow$  сзң 'sinew'), F isäntä 'pater familias, head of the household' ( $\leftarrow$  isä 'father'), Hg apród 'page (teen-ager)' ( $\leftarrow$  apró 'little') §§ Sz. 85, Coll. CG 269-70, U 92f., LG 291, Bd. UNA § 33 A, Jn. 27, Cs. 24, Ter. 142, Lh. 127, Hl. M 252-3 || A: T \*-nt'i/\*-nti, sx. of participles (acc. to Shch.) or deverbal adjectives: OT ақнди 'flowing, running' (of water) ( $\leftarrow$  ақ- v. 'flow, run'), ўðрү-ndi 'chosen, select' ( $\leftarrow$  ўðür- 'choose'), Osm örndü ~ öründi 'chosen', OT екінді тарыұ 'sown millet', itindi nej 'ein weggestoßenes Ding', MT [IM] сиқнди 'juice' (sc. 'smth. squeezed out'), Alt salintı 'freedman'; the sx. was metanalized (by Cl.) as OT -n-di/i-, sc. -n- of refl. verbs + -di/i of deverbal n./adj. ¶ Shch. GTVT 121, Cl. xlivi, 67, 70, 77, 88, Rh. 24 || D \*-н̄т $\nabla$ , sx. of gerund > Tu -oñdu, Kdg {An.} -añd $\dot{t}$ , Mlt -oñdu id., OTm {An.} сeyx iñdū 'having done, while doing' ( $\neq$  An.: < сeyxū + iñdū  $\leftarrow$  сey- 'do' and il- 'be [somewhere]'), Mlt, Gdb {Bh.} -ondi (verbal adj.) §§ An. 301, An PTS 145-50, Bh. O 46 ◇ IE \*t suggests N \*t, while D \*t is likely to point to a N \*t; Gz ?- (in pronouns) may go back to N \*?- or \*h-, but the absence of traces of N \*h- in IE provides clear ev. for N \*?- ◇ Gr. I 182-6 ("participle NT" in IE, FU [ $\leftarrow$  Coll.] + qu.: Gil marker of predicate -d and err. IE 3p \*-nti).

52. (2?) \*?**ƿaŋo** 'ε snake' > IE: NaIE {WP, P} \*angʷʰi- ~ \*angʷi- 'snake' ({EI} IE \*'haengʷʰis [gen. \*haŋ'gʷʰejs] 'snake') > L anguis 'snake' || Lt anḡis, Pru angis id., Ltv ódze 'adder, viper' | pSl \*qžb > OR ڦжڙ ڦڙ 'ε snake', R ڦج, Cz, Slv užovka 'grass-snake', P wąż, Slv vōž 'snake' || Arm օձ (aŋz) 'snake' || OIr esc-ung 'eel' ("water snake": esc 'water', ung < \*angʷʰō), W lluys-uw-en 'eel' || OHG unc 'snake' ¶ The OHG and L forms go back to a variant \*angʷi- ¶ The NaIE stems \*eḡhi- and \*e/ogʷʰi- (> Gk ἔχις 'adder, viper', ὄφις 'snake', OHG egala 'hedgehog', Arm հծ iž 'snake, viper' [gen. iži], W eouad 'sheep worms', OI ahīhī, Av ažiš 'snake') should be kept apart ( $\Leftrightarrow$  Dv) ¶ WP I 63, P 43-5, EI 530, WH I 48, SB 15, LP § 310, YGM-1 319, 468, Frn. 10, Tp. P A-D 86-7, Vs. IV 150-1, Srz. III 1167, Chrn. II 285, Mikl. E 223, Kb. 1093, Slt. 134-5, 305-6, Dv. #843 (IE \*e(n)gʷʰ- 'snake, worm') || HS: Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl.} \*ŋgʷo 'snake' > Su {J} ñw̄j, Ang ñgʷjη, Cp nw̄ò | ? Hs Skt/Z ganwō 'a coiled snake, coil of rope' || ?? CCh: Ms {Mch.} gʷi, {J} gúydá || ECh: ? Ke h̄snží 'snake' ¶ Stl. VZCh A #183, ChC s.v. 'snake',

ChL, J S 78, Ba. 35, ≈ Stl. ZCh 218 [#681] || S: Ar թայմ- 'serpens, viperae mas', {Fr.} թիմ- 'a white thin snake' (or a general name for 'snake') § Fr. I 76, DRS 1 || ?? K: eNG {SSO} անկարա 'e small snake', NG {AxT, DCh.} անկարա 'grass-snake (յշխ)', {Chx.} 'blind worm (Blindschleiche, Anguis fragilis)' (↔b ?) § This NG word makes a phonetic impression of being a loanword. In any case, its cns. կ and the final element -արա remain puzzling § AxT 21, Chx. 28, DCh. 40, SSO I 57 ◇ N \*-մ- is reconstructed on the ev. of IE \*-ngʷʰ-, WCh \*ŋgʷ-, and S \*-m-.

**53. \*թայո** 'marrow, brain, soft fat of animals' (→ 'to smear, to anoint') - a variant rec. of a N word instead of **\*Խայո** (= \*հ|խայո) id. (which is more plausible) (see below **2600a**).

**54. \*թայչօնց** 'chin' > HS: Eg P ինս, Eg Md ինս.տ 'chin' § EG I 94 || Ch: SBc: Bg {Grgs.} յա id. || CCh: Ngs ("Ghvoko") {Srp.} նիեն id. | ZmD {Srp.} ույս id. § JI II 76-7 || U {UEW} \*այն 'chin' (×N **\*Խանճկն** - ? **\*Խայկն** 'jaw, palate') > pPrm {LG} \*այ- 'jaw' > Vt ան 'jaw', այգես, Ճ այծես 'chin', Z ան 'palate', Z Ud անձաս, անգլաս 'gum' || Sm {Jn.} \*այի, {Hl.} \*այոց 'chin' > En X {Cs.} բա, StNe T հյակը նայս 'jaw', հյակը մալ 'chin', Ne T O {Lh.} նայս, Ne F {Lh.} նայս 'chin', Slq MO {Cs.} d. ավայ 'Hals', Slq Nr {Cs.} աօլ 'Kinn, Hals', Kms {KD} օ'յօլ 'Kinnlade', Koyb օրօյ 'cheeks', Mt {Hl.} \*օյօլը 'Kinn, Backe' (Mt: K {Mll.} օնցօլ, M {Mll.} օնցալ id.) §§ Coll. 3, ≈ UEW 25-6 (U \*այն; \*÷ Os \*այշեն 'chin', Vg K իշեն id., etc., sc. ObU \*Իշնե < FU \*Իկելնե 'palate, gums, jaw'), Ht. #14, LG 32, Sm. LM 27 [#23] (\*÷ Sm \*այ 'mouth'), Jn. 20 (hyp.: Sm \*այի 'chin' ↔ Sm \*այ 'mouth'), Lh. 309, Cs. 231, Ter. 355, KD 49, Hl. M #813 (misprint օդայ for օդայ) || A (\*այն, {DQA} \*եղա, -կ'ն 'chin, jaw') (×N **\*Խանճկն** - ? **\*Խայկն** 'jaw, palate', q.v.): T: [1] NaT \*այ or \*եղ ({DQA} \*այ, {ADb.} \*եյ) 'cheek' > OT {Cl.} այ, {ADb.} եյ 'cheek, face', MQp/XwT XIV {Cl.} այ, {ADb.} եյ id., Chg {ADb.} եյ 'cheek(s), appearance', Tkm այ, Az զնկ անց 'jaw', {Rl.} 'sides of the lower jaw', ? Osm XIX {Rl.} եյ, Tk բռ 'complexion', Qmq եյ id', 'cheek', Tk Ճ ենկ 'place of juncture of jaw bones', VTt ին-լեկ, T այ-լիկ, Yk իյ 'cheek, high colour of the cheeks', Qrg են 'scrofula' § VTt ի suggests pT \*ել [2] T \*անակ (> Chv անա 'chin'), NaT \*եյակ ({DQA} \*այակ, {ADb.} \*եյէկ) 'chin, jaw, cheek' (= T \*եղ with the dim.-restrictive sx. \*-ակ, / Cl. xli, Gbn. ATG § 57) > OT այեյակ 'jaw, jawbone, chin', OOsm XIV, Chg XV

{ADb.} *eŋek* 'chin', MQp {ADb.} *eŋek* ~ *enek* 'chin, jaw', XwT {ADb.} *eyek* 'chin', *rŋek* 'jaw', Tk *ene* ~ *enek* 'jaw', Slr *enek*, VTt *iŋäk*, Brb *inäk*, Bsh *ıyäk*, Nog, Qzq, Qq *iŋek* 'chin', Uz *engäk*, Δ *änäk* 'chin, jaw', StAlt əɛk 'chin, lower lip', Qrg əɛk ək id., 'jaw', SY *iŋek* 'jaw', ET *iŋäk* 'chin, jaw', Nog, Qq *iŋek*, VTt *iŋäk*, Qzq *ıyek*, Bsh *ıyek*, Uz *engak* *iŋak*, Chv ana 'chin' ¶ VTt i (in *in-ılk*, *iŋäk*) suggests a pT \*e ¶ T \*eŋäk × ↳ T \*eŋ × N \*Xäññkñ - ? \*Xäññkñ ¶ Cl. 166, 183, DTS 174, RI. I 714, ET Gl 284-5, TL 218-9, TkR 798, Hüs. 131, DTS 174, BT 195, Fed. I 45 || pJ {S} \*ánk- 'jaw, chin; gills' > OJ ágjí, agjítópójí, ltOJ [RJ] ágító id., J: T agito id., agó 'jaw, chin', K àgô, Kg ágo id. ¶ S QJ #163 || Tg: WrMc eŋge 'beak', in ds. ~ \*'nose' ¶ STM II 457 ¶ DQA #434.

**55. \*?anq'i'** '≈ breathe' > HS: S \*✓?nχ > Ak ✓?nχ (inf. anāχu) v. 'sigh, sing an inχ u-song (song of sighs, moaning)', Ug ✓?nχ v. 'moan', {OLS} adj. ?nχ 'quejumbroso', BHb ✓?nħ N חַנְחָנָה נְגַזֵּן 'he groaned', JA ✓?nħ (pf. חַנְחָנָה נְגַזֵּן) v. 'sigh', Sr ✓?nħ v. 'moan'; in Ar ✓?nħ ḥanħ v. 'sigh' the irreg. ħ (instead of χ) is due to the onomatopoeic associations of this root ¶ DRS 25, CAD I/2 105-6 and VII 148 s.v. inħu, OLS 38, Sd. 49, KB 68, KBR 72, Sl. 144, Br. 28 || IE \*?h₂anH- (> NaIE \*anə-) v. 'breathe' ({EI} IE \*h₂eh₁-mi), d.: NaIE {P} \*anə-mo-s 'breath, wind', {EI} IE \*h₂enH₁-mos 'breath' > OI ani-ti '(he) breathes', 'anilah₁ 'wind' || Gk ἄνεμος 'wind', ?? ἀνέω 'winnow (grain)' (unless < \*F₃₅n-, cp. αἴνω id.) || L animus 'spirit, soul' || OIr anál, Brtt {RE} \*anat₁- > W anadl, Crn anal, MBr alazn, azlan, Br anal, alan 'breath' n. || Gt uz-anan 'breathe out' || pSl \*(v)ońa ~ \*(v)ońy 'odour' > OCS воня vonja 'fragrance', OR воня vonja 'odour', Cz vůňe 'fragrance, pleasant odour', Slv vónja, SCr vōňj, P woń 'odour', Blg воня, R вонъ 'stench', ↳ pSl \*(v)ońati vi. 'to smell, to emit odour' > воняти vonjati id., SCr vònjati, Slv vonjáti 'emit odour', Blg воняя v. 'stink', R вонять 'to stink (of)', Cz voněti 'be fragrant', P wonieć id., 'to smell (emit odour)' || pAl {O} \*any > Al: G âj, T {Kf.} ēj 'I inflate, swell, blow' ('πρῆσκω, φουσκώνω'), {C} âj, T ēŋj v. 'swell' || pTc {Ad.} \*āñč, ä, me > Tc A {Ad.} āñčäm (obl. āñm-) 'soul', Tc B {Ad.} āñme id., 'self, inner being' (< NaIE \*anə-mo-s) ¶ WP I 56-8, P 38-9, EI 82, M K I 33-4, WH I 49-50, FI 41, 105, Vn. A 73, Fs. 538, My. 5, BFU 127, Kf. 38, 97, C I 171 and II 380, O 91, RE 84-5, Ad. H 33-4, Ad. 40-1, Glh. 67, Chrн. I 165 || ?φ K: it is tempting to adduce Sv: L/UB qan 'smell, запах', UB/L/Ln {TK} qan- (msd.: UB/L

liqāne, Ln liqane, LB ligne) v. 'smell (of sth.), smell (sth.)' (TK 485, 88O, Dn. s.v. qən, GP 19O), if this is a mt. from the expected K \*anq- || U: FU (att. in FL) \*aŋe 'feel\smell; spirit, ghost' (× N \*hAwdv 'sense, mind, soul', q.v.) > F aave, Δāvia, hāve, hoave 'ghost; presage, omen', Δ aavaita v. 'feel\smell sth.', Es {W} avistama 'erkunden, erkennen' | Lp I vū̄ŋŋŋəz 'spirit (water-spirit, wood-spirit, incumbent, gnome, etc.)' ¶ SK 3-4, W EDW 56 || A: M: WrM aŋgi-l-~aŋqri-l-, HM aŋxila-, Kl aŋkr]-χα ~ aŋkr]-χə v. 'emit odour', → Yk aŋiliy- v. 'spread' (of an odour) ¶ KW 12, MED 44-5 || NaT \*aŋki-a- v. 'emit odour' > Tkm aŋqa- v. 'give off a bad smell', Nog aŋqi, Bsh aŋqə- v. 'be fragrant, emit odour', VTt aŋq(ъ)- v. 'be fragrant', Tbl aŋqə- 'einen starken, betäubenden Geruch haben', VTt aŋqət- id., Qzq aŋq(I)-, Qq aŋqi- 'spread' (of odour), Qrg, ET aŋqi- v. 'be emitted' (of a pleasant odour); \*aŋqil- v. 'gasp for breath, moan' > Qzq aŋqil- id., aŋqil 'Gestöhn, Japsen', Qrg aŋqilda- v. 'whine' (of a dog); if these T words or some of them are Mongolisms (which is suggested by their absence in OT texts), they must go back to archaic M words not attested (with this form and meaning) in the M lgs.; I prefer to suppose that the words are not Mongolisms, but rather ancient dialectisms confined to a certain dialectal area and therefore not attested in OT texts ¶ Rl. I 186, Rs. W 21, Jud. 59, MM 61, Nj. 44, TkR 45, KrkR 44, NogR 43, TatR 5O, BR 43 ◇ IS I 261 adduces Eg OK ՚nh v. 'live' (← v. 'breathe', acc. to IS's conjecture), which is qu. for phonetic reasons (Eg ՚- that is not cognate with S \*?-), see N \*ziññv, qñv 'live' ◇ Cf. IS I 261: HS (S, Eg), IE, ? K ◇ Cf. Gr. II #49 (\*ana 'breathe' > IE, EA).

**56. \*pan̥ga** 'to open', 'opening' (esp. 'mouth'), 'entrance' > HS: S \*o√ŋg > Ar ՚n̥- / ՚n̥ G (pana᷑ga / -ni᷑gu) 'enter' ¶ BK I 6O, Fr. I 63, DRS 25 || ?φ C: Ag {Ap.} \*pənk- 'open, undo' (× N ?σ \*XñNkñ (= \*XāNka?) 'to untie, to open' [q.v. ffd.]) × N \*ñEko 'to open (?)', to bare, to uncover?} || Ch: (1) ECh: Kbl {Cp.} hang̓ v. 'open' ¶ JI II 284-5 | (2) ???φ Ch \*wññ, {Stl.} \*wan- v. 'open' > WCh: Su {J} wáñ, Fy {J} wāñ id. || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} wún̥, Gzg D {Lk.} won id. || ECh: Mu {J} wín, {Stl. ← ?} wen, ? Kwn {J} welé, Mkl ՚òpiñé id. ¶ ChC, ChL, J S 87, Stl. IF 229 (Ch \*wan- possibly from \*hñwan- or \*wanñh-) || IE: NaIE \*o'ŋg- > Lt ang̓a 'opening, aperture, orifice', {Frn.} 'Tür-, Fensteröffnung' ¶ ≈ Frn. 1O || U [1] U \*aŋe- 'opening' (UEW: 'Öffnung, Einschnitt, Vertiefung') > pLp {Lr.} \*vññs 'Maulkorb, muzzle' > Lp N {N} vuon̥ñs

-*γη-* 'halter or band on the muzzle of a dog (to prevent it from biting reindeer)', Lp L {LLO} *νυοηαστι-* '(einen Hund) mit Maulkorb versehen' | pMr {Ker.} \*οη̄- → \*οη̄-κς- (~ \*ον̄κς) > Er pl. ον̄κστ̄, Δ οη̄κστ̄ & οη̄στ̄ & οη̄κστ̄, Mk οβοστ̄, οβοστ̄ ον̄εστ̄ '(Gebiß am) Zaum' | Prm {LG} \*ο̄μ 'mouth' > Vt +m, Vt Kz ȝm 'mouth, opening, mouth of a river', Z ȝομ νομ id., Z US ȝom, Z Ud νȝm, Prmk ȝm, Yz ȝum, gen. 'ȝum-ȝ, n̄ 'mouth' || pOs {Ht.} \*ο̄η ({JHl. \*ឃុំ} 'mouth, opening') > Os: V ឃុំ, D ο̄η, O ឃុំ 'Mund, Mündung (einer Reuse, einer Flasche, eines Flusses u. a.)' | Hg Δ ȝaj & áj 'Kerbe; Tal, Schlucht', Hg ajak 'lips', OHg fel-aj-z-'aufspreizen' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} \*ǟη 'mouth' > Ng ηαη̄, En X {Cs.} ē̄ (= ē̄̄), En B {Cs.} nā̄ (= nā̄), Ne T {Ter.} នាយ̄' នាយ̄ [nā̄] / នាយ̄ដោ- នាយ̄ដោ-, Slq Tz {KKIH} ឃុំ, ឃុំ, {Prk.} ឌុំ, ឌុំ, Kms {KD} a·η̄ 'mouth', Mt {Hl.} \*ǟη 'mouth' (Mt: K {Mll.} öng, M {Mll.} äng id., T {Mll., Adl.} ängde 'his mouth') || pY {IN} \*aη̄ 'mouth, opening' > Y: K/T aη̄a 'mouth', aη̄-il 'opening' ॥ [2] FU \*aη̄a- v. 'untie, open' (UEW: 'lösen, öffnen, aufmachen') (x N ?σ \*ΧΔΝκΔ 'to untie, to open', q.v.) > F aνaa- v. 'open' (UEW: 'öffnen, ausbreiten, erweitern'), Es aνaa- v. 'open' (W: 'öffnen, aufmachen') | pMr \*aη̄-ćə- v. 'open an ice-hole' > Er aŋkse-, Mk ańćə- id., Er ańksema aŋksema, Δ aŋksima & avsima, Mk ańcema ańćəma, Δ ańcima 'ice-hole' || pObU \*ឃុំ- ~ \*ឃុំ-, \*ឃុំkət- ~ \*ឃុំkət- v. 'take off (clothes)' > pVg \*ឃុំk<sup>w</sup>, \*ឃុំk<sup>w</sup>t- > Vg: T ឃុំk-, LK ឃុំk<sup>w</sup>x-, MK ឃុំk<sup>w</sup>-, P aŋk-, NV ȝŋk-, LL ȝŋk<sup>w</sup>-, ȝŋk-, Ss ȝŋx<sup>w</sup>- id., LK/P axt-, MK/UK/SV ȝx<sup>w</sup>t-, NV ȝx<sup>w</sup>t-, ȝxt-, LL ȝxt-, ML ȝxt-, UL ȝx<sup>w</sup>t- v. 'peel'; pOs \*tŋk- & \*aŋk-, \*aŋat- v. 'take off' > Os: D/Nz/Kz eŋx-, K aŋx- id., V/Vy aŋat-, Ty iŋat-, Y ឃុំat- id. | OHg ód, Hg old- 'undo, untie, unbind, unfasten, loosen' ॥ UEW 11-2, Sm. 542 (FU \*āŋi 'mouth' > FP \*aŋi, Ugr \*āŋi), LG 62, Lr. #1447, Lgc. #8789, Ker. II 34-5, 1OO-1, Lt. J 2O2, Jn. 2O, Hl. M #76. Ht. 127-8 [#47], Hl. rHt 71, KKIH 144, Hl. M #76 (misprint: ᠁᠁ for \*āŋ), IN 215, ~ Rd. UJ 34 [#3] (Y ←b U) ॥ Acc. to Jn. 2O, U \*aŋe- (= {Jn.} \*aŋ-i-) 'opening' possibly ↔ U \*aŋa- v. 'untie, open' || A \*aŋa- > M \*aŋ̄ (the absence of any Auslaut vw. still needs explaining) > WrM aŋ̄, HIM aŋ(g), Kl aŋ̄ aŋ̄ 'crack, chink, cleft, fissure, crevice; ravine', Dg {MYC} aŋ̄ šūrxā, MnR E {MYC} aŋgī 'crack, cleft, chap, crevice'; M \*aŋa-yi- v. 'be wide open' > WrM aŋgai-, HIM aŋgau- v. 'open up, be wide open', Kl aŋ̄ha- aŋgā- vt. 'open (wide), move apart', vi. 'gape' ('рас-от-крывать, зиять; раздвигать'), {Rm.} aŋgā- 'offen sein, eine Ritze

haben; sich spalten; offen stehen, zu offen sein', MnR H *aŋ'g̥ē-* 'être ouvert, se crevasser, se fendre, ouvrir' ¶ MED 43, KRS 44-5, KW 11, SM 9, MYC 111 ¶ Not here M {IS} \**aŋ* 'be thirsty' (actually M \**ψaŋga-*), see N \**?amga* 'dry, thirst(y)' || Tg \**aŋa* 'mouth (of an animal)' ('пастъ') > Ewk Ald/Y/Ucr *aŋa* id., Neg *aŋa* id., Sln {Iv.} *aŋgái* 'mouth', WrMc *aŋga* 'mouth, mouth of animals', Mc Sb *aŋa* 'mouth' (WrMc *aŋga* < Tg \**aŋa* 'mouth of animal' × Tg \**am₄a,-ŋa* 'mouth' [> Ewk *amŋa*, Jrc {Md.} *amŋa* 'mouth', etc.]; but WrMc *aŋga* 'fissure, cleft, ravine' is a loan from WrM *aŋ* 'fissure, ravine'); NrTg \**aŋa-* v. 'open (mouth, door, etc.)' > Ewk *aŋa-~āŋā-* v. 'open (mouth of animals); open wide; open (door), move apart (раздвигать)', Lm *aŋā-* v. 'open wide, open (mouth, door, etc.)', Neg *aŋa-* v. 'open wide (mouth of animals)' ¶ STM I 38, 45, Z 16-7, Y #27, Md. ChF 124 || ? Ko *aŋ-* in *aŋ-sjə₁-ρhij-* v. 'be wide apart, be separated, scattered' ¶ Rm. SKE 11-2 ¶ IS: \*÷ M \**ama(n)* 'mouth', Tg {Bz.} \**aŋma* (sc. \**am₄a,ŋa*) 'mouth', and T \**am* 'vulva'; for an alt. et. see N \**'g'amŋ* 'mouth' || D \**aŋk-* v. 'open the mouth wide, gape' > Tm *aŋkā* v. 'open the mouth', Tu *aŋgāvū-* v. 'yawn, gape, open the mouth', *aŋgu-* v. 'open the mouth, be seized with a fit of yawning', Klm *aŋgasi*, Nkr *aŋgāsi* 'a yawn', Gnd *aŋl-/aŋl-* & *aŋg-/aliŋ-*, Mnd *aŋlā-* v. 'open the mouth', Prj *aŋalp-* v. 'gape, open the mouth wide', Kui angali *āva/giva* id., *angalanga* 'with mouth agape', Ku *aŋala'*- v. 'gape, open', Krx *aŋlānā*, *aŋlapānā* v. 'gape, open the mouth wide, be open', Mlt *aŋgle* v. 'gape', *aŋglo* 'open-mouthed' ¶ D #34 ◇ Cf. AD LRC #58: U, A + \*÷ S \**v̥hŋk* 'palate', IS I 244-5: U, D, A, IE + \*÷ HS (B, Ch) (with further bibliography) ◇ S \**n-g* suggests N \*-ŋg- rather than \*-ŋ- (which would have yielded S \**n* or \**m* rather than \**n-g*) ◇ Gr. II #271 (\**angā* 'mouth, opening') (U,Y,A,J, Gil, CK, EA).

**57. \**?oŋka*** 'to pant, to sigh, to groan' > HS: CS \*<sup>o</sup>✓*?ŋk* > BHb ✓*?ŋk* G 'sigh' (ip. 1s *נִנְגַּחַת* *?ε-?ε'ŋok*), Sr *ŋ̥ɛtɛŋ̥nɛk* v. 'groan, sigh' ¶ KB 7O, KBR 72, Br. 3O, DRS 26 || IE: NaIE \**enk-/onk-* v. 'sigh, groan' > pSl \**jěčati* 'to groan, to emit sounds', \**jěkъ*, \**jěka* 'sound, groan' > RChS **ιαγού** *jači*, **ιαγατη** *jačati* 'to sigh', **ιακλινεύ** *jaklivъ* 'μογιλάλος, aegre loquens', RΔ *я'чать* 'to groan, to call for help', Blg *εчa* v. 'reverberate, buzz', *εкна* 'I emit sounds, groan', SCr *jěčati* 'to reverberate, to echo, to resound, to groan', *jěka* n. 'echo', Slv *jéčati* 'to groan', Cz *jěčeti* 'to yell, to shriek, to screech, to scream',

P jęk 'groan, moan', jęczecí 'to groan, to moan' || MLG anken 'to groan, to sigh', Dn ank, anke 'Klage, Beschwerde' || L unc-ō / uncā-rē 'utter sounds' (of bears) ¶ Acc. to O 6, not here Al G ankoj v. 'cry, weep', {P} 'I sigh' (< pAl \*anaka ↔ Gk ἀνάγκη 'grief, distress') ¶ P 322, WH II 816, Vs. IV 57O-1, ESSJ VI 61-2, LamP 145, Kf. 4O, 232, 297, BFU 36, O 6 || A: WrM ονγούλι-, HlM онголи- v. 'be out of breath, pant' ¶ MED 613.

**58. \*?<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>P<sup>Δ</sup>** 'take, seize' > **HS:** C: EC: Bs {HL} ab- 'have, keep', ?σ Elm {Ss.} ap- v. 'touch', HEC {Hd.} \*af- v. 'seize, hold, get' > Kmb af-, app-, Alb {Lm.} af- v. 'hold, seize', Ged af- v. 'seize, have, get, find', Sd af- v. 'find', af-ir- v. 'find for oneself, have', Sd {Gs.} abb- 'bring', abb-ir- 'bring for oneself', ?? Kmb {Hd.} abid- v. 'hold, seize' || ?φ Bj {R} ✓ ?bk (1s: p. a-?a'bik, pres. a-?am'bik) 'anfassen' ¶ Hd. 69, 8O, 23O, 3O6, 3O8, Gs. 1, 5, R WBd 5, ≈ HL 59, ≈ LmS 279, ≈ Ss. PEC 14 || S \*°✓ ?bb > Ar ✓ ?bb (pf. ?abba) 'mettre la main, porter la main a qch.; remuer qch., remuer en touchant' ¶ BK I 2 || ?σ Eg XVIII iƿw '≈ Abgabe', {Fk.} 'payments' (unless ↔ Eg iƿ v. 'count, reckon up') ¶ EG I 66-7, Fk. 16 || NrOm: Zs {HL} ef-/ep-p-, Wl/Bdt {HL} ef-, Dc {HL} ep-p- 'take', Ym {HL} op- 'seize, take' ¶ ≈ HL 59; ≈ Lm. Y 32O and ≈ LmS 279 (Lm.'s err. hyp.: Ym, Omoto, Kmb, Alb, Sd < C \*kab- 'take, grasp, have') || **IE** \*?<sup>r</sup>ep- ({M, EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>ep-) > Ht eƿ(p)- / aƿ(p)- v. 'take, seize, grab, pick, capture' || NaIE \*əp-/\*ēp- '≈ touch, hold' (× N \*q'ræ'p<sup>1</sup>Δ 'seize, hold'?) > OI āp-: āp'nōti 'reaches, overtakes', Av aƿayēti 'reaches (erreicht)' || OL aƿ-ō, aƿiō 'I attack', L aƿīscor 'I grasp, reach', cō-ēp-ī (later coeƿī) 'I began' || Gk Hm ἄφαω ~ ἄφαω 'I touch', ? Gk A ἄπτω 'I fasten' (ft. ἄψω, aor. ἄψω), ἄφή 'a touching, a grasp (Berühren, Griff)'; P (← Krtm.) unconvincingly explains Gk h- by the infl. of the verb ἔπ- 'be about, be busy with' || ?φ AS æfnā, éfnan v. 'hold, sustain, endure' (unless from éfnan 'ausführen, vollbringen') ¶ Pv. I-II 273-82, P 5O-1, EI 563, Mn. 29-3O, 246, Dv. #333, M K I 76, M EI 167, WH I 57-8, F I 126, Ho. 88 || ?φ **K:** GZ \*up- v. 'possess, own' > Mg p- v. 'possess', 'be X to so.' (where 'X' is a kinship term), a-p-un 'he has him\her'; d.: OG up-al- 'Lord', G s-up-eva 'Herrschaft, Reich', supev- v. 'dominate, reign', GZ \*me-up-e 'owning, owner' > OG meupe ~ mepe 'king', G meupe 'Lord' (of God), mepe 'king, ruler, tsar' (→ mep- v. 'reign, dominate'), Mg mapa- 'king', Lz n. 1. mapa-ç̄arı 'King-source' ¶ K 186, K<sup>2</sup> 12O, 196, FS K 31O, FS E 346, Chx. 756-7, 1296, Q 278 || A

\**ap'v̥-* v. 'take, hold' ( $\times$  N \**q'æ'p̥v̥* '↑') > M \**ab-* 'take' > MM [LM, MA, IM] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} *ab-* 'take', [S] {H} *ab-* 'für sich nehmen', [IM] {Mel.} *app-*, [HI] {Ms., Lew.} *ab-*, Ord {Ms.} *ab-* 'take, take away from', WrM *ab-*, HlM *ава-* 'take, grasp, get hold of', MMgl *ab-* 'take, receive', Brt *аба-*, Kl, Dg {Pp.} *aw-*, Ba {Y} *ab-*, Mgl {Rm.} *af-* 'take', Mgl {Lg.} *ab-* *af-* 'enlever, obtenir', MnR H {SM} *aw-* 'prendre, ôter', {T} *awū-*, MnR M *abū-* {T} 'take' ¶ Pp. MA 94, 432, Pp. LII 1254, H 1, Ms. H 33, Lew. II 7, Lg. VMI 14, MED 1, Iw. 8, SM 1, T 313, T BJ 132, KRS 23, KW 19, Chr. 21-3 || Tg \**oapv̥-* v. 'hold, possess' > Ork *apuçj-* v. 'hold, have the power (держать, иметь власть)' ¶ STM I 47 || T {DQA} \**abuç* 'handfull' > OT XI [QB], XwT XIV, OOsm ≥xiv *avuč*, MQp XIV *awuč*, Tk *avuç*, Ggz *avuč*, Az, Tkm *owuč*, CrTt *awuč*, ET *awuš*, Qzq, Qq, Nog *uwis*, VTt *үч* *үш*, Bsh us, Qrg *ūč*, Alt *ūš*, Xk *ōs*, Chv *ыівәç* *iwəs* ¶ ≈ Cl. 44, ET Gl 4O9-1O, ADb. SR 179-81, Jeg. 342 ¶ DQA #47 (A \**apv̥* 'take': incl. T, M) ◇ IS SS 345 [#1O.1O] (IE, A + err. Eg *χf̥* 'grasp' and ? Ar *✓χf̥* 'seize'). But Eg *χf̥* actually belongs to N \**q'æ'p̥v̥* 'seize, hold' (q.v.), and Ar *✓χf̥* does not mean 'seize' ◇ ≈ Gr. II #40 (\**ep* 'bind', incl. IE, Gil *e p-* 'hold').

**59. \**p̥ēp̥v̥*** 'mouth' ( $\rightarrow$  'speak') > HS \*\**?v̥p̥-* > S \**'p̥-* 'mouth' (df. forms: nom. \**'p̥-u-m*, accus. \**'p̥-a-m*, gen. \**'p̥-i-m*; forms without determiner [ $\rightarrow$  cs.]: nom. \**'p̥-u* > \**'p̥ū*, accus. \**'p̥-a* > \**'p̥ā*, gen. \**'p̥-i* > \**'p̥ī*) > Hb פֶה 'p̥ē' (< gen.), cs. *'p̥ī*, st. pron. *p̥ī-* (e.g. *'p̥ī-kā* 'your [m. sg.] mouth'), Ph, Pun st. pron. *p̥y-*, Pun cs. *p̥y*, Ug *p̥*, Amr *p̥ū*, OA, IA *p̥*, *p̥m*, BA פָם *p̥um*, JA אַמְפָא *p̥ūmā*, Ar indf. *fam-un* (generalization of the pS form of accus. \**'p̥am*; more archaic forms were registered by an-Nadr ibn-Shumayl: nom. *fum-un*, accus. *fam-an*, gen. *fim-in*, *F* Wright I 239), cs. nom. *fū*, accus. *fā*, gen. *fī*, Sb *f*, Ak *p̥ūm*, cs. *p̥ī*, st. pron. *p̥ī-* ¶ KB 864-6, AD PhSS 1, 3-4, 7-8, AD PSH 2O, 123, Sk. 889-9O, Hff. 254, HJ 916, 1263, BGMR 43, Sd. G 84-86 [§ 65, esp. § 65i], ≈ MiK I #1.223 (\**p̥ay-* 'mouth') || C {AD} \**?ap-*/\**?app-* 'mouth' > Ag: Bln {R} *?əb* 'mouth', pl. *?ə'fəf*; Ag → Gz *?af* 'mouth' || Bj {R} *yāf*, Bj A {AD} *yaf* 'mouth' || EC {Ss.} \**?af-* id. > Sa, Af *af*, Rn *àf*, Bn {Hn.} *áf*, Sml *af*, Sml N {Abr.} *áf*, pl. *áfáf*, Or B {Anr.} *áf-āni*, Kns *af-ā*, Sd, Ged, Alb *af-o* id., Hd *af-o?* 'hole', Kmb {L} *afo* 'language', Brj *a'f-ay* 'mouth', Dsn *?afu* id., 'language' || Dhl *?afo* 'mouth' || SC: Irq {MQK} *?afa* (pl. *afē*), Alg/Brn {E} *afa*, Kz {E} *afuko*, Asa {E} *?afok* 'mouth', → Mb {E} *aféta* 'doorpost' ¶ AD SF 135-6, Ss. PEC 19, 51, Ss. B 23, Bl. 99, Abr. S 5, Hn.

BD 118, PG 61, Oo. 7O, PH 33, E SC 281 (SC \*<sup>?</sup>afò 'mouth'), MQK 9, To. DL 477, To. D 127 || Om: SOM {Blz.} \*ap<sub>L</sub>p<sub>J</sub>- 'mouth' > Dm ?appo, Ub afā, Hm ap, {Fl.} afo, Hm B āpo 'mouth' ¶ Blz. OLBP #78 || Ch: WCh [1] \*<sup>?</sup>ap- > Hs áfā v. 'throw into one's mouth', [2] ? \*<sub>L</sub>?<sup>?</sup>apw<sup>?</sup> 'mouth' > AG: Su {J} p<sup>w</sup>̄j, {Kr.} p<sup>w</sup>̄ō, Ang p̄j, Gmy {Kr.} p̄t, Cp {Kr.} p̄ō id. | Ron {J}: Fy fō, DfB fō(h), Bks fū id. || ? CCh: Lmn {Lk.} éwé 'mouth', Mdr {Mch.} uwɛ, bwɛ, {Eg.} wɛ, {ChL} we, Dgh {IL} úwè, {Frk.} wúwè id. ¶ JI II 244-5, JS 79-8O, ChL ¶ AD PSH 4O, Sk. HCD 2 || A ({DQA} \*ip<sub>L</sub><sup>‘</sup>i|e 'mouth; say'): pKo \*íp 'mouth' > MKo íp, NKo, Ko Ph/Chs/Chj íp, Ko Hm i<sub>L</sub>p id.; MKo ip<sub>L</sub><sup>h</sup> v. 'recite' ¶ S QK #56, Nam 4O6-7, 4O9, MLC 1363 || pJ \*íp- v. 'say, speak' > OJ ip-, ltOJ íψ-, J: T yù-, K yú-, Kg yū- Sh í- ¶ S AJ 267 [#64], S QJ #64, Mr. 7OO || ?φ Tg \*<sup>?</sup>ipke- > Ewk ipku-, ipkɔ- v. 'order, tell, lure' ¶ STM I 322 ¶ S AJ 111, 277 [#62], DQA #6O6 || D (att. in SD) \*ēv- v. 'speak, say' (→ v. 'command') > Tm ēvu (ēvi-) v. 'command, speak', MI ēkuka v. 'say, command', ēval 'command, work', ēvalan 'a servant', Kt e·lv 'matter, affair', e·lvga·rn 'a servant' ¶ D #9O9 ◇ The N cns. \*-p- (rather than \*-p̄-) is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of AG \*p. The semantically qu. D supposed cognate with \*-v- does not prove the opposite (that the N cns. was \*-p-). The A data (A \*-p<sup>‘</sup>- in SDM's rec.) provide no conclusive ev., because in Tg the cns. \*p is in the neutralizing precons. position, while pJ \*-p- may represent all labial stops (besides being semantically questionable). The A word points to a N \*i, while D ē-, C and WCh \*<sup>?</sup>a- suggest a more open vw.; this discrepancy still has to be explained (cp. N \*čikU 'base of limbs (shoulder, hip)' [→ 'thigh'] > D: Tm cekil 'upper part of the shoulders', Kn tegal 'shoulder').

**60.** 2 \*<sup>?</sup>opa '≈ powder, dust, small pieces of dirt' > HS: S \*<sup>?</sup>upp- > Ar ?uff- {Hv.} 'dirt of the ears\nails', {Ln.} 'dirt, filth, dirt of the nails; piece of stick\reed which one takes up from the ground' ¶ Ln. 67, Fr. I 42, BK I 39, Hv. 1O || Eg i<sup>?</sup>pt<sup>t</sup> 'earth, clay for bricks' ¶ Mks. I #O243, Os. 723 [note 85O] || WCh \*<sup>?</sup>apt<sup>?</sup> 'powder' > SBc {Stl.} \*<sup>?</sup>apt<sub>1</sub>i 'powder' > {ChL} Bg ḥpti, Gj apti, Sy n̄aptu. | Ngm ?apti, Krkr ?apti | Bd uptān id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 263 [#33] || A ({ADb., DQA} \*op<sup>‘</sup>a 'powder' > NaT \*opa id. > OT {Cl.} opō 'a white cosmetic or face powder', {DTS} ubu 'white lead, Bleiweiß', Shor {Rl.} oba 'chalk', Tel {Rl.} obo 'chalk, white colour (weiße Farbe)', Uz, ET, Qrg upa, Qzq, Qq opa 'face-powder', Qq opa id., 'white paint (белила)', Qmq oba 'ceruse', ET Δ {Jr.} upa 'paint,

face-powder, a white powder\paint for cosmetic purposes', {Mng.} *opa* 'weiße Gesichtsschminke' ¶ Cl. 6, DTS 603, Rs. W 363, ET Gl 465-6, Rl. I 1155-9, 1782, MM 261, Sht. 153, KrkR 496, KumRS 240, RKumS 48, Jr. 323, Mng. G 764 || M {Rm.} \**oβa* (or ≈ \**ψoβa*?) 'powder, face powder' > WrM {Rm.} *oo*, *oga*, *ogo* 'Reispuder, Schminke', HlM/Kl {Rm.} *ō* id., WrM {MED} *ou* ~ *o* ~ *oua*, HlM {Luv.}, Kl {KRS} *oo* *ō* 'powder, face powder', HlM {Gl.} *ou* 'white lead', WrO {Krg.} *ō* 'face powder, cosmetic', Ord {Ms.} *ō* 'fard blanc' ¶ KW 292, Rm. EAS I 90, MED 625, Krg. 105, Luv. 303, KRS 399, Gl. I 205, Ms. O 505 || Tg \**upa* 'flour, (flat) bread' > Sln *uψō* 'bread', Orc, Ork *upa* 'flour; flat bread (лопешка)', Ul *upa*, WrMc *ufa*, Mc Sb *ufa*, Jrc *ufa* 'flour' ¶ STM II 247, Kiy. 126 [#531] ¶ ADb. KL 14, Rm. EAS I 90, Pp. VG 48, 123, 147, DQA #1578.

**61.** ?<sub>2</sub> WW? ≈\*? $\nabla$ p $\nabla$  'monkey > IE: a word reconstructible as NaIE {P} \**abō(n)*- 'monkey', but most probably spread by borrowing: Gmc: ON *ap i* 'monkey, fool', OSx *apo*, OHG *affo* m., *affa* f., NHG *Affe*, MDt *ape*, Dt *aap*, AS *apa* 'ape (Pongidæ)', NE *ape*; Gmc → OR **οπιηψα** *opica*, OCz *opice* 'monkey, ape' || Clt: Gl {P} \* $\bar{a}$ *ββάνας* 'long-tailed ape' (from Hs.'s gloss  $\bar{a}$ *ββάνας* [emended by Schrader as \* $\bar{a}$ *ββάνας*] · Κελτοὶ τοὺς κερκοπιθήκους) ¶ P 2-3 [hyp.: \**abō(n)* is a loanword], EI 384, Vr. 11, Ho. S 3, Ho. 6, KM 8, EWA I 58-60 || HS: Ch {Stl.} \* $\bar{a}$ i<sup>1</sup>*puki* 'monkey' > WCh {Stl.} \* $\bar{a}$ i $\nabla$ *kī* 'baboon' > Krkr {ChL} *yifki*, Cg *yipək-ən* id. || CCh {Stl.} \* $\bar{a}$  $\nabla$ *puki* 'monkey' > {ChL:} McTr: Bk *fuši*, G'nd *fíčā*, Gbn *fíčē* | Mrg *pču* | Kps *pši* | FIM *víži* | Nkc *víkéy*, Gv *víč-χadžya* 'monkey' ¶ Stl. IF 34 || ??? B: CM, Izd *abaγus*, Zng {TC} *äbugär* 'monkey' ¶ Mrc. 236, NZ 85, TC D 4.

**62.** \* $\bar{a}$ P $\bar{h}$ 'i 'bake, cook food on hot stones' > HS: S \* $\check{v}$ ?*py* v. 'bake' > BHb  $\check{v}$ ?*py*/w (pf. *אָפַת* *תְּפַת*), OA  $\check{v}$ ?*py* v. 'bake', IA, Ph  $\check{v}$ ?*py*, Ug  $\check{v}$ ?*py*/w id., v. 'cook', JA *אָפִי*  $\check{v}$ ?*py* (pf. *אָפִית* *תְּפִת*) v. 'bake', Sr *اب*  $\check{v}$ ?*p?* (pf. Sr *اب* *تَّفَهُ* *تَّفَهَّم*, Sr E *تَّفَهُ* *تَّفَهَّم*) v. 'bake, cook', Ar d. *صِيفَى*, *mīfā-n* 'Backofen', Sb *?fy-m* (a kind of foodstuff), Ak  $\check{v}$ ?*py*/w (inf. *εpū*) v. 'bake' ¶ KB 75, KBR 78, HJ 94-5, A #350, OLS 45, Sk. 155, Br. 39, Lv. I 140, Js. 102, CAD IV 247-8, Sd. 231, BGMR 3, DRS 28 || ? $\phi$ , σ Eg *בָּאֵךְ* {Mks.} 'brûler, cuire' ¶ Mks. I #OO34, Os. 814, note 1962 (*בָּאֵךְ* vt. 'verbrennen'), Crn. 514 (*בָּאֵךְ* 'verbrennen'), BnH (*בָּבָה* 'kochen') || Ch: WCh: Pr *ápō* v. 'bake' ¶ Frz. P 200 || IE: \* $\bar{a}$ HepH- v. 'cook, bake' > Arm *եփեմ* *ephem* 'I cook' || Gk *έψω* id. (so-present), pp. *ἔψθος* 'baked' (the

Gk word belongs here unless Gk *h-* goes back here to IE \*s-) , ? ὅπτός 'roasted, baked' || ??σ.φ Ht *happin(a)* 'open flame' ¶ The semantically dubious connection with Ht *happin(a)* cannot determine the identity of the pIE lr. ¶ Gk *h-* remains perplexing ¶ WP I 124, P 325 (both reconstruct \*eph- or \*eps-), EI 88 (connects Gk ὅπτός with Ht and reconstructs IE \*h<sub>3</sub>ep- 'roast'); F I 431, Slt. 445 (both reconstruct IE \*sep<sup>h</sup>-); Ch. 394, Hofm. 1O1, Mn. AIE 165 || A: NaT \*äp- v. 'bake (?)' in OT [MhK] äp-mäk ~ äpäk 'bread', Az əppək äppäk, Δ äpmäk, VTt äpäy id. ¶ Cl. 8, 12, DTS 175, Rl. I 919, 925 || Tg \*epe(-n) 'cake (Fladen)' > Ewk զածdi, Ul ՅըՅ(ն-), Nn Nh ՅըՅ, Nn KU ՅըՅ id., Sln {Iv} օ'յօ ~ ս'յօ ~ ս'օն ~ Յ'ածն 'bread', WrMc {Z} efen '(baked) bread, pancake', Mc Sb {Y} Քեֆան 'Manchu bread', {Mrm.} 'Brot, Gebäck' ¶ STM II 436, Z 90, Y #364 || pJ {S} \*ՅըՅ-մՅոՅ 'food' > OJ {S} opo-mono 'food' ¶ S QJ #1388, ≈ Mr. 5O9 ¶ ≈ DQA #441 (A \*ep'ò 'bread, food': incl. T, Tg, J), S CNM 4 || D (in McTm) \*avi- v. 'be boiled, cooked' > Tm ավի id., ավայ v. 'cook, boil', Ml ավայսկա v. 'boil on fire, be digested' ¶ D #268 ◇ Cf. Bru. #35 (S, IE), Bm. TPN #2O9 (S, IE), AD rTPN 94 (S, IE, T, D). The Arm and Gk √ belongs here only if it goes back to IE \*?HepH- (rather than to \*sepH-) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #77 (\*ep 'cook/food') (IE, A, CK, qu. J, err. Ko, U).

**63.** (2?) \*?ΝqΝ 'thing(s)' and prn.\n. of plurality > HS: Eg fOK իշ.t 'thing, something', Eg MK/N, DEg իշ 'what?' (< \*(which) thing?', like It cosa 'what?' < che cosa 'which thing?' [< cosa 'thing']) > pCpt {Vc.} \*օχe > Cpt: Sd/B ա՛յա՛š, F է՛յե՛š, A է՛ք է՛չ 2 'what?'; Eg իշ.t-nb.t 'all things, everything' ¶ EG I 123-4, Fk. 29, Er. 41, Vc. 2O || E: MEI -h-, marker of pl. in verbs: {Rnr.} 3p (-h-š-) ↔ 3s (-š-), 2p (-h-t-) ↔ 2s (-t-), e.g. {Dk.} kuši-h-t(a) 'you (pl.) build' ↔ kuši(a)t(i) 'you (sg.) build', kuši-h-š(i) 'they build' ↔ kuši-ši 'he builds', and probably also kuši-h-h(u) 'we build' ↔ kuši-hu 'I build' ¶ Dk. JDPA 1O1, Rnr. EL 76 || ?φ K: Sv -χ-, marker of 3p (agens of vi. and patiens of vt.): զօլե-χ 'they say' (↔ զօլե 'he says'); marker of pl. in the 2nd and 3rd person of object: չի-χալ-χ 'you (pl.) know' (lit. 'to you it is known') (↔ չի-χալ 'thou knowst' [lit. 'to thee it is known']), χօ-χալ-χ 'they know' (↔ χօ-χալ 'he knows') ¶ Dt. 65-6 ◇ Sv -χ- for the expected -q- may be connected with the phenomenon of phonetic weakening of affixes (cp. the obligatory deglottalization of glottalized phonemes in affixes and pronouns in S).

**64.** \*<sup>7</sup>night' ü|u'q' yê 'night, dark hours' > HS: ? Eg fMK ωχ 'night, evening', Eg NKL/Md ωχ v. 'be dark' (of a night, [μφ] of the condition of a sick person) ¶ EG III 352, Fk. 67 || B √?hy ({Pr.} \*√h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>2</sub>y) > Ah, Tnsl tihay, Twl tihay ~ šəyyay, Ty tihay ~ tiyay, Gh čihay 'ténèbres' ¶ Fc. 544-5, Nh. 21O, GhA 207, Pr. H 73 [#444] || Ch: {JS} \*√ywn ~ \*√wn ({JI} \*√ywn) 'sleep' > Ngz yùwàn 'spending the night; period of 24 hours', etc. (x N \***ziaw'oy'** **Δ** 'spend the night, sleep', q.v. ffd.) || | IE \*<sup>o</sup>neuH- / \*<sup>h</sup>weH- / \*<sup>h</sup>woH- > NaIE \*au- / \*awē- / \*awō- v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep' (x N \***ziaw'oy'** **Δ** '↑', q.v. ffd.) || | U: FU \*üye 'night' > F yō, Es öö id. | pLp {Lr.} \*iuz > Lp: S {Hs.} jijje üyye ↗ üyye, U {Schl.} jijja, L {LLO} idja, N {N} iiggjâ, Kld üyy id. | Prm {G} \*öy id. > Z вой voy, Z US զу 'night, 'north', Yz նս (gen. նս-ն), Vt սիս, Vt SW սս 'night' || ObU {Ht.} \*үүү 'night' > pVg \*үүү > Vg: T/NV үүү, LK үүү, yü, MK/UK үü, P yü, SV/LL үүү id.; pOs {Ht.} \*үүү ({JHl.} \*үүү) > V үүү, Vy үүү {Trj.} id. | OHg éj (~ é ~ í), Hg éj id. ¶ Coll. 127, Coll. CG 415 (FU \*üye), UEW 72 (\*eye [\*üye]), Db. OS xxx (\*üye), Lr. #241, Lgc. #1555, Hs. 787-8, Schl. 73, LG 6O, SZ 56, Lt. J 202, Ht. 14O [#172], Hl. rHt 71, Trj. S 91, MF 73O.

**65.** \***?ar** **Δ** 'earth, land, place' > HS: [1] Eg fP ּבּ.ת 'place, site (Ort, Stätte)' (x N \***?ar** **Δ** 'soil, foundation, earth') ¶ EG I 26 || | [2] +ext.: HS \*\***?ar** **ç**- 'earth, land': S \*<sup>1</sup>?araš- id. > OAk arsatu(m), Ak erṣetu 'earth, land', BHb אָרֶץ 'erec id. (paus. אָרֶץ 'āreç, pl. אֲרָצֹת 'ārāçot), Ph ?r̥s, Ug ?ar̥s, (AkSc) ?arsu, OA abs.\cs. אַרְקָה a'rax, em. אַרְקָא ?ar̥x-ā, JA em. אַרְטָא ?ar̥t-ā, Sr em. ئارق ئارق a;rā, abs.\cs. ئارق ئارق a;rā, Ar <sup>أَرْضٌ</sup>?ar̥-id., pl. ئارقون ئارقون a;rā-ūna id. ¶ KB 87-7, A #42O, OLS 51-2, Sl. 17O-1, PS 397, CAD IV 3O8-313, Hnr. 11O, DRS 33-4; on the ev. of the posttonic \*a F AD SNSE 76, AD PSH 92, 94; on OA ئارق ئارق a;rā F AD AR ۋ, AD PSH 31-2 || Ch {Stl.} \***?ariç-** 'earth' > WCh \*<sup>1</sup>H<sup>2</sup>riç **Δ** 'earth' {Stl.} > (1) NrBc {Stl.} \*<sup>1</sup>i<sup>2</sup>riç **Δ**, {Tk.} \*riç- 'earth, ground' > Sir {Sk.} r̥içū, {IL} i<sup>1</sup>r̥içī, Mbr riçī {Sk.}, riçū {Sk. in ChC}, Cg h̥içē {Sk.} id., P' {MSk.} riçā 'earth, ground, country', (2) ?? SBC {Sh.}: Kir aç, Tala áci, Gj ?aç, Buli ?aç, Tule haç, Dw ?aç, Zar K/GL yáç, Zar L yáç, Sy B/Z yáç, Sy Zk yáç 'earth', (3) (?) Stl. ZCh 236 adduced (with a query) Su d̥igir 'land' (which she draws back to \*d̥ihiř presumably mt. from \*√Hrç) || ECh {Stl.} \***?iraç**a (mt. of vowels) > Bdy {J} ?íraçyà 'valley' ¶ JI II 116-7, J S 64, Stl. IF 199, Stl. ZCh 236 [#83O], Sk. NB 19, Sh. SB 23, Tk. NB 178 ¶ The element \*-ç- of the HS stem is likely to go back to a sx. or to the

second component of a cd. ||| OS #54 (HS \**parič-*), Tk. PAA 2O (S, NrBc) ||| IE: [1] \*<sup>r̥</sup>*er-* ({EI} \**h<sub>1</sub>er-*) 'earth' > NaIE \**er-* (\**er-t-*, \**er-w-*) id. > Gk ἡρά \* 'Erde' (att. ἡρα-ζε 'to earth, to the ground', Gk D ἡρα-σδε id.) ||| pGmc \**erō* > OHG *ero*, AS *éar* 'earth'; pGmc \**erθō* (\**erþō*) > Gt *aírþa*, ON *jǫrð*, OHG *erda*, NHG *Erde*, AS *eorðe* 'earth', NE *earth* ||| P 332, EI 174, FI 646-7, Ch. 363, Ho. 85, 93, Fs. 25-6, Vr. 295, KM 171, EWA II 1146-8 ||| [2] NaIE \**āro-* 'open space' > L *ārea* 'an open or level space' ||| Lt *óras* 'outdoors; air, weather', {WP} id., 'freier Himmel', Ltv *ārs* 'outdoors, open air', *āra* 'outdoors', *ārā* 'out of doors' || WP I 79 (\**āro-* 'das Freie, Weite, Raum' [unsicher]), ≈ Frnk. 518, WH I 65 ||| U: FP \**arv* 'lowland, (?) low place, river-bed' > F *aro* 'vallis inter colles, locus demissior herbidus; Tal, Anger, Steppe; grasbewachsenes Tiefland, kleines Tal', Es {W} *arū* 'fruchbares, trocken gelegenes Land, trockene Wiese' | ?? pPrm \*<sup>r̥</sup>*o̥r-* > Vt N {UR} *ur-kīrem* 'ravine' (kīr- 'break through, erode, wash away'), Z *kz̥-zr̥m* 'old river-bed in the bend of a river' (kz̥ 'bend of a river') ||| ? ObU: Os V *ur̥t*, Os D *ura* 'river-bed', pVg \**wūr̥v̥y-* > Vg: T *orāy*, LK *oray*, P *wuray*, Ss *ūray* id. || Coll. 72 (BF, Os), SK 24 (BF, Os), UEW 17 (BF, ObU), LG 2O7 (Prm, Os + some other less plausible comparisons), UR 31O, Ht. 196 [#712] ||| A: NaT \**āra* 'locality; space\distance between 2 places' > OT *bu āra-da* 'in this locality', *ara-miz-da* 'among us'; in later T lgs. (Tkm *āra*, etc.) it is used in the meaning 'space between 2 objects, interval, middle': Tkm *āra* 'distance, interval', Tk *ara*, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Tv, ET, SY *ara*, Uz *ara* id., Yk *āra* 'way between two points' ||| ?? d.: \**a;<sub>1</sub>ra-1* 'island, a forest close to water' > Qzq, Nog, ET, Qrg *aral*, SY *ayal* 'island', Bsh *aral* 'small island', Alt *aral* 'shrubs close to a river or lake; island; forest'; \**arig* > Sg/Qb/QK {Rl.} *ariy* 'island in a river', Shor {Rl.} *aryi* 'island', Yk *arī* 'island, wooded island, grove'; acc. to Pp. TLM 38, T \**aral* → M \**aral* 'island' > MM [MA, S] *aral* 'island', WrM *aral*, HIM *арал* id., 'peninsula; oasis', Ord, ShY *aral*, Kl *arł*, Mgr *rāl* 'island' || Cl. 196, ET Gl 162-4, 167, Pek. 1O3, 126-7, TkR 47-8, Rl. I 272, 3OO, MED 48, Pp. MA 1O4, KW 14-5, Dr. TM I 119-2O || Tg \**ara-* (+ sxs.) 'open country, flat ground' > Ewk PT *arayān* 'open ground on a mountain top', 'sunny place (солнцепек)', Lm *araxān* & *arayān* & *aragan* & *aragon* 'open woodless country', Orc *arāču*, Ul *araču* 'flat ground for the bear-killing ritual' || STM I 48 ||| Hardly related to MM *arči* 'defender, protector', M \**arac̥ila-* v. 'defend,

protect' (Pp.: ← \*'stand between') (*see* Pp. VG 97, KW 15) || DQA #82 (A \*ár 'open space': T, Tg) || D: [1] \*ara 'room' > Tm ar\_al 'room, apartment, chmber', Ml ara 'room, partition', Tl ara, arr\_a id., 'chamber', Tu adæ 'inne\small room', Gnd arra 'room' || D #322 || [2] (in SD) ?σ \*aral (\*'earth' → ) 'mud, clay' > Kn ar\_il, aral, ar\_ulu, arla, arl\_u 'mud, clay', Tm, Ml aral 'black sand' || ≈ D #312 ◇ Cf. AD LRC #69 (IE, S, FU) ◇ The meaning of words in F, Prm, and ObU and the length of \*a in pT suggest that the U and the T words go back to a merger: N \*par 'earth, land, place' × N \*gar'i 'valley' ||| This may have been the origin of the N postposition \*tV,rV 'towards' (→ 'in?') (q.v. ffd.).

**66.** \*par 'member of one's clan\family' > HS: S \*par y- > Ug ary {A} 'Anverwandter, Sippenmitglied', {OLS} 'congénere, amigo, afín' || A #391, OLS 54 || Eg fOK iry 'relating to; thereof, thereto; comrade', DEg iry 'comrade', Cpt: B **hp** er 'compagnon, ami', Sd/A **epiy** eriw, B **apioy** ariu, **epioy** eriu 'comrades' || EG I 1O3-5, Fk. 25, Er. 38, Vc. 46, 53-4 || C: Bj {R} paraw 'friend' ] possibly also C {AD} \*par- (× N \*he y,r'E 'male'?) > HEC {Hd.} \*aro o 'husband' > Ged, Hd aro o, Sd, Kmb arō id.; ? Rn árām 'man, husband, elder' || Ag: Aw {Hz.} nära (< \*ni-ara) 'her **husband**' || AD SF 2O1, Hd. 82, Hw. A 336, Hw. B II 121, PG 68 || Ch \*par > WCh: Ron: Bks {J} ré (pl. raryà) 'man' || ?σ ECh {Stl.} \*par > Mkl {J} péròwò 'woman'; → ECh \*tV-?Vr- 'girl' (\*tV-f.) > Ke {Eb.} tər 'girl', Smr {J} dur 'daughter' || J R 145, Stl. IF 5O, Eb. 97 || OLS 54 (S, Eg) || IE \*paro- ~ \*aryo- ({EI} IE \*h4e'ros ~ \*h4er'jos) 'member of one's own ethnic group' (→ 'freeman') > NaIE \*aryo- id. (≠ {P}: 'Herr, Gebieter') > OIr aire 'homme libre' (→ 'chef, prince') || OI aryah 'master of the house', ar'yah '(hospitable) lord', ārya-h, Av aryo 'Aryan (person)', OPrs ariya- 'Median, Aryan (person)'; pIIr \*arya- → FV \*orya 'slave' > F orja 'slave', Es ori 'slave, bondsman', pMr {Ker.} \*ūrə ~ \*ūryə > Er ype ūrē, Mk ype ūrə 'slave, servant' || Ht {EI} arā- 'member of one's own ethnic group, peer, companion, friend' || P 67, EI 213, Vn. A 42, M EI 174-5, ≈ M K I 52, 79, UEW 721, LG 52, Ker. II 76-7 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) {UEW} \*ar > \*arwa 'relative belonging to one's mother's clan', 'mother's (younger) brother' > OHg ara 'brother', Hg (early XVIII) ara 'Schwiegertochter', Hg ara 'bride' (att. from 1792; an innovation in the framework of the Hg "language renewal") || ObU: Os: Kz wɔr-ti 'mother's younger brother, his male

descendants, his son', Os N O or-ti, {KrT} or-di 'mother's brother'; Vg: ML oår, N å:r 'mother's relative', K ðr in yägnor ðrnor 'parents' vexation, родительская досада' (yäg 'father', nor 'revenge') ¶ UEW 832-3, EWU 44, KrT 244 ¶ Rédei's hyp. about the proto-Irn origin of the word (cp. Av, OPrs, KhS brātar, Sgd þr̥t, Blc brāt, Oss D ärvadä 'brother', Oss I ärvad 'kinsman' - F Ab. III 437-9, Bai. 313) is hardly tenable (unless we suppose very late Oss origin of the pUgr word) ◇ A \*är▽ 'man' (> T \*är, M \*ere 'man') (see DQA #2764 [A \*ári ~ \*éra 'man']) is more likely to belong to N \*hē<sub>1</sub>?y,r'E' 'male' (q.v.) ◇ AD NM #12O, S CNM 9 (÷÷ NrCs, ST, Yn).

**67. \*?er▽** 'to divide; one share, one, single' > HS: S \*°✓?rm > Ar param- 'unus, ullus' = 'quelqu'un, certain', ?urmā لَّاْمَ ئُرْمَى 'ullus, aliquis', ?arīm- 'unus, ullus' ¶ Fr. I 28 || K: GZ \*ert- 'one' > G ert-, Mg art-, Lz ar(t)- ¶ K 79, K<sup>2</sup> 147, FS K 116, Chik. 212 || U: FU \*era 'part, single, one' > F erä 'share', erältäǟn 'at a time', tellä eräǟ 'this time', eräs 'one, a', Vp eraz 'other', Es {W} ära 'Besonderes, Getrenntes' | Lp N {N} ærrē 'quantity of milk obtained at one milking from one female reindeer\cow' || Os: V/Vy är-əy 'getrennt, auseinander', Ty/Y är̥yə, Nz/Kz ara, O ärri id. ¶ SK 4O, W EDW 8O-1, N III 873, Stn. D 156, SSA I 1O7-8 (FL only), Ht. 129 [#58], ~ UEW 75 ¶ Stn. rejects the connection between F and Os and supposes (like UEW) that the Os word is derived from Os V är, Os D är 'much' (acc. to UEW, from U \*erä 'much'), which is hardly tenable for semantic reasons; besides, Os makes a clear phonological distinction between the -əy-derivative from pOs \*är- 'too much' and the word in question: Os V has ērəy ~ örəy 'überschüssig, zu viel' (< pOs \*är- 'too much') and ärəy 'getrennt' ¶ Es ä- (for the expected e-) needs elucidating || D \*ēk- v. 'divide, separate' > Tl ēk u v. 'sift', Klm ers- id., ērānā v. 'be separated, be separate from', Knd ēkp- v. 'keep apart, keep separate', ēk- v. 'be separated', Gnd ēr- v. 'be separated from, eht- v. 'wead', Kui ēža v. 'be separate from, detached', ēspa- v. 'separate', Ku ērlali- v. 'be separated' ¶ Km. 313 [#19O], D #915.

**68. \*?uRÉ or \*?üR▽** 'drink, swallow' > U \*ür▽ 'drink; be drunken, intoxicated' (× N \*wexv̥r▽ 'be mad, be dizzy, be intoxicated') > Prm {LG} \*ür- > Z ырёш т̥з̥ш, Yz ḡ'r̥š 'kvass (= small beer)' | Er иреде- iřede-, Mk иреде- iřad̥a- 'be drunken, get carbon monoxide poisoning (from burning firewood)' || Sm \*zr- v. 'drink' > Ne T һэр-

Цв, Ne F յՅր-, Slq Ke {Cs.} յՅրա-, Mt {Hl.} \*ՅՅր- id. (Mt T/K/M {Mll.} օՐՏՈՒ 'bibere', K {Pl.} ԱՐՏՇԻՄ 'I drink', Mt M {Sp.} ԿՐՆԱՄՅ id., ԿՐՆԱՄՅ 'I eat [liquid food]'), Slq Tm {KD} ԵՐԱ- ~ ՅՅՐԱ- 'get drunk' ¶ Coll. 16, UEW 85, LG 329, Lt. J 16O, Jn. 21-2, Hl. M #249 || A: M \*օՐԵԲՔԻ- v. 'gobble, swallow' > WrM օՐԵԲՔԻ-, HlM ԵՐԵՎԽԻՅ-Х, Brt ԿՐԵԲԽԻ-Х id., WrO օՐԵԲՔԻ- v. 'inhale, draw in' ¶ MED 643, Krg. 148, Chr. 514 ¶ Valid, unless it is \*ՊՈՐԵԲՔԻ- (which cannot be ruled out, since the word is not attested in MM and in the \*h-preserving lgs.) || HS: Eg G ԵՐ v. 'eat', չ ({Vc.} "mot mal attesté") Cpt B ԵՊԻԵՐԻ 'bread' ¶ EG I 114, Vc. 46.

**69. \*ՊՈՐԴ** 'to gather' (→ 'everybody belonging to...', 'clan, relatives; multitude') > HS: EC: pSam \*ՈՐՈՐԻ v. 'gather, collect' > Sml {ZMO} ՈՐՈՐ vt. 'collect, gather, cause to assemble', ՈՐՈՐ vi. 'assemble, meet; gather', ՈՐՈՐ 'meeting, assembly, gathering', Sml N {Abr.} ՈՐՈՐ- v. 'become assembled', Bn ԵՐՈՐ id., Rn {PG} ՈՐՈՐԱ vi. 'gather together' ¶ Hn. S 97, PG 286, ZMO 401, DSI 595, Abr. S 244 || WS \*ՎՐԵՐՈՒ v. 'collect, gather' > BHb נָרַא ✓ ՊՐԵՐՈՒ (pf. 1s ՊָՐִՌִՌִ) v. 'pluck', Gz ✓ ՊՐԵՐՈՒ (js. յԵ-ՊՐԻ, pf. ՊՐԱՅԱ) v. 'gather, glean' (KB 82, KBR 85, LG 40, Di. 744); Gz ✓ ՊՐԵՐՈՒ (js. յԵ-ՊՐԱՐ ~ յԵ-ՊՐԵՐ, pf. ՊՐԱՐԱ) v. 'reap, gather, harvest' ←b- or → AfS lgs.: Sa {R} ԱՐԱՐ (p. ԻՐԻՐԵ, imv. ԻՌԱՐ) 'sammeln, ernten' (Di. 741, L G 39, R S II 46-7); the existence of a corresponding Af verb \*ԱՐԱՐ (mentioned in R S II 46-7 → other authors) is not confirmed by Af dictionaries (PH, Clz.) || IE: NaIE \*ՎԵՐ-/\*ՎՐԵՐՈՒ 'multitude, group of people, troop' > OI ՎՐԵՐՈՒ 'group, troop, crowd' || OIr ֆօրինն, ֆօրենն 'factio, Gruppe, Schar', OW գւերին 'factio', W գվերին 'viri, virorum multitudo, plebs', {YGM} 'ordinary folk, populace', OBr գւերին 'factiones', {Flr.} 'parti, ligue, troupe', MBr գւերյոն 'people' || AS ՈՎԵՐՆ, ՈՎԵՐՆ 'troop, crowd' ¶ WP I 266, P 115O-1, EI 268 (connects the stem with IE \*ՎՐԵՏՈՍ 'flock, herd'), M K III 249-5O, Flr. 189, YGM-1 264, Ho. 387 || A: M \*ՈՎՐՈՒ 'clan, relatives' > MM [MA] {Pp.}, [HI] {Ms.} ՈՎՐՈՒ [ՈՎՐՈՒ] 'a relative', [HI] {Lew.} ՈՎՐՈՒ, [S] {H} ՈՎՐՈՒ 'relatives', WrM ՈՎՐՈՒ, HlM ԿՐԱԳ 'relatives, posterity, clan, a relative'; M → Yk, Ewk, Lm ՈՎՐՈՒ 'relatives, родня' ¶ MED 885, H 167, Ms. H 106, Pp. MA 367; Lew. 83, Pek. 3068-9, STM II 287 || Tg \*ՈՎՐՈՒ- v. 'gather, collect' > Ewk ՈՎՐՈՒ-, Sln ՕՎՐՈՒ-, Neg ՕՎՐՈՒ- id., Ork ՈՎՐՈՒ-, ՈՎՐՈՒ- v. 'arrange (разложить, расставить, уложить по порядку)' ¶ STM II 287 || pKo \*ՈՎՐ 'clan, relatives' > NKO ՈՎՐ id. ¶ S QK #115O, MLC

1246 || ?φ pJ ú.n.tì 'clan' > OJ udi, [RJ] útì, J: T/Kg úži, K úži ¶ S QJ #1529, Mr. 566 ¶ DQA #673 (pA \*júrù v. 'gather, crowd' > Tg \*uru-, pKo ur, M \*irge- v. 'fill up, heap up, stuff, pack', \*ir- id., v. 'crowd', T \*irk- 'collect, assemble') || D \*ur- 'multitude; be numerous' > Tm uru v. 'be numerous', uru 'much, abundant', Ml uru 'plenty, copious, much', Kn uralí, urube 'a mass, multitude', ure 'abundantly, much', Δ uru v. 'increase', Tu ur(u)bu, urbi 'increase', urdi n. 'increase', Tl uravu~uravu 'abundance, much' ¶ D #711 ◇ This N word may have contributed to the development of the N compound marker of pl. \*r<sup>Δ</sup> yE (= \*r<sup>Δ</sup> y'i?) (q.v. ffd.).

**70.** \*w<sup>?</sup>Ur<sup>Δ</sup> (ba) 'squirrel' > HS: S \*°?h<sup>Δ</sup>rrab- > Ak arrabu 'dormouse (?)', 'jerboa (?)' ¶ CAD I/2 302-3, Lds. FAM 107 || IE: NaIE \*wer- (and rdp.: \*werwer-, as well as post-IE variants in descendant lgs.: \*wēwer-, \*waiwer-, \*wi<sup>h</sup>wer-) ≈ squirrel', {El} \*werwer- 'squirrel' > NPrs وَرْوَرَةٌ værväre id. || L viverra 'polecat' || W gwiwer, Br gwiber 'squirrel', Ir iora rúa id. (rúa 'red') || Lt vaiveris, vaivaras 'male polecat', véveris, vaiveris, voveris, voveré, Δ vóveris 'squirrel', Ltv vāvere, -is id., Pru weware id. | pSl \*věver-ka, -ika 'squirrel' > OCS вѣверица, P wiewiorka, Cz veverka, Uk вивірка, SCr вੇਵੇਰਿਚਾ ~ (v)jěverica || pGmc \*aik-werna ~ \*ik-werna 'squirrel' (with \*aik-'oak'?) > AS āc-weorna, ON íkorni, OHG eichurno, eichorno, eich(h)orn, NHG Eichhorn 'squirrel'; acc. to Schr. GW 134 and Schr. 165, pGmc \*aik-/\*ik- may go back to IE \*aig-, cp. OI 'ēj-atí vi. 'stirs, moves' ¶ WP I 287-8, P 1266, EI 54O, ZVSZ 475, Ma. CS 564-5, YGM-1 267, Frn. 1233-4, En. 273, Vr. 284, KM 154-5, EWA II 974-6, Ho. 2, 39O, VI. II 1421 || U \*ora, \*ora-pa 'squirrel' > F orava, Es orav, oravas id. | pLp {Lr.} \*ōrēv > Lp N {N} oar're -rr-, Lp S {Hs.} oår'eve oåreve ~ oårüve, Lp Kld {SaR} вуэррев id. | pMr {Ker.} \*ūrb > Er/Mk ur id. || Chr ur id. | pPrm \*ur > Z ur id. || Sm: in a Samoyedic lge. of the Sayan region (Pl.: "ejus stirpis monticolis sajanensis") {Pl.} orop 'Sciurus striatus' ¶ UEW 343, Sm. 552 (FP \*ora 'squirrel'), LG 297-8, Kecsk. IPZ, Lr. #847, Lgc. #4587, Lgc. SL #1497, Hs. 1035-6, SaR 63, Ker. II 176 || D \*urutt- 'squirrel' > Tm uruttay, Tl uruta id. (if the connection with D \*urukk- 'jump' is secondary or non-existent) ¶ D #713, Tyler DU 81O [#130] || A {S} \*Ur<sub>1</sub>i<sub>2</sub>-k<sup>Δ</sup> 'ground-squirrel' > NaT \*örke id. > Alt {BT} örkö, Xk {BIG} örke ~ örge, Yk örgö, Tv {TvR}

örgē id.; T  $\rightarrow$  Hg ürgē id., T  $\rightarrow$  ? Brt E {Chr.} γρέα id. ¶ Shch. Zh 148, BT 12O, BIG 136-7, TvR 339, Pek. 1955, Chr. 513, EWU 1589 ¶ The presence of the word in Hg proves that the T word was not originally confined to Siberia ( $\Leftrightarrow$  Shch. l.c.) || Tg {S} \*uriķe > Ewk Brg/Nrc urikz 'ground-squirrel, marmot' ( $\Leftarrow$  T or Brt?), ?σ Orc urikz, urkz 'black seal (animal) with white stripes' ¶ STM II 285 ¶ S CNM 7 ◇ The original meaning of the word is likely to have been 'squirrel' (as in most descendant lgs.), while in some lgs. the name has been transferred to other fur-bearing mammals ◇ The comparison with D has been suggested by Blz. (p.c.) after Tyler l. c. The A cognate has been suggested by S (S CNM 7). The quality of the N rounded vw. of the first syll. is controversial: the IE and D data suggest \*u (N \*u > IE \*wē), while U suggests N \*o. A plausible solution may be found if we assume that the N etymon is \*pōRū (ba) with \*o of the first syll. changing to \*u under the ass. infl. of the second syll. (cp. the change N \*o > pre-IE \*u [> IE \*wē] in the presence of N \*ū of the second syll., as formulated in AD PIEG). The N vw. \*ū of the second syll. may be responsible for \*wāv of the second syll. in the IE reduplicated variants of the stem in question (\*werwer- et al.) ◇ AD NM #51.

71. \*?r̥r̥r̥ 'as for' (> \*r̥r̥?), theme-focalizing (topicalizing) pc. > HS: Eg īr̥ 'as for' (topicalizing pc., preceding the topic word), īr̥ (emphasizing pc., used esp. with optative, with imv., and in questions) ¶ EG I 103, Lpr. 151, 188 || A [1] \*t̥e-r̥r̥ theme-focalizing (topicalizing) particle || [2] Tg \*e-r̥r̥ 'this' ¶ Ffd. see N \*r̥r̥ (< \*?r̥r̥r̥?) (no. 1953) || IE: nom.-accus. ending \*-r̥ in heteroclitic nouns ¶ Ffd. see N \*r̥r̥ (< \*?r̥r̥r̥?).

72. \*r̥r̥r̥ 'towards' ( $\rightarrow$  'in'? > HS: Eg  $\forall$  r̥ 'hin nach...', hin zu...; bis hin nach', conj. 'bis daß...', DEg r̥ 'to, towards'; ? Eg O īr̥ 'towards' > Cpt Sd/B εpo- ero-, ε- e-, Cpt F ελα- elā-, ε- e-, Cpt P αpo- aro- id. ( $\times$  N \*pil'A<sup>1</sup> 'stand still, stay; place to stay') ¶ EG II 386-8, Er. 236-8, Vc. 37 || IE: NaIE \*-r̥ (< IE \*-l̥H̥r̥?), locative sx. in adverbs: Lt ku-ř̥, Ltv kūr̥ 'where?' (place and direction), Gt h̥a-r̥, ON hvar, OSx h̥wār̥, OHG wār̥ 'where?', AS hwar ~ h̥wār̥ id. (> NE where), OL quōr̥, L cūr̥ 'why?', Gk νύκτωρ̥ 'by night', OI ka-r̥-hi 'when?', uṣa-r̥ 'at dawn'; NaIE \*to-r̥/\*tē-r̥ 'there' > Gt, ON þar, OSx thar, OHG dār̥, AS ðār̥ (> NE there) 'there', OI tar̥-hi 'then' ¶ The long vw. (in quōr̥, νύκτωρ̥) suggests the presence of a lr. ¶ Bks. 22O, WH I 313, WP I 521, P 1087, Kb. 144, 1145, EWA II 533-5 || U: FU: Prm \*kō-r̥ ({LG} \*kōr̥)

'when' > Z kor, Z US kor, Prmk kɔr || ? YT tigira 'there' §§ LG 126, Krn. JJ 209 || A {Rm.} \*-ru/\*-rū, directive case ending > T \*-ru/\*-rū id. > OT äb-im-rū 'towards my house', bär-ru 'hither', a-ru 'there (dorthin)', soŋra 'nachher', tašra 'hinaus', MQp qa-ru 'whither?', OT bärü 'hierher', kärü ~ kīrū 'zurück', as well as after the dative sx.: jaŋi-qa-ru 'against the enemy', täŋri-gä-rū 'against God', yoq-qa-ru 'nach oben', ič-gār-rū ~ ič-gä-ri 'nach innen', taš-qa-ri ~ taš-ya-ru 'nach aussen', as well as variants T \*-r, \*-ra/ä > OT qaŋar 'whither?', ič-ra 'innen', is-ra 'behind', bisrä 'hierher', soŋra 'nachher', tašra 'hinaus' § Rm. VAJ 44-5, Br. OTG 157-8, Gbn. ATG 28 || M {Rm.} \*-ru, e.g. WrM ina-ru 'this side, prior to', cina-ru 'that direction, after', HlM -rū/-lū модо-рүү 'towards the woods', гол(у)рүү 'towards the river\middle', морилүү (dis. from \*mori-rū) 'towards a\the horse', Ord -rū/-lū (otog-rū 'in the direction of the Otog banner'), Brt -rū/-lū (uha-rū 'towards the water', mori-lū 'towards the horse'), ? Kl xā-r-ān (with a reflexive sx.) 'wohin' § Pp. IM 161, 205 (a qu. hyp.: M \*-ru < \*ψuruψu 'down') || ?σ Ko {Rm.} ro, Ko N -ru (-ri), -illi (-ili) 'by ... way', čibi-ro, Ko N čiburu 'home' (direction), Ko al-lo 'down' (direction) §§ Rm. VAJ 44-6 ◇ Eg i- and the vowel lengthening in NaIE (OL զար, Gk νύκτωρ) suggest the presence of a N initial lr. The word may be etymologically identical with N \*parṇ 'earth, land, place' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ Gr. I 147-50 ("locative RU" in IE, U [Prm, Y], A [T, M, Tg, J, qu. Ko], Ai, unc. Gil [in fact -r- is from \*-t-?], err. Hg sublative 'onto' [not "dative"] -ra/-re [on its origin see EWU 1224]).

**72a.** \*ṛi, ḷy, r'a' 'drag, pull, push' > HS: Eg fMK Յր 'push aside' ('jem. verdrängen [von Habe, Grenze, Thron, usw.]'), {Fk.} 'drive away', Eg G Յր 'jem-n bedrängen' § EG I 11, Fk. 3 || A: Tg \*ir-a- vt. 'drag' > Ewk յր- id., Sln iru-, Lm լր-, Neg ւց-, Ork լրա-~լրրա- id. ('воловить, тащить'), Ul լրա- v. 'drag, drag over' ('тащить, перетаскивать'), Nn լրա- v. 'carry, transport' § STM I 323-4 §§ Hardly here (because of the meaning and the cns. \*ṛ) A {DQA} \*īru 'trace, furrow' > Tk \*\*īř ~ \*īř id., M \*լփ, iray'a 'ripples on the surface of water', Tg \*iru-n 'furrow', and pKo \*iráŋ id. (DQA #687) || D \*īr- v. 'drag, draw, pull' > Tm īr- v. 'drag along, pull, attract', Ml īrukā v. 'saw', īrkukukā v. 'draw, drag', Td i·θ-, Gdb īr- v. 'pull, drag', Kn īr v. 'pull, draw', Prj īrp- v. 'pull' §§ D #542 ◇ D \*-r- usually goes back to a N \*ṛ-cluster rather than to an intervoc. \*r, which suggests a cluster in pN (\*-ṛ|yṛ-?) ◇ ≈ IS I 251

[#112] (\**Hirā* 'ташить, волочить': D, Tg + \*÷ Tk \**iřan* 'furrow' and Ko *iřaŋ* 'ridge of a furrow').

**73. \*?w<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub>r $\nabla$**  (or \*?ü-?) 'light (lux), fire' > HS ≈ \*?ur- > S \*?urr- ~ \*?awr- 'light (lux)' > Ak *urru* '(heller) Tag', BHb *אֹרֶן בָּרֶן* 'daylight, light, dawn', ✓?wr (pf. *אֹרֶן בָּרֶן*) v. 'dawn', Ug *?ur* {A} id., {OLS} 'heat; fire, burning (combustión)', ? Ug {OLS} *?ar* ~ *?ir* 'light (luz)', Amr {G} *?ür*-um id., ✓?wr 'v. 'shine', Ar *?awr-* 'ardeur du feu, flamme', *?awwara* 'allumer', OSA {Jm., Av.} *?wrrn* 'la divinité patronale des flammes', Jb C *ε'rət*, df. *ε'rət* 'moon', Sq HS df. 'Յաշահ', Sq {L} 'ere, Mh *հարիտ*, Hrs *հարետ* id., Sq {L} 'erir 'allumer' ¶ KB 23-4, KBR 24-5, OLS 46-7, G A 14, Jo. M 7, Jo. J 4, Jo. H 4, L LS 72-5, Av. G II 68, DRS 13 || Eg G *ir.t* 'flame (or sim.)' ¶ EG I 114 || C: ?σ Bj {R} 'éra 'light (hell), white; white colour', *erā-m-* 'get white' ¶ R WBd 27 || ?σ CCh: Mofu {Brr.} -ür- vt. 'burn', Gzg Mj {Lk.} *wur* id. ('[ver]brennen, rösten') ¶ JI II 55, Lk. G 138 || A: NaT \*ürüh (~ \*ᴱwṛūh?) 'white' and M {DQA} \*ōwr 'dawn' (× N \*?<sup>?</sup>o'mrE 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', 'dawn', q.v. ffd.) || Tg: Ewk PT/I *orumna-* 'blaze up', *orumnaçā-* adj. 'burnt', Ewk {Vas.} *urum-mī* 'shine, twinkle (сверкать, мерцать)', ? Lm O *orakın* 'flash, appear for a moment (мелькать)' ¶ STM II 23, 25, Vas. 453 ¶ ≈ S AJ 288 (A \*ör $\nabla$  'white, light [hell], dawn') || D {Km.} \*ür-/\*ur- $\nabla$ - v. 'burn' > Tm *uru* v. 'burn', Kn *uri* v. 'burn, blaze, glow', Tu *uri* 'blaze, flame', *uriyu-* v. 'burn, blaze', Tl *uriyu*, *uralu* vi. 'burn', Mnd *rund-* v. 'ignite' ¶ D #656, Km. 299 [#113-4] ¶ The D ✓ is ambiguous, it may be alternitatively cognate to C \*hur- v. 'light' ◇ Cf. IS MS 337 (\**urə* vi. 'burn') ◇ D \*-r- (reg. from N \*r-clusters) suggests the presence of an additional N cns. (\*w) in the Inlaut ◇ One cannot rule out the possibility that this N word is a phonetically reduced variant of N \*?<sup>?</sup>o'mrE (N \*-mr- > \*-wr- > \*-r-).

**74. \*?ir<sub>1</sub>E?<sub>2</sub>û** 'entrails' > HS: S \*?iri?-at- 'entrails, lung' (> reduced variants \*?ir-at- and WS \*ri?<sup>?</sup>-at-) > Ak *irtu* 'lung, breast', Ug *?irt*, (AkSc) {Hnr.} *?iratu* 'chest (?)', {OLS} 'pecho, repecho (de un monte)', MHb *רִיאַה רְאֵ'זָה* 'lungs', Sr *լի՞ս*; *rā'լ?* *tā*, Ar *رِئَةٌ* *ri?-at-*, Mh *rəyē?*, Hrs *rəyī* (pl. *rəyōt*), Jb *E ērōt*, Jb C *r̥at* (pl. *r̥ai*) id. ¶ Sd. 386, CAD VII 183ff., OLS 53, A #43O, Grd. UT #365, Hnr. 1O9, Js. 1472, Br. 7O5, Jo. M 554, Jo. H 1O1, Jo. J 2O1, MiK I #1.9 (S \*?ir(r)-at- 'chest, breast'), 1.224 (\**ri?*(-at)- 'lung') || EC: Brj *ir-a* 'stomach', Ya *ira* 'belly', ?? Sml *ūr*, ?? Rn *ūr* id. ¶ Ss. B 1O6, PG 287, Blz. RL 257 || B {Pr.}

\*✓ HrH 'lung(s)' (\*H = \*?) > Ah {Fc.} tārut 'lung' ({Pr.} < \*t-HaruH-t), ETwl/Ty {GhA}, Mz {Dlh.} tarut, Gh {Nh.} tur (pl. turawin), Kb {Dl.} turat, Gd {Lf.} ḥw̥ra (pl. ḥw̥rawēn), Izd {Mrc.}, Tmz {MT} turt, Rf Wr {Rn.} tura, Rf B/A taura, SrSn {Rn.} tur-in (pl.), Izn tarut, Sll turat, Wrg {Dlh.}, Nf {La.} tura, Skn {La.} ḥūra id. ¶ Fc. 1558, Pr. M IV-V 214-5, Rn.327, GhA 155, Lf. II #1370, MT 559, Dlh. Ou 267, Dlh. M 168, Dl. 697, Mrc. 199 ¶ ≈ OS #36 || ?σ Eg īrw 'piece of meat' ¶ Mks. I #O393

|| IE: NaIE {P} \*orey-/\*.rey- 'gut' > Gk [Hs.] ὄρούα · χορδή 'gut(s)', Gk [Epc.] ὄρυα 'sausage' (or 'guts') || L arvīna 'fat, lard (esp. that between the skin and the entrails)', "Sicilian" (= L Sc?) [Y] [Hs.] ἀρβίνη · κρέας ('meat, flesh') ¶ WP I 182, P 782, F II 42O, Ch. 828, WH I 71 || D (in SD) \*īr- 'internal organ of the body (as liver or spleen)' > Tm īral, īruł id., Ml īral, Irl īralu, īrvø, AlK īruvu, Kt īruv, Td ü·ruf, Kn hīri 'liver' ¶ D #546 ◇ D \*-r- is a reg. reflex of N \*r-clusters (rather than of the N intervoc. \*-r-), hence it points to the presence of an additional element (lr.?) adjacent to N \*r. Therefore I prefer to reconstruct pS \*✓?r? (≈ \*?iri?-at-) rather than a metathetic pair \*?ir-at- ~ \*ri?-at- ◇ Blz. DA 154 [#18] (D, HS, IE).

75. \*perq'i<sup>1</sup> '∈ ruminant' > HS: S \*!<sub>1</sub>?ar<sub>1</sub>ṇ<sub>1</sub>X- 'cattle, cow' > Ug ?arx (= \*?ar<sub>1</sub>ṇ<sub>1</sub>X-) {A} 'cattle', {OLS} 'vaca, novilla', Amr {G} ?arxum 'cow', Ar ḷ<sup>2</sup>?arx- 'young bull', Ak arx- 'cow', Tgy {Bsn.} հԱՀ Պահա 'bull', Պահ-ī 'heifer (that never bore young)' ¶ A #389, OLS 49, G A 13, Sd. 67, CAD I/2 263, Bsn. 493, DRS 33 || IE: NaIE \*er-~\*eri- '∈ ruminant' (×N \*giR'i<sup>1</sup> '[male, young] big ungulate', q.v. ffd.) || D \*eru- ~ \*erø 'buffalo, bull, cow', used with sxs. denoting sex: [1] ≈ \*eru-tø ({GS} \*erd-) 'male buffalo, bull' > Tm erutu 'bull, ox, steer', Ml erutu 'bullock, ox', Kt et, Td ešt 'bull', Kn eṛtu 'bull, ox' (ettu, eddu 'ox, bullock' ← Tl?), Kdg a<sub>1</sub>tti 'bull, bullock', Tl eddu 'ox, bullock, bull', Klm ed, Nkr hedđ 'bullock', Krx adđō 'ox, bullock', [2] ≈ \*eru-may ({GS} \*erm-) 'female buffalo' > Tm erumai, Ml eruma, erima, Kt im, Td ir, Kn emme, Kn Δ erme, Kdg emme, Tu erme, Tl enumu 'female buffalo', Gnd Δ ermi ~ hermi ~ arm ~ aṛmi 'buffalo', Gnd HMS ermī 'female buffalo'. In some D lgs. (those converging D \*-r- with \*-ζ-) there may have been a merger with N \*qerṇ 'wild ox' ¶ D ##815, 816, 917, ≈ GS 209 [#529, 53O]. The stem-final vw. \*-u(-) in Tm, Ml, Tu, and Tl may go back to the pD non-phonemic word-final vocoid \*-ø.

76. \*?**u|or**ΝqΝ (or \*?**u|or**ΝqΝ<sup>?</sup>Ν?) 'path, way' > HS: S \*'**urax**- id. > BHb **וַיְחִ** 'poraḥ 'way', OA/IA/Plm **וַיְהִ**, BA **אֶרְחָ** ?**raḥ**, JEA **אֶרְחָתָה** **וּרְחָתָה**-ā, ChrPA **וּרְחָתָה** (em. **וּרְחָתָה**?), Sr W/E **וּרְחָתָה** 'road, way', OAK, Ak **וּרְחָתָה** 'way, path, track' ('Weg, Pfad, Bahn') § KB 83-4, 1673, HJ 106, Sl. 94, Sd. 1429 || EC: Sa/Af {R} **a'rāḥ** (pl. **'āroḥ**) 'way, path' ('Weg, Pfad, Straße'), Af {PH} **araḥ** 'place, spot' ) ? Ged {Hd.} **ora** 'road' § R S II 45, PH 44, Hd. 258 §§ OS #122 || U: FV {UEW} **\*ura** 'way, path' > F **ura** id. | Mk {Ps.} **u-r**, **ura-**, **urkška** 'narrow footpath' § UEW 804 || A: NaT **\*oru|ok**, ? **\*or-gak** 'path' > OT **oru|oq**, Alt, QK **oriq** id., Brb **oraq**, Tlt {Rl.} **oroq**, Shor/Brb {Rl.} **oraq**, Xk **orax**, Yk **orox** 'animals' path' ('Wildpfad'), Bsh Δ **uraq** 'hare-path, traces of a hare', Tv **oruq** 'road, way', Tf **oruq** 'road, path' § Cl. 215, Rl. I 1050, 1054, TvR 327, Ra. 212, Tm. 163, ≈ TL 531-2 (unc.: **\*oroq** ↔ T **\*or-** 'dig') || ?Φ D (in SD) **\*or|runjk-** > Tm **օրնկայ** 'lane, alley', Tu **օրնկு** ~ **օրնիկ** 'lane, footpath' → Kn **օրնկու** 'narrow path between two walls in a garden' § The unexpected -ṛ- in Tm or in pSD needs explaining (infl. of SD **\*vəri** 'way, road' [see N **\*wAřN** 'way, path']??) § D #1014 ◇ T **\*-uŋk** and SD **\*-uŋk-** are likely to go back to sxs., unless there was some glottalizing factor (N **\*-?N** in **\*?**u|or**ΝqΝ?**) that caused transformation of N **\*q** into **\*q** (whence T and SD **\*k**)**\*q**, e.g. N **\*?**u|or**ΝqΝ?**. FV {UEW} **\*ura** rules out the possibility of reconstructing N **\*?**u|or**ΝqΝ** (with pre-HS deglottalization **\*-q-** > **\*-q-** > HS **\*-χ-**).

77. \*?**arba** 'to lie in ambush, to scheme evil to so!', '(?) to use magic tools' > HS: CS **\*v̥r̥b** 'lie in ambush, scheme evil' > BHb **אֶרְבָּ** **v̥r̥b** G 'lie in ambush, lie in wait for so.', IA **אֶרְבָּ** **v̥r̥b** 'ambush', Ar **v̥r̥b** (pf. **אֶרְבָּ** **paruba** ~ **אֶרְבָּ** **pariba**) 'be cunning', Sf **m̥wrb** 'intrigant, comploteur', Tmd **wrb** 'se mettre en embuscade' § KB 80, KBR 83, JH 23, HJ 101, DRS 31 || U: FU **\*°arpa** (att. in FL) '≈ magic, magic device' > Farpa (gen. **arvan**) 'lot, magic stick, or any other magic tool for finding hidden things, soothsaying, etc.', **arpa-mies** 'soothsayer' (mies 'man'), **arpo-** v. 'cast lots', Es **arp** 'lot, magic', Lv **ar:bī** 'witch' | pLp {Lr.} **\*v̥ōrpē** > Lp N {Fri.} **v̥uorbbe** 'sors secunda, fortuna; anulus orichalci, in membranam tympani magici, quoties pulsabatur, imponendus', {N} **v̥uor'be** 'a piece of wood, stones, etc., used by persons who are going to cast lots about sth.; lot; destiny', Lp L {LLO} **v̥uor'pē** 'Glück, Los, Geschick' § UEW16, SK 24-5, MF 504-6, Lr.

#1463, Lgc. #8812, Fri. 837 || **A:** T \*arba- v. 'make magic, cast spells' > OT arva- (Cl.: arvā-), Chg, Qrg, Qq, Bsh, Xk arba-, ET arba- ∆ arva-, SY arva- id., Qzq arba- v. 'tempt, seduce, try to win so. over by deceit', Yk arbā- v. 'flatter, exaggerate', OT arviš 'a magic spell or charm' (→ Vt urveś, urbeć 'remedy for evil eye'?), Chg arviš-čI 'sorcerer' (a Turkic - most probably, Blgh - word is probably the source of Vt urveś, urbeć 'Waldgeist; a person inflicting illness by magic', Hg orvos, Δ óros, órvas, órvos, urus 'physician', as well as of Blg врач 'sorcerer' and R врач 'physician') ¶ ET Gl 168-70, Rs. W 24, Cl. 199, ≠ EWU 1071-2 ◇ IS I 261-2 (S, FU, T), UEW 16 (FU, T); ≠ LCm. NLP 20 (FU and A cognates "are almost certainly loans") ◇ AD NM #121 ◇ An alt. et.: N \*?aRpap̥V 'make magic' > **U:** FU \*°arpa id. || **A:** T \*arba- id. || **HS:** S \*√rp̥ v. 'heal, soothe' > Ak √rp̥ G, Ph, Pun √rp̥, BHb, Sr √rp̥ G, Gz √rf̥ G 'heal', Ar √rf̥ G 'allay the fear of, soothe', Cn → Eg (EgSSc) ha-r-fi v. 'heal' (KB 1188, Hlk. #157, SivCR 83). This latter et. is qu., because the primary meaning of S \*√rp̥ is likely to be 'repair' (see Ar √rf̥ G 'mend [clothes]', Gz √rf̥ G 'sew, mend').

**78. \*?ARčA** (or \*?Ač, V, RA) 'trace' (→ 'sign', 'choose') > **HS:** S \*?aθar- 'trace, track, place' > Ar ?aθar- 'vestigium, signum' (and, with a different vowel pattern, ?iθr- 'vestigium'), Ug ?aθr, Pu, Yd, DA ?šr, OA ?šr [?aθar], IA ?tr, ?tr?, JA ?a'tar, ?at'r-ā, SmA ?tr, Sr ?a'tar, ?at'r-ā 'place', Gz ?aśar (etymologically erroneous spelling) ~ ?asər 'path, trace, track', Amh asər 'footprint', Ak aśr-u 'place, site; region, country'; WS \*√?θr v. 'follow the traces, choose' > Gz √?śr G (erroneous spelling for √?sər) v. 'follow the traces', Tgr √?sər (pf. ?asrə), Tgy √?sər (pf. ?assərə) v. 'follow the traces', Ar √?θr (pf. ?aθara) v. 'choose' ¶ JH 27-8, HJ 125-8, OLS 61-2, LG 45, Sl. 179, Lv. I 156, Tal 74, Fr. I 12-3, Br. 55-6, Sd. 82-3, CAD I/1 456-60, DRS 37 || **K:** G arč-eva 'Wahl, Erwählung, Auswahl' ¶ Chx. 36 || **D:** \*ažža 'trace' (× D \*anča 'foot' < N \*?ANsV '≈ ē foot', q.v.) > Kt až 'footprint', Tu aja 'footprint, track, trace', Tl ajja 'footprint' ¶ ≈ DED App. #6 (derives the D root from InA pādyā 'footsteps', F Tu. #7778).

**79. \*par, V, ka** (or \*yar, V, ka?) 'see, observe' > **IE:** NaIE \*re(:)g- (< \*\*?reg-) v. 'see, observe' > pAl {O} \*rāgna > Al: StAl T ruaj, T {Kf.} ruanj, Gruej 'guard, keep, observe' || Lt regéti (1s prs. regiu), Ltv redzēt 'to see', Lt rāgana 'witch' (cp. NHG böser Blick),

régimas 'visible, apparent' ||| Gmc: ON *rækja*, AS *rēcan*, OHG *ruohhen*, OSx *rōkian* v. 'care', OHG *ruoh* > MHG *ruoch* 'care' ||| Gk ἀ-ρήγω 'I help, save' (< \*sm̥-rēg- 'co-observe'?), ἀρωγή 'help, aid, protection', ἀρωγός adj. 'aiding' ¶ Mn. 1O65, FI 137, Vr. 45, Ho. S 61, OsS 73O-1, Kb. 813, Frn. 712-3, Ç II 82, 447, Kf. 299, O 374; WP II 366 and P 54 (Al and Blt only) ||| HS: C {AD} \*✓ *?r̥K'* > EC \*ark- v. 'see' > Sml ark-, imv. árag, Rn imv. Págar, pl. Párga, Bn imv. Párk, pl. Párka, Arr Párg-, Dsn Párig, Elm amáŋ-arg-*e* 'see', pOr \*arg- id. > Or arg-, Kns, Gdl akk-(acc. to Ss., EC \*arg-, but \*g is questionable), Dl: Hr/Dbs/Gln/Gwd {AMS}, Cm {Hab.} par- 'know' ||| ?φ SC: WRt \*par- 'see' > Irq {Mgh.} par-, {MQK} ar-, Grw/Alg {Wh.} ar-, Brn arim- ¶ MQK 15, Wh. IC 56, ESC 286 || Ag: Xm T {CR} arek-, {Bnd.} arqʷ v. 'know', Xm {R} ar(e)q- 'learn (erfahren), understand, know', Bln {R} arʔ- v. 'know' ¶ AD SF 2O1-2, Ss. B 26, Bl. 195, 25O, Hn. S 52, PG 68, Sim 7, 9, 13, Hw. A 336, To. DL 322, 479, AMS 28O, Blz. CL 18O ||| A: NaT \*arka- > OT {Cl.} arqā- 'search, investigate', MU arqa- 'search, look for' ¶ Cl. 216, DTS 54 ||| D \*ār-āy- v. 'examine, search, look for' > Tm ārāy v. 'investigate, examine, seek', Ml ārāyka v. 'seek, examine', Kt a·ryek 'carefullness', Kn āray(y)u v. 'search, investigate, take care of', Tu āraysu- v. 'expect, look for, desire', Tl ārayu, arayu v. 'think, consider, search, examine, know, see, observe', Knd rey v. 'search for', but D \*ar̥i-, {GS} \*yerd- v. 'know, find out, search' is likely to go back rather to N \*‘warṇ ‘look, watch’, q.v. ffd.) ¶ D #377, ≠ Km. 289 [#64] (hyp.: cd. \*āra 'fully' [cp. Tl āru- v. 'become full'] + \*-āy- v. 'select, choose, examine') ◇ N \*?- is reconstructed on the ev. of IE (the IE reflex of N \*? is the only IE lr. that is reduced to zero when not adjacent to a vw.) and C (EC \*?- may go back to N \*?- , \*h-, or \*y-).

**80.** (2?) \*<sup>r̥</sup>₁aRH₂N₃m₄ (H₂ = \*h?) 'upper part of a limb' > HS: Eg fP r̥mn 'upper arm, shoulder' ¶ EG II 418, Fk. 149 ||| IE: NaIE \*arəmo-/\*ǵ̥mo- ({EI} IE \*<sup>h</sup>₂erHmos ~ \*h₂ṛHmos) 'arm' > OI t̥r'mah̥ 'arm', Av ar̥mō 'Arm', Oss ärm 'hohle Hand' ||| L armus 'the shoulder where it is fitted to the shoulder-blade' ||| ? Gk ἄρμος 'shoulder-joint; joint (in masonry)' (with a puzzling irreg. h-) ||| Pru īrmo 'arm', Ltv ērmi 'part of a wagon to which the shaft is attached', Lt armaī {P} 'Vorderarm am Wagen', {Frn.} 'Teil des die Deichsel haltenden Wagenteils' | Sl {Glh.} \*ōrmę (gen. \*ōrmene, pl. \*ōrmena) ~ \*ōrmo 'shoulder' > OCS pamo ramo, OR pāmāramę (pl. ramena), R † pamo (pl. ramena), Uk

рам'я, рамено, Blg *рамо*, SCr *rāme* (pl. *rāmena*), Slv *rāme*, Cz *ramě*, Slk *ramä*, Pr *ramię* || Gt *arms*, ON *armr*, OHG *arm*, AS *earm*, NHG *Arm* 'arm', NE *arm* || Arm **արմուկն** *arm-ukn* 'elbow, forearm' ¶ P 58-9, EI 26, M K I 96, WH I 69, ~ F I 144, Fs. 58, Vr. 14, Ho. 86, KM 30, EWA I 331-3, Jah. OSK 14, 49, ~ Frn. 16 (hyp.: Lt *armaī* ← NGr OP *arme* 'is part of a wagon', but why not NGr OP ← Lt?), En. 184, Tp. P I-K 68-70, ME I 575-6, Vs. III 440-1, Glh. 517-8 || ?σ,φ **U** \*ńārmä 'groin' > FP \*ńārmä (× N ?σ,φ **\*ńägoR** *ńägoR* 'groin, small abdominal organs [kidneys, pancreas, and sim.]', q.v. [eU \*ā < \*\*ā < \*-ägo-]) > FP \*ńārmä > F *näärvä* 'Leiste, Weiche', Δ *nääräñ* (gen. *näärämen*) 'Leiste des Pferdes', Es *nääre* (gen. *näärmē*) 'Halsdrüse' | Lp T {Gn.} *nāirme* 'Schambug, Schamleiste' || pObU {Ht.} \*ńīrm̥ *ńīrm̥* > pOs \*ńarəm 'Leistengegend, Ende des Oberschenkels' > Os Nz *ńɔrəm*, Os O *ńarem* id.; pVg \*ńīrəm 'Schulter, Hüfte' > OVg N SoO *ńörmъ*, Vg N {Mu.} *nārēm* ~ [ńārəm] ◇ The origin of the U initial \*ń- is not yet clear; it may go back (together with the length of the vw. of the 1st syll.) to an initial component of a N set phrase **\*ń** *ń* **ń** *ń*

**81. \*parwū** 'antelope, deer, mountain goat' > HS: S \*parway- > Amr {G} *parwiyum* 'gazelle', Ak *arwium~arwūm* 'gazelle (male)', Ar *أَرْوَيْةً* *purwīyat-* (pl. *أَرْوَى* *parwā*) 'mountain goat' ({Fr.} 'capra montana, rupicapra'), Gz *ارم* *parwē* 'beast, animal' | ?? Ak *armū* 'mountain ram', Sr *arn-nā* 'mountain goat' ¶ Fr. IV 214, LG 40, KB 85, DRS 32, G A 13, Sd. 69-70, 73, CAD I/2 294, Br. 50, JPS 29 ¶ In MAK (after the phonologic merger of -w- and -m-) Ak *arwū* merged with Ak *armū* 'gazelle' (connected with Ak *armū* 'mountain ram'? ) || C: ?? Bj {R} *ra* 'Ariel-Antelope' or 'Antelope Someringii' || Dhl {EEN} *árōlē* 'eland' ¶ R WBd 188, E SC 287, EEN 20 || A: M: WrM *orunqū*, HlM, Brt *orongō* {STM} 'wild goat, wild mountain ram (каменный баран)', {Hr.} 'schwarze Hirschziegenantilope', {Z} 'wild dark-coloured ram, resembling a chamois' ¶ MED 623, Chr. 362, KW 289 || Tg \**oron* 'reindeer' > Ewk *oran*, Lm *orvñ*, Neg *oyon*, Orc *oro*, Ud *oro~olo*, Ul *oro(n-)*, Nn *orō* 'domestic reindeer', WrMc *oran* *buxū* id. ¶ STM II 24-5, Z 132, Hr. 741 ¶ DQA #629 (A \**orv* 'deer, antelope'; incl. M, Tg) || D \**Uṛ-ay-* 'deer' > Tm *uray*, Tu *uræ*, *ule*, {BhK} *ule* 'deer', Prj *urup* 'spotted deer' ¶ D #694 ◇ AD NM #5, S CNM 5 (suggests to add T \**arkun* 'cross-bread horse' and \**ar-ga-mak* 'stallion'), Vv. AEN 368.

**82.** \*?**ÜR**Δ or \*?**UR**E 'top' > **HS:** C: EC \*?**urr-** 'top' > Dsn **?ür-ru** 'sky, high', Elm **urr-u** 'above', Brj **urr-a** 'mountain', Or **urr-atta** 'clouded mountain top', ? 'fog', ? Dl: Gln **?urr-atte** 'cloud', Hr, Dbs **?urr-ačče** 'cloud, fog'; EC \*?**irr-** > Or **irr-a** 'on top of', Kns **irr-ōta** 'mountain', ?σ Sa, Af **ir-o** 'outside, away, abroad' ¶ Ss. B 184, To. DL 485 || B \***wHu|ir** (× N \***H,erU** 'ascend, rise' [q.v.]) > Ah {Fc.} **āwṛ** (pf. **iwər**) (Fcj. 62 = Pcj. I A 6), Gh {Nh.} **war** (pf. **iwar**) 'be on\above (sth.)', ETwl, Ty **əwər** id., 'être levé (lune, soleil)' ¶ Fc. 1511, 2OO5, Pr. M VI-VII 1O6, Nh. 2O8, GhA 2O1 || **A:** T \***ÜR-** 'top' > SY **yüz**, Chv **vır** 'top' (× N \***porä'z**Δ 'summit, top'??); → T \***ÜRä** 'above, on high, on' > NaT \***ǖz̄;zā** > OT **üzä** 'above, on high', ET Δ {Jr.} **üzε**, Ln **üzä**, SY **üze** & **üzis** **yüze**, Ln **üzä**, Yk **ǖösä** ~ **üsä** 'top, upper part, upper surface', ET {Nj.} **üzä** 'superficial', {Nj.} **üzrä**, ET Δ {Jr.} **üzere** 'on, upon'; NaT \*\***üz-t** > \***üst** > OT **üst**, Tk **ǖst**, Tkm **ǖθt**, Az, Ggz, Qmq, Qzq, Nog, Qrg, Alt, Ln, ET {Nj.} **üst**, Uz **ust** 'top; upper part \ surface' ¶ Cl. 242, 28O-1, DTS 629, ET Gl 622-3, 638-9, Ml. ZhU 45-6, Nj. 124, 126, Jr. 328, ≠ Jeg. 54, ≠ Fed. I 124 ¶ The length of \***Ü** (evidenced by Yk) may be due to the initial lr. || pKo {S} \***örā-** v. 'rise' (× N \***H,erU** 'go upwards, rise', q.v. ffd.) ¶ DQA #16O7 (A \***ȫri** 'to rise, up'; incl. T, Ko) || **IE:** Ht **arū-** 'high' (× N \***H,erU** '↑' [q.v.]) || ?σ NaIE \***wer-** 'knob' ({El} IE \***wṛHos** 'pimple') > L **värus** 'rash\pimples on the face', **varulus** 'sty (in the eye)' || Lt **vīras**, Lt **Evirys** '(pig's) measles' || AS **wer-næg** 'abscess' > NE **warnel**, Dt **weer** 'callosity', Nr Δ **vere** 'tumor under cow's skin' || Tc B **yoro** '≈ pustule, boil' ¶ P 1151, EI 523, WH II 734, Ad. 512.

**83.** (2?) \*?**ÜR**Δ**w**Δ 'large feline' > **HS:** CS \*?**ar'yay-** 'lion' or sim. > BHb **?ar'yē**, Arī **?ar'yē**, Arī **?a'ri** 'lion', Ph **?rw**, Ug **?rw**, BA **?ar'yē**, pl. **?ariyāwā'tā**, JA **?ar'yā**, SmA **?ar'yā**, Sr **?ar'yā** 'lion', as well as Gz **?arwē** 'wild beast' (× N \***gōr'u** 'antelope, deer, mountain goat'); ? Cn → Eg N **ir** 'lion' ¶ KB 85, HJ 1O4, Sl. 166, Tal 61, A 13, DRS 32, EG I 1O6 || Eg fP, DEg **rw** 'lion' ¶ EG II 4O3, Er. 243 || Ch: ECh: Mu {J} **?órúwà**, Mgm {J} **?á̄rúm** 'lion', Tmk {Cp.} **ár̄w** 'leopard' || ?? CCh: MsgP {Trn.} **ahíráw**, {Mch.} **ahraw** id. | Lmn {Lk.} **árváre** 'lion' | Mdr {ChL} **?uruvw̄s̄rì**, {Mch.} **árvare**, Glv {Rp.} **ár̄vara**, {ChL} **árvārā**, Gv {ChL} **?úrvárā**, Dgh {Frk.} **rvírē**, {ChL} **ár̄vírē** id. | Lgn {Lk.} **rávəni** id. ¶ ChC, JI II 223, 227, ChL, Cp. 59 || **D** {Tr., GS} \***uṛuv-** 'tiger' > Tm **uruvai**, Tl **duvvu**, Klm **duv**, **đū**, Gnd **đū**, **đūal** 'tiger', **đuwāl**, **đuwwal** 'panther' ¶ D #692, GS 224-5 [#551] || **A:** ?σ, φ T \***irbi'** or \***irbilç** 'leopard' > OT

irbič~irbiš id., OT U [TT] {BG} ırpiż 'lynx (?)', Tv ırbiş 'leopard' ¶ Cl. 199, ET Gl 346, TL 156-7, ≠ Mng. G 73O → S CNM 9 (both suggest that ılbiřs is a tabooistically corrupted form of \*jolbars), ≠ Vv. AEN 1O (qualifies OT ırbiş as a "ghost" word, but it is quoted in this form in Cl. 199; this š [if true] is from \*lç) ◇ ≈ AD NM #3, S CNM 9 (÷÷ ST).

**84. \*ʔä's'o'** 'stay, be' (IS: ← 'settle') > HS \*ʔiš- v. 'be, exist': S \*ʔiš-v. 'have', 'exist' > Ak (-) iš- (inf. išū) v. 'have', "prefixed stative" t̄išu 'you (sg.) have', Ak MB stative 1s iš-āku 'I have'; S 3m \*'y-išu 'he has', 'it has' → 'there is' (cp. Fr il y'a, Port tem 'there is') > Ak {CAD} išu, {Sd.} īšu 'he has', BHb יְשׁוּ yeš, SmHb yaš 'there is, it exists', SmA yš 'there is'; S adj. \*payš-(um) 'existing' (\*lā payš-(um) 'non existing' > Ak laššu(m) 'non existing', 'is not', 'there is not'), in the predicative case S \*payš-a 'there is' (> Ar payṣa 'there is'), S \*lā payṣa 'there is not' > Ar layṣa, OA יְשׁ לֹא lyš id., Ak laš (spelled la-aš) 'is not, there is not'. The semantic development of the word in HS and S is connected with the complicated syntactic history of these lgs.: in my opinion, at the ancient stage the prefix-conjugated verbs were dative-oriented (similar to the ergative syntactic orientation): \*yi-wdañ meant 'tibi notus est, tibi visus est' → later 'you know' (like in the history of pIE \*woyd-a), hence \*y(i)- meant 'to him', and \*y-išu meant 'ei est', יְשׁוּ. Later there was a syntactic revolution, namely a reinterpretation of dative-oriented sentences into nominative-oriented, so that the personal pxs. (\*?a- 'to me', \*ti- 'to you', \*yi- 'to him', etc.) were reinterpreted as markers of the nominative subject (\*?a- 'I', \*yi- 'he', etc.), whence, in line with the general development, \*y-išu 'ei est' was reinterpreted as 'he\it has' (a meaning preserved in Ak). But at the same time the S form \*y-išu had a fossilized WS semantic variant (not any more a conjugated verb form) that escaped the abovementioned syntactic reinterpretation and preserved its original meaning 'il'y a' (on the "nominative syntactic revolution" in HS see AD PP, esp. p. 96). In addition, the same HS stem has a different S reflex, namely \*ʔiθay 'there is' > BA ?ʔiθay, JEA אִתָּא ?ʔiθā, Sr אִתָּא ?ʔiθ, SmA ʔyt, Ug ʔiθ (= {Blau} \*ʔiθē), BHb יְשׁ אִתָּא ?ʔiš 'there is'. The enigmatic \*θ of this form goes back to HS \*č and is likely to be due to some sx. (or infix) containing \*t at the pre-S (HS?) level: \*\*-t-š- ~ \*\*-š-t- > \*-č- > S \*-θ-. ¶ Cf. Blau MS II 58-62, KB 423, 1665, KBR 443-4, KB LVT 1O49, OLS 6O, BH IV 13O, Tal 25, 363, G OA 72-3, CAD VII 289-93, Sd. G §§ 78b, 1O6r, Sd. 4O2-3, 539, Fr. I 75 and IV 14O, Br. 16 || ?σ B {gPr.} \*-h,suh v. 'arrive' > Ah as id., ETwl/Ty asu

(Pcj. I A 1O = \*-HCuC- structure), Gd ās, Gh, Nf, Kb, Mz as v. 'arrive, come', ?? Zng {TC} ešši-ddeh 'come'; the pB lr., symbolized by Pr. as \*h<sub>1</sub>, regularly represents pHS \*? **J** Fc. 1794-5, GhA 168, Pr. M VI-VII122, Nh. 213, Lf. II #1411, Dl. 752, Dlh. M 182, DCTC 286 || C: EC \*?**∇**š|s- (v. 'be\stay [somewhere]' → ) v. 'spend the day' > Af {PH} as-e, Sa {R} as-, Sd {C, Mrn.}, Kmb {C, Mrn.}, Ged {Mrn.} os-, Hd {PB} oss- v. 'spend\pass the day'; the ancient meaning 'be\stay' is still present in Af {PH} as-e ...-k v. 'be absent from' (-k means 'from', the construction literally means 'be out of') **J** C SE II 191, C S 656, PB 14O, PH 46, R S II 48, Mrn. S s.v. os-, Mrn. ApCA s.v. os- || **K**: Sv l-äsw 'was' (ipf. of a copulative verb), -esw (conjunctive of the same verb, 3s l-esw) **J** Top. SE 249, GP US 53-4 || IE \*?es-/?s- ({EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>es-: 3s \*<sup>1</sup>h<sub>1</sub>esti, 3p \*<sup>1</sup>h<sub>1</sub>senti) > IE \*?es-/?\*s-v. 'be' (prs. 1s \*?es-mi 'I am', 3s \*?es-ti 'is', 3p \*?s-enti~\*?s-onti); e.g. S \*?es-ti 'is' > Ht es-zi, NaIE \*esti > OI asti, Gk ἔστι, Lest, Osc íst, Gt íst, LtΔ ēsti, ēst, Sl \*es-tb (> OCS ёстъ jestъ), etc.; IE 3p \*?s-enti~\*?s-onti 'sunt' > NaIE \*s-enti~\*s-onti > OI 'santi, Gk D ἔντι (< \*senti), Lsunt, Um sent, Gt sind, OCS сжтъ sqtъ, etc.; Ht asanzi 'sunt' with its \*<sup>0</sup>-grade for the expected zero-grade is innovative (?). The pIE lr. \*?- is suggested by the fact that in the zero-grade it did not become \*ə, but was reduced to zero. In my opinion, there was an Early IE lr. \*?- (< N \*?**?**-) that, unlike other lrs., was reduced to zero in unstressed positions (not adjacent to a vw.) where other lrs. became \*ə. It is not clear if IE \*?ēs- v. 'be seated' (> [prs. 3s] OI āstē, Av āste, Gk ἄστα) is a Dehnstufe of the same IE √ or belongs to a different N etymon (see N \*?**i**ś**√** 'to sit', 'seat') **JJ** P 34O-3, EI 53, BD II/3 595-642, Bks. 228, M K I 67, FI 463-4, Fs. 292, Frn. 124, Bc. G 334, Pv. I-II 285-300 || **U** \*<sup>1</sup>āś<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>- v. 'be somewhere, settle, dwell' > FP \*äše- (in Lp and Mr) ~ \*āś**√**- (in BF) > Vo asə<sub>1</sub>- vi. 'settle': a<sub>1</sub>lud asə<sub>1</sub>b 'beer is settling', F asu- v. 'reside, inhabit', as-etta- (causative?) v. 'put, place', ase-ma 'place', F Δ as-e- (with a factitive sx.?) v. 'prepare a sauna' (< v. 'put, set'), Es asu- vi. 'be, be found, lie, dwell, settle', ase, asu 'place' || pLp {Lr.} \*āss3 > Lp N {N} āssā- / āsā- 'live, dwell, settle, settle down', Lp L (h)assā- 'sich niederlassen, ansässig werden', Lp N {N} āssām-sāggje 'place of residence' (the Lp forms are not necessarily loans from F, as assumed by Coll. [FUV], Rédei, and Lr., but may well go back to FU \*äše- v. 'dwell, reside' and \*äše-mä 'place', esp. in view of the exact sound corrs. between Lp N āssām and Mk äzəm) || Mk əzəm äzəm, Δ yäzəm,

Er эзэм е́зэм 'place' (< \*ä́še-mä) || Sm \*<sup>o</sup>ts̥-y- {Jn., p.c.} > Ne T {Ter.} ᱤeso- 'settle and build a tent (остановиться чумом)' (of nomads), T O {Lh.} ᱤæso 'haltnachen und ein Zelt oder Zelte errichten' JJ Coll. 4, SK 26, W EDW 64-5, Slv. 28-9, Lr. #62, Lgc. #261, Lh. 26, Ter. 422, ≈ Coll. CG 4O5, UEW 18-9, Ker. II 39 JJ The rec. of vowels in this √ is problematic, since the vowels observed in the daughter lgs. deviate from the known sound corrs. Collinder (CG) and Rédei (UEW) reconstructed here {Coll.} \*aśe- (\*aśə<sub>1</sub>- of my notation) and {UEW} \*aśe-; Rédei tried to explain the front vw. in Mr by the ass. infl. of -ś- (which would have been irreg., since in many roots \*a remained unchanged before ś); their rec. gives no explanation to the Samoyed vowel. Jn. {p. c.} reconstructs U \*tśt-, since in his theory (Jn. UK) there is a reg. corr. between FP \*a---\*e and Sm \*t---b, interpreted as pU \*t---t. But his theory (even if it is true) does not account for ε, e in Mr; IS and Dybo reconstruct here pre-harmonic U \*e...A, which after harmonic levelling gave rise to \*a in BF and \*e in Mr. But in this case there is no explanation for Sm \*t. I share the opinion of IS and Dybo assuming that the cause for irregularity lies in the interaction of Early U vowels of both syllables, but I suppose that the first vw. has been preserved without ass. changes in Mr and probably in Lp (U \*ä) and has changed into \*a in BF (due to vowel harmony) and into \*t (probably high back vw.) in Sm due to the infl. of the U high back \*-u (or mid back \*-o). If the final vw. was \*-u, F and Es aṣu- v. 'dwell, reside' preserve the old vw., but reinterpret it as a sx. of intransitivity\passivity (infl. of other words with the sx. -u) ◇ AD LRC #78 (IE, U, S), IS I 268-70 (HS: S, B, C, Ch [highly questionable]; IE, U, K), GP US 54 (K, S, IE). The rec. of the N final labialized vw. is based on the ev. of B and K, as well as on my preliminary rec. of the U stem. This labialized vw. could have been only N \*o rather than \*u or \*ü, since N \*u and \*ü would have yielded \*w/u/ow in IE, while N \*o yields no consonantal traces in IE (F AD NVIE) ◇ IS l.c. supposed that the original meaning of the word was 'to settle' (of nomads), apparently suggested by U (Lp, Sm 'settle', etc.) and B ('arrive'). This is not certain because an opposite semantic change ('stay' → 'begin to stay' → 'settle, arrive') is possible too (cp. L fuit pfc. 'was' > Sp fuē 'went') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #28 (\*es 'be').

**85.** \*ʔisN (or \*ʔiʔsN?) 'to sit', 'seat (the part of the body that bears the weight in sitting)' (→ 'foundation, basis') > HS: S \*ʔišš- ~ \*ʔušš- 'basis, foundation' > Ar ʔuṣṣ- ~ ʔiṣṣ- id., BA ʔoṣ\* (att. forms: pl. em. אֲשָׁשָׁא ʔuṣṣ-ay'ū-ā 'Grundfeste', אֲשָׁשְׁהִ ʔuṣṣəhī 'seine Grundfeste'),

OAk սէքսում, Ak սէքսու (mostly in pl.) 'Fundament' ¶ BK I 31, GB 896-7, Sd. 1442, DRS 35-6 || ? C: Bj {R} -սէպ pcv. md. (1s p. ա-'սէպ, prs. 'եստի? ~ ըստի?) 'sit, dwell' || EC: Elm ա'siya, Arr {Hw.} սիյ?-/սիդի- 'sit down' ¶ R WBd 194, Hw. A 393, Hn. E 282, Blz. CL 180 || Ch: Ke {Eb.} Յս-, իսի 'sich niederlassen, (sich) ansiedeln', 's'asseoir, s'installer', իսչէրի 'sit down' ¶ Eb. 58 || IE \*Պէս- v. 'be seated' ({EI} \*հինէս- 'sit') > NaIE \*Էս- (only md.) 'be seated' > OI 'աս-տէ', Av աստէ id. || Gk A ἦσται 'he is seated' (հ- from ἔζημαι 'sit' < IE \*sed-) || Ht ըս-, աս- v. 'sit, remain (seated), reside', OHt ըս-, աս- id., v. 'sit down, be seated', HrLw աս- v. 'sit, sit down', ասաս 'seat'; acc. to Pv., the apophony goes back to \*Ե/Ե<sub>1</sub> alternation; Oettinger reconstructs here IE \*Ե<sub>1</sub>եԵ<sub>1</sub>ս- ¶ P 342-3, EI 522, M K I 84, FI 633-4, Ch. 411-2, Pv. I-II 291-300, Ts. E I 110-1, Oett. IGS 112, Mer. HHG 35 ¶ This IE √ may either belong here or be a variant (NaIE Dehnstufe?) of \*Պէս- / \*Պս- v. 'be' (< N \*Պա՛ս'օ՛ 'stay, be' [q.v.]). Both hypotheses have their drawbacks: in the former case it is still hard to explain IE \*Ե for the expected \*Ել (F AD PIEG), while in the latter case we should not expect \*Պ- as the zero-grade (in Ht աս-), but rather a zero vw. (< \*Ե<sub>1</sub>- < N \*Պ-). This \*Պ is likely to suggest the presence of a postvoc. N lr. (N \*ՊիՊսՆ > IE {Oett.} \*Ե<sub>1</sub>եԵ<sub>1</sub>ս-), possibly preserved (with mt.) in Bj. A possible solution for the enigmatic NaIE \*Ե is mt. in IE (N \*ՊիՊսՆ > Bj ՎՍ, IE {Oett.} \*Ե<sub>1</sub>եԵ<sub>1</sub>ս-) || U: FV \*ՊիՊսՆ- v. 'sit, sit down' > F ՊիՊսՆ- v. 'sit', Es ՊիՊսՆ- v. 'sit, sit down' | Er/Mk օզա- 'sit down', Er օզած, Mk օզած 'in sitzender Stellung, in sitting position, сидя' ¶ UEW 629, ERV 432-3 || ? E: MEI սչ-տա-նա 'Sockel, Fundament' ¶ HK 1251.

**86. \***ՊԱՌ 'fire' > HS: S \*Պի՛շ-, \*Պի՛շ-ատ- 'fire' > BHb ՊԱՌ Պէ՛շ (with a short e, evidenced by SmHb ա՛շ 'fire'), +ppa. Պի՛շ-: ԱՌՈՒ Պի՛շ-օ 'his fire', pl. [BS] ԱՌՈՒԹ \*Պի՛շ-օւ, Ph Պ՛շ, Ug Պի՛շտ, (AkSc) պի՛շտւ, OA Պ՛շ, BA em. ԱՌՈՒ Պէ՛շ-ա, IA ԱՌՈՒ Պի՛շտ, em. ԱՌՈՒԹ ԱՌՈՒ Պի՛շտ-?, SmA Պ՛շ ({Tal} = ա՛շ), Պի՛շ, JA ԱՌՈՒ Պի՛շտ-ա, ԱՌՈՒԹ ԱՌՈՒ Պի՛շտ-ա, Sr ՊՌՈՒԹ Պէ՛շտ-ա՛տ-ա, Gz Պի՛շտ Պէ՛տ, Tgr, Amh Պի՛շտ Պէ՛տ, Har Պէ՛տ, Պի՛տ, OAk պի՛շում, Ak պի՛շատու(m), Eb {Krb.} Պի՛շատու 'fire' ¶ KB 89, BH IV 34, GB 69, 897, Blau MS II 62-7 (hyp.: \*Պի՛շ- with a short \*՛շ, Hb and Aram gemination is secondary), A #436, OLS 57-8, Hnr. 110, Sl. 126, Tal 67, JH 27, HJ 121, LG 44, CAD VII 227-233, Sd. 392-3, G OA 72, DRS 35-6 || WCh {Stl.} \*ՎԱՌ 'fire' > AG: Ang, Gmy, Su, Ywm վաՌ, Tal վաՌ | Ron: Klr վաՌ | BT: Gera {Sch.} վաՌ, Krkr {Lk.} յաՌ, էսի, {Kr.} ՊէՌ, Ngm յաՌ, Krf {Sch.}, Glm {Sch.} վաՌ, Bele {Sch.} սիՌ, Grm {Sch.} սիՌ, Pr {Frz.} վաՌ, Bl վաՌ;

SBc: Grn {Sh.} *iší*, Grn Mb {Sh.} *iší* ¶ Stl. ZCh 238 [#849], JI II 138, ChL, Frz. P 53, Sch. BTL 144, Sh. SB 24 || U: FU: [1] (att. in Ugr) \*ǖs $\nabla$ - v. 'fire (a hearth, etc.), kindle the fire, heat, be very hot' > pOs {Stn.} \*ȫd- ({ʃ}Hl. \*ǖd-) v. 'fire (oven, etc.), kindle the fire' = 'heizen (den Ofen, Tschuval), Feuer anmachen' > Os: V/Vy ȫl-, Lk ȫθ-, Ty/Y ȫd-, I (D, etc.) ät-, Nz/Sh ät-, Kz äl-, O äl- id. | OHg izzad- 'sehr hitzig sein, sehr warm sein', Hg izzad- v. 'sweat' 1[2] (att. in Prm) ?φ \* $\circ$ ǟsā > Prm {LG} \*es- 'ignite' > Z ɔzyt- 'catch fire', caus. ɔzt- 'ignite, kindle', Yz 'ɔzt $\wedge$ -tn- 'kindle fire \ a bonfire', Vt est- 'stoke', Vt Kz ezb̄l- 'auftauen, schmelzen' ¶ The shift \*ü > \*ä still needs explaining ¶ MF 334-5, Stn. D 64, Hl. rHt 71, ≈ UEW 27, LG 21O, Lt. Y 157 || ? A: AdS of T \*hiS-s-/hiS-sü- v. 'heat', \*hiS-su-y-/ \*hiS-sü-y- 'hot' ({Md.} \*t-ssig ~ \*i-ssig) 'warm' (< N \*p̄os̄i 'be hot\warm', q.v. ffd.) || D \* $\tau$ i $\dot{\tau}$ c- 'fire' > Mnd iske 'fire', Png iske ʒ̄ipoli, iski-dipuli 'fire-fly', Klm isre 'glow-worm' ¶¶ The apparent delabialization N \*ü > D \* $\tau$ i needs explaining ¶¶ D #428 ◇ This N word is to be distinguished from N \* $\tau$ h'aś $\dot{\tau}$ o 'burn' (of fire) (q.v.). Cf. otherwise IS I 262-3 s.v. \*? $\tau$ aSā 'fire' ◇ Cf. ≈ Blz. DA 162 [#1O1] (unconvincingly equates the above HS, D, FU, and T roots with the IE and M reflexes of N \* $\tau$ h'aś $\dot{\tau}$ o 'burn' [of fire]).

**87.** \* $\tau$ í $\nabla$ s $\nabla$  'they' > K \* $\circ$ - $\nabla$ s: Mg -es / -is, Lz -es, 3p aor.: Mg čv-es vt. 'they burnt\baked', čar-es 'they wrote', ibir-es 'they sang', tkvi-is 'they said', Lz čar-es 'scripserunt'; Mg -d-es, Lz -t-es, 3p ipf.: Mg dvan-d-es 'mittebant', Lz čarum-t-es 'scribebant' ¶ Q O62-5, Marr 5O-1, Kiz. ZJ 69-71 || IE: [1] \*-es (< \*\*-?es), nom. pl. com. of nominal parts of speech and participles > AnIE: Ht -es ~ -is, Pal -us id. || NaIE nom. pl. m./f. \*-es (with consonantic stems) > OI -as, Gk -e $\zeta$ , Gt -s, L -es, Osc -s, ON -r, Lt -es, OCS -e; with \*-o-stems: \*-ōs (< \*-o-es) > OI -ās, Osc -ūs, Gt -ōs, ON -ar; with \*-ā-stems: \*-ās (< -ā-es) > OI -ās, Osc -AS, Gt -ōs, Lt -os ¶¶ [2] \*-n-s (< \*-m accus. + \*-s pl.), accus. pl. com. (of nominal parts of speech and participles) > AnIE: Ht -us, Lv -anza (whence nom. pl. -anzī), HrLw -a<sup>n</sup>zi (→ nom. pl. -a<sup>n</sup>zi) || NaIE \*-ŋ-s accus. pl. m./f. of consonantic stems > Gt -ns, OI -as, Gk -a $\zeta$ , L -ēs (→ nom. pl. -ēs), Osc -s, Um -F, Lt -is; \*-o-n-s with \*-o-stems > OI -ān, Gk -o $\nu$ ς (> Gk A -ou $\nu$ ς), L -ōs, Gt -ōs, etc. ¶¶ The presence of \*-e- in \*-es and the vowel lengthening in \*-ōs, \*-ās suggest a pre-IE initial \*?- (otherwise the pl. ending would have been \*-s, like in nom. sg.), but the

absence of vowels in the accus. pl. \*-n-s is still to be explained || **A:**  
SGA 275, 282-4, Brg. KVG 39O-9, Bks. 173, 191-2, Bc. G 113-3O || **A:**  
T: Chv † {Ash.} -ə́s ~ -ə́z̥ə 'their', Chv -ə́s (3p ending of verbs in aor.,  
ft., and conjunctive) || Rs. MTS 2O1-3, Andr. ChJ 487, Ash. MI 3O5 ||  
The palatality of Chv -s needs investigating || M \*-s, pl. of nouns: MM  
[MA] üge-s 'words', [S] ere-s, WrM ere-s 'men', HlM {Pp.} Ȑləs  
'mountains', Kl zalū-s 'young men', Mgl tákā-z 'bucks', Ord eme-s  
'women' || Pp. IM 177-8 || ?σ Tg {Bz.} coll. \*-sa / \*-se: Tg \*ul-se 'meat'  
> Ul uls3, Ud ul3h3, Ewk ull3, Lm ulrə, and probably Sln uldi ~ uld3;  
\*xol-sa 'fish' (coll.) > Ud oloh0 'cooked fish' and possibly Nn Nh/KU,  
Ork xolto, Ul xolto(n-) 'fish'; the forms with -lt- and -ld- belong here  
only if they may be traced back to \*-l-s- (as suggested by Bz.: "in sehr  
vielen Fallen ist das Suffix durch Assimilationserscheinungen verdeckt  
und nicht leicht zu erkennen" [Bz. 69]) || Bz. 69, STM II 14, 262 || Rm.  
VAJ § 25, Pp. PSA || **U:** FU: Prm: Z -z̥s, pl. of adjective: žeń+d-з̥s 'short'  
(pl.) || hardly here pPrm \*-yōs▽ (pl. of nouns) (> Z -yas, Z Ud -y3s,  
Prmk -ez ~ -yez, Yz -yōz, Vt -yos, -os); Rd. believes that this sx. goes  
back to pPrm {Rd.} \*yōs▽, {LG} yōz- 'Glied, Gelenk' (presumably akin to  
F jäsēr 'joint of limbs, member'); in any case, Prm \*-s- in \*-yōs▽ does  
not correspond etymologically to K \*-s- in \*-v̥s || LtT 873, Bat. KZJ 22O,  
Rd. GPS 379-8O, LG 112 || **HS:** pCh (in WCh) {Kr.} \*sun 'they', \*su(n)  
'their, them' (in some Ch lgs. postnominal, pre- and post-verbal) > [1]  
\*sun 'they' > Hs su | Fy {J} són, Bks {J} sín | Krkr du-su | Ngz ak-šì | Dw  
suŋ, Gj si, Sy yà-šâ | [2] \*su(ŋ) 'them' > Hs su | Bl, Krkr su, Ngm nsû |  
Ngz ak-šì | Sy šì, Gj sì, Dw -suŋ-nàk | [3] \*su(ŋ) 'their' > Hs su | Bl  
(s)su, Ngm nsu, Krkr su | Ngz -k-šì | Sy yà-sñ, Dw gù-suŋ, Plc g̥i-sñ, Gj  
g̥wà-sñ | Fy {J} -us, Bks {J} -is; || Kr. RChP ∀, J R ◇ IS MsN (\*Sₙ in IE,  
T, Tg, Mg), Gr. I 116-7 ("plural S" in IE, A, Aleut, ? Prm).

**88.** <sup>2</sup> \*?i|üš[U]t̥▽ 'to sweep, to rake' > **HS** \*sūt̥- ({AD} \*s₂ūt̥-) > WS \*-  
šūt̥- (= \*✓šw̥t̥) v. 'make raking\rowing\sweeping movements' > BHb -  
šūt̥- (✓šw̥t̥) v. 'row', MHb -šūt̥- (✓šw̥t̥ G) 'row, fly, float, swim',  
MHb ✓šw̥t̥ Po 'swim', EpJA ✓šw̥t̥ Po (šw̥t̥t̥) 'roam', JBA {Sl.} ✓šw̥t̥  
G 'fly', JA {Js.} ✓šw̥t̥ D 'roam, fly, swim, row', Sr ſuwāt̥-at̥-ā  
'weaver's comb\shuttle', CPA ✓šw̥t̥ 'rove about, umherstreifen', Md  
✓šw̥t̥ G 'move hither and thither, fly, flow', Ar ✓šw̥t̥ (ip. ya-sūt̥-u) v.  
'mix up', Gz ✓šw̥t̥ (pf. sōta, js. yə-sūt̥) 'mix, add' || ≈ KB 1336-7, HJ  
1116, Sl. 1116, Js. 1531, DM 454, BK 1164-5, LG 521 || Ch {JS} \*✓s₃d̥

v. 'sweep' > WCh: Hs ʃáře, Klr šùt, Kir sàdé, Zar sat id. || CCh: Mdr ʃad-  
a v. 'sweep', Glv ʃyèd̪i-, Dgh ʃad̪-, pMM {Ro.} ʃad̪- (> Mada ʃád̪, Myn  
ʃ̄d̪á, Mkt ʃàd̪áy), Db ʒad̪- id. ¶ JS 259, Ba. 929-3O, ChC, Ro. MM 339  
[#71O], ≠ Sk. HCD 242 ¶ On HS \*s₂ see AD ChCS || U: FP \*išt̪-  
\*üšt̪- v. 'sweep' > Chr üštaš v. 'sweep' | pPrm \*iš 'broom' > Z yíš, Yz iš  
'a broom with a long haft (made of birch tree)', Vt iš-ńer 'broom' (ńer  
< ńzr 'twig') ¶ U 33O, LG 112.

**89.** \*r̪n̪, řū́H₂n̪ 'wild boar' > K: pGZ \*ešw- 'wild boar, swine' > OG  
ešw- 'wild boar', 'fang', G ešv- 'fang', Mg a-sk-u (< \*o-askw-u) 'pigsty'  
(← \*askw- 'swine'), ?σ Lz čkva 'fang' ¶ K 81, K² 48, FS K 11, Abul. 152  
|| IE: NaIE \*sū-s, \*su'w-os ({EI}) \*'sū-s / gen. \*s(u)'w-os) '(wild or  
domesticated) pig' > Av hū 'swine' gen. sg. (< \*huvvā) || Gk ὄρα (gen.  
ὄρα) 'wild swine; pig' || Gk (← Pls?) řū́ id. || pAl {O} \*sū(s) > Al G/T  
thi {AlbED} 'boar' || L sū-s id., Um sīm accus. 'swine', sīf accus. pl.  
'swines' || ON sý-r, OHG sū, NHG Sau, AS sū 'sow', NE sow || Ltv  
sivēns, suvēns 'small pig, sucking pig' || Tc B suwo 'pig, hog' (<  
\*suw-on-) | d. IE \*suw-īno- 'belonging to pigs' > L sūīnus id. || pSl  
\*svinъ > OCS, OR ѹѡѡѡ svinъ id., dadj.: R свиной, Uk свиний  
id. | Pru seweynis 'pigsty' || Tc B swāne (in swańana misa  
'pork') | substantivized adj.: Gt swein, ON svín, OHG, AS swīn,  
NHG Schwein 'swine', NE swine, d. from adj.: Sl \*svinъja 'swine' >  
OCS ѹѡѡѡѡ svinija, SCr svinja, Sln svinja, Cz svíňe, Slk  
sviňa, P świnia, R свинья, Uk свиня ¶ P 1038-9, EI 425, F II  
824, 973-4, WH II 635-6, Bc. G 346, O 477, Ç II 219-22O, 478, Kf. 366,  
AlbED 891, Ho. 329, 337-8, Vr. 57O, 574, KM 628, 691, Kb. 982, Fs.  
465, Wn. 446, Kar. II 189-9O, En. 246, Vs. III 578-9, Glh. 599-60O, Ad.  
698 || A: Tg: Ud siu 'two-year-old boar' ¶ STM II 10O || HS: DEg iš  
'swine, sow', Eg fMK {EG} ʃ̄z̄y, ʃ̄z̄ 'swine', Eg L ʃ̄z̄y.t ({Vc.} \*[eš?ōyet])  
'sow', Cpt: Sd ʃ̄e ʃ̄e 'swine', Sd/B ʃ̄w əšō, B ʃ̄w əšaw 'sow' ¶  
EG IV 4O1, 4O5, Fk. 26O, Er. 44, Vc. 49, 254 ¶ ʃ̄ (for the expected s̄) is  
puzzling (something like \*\*-s̄j- or \*\*-s̄y- > Eg ʃ̄?) || The Ak word  
sax̄- 'swine' is considered a loan from Sumerian (Sd. 1133); is it a  
return loan of a (Hamito-)Semitic word? ◇ The initial i in DEg iš and  
the initial zero cns. in pGZ \*ešw- suggests a N initial \*?̄-; in most  
descendant lgs. the tentatively reconstructed N \*?̄n̪- was lost.

**90.** \*?̄at̪- 'female, woman' > HS \*?̄n̪t̪- > C \*?̄n̪t̪t̪ 'elder sister' > EC:  
Sa {R} atē (pl. ātēt̪) 'elder sister', Ya {Hn.} tōu (pl. 'tōúyo') 'sister' (t̪-

< \*<sup>1</sup>?

AD SF 243 (C \*<sup>1</sup>?

t-)) || AD SF 243 (C \*<sup>1</sup>?

t-)) || NrOm: Ym {C} étná, {Lm.} étā ~ étì\_ 'sister', {Wdk.} étá 'my sister' (if t originally belonged to the stem and only later was reinterpreted as belonging to the ppa. -ta 'my', as analyzed by Wdk., or as a marker of fem., as supposed by Lm.; cp. Ym {C} nē t-étná 'you are my sister') || C SE III 69, 9O, Wdk. BY 121, Lm. Y 326 || HS marker of the fem. sex in nouns: S \*<sup>1</sup>-āt- in \*<sup>1</sup>ax-āt- 'sister' [> BHb אֲחֹתָה rā'ḥ-ōt, Ph \*<sup>1</sup>akhut-, in proper names ?ḥt-, (AkSc) axut-milki, lit. 'king's sister', Ug <sup>1</sup>axātu = ?axt, (AkSc) axātu, JA אֲחֹתָה ?<sup>1</sup>ḥā't-ā, Sr ḥā'tā, SmA cs. אֲחֹתָה ?ḥt, Ak axātu], in S \*ḥam-āt- 'husband's mother, mother-in-law' (> BHb תְּמָמָת ḥā'm-ōt, JA אֲנָמָת ḥā'māt-ā, Sr ḥamā'tā, Gz ḥamāt, Tgr, Tgy תְּמָמָת ḥamat, Ak emētu id., SmA אֲנָמָת הַמָּמָת ḥmāt-h 'his mother-in-law'), as well as S \*-at- in nouns for female beings, e.g. \*bin-at- 'daughter' > BHb בָּת bat, Ar bint-, etc. || KB 3O-1, 314, KBR 327, Hnr. 1O5, FrdR § 94, Sl. 1O6, ≈ Tal 18-9, 279 (unjustified abs. אֲחֹתָה \*?hh, אֲמָמָת \*?hmh), LG 235, LH 62 || Eg -t (marker of the feminine gender in nouns denoting female beings [st 'sister'], as well as in nouns belonging to the feminine gender as an agreement class) || Gard. 34 || LbB \*-t (marker of f.) in forms like B \*t- funas-t 'cow', ONum ul-t 'daughter' || Fv. LJ 418-2O || C: EC: Or H -tī, sx. of f. (denoting the female sex): žār-tī 'wife' (↔ žār-sá 'husband'), obbolettī 'sister' (↔ obbolesá 'brother'), ogéttī 'expert (woman)' (↔ og-esá 'expert'), adj.: hám-tú 'bad (female)' (↔ hám-á 'bad') || AD SF 243, Ow. 95 || Ch: [1] Ch {Sch.} \*-t- f. sg. determiner of nouns: {Sch.} Hs gōdīyá-r 'the mare' (↔ gōdīyá 'mare') (-r < \*-t), Bd šà-tíwú 'that cow' (↔ šà 'cow'), Mlw múní tí ná 'this woman' (↔ muni 'woman'), as well as with loss of gender distinction: Gude ráhá-tá 'that axe' (↔ ráhá 'axe'), as well as possibly (× N \*tä, dem. prn. of non-active [inanimate] objects [q.v.]) the prefix of dem. pronouns in Kera: f. sg. táŋ, m. sg. tóŋ 'this', pl. téŋ 'these' || Sch. ED 158-9 | [2] CCh: acc. to Mch. VCQP 65-6, "Kotoko: t s'infixe au singulier entre épouse et le suffixe possessif... Masa: suffixes masculin en na, féminin en ta (dialectal da). Gidar: affixes n au masculin, t au féminin. Exemple: vieux = mugalen, vieille = mugalta. Bata: suffixes nominaux we, tiye, où ti indiquerait le féminin... Jer [= Njey]: suffixes nominaux... či (féminin); či se suffixe au nom et à l'adjectif: madəgalči1 madəči2 'vieille<sup>1</sup> femme<sup>2</sup>' || Gr. LA 46-7 || This N word is probably one of the two sources (together

with the N dem. prn. \***ṭä** of non-active objects) of the HS marker \***t**▽-/-▽**t** of the so-called "feminine" gender (actually feminine-and-inanimate gender), namely [1] that of the verbal px. \***t**▽- of the 3d person "feminine" (= feminine-and-inanimate\collective) > S \***ta**-/\***t**- ( $\mathcal{F}$  Hz. VP), B \***t**▽- id., EC \***t**(▽)-, Bj, Aw **t**- of 3f in prefix-conjugated verbs, \***t**- as marker of 3f in many Ch lgs., as well as the marker \*-**t**- of 3f within the person/number/gender sxs.; [2] that of the pHs ending \*-▽**t**-, marker of both the female sex in nouns ( $\mathcal{F}$  above) and of the fem.-and-inanimate gender (functioning as sx. of singulative, collective, and abstract nouns) in S, Eg, B, C, and Ch, and [3] that of the HS prn. \***t**▽-(prn. of the fem.[-and-inanimate] gender) > Bj **t**-, fem. gender marker in the df. art.: Bj A {AD} sg. nom. **tū** ~ **tu**, accus. sg. **tō** ~ **tū**, pl. nom. **tā** ~ **ta**, pl. accus. **tē** ~ **ti**, Bj Hd {Rop.} sg. nom. **tū** ~ **ti**, accus. sg. **tō** ~ **ti**, pl. nom. **tā** ~ **ti**, nom. pl. **tē** ~ **ti**, Bj (dialect, recorded by Reinisch) nom. sg. **tū**, accus. sg. **tō**, nom. pl. **tā**, accus. pl. **tē**; Berber \***t**▽-, px. of fem. nouns, both sg. and pl. (from an article similar to that of Bj), e.g. Sll, Nf **ta-layamt** 'she-camel', pl. **ti-laymin**, **ti-laymatin**, Kb **ta-funast**, Tmz **ta-funast** 'cow', Zwr **t-funast**, Zmr **t-funast** id., pl. **tifunasin**, **t-myart** 'old woman', Mz **t-mattut** 'woman', etc. ( $\mathcal{F}$  AiM 208-9); Sml -**ta**, -**tu**, -**tī**, fem. form of df. articles; Cushitic fem. gender marker \***t**- in dem. pronouns: Bj {R} **t-ūn** 'this' f. (accus. **t-ōn**), **t-ān** 'these' f. (accus. **t-ēn**), Sa {R} **t-ā**, **t-ay** 'this' f., **t-o**, **t-oy** 'that' f., Sml -**t-aní** (accus. -**t-án**) 'this' f. (sx. of a noun), -**t-āsi** (accus. -**t-ā**) 'that' f. (general deixis), etc., Or B **tunì(-ñì)** 'this' f., accus. **t-ánă**, gen. **táná**, etc., Sd **t-e**, **t-enne**, **t-ēne**, **t-in** 'this' f., etc. ( $\mathcal{F}$  AD KJ 28, 46-8, 106, 116-7), as well as fem. gender marker in nominal ppa. in Bj (-**t**-), Sml (-**t**-: **i'nán-t-ay-d-u** 'my daughter', where -**t**- is the marker of fem. in the suffixed possessive prn. **taydu**, -**ay-** is a ppa. of 1s, and -**d-** is the marker of fem. of the postpositional article ↔ **'ínàn-k-ay-g-u** 'my son', where -**k-** and -**g-** are masc. gender markers), Rn **-ēt** marker of genitive in fem. nouns, Or Δ -**t**-, etc. (AD KJ 107-8, PG 26). In Ch this HS prn. \***t**▽ became a personal prn. of 3s fem. (actually, fem.-and-inanimate), which Blz. reconstructs as \***ta**. In WCh it functions (1) as a preverbal subject marker of 3f: Hs **tā** (with past), **ta** (with some other verbal forms), in BT lgs. (with neutral form, pf.: Bl, Gera **tì**, Krf, Glm, Grm **tà**, Tng **ta**, etc.), in Ron lgs. (with the main aspect of the verb: Fy, Bks, Klr **tí**); (2) within an aut. prn. of 3f (prefix + \***ta**, acc. to Kraft's rec.): Hs **i-**

ta, Bl i-tà, Krkr d̪-t̪w, Tng ñ-ta, Fy, Bks yí-t, Ngz, Bd a-tù, as well as without prefix: Ngm t̪e, Zul ti; (3) as an object prn. of 3f (\*t̪v, acc. to Kraft): Hs, Bl ta, Krkr, Tng tà, Ngz atù, Bd t̪ù; (4) as a possessive prn. of 3f (\*ta, acc. to Kraft): Hs ta, Bl to, Krf t̪aa, Krkr (t̪)-t̪w, Tng t̪o, Pr t̪e, Ron: Fy -it, Bks -et. In CCh it. appears: (1) as a subject prn. of 3m: Msg G {MB} t̪z, Msg P {MB} te, Mbara, Mlw ti; (2) as a possessive marker of 3f: Gude -tà, Bcm -rò (where -r- < \*-t-), Mln -(g3)-t̪ò, FlM -t̪ù, Mbara -tá; (3) as an object prn. of 3f: Bcm (na)-rò, Gudu ba-r (where -r- < \*-t-), FlM (gà)-tá, Msg G/P {MB} -ti, Mbara -tá 'her'; (4) in some CCh lgs. it is one of the elements within aut. pers. pronouns of 3f (as in Mbara tití 'she'). In ECh this morpheme functions as a pronominal subject morpheme of 3f (Mkl tí-/t-, Bdy -tí, -gít), as a pronominal object sx. of verbs (Mkl -t, -tì 'her', Bdy -tá 'her', -tì 'to her', Tmk -d 'her', Mgm -tí, -tì 'to her'), and as a ppa. of 3f (Mkl -tù, Bdy -t, -tì 'her') ¶ Cf. Kr. RChP, MB SMSM, J R, Sch. BTL, Sch. DN, Frz. GP, Blz. PPCh1, Blz. PPCh2, Trn. MVM 76, TrnSL 163-6, J LM 33-9, JA LM 39, Al. DB 196-2O6, Cp. 32 || A: Tg \*at̪v 'female; elderly woman' > Mc atu 'female fish' (x N \*qat̪u 'in fish'), Ud {Shn.} at'a buyi, at'a mafa 'she-bear', {Krm.} atiga 'female animal', {Shn.} atiya id., 'woman, wife', Orc ataşa 'mother-in-law, elder sister-in-law, grandmother', Ork ati 'mother-in-law', ataqa 'wife's elder sister, grandmother', Ewk atē~ati, Ewk NB ata 'old woman' (address word), Ewk atkī (ppa.) 'husband's mother', 'wife's mother', atirkān 'old woman, wife', Sln atikkā: 'old woman', {Iv.} атырқан 'wife', Lm ata 'grandmother, father's elder sister', atē 'grandmother' (address), Neg N atuyakkān 'old woman', atuxān~atuxān id., atkī 'mother-in-law' ¶ STM I 58, Krm. 2O9 || D \*at̪t- 'woman' > Tm āt̪ti 'woman, wife', āt̪avāl 'woman', Kn ādāngi 'a female', Tu āde 'a coward', Tl āt̪adi, ādādi, ādūdi 'woman', ādū 'womanishness', Prj ađey 'wife', Gdb āđa payya 'female calf', Knd āñđu 'female', Knd N/W āřu 'wife', Ku āđi, Δ āřu 'wife' ¶ D #4OO, An. SG 132 (\*ānt̪t-), ≈ GS 2O8 [#524] (D \*ađd-) ¶ Derivational\grammatical affix for females: {Zv.} \*oru-tti 'one female' > Tm, Ml oru-tti 'one female person' (oru- is 'one'), Tu or-ti, Mlt or-ti 'one woman'; unlike in HS, in pD there is no merger of the fem. gender (\*oru-tti 'one female') and the inanimate gender (\*on-tu 'one thing'). But in some D lgs. this merger did occur: Tl ađi, Klm, Nkr a-d 'that woman, that thing' (D 4 [#1]) ¶ D #99O, Zv. DL 21, GS 72 [#234] ◇ The vl. \*-t- in Tg (for the expected \*-d-) is still

to be explained. IS MsN included the HS marker of fem. \*t into the etymon "\*t neutr.".

**91. \*?**itē 'eat' > IE \*?ed- ({EI} 1s \*<sup>1</sup>h<sub>1</sub>ed-mi) v. 'eat' > Ht ed-/ad-/ezza-, prs. 1s ed-mi, 3p adanzi, Lw ad-, azza-, HrLw ad-, ar-, {Mer.} á-ta-, Pal ad- v. 'eat' || NaIE \*ed- / \*od- / \*d- 'eat' > OI 1s prs. 'ad-mi, Av 3s sbjn. ədāiti || Arm 1s prs. բռնեմ utem (< \*ōd-) || Gk Hm inf. ἔδ-μεναι, ft. ἔδ-ο-μαι 'eat, devour' || Led-ō / edere 'eat' || Gt (thematic) itan, ON eta, OHG ēz̄an, NHG essen, OSx, AS etan v. 'eat', NE eat || BSl \*ēd-(mi) > OLT émi, Lt μέδ-ū (inf. ésti) 'fressen', Ltv ēmu ~ ēdu 'I eat' (inf. ēst), Pru īd- (inf. īst) 'eat', īstai 'food' | Sl \*ěd- 'eat' (1s prs. \*ě-mb [<> \*ēd-mi], 3s prs. \*ěs-tb, 3p prs. \*ěd-ětб, inf. \*ěs-ti) > OCS 1s prs. ѩմъ ямъ, 3s prs. ѩстъ ястъ, 3p ѩдатъ ядётъ, inf. ѩстн ясти 'eat', Blg ям 'I eat', SCr jēm (~ jēdēm) id. / jeſti 'to eat', Slv jēm / jeſti, Cz jím / jíſti, Slk jem / jesť, Pjém / jeſć, R em / есть, Uk їм / їсти 'eat' || Tc B yesti ({Ad.} < \*h<sub>1</sub>ēd<sub>2</sub>s-to) '≈ food, meal' || IE \*?d<sub>1</sub>ont-, \*d<sub>1</sub>ont- / \*d<sub>2</sub>nt- ({EI} \*<sup>1</sup>h<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>ont-) 'tooth' (originally acp. 'eating one, edens'?) > OI 'dan (accus. dāntam, gen. dā'tah < \*d<sub>2</sub>nt-os), Av dāntan- m., dātā f. || Arm ատամն atamn || Gk ὀδών (gen. ὀδόντος), ὀδούς, Ae Gk pl. ὀδούτες || L dens (gen. dentis) || Clt: OIr dēt, Brtt {RE}\*dant > W, OBr, Br dant, OCm, Crm dans || Gmc: Gt tunþus (bf. from the accus. tunþu ÷ L dentem), ON tønn, OHG zand, NHG Zahn, AS tōð, NE tooth || Lt dantis || WP I 118, P 287-9, EI 175, 595, M K I 28, M E I 61-2, F I 444-5 and II 352, WH I 340-1, 392-3, Fs. 296-7, 483-4, Vr. 106, 604 (unc. doubts about \*d<sub>2</sub>nt- from \*ed-), Ho. 94, 351, EWA II 1184-7, Slt. 26-7, 103-4, Frn. 124-5, En. 185, Tp. P I-K 88-90, Vs. II 18, Glh. 299, Pv. I-II 315-20, Mer. HHG 41, Ad. 507 || HS: EC \*it- v. 'eat' > Or it-o 'food', Brj, Sd, Ged, Kmb, Alb, Hd it- v. 'eat' || Ss. B 108, AD SF 136, 243 || Ch: WCh: Ron: Fy ?et- v. 'eat' | BT: Tng {J} edi v. 'eat (rice, groundnuts, beans, etc.)' (J R 241, J T 86, Nw. KL 120); in the BT lgs. there is contamination with the reflex of N \*ŋ'iHat'a' 'in sharp instrument, sharp tooth; to bite\cut' (q.v.), whence the meaning 'to bite hard food'; Stl. ascribes Fy ?et- v. 'eat' to WCh \*ŋacç-, but this is at variance with what we know (from her own papers) about WCh historical phonology: WCh \*ç yields Ron \*š rather than pRon or Fy t (WCh \*q'aç- v. 'cut, chop' > DfB gigyaš [Stl. ZCh 82], WCh \*çvṛ- v. 'grow, be large, long' > Sha šoħo 'long' [Stl. ZCh 51], while WCh \*-t- does

yield Fy -t, cp. WCh \*f<sup>7</sup>t<sup>7</sup> 'sun' > Fy vivat 'sun' [Stl. ZCh 159, #129]) || ? CS \*✓?tm 'bite' > Ar ✓?tm G 'saisir avec ses dents et mordre', Ug {A} ?u t m 'bit (Bissen)' (not confirmed by OLS) ¶ BK I 38-9, A #158 ¶ If CS \*✓?tm belongs here, it is likely to go back to a cd. ≈ \*pit- + \*?Vm (< □N \*?em<sup>7</sup> 'seize, hold', q.v.?), whence the secondary glottalization of \*t || A {SDM} \*ite > M \*ide- v. 'eat' > MM, WrM ide-, Ord ide-, HlM идэ- idə-, Brt ede-, Kl idə-, Dg idε-, Mnr H id<sub>2</sub>je-, ShY ede-, Mgl ida- 'eat' ¶ Pp. IM 1O7, Iw. 1O7, MED 398, SDM97 s.v. \*ite) || ? T: [1] \*et 'meat, flesh' (× N \*pa<sub>1</sub>?i<sub>1</sub>t<sup>7</sup> 'in skin, bark', q.v. ffd.) | [2] NaT \*öt-mäk ~ \*et-mäk 'bread' > OT, XwT, MQp, Cmn ötmek ~ etmek, Kr T efmak, Kr G etmek, Qmn\CrTt\Osm {Rl.} ätmäk, SbTt Tb itmäk, Chg, OOsm ötmek, Alt\Tlt {Rl.} ötpök, QK {Rl., B} ütpök ¶ The variant vw. ö- remains puzzling ¶ Cl. 6O, Rl. I 847, 1275, 1868, B DLT 219, DHST 293, ET Gl 254-7 ¶ DQA #612 (A \*ite 'eat' > T \*et-mek, M) ◇ IS I 273-4 (#136) s.v. \*pitä (IE, C, M; no S; adduces S \*✓t<sup>7</sup>w v. 'eat', Eg t 'bread', err. B \*atš < \*atk [in fact \*✓Hkš, see N ?σ \*q<sup>7</sup>E<sup>7</sup>K<sup>7</sup>N<sup>7</sup> 'to peck, to prick'], C \*✓ty?, and Ch \*✓ty/w, which is in fact belong to N \*tUh<sup>7</sup>y 'eat, feed; food'), ≈ BmK #418 (\*pit-/ \*pet- 'chew, bite, eat, consume'; IE, M, S; ignores [deliberately?] EC \*it- 'eat' and Ch: Fy pet 'eat', etc.).

**92. \*pat<sub>1</sub>?<sub>1</sub>Ν 'come', ? 'walk' > HS: WS \*✓?tw|y G v. 'come' > BHb אָתָה ✓?ty|w G , Amr {G} pf. patā, Aram אָתָה ~ אָתָה ✓?tw|y, Sr | מ✓?tw|y id., Ar ✓?ty G (pf. أَتَى patā), Ar NY T ✓?ty G , Gz ✓?tw (js. يَأْتِي) id., Sb ✓?tw|y 'come, come back', Ug {OLS} ✓?tw 'come, go' ¶ DRS 36, KBR 1O2, OLS 59, G A 14, BGMR , Bns. NJ I 154 || C: Bj {Rop.} -?at pcv. 'step, tread', {R} -?at pcv. 'treten, stampfen, trampeln' (1s: p. a-?at, pcpf. 'ī?at, prs. a-?a'nīt) || ?σ SC: Irq {MQK} padah- v. 'tread on, step' (unless < N \*?A'd<sup>7</sup>Ν 'foot', q.v.) ¶ Rop. 156, R WBd 34-5, MQK 9 || Om (× N \*q<sup>7</sup>o<sup>7</sup>dU 'to go' × N \*q<sup>7</sup>A<sup>7</sup>d<sub>1</sub>Ν<sub>1</sub>?<sup>7</sup>o<sup>7</sup> 'to step, to walk'): NrOm: Gf {C} ad- 'passare', Male {Fl.} ad- v. 'come', {Fl.} ad- ~ a·d- v. 'go', Gmr {Fl.} at- 'go' || SOm: Ari B {Fl.} ad, Hm U {Fl.}, Gll {Fl.} a·d, Dm {Fl.} a·d~a·t v. 'come' ¶ Blz. OL #2O5, Fl. OO 317 ¶ Blz. OL (Om \*ad- 'go' ≈ WS \*✓?dw 'go' and its B cognates, see N \*q<sup>7</sup>o<sup>7</sup>dU) || IE: NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>a|e|ot- 'go, walk' ({EI} \*Hēt- 'go') (× N \*q<sup>7</sup>A<sup>7</sup>d<sub>1</sub>Ν<sub>1</sub>?<sup>7</sup>o<sup>7</sup> '↑') > OI 'atati 'goes, walks' ¶ ≈ P 69 and M K I 26 (unc. identification with \*at-no- 'year'), M E I 56, EI 228 || A {SDM97} \*āt<sup>7</sup>Ν- v. 'step, walk', {S} \*āt<sup>7</sup>Ν- 'шагать' [× N \*q<sup>7</sup>A<sup>7</sup>d<sub>1</sub>Ν<sub>1</sub>?<sup>7</sup>o<sup>7</sup> '↑']): T \*āt- v. 'step' > Tkm Δ āt-,**

Tkm āt-, Osm {Rl.} ad- v. 'step', Xk at-iχ- v. 'jump, jump over', ? Chv (< b- some VTt dialect?) at- v. 'walk with dipped feet (on water, mud, deep snow)', VTt at-la- v. 'step', Slr aht-la- id., Yk atilla- id. || Chv L үт-ud\_- v. 'walk' ] T d. \*at-im (= \*at'-im) 'step' (n.) > Tkm Δ ādīm, Tkm ādīm, Tk, Az, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, CrTt adīm, VTt adъm, Bsh aðъm, Uz adīm, Chv L үтäm udъm 'step'; T → M \*adam 'pace, step' (SDM: 'hurried walking') > WrM adām, HlM aðām, Kl adm 'pace, step' ¶ S AJ 192 [#171], ET Gl 88, Fed. I 66-7 and II 293-4, S AJ 241 [#172], KW 1 ¶ ≈ S AJ 280O, SDM97 (A \*āt▽ ~ \*ēt▽), ≠ DQA #1756 (A \*p'ēta 'to step, to walk': incl. T, M) || ?σ D \*āt- vi. 'move' (× N \*q'A'd,▽,?o') > Tm ātu, Kt a·r-, Tl ādūni id., Td o·d- v. 'move violently', Ka ādū ~ ātu v. 'be in motion, move about' ¶ D #347 ◇ The word-medial lr. in N \*pāt,▽ is suggested by the long vw. in T and D (that may be also due to convergence with N \*q'A'd,▽,?o'). The N word-medial lr. is likely to have been \*p or \*h, because these are the only laryngeals that can disappear (in non-initial position) in S.

**93.** <sub>2</sub> \*pEtūR▽ 'day, noon' > HS: EC: Sa {R} i'trā 'noon' ¶ R S II 54 || CCh: MfG {Brr.} dár 'day (24 hours)' ¶ d- < \*t- < \*p- t- ¶ Brr. MG II 11O, ChC || A: M \*edür 'day' > MM [MA] ödür 'day, noon', [L] ödür ~ öder 'day', [IM, IsV] ödür 'day', ödür düli 'afternoon', [S, HI] {H} üdür 'day', üdür düli 'noon', [PP] {Pp.} üdürč'in 'all day', WrM edür, HlM өдөр 'day; in the daytime', Ord {Ms.} üdür, Brt үдэр, Kl өдр, {Rm.} ödř 'day', MnR H {SM} ud\_ur 'day', d\_ur 'noon', {T} dur 'day, noon', MMgl [ZM] üdür, Mgl {Rm.} üdür, {Iw.} ödür, Dg {Pp.} üdür, {T} udur, {Mr.} udure 'day' ¶ Pp. M 273, 443, Pp. L II 1259, H 158, Ms. H 107, MED 295-6, Chr. 494, KRS 412-3, SM 65-6, 464-5, Ms. O 748, T 331-2, T DgJ 17O, T DnJ 136, Iw. 143, KW 293, Rm. M 41.

**93a.** \*p'e't-▽ make' (→ causativizing morpheme) > A \*°et'▽ > T \*et-, {Md.} \*ēt- (\*ēt-) v. 'make' > OT et-, {Cl.} ēt- v. 'make, create, perform, organize' (acc. to Cl., v. 'organize, put in order' is the primary meaning; but this impression may have resulted from the specific thematic limitations of the existing OT texts), Tk et-, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, ET, Ln, Alt, Tv et-, SY yet- ~ it-, VTt, Bsh it-, Chv t at- v. 'make, perform', Chv MK ēt- v. 'make' ¶ VTt/Bsh i- and Chv MK ē- suggest pT \*ē-, while Chv a- points to a T \*ä- ¶ Cl. 36-7, DTS 186, ET Gl 312-3, TkR 795-6, Md. 91, 164 || HS (with de-emphatization) \*\*✓?t > S \*°✓?ty > Ar ✓?ty (pf. أَتَتْ ?atā) 'undertake (smth.), make (it)', ?σ S \*°✓?tw >

Ar *✓ ?t<sub>w</sub>* (pf. *L̥atā*) 'produce (ground)' || Fr. I 11, Hv. 2 || Ch {JS} \*ta?- v. 'make' > WCh: DfB/Bks {J} ta? 'build' || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} ḏa, Bt {Mch.} tə 'make' | Msy {Mch.} ḏa, Db {Lnh.} dìyà, Kola {Sb.} ...di... id. || ECh: Kwn {J} dē id. || d̥ < \*?t JS s.v. Ch. \*ta? 'build', ChC, ChL, J R ||| The N word was grammaticalized in U, A, and D, giving rise to a causativizing sx. of verbs: **U** {Lh.} causativizing verbal sx. \*-tt-> F-tta-/ttä-: *istuttaa* 'setzen, pflanzen' (↔ *istua* 'to sit, to sit down'), *elättää* 'ernähren, unterhalten' (↔ *elää* 'to live'), Lp N -t-/d-: *goastâtit* 'to send' (↔ *goastât* 'to reach'), *duš'šâdit* 'to destroy' (↔ *duš'šât* 'to deteriorate, to be destroyed'), ? Lp S {Hs.} -d̥h- (caus., e.g. *baakkedidh* vt. 'to warm' [↔ *baakke* 'warmth', *baakkes* adj. 'warm']), Er/Mk -t(∇)- (causativizing sx.): Er *kas-t-oms* 'to rear, to grow' (↔ *kas-oms* 'to grow'), sim-d-ems 'to give to drink' (↔ *sim-ems* 'to drink'), Mk əždəms 'ež-đ-əms' 'to heat, to warm' (↔ əžəms 'ež-əms' 'to warm oneself'), Chr *woltem* v. 'make descend' (↔ *wolem* v. 'descend'), Z -t-: *pirt-ni* 'to carry in, to bring in' (↔ *pîr-ni* 'to go in, to come in'), Os Shr {Gu.} *qawər-t-* v. 'cook' (↔ *qawər-* v. 'be cooked'), *ayəm-t-* v. 'glue (sth.)' (↔ *ayem* n. 'glue'), Hg *költ-* v. 'rouse, wake up' (↔ *kəl-* v. 'get up, rise') || Sm: Slq Tz {KHG} ću-ti-qo 'to melt sth.' (↔ ću-qo vi. 'melt'), qal-ti-qo 'to leave, verlassen' (↔ qal-ti-qo 'to remain'), Ng {Ter.} kō-tu-ja 'to kill' (↔ kou-ja 'to die'), ŋətum-ti-si 'to show' (↔ ŋətum-si 'to become visible'), ńaləm-ti-si 'to make glad\happy' (↔ ńaləm-si 'to be glad\happy'), StNe Т *хав(а)-да-сь* 'to fell' (↔ *хава-сь* 'to fall') || Lh. PUAS 322-5, Srb. IMMJ 230-1, Laan. 281-2, It. LC 102, 115, Hs. 178, Gu. MOUJ 330, KHG 211, Ter. NgJ 222-4, Ter. OGNJ 172-4 || **A:** T \*-t-, causativizing and transitivizing sx.: OT -t-: {Cl.} oqı-t- 'make so. recite\read' (↔ {Cl.} oqı:- v. 'recite\read'), arta-t- vt. 'damage\spoil' (↔ {Cl.} artā- v. 'putrefy, ferment, go bad'), Tk -t-: söylet- v. 'make so. speak, let speak' (↔ söyle- v. 'speak'), Chv тиپёт tib-bt v. 'dry sth.' (↔ тип tip- v. 'get dry') || SIGTJM 285-7, Cl. 79, 81, 208, Ash. MI 269-70 || **D** \*-tt-, causativizing sx.: OTm selutt- v. 'make so. enter' (↔ sel- v. 'enter'), Kt kaṛ-t- v. 'make so. cross a river' (↔ kaṛv- v. 'cross a river'), vert- v. 'cause to be afraid' (↔ verñ- v. 'be afraid'), Td naṛ-t- v. 'make so. walk' (↔ naṛ- v. 'walk'), Kdg kađa-t- v. 'take across' (↔ kađa- v. 'cross'), Png re-t- v. 'let fall' (↔ re- v. 'fall'), Png, Ku ū-t- v. 'give to drink' (↔ un- v.

'drink'), Krx *on-d-* v. 'cause to drink' ( $\leftrightarrow$  *ōn-* v. 'drink'), Mlt *on-de* v. 'cause to drink' ( $\leftrightarrow$  *one* v. 'drink'), pun-*de* v. 'make so. put on' ( $\leftrightarrow$  *pune* v. 'put on') §§ Bloch S 48-50, SKD 60-1, Sbr. DVM 1-50, 77-84 ◇ Bang and some other Turkologists supposed that the T caus. verbal form with \*-t- goes back to an analytic construction with the verb \*et- §§ Bang SVG I 925, Rs. MTS 155, cp. Shch. OSMG 119, Br. OTG 207-8; ≠ IS I XIII (caus.-rf. \*t<sub>Δ</sub>) tried to find etymological connection between the causative sxs. in A, U, and D and the markers of reflexivization \ passivization \*t-, \*-t- in HS and BF (which is doubtful both for semantic reasons and because of a structural difference: in U, A, and D these are postverbal sxs. which may go back to a N aux. verb, while in HS the affix \*t- is preverbal, which is harder to explain as an aux. verb in view of the syntactic structure of N).

**95.** \*?<sub>1</sub>öt<sub>1</sub>h<sub>2</sub> (or \*?<sub>1</sub>ot<sub>1</sub>h<sub>2</sub>) 'heavy', → 'difficult' > **HS:** S \*°✓?th > Ar *?utūh-*, *?atah-* 'respiration pénible de celui qui porte une charge trop lourde' § BK I 8, DRS 36 || ?φ Eg MK *i̥tnw* {EG} 'Schwieriges (in Büchern), Widerstrebendes', {Fk.} 'secret, mystery', unless etymologically identical with Eg MKL *i̥tnw* {Fk.} 'opponent', {EG} Widersacher, Feind', {EG} *i̥tn* 'sich jemandem widersetzen' § EG I 145-6, Fk. 33 || **A:** Tg \*<sub>1</sub>utem ({Bz.} \*öt<sub>1</sub>m) > Ewk *utumz̥mz̥* 'hard (conditions of life)', 'cruel', Ork *ut̥mz̥gdz̥* 'bad person' § STM II 294 || **D** (in NED) \*°ott- 'heavy' > Krx *ottʰā* 'burden', 'heavy, difficult', 'hard to suffer', Mlt *ote* 'heavy, important' § D #977, Pf. 186 ◇ Tg and D suggest pN \*-t-, while S \*-t- may be accounted for by HS de-emphatization.

**96.** \*?<sub>1</sub>a?<sub>2</sub>wū 'whether?' (pc. of general question), 'or' > **HS:** S \*?<sub>1</sub>aw 'or, whether' > Ug *?u* [\*?<sub>1</sub>ō] 'either... or', 'whether', BHb *?A* *?ō*, OA, Yd, IA, Plm, Nbt *?w*, IA *?A* *?ō*, Sr *?aw*, Ar *?aw*, Sb *?w*, Gz *?aw*, Ak *ū* 'or', ? SmA *?A* *?y* *ī* 'or'; EthS → Sa {R} *ō* 'or' § KB 19, GB 14, A #3, OLS 1, HJ 21, BGMR 9, LG 47, Sd. 1308, DRS 11, Tal 22 || **IE:** NaIE \*°au 'or' > L *a*ut 'or' (< \*aw-ti), Osc *a*ut AUT, AUTI, Um *ute* OTE 'or' ||| NaIE \*we(:) / \*u 'whether?', 'or' ({EI} \*-wē 'or') > OI, Av, OPrs *vā* || Gk *ñ-*(*F*)*é*, *ñ* (*ñ*) 'whether, or' || L -*vě* 'or' || Gt -*u* 'whether?' (pc. of general question) || Clt: OIr *nó* 'ou bien', OBr *nou* 'or' (if < \*ne-we) || Tc B *wa-t* 'or; rather than' § ≈ WP I 188-9, ≈ P 7, 73-5 (considers the stem \*we(:) to be an apophonic grade of \*aw- 'jener, andererseits'), Bks. 223, EI 410, M K I 180, FI 183, 619, WH I 87, Bc. G 340, Vn. N 17-8, Wn. 349, Ad. 575-6 || **A:** M \**ū* / \**ü* (distributed by the rules of vowel

harmony), encl. pc. of general question > MM [HI] {Ms.}, [S] {H} -*u* (interr. pc.: *būsū*-*u* *būi?* 'is not it?', *uqaba*-*u* *ci* 'have you noticed?'), WrM *uu* / *üü*, HlM *yy*, *YY* – pc. of general question at the end of sentences, Kl -*u* / -*ü*, MnR {SM, T} -*u* *z* -*ü* (interr. pc.) ¶ Ms. H 104, H 157, MED 689, SM G 88, 136-7, 197, Snz. GKJ 83, T 153 ◇ Cf. Bm. TPN 268 [#263] (S, IE). NaIE \**a* suggests N \**a*.

**97.** \*?*ṇ*w*ṇ*y*ṇ* 'island, seashore' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>?*iyy-* > BHb *'x* *?ī* 'coast, island', MHb *'x* *?ī* 'island', Pun *?y* 'peninsula' ¶ KB 37, KBR 38, HJ 43, DRS 17 || Eg fOK *iw* 'island' ¶ EG I 47 || IE: NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>*yyo-* > Gmc \**awja-* 'island' > ON R *auiu*, ON *eū*, NNr *øy*, Dn *ø*, Sw *ö*, AS *ięz*, ME *ē*, *ī*, NE [ai] in *is-land*, OFrs *éi-land*, OSx *ōi-land* 'island'; Gmc  $\rightarrow$  L-*avia* in Scand-in-*avia* ¶ Ho. 186, Hlq. II 1451-2, Vr. 106 || U: Sm {Jn.} \**wobu*, {Hl.} \**lwob* 'island' > Ng {Cs.} *ηuaɪ*, En {Cs.} *ńue* (a phonetically inaccurate recording?), {Ter.} *հுյ*, Ne T *հօ*, {Lh.} *ηō*, Ne F {Lh.} *ηō* 'island', Slq Nr {Cs.} *ko*, *ku*, cds. *kollaga* 'small island', *ol-ko* 'island', Mt {Hl.} \**ō* (or \**o*) id. (Mt K {Pl.} *o*) || ? FU: F Vuojanmaa 'Gotland' (lit. 'Isle-land' with F *mää* 'land'), unless the first part is a loan from NrGmc ¶ Jn. 177, Hl. M #793.

**98.** <sub>2</sub>\*?*ṇ*X*i* 'egg' (or 'white of egg') > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>?*awħ-* > Ar SL *ጀ* *rawħ-* ~ *ጀ* *?**āħ-* 'white of egg' ¶ Bel. 16 || IE: NaIE \**ou(y)o-* ({EI} IE \**ħaħ(ū)iom*) 'egg' > Gk A/I *ψόν* (< \**ħayu-om*), Gk Ae *Ὥεον*, Gk D *Ὥεον* 'egg' || Arm *ճուլ* *չս* (gen. *ճւոյշաոց*) id. || L *ōnum* id. ( $\rightarrow$  OAl *voe*, Al T *ve*, Al G *vō*) || Clt: OW *ui*, W *wū*, OCrn *uy*, Crn *oy*, MBr *uy*, Br *vi* id. || Gmc {Vr.} \**ayya-m* id. > Gt Cr *ada* (< Gt pl. \**addya?*), OHG *ei*, NHG *Ei*, ON *egg* ( $\rightarrow$  NE *egg*) || Sl \**aje* id., (dim.) \**ajče* id. > SCr *jáje*, HLs *jejo*, *wejo* id., 'testicle', LLs *jajo*, Plb *jɔji*, P *jaje*, Uk *Δ* *айо*; OCS *ѧհցէ* *այչե*, Blg *յա՛ցե*, Δ *այ՛ցե*, P *†*, Δ *jajče*, *jajco*, OR *Ւհցէ* *jaice*, SCr K *jájce* 'egg', Slv *jájce*, Cz *vejce*, R *յա՛ցօ* 'egg, testiculum' || ? OPrs *xāya* 'egg', ? Av *ap-āvaya-* 'entmannt' (if < \**apa-āvaya-* 'without testicles') ¶ P 783-4, EI 176, WH II 23O, RE 92, O 497, F II 115O, Fs. 2, Vr. 94-5, KM 153-4, EWA II 967-9, Slt. 177-8, ESSJ I 61-3, Glh. 285-6 ◇ AD NM #72, S CNM 13.

**99.** \*?*ā*<sup>1</sup>*y**ṇ* 'say, speak, call' > HS: Eg BD *iū* 'Spruch (?)' ¶ EG I 36 || C: EC {Ss.} \*-*i(y)y-* 'say' pcv. > Af -*i(y)y-* pcv., scv.: Sa, Af *i(y)-* 'say', *z* Dsn {Fl.} *y-* (absent in To. DL), Sml {R} *ī-*, ? *(h)a(y)-* 'say', Dbs *?iyanna* 'he/she says; it means'; HEC \**y-* 'say' > Ged, Kmb, Alb, Hd *y-*, Sd *i-* / *y-*,

Brj i<sup>u</sup>- || Ag {Ap.} \*<sup>u</sup>z- 'say' > Bln, Xm, Q <sup>u</sup>z-, Aw z- || SC: Irq {MQK} ?<sup>o</sup>-, {Wh.} o-, (?) → Mb {E} -yo 'say' ¶ AD SF 184-5, Ap. AV 23, R WB 364, Ss. B 1O8, AMS 166, Hd. 128, MQK 79 || NrOm: Kf {C}, Drz {Bnd.} u-, Zs, Zrg {Bnd.} iya- 'say', Ym {Wdk.} ī- id. (the rising tone [low to high] pointing to a former bisyllabic √) ¶ C SE IV 517, AD SF 184-5, Wdk. BY 125, 78-9 (on Ym tones), Lm. Y 31O || Ch {Stl.} \*ya?w- 'call', {AD} 'call, say' (× N \*xawy 'shout, speak', q.v. ffd.) > [1] ECh: Kbl {Cp.} uwz, Ll {WeibP} uá 'say' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} wá, {Mch.} wa 'say' ] [2] WCh: Pr uó v. 'call' || CCh: Gudu {ChL} ?yá, Msg {Mch.} uí, Ms {Mch.} uá, {J} uíná, {Stl. ← ?} umo, Bnn {Stl.} ya-mi, BnnM {Stl.} ya-mo id. || ECh: Gbr ue id. ¶ Frz. P 55, ChC, ChL, Stl. IF 143 ¶ OS #2564 || A \*ay<sup>u</sup> 'speak, sound' (× N \*xawy '↑') > NaT \*ay- 'speak, say' > OT ay- id., XwT XIV ay- 'say, recite', Az Δ, ET Δ {Jr.}, SY ay-, Tk Δ e<sup>u</sup>-, Yk i<sup>u</sup>- 'speak, say' ¶ Cl. 266, DTS 25, RI. I 9, ET Gl 99-1OO, Jr. 16, Rs. W 1O || M \*aya 'sound, pronunciation, noise' > WrM aya, HIM, Brt aя 'sound, tune, melody; pronunciation', Dg {MYC} aila, Mnr H {MYC} ayan 'melody, tune'; M \*ayi > WrM ai, HIM aй 'sound, noise', WrO aitai 'with noise', Kl a ē 'sound', {Rm.} á 'sound, voice, tune'; ? M d. \*ayilad- 'know, say' > WrM aila-, HIM aйлд-аx id.; ? M d. \*ayalgu 'melody, pronunciation' > WrM ayalgu, HIM aялгу id., WrO ayal<sup>u</sup>a(n), ayal<sup>u</sup>, ayal<sup>u</sup> 'sound, melody', Brt aялга 'tone, voice, pronunciation'; M \*ayila- 'produce sounds' > Kl {Rm.} ál-χa 'tönen, schreien, rufen; schwatzen', Dg {T} aila- v. 'pronounce' ¶ Dg aila- points to the absence of initial \*ψ- in the pM word ¶ MED 19, 2O, 22, Kow. 127-8, Krg. 41-2, KRS 61, KW 25, Chr. 69-7O, T DgJ 119, MYC 99 || pKo {S} \*òj'ó- v. 'recite' (suggesting a pA final rounded vw.) > MKo òj'ó- id., NKo owu- wewu- 'recite from memory, learn by heart' ¶ S QK #636, Nam 387, MLC 1223 ¶ ≈ DQA #419 (A \*éyu|o 'speak, cry, sound'; incl. T, M, Ko) || IE: NaIE ≈ \*aj- 'say, speak' > L āi-ō 'say, affirm', Um AIU 'oracula' || Gk ἦ 'he spoke' (prs. 1s ἤμι, 2s ἤσι, Gk D 2s ἤτι) (unless these forms go back resp. to \*agjō and \*ēg-t, as supposed by WH and F) ¶ ≈ WH I 24-5, ≈ FI 636, ≠ EI 535 (L and Gk < IE \*h<sub>1</sub>e<sup>g</sup>- 'say').

**100. \*<sup>?</sup>a<sup>1</sup>y<sup>u</sup>** 'mother' (originally a Lallwort) (→ 'female', a marker of fem. [sex or grammatical gender] in nouns, pronouns, and [originally as vocative] in verbs): I. 'mother': > HS: C {AD} \*<sup>?</sup>ay(y)- > EC {Ss.} \*<sup>?</sup>āyy- 'mother' > Sml āy-o 'stepmother', Sml Mt {Lm.} āyo id., 'uncle's wife, mother's sister', Sml My/Dgl {Lm.} āy- 'mother', Rn {PG} āyò, {Hn.}

'áy-ə, {Oo.} a'yo 'mother' (call-name), Bn á'y-ô, Bs áy-ə, Or áyy-ə, Kns áy-ā 'mother', Sa áy-a 'elder sister', Hd ayy-a 'sister', ay-minē 'mater familias', Kmb {C} aya 'sister', Brj áy'u-ē 'mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife', Hr/Dbs/Grs/Gwd {AMS} yaue, Gln {AMS} yáye 'mother' || SC: Irq {MQK} ?áyō, {E} ayo, Alg, Brn iyo 'mother' ¶ Ss. B 22, Hn. S 51, Oo. 70, PG 59, LmS 305, Hd. 102, HL 79, AMS 258, Wh. IC 24, E SC 317, MQK 18 || NrOm: WI/ZI/Gf {C} aye, Gf {Mrn.} aye ~ aye ~ ay, WI {LmS} áyu, Malo ?ayə, Dwr ay-to, Gm/Dc {LmS} áyo 'mother'; ? Ym {Lm.} éta ~ éti 'sister', {Wdk.} éta 'my sister' (if -t<sup>Δ</sup> is a marker of fem. [acc. to Lm.] or a ppa. 'my' [acc. to Wdk.]; otherwise it belongs to N \*<sup>r</sup>?at<sup>Δ</sup> 'female, woman', q.v.) ¶ C SE III 200, Lm. Y 326, LmS 305 || CCh: Zm {KNC} yá 'mother; female' ¶ KNC 30 || IE: pGmc \*a<sup>j</sup>θi 'mother' (from a N or pre-IE nominal phrase: \*<sup>r</sup>a<sup>j</sup>y<sup>Δ</sup> + another word?) > Gt aip̥ei, ON eida 'mother', OHG fuotar-eidī 'Nährmutter, wet-nurse' (fuotar 'food'), MLG eide 'mother'; pGmc \*a<sup>j</sup>θi → F äiti, Es eit (gen. eide), Lp L {LLO} eiti, Lp N Δ æi<sup>i</sup>de 'mother' ¶ Fs. E 20, Fs. 28-9, Vr. 95, Kb. 302, SK 1869 || U: ?φ Sm: Kms {KD} iyā, yā, ya, {Cs.} i ja, ja, En {Cs.} ē?, {Dlx.} e?, {Ter.} ē 'mother' ¶ Cs. 54, 76, KD 22, KP 70-1 || D {Pf.} \*áy 'mother' (→ 'woman') > Tm áy, áyi, Kn áyi, Klm a<sub>l</sub>u<sup>j</sup>y, Gdb áya~aya, Gnd ayal, Knd, Png, Mnd aya, Kui aja 'mother', Ku a(j)yā 'woman', Krx ayo 'mother', Mlt ayya 'my mother' ¶ D #364, Pf. 20 [#82] ◇ It would be tempting to tie in Alt/Tlt/Shor {Rl.} äyä 'aunt, elder sister' (Rl. I 720), but this form does not belong here, because the intervocal cns. recorded by Rl. as -j- (sc. -y-) is actually -ž- (voiced palatal affricate), most probably from pT \*-j-, and the word should be probably reconstructed as NaT \*ejə > StAlt, Tb, Qmn эдъе eže 'aunt, elder sister' (BT 189, B DChT 169, B DK 273), Qrg eže 'sister, cousin', Xk i<sup>j</sup>e iže 'mother', Tk ece 'queen', Tkm eže 'mother', Δ 'elder sister', etc. (ffd. ET Gl 231-5) ◇ AD NM #117, S CNM 12 (÷÷ NrCs) ||| II. marker of fem. (sex\gender): > HS: a) HS \*-i, fem. in pronouns of the 2nd pers.: [1] \*k-i 'thee' f. (→ 'thou' f. [clitic]) > S \*ki 'thee' in postverbal position > Ak, Ar -ki, BHb -k, Gz -kī || WCh \*ki 'thee, thou' f. > Hs ki id. | BT: Ngm čí, Dr {Nw.} ží, Tng ži-gó 'thee' f. | Su yí id. | Ron \*ki 'thou' f., used as a subject px. > Klr kí, Sha čí, Fy, Bks, DfB ší || ? but Eg OK c m, c n 'thee, thou' f. [enclitic], and c m t 'thou' f. [aut. prn.] do not necessarily belong here (c- < \*ki-), because the same c- is found in the prn. of 2m c w [encl.] (cp. Eg OK kw id.), and the female

gender marker here is -m ٰ [2] HS \*k-i 'thy' f. possessoris (enclitic) > S \*ki 'thy' f. possessoris > Ak, Ar -ki, Hb -k, Gz -kī || Eg OK -c 'thy' f. possessoris [-c▽ < \*-ki] || C \*-ki 'thy' f. possessoris > Bj -ki || EC: Hr -āhi ¶ AMS 91 || WCh \*ki 'thy' f. possessoris > Hs (-n)-ki, (-r)-ki || BT: Krf čī, Bl (š)šī, Krkr (t̄)čī || Ron: Klr -m-ik<sup>y</sup>, Sha -m-ič, -m-a-ač, Fy -iš id. ٰ [3] S \*an-t-i 'thou' f., aut. prn. > Ak attī, Ar ḡanti, Hb פַתְּא Pattā, Gz ḡantī | **b)** HS \*-ī, marker of the female gender in verbs of the 2nd person > S \*-ī > Ak, Gz, Hb -ī, Ar -ī(-na), Mh -i, e.g. BHb 'kūm-ī 'stand up!' imv. 2f., tā'kūm-ī 'you (sg. f.) will stand up', Ar qūl-ī 'say!' 2f, taqūl-ī-na 'you (sg. f) say, will say', Ak taprus-ī 'you (sg. f) separated', Gz kūm-ī 'stand up!' (sg. f), təkawwām-ī 'you (sg. f) are standing', Mh təmayt-i 'du (f.) stirbst' || C: Bj -i, e.g. ti-dir-i 'you (sg. f.) killed' | **c)** HS \*-ī- ~ y▽, marker of f. in pronouns of 3s > S \*-ī- fem. in \*š-ī-ṛā 'she' (> Ak šī, Ar hiya, Ug hy, BHb הִיא hī, JA, Sr hī, Sb hy?) ↔ \*š-ū-ṛā 'he' (> Ak šū, Ar huwa, Ug hw, BHb הָוָה hū, JA, Sr hū, Sb hw<sub>1</sub>? ) || Eg O sūy ({Lpr.}: \*siy) 'she; her (obj.)', enclitic prn. (↔ sw 'he') || C: Or B īsi 'she' (↔ īsā 'he'), Or T {Mrn.} -šī ~ -še 'her' (px.) (↔ -sā 'his'), Sd {Mrn.} īsē 'she' (↔ īsō 'he') | **d)** HS \*°-ay > S: Ar ـ -ay ([-ā], OWA [ay]), female gender marker in some adjectives and numerals: صَفْرِيْ ٰ suṣray suṣrā 'smaller' f. (↔ ḡasṣaru 'smaller' m.), سَكْرِيْ sakray sakrā 'drunken' f. (↔ sakrānu 'drunken' m.), حَبْلِيْ ٰ hublay (traditional Ar [ħublā]), ئَوْلَى ٰ ?ūlay ?ūlā 'first' f. (↔ ḡawwalu 'first' m.), حَدْيِيْ ٰ ?ihday ?ihdā 'one' f. (↔ ḡahad-un 'one' m.). As indicated by Sibawayhi (II 349), the spelling ـ (-ay) in the form حَبْلِيْ ٰ hublay 'pregnant' was pronounced in OWA (Hijaz) as -ay (hublay). Chaim Rabin (Rb. AWA 115-9) has shown that the same is true about any final ـ. But in the orthoepy of ClAr (based presumably on dialects other than OWA) ـ is pronounced [-ā]. ¶ MSUS 1O2-9, AD PP 69-73, AD IPCV, AD EPCCChL, Nw. KL 19, Ed. 7O-81, Kr. RChP 69, 74-8O, 85, J R 371-4, J S 88, Ap. ANH 8 (HS female gender marker \*-v̄j > \*-ay/-ā), Ed. 7O-8O, Lpr. 64-5 || **K:** traces of the fem. sx. \*-ay may be discerned in the OG form igi-a(y) 'she' (Naum 2.7) ↔ igi 'that, he' (without opposition of sexes) and possibly in G čabuk-a 'girl' ↔ čabuk-i 'boy' ¶ DCh. 578, 17O1, Dirr G 11 (fn. 1) || **IE:** NaIE \*-

*ī*, \*-ī-, a nominal sx. of fem. (sex and gender): \*w<sup>ū</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-ī 'she-wolf' (> OI *vṛkī*, ON *ylgr* < pGmc \*wulþwī) ↔ \*w<sup>ū</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-s 'wolf' (> OI *vṛka-h*, Gk λύκος, Gt *wulf-s*, Lt *vilka-s*, etc.), \*nept-ī-s > OI *nap't-ī-h*, gen. *nap't-iy-ah* 'female descendant', L *neptis*, OHG *nift* 'niece'; *F* also OI 'janitr-ī' 'genitrix', Gk γενέτειρα id., etc., as well as BSl \*-i (< \*-ī), marker of the female gender in active prtc.: OCS **Мъръшн** търъш-ī, Lt *mīrus-i* 'dying' (act. prtc. nom. sg. f.) ¶ Brg. KVG 29-33O, § 405, Me. SC § 403 || **A:** M {Pel.} \*-ay, marker of the fem. sex of nouns: WrM *sutay* 'empress' ↔ *sutu* 'emperor', *qutuqtay* 'saint woman' ↔ *qutuqtu* 'saint man'; MM {Pp., Dr., Oz.} -y / -ī, fem. marker of verbs (-b-ī as fem. of the praet. perfecti ↔ non-feminine -ba/-be; -ligi~-li-ī as fem. of the prs. perfecti; -kü-y as fem. of ft. ↔ -kü m.); harmonic front vowels of words (possibly going back to a sx. \*-e) as a marker of the female sex: WrM *eke* 'elder female relative, mother' ↔ *aqa* 'elder male relative (elder brother, uncle)', {Vld.} *getülgagci* 'liberatrix, salvatrix' (epithet of the goddess Tara) ↔ *gatulgagci* 'liberator (transporting across water)' ¶ Pp. IM 265-7, Pp. MM 101, Dr. SB 62-3, 68, Vld. SGR Ⅴ, Vld. 133-4, Pel. VNS, KW 3, 118, Snz. SGR 73-4, Oz. GHMDG || ?φ Tg: \*-e or a front (closed) harmonic vowels denoting the female sex: WrMc *dēhemē* 'aunt' ↔ *dēhemā* 'uncle, aunt's husband', *emile* 'female bird' ↔ *amila* 'male bird', *hehe* 'woman' ↔ *haha* 'man', {Sun.} *erselen* 'lioness' ↔ *arsalan* 'lion', Nn Յորչ 'mother-in-law' ↔ այս 'father-in-law', Յօշ 'elder sister' ↔ *aga* 'elder brother' ¶ STM I 231, Z 42, 801, Sun. M 171 ¶ The M pair *aqa* ↔ *eke* and the Nn *aga* 'elder brother' ↔ Յօշ 'elder sister' may be explained away as Lallwörter, but this is not the case in most other aforementioned M and Tg words.

**101. \*ʔäy** △ (= \*ʔäya?) 'which?', 'what?' > HS \*ʔay(y)- 'which?' > S \*ʔayy- (~ \*ʔiyu-?) 'which?' > Ak nom. *ayy-a(-m)* / accus. *ayy-a(-m)* / gen. *ayy-i(-m)*, Ar ʔayy- id., BHb ʔ**אֵי** ~ ʔ**אֵי** / ʔ**אֵי** ʔ**אֵי** 'where?' ʔ**אֵי** ʔ**אֵי** 'where is Abel?', ʔ**אֵי** ʔ**אֵי** 'where art thou?'), as well as in cds.: *ayy-za* ʔ**אֵי** ʔ**אֵי** 'which?', *ayy-za* ʔ**אֵי** ʔ**אֵי** 'where?', *ayy-ka* ʔ**אֵי** ʔ**אֵי** 'how?' (with *zē* 'this', *pō* 'here', *k(-)*, *kā(-)* 'as'), Ug ʔy 'whatsoever', ʔy 'where?', Amr {G} ʔayya ~ ʔiyya id., JA [Trg.] **אֵי** ʔ**אֵי** id., Sr ʔaynā 'which?', Qt {Rk.} ʔy(y) 'whoever, what(so)ever', Mn ʔy - enclitic indf. pc., Gz ʔay 'which?, what (kind of)?' ¶ Br. G I 327-8 [§§ 111-2], Lip. 328-9, Sd. G § 47, KB 36-8, 41, GB 28-32, A #161, 172, OLS 64-5, G A 13, Lv. T I 23, LG 49, Rk. 9-10, MA 8 || C: EC {Ss.}

\*?*ayy-* / (precons. and pausal) \*?*ay-* 'who?, which?' > Sa *ay*, Sml N {Abr.} *ayyó*, Sml Db {AOM} *ayyo* 'who?', Rn *áyyò*, Bn {Hw.} *ayyo* (pl. *ayyos*) 'who?', {AOM} 'who is?', Bs {HL} *ayo* 'who?', Or *ē-(n)nu* 'who?', *ē-sa* 'where?', Kns, Gdl *ay-nu* 'who?', Kns *ay-ša* 'where?', Sd/Hd {Ss.} *ay* ~ *ayye*, Ged *ayye*, Hd *ay*, *ayy-e*, Brj {Ss.} *áyye* 'who?'; Dsn {To.} *māyya* 'who?' (< \**mi* ?*ayy-a*, with N \**mi* 'what?', q.v. ffd.) ||| Ag {Ap.} \*?*aw-* 'who?' > Bln {Ap.} *?aw*, Q/Xm {Ap.} *aw*, Aw *ay* (Ap.: < \**aw-i*) ||| Bj {Rop.} *āū*, {R} nom. *aw* (< \**ay-u*), gen. *ay* (< \**ay-i*), nom. *ā-b* 'who?' ¶ Ss. PEC 46, Ss. B 3O, Bl. 1O2, 214, 3O6, HL 79, Abr. S 2O, PG 71, Hw. B II 11O, AOM 6, Ap. AV 3, R WBd 35, Rop. 15, To. DL 516 || Om: SOM: Ari {Fl.} *ayi* 'who?' || NrOm: Cha {C} *ay* 'what?', Bsk {C} *ay* 'who?', *ayba* 'what?', Dwr/Gf {LmS} *ay*, WI {LmS} *ay-bā*, Ym {Wdk.} *āwū* 'what?\*' ¶ Fl. OO 321, C SE III 113, 163, LmS 3O6, Wdk. BY 118 || ? Ch: ECh: Jg {J} *?auwa* 'where?' || WCh: Hs *yāyā* 'how?', ? Klr {J} *?ān* 'which?', Fy {J} *?ā...ān* 'where?' || CCh: Msg *yā* 'where?' ¶ ChC || K \**may* 'what?' (< N \**mi* 'what?' [q.v.] + N \**?äy*Δ) > Sv: UB/LB *mäy* ~ *mä*, L *may*, Ln *ma*; Mg, Lz *mu-*, ?? in the OG and G cd. *ro-me-l-* 'which?', 'which' (rel. prn.) ¶ K 124, K<sup>2</sup> 112 (\**ma-*), TK 554-5 || A: Tg \**ē* 'what?', \**ē* - interr. verb ('quid facere?') > Ewk *ē*, Sln *ī* 'what?', Ewk, Neg *ē-*, Lm *ā-* - interr. verb ¶ × N \**ya* 'which?' (q.v.)?? ¶ STM I 286-7 || ?φ M \**ali* (< \**ay-li* with pre-M \**ay-* < (regr. as.) N \**?äy*a) 'which (one)?', 'what?' > MM [MA, IM, S] *ali* 'which one?', [IsV] *ali* 'where?', WrM *ali(n)*, HIM *аль* id., 'what?', MnR {SM, T} *ali* 'which?', ? MMgl [Z] *almad* 'which' ¶ Pp. MA 98-9, 432, H 5, Lg. VMI 16, MED 31, T 314, T DnJ 133, SM 4, Iw. 85 || ?φ U: Sm \**b-* (= {Jn.} \**ā-*) → \**্b-m-* 'what?' > Ne: T O {Lh.} *ŋāw·ā* 'what?, what kind of?', T {Ter.} *ହାମ୍ବର* 'what?', 'what for?', T O {Lh.} *ŋam̪-t* 'what?', 'why', gen. pl. *ହାବୋ* *ହାବୋ?* (< \**্b-m-্b-y-*), FL {Lh.} *ŋamm̪-t* (< \**্b-m-্b-y-*) 'what?'; En d. {Cs.} *awuo*, {Prk.} *abbua*, {Mik.} *obū* 'what?'; ? Kms {Cs.} *ümbi*, {KD} *zmbi* ~ *m̪bi* 'what?' ¶ Jn. 15, Ter. 376, Lh. 4-5, KD 19, 38 ◇ N \**?äy*Δ 'which?', 'what?' may be somehow connected with N \**ya* 'which?' (q.v.). For instance, it may go back to a N cd. \**ha* (deictic pc., q.v.) + \**ya*.

**102.** \*?*r'e'y*Δ 'come, arrive' > HS: Eg fOK *i'y* v. 'come' > DEg *i'y* > Cpt: Sd *e i*, Bi id.; Vc. vocalizes the inf. of this verb as \**i'iy i.t*; Eg fOK *i'w* v. 'come' > DEg *i'w* id.; Cpt *ei e i* v. 'come' may go back to the Eg verbal noun *i'w.t*; acc. to Vc., Cpt B/Sd **T&OY** *tauo* v. 'send' goes back to DEg *ty i'w* 'send' < Eg \**dy.t i'w-ā* 'faire qu'(il) vienne'; acc. to Ed. and

Vc., Eg *īy* and *īw* are two different, albeit akin, verbs ¶ EG I 37, 44, Er. 18, 2O, Ed. §§ 456, 724, Vc. 59-6O, 223 || B \**īyw* > ETwl *īyo~əyyo*, Ty *īyo~īyo* 'come!' (imv. 2s), imv. 2pm ETwl *īyowt̥ ~ īyew(w)t̥* ~ *əyyowt̥*, Ty *īyowat* ~ *(ī)yəwat* ~ *yowt̥*; Mz *əyya* 'come' (imv. 2s), imv. 2pm *əyyat*; Iz imv. *eo* 'come!'; Pr. mentions ETwl pf. intens. *ihay* v. 'come' ¶ GhA 2O5, Dlh. M 241, Zl. KÄLV 12O, Pr. H #441 || C: Bj *?i-/ī-* scv. 'come': Bj A {ADP} p. 3m '*ī-ya* '(he) came', Bj {R} p. 3m '*ē-ya*, 3f '*ē-ta*, 3p '*ē-yān*, {Rop.} p. 1s *i-'an*, 2m '*ē-ta*, 2f '*ē-tāi*, 3m '*ē-a*, 3f '*ē-ta*, 1p '*ē-na*, gerund *?i-a*, pp. *?i-e* (Roper often does not indicate the initial *?-*, because "the hamzah is very elusive"), Bj B {Alm.} p. *?i-* || EC: Sd {C, Mrn., Gs.} *e?- v.* 'go in, enter'; ?φ Arr pcv. -*i?it-* / -*e?et-* (ipv. *?i t*) 'go' (× N \**ī'ō'dū* 'go', q.v. ffd.) ¶ AD SF 184, R WBd 3, R BedS II 41-2, Rop. 79, ADP BFN, C SE II 184, Gs. 89, Hw. A 451-9 || Om: SOm: Hm {Fl.} *ū-*, Ari Gll {Bnd.} *aū-* 'go' || NrOm: Wl {LmS} *ū-*, Bdt/Zs/Cha/Zl {C, Mrn., LmS}, Hrr, Malo, Mj {Fl.} *ū- v.* 'come', Ym {Wdk.} inf. *ūo / ūo*, 2s *ūē*, Bdt {Fl.} *ūo*, Oyda {Fl.} *ūi?*/*ūi-*, Male {Fl.} *ūε?*, Bnc {Wdk.} 2s *ūē?- id.* ¶ AD SF 184, Fl. OO 318, Fl. OWL, C SE IV 88, 2O8, C SO 36, 45, 51, 64, 69, Blz. OL #2O7 (Om \**ūi-/ī-*), Wdk. BY 113, 139, Bnd. AL 151 [#33] || Ch {Stl.} \**ūa?-/\*ūaw-* 'go', {AD} 'go, arrive' > WCh: Hs *ūá-kā* 'come here!', ??? *ūāwā* 'wander through' || Ywm *ūa* 'go' || Dr {Nw.} *ūai* 'arrive', Krf *ūow-*, {Stl.} *ūé?ey* 'go' || Ngz {Sch.} *ūá* 'go' || Bg {Csp.} *ūūwéy* 'run' || DfB {J} *ūū* 'go' || CCh: Db {Lnh.} *ūā*, Kola {Sb.} ...*ūa...* v. 'come' || Ms {Mch.} *ūa* v. 'come, go' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} *ūè* 'run', Ll *ē-*, Tbn {Cp.} *ūž* 'walk' ¶ Stl. IF 143, JI II 82-3, ChL, Nw. 24 [#27] (Ch \**ūa* 'come' imv.), Nw. KL 135, Abr. H 942, 952, Sch. DN 174, Csp. 64, J R 223, Blz. EChWL #92 || IE \**ēi-/ī-* ({EI} \**h<sub>1</sub>ei-*) v. 'go' > Ht *i-*, (*i*)*ū-*, Lw, HrLw *i- id.* || NaIE \**ēi-/ī-* 'go' > OI *ē-/i-/ū-* (prs. 3s '*ē-ti*, 1p *i-'mah*, 3p '*ū-anti*) v. 'go', Av *aēiti*, OPrs *aити* 'goes' || Gk *ēt'-/t'-* v. 'go' (prs. 3s *ētσi*, 1p *t-μεν*) || L *ī-/i- id.* (prs. 2s *ī-s*, imv. *ī*, prtc. *i-ens*) || Gt *iddja* 'I went' || Pru *ēisei* 2s prs. 'gehst', Lt *ēi-* 'go' (OLt *ēi-ti* 'goes'), Ltv *ēi-mi* *đ* *iē-mi* 'I go', Ltv C/E *iē-t*, Ltv W *iē-ti* 'to go' || pSl inf. \**jī-ti* / prs. \**jīd-q* 'go' > OCS **ИТН** *iti* / prs. **ИДЖ** *idq*, SCr *iči* / *īdēm*, Cz *jiti* / *jdu*, R *и́дти* / *и́ду*, Slv inf. *īti*, Blg prs. *и́да* || pTc {Ad.} \**i-* 'go, travel' > Tc A *i-*, Tc B *i-/ū-* id.; → pTc {Ad.} rdp. \*(*ū*)*īyā-* > Tc A {Wn.} *ūā-* 'aller, rouler, voyager' (past prtc. *ūāyō*), B {Wn., Ad.} (rdp.) \**īyā-* 'go, travel' ¶ P 293-7, EI 227-8, Mn. 234, Pv. I-II 325-35, M K I 128, F I 462-3, Fs. 88-9, ME II 79, Frn. 119, En. 165, Tr. P

E-H 2O-2, Glh. 273, Wn. 589, Ad. 6O-1, 66-7, Ad. H 54, 65 || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) \*yū|i-wē- v. 'come' > OHg jō, Hg jō-n (jōvōk, jöttem) id., pObU \*yūw<sup>Δ</sup> ~ \*yīw<sup>Δ</sup> v. 'come' > pVg \*yī-/\*yīw-/\*yāy- v. 'come' > Vg: T yī-/yūw- ~ yāw-/yāy-, LK/MK/UK yī-/yīw-/yāy-, P yī-/yīy-/yāy-/yāy-, SV yī-/yāy-/yāy-, UL yī-/ yāy-, Ss yī-/yuw-/yay-; pOs {Ht.} \*yō-/\*yōy- ({ʃHl. \*yū- / \*yūy-) v. 'come' > Os: V/Vy yō-/yōy-, Ty yō-/yōy-/yēy-, Y yō-/yēy-/yēw-, D yē-, K yē-/yēw-, Nz yī-/yīw-/yūw-, Kz yī-, yūw-, O yī- v. 'come' ¶ MF 34O-1, UEW 1O9, Ht. 14O [#169], Hl. rHt 67-8, 72-4 ¶ ≈ IS I 267 (U \*yē-ye, unt. in the light of new achievements in FU hist. phonology); ≈ MF 34O-1 and UEW 1O9 (FU \*yEŋ|y<sup>Δ</sup> [ʃ UEW] \*jōŋ<sup>ʒ</sup>, \*jōy<sup>ʒ</sup>] based on unc. adduction of F/Es jää- v. 'remain'); IS supposed that the U stem is derived from the expected U \*ey<sup>Δ</sup>-, like IE \*yeh- (sc. \*yeh-) v. 'walk, go' (> Ht (i)yā-(tta) id., OI yā-ti 'goes', Lt jō-ti 'to ride', Tc A yā- 'go, travel') ↠ IE \*yey- || **A** \*ī- > Tg \*ī- v. 'enter' > Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn, Ewk, Sln, Lm, Neg ī- id. ¶ STM I 293 || M: d.: (1) \*i-re- v. 'come' > MM, WrM ire-, HlM, Dx, Ord ire-, Kl, Dg ir-, MnR H, Ba re-, Mgl irā- ~ irā-, {Wr.} irā- ~ ire- ¶ Iw. 1O7, MED 413, H 82-3, Rm. M 29, Wr. 168, Klz. D I 11O, T 356, KW 2O9 ¶ (2) M \*i-le- v. 'go, go away' (> MM [S, SMD] ile- id., F H 81, H SMD 53) ↠ \*ile-ge- v. 'send' > MM [S, MA] ilē-, [HI] ile-, WrM ilge-, HlM ilgee-, Kl ilgē- ¶ Ms. H 62-3, MED 4O4, KW 2O7, Pp. MA 195-6, 438 ¶ Pp. IAL 117, S AJ 292 [#482] || **D** {Km.} \*ey- v. 'arrive, reach' (→ v. 'obtain') (and d. {Km.} \*ey-t-) > Knd ī-, Png ika-, Ku e-, Kdg etti, Klm end-, Prj ēd ~ ēy-, Gdb ed- v. 'arrive', Gnd ev- ~ av- ~ awwānā, Kui epa- / et- v. 'reach, arrive', OTl {Km.} eydu- ~ eyidu- ~ ēdu- v. 'reach, go to', v. 'obtain', Tl ētenēu v. 'come, arrive, go', Tm eytu v. 'approach, reach, obtain', Ml eytuka v. 'obtain', ettal, ettu 'reaching', Td ic-, Tu ettə, ekkə v. 'reach', Kn ay-du, eydu v. 'approach, reach' ¶ D #8O9, Em. DIL 1O4-11O, Km. 3O8 [#168] ◇ Cf. AD LRC (HS, IE, A), IS I 265-7 (HS [Eg, B, C, Ch], IE, D, A [M, Tg], ? U) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #177 (\*i ~ \*ya 'go') (IE, U, A, Ko, J, EA + unc. Ko).

**103.** <sup>2</sup> \*?<sup>æ̂</sup>EkU (= \*?<sup>æ̂</sup>ikU?) 'thorn, hook' (→ 'tooth') > **HS:** S \*šikk- 'thorn, pin, nail' (× N \*<sup>ç</sup>uK<sup>Δ</sup> 'thorn, point' [> 'blade'], 'summit') > BHb \*<sup>ç</sup>ek\* (pl. šik'kim) 'thorn', JA sīk'k-ā, sikk-ə't-ā 'thorn, peg, nail of a tent', SmA skh 'thorn', Ar <sup>شکه</sup>šikk-at- 'sharp weapon, edge', Ak šikk-at-u 'Spitze'

(aphaeresis pS \*<sup>1</sup>śikk- < \*?iśikk-, like in pS \*<sup>1</sup>p- 'mouth' < \*?ap-, cp. C \*?ap- 'mouth') ¶ GB 785, KB 1236, KBR 1326, Js. 988, 993, Tal 585, BK I 1256-7, Lv. III 521, LG 529, Sd. 1234 || C {AD} \*?iśikʷ- {E} \*?iśkʷ-) 'tooth' > SC: Kz iśikukō, pl. iśikʷa, Asa liga, → Mb išike id. || EC {Ss.} \*?ilk- id. > Sa ik-ə, Smi ilig, pl. ilk-ə, Rn {Oo., PG} iláh (pl. ilk-ə) 'tooth', Elm ilk-ə, Arr {Hw.} ?ilic (pl. ilk-ə), ilkwa id., Or ilk-āni 'teeth', Kns ilk-itta, Gdl ilh-itt, ilh-a, Sd hink-ə, Alb ink-u, Kmb ink-e, Hd ink-ē, Brj irk-ā, Hr/Dbs {AMS} ?ilgakkó (pl. ílge) 'tooth', Gln {AMS} ?ilke, Gwd ?ílq-e, Bs {HL} ilk-ə 'teeth' || Ag {AD} \*?zlkʷ-, {Ap.} \*?ərkʷ- 'tooth' > Bln {Plm.} ?zrkʷi, Xm {R} erəkʷ, {Ap.} zrzkʷ, Q {R} yerkʷ, Km {Ap.} zrkʷz, Aw {Hz.} zrkʷi id. || Bj {R} aγəkʷ 'a front tooth' ¶ AD SCLC 203-4, AD SF 132, Ap. AV 5, Ss. PEC 12, 22, 40, Ss. B 106, Bl. 164, 190, Hw. A 341, HL 66, PG 151, Oo. 72, AMS 165, 205, 281, EPC #342, ESC 292 (s.v. SC \*?iśikʷa 'tooth') || A: Tg \*elgu 'hook (for pulling fish out of a net)', (< ?) 'bear's fang' > Neg zlgu/з 'hook, bear's fang', Ewk зlgu, Lm зlgъ ~ ьlgъ 'fish-spear', Orc zggū, Ul зlžu, Ork зldu, Nn зlgu 'hook' ¶ STM II 445-6 || M \*elgū- v. 'hang on (sth.), hook' > WrM elgū-, ölgū- v. 'hang, hang on (a nail)', elgün qada- 'to nail onto (as pictures to the wall)', HlM ölgö- id. ('вешать, под-\\при-вешивать'), MnR E {MYC} olgo- 'hang, suspend' ¶ MED 309, Luv. 319, MYC 543 || ?φ NaT \*īl- v. 'hang on (sth.)' > OT il- , {Cl.} 'catch sth. (with the hand, with a hook, etc.)', {DTS} '(под-, за-)цеплять; ловить (крючьями)', Tkm īl- vi. 'hook, fasten upon (при-\\за-цепляться)', Yk īl- vt. 'hang up, load (animal's back) with', Qmq, Qrg, Qrql, Nog, Uz, ET, Tk Δ īl-, Qzq īl- ьl-, VTt, Bsh эл- ьl-, Xk īl- үl- v. 'hang on', StAlt īl- vt. 'hook, hook on' ('за-\\под-цепить') ¶ DTS 207, Cl. 125, ET Gl 343-6, BT 63, BIG 67 ¶ SDM95 (\*ēlku v. 'hang on, hang on hook'); ≈ SDM97 (A \*ōl(k)i id.) and ≈ DQA #648 (A \*jōle id.) (in both papers M \*elgū- and T \*īl- are unconvincingly equated with Tg \*ol- 'hook for hanging kattle; to hang over fire' and Ko \*ori 'a fishing hook for several barbs'; in fact, Tg \*ol- and Ko \*ori belong to N \*?rō'LΔ 'bough, hook' [q.v.]) ◇ If NaT \*īl- belongs here, its vw. \*ī is still to be explained (as. from \*i of a presumable N etymon \*?æzíkU?) ◇ AD NM #90, Vv. AEN 5-6, AD PNCPh #53.

**104. \*?rū'ž?V** (or \*?rū'hž?V?) 'throat; to swallow' > HS: S \*°v?z? > Ar v?z? G (pf. ?azazə) 'rassassier (les moutons)' ¶ BK I 28, DRS 13 || ?σ Eg Md iżw 'Schilfrohr', Eg G iż.t 'Luftrohr, Schlund' (if the meaning

'throat' is primary) ¶ EG I 127-8 || Om ≈ \*<sub>₁</sub>?wč?č v. 'drink' > SOM: Hm B {Fl.} wč-~wč-, Bako, Ub, Gll {Fl.} wč- || NrOm: Cha {Fl., C}, Bdt, Bsk, Zs {C} uš-, Bdt {Fl.} uš-, Hrr {Gr.} wš-, Ym {C, Fl.} uš-, {Wdk.} uša, Shn {C} uš-, Shn {Fl.} Anf {Fl.} ušš, {MYTY} učo, uč-, Kf {C} uč-/uč-, {Fl.} uč, Mch {L} čussi-, Bnc {Wdk.} uš(k)- v. 'drink' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'drink', C SE IV 393, L M 2O, MYTY 119, 122, Wdk. BY 112, 137, 15O || SC: Irq {MQK} isa (pl. is-ā) 'neck' (esp. 'back part of the neck'), Brn isa, Kz isito, Asa isat 'neck' ¶ E SC 283, MQK 57 || IE \*?ho?hw(e)s- or \*?how?h(u)e)s- ({Pv.} \*<sup>₁</sup>A<sub>₁</sub><sup>w</sup>eE<sub>₁</sub>es- / \*<sup>₁</sup>A<sub>₁</sub><sup>w</sup>eE<sub>₁</sub>s-, {EI} \*<sup>₁</sup>h<sub>₁</sub>h4oh<sub>₁</sub>(e)s / gen. \*h<sub>₁</sub>h4eh<sub>₁</sub>s-os) 'mouth' > \*Hojs- id. (= \*?hoys-) > Ht ais, gen. iss-as (s-stem), Lw as(sa)- 'mouth' (?) || NaIE \*ōus-/\*əus- 'mouth' > OI āh<sub>₁</sub> (= ās), ās'yam, Av āh- || L ōs, ōris || OIr á 'mouth' || AS ōr 'beginning, origin; forehead', ON óss 'mouth of a river' ] → NaIE \*əws-tā 'lip' > OI 'ōstha-h<sub>₁</sub> 'lip', Av aosta-, aostra- id. || L ōstium 'entrance' || Lt uostas, uostā 'mouth of a river, Haff, harbour', Ltv osts, ōsta 'harbour', Pru austo 'mouth', āustin 'mouth of an animal' | pSl \*us'ta pl. 'mouth' > OCS ѹcta usta, Blg, R ѹcta, SCr, Slv ústa, Cz, Slk ústa, P usta, Uk вуста ¶ Pv. I-II 15-7, P 784, EI 387, M K I 84, 133, WH II 224-8, Vr. 421, Ho. 241, Frn. 1167, Tp. P A-D 172-4, En. 149, Glh. 656, Vs. IV 172, Vn. A 4, Ped. H § 41, Ts. E I 6-8, Kron. VLHS 42, Ivn, SA 154 ¶ NaIE \*ōws-/\*əws-suggests N \*?ū?hč∇ || A {SDM95} \*\*ič‘∇ (?) > T \*ič- v. 'drink' > OT, Tkm, Az, Qrg, Uz, ET, Tv ič-, Tk ič-, VTt əč-(Y) bš-, Bsh bs-, Yk iš-, Chv ěč- bš/zž- v. 'drink' ¶ Cl. 195, Rs. W 168, DTS 201, ET Gl 391, Jeg. 66, Fed. II 159, SDM95 s.v. (?) \*ič‘∇ 'drink' ◇ The glottalized -č- in SOM, the vl. -č- in NrOm, and the fortis \*-č‘- in A (for the expected voiced cnss.) are likely to go back to the N cluster \*-z|č?- ◇ The delabialized \*i from \*ü in T (or in pA?) still needs investigating ◇ The semantic history of the etymon: 'throat' → (IE) 'mouth', 'swallow' → 'drink'.

**105. ₂ \*?uč∇ 'hear', (→ ?) 'ear' > HS \*\*?uč-(∇n)-> S \*<sup>₁</sup>?uδan- 'ear' > Ak uzn-, Hb נְחֵן ?ozen, Ug ?udn (= \*?udn-), JA [Trg.] נְזָנִי ?uδan, JA [Trg.], JEA em. נְזָנִי ?uδn-ā, Sr נְזָנִי ?uδn-ā, SmA ?dn, Ar نَذِنْ ?uδn-, OSA ?dn, Gz ئەن ئەزەن, pl. ئەن ئەزان, Jb C {Jo.} ئىدەن, Mh ئەزەن, dim. ئىدەنەت, Hrs ئەزەن, Sq {Jo.} ئىدەن ئەن, DRS 1O, KB 27, A #89, OLS 9-1O, Js. 22, Sl. 85, Tal 9-1O, Lv. I 3O, BGMR 2, LG 52, Jo. M 3, Jo. H 1, MiK I #1.4 || Eg idn 'ear' ([ink]... szm χrw mi idn ggwy 'I am he**

who hears a sound\voice like an attentive ear' [Coffin Texts 7.30k, from Vc. p.c.], *F Gilula IE 251*, *ἰδη hier.* \*'ear' § EG I 154, Tk. I 83-4, 248, ≈ 37 || C: Ag \*was- v. 'hear' > Bln was-, Xm wäš-, Km was- id. || ?? SC: Kz wato 'ear' (unless akin to Asa yot-, Dhl ḫēet-it- 'hear, Af ayti 'ear') § Ap. AV 22, EK 15, Blz. CL 178 || Om {Blz.} \*\*wayz- (= {AD} \*wayž-) 'ear; to hear' > NrOm: Male wayz-, Kf wāy- ({Lm.}: -y- < \*-z-), Ym {Wdk.} wē-sō ~ wēs-ò v. 'hear', Mch wāžži 'ears' (?) (in wāžži 'kākko 'earring'), ? wā-mo 'ear', Cha {C} wāy, Zs, Zrg waye, Bsk wacyi, Doka wayci, Bdt wašē id., Shn {Lm.} wāza 'ear' § Blz. OLBP 11 [#28], L M 56, Lm. Sh. 407, Lm. Y 473, C SE III 87, 177, Wdk. BY 138, Ap. AV 22 || IE \*ṛ̥Hous-/ \*ṛ̥Hus- ({EI}) \*hṛ̥ou̥s- / gen. \*hṛ̥eu̥s-s or \*hṛ̥u̥s-ōs) 'ear' > NaIE \*oys-/ \*ōys-/ \*us- (/?\*\*əys-) id. > Av uši, OPrs ušī nom. du. 'both ears', KhS uī 'intelligence' || Gk: A οὖς, D ὡς 'ear' || Arm ռԼՆԿՈՒ unkn 'ear' (-kn on the analogy of ակն akn 'eye'?) || pAl {O} \*wau̥si, {Huld} \*vəš- 'ear' > MAI G [FB], Al T/G vesh || Lauris 'ear' || OIr au (later ó) id. || Gt ausō, ON eyra, AS éare, NE ear, OHG óra, OSx ôra, NHG Ohr id. || Lt ausis, Ltv àuss, Pru ausins id. | pSl \*ūxo (du.\pl. \*uši) 'ear' > OCS ουχο υχο (du.\pl. ουψη υշի), Blg үхօ, SCr սհօ, Slv uhō, R 'үхօ, Uk вүхօ, Cz, Slk, P ucho § P 785, EI 173, Mn. 43, Bai. 35, Vn. A 99-100, WH I 85-6, F II 448-9, Fs. 69, Vr. 107-8, Ho. 85, Ho. S 57, OsS 666, Kb. 747, KM 521, Slt. 54-5, SchmB EV 37, Hamp EAlb 138, O 501, Huld 127, Frn. 26, En. 149, Vs. IV 179, Glh. 651 § In Land Ir a w- is either a special development of \*ow- with a non-apophonic \*o (cp. Hirt IG II 30, BD I/1 153, 193 [\*āus- = \*oys with non-apophonic \*o]), or some kind of delabializing dis. (*F Mart. EChPh 229*), or reflex of \*\*əys- (in a zero-grade \*\*əys-?), Szem. SM I 45 (hyp.: \*ays- is original, while \*o- in \*oys- [> Gk οὖς] is due to the infl. of \*okʷ- 'eye').

**106.** \*ŋ̥ΓaʔN (= \*ŋ̥g̥y̥aʔN) 'grow, become' (→ 'be') > HS: Eg ∀ նՅ v. 'grow, become great\much' → 'be great\much' (Vc. interprets the verb as a triradical ր՞յց on the ev. of Cpt) > DEg նՅ id. > Cpt Sd/B/L ԱԻԱ այա, F ԱԻԵԼ այել 'grandir, avancer dans l'âge, être honoré', qualificative OCpt ՕԻՈԻ, ԱԵԼ աԵԼ, Cpt A ԱԻԵՎ իԵՎ, ԱԵԼ աԵԼ, Cpt Sd/B ՕԻ օ i 'large, big'; → Eg նՅ ~ նՅ (prtc.) 'great, much' (on the spelling նՅ see Ed. § 337) > Cpt Sd/B m. օ օ, f. Ա Ա; the Eg set phrase պՐ-նՅ 'big house' (→ 'palace' → 'king') has been preserved in Cpt Sd/A/L պՊՕ ՐՐԾ ~ ԵՊՕ ԵՐԾ, Cpt B ՕՎՊՕ ՄՐԾ 'king', Ak քիր?ս, Gk [Hdt.] φερών, AncHb \*פְּרַטְנָה 'Pharaoh' > BHb [Mas.] פְּרַטְנָה par'ñō and Gk [LXX]

Φαραω, [JF] Φαραώθης ¶ EG I 161-3, 516, Fk. 37, Er. 53, Vc. 5-6, 154, 177, GB 660-1, KB 913-4 ¶ The Eg root belongs here unless it is akin to S \* $\sqrt{\text{rl̥y}}$  v. 'rise', as suggested by Vc. (Vc. 5-6) || B \* $\sqrt{h}$ ?? (= Pr.'s  $\sqrt{h_2 h_1 h_1}$ ) v. 'be in' > Ah  $\text{əh}$ , pf. int. iha, Tnsl, Ty, ETwl, Gh pf. int. iha id. ¶ Pr. H #119, Fc. 495-8, GhA 77 || A: M \*a<sub>1..2</sub>- v. 'be' ( $\times$  N \*?**a** 'become, be', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Not here Tg \* $\bar{o}$ - v. 'become, happen' (< N \***how'i** 'become, appear' [q.v. ffd.]) || D {Km.} \* $\bar{a}$ - v. 'become, be' ( $\times$  N \*?**a** id.?) > Tm  $\bar{a}$ , Kn  $\bar{a}\text{gu}$  'come into existence, happen, be', Ml  $\bar{a}\text{kuka}$  'be(come) that', Kt a<sub>1..2</sub>, Kdg a<sup>1..2</sup> / a<sub>1..2</sub>, ? Td o<sup>1..2</sup> / o<sub>1..2</sub> 'become', Tu  $\bar{a}\text{pinī}$  (2n p.  $\bar{a}\text{n̥d̥b̥}$ ) 'be, become, happen', Tl agu, avu, Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku  $\bar{a}$ , Kui  $\bar{a}\text{vā}$  'be, become', Klm an- 'be (in a place), be (so-and-so)', Nkr and-, Nk an-, Gnd  $\bar{a}$ , Brh aan-/ar-/ as-/a- 'be' ¶ D #333, Km. 277 [#2], Cald. 355-6 ¶ Not here Kn, Tl  $\bar{a}\text{gu}$  v. 'be, become' (probably from D \* $\bar{a}k$ - < N \***hak**▀ 'stand, stop, stay, be' [q.v.]). In D both roots have formed one suppletive paradigm ◇ Cf. IS I 243: D, A. IS reconstructs N \*?**a** 'become, be' and assumes that there is a connection between monosyllabicity of the stem and its function as an aux. word (a copula?). To my mind, this connection does exist, but it is not original, but rather a result of later development. There is a universal tendency of shortening syntactic words (cp. IE \*est-i 'is' > Rum  $\text{je}$ , New Arm  $\text{je}$ ; in New G the verbum substantivum ar(i)s has been shortened to -a when used as a copula). But in our case there was no need in special extra-normal shortening, since in D and A the lrs. were lost (resulting in lengthening of the vw. in D and possibly in A) ◇ This etymological equation is uncertain, because the Eg root has an alt. etymology (connection with S \* $\sqrt{\text{rl̥y}}$ ), while the M and D roots may go back to N \*?**a** 'become, be'.

**107. \***רַאֲבָבָה 'female breast, bosom' > HS \* $\text{r̥i}^1\text{b}$ - > CS \* $\text{rubb}$ - 'bosom' (or sim.) > JA [Trg.] אַבְבָּא בָּבָה {Lv.} 'Schoß, Inneres, Brust, Busen', {Js.} 'bosom, lap', JEA  $\text{rubbā}$  'bosom', JPA Bz  $\text{rubbā}$  'breast', Sr  $\text{רַבָּא}$  {Br}  $\text{rubbā}$  'bosom, lap, womb', Ar  $\text{رَبْبَبَ}$   $\text{rubb}$ - 'neck of a sleeve' ({Fr.} 'manicae inferior pars eiusque radix'), {Bel.} 'base de la manche', Ar سَلَبَ  $\text{rubb}$  {Hv.} 'arm-pit, breast', {Bel.} 'sein' ¶ Lv. T II 195, Js. 1046, Sl. 84, Sl. P 397, Br. 503-4, SJPS 403, Fr. III 95, BK II 148, Bel. 468, Hv. 449, ~ MiK I #1.104 (S \* $\text{yabab}$ - 'bosom, chest, dewlap'; adduces Ar  $\text{yabab}$ - 'chaire pendante sous le menton; gorge', F BK II 429) || ? B \*\*-bb▀- (< {Pr.}\* $\text{yb}$ ▀- ~ \* $\text{wb}$ ▀-) 'female breast' > Sl. ti-bb̥i-t, pl. ti-bb̥at-in, Tgn {La.} (not Gh, as erroneously mentioned in IS I 275 and AD

SF 146!) *a-bbuj*, pl. *i-bbuin* (unless developed from Lallwörter independently in Sll and Tgn) ¶ Ds. 258, La. MChB 115-6 || EC: Sml {R} *iþ ~ ńiþ*, Sml B {AD}, new StSml (based on Sml B) {DSI} *iþ*, *ibbo* 'nipple' (here, unless borrowed from Ar *qubb-*, as suggested by Illich-Svitych) ¶ AD SF 146, DSM 321, R SS II 7, IS I 275 || Ch: CCh \*w|?ub̥ 'female breast': Lmn {Mch.} *wuńwa*, *wuńba*, {Lk.} *úba* | McMdr: Mdr {Kr.} *?uba*, Glv {Rp.} *úbà*, {Kr.} *?úbà*, Gv {Kr.} *wúbà*, {IL} *úbà*, Dgh {Frk.} *w'bà*, Nkc {Blg.} *wubà* | BM: BuP {ChC} *u?wa*, Bu/Cb {Kr.} *?úwà*, Mrg {IL in ChC} *?w?wa*, Ngx, Wmd *?uwà* | McHigi: FIK {Kr.} *?ù?wa*, HgNk *?uwà* | ? Ktk: Lgn {Lk.} *íwayē* | Suk {Mk.} *waf*, {IL} *wâ* ¶ JS 53 (Ch \*✓ *wb̥*), JI II 46-7, ChC, ChL ¶ Ch \*b̥ < \*\*?b < \*ń...b (mte.) ¶¶ Coh. #56 (S, C), AD SF 146 (C, S, Ch, B) || K: pGZ {K} \*ube- ~ \*uba- {AD} 'bosom, lap, female breast' > OG, G *ube-* 'bosom, lap, hem (of clothes)', Mg *(l)uba-*, *l̥ba-* 'bosom', Lz *uba-*, *oba-* 'female breast, bosom' ¶ K 185, K<sup>2</sup> 195, Abul. 416-7, DCh.1236, Chx. 1385, Q 274, Marr 192 || A: 1) M \*ebü-r 'breast, bosom' > MM [S] *eþur* 'breast, bosom, front', WrM *eþür* ~ öþür, HlM *əvəp* 'breast, bosom, front, lap', Kl *əvəp* öwṛ 'bosom, breast', ? MnR H {SM} *yer* 'breast, bosom'; IS assumes that M \*ebü-r goes back to a plural form, with \*-r being an ancient A plural marker; 2) M \*eb-či-ȝün > MM [HI] *eþče,ȝün* 'breast' ({Ms., Lew.} 'poitrine'), [S] {H} *eþce,ȝu(n)* 'Brust', WrM *eþcigü(n)*, HlM *əvçyy(H)* 'sternum, chest', Kl *əvçyH öwcün* 'sternum', Ord öbč'ū, Shrñ išču, MnR H {SM} šžjū 'poitrine, poitail' ¶ MED 628, H 4O-1, H SMG I 28, KRS 4O9-1O, KW 3O3, SM 492, Ms. H 51, Lew. II 12 ◇ C and M suggest a front vw. in the first syll. (most probably N \*æ). In S, Ch, and K the vw. \*u is due to the ass. infl. of the labial cs. (< N \*b) (as well as possibly of the labialized vw. of the second syll.). S \*ń- and the K initial zero suggest a pN \*ń- (rather than N \*v- yielding S \*ń- and K \*v-). Cf. AD LRC #56 (HS [S, C], K, M); IS I 275 (HS [S, B, Ch], K, M). In some lgs. (e.g. Ch and B) the word got a Ll. connotation, but I do not share IS's opinion that this etymon is of onomatopoeic origin.

**108.** ≈ \*ȝNÇÜ,ȝN,PV (or \*ȝNÇyÛ,ȝN,PV) 'salt' > HS: C: EC: pSam {Hn.} \*fusu?ubo 'salt' > Sml fusbo, pBn \*`usù?úb̥z 'salt' > Bn: Bi usu?úb̥z, J/Kj usúbb̥z id.; Or {Grg.} aššabō 'salt', {Brl.} ašabó 'salsedine, sale marino sciolto' (→ Anf aša'bo 'salt'); ?φ Rn čímbi 'salt' || Ag \*čzv ({Ap.} \*čəw) 'salt' > {Ap.}: Bln, Q šəwa, Xm čəwa, Awn číwí id.; Ag → Gz šəw 'salt, salty land', Tgy, Amh čəw, Tgr čəwa 'salt' ¶ Hn. S 78

(pSam \**gisūbo*), Hn. BD 125 (pSam \**gisu?ubo*), Grg. 2O, Brl. 29, Ap. AV 2O-1, L G 565 || NOm: Mch {L} 'hičiwo, Kf {Cc.} ičewo ~ ičebo 'salt' || J R K 255, L M 34 JJ Blz. SAA || A: OJ {Mr.} sippo 'salt' > J śio id.; OJ → Ainu sippo || Mr. J 525 || D \*čupp- ({θGS} \*s-) 'salt' > Tm, Ml, Kn, Tu, Tl upp, Kt, Td up, Kdg uppi, Klm, Nk sup, Nkr supp, Prj čup, Gdb sup & čuppu JJ D #2674 ◇ Or \*-š(š)- is a reg. reflex of \*-sy- (Bl. 281), suggesting pN \**ɪ́ŋCuyū?* P. An alt. explanation (N \*-Cü- > EC \*-si-> Or [prevocalic] -š(š)-) is less plausible in view of pSam \**gisu?ubo* that rules out EC \*-Ci-. A hyp. of an EC \*-sü- > LEC -su- and pre-Or \*-si-> Or -š(š)- is too dubious, because it is the only supposed EC root with the vw. \*ü ◇ The equation between HS, J, and D has been proposed by Blažek (Blz. DA 163 [#112]).

**109.** \**ɪ́ŋAčɪ́ŋ* (= \**ɪ́ŋAčɪ́ŋU'*??) 'to blow, to yawn' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>✓*ɪ́ŋçp* > Ar *عصف* ✓ *ɪ́ŋf* G v. 'blow hard' (of wind) || BK II 272 || **U:** FU \**oččɪ́ŋ* ~ \**aččɪ́ŋ* v. 'yawn' > Chr uštem id. | Z *oč-saw-* id., *očest-* id. mom. ('зевнутъ') || Hg *ásít-* v. 'yawn' | pObU {Ht.} \**wūs-* id. > 1) pVg \**ūsənt-* > Vg: T *ōsənt-*, LK *ūsənt-*, UL/Ss *ūsint-*, P *ūsəntōl-* id., 2) pOs \**wus-* > Os: O *us-* id., → a) Os: V/Vy *usł-*, Ty/Y *usłł-*, Nz *usłjt-*, Kz *wūsəfə-* id.; b) Os: D *wāses-*, K *uses-* id. || LG 209, Ht. #72O || **A:** NaT \**äs-* v. 'blow' (→ v. 'yawn') > OT *äs-* v. 'blow (gently)', Chg *äs-* 'wehen, blasen', Tk *eś-*, CrTt, Kr, Nog, Qq, Uz, Ln *es-*, Az *äs-*, VTt *is-*, Bsh *iθ-* v. 'blow' (of wind), Qzq *es-* v. 'blow hard' (of wind), → NaT \**äsin* > OT *äsin* 'breeze, gentle wind', → NaT {Bang} \**äsinä-* > OT *äsnä-* to blow gently, to yawn', MQp [CC] *esne-*, Chg *esnä-*, Tk *esne-*, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB *esne-*, Az *äsnä-*, Uz *esna-*, ET *äsnī-*, Δ *esne-*, VTt *isnä-*, Qzq, Qq, Nog *esine-* id., Qrg, StAlt *este-* 'yawn (from time to time, позевывать)' || Bang TB VII 195, Cl. 24O-1, 248-9, Rs. W 49, 5O, ET Gl 311-2, 553, Äz. 157, MM 147, Jud. 966 ◇ The vw. \**o-* in FU \**oččɪ́ŋ* is puzzling (regr. as. from \**ɪ́ŋAčɪ́ŋU'*?).

**110.** <sub>2</sub> \**ɪ́ŋCɪ́ŋLɪ́ŋ* 'guts' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>✓*ɪ́ŋçl* > Ar *ɪ́ŋçl-*, *ɪ́ŋasal-* 'guts' ('intestins') || BK II 272 || **K:** \**čel-* 'guts, entrails' (× N \**čɪ́lɪ́lɪ́ŋ*) > G pl. *čel-eb-i* 'guts', Mg *čz-*, *či-*, Lz (m)*ču-*, ? Sv UB/L {TK, GP} rdp. *činčil* 'gut, intestine' || K 249, K<sup>2</sup> 308, FS K 46O, FS E 521 (K \**čel-* 'gut'), Chx. 1973, 2135-6, DCh. 1671, NCh. 448, Chik. 69-7O, Q 396, GP 28O, TK 862.

**111.** \**ɪ́ŋawčɪ́ŋ* (or \**ɪ́ŋačwɪ́ŋ*) 'light of the sun below\on the horizon' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>✓*ɪ́ŋašw'* > Ar *ɪ́ŋašiy-* 'dernière partie du jour', *ɪ́ŋašwat-* 'obscurité

de la nuit depuis qui'il s'est fait nuit jusqu'au quart de la nuit' ¶ BK II 265 || ? EC: Sml {ZMO} **ńašo** 'day, full day', Sml N **ńášo** 'day' ↓ Elm **áote**, Arr **ńawaté** f. 'sun'; cp. EC and Dhl words for 'sun, daylight' s.v. N \***ńaž̥N** 'white, bright' ¶ AD SF 300-1, ZMO 53, 62, Abr. S 16, Ss. SPhG, Grg. 9, Hw. A 337, To. DL 476, To. D 127, Blz. DL s.v. 'sun' || ? ECh: Brg {J} **ńustāŋ** 'morning' ¶ ChC || IE: NaIE \***aüs-**/\***us-** (/\***wes-**?) 'shine (leuchten)' ({EI}) IE \***h₃(e)üs-sk̥eti** 'it lights up, dawns') (as well as NaIE \***aüs-ōs-** 'dawn, morning-twilight' [{EI}] IE \***h₃eüsōs**, {Mn.} \***aüsā**, \***aüsorā** 'dawn') and NaIE \***aws-tero** 'eastern') > OI **ušās-/ušas-** (nom. **u'sāh**, accus. **u'sās-am**, gen. **u'sas-ah**), Av **ušā** (accus. **ušāŋhām**, gen. **ušāŋhō**) 'dawn-light', OI **uš'rā** 'dawn-light' || Gk Hm **ἥώς** (<\***aws-ōs**), gen. **ἥοῦς** (**ἥόος**), Gk A **ἕως**, Gk D **ἕώς** id. || L **aurōra** 'dawn', **auster** 'southern wind' || Lt **aušrā** 'dawn, dawn-light', **aūšta** 'dawn is coming', Ltv **àust** id., **àustra** 'morning twilight' | Sl \***ustro** 'morning' > OP **justrzenka** 'dawn-light', **justrzejszy** 'of tomorrow', **nazajustrz** 'to the following day', OCS **ζαѹст҃ра** **zausta** 'in the morning', Blg 'застра', McdS 'застра' 'morning, tomorrow' || Gmc: AS **ēarendel** 'morning star'; NaIE \***awstrō-** in AS **ēastre** 'goddess of the spring', **ēastron** 'Easter', \***aws-t(e)ro-** in OHG **ōstar** 'östlich', 'to the east', ON **austr** 'east' || NaIE \***wos-er-/wōs-er-**: Vd **vasar-** 'in the dawn' (in the cd. **vasar-'hā** 'striking \ [?] meeting \ [?] coming in the dawn'), **vāsa'rah** adj. matutinus' || OIr **fáir** 'sunrise', W **gwawr** 'dawn', Br **gwere-laouen** 'morning star, Venus' (NaIE \*-sr- [after a long vw.] > Clt \***r-**) ¶ P 86-7, EI 148, Mn. 43, M K I 113 and III 172, M E I 23, II 532, MW 93OKb. 749, F I 605-6, WH I 86, LP § 26.3, SB 278, YGM-1 259, Hm. 357, Frn. 27, ≈ ESSJ VIII 201-2 (rejects pSl \***ustro**), BER I 611, Sl. I 594-5 || U: FP \***ačN** 'early' > pChr {Ber.} \***oš-nъ** > Chr: L 'ожно' 'earlier', H **ажны аžnъ** 'earlier, long ago' | pPrm \***wōž** (= {LG} \***wōž**) 'early' > OPrm **wōž**, Z **vōž**, Yz **'už**, Vt **вазъ**, Δ **waž** ¶ UEW 605, LG 60, Ber. 47, MRS 371, Ep. 1 || ?Φ **D** (in KK) \***ōč-** > Kui **ōspa** / **ōst-** v. 'be bright, give light', **ōsteri** 'light', Ku **ōži** 'beautiful', **ōžu** 'beauty' ¶ D #1037 ◇ D \***ō** < N \***aW??** Or shall we reconstruct N \***ńawočN** and suppose a syncope \***ńawo-** > D \***ō-**?

112. \***ńäčN** 'bush, shrubs, forest' > HS: S \***ńiš-** (~ \***ńišš-**?) 'tree' > BHb **ńēč** (pl. **ńěčim** **ńěčim**), Pun **ńś**, Ug **ńś** {A} 'tree', IA **ńek** (etymological spelling for OA \***ńax**), em. **ńek** < \***ńaxā**, IA

(Akkadianized) (AkSc) **אֵץ**, BA **עֵץ** **גָּדָר** 'wood' (em. **אַעֲטָה** **גָּדָר**), Nbt **עֵץ** id. **אֶת** {Js.} **גָּדָר**, **גָּדָרָה** 'tree', JEA {Sl.} **גָּדָרָה**, SmA **עֵץ** **גָּדָר** 'wood', Ar D **גָּדָרָה** 'tree', Ar **عَصْنِي** **عَصْنِي**- {Ln.} 'small thorny tree', {BK} 'in several kinds of coniferous trees and shrubs', ? Ar **عَصَاهُ** **عَصَاهַה**- {Ln.} 'any great trees having thorns', {BK} 'in famille d'arbres à épines', {Hv.} **عَصَاهַה** **عَصَاهַה**- 'coniferous tree', 'in acacia tree', OSA **גְּדָרָה** 'building materials (wood?)', Gz **גְּדָרָה** 'tree, shrubs', Ak **iš-u**, **išš-u** 'tree' ¶ LG 57, KB 817-8, KBR 863-4, HJ 879-80, BDB 1982, Js. 99, Sl. 152, Tal 55, Ln. 2070, 2076, BK II 277, 282, OLS 91; on OA **גְּדָרָה**: AD AR and AD PSH 31-2 || ?**גְּדָרָה** Eg Md/BD **גְּדָרָה** 'branch\bough of a tree' (mt. from \***גְּדָרָה**) ¶ EG V 535 || **K** \***eççeler-** > G I/Gr **eçer-i** 'mit Riedgras, Gebüsch, Gesträuch usw. bewachsene Niederung', G † **eçer-i** 'Hain, Gehölz, Gebüsch' ¶ Chx. 356 || **D** (in SD) \***ačar-** > Kn **ajara-nili**, **ajura-nili** 'low undershrub', ? Tu **ajara** 'in moss' ¶ D #44 ◇ K and D \*-r- may point to a second component of a N word group.

**113. \*גָּעַצְנָה or \*גָּעַצְנָה** 'exchange, compensate\ion' (→ 'trade', 'revenge') > **HS**: S \***וְגָעַצְנָה**- > Ar **מִגְּעַצְנָה** (**מִגְּעַצְנָה** / **מִגְּעַצְנָה**) 'remplacer une chose à qn., lui donner une chose en échange de...' ¶ BK II 408 || **IE** \***₅wes-/₅wos-**, {EI} \***wes-** 'buy', {EI} \***wes-no-** 'purchase' > Ht **was-**, **wasiya-** v. 'buy', **usnyazi** 'sells' || NaIE \***wes-/wos-** v. 'trade, deal' > OI **vās** 'na-m' 'price, value' | IIr → FU \***wos-** 'exchange, trade' (ffd. see Jk. 298-9, UEW 585) || Arm **գին** (gen. **գնոյն** **gnoy**) 'price, value' || Gk Mc **ο-νο-** 'price', Gk **ωνος** 'venum, purchase-money, a price', **ωνη**, Gk L **ωννα** (< \***wos-nā**) 'buying (Kauf)' || L **vēno-** (nom. **vēnus**, accus. **vēnum**, dat. **vēnō**) 'sail', {EI} 'that which is sold' ¶¶ P 1173, WP I 311-2, EI 185, M K III 177, WH II 753-4, F II 1149, Slt. 295-6, Ts. W 103 || **A**: T \***ōč** 'revenge, vengeance' > OT **ōč** id., 'malice', Tk **ōč**, Az **ōč**, ET, QrB, Qrg **ōč**, Alt **ōč**, CrTt **ōč**, Uz **ωč**, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Tv **ōš**, Xk, Yk **ōš**, VTt **γγ** **üč**, Bsh **üs**, Chv **Δ** **вєчє** **వెళు** 'revenge, vengeance', Tkm **ōč**, Qmq, Ln **ōč** id., 'hostility', Kr **ōč** id., 'punishment' ¶ Cl. 18, ET Gl 558-9 || ?**σ D** (in SD) \***oṭ(t)-** > Ml **oṭukkuka** v. 'pay taxes', Kn **oṭṭaja** 'tribute' ¶ D # 952.

**114. \*גָּדָר** 'limit, edge'? → 'up to, until, towards' > **HS**: S: [1] S \***וְגָדָר-ay-** > Ar **عَدَى** **عَدَى** **גָּדָר** 'bord\rivage d'un fleuve' → **גָּדָר-ay-** ~ **גָּדָר-ah-** id., 'extrémité, bord'; [2] S \***גָּדָר-ay**, \***גָּדָר-u/i** 'up to, towards' > OAk **ad-um**, Ak **adi**, **adu**, **ad** 'up to, towards', Hb **גָּדְלֶה**, **גָּדֶל** 'until',

Ph, Ug, OSA **¤d** 'up to, till', Aram **¤ad** 'up to', Jb **'ped**, d 'to, up to', **?ed** 'till, until' || Sd. 12, CAD I/I 115-121, KB 743-4, KBR 786-7, BK II 194-7, OLS 71-2, BGMR 12, Jo. J 1 || ? EC: Sa {R} -d, marker of accus./dat. || R S II 95 || K \*<sup>o</sup>-d > Sv -d 'up to, till' (*lupχw-d* 'till the springtime'), homonymous with -d 'as' (transformative case) and therefore reinterpreted as one of the meanings of this transformative case || Ni. s.v. **¤o**, GP US 41-2 || IE \*HaT ({EI} \*h<sub>A</sub>ed) 'at, to' > NaIE \*aT 'towards' (where \*T is an archiphoneme resulting from neutralization of the opposition \*-d<sup>h</sup> ↔ \*-d ↔ \*-t in word-final position) > L ad 'towards', ad- pv. of approaching, Um AR, ARS prep., -ař postp., 'towards', Osc adpúd 'quoad' || OIr, Gl ad- pv. of approaching, W add- id. || Gmc \*at- pv. 'towards, near' (pv. of approaching) > Gt, ON, OSx at 'towards, near', OHG az id., AS æt, NE at, etc. || Phr αδ-δακετ 'affecit', αβ-βερετ 'ad-ferebat' || HrLw à-ta 'towards' || P 3, EI 59O, WH I 11-2, Bc. G 329, Pln. II 675, 727-8, EWA I 405-6, Vn. A 13, Vr. 16, Fs. 60-1, Ho. 13, Schz. 92, Mer. HHG 40-41 || A: ? Tg \*-d<sup>r</sup>U<sup>1</sup>a 'to, in', case sx. of dative-locative ({Bz.} \*-dua / \*-düä) (× N \*d<sub>L</sub>ou<sub>a</sub> 'place [within, below], inside' [→ locative pc.]) > WrMc -de (e.g. ama-de 'to the father'), Nn -du 'to, in' (e.g. amen-du 'to the father'), with ppa. -doa (amen-doa-si 'to his father'), Ud -du, -di- (e.g. xoton-du 'zur Stadt', amin-du 'to the father', amin-di-hi 'to his father'), Ul, Sln -du/-du, Orc -du, Ewk -du (amīn-du 'to the father', amīn-du-s 'to his father') ~ -tu (devoicing due to progressive as.), Neg -du~ -tu, Lm -du (aman-du 'to the father') ~ -tu || Bz. 83, Ci. 256, Sun. S 212-223 ◇ The rec. of N \*¤- is based on S \*¤- and K initial \*Ø-. The AnIE reflex is qu., because HrLw à-ta may be also connected with Ht anda 'towards' ◇ In the descendant lgs. the word is used mostly in auxiliary functions (pre-\\post-positions, prefixex, preverbs), but the S prep. \*¤ad-ay, \*¤ad-u/i governs the gen. case, hence it must go back to a noun (probably preserved in Ar ¤aday ¤adā 'bord\\rivage d'un fleuve'). OAk ad-um still has the form of a noun (nom. case).

**115. \*¤'o'p'U** 'go' > K: GZ \*wed-/ \*wid- 'go, walk' (× N \*w<sub>L</sub>ou<sub>a</sub> 'walk, go', q.v. ffd.) || HS: WS \*✓¤dw 'go, step\\pass over' > BHb ✓¤dw: pf. נָאַדָּא נָעַדָּה נָעַל ... 'step over', Ug {OLS} ✓¤dy D 'make go\\disappear' ('hacer pasar\\desaparecer'), JA (incl. BA) ✓¤dy ~ ✓¤dw G (pf. נָאַדְּה ~ נָעַדְּה) 'pass by', JEA ✓¤dy G 'pass, pass over', Sr ✓¤dw (pf. נָעַדְּאָה) 'come suddenly upon', Md ada, ¤da 'pass by,

pass over', Ar  $\sqrt{\text{ṣd}w}$  *G* (لَدَّا / لَدَّا) 'transgress, run', Sb  $\sqrt{\text{ṣd}w}$  (~ ՚d̥y) 'move, march, go', Qtb {Rk.} ՚d̥w 'go beyond, exceed', Mn {MA} m՚d̥wt-՚n 'passage', Gz  $\sqrt{\text{ṣd}w}$  (pf. ՚adawā, js. ՚aṣdū) 'cross over, pass over', Mh  $\sqrt{\text{ṣd}w}$  (pf. ՚addō) v. 'assault without reason', Jb C  $\sqrt{\text{ṣd}w}|y$  (pf. 'ṣa'de) v. 'infect', aṣ'te'de (sbjn. ՚aṣ'tode) 'attack, set upon' ¶ KB 475, OLS 74, Js. 1043-4, Sl. 844-5, Br. 511, JPS 400, Fr. III 122, BGMR 12, L G 56-7, MA 10, Rk. 115, Jo. M 12, Jo. J 7 || B {θPr.} \* $\sqrt{w}dH$  'go' ( $\times N^*w\Delta d_l\Delta_s\Delta_t$  '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ C: EC: Sa {Wlm.} -ad/-ed- 'go', Sml N {Abr.} ՚ad- 'go to', ?φ Sd {Mrn.} ՚ad- 'andare', {Hd.} ՚aṛr-, {Gs.} ՚ara 'go' (→ caus. {Mrn.} ՚addidis-, {Gs.} ՚arisisa 'accompany') (the unexpected Sd ՚- still needs explaining); ? Arr pcv. -iṣit- pf. / -eṣet- ip. / ՚it imv. m. 'go' ( $\times N^*?^r\text{e}^1y\Delta$  'come, arrive'??) || SC: Aṣa {Fl.} ՚adi 'go' ¶ AD SF 242, Abr. S 4, Mrn. S 220, Hd. 369, Gs. 147, Hw. A 451-9 || SOm: Aṛi {Fl.} ՚ada 'go', Male {Fl.} ՚ad- 'come'?) ¶ In B, C, and SOm there may be contamination with N \*q'Άd<sub>l</sub>Δ<sub>s</sub>?o' 'to step, to walk' and with N \*p<sub>l</sub>at<sub>l</sub>?Δ 'to come' || A: M \*o<sub>l</sub>:d- 'go, depart, set out for' ( $\times N^*w\Delta d_l\Delta_s\Delta_t$  '↑'??) > MM [HI] {Ms.} ՚od- 'go, depart', [IsV] {Lg.} ՚od- 'go', [S] ՚otχu (= ՚od-χu) 'go, go away', WrM ՚od-, HlM ՚odo- 'go to, proceed to', WrO {Krg.} ՚od- id., 'depart', ՚ođ- 'go', Brt W ՚odo-, Kl ՚odo- 'go, depart', Kl {Rm.} ՚od- 'sich begeben, sich auf den Weg machen' ¶ Ms. H 83, Lg. VMI 59, H 129, MED 600, Krg. 112, KRS 393, KW 283, Chr. 350, S AJ 270 [#153] ◇ Qu., because all cognates outside HS have alt. etymologies.

**116.** \*q'udΔ 'follow' (→ 'repeat, continue') > **K:** Sv L {Dn.} ՚ud, Sv -ud ~ -əd ~ -id 'still\even (noch)' (χօχar ՚ud 'even less, even smaller'), 'again, also' ¶ Dnd. s.v. ՚ud, TK 725 || **HS:** S \*-q'ud- 'do again' > Ar ( $\times S^*\sqrt{\text{ṣwd}}$  'return')  $\sqrt{\text{ṣwd}}$  (pf. عَادِ ՚āda) 'return to, do again' (՚āda-likalbu fī kāy'ihi 'the dog returned to his vomit', sc. 'vomited again'), Sb  $\sqrt{\text{ṣwd}}$  'return'; S \*q'ād- n. 'duration', \*q'ād- ~ \*q'awd- adv. 'again, still' > BHb טוֹדַת ՚ādāt 'duration' (בְּתוֹדָת bə-՚ādāt 'during': bə,՚ādāt hay'yōm 'als es noch Tag war', bə,՚ādāt šənā'ṭayim 'in two years', mē-՚ādāt 'as long as I live' [lit. 'from my duration']), נוֹדַת ՚ādāt 'still', 'as long as (still)', 'still more, again' ('noch'), Ph {HJ} ՚d 'still, moreover, Ug ՚d 'time, period', BA טוֹדַת ՚ādāt 'still' (↔ Hb?), Nbt ՚d id., IA l? ՚d 'not yet' (l? 'not'), Ar عَادِ ՚ād-in 'while', Sb ՚d 'again', Gz ՚ādī 'still, still more, again, once more', Tgr ՚adu 'yet', Mh, Hrs ՚ād 'still, yet, again', Jb C d-

\***ʕd** 'still', Ak fOAk **adi** 'as long as, while' (× Ak **adi** 'up to' < N \***ʕad** 'limit, edge' (?) → 'up to, until' [q.v.]) § KB 752, 1756, OLS 72, Ln. 2188-92, JH 203, HJ 831-2, LG 55-6, BGMR 22, Jo. M 35-6, Jo. H 12, Jo. J 19, CAD I/1 112-5 || **A:** NaT \***uð-** v. 'follow' > OT **uð-** ({Cl.} \***uð-**) v. 'follow', Tk **uð-** v. 'follow, suit, fit', Az **uð-** 'fit, correspond', Tkm **uð-** v. 'obey implicitly', {ET} 'follow', Uz Δ **uð-** 'follow', Yk **utā** 'following' § Cl. 38, DTS 605-6, ET Gl 573-4 || M \***uda-** follow, delay' > MM [S] **uda, adu** 'following, second (son)', [S, MA] **uda-** 'be late', WrM **uda-**, HIM **уда-** v. 'delay', MnR H {SM} **ud\_a-** 'persister longtemps dans le même état; tarder', Kl Ö {Rm.} **uda-Xa** '(ein Tier) erfolgen, nachjagen' § H 158, Pp. MA 361, MED 860-1, Kow. 380, SM 463, KW 446, T 368 § Hardly here (↔ DQA) T \***ɪð-** 'send (sth.)' , (→ ) 'allow to go, release' (more likely from N \***wedhA** 'to cause to go [to drive, to lead]', q.v. ffd.) §§ DQA #678 (A \***júdu** 'lead, direct': incl. M), Rm. EAS I 143 (A \***ud** 'follow' > M, T \***uð-** 'follow').

117. \*<sup>†</sup>*æ̥go* 'to drink' > HS: C \*<sup>†</sup>ag, {E} \*<sup>†</sup>ag- v. 'drink' > EC \*-<sup>†</sup>ag-/\*-<sup>†</sup>ig-/\*-<sup>†</sup>ug- pcv. 'drink' > Bn pcv. -a<sup>?</sup>ak- / i<sup>?</sup>ik-, Arr <sup>?</sup>ig-, Dsn <sup>?</sup>ík, Elm <sup>?</sup>ik-, Kns ik-, Ya {Hn.} -e<sup>?</sup>q-; HEC \*ag- v. 'drink' > Sd {Gs., Mrn., C}, Kmb {C}, Hd {PB} ag- v. 'drink'; ( $\times$  N \*<sup>†</sup>yugē 'to drink') Gdl uk-, Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} <sup>?</sup>uk-, Cm {Hab.} <sup>?</sup>ug- id., ( $\times$  N \*<sup>†</sup>H'i<sup>?</sup>Kæ 'eat?'): Yk εk- 'eat', éktó 'food' ||| Dhl {EEN} <sup>?</sup>ag- 'eat', {Ss.} <sup>?</sup>aga 'food' ||| SC: Brn {Wh.} ag-, Irq {MQK} <sup>?</sup>ay-, Grw {Wh.} <sup>?</sup>ay-, ?ϕ Alg {Wh.} gag- v. 'eat' ¶ E PC #483, Ss. PEC 17, Wh. IC 56, MQK 18, Bl. 1O8, BlSO s.v. ik-, Gs. 6, AMS 274, Hn. Y II 124, Hw. A 34O, To. DL 482, EEN 13, Ss. PEC 17, Hn. Y II 124-5, Blz. CL 178, Blz. SCL s.v. 'eat' || S (d.?) \*<sup>†</sup>agw v. 'suckle, give to drink' > Ar لَعْلَةُ <sup>†</sup>agw G 'put out (a child) to nurse', ? (mt.) Gz <sup>†</sup>wgī G 'feed with milk', Amh/Arg/Grg {L} waggā v. 'force to drink' ¶ Fr. III 117, BK II 186, Hv. 456-7, L G 6O7-8 ||| IE \*h<sup>eh</sup>gw- ({EI} 1s prs. \*<sup>h</sup>eg<sup>wh</sup>-mi) 'drink' > Ht eku-/aku- (3s prs. ekuzi = {Pv.} ek<sup>ω</sup>-ci), Lw a<sup>?</sup>ku-, Pal a<sup>?</sup>ku- v. 'drink' || NaIE \*eg<sup>hw</sup>-/\*ēg<sup>hw</sup>- > Tc: A, B y<sup>?</sup>ok- id. ||| L ēbrius 'drunk' (← 'having drunk one's fill': qom tu saturatque ebria eris 'when you have had enough to eat and drink', Terence, Hecyra 5.2.3) ¶ Not akin to IE \*ak<sup>ω</sup>- 'water' (↔ Hrozný et al.) (see Pv. I-II 261-8); not akin to IE \*ek- v. 'eat' (↔ Mn.), because Ht -ku- and L -b- indicate a pIE labiovelar cns. ¶ Pv. I-II 261-8, EI 175-6, ≠ Mn. 235, 237, Wn. 6O1-2, Ad. 5O9-1O, Ad. H 22, JGH 147-9, ≠ WH II 387-8 ||| A \*<sup>o</sup>r<sup>?</sup>gu or \*<sup>o</sup>ugu > M \*u<sup>?</sup>u- v. 'drink' > MM [S] u<sub>?</sub>u-, [MA] <sup>?</sup>ū-, WrM

սցս-~սս-~ացս-, HlM պյ- Ա- v. 'drink', Ord Ա'-, MnR Հ Ա- id. § H 16O, Pp. MA 371, MED 864, SM 462 §§ Sdm95 (s.v. ? \*ug<sup>∇</sup> ? 'drink'): (?) pA \*ug<sup>∇</sup>, but SDM VC envisages a possibility of A \*e in the first syll (A \*e - u > M \*u - u).

**118.** <sub>2</sub> ≈ \***ʕæ'ya'** g<sup>∇</sup> 'fat' > HS: S (+ ext.) \*<sup>o</sup>✓ ʕgr, \*<sup>o</sup>✓ ʕgn 'be stout, fat': [1] \*<sup>o</sup>✓ ʕgr > Ar **عَجْر** ✓ ʕṛ (ip. -ʕṛarū) 'crassus\obesus\ventrosus fuit', **أَعْجَرْ** ɬaʕṛar- 'crassus, pinguis, ventrosus' (vir); [2] (+ ext.) \*<sup>o</sup>✓ ʕgn > Ar ✓ ʕn 'pinguis fuit' (de camela), ɬaғin- 'compacto corpore et pinguis' (camelus) § Fr. III 11O-1, 116 || Eg OK ڻ n. 'fat' § EG I 239, ≠ Tk. SCC 94 [#24.1] || A ({DQA} \*jāgi 'fat', {SDM97} \*āgi}: M \*eʂü-kün ({SDM} \*eʂükü, \*üʂekü) 'fat' > MM [S] eʂükün ~ öʂükün, WrM ögekү(n), HlM əθəx 'fat, lard, grease', Kl əθəkñ əkən 'fat, animal fat (сало)', MnR H {SM} ök'e 'grease, suet', Dg զիգ, Dx լուց (Hl., Md.: a secondary լ-), ShY ükön 'fat' § H 47, MED 631, SM 296, KRS 42O, St AJ 235 [#29] || T \*jāg 'fat' n. (× N ≈ \*L|ɬaғU<sub>1</sub>y<sup>∇</sup>) 'fat meat', q.v.) > OT jaγ 'grease, fat, oil' (incl. OT Og XI [MhK] jāγ 'suet'), Tk յաց, Tkm jāγ 'oil, butter, grease', Az jaγ 'fat, butter', Uz ēr jaγ, ET jaγ, Δ jaq 'grease, animal fat, butter', {Jr.} jaγ, Δ {Ml.} jaq 'grease, oil, animal fat', Ln jaγ ~ jaq 'grease, suet, fat', Slr jaχ 'suet, fat, oil', Xlj jāγ, Uz jaγ, Qmq jaω 'oil, butter, fat', Qrg S չօվ չօվ 'fat, butter', Alt ՃԵՍՅ չՌ 'suet', ՃԵՍ չս 'animal fat', Qmn {B} չս id., 'butter', Tb {B} չս 'fat', QK {B} չաγ, Tv չաγ, Tf ճաγ 'hard animal fat (сало)', Xk չաγ, Yk sīā 'fat', Chv ժս ժ ժԵՎ 'butter, fat' § Cl. 895, Rs. W 177, ET J 58-9, TL 453, DT 218, Ra. 193, BT 57-8, BN 67, B DChT 11, B DK 213, B DLT 144, Jeg. 215, Md. 27, 16O || Tg \*<sup>o</sup>jagjakta (= \*<sup>o</sup>jag-ja-kta) 'fat of a bear' > U1 յացճակտա id. § STM I 337 § The word belongs here if \*-ja- goes back to a sx. (extension) §§ SDM97 s.v. \*āgi 'fat', DQA #632 (A \*jāgi 'fat').

**119.** \***ɬ'ogp1n** (or \***H<sub>2</sub>oqP1n**) 'offspring, child, young (of an animal); to beget, to bear a child' > HS: ? WS \*<sup>o</sup>igul- 'calf' > BHb נַגְלָל 'young bull\ox', Pun, Ug, OA ՚gl, JA נַגְלָל ՚e'gal, JEA em. אַיְגֵלָל-אֲ, Sr ɬ'eg'l-ā, Ar ɬ'eg'l-ā, Gz ՚əgʷəl ~ ՚əgʷəl 'calf'; Cn → Cpt ΑΓΩΛ agol 'ox' § KB 741, KBR 784-5, A #1995, OLS 75, HJ 824, Lv. III 618, Sl. 851, Br. 5O9-1O, LG 11 || C ≈ \*✓ ՚kʷl (or \*✓ ՚kl) 'give birth, child' > Ag {AD} \*կʷz̥l-/\*թz̥kʷz̥l- ({Ap.} \*զʷz̥r-/\*թզʷz̥r-) v. 'beget, child' (< Early Ag \*\*✓ ՚kʷl?) > Bln ՚z̥wra 'boy', f. ՚z̥qʷra 'daughter', pl. զʷz̥r 'children', Xm (չ)z̥wz̥r 'child', pl. զզz̥r,

Km *xʷəra* 'child', Bln *?xʷär-*, Xm *ʒxʷər-* v. 'bear, beget'; Early Ag *\*\*v̥?kʷl* → Tgy *kʷəlfa* 'child' || HEC *\*käl-* v. 'give birth' > Sd, Kmb *käl-*, Hd {Hd.} *kärl-*, {Ss.} *kār-* v. 'give birth' (of animals), Brj *käl-* v. 'give birth', *kála* 'child' ¶ Ap. AV 17, R WB 23, Hd. 7O, Ss. B 123, ≠ AD SF 200 || **K:** Sv L *qlaw-* 'child, boy' (× N *\*q'U1U'* 'boy, child') ¶ Dn. s.v. *qlaw-*, ≠ K<sup>2</sup> 243-4 (unc.: Sv *\*ql-* < K *\*gle-* 'penis') || **A:** T *\*ogul* (pT {Md.} *\*ogul*) 'offspring, child' (→ 'male child') > OT *oɣul* 'offspring, child', Chg *oɣul* 'son', Tkm, Az, ET, SY, Ln, Xlj *oɣul*, Tk *oɣul*, Qzl *oɣil*, Uz *wɣil*, Qrg, StAlt *ūl*, Qq *ul*, Qzq *ūl*, VTt, Bsh *ul*, Tv *ōl*, Tf *ōl*, Yk *uōl*, Blgh *جَلْ* *نَوْلَ*, Chv *ыивәл* *иүәл*, Δ *iüəl* ≈ *иүәл* ≈ *иүәл*, Chv MK *ul* 'son', Xk Sg/Kc *ōl* 'young man, son', Qzl *oɣil* id. ¶ Cl. 83-4, ET Gl 414-6, Rs. W 358, TL 313-4, DHST 299, DT 168, Ra. 213, BT 168, Md. 45, Md. OJ 133, 228, IsxP 57, BIG 123, 127, Fed. II 468, Jeg. 341 || ?σ M: WrM *ugalza* ~ *ugulza*, HIM *үгалз*, Kl *иүълза* 'male wild mountain sheep' ¶ MED 863-4, KW 447 ¶ Starostin (S CNM 9 and S SN 154) equates T with M *ugalza* (which I accept) and with MKo *ahāj* 'child' and reconstructs pA *\*uka(lV)* 'child, son' (not convincing because the element *\*lV* has a proto-N age) || **Gil:** Gil: A *oɣla* 'son, child', ES {Krn.} *eɣlə* ~ *eɣlaŋ* 'child', A *oɣlagu*, ES *eɣlgun* 'children' ¶ ST 241, ST RN 127, 369, 416, Krn. N 494 || **D** (in SD) {tr.} *\*okkal-*, {GS} *\*okal-* 'relations, kinsfolk' > Tm *okkal* id., Ml *okkaliyan* 'a cultivating class', Kt *okl* 'family', Td *wikil* 'family within clan', Kn *okkal* 'residing, residence, home', *okkala* 'husbandman, farmer', Kdg *okka* 'patrilineal joint family', Tu *okkelb* 'a tenant'; D → Prkr *okkia-* 'a dwelling, residence' ¶ D #925, GS 82 [#255] ◇ If WS *\*iɣigul-* belongs here, we must reconstruct *\*f-* for pN and suppose that the glottalized stop and its reflexes in C, K, and D have developed from a cluster *\*f̥g* (> C *\*k*, Sv *q-*, SD *\*-kk-*, {GS} *\*-k-*). WS *\*-i-* in *\*iɣigul-* (for the expected *\*-u-*) still needs explaining ◇ Starostin (S CNM 9, S SN 154) suggests to equate Sv *qlaw-* 'child, boy' with A *\*kūlV* 'slave, servant' and with D *\*kuli* 'hired labourer', sc. to transfer it either to N *\*KuT'a\** 'clan, village' (→ 'everybody') and N *\*q'U1U'* 'boy, child' (→ A 'servant, slave') or to N *\*kulV* 'to work' ◇ AD NM #119, S CNM 9 (÷÷ NrCs, ST).

**120.** *₂ \*fokV* (or *\*fɔkV?*) 'listen' or 'ear' > **HS:** EC: Sa {R} *okkā*, Sa I {CR} *‘očk’wā* 'ear', Af {PH} *fókka* 'ear-wax', ? Brj {Ss.} *akkab-* v. 'hear' ¶ R S II 23, PH 61, AD SF 264 || **D** (in SD) *\*ōk-* v. 'listen' > Td *o·x* 'hear', Kt *qgarv-* 'listen without speaking' (BE: *\*ōk-* + *\*karv-* 'lie hidden') ¶ D

#1O32 ◇ Connected with N \***ξuΚa** 'see', 'eye' (q.v.)? The et. is qu., because the cognates are isolated in both HS and D.

**121.** ?σ \***ξayka** '≈ move (quickly), jump' > IE: NaIE \*aɪg- {P} '(sich) heftig bewegen, schwingen, vibrieren' {EI} ? IE \*h<sub>1</sub>eɪg- 'move') > OI ējati 'stirs, moves' || ON eikinn 'wütend, rasend, gewaltsam', NNr eikjen 'streitsüchtig' || Gk αἴγις 'rushing storm, hurricane', ?σ Gk αἴγες 'waves' || pSl \*jygrati (sə) 'amuse oneself, dance, play', ? 'jump' > RChS, OR **ΗΓΡΑΤΗ** 'to amuse oneself, to jump', OCS **ΗΓΡΑΤΗ** igrati 'παίζειν, ludere', Blg иг'рая, McdS игра v. 'play, dance', SCr igrati, OP igrac̄ 'to play, to dance', SCr Ch jigrati, Slv igráti, P grac̄, R иг'ратъ, Uk 'грати 'to play', R Δ иг'ратъ 'to dance', Cz hráti 'to play, to amuse oneself'; pSl \*jygrā 'amusement, play, dance' > OCS **ΗΓΡΑ** igra 'lusus', RChS, OR **ΗΓΡΑ** igra 'παίγνιον, παιδιά, ludus', Blg, R иг'ра, Cz, Slk hra 'play, amusement', SCr igra, SCr Ch jigrá 'play, dance', Slv igra, Δ igrā, HLs jhra ~ hra, OP igra, P gra, Uk гра 'play' ¶ WP I 11, P 13-4, EI 388, M K I 126, ≈ F I 32, Vr. 96, ESSJ VIII 208-11, Glh. 274-5, LS 40 || **HS:** S \*°✓ ŋuk > Ar ✓ ŋuk G (řāka / -říku) 'marcher en remuant les épaules' ¶ Fr. III 251, BK II 422 || B \*°✓ Hky (\*-Hkuŋ-) v. 'tremble, jump' > Sll {Ds.} akʷi (3s pf. ŋukʷi) v. 'trembler, sautiller; sauter en se laissant tomber', Tz {Stm.} åkʷy (= åkʷi?) v. 'jump' ¶ Ds. 256, 284, Stm. 162 || **D** \*ak- v. 'tremble, fear' (× N \***qag₁?**, a 'to fear') > Ka aŋi v. 'tremble, fear', Tu aguruni v. 'totter, stagger', Tl agurvuu 'fear, terror' ¶ D #12.

**122.** \***ξaΚo** 'water' > **HS** \***ξa'kʷ-** > C \*°**ξakʷ-** > Ag \***ξakʷ-** 'water' > Bln {Plm., R} ŋačkʷ [ξauk], Xm {R} aχʷ, Xm T {CR} aχʷ, akʷi, {Bnd.} āqʷ, Q {R} aχū, Km {CR} aχʷ, {Bnd.} āχʷ, Aw {Bnd.} aŋu 'water' || EC: ?φ Gdl {Bnd.} haka 'water' ¶ AD SF 273-4, R WB 62, ≈ Ap. AV 2 (Ag \***ɻakʷ-**) || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} àká 'river, water', {C} ak, {Bnd.} āka 'water' ¶ Wdk. BY 116, C SE III 66., ≈ AD SF 273-4 || S \*✓ ŋkk > ? SS \*✓ ŋkw ~ ✓ ŋwk ('≈ water surface', 'lake', or the like) > Jb E {Jo.} 'ŋa'kɔt, Mh ɻá'kawt, pl. ɻi'wēk 'mountain pool', Hrs ɻa'kawt, pl. ɻawēk id., ?? Sb ŋwk (h. l. translated in BGMR as '[?] bank, embankment', 'berge, talus') | Ar ✓ ŋqq G (pf. ŋqqa) 'in pluviam dissolvit (ventus nubem)' (× Ar ✓ ŋqq G 'split, rend') ¶ Fr. III 188, Jo. M 36, Jo. H 12, BGMR 23 || **IE** \***hekʷ-** (or \***hakʷ-**) {EI} \***h<sub>A</sub>ekʷeh<sub>A</sub>-** 'water' > NaIE \*akʷ-ā id. > L aqua 'water' || Gmc {Vr.} \*ahwō > Gt alwa, ON ó, á (~

ꝑ) 'river', Dn ꝑ 'small river', AS ēa, OSx, OHG aha 'water, stream, river' || BSl: R Okā n. l. (river) ({Trb.}: ←b Blt), ? Slk Okā (a lake in the Tatra mountains) ¶ P 23, EI 636, Mn. 31, WH I 60, Vr. 1, Fs. 18, Ho. 82, Ho. S 1, EWA I 100-3, Kb. 10, Vs. III 127 || A: T \*ak- v. 'stream, flow' > OT aq- v. 'flow', Tk ak-, Tkm, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, ET, Ln, StAlt, Tv aq- id. | ? Chv L yux- v. 'flow' ¶ Cl. 77, ET Gl 118-120, Fed. II 495-6 ¶ Md. 115, 165 (→ DQA #620) reconstructed ppT \*jak'- v. 'flow, stream' and equated Chv yux- with Ewk yaku- 'be flooded' and with WrMc yōχon 'ditch, trench, furrow'; but Tg \*yak- is better to be equated with T \*jag- > OT jaγ- 'pour, pour rain' (Cl. 896) (see N \*yak $\nabla$  '≈ to pour, to be covered with water') ¶ ≠ DQA #620 (A \*jak'a - \*-k-) ◇ Not identical with N \*yæ'gō 'drink' (q.v.). Cf. AD LRC #54 (IE, C), IS I 275-6 (HS [S, C], IE, D + \*÷ EC \*y $\nabla$ g- v. 'drink' and Ht eku- id.), WNL NC s.v. 'water' (HS-IE-T, as well as Esk uq-čz̥-n̥z̥ 'a drop' and Gil չր- v. 'stream' [of a river]) ◇ ≠ Gr. I #414 (\*akwa 'water') (IE + qu. CK, Ai + err. U, A [\*jak'a/jaka], Ko, J, Gil).

**123.** \* $\text{r}'\text{o}\bar{\text{k}}\text{i}$  'sharp point\edge' > IE \*h $\text{w}$ e $\bar{\text{k}}$ - (~ \*hē $\bar{\text{k}}$ -?) / \*h $\text{w}$  $\bar{\text{k}}$ - ({EI} \*h<sub>2</sub>e $\bar{\text{k}}$ -) 'sharp, pointed' > NaIE \*o $\bar{\text{k}}$ - / \*ə $\bar{\text{k}}$ - id. > OI 'aśri-ḥ 'corner, angle, edge' || Gk ὄξρις 'hill-top, mountain peak', ὄξη 'point', ὄξεις (gen. ὄξειδος) 'a point, barb of an arrow\hook', ὄξρος 'spitz' || pAl {O} \*ac-eta ({[O]} \*atseta) > Al athët adj. 'bitter, harsh, unpleasantly sour' || L acu-s (gen. acūs) 'needle', acies 'edge (of a sharp instrument)', acer 'sharp', Osc akrid 'acriter' || OIr ochair 'angle, edge', W oehr {Vn.} id., {YGM} 'side', hogi 'to sharpen, to whet' || Gmc {Vr.} \*agjō > ON egg 'blade, edge', Sw egg 'blade', OSx ēggia id., 'edge', OHG eggia ~ ecka 'sharp point, edge, corner, Schneide', MHG ag ~ egle 'perch', NHG Ecke 'edge, corner', Eck 'angle', AS ēcȝ 'edge, blade, sword', NE edge || Lt ašmuš (pl. ašmens), ašmenys 'sharp point, blade', Ltv ašmens 'blade, edge' | Sl \*ostrъ 'sharp' > OCS, OR остръ остръ, Blg 'остър', SCr ծշտար, Slv óster, Cz, Slk ostrý, P ostrý, R 'острый', Uk '(г)острий' id. || Arm ասեղն aseղն, ասղան asղan 'needle' || pTc {Ad.} \*āke > Tc: A {Wn.} āk 'bout, fin, pointe, sommet', B {Ad.} āke 'end', B akessu 'at the end, last' ¶ The addition of Ht aku- (nom. aku-s) 'stone', Lt akmuo and Ltv akmens 'stone' (see Ph. I-II 24 and Frn. 5) is questionable for semantic reasons. These words may belong to another N etymon (reconstructible as \* $\text{o}\text{h}\text{a}\bar{\text{k}}\text{u}$  'stone', cp. Tgy hákʷəkʷə 'essayer une pierre comme

meule') ॥ P 18-22, EI 509, M K I 61, FI 52, ≈ 59, WH I 7, 11, Vn. O 6, YGM-1 287, 347, Schz. 119, KM 151, Ho. S 14, Ho 87, EWA II 955-6, Kb. 196, O 12, Frn. 19, Vs. III 166-7, Glh. 46O, Slt. 123, Wn. 157, Ad. 37, Ad. H 131, DRS 446 || K: G ēk-al- 'thorn', G Ms hēk-al- id.; (× N \*χāko|aR<sup>Δ</sup> '≈ top part, tip, extremity') Sv: USv {TK} hōker, LSv {TK} wōker 'the very bottom, end (መሸጋዬው, መስኔ, ተወቻዣ, ፍኖ, አነዱ)', UB {GP} hōker 'at the very bottom, below' ॥ TK 897, GP 316, IS I 251 || A \*ok'i ({Pp.} \*okI) > T \*ok 'arrow' > OT, Chg, XwT, MQp, Chg oq, MOg oχ, Tk o k, Tkm, CrTt, QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, ET, SY, Ln, Tv oq, VTt, Bsh uq, Uz ωq, Az, Yk oχ, Xk uχ id., Tf ḥq 'bullet'; Chv L үxā uxā 'shooting bow' ({IS}: < \*oq-jāy 'arrow-bow'? ) ॥ Cl. 76, ET Gl 437-8, TL 577, Rs. W 359, Ra. 212, Jeg. 279-8O, Fed. II 296 || Tg: WrMc oki үōrō 'blunt-headed arrow' (үōrō 'arrow with a head of bone') ॥ Z 123 || M \*oki (unless it is \*φok i) 'top, point' > WrM o k i, HIM o x b id., WrO o k i 'top, point, summit', ? Kl o k b, {Rm.} okj 'the first strongest portion of distilled vodka' (← 'Spitze?') ॥ MED 607, Krg. 118, KW 284 || pJ {S} \*ak̚ayai 'pheasant's spur' > OJ àk̚oyè ॥ S QJ #751 ॥ RS. W 359, Pp. VG 98, 134, DQA #17 (A \*ðk̚à 'sharp point, notch') || U: FU \*°okk<sup>Δ</sup> > BF \*okka 'thorn', \*okas / \*okkaha- 'thorn, spine, prick' with a secondary variant \*oqas (generalization of the weak grade of cns. gradation) > F oka / gen. oan, Δ okka 'thorn', F oas 'thorn, spine, prick', Δ okkas, Krl Ld ogaz id., Vp ogaz & ogah 'thorn, awn of a plant ear', Es okas / gen. o k k a 'thorn, prickle' || AdS of Sm {Jn., Hl.} \*uk3 'tip, front part' < N \*<sup>r</sup>H<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>ôkU 'head' (q.v.) ॥ SK 423-4, ZM 376, Jn. 3O, Hl. M #1113, KKIH 191 || ? HS: S \*°✓faw<sub>L</sub>k<sub>J</sub> > Ar fawāqq- pl. 'petits rejetons qui poussent au haut de la tige du palmier' ॥ BK II 306 ॥ The Ar cognate is qu., because it is isolated within HS ◇ If Ht aku- belongs here, the IE reflex suggests N \*f- or \*h- (the only lrs. that do not yield Ht h-, preserve the infl. of the following N vw. in NaIE, and yield zero in K). Without Ht aku- and without the S cognate the N rec. will be \*h|f|hok i. If the S cognate belongs here, the N rec. must be \*fok i ◇ IS I 251-2 (\*Hōki; IE, K, A, U), RS. W 359 (A, U) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #18 (\*ok 'arrow/point').

124. \*fuk<sub>a</sub> (or \*fuk<sup>Δ</sup>? a, \*fawuk<sub>a</sub>, \*fawuk<sup>Δ</sup>? a?) 'see', 'eye' > HS: S [1] \*°f<sup>Δ</sup>k- > Ug {OLS} f k 'pupil of the eye', [2] SWS \*°-fūk- (?) > Gz -fūk- (pf. fōk a, js. -fūk) v. 'know, understand, take notice, observe', Amh በዢዋ ዓውዴቂ v. 'know, be familiar with', Har āk a id.; the EthS word is hardly a Cushitism (↔ C, L, IS, AD SF), because its presumable

Agaw origin does not account for the preservation of the ancient labial element -ū-/ō/-w̚- of the stem, and the EC origin cannot explain the cns. կ յ OLS 86, C SE I 234, L G 78-9, IS I 255, AD SF 264 || C: Ag \*-r̚'ak- v. 'see, know' > Q {R} ax- ~ ah- v. 'see', Aw {Hz.} -aq-, Km {Ap.} ax-, {CR} ax- v. 'know' || C → Mb {Fl.} axo v. 'see' || EC: [1] Dl: Hr {AMS} Pax-iččé (pl. Paxxe), Dbs {AMS} Paxacče, Gln {AMS} Píx-té (pl. Píxxe), Gwd {AMS} Paxa, Cm {Hab.} Paxíté 'eye'; [2] ?φ EC {Ss.} \*?og- 'know' > Sml óg 'knowing', wān óg ahày 'I know', Rn -óg- 'aware of', ógahe 'be aware of, know', Dsn ?óg adj. 'knowing', Or {Grg.} og-ēssa (< \*og-ayš-a) 'one who knows, wise, expert' (→ Brj o'gayši 'one who knows, skilful person, specialist, expert', Amh wægešša 'local medical practitioner'); Sd {Gs.} egen- v. 'know'; this EC cognate is highly problematic because of its initial and medial cns.; hardly here Kns, Gdl akk- 'see' (acc. to Bl. 250, from EC \*park-, see N \*par<sub>1</sub>ka 'see, observe') յ AD SF 264, R QW 21-2, Ap. K 331, Ap. AV 2 (Ag \*pák- 'know'), Ss. B 154, Grg. 303, PG 240, Th. 259, Gs. 89, To. DL 483, AMS 231 || WCh: NgzB: Ngz {Sch.} i:k- / (y)k- 'see, look' (3s p. i:káy), Bd {IL in JI} íkà, {Sch. in ChL} i:kān v. 'see' յ Sch. DN 80-1, JI II 284, ChL I 260 || IE: \*H<sup>w</sup>e<sup>k</sup>w-/\*H<sup>e</sup>uk- 'eye', v. 'learn': [1] IE \*H<sup>w</sup>e<sup>k</sup>w- ({EI} \*h<sub>3</sub>okw-) 'eye' (> NaIE stems \*okw- (s) ~ \*okw<sub>i</sub>-, d.: \*okw-o-, \*okw-yo-, \*okw-mn<sub>o</sub>-) > OI 'akṣi ntr., akṣī- f. 'eye', Av du. aši 'eyes' || Arm ակն akn id., gen. ական akan, pl. nom. աչք ač<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>, pl. gen. աչաց ač<sup>h</sup>-ac<sup>h</sup> || Gk ὄψ (gen. ὄπος) 'eye, face', Gk D [Hs.] ὄκκον accus. 'eye', Gk Hm ὄσσε 'eyes' (Arm ač<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>h</sup> and Gk ὄσσα- < \*okw-y-; acc. to Me. EAC, \*-y- belongs to the marker of du.), Gk ὄψ\* 'sight, face' (in set phrases, cds., and ds.: εἰ<sub>3</sub> ώπα '[to look one] in the face, Auge in Auge', μύωψ 'short-sighted', ώπη 'face', ὑπώπτη 'part of the face under the eyes', etc.) || Loculus 'eye' || Lt akīs (du. aki), Ltv aks | pSl \*óko 'eye', du. \*óči > OCS око oko / du. оу<sup>h</sup> очи, Blg око / pl. очи, SCr о́ко / о́чи, Slv oko / очи, Cz, Slk, Po ko, R око / pl. очи || pTc {Ad.} \*ek- > Tc A ak, B ek 'eye' || [2] IE \*H<sup>w</sup>e<sup>k</sup>w- 'hole' (< 'eye') > Gk ὄπη 'hole (esp. in roof)' || Lt ākas 'ice-hole', Ltv aka 'spring, source' || [3] IE \*H<sup>w</sup>e<sup>k</sup>w-(y)- v. 'see, watch, show' > Av axš-, Gk ὄπτομαι ~ ὄσσομαι, ft. ὄψομαι, pfc. ὄπωπα v. 'see', OFrs āuwia ~ āwia, AS éawian ~ éawan ~ éowian v. 'show' || [4] IE \*H<sup>e</sup>uk-/\*H<sup>ou</sup>uk- 'eye', v. 'learn' ({EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>euk- 'become accustomed') > pGmc \*auyan 'eye' ({trad.} \*auȝan) > Gt augð, ON auga, OSx ôga, OHG ouga, NHG Auge, AS éaȝe 'eye' (> NE eye); Gt bi-ūhts

'gewohnt' ||| Lt *jùnkti* (prs. *jùnkstū*) 'to get accustomed', Ltv *jùkt* 'accustomed', Lt *jaukinti*, Ltv *jaukt* vt. 'to accustom', Pru *iaukint* 'to exercise (üben)' || Sl \**uč-i-ti*, \**uk-/\*vít-k-* > OCS, OR **ѹѹн-тн**, R *ѹ'чи-ть*, SCr *uči-ti*, Cz *uči-ti*, P *uzcú-ć* 'to teach', OR **ѹѹкъ** 'learning', R *на-'ука* 'learning, experience, science', Sl \**vít-k-nq-ti* 'to learn' > OCS **вък-нж-тн** *vít-k-nq-ti*, SCr *vítknuti* id., R (при-) *вък-ну-ть* 'to get accustomed' || OI 'исуа-ти' 'is accustomed to', Sgd *ѹwčt* 'teaches' || Arm **ուսանիմ** *usanim* 'I learn' || OIr *то-уцс-в.* 'understand' ¶ P 775-7, EI 4, 188 (does not connect between roots for 'become accustomed' and 'eye'), Mn. 882-3, M K I 16, M EI 42-3, F II 281, 407-8, 1154, Ch. 811-2, Fs. 64, Vr. 19, Ho. 83, ≈ 87, Ho. S 56, KM 38, Kb. 751, Vn. U 13, Slt. 20-2, 264-5, IS I 255 (IE \**neuk-* > Gmc), Frn. 196-7, En. 183, Tp. PI-K 22-3, SJSS VII 357, Vs. I 368 and IV 179-80, Glh. 452, 649, Wn. 141, Ad. 74-5, Ad. H 17, 37, 42, 137 ¶ I am grateful to Blz. for convincing me to adduce Sl \**uči-* in spite of the semantic distance between 'eye' and 'learn' (≡σ M) || ?Φ **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) \**wokv* (or \**wɔv*) v. 'see, look' > OHg ó-, Hg óv- v. 'protect' (← v. 'look after') || pObU \**w̄t*-,\**w̄tj*-/\**w̄ty*- v. 'see' > pVg \**w̄t*-,\**w̄ty*-/\**w̄tɔ*-,\**wāy*- id. > Vg: UL/Ss *wā-*, *wāy-*, P *w̄z-*, *w̄zy-*, NV/SV/LL *way-*, ū-, T *wā'*, *wa'*, *wāy-*, *way-*, LK *wā-*, *wāy-*, ū-, MK ū-, UK *w̄z-*, *wāy-*, ū- v. 'see'; pOs \**wu*-,\**wuy*- id. > Os: V *wu-*, Vy/Y/K/Kr *u-*, *uy-*, Ty *wu-*, *wuy-*, Nz *u-*, Kz *wɔ-* v. 'see' ¶ MF 508-9, Ht. #652. The cognate is qu. for phonetic reasons: \*-k- → \*-y- for the expected \*-kk-, the change \*u- > \*wɔ- (probably through \**wu*-?) || **A** ({DQA}) \**uk'u*- v. 'look into, understand'): NaT \**uk*- v. 'understand, find out' > OT, MQp *uq-*, Qzq, Qq, Uz, ET, Tb *uq-* v. 'understand', Qrg, StAlt, ET Δ *uq-* v. 'listen, hear', Az Mgn *uψ-už* 'knowing much, wise' ¶ Cl. 77-8, DTS 613, Rs. W 511-2, ET Gl 584 || M \**uqa*- v. 'learn, notice, understand' > MM [S, HI] *uqa*- id., [MA] **أوْقا** *uqa*- v. 'understand', WrM *uqa*-, HIM, Kl *uχa*-, WrO *uχa*- id., 'perceive, be aware', d. Ord *uχwā* 'intelligence, esprit' ¶ H 160, H SMG 23, H SMD 57, Ms. H 105-6, Ms. O 226, Lew. II 82, Pp. MA 365, KW 447, MED 890, Krg. 162; Cl. 77-8: M ← T || pJ {S} \**úká-(n)* *káp*- v. 'look into, inquire' > OJ *ukakap-*, J: T *ùkaga*-, K *úkágá-*, Kg *ukagá-* ¶ S QJ #197, Mr. 778 || ?σ Tg (in NrTg) \**uχoksa* > Lm *oysa* 'think, ponder (how to live\survive in the next winter)', Ewk *okso* 'think over, change one's mind' ¶ STM II 11 ¶ SDM95 s.v. \**uk'a*, DQA #2503 (A \**uk'u* 'understand, look into') || ?Φ **D** (in NED) \**ak*- v. 'know' > Krx *ax-*

v. 'know, realize', Mlt ḥāge v. 'know, understand', ḥāg-re v. 'get accustomed to' ¶ D #17, Pf. 184 ¶ NED \*ā still needs explaining ◇ Hardly here IE \*aug- 'shine' (see N \*<sup>r</sup>h<sup>1</sup>awk<sup>r</sup>ā 'light [lux], bright') ◇ If EC \*pog- and FU \*wok|yā belong here, they apparently point to a N plain \*-k- rather than to \*-K-, suggesting a N etymon with \*-k- + \*-?-(> \*-k- ~ \*-k-), sc. N \*quknā ◇ The vw. \*ā in D \*ak- is still to be explained. It is tempting to suggest that Amh awwākē, Ag \*-r<sup>1</sup>ak-, and D \*ak- point to a N \*qAwuKā (or \*qAwuknā) ◇ Cf. IS I 255-6 (IE, A [T, M], HS [C]); IS MS 333, Bl. LB #47.

**125.** ?σ<sub>2</sub> \*qEκn<sup>r</sup>z<sup>1</sup>nā ~ 'to peck, to prick' (of birds and other animals) > **HS**: CS \*✓qks ~ \*✓qkc v. G 'sting' > Sr ✓qks T 'be stung' (by a scorpion, serpent), qəkū's-ā 'aculeus (sting)', JA [Trg.], JEA ✓qkc G 'sting' (e.g. of scorpions), MHb ✓qkc G 'sting, prick' (of insects, reptiles) ¶ JPS 425, Br. 543, Js. 11O7-8, Sl. 877, Klein 482 || B \*✓HksH (= \*äksiH?) v. 'eat' > Ah əkš, Gd εšš, Izn, Gh, Mtm, etc. əč, Kb əčč, Tmz ətš, Zng {TC} eťši ¶ Fc. 736, Lf. II #O164, Nh. G 176, Pr. M I-III 58, MT 729, Dl. 68-70, DCTC 285, NZ 163-9 || **A:** M \*öögžüge[n] (unless with \*ψ-) > WrM öggzüge, HlM ετζερ 'food for birds' ¶ MED 633 || ? T: OT igiθ- v. 'feed (a person, an animal)', MT [MhK] igdil- v. 'be nourished\fed' (× N \*H<sup>r</sup>i'Kæ 'eat', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 1O, 1O4.

**126.** \*qA1nā (= \*qālE or \*qālī) 'height, top', 'climb, go up' > **HS** \*qāl- 'high place', v. 'ascend' > S \*qāl- 'height' > Hb נַלְגֵּן 'height, high place', IA, Nbt, Plm נַלְגֵּן, Ar عَلَى 'above, upwards', Ug ፋ 'darüber', Mh ፋለው 'on the top', Hrs ቊልላ 'on, on top of', Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ፋ-ל-ታ 'upper room'; combined with \*la- 'to': IA [Frh.] լְל 'up, upwards', Plm լְל 'above, upon', Sr լְլָאָל 'above, on', Gz ՀՈՅ լայլ (in modern pronunciation) < OEth \*lafla, Tgr ԱԹԱ լալ, Tgy ԱԹԱ լալ id.; S du. cs. \*qālay > prep. \*qālay 'above, on' > Hb נַלְגֵּן 'on' (+ppa: נַלְגִּינְאָה <sup>נַלְגִּין</sup> <sup>אָה</sup> <sup>אָה</sup> <sup>אָה</sup>) < \*qālāyka 'on thee [m.]', etc.), Ph, Ug, OA, IA ፋ 'on', Ar عَلَى 'on' (+ppa: ፋlay-ka 'on thee [m.]'), Sb ፋ 'on'; S \*✓qly, \*-qlay- v. G 'ascend, go up' > Hb נַלְהָה 'go up' G (pf. נַלְתָּה, ip. עַלְתָּה), Ph, Ug ✓qly G id., Ar ✓qlw G (pf. ፋլָה <sup>עַלְתָּה</sup>) v. 'ascend, be high', Sb ፋ 'go up to (a place)', Ak elū v. 'travel uphill, go up, ascend'; S adj. \*qālīy- 'high' > Amr {G} ፋליי- 'high', Ug {OLS} ፋ 'altísmo, excenso', Ar ፋליי- 'high, elevated, lofty' ¶ KB 77O-5, KBR 824-3O, OLS 76-8, G A 15, JH 2O8-12, HJ 842-5O, 852-3, Fr. III

215-7, Ln. 2146-7, BK II 352-7, BGMR 15-6, Jo. M 23, Jo. H 8, LG 303-4, CAD IV 114-35, Hlk. #37, SivCR 78 || Eg fOK *iːr*, fMK {EG, Fk.} *ːr* [=\**v* *ːl*], {EG} *ːry* v. 'mount up, ascend' > DEg *ːl* > Cpt: Sd **ѧլԵ ալԵ**, B **ԱԼԻԱԼԵ**, F **ԱԼԻԱԼԻ** id. ¶ EG I 41, 208, Fk. 11, 45, Er. 67, Vc. 6 || B \*-Hliy v. 'climb, ascend' (Pcj. I A 3, Fcj. 68) > Kb, Mz *ali*, pf. 3s *yuli*, ASgr, Wrg *ali* 'monter', Shw {Hy.} *âli* 's'élever en l'air, monter comme un ballon', BSn *âli* v. 'climb (a tree, etc.)', Ah *ali*, 3s pf. *yuləj*, ETwl *aləy* v. 'be suspended (in the air)' ¶ Dl. 470-1, Dlh. M 111, Hy. 107, Fc. 1016-7, 2006, GhA 120, Pr. M VI-VII 96 || C: EC {Ss.} \**sal-* 'mountain, highland' > Sa *sal*, Af *sale*, Rn *háл* 'mountain', Sml *ſál* 'lofty, coastal range of mountains', Sml Mt *ſal* 'high mountain', Arr *թել* 'mountain', Hr, Dbs, Gln 'i<sup>h</sup>ale' 'highland' ¶ AD SF 140-1, Ss. PEC 35, Oo. 70, PG 135, PH 53-4, AMS 150, 195, Lm. SD 312, Hw. A 339 || Ch: WCh \**ſaly-* v. 'stand up' {Stl.} > pAG \**yaHai* (< \**yaſal* from \**ſaly-*, which Stl. explains by mt.) > Su {J} *yáyáł*, Ang {Flk.} *yáł* | Tng *ʔil*, Dr *yil* | Gj {Sh.} *hilya* 'stand up' ¶ Stl. ZCh 228 [#765], J S 88 ¶ Coh. #58 (S, Eg, B, C), AD SF 140-1 (C, S, Eg, B), Vc. 6 (Eg, S, B) || U \**ä1V-* v. 'raise, lift, carry' > pObU {Ht.} \**ä1äm-* v. 'raise, lift' > pVg \**ä1äm-* id. > Vg: T *älm-*, LK *ölm-*, MK *ʒlm-*, P/LL *alm-/älm-*, NV/SV/ML/UL, Ss *ālm-* id., LK *ʒləmkät-* v. 'rise' ('sich erheben'); pOs \**ä1äm-* v. 'raise, lift' > Os: V/Vy *ä1äm-*, Ty/Y *ä1əm-*, D/K *ä1əm-*, Nz *atəm-*, Kz *a1əm-*, O *ä1äm-* id. | ? Hg *emel-* v. 'lift, raise' (mt.) || Sm {Jn.} \**i1b-~y1b-* v. 'raise' > Ne T {Ter.} *илә-*, O {Lh.} *y1l·ā-*, Ne F L *yirra-* v. 'raise', Ng *jiləjɪ* id., En {Cs.} 1s aor. obcj. X *i'kabو*, B *ji'rabo* id., Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. *člab* 'I weighed', Kms {KD} *jičdъ́iem* ~ *čildъ́iem* 'in die Höhe heben' ¶ Coll. 5, UEW 24, MF 152-3, LG 211, Ht. #27, Jn. 26, Ter. 139, Lh. 126-7, KD 16 || A: T \**ä1'u'k* > Qrg {Rl.} *alıq* ~ *alıq* 'peak, summit' ¶ Rl. I 372, Cl. 135-6 || M \**oala* (unless it is \**øala*) > WrM *ala*, HIM *ալ* 'flat-topped hill' ¶ MED 26 || Tg \**ä1V* 'hill, small mountain' > Mc *ala* 'hill, flat-topped mountain', Nn *ala* 'small mountains' (the pTg word \**ala-a* [but not \*\**alin*] results from a merger with the *V* \**ala-* v. 'cross mountains' < A \**ä1V-*, due to the merger of A \**l* and \**1* in Tg) ¶ STM I 27-8, Y #2067, Klz. MS 100, Kiy. 99 [#O39], Lg. IDT 225, Md. ChF 133 ◇ ≠ AD LRC #64 (S \**v* *ːl* 'on, above, top' ÷ IE \**al-*, \**ol-* 'over, on the other side' ÷ A \**olam-* v. 'ford'), ≠ IS I 274-5 (HS \**v* *ːl* *w|y* [presumably 'cross a mountain'] > Ak *e1ū* \*'cross mountains',

Gz ✓ צָלַע {Di.} 'transgredi') ÷ IE \*hel- 'on the other side' ÷ A \*ā́la 'cross a mountain'). But in the light of new ev. the Ak and Gz roots do not mean 'cross mountains' or anything similar, so that these earlier comparisons are not plausible. ≈ Gr. II #10 (\*ολ 'arise'). ◇ Hardly here G mayali 'high' adj., mayla 'high' adv., mayl- 'höher machen' (Chx. 729-3O, Chik. 243); it would have been tenable if the √ had been -yal-/־על-, but K<sup>2</sup> 5 analyzes the word as m-aу-al- 'high' < GZ \*aу- 'up, upwards'. If nevertheless the G cognate is valid, the initial N cns. was \*у-.

**127. \***הָלַע 'burn (esp. sacrifices), use magic means (sacrifices, magic formula, etc.) to produce a particular result' > HS: S \*◦✓ צָלַע > Sr ✓ צָלַע Sh (pf. צָלָא) v. 'act perversely', צָלָע 'scelus, injuria'; CS \*✓ צָלַע v. 'burn a sacrifice' > BHבְּנֵלֶת נָעָלָה ~ טְלֵלִין נָעָלָה, BA טְלֵלִין נָעָלָה, BA [Eleph.] טְלֵלָה נָעָלָה 'sacrifice which is wholly burnt', IA [Eleph.] טְלֵלָה נָעָלָה, SmA טְלֵלָה נָעָלָה 'burnt offering', JA נָעָלָה טְלֵלָה 'sacrifice', Sr נָעָלָה טְלֵלָה 'offering, holocaust, sacrifice; altar', Plm טְלֵלָה נָעָלָה 'altar' ¶ LG 61-2, Tal 637, Br. 527, KB 785-6, KBR 83O-1, KB LVT 11O8, JPS 416 || ECh: Smr {J} בָּעַל vt. 'burn' ¶ JI II 55 || IE \*ʰel- (≈ \*ʰal-) v. 'burn, burn sacrifices' ({El} \*h<sub>A</sub>el- 'burn') > OI alātam 'a fire-brand, coal' (← \*'burnt') || ? Gk [Hs.] ἀλάβη· ἄνθρακες 'coal' || L altāriā ntr. pl. 'altar (for sacrifice)' (< \*al-t-āli-, F EM 43), ad-oleō 'I am burning (a sacrifice)', Um uřetū 'adoleto, in order to burn' (< Itc \*oł-) || Sw Δ ꝑ ← Joh.) alā v. 'blaze, flame' ¶ IS I 276, P 28, EI 87, M K I 55, WH I 13-4, 32, Bc. G 35O, Ch. 52 || ?φ K \*h<sub>J</sub>al- v. 'flame', n. 'flame' > G al-i 'flame', al- (1s v-a-al-eb) 'aufflammen lassen', al-d-eba 'flammt auf', G Ing haln- v. 'burn, flame', Sv UB häl (pl. hal-är) 'flame' ¶¶ Chx. 12, 14, Jan. 274, TK 893, Ni. s.v. пламя || U: FU \*alāv- v. 'utter magical words, exercise magic forces', v. 'sacrifice' (× N o? \*halāv 'call out, call, utter magical words' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: NaT \*āl > OT {Cl.} āl 'device' (esp. 'dishonourable device'), 'deceit, guile, dirty trick', {DTS} 'ruse, contrivance, artful advice (хитрость, уловка, ухищрение, хитроумный совет)', Tk Δ al 'ruse', Tkm āl 'ruse, contrivance, archness', Az Δ al 'archness, a lie', Chg/MU {Rl.} al 'Schlauheit, List, Betrug, Strategie' ¶ Cl. 12O, 138, ET Gl 126-7, 137-8, Rl. I 349 || ?? Ko {Rm.} alcin alcin həda 'deceive, adulterate' ¶ Rm. SKE 8 ¶¶ Rm. l.c. (Ko - T), ≠ Vv. AEN 13 (rejects the Ko cognate as "an obvious onomatopoeic word") ◇ Sv and G In h- needs explaining ◇ Cf. IS I 14O (HS, IE, [with a query] K). IS considered the et. dubious, since he envisaged an alt.

explanation: the IE stem  $\leftarrow b$  S. But now, in the light of the U cognate (unknown to IS), the et. becomes more plausible ◇ AD NM #122, S CNM 9 and SN 155 (semantic doubts about the A cognate).

**128.** \* $\text{ǵ}[\text{ä}]l\text{U}$  'know' > HS: CS (+ ext.) \* $\sqrt{\text{ǵ}lm}$  'know' > Ar  $\sqrt{\text{ǵ}lm}$  G id. (pf.  $\text{ǵalima}$ , ip. - $\text{ǵlam-}$ ),  $\text{ǵilm-}$  'knowledge', (ꝑ) Ug {A}  $\sqrt{\text{ǵ}lm}$  G 'kennen (?)',  $\text{ǵlm}$  'kundig, wohlunterrichtet' (the Ug root is not mentioned in OLS) || A #2035, Hv. 495 || U \* $\text{ä}l]wä-$  (< \* $\text{ä}l]yü-$ ): FP \* $\text{ä}lwä-$  v. 'notice, catch sight of; understand' > F  $\text{äly}$  'intelligence, understanding',  $\text{älyä-}$ ,  $\text{älytä-}$  v. 'understand', Lp L  $\text{ie}\acute{l}v\acute{e}-$  ~  $\text{ä}\acute{l}v\acute{e}-$  'merken, bemerken, gewahr werden', Z P  $\text{al}$  'Verstand, Vernunft' || UEW 609-10, W SDW 2, SZ 11, LG 30, SK 1872 || D \* $e\acute{l}:$  'knowledge, wisdom' > Kui  $\bar{e}lu$ ,  $e\acute{lk}i$  'mind, reason, thought', Ku  $\bar{e}du$  'wisdom', Brh  $\bar{h}\acute{e}l$  'knowledge, wisdom' || D #912 ◇ D \* $e\acute{l}:$  as cognate with U \* $\text{ä}$  is irregular and needs investigating ◇ S \*-m- in \* $\sqrt{\text{ǵ}lm}$  is likely to go back to the N nominalizer \* $m\text{A}$  (q.v.) (pre-S n. act. \*\* $\text{ǵa}\nabla l-\nabla m-$  'knowledge').

**129.** \* $\text{ǵol}\nabla$  (= \* $\text{ǵolü?}$ ) 'starve, die; dead' > HS: EC: Af {PH}  $\text{ǵulul}$  'famine, shortage of food',  $\text{ǵulule-}$  'be famished, be starved', Sa {R}  $\text{ǵolūl-}$  'Hunger leiden',  $\text{ǵolūl}$  'Hungersnot' || PH 62, R S II 62, 432 || ?σ S: possibly Ar  $\sqrt{\text{ǵyl}}$  G (ip. - $\text{ǵil-}$ ) 'become poor \ destitute' || BK II 422-3, Hv. 513 || IE {E} \* $wel-$  'die' > NaIE \* $wel-$  'dead', 'die' > OLT  $v\acute{e}lēs$  ~  $v\acute{e}lēs$  'ghost (soul of a dead person)', Lt  $v\acute{e}lē$  'soul of a dead person, ghost', Ltv  $velis$  (pl.  $v\acute{e}li$ ) id., Lt  $velionis$  'the deceased, Verstorbener', OLT  $v\acute{e}linas$ , Lt  $v\acute{e}lnias$ , Ltv  $v\acute{e}lns$  'devil, deuce' || Tc A  $wäl$ ,  $wal-$  'die' || ?Gmc \* $wal-$  'bodies of those slain in battle' (× N \* $\text{w}\nabla L^h\nabla$  'to hit, to attack' [→ 'to wound, to kill'], q.v. ffd.) || Lw {Mlc.}  $walliya-$  'of the dead' || EI 150, ≈ P 1144, Tr. 548, Frn. 1218-9, Wn. 554-5, Mlc. CL 253 || Acc. to AD's theory of the prehistory of IE vowels (AD NVIE), N \* $\text{o}$  changed into pre-IE \* $u$  (> E \* $we-$ ) before \* $u|ü$  of the next syll. || A: T \* $\text{öl-}$  'die' > OT, MQp XIII-XIV (incl. CC), XwT XIII, Chg XV, Tkm, Az, ET, Ln, Kr, Qmq, Qrb, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Tv, Yk  $\text{öl-}$ , Tk  $\text{öl-}$ , Uz  $\ddot{\text{ö}}l-$   $\text{wl-}$ , VTt, Bsh, Slr  $\text{ül-}$ , Tf  $\dot{\text{ö}}l-$ , Chv  $\text{vil-}$  id., SY  $\text{öl-}$  ~  $\text{yöl-}$  id., 'be dead' || Cl. 125-6, ET Gl 525-7, Md. 50, 172, Ra. 214 || M \* $\text{ölü-}$  'starve, be hungry' (> WrO  $\text{ölü-}$  id. ~  $\text{öl-}$  'be hungry',  $\text{ölöd}$  n. 'hunger', Kl {Rm.}  $\text{ölö}$  'hungry') → [1] \* $\text{ölün}$  'starvation, famine, hunger' > WrM  $\text{ölün}$ , HlM  $\text{ələn(г)}$ , Kl {Rm.}  $\text{ölŋ}$  ~  $\text{ölŋ}$  id.; [2] \* $\text{ölön}$  'hungry' > WrM {Cev.}  $\text{ölön}$ , HlM {Luv.}  $\text{ələn}$  'hungry, not having eaten', WrO  $\text{ölön}$ , Kl  $\text{ələn}$  {Rm.}  $\text{ölŋ}$ , Brt  $\text{γлэн}$

'hungry', Ord {Ms.} ölöñ 'qui est à jeune, affamé'; [3] \*ölüs- 'suffer starvation \ famine' > WrM ölüs-, HIM əlс-əx, MM [L] ölüs-, [S] {H} ołos- ~ oles-, [HI, MA] öles-, Ord ölös- id., WrO ölös- 'feel hunger, starve', Kl əlс- 'starve, go\be hungry', {Rm.} öls-χə 'hungern, hungrig sein', Brt χлэсэ-хə 'go hungry', MMgl üłas, Mnř H {T} lose-, Mgl {Rm.} üłas-, Dx {T} ünsü- 'be hungry', Mnř H {SM} lossz- id., lossz\_i fug\_u- 'starve'; → [3a] \*ölükü 'hunger' (> MM [MA] öleskü id., d.: [IM] ölüsükči 'hungry') → [3b] \*ölükülen 'hunger, famine, starvation' > MM [IsV] ölöskülen, [MA] öleskülen ~ -ŋ, WrM ölüskülen, HIM əlсөглөн(г), Mnř H {T} losegulon, Dx {T} oliesulan, Mgl {Lg.} öłaskulaŋ ~ üłaskulaŋ; [4] \*ölägle- v. 'starve, be hungry' > WrM ölägle-, HIM əlөглө-х id.; [5] \*ölber- 'suffer extreme hunger, starve' > WrM ölbör- ~ ölmər-, HIM əлөврө-х, əлбөрө-х, WrO ölbare- id., Ord ölbör- 'être épisé de faim'; [6] \*ölüde- > WrM {Cev.} ölüde-, HIM əldө- 'be very hungry', Ord ölöd\_ö- 'be hungry' (of animals), Brt χлдэ- 'go\be hungry' ¶ Ms. H 84, H 123-3, Pp. L II 126O, Pp. MA 275-6, 443, Lg. VMI 61, MED 633-5, Kow. 529-3O, Luv. 318-2O, Cev. 434-5, SM 226, Krg. 14O-1, KRS 414-5, KW 294-5, T 343, T DnJ 131, Iw. 144, Ms. O 53O-2, Chr. 500-2 || Tg \*ölbv- > Ewk ulbin- 'go hungry', ulbimçz- 'hungry' ¶ STM II 258 ¶ Tg \*ölbv- < A \*\*Ulwv- < \*\*Uljuv-? ¶ DQA #1567 \*öli|e 'die', 'be hungry, exhausted', KW 295, Rm. EAS I 146, Pp. VG 108, S AJ 281 || ?σ Δ (in McTm) \*oļula- (×N \*gūLv 'to destroy', q.v.): > Tm ulla- 'become diminished, die, terminate', Ml ulakkuka- 'shrink up' ¶ D #671 ◇ The Sa/Af initial ń- and the AnIE initial zero point to a N \*ń- ◇ The supposed IE and A reflexes of this etymon may be alternatively (but less plausibly) explained as belonging to N \*wṇL'h'v '↑' or N \*gūLv 'to destroy, to fight' (q.v.).

**130.** \*ǵʰǽl̥₂u or (if the Ht cognate is accepted) \*ǵʰǽl̥₁u 'reddish, yellow, brown' > HS: EC \*ǵaw₁- 'yellow, reddish, light brown' > Sml N {Abr.} ǵáw₁ 'yellowness', Sml C {DSI} ǵaw₁(l)an 'be reddish-gray (grigio rossiccio)', Kns aw₁- 'brown', Hr, Dbs ǵaw₁-ákko 'gray, green, light brown, sand-coloured, gold-coloured', Gln ǵaw₁-ákko 'yellow', Gwd ǵaw₁-ètté 'yellow', Sa ǵowla 'dust storm' ¶ Bl. 211, Ss. PEC 46, Abr. S 18, AMS 15O, 195, 244, DSI 96 || IE \*Hēlu-/\*Hēlw- (if the Ht √ belongs here, = \*ǵēlu-/\*ǵēlw-) 'reddish, yellow' ({EI} \*h₁ēlu- 'dull red') > OI aru'na-h₁ 'reddish, gold-yellow', aru'sa-h₁ 'fire-coloured', Av

**auruša-** 'white' || Gmc \*elwa- 'brown, yellow' > OHG ēlo (adj. ēlwēr) 'brown, yellow, yellowish' > MHG ēl (adj. ēlwēr), NGr Sw älv 'fahl, weißgelb' (of sheep), NGr Sb elb 'blaßgelb' || ? Ht {Pv.} hahli-, {Ts.} hahla- 'green, yellow', {Pv.} hahhal- 'greenergy, verdure'; the Ht. word suggests a variant with reduplicated lr. (or an original form of the √?) \*xeXlu- ¶ P 302-3, EI 481, M K I 49, Ts. EI 123ff., Frd. HW EG I 3, Pv. II 3-5 (derives Ht hahli- from hahhal- 'greenergy, verdure'; if he is right, the Ht cognate is to be rejected), OsS 132, EWA II 1060-2, Kb. 198 || **A:** NaT \*āl 'red, scarlet, yellow' > OT āl 'scarlet', 'brown' (of eyes), MQp XIII-XIV al 'dust- or ash-coloured', 'chestnut tending towards yellow', [CC] al 'bright red', Tkm āl 'bright red, pink', Tk āl id., 'chestnut' (of horses), Az al 'scarlet, red', VTt al 'scarlet, pink'; T → M: WrM al, HlM ал 'red, scarlet, vermillion' ¶ Cl. 120-1, DTS 31-2, ET Gl 125-6, Rl. I 349-350, MED 26; the long pT vw. (proved by Tkm) suggests a N postvoc. lr.; the back vw. \*ā may be due to the synharmonic ass. infl. of the lost \*u of the second syll. || ?σ M \*öle ≈ 'ε grey' > MM [S] öle 'dark-grey', WrM öle {Gl.} 'сизый (dove-coloured, warm grey), skewbald (пегий, железистого цвета)', HlM{Luv.}, Kl {KRS} əl, Brt үлэ 'dove-coloured (сизый)', 'grey (сивый)' (of horses), Ord ölö 'grey'; the rounded vw. \*ö may reflect the infl. of the ancient word-final \*-u|ü ¶ Gl. I 303, KW 294-5 (Kl ölö 'graugesprenkelt'), Dr. TM I 145-6, Rs. W 371, H 122 ¶ DQA #1541 derives the T root from A \*ŋjöle (> M \*öle, Tg \*ŋule 'scarlet, pink', pKo \*nūrī- 'yellow', pJ \*mūrā-sākī 'purple') ◇ The long vw. in T and the absence of any non-initial lr. in IE \*Hēlu-/ \*Hēlw- may be explained by supposing a N lr. (\*ʔ|h?) after \*T ◇ If M \*öle- belongs here, the vw. \*ö- may be explained by reg. as. of labiality (\*ä...u > \*\*ö...ü > M \*ö...E), suggesting N \*ŋ|gäT̥|-.

**131.** (2?) \*qalāh 'recent' (→ new, young) > HS: WS \*qal-, \*v̥w̥l 'child, young of an animal' > BHb נָעַל, JA נָעַל אָוָל 'baby, sucking child', MHb נָעַלְהָנָעַלְהָ 'girl', Pun ፩ 'nursling', Ug ፩ 'young of animal' ('lamb', etc.), 'member of a clan', OA ፩ 'foal', Sr ፩ ፩ 'foetus, infans', ፩ ፩ 'foal', Md ፩ 'embryo, foetus', Gz ፩ 'young of animal, foal, colt'; in BHb ፩, Sr ፩, etc. there is contamination with S \*v̥w̥l 'suckle' ¶ pS lost the second \*\*q of the expected √ \*\*v̥w̥l (haplography) ¶ KB 753-4, HJ 843, OLS 77, Br. 516, DM 343, LG 78 || ፩ Eg L ፩ 'child (?)' (< ፩ ፩ ፩ < \*\*q ፩ ፩ <

\*\*ኅኞኞኞ) ¶ EG I 169 || **ሀ**: FU {Coll.} \*ሸቻ (>{Coll.} \*ሸዴ), {UEW} \*ውሸቻ 'new' > F ኃፁስ ድ (gen. ኃፁደን), Es ኃፁስ (gen. ኃፁዬ) 'new' || pLp {Lr.} \*ወሻ id. > Lp: S {Hs.} ቤርሱ, U {Schl.} ቤዳዕ, L {LLO} አትኩ, N {N} ዓድሏስ / -ቻቻ-, Kld ዓት | Er, Mk ው 'new, young' || pChr \*ሸ 'new' > Chr L/H ዘ ብ, Chr Uf ብ, Chr B ብወ | Prm \*ቤ ን 'new' > Z, Vt የተኞች, Vt K/G የተኞች || Hg ቤታ 'new' || Hl. (p.c., 1976) suggested to adduce here Slq Tz ዝርተክ 'again' || pY {IN} \*ወይል- 'new' > YK የተኞች 'new' ¶ Coll. 121, UEW 587, Sm. 551 (FU \*ውሸቻ 'new' > FP \*ውሸቻ, Ugr \*ውሸቻ), Lr. #800, Lgc. #4481, Hs. 1381, Ber. 81 [#438], LG 72, IN 250 || ?σ **ሐ**: Tg: WrMc ቤልሸዕን ({Z} ዘላቅዕኬ) 'little by little' (unless < Tg \*ሸለ-), cp. Ewk ሸለ- 'small') ¶ STM II 261, Vas. 438-4O ◇ AD LYL 364-5 (on \*-ለኩ- > U \*-ቻ-) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #277 (\*ሁዲ 'new') (U + err. J).

**131a.** <sup>2</sup> \*ኅ|ጋዕሉኞህ,ኞ 'leaf' > **ዘ**: S \*ኅልይ- (or \*ኅልይ-) 'leaf' > BHb **תַּלְיָא** 'leaf, foliage (Laub, Blatt)', JEA **תַּלְיָא** (s.e. **תַּלְיָא**, vocalization is unknown) 'leaves'; ? perhaps Ak ላልሂ 'sprout' (but more plausibly it is from N ≈ \***ዘ** **ኤልነ** 'sprout, twig' or derived from S \*ኅል 'rise') ¶ If Ak ላልሂ belongs here, the pS rec. is \*ኅልይ-, otherwise the initial cns. may be either \*ኅ- or \*ሸ- ¶ KB 785, Lv. III 65O, Sl. 864, CAD IV 114 || B: Ah {Fc.} ወላ, ETwl/Ty {PGG} ብላ (pl. ዘላትዎን) 'feuilles minuscules', Tmz ወላ (pl. ወላትዎን) 'branche avec feuilles, feuillage' ¶ Fc. 984, GG 179, MT 366 || EC: Sml ወላዎን (pl. ወላዎመ) 'leaf' ¶ ZMO 56, AD SF 161 || Ch: WCh: Pr {Frz.} አላው, Jmb {Sk.} አሉሁ 'leaf' || CCh: ??σ Gzg {Lk.} ያላር 'Gemüse'; ይ "Muffu" {Srp.} ይለ 'leaf' (neither the lge. nor the word have been identified in other sources) ¶ ChC, Sk. NB 28, ChL, Lk. G 117, Srp. WSH || **ዶ**: SD \*ወለ- (\*ወለይ?) 'leaf' > Tm ወለጀ, Kt ወለ 'palm leaf', Ml ወለ id., 'writing leaf', Td ወለ 'writing, education', Kn ወለ 'leaf of a palmyra palm, leaf used to write on', Kdg ወለ 'screw-pine leaf', Tu ወለ 'letter on a palmyra leaf, palmyra leaf rolled up and put into the hole of an ear' ¶ D #107O ◇ Alternatively, Gzg ያላር may be tentatively equated with D \*ALAR 'to blossom, to open up; flower' (> Tm ALAR v. 'blossom, full-blown flower', M ALAR 'a blossom', Kn ALAR, Tu ALARUNI 'to spread, to blossom', Tm, Ml ALARI, Kn ALAR, TI ALARU 'flower', see D #247) ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #98a (incl. S, EC, Ch, Ah, D + unc. RP \*ኤልነ 'Ast, Zweig' and some other parallels), ≈ Blz. DA 16O [#83].

**131b.** ?σ \*ኅልዕባኞ 'weak, exhausted' > **ዘ** \*ሐልብ- 'weak, swooned, exhausted' > Ht {Pv.} አልባንት- 'swooned; weak, mild' || NaIE \*አልብ- > Lt አልብ-ти v. 'faint (away), swoon', አልብ-ቲ 'lie in a swoon', አልብማስ 'a

swoon' ||| Gk ἀλαπάδνός 'exhausted, powerless, feeble', ἀλαπάξω v. 'empty, drain, exhaust' ||| ? Al laps- vt. 'exhaust, tire out', vi. become exhausted, get tired out' ¶ P 33, ≈ EI 528 (IE \*h₂elpos 'weak'), Pv. I-II 38-9, ≠ Ts. E I 18 (interprets Ht alpant- as 'bewitched'), Frn. 8 (no et. of Lt alpti), O 213, FI 64 ||| HS: S: Ar ڦillawf- 'very aged' (of an old man), ? ڦilfawt- 'sot, qui parle sans réfléchir' ¶ Ln. 2132, BK II 342-3 ||| A: Tg \*alba- v. 'be unable' > Ewk, Neg, Ork alba-, Lm albə- id., Nab Nh/KU albaqto ~ albaqtu 'lazy' ¶ STM I 3O ◇ ≈ IS I 239-4O [#96] (IE, Tg + unc. K \*χalp- 'weak', see N \*g'ō'Lpa 'weak, small').

**132.** \*χaílū 'a liliaceous plant (garlic, onion, aloë or sim.)' > HS: CS \*χalw(ay) 'aloë (Allium aloë)' > Sr ְַלְּוָיָּהּ alway id., ChrPA ְַלְּוָיָּהּ ? ְַלְּוָיָּהּ MHb [Msh.] נְלֵנִיאִן נְלֵנִיאִן נְלֵנִיאִן id. ¶ Löw II 149-52, Js. 67 ||| IE: NaIE \*a(:)lu- 'in liliaceous plant of sharp taste' ({EI} ? \*ālu- 'esculent root', {P} \*álu-, \*ālo- 'plant of sharp taste') > L ālium, (after I c. CE) allium 'garlic', Osc (or Msp) \*allō (< \*aljā): [Hs.] χλλη· λάχανον· ἄταλος ("a vegetable in the speech of Italics") ||| Gk I χλλη, Gk χλλα\* in χλλάς (gen. χλλάσντος) 'force-meat, sausage' (Kr.: ← \*'sausage with garlic'?) → χλλαντο-ειδής 'sausage-formed', χλλαντο-ποιός 'maker of sausages' ({WH}): Gk ← Osc) ||| OI ālu'kām 'the esculent root of Amorphophallus campanulatus' ¶ P 33, EI 62O, WH I 3O, FI 75, Ch. 63, M K I 81 ||| D \*ulli, {GS} \*u]-i 'onion, garlic' > Tm, Ml ulli, Tl ulli id., Kt uļy, Td uļy, Klm, Prj, Gdb ulli, Nk ullig, Gnd ullī ɻ ulli ɻ ulli, Knd, Mnd ulti, Png ūři, Ku ūlli ɻ ulli, Krx ulti 'onion', Tu ulli, ulli 'garlic' ¶ D #7O5, GS 17O [#426], 51 [#127] ||| A: Tg \*eļu 'onion' > U1, Orl, Nn Nh/KU ڦlu, WrMc eļu id. ¶ STM II 448 ◇ Tg \*e- and D \*u- may be due to regr. as.: N \*χaílū > \*ālū > Tg \*eļu, N \*χaílū > \*\*ūíļū > D \*ulli. The long \*ā in L and OI may represent the IE apophonic L-grade (Dehnstufe).

**133.** \*χaíŋgU 'to bend', 'a bend, a joint in a limb' (esp. 'elbow', 'ankle') > HS: Eg fOK ڦrk [\*√χl̥k] 'bend' > Cpt Sd/B ϖλκ Ӯlk 'plier, courber, contracter' ¶ EG I 211, Fk. 45, Vc. 249 ||| ? B \*√lk 'be bent' (x N \*Luka 'to bend; [?] flexible twig', q.v. ffd.) ||| Bj {R} √hl̥g 'biegen, krümmen' (1s: p. a-ha'lig, prs. ahan'l̥ig) ¶ R WBd 116 ||| ECh: Mkl {J} ڦolé 'elbow', Jg {J} lukho id. ¶ J LM 156, J J 114 ||| IE \*χełk<sub>L</sub>w<sub>-</sub> (> NaIE \*alk<sub>L</sub>w<sub>-</sub>) / \*χolk<sub>L</sub>w<sub>-</sub> 'bent, elbow' (with secondary Schwebeablaut NaIE \*olk<sub>L</sub>w<sub>-</sub>/\*lok<sub>L</sub>w<sub>-</sub>) ({EI} \*h<sub>3</sub>ełek- 'elbow, forearm'): [1] NaIE \*alk<sub>L</sub>w<sub>-</sub> /\*olk<sub>L</sub>w<sub>-</sub>/\*olk<sub>L</sub>w<sub>-</sub> > Arm n̥l̥np ollok<sup>h</sup> 'fibula, péroné, shinbone' ||| Gk

[Hs.] ἄλξ, ἄλαξ · πῆχυς ('forearm') || Lt uolektis, úolektis, Ltv ôlektis 'ell' (both from \*ôlekt-), Pru woaltis, woltis (< \*ôlkt-) 'Unterarm', Pru alkunis, Lt alkúné, Ltv èlkis, èlkons 'elbow' || pSl \*olkъ-tъ 'elbow' > OCS лакътъ, Blg лакът, SCR лàкат, Δ lâkat, Slv lakët, Cz loket, Slk loket', P łokiec, R, Uk 'локоть id. || [2] ?? NaIE \*lek-/\*lok-> Gk λοξός 'slanting, crosswise, aslant' || OIr {SB} losc (gen. pl. luscu) 'lame' || L luxus 'dislocated', licinus 'aufwärts gekrümmmt, aufwärts gebogen' (von Hörnern) ¶ P 308-9, EI 176, F II 136-7, SB 244, Slt. 322-3, Frn. 8, 1167, En. 140, 276, Tp. P A-D 75-7, Glh. 367, WH I 798, 841 || U: FP \*íEkke 'ankle' > pPrm \*íekkE > Vt {W} leky (= \*[íekt]) 'ankle, knucklebone', Z lek, leky- 'horse's pastern, ankle, knucklebone' | ? Chr íekan 'block of wood' ¶ LG 158 || A: T \*aíuk 'ankle joint' (× T \*aíçI ~ \*aíçik 'knucklebone' < A \*aíç'a id., cp. Tg \*alçu-kan id., see ET Gl 144-5) > OT ašuq 'anklebone, ankle', MQp XIV, Chg ≥XV ašuq, OO, ašuq/ašuγ, Tk aşik, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Qrg ašiq, Az aşıq, Qzq, Nog, Qq asiq, Alt ažiq, Ln ašuq~aşşı, Uz aşıq, ET ošuq 'ankle' ¶ Cl. 259, Rs. W 30, ET Gl 216-7, TL 288-9, ADb. SR 15 || K: pGZ \*dlaqw- 'elbow' (probably from N \*y'ó'dv̥ զանզւ 'bend of arm', i.e. \*y'ó'dv̥ 'claws' → 'arm' [q.v. ffd.] + \*զանզւ) > OG (n)idaqwi, MG {SSO} dlagvi, G idaqvi, nidaqvi, Mg duñ-, Lz du(r)qu-, xe-duγ- (xe- is 'hand, arm') ¶ K 74, K<sup>2</sup> 41 (\*d(l)aw-), FS K 96-7, 105, FS E 101-2, Chik. 58-9, Chx. 522, 959 ◇ The labialized vw. in T may be due to the infl. of the final \*U.

134. \***sim'ē** 'suck, swallow' > **HS**: Eg fOK **fm** v. 'swallow' ¶ EG I 183-4, Fk. 42 || S \*<sup>o</sup>**fm** > Ar NY T **fm** (pf. **famm**, ip. **uʃumm**) 'drink water', ?σ S \*<sup>o</sup>-**tim-** > Ar **تَمَّ** **ym** G (ip. -**timu**) v. 'long for milk' ← \*v. 'swallow \ suck milk greedily', under the semantic infl. of Ar **غِيْمَ** - **غِيْمَ** v. 'be thirsty' ¶ Fr. III 251, 307, BK II 423, Bns. NJ I 190 || Ch: WCh: BT: Krkr {Al.} **?impā**, Bole {Lk.} **?yump-**, {Ib.} (n. act.) **?yumpá** 'suck' | P' {J} **?m̥ma** 'eat' || ECh: Smr {J} **?ám** 'eat (soft food)', as well as possibly Ke {Eb.} **hámē** id., Skr {Sx.} **śymē**, Mgm {J} **?áymó** 'eat (hard food)', EDng {Fd.} **émē** id. ¶ J II 119, 121, J PW 198, ChC, Fd. 24 || ?C: Bj {R} **ám-** scv. 'essen, verzehren, gierig und viel essen, fressen' || Dhl {EEN} **ham-** v. 'toss little food in mouth' ¶ R WBd 16, EEN 14 ¶ ~ Tk. SCC 95 [#25.2] (Bj, Dhl, Eg, Ch + unc. Sml **fun-** 'eat', Kz **am-** 'chew') || **u** \*ime- v. 'suck' > F, Es **ime-**, OHg **em-**, pOs **\*em-/\*****əm-** ({ʃHl.} **\*äm-**

/\*<sup>í</sup>m-) > Os: V/Vy em-/əmi, Ty/Y ām-/əmā, I em- v. 'suck' || Sm {Jn.} \*ním-~\*ñüm- 'suck' > Ng {Cs.} caus. 1s aor. obcj. níma?bte?ama v. 'suckle', Ne T d. нимнє-сь 'suck out, start sucking', durative нимнє-(м)бă-сь v. 'suck', Ne O {Lh.} nímñē-~ ñümnñē- v. 'suck', Slq Tz {KKIH} ním- id., Kms d. 1s prs. nímeterläm v. 'suckle', Mt {Hl.} \*ññümñə- 'suck' (Mt: M {Sp.} d. 1s [prs.?] нюмніямъ 'I am sucking breast'); Sm {Hl.} \*nímm▽ 'female breast, milk' > Ng {Cs.} ní'min 'breast', {Pl.} d. нимингъ 'milk', Slq Tz {KKIH} níma id., Slq LTz {KD} ñü'm:ā 'female breast, milk', Mt {Hl.} ññimüñ 'milk' (Mt T/K {Mll.} nímu 'milk', Mt M {Mll.} nímu 'kumys [mare's fermented milk]') || pY {IN} \*iwl- 'suck' > Y: K ibi-, T iwl- id. (-i- is a sx. of vt.), ? K ibiši 'female breast, milk' ¶ Coll. 15-6, UEW 82-3, Sm. 536 (U, FU, FP \*ími, Sm \*ním-), SK 1O7, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 11O-1, Hl. M #759, 781, 786, KKIH 141, IN 218, ~ Rd. UJ 35-6 [#1O] (Y ← U) || A \*°im▽- v. 'suck' > T \*\*im-~\*em- v. 'suck': [1] T \*\*im(-) > Chv ēm- ьm(-), Δ ьm(-) id., [2] NaT \*em- ~ \*äm- id. > OT eäm(-), Chg em-, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Kr, Qzq, Nog, Qqlp, Uz, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Tv em-, Tk em-, Yk äm-, Az, ET äm-, Ggz jem-, VTt, Bsh им- im- id. ¶ Cl. 155, DTS 172, Rs. W 41, ET Gl 271-2, RI. I 918, 945, 1414, 1571, Jeg. 63, Fed. I 149, SDM97 (T \*äm-ig, \*äm-čäk 'fem. breast') ¶ Hardly here (↔ DQA #2651) M \*emkü- 'put into \ hold in the mouth' ¶ Not here Tg \*um(i)- v. 'drink', pKo {S} \*mà- v. 'drink' and M \*umda- 'drink' (in ds.), which are likely to belong to N \*qum?▽ 'drink' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≠ DQA #2651 (A \*em▽ 'to suck': T, M) ◇ Cf. AD LRC (Eg, U, T) and IS I 248: U, A (T, M) ◇ Gr. II #371 (\*ima 'suck') (U, A, CK + err. Y + unc. Ko, EA).

**135.** \*<sup>í</sup>'o'mdE 'stand upright, rise' > HS: S \*✓ímd 'be raised, propped up, lean against', 'stand upright' > BHb נִמְדָּה ✓ímd G v. 'stand', JA ✓ímd D (pf. íam'med) v. 'place'; Mh/Jb ✓ímd: Mh pf. hāmōd 'prop up one's head (with a pillow, arm)', Jb C pf. aímid 'put a pillow under the head'; Ak emēdu 'lean against, cling to, stand near by', as well as possibly Ar ✓ímd G {BK} 'étayer\appuyer\soutenir à l'aide d'un pilier \ d'une colonne' (contamination with a denominative verb) (see below) ] S \*íamad- (~ \*'íamad-) n. 'support, pole' > Ar íamad- 'pole of a tent, column, pillar', Ak imdu 'stanchion, support', (here?) Sb ímd '(?) vine-support, vinestock', Gz íamid 'column, pillar, post' ] pWS \*íam'mūd- 'prop, pole of a tent, column, pillar' > BHb נִמְמֹד íam'mūd, SmHb íammud id., Ph, IA, Plm ímd, JA {Js.} נִמְמֹד

‘<sup>9</sup>am'mūd, JA/Sr em. אַמְדָה, עַמְדָה, ‘<sup>9</sup>ammū'd-ā 'column', JEA {Sl.} ‘<sup>9</sup>ammū'd-ā 'pillar, column', Ug ‘md 'column, ceiling beam', Ar ‘amūd- 'prop, support, column, base' (⇒ Ar ✓‘md G [pf. عَمَدَ] {BK} 'étayer\appuyer\soutenir à l'aide d'un pilier \ d'une colonne'), Sb (pl.) ?‘md 'columns, pillars', Mh {Jo.} ?amawd 'ceiling beam', Jb C {Jo.} 'fā'mud 'beam, pillar' (← Ar?) ¶ KB 795-8, BK I 36O-1, Ln. 2151-3, Sl. 869-7O, Js. 1O86-7, Br. 529-3O, BGMR 16, LG 62-3, Jo. M 23, Jo. J 13, CAD IV 138-47 and VII 1O9-1O || Ch: WCh {Stl.} WCh \*‘um- 'rise, climb' | NrBc: Wrj {J, Sk.} ψζη-, Kry {Sk.} ψιμο, P' {MSk.} fiwun, Mbr/My/Jmb {Sk.} ψζη-, Cg {Sk.} wum, {Sk. in ChC} ψωμ, Sir {Sk.} ψζημ 'mount (an animal), climb' | Bl {Lk.} ind-, Krkr {Lk.} hind-, Ngm {ChL} hīndīn, Tng aīdi id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 227 [#759] (WCh \*‘imnd- 'stand up'), ChC s.v. 'stand up', ChL, Sk. NB 32, MSk. 183, Stl. IF 12O || C: SC: Irq {MQK} ‘om- 'no longer give milk' (of a cow), 'dry up' (of a river), {E} ‘om- vi. 'stop', → Mb -?úma v. 'stand, come to stop', -?umáti vt. 'stop' ¶ E SC 278, MQK 8O || A: M \*öndü- (or \*ündü-?) ~ \*undu- ⇒ [1] \*öjündü-s > MM [HI] ündüs 'upright (debout)', Kl öndös 'hinauf, hoch', [2] M \*öjundej- > WrM öndüi- ~ öndüi-, HlM ονδιй- 'raise one's head, raise oneself, rise slightly', Kl {Rm.} öndö-χə 'sich heben, sich aufrichten', \*öjündiyi- > Kl {KRS, Rm.} ονдə-χə 'rise slightly', Dg {T} undi- id., [3] M \*öndür 'high' > MM [MA, S] öndür id., WrM öndüř, HlM οндəр, Kl οндр öndər 'high, tall; height', Ba onder, Dx undu 'high', [4] M \*undur- > WrM undur-, HlM υндра-χ v. 'rise' ¶ Ms. H 1O9, Pp. MA 276-7, H 164, MED 636-7, 876, KRS 416-7, KW 296, T DgJ 171, T BJ 146, T DnJ 137 || IE \*Hendh-/\*Hñdh- v. 'rise, appear' > Gk Hm {Hofm.} ἔν-ήνθε 'hat sich erhoben', {LS} ἔν-ήνθε 'mounted up', {Ch.} ἐπενήνθε 's'élever, monter à la surface', {LS} '(a thin coat) grew thereon; was on it', Gk D ἦνθον 'came' || (here?) ?σ IE \*°Hñdh-wen- > OI d. 'adhvā / adhvān- 'way', Av Y adhvā id. ¶ WP I 13O, Hofm. 83-4, Ch. I 87, LS 138, 617, F I 516-7, M K I 32, M E I 68.

**136.** <sup>2</sup>\*ŋomKē '(= part of the) neck' > HS: S \*'ŋunŋuk- (~ \*'ŋinŋuk-?) (× N \*ŋiKa 'jugular vertebra, neck, nape of neck'??) > Ar ‘unq-, ‘unq-, ‘anīq-, Ak unk- 'neck', Eb {Co.} in-gu = ‘ink|gu|m; ⇒ CS \*‘ŋu'nak- 'neck-chain, necklace' > BHb עֲנָקָה ‘ŋa'nak- 'neck-chain', Ug {OLS} ‘nk, JA עֲנָקָה ‘un'k-ā, Sr ‘ek'k-ā, ‘ekk-ə't-ā id., 'neck-lace', JEA אֲנָקָה ‘un'k-ā 'neck'; ⇒ WS \*✓‘nk G v. 'put round the neck' > Gz ✓‘nk G id., BHb עֲנָקָה ✓‘nk G 'adorn the neck' ¶ OLS 83, KB 812-3, KBR 858-9,

BK II 387, Co. SQF 143, MiK I #15 (S \**ŋi/unk-* 'neck') || A: NaT  
 \**ömgel̥:n* (× NaT \**öngen* 'breast' < N \***H***omg'ü* 'breast', q.v.) > OT {Cl.}  
*ömgēn* ? 'jugular vein', Chg XV *öngen* ~ *ömgün* 'the base of the throat  
 and the collar-bone' ¶ Cl. 15O, Rl. I 1315 || NrTg \**ümen* 'Adam's apple'  
 > Ewk *umən*, Lm Ol/B/P/Sk *öm id.*, Lm O *üm* 'pharynx (гортань)' ¶ STM  
 II 213 ¶ Pp. VG 216 || M \**öngelerür* 'depression close to the Adam's  
 apple' (× N \***X***üngv* 'throat', q.v. ffd.).

**137. \***ʕ̥umŋ̥|n̥**Δ** 'to sleep, to lose consciousness/remembrance of' >  
**A** \*umŋ̥U-(t), \*umŋ̥U-ta- 'sleep, forget' > T: [1] \*umun- > Yk umun-, Chv  
man- 'forget'; [2] \*umNu-t 'oblivion' > Uz, Qrg, Alt, Qzq {RI.} unut, CrTt  
{RI.} umut id.; [3] NaT \*umŋ̥i-t- ~ \*umni-t- v. 'forget' > OT unit- ~ unut-  
id., Tk unut-, Ggz, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Qrg, Uz, ET, SY, Ln unut-,  
VTt, Bsh. ڦنڌت-, Qzq ڦmit-, Nog, Qq umit-, Tv ut- id.; [4] NaT \*umŋ̥tu- >  
Xk umdu- ~ undu- 'forget', Alt undu-, Tb {B} ڻdu **J** Cl. 179, ET Gl 597-8,  
Jeg. 128 || M: [1] M \*umarta- 'forget' > MM [S, IsV] umarta-, [MA, IM]  
marta-, WrM umarta-, marta-, HlM ڦمارتا-, Ord mart'a-, Kl  
مارٹ- marta- id., MnR {SM} mušd\_a-, MMgl [Z] mārt, Mgl {Rm.} mōrta-,  
Dx {T} mata- id., 'not to think of'; [2] M \*umta- v. 'sleep' > MM [HI, S,  
MA, IM] unta-, WrM umta-, HlM ڦنټا-, Ord {Ms.} u'nt'a-, Kl ڦنټ-  
untə-, MnR H {SM} nč'iā-, {T} ntā-, nčā-, MnR M {T} nta- id., d.: MM [S,  
HI] untara-, MnR H {SM} nt'zrā-, Dx huntura- (with a secondary h-) id. **J**  
H 163, 165, Pp. MA 234, 364, 441, 449, Ms. H 1O5, Lg. VMI 71, Iw. 115,  
MED 874-5, SM 251, 285-6, T 352, T DnJ 128, KW 257, 45O || Tg  
\*omŋ̥a- 'forget' > Ewk, Neg, Nn KU omŋ̥o-, Sln, Orc ommo-, Lm omŋ̥b-, Ud  
oŋmo-, Ork omgo- ~ oŋbo-, Nn Nh oŋbo-, Nn B omgo- ~ oŋgo-, WrMc  
oŋgo-, Mc Sb oŋo- **J** STM II 17 **J** S AJ 295, DQA #2523 (A \*umŋ̥(t)o-  
'forget'), KW 257 (M, T), 45O (M, T, Tg) || **HS:** Eg XIX ڦwn v. 'sleep' **J**  
EG I 173 || ?? S [1] \*√ ŋmy > Ar √ ŋmy G 'be blind', Sr √ ŋmy D (pf.  
ڦامڻ) vt. 'blind', Tgr ŋmw G (pf. ŋama) 'be blind' | [2] S \*°√ ŋmh >  
Ar √ ŋmh 'be(come) confounded \ perplex \ unable to see one's right  
way' **J** BK II 373, Ln. 216O-2, F III 224-5, JPS 416, Br 529, LH 457, MiK I  
#2.3 || Ch {JS} \*√ ywn ~ \*√ wn ({JI} \*√ ywn) 'sleep' (× N \*ɿaw'øy' **Δ**  
'spend the night, sleep', q.v. ffd.) || **U:** FU \*ɿw₁un|hne 'sleep, dream,  
forget' > F uni (gen. unen), Es uni (gen. une) n. 'sleep, dream', F  
uno-hta- v. 'forget', unho 'oblivion', Es une- 'forget', unu- 'fall  
into oblivion' | Er, Mk on 'sleep, dream' | Prm \*wun- > Vt vun- 'be  
forgotten', Z vun- id., 'forget', Yz vunší- 'forget' || Sm: Ng {Cs.}

ηana<sup>?</sup>bta- 'forget' ॥ UEW 588 (U \*wun<sup>?</sup> 'vergessen werden'), 8O4 (FV \*un<sup>?</sup> 'sleep, dream'), LG 7O, Cs. 43 || D (in SD) \*ūm 'dumbness', \*ūm- 'dumb' > Tm ūm 'dumbness', ūman<sup>?</sup> 'dumb man', Ml ūman 'dumb, stupid', Kn ūme 'dumb man, taciturn man' ॥ D #746 ◇ Coll. 65, UEW 588, ET G1 598 (all of them: A, U).

**138.** \*q̪ayn<sup>?</sup> 'see, look; eye' > HS \*q̪i<sup>?</sup>n-/\*q̪ayn- 'eye', (→ ) 'spring' > S \*'q̪ayn- 'eye' > Ak īn-, Ar بَنْ q̪ayn-, BHb בְּנִין q̪ayin, Ph, Ug ՚n, OA, IA, Nbt, Plm ՚yn, BA cs. ՚en, pl. בְּנִין ՚ayn-īn, JA [Trg.], JEA em. בְּנִין אֶנָּה, cs. ՚en, Sr W בְּנִין ՚ān, Sr E cs. בְּנִין ՚ēn, Sr W em. בְּנִין ՚ayn-ā, Sr E em. بَنْ ՚ānā, Sb ՚yn, Gz ՚ayn; the same word means 'spring (of water)' in Hb, Ug, Ar, Nbt, Plm, JA, Sb, Gz, Ak, etc.; → WS \*v̪yŋ D v. 'look, contemplate' and the like > Hb, Ug, Sr, Gz v̪yŋ D id. ॥ KB 773-5, KB LVT 11O7, KBR 817-9, JH 2O7, HJ 839-4O, A #2O55-2O56, OLS 82, Lv. T II 212-3, Sl. 855-7, Br. 522, PS 2867, BGMR 23, LG 79-8O, MiK I #1.28 || Eg ՚n, ՚yn hier. \*'eye'; Eg G ՚ny 'Name von Gewässern' (interpreted by Budge as 'well, fountain') ॥ EG I 189, Budge I 123 || ?φ B {Pr.} \*v̪nh<sub>3</sub>y ~ \*v̪h<sub>3</sub>ny v. 'see, look' (x N ≈ \*'n̪Exa 'see') > Tnsl ənhi = ənhy, ip. intens. i-hannay, vb. n. a-hanay, Ah əni (Pr.'s phonemic translit.: əny), ip. intens. i-hānnay, vb. n. ă-hanay, Gh əni = əny, ip. intens. i-hannay, Ty, ETwl ənay, ip. intens. i-hannay, Tdq ənhy v. 'see', NrB: Sll {Ds.} annay, prs. y-ännay 'apercevoir qch. qui tombe sous les yeux', Izd {Mrc.} inni, iannay v. 'look at' ॥ Fc. 1357, Pr. H #563, GhA 152, Mrc. 218, Ds. 296; in Pr.'s opinion, the variant \*v̪nh<sub>3</sub>y is original, while \*v̪h<sub>3</sub>ny goes back to mt. (Pr. H 15-6), but in the light of external HS comparison the opposite is likely to be the case || C: Dhl {E} ūn-ād- 'see from afar' || EC \*int<sup>?</sup> ~ \*ind<sup>?</sup> 'eyes' (< \*q̪i<sup>?</sup>n-t<sup>?</sup> ~ \*q̪i<sup>?</sup>n-d<sup>?</sup> with loss of \*q̪- due to the infl. of the sg. \*il 'eye'? ) > Af {PH} intīta, Sa {Wlm.} intit, {R} intīt ~ ūntīt 'eyes' (whence a bf.: sg. Af {PH}, Sa {Wlm.} ūti 'eye'), Sml N ūndō 'eyes', Bn inn<sub>3</sub>, Rn ūndō, Gdl ūndā, Dsn ūnnu, Elm ūnna?, Arr ūndá 'eyes' (in all these lgs. there is uppletivism: sg. \*il - pl. \*ind<sup>?</sup>), ?? Bs {HL} idō 'eye(s)' (probably from \*q̪i<sup>?</sup>n- 'eye' with the pl. marker \*-t<sup>?</sup>; the glottalization \*t>\*d is still to be explained) ॥ Bl. 196, AD SF 149-5O, Hw. A 34O-1, PG 156, PH 137, Oo. 66, Lm. SD 315, HL 63, To. DL 482, E 274 || ?σ NrOm: Kf {C} īnō 'salt water spring', ūnnō 'spring', Anf {Gt.} īno id., ՞ Gmr {Bulat.} ահ 'eye' ॥ AD SF 149-5O, C SE IV 4OO, Gt. 347, Bulat. 343 || Ch: [1] Ch {Stl.} \*q̪iyan- 'see' > WCh {Stl.} \*'n̪ayn- v. 'see' > Bl {Lk.} ūnn-, NrBc: P' {MSk} han, {IL in ChC} hani, SBC:

Gj {Sh.} *yeni*, {Luc.} *yèni*, Plc {Luc.} *yenu*; Ron: DfB *yen* v. 'see' || CCh: G'nd {ChL} *ànní* v. 'see' || ECh: Jg {J} *?inn-* 'können, kennen' ] [2] Ch \*\*Hind $\nabla$  'eye(s)' (~ {Nw.} \*i $\ddot{d}\theta$  [sc. \*id $\psi$ ], {StL} Ch \*?ida-n- 'eye') > WCh \*?inda > Hs *ídó* 'eye', pl. *ídánū*, Gw *ńdáni* 'eye(s)' | pAG {Hf.} \*yit, {StL} \*yid 'eye(s)' > Su, Mnt, Gmy, Cp *yit*, Tal {IL} *yít*, Ywm {J} *yít*, Kfr *yít* | BT \*?i<sub>1</sub>n<sub>2</sub>d $\nabla$  ({StL} \*?id $\nabla$ ) > Bl {IL} *ídó*, Dr {J} *yérò*, Krkr *?ídó*, Gera {Sch.} *i:dí*, Grm {Sch.} *ídá*, Bele {Sch.} *ídó*, Krf {Sch.} *iró*, Tngl *ídó*, {Lk.} *ido*, ? Pr {Frz.} *ándò* | NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} *?ídá*, pl. *?idi*, Sir {IL} *ítà*, My *a<sub>j</sub>ti~ eti* | Ngz/Bd {Sch.} *dà* 'eye' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} *yiti* | Dgh {Frk., ChL} *ńdè* | HgN {Mk.} *uncz*, HgK {Mk.} *nči* || ECh: Skr {Nc.} *íd-*, {Brt.} *yīdi* | EDng {Fd.} *ódò*, Mgm {J} *?ídè* | Jg {J} *?údē*, Brg {J} *?údī* 'eye' ¶ Nw.'s pCh \*i $\ddot{d}\theta$ , JS's pCh \*v $\check{y}d$ , and S's Ch \*?ida-n- do not take into account the ev. for \*-nd-provided by Gw, Pr, and Dgh ¶ JI I 8O and II 126-7, JS 96, ChC, ChL, Mts. GD 29, StL ZCh 23O [#784], Hf. AG #182, Sch. BTL 144, Frz. P 19, StL IF 119, 172 ¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 115 || IE [1] \*\*<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>wejn- > NaIE (in IIr only) \*<sup>o</sup>wejn- v. 'look, see' > OI *'vēnati* 'looks, observes', Av *vāēna<sup>i</sup>ti* 'sees', OPrs *vaināmi* 'I see', MPrs *vēn-*, NPrs *bīn-* (imv. بین, acp. *bīnā* 'seeing') v. 'see', Sgd, Prth *wyn-* id. ¶ [2] ? \*<sup>h</sup>ēn (or \*?<sub>1</sub>ēn) 'siehe da!' (× N \*hEñ $\nabla$  'iste' [q.v.]) > Gk *ήν*, *ήήν*, L *ēn* 'siehe da!' ¶ M K III 259-26O, VI. I 306, P 314, F I 637, WH I 4O3-4 || U: FP (in Lp only) \*oyn|ña > pLp \**ῶynē* v. 'see' > Lp: L {LLO} *ái:n-ēt*, S {Hs.} *vuōjn'edh*, N *oai:dnet* v. 'see', Pa {TI} *vūā:j:n'e-*, Kld {TI} *uj:n'e-* id., {SaR} *уйинэ* 'see, notice' || Y: Y K {IN} *aŋčə* 'eye' ¶ Lr. #819, Lgc. #4548, Hs. 1452-3, TI 765, SaR 37O, IN 47, 295 || A: M \*oy'u'n 'mind' > MM [MA] *ojn-dān bōl* {Pp.} 'будь в уме!', 'be (still) in (your) mind!', [S] *ouj(n)* 'Sinn, Gefühl', WrM *oujan*, HIM *ouyun*, WrO *oujan~ouyon*, Kl *oujn*, *oijn* 'intellect, mind' ¶ MED 6O6, Pp. MA 262, H 13O, Krg. 118, KRS 393, 4O7 || Tg: Lm *uŋjə* ~ *uŋjə* 'reindeer's eye, hyaloid membrane (of an eye)' ¶ The A cd. \*i $\acute{n}$ a-mū 'tears', lit. 'eye-water' (< N \**ȝôyñ $\nabla$*  + N \**mûhi* 'water, fluid') > Tg \*<sup>o</sup>i $\acute{n}$ a-mū- v. 'weep' > Ewk *iñamu-*; Tg \*i $\acute{n}$ a-mu-kta 'tears' > Ewk *iñamukta* ~ *ńamukta*, SIn *nama-kta* ~ *nañmukta*, Lm *uŋjəmt̪ə*, Neg *uñamta*, Ud *iñamukta*, Ork *yēndumusqa*, Nn *ńjamoqta* ~ *ńamoqta* ~ *ńimoqta* id. ¶ STM I 319, Krm. 239 || cp. pKo (> MKo nún-mír 'tears') and pJ \*nà-mì(n)tá 'tears', ffd. *see* s.v. N ≈ \*'ń<sup>h</sup>Exa 'see' ¶ Cf. DQA #1473 (A \*n<sub>1</sub>jā 'eye'), S AJ 3O-1, 275 [#21] (A \*ńiā 'eye', \*ńiā(í)-müri 'tears') || D \*uñq- v. 'look, think, consider' (< N \*hAwñ $\nabla$

'sense, mind, soul') > Tm սոնս v. 'think, consider', սոնսি v. 'meditate', Ml սոնսկա, սոնսիկա, Kt, Td սոն-, Kn սոնսւ v. 'think', Tl {Km.} սոնսւ v. 'consider', Ku օռպինալ v. 'intend', Brh հոնոյ v. 'look, look at, consider' §§ D #727 ◇ The adduction of IIr \*wayn- has been suggested by Blz. (p.c., 1994) ◇ The palatal Ir. \*h- in IE \*hēn belongs to the infl. or heritage of N \*hEññV 'iste' ◇ IE \*\*<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>wejn- and D \*սոն- point to a N \*u (or \*ü), while U and M suggest a N \*o. This discrepancy still needs investigating and resolving ◇ S and WNL NC adduce here A {SDM95-97} \*ńā: 'eye' (> Tg {SDM} \*ńiā-sa, {AD} \*ńiā-sa(l) 'eye[s]', M \*nidün 'eye', T \*jāl 'tear', pKo \*nún 'eye'), which is less certain than to connect A \*ńā: with N ≈ \*ń<sup>1</sup>Eχa 'see' (q.v.).

**138a.** \*xiññV, qV 'live' > **HS:** Eg fOK ՚nx v. 'live', ՚nx 'life' § EG I 193-2O6 || **A:** Tg \*in- 'live' > Ewk in-, Δ inz- 'live', Ewl in ~ inε 'life', Lm, Neg ՚n- 'live', Sln inirgʒ- ~ inzrgʒ- 'come to life', Orc ini, iniyi, inihī, Ud inigi, Nn KU iŋkī 'alive' § STM I 315 || **D:** \*iŋku- 'abide' > Tm iŋku (p. iŋki) 'abide, stay', Tl iŋkuva 'a place, haunt' §§ D #420 ◇ It is tempting to adduce here SC {E} \*ni;<sub>1</sub>h- or \*nēh- 'live, be alive' > ?σ Brn ՚lanih v. 'sprout' and (→) Mb nihi 'animal' (E SC 186), but its SC rec. is too shaky to be reliable.

**139.** \*xōññV 'fang, stake' → 'weapon (dart, javelin, or the like)' > **HS:** S \*°✓ ՚nz > Ar ՚anaz-at- 'in javelin, staff with a pointed iron' § BK II 383, Fr. III 231, Hv. 5O4 || **K:** MG [KC] anža 'stake (Pfahl, κολ)', G anža id., 'mast' § DCh. 4O || **IE:** \*x<sub>1</sub>ŋsi-s ({EI} \*h<sub>2</sub>h<sub>3</sub>ŋsis) 'large (offensive) knife, dagger, ? sword' > NaIE \*ŋsi-s 'sword' > OI a'si-h 'sword; knife (used for killing animals)', Av ՚ŋhū- 'sword' || L ensis id. || Pal hastrā- 'dagger' §§ P 771, Dv. #489, EI 561, M K I 64-5, WH I 4O6 || **U:** FU {UEW} \*onča-rV 'fang (of a bear, etc.)' > Prm \*wōžVr (= {LG} \*wōžzr) > Z vožir 'fang', Z Ud vəžir, Vt вазерпинъ id. (пинъ 'tooth'), Δ wažer, važer id. || ObU: Vg: T զնčər, LK/P äñśər, Ss ańśar 'tusk (Hauzahn)'; ? Os: D/K ՚ñčəl 'bear's canine tooth (Reißzahn)', Km ՚ñčəl 'bear's tooth', O ՚ñśər 'am Gürtel getragener Bärenzahn', Kz ՚ñśər 'Eck-\\Reißzahn des Bären' | OHg xv agyar 'boar's tusk (Hauer, Hauzahn)', Hg agyar 'tusk, fang' § UEW 34O, MF 74, LG 6O, Coll. 71, EWU 13 ◇ Pal h- is likely to point to IE \*x and N \*y, while the K data suggest a N weak Ir. (\*ñ-). To solve the problem we need to check well the interpretation of the Pal word and to elucidate the origin of Pal h-.

**140.** \***ξυρ**Δ 'take wing', 'up' > **HS:** WS \*-ξύρ- v. 'fly' > Hb ✓ ξύρ (prm. -ξύρ-), Ug ✓ ξύρ, Gz ✓ ξύρ (js. -ξύρ) v. 'fly', Ph ✓ ξύρ (G imv. sg. m. ξύρ) v. 'fly, fly away', Ar ✓ ξύρ G (ip. -ξύρι) 'circle over (sth.)' (of birds); → CS \*ξαύρ- 'bird' > Hb נְעָרָה, Ug ξύρ, Sr ξώρ-ā, Gz ξύρ, Ph ξύρ-τ 'fowl, bird', Ar ξάυρ- 'cock; omen, fortune' ¶ KB 756-7, HJ 833, 878, OLS 84, Ln. 2198, Br. 517, LG 78 || Eg L/G ξύρ v. 'fly' ¶ EG I 179 || **IE** \***Hupo** ({EI} \***h4u'**ρο 'up [from underneath]') > NaIE \***upo-** 'upon, on to' > Av **upra**, OPrs **upā** 'auf' || ON **oF** 'over', OHG **ūf** 'up, above' (> NHG **auf** 'on'), AS **ufe-weard** 'up, upper, later', OHG **ob(a)** 'on, above, over', ON **upp**, AS **upp** (> NE **up**), OFrs, OSx **up** 'up', OSx **uppan** adv. 'on the top, above, over', OHG **obana** id., 'from above' > NHG **oben** ||| NaIE \***°up-ero-** 'upper' > Av **uparō** id.; NaIE \***uper-(i)** 'over' > OI **u'pari** 'above, over', Av **upari**, OPrs **upariy** 'over' ||| ?φ Gk ὑπέρ, ὑπερ 'over' ||| OIr **for** 'over, on', W **gwarthaf** 'height' (< \*vortamos) ||| Gt **ufar**, ON **yfir**, AS **ofer** (> NE **over**), OHG **ubar**, **ubir** (> NHG **über**), OSx **ovar** 'over'; Gt **ufarō** adv. 'above', OHG **obaro** 'upper, higher' (> NHG **ober**), AS **yferra** adj. 'upper' ||| NaIE \***up-emo-** 'der oberste' > OI **upra'ma-**, Av **upəma-**, AS **ufemest**, **yfemest** ||| NaIE \***ups-** 'high, upper' > Gk ὕψι adv. 'high' ||| OIr **ós**, **uas** 'above' (P: < \*oup-su), OW **uus**, MW **uch** id., W **uwch** 'higher', Crn (a) **ugh**, OBr **uh**, Br Δ **euc'h**, oc'h, ouc'h 'above' ||| NaIE \***ūpsa-** > Sl \***v̄ts-** → [1] \***v̄ts-ōkъ** m. 'high' (f. \***v̄ts-o'ka**, ntr. \***v̄ts-o'ko**) > OCS **въисокъ** **v̄isokъ**, Blg **висок**, SCr **v̄isok**, Slv **visōk** 'high', R **вы'сок** 'is high', prnl. adj.: R **вы'сокий**, Uk **високий**, P **wysokу**, Cz, Slk **vysoký**, [2] Sl \***v̄tsb** f. 'height (what is high above)' > OCS **въисъ** **v̄isb**, R **выисъ**, Blg **вис** id., SCr **v̄is**, Blg Δ **вис** 'top (of mountains); [3] Sl comp. \***v̄tšybъ** 'higher', ntr.\adv. \***v̄tše** > SCr **v̄iši**, ntr.\adv. **v̄iše** ||| OCS **въишн** **v̄išiji**, ntr.\adv. **въиш** **v̄iše**, adv.: Blg **виш**, R **выш**, Slv **v̄iše**, Cz **výše** ¶ WP I 192, P 1106-7, EI 612, Mn. 1478-9, F II 966-7, 978, Fs. 509, Vr. 416, 635, 676, Ho. 240, 376-7, Ho. S 57, 81, Kb. 740-1, 1054-5, 1061, KM 36, 518, 799, Vn. O 31-2, Flr. 326, Glh. 672, BER I 152, Ma. CS 578, M K I 105-6 || **A:** [1] A: M \***obuya** > MM [HI] {Ms.} **obo\_0** 'tertre', WrM **obuiga(n)**, **obu**, HIM **обоо** 'heap, pile; heap of stones'; "obo", i.e. 'mound\cairn of stones built as a landmark\monument for special religious ceremonies', Kl **oba** id., {Rm.} **owā** 'hill, heap, heap of stones on roads or on a hill', Mnr H {SM} **ob\_ō** 'obo, monceau de pierres qu'on venère'; M → T: MQp [CC] **oba**

'hill', Kr **oba** 'heap of stones', QrB **oba** id., 'grave', Qzq, Nog **oba** 'kurgan, tumulus', Bsh **uba** id., 'hill' ¶ Ms. H 81, MED 598, Kow. 37O, KRS 391, KW 291, SM 296, Cl. 5, Dr. TM II 133, ET Gl 398-400, Rs. W 356, Grøn. 173 ¶ ≈ DQA #1603 (\*<sup>ó</sup>p‘▽ 'hill, heap of stones' > M, T [treated as a cognate and not as a loan]) ¶ [2] Tg \***upu-**, \***upu-kte** 'feather' > Orc **upukts** ~ **opukte**, Ud **ofokto**, Ork **upukts**, Nn Nh **upults**, Nn KU **ufukts**, Nn B **ufults** 'feather, down'; Nn KU **ufu-**, Ud **ofo-di-** v. 'pluck feather\down' ¶ \*-kta/e is a sx. of mass nouns ¶ STM II 281, Ci. 209 ◇ M \***o-** as a reflex of N \***u** still needs explaining.

**141. \*q'v̥Pv̥rV** '(river-)bank' > IE: NaIE {P} \***āper-o-**, \***āper-yo-** 'shore, river bank', 'mainland' ({EI} IE \***h<sub>3</sub>eHperos** [?] 'river bank, shore of sea') > Gk: Αἵπειρος, Δάπειρος (long ā), Ae ἄπερρος (ā) 'mainland' (< \***āper-yo-**) || AS **ōfer**, Dt **oever**, MHG **uover** > NHG **Ufer** 'shore' (< \***āper-o-**), MLG **ōver** id. (< \***āper-yo-**) ¶ Arm **ափն** apʰn 'bank, shore' can be better explained as going back to N \***q'a'p'r'v̥** 'bank, shore' (q.v.) ¶ Bc. #1.26, WP I 47, P 53, EI 515, F I 640, Hofm. 109, Ch. I 415, Ho. 240, KM 801, Ach. I 365 || HS: S \***'rib<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>r-** 'the region beyond\across a body of water (river\lake\sea)', '(further) bank\shore' > BHb **עַבְר** 'eber 'opposite side (of a river, lake, etc.); side, edge, bank', SmHb {BH} **'ebār** id., JA **עַבְרָא** ~ **עַבְרָא** ~ **עַבְרָא** ~ **עַבְרָא** 'opposite side', Sr **גַּבְרָא** ~ **גַּבְרָא** 'crossing (a river), further bank', Md **əbra** 'coastland, foreshore', Ar **əibr-** ~ **əabr-** ~ **əubr-** 'shore', Ak **eber-nāri** (n. l., lit. 'the region beyond the river') (↔ WS?), Eb **a-bar-rí-iš** = **əabar-iš** ({Frnz.} **əabāriš**) loc. 'on the other bank'; S \***v̥ribr** v. 'cross (a body of water), pass over' (→ \*'pass over a stream to the other side') > Hb, Ph, Pu, Ug, OA, IA, JA, Sr, Ar, Sb **v̥ribr** G 'cross over (water, etc.), pass', Ak **əbēru** 'to cross (water)', Eb **a-ba-rí-im** = {Krb.} **əabār-im** inf. gen. id.; Cn ↔ Eg (EgSSc) **á-bí-ya** 'ford, crossing' (Eg NK y < r, see Erm. NÄG 23-4) ¶ KB 735-8, HJ 821-3, A #1990, OLS 71, Sl. 840-1, Js. 1039-40, JPS 399, DM 4, 340, Fr. III 97-8, BK II 152-3, CAD IV 10-2, Sd. 182, Slw. 145-6, Hlk. #28, SivCR 18, Frnz. EL 133 || D (in SD) \***ēri** '(raised) bank, lake, reservoir for irrigation' > Tm **ēri** 'large tank, reservoir for irrigation; lake', Ml **ēri** 'bank; stakes to support banking work', Kn **ēri** 'a raised bank, the bank of a tank, a tank', Kdg **etri** 'parapet of well, bund (in paddy-fields, of tank)', Tu **ēri** 'a bed for planting vegetables' ¶ D #901.

**142.** (2?) \***ἱ**Δ**ρ**Δ**Ρ**Δ 'wild boar' > **HS:** S \*°**ἱ**pr > Ar **ἱ**ifr- ~ **ἱ**ufr 'wild boar, swine, young pig' ({Fr.} **ἱ**ifr- 'porcus, aper', **ἱ**ufr- 'porcus') ¶ Fr. III 183 || ?φ Eg fXX **ἱ**p̄h 'swine' ¶ EG I 69 || **IE** \***ἱ**epe<sup>ro</sup>- ({EI} \***ἱ**epe<sup>ros</sup> 'boar [adult male of *Sus scrofa*]') > NaIE \***ἱ**ap(e)ro-s 'wild boar' (with \*a on the analogy of \***ἱ**apro-s 'he-goat') > L **aper**, -ī 'wild boar', Um **ἱ**apruf, ABROF id. (accus. pl.), **ᾳ**brunu id. (accus. sg.) || pGmc \***ἱ**ebura- 'wild boar' > AS **ἱ**eofor, MLG **ἱ**ever, OHG **ἱ**bur, NHG **Eber** || BS1 \***ἱ**eprya- (with \*w- on the analogy of a different word) > Ltv **ἱ**epris 'castrated boar' | Sl \***ἱ**eprъ ~ \***ἱ**eprъ 'wild boar' > OR **ვეპრъ** **ἱ**eprъ, R **ვეპრъ**, gen. 'վեպրյ, Blg 'վեպր' 'wild boar', Uk 'վեպը' 'wild boar, hog', SCr **վեպար** (gen. **վեպրա**), P **wieprz** (gen. **wieprza**), Cz **վերչ** 'hog' || ?σ Thr **ἵβρος** 'ram' ¶ P 323, EI 425, WH I 56, Ho. 92, KM 15O-1, EWA II 941-3, Bc. G 327, Kar. II 5O7, Glh. 666-7, Vs. I 292, Pln. II 724 || A possible highly questionable cognate: **A** \***ἱ**epr̄ 'horn' (if from 'fung' ← 'wild boar's fung' ← 'wild boar'?) > M \***ἱ**eber- 'horn' (> MM [HI, S, MA, IM] **eber**, WrM **ἱ**eber, HIM **զվար**, MnR **սյեր**), pKo {S} \***s**-pír id. (> MKo **սպիր**, NKo **պուլ**), Tg \***ἱ**oporΔ 'nose' (> Nn **օպօր** & **օֆօր**, WrM **օֆօր**) ¶ DQA #646 (A \***ἱ**op̄'érΔ ~ \***ἱ**aplórΔ), S AJ 46, 291, MED 286, SM 48O, Ms. H 52, H 4O, Pp. MA 15O, 436, S QJ #43, Nam 274, MLC 832, STM II 22 ◇ AD NM #46; S CNM 13 and SN 146 (÷÷ OChn?).

**143.** 2 \***ἱ**ArΔ 'dry, arid' > **HS:** WS \***ἱ**arab- > BHb **נְרָבָה** **ןָרָא'**bā 'desert, steppe', **בְּנְרָב** ba-**ןָרָב**, (in pause **בְּנְרָב** ba-**ןָרָב**) 'in the desert', **נְרָב** **ןָרָב**, Ar **عَرَبٌ** **سَارَابٌ**, Mh **سَارَبٌ** 'Arabs' (< 'inhabitants of a desert\steppe'), Sb **אַרְבָּה** coll. 'bedouins', and Mn **אַרְבָּה** coll. 'nomads' (in both lgs. ← 'inhabitants of the desert'), Gz **סָרָב** 'Arabia', ? (mt.) Gz **נְבָר** 'be dry, unfruitful' ¶ KB 831-3, GB 616, BGMR 19, MA 15, Jo. M 27 || **D** \***ἱ**ar- v. 'be(come) dry' > Tm **ἱ**arru vt. 'dry (as the hair)', Ml **ἱ**arukā vi. 'dry up (as land, washed hair, wounds)', Kt **a·r-** vi. 'dry' (as dew), 'heal' (as a wound), Td **o·k-** 'become dry by heating', Kn **ἱ**ar, **ἱ**arū, Tu **ἱ**aruni, Tl **ἱ**arū vi. 'dry', Kdg **ἱ**ar- vi. 'dry up' (of a stream, cloth), Klm **a·r-**, Nkr **ἱ**ar- vi. 'become dry', Nk **ἱ**ar- 'be dried, emaciated', Gnd Mn **ἱ**aranā vi. 'warm oneself', Krx **arta?**anā v. 'spread out in the sun for drying' ¶ In some D lgs. there is a homonymic merger with the verb \***ἱ**ar- ({GS} \***ἱ**ad-) 'to cool' (GS 15O-1 [#38O]) ¶ D #4O4, Zv. 44-5, Sbr. DVM 56, Pf. 83 (\***ἱ**at-) ◇ WS \***ἱ**arab- 'desert' < N \***¤**\***ἱ**ArΔ **ba** with the pc. \***ba** of quality bearers (i.e. \***¤**\***ἱ**ArΔ **ba** 'something arid?').

**144.** \**śiR'i'* '(male, young) big ungulate' > **HS:** WS \**śayr-* ~ \**śir-* 'male wild ass, ass foal' > BHb *śayir*, SmHb *īr* 'male ass; young ass', BHb +ppa: *śir-* *śir-* 'his male ass' (the pl. form of the Masoretic tradition *תַּיְרִים* ~ *תַּיְרִם* *שָׁעָרִים* is on the analogy of \**1a2a3-* nouns, cp. the SmHb cognate form *תַּיְרָם*, suggesting Hb \**śir-īm*), MHb *śayir*, Ug *śr* {A} 'ass foal', {OLS} 'ass', JA [Trg.] pl. *śay'r-īn* id., Ar *śayr-* 'wild ass, domestic ass', WS → Ak Mr *šāru* ~ *ša?aru* ~ *ayaru* 'ass foal' § KB 777-8, KBR 822, A #209O, OLS 87, Lv. III 643, Lv. T II 214, Js. 1075, BK II 419, CAD VI 118, Sd. 328 || Eg fOK *śb* 'ass' > DEg *śb* > Cpt Sd **ειω**, Cpt B **ιω** § EG I 165, Vc. 60-1 || ?σ C: Dhl {EEN} *hēri* 'goat, sheep' || SC: Irq {MQK} *rāri* 'she-goat', pl. *āra* 'goats', Irq/Grw/Alg/Brn {E} *ara* 'goats' § EEN 15, ESC 297, MQK 16 || ?σ Ch: WCh: Mnt/Ywm *ur* 'he-goat' || ECh: Ll *ōrē* 'goats' § JI II 167, ChC, ChL §§ EG 1.c., Ember ESS #3.b.6, OS #1081, Tk. I 54, Tk. SCC 95 [#25.3] || **K** \*<sup>o</sup>*ir-* > OG, G *irem-* 'deer' § Abul. 189, DCh. 582 || **IE:** NaIE \**er(i)-b<sup>h</sup>-* (with the sx. \*-*b<sup>h</sup>(0)-* of animal names) '∈ horned artiodactyl' (× N \**H'æ'R*▽ 'goat, sheep', q.v.) > Gk *ἔριφος* 'kid' || Clt: OIr *heirp* (\**erb<sup>h</sup>-i-*) 'dama, capra', *erb(b)* (\**erb<sup>h</sup>-ā-*) 'cow', NIr *earb* 'goat', ScGl *earb* 'roe (deer)' § P 326, EI 511, FI 56O, WH I 67, Bc. G 333, KSchm. TE, Ld. A 23ff., Ach. III 586, Frn. 121, En. 17O, Tp. P E-H 72-5, ≈ ESSJ VIII 179-8O || **D** \**ir-* '⟨(e) deer, stag' (× N \**yEr\xi*▽ '⟨(young of a) ruminant animal', q.v. ffd.) §§ D \*-*r-* (pointing to a N \**r-*-cluster) suggests that the main source of D \**ir-* is N \**yEr\xi*▽ rather than N \**śiR'i'* ◇ AD NM #47; S CNM 7 and S SN 146 (÷÷ ST).

**145.** ?σ<sub>2</sub> \**śiR*▽ 'run' > **HS:** Eg fMK *wśr* 'flee' § EG I 286, Fk. 57 || C: EC: Sml N {Abr.} *śarar-* 'flee', Sml {ZMO} *śarar-* 'run away, flee', ?σ Rn *ärärsi* vt. 'hurry, rush', caus. *äräriča* vt. 'hurry up' || Ag: Bln {R} *harər-* 'laufen, rennen'; Ag → Tgr {LH} ✓ *ħrr* 'hurry' ({R}) ✓ *ħrr* 'laufen, rennen') → Bj {R} *herēr-* ~ *hirēr-* scv. 'marschieren, wandern, gehen, zu Fuß gehen' § R WB 200, R WBd 126, LH 1O, Abr. S 14, PG 68 || (+ ext.) SES \*✓ *śrm̥d* > Hrs ✓ *śrm̥* (pf. *rārōm*) 'run fast' (of a camel), Mh/Jb ✓ *śrm̥d* (pf. Mh *rārōmed*, Jb C *aśar'mid*) id. § Jo. H 1O, Jo. J 15, Jo. M 28 || **D:** Tl *ur\_u* 'retreat, retire, withdraw' § ≈ D #713.

**146.** \**śarH<sub>2</sub>|wu* ~ \**śah<sub>2</sub>ru* 'back (dos), loins' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>✓ *Hrw* (= \*✓ *śrw*?) > Ak *erūtu* ~ *arūtu* 'back (dos)', ? Ar *śurśur-at-* 'top of a camel's hump, peak of a mountain' § Sd. 248, BK II 225 || Eg P/BD *śr.t* 'hinder parts (of men), hindquarters (of animal)' § EG I 209, Fk. 45 ||

B: Si {La.} *ərraq, ərrau*, {Bs. ← BrR} **جَهْرَاءُ** | *ahrau* 'back (dos)', Ah *arūri*, Gh {Nh.} *aruri*, ETwl *əruru* (pl. *iroran*), Ty *ərori* (pl. *iroran*), Ttq {Msq.} **ərurī**, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} *aṣrur, taṣrurt*, Zww {La.} *aṣarur* 'back (dos)'; the unexpected presence (= preservation?) of **ʕ** in Izn, Rf, SrSn, Zww has not yet been explained ({La.} "ne s'explique guère") ¶ Rn. 379, Fc. 166O, GhA 163, Msq. 95, La. S 228, La. MChB 115 [fn. 2] || φ ECh: Mu {J} *hār* 'back (dorsum)' ¶ ChC || A (\**aːr'u*) 'back [of humans, animals]': NaT \**ārt* 'back or hinder part of anything; nape of neck' > OT *ārt* id., Tk *art*, Tkm *ārt*, VTt *art* 'hind part, back (dos)', Az *ard\_*, Qmq, QRB, Nog, Qq, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, SY *art*, Tv *art-* (+ppa.) 'hind part' ] NaT \**arka* 'back' > OT, MU, MQp, XwT, Chg, OOsm *arqa* 'back (dorsum), upper part of the back', Tk *arka*, VTt, Bsh, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt *arqa*, ET *a(r)qa*, Uz *arqa*, Xk *aryā*, Tv *āryā* 'back, shoulders; back side', Yk *aryā* id., nape, withers', Tlm *arqa*, Az *aryā* 'back, upper part of the back; animal's back', Ln *ayqa* 'hind part', Chv *urχa* 'animal's back' in *urχalax* 'saddle-bag' ¶ Cl. 2OO-1, 215, TkR 5O-2, ET Gl 174-5, 179-8O, TL 267-8, ADb. SR 116-7, 185, Pek. 142 || Tg \**arka-n* 'back (dos)' > Ewk *arkan*, Sln *arkā*, Lm *arqən*, Neg *aykan*, Orc *akka(n-)*, Ud *aka(n-)*, Ork *atta(n-)* ¶ STM I 51, Krm. 2O5 || M \**aru* ({ADb.} \**aryu*) 'animal's back' > MM [S, HI, MA] *aru*, WrM *arū*, HIM *ap* 'back (dorsum)', Dgr *ar* 'the northern side of a mountain, northern side' ¶ ADb. MSR 9, H 9, Ms. H 37, Pp. MA 1O6, MED 54, Klz. D I 1O9-1O ¶ Pp. VG 76, 94, 192 (explains T \**arka* and Tg \**arka-n* as d. from \**aru* (\**arka*<\**aru-ka*) || pJ {S} \**atua* 'behind, trace' > OJ *àtuó*, J: T *áto*, K *àtó*, Kg *ató* ¶ S QJ #767, Mr. 387 ¶ DQA #48 \**āra* 'back (dos), behind', ~ ADb. SR 3O5 (T \**arka-n* ≠ M \**aru*) || D (in SD) \**ar-* 'waist, loins' > Tm *arai* id., 'stomach', MI *ara* 'middle of the body, loins, waist', Td *ar niñ* 'silver waist-string' (*niñ* 'string'), Kdg *are* 'waist' ¶ D #23O ◇ The long \**ā* in T \**ārt* and the D cns. \*-r- (normally from cns. clusters) point to the presence of an additional element in pN (a lr. or \**w*?). If Ar *ʕarʕur-at-* belongs here, the pN postcons. lr. may have been \***ʕ** (N \**qarqū*). Mu *h-* still needs explaining.

**147. \*ʕurDNKDN** 'to flee' > **HS:** CS \**ʕrk* 'run away, flee' > Sr *ʕrk G* 'flee', JA [Trg.] *ʕrk* 'flee, run', JEA *ʕrk* ~ *ɻrk* 'flee', Ar {Ln.} *ʕrq G*: *ʕariqa* (fi-l *ɻarði*) 'go away into the country', {BK} *ʕarq-* 'way, road, beaten path' ('chemin, route, sentier fraye') ¶ BK II 228-9, Ln 2O17-9, Br. 55O, Js. 1123, Sl. 883, KB 841 || **U:** FV ~ \**urke-* 'flee, go away' > Lv

{Kt.} **uṛgə-** 'flee, avoid', F prs. **urkene-** / inf. **urjeta** 'abgehen, abreisen, abfahren, sich entfernen, sich aufmachen, aufbrechen, beginnen (Weg, Laufbahn)' || Er **օրգօդե-** **orgode-**, Mk **վօրյօգօդե-** **vórgadə-** 'flee, run away' ¶ UEW 805, SK 1548, Kt. 457, ERV 442, Ker. II 101, SSA III 375-6 || D \***uṛuk-** 'run away' > Tl **uṛuku**, Knd **uṛk-** id. ([partially] × D \***uṛuk-** 'jump' > Tm **uṛukku** id.) ¶ ≈ D #713 ◇ Not here WrM **օրցս-**, HlM **օրցօ-** v. 'flee' (MED 617), because this word goes back to M \***ψօրցս-** (cp. MM [MA] **հօրցս-** id., F Pp. MA 186).

**148.** \***ńaṛ̥i** ~ \***ńaRi** '≈ without, no' > **K:** OG **ara** 'no, not', G **ara** 'no', ar 'not' ¶ Ser. 3 || **IE:** NaIE \***ar-** / \***ōr-** v. 'deny' (P: 'verweigern, leugnen') > Gk **ἀρνέομαι** 'I deny' || Arm **ուրանամ** **uṛanam** 'deny' || pAl {O} \***arn-enya** > Al: T **rrej**, G **rrēj** v. 'deceive' → Al T **rrem** 'mendacious, false' ¶ P 62, FI 145-6, 158, Ch. 112, Slt. 385-6, O 380, Bugge BA 38ff., BFU 484, Me. EAC 111, 142 || **HS:** S \***✓ ńryw** (~ \***✓ ńrr**) 'be(come) naked\empty' > BHb **נָוֶרֶת** **nō'rū** 2pm imv. 'strip naked!', D **נָבְרָה** **nāb̥rah** '(he) bared, made naked', 'entblößen, bloßlegen', Ph **✓ ńry** D (3s ip. **уńr**) 'strip off', Ug **ńrw** 'naked, uncovered', Ar **✓ ńry** G (pf. **ńariya**) 'be(come) naked, bare of clothes', Ak **eriu** **ፈ** **erū** 'naked, empty'; CS \***ńvry-at-** 'nakedness' > BHb **נָרִיָּה** **nāriyā**, Sr **ńaryat**, JA **נָרִיתָא** **nāritā** ~ **נָרִיתָה** **nāritā**, Ar **ńuryat** ¶ KB 834-5, HJ 887, OLS 90, Br. 548, CAD IV 320, Sd. 242 || **U:** Y T {Ku.} **araw** 'naked', {Ku.} **arāwyā**, {Ang. ← Jc.} **arauneje** 'bald', K {Jc.} **araau**(lei), T {Jc.} **araulei** 'naked', T/K {Ang. ← Jc.} 'araulei 'naked, bare, undressed' ¶ Ku. 34, Ang. 23, Jc. JR s.v. **araau**, Jc. XR s.v. **araulei** || ?σ D \***aṛi** 'perish, be destroyed' > Tm **aṛi** v. 'perish, be ruined', Ml **aṛiyuka** 'be destroyed', Kt **aṛč-** 'be erased', **aṛyv** 'destruction', Td **oṛy-** '(money) is spent', Kn **aṛi** 'be ruined, destroyed, perish', Tu **aṛpuni** vt. 'efface, waste', **aṛipuni** 'perish', Tl **aṛisina** 'which destroys', Prj **andkip-**, Gnd **aṛih-** v. 'destroy' ¶ D #277.

**148a.** <sub>2</sub> \***ń|geṛ̥i** 'raincloud, rain' > **HS:** C {AD} **ńvṛ-** 'cloud, rain', {E} \***ńir-** 'rain' > Ag: Awn {Hz.} **ńrí** 'rain' || EC: Af {PH} **ńir-** ~ **ńer-** 'smoke, steam', Arr {Hw.} **ńiri**, Elm {Hn.} **ńri**, Dsn {To.} **ńír**, Hr/Dbs {AMS} **ńráwwo**, Gln/Gwd {AMS} **ńrráwwo**, Cm {Hab.} **ńro**, {SLLE} **ńerro** 'rain', pSam {Hn.} \***ńir-** > Sm {R} **ńíro** 'fog, cloud', Sm N {Abr.} **ńíro** 'fog', Sm {Hn.} **ńir** **ńaddā** **gā** 'continuous light rain', {ZMO} **ńir** 'rain, weather, sky', Rn {PG} **ńir** 'rain' ¶ AD SF 143, E PC #489, PH 60-1, Hw. A 342, To. DL

3483, Hn. S 77 (pSam \*sir- 'light rain'), ZMO 68, PG 141, AMS 263 || NrOm \*ir<sup>Δ</sup> 'rain, cloud' > Wl/Zl/Dwr/Gf/Dc/Bdt/Zs/Bsk/Cha {LmS} ira, Malo {LmS} ?ira, Gm {Hw.} ?iro, Hrr {CR} ira, Ym {Wdk} iro, Na/Shk/Mj {Fl.} iru 'rain', Kf {C} irō 'cloud' ¶ Blz. OL (Om \*ir- 'rain'), AD SF 143, LmS 292, Lm Y 321, CR H 637, Wdk BY 17O, Hw. EG s.v. 'rain', Fl. OWL s.v. 'rain' || D: McTm \*eřili 'cloud' > Tm, Ml eřili id. ¶ D #849 ◇ Suggested by Blažek: Blz. LNA #2 (N \*seř<sup>Δ</sup>).

**149.** \*šar̥k<sup>u</sup> 'sinew' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bowstring, bow') > **HS:** WS \*ši<sup>r</sup>k- 'sinew, vein, root' > Ar ūrq- 'root, sinew, vein', Mh ūrk- 'artery, sinew, nerve, root', Jb C ūrk- 'root, sinew', JA עֲרָקָא ūrakā 'leather thong', Tgr ūrak 'tendon, nerve', ?σ Sb ūrk 'neck-muscle, collarbone' ¶ Fr. III 143, Jo. M 28, Lv. III 705-6, BGMR 2O, LH 359, MiK I #1.2O || AdS of Eg fP ūrw<sup>3</sup> 'cord; bowstring; sinews' (< N \*ræ<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub>Kæ 'sinew' [→ 'cord, rope']; to tie' [q.v.] × N \*l<sup>1</sup>o<sup>2</sup>ŋka 'to bend' [→ 'a bow']) ¶ EG II 41O, Fk. 148, Tk. I 249-5O || **IE** \*herku- ~ \*herkʷ- 'bow, net' ({EI}) \*h<sub>A</sub>erkwo-s 'bow and/or 'arrow') (× N \*y<sup>1</sup>o<sup>2</sup>r<sup>3</sup>k<sup>4</sup> 'bend, be bent\crooked' [q.v.])> NaIE \*a|erku- ~ \*a|erkʷ- 'bow, net' > OL gen. arqu-ī, Larcus id. || Gmc \*arkʷ<sup>0</sup> (\*'belonging to a bow' → ) 'arrow' > Gt d. arhazna, ON qr (gen. qrvar), OSw arf, AS eardh 'arrow', NE arrow || Gk ἄρκυς, -υος 'net' ¶ WP I 81, P 67-8, EM 78-9, WH I 64, Bc. G 329, Vr. 688, Ho. 85, Coll. ULF 174, IS I 24O, Fs. 56, FI 142-3 || **A:** NaT \*arka- > Osm {Rs.} arqa- 'an den Satteliemen festbinden' (× T \*arka 'back, dorsum', cp. Chv urχalax, VTt arqalъq 'saddle-bag', Osm {Rh.} arqalıq 'porter's knot for carrying burdens', Tk arkalıq 'luggage carrier in a bicycle'), Chg {Rs.} arqa- 'den Faden einschließen', Tv аргы- arya- v. 'knit, plait, weave', Xk arya- v. 'embroider in flat stitches'; NaT {ET} \*arkān 'lasso, thick rope' > Chg {Rl.}, Kr נַחַרְאָן arqan, Tkm arqān 'lasso, thick rope', CrT, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh arqan, Uz arqan, Tk {ET} argan 'thick rope, cable', Qrg, Alt arqan 'rope made of hair', Qzq {Rl.} arqan 'rope made of horsehair'; a T lge. → R ар'кан 'lasso' ¶ Rs. W 26, ET Gl 175-6, BIG 3O, TvR 68, Rl. I 288, Bu. I 3O ¶ N \*ř > T \*r in the precons. position (a law discovered by Hl.) || M ≈ \*argamži 'rope' > MM [IM] arya<sup>3</sup> 'rope', [S] {H} arhamji arya<sup>3</sup> 'Leitstrick', WrM argamži, HlM аргамж, Brt аргамжа, Kl aphmž 'rope, tether', {Rm.} arya<sup>3</sup> 'rope (Strick)', WrO arya<sup>3</sup> 'rope, line, halter, hawser, bridle', WrM argamži-, HlM аргамжи- v. 'tie, fasten with a rope', WrO aryal<sup>3</sup> 'fasten, tether'; M → Tf argamži 'lasso,

leather rope', Tv аргамчы id., Xk аryamži, Alt армакчы armaqči 'lasso, rope', Qrg аргамжы arymži 'rope (made of hair)' ¶ Pp. MA 432, H 9, MED 52, Krg. 52-3, KW 13, Ra. 155 || D (in NED) \*er̥n̥t- > Krx er̥eth 'long-bow', Mlt er̥tu 'a bow', er̥tyo 'archer' ¶ D #789, Pf. 186 [#34] ◇ The unexpected D \*e- is still to be explained ◇ AD NM #25, S CNM 6 (÷÷ NrCs, ST, Yn), Vv. AEN 17-8 (points to the problems with the sxs. in M).

**150.** <sup>2</sup> \***ʕEw** **WS** '⟨(ε) grass' > **HS:** C: EC {Ss.} \***ʕawš-/\*rayš** (?< \***ʕawiš-**) > Sa, Af **ʕayso** 'grass, straw, vegetation', Sml **ʕaws** 'dry grass', ?ϕ Rn **ħos**, Bn **ēs**, Dsn **?iš** 'grass', Or **ēs** 'ε corn' ({Th.} 'farro, farragine, spelta, specie di frumento'), Hr, Dbs, Gln, Gwd **ʕaš-kə** 'grass', Sd {Ss.} **ays-o** 'grass', {Hd.} **hayssø** 'blade of grass', **hays'so** 'grass' ¶ Ss. PEC 44-5, 47, Hn. S 77, PG 143, Th. 123, Hd. 72, AMS 245, 263, To. DL 482 || Ch: WCh: pNrBc {S} \***awasi** 'grass' > Jmb **awaši**, My **awasu** || ECh: Skr {Sx.} **úsù**, Bdy {AlJ} **ṛawso** id. ] possibly also \***vws** > NrBc: Wrj **wass-na**, Mbr **wassə**, Kry **wasisi**, SBc: Bg **wásṭl** id. || CCh: Ms {J} **wúsná**, Bnn **ùsfnà** id.; G'nd **ùslnna**, Tr {Nw.} **wùz̄n**, Pdl **wùz̄ndí** id. ¶ Sk. NB 24, Stl. ZCh 26O [#183], ChL, ChC, AlJ 35, Blz. ChTP 8, Tk. NB 183 (NrBc \***(a)was-** < \***ʕawas-**) ¶ Tk. PAA 31 (NrBc, EC) || **A:** M \***ebesün** (< \*\***ebes-sün** with a nominal sx .\*-**sün**) 'grass, hay' > MM [L, MA, IM] **ebesün**, WrM **ebesün** ~ **ebüsün**, HIM **əbc(əh)**, Ord **öwösü** ~ **öwös** id., Kl {Rm.} **öwsn̩**, MnR H {SM} **wess** ~ **yess** id., 'straw', {T} **wese** ~ **yese**, MnR M {T} **bese**, MMgl [Z] **ebesün**, Mgl {Rm.} **ebásun**, Dg {T} **eūse**, Ba {T} **weson̩** 'grass, hay' ¶ Pp. MA 15O, 436, Pp. L II 1254, Rm. M 27, KW 3O3, Iw. 1OO, Pot. 421, MED 287, 291, Ms. O 544, SM 483, 493, T 321, T DgJ 19, T BJ 136 || AdS of **IE** \***₁H<sub>₂</sub>wejs-** > NaIE \***wejs-** v. 'grow, sprout forth' (P: 'sprießen, wachsen') (< N \***wiš?** **WS** 'to grow' [esp. of plants] [q.v. ffd.]).

**151.** \***ʕeš'i'** 'make, do' > **HS:** WS \***v̥ ʕsy** 'make, do' > BHb **נְשָׁה** **v̥ ʕsy|w** **G**, M'b **v̥ ʕsy** **G** (1s pf. **ʕṣty**), Ug **v̥ ʕsy** **G** id., SmA **נְשָׁה** **ʕṣh** (Hebraized spelling for **ʕs?** [**v̥ ʕsy**] 'do'), n. act. **ʕṣy** (for **ʕsy**) 'doing, making', Sb/Mn **yʕṣy** **G** 'do, make; acquire', Qt **ʕṣy** **G** {Rk.} 'acquire' (OSA S **š** for the expected **\_š** is puzzling) ¶ KB 842-5, HJ 89O-1, OLS 93, Tal 667, BGMR 2O-1, MA 16, Rk. IQ 125 || C: Ag {Ap.} \***?ṣs-** 'make, do' > Bln {Ap.} **?ṣs-**, Xm/Q {Ap.} **ṣṣ-**, Dmb {R} **es-** id. || EC: Sa {R} **iṣ-/iš-**, Af {R} **iṣ-** id., pBn {Hn.} \***as-** v. 'prepare' (> {Hn.} Bn Bi/K **as-** id., Bn J/Kj **áŋalas-** 'brew beer'); HEC {Hd.} \***ass-** / \***iṣṣ-** 'do, make' > Sd {Gs., Hd.} **ass-**, Kmb {Hd.} **ass-, es-**, Ged (h)**ass-**, Hd {Hd.} **iṣṣ-** 'do',

Brj {Hd., Ss.} *i̥ss-* 'do, act, make' || SC: Alg {Wh.} *sesim-*, Brn {Wh.} *sesim-* 'do' ¶ AD SF 151, Ap. AV 5, Ss. B 107, R S II 52, Hn. BD 122, 143, Hd. 51, 95, 201, 244, 285, 308, 315, 35, Wh. IC 56 || ECh: Mkl {J} sbjn. *?isè* (pl. *?āsè*), aor. *?izè* 'do, make' ¶ J LM 113 ¶ AD SF 151 (S, C), Ap. AV 5 (S, Ag, EC), OS #1097 (HS \**sič-* 'do, make'; S, C, Ch) || IE: Ht *essa-* / *issa-* 'do, make' (unless an iterative of Ht *iya-* id.) ¶ Pv. I-II 300-5 || U: FP (+ ext.) \**ešte-* 'make, make\be ready', (→ 'succeed, have time to do sth.') > pChr {Ber.} \**ištə-* 'do, make' > Chr L/B *ьšte-*, Chr H *аšte-* id. | pPrm {LG} \**зšt-* > Z *eštint*, Prmk, Yz *yešt-* 'be ready', 'be fulfilled' (a word), 'succeed in fulfilling, have time to do' | pLp {Lr.} \**зstz-* > Lp: N {N} *âs'tât* 'have time\leisure (to do sth.)', L {LLO} *astat*, Kld *зсстэ зшte-δ* id., S {Hs.} *astedh* id., 'arrive in time' | F *ehti-* 'arrive in time' ¶ ≈ UEW 626 (FP \**ešte* 'have time, be ready'), Sm. 552 (FP \**ešti-* 'manage'), Ber. 8, LG 333, SK 35, It. 303, Coll. 76-7, Lr. #25, Lgc. #111, Hs. 250, SaR 424 ◇ N \**š* > U \**š* is puzzling: a positional change \*-*št-* > \*-*št-?*

**152.** \**oš*  $\Delta$  (-Ka) 'ē tree' > HS: Eg fOK *čš* 'cedar, abies cilicica (as a tree and esp. as wood)' ¶ EG I 228, Fk. 49 || IE \**H<sup>w</sup>es-* 'ash-tree' ({EI} \**h<sub>2</sub>eHōs* 'ash') > NaIE \**os-* ~ \**ōs-* (and with extentions: \**osk-* ~ [mt.] \**oks-*) > *Lornus* (< \**os-en-os*) 'mountain-ash' || W *onn*, singl. *onnen* / pl. *onna* 'ash-tree' (< \**osnā*), MCrn *onnen*, Br *onn*, Δ *ounnenn*, OIr (*h)uinniūs*, dat. *uinsinn* (< \**onn-ist-ō*) || Gk *όξυα* ~ *όξύη* 'beech-tree' (< \**oskes-?*) || pAl {O} \**aksa* > Al *ah* 'beech-tree' || Arm *hawgħ* *hach'i* 'ash-tree' (< \**H<sup>o</sup>s-k-*) || ON *askr*, OHG *asca* id. || Pru *woasis*, Lt *úosis*, Ltv *ōsis* id. | Sl \**āsenъ* ~ \**āsenъ* id. > Slv *jásen*, *jésen*, Slv R *ásen*, Blg 'ясен, SCR *jäsen*, Δ *jēsen*, OR *яасенъ* *yasenъ*, R, Blr, Uk 'ясень, Cz *jasan*, Slk *jaseň* | The BSl vw. goes back to IE \**ō* (L-gr. of IE \**o*) ¶ P 782, ≈ EI 32 (unc.: 'ash' < 'burnings'), F II 400, WH II 223, Vn. *U 20*, O 2-3, Vr. 15, EWA I 364-6, Slt. 312-3, Frn. 1167, En. 276, ESSJ I 79-80, Glh. 290, Frdr. PIT 20 [#13], Frdr. PITA 92-8 || U \**oš|ška* 'ē tree (ash-tree, elm, poplar)' > Chr H *oškъ* 'ash-tree', L *oško* 'black poplar (*Populus nigra*), осокоръ' || pMr {Ker} \**ūskъ* > (mt.) \**uksъ* > Er *ukso*, Mk *uks* 'ash-tree' || Sm: Kms {KD} *āzoy p'ā* 'poplar' (p'ā 'tree') ¶ Ker. II 174, Ber. 93, KD 6, Coll. 138 || A: T \**os* > Sg, Qb, Qc, StXk *os* 'aspen, poplar', Qzl {Rl.} *os* 'poplar', Chv *ъвъс*, Δ *ус* 'aspen'; there may be semantic infl. of NaT \**apsak* 'aspen' (< N \**?ac'P*  $\Delta$  'leaf-bearing tree') ¶ Hoops 123-4 and after him Tenishev

(TL 131) unconvincingly suggested an IE origin of the T word (from the non-existent Sl \*osa 'aspen') ¶ ET Gl 607-8, Fed. I 80-1, BIG 131, Rl. I 1138, Ash. III 295 ◇ Coll. IUS 87, Coll. HUV 121 (in both sources: IE, U), IS I 255 s.v. \*Hosn̥ 'ash-tree' (IE, U), Jk. 333 (proposes as an alternative [with a query] that the Chr and Mr words may be loans from Irn [Scythian]: "Entlehnung aus einer altertümlichen iran. (skyth.) Sprachform wäre ebenso möglich..., die Sippe ist aber in den iran. Sprachen kaum belegt").

**153.** \***ξaṭU** 'in fish' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>ξaṭ- > Ug ξaṭ id. ¶ OLS 94 || Eg XVIII/G ξd̥w 'in fish (forbidden to eat)' ¶ EG I 237 || **A:** Tg: WrMc aṭu 'a female fish (with roe)' → (or ← ?) WrM aṭu 'a female fish' (× Tg \*aṭv̥ 'female' < N \*<sup>r</sup>?aṭv̥ 'female, woman', q.v.); WrMc aṭuqa 'a male fish' → (or ← ?) WrM aṭuqa id. ¶ Z 29, MED 58-9 || ?φ **D** (in SD) \*aṭv̥ 'in fish' > Tm aṭal 'in fish', Tm aṭalač, Ml aṭava 'in marine fish', Tu aḍaminu, aḍāvū 'in fish' ¶ D #68 ¶ \*-t- for the expected \*-t- is still to be explained || **IE:** NaIE \*ateli- (and \*<sup>r</sup>aṭi-?) 'in fish' (× N \*<sup>X</sup>o<sup>r</sup>t<sup>r</sup>i 'in fish', q.v.) > Gk [Arist., Hs.] ἔτελις (or ἔτελίς) 'in fish' ({F}: 'Goldbrasse'?) || L [Plin.] attilus {WH} 'in a big fish resembling sturgeons (in the Padus)' (← Gl?); VL {ML} \*atillus 'Stöhr' (sc. 'Stör, sturgeon?') > It V '(l)adano, It Ml 'ladan, ?φ OIt Pv 'agano; VL {ML} \*atillus id. > OIt V \*adello > It adello id. || Lt ðtas 'halibut, turbot', (N \*<sup>X</sup>o<sup>r</sup>t<sup>r</sup>i > ?) Lt aṭis, Ltv aṭe id. ¶ P 70, ML #766, Frn. 21, Bg. KS 274, F I 580, Hld. I 275, WH I 78.

**154.** \***ξaṭv̥** 'to throw, to cast' > **HS:** EC {Ss.} \*ξad̥- 'throw' > Kns, Gdl ad̥-, Hr ξad̥-, Brj ad̥-ad̥- 'throw', Sa ξed̥- 'throw away', Af S ξid̥- 'throw, kill' ¶ Ss. B 23 || S \*<sup>o</sup>ξaṭt̥ > Ar <sup>✓</sup>ξt̥ G 'fell so. on the ground' ¶ BK II 283, Hv. 480 || **A:** T \*aṭ- 'throw, shoot (arrows)' > OT, Chg, XwT at- id., MQp at- 'shoot', Tk aṭ-, Tkm, Ggz, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Bsh, ET, Qrg, Alt aṭ- 'throw, shoot', Az, Nog, VTt aṭ-, Uz aṭ- id., 'cast', Qzq, SY, Xk, Tv aṭ- 'shoot', Yk it- 'shoot (arrows)' || Chv L ut- 'throw', Chv Δ iwbt- 'throw, cast' ¶ Cl. 36, ET Gl 199-200 || **D** \*aṭ- 'throw, shoot' > Tu aḍakuni 'throw, cast out, discharge (as a gun)', Tl aḍrincu, aḍarucu v. 'discharge, shoot (as an arrow or other missile)' ¶ D #61 ◇ The irreg. reflex \*-t- in D may be due to some phonetic element in sxs.

**155.** \***ξotv̥** 'breathe, blow' > **IE** \*H<sup>w</sup>ot-/ \*H<sup>w</sup>t- > NaIE \*ōt-/aṭ- v. 'breathe' (→ \*ōt-men- [{E}] IE \*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>t-'men] 'breath') > OI āt'mā (gen. āt'manah<sub>1</sub>) 'breath, soul, self' || AS æðm, OSx āthom, OHG ātum,

MLG **ādēm**, Dt **a dem**, NHG **A tēm**, (Δ  $\leftrightarrow$ ) **Odem** 'breathing, breath' ||| OIr **athach** (< \*at-āko-) 'breath, wind' ¶ WP I 118, P 345 (\*ēt-men), H 82, Mn. 254, M K I 73, Ho. 13, Ho. S 4, EWA I 391-3, KM 34, Vn. A 99-100 || **HS:** +exts.: S \* $\circ\sqrt{\text{ŋyt̪n}}$  > Gz  $\sqrt{\text{nt̪n}}$  *G* 'burn incense, fumigate with incense' ] ? S \* $\circ\sqrt{\text{ŋt̪m}}$  > Ak **e temmu** 'spirit of the dead, ghost' ] WS \* $\sqrt{\text{nt̪r}}$  v. 'exhale (as vapour\smoke\steam)' > Sr **; $\text{ŋ}$**   $\sqrt{\text{nt̪r}}$  *G* (pf.  $\text{ŋa't̪ar}$ ) id., JA [TrgJ] **נְטַר**  $\sqrt{\text{nt̪r}}$  *G* (pf. **נְטָרָה**  $\text{ŋa't̪ar}$ ) 'rauchen, to exhale smoke', Ar  $\sqrt{\text{nt̪r}}$  *G* (pf. **عَطْر**  $\text{ŋatara}$ ) 'exhale fragrance, smell sweet', Mh **?** $\text{ŋt̪zr}$  v. 'perfume', Mh **?** $\text{ŋt̪zr}$ , Jb **?** $\text{ŋt̪zr}$  'perfume' ¶ Br. 521, JPS 41O, Lv. T II 211, Lv. III 636, Js. 1063-5, Fr. III 176, BK II 284, Jo. M 35, L G 76, CAD IV 397-O1 || B \* $\text{ŋdu?}$  'wind, odour' > Ah {Fc.} **ādu**, Gd **ādw**, Izn/Rf {Rn.} **ādu**, Gh {Nh.}, ETwl/Ty {GhA}, Tmz {MT}, Izd, Wrg {Dlh.} **ādu**, Nf **ādu** id., Kb {Dl.} **ādu**, Mz {Dlh.} **ādu**, Snd **ādu** 'wind', Tz {Stm.} **ādu** id., Sll {Ds.} **ādūn̄** 'gentle wind', BSn/BMn {Bs.} **ādūn̄** 'heavy wind', Izd **ādu** n. 'smell', Zng {TC} **ādih** 'odour' ¶ Pr. H #141, Fc. 252-3, GhA 3O, Nh. 213, Rn. 311, Lf. II #O332, Dl. 17O, Stm. 158, Ds. 29O, MT 86, Dlh. M 37, Dlh. Ou 63, Mrc. 18O, 261, TC D 4, NZ 437-9 || ?σ Ch ≈ \*? $\nabla t \nabla n$  'nose' (× N \* $\text{h}^1 \text{o} t \nabla$  'to smell [odorare, get the odour of]', 'to smell [olere, have an odour\scent], q.v. ffd.) || **A:** ?σ AmTg **\*ōti** > Ul **ōti** 'the north-eastern wind', Nn **ōči** 'the north wind' ¶ STM II 28 || **D:** \* $\bar{u}t\circ$  v. 'blow (blasen)' > Tm **ūtu** v. 'blow (as a wind instrument, a fire)', Ml **ūtukā** id., **ūttu** n. 'blowing', Kt **u·d-** v. 'become swollen, bloated', Kn **ūdu** v. 'blow', Tu **ūduni** v. 'blow (as a pipe), swell', Tl **ūdu** v. 'blow with the mouth or with bellows', Klm, Nk, Nkr, Gdb **ūnd-**, Gnd **ūd-** v. 'blow', ? Ku **hūtinay** v. 'kindle' ¶ D #741, ≠ Km. 3O4 [#143] (reconstructs \*uy-nt-/\*uy-t- for pCD [sc. pSCD and pCD] and pSD, \*uy-**ꝝ**-/-**r**- for pNED).

**155a.** \* $\text{fut̪} \nabla$  '≈ hand' ('palm of hand with fingers'?) > **HS:** S \* $\circ\text{f}^1 \bar{u}t̪$ -, ? \* $\circ\sqrt{\text{f}t̪w}$  > Ak **ūt̪-** 'span, half ell', ? Ar  $\sqrt{\text{f}t̪w}$  *G* (ip. - $\text{f}t̪\bar{u}$ ) 'take\receive with the hand' ('manu accepit') ¶ Sd. 1447, Fr. III 179-8O || **U:** \* $\text{utta}$  (or \*-t|s|š-, \*-ks|š-, \*-s|šk-) > Sm {Jn.} \* $\text{utā}$ , {Hl.} \* $\text{uta}$  'hand' > Ne: Т **ңуда**, {Lh.} **ңу·ðа**; F {Lh.} **ңуттā**; Ng {Mik., Hl.} **jütü**, {Cs.} **jut̪ç**; En: X {Cs.} **úra**, B {Cs.} **úda** id.; Slq: Tz {KKIH} **ut̪+** id., B/Y/Kar {Cs.} **ut̪**, O {Cs.} **ud̪**, Ke/NP {Cs.} **utte**, Chl {Cs.} **ut̪ö**, UO {Cs.} **ude** id.; Kms {KD} **uda**, Koyb {Sp.} **ода** 'hand'; Mt {Hl.} \***uda** id. (Mt: М {Sp.} **үдамъ** 'my hand\arm', К {Mll.} **udə** 'arm', {Pl.} **үдада** 'his hand\arm', Т {Pl.}

údada, udada id., {Mll.} udúda 'his arm', A {Msr.} udam 'my hand') || Jn. 3O, Cs. 55, 79, 232, Hl. US 115, Hl. M #11O9 || A: T \*aðut > OT U aðut 'a handful', 'palm of the hand' (< a compound \*... + \*gut<sup>N</sup>) (→ aðutla- v. 'take a handful'), MU aðut 'handful', as well as possibly with \*-w-: OT Δ [MhK] avut, Chg avuč, MQp [CC] ouč, Tk avuč, Tkm awuč, Nof uwis, Qmq uvuč, Blq uuč, Xk ōs, SY oš 'handful' || Cl. 44-5, ADb. SR 179-82 (T adyutç with a dim. sx. [?] \*-ç) || pJ {S} \*untāj 'arm' > OJ údè, J: T/Kg udé, K údè || S QJ #1081, Mr. 560 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #193 (\*ute 'hand') (Sm, J + err. A).

**156.** \*gawu<sup>N</sup> 'shout, speak' > IE: NaIE (?) \*<sup>o</sup>aŋ- > o Gk (ipf.) αὐθε, ft. αὔσω, aor. αὔσατι 'cry out, shout, call aloud' ('rufen') || P 76-7, FI 193 || HS: WS \*√<sup>g</sup>wu<sup>N</sup> 'shout' (n. act. \*<sup>o</sup>gawu<sup>-</sup>) > Ar √<sup>g</sup>wu<sup>N</sup> G 'shout, howl', Gz gawu<sup>N</sup>a n. 'moan, wail', gawu<sup>N</sup>ā 'wailing', √<sup>g</sup>wu<sup>N</sup>w (pf. gawu<sup>N</sup>awa) 'wail in mourning, howl, cry, cry out' || LG 79, BK I 415 || C: EC {Ss.} \*gīyy- 'cry' > Sml gīyy-, Bs {HL} iyyi, Or iyy- v. 'cry, shout', Arr {Hw.} ?iyy- 'cry out', Brj iyy- v. 'cry for help', Af ey iyy- shout' (iyy- 'say'); Rn ūya v. 'cry' || Ss. B 1O8, ≈ HL 8O, Hw. A 342, Grg. 228, PG 242 || Om {Blz.} \*<sub>u</sub>w<sup>N</sup>- 'say' > NrOm: Sz {Fl.} wε 'say', Ym {Wdk.} ū 'say', ? Gf {Mrn.} i wet 'speak' || Blz. OL #238, Wdk. BY 137 || Ch (× N \*<sup>g</sup>rā<sup>1</sup>u<sup>N</sup> 'say, speak, call'): [1] ECh: Kbl {Cp.} yúwá 'say' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} wá, {Mch.} wa 'say'; [2] Ch {Stl.} \*yaw<sup>1</sup>- 'call' ('звать') > WCh: Pr yó v. 'call' || CCh: Gudu {ChL} ?yá, Msg {Mch.} yi, Ms {Mch.} ya, {J} yíná, {Stl. ← ?} yu-mo, Bnn {Stl.} ya-mi, BnnM {Stl.} ya-mo id. || ECh: Gbr ye id. || ChC s.v. 'say', ChL, Stl. IF 143, Lk. L 125 || A: \*ay<sup>N</sup> 'speak, sound' (× N \*<sup>g</sup>rā<sup>1</sup>u<sup>N</sup> '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ D \*ū<sup>1</sup>v<sup>1</sup>- 'speak' > Prj ūb- 'speak, converse', ūbal 'a saying', ? Tl ubusu 'chat, talk', Tl Vs ūsul-ād<sup>u</sup>koni v. 'chat' || D #631.

**157.** \*gaw<sup>1</sup>oy<sup>1</sup><sup>N</sup> 'spend the night, sleep' > IE: \*<sup>o</sup>heugH- / \*<sup>o</sup>hwēH- / \*<sup>o</sup>hwōH- > NaIE \*aŋ- / \*əwē- / \*əwō- v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep', \*aŋs- id. (× N \*<sup>g</sup>rā<sup>1</sup>ūu<sup>1</sup>q<sup>1</sup>yē 'night, dark hours') > Arm ագանիմ ag-anim 'I spend the night', օր օտհ (< eArm \*aŋt<sup>h</sup>-) 'pernoctation, spending the night in a place; sleeping place, inn' || Gk ἡσύω 'I sleep' (< rdp. \*i-aus-ō) (aor. ἡ-αὔσαι and unreduplicated ἔεσσαι), Gk Hm ἡωτέω 'sleep well', Gk L [Sph.] ὕπνος 'sleep', ὑπνος', Gk d. αὐλις (gen. -ιδος) 'place for passing the night in', αὐλή 'court-yard; lair' (< 'sleeping place') || P 72, Hofm. 28, 3O, 122, FI 186, 2O5, 7O6, Ch. 139-4O, 454, 13O4, Slt. 442-3 || HS: Eg MK/G {EG} հհա, {Fk.} հհապ v. 'sleep' || EG I 169, Fk. 38 || Om {Blz.} \*way<sup>1</sup>- 'sleep, lie down' > NrOm: Bdt {Fl.}

woy?- 'sleep', Hrr {Fl.} way 'lie down', Oyda {Fl.} wo? - ~ woy- 'sleep' ¶ Blz. OL #12O || Ch (x N \*<sup>r</sup>u<sup>m</sup>ŋ|n̥<sup>W</sup> 'sleep' [q.v.] x N \*<sup>r</sup>u<sup>q</sup>u<sup>r</sup>q<sup>1</sup>ȳe 'night, dark hours'): [1] CCh: Nz {ChL} v̄t̄?̄ v. 'sleep' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} ȳi, Skr {Sx.} w̄z̄?̄ v. 'sleep', EDng {Fd.} w̄ej̄e ~ w̄éj̄é 'être couché', w̄ej̄i ~ w̄éj̄i 'sommeil', Mgm {J} ?ō?ȳo, amb Mu {J} ?ew̄en n. 'sleep' (x Ch \*v̄ywn 'sleep' [see below]) ] [2] Ch {JS} ?φ \*v̄ywn ~ \*v̄wn ({JI} \*v̄ywn) 'sleep' (x N \*<sup>r</sup>u<sup>q</sup>u<sup>r</sup>q<sup>1</sup>ȳe '↑') > WCh: Ngz {SCh.} ȳuw̄an 'spending the night; day and night (24 hours)', Bd {IL} iwan, {ChL} ūná 'sleep' || CCh: Msy {Mch.} waŋ̄, Db {Lnh.} wan 'sleep'; Gudu {ChL} w̄yēnū 'sleep' (n. act.) || ECh: Mgm {J} w̄āni n. 'sleep', amb Mu {J} ?ew̄en n. 'sleep' ¶ JI I 154 and II 298-9, ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 177, Fd. 147 || U: FU \*<sup>o</sup>lwoy<sup>W</sup>- v. 'sleep, fall asleep' > ObU {Ht.} \*w̄oy- / \*w̄ayā- id. > pVg {Ht.} \*ăy- v. 'sleep' > Vg: T/SV/LL ay-, LK/MK/UK åy-, P oy- ~ öy-, Ss oy- id.; Vg: T ayaltākt-, LK åyaltaxt-, PLL öyaltaxt-, SV óyaltäxt-, UL oyiltaxt-, Ss oyaltaxt- v. 'try to fall asleep'; pOs \*w̄aya- / \*woy- ({JHl.} \*w̄tya-/\*w̄ay-) 'fall asleep' > Os: V w̄aya-, Vy w̄aya- / woy-, Ty w̄oy- id.; Os: V/Vy woyəmt-, Ty/Kz w̄oyəmt-, D/K/O w̄ayəmt- id. || Y: Y T {Ku., Krn.} āwe- v. 'sleep', {Ku.} āwe, {Krn.} āwan̄ n. 'sleep', Y K {AD} abudā-, {Jc.} a'budā 'lie down, lie down to sleep' ¶ Ht. #669, Hl. rHt 71, Ku. 13-4, Jc. JR s.v. abudā, AD YN, Krn. JJ 27O || A: Tg \*a;<sub>2</sub>b<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>- v. 'sleep' > Ork ā-, āwu- ~ au-, Ul aw- ~ au-, Ewk, Neg, Orc ā- id., Nn Nh āwan- 'let sleep', awant- 'go (somewhere) to pass the night', Ul awya ~ auya, Ewk Urm āwun 'bed (sleeping place)', Neg āwu n. 'passing one night (одна ночька)', Ork āwya ~ auya 'bed-clothes' ¶ STM I 1-2.

**158. \***riy<sup>h</sup><sup>1</sup><sup>W</sup> 'to bend' > HS: S (WS?) \*v̄riwy 'bend' > H b נִנְוִיתִי na?<sup>a</sup>w̄it̄i (N pf. 1s) 'I was bent, bowed down, twisted', (G 3f pf.) טַוִתָה rāwə'<sup>tā</sup> 'she did wrong', נִנְהָרֵה riw̄'wā (D pf. 3m) 'he twisted', Ar عُوى v̄riwy G (rāwā / -rāwī, -rāwiy-) v. 'bend, twist', Gz ئەۋەن rāw 'bending, curvature', ? Ak OB ئەۋەم 'belasten (mit ...)' ¶ KB 752-3, KBR 796-7, Ln. 2185-6, L G 77, L ESAC 38 || IE \*hwejX- v. 'twist, weave, plait, braid', ~ {EI} \*wej(H)- 'plait, wattle' > Ht {Ts.} weχ-/wəχχ- (1s weχ- mi) and md. weχ- 'sich drehen, sich wenden' || NaIE: OI वैयाति 'weaves, plaits' (pfc. उवुहि, pp. उता-, inf. ओतुम), वैया- m. 'Weben, das Weben', वैयायाति v. 'envelop, wrap', Av v̄i- v. 'twist, wrap', Oss I բզւզն (pp. բզմ), Oss D biyun (pp. բիմ) v. 'twist, weave, braid' || Gk [Hs.] στένω · ἀναθενδράδα 'vine that grows up trees' (υ- = ω-) || L viē- v. 'twist,

bind with withes' || ? OIr {P} **tech fithe** 'a wicker house', Br **gwriad** 'web, issue', W **gwau** ~ **gweu** 'to weave, to knit', Crn **gwýa** v. 'weave, knit, twine, twist' || pGmc \*wajjus 'wall' (< 'Flechtwerk') > ON **veggr** 'wall', Gt **waddjus** 'Wall, Mauer' || Lt **výti** (prs. **vøjū**), Ltv **vít** (prs. **vijū**) 'to twist, to wind (up)' | Sl \*vít-ti 'to twist, to curl' > ChS **внти** vít-ti (1s prs. **внк** vij-q), SCr **vítí** (1s prs. **víjēm**), Slv **vítí**, Cz **vítí**, P **wić**, R **вить** (1s prs. **вью**) id., Blg **вия** 'I twist' || → IE \*hweX- 'to-(s)' ({Mn.} \*χētós) pp. 'woven, enmeshed' > ON **váð** 'textile, fishing-net', MHG **wāt** f. 'garment', NHG **Wat** 'cloth, garment', AS **wæd** 'robe' ¶ P 1120-1, ≈ EI 571 (no mention of Ht, and hence no certainty about the root-final lr.), Mn. 1505, 1531, ≈ M K III 147 (OI ÷ Lt **áusti** 'to weave'), Ch. 1153, WH II 786-7, Ab. I 277, YGM-1 259, ECCE 252, Hm. 360, Vr. 637, 650, Fs. 538-9, Frn. 1267, Vs. I 322, Glh. 67, Srz. I 266 || A \*uya- > Tg \*uya-(n) 'flexible, soft; coiling (as a snake)' > WrMc **уян** 'flexible, soft, fine, tender', **уялза-** ~ **уяланза-** ~ **уяланса-** v. 'be flexible, soft; coil (as a snake)', Lm **ѹւչ**, Lm T **ѹъւ** 'weak (tobacco, wine), soft (metal)', Nn **ѹă** 'soft, flexible', **ѹан-** v. 'become soft\flexible', Ul **ѹа(n-)** 'soft, tender' ¶ STM II 251 ¶ Lm T **ѹъւ** 'soft' (referring to metal) may have been influenced by Yk **ѹан** 'soft, weak' || M \*uya-n 'flexible, soft' > WrM **ѹа-n**, HlM **үян** 'soft, flexible, Kl **ѹң** 'flexible'; M \*uya-d- v. 'become too soft and flexible' > WrM **ѹад-**, HlM **үяда-(x)** id., Kl **үйд-** vi. 'bend' (of trees, spears); → Yk **ѹан** 'soft' (iron), 'weak', Xk **ѹан** 'weak', Qzq **Ӳян** **Ӧյан**, Qrg, Qq **ѹан** 'soft', Alt **ѹан** 'soft, weak', Tlt {Rl.} **ѹан** 'schwach, elend' ¶ The M word belongs here unless it is \*ψиуа-n (that cannot be ruled out for lack of ev. distinguishing between \*ψ- and zero) ¶ MED 867, KW 447, KRS 529, Rl. I 1629, ET Gl 577-8.

**159.** ?σ \* häz ñ' q' ñ' 'wedge' > **U:** FV \*äskä 'wedge' > Chr L **ишке** 'iške, Δ iškъ, H **ишкы** iškə 'wedge (for splitting), wooden hook, peg (for hanging clothes)' | pMr {Ker.} \*äskə > Mk äskə, Er əskə eske, Δ eśkē 'nail (ГВОЗДЬ)' ¶ It. #291, Ker. II 39, Ber. 9, ERV 788, PI 317, MRS 139, Ep. 23, Ps. sL 7 || **HS:** S \*øzq > Ar √zq (pf. **ғазақ**) 'bêcher (la terre) avec une bêche ou un hoyau', mižaq-, mižaq-at- 'bêche\pelle pour remuer la terre; large pelle avec laquelle on nettoie le grain' ¶ BK II 244 || **K:** G **азыуди** 'gore, gusset' ('keilformiger Stoffeinsatz [an Kleidern], Zwickel') ¶ Chx. 9, DCh. 13 ¶ K -zy- < \*\*-zq- (as.) ¶ The element -ud- has no explanation so far.; \*-q- > -y- by as. (infl. of \*z)

**160. \*χίζΔ** 'strong, healthy' > **HS:** S \*χazz- 'strong' > Hb צָבֵז ( / χazz-), Ug ፻, Amr ፻azz-, Ak ezzu; → S \*°χuzz- 'might, strength' > Hb צָבֵז ( / χuzz-), Ph, Ug ፻, Ug (AkSc), Amr {G} χuzz- id., SmA ፻ 'strength'; Pun ፻zz, IA ፻zyz 'strong', SmA ፻zyz pp. 'excited', ፻zyz 'strong' ¶ KB 762, KBR 804-6, Sd. 269, A #2O21, OLS 95-6, Tal 629, G A 15, JH 2O6, HJ 835, Hnr. 252 || ?φ B \*✓Hss (~ \*✓dss) > Ah asəs 'faire effort (sur)', Kb sis (rare), it-əssəs 'avoir du prestige, inspirer la crainte', tissas 'prestige; autorité naturelle', Sll {Ds.} düss / idüs 'be strong' ¶ Fc. 1864-6, Dl. 751, Ds. 132 || ?σ, φ C: SC: Alg ፻acə 'mature', Irg {MQK} ፻acaramō (pl. ፻acarāy) 'old cow' ¶ ESC 275, MQK 17 || Ch: ECh: Ll {Grgs.} ፻si 'strong' ¶ ChC s.v. 'strong' || IE: NaIE \*eis-/\*ois- 'move with impetus' ({EI} IE \*h<sub>1</sub>eis- 'set in motion') (× NaIE \*eis-/\*is- v. 'move (go\run) in a hurry' < N \*χosΔ '≈ go\run' [q.v.]) and NaIE \*isaro-s 'vehement, strong' > OI iṣ'ṇāti, iṣyati 'sets in motion, swings', iṣi'rā- 'vigorous, flourishing, refreshing', Av aēš- (prs. iša-, išya-) v. 'set in motion' || Gk ἔντω, ἔνεω {LS} 'carry off by evacuations', Gk L/I ἕρος, Gk D ἕρως 'mighty', Gk A ἕρως id., 'holy', οἴμα (< \*ois-mat) (gen. οἴματος) 'impetus' || L īra, [Plt.] eira (< \*eisā) 'wrath, anger, ire' || ON eisa 'vorwärtsstürzen', OSx ovast ~ ofst (< \*ob-aist-?) {Ho.} 'haste', {P} 'Eile, Eifer', AS of-ost ~ of-est ~ of-st id. ¶ WP I 1O6-7, P 299-3O1, EI 5O6, M K I 93-4, M E I 271-2, MW 168-9, FI 712-4, 726-7, WH I 717-8, Vr. 98, Ho. S 57, Ho. 24O || A: NaT \*esän 'in good health, sound; safe' > OT {Cl.} äsän id., MQp XIII, OOsm ≥XIV, Chg ≥XV esen, Tk esen, VTt isän ~ äsän, Bsh iθän, Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY esen, Uz, ET esän, Qrg esän ~ isän, StAlt, Tlt, QK, Sg, Kü ezen, Xk izen ¶ Cl. 248, ET Gl 3O8-9, TL 684 (\*esän), Rl. I 873, 889-9O ¶ Cl. is right in warning before confusing this √ with NPrs ئەسەن ئەسەن 'easy' (≠σ, φ: {ET} T from NPrs ئەسەن) || M \*esen 'healthy' (↔ T?) > MM [IM] esen, WrM esen, HlM ەسەن id. ¶ MED 333, Pp. MA 437.

**160a. \*χαչΔ** 'white, bright' > **HS:** EC {Ss.} \*χazz- 'white' > Af {PH} ፻ado 'be white\clear', Sa {Wlm.} ፻ado 'white', Sml N ፻ad 'white colour', ፻ad- 'be white', Sml N {Ss.} ፻add-, Sml J {Ss.} ፻ay, Or ád-i?, Kns, Gdl at, Elm {Hn.} ጀ'w-í-da, Arr ezzí 'white', Dsn {To.} ጀéð 'white, bright' ¶ Bl. 2O3 (LEC \*χad-), Ss. PEC 36 (EC \*χazz-), Ss. WOKS 137, AD SF 144 (C \*χΔz-), PH 52, DSI 49, BISO 1O, Bl. G 5, Hw. A 341, Hn. E 282, To. DL 48O, Blz. DL s.v. 'white' ] (× N \*χawēΔ [or \*χacwΔ] 'light of the sun below\on the horizon?'): ?σ Sml ፻adřēd 'sun, daylight', Or {Ss.} adū', {Grg.} adū

'sun', Dsn {To} **?**<sup>ā</sup>ðu 'sun, sunlight' ||| Dhl ?addo 'sun, day') ¶ AD SF 300-1, ZMO 53, Abr. S 16, Ss. SPhG, Grg. 9, Hw. A 337, To. DL 476, To. D 127, Blz. DL s.v. 'sun' ||| **I**E: Ht asara- ~ esara- 'white, bright' ¶ Pv. I-II 206-7 ||| **U**: FU (+ext.) \*ačka 'white' > F Δ ahka 'eider duck (Eidergans, Somateria mollissima)', hahkea, haahkea 'grey', Es hahk (gen. haha) id., ahka 'eider duck (Somateria mollissima)' | Mk akša, Er ašo 'white, clean' | pChr {Ber.} \*ošъ 'white' > Chr: L oш oš id., 'fair-haired', H oш(ъ) oš(ъ), E oš(o) ѧ ošu 'white' ||| Os: D aš 'white clay' Cng áš id., 'chalk', Kz aš-čampí 'spröde' (čampí 'similar') ¶ UEW 3-4, SK 45, Ber. 47, MRS 396, Ep. 83-4 ||| **A**: M \*°ažay (unless it is \*ψažay)> WrM ažay bugural, HlM azáj býurál 'silvery grey hair' (bugural, býurál 'frey, grey-haired') ¶ MED 61 ¶ Valid unless ir is \*ψažay .