

**284.** (2?) \*čE 'that' (distal or intermediate deixis) > **U** {UEW} \*če ~ \*či {AD} 'that, ille' > F se 'it; that (iste, ille)', Es see, se 'this; that which' | Er ſe, Mk ſä 'that, this, that which' || pOs \*či(-) > Os: V či, O ſi 'iste', V čit, Nz ſit 'this' || Sm: En {Cs.} ſeđeo 'der, jener', Ng {Hl.} ſti, {Cs.} ſete 'he', Kms {KD} ſā 'dieser dort, der dort' §§ UEW 33-4, SK 987-8, Cs. GSS 35O, 358, Cs. 9O, Hl. US 137, KD 145 || **A:** pKo \*ča<sub>1</sub> 'this' > MKo ča<sub>1</sub> § S QK #6O6 || AdS of M ča- and Tg \*ča-, dem. pronominal stem of distal deixis (< N \*ča id. [q.v. ffd.]) §§ DQA #225 || ?K \*-s (~ \*-c), verbal ending of 3s > OG, G -s, Mg -s ~ -c, Lz -s id., Sv -s id. (in the optative); according to Klimov, the primary usage of the affix is in the opt. mood, from which it spread to other moods in OG, G, and Zn §§ K 161, FS K 263, FS E 292, Q O56 §§ In K there is desaffricatization (typical of grammatical affixes).

**285.** (2?) \*čuqbE or \*čüqb∇ 'carry away, throw (away)' > **I**E: NaIE \*skeub<sup>h</sup>- {P} 'dahinschießen (flink), schießen, werfen, schieben', {EI} 'push away, push ahead' > Gt af-skiurban 'push away', ON skúfa ~ skýfa 'shove, push away (fortstoßen)', OHG sciaban, NHG schieben, AS scéofan ~ scúfan 'to shove, to push', NE shove || Lt skùbtí 'to start hurrying' (x \*skeub- > ON skopa 'to run, to jump') ↗ skubéti 'to hurry, to make haste, to run in a hurry' § WP I 377 and II 551, P 955, EI 471, Fs. 9, Vr. 5O6, 5O8, Ho. 284, Schz. 257, KM 646, Frn. 82O || **HS:** S \*✓ ſxp 'throw down, throw away', 'wash away the soil' (of rain) > BHb ✓ ſhp G (prtc. נְתַזֵּב so'ḥep 'washing away' [of rain]), MHb {Lv.} ✓ ſhp G 'fortschaffen, abrasieren', JA {Lv.} ✓ ſhp v. G 'stürzen, auf etwas legen, werfen', {Sl.} 'place upside-down, place above, cover, throw down', SmA {Tal} ✓ ſhp G 'scatter', Md ✓ ſhp G 'cast down, throw down', Ak ✓ ſxp G (inf. saxāpu) 'umwerfen, niederwerfen', ?? Ar ✓ ſhf G 'emporter' (se dit du vent qui emporte les nuages) (h for the expected X due to contamination with ✓ ſhf G 'enlever le poil de la peau, raser?') § KB 7O8, Tal 578, Lv. III 497, Sl. 798, ≈ Js. 371, BK I 1O6O, DM 32O, 325, Sd. 1OO4 § S \*p is due to as. (\*-qb- > \*-qp-) || ?σ **A:** NaT \*čöb 'sediment, dregs, rubbish' (← \*'what is to be thrown away?') (x N \*čap∇ iE 'filth, dung', 'rubbish' [q.v. ffd.]?).

**286.** \*čor|čc∇ or \*čor|čc∇ 'sweep, rub\scrape away\off' > **K** \*čočχ- 'besom' > G cocχ-i, Sv čečχ ~ čäčχ id., Mg {FS} \*čorčχ- ↗ G Gr/A čorčχ-aν-s '(he) sweeps', čorčχ-va 'to sweep' §§ K 23O, K<sup>2</sup> 273, FS K 413-4, FS E 466, SSO II 341, Chx. 2O24 || **HS:** S: Ar ✓ ſyſy

'arracher, tirer de sa place à force de remuer' § BK I 1O95 || **U** {Db.} \*čōč∇ 'wipe off, rub off, sweep' > F *huosi*- '(ab-\lauf-)schwabbern; schaben, kratzen', *huosia* 'Schwabber; Besen, Wischer' || Vt čujk-čuž- v. 'sweep, sweep away' || ObU {Ht.} \*čāč- 'sweep' > pOs \*čač- > Os: V/Vy čač-, Ty/Y čāč- id. || Sm: Slq UKe {KD} čūtč- 'schaben' §§ Db. OS xxiii; ~ UEW 6O, and ~ Ht. #89 (both adduce pOs \*čačəm- 'pour out' and pVg \*šāš- 'pour [out], strew', that are likely to belong to FU \*š∇č∇ [Coll. 7, Stn. WV 171, BV 1O7]), KD D 74 || **A:** Tg \*çuçu- 'scrape' > Neg çoçə-, Ewk çuçulʒ-, Lm çōtlʒ- v. 'scrape clean the inner side of hide', Orc çoçolo-, Ork tottolo- ~ tuttulo-, Nn Nh/KU tučulʒ- 'scrape hide', Neg çoçon ~ çoçun, Ewk çuçun, Lm çōçun, Ork çoçō(n-), Ork totto ~ tuttu, Nn Nh/KU tučū 'round notched scaper for cleaning the inner side of hide' § STM II 418 ◇ In K, U, and in the prehistory of Ar there was as. of the original affricates: N \*c...č or \*č...c changed into K \*č...č, U \*č...č and S \*c...c (> Ar s...s). In K there was a reg. mt. (a lr. moves to the post-obstruent position) bringing about formation of a "harmonic complex" \*čχ.

**287. \*č'ü'd∇** 'outstretched hand, span' > **K:** GZ \*cid- 'span of the thumb and forefinger' ({FS} 'halbe Daumenlänge' [i]) ({K} \*mcida- 'span of the thumb and forefinger') > OG cid-i, cid-a 'hand-breadth' (in the G version of the OT [Ezek. 4O.43, II Chron. 4.5] cid(a) = LXX παλαιστή 'a palm of the hand [four fingers' breadth] as a measure of length' = Hb חַבְטָה 'ṭopah ~ חַבְטָה 'ṭepah 'hand-breadth'), {FS} 'halbe Daumenlänge' [i]), G cida- {DCh., Chx.} 'span of the outstretched thumb and forefinger (altes Längenmass: so lang, wie man Daumen und Zeigefinger auseinanderspannen kann)', Mg {Q} ci(n)da id., Lz {Chik.} mcida 'span' § K 141, K<sup>2</sup> 266, Chik. 75, FS K 399-4OO, FS E 45O, Abul. 516, DCh. 1593, Chx. 2OO3-4, Q 37O, SSO I 376 || **HS:** S \*°✓sʃd̥w > Ar ✓sd̥w (ip. -sdū / -sduw-) 'étendre\allonger la main vers qn.\qch.' § BK I 1O73 || **D** \*čuṭṭ- ~ \*čoṭṭ- ({GS} \*ʒ-) 'span' > MI cotta-ccāṇi 'span of the thumb and forefinger', Kt čo·ṭ 'breadth of four fingers', Kn cōṭu, cūṭu, Kdg ču·ṭi 'the small span of the thumb and forefinger', Tu cōṭ(t)u ~ cōṇtu id., cūṭṭi 'a span', Tl jutṭili 'the small span' §§ D #2834.

**288. \*čod̥iU** '≈ defect, evil deed' > **K** \*°c|čod̥iWj- > OG, G cod(v)- v. 'sin', codva n. 'sin', ??? Lz {BU} cudi, mcudi 'a lie' (unless it is identical with Lz mcudi 'vain, idle, vergeblich', cognate to G cudi 'vergeblich' and

Mg **cud-** 'be bad', *see* FS K 452) ¶ Abul. 518, Chx. 2018-9, DCh. 1598, BU 419 || HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>s̥d̥ > Ar سَدِّيْ السَّادِّيْ sad̥-at- 'mal, accident fâcheux' ¶ BK I 1071 || D \*čot̥t̥ 'defect, blame; insinuation, disparaging remark' (× N ?σ \*čUdN 'be weak, be damaged, be weary' × N \*šot̥t̥N 'to exercise magic', [in descendant lgs.]: → 'to curse', 'to bless']?) > Tm cōt̥tu 'defect, insinuation', Ml cāt̥tu 'fault', Tl sođđu 'defect, fault; blame, imputation' ¶ D #2837 ◇ If Lz (m)cudi belongs here, it points to a pK \*c- and a pN \*č-.

**289. \*CegN** 'breast, milk' > K: Sv: UB/L lī-šgi, LB li-šgi, Ln li-ški msd. 'to milk' ¶ TK 490-1, GP 178 || A: M \*čegezin 'breast, chest' > MM [S] če,eži 'Brustkorb', [MA] čeži(n) 'breast, chest', WrM cēgezin, HlM цээж 'upper front of body, chest, breast, bosom', WrO cēži 'chest, bosom, breast', Ord č'eži, Kl чеэж čež, {Rm.} čeži, Brt сээжэ, Dg čeži {T} 'breast, chest', {Mr.} 'chest (of body)', Mgl {Rm.} čeži 'breast'; ? M → Chv Ll. чэчэ čež 'female breast' (unless an independent Ll.) ¶ Pp. MA 132, H 26, MED 70, Kow. 2124-5, Gl. II 365-6, Luv. 624, DRM 132, Krg. 625, KRS 646, Ms. O 699, T DgJ 181, Mr. D 128, KW 438, Rm. M 25, Chr. 405 ¶ Merger with N \*čayN d̥lN, yN 'female breast' cannot be ruled out || D \*čē- ({θGS} \*ččē-) 'milk' > Tm cēkku 'breast milk', cēkkai 'woman's breast', Kn cēpu 'gush\spurt as of milk', Kdg če·pu v. 'secrete' (of milk), Tl cēpu ≠ cēpu 'become full of milk' (of breasts), 'be secreted' (of milk), Gdb sēmpap- 'become ready to be milked' ¶ D #2803.

**290. 2 \*cokN** 'shelter, primitive house' > HS: S \*sukk- 'temporary shelter' > Hb סָכָה suk'kā 'hut', מֵגְדַּלְתָּה hassuk'kōt 'feast of tabernacles', SmHb pl. sakket 'tabernacles', Ak OB sukku ē 'shrine, chapel'. SamHb s- proves that the S initial cns. is \*s- rather than \*š- (while in Jewish Hb the cns. s may go back to earlier Hb š as well) ¶ CAD XV 361-2, KB 711, KBR 753 || U: FU \*čokN-mN (or \*čočN-mN) 'temporary shelter' ({UEW} 'zeitweiliges Obdach'), 'cave of beasts' > Prm \*čom ({LG} \*čōm) 'shelter made of branches', 'cabin' > OPrm čom 'shelter made of branches (шалаш)', Z чом čom id., 'kennel', Z I čom 'reindeer breeders' tent (чум)', Yz čüm 'barn' || pOs \*sočam ({JH1.} \*săčam < \*săčam) > Os: V/Vy sočam, Lk sačwam, Ty (+ppa. 3s) sučmač 'cabin dug out of snow, Schneehütte', 'cave or winter den of animals, burrow' ¶ UEW 38, LG 309, Stn. D 1318, KrT 837.

**291.** <sup>2</sup> \*C<sup>o</sup>k'ü' 'small, little' > **HS:** C: pAg {Ap.} \*č<sup>z</sup>g<sup>w</sup>- ({Ap.}) \*c<sup>a</sup>g<sup>w</sup>-) 'be small, little' > Bln {R} šeg<sup>w</sup>- ~ se<sup>x</sup>g<sup>w</sup>- 'be few\small', Xm {R} č<sup>i</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-, Q {R} šeg<sup>w</sup>-, Km {CR} š<sup>a</sup>g<sup>w</sup>- 'be small' || EC: Kns {Ss.} šakk- 'small', {Fl.} š<sup>z</sup>ka 'few, small', Brj šak-an-ē 'light' (of weight), ? Sa/Af {Ss.} -isissik- 'be fast, light, easy, leight-weight' (of a person) ¶ AD SF 258 (Ag \*-g-, -g<sup>w</sup>- < C \*-k-, \*-k<sup>w</sup>-), ≈ AD SF 119, Ap. AV 2O, Ss. B 171 || **A:** M \*č<sup>ö</sup>yen > MM [HI] č<sup>ö</sup>,en, [MA, IM] č<sup>ö</sup>n 'little' (of quantity), 'few', WrM cōgen, HIM цөөн 'little, few, sparce, rare', Ba {T} čoŋ, Mn<sup>r</sup> {T} čiōn 'little' (of quantity), 'few', {SM} č'iōn 'peu nombreux, en petite quantité, peu' ¶ Pp. MA 136, 435, Ms. H 47, MED 2O1, SM 454, T 231, T BJ 151.

292. **ւ \*չ|չիկակա** 'to tickle' > **IE:** NaIE **ւ \*օskek-/\*օskok-** id. > **Sl:** ChS **սկъкътати** skъkъtati, R щекотать 'to tickle', Blg 'скокот', R щекотка n. 'tickling', ?φ SCr čkaklјati 'to tickle' ¶ Vs. IV 500 || **Ա:** FU \*čikkv- v. 'tickle' > Lp N {N} čâgârdi- 'be ticklish', čâgâlduvvvâ- id., 'have a ticklish feeling', Lp L {LLO} tjakârtit v. 'tickle' | Chr: H cəy-əltə-, E čiç-iltə- id. || Hg Δ csíkol-, Hg csikland- id. ¶ MF 116, N I 351-2, LLO 1124 || **Բ:** Tg: Lm çaka-çi-, Orc čakača-, Nn B caqaslı-, čiqaslı-, Ul cikir-či- v. 'tickle', Ul čikiruwli adj./adv. 'ticklish, it tickles' ¶ CinR 685, STM II 378, Sun. UJ 257 || **Շ:** \*čakku]- ({ֆGS} \*-[Շ]-) v. 'tickle' > Tm əkkulıu id., Ml əkkulam 'tickling', Kn əkała (a term used in tickling), əkkalike 'tickling', cakkalagulıi 'tickling another', զakkulisu v. 'tickle, touch', Kdg kakkuji 'tickling' (k- due to ideophony), Tl cakkilgili 'tickling', Mlt {Drs.} céqlkúnde v. 'tickle'; ? D \*čakkv]- armpit' > Tm əkkulı, Ml əkkulam, Tl cakkili id. ¶¶ D #2274 ◇ IS I 204.

**293. \*cɪkP<sub>N</sub>** 'branch, shoot of a plant' > K: GZ \*čkip- 'small branch' > G I ckip-i 'small broken branch', Mg čkip- 'fork', ?? Zan → G Gr čkvip-i 'shoot of a tree' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 274, FS K 415, Ghł. 679 || HS: S \*✓skp > SmA שָׁקֹוּפַ skwp 'offshoot', Mh ✓skf (pf. ss'kauf), Jb C ✓skf (pf. 'ss'kaf) v. 'roof a hut with branches', Mh sakf-, Jb E/C sekf 'roof of branches on a hut or pen', 'roof', Ak zikpu 'shoot (of a tree or another plant), sapling' ¶ Tal 609, Jo. M 347, Jo. J 227, CAD XXI 127-8 || A: NaT \*çɪ:b|p- 'thin slender branch' (× N \*çɪ:bPâ 'branch, bough, rod', q.v.) > OT čip 'thin slender branch', Osm {Rh.} حِوْبَ čip 'little bit of wood, stock' (× ← NPrs حِوْبَ čib 'log, wood [as material], tree' [←

some T lge?]), Yk {JkR} *sip* 'thin twig' (in *sip kurduk* 'thin as a thin twig'); → NaT \*čib-ik ~ \*čib-uk (Cl., Dr: dim.) 'flexible rod, switch' > OT čibiq, OT QU čiviq id., MU čibiq, MQp ≥XIII čibuq ~ čibiq, XwT dalnij čibuq 'a willow shoot', XwT, Chg čibuq, Tkm čibiq 'rod, switch', Az čubug id., twig', MQp, QrB čibik, Chg čubuγ ~ čibuq, XwT čibuq, Tk çubuk 'rod, branch', Ggz čibiq ~ čibuq, CrTt, Qmq, ET Tr {Rl.} čibuq, ET, Uz čiviq, Qzq, Qq, Nog šibiq, VTt šybəq, Qrg čibiq, StAlt čibiq, Bsh səbəq 'switch, rod (прут, хворостина, розга)', Uz čibiq ~ čiwiq, Xk, Shor simix, Tv šibiq 'rod, switch (прут, хворостина)', Tv d. šiqpīr id., Qmn čibuq ~ čibux 'twig, rod', Yk sīraχ 'in small willow (тальник) with twigs used in loops for catching birds'. Stems with čub- are due to the analogy of NPrs **چوب** čub 'wood (material), tree, log' and to the labializing infl. of \*-b- and the ending \*-uk ¶ Cl. 393, 395, TL 118-9, Rs. W 1O6, Rl. III 2O99-21OO, 2185, Sg. 4O1, Dr. TM III #1O59, Sg. 4O1-2, Rh. 733-4, GRM 552, 554, BN 32, UzR 519, BT 182, Sht. 235, KrkR 745, NogR 419, KumRS 36O, RKB 5O5, 551, 686, TatR 643, BR 487, Jud. 88O, B DK 269, B DChT 166, B DLT 223, BIG 2O7, TvR 585, 587, JkR 36O, Pek. 2472 ¶ Compensatory lengthening of \*i (evidenced by Tkm) is due to the loss of N \*k and \*n (N \*cikP<sub>N</sub> and \*čiñP<sub>N</sub> > \*či:b|p-).

**294.** \*C'a'l<sub>N</sub> (= \*č'a'l<sub>N</sub>?) 'cold' > IE: NaIE \*°k<sup>h</sup>ol-d- (× N \*KEL<sub>L</sub>H<sub>N</sub> 'cold, q.v.) > Sl \*xōldъ n. 'cold' (gen. \*xōlda) > OCS χλαδъ, Blg xlad, SCr, Slv hlād, Cz, Slk chlad, P chlód, R, Uk 'холод (gen. 'холода) ¶ ESSJ VIII 57-9, Vs. IV 256, Glh. 262-3 || D \*čal- 'cold' > Tm cali 'cold, chilliness', Kn, Tu cali, cali, sali 'coldness, cold, coolness', Krg talli 'cold', Tl cali 'cold' (n.), Gdb čalandi 'cold rice serving for breakfast', Knd salan 'cold, cool', Ku salma 'cool'; (× N \*čaí<sub>L</sub>U<sub>N</sub> 'snow' or 'hoarfrost') Kn cali 'snow' ¶ D #24O8 || A: NaT \*čol 'icicle' > Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} čol id., \*°colda- > Tlt čolda- 'zu Eiszapfen gefrieren' ¶ Rl. III 2O22-4 ◇ The IE and D cognates point to a N vw. \*a in the first syll. The NaT vw. \*o still needs explaining (regr. as. in N \*C'a'l<sub>O</sub>?) ◇ On N \*č- as a possible source of NaIE \*k<sup>h</sup>- see s.v. \*čaři'd<sub>N</sub> 'to advance with effort'.

**295.** \*čelē 'to peel' > K: GZ \*cl- v. 'peel' > OG, G cl- vt., vi. 'peel' (of fruit peel, skin), Mg r̥c(w)-, Lz pr̥c- id. | Sv UB/L cil 'bark, crust, skin' ¶ K 225, Q 313, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 263 (Sv cil ↔ Sv cel-/cl- 'tear, strip off' [actually {TK} 'tear asunder, split' or {FS} 'cut', see N \*čaí<sub>L</sub>Eñ<sub>O</sub> 'to split, to cut']), TK 473, 837, GP 277 || HS \*v̥sl (de-affricatization \*s- < \*c-) >

SC: Kz {E} *sil-* v. 'pluck bird', C → Mb {E} -*sílo* 'bare, naked' ¶ E SC 18O (s.v. \**síl-* v. 'strip bare') || S \**✓✓šl-* +ext.: CS \**✓šlχ* v. 'skin' > Ar *✓slχ G* v. 'skin (sheep or other animals), take off clothes', JA *šlħ G* {Lv.} 'ablegen, ausziehen', {Js.} 'throw off, undress, flay', {Sl.} 'remove clothes, flay', SmA *✓šlħ* 'strip', Sr *✓šlħ G* 'doff, take off, strip off (clothes)'; BHb *שְׁלַח* 'שְׁלָחַ' *שְׁלָחַ* 'hide', MHb *שְׁלַח* 'שְׁלָחַ' *שְׁלָחַ* JA *אֲשֶׁלֶת* *שְׁלָחַ* *שְׁלָחַ* {Js.} 'hide, fresh skin', Sr *שְׁלָחַ* *שְׁלָחַ* *שְׁלָחַ* 'hide, skin', Plm *שְׁלָחַ* 'skin', Ar *سَلْخٌ* *سَلْخَ* - 'peau quand elle est ôtée d'un animal écorché' ¶ KB 14O4, HJ 1142, Tal 897-8, Sl. 1147, Lv. IV 558-6O, Js. 158O, JPS 578-9, BK I 1121, ~ MiK I #1.244 (\* ÷ OAK, Ak *mašlūt* 'leather bucket; hide [used for wrapping]') || ? CCh: Bcm {Sh.} *šilárē*, {ChL} *sulari*, Mln {ChL} *šíra*, Bt G {Mch.} *šírē* 'skin' ¶ JI II 297, ChC, ChL || IE: NaIE \**skol-* 'peel' (n.) > Gmc \**skoljō* > Gt *skalja* 'κέραμος, tile' ({KM}): ← \*'Schindel, Schuppenartiges'), OHG *scalā* 'shell, scale (patera)', OSx *skāla* 'Schale, Muschel', NHG *Schale* 'skin, peel, shell', ON *skel*, AS *sćiell* 'Schale, Muschel, Schuppe', NE *shell* | Sl: R Δ *скалина* 'bark', RChS **СКОЛЬКА** *skol'ka* 'shell' (< IE \**ske1H-* v. 'split' < N \**ćai₁E₁o* '↑' [q.v.]) ¶ Fs. 427-8, Vr. 488, Ho. 277, Ho. S 65, Schz. 257, Kb. 865, KM 633, Uhl. G 127, ≠ Mn 1173 || U: \**će1lje* '(rub\scratch in order to) get the skin off', v. 'bark' > Lp N {N} *čâllâ-/l-* v. 'rub the antlers against sth. to get the skin off', Lp L {LLO} *tjalla-* 'abkratzen, abschälen, abreißen' || Sm: Ne O {Lh.} *šelā-* 'das Geweih von der Haut reinigen, die Rinde von einem Baum reiben' ¶ UEW 35, LLO 113O, Lh. 436 || A: NaT \**će1l* 'film, thin skin' > Tlt *čäl* 'film (on an egg\meat\eye)', Qrg *čel* 'film on the inner side of skin; wall-eye', Qzq *šel* 'thin layer of epidermic fat; wall-eyed', Brb {Tm.} *cäl* 'placenta' ¶ Rs. W 1O3, Jud. 856, Sht. 233, MM 395, Rl. III 1975, Tm. 236, TL 392.

**296. \*ćE1N** 'be quiet, wait' > K \**°cel-* > Mg *cal-* (*cal-eba, da-cal-eba, aor. v-a-cal-i*) {Q} v. 'give time (дать время), wait' ¶ Q 369 || HS: SES \**✓slb* > Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq *✓slb* v. 'wait' ¶ Jo. M 348, Jo. H 11O, Jo. J 228 || U: FU \**ć'ü'lje* 'be quiet\still' > pPrm \**ć'ol* 'quiet' > Z *чёв* *ćzv* 'quiet' (adj.), n. 'silence', Z U/V *ćz1* n. 'silence, quiet', Yz *ćol*, Vt *чал* *ćal* 'without noise, silently' (acc. to Lt., before l pPrm \**j* yields Vt a) || Hg *csillapod-* 'become silent' ¶ MF 117, LG 31O, Lt. 129, SZ 416. Acc. to IS I 164, U \**ü* > pPrm \**j* under certain conditions (including the position before \**l?*).

**297.** <sup>2</sup> \***çol|í** **▀** 'be\make empty' > **K:** GZ \*čal-/\*čl- v. 'empty; be idle' > OG mo-cal-/mo-cl- v. 'be idle', G cal-/cl-, Mg čol- v. 'empty; have spare time', G calieri 'empty, idle' **J K** 227, **K<sup>2</sup>** 269, FS K 406, FS E 457-8, Q 366, Chik. 377-8, DCh. 1587, 1596-7, Chx. 2012-5 || **D** \*čoll]- 'be empty, carious' > Tm collai 'that which is decayed, worm-eaten, carious', Ml collu 'stunted, worm-eaten', Kn jollu 'unsubstantiality, emptiness, state of being without stuff', Tu colle 'cripple', Tl sollu 'empty' **JJ** D #2864 || **HS:** ?? *AdS* of S \*✓ šll v. 'take out\away' (< N \*šeí **▀** 'take away\off, destroy, pull off').

**297a.** \***čaXoł** **▀** (or \***čoXał**?) 'to wind (round sth.), to tie' > **HS:** S \*°sšahł- > Ar sahł- 'ficelle', ✓ shł G 'faire de la ficelle' **J BK I** 1062 || WCh \***C** **▀** l- ({OS} \*čal-) 'rope' > Bl {Stl. ← ?} coli, Ang {Flk.} sāl 'a tree supplying bark to make ropes from' || CCh: Mln {ChL} sālu, Bcm {Sk. in ChL} sàlike - sàlake 'rope' **J ChL, ChC, Flk.** s.v. sāl **JJ OS RPV I** 67 || **U** \***čol** **▀** 'bind, tie', \***čol**me 'knot', v. 'bind' > FU {UEW} \*čolme-v. 'tie', \*čolme n. 'knot' > F solmi 'knot', solmi- v. 'knot, tie', Es sōlm 'knot, loop' | pLp \*čolmz 'knot' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjuolme, L {LLO} tjuol'ma, N {N} čuol'bma / -lm- id.; L {LLO} tjuol'ma- 'knüpfen, knoten', S {Hs.} tjuolmedh 'zubinden, zuknoten' | pMr \*šulmъ > Er сюлмо šulmo, Mk сюлма šulma & šulma 'Knoten, Bündel', Er/Mk сюлма- '(zusammen)knüpfen, (zu)binden, stricken' || Hg csomó 'knot', 'Knoten, Bündel' || pY {IN} \*čålä- 'bind, add, надставлять (patch on?)' > Y {IN}: K čolo-, T čala- id. **JJ UEW** 38-9, Lr. #194, Lgc. #765, Hs. 1346-7, Ps. sL 6O, Ker. II 149, IN 216, Ku. 316 || **A** \*č<sub>L</sub>ali > NaT \*čalı- v. 'wind' > Qmn {B} čalı- vt. 'wind round, entangle (обвить, запутать)', QK {B, RI.}, Tlt {RI.} čalı- 'embrace, entangle (обнять, запутать)', Kr cal-, VTt {Bu.} šal- v. 'wind', Qmq čal- v. 'plait'; → NaT \*čal-ma > Chg xv čalma 'stripe of cloth wrapped round the head', MQp XIV [CC], OOsm XVI čalma, Tk čalma 'turban', Alt, Qmn, Tlt čalma 'loop', VTt чалма šalma, Kr calma & čalma 'turban' **J Cl.** 42O, Rs. W 97, KRPS 611-2, B DK 266, B DLT 22O, RI. III 188O, 1892, Bu. I 464, TL 395 || Ko {MLC} čari- v. 'tie up tight'; cp. also pKo {S} \*čʌ́rl̥ v. 'hang up, strangle' > MKo čʌ́rl̥-, NKo čari- id.; MKo čʌ́rl̥, čʌ́rl̥, čʌ́rl, NKo čaru 'handle' **J MLC** 1376, S QK #726, Nam 412, 416 **JJ Rm. SKE** 24, KW 421 **JJ** Hardly here (for phonetic reasons) M \*čilbuγuγur 'bridle, rein' (> MM [HI] čilbur 'longe', WrM cilbugur, HlM цулбүүр 'long leather cord attached to the headstall of a halter or bridle', WrO culbuur

'rein, guiderope, lead; halter', Kl ҃үлвүр culwūr 'Leitriemen, Leitzügel', '(bridle) rein, чөмбүр', see Ms. H 47, MED 182, Krg. 649, KRS 64O, KW 433) ◇ If we could have taken for granted that Orël and Stolbova's rec. of the WCh root as \*çal- 'rope' is reliable, we would have assumed that the pN initial cns. was either \*ç or \*č; but in my opinion their WCh rec. is highly qu., because even the primary source (in the case of Bl coli) is still to be checked, and there is no ev. of the initial cns. being emphatic. IS I 200 reconstructed the U √ as \*šolme, and this √ served as one of the arguments for his hyp. about N \*č (his \*ç) yieldings U \*š. But in view of recent research both the U rec. (F UEW 38-9) and IS's hyp. must be revised.

**298.** <sup>2</sup> \*čilX√ 'to defecate' > HS: S \*°v̥ slh (or \*°v̥ šlh) v. 'defecate' > Ar √ slh G 'defecate' (of a person) ¶ BK I 112O ¶ An alt. etl. conjecture connects this verb with EC \*sāl- 'cowdung' (Bl. 100, Ss. PEC 32, Ss. B 164) and Mb ki-sálo 'mud; dung of large animals' (E SC 326), but it fails to explain the absence of the reflex of HS \*h in EC || A: T [1] \*°čila > OT {Cl.} čila 'dung'; [2] \*čil- v. 'defecate' > OT {Cl.} čiš 'urination, defecation', MT [AH, IM] sič- v. 'defecate', Tk sici-, Kr {Rl.} sič-, QrB čič-, Qzq тыш- tiš-, VTt тыш- tış-, QK {B} šiš-, StAlt {B}, Qmn {B} čič-, Tel/Alt {Rl.} sis-, Chv sis/z\_- id.; here T \*-i(-) < \*\*-l-y(-) with \*y going back to a sx. ¶ Cl. 418, 430, Rs. W 414 (s.v. suč-), Sht. 207, Rl. III 2094, IV 657, 661, B DK 271, B DLT 227, BT 184.

**299.** \*čolk√ (~ \*čolk√) 'to advance with effort (to creep, to crawl, to climb, etc.)' > IE: NaIE {P} \*slenk- (~ \*sleng-) 'creep, crawl', {Mn.} v. 'crawl, trudge, amble' > MBr lencr 'glissant' ({P} 'schleichend'), as well as possibly a Brtt word for 'intestinal worm(s)': W llyngyr pl. 'intestinal worms', MBr lnquernenn, Br lenker(n)-enn 'intestinal worm' || ?fL lumbricus id. (unless < IE \*slendh- 'crawl') || OSw slinka 'kriechen, sich schmiegen', AS slincan 'creep' > NE slink; d.: OSx, OHG slango, NHG Schlange 'snake'; OHG {Kb.} zuo-slingan 'to slide away', MHG slingan 'to crawl along', {Lx.} 'sich schlängelnd winden, kriechen, schleichen', AS slingan {Sw.} 'to worm one's way', {Ho.} 'sich schlingen, winden, kriechen' || Lt slenkù / slinkti 'creep, crawl' (of a snake), 'move slowly', 'slink' || OI [Dhat.] srank- 'go, move, creep' ¶ P 961-2, Mn. 1210-1, MW 1095, MK II 554 (considers OI srank- ~ sraṅg- not fit ["nicht geeignet"] for etl. comparisons), Ern. 362, LP § 63, WH I 831-2, Ho. 299, Ho. S 67, OsS 818, 823-4, Kb. 906, Lx. 198, KM 653, Frn. 832-3, unc. σ: EI 607 (\*slenk-

'turn, twist [like a snake]') || **HS:** CS \*✓*słk* > BHb ✓**סָלַךְ** ✓*słk* 'ascend', BA, Sr ✓*słk* v. 'ascend, climb', SmA ✓*słk* 'go up', Ar {Fr.} ✓*słq* G 'run', *TD* (pf. *tasallaqa*) 'climb\scale (a wall)', ? (with deglottalization) Ar ✓*słk* v. G 'travel, go along' ¶ KB 716, BDB #5267, KBR 758, Fr. II 344, Tal 592-3, Br. 477, Ln. 141O || ?σ,φ **K:** G *slikin-* 'gleiten, schlittern, rutschen' ¶ Chx. 1268 || **A:** ?σ M \*°*čolgi-* > WrM *colgi-*, HlM *цолги-* 'come to the surface, emerge', M \*°*čolgi-la-* > WrM *colgi-la*, HlM *цолгило-* v. 'hasten, rush' ¶ MED 197 || **D:** \**čokk-* ({θGS} \*ś- or \*s-) v. 'climb' > Klm *sok-*, Nkr *sokk-*, Prj *čo-pp-/čo-tt-/čokk-* id., Ku *hɔ?*- (p. *hott-*) id. ¶ D #2828 ◇ The IE var. ✓ \**sleng-* and M \**čolgi-* point to a N var. \**čolkn* at the pN level (progressive as. from \**čolkn*?). G *s-* (for the expected *c-*) may be due to a desaffricatization in the precons. position.

**300. \*čälq** 'lean, thin' (of a body), 'reduced' > **HS:** S \*°✓*słlk* (as. \**s...k* < \**s...k* [< N \**č...q*]) > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} *musallak-* 'tenuis, gracilis (homo)' ¶ Fr. II 346 || C: HEC \*°✓*člk* (× N \**čälq* 'feeble, lean; to shrink, to diminish?') > Hd {PB} *čerak-* 'mager, dünn, schlank sein', *čeraka* 'mager, dünn, schlank' (Hd -r- < EC \*-l-; HEC \*č- goes back to both emphatic and plain vl. affricates) ¶ PB 179, ≈ AD SF 120 || **K:** \*°*čičgal-* > G *čgal-* 'grow lean, abmagern' (reg. mt., creating a "harmonic complex" \*°*čičq-*) ¶ Chx. 2208 || **U:** \*°*čäjk* (or \**čäv*) > ObU \**čeləv* 'thin' (× N \**čälq*) > pVg \**čäləv* 'thin' > Vg: T *čäləw*, LK *ščeli*, MK/UK *ščeli*, P *ščeli*, Km (NV) *ščli*, LL *ščla*, UL/Ss *ščli*; pOs \**čeləv* ({ʃHl.} \**čäləv*) id. > Os: V/Vy *čeləv*, Ty *čäləv*, Y *čäləv*, D *čela*, Nz *šełə*, Kz *šeļi*, O *šeł* ¶ Ht. #77, Hl. rHt 71, KrT 907-8, Stn. WV 177 || **D:** (in SD) \**čakk-* ({θGS} \**c|č-*) 'lean' > Kt *čak* 'lean' (of meat), *čakn* 'lean man', Tu *cakkə* 'stunted, short, lean', *cakkə* 'a weakling, lean person' ¶ D #2268 || | ?φ possibly also D \*\**čirk-* (> \**čink-/čikk-*) v. 'become thin, meager' > Tm *cirku* v. 'diminish, wane, decrease', *cikal* v. 'diminish, decrease, perish', Kdg *čikk-* v. 'become tired', Tu *tirkani* v. 'be lean, weak', *tirku*, *cirkə* 'fading, weakness', *tirkotæ* 'a lean\weak man', Gnd *sirānā* v. 'grow thin', Knd *sik-* v. 'be reduced (as body)'; D → pInA \**sikka-/\*singa* > Prkr *siringa-* 'lean, thin' ¶ D #2503.

**301. \*čai₁E₁,₀** 'to split, to cut' > **K:** \**cel-* v. 'mow, cut' → \**cel-* 'scythe' > G *cel-* v. 'mow', *cel-i* 'scythe' (→ Mg *cel-i* id.), Mg *cal-i* id., *cal-* v. 'mow', Lz (n)*cal-* id. (Lz (n)*cal-* v. 'sharpen' may go back to a

derivative from Z \**cal-* 'scythe') || Sv {K<sup>2</sup>} *cel-*/*cl-* 'tear, strip off', Sv LB {TK} *li-cel* msd. 'tear asunder, split (განევა, განლეჩა, განობა)', Sv UB/L {FS} *cil-* (msd. *li-cel*) v. 'cut, cut asunder' ქ IS I 196, K 223, FS K 396, FS E 445-6, GM S 77, ≠ GM S 313, TK 473 || HS: CS \*√*sli* v. 'split' (⇒ \*'*sal*₁<sub>N</sub><sub>₂</sub>- 'a cleft in the rock' [→ 'rock']) > Ar سَلْعَ √*sli* v. G 'split', عَلْعَ *sali*- 'cleft in the rock', Hb סָלַע 'selā', JA סָלַע אֶתְנָה *sil'*ā-ā 'rock' ქ KB 715-6, KBR 75, Tal 591-2, Js. 996 || B: Sll {Ds.} i-sli 'rocher', Izd {Mrc.} i-salli 'grosse pierre' ქ Mrc. 353, Ds. 25O || Ch: WCh {Stl.} \**sli*- v. 'cut' > Gera šallá-mí id., Gw šára id., 'reap', Hs sára 'fell (tree), chop, cut' (Hs {Ba.} súlulū 'a handleless knife', adduced in Stl ZCh, is qu.) || Bd {Gr. ← ?} *salo* v. 'cut' ქ Stl. ZCh 179-8O [#319], Ba. 903, Mts. G 106, Gr. LA 51 [#2] ქ IS I 196 adduces some C words: Bj *sal-* (misunderstood as an adj. 'sharp', but actually being a verb with the meaning 'sharpen', F Rop. 231), Xm *sil-* 'knife', Q *sæl-* v. 'be sharp'. In my opinion, the meaning of these words is too remote to justify the connection; besides, Bj *sal-* and Q {R} *sæl-* are likely to be loanwords (maybe from Amh አሳል *sale* v. 'sharpen' going back to the EthS root √*shl*, see Gz አሳላል *sahala* id.) || IE \**skel*<sub>HXJ</sub>-/\**skel*<sub>OJ</sub><sub>HXJ</sub>- 'split', {EI} \**skel-* 'split (apart)' > Ht iškalla(i)- v. 'slit, slash, split, tear' || Gk σκάλλω 'I hoe' || Arm ցելում *chel-um* 'I split' (čʰ- < IE \**sk-*, as shown in Me. EAC 32), Arm սկալիս *skal-im* v. 'open the chinks, split, gape, crack' || Clt {RE} \**skolt-* v. 'split' > OIr *scoilt-* v. 'split, divide up', *scoilt* 'fente, fissure', Brtt: W *holtti*, ?φ Crn *falsa*, *felja* [{Vn.} *felža*], ?φ MBr *feutiff*, ?φ Br *faoutař* 'to split', W *hollt*, ?φ MBr *faout*, *faut* 'fente' (Clt \**sk-* > Crn, Br f- is still to be explained) || OIr *sceilim* v. 'slice', *scailt* 'fente' || ON *skilja* 'to split, to separate', AS ā-sćiellan, tō-sćiellan 'to separate, to divide' || Lt *skélti* (prs. *skeliū*) v. 'split', Ltv ūkēlt (prs. ūkēlu) 'split lengthwise' || Sl \**skála* 'rock, splitter' > OR ԾԿԱԼԱ, R, Blg սկա'լա, P *skał*a 'rock', Uk Δ скáла 'stone', SrCr *skálā* 'rock, slice, bit', Slv *skála* 'rock, chip', Cz *skála* 'rock', Δ 'Steinbruch', Slk *skala* 'stone, rock'; Sl \**sčelb* > R щель (dim. щёл-ка), Uk щіль, P *szczelina*, † *szczel* 'cleft, crevice, chink, slot', Slv ūčálja n. 'split' ქ P 923, Pv. I-II 413-5 (invokes Arm *skal-im*), EI 538-9, F II 715-6, Vn. S 29, 48-9, RE 134, Vr. 492, Ho. 277, Frn. 800, Kar. II 347, Vs. III 630-1 and IV 501, Brü. 543, ZVSZ 383-4, Glh. 552-3, GK 552, Slt. 105, ≈ Ach. III 225 (derives *skal-*

im from Iranian \*sik-), 452-3 || U: FU (in Prm) \*čáí $\nabla$ - v. 'cut off, separate' > pPrm \*čáí- v. 'cut off, split off, separate' > Z чалльы- čáí $\zeta$ - 'cut off (e.g., the upper green leaves of cabbage)', чалес čáles 'bran', Z UV čálg $\zeta$ d- v. 'cut off, separate', Prmk čáldz $\zeta$ t-~čayd $\zeta$ t- 'split off' ¶ LG 3O1 (adduces Er чалга- čalga- v. 'brake [flax, hemp]' [obviously a sd. from čalga- v. 'tread', see ERV 737]) || A \*čaL $^U$  > T \*čal(u)- v. 'knock down, beat (in order to split, to break, to slaughter), mow' (× N \*čáí $\nabla$  'beat, knock down, fell', q.v. ffd.) ¶ T \*-l- (for the expected \*-í-) is inherited from N \*čáí $\nabla$  || Tg \*čalu-~\*čol $\zeta$ - 'cut off' > Neg čol $\zeta$ - id., 'trim', Ul čálu- ~ čáli- 'cut, cut off', Nn Nh čáli-, Nn B calj-, WrMc coli- v. 'cut' ¶ STM II 4O5 ¶ The M forms quoted in IS I 196-7 and DQA (after KW 42O) are qu.: WrM calj (adduced by Rm. as a cognate of Kl calj~ cälj 'Schärfe, scharf') is not confirmed by standard dictionaries of WrM (Kow., Gl., MED) or by the main sources of MM. The Kl {Rm.} word calj~ cälj is cognate with Brt салии- 'be pointed' and салигар 'pointed (gespitzt, остроконечный)' (Chr. 383) and goes back to M \*čalij $\zeta$ - 'pointed, sharp', without reliable semantic connection with the meaning of the N  $\sqrt{v}$ . The latter is true also of pJ {S} \*tùrù<sub>n,k</sub>i 'sword' (> OJ türugjì ~ türükjì, J T curugí, see S QJ #1586, Mr. 557) (adduced in DQA) ¶ DQA #267 (A \*č’alù 'sharp; to cut') || D \*čal-, {GS} \*sel- v. 'cut, split' (× N \*šä1 $\nabla$ ,qU 'cleave, cut asunder', q.v. ffd.). D \*l (rather than \*l < N \*í) is inherited from N \*šä1 $\nabla$ ,qU ◇ Cf. IS I 195-7 (IE, K, HS, A + unc. U \*š|šale- ~ \*š|šäle- v. 'cut, split' [= {UEW} \*šale-, UEW 459-6O]). In view of the fact that there is no other known  $\sqrt{v}$  with U \*š- or \*š- from N \*č (= N \*c- in the notation of IS), I prefer to adduce here FP \*čáí $\nabla$ .

**302.** \*c'i?A'm $\nabla$  (or \*ciyAm $\nabla$ ) 'in grass' > K {K} \*čam-/\*čem- 'grass' > OG, G čam- '\*grass' (in OG, G čam-al- 'medicine, drug'), Lz (n)čam- 'medicine, drug', Sv UB (TK, GP), Sv Ln/L {TK} čem ({K<sup>2</sup>} Sv čēm with an err. ē?) 'hay' ¶ Compound stem GZ \*lel-čam- 'reed Arundo donax' > OG ler-čam-, G ler-čam- ~ lel-čam- 'reed', Mg larčam- ~ larčem-; the first component of the cd. is GZ \*lel- 'reed Phragmites communis' (K 12O-1) ¶ ?σ Mg (r)čem- 'pubic hair', Sv {K} čīma id. ¶ K 121, 249, K<sup>2</sup> 3O6; FS K 457-8 and FS E 518-9 (both: \*čam- in G and Sv without Zan), Q 314, ≈ Rog. C V, TK 861, GP 28O || HS: S \*samm- 'grass' (→ in descendant lgs. 'medicinal grass, perfume, etc.') (infl. of N ?

\*čam<sup>NC</sup> 'get sour\rotten' ??) > Ak šammu 'plant, grass; hay, fodder; herb, medicinal plant', BHb **םָמִים** sam'm-īm 'spice (used in incense)', 'spices (Spezereien)', MHb **םָמָה** sam, JA **אַמָּה** sam'm-ā 'drug (healing or deleterious)', JEA {Sl.} **אַמָּה** sam'm-ā 'drug, medicine, dye', Sr sam'm-ā 'drug, poison, pigment', Ug smm 'perfume', Ar samm- 'poison' (←b- Aram?) (→b- Mh, Sq sam, possibly Jb E sem, Jb sehm 'poison'), Ak LB (←b- WS?) sammūtu 'fragrance' ¶ The S √ belongs here unless it is \*šamm- (as tacitly suggested by BDB) ¶ CAD XV 12O and XVII/1 315-21, Sd. 1167, BDB 702, KB 716, OLS 404, Js. 998, Sl. 817, Br. 479, Jo. M 35O || ?σB \*✓smm v. 'be sour' (if ← 'sour\bitter grass', cp. S) > Rf, Izn əsməm 'aigrir, fermenter, être aigre', Sll ismum 'sour', Kb ismum 'be sour', Ah ismam 'be bitter', Zng {TC} šäμum (Z šemum) 'bitter', pf. yešmem 'il a rendu amer' ¶ Fc. 1836, Rn. 318, Ds. 1O, Dl. 776, TC D 8, TC Z 308 ¶ Semantic infl. of N? \*čam<sup>NC</sup> 'get sour\rotten' cannot be ruled out || Eg fP sm.w 'plants, herbage; vegetables; pasture' ¶ EG IV 119-2O, Fk. 225 || C: Bj {R} se'yām ~ si'yām 'grass' || SC: ? Kz çemal-iko 'straw' ¶ R WBd 207, E SC 201 ¶ OS #395 adduces Irq camo 'kind of grass', but I have not been able to find the word in the available sources || ECh: Mkl sēmí 'hay', Smr {J} sémdé pl. 'grass' || ? Hs çáwré (regularly from \*çamr...) 'a tall, coarse grass' ¶ J LM 172, ChC, Abr. H 881 ¶ Hardly here Ak samīdu ~ simīdu 'a spice plant or vegetable' (CAD XV 114-5) (the stem pattern in Ak samīdu suggests that this is an adj. from the root \*✓smd [=\*✓cmd], making the connection with HS \*çim- 'grass' implausible) ¶ OS #383 (\*camid- 'grass': Ak, Smr), #395 (HS \*çim- 'grass, plant': Eg, Mkl + erroneously interpreted or dubious seeming cognates in S, Ch, and C), Tk. PAA 3 (Kz, Hs) || A: NaT \*çim 'sod, turf' > OT čim 'turf, peat', Az čim 'turf, sod', Osm {Rh.} čim id., 'grassplot', Tk çim 'grass, greensward', ET čim 'turf, peat (дёрн, торф)', Uz čim, Qzq, Nog šim, Qrg čim 'turf (дёрн)' ¶ Cl. 421-2, Rs. W 111, Äz. 395, Rh. 747, BN 31 || D \*čamp- ({GS} \*ʒɪ̥ʒ-) 'a reed, elephant grass' > Tm campu 'elephant grass, Typha elephantina', Kn jamb- 'a reed or sedge, Typha angustifolia', Tl jambu 'a bulrush, sedge' ¶ D #2347 ¶ D \*-p- may go back to an original sx. ◇ K \*ç-, Kz ç-, and Hs ç- < \*c...?- ◇ The vowel(s) of the N word are not clear. It may be tentatively suggested that there was a pN word-internal sequence \*-i?A- or \*-iyA- (still

preserved in Bj as *-iuya-* ~ *eyua-*, but contracted into *a*, *ē*, *i*, or *I* in all other descendant lgs.).

**303.** (2?) \**č'ō<sup>1</sup>mH<sub>2</sub>E* 'to smear, (?) to stroke' > K {K<sup>2</sup>} \**cwem-* / \**cwm-* v. 'smear with fat' > Sv {TK} msd.: UB *li-cwm-en-i*, L *li-cweni*, *licwieni*, Ln *li-cwem-i* 'to smear, to grease', UB {GP} *li-cwm-i* 'to plaster (stucco)'; → GZ {K<sup>2</sup>} \**c<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>mel-*, {FS} \**cm-el-* n. 'fat' > OG *cmel-* id. (Lev. 8.25), G *cmel-* {FS} 'Fett, Schmiere', Mg *сзми-* ~ *симу-* 'fat, scum (Schaum, накипь)', {Q} *сзми-* 'fat (жиръ, тукъ)', Lz *cimu-luγ-* 'overripe figs' (*luγ-* 'figs') ¶ K 225, K<sup>2</sup> 265, FS K 396-7, FS K<sup>2</sup> 577 (K \**cem-* v. 'smear'), FS E 446, TK 475, GP 183, Q 373 || IE: NaIE \**smē-* ~ \**smej-d-* v. 'smear, stroke' ({EI}) ? \**smejd-* 'smear' > Gk inf. *σμῆν*, aor. *σμῆσαι* 'smear, wipe' || Arm *միծ* *mic* 'mud, mire, dirt' (< \**smidio-*) || Gt *bi-smeitan* 'ἐπιχρέειν, to smear upon', *ga-smeitan* id., 'to spread on', OHG *bi-smīzan* to smear upon, to soil', *smīzan* '(an)streichen, schmieren', AS {Fs.} *be-smītan* 'to smear upon', {Ho.} *smītan* 'to soil, to dirty', NE *smite* || ?σ Sl \**smēdъ*, \**smēdъ* 'dark-coloured' > ChS *смѣдъ* *smēdъ* 'μαυρός, μέλας', SCr *smēdъ* 'brown', Slv *smēd*, OCz *smēdý*, OP *śmiady* 'dark-brown' (as well as Cz *snědý*, P *śniady* with *n* due to the infl. of *hnědý*, *gniady* 'brown'); see also NaIE \*(s)meru- 'fat, ointment' (F s.v. N \**šæmi* 'fat') ¶ WP II 685-6, P 966-7, EI 528, F II 748, Ch. 1O27, Fs. 95, Schz. 262, Ho. 3O2, OsS 834-5, WW 266, Kb. 919, KM 663, Vs. III 684, Mikl. L 866, Brü. 533, Glh. 565 ¶ The initial \**s-* (rather than \**sk-*) is due to the preconsonantal position and possibly to the unfluence of the synonymous NaIE \**smeru-* 'fat, ointment' (< N \**Sämir*  $\nabla$  'fat') || ?φ D (in KK) \**čōmp-* ({GS} \**s|s-*) > Kui *hōmb-* v. 'rub, stroke', Ku Kt *hombali* ~ *hōmbinaj* v. 'scour, scrub' ¶ D #2879 || HS: Ch: Bl {Lk.} *sam-* v. 'einreiben' ¶ Lk. PVB II 138 || C: (+ext.) Bj {R} ✓ *šmt* pcv. 'grease the hair, smear butter on it; anoint, rub (pomadisieren, frottieren, reiben)' (1s: p. 'ašmit, prs. ašam'mit) ¶ R WBd 216 ¶ × N \**čixm*  $\nabla$  'fat'? ◇ Without the K cognate we would have reconstructed here an initial N sibilant \**ś-*. The absence of traces of the N lr. in NaIE \**smejd-* (unlike \**smē-* < IE \**smeH-*) still needs explaining.

**303a.** ? <sub>2</sub> \**č $\nabla$ mgU* 'e fruit, berry' > K {FS} \**cimqw-* 'strawberry or bilberry' > G *cmqva*, Mg *cəmwa*, *cimwa* 'strawberry', Sv UB {TK} *cīnqa*, UB {GP}, LB/L {TK} *cinka*, Sv Ln {TK} *cinaqa* 'bilberry'; N \**maR<sub>1</sub>y $\nabla$*  *č $\nabla$ mgU* (= K \**maR<sub>1</sub>y $\nabla$*  'berries' + N \**č $\nabla$ mgU*) >† K

\*marçəw- 'strawberry' > eNG {SSO} մարչյալ marçəw-i, eNG, G մարչպատ marçəv-i, Sv UB/Ln bäsqi, Sv UB/LB bäsq id. §§ F K 224 (\*cingwa), FS K 400, FS E 450, TK 838, GP 277 || HS: CS (mt.) \*š̥w̥k̥l̥m̥- (\*š̥uk̥l̥m̥-?) ~ \*š̥aw̥k̥l̥m̥- 'sycamore' and possibly 'sycamore fig' > BHb pl. שְׂקָמִים šik'm-īm, JA שְׂקָמָא šik'm-ā, Sr še̥k'm-ā, ChrPA šw̥km 'sycomore', Ar sawqam- 'figuier d'Adam, figuier sycomore', Aram → Gk συκάμινος 'mulberry' § KB 1516-7, BK I 1109, Fr. II 817-8.

**304.** <sub>2</sub> \*c'ū̥ñč́v or \*č'ū̥ñč́v 'to crawl' > K: GZ \*čoč- 'crawl, creep, clamber' > G coc- v. {Chx.} 'creep, crawl' (err. {K<sup>2</sup>} 'climb'), Mg čoč- v. 'clamber' (≠ {K<sup>2</sup>} 'climb'); Zan → G čoč- 'clamber, drag on', Arm Δ {K<sup>2</sup>} č̥oč̥- 'crawl, creep' § K 230, K<sup>2</sup> 273 (GZ \*čoč- 'climb'), FS K 413, FS E 465-6, Chx. 1945-6, 2023, Q 651 § The semantic interpretation 'climb' (in K<sup>2</sup>) may be due to inaccurate rendering of the R polysemic verb лазть || U \*č̥uč̥inč́v > pSm {Jn.} \*č̥uč̥nč́v 'kriechen' > En d. 1s aor. {Cs.}: En X toddonaro, En B toddonado id. || Sq Ke {Cs.} d. 1s aor. canzonnan, Kms {KD} d. 1s prs. t'ānšračam id. § Jn. 31, Cs. 145, 243 ◇ Assimilation \*c...č (or \*č...c) > \*c...c (for K) and \*č...č (for U).

**305.** <sub>2</sub> \*C|č̥üñd́v 'mouse' > A: Tg \*čüñd́v-ḱv 'small rodent' > Orc çubduki 'harvest mouse (Micromys minutus)', Ud čundiH3, {Krm.} čundē 'shrew-mouse', Lm Ol/B/P čīd̥ya, Lm Pkh çüdaga 'arctic spermophile (Citellus)', Lm KO čid'ja 'lemming' § STM II 390, Krm. 312, Ci. 89-90 (on Tg \*ü) || D \*čuñt̥- ({θGS} \*č̥č̥-) 'mouse' > Tm cunṭān 'gray musk shrew', cunṭān 'Mus urbanus', Ml cunṭ-eli 'mouse, muskrat', Kn sunđa, Tu sunđ-eli, Kdg čiñđ-eli 'house-mouse, field-mouse', Tl cuncu 'mouse, muskrat', Klm čindrag 'musk-rat', Gnd čūči 'musk-rat', Δ čuči 'small rat', Δ čoče 'mouse', Krx čoččō 'mouse' §§ D #2661.

**306.** \*cun̥v 'to know' (← 'to have seen'?), 'to see' > HS: Eg L swn ({EG} św̥n) 'know, recognize', (with the prep. m) 'von etwas wissen' > DEg swn, Cpt: Sd cooyN soun, B cwoyEN sōuen 'wissen' § EG IV 69, Vc. 201 || B \*-sin- / \*✓ wsn 'know (savoir)' (× N ≈ \*č̥i'ʔḁ̈ñā 'recognize, know [connaître]', q.v.): \*-sin- > ASgr aor. -sin, \*✓ wsn > Ah əssən, Ty, ETwl əssəŋ, Gh əssən / pf. issən, Gd ssən, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əsn / pf. issən, Sll {Ds.} issən~əssən / pf. issən, Kb əssən / pf. issin, Tmz {MT} ssən / isin id., Zng {TC} essən / pf. yəssən 'savoir'; the cns. \*w is reflected in the gemination of \*s and in the vw. u of the Ah

caus. *s-usən* ¶ ABs. LBV 97, Fc. 1837, GhA 176, Dl. 782, MT 647, Dlh. Ou 300, Lf. I 245 and II #223, DCTC 285 || Ch ≈ \*c<sup>r</sup>i<sup>n</sup>/\*cun or {AD} \*s<sub>1</sub><sup>r</sup>i<sup>n</sup>/\*s<sub>1</sub>un 'know' > Hs šínà, sánì, (with an object) sán, Gw {Mts.} šína id. | DfB {J} sun, Bks {J} šáŋî, Klr {J} s̄ien, {IL} s̄en | Wrj/My {Sk.} s̄ən, Cg {Sk.} s̄ən, Kry/Jmb {Sk.} s̄ən, P' {MSk.} s̄inè, Sir {Sk.} s̄ənīwí, Mbr {Sk.} s̄ənī, Dir {Sk.} č̄s̄n id. ||| Cb {IL} z̄ndi, {ChL} z̄nì, Hb {ChL} z̄n, Hld {ChL} s̄inì, Wmd {ChL} s̄inì id. | HgNk {ChL} s̄inata, HgG {ChL} s̄inagz̄y, HgF {ChL} s̄inagi, FIG {ChL} s̄inaki, FIJ {ChL} s̄i, FIB {ChL} š̄i, FIM {IL} š̄in id. | Mtk {ChL} suna?, {Sb.} s̄ən id., pMM {Ro.} \*s̄ən (> Mada/Myr sál, Mkt sá:, Hzr sendika, Mlk sár, Gzg s̄ən, Mofu s̄əradá, Glv {Rp.} sər 'know', Mf {BLB} s̄ən- 'reconnaître, découvrir') | Db {Lnh.} s̄ən, Kola {Sb.} -s̄əŋ- 'know' | Gdr {Mch.} s̄ən id. | Lgn {Lk.} s̄ən id., Bdm {Lk.} hín 'I know' | ?σ Mrg sini 'know, remember' ||| Ll {Grgs.} s̄ən 'wissen, kennen' | NdD {J} h̄z̄nà, Tmk {Cp.} h̄n 'know' | Mkl {J} s̄üné id. ¶ Dir č̄s̄n suggests a pCh initial affricate; the original vw. is likely to have been \*i, while forms with \*a are likely to go back to a derived \*a-imperfective (suggested by Gr. and J) ¶ JI I 107 and II 216-7, ChC, ChL, Ba. 896-8, 940, Ro. 278-9 [#405], BLB 323-4 || EC: amb Or s̄ənā 'memory' (unless d. from s̄ən- v. 'enter' or belong to N \*<sup>r</sup>s̄ añā 'word, say' → 'think' [q.v.]) ¶ Grg. 354, Brl. 371 (sənə 'ricordo, memoria') ¶ OS #2198 (HS \*saniH-~\*siniH- 'know, remember'), #2294 (HS \*sun- 'know'), Tk. I 128-9 ||| U \*<sup>r</sup>c̄uŋ<sup>r</sup> > Sm \*səŋyə 'see, look' > Ne T d. саңо 'a glance, look', T O {Lh.} saŋū 'Blick', Ne F {Lh.} xəŋyū id., x̄tŋȳtřs̄ 'sieh', Ng {Mik.} d. s̄əŋürs̄a 'see, look', En X {Cs.} d. s̄əŋaro?, En B {Cs.} s̄əŋinado? 'sehen, betrachten', En {Mik.} seŋid 'see', Slq Tz {KKIH} saŋa- 'try, check' ('попробовать, проверить'), Mt {Hl.} \*siä- (?) 'see' (Mt: T {Mll.} schischäguram 'video', M {Mll.} iŋgūmsiä 'non video' [iŋgūm- 'I do not']) || FU \*č̄s̄unč̄ (or \*-n̄s̄-) > pVg \*šunš- v. 'look, glance' > Vg {Stn.} T šōnš-, LK šons-, MK sons-, UK/UL/Ss suns- ¶ Jn. 133, Cs. 91, Lh. 397-8, KKIH 168, Hl. M #875, Stn. WV 275, MK 575 ||| K: GZ \*č̄an-/č̄n- 'know, learn, recognize' (x N ≈ \*č̄i<sup>r</sup>?añā 'recognize, know [connaître]' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ A: DQA reconstructs pA \*č̄i<sup>r</sup>ŋ<sup>r</sup> 'listen, consider', presumably reflected in T \*č̄iŋla- 'hear, listen' (> OT t̄iŋla-, Tv č̄iŋna-, Tk dinle-, Az, Tkm diŋle-, etc.; it may be derived from the Chinese loanword ← Chn t̄iŋ, MChn t̄eŋ 'listen'), in M \*č̄iŋla- 'listen' (> WrM cingla-~cingna-, HlM чагна-; to my mind, may be a loan from T), and in Tg \*č̄iŋ 'consider' (in fact, WrMc

**žin** ~ **žin** 'exactly, just' ← Chn **žin** 'completely' and\or **žen** 'just, exactly'; in other Tg lgs. the word is a loan from Mc). This alleged pA root (based on controversial phonetic hypotheses) cannot be taken into consideration **Ж** ~ DQA #238. Cl. 522, MED 19O, STM 258, Z 982, Is. 93, 19O, 23O ◇ IS I 201-2 [#42] (\*é inə 'know': K, HS).

**307. \*ćüŋɪ́ŋ** 'finger, finger knuckle' > **U:** FU \*ć'üŋɪ́ŋ, {UEW} \*ćEŋɪ́ŋ  
 'finger, (finger) knuckle' > Prm {LG} \*ćEñi > Z чүнъ ćуń, Vt чинъы  
 ćińt 'finger', Yz ćúń 'finger, toe' || Os: D çöŋen-ux id. (ux 'head'), Kz  
 šoŋən 'finger knuckle' | Hg c̥süd, Δ čüd ፳ čüg ፳ čüg ፳ čög 'pastern (of  
 a horse), foot (of a bird)' ¶ UEW 49, LG 314, MF 129, EWU 238 || **D**  
 \*ćuňt-~\*ćuťt- ({#GS} \*s-) v. 'point at with the finger, indicate' (× N)  
**\*ć'üd** 'point with a finger', q.v.) > Ml cūňtuká 'to point at, to aim',  
 cūňtal-virál 'forefinger', Tm cūťtu 'to point out, to indicate', Kn  
 sūťtu, Kui sūťa 'to point at with the finger', Kui sūťa vanžu, Ku hūta  
 vwānžu 'the index finger', Tu tūnđuni 'to aim, to point at', Tl  
 jutťa-vrēlu 'forefinger' ¶ D #2658 || **HS:** S \*o's'ing- > Ar sin- 'os  
 de la paume de la main qui joignent les doigts à la main; poignet à  
 l'endroit où l'avant-bras se joint à la main, os du pied où la jambe se  
 joint au pied' ¶ BK I 1152 ◇ ADb. MSR 22 [#33] (U, D).

**308.** \*č̥ík̥- 'to break' > HS: WCh {StL.} \*čink- 'break (e.g. a stick)' > Hs čínkà v. 'snap (a thread, a rope)' | SBc: Dw čz̥ŋ vi. 'snap (a stick)' | StL. ZCh 182 [#344], ChL I 227, Abr. H 885-6 || **U:** FU {UEW} číšäŋk̥, {It.} \*čeŋkä 'break' > Er síve- vi. 'break, brechen, abbrechen' | Prm \*čeg- > Z чег- čeg- vt., vi. 'break, break off' ('сломать, -ся, отломить, переломить'), Yz 'čig- id., Vt чигыны čigz- vi. 'break' ('сломаться, переломиться') || pObU {Hl.} \*sēŋk-, {Ht.} \*sēŋk- > pVg \*sāŋk- > Vg: Vg T sāŋg-, LK/Nz saŋk- 'brechen', P saŋk- 'schlagen'; pOs {Ht.} \*söŋk- ({Hl.} \*söŋk-) > Os: V söŋk-, Ty/Y sāŋkʷ-, D/Kz seŋk-, Nz/O seŋ- 'schlagen' | Hg szeg- 'cut (bread), break (the neck)' | Coll. 117, UEW 31/2, Sm. 549 (FU, FP \*šarŋki- 'cut, break', Ugr \*šärŋki-), LG 303, Ht. #598, Hl. rHt 71, MF 575-6 || **A:** Tg \*°çeŋ > Ewk PT čz̥ŋdit-/çz̥ŋdiç- 'tear (clothes), tear out (a piece of sth.)' | STM II 421 ◇ Hardly here G čvnik- 'zerkleinern' (Chx. 2157), because it is certainly derived from čvnik-i 'klein, winzig, мелкий' (Chx. l.c., DCh. 1676).

**309.** <sup>2</sup>\***c** **נְפָרֵן** 'to cover', 'roof, a covering, shelter' > **HS:** CS (+ext.)  
 \*✓ **spn** > BHb ✓ **spn** (pf. c. **וַיְמִלְאֶנּוּ** wayyis'pon) v. 'cover, lay a table', **מִלְאָה**  
**sip'pūn** 'ceiling (of a room)', Pun **m** **spn** 'roof (?)', ? IA ✓ **spn** v. '(?) care

for, respect' ( $\leftarrow$  \*'protect'  $\leftarrow$  \*'cover') || KB 722, KBR 764-5, HJ 666, 798 || IE: NaIE \*(s)kep- v. 'cover' > Gk σκέπας (gen. σκέπαος) 'a covering, shelter', Gk A/I σκέπη id., 'protection', Gk σκέπω, σκεπάω, σκεπάζω v. 'cover, shelter' || Lt kēpūrē 'cap', Ltv cēpūre 'cap, hat'; Blt  $\rightarrow$  F курәри, курәрә 'helmet, casque' | Sl (originally dim.) \*čerъсь 'head cover, cap' > OR үепъцъ čerъсь 'head-dress, head cover', R че'пец  $\rightarrow$  'чепчик, P czepiec, Cz čerpec, Slk čepiec, Slv čépēc, HLs čěpc, LLs сорс  $\approx$  серс 'cap', SCr čěpac 'cap (of women)' || WP II 559, P 930, F II 724-5 (sceptical about the Gk-BSl connection), Frn. 241, Bern. I 143-4, ESSJ IV 58-9 (no IE et. of the Sl word), Srz. 1499.

**310. \*čEgN (= \*čägN?)** 'to jump' > K \*°caq- > Mg coř- v. 'walk in a jumping gait' || HS: S \*°✓nsk̥ (or \*✓nšk̥), prm. \*-nsak̥- > JA [Trg.] ✓(n)sk̥ (ip. -ssak̥, imv. sak̥) 'go up' [JEA (BbV) sak̥'kū liš'lām la'wāt ?abū'kōn 'get you (pl.) up in peace unto your father' - TrgO of Gen. 44.17], Sr ✓nsk̥ (سُقُّنْ) nɔ'sek̥ 'ascendit' - Peshitta, Apoc. 14.11); \*n- goes back to a px. of intransitive verbs || Lv. T I 116-7, Lv. III 409, Spr. BA I 76, Js. 918, PS 2401 || U: FP (+ext.) \*čäkče- 'jump, leap (springen, hüpfen)' > pLp {Lr.} \*čēkčz- v. 'kick', 'Fußtritte geben, mit dem Fuß stoßen' > Lp: N {N} čiék'čâ- / -vč-, L {LLO} tjeiktja-, Klt P {It.} čjěx:č·a- id., S {Hs.} tjiěktjedh 'kick with the foot' | Prm \*čečč- (LG) \*čētč- 'get up', ( $\leftarrow$ ?) 'jump up' > Z чеčчи- čečč+ 'get up', чеčчишты- čeččt+ 'jump, jump up', Vt тэтчи- tečč+ (t- due to dis.) || UEW 612-3, LG 304, Lr. #149, Lgc. #604, Hs. 1316-7 || ?σ Α: NaT \*čik- 'go out, come out' > OT čiq- id., Chg čiq- 'come out, rise', Tkm čiq- 'go out, appear, climb', VTt чыг- ᬁъγ-, Qmq čiq-, Qzq, Qq šiq/γ-, Alt čiq- 'climb up, ascend; go out, appear (on the surface)', Nog šiq- 'go out, appear' || Cl. 405-6, Rs. W 107, MM 401, Sht. 237, TkR 745, BT 183.

**310a. \*cīqU** 'in small rodent (mouse?)' > K: GZ \*čiqw- > G cīqv-i {KEGL, Chx.} 'squirrel', {DCh.} 'loir (Glis glis, соня-полчок)', G mciqv-i id., {DCh.} 'житник, mus agraria', Mg čuk-i 'mouse' || In Mg čuk-i the intervocalic cns. -k- may be due to contamination with N τ. \*čEķN 'small' and with the GZ source of G M čukana 'very small') || KEGL VIII 634, DCh. 923, 1596, Q 393; K<sup>2</sup> 316 and FS E 529-30 (both: Mg čuk-i  $\div$  G M čukana 'very small', likely to belong to N τ. \*čEķN '↑' [q.v.]) || HS: S: Gz {L} şəkʷənķʷən ~ şəkʷənķʷən 'field mouse, ∈ lizard, crocodile' ||

L G 562 || D \*čikk- (⟨GS⟩ \*ć-) 'mouse' > Kdg čikn, Gnd čikkāl id., Tu cikkeli 'a small variety of mouse' §§ D #124-5 ◇ Mg č- and Gz š- are due to assimilatory glottalization.

**311. \*čar $\nabla$**  (or **\*č̄ar $\nabla$** ) 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard\rough surface' > K \*°cer- > Lz {Marr} cara 'hard unfertile ground' § Marr 214 || IE: NIE \*sker- '≈ hard\dry skin, crust' > NNr, Sw skare 'hardened surface of snow', with exts.: ON skrá (< \*skrahō) 'piece of dry leather', MLG, MDt schrä 'dür, mager' || Lt skrēsti (1s p. skrendaū), skrēsti (1s p. skretaū) 'get covered with a dry crust of dirt' (< \*skr-end-, \*skr-et-) | Sl \*skora > OR скора, R Δ скора 'hide', 'скорка' 'crust of bread', Uk 'скіра, 'скірка' 'skin', Blr 'скура, Cz skora, P skóra 'skin, hide' (→ R шкура 'hide'?), HLs skora, LLs škora 'cust', Slv skóra, skórja 'skin' § P 933, Hlq. 928, Vr. 500-1, Frn. 816, ≈ Vs. III 650 and IV 451, Srz. III 381-2, Ma. CS 447 || U (xN ?σ \*čAR $\nabla$ , γ $\nabla$  - \*čAγR $\nabla$  'freeze, feel cold' [q.v.]?): FU \*čar $\nabla$ - 'hard, firm; frozen hard surface layer of snow' > Lp N {Fri.} čarrok 'rigidus, asper', {N} čāres / čarras- 'coarse' (of wool); stiff (of hair and bread), Lp L {LLO} tjā(r)rēs ~ tjārris 'difficult, coarse' | Prm: [1] \*čorit ({LG} \*č̄orit) 'hard (твърдый)' > Vt чуръд čurđd, Z чорыд čorđd, Z US čwrič, Yz 'čurōt; [2] Z čarəm, Prmk cá'rəm, Yz ča'rūm 'ice crust on the snow', as well as Z čars 'hard ice crust on the snow' || Possibly Sm {Jn.} \*strå 'snow' (xU \*śi'r $\nabla$ - or \*či'r $\nabla$ - '[crust of] snow\ice' < N \*ž|ž'i'R $\nabla$  - \*ž|ž'i'H $\nabla$ R $\nabla$  'be very cold', q.v. ffd.) §§ Coll. 7, UEW 30, 464-5 (ties in Hg Δ szirony ~ szilony ~ szirogy ~ szilogu ~ sziroty ~ szityor 'frozen surface layer on the snow after melting weather' and reconstructs \*šar $\nabla$  [in spite of Prm \*ć-]), LG 302, 310, Lt. 68, Jn. 140, Ter. 574, Cs. 66, 91, 274, 303, Lh. 412-3, Hl. M #891 || A: T: Alt, Tel {Rl.} čarim 'hardened surface of snow'; acc. to Ps., Blgh → Z čarəm id. § TL 30, BT 176, Rl. III 1865, LG 302, Ps. ES 184 (Blgh → Z), UEW 464-5 (rejects Ps.' hyp.; supposes that Z čarəm is from U \*šar $\nabla$  'frozen snow, ice crust on snow' with a "sporadic phonetic development" \*š- > č-), see s.v. N \*ž|ž'i'R $\nabla$  - \*ž|ž'i'H $\nabla$ R $\nabla$  'be very cold' || M \*čar > WrM car, HlM, Kl цар 'hardened layer of frost on the surface of snow', Kl {Rm.} car 'crust, hard surface (of snow, of melted fat)', ? WrO cār 'scabs, mange'; the absence of a final vw. suggests that the word is borrowed (from an unattested T source?) § Merger with N \*č $\nabla$ R $\nabla$  'hoarfrost' is not ruled out § MED 165, KRS

625, KW 422, Krg. 621 ॥ KW 422, Vv. AEN 15 (suggests that the M word and Tlt čarim 'layer of frost' are loans from Tib *?khyag.rum* in modern Tib C pronunciation, *F* Jäschke TG 7) || ?σ Tg: Ewk čərī 'excrescence (наплыв) on the bark of a birch-tree' → | ← Yk čäri ~ čärī id. ॥ STM II 421 ॥ DQA #287 (pA \*č'era|o 'crust, snow crust') || D \*čara- ({θGS} \*c|č-) 'rough on surface' > Tm caracara 'rough on surface', caral, caralai 'gravel, laterite', curacura 'be rough, have a rough surface', Mi caral, carakkalu 'gravel', Tu caratæ 'what is coarse', Kui srogū 'a rough surface' ॥ D #2354 || HS: ?σ WS \*čarna|iñ-at- ~ \*čurna|iñ-at- 'scab, ∈ skin disease' (originally a cd.?) > Hb צָרַעַת čā'raṣat 'e skin disease', JA צָרַעַת cur'aṭā (em. cur'aṭā ~ צָרַעַת אֲצָרָעַת cir'aṭā), and SmA šrət ~ šwrət 'leprosy' (< \*čar'raṣtu ~ \*čur'raṣtu < \*čar'naṣtu ~ \*čurna|iñ-at- due to the infl. of the derivational pattern \*Ca'CaCt- of nouns of diseases), Gz šərnəṣat 'scab, malignant ulcer', Ak {Sd.} šennettu ~ šernettu, {CAD} šennītu ~ širnittu 'e skin disease' ॥ KB 989, Tal 744, JA 1272, L G 564, Sd. 1O9O, 1588, CAD XVI 127, MiK I #1.257 ◇ If we accept the Lz cognate and reject the questionable comparison with S, the N rec. must be \*čarν, but if the S cognate rather than the K one is recognized, the rec. is \*čarν ◇ IS 2O5 [#45] \*Carṇ (= \*Čarν) ◇ It is also possible that there were two N words: one beginning with \*č- and meaning 'hard, rough' and the other with \*č- (\*č|č-) and meaning 'crust', 'skin', or the like, both words coalescing in those lgs. that lost the difference between N \*č- and \*č|č-, which brought about the meaning 'hard crust' and sim.

**312. \*čERν** 'small, little' > K: GZ \*m-cir-e 'little, small' ({K} d. with the derivational pattern \*m(e)-...-e that builds nomina of quality-bearers, *F* K 131) > OG, G mcire 'little, small, few', Mg cira 'girl' ॥ K 14O-1, K<sup>2</sup> 129 || U: FP \*čErν 'small' > Chr H {Rm.} cərä 'sehr fein, sehr dünn', Chr L {MRS} чыр 'small', 'short' (of time), {Ü} чырыйк гына 'a wee bit, чуточку' | pPrm {LG} \*čir- > Z čir 'tiny particle\grain (мелчайшая частица, крупица)', Prmk tu'run-čir 'feines Heustreu', ? Vt чыры čir̩, чыры-пыры čir̩-p̩ir̩, Vt Kz čər(i)-p̩əri 'Kleinigkeit, Kleinsachen' ॥ UEW 615, MRS 685, LG 3O6-7 || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc only) \*osk̥ker- (+exts.) 'lean', v. 'shrink, wrinkle, shrivel' (× N \*čUrν 'narrow' [q.v.]) > NNr skråna (< Gmc \*skraxnan) 'to shrink (verschrumpfen)', MLG schrā, NGr NrF schrah (both from

Gmc \*skrēxa-) 'dürr, mager', ON skrá (< \*skraho) 'thin leather', NE Ork (← NrGmc) skruue 'Maß von Trockenheit', Nr Δ skranta 'become lean (mager werden)', Nr skrinna (< \*skrenθa-) 'dürr, mager, unfruchtbar', MLG schräde 'dünn, mager, kümmерlich' ¶ ≈ P 933, Vr. 500-1.

**313.** ?σ \*cURV 'to move (go, swim, fly) away (or from one place to another)' > HS: WS \*-sūr- ~ \*sīr- 'go away, leave' > BHb -sūr- 'leave, deviate', Hb/Ph/Pun ✓ swr Sh 'remove', ?σ SmA ✓ swr 'turn aside', ?σ JA ✓ swr G {Js.} 'turn around\away, go astray', JEA ✓ swr G {Js.} 'turn aside', Ar ✓ syr (ip. -sīr-) 'go, walk, go away, leave', Ar NY ✓ yrs (ip. -sīr) 'go', Mh {Jo.} ✓ syr (pf. sṣyūr, sbj. yṣṣyēr), Hrs {Jo.} ✓ syr 'go' ¶ KB 706-7, HJ 781, Sl. 797, Tal 576, Js. 969, BK I 1174-5, Bns. NJ I 200, Jo. M 355 ¶ ≠ Tk. PAA 3 (Hb ✓ swr Hiph'il 'remove' ÷ Irq -cawār- 'choose') || K: GZ \*čur- vi. 'swim' > OG cur- id., G cur- v. 'swim, slide', Mg (n)čur-, Lz (n)čur- ~ (n)čvir- ~ nčir- ~ mčvi(r)- 'swim' ¶ K 230, K<sup>2</sup> 273-4, FS K 414-5, FS E 466-7, Chx. 2031-2 || A: Tg: Lm çordun- vi. 'gallop' (of animals), WrMc curxun 'flight (of birds from place to another)' ¶ STM II 409, 417.

**314.** \*c'awe'rV 'finger, hand' > K: GZ \*čēr- 'thumb' > G cer-, Mg čan(ž)- id. (Mg -a- pointing to a pK \*ē) ¶ K 228, K<sup>2</sup> 271, FS K 414-5 || HS: ?σ S \*°✓ s̄w̄r > Ar siwār- (pl. sūr-) 'armring', ?aswār- id. ¶ BK I 1163 || ?φ WCh {Stl.} \*sārV 'hand' > AG: Su {J} sār, Gmy šā, Ang {ChL}, Kfr {Nt.} sar | BT: Krkr, Bl, Ngm, Maha sara, Krf šārā ¶ JI II 178, Stl. ZCh 179 [#314], ChC, ChL || A: NrTg \*çaratkī 'toe, (?) finger' > Ewk çaratkī ~ çirat-kī 'toe', Sln {Iv.} cā'ratki, Neg {PSchm.} čayatlı 'finger' ¶ STM II 385 || D \*čēr- ~ \*čēr- ({§GS} \*c-) 'handful' > Tm cērai id., cērai 'palmful (quantity that can be held in the hollow of the palm)', Kt de·r 'handful (with open hand)', Kn sāre ~ se(:)re, Tu se(:)ræ 'the palm of hand bent so as to receive\hold anyth.', Tl cēra 'the hand hold so as to contain anyth.', cērēdu 'handful', Gnd\Ku hera, Knd sēra id. ¶ D #2821 ◇ In addition, one shoud pay attention to S \*°✓ ſr̄ > Mh {Jo.} ſ̄rayn 'leg', {Nak.} 'ſrayn (pl. ſ̄z'rāntən) 'leg, foot', Sq {Jo.} 'ſ̄zr̄z̄hān 'legs' (Jo. M 182, Nak. 9). If S \*°✓ ſr̄ belongs here (?σ), but Ar siwār-, aswār- and WCh \*sāra are not, the N rec. may be \*čaR̄V (with N \*č responsible for the length of the vw. in K and D, but the quality of the K and D vw. \*ē remains unexplained). Ar ✓ swr and WCh \*sāra rule out a pN \*č- (N \*č- yields WCh \*č-, see items ##448, 458, and 465a). For

semantic reasons WCh \*sār<sup>Δ</sup> 'hand' and Ar siwār-'armring' are preferable as cognates (more than the SES root for 'leg'), therefore we have to reject a N rec. with an initial \*č̄-.

**315.** 2 \*čæs̄R<sup>Δ</sup> 'to burn sth.' > HS: S \*°✓s̄r (or \*°✓š̄r) > Ar ✓s̄r (pf. saſara) v. 'kindle' ¶ BK I 1O91-2 || U: FU \*čäer- > ObU \*čēr- 'verbrennen' > pVg \*čär<sup>Δ</sup>y- > Vg: T čirāy-, LK šārāy-, MK/P/NV/LL šārāy-, UL šary-, Ss šariy- id.; pOs \*čēray- ~ \*čēray-, \*čēr<sup>Δ</sup> ({ʃHl.} \*-i-) > Os: Nz šāriy-, Kz šāri-, O šāri- 'verbrennen', Nz šarə, Kz šar, O šār 'verbranntes Stück' ¶ Ht. #84 || K: AdS (accounting for the meaning 'fever') of OG, G c̄xro- 'fever', Lz čečxur- 'fever' < K (GZ) \*č̄xro- 'cold, fever' < N ?σ \*cAR<sub>1</sub>Δ<sub>2</sub>Y<sup>Δ</sup> ~ \*cAYR<sup>Δ</sup> 'freeze, feel cold', 'fever' ¶ K 232-3, FS K 418, Chik. 236-7, Q 369.

**316.** \*čOH<sub>2</sub>L<sup>Δ</sup>r<sup>Δ</sup> 'to drip, to leak, to flow; drops' > HS: WCh {Stl.} \*c<sup>Δ</sup>H<sup>Δ</sup>r 'dew' > pAG {Sch.} \*s3Y3,r id. > Su {J} s3ḡr, Ang {Sch.} s3r ({Hf.} s3ur, {Flk.} sūr), Kfr M s3Y3r, Gmy {Sch.} s̄r id. || BT: Krkr {Sch.} s3w̄r, ?Bole {ChL} s̄insori, ?Ngm činčir, Gera {Sch.} s̄insiri id. || SBC: Gj sisil, Plc sisir, Buli, Sy sisire, Dw sus̄r id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 183 [#347], Hf. AG 2O [#107], Sch. ChV 48 || S: Ar sariy- (pl. Pasriyat-, suryān-) {Ln.} 'rivulet, streamlet' ¶ Ln. 1356, Fr. II 313 ([Qam.] 'rivulus qui ad palmas deductus est'), BK I 1O86 ('rigole creusée au pied d'un palmier pour l'arroser') || K \*cwar-/\*cur- 'drip, flow' > OG cwar- / cur- v. 'drip', Sv {Zhgh.} li-cūr-e 'to flow'; \*cwar- 'drop, drop of dew' > OG cwar- 'drop, dew', G cvar- 'dew', Mg cunž-i ~ cund-i 'dew', Sv cwar 'drop' (< pK or ← G) ¶ K 224, K<sup>2</sup> 265, FS K 399, FS E 449, GM S 451, Q 371, Zhgh. SP 79 || U: FU \*čor<sup>Δ</sup> 'leak, flow, drip' (× N [?] \*čor<sup>Δ</sup> 'to drip, to trickle') > F soro 'a falling drop', sorotta- v. 'drip' || ObU {Ht.} \*č̄r̄ay- > pVg {Ht.} \*č̄ur̄- 'flow, leak, drip' ({MK} 'fließen, rinnen, tröpfeln', {BV} 'течь, сочится') > Vg: T čork-, K šor̄-, Yk {Vxr.} šärj-~ šürj-, P šurr-~ šürr-, Ss c̄yrg- šur̄-; pOs {Ht.} \*čoray- v. 'flow' > Vy čoray-, D čāra ~ čōra-, Nz šōriy-, Kz šōri-, O šāri- | Hg csorog-, csurog- v. 'flow, drip', csordul- 'spill, overflow', csurran- 'spill, pour out, drip' ¶ ≈ UEW 4O (U \*čor<sup>Δ</sup>), MF 123, Ht. #87, MK 607, BV 111 ¶ Hardly here (⇒ UEW and IS) Sm: Ne T c̄yrgmbäcs 'to run', Slq N šormba- 'tropfen, fließen', etc., because they go back to pSm {Jn.} \*kūr(ъ)- 'run' (Jn. 79-8O) || A: [1] NTg \*čurḡ<sub>1</sub>ī<sub>2</sub>- > Ewk čurḡi- vi. 'drip, leak', čurḡi n. 'drop', Lm čurḡb̄- vi. 'drip, flow' || [2] A \*čUr- 'pour, stream' (× N [?] \*čor<sup>Δ</sup> '↑', q.v. ffd.) || D

\*č̥or-/č̥or- 'trickle, pour, flow down' > Tm č̥or- vi. 'trickle down, drop, ooze out', cori v. 'flow down, rain, spill', Ml č̥oruča vi. 'flow, ooze, tickle, leak', coriyukā vi. 'flow down, pour, shower', Kt žo·r- 'run in streams', Kn sōr vi. 'drop, drip, trickle, ooze', suri vi. 'flow, drop, pour (as tears)', Kdg Δ č̥or-, Krg žori vi. 'leak', Tl sōruni vi. 'leak, ooze, run', Gdb č̥or- 'pour' (of water), Gnd žoree 'the flowing of a liquid', Krx čurχ- vt. 'pour, let fall in drops, leak', Mlt čurge 'ooze out, fall in drops', Brh čurriŋ vi. flow, gush'; the meaning 'flow' may be partially induced by a paronymous reflex of N \*žūř'ū 'to stream' || cp. also D \*čōř- 'trickle, drip' (< N [?] \*čor̥v '↑') §§ D ##2883, 2893 ◇ IS I 198 [#35]. N \*č- regularly yields U \*č- (⇒ IS, who considered this reflex an exception). If Ar sariy- 'rivulet, streamlet' belongs here (which is highly doubtful), the N lr. must have been \*? or \*h.

**317.** ?σ<sub>2</sub> \*č̥R<sub>1</sub>ṇ<sub>2</sub>γ̥N - \*č̥ṇγ̥R<sub>2</sub>N 'freeze, feel cold', 'fever' > HS: S \*°✓ s|š řr 'fever, painful heat' > Ar sařr- 'douloureux, cuisant', ✓ řr (pf. sařara) 'communiquer la maladie l'un à l'autre', 'brûler, causer une douleur cuisante' (influenced by the homonymous root ✓ řr 'ignite'), řur- 'contagion, miasmes', sařr-at- 'toux' ¶ BK I 1091-2 || K: GZ \*č̥xro- {K<sup>2</sup>} 'cold, chill; shivering' > OG, G č̥xro- 'fever' ({DCh.} 'лихорадка', {Chx.} '[Wechsel-]Fieber, Malaria'), {K<sup>2</sup>} 'chill, shivering', Mg č̥xuru n. 'severe cold', č̥xur-i adj. 'cold', Lz čečxur- (< \*č̥xe-č̥xur-) 'fever' ({K<sup>2</sup>} lit. 'fever-shivering'); (× N ? \*č̥R<sub>2</sub>ṇN 'hoarfrost') (mt.) K \*°č̥x|qar- > G T č̥xar-i 'hoarfrost' ('Rauhreif') ¶ K 232-3, K<sup>2</sup> 277, FS K 418, Chik. 236-7, Q 369, Chx. 1961, 2258, Ghl. 668 || see also U: FU \*č̥arN- 'frozen hard surface layer of snow' (from N \*č̥arN or \*č̥arN 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard\rough surface' [q.v.]?) > Z č̥arsm, Prmk čá|r̥sm, Yz čá|r̥um 'ice crust on the snow', as well as Z č̥ars 'hard ice crust on the snow' || cp. also Sm {Jn.} \*s̥trā, {Hl.} \*s̥tra 'snow' (from N \*ž|ž'i|R<sub>2</sub>N - \*ž|ž'i|H<sub>2</sub>R<sub>2</sub>N 'be very cold' [q.v. ffd.] × N \*č̥arN or \*č̥arN '↑' [q.v.]) §§ LG 302, UEW 464-5 (ties in Hg Δ szirony ~ szilony ~ szirogy ~ szilogy ~ sziroty ~ szityor 'frozen surface layer on the snow after melting weather' and reconstructs \*šarN [in spite of Prm \*č-]), Jn. 140, Ter. 574, Cs. 66, 91, 274, 303, Lh. 412-3, Hl. M #891 ◇ If the Ar root ✓ řr is rejected, the initial N cns. may be reconstructed either as \*č- or as \*č̥-, and the lr. is \*x|y. Not

here IE \*srīg- 'cold', HEC \*sirga 'cold', and the abovementioned Hg word (see s.v. N \*ś̄Rixka 'cold').

**317a.** \*cūR'k'a 'watch, (?) watch over' > IE: NaIE \*swerg<sub>L</sub>h- 'watch over, be concerned about' > ON sorg, OHG s(w)orga, AS sorȝ 'sorrow, care (angor, cura)' (> NE sorrow), ON syrgja 'to be concerned about', AS sorȝian 'to grieve, to be anxious about', Gt saúrga 'sorrow, care' || Pru but-sargs 'householder', absergīsnan 'protection', Olt, Lt sérgéti (prs.: Olt sérgmi, Lt sérgiu), Lt Δ sergéti 'to guard, to keep (behüten, bewahren)', Lt sargà '(Schild)wache, (Ob)hut', sárgas 'Wächter, (Be)hüter', 'guard', Ltv sár̄gs id., Pru absergīsnan accus. 'Schutz' || OI sūrkṣati 'takes care of' ¶ The IE variation \*-we-/\*-e- is explained by a kind of Schwebeablaud (\*-we-/\*-e- < \*\*-ue-/\*\*-eu- with loss of the glide before a sonant < N \*u|ü) (see AD NVIE and NGIE) ¶ ≈ EI 636 (IE \*swerHK- 'watch over, be concerned of'), M K II 495, Kb. 1OO7, Ho. 3O7, En. 136, 155, Frn. 762-3, 776-7 || K (reg. mt.): G cker-/ckir-'blicken, schauen' ¶ Chx. 2O34-5 || U: FU \*c'v̄rk'v̄ 'look' > Chr L ψyp̄re 'čurge '(look, stare) fixedly, intently' || Prm \*žɔrk- > Z žorg+- 'look\stare vacantly (as a new-born baby)', Δ žorg+- 'stare at one point, fix one's eyes', Vt Δ žurkk̄t učk- 'stare at one point, look vacantly (as a new-born baby)' ¶ LG 92, MarR 679.

**318.** \*c'r̄ä'r̄v̄ 'dirt, dung, excrement, rubbish; defecate (cacare), excrete' > HS: S \*°✓syr > Mh ✓syr T (pf. 'satyʒr') 'have diarrhoea', ShT (pf. ʒstʒyur) 'go to stool, to excrete' ¶ Jo. M 355 || IE \*sker(-d̄h)- 'defecate (cacare), excrete; dung, excrements', {partially according to EI} \*'sokr̄- (gen. \*s(e)k'n-os) 'excrement, dung' (metanalysis reinterpreting -r̄- as a heteroclitic sx.?) (× N \*cūȳr̄v̄ 'rot, stink' [q.v.]) > YAv sairyā- 'dung, manure (Dünger, Mist)', MPrs sargēn, NPrs سرگین särgīn 'dung' || OI śardhatē 'farts'; ? chr̄'natti, chardayati 'vomits' || Gk σκῶρ, gen. σκατός 'dung' || L mūscerda 'mouse-dung' (metanalysis mūs-scerda > mūs-cerda, whence būcerda 'cowdung', ovicecerda 'sheep-dung', etc.) || MIr {WH, P ← ?} sceirt- v. 'spit out, vomit' || ON skarn, MLG, MDt scharn, OFrs skern, AS scéarn 'dung, manure', NE sharn || Ltv sārn̄i pl. 'slag, dross, rubbish, faeces, menstrua', Lt šárv̄as, pl. šárvai 'placenta, menstrua' | Sl inf. \*sbrati / prs. \*serq ~ \*seřq 'defecate' > SCr sràti /

sèrēm, Blg ce'pa, Slv sráti / sérjem, Cz sráti / seru (3s séře), P sráć / siore (2s sierzesz), R сратъ / сръ (3s срёт ~ 'сепет') id.; R sor 'rubbish' || ? Ht sakkar (gen. sak-n-as) 'faeces' §§ P 947-8, EI 186 (IE \*'sočr̥- [gen. \*s(e)č'n-os] 'human excrement'), VI. II 284-5, M EI 557, ~ M K I 409 and ~ III 310, Brtl. 1568, McK 74, Sg. 677, F II 746, WH II 133-4, Vn. S 39, Vr. 485, OsS 781, Ho. 274, ~ Frn. 966, ~ Kar. II 156, Vs. III 720, 740, Glh. 573, Ts. W 67 || u: FU \*čar<sup>Δ</sup> 'dung' (x N \*śihařu 'dirt, earth', q.v.) > Os: Nz śor '(reindeer's) dung', Kz śor 'dung' || pMr {Ker.} \*śarə- > \*śářə- 'defecate' > Er šeřne-, Δ šářňa<sub>L</sub>-, Mk šářňádə- id. § UEW 405-6, Ker. II 138 || D \*čařap- 'cowdung' > Prj čarpi, Gdb sařpi ~ sadpi, Gnd sarāpi, sařāpi ~ sadāpī, Knd, Png, Mnd řāpi, Ku řāpi ~ rāpi id. §§ D #2402b.

**319.** <sub>2</sub> \*čEt<sup>Δ</sup> 'to cover' > HS: WS (with ext.) \*✓ str v. 'cover, hide' > BHb ✓ str N 'hide, conceal', JA [Trg.] ✓ str D id., SmA ✓ str G 'hide oneself', JEA {Sl.} ✓ str Sh 'conceal', Sr ~~z~~<sup>z</sup>l<sup>z</sup>m sa'tir ps. prt. 'concealed', Ar ✓ str v. G 'veil, conceal, hide', Gz ✓ str 'hide, conceal' § KB 728-9, BDB #5641, Js. 1032-3, Ln. 1304, L G 518, Sl. 834, Tal 614, Br. 503, JPS 394 || IE: NaIE \*(s)čed- 'cover' > OI <sup>Δ</sup> 'čadati, OI čha'dayati v. caus. 'covers, wraps', čha'd-iš- n. 'lid, cover', Av sadayantī- 'part of garment' || ? Gmc (without \*s mobile): MHG hāz 'garment, cloth', NGr Sw häs, gehäs 'Kleidung, Wäsche', AS hæteru pl. 'clothes', NE hater § M K I 403, M EI 554-5, Ho. 146, OsS 377, Lx. 82, ~ WP II 558, ~ P 919 ◇ IS I 198-9 [#36].

**320.** \*čow<sup>Δ</sup> 'look at, look after, protect\guard' > K: GZ \*čew-/\*čw- v. 'protect, take care, watch' > OG cev-/cū- id., G (da-)cav-/cū- 'protect (verteidigen, schützen)', Mg č(w)- v. 'preserve, keep safe; take care; hide', Lz č(v)- v. 'watch, wait' §§ K 229, K<sup>2</sup> 270 (unc.: + Sv li-lče, actually Sv UB/L li-lče, Sv Ln li-leče msd. 'preserve, defend, guard [watch over]'), Chik. 372-3, FS K 405-6, 417-8, GP 158, Chx. 1971, TK 440 || IE: NaIE \*(s)kew- 'worauf achten (beobachten, schauen)' > Arm ցուցանեմ čuchanem v. 'show, indicate, point out', ցոյց čoyc<sup>h</sup> 'showing, indication' || Gk Hm {Ch.} θυο-σκόος 'prêtre qui examine les sacrifices' || ON skoða 'to behold, to inspect', WGmc {Vr.} \*skauwōn > OSx skauwon, MDt scouwen, Dt schouwen 'to inspect, to view', OHG scouwōn 'to see, to look' (> NHG schauen), AS sċēawian 'look at, behold', NE show || Pru au-schauditwei 'vertrauen', auschaudisnan, auschaudisnan · "Zuversicht, Treue, Hoffnung"

||| without \*s-: L **cavē-** 'be on one's guard, beware, take care for' ||| OI ka'vi- 'wise, skilful; seer, sage, poet', ā-'κυνατē 'beabsichtigt' ||| Gk κοέω 'I notice, hear' ||? Sl \*čū-ti (1s prs. \*čūj-q) 'to feel, to perceive' > OCS **ѹѹтн** čuti / **ѹѹтк** čujq 'feel, notice, learn (noscere)', OR **ѹѹтн** čuti 'to feel, to hear, to understand', SCr čūtī, Uk чути 'to feel, to hear', Blr чуць, Slv čúti, Slk po-čut' 'to hear', Blg чуя 'I feel hear', Cz čít, Pczuć 'to feel', R чую 1s 'I feel' → inf. чуять 'to feel' ¶ P 587-8, Ch. 448, 551, Slt. 268-9, Ho. 275, DM 638, Vr. 496, Vr. N 62, Skeat 559, Kb. 89O, M K I 187-8, WH I 186-7, En. 148, Tp. P A-D 161-3, Vs. IV 39O, ESSJ IV 134-6, Glh. 182 || D \*čōv-/ -pp- v. 'watch, notice' > Kn sōvu, sōhe 'trace, mark, sign', Tu sōvu 'spying, watching, observing secretly; trace, mark, sign', Kui չօրպ a v. 'watch over, guard, lie in wait for' ¶ D #2892 ◇ IS MS 367 s.v. \*čəwən 'стеречь'.

**321. \*čaw<sup>h</sup>ṇ** 'to cover, to dress, to put\hang (on)' > K \*c̄w- v. 'put on\in\into, wear, string\hang (on)' > OG c̄w-, šta-c̄w- v. 'put on', aȝ-c̄w- 'hineinstecken', še-c̄w- v. 'string (on sth.)', G c̄v- 'put on, string', Mg cun- {FS} 'verschließen', mo-cun- v. 'put on', o-cun- 'darinstoßen', Lz o-con- 'auffädeln, aufreihen', do-cun- 'hineinstoßen', Sv x̄a-c̄w-e 'er hängt es daran', Sv UB li-c̄w-em 'to hang (sth.) on the back', {GP} 'to shoulder (sth.)' ¶ FS K 396, FS E 448, K 226, K<sup>2</sup> 264, Chx. 1994-6, 2048, GP 183, TK 475 || HS: S \*°✓swy > BHb מְטוּחָה mas'wē 'covering, veil, hull', MHb מְטוּחָה mas'wē {Js.} 'cover, sheath', Pun (pl.) mswy<sup>?</sup>t 'clothing, dress'; BHb sū-t\* 'garment' (+ppa.: סֻתּוֹן 'his garment'), Ph swt 'garment', Pun \*swȳh (cs. swyt) 'veil, curtain (?)', SmA מְטוּחָה msw, מְטוּחָה mswh n. 'veil' ¶ KB 572, 707, KBR 605, 749, HJ 663, 780-1, Js. 804, Tal 573 || Eg s {EG} hier. \*'ein Tuch', {Gard.} hier. \*'folded cloth' ¶ EG IV 1, Gard. 507 [#S-29] || C: Ag {Ap.} \*sä-: \*sä-t- v. 'dress oneself', caus. \*sä-s- v. 'dress so.' > Bln {R} sə-r-, Xm {R} s i - t -, Km {Ap.} səy-, Aw {Ap.} set-/sey-/sít- 'dress oneself', Bln {R} sə-s-, Xm {R} s i - s -, Q {R} sə-š- vt. 'dress' || SC: ? Irq {Wh.} -ç̄i-t- 'wear', {Mgw.} -ç̄i-t- v. 'dress', -ç̄i-t-í s v. 'clothe' ¶ R WB 291-2, Ap. AV 18, Wh. SI, Mgw 103 ¶ ~ Tk. PAA 4 (treats Irq and SC \*ç as c) || IE \*(s)k<sup>h</sup>euH- ({EI} \*(s)keu(H)-) 'cover, wrap' > NaIE \*(s)k<sup>h</sup>euə- ~ \*(s)k<sup>h</sup>euə- v. 'cover' > Arm għiġ cħiġ 'roof, tiling'; from \*k<sup>h</sup>euə-: Arm խոնց xuch 'cot, hut, cell, small room' || Gk ἐπι-σκύνειν 'the skin of the brows which is knitted in frowning', τσκύνια pl. 'eyebrows', σκύλος 'animal's skin, hide', ? κῶμας (pl. κῶμαι) 'fleece' || Gmc: [1] AS scu(w)a

'shadow, darkness, protection', OHG *scūwo* 'shade (umbra)', ON *skuggi* id., 'mirror', Gt *skuggwa* 'mirror', ON *skja-r* 'transparent calf skin used to close windows', *skjá* 'window closed with a transparent film'; [2] ?? ON *ský* (< \**skeuyo-*) 'cloud, clouding', OSx *skio* 'Wolkendecke', AS *scíðo* 'cloud' (unless  $\div$  OIr *céo* 'fog') || Sl \**xovā-* v. 'hide; take care of' > Cz *chovati* id., Slk *chovat'* 'to feed, to keep (livestock)', 'to conceal, to keep', HLs *chowac* 'to keep, to conceal, to hide', OP, P *chowac* 'to hide, to conceal; to feed; to bury', OR XIV **ХОВАТИСЯ (ВЪ ЗАКОНЕ СВОЕМЪ)** 'to keep oneself (in one's religion)' (sc. 'to remain faithful to one's religion'), R S/W/Psk/K1 *ховатъ* 'to bury, to hide, to conceal', R Tv/Rz *ху'ватъ* 'to hide', Uk *ховати*, Blr *ха'вацъ* 'to hide, to keep, to bury', OCrt K *hovati* 'to put, to place' || OI [Dhat., Bhatt.] *sku-* v. 'cover', *skunāti* 'covers', KhS {Bai.} *bu-śkve* 'covered', *khausca* 'covering, face' ¶ Mayrhofer (M K III 508, M E II 751) rejects the connection of the OI  $\vee$  *sku-* with words for 'skin', because *skunāti* 'covers' is "vereinzelt und jung", but the late attestation of the OI word does not rule out its ancient origin (confirmed within IIR by the KhS cognate) ¶ WP II 546-8, P 951-3, EI 134, MW 1257, Bai. 76, 301, FI 541, Ch. 360, Ho. 279, 284, Ho. S 66, Vr. 506, 508, Kb. 902Fs. 435, Slt. 338-9, ESSJ VIII 86-8 (all of them do not mention the connection of Sl \**xovā-* with the IE  $\vee$  in question), Srz. III 1377 ¶ NrGmc and Gt Verschärfung (ON -*ggj-*, Gt -*ggw-*) points to the presence of a lr. || D \**čavali* 'cloth' ( $\times$  N \**č'arubā* 'cloth, sack', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The NrGmc and Gt Verschärfung (yielding ON -*ggj-* and Gt -*ggw-*) points to the presence of an IE lr., which is likely to go back to N \**h* (a lr. liable to be lost in HS and K).

**322.** ?σ \**ča|x̄ū* '≈ mix, process grains' > K: GZ \**cex-* v. 'thresh, knead', {K<sup>2</sup>} 'remove stubble' > OG *sa-cexu-el-* 'mowing board', {FS} *sa-cexwl-* 'flail', G I/G {Chx.} v. *cex-* 'husk (e.g. maize), cruck (rice)', G {DCh.} *cex-* 'thresh', {K<sup>2</sup>} *cex-†remove stubble*', Mg *cax-* 'knead' ({Q} 'мъсить'), {K<sup>2</sup>} 'grind, crush' ¶ FS K 397-8, FS E 447, K<sup>2</sup> 264, Chx. 1994, DCh. 1994, Q 370 || HS: C: Bj  $\checkmark$  *šwū* {R} 'mix, add' ({R} 1s: p. *a'šāwi* ~ *a'šāū*, ppf. *īšwa*, prs. *ešu'wī* ~ *'ēšwi*) ¶ R WBd 218-9 || ?σ S: Ar  $\checkmark$  *shh* 'flog, strike' ¶ Ln. 1313 || ?σ IE: NaIE \**skēy-* 'poke\rake\stir (the fire)', 'stochern' > OI {MW} *sku-* 'pluck, pick, poke, tear': Vd *coškūyatē* 'stöbert auf, bringt durcheinander, stochert', OI [SB] ā *skauti* 'verkleinert durch Stochern', [Ap.] *danta-*

skavana 'das Stochern in den Zähnen', KhS buškuta 'burst' || ?σ AdS of Blt \*skū- ~ \*skut- 'scrape, scratch, peel' (mt. from NaIE \*kes-/ \*kseug- v. 'scratch, comb' < N \*kə<sup>r̥</sup>č<sup>ū</sup>U 'to scratch, to scrape off scales', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP II 552-3, P 954, M K III 508, M E II 751, MW 1257, Bai. 300 ◇ Qu. (loose semantic connections).

**323.** \*č<sup>i</sup>χE 'sweep, rub\scratch away' > **HS:** CS \*✓shy 'sweep (away)' > Ar ✓shy 'sweep away', BHb הַחֲמָר ✓shyw N (ip. 3pm yis'sā'hū) 'be swept away', ✓shwly D 'sweep away', sa'hi 'litter', SmA ✓shy G 'wash', JEA {Sl.} ✓shy G 'wash oneself, bathe', JA, SmA ✓shy D 'wash, cleanse, bathe' ¶ KB 707, Sl. 797, Tal 576-7, Js. 971, BK I 1063-4 || **A:** Tg: Ewk čī- 'scratch away, clean away' ¶ STM II 388 || **D** \*čī- ({θGS} \*c|č|s-) > Tm cī v. 'sweep off, brush away, wipe off', cīy 'sweep', Gnd heyānā ✕ hey- ✕ hay- ✕ ey- id., Krx čī:č- 'rub with sth. soft for cleaning, wipe away', Mlt {Drs.} cíce v. 'wipe, clean' ¶ D #2599 || **IE:** ?φ Ht sanh- 'sweep, wipe away' ¶ Frd. HW 182, Ts. W 70.

**324.** \*ča or \*ča (= \*Hic|ča?), a marker of relative constructions (in descendant lgs.: → sx. of adjectives and singulatives [→ diminutives]) > **HS:** C: EC: Or -ičča ✕ -iča, sx. of snglt. m., Brj -aččo, -iččo, -čo, -čča, Sd -iččo, -ičča, -čo, Kmb -(č)ču, Alb -čo, Hd -∇(č)čo, Dsn -(∇)č id. || ?? Dhl -že id. ¶ It belongs here unless it goes back to \*-ay-t- (snglt. \*-ay-[as -ay- in Bj: ta'wīg-ay- 'a mosquito' ↔ taweg 'mosquitos']) + HS snglt. \*-at- > pS \*-at- id., Sa -t- id. [{R} adam-to 'a man', etc.] ¶ Zab. MNPC 3, 21, 125, 133-4, 219-24, To. DL 75 || **IE:** NaIE \*-isk-, sx. of relative adjectives: Gmc \*-isk-, Lt -iška-, Sl \*-bšk-: Gt mannišks 'männlich', OHG irdisc 'irdisch', Lt dēviškas 'göttlich', OCS нѣбесъскъ něbesъскъ 'himmlisch', as well as ? Gk -ισκο- dim. (παιδίσκος 'child' [dim.]) and possibly also Arm gen.-dat.-abl. pl. -g- -č<sup>h</sup>- ¶ Brg. KVG 327, Me. EAC 71-2 || **U** \*-č∇, qualifying sx.: F karitsa 'lamb' (cp. karja 'cattle'?), Mr kurća 'shoulder yoke' (cp. Prm {LG} \*ker 'beam' > Z ker, Vt kor), Chr L kuwъlcъ 'hen capercalzie' (a qualifying sx. used to denote a female), Os: O ápší, Kz apší, Nz apásə 'younger brother, nephew (younger than ego)', as well as Vg: N/ML {MK} ápší ~ apší, Ss апси apší id. ({MK} ← Os) (cp. Vg: N/ML áptʃ ~ apť, Ss апыг 'nephew, grandson') || Ne -č, -če, dimin. sx. ¶ SSA I 313, Lh. 206, 212-3, Stn. D 150, MK 46, BV 17 || **A:** NaT [1] \*-č, sx. of diminutives and forms of endearment: OT ögüčüm 'mein Mütterchen' (← ög 'mother'), atačim 'mein Väterchen' (← ata 'father') (Gbn. ATG 59), atač 'das Kind, das

den Vater spielt', anač 'Mädchen, das die Mutter spielt' (Rm. EAS II 215), etc.; [2] \*-çā/-çä, diminutive and intensive > OT: ančā 'ein Paar', azraq-čā 'ganz wenig' (Gbn. ATG 59-60, Deny § 517) (acc. to IS), [3] \*-çɪ/-çɪ, sx. of n. agentis (trade, etc.) (× N \*č'ǖ 'that of..., that which') (J SIGTJM 144-6, Kon. GJTRP 84-6, Gbn. ATG 60) || Tg ≈ \*-çan: Rm. mentions Nn diminutive -čā (amačā, abačā 'Väterchen', mamačā 'Mamachen' [mama 'old woman']), but in grammars and dictionaries of the Tg lgs. I have found only Nn {On.} mamačān 'old woman' (dim.) ÷ U1 {Sun.} mama-čā(n) 'old woman', cp. also Ewk -çikān (including Tg dim. \*-kān, e.g. oronçikān 'young of a reindeer' ↔ oron 'reindeer') J Rm. EAS II 215-8, On. 256, Sun. UJ 212, Vas. 797 || Ko {Rm.} -či: apači [abaži] 'Väterchen', a,ma,či [a,ma,ži] 'Mütterchen' J Rm. EAS II 215-8 ◇ IS I 204 (N \*-čā) ◇ The N rec. \*Hicčā is based on the presence of \*i in IE \*-isk- and in EC ≈ \*-ič-. It is quite possible that the N pc. \*ččā (= \*Hicčā?) goes back to the N noun \*Hicčāx ∇ - \*-č- (- \*HicčāΓ|h∇) 'father, head of a family' (q.v. ffd.). A semantic parallel: Ar ɬabū 'father' as a marker of relative constructions, as well as the use of words for 'son' in similar constructions in Hb, Aram, Berber, and Chinese.

**325.** <sub>2</sub> \*čæ 'away, downward' > K: GZ \*ča- 'downward, away' > OG, G ča- pv. 'away', Mg, Lz čo- pv. 'downward'; → GZ \*ča-re- (~ \*ča-le-?) adv. 'downward' > OG preverb čar-, G adv. čare, Mg, Lz čale J \*-re is a morpheme of adverbs of place, e.g. GZ \*ga-re 'outside' (> OG gare, Mg, Lz gale) J K 59, 241-2 || IE: NaIE \*-sk- > Sl \*sъ (+ gen. [< abl.]) prep. 'downward from' > OCS, OR čъ sъ, R c / co, OCz, Cz, OP s / se, SCr s / sa, (× Sl \*jьz 'from'): Uk z, P z / ze, Slk z / zo; preverb \*sъ- 'downward from sth.' > OCS, OR čъ- sъ-, R c- / co-, Uk c- / z-, P ze- / s-, OCz, Cz s- / se-, Slk z- / s-, Slv s-, Blg c- || possibly Arm gen.-dat.-abl. pl. -g- -čh- (× IE adjectival suffix \*-isk- < N \*ča - \*čā, a marker of relative constructions [q.v.]) J Me. EAC 71-2, ≈ Vs. III 540 (unc.: Sl \*sъ < NaIE \*kōm 'with'), ≈ ESISJ-SGZ I 244-6, 249-55 (unjustified rec. of \*-n in Sl \*sъn), Rcz. 437.

**326.** \*čči or \*čči, a marker of verbal frequentativity\iterativity > IE sx. \*-sk-, a marker of iterativity\frequentativity > AnIE: Ht iterative sx. -sk- (denoting iterative and durative stems), Lw, Hrlw, Pal -ss-, -s- 'id. (?)' || NaIE \*-sk- > Tc: B -sk-/ss-, A -s-, caus. sx. (← iterative-intensive): Tc B {KT} rittässäm 'verbindet', 3p rittäskem 'verbinden' vs. rittetär 'paßt sich, ist verbunden', also without caus.

meaning: {Ad.} *ǟnǟskem* 'we breathe' ] in most other branches of NaIE \*-sk- functions as a marker of the ip. aspect ("present"): \*ḡm̄-'sk-eti ({Bks.} \*ḡwm̄-'ske) 'goes, is going' > OI 'ga-cch-ati, Av (3s) *jasa*iti id., Gk (1s) βάσκω id., NaIE \*gn̄ō-sk-ō ({Bks.} \*gn̄h<sub>3</sub>-'ske) 'I recognize, know' > L (g)noscō, Gk Ep γνώσκω id., OPrs x̄snā-s-ātiy 'noscat', NaIE \*pr̄k-'sk-ō 'I ask' > OI pr̄c'chāmi id., L poscō 'I ask, request', OHG forscōn (> NHG forschen) 'to explore, to inquire', NaIE \*is-'ske-ti 'he requires, looks for' > OI ic'chati 'requires', fossilized as part of the stem in Sl \*j̄bskati 'to look for' (> OCS **и́скати** iskati, R искать, etc.), Lt ieškoti id., OHG eiscōn 'to require' (> NHG heischen id.), AS āscian 'to ask, to require' (> NE ask) ¶ Brg. KVG 519-620, Szem. EVS-70 253-4, Bks. 228, Bks. VT 271, 274, Kb. 280, Vn. A 86, Ivn. OPA 139-72, Bn. TIE 96, KT 174-5, Ad. H 76-8, Ad. 292, ESSJ VIII 238-9, Frd. HEB I 140-1, Mer. SGA 330-1 || u: FU \*-cé-, sx. of frequentative verbs: F -tse (with partial loss of clear frequentative semantics): ruoskitse- v. 'flog, whip', 'give a terrible beating' | Lp Vfs {Lgc.} -š-, sx. of durative verbs and verbs of state: g\_w'a·rya·šit v. 'lie' (cp. g\_ū·r̄yuet 'lie down') | Mk -šə-, Er -še-, sx. of frequentativity: Mk mor-šə- v. 'use to sing', pil-šə- v. 'saw frequently', Er yak-še- v. 'stop frequently', {Ps.} sovše-ms, suvší-ms, frq. from suvams v. 'go in, enter' || ObU \*'č> Vg N {Rmb.} -š-, -s-, sxs. of durative verbs: pōyakš(a)- v. 'pray' (sc. 'be begging, imploring' [↔ pōyk(u)- v. 'beg, implore']), wāŋks(a)- v. 'be crawling, ползать' (↔ wāŋk(u)- v. 'crawl [in a certain direction], ползти'); ObU compound sx. \*-čl-, marker of durative and iterative verbs > Os N -śl-: lāulaślem 'I am waiting' (durative of lāullem 'I wait'), Vg UL {Lh. [ $\leftarrow$  Mu.?]} ēr̄yéśle?im 'I sing now and then, I often sing' ( $\leftrightarrow$  ēr̄yi- v. 'sing') ¶ Lh. PUAS 218-22, Srb. IMMJ 229-30, Sz. 106, Rmb. 172-3 || a: M \*-či-, sx. of verbal intensivity: WrM kemke-či- v. 'break into pieces' ↔ kemke 'into pieces', compound sx. \*-čaga-/\*-čege-, marker of polypersonality: WrM -caga-/cege-, HlM -цгaa-/цгoo-/цгээ-/цгөө-, e.g. WrM yabucaga- v. 'walk\go' (of many people) ↔ yabu- 'go, walk' ¶ Pp. GWM 63, 66, Snz. SMJ 66 || Tg \*-či-, sx. of intensive and durative verbs > Nn xola-či- v. 'go on reading', Ul gūpžl-či- v. 'shake (many times)', Lm tan-či- v. 'draw (with effort)' ¶ Bz. 119, Pt. UD 71 || HS: possibly (but not certainly) the S root-extension \*-č-, e.g. CS \*✓ špč D (> JA, MHb ✓ פָשׁ ✓ špč D v. 'repair'), cp. CS \*✓ špy

v. 'sweep bare' (> MHb שְׁפָה ✓ špy, Ar ✓ sfy id.) ◇ This N pc. is likely to go back to some aux. verb (forming a construction that meant '≈ used to..., tries to...'), e.g. to the N verb \*čih<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> '≈ carry, bring' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I 2O6 (IE, U, A), ≈ Gr. I 2O6-9 ("conative SK" in IE + qu. FU {Sz.} \*-sk- of frequentativity, intensivity, etc., + err. Tg conative \*-ksi, ?? ChK, EA).

**327.** \*čoXib<sup>1</sup> 'belly' > HS: S \*°✓čhb > Jb C sahb 'belly under the navel' ¶ Jo. J 237 || U \*ćoywa ~ \*ćowya 'belly, stomach' > pLp {Lr.} \*ćōvye id. > Lp: S {Hs.} tjoājjie, L {LLO} tjaī'vē, N {N} čoaw'je / -w̥j-, Kld čovv̥y id. || Sm {Jn.} \*čteyw<sup>w</sup> ({Jn.} \*t<sup>1</sup>ejiw̥) 'stomach' > Ne: T τιβ, T O {Lh.} t̥i·β id., F L {Lh.} čje·β 'Pansen, Inhalt des Pansens'; Kms {KD} šūjž 'Magen, Bauch, Inneres', {Cs.} čöyüö 'das Innere' ¶ Coll. CG 4O1, UEW 4O, Lr. #18O, Lgc. #667, Hs. 1326-7, Jn. 156-7, KD 66 || D (in GnD) \*°čipp- ({GS} \*s|s-) 'upper belly' > Gnd Ch s̥ipi id., Gnd B s̥ip̥i 'the part over the liver', Ku s̥ipa-đaki ɬ h̥ipa-đaki 'chest' (cp. Kui đaki 'breastbone, chest') ¶ D #262O ◇ D \*-pp- < \*-Xb-. In U the variant \*ćowya (in Lp) is due to metathesis.

**328.** <sub>2</sub> \*čub<sub>1</sub>g<sup>1</sup> 'dip in' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'dye'), 'immerse' > HS: S \*✓čb<sup>1</sup> v. 'dye, dip' > BHb, IA, BA צבּנָה ✓čb<sup>1</sup> G, NNEA ✓šb<sup>1</sup> G v. 'dye', Ar صبغ ✓šb<sup>1</sup> v. G 'dye, dip', Sr ✓šb<sup>1</sup> G 'dip, moisten, dye', JA ✓šb<sup>1</sup> G 'dip; dye', JEA {Sl.} ✓šb<sup>1</sup> G id., 'moisten', SmA ✓šb<sup>1</sup> G 'wash, rinse', Md ✓šb<sup>1</sup> G 'baptize, immerse, dip in; dye', Gz ✓šb<sup>1</sup> G 'dip (into a sauce)', Sq {L} ✓šb<sup>1</sup> 'paint', Ak NB šābū 'dyer'; (x N \*čE<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>p<sup>1</sup> 'sink, immerse; swim; flow'): Ak fOB šabū 'to soak, to bathe' ¶ KB 937, 1768-9, KBR 998-9, HJ 958, Tal 72O-1, Js. 1259, Lv. IV 165, Sl. 951, JPS 472, Br. 62O, DM 388-9, BK I 13O7-8, L G 546, CAD XIII 45-6, 55 || EC {Ss.} \*čub<sub>1</sub>g<sup>1</sup>- ({Ss.} \*čub<sup>1</sup>-) v. 'dip in' > Or {Ss., Th.} čup<sup>1</sup>-/čub<sup>1</sup>- id., {Grg.} čūp<sup>1</sup>- (= čup<sup>1</sup>-) v. 'dip', Dbs tupař- v. 'swim', Ya tōb- v. 'sift', HEC: Brj {Hd.} čub<sup>1</sup>-, Ged {Hd.} čup<sup>1</sup>- 'immerse' (infl. of HEC \*čēp<sup>1</sup>- v. 'immerse' < N \*čE<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>p<sup>1</sup> '↑') || ?? Bj {R} -đif pcv. 'dye' (1s: p. a'đif, prs. arđif) ¶ Ss. PEC 3O, Grg. 89, Th. 72, Hd. 184, 235, ≠ Hd. 83 (Brj, Ged < HEC \*čēf-), R WBd 73 || B: Izd -žubb 'plonger la tête dans l'eau' ¶ Mrc. 196 ¶ But HEC \*čēp<sup>1</sup>- v. 'immerse' is to be kept apart, because it belongs together with FU \*čepp<sup>1</sup>- v. 'immerse, drown' and M \*čibki- v. 'dive, dip' from N \*čE<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>p<sup>1</sup> (q.v.) || A: NaT \*čüb'i<sup>1</sup>t' > OT QU [MhK] {Cl.} čüwit, {DTS} čüwüt '(ε) dye-stuff', Tk čivit 'indigo, ultramarine', Tlt {Rl.} čibit 'ochre' ¶ Cl. 395, Rl. III 2155, TL 399 || ?σ

Tg \*çop<sup>Δ</sup> ~ \*çobb- v. 'drown, dive' > Ewk çopo- id., Neg çop tuk- v. 'disappear (in water), drown', Orc çubbə- vt. 'drown, immerse' ¶ STM II 408.

**329. \*ç̥ud<sup>Δ</sup>** 'point with a finger', (→) 'true, just' > **K \*°✓çwd** > Sv ✓m-çod in Sv L maçwdi 'right, innocent, found not guilty' ¶ Dn. s.v. mçod || **HS:** WS \*✓çdk, \*-çdač- > Hb ✓çdk G (çādak / -çdač-) 'be right, be in the right, be just', IA çdk G 'be (considered as) just', Amr {G} ✓şdk 'be just', JA ✓çdk G 'be right, true', JEA {Sl.} ✓çdk Sh 'make right/legal', Sr ✓çdk D (Sr çad'dek 'justificavit'), SmA ✓şdk 'give charity', Ar ✓şdq G 'être vrai, sincère', Sb {BGMR} şdk v. (D ?, Sh) 'perform\fulfil (a duty\obligation), justify', Qtb {Rk.} şdk v. D ? 'grant one his due', Mn {MA} şdk id., 's'acquitter d'un devoir', Gz ✓şdk G (js. yəşdač) 'be just \ justified\ righteous \ true'; WS \*'çid<sub>1</sub>Δ<sub>2</sub>jk- (~ \*'çad<sub>1</sub>Δ<sub>2</sub>jk-?) > BHb 'çeđek 'rightness, righteousness, justice', Ph/Yd/OA {HI} şdk 'correct \ justifiable conduct', legitimacy', Ug {OLS} 'justicia, legitimidad', {A} şdk 'Zuverlässigkeit, Tugend', Amr {G} şidk-um 'justice', SmA şdk 'righteousness, justice', Ar şidq- 'veritas, sinceritas', şadq- 'truth' (→ Mh şadk id.), Sb şdk 'right, justice, justification, truth', Qt {Rk.} şdk 'goodwill, concurrence, favour', Mn {MA} şdk 'droit', Gz şadk 'justice, righteousness, truth'; BHb צָדִיק ḥad'dik 'just, righteous', JA {Js.} çad'dik, çaddik-ā 'virtuous, just, pious man', IA, JEA {Sl.} çad'dik 'righteous, righteous man', SmA şdýk 'righteous', Ph şdk 'legitimate', Pun şadýk 'correct\justifiable in conduct, legitimate', IA şdýk adj. 'being entitled to, having the right', n. 'just\righteous one', Ar şadik- 'amicus, amicus sincerus' ¶ KBR 1003-7, BDB ##6659-66, HJ 961-4, A #2305, OLS 414, G A 34, Js. 1262-4, Sl. 952, Tal 724, Fr. I 488-9. LG 548, BGMR 141, Rk. 133-4, MA 93, Jo. M 35, Siv. GAG 269 || **D** [1] \*çuṭt- / \*çunt- ({θGS} \*s-) v. 'point at with the finger, show' (x N \*çün<sub>1</sub>Δ<sub>2</sub> 'finger, finger knuckle', q.v.) > Kn suttu 'point at with the finger', suttunbe 'the index finger', Kn, Tu cūti, Tl sūti 'aim', Tm cūt<sub>1</sub>t<sub>2</sub>u v. 'point out, show, designate, indicate', Ml cūt<sub>1</sub>t<sub>2</sub>u 'pointing', cūn<sub>1</sub>t<sub>2</sub>uka v. 'point at, aim', Kui sūta v. 'point with a finger', Ku hūt- ~ hütali v. 'point out' ||?σ [2] \*çuṭt- / \*çūt- ({θGS} \*s-) 'clever' > Tm cūt<sub>1</sub>i 'intelligent person', Ml cūt<sub>1</sub>i, Kn sūti 'smartness, quickness', Kn sut<sub>1</sub>i 'clever, able', Td sut<sub>1</sub>m 'cleverness, skill', Tu cūti, sut<sub>1</sub>i 'smart, clever', Tl sūt<sub>1</sub>i 'clearheadedness' ¶ D ##2656, 2568.

**330.** ?σ \***ç**a<sub>1</sub>?E<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub> 'hunt, hunt for, wish' > **HS:** S \***v**çyd 'hunt, hunt for' > Ar **v**çyd G 'chasser, prendre à la chasse (une bête fauve, etc.)', JEA **v**çwd G 'catch creatures', Sb **v**çyd G 'hunt, perform a ritual hunt', d.: Mh pf. զշԵցն, Jb E/C զ՛տօդ v. 'fish'; WS \*'çay<sub>1</sub>ד<sub>1</sub>-d- n. 'hunt, hunting' > BHb צִיד 'çayid, JA צִיד אָכֵל-הָ, Sr սայդ-ա id., Ar սայդ- id., 'killed game', Md սայդ 'Jagd, Fischfang', Ug սդ 'killed game', Pun սդ (?) 'sacrifice of game', Sb {Bll.} սդ ~ սպ 'hunt; game, hunted animals', Mh սայդ, Jb E սուդ, Jb C սոծ, Sq {Jo.} սոծի 'fish'; d.: JA נִידְעָן ּצַּאֲגָיָהָן-הָ, Sr ּצַּאֲגָיָהָן-הָ, BHb תִּנְחַזְקָהָן ּצַּאֲגָיָהָן (↔ Aram) 'hunter', JEA {Sl.} ּצַּאֲגָיָהָן-הָ 'fisherman', Ak սայդս {Sd.} id., {CAD} 'stalker, stalking (hunter)', Mh սչպպու, Ar սայդ-, Sb սպ 'hunter', Jb E սչեծի, սչեծի, Jb C սեծ 'fisherman' ¶ KB 956-7, HJ 959, A #23O2, OLS 414, Js. 1274, Sl. 953, 959-60, Ln. 1753, BK I 1389, Bll. 421-2, Jo. M 369, Jo. J 243, Sd. 1075, CAD XVI 66 || Dhl {E} ּתְּאַתְּיקָעָן 'long for' || SC: (here?) Qz {E} salim- 'want, need' ¶ E SC 226 (SC \*ּתְּאַתְּ- 'want, need') || **K** \*çad- v. 'wish, desire' > OG, G çad- v. 'wish, desire', Sv had- / hd(w)- 'wish' (inf. li-hdw-i) ¶ K 242, K DE, K<sup>2</sup> 3O6, FS K 457, FS E 517-8 || **U** \*çāða- v. 'rut' (× FU \*çāða- v. 'run, race' [of animals] < N \*çāði'd<sub>1</sub> 'to advance with effort', q.v.) > FU: F suota 'group of mares which are in heat', սուօտի- v. 'rut, be in heat' (BF \*ō < \*ā) | Lp: N {N} չսոօժժե-/-ժ- v. 'go outside the herd to look for female reindeer' (of a weak male reindeer), չսոօժժելի- 'set off to look for female reindeer' (of a male reindeer in the rutting season) | Prm: Z Vc Շազ-<sub>1</sub>, StZ Շավ-նի Շավ-նի, Z Ud Շալ-<sub>1</sub>, Yz Շուլալ- v. 'rut' || ? Sm: StNe T շա"ե-<sub>1</sub>, Ne BZ/W {Ter.} սա?յե-, Ne E/Y {Ter.} սայե-, T O {Lh.} սայ-է- v. 'rut' (of mammals and birds) ¶ Coll. 58, UEW 28 (Lp N misquoted with շ- for Շ-), SK 112O-1, N I 428, LG 312-3 ¶ {UEW}: Z \*-զd-, -ալ-ձ-ավ- are sxs.

**331.** \*çāði'd<sub>1</sub> 'to advance with effort (run, climb, etc.), to step' > **HS:** WS \***v**çid v. 'step, climb' > BHb צַעַד **v**çid G 'stride solemnly, walk along (sth.), climb', 'çāðad 'step', Ar **v**çid (pf. չանձա, ip. -չանձ-) v. 'ascend, step' ('monter par degrés, monter sur une échelle; marcher d'un pas affecté et saccadé, marcher sur une pente; aller, se diriger [vers un lieu>'); possibly also ??σ d.: OYmn սնդ ({Slw.} չսնդ) 'tripod (cooking-stand)', Ar Յսնդ id., Ar D յսնդ 'âtre fait de trois pierres', Ar B {Stace} յսնդ 'cooking-stand for pots', Amh {L} տաճ 'put a kettle\griddle on the fire (on the cooking-stand)' ¶ GB 688-9, KBR 104O, BK I 1337-8, Slw. 133, Lb. 2131, Stace 4O, LEDG III 612 || ?ϕ C:

SC: Irq {Wh., Mgw, Wd.} -çāf-am- 'climb', Irq/Alg {E} -çāfam- id., 'mount' || Wh. SI, Mgw. 1O4, Wd. #381 JJ ~ Tk. PAA 2 (SC ÷ Hs çaya 'stand') || ?φ IE: NaIE \*kʰad- or \*kʰəd- '≈ go, walk' > Gk χάζομαι 'go away, draw back, retire' || Sl \*xodi- v. 'walk', n. act. \*xodъ > OCS, OR хо́дъ, Blg, R ход, SCr hōd, Slv hōd, Cz chod, P chód n. act. of 'walk'; OCS хо́дити, Blg 'ходя', SCr hōdit̪i, Slv hōditi, Cz choditi, P chodzić, R хо́дить 'to walk' || F II 1O61, Kzl. GSC 384, ~ ESSJ VIII 48-52 (unconvincingly connects the Sl root with IE \*sed- 'sit'), FII 1O61 (no cognates of the Gk word) || U: FU \*ćāða- ({UEW} \*ćaða- ~ \*śaða-) v. 'run, race' (of animals) (× U \*ćāða- 'rut' < N ?σ \*ća<sub>1</sub>? Eð∇ 'to hunt for, to wish', q.v.) > FU: Lp I {It.} 'ćūəððē 'Renntierstier, der besiegt wurde und der danach die Flucht ergriffen hat' | Prm: Z Δ ćulav- v. 'elapse, vorbeigehen' (of time), Prmk ćulav-, Prmk N ćulal-, Prmk In ćuav- ~ ćuvav- 'vorbeigehen, vorübergehen (z. B. an einer Kirche)', 'pass, be over, elapse' (of time, winter, etc.)' || Hg szalad- v. 'run, flee' || Coll. 58, UEW 28 (Lp N misquoted with c- for č-), SK 112O-1, N I 428, LG 312-3, KPR 547-8 JJ {UEW}: Z \*-al-ə-av- and Hg -ad- are sxs. || Lp and Prm data suggest (or are compatible with) the rec. of U \*ć-, while Hg sz- requires a special explanation || A: Tg \*ćidâ- v. 'run' (of animals) > Neg ćida- id., UI čedu- ~ čedu- v. 'trot, gallop' (of horses) || STM II 389-9O ◇ NaIE \*kʰad- or \*kʰəd- belongs here if NaIE \*kʰ- may go back to N \*ć- or \*č- (cp. NaIE \*kʰar- 'pointed, sharp', [?] 'rock' probably from N čor∇ 'tip, top, edge' and NaIE \*°kʰol-d- 'cold' probably from N \*C'a'l∇ [= \*ć'a'l∇?] 'cold').

**332.** \*ćuyvā 'thorn' > K {K<sup>2</sup>} \*cχwɪ- id., 'arrow' > Mg o-cχva-cχvi-n-aia 'thorny, burning' ({IS} 'needles of cereals') (IS: < \*sa-cχwe-cχw-in- with rdp. of \*cχw-), Sv: UB/LB/Ln cχwɪ, L cχu 'arrow' || IS I 197, K<sup>2</sup> 26, TK 843, GP 277 || HS: S (+ext.) \*°✓ćin > Ar muṣaffan- 'terminé en pointe, effilé' (se dit, par ex., des oreilles de quelques animaux) || BK I 134O || IE: NaIE \*skʰwei<sub>1,2</sub>- 'thorn', {EI} \*'skwēj-s (gen. \*sku'y-os) 'needle of a conifer, thorn' > pAl {O} \*skuna (with a secondary \*n-sx. from earlier \*skuya) > Al T hū 'stake, pole, ox-goad, penis', Al G hū, (with the article) huni 'penis' || Clt: OIr scé (gen. pl. sciad < \*sk<sub>1</sub>h<sub>2</sub>wiy-at-) 'thorny bush, haw (Crataegus)'; Brtt \*spijat- > OW dir ispidatten 'up to the thorny bush', MW үсрүдат '(bark of) haw', W {Vn.} үсрүдадән 'Spinus albus, Spina acuta', үсбүддәд 'Santis,

Leucacanthe', Crn *spethes*, {Ern.} *spedhes* 'thorny shrubs', MBr *spezaden* snglt. 'groseille' || Lt *skujā* 'needle of a conifer', Ltv *skujas* (f. pl.) id. | Sl \**xvoja* ~ \**xvojъ* 'needles of a conifer' > OCz *chvojě*, Cz *chvoje*, R 'хвоя' id., Slv *hôja* 'fir-tree, conifer', P *choja* 'conifer, pine-tree', Blg 'хвоя' 'pine-tree'; Sl \**xujъ* 'penis' > Blg, R *xуй*, P *chuј* ¶ P 958, EI 8O, Frn. 821, Vn. S 37, Ern. 642, O 15O-1, Bern. I 4O8, ESSJ VIII 114, 125-6 || A: NaT \**çüy*(ä) 'needle of a coniferous tree; coniferous tree' > Alt čā 'young coniferous forest', ET I čüä 'penis', Nog šüy, VTt šöy, Bsh šöy 'nail, wedge', Tkm čüy 'wedge', Tk *çivî* id. (< \**çüy*-i < [as.] \**çu'y*-ä) || NTg \**çīye|a* > Ewk çīyə, Ewk Nk *çiya* 'needle of a coniferous tree (fallen out to the ground); an animal hair (that has come out)', Neg *çiya* 'dog's hair (that has come out)' ¶ STM 39O || D \**çīya*- ({øGS} \*s-) 'thorn' and \**çīya*-kkāy 'soap-pod' (lit. 'thorn-pod') > Tm cī-kkāy, cīya-kkāy 'soap-pod wattle, Acacia concinna', Ml cīya-kkāyi, cīkka-kkāyi 'Mimosa abstergens', Td sī-x 'Acacia dealbata, Acacia melanoxylon', Kn sīge 'in a climbing prickly shrub; Acacia concinna', Tu sīgæ, sīge-kayi 'pods of Mimosa abstergens reduced to powder and used as soap', Tl sī-kaya 'Acacia concinna', Knd sīkō 'soap-nut tree' ¶ D #26O7 (a) ◇ IS I 197 [#34] (\**cujhə* on the basis of K, IE, Tg, and D) ◇ The S cognate points to a N voiced cns. \**ń* or \**y*, while the presence of \**X* in K suggests that it was \**y*. In K there is assimilation \**ç* (from N \**č*) + \**y* > \**cX*.

**333. \*čak<sub>1</sub>E, ńN** 'in snow, ice-crust, hoarfrost' > HS: S \*✓*čķń* > d. Ar *saqīń* 'hoarfrost' ¶ BK I 1353 || C: Ag {Ap.} \**cəq*-/\**cəq*- (= \**čzķ*-/\**čak*-) 'rainy season' > Bln šzq, {R} šiꝑ, Xm {R} žā, {Ap.} ča-ra, Xm T {CR} čar ({AD}=čay?), Km šaꝑi, Q {R} šāgē, Aw čáz ¶ Ap. AV 2O, AD SF 1O3-4, 2O5-6 ||| S ?φ \**s|šak̚t*- > Ar *saqt*- 'snow, dew' ¶ Hv. 326 || U: FU \**čaka* 'drift-ice; thin ice' > pLp {Lr.} \**čūkē* 'ice-crust on snow' > Lp: S {Hs.} *tjuögíe* id., L {LLO} *tjuohkē* 'ice-crust on the ground', N {N} čuokke / -gg- 'ice-crust on pasture' || ObU: pOs \**čoy* > Os V {KrT} tōy 'thin floating ice (before freezing of a river)', Vg ML {Mu.} saī 'drift-ice' | Hg Δ zāj, szāj, saj 'Eisstoß, Eistreiben; dünne Eisdecke auf der Wasseroberfläche' ¶ UEW 29, Lr. #19O, Lgc. #755, KrT 898 ||| U \**čake(rN)* > FU: pLp {Lr.} \**čēkər* 'winter pasture for reindeer' > Lp: S {Hs.} *tjiegere*, L {LLO} *tjiękar*, N {N} čiegār, Kld čīyar; Lp → F kiekerö id. | ObU \**čNyar* > Vg: LK šōr, UL šiꝑr, Ss šaꝑr 'trampled snow'; Os: V t̄yər 'snow-drift, Schneewehe, суроб', Y t̄ayər, O šāxər

id., 'winter pasture (with trampled snow) for reindeer and elks' || Sm {Jn.} \*sek<sup>Δ</sup>(-r<sup>Δ</sup>)> Ne T šehe 'large snowball, hard snow', šeheri 'allgemeiner Winterweg' §§ Lr. #147, Lgc. #608, Ht. #820, Trj. S 492, Trj. VD 195, ~ Resh. NEN #1 (err. adduction of Kms {KD} š̄r 'reindeer pasture', while in fact Kms \*š- is from \*k-) || A: □Tg \*çjāga 'thin ice-crust over snow' > Ewk çēxa, Lm çakay, Lm A çākay id., WrMc {Z} саqзa-v. 'arise' (of ice-crust over snow), {Hr.} саqзa- 'verkrusten', саqзaqa-bi 'hat sich verkrustet, ist an der Oberfläche gefroren' (Schnee) § Tg \*-jā- is likely to go back to N § STM II 381, Hr. 135 || M \*ča<sub>χ</sub>-sun 'snow' > MM [MA, IM, IsV, L] časun, WrM casun, HIM цас(ан), Kl casan, MMgl [Z] čāsun, Mgl {Rm.} čōsun, Dg čas, Dx časun, Ba čason, MnR H {SM} č'jäss, {T} čase, MnR M {Pot.} чахсе, часун, {Rkh.} chekseu, MnR H {Pot.} часы § MED 166, T 378, KRS 626, KW 423; -x- and -k- in Pot.'s and Rkh.'s records of MnR M are likely to point to M \*χ. KW 423 connects this M word with WrM can 'hoarfrost', cai- 'become white', and ca-gan 'white' (F MED 158, 160, 164), which is possible, but still qu. If Rm. is right, this will corroborate the assumption of a pM √ \*ča §§ DQA ##304 (A \*č'jaga 'cold, frozen snow' > T, M + unc. pK {S} \*č<sup>h</sup>ā- 'cold') ◇ The HS glottalization \*\*k > \*k is due to the infl. of \*č and/or that of the initial \*č-. Tg \*-jā- is likely to go back to N \*-a...E- (see AD AVD) ◇ Resh. NEN #1 (A - U).

**334.** i \*čEk<sup>Δ</sup> 'small' > K: GZ {K<sup>2</sup>} \*čiku- 'tiny, wee; small things', {FS} \*čik- 'small' > G T čik-u-y 'very small, crumb', G K čik-o-mak-o {FS} 'winzig kleines Stoffstück', {K<sup>2</sup> ← Ghl.} 'small things', G Kzq čik-a-mak-a 'ganz kleiner Kram, Kleinigkeiten', ? G M çukana 'very small', Mg čik-u 'small' § FS K 465, FS E 527, 529, Fn. KW-4 37 [#75], Ghl. 702, K<sup>2</sup> 313 || HS: Om: SOM: Dm {Fl.} čekk-ənd 'small' f. || NrOm: Male {HLw.} čiko 'small' § Fl. OO 320 || D {tr.} \*čikk-, {GS} \*čik- 'little, small' > Tl cikiciki id., Tm cikka 'in brief', Ml cikkini 'young, small' (of girls), Kn cikka, ciga 'little, small, young', cīku 'smallness', Kdg čikk-aðake 'very young, tender areca-nut', Tu cikka 'little, young, small, short', Tl cikiciki 'small, little', as well as possibly words for 'mouse, muskrat': Kt čikn 'mouse', Tl cikkeli 'e small variety of mouse', Gnd čikkal & čikkäl 'muskrat', čikkäl 'mouse' §§ D #2495, GS 122 [#317] || A \*č'ēka > M \*čaqa (< \*č'ēka by as.?) > MM [S] {H} čaqa 'child', WrM саqа, HIM цax 'small child, infant', WrO {Krg.} сaxa-s 'child(ren), infant(s)' § H 23, MED 166, Krg. 614 || T: [1] \*ček-

> OT čekün 'the young of the marmot' ] [2] (?) T \*čāg|qa (< \*č̥e̥r̥ka by as. ← b- M) 'child' > OT U [IS] čāya 'boy, young dancer', Chg {Bu., Shaw} **جَاعِيَة** čāya 'nestling', Chg {Rs. ← ?} čāqa, Osm čāya 'little boy', Tkm чага čāya 'child' ¶ Tz. UIS 87, Rs. W 96, Bu. I 458 || Tg: Ewk čəkšəz 'tarbagan (Marmota sibirica)' (σ= OT čekün) ¶ STM II 419 || pKo {S} \*čjāk- ~ \*čjāk- 'small' > MKo čjāk- ~ čjāk-, NKo čak-, Ko: Ph čak-, Sl č̥akta, PhN čakta, Hmg ča\_kta, Chj t̥akta, Chs čogín, Ks čāgín, Kw čaṣin ¶ S QK #79, Nam 419, 425, MLC 1386 ¶ DQA #309 (pA \*č̥jāk'el̥ or \*č̥ek'a 'small: T, M, Tg, Ko), Rm. SKE 2O, Rm. EAS I 64 ◇ Sp chico 'little, small' (phonetic similarity without etl. connection with N \*č̥E̥k̥) confirms the ideophonic character of the N word.

**335. \*č̥E̥l̥N (\*č̥eyl̥N?)** 'to jump' > HS: S \*°-čūl̥- ~ \*°✓čll̥ > Ar ✓šw1 (ip. -šūl̥-) v. 'dart furiously upon' (of beasts), 'assault', ??σ BHb čəlā'čal 'locust' (h.l., Dt. 28.42), Jb C ✓šll̥ (pf. šell̥, 3m sbjn. 'ycəsəz̥l̥) 'be startled, jump in fright; run fast' ↓ deglottalized: ? MHb ✓sll̥ D {Lv.} 'sich hin-λher-schwenken, sich erheben' ¶ Fr. II 533-4, Hv. 41O, KB 965-6, GB 685, Jo. J 238, Lv. III 532 || C: HEC: Kmb {Hd.} čāl̥-, Hd {Hd.} čāll̥-, čalal- 'jump' || SC: Kz {E} čal- v. 'fly' ¶ Hd. 86, 273, 312, ESC 194 || Ch: Hs čállé 'jumping' || ECh: Ll {Grgs.} čāl̥ 'jump' ¶ Abr. H 875, ChC s.v. 'jump' ¶ OS #411 (\*ča?al-/\*čawal-), Tk. PAA 2 (SC, Hb ✓sll̥, Hs) || IE: NaIE \*(s)kel- 'jump' > OI šala'bha-ḥ 'grasshopper', šālūra-ḥ 'frog', OI ∧ šālu-, šāluka- id. || MHG schel 'aufspringend, auffahrend' || Lt šúolis, šuolýs 'Sprung, Auf-λEmporspringen', Ltv sôlis 'step' ¶ WP II 600, P 929, ≈ M K III 313, M E II 616 (mentions OI šala'bha- without et.), Lx. 181, ≈ Frn. 1035 || u: FU \*čE̥l̥N- or \*čeyl̥N- ({IS} \*čel̥N-) 'jump' > pLp {Lr.} \*čēl̥- id. > Lp: L {LLO} t̥jällöt, K {Gn.} čeallež id., N {N} čællot / -æl- 'make long jumps\bounds' || Z Ss {Wc.} čil- in čil-n̥t mun-n̥t 'vom Wasser zurückprallend hüpfen (Stein, wenn man "Seejungfern" wirft)' (-n̥t is a sx. of inf., mun-n̥t 'to go') || Hg Sz csillai- 'jump (скакать)'; LG 305 mentions Hg csillen- 'обскакать, перепрыгать' (= 'outgallop?') (← ?) (not found in standard Hg dictionaries and in the dialect dict. UMT) ¶ The vowel corrs. within FU are irreg. (Lp points to \*e or \*ē, while Z and Hg suggest \*i); a possible solution is to postulate pFU \*čeyl̥N ¶ Lr. #129, Lgc. #54O, N I 454, Wc. FUAA 192, Wc. SW 300, ≠ LG 305 (connects Z čiln̥t munnt with Z чилгы- 'cast [a disk, etc.]') ◇ IS I 203 [#44] (\*č̥el̥N).

**336.** \*č̥ū]Δ 'stalk, stick' > K \*č̥wel- 'dry stem, straw' (→ 'staff') > OG č̥wel-i 'stalk(s)' (Mark 4.28) (in the Gk text χόρτος 'fodder', but K 243 translates it as 'стебель' ['stalk']), 'a straw (Strohhalm)', G č̥vel-i 'chaff', {FS} 'straw', Mg č̥u- id., Lz č̥u- 'straw (stalks), stem', o-č̥val-e 'barn of chaff (мякинник)', {FS} 'Scheune', Sv UB/LB/L č̥uw, č̥wi {FS} 'straw, stalk(s)' ('Stroh, Halm'), 'stem of a plant', Sv UB {GP} č̥wi 'blade of grass' ¶ K 243 (GZ \*č̥wel), K<sup>2</sup> 294-5, Q 382, FS K 443, FS E 500-1, Chx. 2154, GP 279, TK 856 || HS: B \*-č̥il[u]- ~ \*-č̥ul[u]- 'branch' > Ah a-č̥əl (pl. i-č̥l-ān) 'branche', ETwl a-č̥əl (pl. i-č̥əl-an), Ty a-č̥əl (pl. ač̥l-an), Gh ač̥əl (pl. ič̥lan), Sll ta-č̥əly-īt (pl. ti-č̥əly-ā) id. ¶ \*i[u] is reconstructed on the ev. of ETwl and Ty \*ə, because pB \*a yields ETwl/Ty \*y [= \*ă], while ETwl/Ty \*ə goes back to pB \*i and \*u ¶ Fc. 1955, GhA 221, Ds. 45 || ?σ S \*°č̥ill- ~ \*°č̥ull- 'thorn' > Ak OB/OA սիլլ, Ak OB սուլլ id., 'pin, needle'; a deglottalized CS variant \*salw- ~ \*sall- ~ \*sull- may be suggested by BHb סָלְוָן sal'lon 'thorn', JA [Trg.] {Js.}, JEA {Sl.} סִילָּוָא sil'wā, JEA {Sl.}, Sr sal'w-ā id., and Ar sullā?- 'épines du palmier' ¶ KB 714, KBR 756-7, Js. 993-4, Sl. 804, Sd. 1101-2, CAD XVI 193-4, BK I 1117 || U: FU \*č̥ü|i]Δ ~ \*č̥u]Δ 'stalk, stick' > Chr L чылыйк ćyļyč 'a thin twig\rod used to clear pipes', Chr Н цылыйк сələk 'a pipe of the Cheremis Dudelsack', Chr L чылым ćyļem 'pipe' || pOs \*č̥o]Δ ({ʃHl.} \*č̥ū]Δ) > Os Kz św̚jí 'Knüttel beim śɔ̚r-Spiel, Knüttel zum Schleudern von Zirbelzapfen', św̚jw̚w 'Knüttel beim śɔ̚r-Spiel; eigens zum Abschlagen von Zirbelzapfen hergestellter Stock' ¶ Ü 251, MRS 684, Ep. 141, KrT 907 || A: ?σ Tg: Sln {Iv.} çołço'xu 'transverse perches of the roof' ¶ STM II 406, Iv. 34 (чоłчохү), ≠ Vv. AEN 14 (rejects the Sln cognate as isolated within A; misquotes Iv. by ascribing a non-existing length to the first ə) || D (×N \*č̥ū]Δ 'stalk, branch' ×N \*š|śu]Δ 'trunk, log??'): [1] (in SD) \*č̥ulikk. ({ʃGS} \*č̥- 'stick' > Tm c̥ulikku 'pikestaff, sharp-pointed stick carried by travellers', Kn c̥ulike 'a stout stick to beat cotton with'; [2] \*č̥ull- ({ʃGS} \*č̥-) 'stalk, branch' > Tm, Ml c̥ulli 'dry twigs, branch, brushwood', Knd č̥uk 'long pliable stick, stalk' ¶ D #2701, 2706 ◇ AD NM #85, S CNM 4 (÷÷ NrCs, ST).

**337.** \*č̥ū]U (or \*č̥i]U?) '≈ entire, intact, pure' > HS: WS \*✓č̥ll 'purify' > Ar ✓ §ll G (ip. -šull-) 'clarify (a beverage), clear wheat from dust', Pun {HJ} §ll 'purified', BHb ✓č̥ll גַּלְל G {Drv.} 'be cleared (gate) of traffic', MHb {Js.} ✓č̥ll G 'settle, be cleared' (of liquid),

clarify', pp. *clarify*, pp. *clarified*, JEA ✓ *ç̄ll* *G* 'be clear', JA [Trg.] pp. *clarified*, Sr ✓ *š̄ll D* 'cleanse, purify', pp. *G* *š̄ə'l̄l* 'limpid, clear, transparent' (of air, water), 'clarified' (of wine, honey, ointment), Gz ✓ *š̄ll G* 'percolate, filter; be filtered' ¶ Hv. 4O2, BK I 1355, HJ 568, Drv. HH 62, Js. 1284, Sl. 965, Br. 627, JPS 478, LG 556 || ❷ FU (att. in FP) \*ć̄i|ūl̄ or \*ć̄i|ū] 'entire, pure' > pChr {Ber.} \*ć̄ila > Chr: Н цила *ci'la*, L чыла *č̄y'la* 'whole, all, all kind of (весь, всякий), Uf/B ć̄yla 'alle, alles' | Prm {LG} \*ć̄il- or \*ć̄ul- > Yz ć̄il 'entirely, quite', Vt {Bor.} чылкак, Vt Sr ć̄ilk-ak 'im ganzen, rein', {Wc.} ć̄ilkit 'rein, klar' ¶ UEW 613, Ber. 7, MRS 660, Ep. 138 (Chr Н цилә), LG 3O6 || ❸ M \*ć̄ulu '≈ entire, pure, monolithic' > WrM {MED} ć̄ulu, HlM ć̄ul 'pure, unmixed; solid, monolithic; monochromatic', {Kow.} WrM ć̄ulu 'compacte, qui n'est pas vide; fort, inébranlable', IM {MYC} ć̄ul ≈ ć̄ul 'pure, unmixed', Kl {Rm.} ć̄ulu 'ganz (nicht gelöchert, nicht hohl), kompakt, komplett, ungemischt, lauter', Ord č̄u'lu 'qui présente une masse compacte, massif', Brt ć̄ula Brt ć̄ula 'entirely', 'robust' (of health, healthy person), 'pure (сплошной)' (e.g. 'сплошное мясо, meat without bones'), MnE {MYC} ć̄ul 'pure, unmixed' ¶ MED 2O7, Kow. 22O5, KW 433, Ms. O 719, Chr. 396, MYC 581 ◇ If the N etymon is \*ć̄i|ūl̄, the first vw. of M \*ć̄ulu is probably due to as. ◇ ≈σ,φ Blz. LNA #7 (N \*ć̄ulu 'all' > FP, M).

**338.** 2 \*ć̄l̄v 'bend, incline' > HS: WS (or CS) \*✓ ć̄lw > JA ✓ ć̄ly ~ ✓ ć̄lw *G* (pf. ć̄ə'l̄ē ~ ć̄l̄ ć̄ə'l̄ā) v. 'turn, incline, bend', JEA ✓ ć̄ly *G* {Sl.} 'turn aside, incline', Sr ć̄l̄ ć̄ə'l̄ā 'se inclinavit, inclinatus est; flexit', Md ✓ ć̄l̄? 'bend, incline', Ar Y ć̄alā prep. 'in die Richtung auf, zu, nach', ??σ✓ ć̄ly *L* (pf. ć̄alā, ip. ć̄usālī) 'be opposite\vis-à-vis', OYmn {Slw.} ✓ ć̄ly (*L* ?) id. (unless ÷ Sb ć̄lw, ć̄lw 'façade, portico'), ? Gz ✓ ć̄lw (pf. ć̄alawa) v. 'listen, incline (the ear)', ć̄alawa ləbb 'inconsistent, non constant' (lit. 'inclining [his] heart'), ?σ Sb ć̄lt 'prayer, supplication' ¶ Br. 628, Lv. IV 191, Js. 1283, Sl. 964-5, LG 556, Slw. 134-5, BGMR 143 || ❹ IE: NaIE \*skel- 'bend, be bent\twisted' > Gk σκολιός 'curved, winding, twisted' || pAl {O} \*ščala > Al ć̄alē 'crippled, lame; wrinkled' || OHG scēlah 'sloping, squint-eyed' (> MHG schēlch 'scheel, schielend, quer, krumm', NHG scheel 'squint-eyed' → NHG schiel 'envious; ↗ MHG schilhen 'schielen, blinzeln', NHG schielen 'to squint, to be cross-eyed'), AS scēolh 'wry, oblique', ON skjalgr 'schief, schielend' || ?σ L scelus / gen. sceleris 'crime,

evel deed' || ?Φ Arm **հեղ** xeł 'crippled, maimed', **շել** šel 'squint-eyed, goggle-eyed' ¶ P 728, Mn. 1155, Mn. AHG 38, F II 723-4, WH II 492, Vr. 495, Ho. 275, OsS 787, Kb. 874, Lx. 181, 183, KM 64O, 647, O 49, Slt. 35O-3, Bedr. 28O, 547, ~ El 142 (unc.: adduces Pru **culczi** 'hip, haunch', Lt **kūlnas** 'heel', and Blg **кулка** 'thigh' and hence reconstructs \*s- mobile in \*(s)kel- 'crooked').

**338a.** \***ç**úñ<sub>1</sub>ñ<sub>2</sub>l<sub>1</sub>ñ<sub>2</sub> 'small' > **HS:** S \*°✓ç₁l₁> Ar şafal- 'état de ce qui est mince', şafal- 'qui a la tête petite est le cou mince' ¶ BK I 134O || **K:** GZ \*çwl₁il₁- 'little, small' > OG (m)çulil-, çuril- 'small, little, narrow', G çvril- 'small', Lz çulu- 'little, small' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 295, Abul. 552 || **D** \*çul₁- 'light (not heavy)' > Tu culaka, Ku sūlkara id., Kn culaka, culuku 'lightness of temper', Tl culuka(n) 'lightly, with slight or disregard, easily', culukani 'light, easy'; (× ← InA: OI sulabha- 'easy'): Tm culuvu 'ease', Kn, Tl sułuvu 'facility', Kt çu]v 'easy work, easy'. The cns. -]- proves that these words are not simply loans from InA, but have a D source as well ¶ D #2703 || **A:** M \*°çölüyj- v. 'decline, diminish' and pKo {S} \*çür- v. 'shrink, grow less' (× N \*çU?r'iñ<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub>ñ<sub>2</sub> 'little, small', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ~ Blz. KM 13O-1 [#2] (K, D, M, Ko).

**339.** \*çúñ<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>yñ<sub>2</sub> 'to prick, to wound' > **K:** GZ \*çgal-/çgl- v. 'wound' > OG, G çgal-/çgl-, Mg çgol- id. ¶ Schm. 157, K 254, FS K 468, FS E 532 || **HS:** WS \*✓çl₁f (and with deglottalization: \*✓s₁f) > Gz şal₁f ~ şel₁f 'abscess, wound, ulcer, sore', Tgr ✓ş₁f (pf. şel₁a) v. 'be wounded', salaf 'wound', Sb {BGMR} ols ş₁f v. 'quarry stone, dig', Ar ✓ş₁f v. G 'cleave, wound' ¶ L G 554, BK I 1124, Hv. 331, BGMR 138 || **SC:** Irq çil- v. 'sting', Kz {E} çal- v. 'stab', çel-et- v. 'drill' ¶ E SC 193 || **WCh:** Su {J} sùl 'dig', Mpn {Frz.} sùl 'pierce, make a hole', Sha çul- 'durchbohren, erstechen' ¶ J S 82, Frz. DM 57, J R 284 ¶ Tk. PAA 5 (SC, Sb, WCh) || **D** (in SD) \*çull- ({GS} \*ʒíz-) v. 'prick' > Tm cul, cullu 'pungency', cul-itu v. 'prick', Ml culuculē 'with sharp pain', culuculukka 'feel hot, irritated by the touch of nettles, piercing pain', Kn Cr žu]lu v. 'prick' ¶ D #2699.

**340.** \*çiñH<sub>A</sub> (= \*çiñh<sub>A</sub>?) 'be wet\moist', 'moisture (water, etc.)' > **HS:** S \*°çññ<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>- 'heavy rain, moisture' > Ar şall- 'pluie abondante', şall-at- 'terre humectée', şull-at- 'reste\résidu d'eau dans un vase', 'mollesse des viandes trempées et humides' ¶ BK I 1355-6 || **IE:** NaIE \*sklē-k- / \*sklæ-k 'wet', 'splash, sprinkle' > ON slag 'Näße (von Regen)', slegrinn 'wetted', Nr slagen 'moist', MLG slagge, Sw slaggan-

väder 'schlackiges, regnerisches Wetter', MDt slagge 'rainy weather', NLG slack 'large heavy drops', NHG Schlack 'rain with snow', schlackig, schlackerig 'rainy, wet, sloppy, slushy' (of weather), NE Δ *slaggy*, slack 'swamp' || Lt šlākas 'drop, spot, splash (of)', šlakéti (1s prs. šlakū) 'to drip, to dribble, to drop', šlēkti (prs. šlekiū) 'to sprinkle', Ltv slaka 'drop, besprinkling', slacīt 'to (be)sprinkle, to water, to asperse' ¶ WP II 6O2-3, P 957, Vr. 512, Paul 5O8, Frn. 998, Kar. II 213 || A: NaT {Cl.} \*čīla- v. 'moisten' > OT {Cl.} čīla-, {DTS} čilä- ~ čila- id., Tk An čile- v. 'drizzle, be moist', VTt {ðRI.} šīlan- 'befeuhtet \ bewässert \ naß werden', šīlat- 'bespritzen, begießen, naß machen, bewässern' ¶ Cl. 418, DTS 146, Rl. III 2O55, 2O85, 2135-6 || ?? Tg: WrMc cilci- 'rise' (of water during the rising tide), but Nn čilkan 'flood-time' belongs to Tg \*tilkan id. ¶ STM II 18O-1 || ??φ K: GZ \*çgal- 'water, well' > OG, G çgal-i 'water', Mg çgu- 'well', çgu-rgil-i 'spring' ¶ Mach. K 91, FS K 455, ≠ K 159-6O (\*rcqga- 'water') || A possible D cognate: D \*čil- ({øGS} \*c|č-) v. 'flow' (×N \*šižN 'to be[come] liquid, to melt, to flow', q.v.) > Tm cilucilu v. 'rain gently', cilu-nīr 'raindrop dripping from the leaves' (nīr 'water'), cilumpu v. 'flow\gush out', Kt čilk v. 'drizzle', Kn cilkunīru 'water in fine drops', jilipu v. 'ooze', Krg čilbi v. 'splash water', Tl ciluku vt. 'sprinkle, shed', vi. 'be spilled', cilacila (imitation of flowing), Ku silk- vi. 'splash'; D → Prkr ciliciliā 'shower' ¶ D #2569 ¶ But D \*čil- ({øGS} \*s-?) 'pond, brook, river' hardly belongs here, because its initial cs. is likely to be \*s- (see N \*šižN 'stream, small body of water [lake and sim.]'); for the same reason it is dangerous to adduce here D \*čele ({øGS} \*s-) 'spring of water' (D #2785) ◇ The only N laryngeal that both can disappear in S and produces vowel lengthening in IE is \*h ◇ It is possible that \*çq- may go back to \*\*č...?- (cp. K \*čqu- < N \*ču?rō' 'two') < N \*č...h' ◇ ≠ Blz. KM 132 [#4] (equates the K root with IE \*skol- 'wash', D \*čel- 'spring', and T \*čäläk- 'bucket, pail').

**340a.** \*č'i'LhN 'charcoal, soot' > K \*°ča|ol- > Mgr čola 'soot' ¶ Q 381 || HS: EC \*čilh- ({Ss.} \*či|lh-) ~ \*čulh- > Sa dilh-eno 'charcoal', {R} dilhenō 'live coals', ?? Rn {PG} žiláh 'burning charcoal, glowing coal' (×N \*žü|hN, žyN [or \*žu|hN, žyE] 'to smoulder, to burn'), Or 'čile?', {Grg.} čillē, čillāttī, {Th.} čile, {Brl.} čilé, Or H {Ow.} čilé, Or

B {Sr.} čilē, čilētī, Or O/W {Sr.} čillātī (< \*\*čile-ē < \*\*čilh-ē?), Kns {Bl.} 'dil-ā, Gdl {Bl.} 'dilh-ā, Sml զսհուլ, Ya {Ss.} տեհ 'charcoal', ? Gwd dili v. 'burn' || Dhl {EEN} լ'իլիհա, {E} լ'իլիհե, {To} լ'իլիհե (pl. լ'իլիհա) 'embers' || AdS of SC: Irq չիրիհ- v. 'glow' (< N \*թերա 'to heat, to roast, to fry') ¶ Bl. 2O2, 215, Ss. PEC 22, 3O, R S II 1O6, PG 167, Grg. 82-3, Th. 68, Sr. 281, Ow. 256, To. D 148, EEN 17, E SC 175, E PC #127 || Om: SOm: Gll {Fl.} չիլշի 'charcoal (used in smithy)', Hm B {Fl.} չիլշի 'sheep with black skin' || NrOm: Gm {Hw.} չիչինց, ?φ Kf {C} 'չիչինօ 'charcoal' ¶ Fl. OO 317, C SE IV 419, Hw. EG || ??σ S \*◦վ չթի > Gz սիլահ 'filth, dirt, mud' ('dirt' ← \*'soot, charcoal?') ¶ LG 555 || A: M: LM չիլդեն զարա 'jet-black', HlM чилдэн ҳар 'black as soot' (զարա, ҳар 'black'), Kl {Rm.} չիլմ ҳара мөрн, {KRS} чилм ҳар мөрн 'kohlschwarzes Pferd, absolutely black horse' (ҳарә мөрн, ҳар мөрн 'black horse'). The word may have been associated with the system represented by LM չիլդեն սագան, HlM չэлбэн цагаан 'white as snow' ¶ MED 171, 183, KW 440, KRS 650 ◇ The K vw. stil needs explaining ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 13O [#1] (Mg, HS + unc.: D \*čull]-/\*čū]- 'fireplace' [see N \*չիլդան, լիլա or \*չիլդան, լիլա 'to smoulder, to burn'] and T \*չուլ 'heat').

**341. \*չԷմԴ ( = \*չԷմՎ?)** 'to maim, to torment' > K \*◦չամ- (or \*◦չչամ-?) v. 'torment' > G չամ- id., Lz չամ- id. (↔ G?) ¶ Chik. 392-3, Chx. 21O2 || HS: S: [1] WS \*✓ չմյ > Ar ✓ չմյ 'tomber roide mort, être tué sur place' (× ✓ չմյ 'tomber à l'improviste'), Sq {L} չամ v. 'die' ¶ LLS 353, BK I 1373 | [2] ? WS \*✓ չմմ 'have a damaged ear, be deaf' > MHb չում'միմ, Թում'մամ 'a person whose auricles are a shapeles mass', Sr չամ'մ-ā 'deaf and dumb', Ar ✓ չմմ G (pf. չamma) 'become deaf', 'be obstructed' (ear-hole), Gz ✓ չմմ G 'be deaf\deaf' ¶ Js. 1268, Br. 631, BK I 1366, Hv. 4O4, LG 32O, MiK I #2.64 || IE: NaIE \*skem- 'mutilated, hornless' > OI 'šama- 'hornless', 'šamala-m 'stain, spot, fault' || Lt šmùlas, Ltv smàuls 'hornless' || Gmc: [1] ON skammr, AS scamm, OHG scam 'short' || [2] NaIE \*◦կոչամ- OHG ham (adj. hammēr) 'mutilated' || ?φ NaIE \*kočam-▷1-> AS hamola 'one whose head has been mutilated or shaved', OHG hamal 'mutilated; wether', NHG Hammel 'wether', ON hamla 'to mutilate', AS hamelian id., OHG hamalōn 'to castrate' || Sl \*komolъ(jь) 'hornless' > R կօմօլիй, Slv komôl, OP komołu, P gomołu id., Cz komolý 'truncated, tailless, hornless', komoliti 'to

mutilate' **J** P 929, ≈ M K III 208-9, M E II 61O, Vr. 207, 482, Sw. 81, Ho. 171, 271, OsS 368, 776, Kb. 866, KM 286, Frn. 1015, Vs. II 304, Ma. CS 216, ≠ EI 273 (\***ḱ**em- 'hornless' without taking into account OI) || ?σ **A:** M \*<sup>2</sup>imad- > WrM cimad- v. 'reproach, blame; be dissatisfied' **J** MED 184 || pKo {S} \*<sup>2</sup>ámh- 'endure, bear' > MKo <sup>2</sup>ám-, NKo <sup>2</sup>ám- **J** S QK #727, Nam 448, MLC 1571 || pJ {S} \*tamar- 'endure' > J T tamar- **J** S QJ #65O **JJ** ≈ DQA #268 ◇ If Lz çam- is of G origin, the pK word is to be reconstructed as \*<sup>o</sup>çäm-, hence the N etymon is \***čEm**▽ (sc. either \***čEm**▽ or \***čEm**▽). If the Lz word is not borrowed, it points to a pK \*<sup>o</sup>çam- < N \***čEm**▽ ◇ IS MS s.v. 'увечить' \*<sup>o</sup>çamtə. IE \*k (for the expected \***k**) in \*k<sub>o</sub>am-▽1- needs explaining.

**342.** \***či'm**▽ 'eyelid', 'to blink (eyes)' > **K** \*çam- 'a blink' (→ 'moment, instant'), 'eyelash' > OG çam-i 'a blink', 'eyelash', G çam-i 'moment, second', Mg çum-i 'minute, second', ağa-çun-s 'in a minute\second', Sv UB/Ln çäm, L çam 'moment' ({Dn.} 'МИГ, МГНОВЕНИЕ'), çam-çam 'quickly'. The pGZ word \*kamçam- ({K} \*çamçam-) 'eyelashes' (> G çamçam-, Lz kamçam- id.) may go back to a word group, cp. D: Kn Hl kənʒeme 'eyelid' (D #2545) with the first component D \*kaññ- 'eye' (D #1159, Zv. 42, 116, 171) **JJ** K 242, K<sup>2</sup> 292, FS K 439-4O, FS E 496-7, Chik. 45, Chx. 21O3, DCh. 1634, NCh. RKL I 515, Mol. AGG 225, Dn. s.v. çam, TK 851 || **D** \*<sup>2</sup>cim▽ ({<sup>g</sup>GS} \*ś-?) v. 'wink', 'eyelid' > Tm imai v. 'wink', imai 'eyelid', cimir v. 'wink, blink', Ml imä, cima 'eyelash', imekka v. 'blink', Kn ime, eme 'eyelash, eyelid', cimutu v. 'twinkle\wink with the eyes', Kdg cimm- v. 'twinkle', Tu imæ, simæ, simmæ 'eyelash, TI cimutu v. 'wink' **JJ** D #2545 || **HS:** C: EC: Brj {Ss.} čimmiy- v. 'close\cover the eyes', Kmb {Hd.} t̥imbī?-, Ged {Hd.} himmi has- id. (has- 'do') || Bj {R} šimbēhāni ~ šimbāni, {Rop.} šambə'hani 'eyebrows' (unless to N \*śäm<sub>1</sub>▽, g▽ '[lock of] hair, fine hair' [q.v.]) **J** Ss. B 48, Hd. 42 (reconstructs C \*t̥-), R WBd 215 (equates Bj with Bl šeþkā 'hair'), Rop. 238 || ?σ **S:** Gz şamlät 'bleary-eyed, who has no eyelids', Tgr čamtələ 'be bleary-eyed', Tgy čamtələ 'be blind, lose an eye' **J** Likely to go back to a cd. with the first element \*<sup>2</sup>ç▽m- 'eyelid' **J** L G 557 ◇ Blz. DA 154 [#16] (D, C).

**343.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \***čamg**▽ 'cold' > **U:** FP \*<sup>o</sup>camK▽- > Z UV čamgi- 'begin to freeze hard' (of frost) **J** ≈ LG 301 || **HS:** WS \*✓çnn > MHb, JA, ChPA ✓çnn 'be(come) cold', JEA {Sl.} ✓çnn D vt. 'cool', BHb çin'nā\* (att. cs.

**צַנְתָּא** *çin-naṭ* 'coolness'), SmA **צַנָּה** *çənə*, **צַנָּה** *çənə* n. 'cold', JA **צַנְתָּא** (~ **צִינְתָּא**) *çinnə't-ā* id., Qtb (ArSc) *δᾶτ̄ šannat̄i* '(goddess) of coolness' ¶ GB 688, KB 972, Js. 1278, 1292, Sl. 968, Tal 737 || WCh: DfB {J} *čyēn* 'wind, air' ¶ J R 213 ¶ ≈ OS #119 || **א:** ?σ M \*čan̄ 'hoarfrost' > WrM *сарη*, HlM *цан(г)*, Ord *č'aŋ*, Brt *сэн* (with puzzling ə), Kl *цан* id., Kl {Rm.} *caŋ* 'Reif, Frost' ¶ MED 164, KRS 625, KW 421, Chr. 4O3, Ms. O 694 ¶ The word is not attested in MM and has a strange phonetic shape (no final vw.), which suggests borrowing.

**344. \*čEmpṇ** (or \*č-?) 'bent, crooked' > **IE:** NaIE \*(s)kemb- 'crooked' ({IS}) \*(s)Kemb-, {EI} \*(s)kamb- 'curve' > Gk *σκαμβός* 'crooked' ({IS}): < \*σκαμβός < \*skemb- with reintroduction of μ due to the infl. of different words of the same √) || OIr *camm*, W *cam* 'crooked' ¶ ≈ P 918, EI 143, F II 716-7, Vn. C 28-9 || **ע:** FU \*čEmpṇ ({IS}) \*čimpa) '≈ (sth.) bent; to bend' > pLp {Lr.} \*čimpē > Lp: N {N} *čibbe*, U {Schl.} *tjibbe* 'knee' (← 'bent'), L {LLO} *tjibbee* *čubbe* 'lower part of the human leg' | ?φ Chr L *čam'bal* 'hummock, tussock' (irreg. č and the vw.) | Prm: Z *žib* / *žiby-* 'a salient height, hillock, hill', ban *žin* 'the salient part of a cheek' || ObU \*čāmpəl > pVg \*čāmpəl > Vg Ss *šāmpəl* 'Schwebung', *šāmpalāl-* 'sich nach beiden Seiten neigen (die Ente, beim Herabfliegen)', ? Vg N {Mu.} *šampēlāli* 'hin und her drehen, erwägen' (x *šampēlti* 'drehen'); pOs \*čämplä > Os D/K/Kr/C *čämplä* 'schwankend, schaukelnd' (Boot) ¶ LG 90, Lr. #137, Lgc. #566, LLO 1151, Ht. #78, MK 587 || **HS:** S: Gz ✓ *ʂnpw* (pf. *ʂnpawā*) 'twist, disturb', *ʂənpəw* 'distorted, twisted' (unless ← ✓ *ʂnpw* 'crush', *ʂənpəw* 'crushed, shattered') ¶ L G 561 ◇ IS I 206-7 (\*čimpa: IE, U).

**345. \*čeñṇ** 'tie, bind, plait' > **K** \*<sup>o</sup>č'an-/č'n- v. 'wicker' > G (da-)čan-/čn- v. 'plait, wicker', čnuli 'wicker-work' (e.g. 'basket'), 'Geflecht'; ?σ GZ \*čn-el- 'rod' > OG, G čn-el-i, Mg čin-i & čən-i, Lz činu & čunu 'rod, sapling (Rute, Gerte)' ¶ FS K 458, FS E 519, FS K<sup>2</sup> 660; K 252 and K<sup>2</sup> 307 (\*čnel- 'rod'), Chx. 2187-8, DCh. 456, 1699, KEGL VIII 1160-2, SSO II 386 ¶ K \*č'an-/č'n- v. 'wicker' is a legitimate rec. if in GZ \*čn-el- the meaning 'rod' is from 'staff for wickering' || **HS:** CS \*šinn- ~ \*šann- 'basket' > JA {Dl., Lv.} **חַנְנָא** *çin'n-ā* 'basket, wicker-work as container', {Js.} **חַנְנָא** ~ **חַנְנָא** *çānā* 'basket of palm-leaves', JEA **חַנְנָא** *çan'n-ā* 'basket', Ar šinn- 'panier à couvercle dans lequel on met le pain', BHb rdp. **חַנְנָתָן** *çin'čeneṭ*, SmHb *ʂən'ʂēneṭ* 'basket' ¶ KB 973, BK I 1373, Sl. 967-8, Js. 1277 and 1290, Lv. IV 202 || WCh: pAG {Hf.} \*jin v. 'tie' >

Gm *dīn* v. 'tie (e.g. a goat)', Ang {Hf.} *jīn* id., Su {J} *dīn* 'festbinden (Tiere, Boote)', Kfr *jīn* 'tie (a goat, cloth round waist)', ? Kfr {Nt.} *jān* 'tie up, bind' (pl. obj.) ¶ Hf. AG 23 [#166], J S 64, Nt. 11 || u \*céññāv 'tie, bind; a tie' > pLp {Lr.} \*céññā- v. 'tie, bind' > Lp: U *tjad'na-t* id., N {N} čādnā-t / -n- id., 'fasten by tying; catch and tie (a reindeer)', L {LLO} *tjatna-t* 'binden, fest-an-bindnen', P {Ti} čánnā- 'binden' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} sān 'halter (in reindeer bridle)', sān, Ne T {Ter.} сяи 'two flat bones within the halter', Ne F P {Lh.} sānnī 'Halsband, womit das Argischrentier den vorangehenden Schlitten gebunden ist' ¶ UEW 37, Lr. #112, Lgc. #469, Lh. 429, Ter. 600 ◇ The rec. of N \*ç- is legitimate only if GZ \*çnel- 'rod' is derived from the K verb for 'wicker' (which in this case must be \*çn-), otherwise we remain with an unspecified N \*ç- (= \*ç|ç-).

**346.** ?σ, φ \*ç|ç aŋ|ñāv 'be of a shining white', 'be bright', 'moon' > IE (+ext.) NaIE \*skend- ~ \*skand- 'be of a shining white', 'moon', {E} \*(s)kend- 'shine', 'moon' > L *candeo* 'be of a shining white, shine, glitter' || OI 'candati 'shines, is bright', *can'dra-h* (in cds. -scan'drah) 'moon', *caniscadat* 'shining billiantly' (RV 5.43.4) || pAl {O} mt. \*ksandā > Al T *hēnē*, Al G *hānē* 'moon' ¶ ≈ P 526, EI 385, M K I 372-3, WH I 151-2, Huld 24 (Al < IE \*skan-neH), 150, O 146-7 (IE \*skend-) || D \*çāŋk- ({§GS} \*z̥z̥-) 'moon' > Nk *žango*, Gnd *žango* ~ *žango* id. ¶ D #2287 || HS: Ch: WCh: Tng {J} *sāŋŋ* 'bright, clear' | Ngz {Sch.} *šānū* 'become light\enlightened', *đā šānt-~gara* 'it has dawned' (*đā* 'it, country') ¶ J T 141, Sch. DN 53, 162, Stl. ZCh 199 [#505] (pWCh \*çan-).

**347.** <sub>2</sub> \*çapāv (or \*çapāKāv, \*çapāKPāv?) 'stalk, pointed stick, spear' > IE: NaIE *skep-* 'stalk, spear' > Ltv *škēps* 'spear, lance' || OHG *scaft* 'spear, shaft', NHG *Schaft* 'shaft, handle', OSx *skaft* 'spear, shaft', ON *skapt* 'Schaft, Stab, Stange, Griff', NE *shaft* || L *scāpus* 'stalk of plants, weaver's beam' ¶ ME IV 32-3, Ho. S 65, OsS 772, Kb. 864, KM 632, Vr. 483, WH II 490, ≈ Kar. 348, ≈ P 930-3 || A \*ç'apāv 'spear, pointed stick' ({SDM97} 'spear, axe') > Tg \*çapka 'fish-spear (harpoon, острога)' > Ewk, Neg çapka, Ul čaŋpa, Nn Nh čaŋpā:, Nn B ca(f)qa, Nn KU čapqā id., Ork čapqa id., 'fork' ¶ STM II 384 || pKo {S} \*øçak- > NKo çak-sal, çak-suŋi 'fish-spear' ¶ S QK #715, MLC 1387 || M \*çaqo or \*čaqa '≈ wooden prop, support, peg' > WrM сақи ~ сақа, HlM цах 'prop, support', Kl цах 'rack (көзлы)', {Rm.} саҳа 'Zapfen, Pflock,

hölzerner Nagel (um etwas aufzuhängen)', Brt *caxa* 'wooden platform, cross-beam serving as a rack for drying clothes' § MED 167, KRS 626, KW 419-2O, Chr. 386 || NaT \*čak $\nabla$  'pointed stick, knife' > Osm {Rh.} čaqı, Tk çakı 'clasp-knife, pocket-knife', Kr čaqı 'Klappmesser', Tlt čaqı 'Pfosten zum Anbinden der Pferde' § Rl. 1834, Rs. W 96, Rh. 707 §§ SDM97 s.v. \*č‘apk $\nabla$  (T, Tg, Ko), ≠ DQA #271 (A \*č‘ap‘( $\nabla$ )-k‘ $\nabla$  ← A \*č‘ăp‘a|u|i 'to chop, to hit', see N \*č‘ap‘<sub>1,2</sub>, a 'beat, strike, chop').

**348.** <sup>2</sup>\*č̥iþ  $\nabla$  'navel' > K \*°č̥ip- 'navel' > Mg č̥ip(e)-, č̥apan-, Lz č̥ipa-id.; Zan  $\rightarrow$  G č̥ip-i id. ¶ Lz č̥- is still to be explained (is č̥ipa- a loan from an unattested G word?) ¶ ≈ K 255 (reconstructs GZ \*č̥ip-, but finds no explanation for the irreg. reflex of \*č̥- in Zan other than a "symbolic quality" of the word), Chik. 69 || HS: Ch: Hs č̥ibiyā 'navel' (loc. form č̥ibī) ( $\rightarrow$  P' {MSk.} sipiya id.), ? Bg {Sh.} swap, ? Kir {ChL} sap id. ¶ Abr. H 139, Stl. ZCh 175 [#281] (\*sap  $\nabla$ w/y).

**349.** ψו \*צִירע(-רַע) 'small bird' > HS: S: [1] CS \*צִירעָר- '(small) bird, sparrow' > BHb צִירָר ~ צִירָר כְּפָרִים צִירָר (pl. צִירָרִים) 'bird(s)', MHb צִירָר, Pun șpr, SmA șpw̄r, șpyr 'bird', JA צִירָר צִירָר, em. צִירָר אַפְרָא צִירָר אַפְרָא צִירָר אַפְרָא 'fowl, bird', JEA {Sl.} צִירָר אַפְרָא צִירָר אַפְרָא ~ צִירָר אַפְרָא (unk. voc.) 'bird, fowl', DA șpr, IA șnpr 'bird, sparrow', Plm șpr?, Sr ڦِپَر ڦِپَر 'bird', Ar ڻُسْفُرُ 'sparrow, small bird'; [2] \*צִירָרָר- > JA צִירָר צִירָר, Sr ڦِپَر ڦِپَر 'bird', Ak ڦِبَارُ 'bird' (probably 'sparrow') (<-b-Aram?) || KB 98O, HJ 973, Js. 1298, Lv. IV 213, Sl. 962, BK II 272-3, Br. 635, Tal 743, CAD XVI 155, Sd. 1097 || ??ϕ,σ Ch: WCh: Hs ڙାବ୍ଦୋ, Gw {Mts.} ڙାବୁଵା 'guinea fowl' | Mbr {Sk.} ڦାପୁର, Jmb {Sk.} ڙାବୁର, Wrj {Sk.} ڙାବ୍ରିଯାଇ, {Gw.} ڙାବ୍ରିଯେ, Cg {Sk.} ڙାବୁନ, Kry {Sk.} ڙାବୁର, My {Sk.} ڙାବୁରକୁ, {ChL} ڙାବୁରକୁ, P' {MSk.} ڙାଵୁନା, ? Sir {Gw.} zuhunchi, Dir {Sk.} ڙାଵୁନା id. | Bg {Sh.} ڦାପ, Kir {ChL} ڦାପମ୍, Tala {Gw.} zubbən, Plc {ChL} ڦିବନ, Zar {ChL} ڦୁବମ୍, Zar K {Sh.} ڦେପମ୍ id. | Ngz {Sch.} ڙାବାନୁ, Bd {ChL} ڙାଵାନିନ୍ id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} ڦିଵାନ id. | Br {ChL} ڦିଵର, Mrg {ChL} ڦିଵର, Klb {ChL} ڦିଵିର id. | HgF {ChL} ڦିଵିନୁ, HgG {ChL} ସୁଵୁନେ id. | Gude {ChL} ڙାଵିନୀ id. | Lmn {Lk.} ڙାଵିନାକା id. | Glv {Rp.} ڙେବରା, Gv {ChL} ڙାବରା, Dgh {ChL} ڙାଵିରା, {Frk.} ڙାଵିରା id. | Mtk {Sb.} ڙାପାନ, pMM {Ro.} \*ڙାଵାନ > Gzg {Lk.} ڦିଵିନ ගୁଵିନ, {Ro.} ڦୁଵିନ, {Ro.}: Mkt ڙାଵିର, Mada ڙାଵାର, Myn, Mofu ڙାଵାର, Hrz ସାଵନା id. | Db {Lnh.} ڙାଵିନ id. | Gdr {Mch.} ڙାଵନା id. | Lgn {Bou.} ସାଫାନ id. || ECh: Smr {J} ସିବରା, EDng

{Fd.} zòpùlò, Mgm {J} zóbíló, Mkl {J} sùbìló, Jg {J} zóbóló, Brg {J} zòbòló id. ¶ Abr. H 959, ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 181, JI I 84 (Ch \*zbl 'guinea-fowl') and II 174-5, Ro. 265, Fd. 393 ¶ The vd. -b- and -v- in the Ch lgs. still need explaining || | IE: NaIE \*sper-, \*sperw- 'sparrow, small bird' > Gmc: Gt sparwa, OHG sparo, MHG spar, sparwe, ON sporr, AS spearwa 'sparrow', NE sparrow; MDt spréwe, Dt spreuew, NLG sprā ~ sprēa 'starling', dimin.: MHG sperlinc, NHG Sperling 'sparrow' || ? Clt: Crn frāw 'crow', Br {P} frāo, {Hm.} frāv 'crow, raven' (< \*sprawa) || Tc: A ʂpār (nom. pl. ʂpārāń), B {Ad.} ʂparā- 'in bird' ('sparrow'?), ʂpara-γäkre 'in bird of prey' ('sparrow-hawk?') (Tc < IE \*spērweH) || Gk [Hs.] (σ)πέρχουλος ὄρνιθάριον γάριον 'a small wild bird', Gk [Hs.] σπαράστιον ὄρνεον ἐμφερὲς στρουθῷ 'a bird resembling sparrow' || Pru spurglis 'sparrow' ¶ WP II 666, P 991, EI 534 (\*sper-), Ch. 1O4O-1, Fs. 443, OsS 847, Kb. 93O, Ho. 3O8-9, Vr. 54O, Vr. N 684, Lx. 2O3-4, KM 724, LP § 26, Hm. 297, En. 253, Wn. 46O, Ad. 666-7 || (ψο?). K: G R/Lch çipia 'eben ausgeschlüpfte Truthahn- \ Gänse- \ Enten-junges' ¶ Qu., may be purely onomatopoeic, cp. R цыплёнок 'a chicken' ¶ Chx. 2174 || | A: Tg \*çipj- 'small bird' > Ewk A/UL/I/Urm çivkān, çipkān 'small bird, sparrow' (-kān is a diminutive sx.), Ewk PT/Y/I/Np/Tp çipiçā 'small bird', Lm çipri 'nestling (not fully fledged)', çiptaka 'young of partridge', Lm çiwka-çān ~ çuqa-çān, Neg çiwit-kān, çiw(kā)-kān 'small bird', Ud {Shn.} čiwyau 'sparrow', Nn Nh čipjaqo ~ -u, Nn KU čifaqo, Nn B čifqo 'swallow', WrMc {Hr.} cibin id. ¶ STM II 398, Hr. 144 || pKo {S} čjärpi 'swallow' (× N \*šipN '[young of a] bird') > MKo čjärpi, NKo čebi 'swallow' ¶ S QK #183, Nam 425, MLC 1464 || ? NaT \*čibi 'young of a bird' > Qrg čibi(y) id.; rdp. υ (ψο) NaT \*čibčik ~ \*čimčik 'small bird, sparrow' > MQp čipčuq, Bsh səpsəq, Chg čipčik ~ čimčik, {TL ← ?} čipčuq, 'sparrow', Tk čimček / -gi 'in small sparrow', Kr ципцик ~ цыпцык 'small bird, sparrow', чыпчых 'bird', ? чипчэ ~ чипчя ~ ципцэ 'chicken', Kr T {Rl.} čipčik, ET čipčik, Qzq šibisiq, Qzq/Qq šimšiq, Qrg čimčiq, Uz čumčuq 'sparrow', Nog šimšiq 'any small bird', VTt чыпчык ʂyrşyq, Qmn {Rl.} čibilčik 'in bird' ¶ TL 176, Jud. 88O, NogR 422, TatR 646, RKazS, KrkR 748, Rl. III 2O98, 2155, 2161, KRPS 614, 617, 628-9, 637, Bu. I 5O8 || ?? pJ {S} \*tupa-maj/-ia n. 'swallow' > OJ tubame, J T cubame ¶ ~ S AJ 293 ¶ Rm. EAS I 63, DQA #3O8 (pA \*č'ip'ū 'small bird') || | D (in GnD) \*čipp- (~ \*čiv-),

\*<sup>o</sup>č̥ip̥<sup>2</sup> - 'young of birds' (× N \*šip̥<sup>2</sup> '[young of a] bird', q.v.) > Knd sīp̥i, sīpi 'chicken', Gnd č̥iva ~ č̥iwā(l) ~ č̥ivnā ~ civā 'young of birds, chick', Kui sīpa, Ku hippa ~ hipā ~ hīpa 'chicken, chick' ¶ D #2636.

**350.** \*č̥op̥<sup>2</sup> 'watch, look out, spy' > **K:** GZ \*č̥ap̥- {K<sup>2</sup>} v. 'study, learn' > G č̥ap̥- v. 'teach, study, learn', OG, G m-č̥ap̥-el-i 'leader', Lz č̥op̥- ~ nč̥op̥- v. 'study, learn' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 293, FS K 441, FS E 497-8, Chx. 2119-20, Chik. 4O2 || **HS:** S \*✓č̥pw v. 'watch, look at' > BHb צָפַה ✓č̥py (pf. č̥ā'pā) 'watch; reconnoitre, keep a look-out; spy, look', Ug șp n. 'look (Blick, mirada)', JA {Js.} צָפֵי ✓č̥py D 'look out, wait', JEA {Sl.} צָפִי ✓č̥py G 'look', SmA ✓șpy G 'look, observe', Mh șzfōt 'news, information; knowledge', Jb E/C 'še'fzt id., Mh caus. pf. șzsfū, sbjn. үзш3şf, Jb E caus. pf. șzş'fe, Jb C caus. pf. șzş'fe 'gather news, find out', Ak șubbū(m) 'mit Abstand ansehen'; the Ug variant ✓✓�p̥y (< \*✓θp̥y) v. 'spy, observe' is irreg. ¶ KB 977-8, KBR 1O44-5, OLS 158-9, 419, Tal 741, Sl. 970, Js. 1297, Sd. 1O82, Jo. M 359 || **IE:** NaIE \*sk̥kep̥- > Gk σκέπτομαι 'I watch, look about, look after', σκοπός 'observer', σκοπέω, σκοπέομαι 'look at\after, behold, contemplate' ¶ cp. NaIE \*(s)pek̥- 'look, observe' < N \*p̥'E'Ky<sup>2</sup> 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ P 984, ≈ Ch. 1O14-5, and ≈ EI 5O5 (all of them believe that \*sk̥kep̥- is a mt. of \*spek̥- 'spähen, scharf hinsehen', but in fact both directions of mt. are possible), F II 725-6 || **D** \*č̥ov̥- / \*č̥orr̥- v. 'watch over, guard' > Tu sōvñ 'spying, watching', Kui չ̥ora v. 'watch over, guard, lie in wait for' ¶ D #2892 ◇ On IE \*sk̥- < N \*č̥o- see Introduction §§ 2.4.

**351.** o \*č̥ar̥, i, a 'beat, strike, chop' > **IE:** NaIE \*sk̥ep̥<sub>H</sub>- ~ \*skeHb<sub>L</sub><sup>h</sup>- 'split' > Gk σκέπαρνος 'carpenter's axe' || Lt sk̥plis id., sk̥pti / sk̥ariù (~ sk̥oríù), sk̥obti / sk̥obiù 'hollow\gouge out' ({Frn.} 'mit dem Beitel, Schaber oder Dechsel [{AD} sc. 'Dächsel'] aushöhlen'), sk̥aptas 'gouge, chisel', Ltv šk̥ēpelē 'splinter' || Sl: [1] \*skopiti 'to castrate' > OCS скопити skopiti, Slv skopíti, Cz skopiti, P sk̥orić, R скопить id., Blg скопя 'I castrate'; [2] \*ščera-ti 'to split, to chop (wood)' > P szczerać, LLs չ̥ेրա՞, Blr շե'паць id., R շե'пать лу'чину 'to chop up sticks'; → Sl \*ščera ~ ščerъ 'wood chips' > OR փեռա չ̥era id., R շե'па id., 'splinter' (→ 'щепка 'chip, sliver'), Slv ščeř 'wood chips, shaving', P szczera 'log, billet' ¶ F II 724, Frn. 812, ≈ Kar. II 348, Vs. III 650 and IV 5O2-3, ME IV 32-3,

Bc. 1391, ≈ P 93O-3 || HS: [1] WS \*✓çp̥i > Ar ✓ʂf̥i 'taper légèrement le derrière de la tête à quelqu'un; donner un soufflet', Mh/Jb {Jo.} ✓ʂf̥i (pf.: Mh həʂʂf̥ɛ, Jb E/C eʂfā) 'make a rude noise with the tongue protruding between the lips, blow a raspberry'; [2] IS adduces S roots with \*s- and ext.: \*✓spk̥ 'strike with noise' (> Hb ✓spk̥, Ar ✓sfq) and \*✓spd id. (Ug ✓spd id., Hb and Ak ✓spd 'wail'), which is less plausible, the more so that there are similar onomatopoeic roots with \*ç: \*✓çp̥k̥ (> Ar ✓ʂfq 'frapper avec qch. de manière à faire entendre un bruit', Mh {Jo.} ✓ʂfk̥ 'clap one's hands'), etc., so that IS's conclusion about the S non-glottalized initial \*s- loses its basis ¶ BK I 11O1, 1347-8, Jo. M 358, Jo. J 235, GB 549-50, A #222 || o U \*ćapp∇ 'strike with noise, chop; clap one's hands' > Vp čappa- 'schlagen, dreschen; brechen (Flachs, Hanf)' | pLp {Lr.} \*ćōppz 'chop, cut, cut up' > Lp: N {N} čuoř'pā- / -p̥p- id., 'amputate', S {Hs.} tjuɔppedh 'cut (off), chop', L {LLO} tjuoħppz- '(auf)schneiden, aufhacken (z. B. Fleisch\Fisch zum Kochen)', K {Gn.} čūħp̥e- 'cut, chop' | Mk čapa- 'schlagen', Er čapa- 'clap one's hands' | Prm \*čap-k∇- > Z чапкы- čapk̥i- 'throw (for the object [a small stone, etc.] to fall flat)', Yz čapk̥i- 'throw, hurl', Vt G {Wc.} čapk̥i- 'clap one's hands', чапкыны id., 'strike with the palm of the hand' || Hg csař- 'strike, hit, flap, slap' || Sm \*sāř'pā- (or \*sъř'pā-) v. 'chop' > Ne T сǎpā-сь id., T O {Lh.} sāpā-, Ne F {Lh.} xāřp̥-š- v. 'hauen, schlagen (mit der Axt)', Koyb {Sp.} d. сабытобдемь 'выбиваю', Mt {Hl.} \*sabatd- 'chop' (Mt M {Sp.} сабыдьямь 'подсекаю', сабатте 'обрубаю') ¶ UEW 29, Lr. #203, Lgc. #794, Hs. 1348-9, MF 113, LG 302, Lh. 399, Hl. M #832, ≈ Jn. 134 (Sm \*sāt<sub>3</sub>pā = \*sъč|t̥k|sp̥ without sufficient justification of ə and t<sub>3</sub>) || A: T \*čap(a)- v. 'strike' > OT, MQp XIV čap- id., Chg XV čap- 'strike with the sword, behead', ET čap/b-, Uz čap-/b-, Qzq šab-, VTt čab/پ- šab/p- 'chop, mow', Tkm čap/b- 'chop, strike with a sabre', Qrg čap-, Xk sap- 'strike, beat', Chv L çup- śup/b- 'slap in the face', VTt qul šab-, Bsh qul sab-, Alt qol čab-, Chv алă çup- 'clap one's hands' (qul, qol, алă 'hand') ¶ Cl. 394, Rs. W 99, Jeg. 219 || M \*čabči- v. 'hew, chop, cut (with a weapon)' > MM [IM] čabči- 'hew, chop', [MA] čabči- 'cut (with a sword)', [S] {H} 'ab-łdurch-schlagen, abhauen', WrM cabci-, HlM цавчи- 'hew, chop', 'blink', 'kick the forefoot\forefeet' (of a horse)', Brt савша- 'chop, mow', Ord {Ms.} չ\_ab\_č'i- 'hacher, couper', MnR H {SM} չ\_iabb\_չ\_i- id., 'clignoter (yeux)', MnR H/M {T} čiavči- v.

'hew' ¶ Pp. MA 129, 434, H 25, MED 154, SM 76 || Tg \*çapç<sup>7</sup>- > Neg çapça- ~ çapç<sup>7</sup>- v. 'destroy, break', Ewk çapça-kī ~ çapçikī ~ çapçukī 'chip, sliver (of wood)', Ewk Tmt çapçikīt/ç- 'place of chopping wood', Ud čapća- v. 'chop wood', Nn Nh/KU čapč<sup>7</sup>-, Nn B cafč<sup>7</sup>- 'chop, split'; the forms of Ud, Nn, and some other lgs. may be of M origin ¶ STM II 384 ¶ KW 437, ~ DQA #271 \*č<sup>2</sup>čap<sup>7</sup>aļi 'to chop, to hit' (T, M \*čapka 'fish-spear' and pKo \*čak- id., see N \*čaP<sub>7</sub> or \*čaPK<sub>7</sub> ~ \*čaKP<sub>7</sub> 'stalk, pointed stick, spear') || D: [1] D (in SD) \*čav<sup>7</sup>r- ({øGS} \*č|č-) 'cut (off, down)' > Kt čavr- 'cut down (standing plants, bushes)', Kn savarū 'cut off side branches', 'chip, cut, cut down', Tu t<sub>a(v)</sub>uru-ni 'to strip off, to cut away (leaves of a tree), to cut away brushwood'; [2] D \*čapp- ({øGS} \*č-) 'clap hands', 'slap' (× N oř\*čap<sub>7</sub> or \*čaP<sub>7</sub> 'to strike' [q.v.]) > Tm cappāni, Tu cappaļi 'clapping hands', Kn cappate, cappaļi id., capparisu v. 'slap, pat', Kt čapač 'noise of a hand-clap', Tl cappat<sup>7</sup>a, Nkr čapač, Mnd hapač, Ku sapoč 'a slap of the hand', Gnd čapur ~ čapča 'a blow with the hand, slap'; D → OI capečā- 'slap with the open hand' ¶ D ##2335, 239O, Tu. ##4673, 4696 ◇ Some of the forms (e.g. those meaning 'clap hands') may be of independent onomatopoeic origin ◇ IS I 201 [#41] (\*čap<sup>7</sup>a) ◇ S \*ř may go back either to N \*ř or to N \*ř, but N \*ř is hardly plausible (this cluster of obstruents would have been assimilated almost certainly to \*ř, while the approximant \*ř does not usually cause as.).

**352. \*čEþ<sub>7</sub> ( [as.] > \*čEþ<sub>7</sub>) 'finger' > K \*čip- > G M/X čip-i 'Verbindungsstelle zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger' ¶ Chx. 2146 || HS: S \*č<sup>7</sup>bař- (> \*χučbař-) 'finger, toe' > BHb χεč<sup>7</sup>bāř, (TV) אַצְבָּעַ ?εč<sup>7</sup>bāř id. (in ItHb T [basis of the Masoretic BHb spelling] word-final \*-āř yielded -ař rather than -āř [spelled עַ- -āř], F Blau BNPA), Sr չեթ'ա 'finger, toe', Ug ڦاڻ ٻڻ 'finger, claw', IA ڦ ٻڻ (pl. ڦ ٻڻن) 'finger', BA pl. ڦ ٻڻن ?εčbař'-ān, pl. em. ڦ ٻڻن אַצְבָּעַ ?εčbař-ā't-ā 'fingers, toes', JA {Js.} אַצְבָּעַ ?εč<sup>7</sup>bāř / em. אַצְבָּעַ ?εč<sup>7</sup>bāřā, JEA {Sl.} אַצְבָּעַ ?ac<sup>7</sup>bāřā, SmA ڦ ٻڻ ({Tal} = išba), Ar ڦ ىشباř- (~ ڦ ىشباř-, ڦ ىشبيř-, ڦ ىشبعř-), Ar Cr ڦ ىشباř, Ar Hm ڦ ىشباř, Mn ڦ ٻڻ, Sb ڦ ٻڻ, OEth \*?ačbařt (> Gz ڦ ىشباřt ڦ ىشbāřt), Tgr ڦ ىشbāřt, Tgy pl. ڦ ىشabzīti 'finger, toe', Mh {Jo.} ڦ ىشbař, Hrs {Jo.} ڦ ىشbař, Jb C {Jo.} ڦ ىشbař, Sq {L} ڦ ىشbař, ڦ ىشbeř id., Eb iš-ba-um (= {Krb.} ڦ ىشbařum), ?μ Ak ∧ nešbettu 'finger' ¶ GB 61, 896, KB 79, 1573, OLS 55-6, Tal 72O, Js. 11O, Sl. 159, Br. 62O, BK I 13O7, BGMR 14O, MA 93, L G 45, LH 627, Bsn. 58O, Jo. M**

397, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 5, L LS 7O, 345, Krb. 18, Blz. EP, CAD XI/2 19O (Ak *nešbettu* ↔ WS), Sd. 782, MiK I #1.256 || Eg fP ȝb̥ 'finger' > DEg tb̥ > Cpt Sd **תִּנְבֶּבֶת** tēēbe, Cpt B **תִּנְבֵּת** tēb; Eg d. ȝb̥.t 'signet (on a signet-ring)' → BHb **תִּנְבֶּבֶת** ṭab'baqat 'signet-ring, ring' and possibly B: Gd {Lf.} ta-đaþwət (pl. t-đaþwa) 'bague d'argent', ({Rö. → Tk.}) ? 'Fingerring'), ? Tw {Rö.} ta-dəhot 'finger-ring' (not mentioned in Fc.) ¶ EG V 562-5, Fk. 321, Er. 625, Vc. 21O, KB 353, Wlf. EAW 48, Rö. SL 132, Lf. II #O337, Pr. H 28 || B: Zmr a-ṭad (pl. i-đubđ-an) 'finger' ¶ Wlf. EAW 48 || NrOm: HzMa zāb- / zaba, Sz zāb-i 'finger' ¶ Bnd. RL 343 ¶ OS #434, Tk. I 98 || **U:** FU \*°ćEpp∇ 'finger-tip' (× N ւ \*źiρ∇ 'to pinch', [?] 'a pinch' [q.v.]) > Chr: H {MRS} ցԵՎԵՇՏԱ-, {Ep.} ցԵՎԵՇՏԱ- սԵՎԵՇՏԱ- v. 'pinch, nip', ցԵՎԵՇՏՅԻՇ սԵՎԵՇՏԵՇ n. 'pinch', L չԵՎՎԻՇՏԱ- չԵՎՎԵՇՏԱ-, U ՇԵՎՎԵՇՏԵ-, B ՇԵՎՎԵՇՏԱ- v. 'pinch' | Prm \*ćerp-, \*ćzreí- ({LG} \*ćepréí-) n. 'pinch, finger-tip', v. 'pinch' > Z S ćerzí 'a pinch', Prmk {UEW} սԵՐՑԻ 'finger-tip', {KPR} 'pinch', Z չԵՊՈԼՅՏ- չԵՐՑԻ-<sup>t</sup>, Prmk սԵՐՑԻ- id., Vt չԵՊՈԼՅՏ- չԵՐՑԻ- v. 'pinch, jam' ('ՍԵՐՑԻ ՈՒՆՈՒՅՆ, ՊՐԻՇԵՄԻՏՅ'), Z չԵՊՈԼՅԱ հերզիա 'tongs, tweezers', Z Ud ćerzər 'Zwick, Kniff', ćerzrt- v. 'pinch (zwicken, kneifen)', Yz 'ćepíal- 'kneifen, rupfen' || OHg, Hg ցՏիր 'pinch, nip' ¶ UEW 49 (convincingly rejecting the adduction of F հպրպ, հպրի 'finger-tip' and of Lp Kld սiehp 'finger, toe' because of the initial cns. going back to FU \*ć-; in my opinion, the F and Lp words belong rather to N \*չՈրդ(R∇) 'fingernail, claw' [q.v.]), MRS 682, Ep. 14O, MF 118-9, EWU 217, LG 3O3, Szin. 28 ◇ An alt rec. is pN \*ćEb̥i∇ with further contraction \*-b̥i- > \*-p̥- that underlies K \*-p̥- and FU \*-pp̥-.

**353.** Հ<sub>2</sub> \*ć∇q∇ 'make dirty; revile' > **WS:** WS \*✓çxy id., 'be dirty' > Sr ✓šty D (pf. šaħī) 'revile', šuħ'y-ā, Sr W šuħīt-ā (Sr E šoħī't-ā) 'reviling, abuse', Ar ✓šxy (pf. šaħiya) 'être sali, abîmé' (se dit des habits), سخ ūšaxi(-n) 'sali, abîmé', ?φ Gz չկառ- šāħw [šaħw] 'filth, rubbish' (unexpected ħ for X due to contamination with a different ✓?) ¶ Br. 625, JPS 475, 477, BK I 1317, L G 553 || **K:** GZ {K} \*čqe-w-/ \*čq-w-, {FS} \*čq- v. 'curse, damn' > OG {K} čqe-v-, {FS} čq-e-w-, G čqe-vl- id., caus. čqe-vin- 'make so. curse', Mg čq(u)-, Lz (n)čk- v. 'curse' ¶ Assimilation pre-K \*\*čq > K \*čq ¶ K 253, K<sup>2</sup> 318, FS K 47O-1 (GZ \*čqe-w-), FS E 531 (GZ \*čq-), Chx. 2122, DCh. 1698, Q 393.

**354.** ւ \*ćoglařE 'beat\hit (so.), hurt; pain' > **K:** GZ \*čq- v. 'feel pain' → \*čq-∇n- 'ache, hurt' > Lz čk- id. (m-čk-up-s 'es schmerzt mich'), Mg

çq-in-/çq-aŋ- v. {Q} 'be pained\bored', OG çq-en-/çq-in- {FS} 'betrüben, belästigen' (*momeçqona c̄xorebay* 'I am weary of life' - Gn. 27.46), G çq-en-/çq-in- 'do harm, grieve; feel hurt (by), resent' ¶ Chik. 399, K 247, K<sup>2</sup> 303, FS K 454, FS E 514, Chx. 2212-3, Q 384 || HS: S \*°v<sup>o</sup>çq̄ > Ar √ ṣq̄ 'strike\beat (so.)' ¶ Ln. 1706-7, BK I 1352-3 || IE: [1] (+ext.) \*skeH-t<sub>L</sub>H<sub>J</sub>- ({EI}) \*sket<sub>L</sub><sup>h</sup>- or \*skeh<sub>J</sub>t<sub>L</sub><sup>h</sup>-) 'injure, harm' > NaIE \*skē-t<sup>h</sup>-/\*skə-t<sup>h</sup>- 'hurt, injure' > Gk Hm ἀ-σκηθῆς 'unhurt, unscathed' || OIr scíth 'fatigué, las', escid {Vn.} 'infatigable' (→ 'vif, alerte'), Br skuizh 'fatigué', Crn s̄quydh id., 'las' || Gt skaþjan (p. skōþ) 'to do wrong, to damage (ἀδικεῖν, βλάπτειν)', ON skeðja 'to harm, to damage', AS s̄ciedðan 'to injure'; s̄ceadjan 'to damage', ON skaða, OHG scadōn, NHG schaden 'to harm'; n. act.: Gt skaþis 'damage, wrong-doing (ἀδικία)', OSx skatho, OHG scado, AS s̄ceaða 'damage', NE scathe (Gmc → Cz, Slk škoda, OP, P szkoda → OR ШКОДА škoda, Uk, Blr, R шкода 'damage'); NHG Schade 'damage', ON skaði 'harm, damage (Schaden, Verlust)' || [2] ?σ {WP} (+ext.) NaIE \*°skē-n- 'push, strike' > OIr fo-scann- 'throw, push, winnow' ¶ WP II 557-8, 564, P 95O, EI 312, FI 164, Ch. 124, Vn. S 32, 46-7, Hm. 739, Fs. 429-30, Vr. 479-80, 487, OsS 771, Kb. 862, KM 63O, Ho. 274, 278, Rcz. 859, Brü. 549, Vs. IV 449 || A: M \*čoki- 'hit, beat, strike, knock, peck' (× N \*čAķ'U' 'to prick [stechen], to gouge', q.v. ffd.) > WrM cokī-, HlM цоки- v. 'hit, beat, thrash, strike; knock, peck', WrO cokī-, Kl цок- cokə- 'beat, strike', Kl {Rm.} cok- 'schlagen, hauen' ¶ MED 196, Krg. 641, KRS 636, KW 429 || D (in GnD) \*čokk- ({θGS} \*ž-) > Gnd žak- 'kill' & žokkānā 'strike, kill', Kui soka & sōka- 'strike at', 'bite' (of snake, dog, etc.) ¶ D 2831.

355. \*çaq<sub>L</sub>a, '↑' (or \*çaq<sub>L</sub>) 'elbow, ∈ part of a limb' > K \*çqrta 'elbow' (whence in the descendant lgs.: [1] 'ell', [2] 'door-post, jamb of a window\door') > OG çqrta 'cubit', G çqrta id., 'ell', Mg čqz(r)ta ~ čgi(r)ta-, d. G çqirtl- '(door>window)post', as well as G čirtx<sub>L</sub>-i id., Sv UB {GP}, Sv LB/Ln {TK} čitx 'ell, cubit' (both from \*črtxa- mt. + fricativization of \*q - GM S 96, 99, Gm. DS 10) ¶ K 254, K<sup>2</sup> 315 (\*črtxa-), FS K 471-2, FS E 534-5, K DE 358 (reconstructs pK \*črtxa- (> Sv čitx ÷ G čirtx<sub>L</sub>-i) as a different √], GP 28O, TK 861 || HS: EC \*čikl- 'elbow' > pBn \*čikilē (> Bn: Bi čikilē, J/K/Kj žigilē), OSml \*žikali (> Sml Og čiqil), Rn {PG} díkkil, {Oo.} 'dikil, Arr (mt.) čilig (pl. čilk-ó), Or {Grg.} čikilē, Kns díkl-, díqil-, Gdl dílk, Hr tihíle, Gln tihille, Gwd D

đixilxó, Hd тункул- id., Brj tangil- 'elbow, heel', ? ingi'layš 'elbow', Ya ṭokl-e· 'forearm' || Lm. SKE 536, Ss. PEC 3O, Ss. B 1O5, Bl. 216, Hn. BD 1O4, Grg. 83, AMS 189, 226, 239, PG 96, Oo. 66, Hw. A 35O || ? S \*<sup>o</sup>čuk<sub>1</sub>्<sub>2</sub>l- > Ar շողլ- 'flanks' || BK I 1354 || IE: NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>sk̥kel- > Gk σκέλος 'the leg from the hip downwards' (× N \*č̥i<sup>1</sup>ll<sub>2</sub>्<sub>3</sub>ν 'side of body', 'hip', q.v. ffd.) || A \*č̥ay<sub>1</sub>्<sub>2</sub>k<sup>2</sup>a '≈ elbow, forearm' ({ADb.} \*č̥ay<sub>1</sub>्<sub>2</sub>k<sup>2</sup>a-) 'elbow' (< \*\*čak<sup>2</sup>y<sub>2</sub>ν < \*\*čak<sup>2</sup>í<sub>2</sub>ν) > NaT {ADb.} \*čayk<sup>2</sup>an → [1] \*čayk<sup>2</sup>anak 'elbow' > Chg {Rl.} **چاقاباق** čaqanaq id., 'wrist' ({Rl.} 'Ellenbogen, Elle = локоть, запястье'), Alt {BT} чаганак čayanaq, Tel {Rs.}, Qmn {B} čānaq, QK {Rl.} čaŋnaq, Sg {BIG} sıyanax, {Rl.} sayananq, Shor {Rl.} šayinaq, {Dyr.} шығанак 'elbow', Nog ſıyananq, Qq šyanaq, Qrg čiŋanaq, Xk čiyanax, ET žeäynäk, {LQ} čänäk 'elbow', SY čikenek, MQp [CC] čiyanaq, VTt {Rl.} ڦڻاناق 'elbow, door-hook, hinge (of a door)', Tbl čyvanaq 'elbow, door-hinge', bf.: ET Δ čoqa 'elbow'; [2] \*čayk<sup>2</sup>an-čak/-čik 'elbow' > Alt čaŋčaŋ, Tlt {Vrb.} čaaŋčaŋ, QrB činačiq, Qq šintaq id., Qzq šintaq 'elbow, ell', šintaq süek 'funny-bone' (→ Uz Δ čintaq id.) || TL 249-5O, ADb. SR 169-71, Rs. W 96, 1O7, Rl. III 1833, 1851, 2O63, IV 262, 938, BT 174, B DK 265, BIG 2O5, 325; ~ ADb. TMCT (\*÷ Osm {Rs.} čäkin 'shoulder [near the neck]' and Chg {Rs.} čikin 'Nacken, Schulter', belonging to N \*čikU 'base of limbs [shoulder, hip]' [q.v.]) || Tg \*čaka 'forearm' > Nn Nh čaxá, Nn B caχa(n-) 'ell (forearm as a unit of length)', ?? Ewk čakça 'calves of legs' || STM II 378, 38O, ADb. TMCT 119 || ADb. SR-D 447 (pT \*čajkan 'elbow'), 458 (pT \*čaka 'forearm') || But T \*çök- v. 'kneel' does not belong here (F N \*čoKxE 'to sink to a kneeling\squatting\lying position') ◇ Blz. KM #3 (K, C \*÷ A [T \*çök-]) ◇ Altaic \*y is likely to suggest N \*i. The transformation of a N lateral cns. into K \*r needs investigating.

**356. \*č̥A<sup>1</sup>R<sub>2</sub>ν (= \*č̥A<sup>1</sup>R<sub>2</sub>?)** 'to cross', 'across, over' (direction), 'through' > K: GZ \*čar- {Schm.} 'durch-, vorüber', {K, Chx.} 'down, away, off' > OG čar-, G čar- ~ ča- id. (→ Zan ča-), Mg. Lz čo- id. || K<sup>2</sup> 292-3, Schm. 154, Chx. 2O97 || IE: NaIE \*(s)ker(-s)- 'across, through' > Gk ἐγ-κάρσιος 'athwart, oblique', ἐπι-κάρσιος 'athwart, crosswise' || BSl \*(s)kersa- > Pru kirscha, kirschan, kerscha, kerschan 'over, more than', Ltv šķērs, šķērsam 'quer', Lt skeršas, Ltv šķērss 'transversal, cross', Lt skersiai 'across' | Sl \*čersъ 'over' (direction), 'through' (~ \*čerzъ with voicing on the analogy of some other

prepositions) > RChS, SrChS **чрезъ** čresъ ~ **чрезъ** črezъ, R 'чрезъ, Blg чрезъ, SCr črēz, Slv črēz ~ črēz, Slk сезъ, Δ čez 'over' (direction), 'through' ¶ P 949-50 (\**s*kert-*s*-) with an unjustified \*-t- [based on the arbitrary conjecture connecting this stem with \*(*s*)kert- 'to cut']), FI 637, ME IV 35-6, Frn. 8O2-3, En. 193-4, Vs. IV 338, ESSJ IV 76-7, ESISJ-SGZ I 49-52 || HS: Eg fP ȝȝy v. 'cross, ferry (so. across water)' ¶ EG V 511-3, Fk. 318 || S \*<sup>o</sup>✓çry > Ar ✓ṣry (pf. **صري** ṣarā, ip. -ṣriy-) 'cut through \ asunder' ('retrancher en coupant') ¶ BK I 1336 || A: ?σ OT Og {Cl.} čer 'the opposite of sth.' ¶ Cl. 427 ◇ IS MS 372 ('чрезъ' \*č̥orə (K, IE)). K \*a usually goes back to N \*a, \*ä, or sometimes \*o. In the light of the T cognate N \*ä (or \*a) is to be preferred.

**357. \*čorṇ** (¬ \*čawrṇ - \*čarwṇ?) 'tip, top, edge' > HS: EC: Or {Ss.} čara 'tip, top, edge', Brj čar(a) 'edge, blade', čari 'point, summit, peak; pointedness, sharpness', čare- v. 'sharpen (knife)' ¶ Ss. B 46, Hd. 183 || K: GZ \*čwer- 'tip, point (Spitze)' > G čver-i id., Mg čvanži ~ čvandi 'tip, top', OG mčuerwal- 'summit' ¶ K 243, K<sup>2</sup> 311-2, FS K 443-4, FS E 501 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from K \*čwēr- 'beard' [> G čveri, Sv wēre & wär(e) id.]), Chx. 2155 ¶ It is possible that in pK the √ in question coalesced with \*čwēr- 'beard', which may be helpful in explaining the unexpected \*w in GZ \*čwer- 'point, tip' || D (in KK) \*čōrṇru ({θGS} \*s|š|z-) 'hill, mountain' > Kui sōru id., Ku hōru id., 'rock' ¶ D #2887 || IE: NaIE \*k<sup>h</sup>ar- 'pointed, sharp', (?) 'rock' (< N \*qan<sub>2</sub>rṇ 'hard, firm' [q.v. ffd.]) > OI khar-a- 'sharp, hard, rough'; NPrs **خارا** ḫārā 'very hard stone, flint, rock', possibly NPrs **خار** ḫār 'thorn, thistle' || Gk κάρχαρος 'sharp-pointed, jagged' ¶ WP I 355 (\*k<sup>h</sup>ar- 'scharf, spitz'), M K I 302, VI. I 634-5, Sg. 487, Horn 102 ◇ D \*ō and K \*w point to the presence of a labial element in N (N \*čawrṇ or \*čarwṇ).

**358. \*čUrṇ** 'narrow' > HS: S \*čarr- 'narrow, tight (?)' > BHb **צַר** čar 'narrow, tight', ✓črr 'be narrow' (**צַר** čar 'is narrow'), SmA ṣry 'narrow passage', ? Ak ṣarir 'is narrow (?)' (šummu muχxašu ṣarir 'if the top of his head is narrow' [?] [followed by xabiš, rapaš 'is wide']), Ar ṣarr- 'serré, noué' (infl. of the verb ✓ṣrr 'serrer, nouer'), ✓ṣrr Gt (pf. ?iṣtarra) 'be narrow' (of a hoof), maṣrūr- 'serré, noué; étroit, pincé'; WS \*✓črr 'tighten (by wrapping, tying up)' > Hb ✓črr, Sr ✓ṣrr, Ar ✓ṣrr G 'bind, tie up', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} ✓ṣrr 'tie

the foreskin before circumcision' ¶ KB 984, 99O, BK I 1325-7, BDB 864-5, Tal 741, Jo. M 365, Jo. J 241, Jo. H 116, CAD XIV 107 || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) \*<sup>o</sup>sk̥ker- (+exts.) 'shrink, wrinkle, shrivel; lean' (× N \***ĆER**Ν 'small, little'?') > NNr skrāna (< Gmc \*skraxnan) 'to shrink (verschrumpfen)', MLG schrā, NGr NrF schrah (both from Gmc \*skrēxa-) 'dürr, mager', ON skrá (< \*skraho) 'thin leather', NE Ork (← NrGmc) skrue 'Maß von Trockenheit', Nr Δ skranta 'become lean (mager werden)', Nr skrinn (< \*skrenθa-) 'dürr, mager, unfruchtbar', MLG schrāde 'dünn, mager, kümmерlich' ¶ ≈ P 933, Vr. 500-1 ¶ In the light of external comparisons NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>sk̥ker- is likely to go back to earlier \*sk̥keur-(on the loss of IE glides that precede sonants *see AD NGIE and NVIE*) || A: NaT \*<sup>o</sup>çɔ:<sub>L</sub>r 'tight, dense' > OT {Cl., MKD} čōr, {DTS} čor id. ¶ Cl. and Dnk. reconstructed an OT long vw. ō on the insufficient basis of the *plene* spelling with ɔ in Mahmûd al-Kašgarî ¶ Cl. 428, MKD 95, DTS 94 || ?ϕ D: [1] D (in McTm) \*čur- > Tm curam 'narrow and difficult path', Ml curam 'difficult road'; [2] D \*čur- ~ \*č<sub>1</sub>ur- 'shrink, wrinkle, contract' (× N \***Ć**ΝΡΡΝ 'to twist, to plait' × N \*č<sup>1</sup>ūgrN 'to be small, to diminish', q.v. ffd.).

**359.** \***ćæΓr**Ν 'be in pain, feel hurt, resent' > K \*čqar-/\*čqr- 'take offence (at), be angry (with)' (← \*'resent') > Mg (n)čqor- id., OG, G čqer-/čqr- id. (Chx.: 'ärgerlich\böse sein'), Sv {Fn.} čqr- (msd. li-čqr-un-ä1) 'sich sträuben, sich widersetzen', {K<sup>2</sup>} v. 'bristle' ¶ FS E 533, K 253, K<sup>2</sup> 318, FS K 469-70, Mach. XS 266ff. (on \*a in this √), Zhgh. ChMP (on the prosthetic n- before the dental\lingual cnss. in Zan), Chx. 2222, 2227, DCh. 1700, Q 395, Fn. KW-4 37 || HS: WS \*✓čqar 'be in pain, suffer, grief' > MHb צָעֵר 'ča<sup>a</sup>ar 'pain, grief, trouble', JA צָעֵר 'ča<sup>a</sup>ar / em. אַצְעֵרָא ča<sup>a</sup>r-ā id., JEA {Stl.} צָעֵרָא ča<sup>a</sup>r-ā 'trouble, distress, pain', SmA ș<sup>a</sup>r, ș<sup>a</sup>rħ 'distress', Md șaiarta 'pain, grief', Gz ✓ș<sup>a</sup>r (js. -șfar) 'be in pain, suffer', ș<sup>a</sup>ħ ș<sup>a</sup>r [ʃafr] n. 'anguish, torment, pain' ¶ Lv. IV 209, Js. 1294-5, Tal 740, LG 544 || ??ϕ Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*žuwar {AD} 'pain, anger' > Ngz {Sch.} ž<sup>a</sup>trá 'internal bodily ache\pain, being in pain, being warlike\belligerent' | Ang {Flk.} dōr, dūr 'anger' | My {Sk.} žuwar, Kry {Sk.} ſiwar 'be angry' | Fy {J} dōr 'Ärger, Unwillen' ¶ Stl. ZCh 204-5 [#552], Sch. DN 46, J R 83, Sk. NB 10 || U: FU \*ćärke- v. 'ache, pain' > F särke- id. (→ Lp N {N} sær'gā- / -ærg- v. 'ache, be painful'), Vp särge-, särge- v. 'ache, pain' | ? Lp: N čērgiidi- 'go to

sleep' (of limbs), L {LLO} *tjier* 'kijtit id., 'become numb' (of limbs), U {Schl.} *tjär'ka* 'scharfes Prickeln in eingeschlafenen Gliedern', Pa {TI} *čěříč* - v. 'ache (of a wound)' || ObU {Ht.} \*čārəy- > pVg \*čārəy- > Vg: Ss *sārəy* - v. 'ache, pain', UL/SS *sārəy*, UL/Ss T čärk-, LK/MK *šārəy*, P/NV/LL *sarr*- v. 'deplore'; pOs {Ht.} \*čārəy- ~ čörəy- v. 'ache, pain' > Os Ty čerəy-, K čärəy-, Nz šarəy-, Kz šari- id. | OHg *sér* 'be hurt (verletzt werden), ache', Hg *sért*- v. 'injure, damage, harm, hurt', Δ *sérés* 'pain, ache, illness' ¶ FU \*-ke may be due to contamination with FP \*šärke- 'break, split' ¶ MF 551-2, Ht. #86, LLO 1161, TI 653, EWU 1322, ~ UEW 32-3 (does not distinguish between this √ and FP \*šärke- 'break, split' < U \*šärke- < N \*šäRKē '≈ break, split, cut') || A: NaT \*čer '≈ illness' > Qzq {Rl.} šer 'langjährige, alte Krankheit', Qzq {MM}, Qq šer 'grief', Nog šer 'illness', Qrg {Jud.} čer 'tumour', Shor {Rl.} šär 'Schwindsucht', ? Chg {Rl.} čir (= čer?) 'Pickel, Geschwür', VTt чир šir 'illness' (> Chv čir id.), Bsh sir id., Tk čör 'illness' (× čör 'devil'), Az čär-lä- 'be ill' ¶ Rs. W 1O4, Rl. III 2122 and IV 1OO4-5, Jud. 858, Jeg. 326, DTS 144, MM 395, NogR 41O, TrR 199 ◇ FU \*čärke- points to a N \*ä, while T \*čer suggests a N \*e. This discrepancy still needs explaining.

**360.** \*č'ūgr̥V 'be small, diminish' > K \*°c|čx₁w₁r-/ \*°c|čx₁w₁er- > G čxra-, čxer- v. 'wane' (of the moon), {DCh.} čxroma n. 'wane of the moon' ¶ DCh. 161O, Chx. 2O44 || HS: S \*✓čyr G v. 'be small' > BHb ✓čir G 'klein\gering sein\werden', Ak ✓čyr G (inf. šexeru ~ šaxāru) 'become small\few\young', ? Sr ✓šir (pf. šəfar) 'beschimpft werden'; S \*čayīr- 'little, young' > BHb čā'čir 'jung, klein, gering', PH, PUN šyr 'small', Ug šyr 'small, young', SmA šyur 'young', Sr ša'čir / šəčir-ā 'despised, vile', Sb šyr 'little', Ak šexru ~ šaxru 'small, few, young' ¶ BK 69O, KB 974-7, HJ 971-2, A #234O, OLS 415, Grd. UT #2182, Tal 739, JPS 482, CAD XIII 12O-4, Sd. 1O87-9 || D \*čur- ~ \*čur- 'shrink, lessen' (× N \*čUr̥V 'narrow' × N \*č̥P̥R̥V 'to twist, to plait') > Tm curunku 'shrink, lessen, be reduced', Ml curunnuka v. 'shrivele, shrink, decrease', curukkam 'contraction, shortness', Kt čurk- 'make small, draw up (legs, fingers), shrink', Td tuč- vi. 'shrink', Kn surku, Tu surunču-, suruču- v. 'contract, shrivel, shrink', Tl surūgu v. 'shrink', Prj čurk- v. 'shrivele', ?? Krx {Hahn} cog'rē 'person with sunken cheeks'; cp. Brh kurring, kurrēnging v. 'shrink from, contract' ¶ D #2687, DED #2213, Em. DS 365 ¶ D The initial \*č₁- (>

Brh **k-**) is likely to reflect N \***ç̄-** in \***ç̄vprv**, while Krx **cog'rē** (if it belongs here) reflects N \***ç̄|ç̄-** of \***ç̄'ūgrv** and/or \***ç̄'UrV**.

**361.** \***ç̄ä'h'ū|urV** 'circle; to twist' > HS: CS \*-ç̄ür- ~ \***vçrr** v. 'twist, tie around' (a merger with several homoionymous roots) > Hb **צָוֶרׁ ✓ צָוַרׁ** (ip. -ç̄ür, imv. **צָוֶרׁ** ç̄ür) {GB} 'zusammenschnüren', {KBR} 'tie up (in a bag), bind (money in one's hand)' (sc. 'carry money wrapped up in the hand'), MHb {Js.} **צָוֶרׁ ✓ צָוַרׁ G** v. 'tie around, wrap', JA {Js.} **צָוֶרׁ ✓ צָוַרׁ G** v. 'tie around', JEA {Sl.} **✓ צָוַרׁ G** v. 'besiege', Md **✓ שָׁוַרׁ G**, **✓ שְׁרַרׁ G** v. 'surround, hem in, tie in', Ar **صَرَرَ ✓ شَرَرَ G** 'tie up (a purse), tie up with a lace (the udder of a female camel)' ¶ KB 951-2, 99O, KBR 1015, GB 678-9, Js. 127O-1, Sl. 956, DM 391, BK I 1325-6 || ? K: G **ç̄re** 'circle' (unless DCh. is right in claiming that the word is a loan from Arm, but to my mind the resemblance of the G word with Arm **ծռեմ** c̄rem v. 'bend, bow', **ծրան-** c̄ran- v. 'become round', or **ծրաբոլոր** c̄abolor 'circle' is not close enough to suppose a borrowing, because there is no Arm **word** able to be the source of G **ç̄re**) ¶ KEGL VIII 1168-9, Chx. 2194, DCh. 1693, NCh. 454, Xud. I 548-9, Bedr. 316 || U: RP \***ç̄äyU'rV** 'circle, spindle' > Es **sōðr sa:jír** 'circle', {W} **sōðr sa:jír** ~ **tsōðr tsə:jír** 'Kreis, Umkreis, runde Scheibe' | Prm \***ç̄ärs** 'spindle, axle' > Z **ćɔrs**, Yz **ćɔrs**, Vt **ćers** id., Vt **ćersiñt** v. 'spin' ¶ LG 311, Lt. 157, W EDW 108O, 1208 || A: NaT \***çä|ebür-** v. 'twist' (< \*\***çä|ewür-**) > OT {Cl.}, XwT **čävür-**, Chg **čewür-** v. 'twist, turn (sth.)', Osm {Rh.}, Az **čevir-** v. 'turn, turn round', Osm {Rh.} **چور** **čevre** 'circumference, circuit', Az **čevrä** 'circle', Brb {Tm.} **čürä** 'around' ('вокруг, кругом'), {Rl., Tm.} **ç̄ür-** vi. 'turn round' ¶ Cl. 398, Rh. 735, 741, Hü. 342, Tm. 243, 247, Rl. IV 213 ◇ FU \*-y- and Pre-T \*\*-w- developed in hiatus. The only N lr. that can disappear in intervoc. position both in S and in K is \*-h-.

**362.** \***ç̄UyrV** 'rot, stink, be spoiled\bitter' > HS: S \***oç̄vry, y-** > Ar **şiry-** ~ **şary-** 'stagnated water with spoiled taste' ('aqua diu restagnans ut sapor corruptus sit'), **şary-** 'depravatum saporem habens' ¶ Fr. II 496 || K: GZ \***ç̄ar-** v. 'be bitter', d. \***m-ç̄ar-e** 'bitter' > OG, G **m-ç̄ar-e** 'bitter', Mg **gio-č̄or-ap-a-** {FS, K<sup>2</sup> 131} 'remove the bitter taste', {K<sup>2</sup> 307} 'calm down, cool down' ¶ FS K 458-9, Abul. 309, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 131 (\***m-ç̄ar-e** 'bitter'), 307 (\***ç̄ar-** v. 'anger; irritate') || IE \***(s)ker-(d<sup>h</sup>-)** 'cacare; dung, excrements' (× N \***ç̄'ā'řV** 'dirt, dung, excrement, rubbish; defecate' [q.v. ffd.]) || U: FU \***ç̄uy'rV** 'bitter, spoiled, rotten' > pPrm \***ç̄ür-** > Vt

чырс čırs 'sour', čırsa- v. 'turn sour, be fermented', Z чир- čır- v. 'turn rancid\bitter\tainted, turn sour' || pObU {Ht.} \*čär- > pVg {Ht.} \*čär- v. 'turn bitter' (of fish) > Vg: P šär-, NV/SV/LL šar-/šar, UL/Ss šor- id.; pOs {Ht.} \*čär-, {Hl.} \*čır- v. 'turn tainted\bad' (of fish and meat) > Os: V/Vy/Ty/D čär-, Nz/Kz šör-, O šär- ¶ LG 307, Ht. #82 || A \*čüyri- or \*čüri- v. 'stink, be rotten' > T \*çüri- or \*çüyri- id. > Tkm čüyre-, Tk çürük-, Az čürü-, Chg, ET Tr {Rs.} čüri- 'verfaulen, verrosten', Qmq, ET {BN}, Uz, Qrg, Qmn {B}, Tlt {Rl.} čiri-, Qzq, Qq, Nog šir(i)-, StAlt чири- čiri-, Tki {Rl.} ← Shaw چیره - čirü-, VTt чере- šırı- (inf. черг шırı), Bsh сере- şırı-, Qzq ширі- šırı- (inf. šırı), Qq, Nog šırı-, Chv çep- şırı-, Δ šırı- vi. 'rot', ? ET Δ {Jr.} čörü- ~ čürü- 'become worn, decayed, rotten'; → \*čüri-k 'rotten' > Tkm čuyrek, Tk čürük, Tbl, Tlt {Rl.}, ET, Qrg, Qmn, Tb čırık, SbTt Tö, Brb cırık, StAlt čırık id., VTt чerek şırık id., n. 'rot, dust of rotten wood', Bsh сerek şırık, Nog šırık n. 'rot, rotten stuff' ¶ Rs. W 121, Md. 64, 163, TkR 74O, Tum. 245, TatR 634, Rl. III 2124-6, 2194, BN 32, Nj. 408, Jr. 77, Jud. 863, B DK 268, B DChT 165, Jeg. 211-2, Fed. II 111-2 || Tg \*čırı- v. 'stink, be fetid' > Ewk čiri- id., Nn B čırıftala- v. 'be fetid', Ewk čırıpçı adj. 'stinking' ¶ STM II 399 || pKo \*čırı- v. 'be foul, emit a foul odour' > NKo čiri- ¶ S QK #722, MLC 1531 ¶ DQA ##301 (\*čüre 'stink, be rotten' > Tg, Ko + unc. M \*čer 'phlegm, tumour' and T \*čer 'bodily heaviness') ◇ K \*a is likely to suggest that the pN labialized vw. was \*ə (N \*čoyr).

**363.** \*č'ē'r̥a<sub>2</sub>⁻ '∈ (stinging?) insect' > HS: CS \*čar<sub>1</sub>⁻ '∈ stinging insect (wasp or sim.)' > BHb צְרַעַת cirāt 'hornet' or 'wasp' (?), SmH 'šārā' id., SmA צְרִיתָא cryt? id. (unless the original meaning is 'leprosy', as in JPA B צְרַעַת cirāt - F Sl. P 470-1) ¶ GB 695, KB 989, Tal T I 32O (SmA צְרִיתָא in Ex. 23.28 and Deut. 7.2O) || K \*mčer- 'fly, insect' > OG mčer-: ȝaylis mčeri = LXX κυνόμυια 'dog-fly', G mčer- 'insect', † 'fly', Mg čanž-~čand-, Lz mčaž-, Sv UB/L mēr, Sv Ln mer 'fly'; Zan → Arm ՃԱՆՃԵՄՆ čančetn 'fly, flies' ¶ K 141, K<sup>2</sup> 131, DCh. 93O, Chx. 878, Q 386, TK 57O, GP 217 || ?φ A \*č'ar- + sxs. ({SDM97} \*č'arč'u) '∈ insect (locust, dragon-fly)' > M \*čarča > WrM carca, carcaga(i), carcaqai, HlM царцаахай 'locust, grasshopper', {Luv.} царцаа 'locust', WrM damzigur carcaqai 'dragon-fly', Kl {Rm.} carca, carcā, carcāχā 'grasshopper, locust', Dgr čārčān 'locust',

Mnr H {SM} č‘jarž̥\_jaq\_ 'sauterelle, cigale' ¶ MED 165, Luv. 605, KW 422, T DgJ 180, SM 443 || NaT \*sarinqa 'locust' (× \*sarig 'yellow'?) > OT [MhK] sarič̥ya, MQp [AH] sarinč̥qa, sarinč̥qan, Qb {Rl.} sarisqa 'locust', Sg {BIG} sarisxa 'grasshopper', Xk sarisxa 'кобылка (grasshopper, locust)'; T → R саран'ча 'locust' ¶ Cl. 845-6, Rs. W 404, TL 187, Rl. IV 325-6, BIG 183 || Tg: WrMc cacaraqu 'e locust' ¶ STM II 486 || ??φ pJ {S} \*sunsu-musi (\*musi 'insect') > OJ suzumusi, J T suzumuši 'e cricket' (× N 𠁼 ~ \*ᜒᜓ᜔᜕ᜓ᜔᜕ 'ant, stinging insect' [q.v.]) || pKo {S} \*č̥nč̥ári > MKo \*č̥nč̥ári, NKO čamčari 'dragon-fly' (× N 𠁼 ~ \*ᜒᜓ᜔᜕ᜓ᜔᜕ '↑?') ¶ S QK #293, Nam 416, MLC 1396 ¶ SDM97 s.v. \*č̥arč̥u 'locust, dragon-fly'; KW 422 (M, T) || D \*č̥ēr̥- ({θGS} \*č̥č̥- ~ \*č̥č̥-) 'e insect' > Kn jar̥i 'centipede, scolopendra', Mi cératt̥a ~ tēratt̥a, Tu téranṭæ ~ cérat̥e ~ séra(n)t̥e 'centipede, millipede', Tl jer̥i, jerr̥i, Prj žerri ~ cerr̥i, Gnd žer ~ žerru, Knd ser̥i 'centipede' ¶ D #2797 ◇ D \*-r̥- (the reg. reflex of the N intervoc. \*-r-) suggests early loss of N \*č̥ or the presence of a vw. between N \*r and \*č̥. The length of the D \*ē reflexes the lost lr. On the ev. of D the N etymon is likely to have had a front vw. (\*e), while A \*a may be explained by regr. as., possibly N \*čerařv > \*\*č̥ara-.

**364. \*č̥iryā** 'to scratch\chisel, to shape (an object), to fashion' > **K** \*č̥er- 'scratch; depict' > OG čer- v. 'write', 'produce an image' (žvaris dačera 'made a sign of cross', sc. 'cross oneself'), G čer- 'depict, write' (žvaris dačera v. 'cross oneself', lit. 'depict a cross'), G Kzq červa- 'make paintings on windows\doors', G M ga-čera- 'depict a line', Mg čar-, Lz (n)čar-, Sv yr- / r- / ēr- (msd. UB li-yr-i) 'write'; FS adduces here OG, G čert̥- v. 'prick (stechen)', čert̥-il-i 'point', which is doubtful (because of the unexplained -t̥-) ¶ K 249-50, K<sup>2</sup> 309, FS K 461, FS E 521-2 (+ err. K \*mčer- 'fly, insect', F N \*č̥e'r̥ařv 'e [stinging?] insect'), Chik. 407, GP 163, Chx. 2142 || **HS:** CS \*č̥ur-/č̥ir- v. 'fashion, shape' > BHb ✓ č̥wr G (pf. c. נִצְרָן way'ya-čar) 'fashion, delineate', JEA {Sl.} ✓ č̥wr G 'fashion, draw, form', Plm ✓ šwr v. 'paint', Sr ✓ šwr (pf. šār) 'form, fashion, paint'; D : Ar ✓ šwr v. D 'shape out (a th.), paint, picture', MHb/JA ✓ č̥yr D id.; CS \*č̥ur-at- 'drawing, form' > BHb צוֹרָה č̥urā 'form, fashion', ChrPA ׀o, šwr?, Plm šwrh 'Bild', Sr šūr'-t-ā 'form, image, statue', Ar صُورَة šūr-at- 'shape, exterior appearance, picture' ¶ KB 954, Sl. 956, JPS 476-7, BK I 1383-4 || **A:** T

\*çír- ~ \*çIÍ- v. 'scratch, draw a line' > OT U ≥VIII {Cl.} čiz, {Gbn., DTS} čiz- id., Osm {Bu.} چِزْمَكْ čiz-mäk ~ چِزْمَقْ čiz-maq 'to draw a line, to mark a boundary path', {Rh.} چِزْمَكْ čiz-mek 'to draw (a line, mark, scratch), sketch, delineate', Tk çiz-, Ggz čiz-, Qrg siz-, Qrg S čiz- v. 'draw a line, mark', Az چىزكى čiz-ğı 'line, stroke (линия, штрих)', Tkm چىز- čið- 'draw a line, draw (чертить), scratch' ¶ Cl. 432, Rs. W 112, DTS 147, Bu. I 476, Rh. 72O, Hüs. 345, TkR 743, Jus. 675, 883, Rl. III 2148-9 || Tg \*çırçı- > Ewk čırçı- (3s čırçı-rən) 'scratch off (skin on the face)' ¶ STM II 40O, Vas. 522 ¶ ≠ DQA ##322 (A \*čire 'cut, scrape': Tg + unc. T \*çErt- 'cut') || D \*čirāñ- ({θGS} \*cč-) 'small chisel' (x N \*č̣ΔRΔ 'flintstone, knife'?) > Kn cīraña, cīrña, jīrña 'a small chisel, esp. used in cutting metals', Tl cīrañamu 'a small chisel' ¶ D #2627.

**365.** 2 \*čâRi,pΔ (~ \*-b-?) 'scratch\chisel, hew, cut' > IE: NaIE \*skerb-/\*skreb- (~ \*-p-), \*skreib/p- 'scratch, scrape' > AS sćeorpan 'to scratch, to gnaw', OHG scarboñ 'to cut', scarpf 'sharp', MHG scharf adj. 'cutting', NHG scharf, AS sćearp 'sharp', NE sharp; AS sćeorf 'Einschnitt', OHG scurfen 'aufschneiden', NHG schürfen 'leicht abkratzen', 'to dig (for sth.)'; MHG schreffen, AS sćrepan 'scratch'; NE scrape || BSl: Lt skrebéti 'to scrape', Ltv skrāpēt 'to scratch, to scrape', skrabt (1s prs. skrabu) id., 'to scoop, to hollow out', šķirba 'chink, split, gap', Ltv Δ skrīpāt 'einritzen, kratzen' | Sl \*skreb- (inf. \*skresti) > ChS ोक्रेब ऋ skreb-q 'I scrape off', R скреб-у (inf. скрести), Uk скреб-у (inf. скребти), Sln škrébljem (inf. škrébatí) v. 'scrape', Slk {Ma.} inf. škret' 'to scrape'; d. (iter.): Cz škrabati 'to scratch, to scrape', Slk šrabat' id., P skrobać 'to scrape, to scrub, to erase' || L scrib-ō, -ěre 'write' || Clt: OIr scríp- ({Vn.}: -p- = [b]) 'scratch', NIr scríobaim 'scrape, rub the surface, scratch', Brtt {ðRE} \*skrebami 'scratch' > W scrapo, Crn scravynyas 'to scratch, Br skarañ 'to scratch, to rub' || Gk σκαρίψομαι, σκαρίψεω 'die Oberfläche eines Körpers aufritzen', 'scratch an outline' ¶ P 943-7 (unj. adduction of homo-+paro-nymous words of different origin), ≈ Frn. 815, Kar. II 2O3, 355, F II 72O, WH II 499-50O, Vn. S 55, RE 126, Ho. 274-6, 282, Kb. 869, KM 635-6, 684, Vs. III 656, Ma. CS 5O, Srz. II 73O || HS: WS \*✓çrb > Gz ✓şrb G (js. үәşrəb) 'hew, do carpentry', Sb şrbət '(?) cutting of a road', ?osşrb n. 'harvest', Mh {Jo.} мэşrāb, Jb C {Jo.}

məš'reb 'saw-edged knife used to cut grass', Sq {L} ✓ šrb G , Ar صرب ✓ šrb G v. 'cut', BHb תְּבַדֵּל צָהָר 'scab, scar (of a sore)' (x Hb ✓ šrb 'burn, scorch' < CS \*✓ ſrb 'kindle'?) ¶ L G 56, BK I 1327, Hv. 393, Ln. 1674, KB 985-6, BDB 863, BGMR 144, Jo. M 365, Jo. J 241.

**366.** ? \*čoŕ̥v (or \*čoŕ̥v?) to drip, to trickle' > HS: S \*°č̥rr > Ak fOB ✓ ſrr G (p. iſrur) 'flow, drip', 'libate, pour out' ¶ Sd. 1084-5, CAD XVI 105-6 || K \*čur- 'squeeze out, strain' (x N \*čUřív 'squeeze out [liquid], strain, sift' [q.v. ffd.]) || U {UEW} \*čorv 'leak, flow, drip' (x N \*čoh₂lV,rV 'to drip, to leak, to flow; drops' [q.v.]) || D \*čōr̥- ({θGS} \*čs-?) 'trickle, pour, flow down' (x N \*čūř'ū 'to stream') > Prj čōr̥- v. 'trickle', Png hōr̥- v. 'drip'; cp. also N \*čoh₂lV,rV '↑' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ D #2883, 2893 || A \*čUr- 'pour, stream' (x N \*čoh₂lV,rV '↑') > M: Ba čur- vi. 'pour' (of tears) ¶ T BJ 151 || Tg \*čor- 'stream', 'run' (of water) > Ul čoržu- id. ('с т р у и т ь с я'), 'flow down', ?φ Nn B caoqa 'rivulet (in the mountains)', WrMc adj. čor seme 'welling out, spouting' ¶ STM II 409 ◇ Doubtful, because the etymon has an uncontaminated reflex in Ak only. Due to the loss of the opposition "emphatic ↔ plain voiceless" in U and D and the loss of the lr. \*č in K it was doomed to coalesce with paronymous N words of a similar meaning.

**367.** 2 \*čUřív 'squeeze out (liquid), strain, sift' > K \*čur- 'squeeze out, press; strain', {K<sup>2</sup>} 'flow out' (x N ? \*čoŕ̥v 'to drip, to trickle' [q.v.]) > OG čur- 'squeeze out' (gamo-w-čur-e sasumelsa šina 'I pressed [the grapes] into the cup'- Gen. 40.11), G čur- 'squeeze out (juice, etc.), strain', Mg čur- / čir- (~ čir-), Lz (n)čor-/(n)čir- {FS} id., Sv nčur- / nčir- 'strain, drain off (a vessel)', ?σ Mg čur- {K} 'fall, sink' ¶ K 246, Fn. KW-4 #66, FS K 451-2, FS E 511, Chx. 2199-200, Q 382 || HS: Eg G čir 'sieve' ¶ EG V 541.

**368.** (2?) \*čot̥v 'drop' > K (GZ or pK) \*čwet- n. 'drop' > OG čuet-, G čvet-, Mg čwet- ~ čwat- id., Lz d. o-čot-u-a {FS} 'Tropfstelle', o-čwet-el-a ~ o-čot-ur-a 'place for litter in the yard'; GZ \*čwet-/\*čwt- v. 'drip, drop' > OG čwet-/čwt-, G čvet-, Mg čwat- id.; ?? Sv {K} wed- n. 'drop, dew', adduced in K 250, is considered very problematic in K<sup>2</sup> ¶ K 250, K<sup>2</sup> 310-1, FS K 462, FS E 524, Chx. 2152-3, Abul. 551 || D \*čot̥t̥o ({θGS} \*s-) n. 'drop', \*čot̥t̥- v. 'fall in drops' > Tm čot̥t̥u, Kt čot̥, Td swit̥, Kn töt̥t̥u, Brh čut̥ 'a drop'; Tm čot̥t̥u, Td swit̥ 'fall in drops', Kt čot̥-, Mlt čate id., leak', Brh čuttiŋ v. 'drip' ¶ D #2835 || HS: S

?σ, φ \*<sup>o</sup>ṛs' a'day- 'dew' > Ar سَدَّا sadā 'night dew', ✓sdy (pf. sadiya) 'copiosum habet rorem (terra)' ¶ Ln. 1335-6, Fr. II 3O2 ¶ S \*s (= \*[c]) is from a deglottalized \*c. S -d- (for -t-) still needs explaining.

**369.** \*c' ū' t<sup>Δ</sup> (or \*c' ū' t<sup>Δ</sup>?) 'throw, fling, pour' > **K** o \*-c̣či<sup>t</sup>- > G -c̣i<sup>t</sup>- 'zwischen den Zähnen ausspucken' ¶ Chx. 2176 || **I**E: NaIE \*(s)keud-/\*(s)kud- 'throw, cast', {E} \*(s)keud- > pAl {O} \*skeuda > Al T hedh- (aor. hodha), Al G {Mn.} hudh v. {AlbED} 'throw', {Mn.} 'fling' (= Al G {Kf.} hudh, hudhi 'ῥίπτω') || ON skjóta, AS scéotan 'to shoot, to throw', OHG scioz̄an 'to shoot (arrows), to throw', NHG schießen, MDt scieten, Dt schieten, OSx skiotan 'to shoot', NE shoot || Sl \*k̄da-ti / pfv. \*k̄(d)-nq-ti 'to throw' > ChS {Mikl.}, OR **ҚЫДАТЫ** k̄dati 'to throw', OCS **ИСКЫДАТЫ** iš-k̄dati 'to throw away', R ки'датъ (pfv. кинуть), Uk қидати 'to throw, to cast, to fling', Cz kydati 'to throw, to throw away', SCr k̄dati id., 'to clean the cattle-shed', k̄nuti 'to throw, to cast', Slv k̄dati, Slk k̄dat' (pfv. k̄dnut'), P kidać 'to throw', HLs kidać, LLs kidas 'to pour out, to shake out' ¶ WP II 554, P 955-6, EI 581, ≈ Mn. 116O-1 (unconvincingly adduces OI cōdati v. 'incites, animates', Lt skudrūs 'quick'), Kf. 135, 138, O 143-4, Vr. 496, Ho. 276, Ho. S 66, OsS 797-8, Schz. 257, Kb. 885, KM 647-8, Vs. II 23O, ESSJ XIII 252-4, Glh. 316-7 ||

**HS:** Eg fP st̄y 'throw (out\away), pour, shoot (arrow)' (× N \*śid<sup>Δ</sup> 'sprinkle, pour' and possibly Eg st̄y 'lay' < N \*r̄śät<sup>Δ</sup> 'sit, sit down', accounting for the unexpected s-) ¶ EG IV 328-9, Fk. 252 || ?φ WS \*-s|śūt- v. 'pour, spill' > Gz -sūt- (pf. sōt̄a, js. yə-sūt̄) id., ? Ar sawt̄- 'place where water collects', {BK} 'mare d'eau stagnante; le superflu d'eau d'un vivier qui déborde'; here some scholars adduce dubious Sb and Hb forms (h. l.) that are semantically interpreted on the basis of this et. (a vicious circle!): Sb tiSa ʔšȳt̄ ({BGMR} 'rainwater cisterns' [?]) and Hb פָלַשׁ-šōt̄ in the phrase 'šōt̄ šōt̄ tēp (interpreted by some as 'fließender Flut', F discussion in GB 814); if the Hb and Sb parallels are correct (which is highly qu.), the S √ is to be reconstructed as \*✓šw̄t̄; otherwise both \*✓s w̄t̄ and \*✓š w̄t̄ are possible ¶ LG 521, BGMR 13O, BK I 1164 || **A:** M \*čitdqu- 'pour (schütten, gießen)' > MM [MA] čitqu-'schütten', WrM сидкы-, HlM цүтгә- v. 'pour, pour into, smelt, cast', WrO сиджу- 'pour in, flow into', Kl {KRS} цүтх- cutχъ- v. 'cast (metal, glass); drive out (a gopher from its burrow by pouring water in it)', {Rm.} cutχа-χа 'gießen, in Formen gießen; sich ergießen', 'ausfließen' (ein Fluß) ¶ Pp. MA 135, MED 177, Krg. 649, KRS 642, KW

434 ◇ The de-emphatization and desaffricatization of the initial N \*č|č in HS is a typical process. In K the glottalization of the stem-final cns., if not original, may be due to the ass. infl. of the N initial \*č|č. The S √ with its final \*t belongs here only if the glottalized \*t is original. In this latter case the IE tenuis \*-d- is hard to explain. The causes of delabialization of \*ü in M (whence M \*i) need investigating.

**370.** \*čAHT<sub>N</sub> ~ \*čAHd<sub>N</sub> (= \*čAř|h<sub>N</sub>t<sub>N</sub> ~ \*čAř|h<sub>N</sub>d<sub>N</sub>?) 'red' > **K:** GZ \*čit- 'be(come) red' > OG, G čit- id. (OG, G čit-s 'is red'), Mg čit- 'become red'; → GZ \*čit-el- 'red' > OG, G čitel-, Mg čita-, Lz (m)čita id. ¶ K 251, K<sup>2</sup> 313, FS E 526, Chx. 2162-3, Q 388-9 || **HS:** i S \*°✓sčhd > Ak {Sd.} sēd-um 'red' ¶ Sd. 1O34; CAD XIII 2O6 considers the meaning of this word uncertain || **C:** SC {E} \*čéd- 'red' > Brn {Wh.} čēde, Irg/Grw {Wh.} čēre, Alg {Wh.} čēre 'blood', ?? SC → Mb m-sére 'red(-brown) cow' || ?φ Dhl {EEN, To.} číraraře 'red' ¶ Wh. IC 22, ESC 179, E PC #171, EEN 17, To. D 149 ¶ Ehret reconstructs the pSC meaning 'red' on the ev. of Mb and Dhl (which he considers as belonging to SC) ¶ ~ Tk. PAA (pHS \*cayd- 'red', SC \*čēd- id.) || **D:** \*čāt- ({θGS} \*ʒ|ʒ-) 'red colour' > Kn jāju ~ jādu id., 'colour of red ochre', Tl jāju ~ jādu 'redness' ¶ D #2437 ¶ D \*-t- is likely to go back to the N cluster \*-Ht- (D \*-t- usually goes back either to N \*-t- or to a \*t-cluster). ◇ If Ak sēd-um means 'red', the N etymon is \*čAř|h<sub>N</sub>t<sub>N</sub> or \*čAř|h<sub>N</sub>d<sub>N</sub>.

**371.** \*čoQ<sub>N</sub>t<sub>N</sub> 'dark, darkness' > **K:** \*°č|čqud- (dis. from \*\*č|čqu-?) 'dark' > OG čowdiadi, čudeva 'darkness (Μράκ)', G čvdiadi id., čvviadoba 'darkness (тёмнота)' ¶ Chik. 2OO, DCh. 17O1 || **IE:** NaIE \*skot- 'shade, darkness, shadow', {El} \*'skoto-s 'shadow, shade' > Gk σκότος 'darkness' || OIr (L-gr. of apophony) scáth 'shade, shelter, shadow, reflection (in a mirror)', W ysgodigo 'être ombrageux', MW ysgawd ~ isgaud 'ombre, obscurité, esprit nocturne', cy-sgaud 'shadow, image', W cy-sgod, OCrn scod, MCrn scos, NCrn skēz, MBr squeut 'shadow', Br skeud 'shade, shadow' || Gt skadus 'shadow', Dn, Nr skodde 'fog', OHG scato (gen. scatuwes) 'shadow', NHG Schatten id., 'shade', Dt schadow 'shadow', AS sceadu (dat. sceadwe) 'shade, shadow', NE shade, shadow ¶ WP II 6OO. P 957, AHDI 61, EI 5O8, F II 739-4O, Vn. S 36, Ern. 646, YGM-1 151, Hm. 728, Fs. 427, Skeat 552, Schz. 255, OsS 782, Kb. 87O, KM 637-8 ¶ IE \*sk- for the expected \*skʷ- has not yet been explained || **U:** FP \*čōttE 'black' > Prm: pZ \*čōt- ({LG} \*čōt-) > StZ чöд čzd / čdy-, Z Δ čzd, Yz 'čud

'bilberries' | Chr L {Ü} чотър̥ чотър̥ 'dark-haired person' ¶ LG 31O, Lt. 148, Ü 246.

**372.** \***ç**ow<sup>W</sup> 'inform, make know\hear' > **K:** GZ \*çaw-/\*çw- v. 'communicate, inform, announce' > OG, G scav- v. 'mean, designate, inform, teach' (< 3m px. \*s- 'to him\her' + \*çaw-), Mg ç(ə)- v. 'inform, tell', Lz ç(v)- v. 'speak, tell' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 291-2, Chik. 393-4, Fn. KW-4 54, FS K 438, FS E 494-5 || **HS:** CS \*✓çww (~ \*✓çwy|w?) > Ar صَوْةً, شَوَّهَاتٍ (pl. صَوْيَ, شَوَّهَانٍ) 'pierre qui indique la route; écho, retentissement de la voix \ d'un son', ? Hb צָוֹן caw n. 'command, ordinance', ✓çwy|w v. *D* (pf. צִוְּנָה cīw'wā) 'command, order, lay charge upon' (x S \*✓wçy > Ar ✓wṣy *G* 'recommend, appoint as executor', *Sh* †[pf. قَوْصَىْ رَوْصَىْ] 'order, command') ¶ BK I 1388 and II 1551-2, KB 946-8, BDB 845-6 || **A:** M \*°čobuya > WrM собуга, собуги, HlM цовоо 'clever, smart, quickwitted, alert' (usually of children) ¶ MED 193.

**373.** <sub>2</sub>\***ç**χ<sup>W</sup> 'be alive\healthy' > **K:** GZ \*çχow- 'live' → [1] GZ {K} \*çχo(w)n- 'save (soul)' > OG cχown- 'save (so.), make so.\sth. whole' (gacxovna šen 'hath made thee whole, Mt. 9.22), cχond- ps. 'live', G cχon- 'save (soul), be saved; live, be alive', cχovneba 'life', cχovr- v. 'live', Mg čxon- v. 'save'; [2] GZ \*çχow-el- 'living, animal' > OG cχowel- 'alive, animated, animal', G cχovel- 'animal', Mg čxo-u ~ čxu ~ čxu-u 'cow' ¶ K 232, K<sup>2</sup> 276, FS K 417-8 || **HS:** WS \*✓çħħ v. 'be alive, healthy' > Mh šzħ, Jb C šaħħi 'alive, awake, healthy', Hrs šzħ 'alive, healthy', Mh šzħħat, Jb E/C šzħħat 'health', Ar ✓šħħ *G* 'be in good condition, be healthy', Ar šiħħat-, Sb šħħ, šħħħ 'health, good condition' ¶ BK I 1056, 131O-1, Jo. M 36O, Jo. J 238, Jo. H 115, BGMR 142 ◇ In K there is a compulsory glottal as. (here deglottalization) within "harmonic" cns. clusters (here \*ç + \*χ > \*çχ).

**374.** <sub>2</sub>\***č**a, dem. pronoun of distal deixis > **A:** Tg \*ča-, pronominal stem of distal deixis (x N \*čE 'that' [distal or intermediate deixis?] > Nn Nh čadu 'there' (place), Ul čadu id., 'there' (direction), Nn Nh čala id., Ul čala 'there' (direction), ? Ud {Krm.} čayla 'far away', Ewk čāwū čāyū 'that which is farther, the following', Lm čāy id., 'that which is far', Sln čāyū 'the opposite, that on the other side', WrMc časi ({Pp.} čāsi) 'there' (direction), 'to the other side', čala 'there, on the other side' ¶ STM II 376-7, Krm. 309 || ?σ M \*ča(ya)-, {Pp.} \*ča-: M \*čayada ({Pp.} \*čagāda) > MM čaada 'bei, jenseits' ({H} 'eng, nahe'), WrM cagana

{Kow.} 'au delà de, plus loin', {MED} 'farther, beyond, behind, yonder, trans-, after', HlM {MED} цаана id., {Pp.} сāна 'on the other side'; M \*čayasi > WrM сагаси 'away from, farther', HlM {MED} цааш id., {Pp.} сајši 'in jener Richtung, weiter dorthin', WrM {Kow.} ca-si 'un peu de côté, un peu plus loin' ¶ MED 158, 187, H 24, Lg. VMI 24, Kow. 2088, 2096 || AdS of pKo \*č̄a, 'this' > MKo č̄a, (< N \*č̄E 'that') ¶ S QK #606 ¶ Pp. VG 26 (M, Tg), DQA ##255 (A \*č̄a 'that, beyond [not very far]') || HS: CS \*'θamma 'there' (place) > Hb מָםָם šām, M'b, Ph, DA šm, Ug θm, BA תָמָם 'tammā, JEA {Sl.} מָמָם tam, JA {Js., Lv.} مَمَّا tām, Sr tammā, NNEA {Mcl.} tama, Md tam, Ar ٹامہamma id., SmA tm 'then' ¶ KB 143O-2, 1799, OLS 495, Js. 1675, Lv. IV 649, Mcl. 322, Br. 82, Tal 953 ◇ Related to N \*č̄'ū' 'that of...?' (q.v.).

**375.** \*č̄'ū' 'that of..., that which' > K \*č̄we-, first component of poss. pronouns: [1] K {Gm.} \*čwem̄i, 'my' ({K2} \*č(w)em̄-, {K, FS} \*čem̄i, 'my') > GZ \*čem̄i > OG, G čem-i, Mg čkim-i, Lz čkim-i ~ škim-i 'my' | USv mi-šgu ~ mi-šgw̄i, Sv L mi-šgw̄i, Sv Ln mi-škwi 'my' ¶ K \*-w- is preserved in Sv, but was lost in GZ (dis. due to the presence of \*m?) ¶ K 219, K<sup>2</sup> 255, FS K 387, FS E 434-5, Gm. SSh 41-2, TK 571, GP 22O, Dn. s.v. mišgv̄i, Top. SJ 83 || [2] \*čwen- 'our' > OG čuən-i, G čwen-i, Mg čkən-i ~ čkin-i, Lz čkun-i ~ škun-i ~ čkin-i ~ škin-i 'our', Sv {TK}: UB gw̄i-šgwey ~ gu-šgwey, LB gw̄išgwe ~ gušge, L gušgwe, Ln guškwe 'our' incl., UB {GP} ni-šgwē(y), LB {GP} nišgwe 'our' excl.; → GZ \*čwen 'we' > OG čwen, G čwen, Δ čon, Mg čkə ~ čki, Lz čkun ~ čkin ~ šku 'we' ¶ K 219-2O, K<sup>2</sup> 256-7, FS K 388-9, FS E 436-7, Q 367, TK 183, Top. SJ 83, GP 94-5, 237 || [3] pre-K \*\*čw-sen- > K \*šwen- 'thy' > Sv UB {TK} isgw̄i ~ isgu, Sv L isgw̄i, Sv Ln iskwi 'thy' || GZ \*šen- > OG, G šen-i 'thy' (→ OG, G šen 'thou'), Mg skan-i, skan-i, Lz skan-i, ckan-i 'thy' ¶ FS E 427-8, K 216, K<sup>2</sup> 25O, Schm. 142, TK 299, Top. SJ 83, GP 299 ¶ These K poss. pronouns emerge from N constructions \*•č̄'ū' mi 'my' (\*mi 'I'), \*•č̄'ū' n̄v 'our' (\*n̄v 'we' excl.), \*•č̄'ū' s̄ū nu 'thy' (\*s̄ū 'thou', \*nu 'of' → [in descendant lgs.] marker of obl. cases) || HS: S \*θ-, nota genitivi > OAk sg. m. nom. θ-u, accus. θ-a, gen. θ-i 'which', sg. f. nom./accus. θ-at, gen. θ-at-i, pl. m. nom./accus. θ-ăt, gen. θ-ăt-i, pl. f. nom./accus. θ-ăt, gen. θ-ăt-i (θ = š ↔ ſ < S \*š and \*š̄), Ak ša 'which', ? BHb [Deborah's Song] ša + gmc. (subordinative cnjc.) 'that', MHb šε + gmc. cncj. 'which, that', Ph š, Pun (LSc) SA, SY ¶ Sd. G § 46, KB 1271-2 || IE: NaIE \*-ist(ʰ)o-, sx. of the

superlative degree > Gk ἅδιστος, OHG suōzisto, OI 'svadis̥has 'sweetest', Gk πλεῖστος, ON flestr, Av fraēšta 'plurimus', Gk μέγιστος, OI 'mahiś̥has 'greatest', Gk ἐλάχιστος, OI 'laghiś̥has 'longest'; acc. to Hirt, \*-ist(ʰ)0- goes back to \*-is-st(ʰ)0-, where \*-is- is a sx. of cmpr. (it means that the N prototype of the IE sprl. may be reconstructed as nomen + N \*<sup>o</sup>ṛy̥iyo sE č̥ū' [lit. 'than / related to + he\she + that which'], see s.v. \*<sup>ṛ</sup>y̥iyo 'which' [rel.], 'that which, related to') || Acc. to Hirt IG III 196, \*-t(ʰ)os of some ordinal numerals (OI catur'thas 'fourth', sas̥'thas 'sixth', etc.) is of the same origin ¶ Hirt IG III 195-6, BD II/1 659-60, Bks. 199 || A: Tg \*-çī, nominal sx. with several functions: [1] sx. of ordinal numerals: Ewk -çī (ūmūčī 'first', jūçī 'second', ılaçī 'third') WrMc -ci (emuci 'first', ilaci 'third'), Nn -č̥ja/-č̥jz (toynagač̥ja 'fifth', nadač̥ja 'seventh', nūngunč̥jz 'sixth'), [2] sx. of adjectives denoting age (d. from numerals): Ewk jūçī 'two-years-old', ılaçī 'three-years-old'; probably here also Nn -pč̥i that forms adjectives from words of time: bala-pč̥i 'ancient custom' (↔ bala 'long ago'), [3] sx. with the meaning 'having X', 'having relation to X', e.g. Ewk hut̥-çī 'who has children' (↔ hut̥ 'child'), Tg \*oro(n)-çī 'reindeer-breeder' (↔ \*orōn 'reindeer') > Ewk orōçī 'reindeer-breeder', Lm orb̥ç id. (a name for Lamuts of some regions), Orc orōçī, Ud orōčī, Ul orōčī, Nn orōče 'Orochi' (ethnic name ↔ 'reindeer-breeder'), WrMc oronco 'reindeer-breeder' ¶ Vas. 797, Avr. GNJ I 221-2, 239-42, Hrl. 40, STM II 25 || NaT \*-çī, denominative sx. for names of professions and other nomina agentis (possibly ×N \*č̥a ~ \*č̥a, a marker of relative constructions > sx. of adjectives?): OT -čī / -č̥ī, {Cl.} -čī / -č̥ī, e.g. {MhK} ämčī 'medicine man', ayīčī 'treasurer', umdučī 'beggar', ayāqčī 'bowl-maker', ötügčī 'intercessor', as well the cognate sx. of later T lgs.; it is theoretically possible that the T sx. \*-nč̥ of the ordinal numerals (OT üčü-nč̥ 'third', bešinč̥ 'fifth', etc.) belongs here as well, but it is better explained as related to FU \*-ńč̥- of ordinal numerals ¶ MKD 315, Cl. xl, 53, 80, 136, 157, 271 ◇ AD PP ∀.

**376.** \*č̥i b̥V 'stem of a tree, log' > IE: NaIE \*stēb(ʰ)- 'post, pillar, stem of a tree', → 'staff, stick' (×N \*ś̥o'b̥V, t̥V or \*sVb̥V, t̥V 'stem, piece of wood' [q.v.]): [1] \*stebh-, \*steb- > Gk σταφυλή 'grape vine, bunch of grapes', {P} 'Weinstock, Weintraube' || OIr {P} s̥ab 'shaft, arrow, stick', {Vn.} 'tige, pieu, bâton servant d'appui' (P: < \*steb<sub>L</sub>h̥ā),

NIr **sab̥h** 'bolt\bar of a door\gate; a short, thick stick' || ON **staf-r** 'staff (Stab, Stock)', OHG **stab** 'staff, stick, club' (> NHG **Stab** 'staff, stick'), AS **stæf** 'staff, stick' (> NE **staff**) || Ltv **stabs** 'post, pole, pillar', Lt **stābas** id., 'idol', Ltv **stebe** 'mast' || NaIE \*steb- '≈ pillar' > ON **stapull** 'post, pillar', {Vr.} 'dicker Pfahl', AS **stapol** 'pillar, prop, stem' || [2] NaIE \*stob<sub>1</sub><sup>h</sup>-<sub>2</sub>vr- > Lt **stābaras** 'stalk, stem, dry twig\branch' | Sl ≈ \*stoborъ, {Vs.} \*stъbъrъ > SrChS **стоборъ** stoborъ 'column', d. OR, RChS **стоборије** stoborije 'row of posts, colonnade', SCr † **stōbōr** 'column, pillar', Slv {Kmc.} **stebēr** id., 'pier (of a bridge)', {Vs.} 'idol', Blg 'стобор ~ стобор' 'pale fence' || Gmc: Dn **stavær** 'high mast, high pole', Sw Δ {P} 'pale (Zaunpfahl)' ¶ P 1O11-3, EI 442 (\*sth<sub>2</sub>b<sup>h</sup>o/e<sub>A</sub>- 'post, pillar'), F II 778-9, Vn. S 3, Dnn. 585, Vr. 541, 559, Ho. 314-7, Kb. 947, OsS 861, KEN 647, Tr. 28O, Frn. 89O-1, Mikl. E 323, Mikl. L 885, Kmc. 819, Vs. III 762-3 || **U:** FU (+ext.) \*či<sub>1</sub>wδ|∇ > ObU {θHl.} \*či<sub>1</sub>wəl 'in beam' > pVg \*ši<sub>1</sub>wəl 'cross-beam' > Vg: LK šēwəl, MK/UK sēwəl id., P šäwältaþ 'Gestell'; pOs \*či<sub>1</sub>yəl ~ \*če<sub>1</sub>yəl 'supporting beam' > Os: K/Km če<sub>1</sub>yət id. ¶ Ht. #98 || **D:** \*či<sub>1</sub>vva ({θGS} \*č-) '≈ piece of wood, stick' > Nkr ši<sub>1</sub>vva 'wood', Klm si<sub>1</sub>vva 'piece of fuel', ? Tl cūvva 'twig, small flexible stick or cane' ¶ ≈ D #26OO ◇ Qu., because the IE √ has an alt. et.

**377.** <sub>2</sub> \*čūb<sub>1</sub>∇ 'bend, turn, turn back, give back' > **HS:** WS (or S?) \*θūb- 'return, give back' > BHb ✓ šwb G (ip. -šūb-), OA שׁוּב [✓θwb] G, JA, Sr ✓ twb G (ip. -tūb-), Ar ✓ θwb G (ip. -θūb-) 'turn back, return', JEA ✓ twb G 'answer, raise an objection', Ug ✓ θwb 'turn back; turn to; answer', Sb ✓ θwb G 'repair; complete\execute (construction); reward, recompense', Mn {MA} ✓ θwb G 'decree', Qt {Rk.} ✓ θwb G 'succeed; offer', Mh ✓ θwb G (pf. θwūb), Jb C/E ✓ θwb G (pf. θwūb) 'requite (so.)', ??σ Ak fOB ✓ šwb (p. i-šūb) 'tremble, sway' ¶ KB 1326-31, A #2828, OLS 484-5, Sl. 1196, Ln. 361ff., BGMR 151, MA 99, Rk. 178, Jo. M 419, Jo J 285, CAD XVII/1 16 || Eg MK wšb v. 'answer' ¶ EG I 371-2, Tk. I 313 ¶ -š- (for the expected -s) may be due to contamination with a different √, namely HS \*švāb 'answer' (> Ch \*✓ ſab 'answer' > WCh: AG \*lap [< \*šab] > Ang {Flk.} lap, Su {J}, Mpn {Frz.} láp id., Chip l̥ap gʷe, Gm ni l̥ap v. 'answer' | Bl {Lk.} lōw- [< \*šob-], Ngm lap, Dr l̥uw̥i id. || CCh: Pdl ſ̥šwá 'answer' | Hld šuwa [š- for ſ- is puzzling] | FG žùbàtí | ? Mwl ùluápá id. | Db ti žòwùlā id., cf. ChL, Nw. 22 [#1], J S II 72, Frz. DM 31, Lk. PVB II 137) ¶ Tk. I 2O3, 399 (Blv.'s

law: Eg **ω**- ÷ S \*-ū-) || IE: NaIE {P} \*<sup>o</sup>steub<sub>L</sub><sup>h</sup>-ma, \*<sup>o</sup>stouub<sub>L</sub><sup>h</sup>-ma > Clt: W **у**стум n. 'bend' → 'shape, posture', Br **stumm** 'forme, aspect' § ≈ P 1O34, YGM-1 447, Hm. 765 || ?Φ **Gil**: Gil A (ζο-) = ζο-/ζο-/γο- vt. 'bend' §§ ST 88.

**378.** \*č̥a?u<sup>1</sup>ba 'cloth, sack' > **A:** M \*č̥uba '≈ fur coat' > WrM **cuba** {Rm.} 'large fur coat', {Ms.} 'short fur vest', {Kow.} **cuba degel** '≡ coat (manteau)' (**degel** 'jacket'), WrM {MED} **cuba**, HlM цуб, Brt **суба** 'raincoat', Kl цуб 'sheepskin coat, fur coat (тулуп, шуба)', Kl Ö/T **cuwu** 'Überrock, großer Pelz, großer Regenrock' § MED 2O3, Chr. 395, Kow. 22OO-1, KRS 639, KW 435 || pJ \*t̥ap̥ara 'sack' > OJ **t̥ap̥ara**, J: T/Kg **tawará**, K **táwàrà** § S QJ #665, Mr. 544 || ?σ pKo \*č̥ar 'sack' ({DQA}): < \*č̥awar- < \*č̥abar-) > MKo **č̥aru**, NKO **č̥ar** § S QK #751, MLC 1392 || ?σ Tg \***japu(ku)** 'quiver' > Orc **žapu**, **žapku**, **žapuku**, Ul **žapau(n-)**, Nn B **žafu** id., WrMc **žabqu** 'small quiver' § STM I 251 §§ DQA #221 (A \*č̥abb̥a 'sack' > Tg, Ko, J) || **HS:** S: Ar **θawb-** '(any) cloth' § BK I 24O-1 || **D:** \*č̥avali '(any) cloth' (× N \*č̥aw<sup>h</sup>▀ 'to cover, to dress') > Tm **cavali** 'cloth, piece-goods', Ml **cavali**, Kn **javali** 'any cloth', Tu **javali**, **jauļi** 'cloth', Tl **javali** 'cloths, drapery' §§ D #2394 || ?**K:** G čob-al-i 'Netz (Teil des Bauchfells)' ◇ Tg and pJ \*-p- < N \*-ʔ▀b-

**379.** (2?) \*č̥ay▀d<sub>L</sub>▀y▀ 'female breast' > **HS:** WS \*<sup>1</sup>θaday- id. > BHb pl. (< du.) **שָׁאֵדִים** šā'dayim 'female breasts', sg. (↔ pl.\du.) **שָׁאֵד** šād, BHb B sg. **šad** 'mother's breast' (acc. to Nld NB 121 and GB, BHb T **שָׁוֹדְךָ** šođ id. is an erroneous vocalization for **שָׁאֵד** šād), Ug **θd** ~ **šd**, JA pl. **תַּדְיִין** tad'đin / **תַּדְיִיא** tadday'ya pl., Sr **tə'd̥-ā**, SmA **td̥**, Ar **ثَدِيَّ** θady-un, **ثَدِيَّ** θada-n, Mh **θōdi** (pl. **θī'day?**), Hrs **θōdi**, Jb E/C 'θɔdɛ?', Sq {Jo.} 'tod̥i' 'breast'; hardly here Ak fMB **šaddu** '≡ a chest or container' § KB 1316-7, A ##2723, 2842, OLS 139, 487, Tal 942, Js. 1647, Br. 816, Jo. M 415, Jo. H 132, CAD XVII/1 42, MiK I #1.28O || **AdS** of Eg fP **šdy** v. 'suckle' (from N \*šūn<sup>3</sup>▀ 'milk; to suck[le]' × N \*süt<sub>L</sub>y<sub>L</sub>▀ ~ \*sü<sub>L</sub>y<sub>L</sub>t▀ 'to drink, to suck [milk]; milk') § The unexpected Eg **š-** (for **s-**, which is the reg. cognate of S \*θ) is due to the above merger with N \*šūn<sup>3</sup>▀ § EG IV 564-5, Fk. 273-4, Tk. I 314 || **A:** Tg ≈ \*č̥aj<sup>1</sup>jaļen ~ \*čadjan 'breast, female breast' > WrMc **cežen** 'upper part of the chest', Ewk Uc **jadan**, Lm **jazjin** & **jajan**, Lm A **jej** 'udder', Neg † **joyan**, Ork **dada-qta** 'female breast' § STM I 242 and II 419 || pKo {S} \*č̥já,<sup>č̥</sup> 'female breast' > MKo **č̥já,s**, NKO **cə<sub>1</sub>c č̥a<sub>1</sub>t** § S QK #11, Nam 426, MLC

146O || *AdS* of M \*čerežin 'breast, chest' (< N \*Ceg<sup>2</sup> 'breast, milk', q.v. ffd.) ॥ ≈ DQA ##26O \*č̥āy<sup>2</sup> 'breast' (M, Tg, Ko \*÷ pJ {S} o \*t̥i, \*t̥it̥i 'female breast' \*÷ T \*čiçig ~ \*čiçig 'ewe; fat tail'), S AJ 32-3, 76, 88, 279 ॥ A \*-ž- < \*-dy- || ?φ IE: NaIE \*d<sub>l</sub><sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>- ({P} \*d<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>n-, {Dv.} \*dad<sup>h</sup>-) 'milk' (× N \*dod<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>₂<sup>2</sup> '≈ tip, nipple') > OI 'dadhi 'sour milk' || Pru dadan 'milk' || pAl {O} \*dedi- > d. (dim.) djathë 'cheese' ॥ If the IE √ belongs here, \*d<sub>l</sub><sup>h</sup>- (for the expected \*st-) may be due to as. and the Ll.-factor ॥ P 241-2, EI 382 (\*d<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>i [gen. \*d<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>nos] 'coagulated [sour] milk'), Dv. #934, M K II 15, M E II 923-3, En. 155, O 67; M, O, and EI suppose that the IE word is derived from \*d<sup>h</sup>ēj- 'suck'.

**380.** 2 \*čEg<sup>2</sup> 'to prick' (→ 'to butt') > K {F} \*čig- > G X čig- v. 'butt', čig-av-s 'butts with horns' ॥ Chx. 1934 || IE: NaIE \*steg<sup>h</sup>- v. 'prick' > ON \*steggi (\*'pricker') in andarsteggi 'male duck, drake' (andar- < pGmc \*anuði- 'duck'), Ic, Far steggi 'male fowl', Sw stagg 'Nardus stricta' ({WP} 'steifes und stehendes Gras'), 'stickleback (Gasterosteus)' || Lt P st̥égé, st̥egis 'stickleback', Ltv stagars, Δ stagaris 'stickleback, tittlebat' (with a puzzling r) || Sl \*steg- v. 'quilt' (← v. \*'prick') > R стe'гатъ 'to quilt; to whip, to lash', 'стёжка 'a quilting, stitch', P ścieg, ścig, Cz steh 'a stitch' ॥ WP II 622, P 1014-5, Vr. 545, Bv. 696, JM 410, Hlq. 1063, Tr. 285, Frn. 900, ME III 1037-8, Turk. 628, Ma. CS 471, ≈ Vs. III 751, Mikl. E 320 ◇ Fn. KD #59 (+ err. D \*čik- 'split', at variance with the reg. sound corrs. [D \*-k- does not correspond to K \*-g-], hence it is preferable to connect D \*čik- with IE \*(s)teig- 'prick' < N \*čika 'to prick, to split' [q.v.]).

**381.** \*ča'h'a 'to stop, to stand (up)' (→ 'to raise') > HS: S \*čw<sup>2</sup> / θw<sup>2</sup> > Ar θw<sup>2</sup> (ip. -θwiy-) v. 'halt, remain\settle (in a place), stay' ॥ BK I 243, Hv. 74, Ln. 365-6 || IE \*steh- (= \*stea<sub>2</sub>-) / \*sthe- / \*st̥h- > NaIE \*stā- / \*st̥he- (preserved in OI only) / \*sta- 'stand' > OI (1s aor.) a-sthá-m id. || Gk (1s aor.) ἔστην id. || L stā- (prs.), Osc stait (3s prs.) id. || Clt: Brtt {RE} \*stabīmi 'stand' > OBr sab, MBr saff, sav; vb. n. with the sx. \*-il: MW seuyll, W sefyll, Crn, Br sevel 'to stand' || Gmc: Dt, NNr, Sw stå, OSx stān, OHG stān ~ stēn, NHG stehēn 'to stand'; (d.?): Gt, OSx, AS standan, ON, NNr, Sw standa, OHG stantān 'to stand', NE stand || Lt stóti (1s prs. stóju) 'to stand (up), to take one's stand', Ltv stāt 'to stop, to cease'; → (res.) Lt stovéti, Ltv stāvēt 'to stand' || Sl \*sta- (inf. \*stāti) 'stand up, halt' > OCS стath stati, SCR stāti, Slv státi, Slk stat' 'to stand'

up, to halt', Cz státi se (1s fut. stanu se) id., 'to become'; d. (res.?) \*stojāti 'to stand' (1s prs. \*stojq) > OCS **стојати** stoyati, R **сто'ять**, Uk **сто'яти**, SCr stajati, Slv státi, Cz státi (1s prs. stojím), Slk stát', P stać id., Blg **сто'я** 'I stand' || rdp. \*sistā- > Gk prs. ἔστημι 'I stand' || Av hištaiti 'he stands', OPrs a-ištata 'he stood' (3s ipf.), OI tis̥thati 'he stands' (t- due to the morphophonemic law preventing an initial s-) || OIr siſs- 'stand', tair-iſſem 'fait de se tenir ferme \ persévérer \ s'arrêter' (< \*to-air-siſs-) || L caus. sistō 'I put', Um SESTU id. ¶ P 1004-10, M K III 526-7, M E II 764-6, F I 739, WH II 596-9, Bc. G 324,345, Vn. S 118-20 and T 13, RE 135, Hlq. 1101, Ho. 317, Ho. S 70, OsS 863-4, Kb. 950-1, KM 743, Vr. 543, Frn. 914-6, Vs. III 748, 769, Glh. 579-82, ≈ EI 542-3 (\*s)teh₂- 'stand' with unc. \*s- mobile that us based only on Tc B tāka 'will be') || A: Tg: WrMc cā- 'raise' ¶ STM II 374 || ?σ δ \*čā- ({§GS} \*s-) v. 'die' (if from \*'stop') (× N \*čAčN 'be lost, die', q.v. ffd.).

**382. \*čika** 'to prick, to split' > IE: NaIE {EI} \*steig- 'prick' (or \*(s)teig- v. 'prick', 'pointed') > Gk στίγ- (prs. στίξω, pfc. ps. ἔστιγμα) v. 'mark with a pointed instrument, tattoo', στίγμα 'the mark of a pointed instrument, tattoo-mark' || L in-stīgā- v. 'goad, incite, stimulate' (← 'spur on') || Gt stiks 'stab, puncture, point', OSx stiki, MLG stike, MHG stich, NHG Stich 'prick, puncture, stab', AS sticē 'stab, puncture', NE stitch; OHG stēchan & stehhan 'to stitch, to stab', NHG stechen 'to prick'; OHG sticken 'to stick, to stab', NHG sticken 'to embroider', AS stician 'to prick, to goad, to pierce', NE v. stick || ??σ,φ Ary: OI tējatē 'is\becomes sharp, sharpens', tējah 'blade, point (Spitze)', Av bi-taēγa- 'double-bladed', brōiþrō-taēža- 'with sharpened edge', Av tīgra-, OPrs tīgra- 'pointed', ? NPrs تیغ {VI.} tēγ, {BM} tīγ 'sword, blade, blade of a weapon, knife, razour, awl', {VI.} 'point of a spear\arrow, blade of a knife, awl' ¶ WP II 612-3, P 1016-7, EI 451, M K I 525-6, Sg. 342-3, BM 142, VI. I 492, F II 797-8, WH I 706-7, Fs. 453, Ho. 321, Ho. S 71, OsS 868-71, Kb. 956, 964, KM 742, 748, Dv. #645 || K: GZ \*čičk-wŋ- v. 'dig in, rummage in' (× N \*čEčkN 'to crush, to split') > eNG {SSO} čičkna 'dig badly', G čičkna 'dig (the surface of the ground), dig\rummage in, peck\pick at', {NCh.} 'копать, ковырять', {DCh.} 'ковырять', Mg čkičkon- 'dig\rummage in, tear asunder' ¶ K 220, K<sup>2</sup> 257, FS K 389, FS E 437-8, Chx. 1940, DCh 1580, NCh. 431 || δ \*čik- ({§GS} \*čig-) 'split, tear' > Kn sigi v. 'split (as wood), tear\rend with the teeth (as sugar-

cane)', Tu *s̥igipu* ~ *tigipu*- ~ *tigupu*- v. 'split, slit, cut, saw, tear', Prj *č̥ik-*, Gnd M *hikānā*, Gnd G/Mu/HMS *hik-* v. 'tear', Kui *siki inba* 'be torn\split'; cp D \**če|akk-*, {GS} \**ček-* v. 'chip' (< N \**čEčk*  $\nabla$  '↑') §§ D # 2491.

**383. \*čikU** 'base of limbs (shoulder, hip)' ( $\rightarrow$  'thigh') > **HS:** WS \**θv̥k*  $\nabla$  *m-* 'shoulder' > Hb *תְּבַשֵּׁלֶם* ~ *תְּבַשֵּׁלָקֶם* id., Ug *θkm* {OLS} 'shoulder', {A} 'Nacken mit Schulter', Gz  $\checkmark$  *skm* *G* 'carry on the shoulders, carry a burden' ¶ HJ 1266, GB 826-7, A #2866, OLS 489, LG 496, MiK I #1.282 || Ch: WCh ({Stl.}) \**čikuni*: Hs *číñà* 'thigh' ({Stl.} < \**čičiña* < \**čikiña*), Gw {Mts.} *číriňa* id. | SBC: Bg {ChL} *šigtn*, Zul {ChL} *čigunì*, Gj {ChL} *čiktn*, Buli {ChL}, Kir {Csp.} *čigtn*, Kir Mn {Csp.} *šūn*, Dw {ChL} *čušin*, Plc {ChL} *čtštn*, Zar {ChL} *čtgn*, Zar K {Sh.} *čikŋ*, Grn {J} *šin* id. | ? pAG \**č̥i* 'thigh' > Su {J} *č̥i*, Ang {Flk., Hf.} *č̥i*, Gmy {Hf.} *š̥i*, {ChL} *š̥i* id., Kfr {Nt.} *č̥i* 'thigh, leg' || ECh: Kwn M {J} *č̥awg̪* 'thigh' (or *č̥okó* 'leg') ¶ Stl. ZCh 184 [#357] (WCh \**čikuni* with an arbitrarily reconstructed glottality of the initial affricate), Abr. H 146-7, JI I 167, II 324-5, 221, ChC, ChL, Jgr. 188, Csp. 36, 69, Hf. AG 22, Flk. s.v. *č̥i*, Nt. 5 || **IE:** NaIE \*(s)tei̯gʷ-, {Mn.} \*(s)th̥e̯i̯gʷ- 'shoulder, thigh' > Arm *թէկն* *th̥e̯kn* / *թիկան* {Bdr.} 'top of the shoulder, shoulder-bone, shoulder, arm' (< \**stoygʷ-no-*) || Clt \**tojbos* (< \**tojgʷ-os*) > OIr *tóeb*, *tóib*, W, Crn, Br *tu* 'side' || pSl \**steg'no* 'thigh' > OCS *стегно* *stegno* 'femur', SCr *stègno*, Slv *stégno*, R †, Uk *стег'но*, Blr *сцяг'но*, Cz *stehno*, P (with secondary nasalization) *ściegno* (< \**steg-no-*) 'thigh' ¶ WP II 614, P 1O18, Mn.168 (IE \**sthegno*-~\**sthigno*- > Arm, Sl \*+ Gk *στεγνός* 'water-proof, covering'), Vn. T 91-2, ZVSZ 407, Vs. III 751 (rejects the comparison of Sl with Arm and Clt), Glh. 583, ~ EI 518 (\**tei̯gʷ-* 'side'; no account of Sl) ¶ The traces of the alternation \**e̯i*/*e* in IE are expected in the light of my theory of the prehistory of the IE vowels (AD NVIE) || **R:** NaT \**če|ikin* ({Adb., TL} \**čEkn*) 'shoulder' > OT U {Bai.} *čikin* 'part of the body between the neck and the shoulder', MQp *čigin* ~ *šigin* 'shoulder', Chg  $\geq$ XVI *čikin* 'upper part of the shoidlder between the neck and the shoulder-blades', Chg {PC}, Tki {Zn.} *čiqin* 'shoulder', Osm *چیکن* *չէքին* *čekin*, {Rh.} *čeyin* 'the ridge of the shoulder between the neck and the shoulder-joint', Tk *çekin* 'shoulder(s)', Az *čiyin*, Tkm *čigin*, Xlj *č̥in*, ? SY *ȝigin* id., ?? Chv † *šan* 'body'; cp also OT {Cl.} *čügde* 'the projecting bone behind the ear' ¶ Cl. 414-5, TL 238-9, AdB. SR 129-30, 190, Bai. TK 293, Rh. 72, RL III 1949,

TrR 177, TkR 781, Hüs. 345, PC 308, Zn. I 379, DT 101 || M \*<sup>o</sup>čeg̥yke > WrM {MED, Gl.} cəgə 'the hind flat part of the ankle-bone', {Kow.} cəke 'ямка у лодыжки, le côté de l'osselet qui a un trou'; ?? MM cəkeray ~ cəkerey 'breast, neck' ¶ H 26, Pp. MA 132, MED 169, Kow. 2124-5, Gl. II 365-6, Luv. 624, DRM 132, KRS 646, KW 438, RKS 124, T DgJ 181, Mr. D 128 || ?σ pKo {S} \*čjákáj- > MKo \*čjákáj'jam, NKO čagämi 'groin, inguinal region' ¶ S QK #1190, Nam 419, MLC 1372 ¶ Hardly here Tg \*čaka 'forearm, ell' (< N \*čaq<sup>N</sup> 'elbow, ∈ part of a limb', [cf. item 355 s.v. N \*čaq<sub>1</sub>a<sub>2</sub><sup>N</sup> or \*čaq<sup>N</sup>]) ¶ DQA ##264 (A \*č'ak'e 'forearm' > T, Tg, Ko) || D \*č'e<sup>k</sup>- ({θGS} \*c-, -k-) > Tm cəkil 'upper part of the shoulders', Kn təgal 'shoulder', ? (× N \*Sūg<sup>N</sup> 'back of the neck, back') Kui sukoři ~ sukoli 'shoulder-blade' ¶ D #2696 ◇ \*m in S and \*-n<sup>N</sup> in Sl, Ch, and T may go back to ancient derivational sxs. or last components of a compound (word group) ◇ Blz. LB #6j (S, IE, T, M), ≈ Blz. LNA #8 (\*čayku 'back'; convincingly adduces the T and Tg reflexes of N \*čaq<sup>N</sup> 'elbow') ◇ Cp. pCK {Md.} \*čūjma 'плечо, предплечье' (Md. ECK 25).

**384. \*čAk<sup>U</sup>** 'to prick (stechen), to gouge' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓θkb v. 'pierce' > Ar ✓θqb G 'percer, forer' (\*b due to the infl. of the synonymous verb ✓nk<sup>b</sup>?) ¶ BK I 228 || K \*<sup>o</sup>ček- > G ča-ček- 'zerstechen, zerlöchern', ček-i 'Feuerhaken, Schür-\Schab-\Kratz-eisen, Scharre' ¶ Chx. 1919 || A \*č'ok<sup>U</sup>- v. 'peck, gouge' > : NaT \*čoku- v. 'peck' > OT {Cl.} čoq-, Alt {Rl.} čoqi-, StAlt {BT} čoqu- v. 'peck, peck out', Tkm čoq- v. 'peck, sting', Osm {Rh.}, ET {Nj.} čoqu-, Qzq šoqu- v. 'peck' ¶ Cl. 406, Rs. W 114, Rh. 738, Nj. 394, BT 180, Sht. 235 || M \*čoki- v. 'hit, beat, knock, peck' (× N \*čoq<sub>1</sub>a<sub>2</sub><sup>E</sup> 'beat\hit [so.], hurt; pain', q.v.) > WrM cəki-, HIM цоки- 'hit, beat, knock, peck', MM [S] cəki- v. 'bore', Kl {Rm.} cok- 'schlagen, hauen', nüdig cok- 'das Auge aushacken', MnR H {SM} č'ugv- v. 'peck' ¶ MED 196, H 29, KW 429, SM 440 || Tg \*čo<sub>1</sub>čk(i)- ({DQA} \*čōk(i)-) v. 'peck, gouge' (→ 'dig') > Ul, Nn Nh čoq<sub>1</sub>- v. 'peck', Ewk čōk-, Ewk Tp čoki- v. 'dig, dig out', Ewk Urm čok- v. 'pick out (выковыривать)', Lm čuq- id., v. 'take out the eyes (of a slaughtered animal)', Neg čok- v. 'gouge, carve (an ornament on birch-bark)', Orc čokto 'woodpecker' ¶ STM II 403 || ?φ pKo {S} \*čhá- v. 'kick' > MKo čhá-, NKO čhá- ¶ S QK #509, Nam 447, MLC 1562 ¶ KW 429, DQA #336 (A \*č'ōk'au 'peck, gauge') || D \*čakk- > Krx čakk<sup>h</sup>-/cakk- v. 'pierce with a prick, prick', Mlt čaqe v. 'sting, pierce, stab', Brh žaxxiŋ 'to run into,

to pierce' §§ D #2278, Pf. 19O [#1OO], Hahn KG 3 (on the Krx phoneme  $\kappa^h$ ), An. JB 19-21 (on Brh cnss.) ◇ The vw. \* $\theta$  in A may be explained by regr. as. (N \*A...U > \* $\theta$ ...U) ◇ NaIE \*(s)tejg- v. 'prick' cannot be adduced here ( $\neq \emptyset$ ), it belongs rather to N \*čika 'to prick, to split' (q.v.) ◇ IS MS 344 'коловъ' (A, D).

**385.** \*č<sup>r</sup>θ<sup>l</sup>K<sup>W</sup> 'much, heavy' > HS: S (+ext.) \*✓θ<sup>l</sup> v. 'weigh' > Hb ✓š<sup>l</sup>G, Sr ✓t<sup>l</sup>G id., Pun ✓š<sup>l</sup>, IA ✓š<sup>l</sup> ~ ✓t<sup>l</sup>, BA/JA/Md ✓t<sup>l</sup>G 'weigh, weigh out', JEA ✓t<sup>l</sup>G vi. 'weigh, be even \ equal to', Ar ✓θq<sup>l</sup>G 'peser un objet dans la main pour en apprécier le poids; égaler en poids; rendre pesant', θaqīl- 'heavy\weighty', Mh, Jb, Hrs ✓θ<sup>l</sup> 'be heavy', Gz ✓s<sup>l</sup>G 'weigh, suspend, hang up', Ak ✓š<sup>l</sup> {Sd.} '(ab)wiegen, darwägen'; → S \*θi<sup>l</sup> - 'weight' > BHb שֶׁקֶל 'šekel (pl. šekā'l-īm) 'weight, shekel (a unit of weight)', Ph (GkSc) σιχλ, σικλ → Gk σικλος, σιχλος (name of a Persian coin), Pun. š<sup>l</sup>, Ug θ<sup>l</sup>, OA š<sup>l</sup> [\*θək<sup>l</sup>], IA t<sup>l</sup>, BA תְּקֵל tək<sup>l</sup>, JA תְּקֵלָא tik<sup>l</sup>-ā 'shekel, sikl (a unit of weight, coin)', JEA תְּקֵלָא tik<sup>l</sup>-ā 'weigh, shekel', Yd ?t<sup>l</sup> 'shekel (unit of weight)', Sr s<sup>l</sup>e<sup>l</sup>-ā 'weight, ponderous mass', Ar θi<sup>l</sup>- 'weight, burden', Ak šiklum 'sikl, a unit of weight', Eb ša-gi-lum (θakīl-); the meaning 'suspend, hang up' (in EthS) is secondary, the semantic change 'weigh' → 'suspend' (from a basic meaning 'weigh by lifting\hanging' [as suggested in LG 51O]) is typologically possible (cp. R держать на весу) ¶ KB 1515-6, 1779-800, Beyer AHG 26, HJ 1187-8, A #293O, Grd. UT #2735, Sl. 1207, 1227, JPS 618, Tal 96O, LG 51O, Jo. M 418, Sd. 1178-9, 1248, Krb. EG 16, Lok. #188O || ?φ C: Ag: Xm {R} ʂiqaw- 'be heavy, weighty' ¶ R Ch II 102, R WB 338 || U: FU \*čokk<sup>W</sup> 'dense', 'thick' (of grass, hair) > Chr: L чока čo'ka id., H/B čoka 'dicht; fest, kompakt', YO čoka 'dicht', L чоката čoka'ta 'dense' || Prm \*čōk- ({LG} \*čōk-) (or \*čεk-) > Z тшöкыд čz<sup>k</sup>id 'dense', Z LV/Lu, Prmk čz<sup>k</sup> id. || pVg \*ʂ̥t<sup>l</sup>w > Vg: T šaw, LK ʂ̥jw, P šaw, Ss sāw 'much' || Hg sōk 'much, many' ¶ Most cognates suggest FU \* $\theta$ , while Hg θ (seemingly pointing to a FU \*u) is still to be explained; one cannot rule out the possibility (mentioned in Rm. W 113) that Hg sōk is a loan from T ¶ UEW 62-3, Coll. 114, MRS 664, 668, 673, Ep. 141, Wc. FUsčT 31, LG 29O, SZ 386, KPR 497 || A: NaT \*čōk 'much, many' > Chg, XwT, MQp čoq id., Kr/Sg {Rl.} čoq 'much, too much', Osm {Bu.} čoq 'much, many, too much, very', Tk čoč 'much, many', Az çox čoč, Sg f {Rl.} čoq id., 'very', ET čoq 'very' ¶ Cl. 405, Rm. W 113, Bu. I 495, S AJ 18O [#51], BN 33, Rl. III 2004 || M \*čoqča 'heap, pile, mass' > WrM coqca,

HIM цօցւ id., Kl ցօցւ սօցք, {Rm.} սօկք 'heap, pile', → M \*čogčala- v. 'accumulate, heap' > WrM cogcalā-, MnR {SM} էüžjolo- v. 'accumulate' ¶ MED 194, KRS 635, KW 429, SM 46O || ? pJ {S} \*tákú-páp- v. 'hoard, assemble' > OJ tákúpáp(a)-, J: T/Kg takuwaé- ~ T takuwaē-, K tákùwae- ¶ S QJ #144, Mr. 762 ¶ DQA #265 (\*č'ák'o - \*k- 'many, be full, enough' > T \*÷ Tg \*čak- 'full' and pKo \*čhá- 'be full') || **Gil:** Gil A ç'ōy / sōy 'group, flock' ¶ ST 45O ◇ IS MS 331 ('big'; A, U), Blz. LB #11, UEW 63 (FU, T, M) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #261 (\*čok 'many') (U, A d + qu. K, CK + unc. J).

**386.** \*čA1N 'stalk' > K \*°čal- > G čala 'straw, reed', čal- 'cut stalks of maize' ¶ Chx. 1874 || **HS:** S \*°✓θlθl> Ar θi1θi1-ān-, θu1θu1-ān- 'hay' ¶ BK I 233 || **IE:** NaIE \*stel- 'branch, stalk, stem' (× N \*čūL N 'stalk, branch' [q.v.]) > Arm ստեղն stełn 'branch, bough, stalk, stem' || Gk στέλεχος 'bottom part of the trunk, stump' ({LS} 'crown of the root'), στελεά, στελεόν 'haft\shaft of an axe' || L: [1] stolō / -ōnis 'root-shoot'; [2] stilus / -ī 'pointed stake, pale; Stiel, Stengel, Griffel zum Schreiben' (× NaIE \*stoi-lo- > Av stāra- 'mountain-summit') || AS stela 'stalk', OHG stil 'Handhabe, Pflanzenstiel, Stengel', NHG Stiel 'haft, handle' || Ltv stuim̥s 'top of a boot' ¶ P 1019-20, ZVSZ 415, WH II 592, 599-600, F II 785-6, Sw. 161, Ho. 319, OsS 872, Kb. 964, KM 749, Slt. 332-3, Kar. II 313 || **A** {SDM95} \*čalu > pKo \*čür-kí 'stalk, branch without leaves' > MKo čürkí, NKo čulg̊i, čulg̊ari ¶ S QK #160, MLC 1507 || ?σ Tg ≈ \*jali-kta 'haw-thorn' > Ewk jalikta ~ ńalikta, Neg jālta, Orc žarakta, Ud žalikta, Ul žaraqta~žarraqta, Nn KU žalraqta, Nn Nh žarraqta id., Nn B/KU žalaqta 'willow' (the last meaning is under the infl. of a different Tg stem represented by Ul žatala 'willow') ¶ STM I 246, 253, Krm. 231 || ? pJ {S} \*tūrū 'willow', 'vine' (← \*'rod'?) > OJ turu 'willow, vine', J: T/Kg curú, K cérū 'vine' → (?) J T curu- v. 'angle (for fish), fish with rod and line' ¶ S QJ 189, Mr. 557, Kenk. 2073 ¶ S AJ 288 [#278] and SDM97 s.v. \*čalu 'a kind of broad-leaved plant'. Not here (⇒ S AJ and ADM97) T \*t'äl 'willow' (reconstructed by S with a lenis \*t̪ [= {S, SDM} \*d̪-], in spite of the Tkm and Tv ev. for \*t'-). The T √ probably belongs to N \*tāl N ~ \*tāl N '≈ shoot, sprout, twig' (q.v.). Not here pJ \*tūrū 'willow, vine', which is semantically related to the T stem || **D** (in SD) \*čall- ({§GS} \*čž-) 'reed; ∈ grass' > Ml call- '∈ grass\reed', Tm calli 'reed; ∈ grass', ? Kn jalle 'sugar-cane', 'bamboo pole', Kdg žalle 'sugar cane' ¶ D ##2382-3.

**387. \*čal<sup>Δ</sup>** 'beat, knock down, fell' > **HS:** S \*°√θll: Ar √θll 'détruire, renverser, démolir' ¶ BK I 231 || ? B \*°√zll > Kb tizləllit 'coup vigoureux' ¶ Dl. 942 || **A:** T \*čal(u)- v. 'knock down, beat (in order to split, to break, to slaughter), mow' (× N \*čaí, Eri, o 'to split, to cut') > OT čal- v. 'knock down, beat, beat out (fire)', Qzq šal- v. 'slaughter', Qrch čal-, Balq cal- v. 'mow, cut', Qmq čal- v. 'cut off, slaughter', Chv L šul- v. 'mow', etc. ¶ Cl. 417-8, Rs. W 97, Ash. XII 208 and XIII 17, Fed. II 132, Rl. III 1876, 1887, IV 965 ¶ T \*-l- is inherited from N \*čal<sup>Δ</sup> rather than from N \*čaí, Eri, o || **D:** \*čal- ({§GS} \*s-) 'beat' > Tm alai 'beat, slap', Gnd: Mu {Bh.} hal-, HMS {Lind} halāsnā, ChM {LuS} halsnā 'beat' ¶ D #2374.

**388. \*čA1<sup>Δ</sup> (= \*čA1U?)** 'to plait' > **HS:** ECh: Ke čílí v. 'plait (a mat)' || CCh: Azm {Pc.} silapa 'weave' ¶ Eb. 36, Pc. 350 || **K:** G čelč-i 'wickerwork' ¶ Chx. 1919 || **U:** FU (att. in ObU) \*°čUlk|w<sup>Δ</sup> (or \*°čUk|w<sup>Δ</sup>V) > ObU \*čoy|wəl '(piece of) linen cloth' > ObU \*čoy|wəl > pVg \*šjwəl {Hl.} 'stripe (in a garment)' ('Streifen im Kleid'), {MK} 'Leinenband' > Vg: LK/MK/UK sowl, PLL šowl, UL/Ss sowəl; pOs \*čoyəl 'linen cloth' ({JHl.} \*čūyəl) > Os: D čoxət, Nz šoxət, Kz šoxət ¶ Ht. #97 (\*U in FU needs explaining), Hl. rHt 71-4, MK 537 (Vg saul, səwl, səwəl 'Leinenband'), BV 105 (Vg Ss совломт, Vg K sowlopś(ə)χ 'поскут') || **D:** \*čalī- ({§GS} \*c-) (+ sx.) 'weaver' > Tm cālikan ~ cāliyan 'a caste of weavers', Ml cāliyan, Kn sāliga, sāliya, Tl sālī:du, sālevā:du, Ku sāliesi 'weaver', Tu tālye id., 'spider', Tu {Shanm.} sālye, Tl sāle 'caste of weavers', Gdb sāle pindake 'spider' ¶ D #2475 ◇ The FU rounded vw. is puzzling. If the final vw. of the N word was rounded (as suggested by \*w in FU \*°čUlk|w<sup>Δ</sup> or \*°čUk|w<sup>Δ</sup>V), FU \*U may be explained by regr. as.

**389. \*čeL<sup>Δ</sup>** 'pull away, take away\out, rob' > **HS:** WS \*√θll v. 'take out, rob' > BHb שְׁלַל <sup>✓</sup>šll (ip. -šoll-) id., Sb θll 'carry off (booty)' ¶ GB 835, BGMR 150 || **C:** ?σ Dhl {EEN} colāθ- v. 'pick up' ¶ EEN 9 || **IE:** NaIE \*stel- v. 'rob' > pGmc \*stel- v. 'steal' > Gt stilan, ON stela, OHG stēlan, NHG stehlen, OSx, AS stelan 'to steal', NE steal || Arm տրալնեմթհալնեմ, տրալլեմթհալլեմ v. 'pillage' ¶ Mn. 1283 (Gmc, Arm); Fs. 453-4, OsS 869, KM 743, Vr. 546 (all of them do not find any IE parallels for Gmc), Ho. 319, Ho. S 7, Kb. 959, ≠ EI 543 (tries to derive Gmc \*stel- from IE \*ster- 'steal') ¶ Mn. unconvincingly adduces Gk στέλλω v. 'send', Ltv stelu id., and OCS steljǫ / stla-ti v. 'spread'

(??σ) ¶ On Arm **p** t<sup>h</sup> as the reg. reflex of IE \*st *f* Mn. AIE 166-8 || D {Km.} \*če]- ({θGS} \*s-) v. 'draw, pull (of\out), rob' (×N \*šeīv or \*šelv 'take away\off, destroy, pull off', q.v.) > Kn sele v. 'draw, pull, pull off, rob', Tu selæ 'force', Tl {Km.} celuku v. 'pull out (as eyeballs)', ? Kui želka v. 'pull', želba v. 'pull, draw' ¶ D #2791, Km. 363 [#472] ◇ D \*-]- may belong to the heritage of N \*šeīv or \*šelv, hence we cannot identify the N lateral cns.

**390.** \*čūl<sup>v</sup> 'stalk, branch' > HS: S \*θ<sup>o</sup>θūl- > Ak šūl- 'reed-stalk'; +ext. (with the sx. \*-p|b-) is the S stem \*θuł<sup>v</sup>, p|b-> Ak šulp- 'a straw, reed, tube', Ug θlb 'flute' ¶ Sd. 1269-70, OLS 490 || D \*čuł]- ({θGS} \*č-) 'stalk, branch', \*čułikk. ({θGS} \*čč-) 'stick' (×N \*čūl<sup>v</sup> 'stalk, stick' [q.v. ffd.] ×N \*šisūl<sup>v</sup> 'trunk, log'??) ¶ D #2701, 2706 || IE: NaIE \*stel-/\*stwol-o- 'branch, stalk, stem': [1] NaIE \*stel- (×N \*čA1v 'stalk', q.v. ffd.) || [2] \*stwol-o- > Sl \*stvolb > Cz stvol 'stalk', R ствол, Blg цвول 'stem', OCS стволије stvolije 'nettle' ¶ P 1019, ZVSZ 415, Vs. III 749, Vr. 549 (s.v. stjolr), Sw. 161, Slt. 332-3 ¶ In IE there is a reg. Schwebeablaut \*ew/\*we (\*w0) with loss of the glide \*w preceding the sonant \*l, which is a normal IE reflex of N \*ū (AD NVIE) ◇ D \*-]- may belong to the heritage of N \*čūl<sup>v</sup> 'stalk, stick', hence we cannot identify the N lateral cns. ◇ ≠ AD AltAD #13 (HS, D, IE, A [Tg, M + \*÷ T]).

**391.** <sub>2</sub> \*č<sup>v</sup>l<sup>v</sup> (-bA) '∈ canine' > HS: S \*θu'f<sup>v</sup>al- 'fox' > Hb שׁוֹנְל Šuñal, OA šn̥l [θ-ñ-], JA (incl. JEA) תַּנְלָא tañla-ā, Sr tañla, Md tala, Ar θufal- ~ θuñal- 'fox', Ug θñl (n. pr.) | S \*θaflab- 'fox' > Ar θaflab-, Ak šēlebu(m) id. ¶ KB 1341, Lv. IV 657, Sl. 1223, A #2910, OLS 483, BK I 225, Sd. 1210, CAD XVII/2 268 || Ch {Stl.} \*čulib- 'wolf, jackal' > CCh: Msg če-čelebe 'jackal' || ECh: Mkl sullibè 'wolf' ¶ Stl. IF 73, J LM 178 ¶ OS #464 || U: FP: Lp N {Fri.} čälp ~ čellup ~ čolp 'wolf', Lp T {TI} čälp id. ¶ Fri. 750, TI 645, Coll. 8 ◇ HS data suggest a N \*č-, while Lp č- is likely to point to \*č-, \*č-, or \*š-.

**391a.** <sub>2</sub> \*čA1v<sup>m</sup> 'orifice, pit' or 'breach' > HS: S \*θlm > Ar θalm- 'brèche, cassure', θulm-at- 'brèche, trou', √θlm G 'ébrécher' || D \*čalv<sup>m</sup>- ({θGS} \*č-) 'orifice' (×N \*šalv<sup>m</sup> 'collect on the bottom' [of liquid], 'a place [a depression] where water collects') > Kn calame, calime, calume, cilume 'orifice, a bore, small pit, hole dug in the dry bed of a river', Tu cilimbi ~ cil(i)mæ 'a small tank', Tl celama 'hole\pit dug for water in the dry bed of a river\rivulet', Ku

salma 'well' ፩ D #2367 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 161 [#93] (HS, D; does not distinguish this N etymon from N \*Sİ1N 'hole').

**392.** \*čaí<sub>U</sub>gN 'snow' or 'hoarfrost' > HS: S \*θalag- 'snow' > Hb נָלָג 'šalag, BA נְלָגָתָלָג, JA (incl. JEA) נְלָגָתָלָג, em. נְלָגָתָלָג tal'gā, SmA tl̥g, Sr em. نَلْجَ tal'g-ā, Ar شَلْجَθالجَ, Ak šalg-u id.; SCn \*θalag- → Eg (EgSSc) {Alb.} sa-ra-qu, {Hlk.} sá-l-qu 'snow' ፩ KB 1392, EG IV 204, Burch. AFEÄ #810, Alb. VESO 55, Hlk. #199, SivCR 84, Sl. 1208, Tal 949, Lv. IV 644 ፩ The posttonic \*a has been reconstructed on the ev. of BA and the Eg reflex of SCn || B: Kb {Dl.} a-salu (pl. i-suла) 'thick layer of snow'; unless the B word goes back to N \*šaH, ūLfN 'dew' (q.v.) ፩ Dl. 771 || u: FU \*čaí<sub>U</sub>gN > pVg \*šaí- 'hoarfrost' > Vg S: T šaí ፩ šaí, Vg W (P/SV/NV/LL) šaí, Vg E: LK šaí, MKo/U sáí, Vg N (UL/Ss) soí id. ፩ Kn. VW 78, Stn. WV 231 || a: Tg \*jalka 'fine snow' > Neg jalka id., jalka- v. 'snow' (of fine snow), Ud B žaka- 'be a snow-storm' ፩ STM I 246, Krm. 231 || ?? pJ \*tùrárá 'icicle' > OJ türará, J: T cùrara, K cùrará, Kg curará ፩ S QJ #1540 ፩ Acc. to S and DQA (→ AD NM), the Tg word is akin to T \*tōí 'ice' (> Nat \*tōš > OT {DTS} toš 'glacier in the mountains', etc.); but this comparison is based on S's highly controversial hyp. on pA \*č- > T \*t- (= \*d of his notation), Tg \*j- (= his \*ž-), and pJ \*t- (S AJ 14) and therefore cannot be unequivocally accepted (as I did in treating this word in AD NM). Nevertheless cases of N \*č- yielding M \*j- should be studied carefully because they may reflect an ancient phonemic opposition. Vovin's criticism of my et. in NM (Altaic \*č ... is never reflected as \*t in proto-Turkic" - Vv. AEN 8) is justified, but another of his remarks: "Altaic does not have a \*č, but only \*č" is based on misunderstanding of my system of symbols: in my notation A \*č (not \*č!) is a sign for the unspecified vl. affricate (sc. one without specification of its place of articulation, which is the case in pA) ፩ ≠ DQA #244, Vv. AEN 8 (critical remarks based on my etymology in AD NM; the change from A \*č to pT \*t- [as in my etymology in NM] is S's hyp., that still has to be checked). On the N et. of T \*tōí see N \*tUÍN 'to drip; drops of water, dew' || ? D: Kn cāli 'snow' (× D \*ča]- 'cold' [D #2408] < N \*Č'a'łN [= \*č'a'łN?] 'cold').

**393.** \*č'i'mâ 'to be(come) quiet\silent' > HS: B \*✓s-wsm v. 'keep silence' > Ah {Fc.}, Izn {Rn.} susəm, BSn sūsəm id. ፩ Fc. 1833, Rn. 347, Ds. B 335-6 || K: GZ \*čum- 'calm down, be quiet' > G čum- v. 'calm down; fall silent; quiet', G Kzq čuma 'a quiet person', G čumi 'leise, still,

ruhig', Zan → Sv Ln čkwim 'quiet, calm' ¶ Chx. 195O-1, K<sup>2</sup> 258, TK 833 || A: Tg \*čim-, \*čimčam- 'be quiet' > Ewk Okh č̄nmun 'calm down, abate' (of a wind, storm), Orc čimčāmdi 'in silence', Nn Nh č̄mo-č̄mo, č̄mčam 'fallen silent (примолкнуть)', Ul č̄mčam id., 'quietly, without noise', Ork č̄ptamdu bu 'be quiet!', 'hush', ? WrMc cibse 'be quiet, silent' (of a person)', cibsen n. 'quiet, silence' ¶ STM II 396 || NaT \*čim 'quiet, silent' > QK {Rl.} čim, {B} šim 'quiet', {Rl.} čimča- v. 'be silent', Qmn {B} čim 'quietly, without stirring', Tb {B} čim 'quietly', StAlt {RAS} čim 'motionless' (adv.), 'quietly', Tv чымааргай čimāryay 'quiet, shy' adj., чымаарар- čimārar- v. 'become quiet\shy' ¶ Rs. W 2O1, Rl. III 21O2-3, B DLT 224, 227, B DK 271, B DChT 166, RAItS 756, TvR 557 ◇ K \*u from N \*i probably under the assimilative infl. of \*m.

**394.** <sub>2</sub> \*čoma 'wild bovine' > K \*čoma > G I čoma 'cattle (Rindvieh)' ¶ Chx. 1943 || D (in GnD) \*čoma 'wild buffalo' > Png homa, Mnd hama 'bison', pKK {GS} \*soma > Kui soma 'wild buffalo', Ku homma ↗ homa 'sambar (Cervus unicolor)' ¶ D #2849, GS 13O ◇ AD NM #4O, S CNM 1O (÷÷ NrCs).

**395.** ? <sub>2</sub> \*čamčām 'get sour\rotten' > U: FP \*čamčām 'sour, foul' (of food) > Lp: N {Fri.} Lp: N {Fri.} cuöbza ↗ cuovz ↗ cuöbcə ↗ cuörcə 'putridus', T {TI} c̄tm:c ({Gn.} c̄imc) 'verfault', {Gn.} c̄imci 'verfaulen' | Chr: L {MRS} шачка šač'ka 'tasteless' (of beverage), B puran šačkobъn 'das Bier ist überständig' | Prm {LG} \*šožy- ({LG} \*šožj-) 'turned sour, turned too sour, turned tasteless' > Z žoža (узv) 'milk that is turning\turned sour', Z US žožža id., Z Δ žožm- v. 'turn sour, but not clotted' (of milk), Vt C šužžam 'tasteless' (of kvass), 'not boiled enough' (of water, milk), Vt TI šužžam 'turned too sour, grow mouldy' (of kvass) ¶ UEW 617-8, Gn. 877, TI 634, Fri. 74O, LG 1O2 || A: T: OT t̄inči- ~ tolunči- v. 'be(come) putrid, smell foul' ¶ Cl. 516-7 ¶ Dissimilation \*č...č > \*t...č? The OT vw. remains puzzling || ? HS: Possible semantic infl. on S \*samm- ('grass' → drug, perfume) and B \*v̄smm v. 'be sour' (see N \*č'i?A'mčām 'in grass', q.v. ffd.). The alt. connection with WCh \*čami 'sour' < N \*čämčām 'sour, bitter' (q.v.) is less plausible because the sibilant in B and S is not emphatic.

**396.** \*čiñčām 'other' > HS: S \*θin- 'two' (m.: nom. \*θin-ā, gen./accus. \*θin-ay, df. [→ abs.] nom. \*θin-ā-ni, gen./accus. \*θin-ay-ni) > BHb cs. šañē, abs. ša'ñim, Ug m. θn(m), JA/Sr m. abs. tə'rēn, JEA תְּרֵן tə'rēn, SmA tryñ, JA cs. תְּרֵן tərē, Ar m. cs. nom. ?iθnā,

gen./accus. *?iθnay-*, abs.: nom. *?iθnā-ni*, gen./accus. *?iθnay-ni*, Sb m. *θny*, Mh {Jo.} m. *θərō*, *θroh*, Hrs {Jo.} m. *θərō*, Jb E/C {Jo.} m. *θroh*, Sq {Jo.} *trɔ*, Ak m. *šinā*; S f. \**θin-at-* 'two' > BHb **שׁתִים** 'štayim [traditional spelling for *?eš'tayim*], Ug *θtm*, *θm*, SmA *trtyn*, JA **תְּרַתֵּן** *tartē* ~ **תְּרַתִּין** *tar'tīn* ¶ KB 1482-3, Lip. 282-3, OLS 498-500, Sl. 1233-4, Tal 963-4, BGMR 171, Jo. M 418-9, Sd. G 91 || B \**sīn-* / \**sin-* 'two' > Ah {Fc.} m. *əssīn*, f. *sənāt*, Gd {Lf.} m. *sən*, f. *sənet*, Kb {Dl.} *sən*, f. *snaṭ*, Sll {Ds.} m. *sīn*, f. *snāt*, Si m. *sən*, f. *sən(a)t*, Zng {TC} *šinen* || Gnc {Wlf.} \**sini*, f. \**sinetti* (Gnc. GC [?] {Mlt. ← NicR} *smetti*, Gnc T {Mlt. ← ?} *sijn* 'two') ¶ Fc. 1841, Lf. II #1479, Dl. 781-2, Ds. 94, AiM 176, 214, Bs. NLB I 389, TC Z 304, Nic. 60, Wlf. 635, Zl. ÄHD 226 || Eg ∀ *snaw* m. 'two', {Vc.} \**siny-* id. (> Cpt: Sd/B **снег** *snew*, A **снегъ** *snew* ~ **сно** *sno*), *snty* f. 'two' (> Cpt Sd **сните** *sante*, B **сногът** *snuti*) ¶ EG IV 148-50, Vc. 196 (Eg stem \**siny-*) || C: Ag \**s̄n̄-* 'equal, similar' > Bln/Q/Dmb {R} *sənā*, Km {CR} *sānā* 'Gleichnis; wie, gleich wie' ¶ R WB 306, AD SF 111 || K \**č|s̄n̄-* > USv, Sv L *išgen*, Sv Ln *išken* 'other' ¶ Ni. s.v. *другой*, GP 121, TK 311-2 || A: M \**čina* 'the other side' > MM [S] {H} *čina-na*, *čina-un*, *činaru* 'on the other side', MM *činadu* 'jenseitig', WrM *čina-du* 'the other or opposite (side)'; WrM *činagsi*, Ord {Ms.} *č'ās*, Mnr {SM} *čjag-sz* 'on the other side, further'; WrM *činagsiki-*, HlM *чанагшхи* 'being on the other side'; MM [S] {H} *činaži* 'on the other side', [MA] {Pp.} *činači ödür*, {Lg.} *činaži ödür*, [IsV] {Lg.} *čanaži ödür* 'the day after tomorrow', [ZhY] *činaži ödür* {Lg.} id. (but {SM} 'le jour qui suit l'après-demain'), Shrн {Lg. ← ?} *činaži*, Mnr M {Pot.} *chenéta*, MMgl {Z} *činažda*, {Lg.} *čināžda* 'the day after tomorrow', Mnr H {SM} *č'inād\_ag\_*, {T} *činadag*, Dx {T} *čina-er* id. ¶ H 27-8, MED 186-7, SM 442, 451, Pp. MA 134, Lg. VMI 24, T 380, T DnJ 141, Iw. 96.

**397. \*č'a'ñd** 'rise, emerge, jump (up)' > K: GZ \**čñd-* 'appear, emerge' > G *čnd-*, Mg (r)*čkind-*, Lz *čkind-* id. ¶ K 220, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 257-8 (\**čn-d-* with a ps. sx. \*-d-), ≠ FS K 385-6 and FS E 433-4 (\*←d \**čan-/čen-/čin-/čn-* 'be seen, know') || IE: NaIE \**skand-* 'jump up, rise' ({WP}: 'aufschnellen, in die Höhe gehen'), {El} 'jump' > L *scand-ō* / -*ěre* / *scandī* / *scansum* 'climb' || OIr {Vn.} *scend-* 'sauter, s'élancer', MW *cy-chwynnu* v. 'aufspringen' > W *cychwyn* 'to rise, to stir' (→ 'to start, to begin') ({Vn.} 'partir', {WP} 'auffahren, aufbrechen') || OI '*skandati* 'jumps; spurts out' ¶ The cluster \**sk-* for the expected \**st-*

is due to the IE law (of dis.?) ruling out \*st-...-T-roots: in the presence of an IE root-final dental stop N \*č- and \*č̄- yield IE \*(s)k- and \*(s)k̄-, see IE \*skajd- (L cædō) < N \*čayd $\nabla$  'strike, beat' [q.v.] ¶ WP II 540-1, EI 323, WH II 488, M K III 506, M E II 749, LP § 25.2, Vn. S 41, YGM-1 118 || U \*čanča (~ \*čant $\nabla$ ?) 'jump, gallop, trot' > FU \*čanča > Er šanšne, Mk šančk ardə- 'galoppieren, in vollem Galopp fahren', šanča 'a long step, jumping' || ObU \*čūč- > pVg \*šūš- v. 'wade' > Vg: T šōš-, IK šoš-, P šuš-, Ss sūs- id.; pOs \*čoč- > T soč-, D čuš-, O sos- 'schreiten, zu Fuß gehen' || Sm {Jn.} \*č̄t̄ntč̄ $\nabla$  - 'run, trot' (of animals) > Ne T d. тāнетă-сь 'run at a moderate trot' (of draught-reindeers), T O {Lh.} tań-eťā', F K {Lh.} tańńāăăt·a'ś id.; Ng d. {Ter.} (bamə) taneuradü'o '(my dog) started running (погналась)', d. {Cs.} 3s (aor.?) tantājúa; En d. {Cs.} 1s aor. todde?ero? ~ todde?edo 'run'; Kms 1s prs. {KD} t'u'nō'jām- v. 'gallop'; Mt {Hl.} \*tandəl- 'rennen, schnell rennen' (Mt M d. {Sp.} 1s тāndalnyimъ 'скочу') ¶ The U √ belongs here if its meaning is 'to gallop, to jump' (as in Coll.) rather than 'schreiten, gehen' (as in UEW) ¶ FU medial \*-č- for the expected \*-t- by as.? ¶ Coll. 60, UEW 53, Jn. 147, Ter. 625, Hl. M #955 ¶ The change 'jump' → 'run quickly' ≡ R скакать.

**398.** 2 \*čūŋ $\nabla$  'smoke, smell' > HS: S: [1] d. \*°✓θnt > Ar ✓θnt 'have a bad smell' (of meat) (↔ \*\*θn-at- n. ↔ \*\*θn-); [2] ? \*°✓θ'nn > JA [Trg.] тə'nān (em. тə'nā'n-ā) 'smoke', 'stink' (Is. 34.3), Sr tənā'n-ā 'smoke'; JA/Sr ✓tnn G 'emit smoke' ¶ BK I 238, Lv. T II 547, Lv. IV 655-6, Br. 828 || Eg MK/G snsn v. 'smell (sth.)', Eg BD snsn 'rot' or 'stink' (of a corpse), Eg {Mks.} snsn.t 'perfume' ¶ × N \*sūŋ $\nabla$  'to smell (sth.)' × N \*šUŋE 'to breathe' (q.v.) ¶ EG IV 172-4, Mks. III 2634, Tk. I 130 (Eg sn ~ sny 'smell, breathe' with HS cognates referring to N \*sūŋ $\nabla$  '↑') || ? some Ch words for 'nose': Wrj {Sk.} činná, Jm {Sh.} ičin, Gj {Sh.} ičin, Bt {Mch.} cinnę, Gudu {IL} čin, Bdm {Cfr.} čenaj, {Lk.} činay, Ms {Mch.} c in, ZmB {J} čín, ZmD {KNC} čín ¶ JI II 258-9, KNC 4 || U: FU \*čūŋ $\nabla$  'smoke, fog, steam' > Prm {LG} \*čūŋ 'smoke' > Z тшын čin, Vt чын čin, Δ čin id. || ObU {Ht.} \*čūŋk- 'fog' > pVg \*šīkʷ, \*šīŋʷkʷ id. > OVg S Vt чегъ, OVg S SSs schücht, tschöcht, OVg W P ше(x), OVg W Sol чéхү id., Vg: T šīkʷ, LK šēxʷ, šēŋʷkʷ-, P šēxʷ, LL šexʷ, Ss sēŋʷkʷ id., T d. šīkʷitākt- 'sich abkühlen'; pOs {Ht.} \*čūŋ 'fog' > Os: V/Vy čüŋ, Ty čiŋʷ, Y/D/K čiŋ, Nz šiŋ, Kz šiŋ, O siŋ id. || pY {IN} \*čiŋ- > Y T {IN} čiŋ-i-ča 'мгла

(haze?), darkness, night' (-č̥ə is a nominal sx.) ¶ UEW 59, LG 291-2, Lt. 197, IN 216 ◇ Possible infl. of N \*č̥iwan̄ 'smell, stench, malodorous sweat' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ IS I 207-8 [#51] (\*č̥üngə) (adduces S, Ch, and FU words that do not belong here).

**399.** <sub>2</sub> \*č̥|č̥aŋ<sub>1</sub>k<sub>2</sub>ā '≈ push, kick, stumble' > IE: NaIE \*steng<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub>- ({WP} \*steng-) v. '≈ kick, stumble' ({WP} 'stoßen, mit dem Fuße [an]stoßen') > Gt stigqan 'zusammenstoßen', bi-stigqan, ga-stigqan vi. 'stumble, strike against' ({Fs.} 'anstoßen', [NT] προσκόπτειν), ? stigqan h.l. 'meet (a hostile army)' ({Fs.} 'zusammenstoßen'), d. ga-stagqjan vt. 'anstoßen, προσκόπτειν', d. bi-stugq n. 'stumble, stumbling' ('Anstoß, πρόσκομμα, προσκοπή') || W sangu {YGM} 'to tread', {WP} 'treten' || OI 'taŋgati 'stumbles' ¶ The Gt cognate points to IE \*gʷ, while W suggests lack of labiality ¶ WP II 618, 627, Fs. 452-3, ≈ M K I 469 (the OI-Gt connection "ist unerweisbar") || **U:** FU \*čaŋ<sub>1</sub>ṇ- 'strike, push, kick' > Er čavə-, Mk šavə- 'strike, beat' | Chr: H {MRS} چانگاš 'čaŋga-š 'to notch logs (for building a house)', {Rm.} 'čaŋga-š 'einhauen, einschneiden', L چوگاš {MRS} čoŋ'ga-š 'to erect a house (of logs), to build', Uf {Ps.} 'čoŋem 'Einschnitte in die (Enden der) für einen Blockverband bestimmten Balken hauen' || ObU {Ht.} \*čūŋk- > pVg {Ht.} \*št̥ŋw<sub>1</sub>k<sub>2</sub>w- > Vg: T šā'ŋk-, LK saŋx-, MK sžŋk<sup>w</sup>-, P šaŋk-, NV/LL šzŋk-, SV šzŋkw-, šzŋw- 'ausschlagen, einen Fußtritt geben', N {Mu.} sāŋŋw- 'stoßen', Ss {BV} saŋx<sup>w</sup>-, Yk {Vxr.} sāŋx- 'kick with the foot'; pOs {Ht.} \*čoŋk- 'kick' > V/Vy čɔŋ-, čoŋ- 'ausschlagen, einen Fußtritt geben', T/Y čoŋ-, K čoŋx-, Nz šuŋx-, Kz šwŋx-, O soŋx- 'mit dem Fuß stoßen (πηγύτε), ausschlagen (լացնութե)', D čoŋx- id., 'ein Bein stellen, durch Beinstellen umwerfen' ¶ UEW 53-4, Ht. #107, BV 99, Stn. WV 195, Ps. OT 154, Rm. BT 157, Stn. D 255, ≠ LG 312 || AdS of **K:** G čant- 'jem-m einen Fußtritt versetzen' (< N \*čoŋt̥ŋt̥<sup>1</sup>ṇ<sup>2</sup>) '≈ to step, to tread' [q.v.] ) ¶ Chx. 1894 ◇ If the K cognate is ignored (as of ambiguous origin), we lose the distinction between N \*č̥ and \*č̥, so that the N rec. must be \*č̥|č̥aŋ<sub>1</sub>k<sub>2</sub>ā.

**400.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \*čoŋt̥ŋt̥<sup>1</sup>ṇ<sup>2</sup> '≈ to step, to tread' > **K:** G čant- 'jem-m einen Fußtritt versetzen' (possibly influenced by N \*č̥|č̥aŋ<sub>1</sub>k<sub>2</sub>ā '≈ push, kick, stumble'?) ¶ Chx. 1894 || **U:** \*čont̥ṇ (or \*t̥s|š- and -nč̥š|s-) > Sm {Jn.} \*čānt̥- (or \*t̥- and \*-č̥-) v. 'step, tread (treten)' > Ne T танă-съ, T O {Lh.} tan·ā', Ne FL {Lh.} tānna-, En d. {Cs.} 1s aor. obcj. taddu?abo id., Kms {KD} 1s prs. t'оn·im 'gehen, wandern', d. {Cs.} thono?lam, {KD}

t'ōnu'iom 'treten', d. {KD} t'ōnoča'jam 'zertreten' ¶ Jn. 151 || ?ϕ HS: CS \*✓θ̥t > BHb תְּבַטְּבָת šařa, t-ač n. cs. 'stamping': šařa, t-ač par'sot 'das Stampfen der Pferdehufe', Ar ✓θ̥t G {Fr.} 'contudit in partes, comminuit', {BK} 'casser, concasser' ¶ GB 853, KB 1487, BK I 224, Fr. I 217 ◇ If the S cognate is legitimate, it means that under some conditions N \*ŋ yields S \*č.

**401. \*čapa** 'sack, vessel' > K: G čap-i 'earthenware jug', 'a measure for liquids (36 Russian pounds [19th c.])' ¶ Chx. 1906, DCh. 1562, SSO II 316 || U: FV \*čawa 'sack, vessel' > Krl A hoavo 'Sack(stoff), Beutel, Säckchen', Krl Ld havad, huavo, hoavo, Vp havad 'sack' | Er čava 'dish, bowl' ('Schale, Napf'), {ERS} 'блюдо', Mk šava 'wooden dish\bowl' ¶ UEW 619, ZM 111, ERV 734, PI 301 || A \*č'ap- 'container, vessel' > ?μ T: NaT \*čarčaq '(wooden) container' > CrTt čarčak 'tub' ('Zuber'), VTt Δ χαπčак šarčaq id., 'barrel', Bsh sapsaq 'tub (made of a log)', Δ 'hollow of a tree-trunk', Brb cspcaq 'barrel', Alt χαπčак čarčaq {BT} 'tub', {Rl.} 'barrel', Shor šarčaq 'barrel', Tlt {Rl.} čarčaq 'bucket' ¶ Rl. III 1927, Rs. W 99, TatR 631, BT 176, BR 463 || pKo {S} \*čapa- (or \*čjapa-) 'earthenware jar, bowl' > NKO čabägi ¶ S QK #1129, MLC 1379 ¶ ~ DQA #316 (pA \*č'jop'ē 'water container, vessel': T, Ko + [unc.] pJ {S} \*tžr̥i ~ \*tužr̥i 'gutter' [without unequivocal ev. for \*-p-] [> J: T tói, K tòi, Kg toí] + unj. pM \*čöyerüm 'pond, small lake, pool').

**402. 2 \*čEqN** (or \*čExN) 'chop, cut' > K \*čeqχ- > G čex- 'chop (wood), split' ¶ Chx. 1929-30, DCh. 1576 || HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} ci- v. {AD} 'chop, cut (wood)' > Tng {J} sē 'cut (wood, tree), chop; slay (with a sword), hew, fell' | Sir {Sk.} cī 'cut, chop' ¶ Stl. ZCh 181 [#336], J T 142, ChC, Sk. NB 17 || ?σ Eg L s̥x ({EG} śł) 'injury', 'wound' or sim. ¶ EG IV 267 ◇ If Eg s̥x belongs here, the N rec. must be \*čEqN.

**403. \*čaqyN** (or \*čaxyN?) 'to shine' > K: G čaxčax- 'glänzen, strahlen', čaxčax-i 'Glänzen, Gleisen, Strahlen' ¶ Chx. 1918 || A: M \*čay- v. 'be(come) bright\white, shine' > MM [S] čayi- v. 'become bright\white', [MA] čaj- v. 'become white', WrM {MED} cai-, HIM цай- v. 'be(come) white, turn pale, dawn, grow light', Ord {Ms.} č'ā- 'become white', MnR H {SM} č'iē- 'devenir blanc, jaunir (moisson)', ḍr č'i- v. 'dawn' ('commencer à faire jour'), WrM [AT] ciügen ~ ceügen 'shining' ¶ Pp. MA 130, H 25, MED 180, 1200, Kow. 2075, SM 441, 447, AT 8 || HS: Eg NK s̥x'y 'shine' (of the sun) (unless ← Eg fP s̥x'y

'appear') ¶ EG IV 237-8 ◇ N \*-q- if the Eg cognate is valid, otherwise we must reconstruct \*-q|x- (\*čaq|x y).)

**404.** \*čU<sub>1</sub>?R▀ 'stand, stand up' > HS: CS \*-θūr- > Ar √θwr (ip. -θūr-) v. 'become raised, stirred up' (of things), 'leap', SmA -tūr- ip. G 'raise' ¶ Ln. 364, BK I 241, Tal 946 || WCh: NrBc {Tk.} \*čurw-~\*č3rw- 'stand, stop, wait' ¶ Sk. NB 142, Tk. NB 170 ¶ The hissing (rather than hushing) cns. finds no explanation || K: G (ga-)čer- v. 'make (so., sth.) stop' ('zum Stehen bringen, anhalten, abstellen') ¶ Chx. 1925-6, DCh. 1576 || A \*čur▀- ({S AJ} \*čur▀, {SDM97} \*čūra) v. 'stand' > Tg \*jur- v. 'stand still' > Ewk jvrvl- v. 'stand still, in silence' ¶ STM I 278 ¶ Tg \*j- < N \*č- (cp. also Tg ≈ \*jali-kta 'haw-thorn' < N \*čA1▀ 'stalk', Tg \*jalka 'fine snow' < N \*čaíU<sub>1</sub>g▀ 'snow' or 'hoarfrost', and Tg \*japakun 'quiver' < N \*čapa 'sack, vessel') || S AJ and SDM97 adduce here pJ \*tat- v. 'stand' > OJ tat-, J: T tācu, K tätteru, Ns/Sh tač- ¶ S AJ 267 [#7O], S QJ #7O, Mr. 765 ¶ S AJ 101, 277 [#66], ≈ SDM97 (A \*čūra 'even, straight'), ≈ DQA #247 (A \*čjuři id. > Tg \*jur- \*÷ T \*ťür [> OT tūž 'level, flat, even'], that goes back to N \*ťury▀ ~ \*ťuryE or \*ťúř▀ ~ \*ťuřE 'row, line; to string' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The initial glottalized cns. in Ch suggests a glottalizing factor, which cannot be an initial ejective (ruled out by the K cognate) and is better explained by supposing the presence of a N lr. (most probably \*?).

**405.** (2?) \*č'i'gR▀ (~ \*č'i'R'g▀?) 'to stop up, to thrust, to plug, to dam' > HS: S \*°√θyr > Ar √θyr 'remplir, boucher (le trou, la crevasse); barrer, barricader un défilé contre l'irruption de l'ennemi', ?σ Sq {L} pf. G (y)hořor 'split' ¶ BK I 225, ≈ LG 481 || K ?σ \*čxer- / \*čxir- / \*čxr- v. 'pick (with stick)' > OG da-čxer-, G čxir-/čxer- {K<sup>2</sup>} id., {Chx.} '(hinein)stecken' (× K \*čxir- 'stick' > G čxir-, Mg \*čxinž- [→ Abh a-čxanč ~ a-čxanž], Sv čxir ~ čxir), d. GZ \*čxr-ek-/\*čxr-ik-/\*čxr-k- v. 'pick (with stick)' > G čxrek-/čxrič-, Mg čxirk-, Lz čxarak- id. ¶ G X < \*y due to the law of compulsory as. within clusters ("harmonic complexes") ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 259-61, Chx. 1963-4, Abul. 132 || A: M \*°čirga- > WrM cirga- v. 'stop up, dam'; M → WrMc cirga- {Z} 'hold in (within some limits), dam, fill with mud' ({Hr.} 'stecken bleiben, in der Klemme sein'), {Hr.} cirga-bu- 'stecken bleiben lassen; anhalten (Atem); stauen (Wasser)' ¶ MED 191, STM II 399, Z 941, Hr. 151 || Ads of D: SD and SCD \*čer- v. 'shove in, thrust, insert' (< D \*ker- < N \*šērwa▀ 'insert, thrust in, stop up' [q.v. ffd.]; see also N \*čERH<sub>2</sub>▀ 'to stick in, to gauge, to chisel').

**406.** \*čAr<sup>h</sup>̥'̥ 'to spread, to scatter' > IE: NaIE \*ster-, \*steru-/\*streu-, \*sterə-/\*strō̥ā- id., {EI} \*ster- 'spread out' (× N \*tar̥X<sup>Δ</sup> 'throw, disperse, scatter' [q.v.]) > OI ✓ star-: str̥nāti, str̥nōti 'spreads, scatters', 'streut (hin)', Av stərənāiti 'sternit', Phl vistar-tan 'to spread', NPrs **گستردن** gostär-dän id., 'to expand; to make a bed' || Gk στόρνυμι, στορέννυμι v. 'spread', στρωτός adj. 'spread', στρῶμα 'anything spread\laid out for lying\sitting upon' || L stern-ō/-ēre (pfc. strāvi, pp. strātus) 'stretch\spread out, strew, spread', strāmen 'straw, litter' || OIr sern- {Vn.} 'étendre, joncher, distribuer'; OBr strouis 'stravi', MBr streoui 'joncher', streuein v. 'to strew, to spread' ('parsemer, éparpiller'), Br streuin 'joncher, éparpiller, répandre' || pAl {O} \*stringa > Al shtrij v. (prs. strinj) 'stretch (out), spread' || pGmc \*straujan to spread, to strew' > Gt straujan, ON strá 'to strew', OHG strewen id. (> NHG streuen 'to strew, to spread'), AS stré(o)wian 'to strew, to scatter' (> NE straw); ON strá (→ ME strā, strō > NE straw), OFrs strē, OHG strou & strō (> NHG Stroh) 'straw' (← \*sth. spread\scattered') || Lt stīrta 'stack, rick', Δ strajā 'Streu(stroh)' || Sl \*pro-sterti to spread, to stretch' > OCS **прострѣти** pro-strě-ti, R про-стѣреть, Slv prostréti 'to stretch, to extend', SCr прoстрѣти & pro-strijēti id., 'to spread, to spread out', Blg про-'стирам v. 'I stretch, extend', Cz prostříti 'to spread (out)' ¶ P 1O29-3O, EI 539, M K III 517-8, M E II 756-7, Vl. II 1OO2, Sg. 1O89, F II 8O2-3, Cowg. EG 155ff., WH II 59O-1, Vn. S 93-5, Flr. 3O9, Ern. 662, Hm. 76O, Ho. 326, Fs. 456, Kb. 976, OsS 878, Schz. 273, Kb. 973, KM 757-8, Vr. 552, O 442, AlbED 844, Frn. 9O9-1O, 917, Vs. III 379 || HS: S \*°✓θrr > Ar ✓θrr 'séparer, disperser, disséminer' ¶ BK I 22O || D \*čär- ({§GS} \*s-?) v. 'spread, extend' > Tl sārincu id., Knd sār- v. 'spread (e.g. sore)' ¶ D #2466 ◇ D \*-r- (regularly from a N cluster \*r<sub>1</sub>) and IE \*sterə- suggest the presence of a lr.; the most probable lr. (liable to disappear in S) is \*h ◇ ≠ IS MS 359 (equates IE \*ster(H)- with HS \*d̥r- 'scatter').

**407.** (2?) \*čERH<sub>2</sub>Δ (= \*čERfΔ?) 'to stick in, to gouge, to chisel' > K: G čr- / čar- 'hinein-\durch-stecken, hinein-zwängen\stopfen' ¶ Chx. 1946-8 || A: Tg: Ul čirgз- v. 'gouge, chisel' ('дoлбить долотом\стамеской') ¶ STM II 399 || D: AdS of SD and SCD \*čer- v. 'shove in, thrust, insert' (< D \*ker- < N \*sérwΔ 'to insert, to thrust in,

to stop up' [q.v. ffd.], see also N \*č'í<sup>1</sup>gR<sup>Δ</sup> [~ \*č'í<sup>1</sup>R'g'Δ?] 'to stop up, to thrust, to plug, to dam') || ? HS: WS \*✓θ̥r̥ > Sr ✓tr̥ 'fregit, perfredit; perfodit', {JPS} 'break through, force a passage', JA [Trg.] ✓tr̥ 'zerbrechen, zerschlagen', MHb (< Aram?) תְּרִיבָה tərībā 'Riβ, durchbrochener Ort', SmA ✓tr̥ G 'breach' (pp. tr̥y̥ 'breached'), Ar ✓θ̥r̥ 'être importun à qn. par ses visites très fréquentes' (if a μφ from 'thrust, shove [oneself] in') ¶ Valid if Ar ✓θ̥r̥ belongs here, otherwise the S root is ✓tr̥ and does not belong here ¶ Tal 965-6, Br. 836-7, JPS 621, Lv. IV 673, ~ L G 481.

**408.** \*č<sup>1</sup>ΔRuq<sup>1</sup>Δ (or \*č<sup>1</sup>ΔRüq<sup>1</sup>Δ?) 'pile up, put\lay on\over' > IE: NaIE \*strew<sub>1</sub>a- / \*strou<sub>1</sub>a / \*stru<sub>1</sub>;- 'pile up, build' > L stru-ō, -ere (pfc. strūxi, pp. strūctum) 'pile up, put in layers (schichten); build', struēs (gen. struīs) 'a heap', Um struhc̥la, strucl̥a, STRUŚLA 'struiculam, struem' (accus. dim. 'a heap') || Lt Δ strūnyti, Lt Z strūnyti 'errichten, erbauen' ¶ It is tempting to suppose that -k- in L strūxi, strūctum is somehow connected with N \*-q- ¶ WH II 607-8, Bc. G 347, Pln. II 756, Frn. 927, ≠ EI 539 (L struō 'build up' < IE \*ster- 'spread out') || K: G čxor-i n. 'heap, piling up' ('Anhäufung, Haufen'), čxor- v. 'unordentlich anhäufen oder bauen' ¶ Chx. 1965 || HS: B \*✓srH > Kb {Hy.} ti-sri 'tas de claires\planches'; ? BSn {Ds.} a-šaršūr (pl. i-šeršār) 'tas de pierres (sacré)' ¶ Dl. 79O, Ds. B 338 || Eg fMK srx ȝ 'memorial stone (Denkstein)', possibly also Eg fXVIII srx 'throne' (if ← \*erected') ¶ EG IV 200, Fk. 234.

**409.** \*č'a<sup>1</sup>w'ū<sup>1</sup>ry<sup>1</sup>Δ 'bull, calf' > HS: S {AD} \*'θawar- 'bull, ox' > BHb שׂוֹר šōr, pl. שׂוֹרִים šawā'rīm, ? Ph θωρ, Ug θr (θōr-), BA pl. τόριν tōrīn, JA τόρα tōr-ā, Sr չօր taw'r-ā, Ar شور ūθawr-, OSA θwṛ, Gz ṣor, Tgr ṣor, Ak շար-, Eb շալում (= ūθōr-um) id.; S → IE \*tawro-s 'bull, aurochs' > Gk Mc tawros, Gk ταῦρος 'bull', pAl {O} \*taύra (> Al ter 'bull'), L taurus, Osc accus. ταυρομ, Um accus. pl. turuf, TORU 'bull', Gl TARVOS, OIr tarb, NIr tarbh, W tarw, MBr {Ern.} taru, Br tarv, Crn tarow id., ON þjórr, Sw tjur, Dt Δ deur 'bull', pSl \*turъ (> OCS τούρъ turъ 'aurochs'), Lt taύras 'aurochs', Pru tauris 'bison'; Blt → F tarvas 'reindeer' ¶ KB 1346-8, 1797-8, AD PhSS 1O-1, AD PSH 93, Br. 819, OLS 505, Siv. GAG 281, Sl. 1199, LG 511, Sd. 1287, IS DIES 3, WPI 711, P 1083, Mn. 137O, H 135, F II 86O-1, WH II 65O-2, Bc. G 325, 349, Vr. 614, Frn. 1O67-8, En. 263, Vn. T 31, Ern. 681, Hm. 777, YGM-1 4O5, Hamp AIEW 15O, O 432

|| Eg: OK **sʒ** 'young bull' ({Mks.} 'taurillon'), ?? MK {Fk.} **sʒ** 'byre' ¶ Mks. I #3325, Fk. 2O7, Hng. 654 || SC → Mb čurú 'bull' ¶ E SC 227 (err. SC supposed cognates) ¶ Tk. PAA 7 || IE: NaIE \*steur-/stour- 'bull' ({EI} \*steuros 'large domestic animal') > Av staora 'large cattle', MPers stōr 'draught animal', NPrs ستور sotūr ~ لستور ostūr 'beast of burden (horse, mule)' || Gt stiur 'male calf, (young) bull', ḡ ON {Ho., KM} stjórr (not mentioned in Vr.!), OHG stior 'bullock', NHG Stier 'bull, bullock', Dt stier, AS stéor 'bullock, steer', NE steer ¶ WP I 6O3-4, P 1O1O, Mn. 1316-7, VI. I 95 and II 227, Sg. 55, 656, Fs. 454, Ho. 32O, OsS 873, Kb. 966, KM 749, Vr. N 699 || ? A: NrTg \*çur- (~ \*çir-?) (+ext.) > Ewk çurup 'wild deer (two/three-year-old)' and possibly Ewk Urm çirak, Ewk M çirāp 'elk (four-year-old)', Neg çirap 'male elk (three/four-year-old)' ¶ STM II 399 || T: possibly Alt/Tlt/QK čar 'ox (Ochs, Arbeitsochs)', Brb/Kü čar 'ox' (Rl. III 1859 and IV 192) → WrM {Rm.} car, Kl car, HlM шарп 'castrated ox' (in this case N \*-awṇR- > A \*-aR-) || D: [1] D {tr.} \*čar- > Gdb sařit 'bullock', Knd Psarla 'bull', Ku sřahnu kōdī 'bullock' (kōdī 'cow, ox') ¶ D #24O2 || [2] ?? D (in CD) {tr.} \*čir, {GS} \*cir 'buffalo' > Klm sir, Nkr śir 'female buffalo', Nk sir id., 'buffalo', Prj čir, Gdb sir ≈ čirru 'buffalo'; D → OI sajribha id. ¶ D #2554, GS 127 [#33O] ◇ D \*-r- ~ \*-r- and pT \*-r suggest N \*-ry- rather than \*-ř- (which cannot yield T and D \*-ř) ◇ AD NM #41, Vv. AEN 19 (legitimate doubts about the supposed cognates in the Altaic lgs.).

**410. \*č̥i'Rkṇ** 'pus, rotten\filthy liquid' > HS: S \*oθark- > Ak šark- 'pus' ('Eiter') ¶ Sd. 1187 || IE: NaIE \*(s)terg̥g- / \*(s)treg̥g- 'rotten liquid, filth' > Gk [Hs.] στεργάνως · κοπρών {LS} 'sterquilinium' ('dung-heap'), Gk τάργανον 'wine vinegar, spoiled wine' || ON þrekkr, MHG drēc / gen. dreckes 'filth, dirt' > NHG Dreck 'mud, dirt, filth' || NaIE \*(s)terk̥- / \*(s)trenk̥- '≈ excrements, urine' > L stercus / gen. stercoris 'excrements, dung, muck, manure' || Br stronk 'excrements (ordure, crotte)', troazh 'urine', W trwnc 'urine', troeth (< \*troktā-) 'lye, urine', troethi 'to urinate' || pAl {O} \*streka > Al shtrek (pl. 'shtriqe) 'corpse, carrion' || Lt teržti (prs. teržiù) 'to soil, to make dirty', Lt trèšti, Lt E tręsti (prs. tręsiù) 'to manure, to dung', Lt trašà 'manure', traškanos 'pus in the eyes' ¶ P 1O31-2, WH II 589, F II 79O, 856, Vr. 62O, Lx. 32, KM 141, YGM-1 418, 42O, Hm. 763, 815, Frn. 1O83, 1112, 112O-1, O 441 ¶

The variation  $*\widehat{g}|\widehat{g}$  ~  $*\widehat{k}$  still needs investigating || A: NaT  $*\dot{\chi}\text{irk}$  'dirt, pus' > Az  $\dot{\chi}\text{irk}$  'dirt, pus', Osm {Rh.}  $\dot{\chi}\text{irk}$  'dirt, pollution, matter, pus', Tk {RYS}  $\dot{\chi}\text{irk}$  'dirt, rust', Δ 'pus, matter; manure', Tkm  $\dot{\chi}\text{irk}$  'stain, stained spot'; T → G  $\dot{\chi}\text{irk-}$  'pus' ¶ Rh. 718, Chx. 1937, Rl. III 2127 ◇ ≈ IS I 2O7 [#5O] ( $*\dot{\chi}\text{iru}'\text{гнoй, жижa'}$ ).

**411.** (2?)  $*\dot{\chi}\text{i}'t'\nabla$  'to clean, (?) to wipe' > K: G I  $\dot{\chi}\text{it-}$  'säubern (Reben)' ¶ Chx. 1934 || U: FU {Coll.}  $*\circ\dot{\chi}\text{i}\dot{\chi}\nabla-$  v. 'wipe' > Lp: Ar {Lgc.}  $\text{c}\text{i}\text{h}:\text{:c}\text{y}\text{o}\text{t}$ , Vfs {Lgc.}  $\text{c}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{h}\text{:c}\text{o}\text{t}$  'abwischen' ¶ FU  $*\dot{\chi}-$  for the expected  $*\text{-t-}$  is probably due to the infl. of the paronymous FU root  $*\dot{\chi}\text{o}\dot{\chi}\nabla$  (< N  $*\text{c}\text{o}\text{G}|\text{x}\dot{\chi}\nabla$  or  $*\text{c}\text{o}\text{G}|\text{x}\text{c}\nabla$  'sweep, rub\scrape away\off' [q.v.]) ¶ Lgc. #3O5, 353, Coll. 75 (Lp  $\text{c}\text{i}\text{c}\text{co}$  /  $\text{c}\text{i}\text{z}\text{o}$ - 'wipe';  $*\div$  Prm and Vg words belonging to the abovementioned U  $*\dot{\chi}\text{o}\dot{\chi}\nabla$ ) || ? HS: S  $*\circ\checkmark\theta\text{dm}$  '\*'strain, filter (a liquid)' > Ar  $\theta\text{i}\text{d}\text{ā}\text{m-}$  'linge, etc., qu'on applique à une vase pour filtrer\coller un liqueur' ¶ BK I 22O.

**412.** 1?  $*\dot{\chi}\text{i}\dot{\chi}\text{t}\text{h}\text{a}$  'small bird' > K  $*\circ\dot{\chi}\text{i}\dot{\chi}\text{t-}$  'small\young bird' > G  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\dot{\chi}\text{t-}$  'small bird',  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\dot{\chi}\text{t-}$  v. 'bring up nestlings' (of a bird); possibly some Klge. → Arm  $\dot{\chi}\text{h}\text{un}$   $\text{c}\text{i}\text{t}$  'sparrow' ¶ Chx. 1938, DCh. 1579 || HS: EC: HEC {Hd.}  $*\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{da}$  'bird' > Brj {Ss.}  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{d}\text{d}\text{ā}$ , {Hd.}  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}'\text{da}$ , Ged  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\dot{\chi}\text{č}\text{o}$  (<  $*\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{d-} + \text{snglt. -č}\text{o}$ ), Kmb  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\dot{\chi}\text{č}\text{u}\text{-ta}$ , Alb  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{č}\text{u}\text{ta}$  'bird' || ? SC {Tk.}  $*\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{d}\text{f-}$  ({E}  $*\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{r}\text{f-}$ ) 'bird' > Irq  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{r}\text{f}\text{i}$ , Alg/Brn  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{r}\text{a}\text{f}\text{a}$ , Asa  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{r}\text{a}\text{f}\text{a}$  id.;  $*\text{-d}\text{f-}$  < (as.)  $*\text{d}\text{h-}$  ¶ Hd. 27, 183, Ss. B 47, E SC 226, Tk. NB 176 || Ch: WCh {Stl.}  $*\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{ta}$  'bird', {AD} 'small bird' (mte.  $*\dot{\chi}\dots\dot{\chi}\text{t} > *\dot{\chi}\dots\dot{\chi}\text{t}$ ) > Hs  $\text{t}\text{s}\text{i}\text{t}\text{a}$   $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{t}\text{a}$  '∈ small bird' | Mbr {Sk.}  $'\dot{\chi}\text{o}\text{t}\text{i}$ , Dir {Sk.}  $\dot{\chi}\text{á}\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{d}\text{á}$  'bird' || ECh: Nd {J}  $\dot{\chi}\text{á}\dot{\chi}\text{d}\text{í}\text{n}$  id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 193 [#443], Ba. 1O41, ChC || ? Eg XXII  $\text{s}\text{t}\text{h}$  '∈ bird' (t for the expected  $*\text{d}$  due to as.  $*\text{t}\text{h} > *\text{t}\text{h}$ ), Eg MK  $\text{s}\text{z}\text{h}$  id. (affricatization  $*\text{t} > *\text{t̪}$ ) ¶ EG IV 345, 394 || o U {UEW}  $*\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{č}\text{a}$  (~  $*\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{n}\dot{\chi}\text{a}$ ) '∈ small bird' > pLp {Lr.}  $*\text{c}\text{i}\text{c}\text{ē-}$  '∈ a small bird' > Lp: N {Fri.}  $\text{c}\text{i}\text{c}\text{c}\text{e}$ ,  $\text{s}\text{i}\text{c}\text{c}\text{e}$  / -c- 'passer, avicula', {N}  $\text{c}\text{i}\text{z}\text{a}\text{š}$  / -až- 'Calcarius lapponicus', (last part of cds.) 'sparrow, small bird', S {Hs.}  $\text{t}\text{s}\text{ü}\text{j}\text{t}\text{s}\text{e}\text{-k}\text{e}$ , L {LLO}  $\text{t}\text{s}\text{i}\text{h}\text{t}\text{s}\text{ē}$  '(∈) 'small bird', Kld {SaR}  $\text{ц}\text{ы}\text{з}\text{а}$   $\text{c}\text{t}\text{z}\text{a}$  'a bird belonging to the order of Passeriformes (sparrow and sim.)' | Prm: Z I  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{ž}$  'small bird',  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{ž}$   $\text{k}\text{ay}$  'Arctic sparrow', Z US/MS  $\dot{\chi}\text{+}\dot{\chi}\text{+}$ , Prmk  $\dot{\chi}\text{+}\dot{\chi}$ , Yz  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{ž}\text{i}$  'swift (Apodida)', StZ  $\text{д}\text{ж}\text{ы}\text{і}\text{д}\text{ж}$   $\dot{\chi}\text{+}\dot{\chi}$  id., 'sand martinet (Riparia)' || Os: D  $\dot{\chi}\text{e}\text{ñ}\text{č}$  'a small bird', Kz  $\dot{\chi}\text{e}\text{š}$  'a song-bird', K  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{š}$  'goldfinch' || Sm: Slq Tm {KD}  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{č}\text{i}$  'a small bird', Slq Tz {Erl. ← JP}  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{č}\text{i}\text{k}$ ,  $\dot{\chi}\text{i}\text{č}\text{i}\text{k}\text{a}$  'a small bird' ¶ UEW 58-9, Lr. #81, Lgc. #355, Hs. 137O, SaR 382, LG 89, Erl. 239 ¶ The unexpected  $*\text{-č-} \sim *\text{-nč-}$  (for  $*\text{-tt-}$ ) are due to onomatopoeic associations (and to

as.?). The additional cns.  $\text{-}̄\text{n̄}$ - in Os D and in prePrm (\* $\text{-}̄\text{n̄} \check{c}$ - > Prm \* $\check{z}$ ) still needs explaining || D \* $\check{c}i\ddot{t}\ddot{t}\text{-}$  'in small bird' > Tl  $\text{j}i\ddot{t}\ddot{t}\text{a}$  (the generic name of several birds: warblers, babblers, wagtails, etc.), Kn  $\text{c}e\ddot{t}\ddot{t}\text{i}$  'hen-sparrow', Kt  $\text{gu}gr\text{-}ce\ddot{t}\ddot{y}$  'pigeon' (lit.: 'a bird that says  $\text{gu}gr$ '); D  $\rightarrow$  OI  $\text{ca}t\text{aka-}$  'sparrow' §§ D \* $\check{c}i\ddot{t}\ddot{t}\text{a}$  (preserved in Tl  $\text{j}i\ddot{t}\ddot{t}\text{a}$ ) > pSD \* $\check{c}e\ddot{t}\ddot{t}\text{a}$  (\* $i$  > SD \* $e$  before \* $a$  of the next syll.)  $\rightarrow$  Kn  $\text{c}e\ddot{t}\ddot{t}\text{i}$  and Kt  $ce\ddot{t}\ddot{y}$  §§ D #2763, Zv. 65-6 (\* $i$  > SD \* $e$ ), Tu. #4571 ◇ In WCh and D there is shift of etymological emphaticity N \* $\check{c}\dots\ddot{t}$  > \* $\check{c}\dots\ddot{t}$  (> D \* $\check{c}\dots\ddot{t}$ ) ◇ An alt. rec. is N \* $\check{c}i\ddot{t}\text{,h,}\nabla$ , that presupposes a shift of emphaticity in K ◇ If Eg  $\text{s}t\text{h}$  (~  $\text{s}z\text{h}$ ) belongs here, the N etymon is \* $\check{c}i\ddot{t}\text{,h,}\text{a}$  (the combined ev. of Eg  $\text{h}$  and of KØ suggesting N \* $\text{h}$ ). But if SC \* $\check{c}id\ddot{r}\text{-}$  belongs here, the N etymon may be \* $\check{c}i\ddot{t}\text{f}\text{a}$  (Eg  $\text{t}\text{h}$  < \* $\text{-t}\text{f-}$  [assimilative deglottalization and devoicing]).

**413.** ?σ<sub>2</sub> \* $\check{c}A\text{y}\nabla$  'bring, give' > HS \* $\check{c}ay\text{yy-}$  > CS \* $\theta\text{ayy-}$  'gift, donation' > BHb  $\text{'šay}$ , EpHb  $\text{'šy}$  šy id., Ug  $\theta\text{y}$  {A} 'Votivgeschenk', {Grd.} 'tribute, gift', Yd šy [\*θay-] 'gift, donation' § KB 1368, A #2857, Grd. UT #2666, HJ 1125 || WCh: NrBc {Tk.} \* $\check{c}ay\text{-}\sim\check{c}iy\text{-}$  > Wrj {Sk.}  $\check{c}a\text{-}$ , Jmb {Sk.} ši ~ ša, My, Mbr c-, Kry  $\check{c}iy\text{-}$  'give' § Sk. NB 23, Tk. NB 174 || Eg OK  $\text{s}w$ ,  $\text{s}w\text{.t}$ ,  $\text{y}\text{s}w$  'Ersatz, Lohn, Entgelt' § EG I 131 §§ ≈ Tk. PAA 17-8 (S, NrBc, Eg + err. pSam \*'sî: 'give' [in fact, < N \* $\hat{c}ih\text{'i'}$  ≈ carry, bring' → give', q.v.]) || ?σ D \* $\check{c}ay\text{-}$  'leave, let go, (?) give' > Klm  $\text{say-}$  'leave, let go, release', Nk  $\text{say-}$ , Prj  $\check{c}ay\text{-}$  'leave', Nkr  $\text{s}ay\text{-}$ , Gdb O {Bh.}  $\text{s}ay\text{-}$  'leave, abandon', Gdb {BBh.}  $\text{s}ay$  key- 'leave, let loose', Gdb K  $\text{s}ay\text{-}$  'leave, heal' || ?Td  $\text{toy-}$  'give the slip to' || AdS of D \* $\check{c}\bar{t}\text{-}$  / \* $\check{c}iy\text{-}$  ({θGS} \* $\acute{s}$ -) v. 'give' (→ 'allow') (< N \* $\hat{c}ih\text{'i'}$  ↑ [q.v. ffd.]); it is not likely to be the direct reflex of N \* $\check{c}A\text{y}\nabla$  because of D \* $\text{-}\bar{t}\text{-}$  / \* $iy\text{-}$  and D {GS} \* $\acute{s}$ - §§ D \*\*2458, 2596, Zv. 105.

**414.** <sub>2</sub> \* $\check{c}\text{æ}\text{lab}\nabla\text{'y}\text{'nab}\nabla$  'in horned animal' > HS: S \* $\text{'θab}\text{ay-}$  'gazelle' > Ak fOB  $\text{šab}\text{it}\text{u(m)}$  (Ak  $\bar{t}$  < S \*ay), Ebl za-ba-a-tum, BHb  $\text{'z}\text{a'b}\bar{t}\bar{t}$  (pl.  $\text{z}\text{a'b}\bar{a}'\bar{t}\bar{t}\text{-im}$  ~  $\text{z}\text{a'b}\bar{a}'\text{y}\bar{t}\bar{t}\text{-im}$ ), Ug  $\theta\text{by}$ , OA  $\text{š}\text{by}$  [ $\theta\text{a'b}\nabla\text{y-}$ ], IA  $\text{t}\text{by}$ , JA (incl. JEA)  $\text{t}\text{ab}\text{'y-ā}$ , Sr  $\text{t}\text{ab}\text{'y-ā}$  ~  $\text{t}\text{əb}\bar{t}\text{-t-ā}$ , Md  $\text{t}\text{abia}$ , Ar  $\text{ظبى}$   $\text{gab}\text{y-}$  id. § CAD XVI 42-4, Sd. 1071, Krb. EG 42, KB 937, HJ 419, 958, OLS 551, Grd. UT #1045, Sl. 493, Br. 266, DM 173, BK II 132, Ln. 1908 || Eg OK  $\text{z}\text{b}\text{n.w}$  'in antelope' § EG V 568 || A {DQA} \* $\check{c}'ap'i$  ~ \* $\check{c}'ep'a$  'in horned animal' > T {DQA} \* $\check{c}\text{ä}lepi\bar{t}\text{'}$  'kid' > OT  $\check{c}epi\check{s}$  'a kid more than half grown', Osm  $\check{c}äpi\check{s}$  'half-year-old kid', Tkm  $\check{c}ebi\check{s}$ ,  $\check{c}eb\check{sek}$  id., Az  $\check{c}äpi\check{s}$  'one-year-old kid', Qzq  $\text{šib}\text{i}\check{s}$  'one-year-old goat

(she-goat?'), Qq šibis 'goat that has kidded once', Qrg čebič 'kid of the second year' ¶ Cl. 399, Rs. W 1O5, Shch. Zh 12O || ?σ M: \*ča<sup>β</sup>a > WrM ca, ca биги, HlM цаа 'domesticated reindeer', Kl † ца(а) сā 'reindeer', ?φ Brt сагаа(н) sagā(n) 'sire reindeer' ¶ Kow. 2073, MED 154, Gl. III 333, KRS 62O, Chr. 382 || Tg: Ewk I čēwakūn, Ewk çubukī 'mountain sheep' ('горный \ каменный баран') → Yk ču(b)buka ~ ču(b)buku id. ¶ STM 41O ¶ DQA #273 ◇ A \*-p'- < \*\*-b...?- < N \*-b...y-

**415. \*č̄́vč̄́x|yvč̄́** 'be born; a young (of an animal)' > K: G č̄́č̄́gina 'e young fish, fry' ¶ Chx. 226O || u \*čača (~ \*čanča) ~ (Ugr) \*čočv 'be born' > FU: Er šačo- ~ čačo-, Mk šačə- id., 'appear, be a (good) crop' | Chr: L šoča- (inf. шочаш šo'ča-š), B šoča-, Uf šoča-, H šača- (inf. шачаш 'šača-š) 'be born' | Prm \*čuž- id. > Z чуž- čuž- id., 'appear, germinate', Prmk, Yz čuž- id., Vt чыжы čiž- 'clan', чыжы- выжы čiž- -včiž- 'clan, relative(s)' (выжы 'root, clan') || ObU {Ht.} \*čočəv > pVg {Ht.} \*šjšəv ~ \*šjšəv 'native land' > Vg: LK/MK sāsə, P šoši, Ss sošsa id.; pOs {Ht.} \*čočəv ~ \*čačəv 'of this country, local, indigenous' > Os: D/K čäčə, Nz šošə, Kz šoši, O sāsi || Sm: Ne T тэнз, T O {Lh.} tenc 'clan, tribe; kind', En X {Cs.} tido, En B {Cs.} tiso, {Mik.} tiz 'Geschlecht', Ng {Hl.} tansə 'clan', Slq {Cs.}: O čaž, MO 'čažeak ~ čačeak, NP čatčeak, Ke cáceak, B čežijeä, Tz čečeťä, čečeja, tetetä 'Geschlecht' ¶ UEW 52, MRS 722, LG 312, Lt. 216, U3S 49O-1, Ht. #92, Stn. D 241, Ter. 69O, Hl. US 139, Cs. 89, 134, 228 || a: NaT \*čōčuglik ~ \*čōčka '≈ young of an animal' (→ 'young of a pig'), 'child' (< \*'born') > OT čočuq, Trm жоҗүк žožuq, Az чошга čošqa, QrB čočxa 'suckling pig', Tk čočuk / čočuğ- 'child', Ggz čožuq 'boy, son', Uz чүчкә čawčqa, ET, Qmq čočqa, Qzq/Qq/Nog šošqa, VTt чүчкә šušqa, Bsh susqa, Qrg čočqa, StAlt чочко čočqa, Qmn {B} čočqa ~ čočqa ~ čöčkö, QK {B} čočqa ~ šošqa, Xk sosxa 'swine' ¶ Cl. 4OO, MKD 94, Rs. W 113, TkR 326, BT 18O, B DK 269, B DLT 223, RKB 455 ¶ The length of the vw. \*ö reflects the loss of the N postcons. lr.

**416. \*čayd** 'strike, beat' > K \*čēd- / \*čād- v. 'hammer (metal), forge; nail' > OG čed- (aor. -čed-e < \*čēd-) v. 'hammer (metal), forge', G čed- (aor. -čed-e) id., v. 'nail on, affix, shoe', Mg čka(n)d-, Lz čkad- v. 'nail, shoe', Sv -škād- / -škād-, Sv L -škād- id. ({TK} msd.: UB liškādi, LB/Ln liškādi, LB liškādi, L liškādi) ¶ K 254-5, K<sup>2</sup> 32O, Chik. 412, FS K 474, FS E 537-8, Chx. 2238-4O, TK 462; on the phonological basis of the

full-grade aorist in G: Vogt AVG 133 and GM S 269-70 || The K long vw. goes back to N \*ay || D \*čaṭ- v. 'strike, beat' > Tm cāṭu v. 'beat, trample, gore, kill, destroy', cāṭṭu v. 'beat, strike', Tu cađāyisu- id., 'flog', Kn jađi 'beat, pound, crush', Tl sadincu v. 'pound, beat', Prj čadp- v. 'strike, beat, hammer', Kui žaṛsa 'a whip, scourge', Mlt {Drs.} jáṛe 'beat\shake down as fruits' || D #23OO || IE: NaIE \*(s)k(h)ajd- 'strike' > L caed-ō / -ere (pfc. cecīd-ī) 'strike, beat, kill, cut (trees)' || OI khēd- {MW} 'strike, press, press down', {M} 'drücken, stoßen' (to keep apart OI {M} khēd- 'tear?') || ~ WH I 129, MW 339-40, ~ M K I 3O9, ~ M E I 454-5 || Though the IE \*s mobile is not attested in any language, there is indirect ev. of it: the OI aspirated kh- is accounted for by NaIE \*(s)k<sup>h</sup>- < N \*č- || The cluster \*sk- for the expected \*st- is due to the IE law (of dis.?) ruling out \*st-...-T-roots (in the presence of an IE root-final dental stop N \*č- and \*č- yield IE \*(s)k-, \*(s)k̄-, \*(s)kʷ-, cp. IE \*skand- < N \*č'a'nd $\nabla$  'rise, emerge, jump [up]' [q.v.]) || HS: ?φ EC {Ss.} \*č|dīt- v. 'kick' > Or {Grg., Sr.} dīta, Arr {Hw.} dīt-, Ya dīt- {Ss.} v. 'kick', Hr {AMS} dīč-'treten' || Ss. PEC 26, 3O, Grg. 126, Sr. 297, Brl. 118 (Or dīt-u 'pestare, calpestare, pigliare coi piedi'), Hw. A 356, AMS 155.

**417. \*čUka** (or \*čUk<sub>1</sub>ṇ<sub>2</sub>?<sub>3</sub>ṇ?) 'to shut, to stop up, to cover' > **K**: G ček- 'vollstopfen' || Chx. 2245 || IE: NaIE {P, EI} \*(s)teg- v. 'cover' > OI sthagayati 'covers, hides' || Gk στέγω 'I cover, protect' || L teg-ō, -ere v. 'cover' || ON þekja, OSx bi-thékkian, OHG decken  $\triangleq$  decchen  $\triangleq$  thechen, NHG decken, AS ȝéccan 'to cover', NE thatch || Lt stiegti (prs. stiegu) 'to roof, to thatch' || → NaIE \*(s)tego-s ~ \*(s)togo-s 'roof' > Gk στέγος, τέγος, στέγη, τέγη 'roof, house' || OIr tech, OW tig 'house' || ON þak, AS ȝæc, OHG dah  $\triangleq$  dach  $\triangleq$  thah, NHG Dach 'roof' || Lt stógas, Ltv stāgs, OPrs stogis 'roof' || P 1O12-3, Dv. #1O9, EI 134, M K II 523 (the adduction of OI "remains questionable"), F II 78O-1, WH II 654-5, Vn. T 39-4O, Vr. 6O5, 6O7, OsS 94-5, Schz. 1O5, 1O8, Ho. 35'Kb. 147, KM 119, 124, Frn. 9O4, 911, En. 257 || **U** \*čukka- 'versperren, verstecken' > Hg cūk- 'sperren, versperren, zuschließen' || ? Vt čuka- vt. 'hamper, bar' ('задержать, преградить') || Sm: [1] i\*čṇk- > Slq Tz {Cs.} čakačam ~ takatam 'einschließen, verschließen'; [2] ?φ Sm {Jn.} \*tъk- v. 'hide' > Sq Tm {KD} takku 'хранить' (= 'keep'?), Sq N {Cs.} 1 s pf. tahhap 'I buried'; → Sm {Jn.} \*tъkkъl- 'verbergen' > Ne T

такǎл-цъ 'to hide, to conceal', {Lh.} та̄kkal- 'verbergen, verstecken', Ne F 2s obcj. imv. tā'kkarət, Slq Tz {KKIH} taqqīl- v. 'gather', {Cs.} ? En X/B тeкā- 'sich verstecken' ¶ || A: ?σ Tg \*çoku- v. 'screw up one's eye, close one's eye' > Ewk çokon- ~ çokor- id., v. 'take aim (when shooting)', Lm çokān- id., Neg çoxot-, Ork čoqoriči- 'take aim (when shooting)', Orc čokčomiči- v. 'cover one's eyes with the hand' ¶ STM II 404 ◇ U \*-kk- and Tg \*-k- (the regular reflexes of N \*-K-) may be explained as going back to post-N \*-k- < \*-k?- < N \*-k∇?-.

**418.** <sub>2</sub>\*č|čik∇ 'to cut' > K: GZ \*čečk- v. 'cut (fine)' > G čečk-, Mg čkačk- id. ¶ K 255, K<sup>2</sup> 321, FS K 474-5, FS E 538 || A: Tg \*çika- > Ewk čikā- v. 'cut off', Lm çläqü, Neg çixa ~ çuka id., 'cut into pieces', Ork čikz 'a support (piece of log, etc.) on which sth. is chopped, cut, broken up, crushed' ¶ STM II 39O ◇ The N initial cns. may have been either \*č- (preserved in K) or \*č- (glottalized in K by as.) ◇ IS MS 361, IS I 21O [#55] (K, A).

**419.** \*čEčik∇ (or \*čäričik∇?) 'squeeze; tight' > K: G čikn- 'prallvoll machen, vollstopfen' ¶ Chx. 2251 || HS: WS \*✓<sup>θ</sup>čik > Gz ✓ščik G 'be squeezed, pressed' and possibly BHb ✓çwč Sh (pf. הַצִּיק hē'čīk) 'drive (smb.) in the corner, press (smb.)', hē'čīk lə- 'harass, press hard' (absence of \*č due to contamination with CS \*✓šyč 'be narrowed, pressed' < N \*čiK∇ 'tight, narrow, dense' [q.v. ffd.] ×N \*č∇č, č∇č 'squeeze, press' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ L G 543-4, KB 951, KBR 1O14, BK II 49, OLS 42O-1, Js. 1O56 || U: FU \*čäkk∇ 'tight; to press, to suffocate' > Prm: Z джагыд žagz̥d 'tight' (e.g., of a collar), žagz̥d-n̥t 'to press, to strangle (with a loop)', žagav-n̥t 'to strangle oneself', Yz 'žagal- 'hang oneself', Vt жоканы žoka- vi. 'suffocate', žokat-nt̥t vt. 'to strangle, to suffocate', žok-žok p̥can̥t 'to close tightly \ hermetically' || ObU {Ht.} \*čāk- > pVg \*šäk- → \*šäk-∇t- vt. 'suffocate' > Vg T šük̥t-, Vg P šäk̥at- id., pVg \*šäk-∇p- vi. 'suffocate' > Vg: LK/P šäkəp-, MK säkəp-, LL šäkäp-; pOs {Ht.} \*čäkən-, {θHl.} \*čäkən- vi. 'suffocate' > Os: V/Vy čäkən-, Ty/Y/D/K čäkən-, Nz/Kz šakən, O säkən- id. ('ersticken') ¶ UEW 55, LG 88, Ht. #132, Stn. D 247 || A: M \*čiqul 'narrow, tight; pressed' (×N \*čiK∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.).

**420.** \*čäl∇ (or \*čärl∇) 'feeble, lean; to shrink, to diminish' > K: GZ \*m-čl-e 'lean, thin' (with the derivational circumfix \*m- -e) > OG, G mčle, Mg čkola id. (\*m- is regularly lost in Mg) ¶ K 143, K<sup>2</sup> 133, FS K

472 (\*čel-/čl-) || HS: SES \*✓θll v. 'be weak' (animal, person) > Jb E θελ 'weak', Jb C τζ'θελ'λετ 'weak, sickly' (cow), τζ'θελελ 'weak' (person, young animal), Jb εθ'λελ v. 'cause (animals) to be weak', Mh θαλ, Hrs θελ 'weakly goat' ¶ Jo. H 132, Jo. J 284, Jo. M 417 || AdS: Eg MKL սՅ 'mit schwachem Arm' (× N ?σ \*šuw?ν 'weak' × N \*šuլ'ū' 'lax, loose') ¶ EG IV 14 || C: SC: Kz {E} čel- 'slow down' ¶ E SC 199 || AdS of EC \*°✓č'l'k > Hd {PB} čerak- v. 'be lean, thin' (× N \*čälgν 'lean, thin', q.v.) ¶ Tk. PAA (S, Eg, SC) || U: FU \*č'a]ν 'a small thing' > pPrm \*žwly- id. > Z žoī, žoīl- id., žoīa 'small', Z UV žoīa id., Prmk žoī 'a few' || pObU {Hl.} \*čē]əγ 'thin' (× N \*čälgν, q.v.) > pVg \*čā]əγ id. > Vg: T čā]əw, LK ščlī, MK/LK ščlī, N šā]əγ; pOs \*če]əγ ({Hl.} \*čā]əγ) id. > Os: V/Vy če]əγ, θυ čā]əγ, D/K če]ə, Nz še]ə, Kz še]i, O še] ¶ LG 91-2, Rd. rLG 422, Ht. #77 ¶ FU \*č- (for the expected \*č-) is puzzling; Prm \*l' is due to the infl. of the following \*y || A: NaT \*°čal- > OT cal-in- v. 'be emaciated (هَرْلَ hazala)' (of a horse), 'исхудать' (MKA 342:3) ¶ Cl. 421, DTS 137 || Tg: WrMc c̄elmeri {Z} 'slender, lean' ('стройный, с тонкой талией, сухощавый'), 'thin and dense' (of cloth), {Hr.} 'schlank, rank' ¶ STM II 420, Hr. 142, Z 929 || M: [1] M \*čile- > WrM cilə-, HlM чилэ- 'be(come) ill \ weary \ tired \ exhausted', Kl чил- 'run low, be exhausted (исчерпаться, кончиться)', {Rm.} čil(ə)- 'ein Ende nehmen, zu Ende gehen, kraftlos\krank sein', Ord č'ile- 'éprouver de la fatigue; être épuisé' ¶ MED 182, KRS 650, KW 440, Ms. O 701 ] [2] ??σ WrM cilger {MED} 'slender', {Gl.} 'стройный становом', HlM {MED} чилгэр 'slender' ¶ MED 183 || D \*ča]- ({GS} \*c- or [?] \*č-) 'weak, feeble, undevolpped' > Tm callukkay 'tender and undevolpped green fruit', Ml callu 'unsubstantial, unripe', Kn ja]luga 'a weak, feeble man', Kn Cr sa]ke 'lean', Tu callə 'stupid, weak', Kui sađu 'an empty ear of corn, an unformed grain' ¶ DEDS #1951, D #2415 ◇ U \*-]- and D \*-]- suggest N \*-]- ◇ ¶ S \*θ- and Eg ս- either result from deglottalization (N \*č > \*č > S \*θ, Eg ս) or represent N \*čä?lν. If \*čä?lν is the right N rec., K \*č- and Kz č- go back to N \*č + \*?

421. 2 \*č'θlalν 'shadow, shade, dark' > HS: S \*θilal- 'shadow' > Hb צֵל 'shadow' (pl. צְלָלִים čelālim), Ug θl, Amr {G} šillum, JA tə'lal / em. təlā'l-ā, təl'l-ā, SmA t̄l, Sr ظلّ t̄lālā (= t̄lā'lā), Ar ظلّ ڏill-, Gz d. šalālōt, Ak šillum id., JEA t̄lā'lā 'ceiling' ] (+ext.) S \*✓θlm 'be\grow dark' > Ak ✓šlm G (inf. šalāmu) 'be black\dark',

š̥almu 'black, dark', Ar **ظلم**  $\checkmark$  ǵlm G (pf. ǵalima) 'be dark', Ug ǵlmt ~ ǵlmt 'darkness', Gz  $\checkmark$  šlm G 'grow dark, be darkened\black' ¶ KB 960-3, KBR 1O24-5, OLS 551, G A 34, Tal 311-2, Js. 537, Sl. 5O5, Br. 275-6. L G 555-6, Sd. 1O76-8 || EC: Ged tillo 'black' || Ag: Aw {Hz.} cárká id. ¶ ≈ AD SF 113-4, Hd. 263 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} \* $\overset{[x]}{\check{c}}$  $\nabla$ la- 'shade, shadow' > Sha čalâ, Ang žil id. ]? (+ext.): Tmk džlmi ~ dulmî (f. džlmžr, pl. džlmaw) 'black' (unless from Ar) ¶ Stl. ZCh. 194 [#455], J R 233, Flk. s.v. žil, Cp. 53, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'black' || Om {Blz.} \*čal-/\*žil- 'black' or 'green' > NrOm: Gm {Hw.} čililo, Drz {Fl.} čilila, Malo {Fl.} čililo, Oyda {Fl.} čililo, Bsk {Fl.} čulla, Na'o {Fl.} čilu, Mj čil-ıs, Gmr {Fl.} čil, Cha {Fl.} šilata, Hrr {Fl.} jiluka 'green' || SOm: Ari B čal- 'black', Ari G -čal, -čel, Dm čilo 'green', Ari {Bnd.} čale-mi 'black, green' ¶ Blz. OL #197, Fl. AGC 623, Hw. EG, Bnd. AL 145, 151 || ?σ B \* $\checkmark$ dlu|H: Ah adlu v. 'be green and profuse' (of vegetation) (×B \*dal 'green, dark'), Shl {NZ} dlu ~ dlu 'be(come) black', Sll i-dili 'black', Ntf dlu 'be black', Zng {TC} eðey 'black', 3m pf. yediy / 3m aor. yidiy 'become black' ¶ Fc. 271, Ds. 199, Dray 335, NZ 463, DCTC 296 ¶ To distinguish from B \*dal 'green, dark' (NZ 326-7) || **U** \* $\overset{o}{\check{c}}$ |t|šol]w $\nabla$  > Sm {Jn.} \*č|talw'b 'dark' > Ne T талв, Ne T O {Lh.} tałβ 'the darkest part of night (in winter)', Ne F {Lh.} pít tānʌ id., Kms {KD} t'ōku 'dark', Koyb {Sp.} тóло 'темно' ¶ Jn. 151, Ter. 618.

**422.** <sub>2</sub> \* $\check{c}$  $\nabla$   $\overset{[h]}{\check{h}}$  $\nabla$  'to taste, to eat' > **HS:** WCh {Stl.} \* $\checkmark$ čm 'to taste' > Hs {Ba.} čámé 'a small amount of food taken (out of a pot on the fire) to taste if it is good' (× Hs čama v. 'take, pick out') | Ang {ChC} čám v. 'taste', Kfr {Nt.} čám id., 'touch (in darkness)', Mpn {Frz.} čám v. 'taste, feel, touch, test sth.' | Fy {J} čámī 'taste, touch' || ECh: Mu {J} čám 'eat (hard food)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 193 [#446], ChC, ChL, Ba. 1O26, Flk. s.v. čám, Frz. DM 9, Nt. 5, J R 84 ¶ OS #111 (+ err. Ar  $\checkmark$ θm? 'make food fat, feed with fat food' [in fact, the basic meaning of Ar  $\checkmark$ θm? is 'fat']) || **K** \*čám-/\*čm- 'eat' > OG, G čam- (aor. -čam-e < \*-čám-), Mg čkom- ~ čkum-, Lz čkom-, Sv L {K<sup>2</sup>} ēm-, {Dn.} em- (aor.: 1s l-ox w-em 'I ate', 2s lax-em, 3s lal-em, 1p l-ox w-ēm-d, 2p laxēmd, 3p lalēm-x) ¶ K 254, K<sup>2</sup> 319-2O, Schm. 157, FS K 472-3, FS E 535-6, Dn. s.v. em-; on the length of the pK vowels evidenced by the G aorist: GM S 241, 244, IS rGM 132-3 ◇ IS I 211-2 [#57] (+ err. S \* $\checkmark$ čm 'taste') ◇ The long vw. in K points to a N "light" lr. (\*h, \*ň, or \*ħ, less probably \*?).

**423.** \*čäm<sub>1</sub>ṇ<sub>2</sub>χṇ 'sour, bitter' > **K** [1] G čmax- v. 'become sour' (of wine), čmax-i 'sour' (wine); [2] ?φ GZ \*mčaxe- (< \*\*m-čmax-e-) 'sour' > OG mčax-, G mčaxe-, Lz mčoxa- id. ¶ FS K 231, K<sup>2</sup> 133 || **HS:** NrOm \*✓čm 'bitter' > Hrr {CR} čām-, Wl {C} čam-, Kf {C} čāmm- v. 'be bitter', Mch {L} čammo 'bitter', Anf {MYTY} šāmo 'bile' ¶ C SE IV 421, L M 24, MYTY 118 || Ch: WCh: Hs čāmī 'acidity, sourness', Gw cami | Tng {J} šem, {Kr.} sōm 'sour, -ness' | P' {MSk.} čimúwù ~ čimūmú 'sourness', Mbr {Sk.} šāmin, Dir {Sk.} n̄s 'sān'sām 'sour'; ?? NrBc \*✓šmm 'bitter' > Cg {Sk.} šēmāmā, P' {MSk.} šām(ù)mā, Sir šāmāmi id. (or akin to Jmb {Sk.} jāmājāmā 'bitterness', Kry {Sk.} démdémžnā 'bitter'?) || CCh: Pdl šom šom 'sour', ZmB {Sa.} cīcēm, ZmD {KNC} cīmōk, Zm {Kr.} čumok 'sour' || ECh: Brg {J} jēmá 'bitter' ¶ Ba. 1O27, ChC, ChL, JS 43, JI II 26-7, Sk. NB 13, 41, MSk. 2O8-9, KNC 28 ¶ OS #58O, ≈ Sk. HCD 268 || **U:** FU \*čä:<sub>1</sub>mṇ 'sour', vi. 'ferment' > Prm \*šōm ({LG} šōm) 'sour' > Z шом šom, Z US šom, Prmk {UEW} šom, Yz šūm 'acidifying ferment; sour', Z Ud/I šom 'leavened dough', Vt шом šom 'taste, acidifying ferment' || Os: Ty čim-, O sim- vi. 'ferment, rise' (of dough) ¶ Prm \*ō suggests a FU ä, while Os i points to a FU long \*ā ¶ UEW 56-7 (FU \*čemṇ), LG 321-2, KrT 949 || **D** {tr.} \*čam- v. 'go bad, become rotten' > Nk sam- 'be rotten', Prj čam-, Gdb sam-, Krx čanx- v. 'turn stale' (of food), 'turn mouldy' (of bread), (?) Krx čā:wā:r- 'get an unpleasant taste', Mlt čange 'be(come) rotten', čangro 'rotten' ¶ D ##2341, 2424, Pf. 5 ◇ IS I 2O9-1O (\*čämṇ HS-U), Tyler DU 8O7 (U, D), Blz. C (D, U).

**424.** \*čiwnṇ(-čṇ) 'smell, stench, malodorous sweat' > **HS:** SES \*✓θwn ~ \*✓θnw > Mh θōnēt (pl. θ̄z'wantən) ({Jo.} dōnēt, dəwántən), Hrs θ̄znwēt 'bad-smelling, malodorous sweat', Gz, Tgr ✓šnw 'be fragrant, smell (of sth.), emit an odour', Tgy ✓čnw (pf. čenawā) v. 'smell (odorare o puzzare)', čena 'odour' (č- due to Cushitic infl.?), Amh ṭena 'odour, smell'; a variant with an unexplained change S \*θ > \*č is represented in Ar šunān-, šinn-at- 'bad odour, fetid smell of arm-pits', ḡanna v. 'be altered, stink', in Sr šənā'n-ā 'smell of arm-pits; savour\smell (esp. of roasted meat)', and in Md šanta 'stench' ¶ Jo. H 3O, Jo. M 85, Lonnet p.c. (on the phonetic meaning of {Jo.} d in Mh/Hrs/Jb), LG 562, LH 646-7, Bsn. 937-8, BK I 1373-4, Br. 632, JPS 481 || EC: Brj {Hd.} činč-, činčay- vi. 'smell', {Ss. ← Hw.} činčay-, {Ss.} činčay- 'smell, esp. pleasant', Or {Th.} činčawu

'puzzare, essere nauseante', {Brl.} činč-a-wu 'puzzare (di bruciaticcio), bruciacchiare', Or B {Vnt.} činčā / činčofta 'puzzare, essere nauseabundo', {Sr.} činčā / činčōfta v. 'transpire abundantly' ¶ Hd. 184, Ss. B 48, Th. 68, Brl. 78, Sr. 281, Vnt. 3O || NrOm: Kf {C} čin- 'smell (odorare)', {C} činnō, {HJM} မြေး၏ ခိုန်း {Bbr.} činno n. smell (profumo)', Gm {Hw.} cínko 'smell foul' ¶ C SE IV 422, HJM 3O2, Hw. EG ¶ ~ OS #442 || K: G čenč-i n. 'sweat', G K čenčex i id., G Lch čenč- v. 'sweat' ¶ Chx. 224O-1 || U: FU (att. in FV) \*čiwn̩h̩v 'smell, stench' > Lp: N {N} čiwnā 'which has a smell of burnt hair or cloth or the like', L {LLO} tsiuna 'scharf/bitter schmeckend, stinkend', Kld {TI} c+ū'n(ă) 'stench of a stoat (and a cat)' | Er чине čińe, Δ čiyńe, Mk šińä 'smell, stench' ¶ UEW 621 || D: [1] D (in SD) \*čiñt- 'bad smell' > Tm cíñtu 'stench (as of rancid curd)', Kn sín d̩u 'a disagreeable \ nauseous smell (as of sheep, tiger, rancid butter, etc.)', Kdg čindi 'scent (found by dog in hunting, etc.)', Tu jiddu, jidda 'rancidity' || [2] D (in NED) ~ \*čEñ- > Krx ča?nā (p. čā:čas) v. 'stink, give forth an offensive smell; smell', Mlt čenyę (p. čenča) 'emit odour' ¶ D ##2264, 2523 ¶ The original pD nasal cns. is \*-ñ- (< N \*-n-). The cns. \*t̩ in \*čiñt̩- is due to regr. as. (infl of \*t̩).

**425.** \*čeñ?v 'narrow, thin' > K: G {NCh., DCh.} čani 'lean, meager', G čnavi id., 'skinny' (Chx: 'mager, ausgemergelt') ¶ Chx. 2265, DCh. 17O2, 1713, NCh. 457, 459 || HS: EC: Brj čin?-a {Ss.} 'very small', {Hd.} 'small, little' ¶ Ss. B 48, Hd. 183 || IE: NaIE \*sten- 'narrow' > Gk οτενός, Gk I οτεινός 'narrow' ¶ WP II 627, P 1O21-2, and EI 391 (all of them suggest a highly qu. comparison with Gmc: ON stinnr, OFrs stith, AS stiþ 'steif, fest, hart, stark'); F II 788-9 and Ch. 1O51 (no et. of the Gk word) || U: FU (att. in FP) \*čēn̩h̩v 'small, thin, eng' ('klein, dünn, schmal') > F hieno, Krl Ld hien, hien id., 'fine' | pZ {LG} \*ženit ({LG} ženit) 'short' > StZ, Z US žeńid, Z UV žeńid, Prmk ženit, Yz žinat id. ¶ UEW 62O-1, LG 89, Lt. J 118 ◇ The stem-medial lr. is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of the long \*ē in U. The lack of traces of the N lr. in IE and K suggests that it was \*? (confirmed by the C reflex) ◇ Trnt. NE 159 (IE, U).

**426.** \*č'a'ñčv (or \*č'a'ñčv) 'tip, (back) end, tail' > K: G čoči 'Spitze, Ecke', 'spout (of a jug)' ¶ Chx. 2267 || U: FU \*čäñčä 'tail, back end' > F häntä (gen. hännän), Es händ 'tail' | Lp Vfs {Lgc.} cà'cka· 'Fleisch am Hinteren' || ObU \*čüñč ({Ht.} \*čünč) 'back (dorsum)' > pVg

{Ht.} \*šiš id. > Vg: T/LK/P/NV/SV/LL šiš, MK/UK/UL/Ss sis; pOs {Ht.} čuñč id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty čuñč, Y čunč, D/K čünč, Nz šūnš, Kz šūš, O sus || Sm {Jn.} ~ \*sä|áń̥v̥́ś̥-~\*sä|ánt- 'tail' > Ne T W саңе́ 'sańe? / obl. саңес- sańes-, Ne {Cs.} саńa?, саńe? 'tail', En {Cs.} soddaki 'bird's tail', Ng {Cs.} santu? id. ¶ Sm \*s- (the reg. reflex of U \*ś) is accounted for by dis. \*čäñčä > \*šäñčä; an alt. conjecture: if U \*ć- yields Sm \*s- (which has not been demonstrated), the N etymon may be \*ć́äñč́v̥́, whence U \*ćäñčä, while G č- and FU č- are due to as. ¶ Coll. 81, UEW 56 (rejects the Sm cognate because of Sm \*s-), Lgc. SL #2779, Ht. #1O5, Ter. 529, Cs. 29, 65, 91 || HS: B \*✓z̥z̥ > Kb ti-z̥z̥i-t̥ (pl. ti-z̥z̥i-yin) 'barbe de grain d'orge, brindille', Izn {Rn.} taza 'quill of a porcupine, thorn'; ?σ Ah {Fc.} ti-z̥z̥ 'anus' (if ← 'back part of the body'), ??σ ETwl {GhA} ti-z̥z̥ (pl. tizzawən) 'vagina' (if ← 'anus' or 'penis') ¶ Dl. 927, GhA 219, Rn. 32O, Fc. 1927 || ECh: Kwn {J} číñ, Kbl {Cp.} číndă 'tail' ¶ JI II 317 || ?φ A: l pKo {S} \*ča(:)či > NKo са(:)сi čāči 'penis', сос сot id. ¶ S QK #718, MLC 1383, 1488 || Tg l \*čv̥ču > WrMc сoco, Ud číčko, Ork tutu, ?Nn {PSchm.} čilčú 'penis', Ul čiču id., 'spout (of a tea-pot)', Nn Nh čičl- v. 'pour water through a spout' ¶ ≈ STM II 4O3 || ?φ M \*čiči > Kl {Rm.} čiš 'kurze Stange, spitzes Holz', WrM сici-, HlM чичи- id., Ord čič'i- 'piquer, aiguillonner', Kl чици- чиčaxa 'to prick, to pierce (with a spear), to punch', {Rm.} čič-xə 'durch-stechen/-bohren' ¶ MED 176, Ms. O 2O5, KRS 654, KW 442 ¶ ≈ DQA \*č'č'ič'u 'spout, prick, penis' (Tg, Ko, M) ¶ The Ko and Tg words for 'penis' may be Lallwörter.

**427. \***č́p̥v̥́(Rv̥́) 'fingernail, claw' > HS: S \*'θup'a'r- 'fingernail, claw' > BA ṭa'par\* id. טִפְרָה 'his fingernails', טִפְרָה 'her claws'), JA ṭa'par, em. טוּפְרָא ṭup'r-ā, SmA ṭpr, Sr ظَفْرٌ ṭep'r-ā 'fingernail', JEA طُفْرَةٌ ṭup'r-ā 'finger-\\toe-nail, hoof', Md ṭupra 'claw, nail, hoof', Ar ظَفْرٌ ظَفْرٌ ~ ظَفْرٌ ظَفْرٌ id., 'claw', Jb C {Jo.} 'θi'fer ({Jo.} ڦi'fer), Hrs {Jo.} θɔfīr 'finger\\toe-nail', Mh {Jo.} ڦfēr ({Jo.} ڦfēr) id., 'claw', Sq {Jo.} 'tɔyfr, 'tɔfhər, {Nak.} 't̥ifher 'fingernail', Gz ڦəfr (pl. ڦəfar) id., 'claw', Tgy ڦɔfr 'finger-\\toe-nail', Tgr ڦɔfr id., 'claw', Ak ڦupru(m) 'finger-\\toe-nail, claw,

hoof', BHb d. נַפְרָא צִיר 'fingernail' ¶ KB 983, 1716, GB 693, 908, Dlm. 1174, Spr. BA III 176, Lv. II 183, Sl. 498, Br. 286, Tal 322-3, DM 178, Jo. M 83, Jo. H 49, Jo. J 48, Nak. 6 [#48], LG 549, LH 650, Bsn. 975, Sd. 1113, CAD XVI 250, MiK I #1.285 || ?AdS of B \*<sup>o</sup>✓tfr 'front part of the foot (including the toes)' (< N \*<sup>t</sup>DNPRDN ~ \*<sup>t</sup>DNRP<sub>n</sub>D 'part of the foot', 'foot', q.v. ffd.) || C (mt.): SC: Brn/Alg čarafu {Wh.} 'fingernail', {E} 'nail, claw' || ?φ Ag: Q {R} žerfā, Xm T {CR} za'fer 'finger' || ?φ EC: Kmb {L} zuruPm-ič-uta (pl. zuruPm-ata) 'finger', Alb {CR} zurum<sup>?</sup>a, {PB} zur<sup>?</sup>ma 'thumb' ¶ AD SF 129, Wh. IC 23, ESC 329 || ?φ NrOm {Blz.} \*<sup>r</sup>z<sup>g</sup>DNpn- ~ \*<sup>r</sup>zabar- > Kf {C} yafarō ~ yabarō 'fingernail', Mch {L} yabaro, Anf {Gt.} ya'bero, Ym {C} difnā id., amb Shn {Lm.} žābā 'branch', kiši-žābā 'finger' (kišā 'hand') (× HS \*✓cbř > S \*✓cbř 'finger') ¶ Blz. OLBP s.v. 'fingernail', AD SF 129, C SE III 72, Lm. Sh 321-2, 331 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} čibən, Krkr {Mk.} yarfetu, Bd {RLk.} říbár-šn 'fingernail' || CCh: Mdr {Mch.} řírba id., 'claw', Msg {GKrs.} 'dufra 'bino 'finger, toe', ?Msg Ng {Rlf.} dzhrum id., (× HS \*✓cbř > S \*✓cbř 'finger'): FIJ {ChL} amb ž̄tv̄išn̄gá č̄tv̄v̄ 'finger' (č̄tv̄v̄ 'hand, arm'), FlMc ž̄tv̄č̄v̄č̄i 'finger' ¶ JI II 246-7, ChL III 6, Lk. DQM 93, RLk. NB 222 ¶ AD SF 129 [C, Om, S, Ch], OS #120 (\*čupar- 'fingernail') [S, C, Om] || u \*čUp<sub>n</sub>D (~ \*čeppä?) 'finger' > F hypipy, hypipi 'finger-tip', hypynen 'finger-tip, finger's end; finger' | pLp ≈ \*cēppD > Lp Kld {TI} cjez·p·(y\_), {SaR} цēhπ, Lp T {TI} cjez:p(y\_) ~ cjezprə 'finger, toe' || Sm {Jn.} \*topå, {Hl.} \*topa 'claw, hoof' > Ne T тоба 'hoof', Ne T O tōb\_ă' 'toe (of a ruminant), hoof', Ne F L {Lh.} tōp·oъ id., Slq Tz {KKIH} top̄ 'foot', Mt {Hl.} \*tahaļo 'hoof' (Mt K {Pl.} tohotò 'its hoof') ¶ SK 93, TI 632, SaR 378, N I 311-2, Jn. 166, Ter. 664, Lh. 492, KKIH 185, Cs. 148, Hl. M #1044, UEW 49 ¶ The pLp vw. \*ɛ̄ (a regular reflex of FU \*e) still needs explaining (contamination with a different √?) || A: Tg \*čop<sup>a</sup>-, \*čopar- 'claw' > Ewk čowomo, Ewk I čobi, Ewk Skh/Tng/Urm čōw̄i 'claw (of a bird)', Neg čowok̄i 'claw, bear's paw', Orc čopokto, Ud {Krm.} čofoto 'claw', WrMc šoforo 'claws (of a hunting bird)', 'a pinchful (of five fingers)' ('щёпоть') ¶ STM II 402, Krm. 311.

**428.** \*čDNpD(-tD) 'thong' > HS: C: Ag \*čDNpDt- > Bln {R} 'šaber (pl. 'šafet), Xm {R} 'šaber 'leather-strap (Lederriem)', Ag → Tgr šefare 'pack-rope, leather-strap', Amh {L} təfər 'leather-strip, thong' ¶ R WB 316, LH 650, L CAD 236 || S \*✓<sup>o</sup>θpp > Ar ✓ðff G (pf. ظف ðaffa) 'lier, serrer (les pieds d'une chamele)' ¶ BK II 86.7 || K: G

{DCh.} čap-i 'leather-straps of footwear', G R čap-i 'Riemen zum Zubinden der Kalamani (Art Ledersandale)' ¶ DCh. 17O3, Chx. 2232 || U: FU (att. in Vg) \*čipp<sup>o</sup>tt<sup>t</sup> > pVg {Stn.} \*šip<sup>t</sup> > Vg {Stn.}: T šepät, LK šapt, MK sapt, P/SV/LL šipt, NV/ML šipt, UL/Ss sipat 'Schnur am Netzrand' ¶ Stn. WV 3O3, Kn. VW 49.

**429.** \*čiP<sup>â</sup> 'branch, bough, rod' > K \*čep]- 'rod' > Mg {FS} čkapul- 'Gerte, Rute', Zan → OG, eNG {SSO} čkepl-, G čkepla-, čkepel-, G Δ čgepla- 'Gerte, Rute' ¶ Chx. 218O-1; ≈ K 244 and K<sup>2</sup> 298 (GZ \*čkep]- ← GZ \*čkep- 'o split, splinter'); ≈ FS K 447 and ≈ FS E 5O5 (GZ \*čkepl-) ¶ \*]- is likely to go back to a sx. || A: NaT \*čib- 'slender branch' (× N \*cikP<sup>â</sup> 'branch, shoot of a plant') > OT čip 'thin slender branch', Osm {Rh.} چوب čup 'little bit of wood, stock' (× ← NPrs چوب čūb 'log, wood (as material), tree' [← some T lge?]), Yk {JkR} sip 'thin twig' (in sip kurduk 'thin as a thin twig'); → NaT \*čib-ik ~ \*čib-uk (Cl., Dr: dim.) 'flexible rod, switch' > OT čibiq, OT QU čiviq id., MU čibiq, MQp ≥XIII čibuq ~ čibiq, XwT dalniq čubuqi 'a willow shoot', XwT, Chg čubuq, Tkm čibiq 'rod, switch', Az čubug id., twig', MQp, QrB čibik, Chg čubuq ~ čubuq, XwT čubuq, Tk čubuk 'rod, branch', Ggz čibiq ~ čubuq, CrTt, Qmq, ET Tr {Rl.} čubuq, ET, Uz čiviq, Qzq, Qq, Nog šibiq, VTt ڦڻهڻq, Qrg čibiq, StAlt čibiq, Bsh سڀڻq 'switch, rod (پرعت, څوروستينا, پوزغا)', Uz čibiq ~ čiviq, Xk, Shor simix, Tv šipiq 'rod, switch (پرعت, څوروستينا)', Tv d. ڦڀڀر id., Qmn čibuq ~ čibuk 'twig, rod', Yk ڪڀاخ 'e small willow (تالڀنڪ) with twigs used in loops for catching birds'. Stems with čub- are due to the analogy of NPrs چوب čūb 'wood (material), tree, log' and to the labializing infl. of \*-b- and the ending \*-uk ¶ Cl. 393, 395, TL 118-9, Rs. W 1O6, Rl. III 2O99-21OO, 2185, Sg. 4O1, Dr. TM III #1O59, Sg. 4O1-2, Rh. 733-4, GRM 552, 554, BN 32, UzR 519, BT 182, Sht. 235, KrkR 745, NogR 419, KumRS 36O, RKB 5O5, 551, 686, TatR 643, BR 487, Jud. 88O, B DK 269, B DChT 166, B DLT 223, BIG 2O7, TvR 585, 587, JkR 36O, Pek. 2472 ¶ Compensatory lengthening of \*I (evidenced by Tkm) is due to the loss of N \*č and \*k (N \*čiP<sup>â</sup> and \*cikP<sup>â</sup> > \*ci:b-) || Tg (att. in NrTg) \*čilupa- 'sharp stick' > Lm člpan 'sharp head (tip) of the braking stick (used when driving a dog-sledge)', Neg člp-čip- 'pointed' (of sticks, pencils) ¶ STM I 398 ¶ DQA #327 (A \*č'ip'a 'branch, sharp branch') || D \*čivv- (~ \*čuvvv-) > Tl سuvva, سuvaka 'twig, small flexible stick or cane', Klm sivva 'piece of fuel', Nkr šivva 'wood', suvväl pl. 'fuel' ¶ ≈ D #26OO || HS: Eg P ڙ'b

'sceptre' ¶ EG V 536 ◇ Eg b and D \*-v- are accounted for by as. N \*-P- > \*-b-. The N lr. \*b is reconstructed on the ev. of Eg b, K \*Ø, and the D length of the vw.

**430. \*čE<sub>1</sub>y,p** 'sink, immerse; swim; flow' > HS: HEC \*čēf- v. 'immerse' > Hd {Hd.} čēf-, Kmb {Hd.} čef- v. 'immerse' ¶ Hd. 83 (HEC \*čēp- > Hd čēf-, Kmb čef-, as well as erroneously Brj čūb- and Ged čūp- 'immerse' that belong to EC \*čub<sub>1</sub>Ν, f- v. 'dip in' < N \*čū|ub<sub>1</sub>Ν, gΝ 'dip in', q.v.), 273, 313 || CS \*-θūp- (\*✓θwp) 'float, overflow' > BHb ✓čwp (pf. נצָאַב, ip. -čūp-) 'overflow', Sh†(pf. נצִיָּה hē'čīp) 'cause to flow over, to cause to float', MHb ✓čwp G 'flow, overflow, float', JA ✓twp (ip. -tūp-) {Js.} 'float, bubble up, come to the surface; drip, be inundated', SmA ✓twp v. Sh†'flood', twpn 'déluge', JEA ✓twp v. Sh 'inundate', Md ✓twp G 'overflow', Sr ✓twp G 'float, overflow, be inundated' ¶ KB 940-1, BDB 847, Js. 525, Br. 271, Sl. 497, Tal 307, DM 181 || B (deglott.) \*✓syf v. 'stream', 'swim' (or 'float') > Kb əššəf 'ruisseler, suinter', Si {La.} sīyaf (pf. išīyaf), Izd {Mrc.} ššef (pf. iššef) 'nager', Tmz {MT} ššəf 'être baigné, se baigner, nager' ] B \*sūf ~ \*sīf 'river, stream' (× N \*šapΝ 'riverbank, river', q.v. ffd.) ¶ La. S 264, 289, Msq. Z 527, Hy. 456, Mrc. 174, 402, Ds. 131, Rn. 313, Dlh. M 184, MT 617, 685, Di. 78, 759, Beg. N 317, Fc. 1806 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) \*čeppΝ 'einsinken, versinken, untersinken' > Vg K sēp- 'untersinken', Vg LL {Kn.} šep-, ML/LL {MK} sēpi, Ss {Kn.} sēp- {MK} 'untersinken, ertrinken' | OHg fepedük, Hg stüpped- 'einsinken, sich senken, sich setzen, versinken' ¶ UEW 841-2, MF 557-8, MK 542 || A \*č'iPΝ > M \*čibü- v. 'become submerged, drown' > WrM cib-, ci(b)bü-, HlM чивэ-х v. 'sink, become submerged', Kl čiw- v. 'drown, become submerged' ¶ MED 174, KRS 647, KW 443 || ??σ T: OT [MhK, QB] čap- 'swim' (highly qu., because it may be a sd. of NaT \*čap- 'run quickly' > Chg XV, Tkm, Qrg čap-, Alt čap- 'run', Osm {Rh.}, ET čap-, Uz čap- id., 'gallop') ¶ If the OT čap- 'swim' belongs here, its vw. a may be due to contamination with čap- 'run quickly' ¶ Cl. 394, TkR 722, BN 27.

**431. \*č'a'r** 'to cut' > HS: S \*°✓θrr > Ar ✓ğrr (pf. ظرّ ظارّ, ip. -ğur- 'rendre aigu\tranchant (p. ex. une pierre à fusil)', 'égorger (une bête) à l'aide d'un instrument tranchant de pierre'; × S \*θ'u'r,a,r- (> Ar ظرّ ظرّ ظرارّ ظرار- 'pierre tranchante propre à couper comme un couteau', Ak ʂurru(m) 'obsidian, flint-stone', Hb צְרַחֲבָן ɔ̄r 'ḥereb

'blade of a sword' [h̥erəb̥ 'sword']) (< N \*č̥N'R᷑ 'flintstone, knife' [q.v.]) ¶ BK II 132, KB 985, KBR 1052-3, Sd. 1114 || Eg: amb Cpt: Sd չwպ զօր, չwպ զօօր, չeպ- զեր-, չoop- զօօր-, B չօպ- զօր- 'aiguise, affiler' (in Eg and DEg texts this word is not attested) (xN \*č̥N'R᷑ '↑'? ) ¶ Vc. 331 || EC: Or {Grg.} չir- v. 'cut', Or B/O/W {Sr.} չir- v. 'cut into pieces', Or H {Ow.} չir- v. 'cut, slice', Rn {PG} čūra 'trim lower edge of a girl's hair, cut girl's hair', Sd {Gs., Hd.} չir- v. 'shave (beard)', Brj {Ss.} չir- v. 'chop', {Hd.} չir- v. 'clear (forest)' ¶ Grg. 84, Sr. 281, PG 87, Gs. 58, Hd. 184, 357, Ow. 256, Ss. B 49 (Brj ← Or) || K {K<sup>2</sup>} \*čer-/\*čr- v. 'cut, chop' > OG čr- v. 'cut, reap', G čer-/čr- (prs. -čr-i, aor. -čer-) v. 'cut, chop, fell', G Gr čar-/čr-, Lz čki(r)-, čkor-, Mg čkzr-, čkir- v. 'cut, chop, reap', Sv d. lā-r-e 'meadow' (lit. 'place of mowing'), Sv {TK}: UB/L lāre, LB/Ln lare 'hayfield (լառոնք), field' ¶ On the loss of K \*č in consonant clusters in Sv see K 22 ¶ K 255-6, K<sup>2</sup> 321, FS K 473-6 (\*čar-/\*čr-), GM S 234, 354, Chx. 2256, 2272, GP 136, TK 387-8 || ?σ δ \*čar|r- 'to be split, to be torn, to be cut' > Prj čarr- v. 'be torn (cloth, etc.)', Gnd Δ sarrāna 'be split as wood, be torn' (of clothes, etc.), Gnd HM aṛ-, Δ har- ~ ar- v. 'be torn', Krx čarr- v. 'tear, rend', Mlt čare v. 'cut as with the teeth or scissors' ¶ D #2416 || A: pKo {S} \*čari- 'cut off, chop off' > MKo čari-, NKo čari- ¶ S QK #912, Nam 413, MLC 1376 || pJ \*tāt- 'cut (off)' > OJ tāt-, J: T tāt-, K/Kg tāt- ¶ S QJ 1109, Mr. 766 || ?NaT amb\*čar 'whetstone' > Alt Կար čar, Tel {Rl.}, Qmq čar, VTt Կար šar, Brb/SbTt Tom {Tm.} car, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Shor {Rl.} šar, Bsh sar id. ¶ An alt. et. (more plausible semantically, but with an irreg. vowel corr.) derives the T √ from N \*č̥N'R᷑ 'flintstone, knife' (q.v.) (S CNM 8) ¶ Rs. W 99-100, BT 176, Tm. 234, Rl. III 1859, BR 463, KrkR 726, NogR 406 || Tg \*očari- > Ewk čari- v. 'tear' ¶ STM II 385 ¶ DQA #274 (A \*č'aro 'cut off, tear off') ◇ IS I 209 (HS, K, D).

**432.** \*čER᷑ 'look after, guard, observe' > K \*čir- 'care, need' (xN \*čER'hæ' 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult' [q.v.]) > OG čir- v. 'care', G čir- v. 'need' (m-čir-s 'mir fehlt [etwas], ich leide [an]'), čir- 'Not, Unglück', G X čir- 'Trauer', Mg čkzr-, čkir-, Lz A či(r)- ({IS}: Lz A č- < Zn \*čk-) v. 'need, be in want of', Lz čkzr-, nčkzr-, čir- n. 'need', (?) grieve', Sv LB -nčkə,r-, Sv L -čkə,r- v. {FS} 'need; grieve', Sv {TK} msd.: UB/L li-čkə,r-e, LB li-nčkə,r-e, Ln ličkə,re 'to think, to grieve, to worry', Sv čkə,ra 'care, meditation', {K<sup>2</sup>} 'anxiety, thought' ¶ K 255, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 320, 322, FS K 476, FS E 539-40, Chik. 410, Chx. 2255-7, TK 482 || HS: S \*✓nθr v. 'guard'

> BHb נְצַר / nṣr G 'observe, watch over; keep from; protect, preserve; observe, comply with', Ug nṣr {OLS} 'atender; proteger, guardar', Amr {G} ✓ nṣr, IA, JA, SmA, Sr ✓ nṣr G 'guard', Ar ✓ nṣr G 'look at, watch', naṣar- 'regard; soin, surveillance', Sb ✓ nṣr 'observe', Gz ✓ nṣr D 'look at', Ak ✓ nṣr G 'bewachen, schützen, bewahren', Eb {Krb.} ✓ nṣr G (inf. na-za-lum = naθārum, 3m i-na-sar) v. 'guard' ¶ KB 678, KBR 718, OLS 32O-1, Br. 426, Sl. 745-6, Tal 51-2, BK II 1287-9O, BGMR 1O2, Bl. 3O3-4, Sd. 755, Krb. EG 34; S \*n- apparently goes back to a px. || Ch: Hs čáře v. 'guard, protect, preserve' ¶ Abr. H 879, Ba. 1O3O ¶ OS #5O6, ≠ Sk. HCD 269 || IE: NaIE \*ster-g-, \*ster-k- v. 'guard, care, take care of' ({P} 'sorgend worauf achten, hegen und pflegen') > Sl \*sterg- (inf. \*stergti, prs. \*stergo) > OCS **стражи** strěšti (prs. **страж** strěgъ) 'to guard', R сте'речь / стерегу, Slv stréči / stréžem, Cz stříci / střehu, P strzeć / strzegę id.; → Sl \*storžъ > OCS **стражъ** stražъ, Blg **страж**, P stróž, R, Uk 'сторож' 'watchman, guard (Wächter, Wärter)'; Sl \*storža 'guard (Wache), watch' > OCS **стража** straža, Blg **стража**, SCr, Slv stráža, P strōža, Uk, R Δ **сторожа** | ?ϕ (loss of \*t due to contamination with NaIE \*sergh- v. 'languish' < N \*śírka ~ \*śir'ga 'pain; to be ill/wounded, to pine, to languish', q.v.) Blt: Lt sérgeći (prs: OLT sérge mi, LT sérge iu) 'to guard, to watch (over)', Pru absergīsnan 'Schutz'; Lt sárgas 'watch(man)', Ltv saῆgs id., 'guard, guardsman', Pru but-sargs 'Haushalter' || Gk στέργω 'I love, am fond of', στοργή 'love, affection' || OIr serc, W serch n. 'love', MBr serch, Br T serc'h 'concubine, one who lives in concubinage'; IE \*st- > Clt \*ts- > \*s- is reg. (LP § 25.5) || cp. also NaIE \*°ster- > Sl \*starati sę 'to exert oneself, to do one's best, to take care of' (F N \*čER'hǽ' 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ P 1O32, F II 79O, Vs. III 746, 757, 768, Glh. 587, Ma. CS 469-7O, 481, Frn. 762-3, 776-7, En. 136, 155, Vn. S 91-2, Ern. 623, Tp. P A-D 52-3, 274, ME III 716 ◇ IS I 21O-1 s.v. \*čirn.

**433. \*čūr** 'seize, take, carry' > HS: WS \*✓θwr (\*-θūr-) 'carry, support' > Gz ✓ šwr (pf. šōra, js. -šūr) 'bear, carry, wear (clothes), support (old parents)', Sq {L} ✓ šwr 'carry (porter)' (caus. sbjn. 'l-(y)o-śir, ps. pf. iś'rāuwōh), OSA {Mü.} ✓ θwr 'mit Pfeilern stützen', θwrm 'Pfeiler', Sb {Rk.} θwr 'besiege', Mn θwwr {MA} 'entourer d'un mur', {Mü.} 'mit Pfeilern stützen', Qt {Rk.} hθr (✓θwr

*Sh)* 'fortify, establish', Mn {MA} *t̥wrt*, Nbt *ṭwr* 'wall (mur), Ar *δu̥ār-* 'pierres placées sous une marmite pour la soutenir', *✓δ̥r L* (pf. *δāra*) v. 'nurse an other's child', ظنْ *δiṛ-* 'nurse', 'foster-father', and 'buttress, Strebepfeiler' ({Rk.} 'buttress', {BK} 'colonne, pilastre') [from the basic meaning 'support'], OYmn *θ̥ṛḥ* ({Slw.} *δiṛa*) 'Strebepfeiler, Tragestange' ¶ The cns. \*? in derived forms in Ar and OYmn is due to adaptation of a biconsonantic √ to triconsonantic derivational patterns and to hiatus-closing development ¶ LG 567, LIS 347, BK II 131-2, Hv. 445, Rk. 78, MA 111, Mü. WMT 77-8, Slw. 143 || K: GZ \*čer-/\*čr- ~ \*čar- 'hold, catch, grasp' > G Gr/X čar-, OG \*čer-/čir-, G čer-/čir- (< proto-G \*čar-) id., Mg d. čkor-i 'slave' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 320, Schm. 157; FS K 473 and FS E 536 (both \*čar-); Mach. K 60, Chx. 2241-4, 2286, DCh. 1705; for the change a > e in G ≠ Mach. XS 269ff. and Gm. SSh 55, 61 || D \*čūr- ({θGS} \*'s<sup>1</sup>-) 'rob, plunder' > Tm cūrāi 'robbery, pillage', Td suṛy 'loot', Kn sūre, Tu sūre 'plundering, pillaging', Tl cūrā 'plunder, loot', Ku žuria 'dacoit' ¶ D #2744 ◇ The lack of labialized vw. or \*w in K is still puzzling.

**434.** \*č<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>R $\nabla$  'to soil, to stain; dirty' (infl. of N \*č<sup>i</sup>R $\kappa$  $\nabla$  'pus, rotten\filthy liquid' [q.v.]) > HS: EC \*čur- ({Ss.} \*č<sup>i</sup>ur-) v. 'be dirty' (×N \*čox|qUry $\nabla$  or \*čUx|qř $\nabla$  'dirt; be dirty') > Kns jur-ēta, Sd, Hd tūr-, Brj čūr-ē 'dirt', Kns jur-āw- 'become dirty', as well as (unless exclusively from N \*čox|qUry $\nabla$  ~ \*čUx|qř $\nabla$ ): Or {Grg.} tur-ī 'dirt, filth', Or H {Ow.} tūrī 'dirty', Arr tur-aw- id., turé 'dirty thing', ?? Ya t̥er- 'bad' ¶ Ss. PEC 29, 31, Ss. B 49, BISO 54, AD SF 56-7, E PC #76, Grg. 386-7, Ow. 272, Hw. A 398 || A: Tg: ?σ Ewk Ald čurarga- v. 'get dark' (of a face) ¶ STM II 416 || ?φ M: Dg čire 'dirt, soilage'; ? Kl {Rm.} cer 'Schleim in der Gurgel, Speichel' ¶ The vowels i and e need explaining ¶ Mr. D 130, Rs. KW 427 || D (in SCD) \*čūr(-) 'soot' (×N \*čūrt $\nabla$  'soot', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE \*(s)ter- 'filth, filthy liquid', v. stain, decay' ('unreine Flüssigkeit, Mist; besudeln; verwesen') (×N \*čUr $\nabla$ , y $\nabla$  'litter, dirt, dust' [q.v.]) > Av st̥ar- 'be stained' || Arm բարախ t̥arax {Xud.} 'pus (of wounds), ichor' || Nr stor 'Faulen, Verwesen' || pSl \*st̥rvb 'carrion' > Blg стъръв, SCr, Slv st̥rv, P † ścierw id., RChS стъръв st̥rvb 'corpse'; morphological variants with \*-o, \*-a: P ścierwo, R † стерва 'carrion' ¶ P 1031-2, Mn. 1285-6, WH II 589, O 441, BFU 553, Xud. I 427, Glh. 591-2, Srz. III 586, Chrн. II 202 || ?σ K: G curcli

'droppings (of mice, etc.)' ¶ Chx. 2O32 ¶ G c- (for the expected č-) is likely to be due to assimilation.

**435.** (2?) \*č̥ṇṛṇ 'flintstone, knife' (coalesced in some lgs. with N \*č̥a'rṇ 'to cut') > HS: S \*θurar- ~ \*θirār- > Ar ظرر, ظurr- 'pierre tranchante propre à couper comme un couteau', Ak șurru(m) 'obsidian, flintstone', Hb צְרַחֲבָה čor ḥereb 'blade of a sword' ('ḥereb 'sword') ¶ BK II 132, KB 985, Sd. 1114 || amb Cpt: Sd չար զօր, չըր- չօր-, չօպ- զօր-, B չօպ- զօր- 'aiguiser, affiler' (× N \*č̥a'rṇ '↑' [q.v.]) (in Eg and DEg texts this word is not attested) ¶ Vc. 331 ¶ Ap. AN 22 supposes that the Cpt word is a loan from the Ar verb √ظر 'rendre aigu\tranchant', but this alt. etymology is rather weak because of the phonetic distance between Ar ظ (or Egyptian Ar ȝ) and Cp չ [č̥] (Cp ՛ is nearer) || ?σ B \*չ̥ṇṛṇ/ā 'stone, rock' > Kb a-չ̥ru 'pierre (matière première); pierre, caillou; rocher', Ah a-չ̥ru 'muraille rocheuse', Tmz a-չ̥ru (pl. i-չ̥ra) 'rock, large stone', ti-չ̥ra 'small stone'; in B the √ coalesced with the cognate of S \*θurr- 'rock' (unless the latter belongs to the etymon in question, too) ¶ Dl. 955, MT 826, Fc. 1988 || Ch: WCh: Hs چُرَّا 'knife\sword without handle' || CCh: Gude چِرَّا, FIM چُرُو, FIB چِرِن 'hoe' ¶ Abr. H 392, Ba. 1O46, ChL, Sk. HCD 276 ¶ OS #514 (\*č̥ur- 'flint, flint knife' in S, B, Ch) || A ({S} \*č̥jora): Tg \*č̥juru-č̥ke(n-) 'knife' > Sln ڦيرڙا: 'knife', Ul ڦيرڙ(n-), {PSchm.} ڦيرڙون, Nn Nh ڦيرڙڙ, Nn KU ڦيرڙ 'knife used by women to carve ornaments' ¶ STM II 426 || ? NaT amb \*č̥ar 'whetstone' > Alt چار چار, Tel {Rl.}, Qmq چار, VTt چار ڦار, Brb/SbTt Tom {Tm.} چار, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Shor {Rl.} ڦار, Bsh sar id. ¶ The vw. \*a is puzzling; an alt. et. (less plausible semantically, but without phonetic problems) derives the T √ from N \*č̥a'rṇ '↑' (q.v.) ¶ Rs. W 99-1OO, BT 176, Tm. 234, Rl. III 1859, BR 463, KrkR 726, NogR 4O6 ¶ AD NM #8O, ≈ S CNM 8 (suggests to adduce here T \*č̥ar 'whetstone'), Vv. AEN (suggests to reconstruct Tg \*č̥uru-č̥an) || ? D \*č̥irañ- 'small chisel' (× N \*č̥iryâ 'to scratch\chisel', q.v. ffd.) ◇ AD NM #8O, S CNM 8 (÷ ST \*č̥ṇṛṇ(H)- 'hoe, pick-axe').

**436.** \*č̥ohrṇ 'vessel', (< ?) 'basket' > HS: S \*θṇṛṇ > Ar ظرر ظاهر- 'old cooking-pot' ¶ Ln. 1929, BK II 146 || K: GZ \*č̥ur- 'vessel' > OG چور- 'vessel', G چور- 'vessel, thing', Mg ڦکوڙ-, ڦکوڻ- 'vessel, ship' ¶ K 256, K<sup>2</sup> 323, FS K 477, FS E 541, ≈ Marr AI 3-4 || D: D \*č̥ora ({GS} \*č̥- ) 'vessel' > Krg ڦ ora 'milk-pot', Prj ڦ ora 'earthen pot', Gnd B {Tr.} սօր ա 'a large earthen vessel for holding water', Gnd Ch {BB} սօր 'pot', Gnd

M {Wll., Ph.} **sōrā** 'pitcher'; D \*čur- ({‡GS} \*č-?) 'basket' > Ml **curiyal** 'round rattan basket', Gnd G {BB} **čurki**, Gnd M {Ph.} **curkī**, Knd, Ku **surki** 'a small basket' ¶ Apparent different Gnd reflexes of the affricate in the words for 'vessel' and 'basket' may be due to dialectal disparity, therefore they do not necessarily point to a difference at the pD (and hence the N) level ¶ -r- in Trench's record of Gnd B (1919-21) is likely to be a mistake for -r- (F the quite reliable records of Gnd Ch [T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya, 1958] with -r-) ¶ D ##2691, 2886 ◇ D \*-r- (rather than \*-č-) reflects a pN cns. cluster (\*-čr-).

**437.** \*čuh<sub>1</sub>ṇ<sub>2</sub>rṇ 'top, edge, highest point' > HS: S \*'θuh<sub>1</sub>ṇ<sub>2</sub>r- 'top', 'the highest point (of the sun in the sky)' (→ 'noon') > BHb **צָהָר** 'roof', **צָהָרִים** 'noon' (< loc. \*čah<sup>3</sup>ram reinterpreted as a form of dual) (← 'the point of culmination of the sun'), Ug **θr** 'back (espalda, dorso), highest point', JA **תִּהְרָא** tih<sup>a</sup>r-ā, JEA {Sl.} **תִּהְרָא** tih<sup>a</sup>r-ā 'noon', Ar **ظَاهِرٌ** ḥahr- 'noon' (→ Sq {L} ḥahr id.), Sb b-θhr 'on the back of, upon', Ak **šu?ru** ~ **šûru** (↔ WS?) 'back'. In CS this stem influenced S \*'šah<sub>1</sub>ṇ<sub>2</sub>r- 'back (of a body)' (< N \*čehrṇ 'back', q.v.), bringing about a contaminated CS stem \*'θah<sub>1</sub>ṇ<sub>2</sub>r- 'back, noon' > Ar **ظَاهِرٌ** ḥahr- 'back (dorsum), noon' (→ Mh ḥahr, Jb C 'θahur 'noon, midday'), Ug **θr** 'shoulder, back, top', and Sr **tah'r-ā** 'noon'. The contamination is probably based on interpretation of the back (of an animal) as its highest point. The stem \*'šah<sub>1</sub>ṇ<sub>2</sub>r- 'back' (without contamination) is attested outside CS: Mh **šāhər** 'back (of a camel)', Hrs **šahr**, Jb E/C **šəhər** 'back', Ak **šēr-u** 'back (of animals and humans)', 'over, on top of'. The Ak word **šu?ru** ~ **šûru** 'back' may be a loan from WS (F CAD XVI 261) and reflects a CS contamination of both stems ¶ KB 946, KBR 1008, A #2378, OLS 552, Sd. 1093-5, 1115, CAD XVI 138-47, 261, Br. 269, Lv. II 142, Sl. 501, BGMR 171, Jo. H 151, Jo. J 48, 324, Jo. M 83, 475, L LS 361, ≈ MiK I #1.284 (S \*θṇhṛ- 'back') || AdS of EC: Or čara 'tip, top, edge', Brj čár-i ~ čér-i 'point, top, peak' (< N \*čorṇ 'tip, top, edge', q.v.) || K: G čer-i 'ceiling, roof' ¶ Chx. 2245, DCh. 1705 || IE: NaIE \*stu(:)r- ({Mn.} \*st<sub>1</sub>h<sub>2</sub>ür-) 'edge, tip, peak' > ? Gk στύραξ 'a spike at the lower end of a spear-shaft' || Ltv stūris 'corner', LtΔ stūris ~ stūrȳs 'Winkel, Ecke, Kante' ] ? NaIE {Mn.} \*stauro- 'post, stake' > Gk σταυρός 'upright pale\stake', ON staurr 'Stütze', OHG stiura {Kb.} 'rudder, support' ¶ Mn. 1330 (\*÷ NPrs **أَسْتُرْهُ** ostore 'razor', which is in fact d. from **ostor-** v. 'shave, erase', F

Bai. 42), P 1008-9, Ch. 1044-5, 1067, Hofm. 332, F II 778, ≠ F II 814, Frn. 932, Kar. II 316-7, ME III 1110, Vr. 544, OsS 874, Kb. 966 || D \*čūr- ({θGS} \*c-) 'edge of the roof' > Kn сūru, sūr, sūru 'the part of the sloping roof that projects beyond the walls', Tu сūri 'border of the roof', Tl сūru 'eaves, edge of a roof', munjūru 'eaves', Prj muñir, Knd munzuru id. §§ D \*-r- points to a N (or post-N) cluster (here N \*-hr- or post-N \*-hr- < N \*-hṇr-) §§ D #2729 ◇ In addition, we may draw attention to a possible (though rather dubious) cognate in A: M: WrM corui-, HIM цорой-х v. 'rise up on the hind legs' (of quadrupeds), 'rise on tiptoe and raise one's hands' § MED 199 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #6e (N \*čahri 'back').

**438.** ? 2 \*čṇR?N 'hoarfrost', (→) 'frozen soil' > HS: S \*°✓θr? > Ar Ȣur?- 'frozen earth, frozen mud' § BK II 133 || K: (+ ext.?) G čirx1-'hoarfrost', čirx(v)1- 'es reift' || K \*°čxqar- (× N ?σ \*čAR, N, YN - \*čAγRN 'freeze, feel cold', q.v.) > G T čxar-i 'hoarfrost' ('Rauhreif') § Chx. 1961, 2258, Ghl. 668 || A: An additional source of M \*čar 'layer of frost on the surface of snow' (going back mainly to N \*čarN [or \*č'arN] 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard\rough surface', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ IS I 205-6 (\*čar n 'hardened crust') → S CNM 2 ◇ AD NM #9, S CNM 2 (÷÷ NrCs, ST, Yn).

**439.** \*čER'hæ' 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult' > HS: Eg MK/N ȝry 'strong' (of walls, etc.), {BnH} 'fest, hart', Eg MK {Fk.} ȝri 'be hard, solid', Eg XVIII-XX ȝry 'difficult (schwierig, mühselig)', 'strong (fest)' (of stones, walls) > Cpt: Sd ȝwƿpε ȝððre, B ȝwƿi ȝðri 'fort, solide' § EG V 599, Fk. 323, BnH s.v. Dr j, Vc. 330 || K: G {Chx.} čirv-/čir- 'be heavy, difficult'; K \*čir- v. 'need, suffer a misfortune' (× K \*čir- 'care, need' < N \*čERN 'to look after, to guard' [q.v.]) > G čir- v. 'need', Mg čkir-, čkzr-, Lz čkzr-, nčkzr-, čir- n. 'need, grieve', Sv čkər- 'worry, upset'; K \*čir- 'need, plague' > G čir- n. 'want, need, plague', Sv d. čkəra- 'anxiety, thought (concern)' ('забота, дума') §§ Chx. 2255-7, K<sup>2</sup> 322, K 255, FS K 476, Chik. 410 || IE \*(s)terh- ({EI} \*(s)terh<sub>1</sub>- 'stiff' >) NaIE \*(s)ter<sub>1</sub>a-/strē- v. 'be stiff, be firm, be hard, be strong' (→ 'exert oneself') > Gk στερεός 'stiff, stark, firm, solid', στρηνής 'strong, hard', στερρός 'stiff, firm, solid, strong', Gk στρηνής 'strong, hard' || L strēnuus 'strong (kräftig)' (→ 'brisk, prompt, active, vigorous') || W trin 'battle' (< 'effort'?') || ON stirð-r 'stiff, heavy', stirð-na 'to stiffen'; Gmc \*stara- 'stiff, fixed' (esp. of eyes) > ON stara, OHG

*starēn ~ starōn* 'to gaze', AS *starian* 'to stare, to look fixedly at (starren, stieren)', NE *stare*; ON, NHG *starr* 'stiff, rigid' || Lt Δ *starinti* (prs. *starinū*) 'angestrengt ziehen, spannen, straff anziehen, steifen, straffen', Ltv Δ *starīgs* 'assiduous, zealous' ({ME} 'strebsam, tätig, fleißig'), Pru *stūrnawiskan* 'sternness' | Sl \**starati* se 'to take care of, to exert oneself, to do one's best' (× N \***čER**Δ '↑') > SCr *stārati* se id., Cz *starati* se, Slk *starat'* se 'to take care of', P *starac* się, R *старатьсяся*, Blg *старая се* vr. 'endeavour, exert oneself' || pTc {Ad.} \**ścärēn-* (= \**ścärēn-?*) > Tc: A *tsär* 'hard, rough', B *ścire* 'hard, harsh' (of words) ¶ P 1O22, EI 547, WH II 6O1-2, F II 79O-1, 8O9-1O, YGM-1 417, LP § 26.2, Vr. 543-4, 549, Ho. 317, OsS 865, Kb. 953, KM 74O, Frn. 896, Ad. 639-4O, Ad. H 41, Vs. III 746, Chrn. II 198-9, Ma. CS 469-7O, ME III 1O45 ¶ Hardly here (↔ P) Al *shteroj* 'run dry, dry up' ↔ *shter-* 'stop flowing, dry up' (see O 439) || U: FU \**čšvark*Δ > ObU {Ht.} \**θāryat-* ~ \**θāyart-* 'heavy' > pVg {Ht.} \**tārəç-* > LK *tārwəç*, *tārwəç*, MK *tārwəç*, P *tārwəç*, S *tārwit* 'heavy'; pVg \**tārəç-*Δ id. > Vg: T *tārkəçāŋ*, P *tarwəçāŋ*, *tārwəçāŋ*, NV/LL *tārwəçāŋ* id.; pOs {Ht.} \**ħäyart* > Os: V *läyart*, Vy *yüyart*, Ty/Y *ħāyart*, D/K *tāyart*, Nz *tawərt*, Kz *ħawərt* id. ¶ Ht. #161 || A: M \**čirday-* > WrM *cirdai-*, HlM *чардай-* 'make sth. with great effort, exert oneself', Kl *чиридə-x čirdä-x* id. ¶ MED 191, KRS 653 || Tg \**čir-* 'taut, tense, strong; to stretch sth. taut' > Nn Nh *čirā* 'taut (түгой, түгө)', *čirambō-* v. 'stretch sth. taut', *čiran-* v. 'be stretched taut', WrMc *cira* 'strong, tight', 'taut' (bow), ({Hr.} 'fest, hart, kräftig'), Mc Sb *čirā* 'severe, strict, tight' ¶ The Tg cognate is valid unless the Mc and Nn words are loans from M \**čiřirag* 'strong, firm' (see N \**čiřiga* 'force, strength, effort') ¶ STM II 399, Z 939, Hr. I 15O, Pt. 156, Y #2468 ◇ The NaIE long vw. \**ē* (regularly from IE \**eħ|ħ*) and the absence of laryngeals in the Eg and K cognates suggest N \*-hæ.

**440.** \**čūrt*Δ 'soot' > K \**čwart(w)l-* 'soot' > G *čvarṭl-i* id., *čvarṭ(v)l-* (trans. cj.) v. 'make sooty', (ps. cj.) v. 'become sooty' ¶ Chx. 2247, DCh. 17O6 ¶ -t- for the expected -t- is due to as. || D \**čūr(-)* 'soot' (× N \**č'ūrūR*Δ 'to soil, to stain; dirty') > Tl G *čūru* in: *poga čūru* 'smoke to coat walls, roof, etc. with soot', Prj *čuruk* 'deposit of soot on the ceiling or on any object that has been close to the fire', Gdb *suygur*, Kui *srōbi* & *sropi*, Ku *rōvva* & *rōuya* & *roowā* 'soot' ¶ D #2686, Km. 36O [#453] ¶ D \*-r- is a reflex of \*r-clusters (in this case \*-rt-), hence N

\*čûrt $\nabla$  (rather than \*č<sup>č</sup>ur $\nabla$ ) is the main source of the D √ || IE: NaIE \*swordo- 'black, dirty' (× N \*šURt $\nabla$  'dirt[y]', q.v. ffd.).

**441.** \*čûr $\nabla$  ~ \*čûr $\nabla$  'to see, to look' > HS: Eg fMK չ $\nabla$ r 'search out, investigate, seek' (with the variant Eg չ $\nabla$  [< \*չ $\nabla$  < \*č $\nabla$ r-?] id.) > Cpt Sd չw $\nabla$ p չ $\nabla$ r, չoop- չ $\nabla$ or-, Cpt B չep- չ $\nabla$ er-, չop- չ $\nabla$ or- 'examiner, étudier' (× N \*g<sup>ü</sup>ır $\nabla$  'look, look for', q.v.) ¶ EG V 534, 539, Fk. 32O, Vc. 33O || B \*√ չ $\nabla$ rH (pf. \*-չ $\nabla$ raH ~ \*-չ $\nabla$ ruH) 'see' (Pcj. I A 7, Fcj. 25) (× N \*č'E<sup>h</sup>R $\nabla$  ~ \*č'E<sup>h</sup>R $\nabla$  'see, know'??) > Kb չ $\nabla$ er (3m pf. յաշրա) 'see, know; look', Tmz {MT} չ $\nabla$ er 'see, look', Sll {Ds.} չ $\nabla$ er (pf. իշրա), Mz {Dlh.} չ $\nabla$ er (pf. յաշրու) 'see', BSn {Ds.} չ $\nabla$ er (pf. իշրու [‘յաշրու’?]), Zkara {Ds.} չ $\nabla$ er (pf. իշրի), BMn {Ds.} չ $\nabla$ er (pf. իշրու) 'voir, apercevoir', Wrg {Dlh.} չ $\nabla$ er (pf. յաշրու), Izn {Rn.} չ $\nabla$ er 'see, look', Izn/BSlh {Ds.} չ $\nabla$ er (pf. իշրա) 'see, perceive', SrSn/Rf {Rn.} չ $\nabla$ er 'see, look', Izd {Mrc.} իշրի (pf. իշրա) 'avoir connaissance', Nf {La. ← ?} չ $\nabla$ er (pf. իշրու) (not registered in Beg. N), Si {La.} չ $\nabla$ er, Skn {Srn.} չorr (pf. յաշրա), Gd π {Lf.} εշր (pf. իշրա), Zng {TC} imv. չՇՐ / 3m pf. յԱՇՐ 'voir' ¶ Dl. 953, MT 826, Ds. 296, Ds. B 37O, Fc. 2OO1, Pr. M VI-VII 1O9-1O, Mrc. 59, 365, 355, Dlh. M 254, Dlh. Ou 395, Rn. 323, La. S 313, Lf. I 258-9 and II #1838, DCTC 293 || K +ext. \*čwret-/\*čwrit- > MG [VTq., Vsr.], G čvret- 'look at', G (gan-)čvret- / čvrit- 'forsee (voraussehen)' ¶ Chx. 2248, DCh. 17O6, NCh. 458 || D \*čūr- 'look, see' (× N \*č'E<sup>h</sup>R $\nabla$  ~ \*č'E<sup>h</sup>R $\nabla$  '↑') > Svr sūr-, sūd-, Gnd sūr- և sūr- և hūr- և hūr-, Knd sūr-, Png/Mnd hūr-, Prj čūr-, Gdb sūr- և čūd-, Kui sūra 'see', Tl սՇՐ- 'see, behold, look', Tm սՇՐ v. 'deliberate, consider, know' ¶ D #2735, Zv. 56, ≈ Km. 359.

**442.** (o?) \*čawχ $\nabla$  'to cry, to exclaim' (→ 'to praise', 'fame') > HS: S: CS \*√ čw $\nabla$  (prm. \*-čwah-) 'cry' > BHb √ čw $\nabla$  G (ip. paus. 3p յի-čwāh-ն) 'cry aloud', MHb √ čw $\nabla$  (pf. čā'wah) 'cry', Ug √ չw $\nabla$  G (pf. չ $\nabla$ ) 'call, exclaim, invite', Amr {G} √ չy $\nabla$  'call', JA G {Js.} √ čw $\nabla$  (pf. čə'wah) 'cry (schreien), complain', JEA G {Sl.} √ čw $\nabla$  'shout, protest, complain', SmA √ չw $\nabla$  'cry', Sr √ չw $\nabla$  (pf. չə'wah, ip. -չwah) 'scream (as an eagle)', BHb čəwā'h-ā 'Klagegeschrei', Sr չəwah-t-ā 'Gescrei', Ar √ չy $\nabla$  (pf. չāha, ip. -չīh-) 'cry aloud, call out' | S: ?φ Gz √ չw $\nabla$  D (pf. չawwəfa) 'call, call upon\out', Tgr √ չw $\nabla$  G 'call' ¶ KB 949, KBR 1O11-2, A #2313, OLS 415-6, Grd. UT #2162, Sl. 953-4, Tal 725-6, G A 34, Js. 1266, JPS 476, L G 566, LH 644 || C: Ag \*č $\nabla$ w- > Bln {Plm.} չi $\nabla$ -, {R} չī $\nabla$ -, Dmb {R} չəw- 'ask for, demand', Q {R} չew-

'cry (schreien), beg, demand', Xm {R} čāw- id., 'go begging' § ≈ AD SF 1O5, R WB 331-2, R Ch II 52, R QW 128-9, Ap. AV 2O §§ The change HS \*\*č- (< N \*č-) > S \*č- may be interpreted as loss of a marked phonemic feature (which sometimes occurs in S and has been mentioned by IS in OS I 21O); it is likely to be a conditioned phonemic change (that will account for the unusual rareness of the phoneme \*θ- in S and for the total absence of h̥ in Ar roots with II rad. w and y) §§ This HS root may have contaminated with the HS source of S \*čwv 'ask' (> Gz čwv D 'call, call upon\out') and NrBc {Tk.} \*čav- ~ \*čiv- 'ask' (Tk. NB 169) || K: G čgav-il-/čgav(v)-/čgavl- 'heulen, jaulen, schreien' (of a beast) (as. \*čx > \*čq) § Chx. 2279 || IE: NaIE \*steu- {El} 'praise' > OI čtav-: 'stauti 'praises' (aor. 'astāvi), pp. stu'ta- 'gepriesen, angerufen', Av staomi 'I praise', 'stūt- 'song of praise' || ? Gk Hm/A στεῦται 3s prs. 'promises\threatens that he will, makes as if one would' ({P} ← \*rühmt sich) § WP II 62O, P 1O35, El 449, M K III 519-21, M E II 757-8, F II 793-4 || A: NaT \*čāb 'shouting, rumour, fame' > OT čāv 'fame, good reputation', XwT XIV čav 'fame', OOsm XIV, Chg XV čav 'reputation', Osm {Rl.} čav 'Geschrei, Schrei, Ruf', Tk čav 'voice, sound', † 'news', Tkm † čāv 'fame', Alt {BT, Rl.}, QK/Tel {Rl.} čap 'fame, rumour (Ruhm, Ruf)', Brb {Rl.} čap, Qmn {B} čap id. § Rs. W 93, Cl. 393, TkR 715, Rl. III 1915, 1934, IV 196, SDD I 31O, BT 176, B DK 266 || M: WrM сиу, HlM цүү 'sound, noise; fame', Kl {Rm.} cū 'Schrei, Getöse, Gelärm' § MED 2O7, KW 435 || Tg \*čab- 'sound, (make) noise' > Nn KU čawali- v. 'resound', Ewk čiwi-, Neg čawgi-, Ud čaugda-, Ul čāvgall-, Ork čayiqotç-, Nn Nh čaogt-, Nn KU čaogt-, Nn B caolg- 'make noise', Ewk čiwin, Nn Nh čāō 'noise' § STM II 389 || ? pJ \*tūáp- v. 'address; ask (a question)' > OJ tūóp-, J: T tō- ~ tó-, K tó-, Kg tō- § S QJ #15O4, Mr. 771 §§ Pp. VG 44 (T, M), DQA ##277 (A \*č'ābu 'sound, fame') ◇ IS MS 337 ('говорить' \*čəwəd) (HS, K). The length of \*a in T is likely to reflect the N lr. ◇ Qu., because the word is likely to have onomatopoeic associations.

**443.** <sub>2</sub> \*čüč́v (or \*š-?) 'clean; to clean' > HS: WS \*-šūč- v. 'clean one's teeth' > Mh pf. šōš / sbjn. узшоš, Jb C pf. 'ščš / sbjn. у'šeš, Ar čwš ~ čwš (ip. -šūš- ~ -šūš-) id. § Jo. M 388, Jo. J 258, BK I 1287 || U: FU \*süčv ~ \*čičv (both most probably from \*\*čüčv by dis. \*\*č...č... > \*s...č... and delabialization \*\*ü > \*i) 'clean' > Prm {UEW} \*sōž > Z сөдз s3ž 'transparent, clean, clear, pure', Prmk, Prmk Zz s3ž, Yz sōž

id., StVt сүзяны suža-n̥, Vt Sr šužal-, Vt Kz/Gl šúžal- v. 'clean' ||| pObU \*číč- ~ \*číč- (both from FU \*číč∇) > Vg MK/N šé:s 'immaculated, clean' (MK šé:s oåy 'virgin', lit. 'immaculated girl'), Os: Os Ty čět-wāy 'Glocke', K/Kr čiç-wāχ 'money' (< \*'pure metal\money'; Os wāy, wāχ means 'metal, money') | OHg szūz 'rein, unvermischt', Hg szūz (accus. szūzet) 'jungfräulich, keusch; Jungfrau, Jungfer' ¶ UEW 441-2, Lt. 224, LG 262-3, Ht. #822, KrT 2O8-9, 923, PD 956.

**444. \*čEčk∇** 'to crush, to split' > **K:** GZ \*čečk- ({K, K<sup>2</sup>, FS} \*čečk-) 'crush, split' ({K<sup>2</sup>} v. 'hollow, break') > G čečk- 'crush, beat to pieces' ({FS} 'zerstoßen, zerklöpfen', {K<sup>2</sup>} 'hollow, pound', {NCh.} 'только', {DCh.} 'измять', {K} 'долбить', {Chx.} (da-)čečk- 'zerstoßen, zerquetschen; weich klopfen', (ga-\\da-)čečk- j-n. durchdreschen'), Mg čkačk- 'break (e.g., an apple), split', Lz čačk- v. 'pound' ¶ Lz č- points to an initial K \*č-, while G č- (for the expected č-) and Mg čk- (for č-) are due to as.: G \*\*čačk- > čačk-, Zan \*čačk- > Mg čkačk- acc. to Gudava's law of Mg reduplication of the velar element of the stem-final cluster ("harmonic complex") \*čK after the initial dental cns. or affricate (identical to that of the cluster) [F K 23]; K's and FS's rec. of the initial GZ \*č- fails to explain Lz č- ¶ K 219, K<sup>2</sup> 256, FS K 388, FS E 435-6, Chx. 1928-9, NCh. 43O, DCh. 1576 ||| **HS:** S \*✓škk, \*-šukk- 'split, cleave, pierce' > Ar ✓škk G {BK} 'fendre, pourfendre (le bois)', Mh/Jb {Jo.} ✓škk v. G 'skewer (meat)', Ak ✓škk (p.-šukk-) v. G 'harrow' ¶ BK I 1252-3, Sd. 1134, Jo. M 377, Jo. J 25O ¶ The loss of the reflex of the N stem-medial \*č is due to the S law that rules out roots with sequence of two similar cnss. (hence \*\*✓šθk > \*✓škk) ¶ The S ✓ belongs here unless it is connected with S \*šikk(-at)- 'thorn', 'pin, nail' < N \*šækEku 'thorn, hook' (q.v.) ||| ? Ch: Ngz {Sch.} šáškú, v. 'hollow out' ¶ Sch. DN 148 ||| **D** {tr.} \*čeakk-, {GS} \*ček- v. 'chip', n. 'chip, splinter' > Tm cakkai 'chips, small wooden peg', Kt ček, Kn cakke, cekke, sakke, sekke 'chip', Tu cakke, cekkæ id., 'split, splinter', Tl cekku v. 'pare, cut the side\rind of', cekka 'piece, chip, slice', Klm sek- 'make pointed (piece of wood)', sekka 'bark of tree', Nkr šekka id., šekk- v. 'chip, scrape', Prj čekk- v. 'chip, scrape, plane', čekka 'piece, slice', Knd sek v. 'plane, fashion things out of wood', Ku sekali 'scrape (with a hoe)', Krx čaktā, Mlt caka 'slice'; D → OI šakala- 'piece, fragment' ¶ D #2748, GS 115 [#3O5] ◇ In some lgs. this N word may have contaminated or coalesced with N \*šakə 'to split, to cleave' (q.v.).

**445.** ? $\sigma$  \* $\hat{c}Ud\Delta$  'be weak, be damaged, be weary' > **K:** GZ \* $\grave{c}we^{\prime}d'$ - / \* $\grave{c}u^{\prime}d'$ - 'sexually impotent' (of a male person), 'vain' > OG *cud-i* 'vain, futile', G *cvedan-* 'impotent', Mg *čut-u* id. ¶ K 229, FS K 41O, DCh. 16O2-3, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 271-2 (OG, G, Mg  $\leftrightarrow$  \* $\grave{c}wet$ - / \* $\acute{c}ut$ - 'wear out') || **HS:** SES \* $\checkmark \hat{s}dd$  > Mh *šdod*, Jb E/C *z̄s̄'ded* v. 'get tired' ¶ Jo. M 372 || **D:** \* $\hat{c}kōt̄t$ - ({θGS} \**s*-?) 'defect, fault' > Tm *cottu* 'defect, blemish', Ml *cattu* 'fault', Tl *soddū* 'defect, fault' ¶ D #2837.

**446.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \* $\hat{c}\nabla d^{\prime}i^{\prime}$ (-ka<sub>1</sub>? $\nabla_2$ ) '≈ wait, stay, have leisure' > **K:** \* $\grave{c}ad$ - / \* $\grave{c}d$ - 'have time, wait' > OG *cad-* 'wait, let (do sth.)' (acade *pirvelad* *ganzgomad* *švulta* 'let first the children get sated' [Marc. 7.27]), G *cad-* / *cd-* 'wait, delay', Lz *čod-* 'have spare time', Mg *čod-* id., 'wait', Sv -čd- 'be, exist' ¶ K 227 (GZ \**čad-* 'have leisure, wait'), K<sup>2</sup> 269 (GZ \**č(a)d-* 'have time, wait'), FS K 4O5 (GZ), FS E 456 (GZ), Ser. 195, Chx. 1979, Q 366, Chik. 377-8 || **HS:** Eg N *šdšd.tu* {EG} (?) 'wait (for so.)', {Hng.} id., (?) 'lie in wait\ambush' ¶ EG IV 569, Hng. 845 || **B:** \* $\checkmark zd\chi$  (< \*\* $\checkmark sd\chi$  by as.) 'stay, remain, dwell' > Sll {Ds.} (e) *zdeχ* *azdəχ* id. ('rester, habiter'), Wrg *azdəχ* 'habiter, loger', Tmz {MT} *zdəχ* 'habiter, loger, demeurer', Kb *azdəχ* 'habiter, loger', Ah {Fc.} *azzəχ*, Nf/Snd {La.} *azdəχ* 'habiter', Gh {Nh.} *azzəχ*, Ttq {Msq.} *azzəχ*, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} *azdaχ*, BSn {Ds.} *azdəχ*, Izd {Mrc.} *zdəχ*, Gd {Lf.} *ezdəχ* 'habiter, demeurer' ¶ Ds. 149, Ds. B 93, 161, 248, MT 192, Dl. 936, Dlh. Ou 384, Fc. 1993, Msq. 81, 146, Mrc. 77, 135, 441, Rn. 321, La. S 246, Lf. II #1758 || **AdS** of SES \* $\checkmark \hat{s}dd$  'get tired' (× N ? $\sigma$  \* $\hat{c}Ud\Delta$  'be weak, be damaged, be weary') || ? $\sigma$  **IE:** NaIE \**steig-* '≈ stand still' > Lt *stygti* (prs. *stýggau*) 'to keep quiet, to stand still', † *stigtī* (prs. *stingū*) 'auf einer Stelle ruhig weilend aushalten', Ltv *stigt* 'to get stuck' || OHG {OsS} *stecchen*, *steckēn* 'festsitzen', {Kb.} *steckēn* vi. 'to stick, infigi', NHG *stecken* 'to be, to stay, to remain; to stick fast', AS *stician* vi. 'to remain fixed, to stick', 'to be inside', 'to lie' (of direction, boundary) > NE *stick* vi. ¶ Frn. 9O5, Turk. 632, PiesS 673, Sw. 161, Ho. 321, ≈ P 1O16-7, ≈ OsS 86 (OHG *stecchen*  $\leftrightarrow$  *stéchan* 'to prick'), Schz. 27O, Kb. 959, ≈ KM 742, ≈ Ho. 321 ¶ Secondary association with NaIE \*(s)*teig-* vt. 'stechen', 'spitz' (P 1O16-7) ◇ B \* $\chi$  (< \* $\zeta$ ) tentatively suggests a glottalizing factor (\*?) within the additional component of the etymon (\*-ka<sub>1</sub>? $\nabla_2$ ).

**447.** <sub>2</sub> \* $\hat{c}odh\Delta$  'break (esp. a body part), strike' > **HS:** S \* $\circ\checkmark \hat{s}dh$  > Ar \* $\checkmark \check{s}dh$  v. 'break (the head)' ¶ BK I 12O6 || **D** (in SD) \* $\hat{c}kōt̄t$ - v.

'beat\strike (with fingers)' > Tm **cot̄tu** v. 'strike with knuckles, tap gently (the udder of a goat for inducing the free flow of milk)', v. 'beat, hit, peck (as a crow)', Ml **cot̄tu** a slap on the head', **cot̄tuka** v. 'rap with the knuckles, knock with the fingers (esp. on the head)', Tu **sōn̄tuni** v. 'box with knuckles of the fingers' ¶ D #2836 || AdS of K: GZ \*c̄wet-/c̄wit- v. 'cut, chop' (from N \*c̄i<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>¶ [or \*c̄üt<sub>1</sub>¶] 'to split' [q.v. ffd.]).

**448.** \*c̄v<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>,g<sub>1</sub> - \*c̄v<sub>1</sub>g<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub> 'to tear, to split' > IE: NaIE \*sk(<sup>h</sup>)ed-/\*skend- 'split' (x N \*c̄i<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>¶ [or \*c̄üt<sub>1</sub>¶] 'to split' [q.v. ffd.]) || HS: S \*v̄ ſdk v. 'tear', \*'ſid<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>k- 'chink, crack' > Sr v̄ ſdk (pf. ſəd̄ak) G 'tear asunder', SmA v̄ ſdk G 'be cleft', JA [Trg.], MHb v̄ ſdk G 'split, tear asunder', JEA {Sl. v̄ ſdk G 'split', MHb נְסָלֵת 'ſeſēk' 'Spalt, Risse', SmA ſdk n. 'cleft', Ar ſidq- ~ ſadq- 'coin de la bouche, à l'endroit où les deux lèvres se joignent' (← \*'slit, chink'), Gz v̄ ſt̄k G vt., vi. 'cleave, split, tear asunder', Ak v̄ ſt̄k 'abspalten' ¶ Br. 46O, JPS 361, Sl. 789, Tal 568, BK I 12O5, Lv. III 48O, L G 537-8, Sd. 12OO || Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*c̄akt- v. 'tear' > Tng sugd-/sukt- 'make a hole' | SBc: Dw {ChL} ūaktiy, Zr K {Sh. in ChC} ūaktu, Plc {ChL} ūeχtu, Zl {ChL} ya ūat̄i, Buli {ChL} ūadu v. 'tear' ¶ Stl. ZCh 199 [#5O1], J T 147, ChL, ChC || K \*c̄qwed-/\*c̄qwid-/\*c̄qwd- v. 'tear, break' > OG c̄qed-/\*c̄wid- {FS} 'tear off (abreißen)', {DCh., Ser., K} 'exterminate', G c̄qvet-/\*c̄vit-/\*c̄qd- 'break, tear; cease, end', Mg čqvad-/\*čqvad- id., 'strike', Lz čkvad-/\*čkvad-/\*čkid- 'tear out, decide', Sv ſqed-/\*ſqad-/\*ſqd- {FS} 'tear off (abreißen), fall', {GP, K, TK} 'fall', Sv L {Dn.} ſqad-/\*ſqad- 'throw, be thrown, fall', kān-ſqad '(er) sprang her', em-ſqad 'у меня упало' ¶ K 253, K<sup>2</sup> 319, FS K 471, FS E 534, Chik. 413-4, Ser. 119, NCh. 456, Chx. 2213-4, GP 18O, Dn. s.v. ſqad-/\*ſqed-, TK 466.

**449.** \*c̄ih<sup>r</sup>i '≈ carry, bring' (→ 'give') > HS: WS (or SES) \*v̄ ūhy > Jb C v̄ ūhy in eſ̄het 'carry sth. under one's arm on a rope over one's shoulder', Mh v̄ ūhwly (pf. ūhū) 'carry under the arm sth. supported by a rope over one's shoulder', Sq {L} ūe 'give', ??? Ar ſay?- 'thing' (if ← \*'sth. brought) ¶ Jo. M 378, Jo. J 25, L ESAC 53 || B ? \*v̄ Hsy v. 'carry' > Sll {Ds.} asij (pf. yūsij) 'porter, transporter', Izd {Mrc.} asi (pf. yusi) 'porter, contenir' ¶ Ds. 226, Mrc. 198, 3O8 || EC: Arr {Hw.} ūih-is-(imv. ūih / 2s ūith) 'give', pSam {Hn.} \*'ſī: ~ \*'ſī:čā 'give' > Sml, Jbr ūī, Rn {Hn.} 'ſī: ~ 'ſīčā, {PG} ūīč- / imv. ūī, Bn ūī: 'ſīčā id.; Dsn {Bnd.} ūīγε, {To., Ss.} ūī-(ſ) (1s pret. ūī), Elm ūīse id. ¶ Hw. A 393, Hn. S 73, PG

26O, To. DL 528, Blz. CL s.v. 'give' || K: GZ \*č- 'give' > OG, G č- 'give', Mg, Lz č- 'give, feed' ¶ K 227, K<sup>2</sup> 269, FS K 404, FS E 454-5 (both K and FS identify GZ \*č- 'give' with GZ \*č- 'beat' [highly qu., though not ruled out]), Chik. 369-70O || A: pKo {S} \*č̄i- 'carry on the back, bear' > MKo č̄i-, NKo č̄i- ¶ MLC 1527, Rm. SKE 31, S QK #601 || D \*č̄i- / \*č̄iy- ({θGS} \*š-) v. 'give' (→ 'allow') > Tm ī- 'give (to inferiors), agree', Knd ī- 'give, allow, permit', Tl iċċu (ī-/iyy-, ivv-) id., Klm si·-, Nk śī-, Gnd si·-ħ hī- ā ī-, Mnd, Ku hī-, Kui śīva, Krx č̄i?i- id., Mlt ciye 'give away' ¶ D #2596, Zv. 105 ◇ One is tempted to adduce here IE: NaIE \*(s)tāj- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', \*tāyu-s-, tāti-s 'thief', and AnIE \*tay- 'steal', which cannot belong here (≠∅: IE \*(s)t- does not go back to N \*č-). It is preferable to equate it with Eg šdū 'take, take away, take out' and T \*sat- 'sell' (F s.v. N \*sat'ahī' ≈ to take away').

**450.** \*čEķi∇ ~ \*čEķi∇, ?\*-r∇ 'to step, to tramp, to trample down' > K: GZ \*čeķ- v. '≈ step, tramp' > G cek- -v-a v. 'dance', Mg čak- v. 'tramp and waddle while walking' ¶ FS K 407-8 || HS: SES \*✓ ſķi > Mh ✓ ſķi G v. 'step' ¶ Jo. M 379 || ?σ U \*čäke(-r∇) 'trampled groundsnow; to trample down (snow)' > FU: pLp \*čēkər 'snow-field which has been trampled and dug up by reindeer feeding there' > Lp: N {N} cieğär / -kk- id., L {LLO} tijekar id., S {Hs.} tjięgęre id., 'hole in the snow made by reindeer looking for lichen', Nt {Gn.} čięęgar, Kld {Gn.} čięęgar 'reindeer pasture' || pObU: Vg: LK śōr, UL śiżr, Ss śażr 'niedergetretener Schnee', LK śoray-, P śōrt-, UL śiżrt-, Ss śażrt- v. 'trample down'; ?σ Os: V čiżär, Y čäżär, K čäżär, O śäżär 'snow-drift'; Os Vy {Stn.} čäż- 'den Kopf des Nagels hutförmig schmieden, durch Schlagen einen "Kopf" machen (z. B., an der Spitze des Ladestockes') || Sm: Ne T śexe 'hard snow', śexeri 'winter road', Ne F śixā 'winter pasture of reindeer', Kms śēr 'reindeer pasture' ¶ Coll. 7-8, UEW 31, Lr. #147, Gn. 733-4, Hs. 1316, Ht. #82O, Stn. D 246-7 || A \*č̄iķ∇ (or \*č̄iga) v. 'tramp, ram, trample down (ground)' > NaT \*čig-ru- > OT [MhK] čiżru- v. 'trample down (ground)'; NaT \*čigir ~ \*čagir 'tramped ground\snow' > OT QU [MhK] čažir (read by Cl. as čižir) 'foot-path, narrow track', Chg ≥XV čigir 'snow which has become hard owing to wind action', Osm čižir 'track\path through snow, the track left by an avalanche', Tk Δ čižra 'goat's path', Uz Δ čibir 'footprint of sheep', Qzq śiżir 'tramped place, sth. tramped', Tv śiżr 'stamped snow' ¶ Cl.

4O9-11, TL 533, TvR 59O || M \*<sup>o</sup>čigži- v. 'stamp, ram down' > WrM cigži-, HlM чигжи- v. 'ram down; calk, make waterproof\airtight by filling tracks; cork, close an opening'; M → Yk čigdi 'stamped hard snow', čigdiän id. (→ Ewk Ald/Ucr čigjan, Lm čičcaŋ id.) ¶ MED 18O, STM II 389 || Tg \*<sup>o</sup>čiki- > Ewk Tmt čiki 'stamped snow' ¶ STM 1.c. ¶ DQA ##262 (A \*č'ikaŋ 'to stamp ram; stamped path') ◇ T \*-g- < N \*-k̥i- regularly (cp. N \*hak̥i∇ 'stand, stop, stay, be' > T \*āg- v. 'rise' and N \*teki∇ 'touch' > T \*t̥eg- id.).

**451.** <sub>2</sub> \*čuķ∇ 'thorn, point (→ blade), summit' > HS: S \*šikk- 'thorn, nail' (× N \*ræžEku 'thorn, hook', q.v. ffd.); WS \*šawk- > Ar شوك šawk- 'thorn, prickle, point', Gz šōk 'thorn, spine (of hedgehog), sting' ¶ GB 783, KB 1236, Js. 988, 993, LG 529, Sd. 1234 || U: FU \*čukk∇ 'summit, hill; sharp edge' (× N \*žôg₁∇?U - \*žôgU₁?∇, 'hill' [q.v. ffd.]) > Lp Kld {SaR} чоғк 'sharp' || Os {KT}: Ty çäk 'vorragendes Ende, Spitze', D çäk '(Spitze einer) Landzunge; vorragende Spitze, Ecke', O śäx ~ śäk 'Hammer' ¶ UEW 42, Lr. #159, Lgc. #45O, SaR 398-9, KT 897, Stn. D 1495 ¶ The FU √ has two semantic variants: [1] 'sharp edge' → 'edge, hammer' (< N \*čuķ∇) and [2] 'hill' (< N \*žôg₁∇?U - \*žôgU₁?∇, q.v. ffd.), while the meaning 'summit' is derivable from both ◇ Qu. (both the U and the S cognates are ambiguous).

**452.** \*ča1∇ 'to pour (out)' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓š1l > Ar ✓š1l (pf. šalla) 'verser, répandre' ¶ BK I 1262 || IE: (+ ext.) NaIE \*selg- ({WP, P, E}) \*selg- v. 'pour out, let go\flow, discharge', {EI} 'release, send out' [× N \*šilk∇ 'let out', (in descendant lgs.) → 'to throw', 'to fall out', q.v. ffd.] || U: FU (+ ext.) \*čōl|[ta- (< \*\*čāl|[ta- < \*čāl|[]-Hta?) 'throw, pour' > Prm {UEW} \*čōlt- ({JUEW} \*čōlt-), {LG} \*čält- > Z č3vt- v. 'throw, pour (soup from a kettle to a bowl)', Yz čōlt- v. 'throw', Vt č3lt- v. 'throw, cast lots' | FP \*čōlta- v. 'draw out, pour, separate' > F suolta- 'ziehen; allmählich ausziehen, ausreißen und verschütten', pLp \*čōlt3 {Lgc.} 'separate' > Lp: N {N} čuoł'dā, S {Hs.} tjuöld'edh id., L {ILO} tjuoltē- 'ausscheiden, aus-\absondern' ¶ UEW 613, LG 31O, 158, Lr. #196, Lgc. #768, Hs. 1345-6 || D {tr.} \*č|kall-, {GS} \*čal- v. 'pour, sprinkle (water)' (× N \*ž'u'g₁∇? [¬ \*ž∇g'u'í∇?] 'flow, pour'?) > Tm callu v. 'sprinkle water', Kn callu v. 'scatter, pour out, shed, spill', {Km.} cale, caleyā, calaka 'sprinkling', Kdg čell- v. 'throw away (liquid), scatter (grain)', Tu callu- vi. 'spill, shed', cellu- v. 'sprinkle,

spill', Tl **callu** v. 'sprinkle, scatter', **jallu** 'rain, a shower, spray of rainwater', Nkr **sall-** v. 'sprinkle', Prj **čal-** 'rain falls in a shower', Gnd **žal-** v. 'strain water from boiled rice', **žall-** v. 'swill with water', Ku **žal-** v. 'throw out liquids' **JJ** D #2384, Km. 351 [#413], GS 35 [#55].

**453.** \***čo'h'ī** 'similar; as; alone, one of two' > **K:** GZ \***čāl-** 'similar' > G **cal-i** id., 'one (of two)', {Chx.} 'ebenbürtig, gleichkommend; der eine (von zweien)', Sv {FS} **šāl**, Sv UB/L {GP, TK} **-šāl**, LB/Ln **-šāl** (postp.) 'like' **J** FS K 406-7, GP 271, Chx. 1973, TK 812 || **HS:** S \*<sup>°</sup>✓**šw1** > Mh **šz'way1** (pl. **šz'wō1**), Jb E {Jo.} **'šil**, Jb C **šel** 'like, likeness', Mh **'šatw31** v. 'look alike, seem alike' **J** Jo. M 388 || **IE:** NaIE \*<sup>°</sup>**sōlo-** > L **sōlus** 'alone' **J** WH II 557, ≈ P 884 || **A:** NaT {Cl.} \***çol-** → ({Cl.} deverbal noun/adj.) \***çolâk** > OT {Cl.} **çoluq** '(a person) with one arm', ET **çolaq** ~ **çulaq** id., Tk **çolak**, Kr **çolaq** 'a person with one arm or with a paralyzed arm', Tkm **çolaq**, Az **çolag**, Qzq **šolaq** 'cripple, crippled', Qq **šolaq** 'a person with one arm or with one leg', Nog **šolaq** 'a person without arms or with one arm', Qmq, Ggz **çolaq** id., 'a person with a paralyzed arm', Qrg **çoloq** 'a person with one arm\leg, without arms\legs', Uz **чўлoқ** **çwlaq** 'lame, a person without arms\legs', VTt **чўлак** **šulaq**, Bsh **sulaq** 'a person with a crippled arm'; VTt → Chv **č'ylax** id., 'cripple' **J** Cl. 419-2O, Rs. W 115, TkR 735, Jeg. 319, Sht. 234, BN 33-4, Fed. II 400 || **M:** WrM {MED} **cile-n** 'as, according to, like', {Kow.} **cile-n ku** 'de même que, pareillement, ainsi' **J** Qu., because the morphological structure is not clear **J** MED 183, Kow. 2162 ◇ The K, IE, and S cognates point to a N lr. \***h**, because this is the only lr. that both causes Ersatzdehnung in K and IE and may disappear in S.

**453a.** \***čum** 'to lift, to raise' > **HS:** S \*<sup>°</sup>✓**šmm** > Ar {Ln., BK} **šamīm-** 'high, elevated' (of a saddle)', {BK} 'haut, élevé', {Ln.} ✓**šmm** G 'magnify oneself' **J** Ln. 1593-4, BK I 1264-5, Hv. 375 || **D:** \***č|kum-**, {Em.} \***kum-** v. 'carry on head' > Tm **cumā** 'bear, support, carry a burden', Ml **cumakka** 'carry a burden', Kn **simbi**, **simbe** 'ring\cloth to be put under a burden (vessel, etc.) upon the head', Kn H **tōmpaṭa** 'carrying on the head', Tu **tumbu** ~ **sumbu** ~ **humbu** 'bear, carry on head', Nkr **cumma** 'pad on head for carrying', Prj/Gdb **kumt-** 'carry on head', Krx **kum?nā** 'take and carry on the head', Mlt **kume** 'take upon one's head' **JJ** D #2677, Em. DS 365 || **A:** ?σ M \***čömü-** > WrM **cōmū-**, HlM **цөмө-** v. 'pluck, pick (as fruits and flowers)', Ord **č'ömö-** 'arracher, cueillir', Mnr: H {SM} **č'imō-** 'cueillir (des fruits, des pois,

etc.'), H {T} čimō, M {T} čumu- 'gather, reap (собирать)' ¶ MED 202-3, Ms. O 715, SM 450, T 379 ¶ Valid if the primary meaning is 'to pick' ( $\leftarrow$  \*'raise from the ground') || U (+ext.) \*čunC|t|s|ša > Sm \*cъnc|tå-'rise (steigen)' > Ne: Т таңа-сь 'to rise, to climb on sth.', T O {Lh.} ta'ñ·ā'-, F {Lh.} tannъa-š 'climb' ('klettern, auf etwas steigen'), T {Ter.} таң 'rising slope (подъём)'; En {Ter.} toda- v. 'rise'; Slq Ch can- 'rise' ¶ Jn. 31, Ter. 624.

**454.** \*čixm<sup>Δ</sup> 'fat (Fett)' > K \*čxim- n. 'fat, grease' > G cxim- id., Sv UB {GP} mə,čxim id. ¶ FS K 417, K 232, K<sup>2</sup> 276, GP 224 || HS: S \*šah<sub>1</sub>Δ<sub>2</sub>m- 'fat (of meat)' > Ar šahm- id., ✓ šhm G (pf. šahuma) 'be fat' (of animals, humans), ?σ Jb C {Jo.} šh<sup>3</sup>met 'temple (as far as the eye)' (it is cut in a slaughtered animal to see how much fat is on the carcass), Ak LB šēmu 'fat, grease', f. pl. šēmētu id. ¶ Ln. 1513-4, BK I 1199, Jo. J 250, CAD XVII/2 276, 287, MiK I #1.263 || B \*✓siHm 'fat' ( $\times$  N \*šæmi 'fat' [q.v.]) > Ah {Fc.} e-sīm, Ttq {Msq.} i-sīm 'melted tallow', Kb ṫa-(s)səm-t 'tallow' ¶ Fc. 1835, Msq. 141, Dl. 778 || ?? C: Bj {R} ✓ šmt pcv. 'grease the hair, smear butter on it' ( $\times$  N \*č'ō'mh<sub>2</sub>E 'to smear', q.v. ffd.) || A: M \*čimügen > MM [HI] čimügen, WrM cimüge(n), HlM чөмөг, Kl чимгн čimgən ~ čimgŋ, MnR H č'imug\_e, Dg {T} šimug, {Mr.} šimehe 'marrow'; M \*čimüge-le- > WrM cimügele-, HlM чөмөглөх v. 'put on weight, become fat' ¶ MED 186, Ms. H 47, SM 451, T 380, T DgJ 183, KW 440, KRS 651, Mr. D 216.

**455.** ≈ \*č'i?r'ǟñâ 'recognize, know (connaître)' > K: GZ \*čan-/\*čn- v. 'know, learn, recognize' ( $\times$  N \*cuŋ<sup>Δ</sup> 'to know' [ $\leftarrow$  'to have seen'?], q.v. ffd.) > OG, G can-/cn- 'know, learn, recognize', Mg {Q} čin- v. 'know (so.), recognize', Lz čin- v. 'recognize' ¶ K 229, K<sup>2</sup> 270, FS K 407, FS E 458-9, Chik. 376-7 || HS: WS \*°✓š?n G v. 'know (connaître)' ~ \*°✓šny G v. 'see' > Ar ✓ š?n G 'connaître, s'informer', ( $\times$  N \*Søñ<sup>Δ</sup> 'hear') Mh {Jo.} ✓ šny (pf. šīni, sbjn, үзшнə, ps. š(з)nay), Hrs, Jb, Sq ✓ šny v. 'see' ¶ BK I 1179-80, Jo. M 381-2, Jo. J 253, Jo. H 120-1 || B \*-sin- / \*✓wṣn 'know (savoir, connaître)' ( $\times$  N \*cuŋ<sup>Δ</sup> '↑', q.v. ffd.) || A: STg \*çende- > WrMc cende- {Hr.} 'nachprüfen, erproben', {Z} v. 'try, examine, taste', Jrc čentemei tuvanžila 'to examine' ¶ STM II 421, Hr. 143, Z 927-8, Kiy. 142 [#804] || T {ADb.} \*siyŋ ({AD}: or \*sīn?) {AD} 'observation, external appearance' > OT sīn 'external appearance, stature; human body', Tkm θīn 'observation (наблюдение, обзор)', Nog sin 'a man's figure, outward appearance', Qzq sin id., 'test, trial,

exploration', Qmq *sin* 'outward appearance', Qq *sin* id., 'criticism', ET *sin* 'a man's stature \ figure \ appearance', VTt *sъn*, Bsh *hъn* id., 'image, picture', 'statue over the grave', Qrg *sin* 'test, trial', StAlt *sin* 'stature, trunk of the body', Tv *sin* 'Menschengestalt (стан, телосложение), stature', Xk *sin* 'stature; truth', Tk *sin* 'grave', 'age'; T \**sīna-* or \**siyuna-* v. 'watch, observe, test (so.\sth.)' > OT *sīna-* v. 'test', XwT XIV, MQp XIV, OOsm ≥XIV, Chg ≥XV *sīna-*, Tkm *θīna-*, Tk *sīna-*, Az, Qmq, Qq, Xk *sīna-*, VTt *sъna-*, Bsh *hъna-*, ET, Uz *sīna-* 'test, try', Qzq *sīna-* 'investigate, explore, try, test', Nog *sīna-* 'watch, notice; test, try', Qrg *sīna-*, Chv (← VTt?) *sъna-* 'observe, test' ¶ The rec. \**siyūn* is suggested by the d. {ADb.} \**siyūn-ak-* > Qzq, Qq *siyaq* 'appearance (of a person), exterior, outward arrearance', Qrg *siyaq* id., 'face', n. 'similar (to)', Nog *siyaq* 'exterior', ET *siyaq* 'shape, appearance', Uz *siyaq* 'face, appearance' ¶ Cl. 832, 835, DTS 5O3-4, Rs. W 417, TL 266-7, Pp. VG 115, Jeg. 181-2, TkR 6O4-5, Sht. 181, 183, Jud. 679-8O, NogR 32O-1, 323, KrkR 6O3, 6O7, KumRS 293-4, TatR 495-6, BIG 2O7-8, RI. IV 628-9, BT 136, TvR 397, Jud. 683, Nj. 54O || ?σ NKo *sə̄ngə̄p-* (spelled *s̄iə̄n-*) 'be interesting' ¶ ≠ DQA #2O75 (T ÷ M \**sonus-* 'hear') ◇ If ADb.'s pT rec. \**siyūn* is right, it suggests a pN rec. ≈ \**č̄ī?*<sup>?</sup>*ǟñā̄*. The prehistiry of the pT vw. \**I* is still to be investigated (possibly \**ī?ǟ...ā̄* > \**ī?a...a|o|u* [due to vw. harmony] > \**īya* > T \**īy*). STg \**e* is a reg. reflex of \**ǟ*. Contrary to IS's opinion (IS I 2O1-2), K \**čan-/čn-* cannot be equated with DEg *sw̄n* v. 'know', Hs *sánì*, Mrg *s̄əni* v. 'know', and the related words of other Ch lgs., because these DEg and Ch words represent HS \**s-* (not akin to K \**č-*) and go back to N \**cun̄v* 'to know' (q.v.).

**455a.** (2?) \**č̄uñ̄l?*<sup>?</sup>*v* 'to sound, to utter' > IE: NaIE \**swen-* 'produce sounds' (x N \**SUñ̄g,?*<sup>?</sup> 'produce loud vocal sounds [call, make an incantation, weep!]') > OI *svan-* v. 'sound, roar, be noisy, rattle', Av *paitiš-χvana* 'Gegen-Lärm', KhS *hvān-* 'speak', Phl *χvan-* 'call, read', NPrs -خوان- *χwān-* *χan-* id., 'sing' || L *sonā-* 'sound, resound, make a noise', *sonus* 'a noise, sound' || AS *swinn* 'music' || ?φ OIr *senn-* v. 'jouer (d'un instrument de musique), faire de la musique', *senim* 'fait de jouer d'un instrument; musique; son' ¶ WP II 542-3, P 1O46-7, Mn. 1346, M K III 56O-1, Brtl. 838, Bai. 5O2-3, BM 199, WH II 559-6O, Ho. 338, Vn. S 86 || **A:** Tg: Neg *çūn-* 'cry' (of a baby) ¶ STM II 414 || **HS:** ?σ S \*<sup>o</sup>✓*ñn?* G > Ar ✓*šn?* G 'avouer qc.', 'acknowledge, give smb. his right' ¶ Ln. 16O3, BK I 1274 || ?σ Ch \*<sup>o</sup>✓*č̄ūn-* > Hs *šūnà* v. 'urge\incite to

fight, direct smb. to a place' ¶ Ba. 943, Stl. IF (on Ch \*č- > Hs š-) ◇ IE \*s- (if cognate with Tg \*ç- and Hs š-) may go back only to N \*č-. If Ar ✓ šn? belongs here, the N rec. is \*čuñ?n.

**456.** ?σ₂ \*ča|Eñčn 'large' (→ 'high, broad') > U \*ča|En|ñčn > Sm {Jn.} \*ča|änčb, {Hl.} \*čänčo 'broad' > Ne T d. тяñеý id., Ne F L {Lh.} čeá·n 'breadth', čeá·ñíñú 'broad', Ng {Mik.} tantzgž id., trantzðu 'breadth', En d. {Cs.} tædde 'broad', Slq Tm {KD} čānž 'id.', Slq Tz {Prk.} tānt+ 'breadth, broad', Slq Kat/Tz {Cs.} tānd, tānž, Slq Nr {Cs.} čānže, Slq B/Tz {Cs.} čānž, čānže, Kms {KD} t'ān·o ~ t'ano 'broad', Mt {Hl.} \*tändü|h 'broad' (Mt K {Pl.} déendu id.) ¶ Jn. 32, Erl. 248, KD 68, Cs. 134, Hl. M #985 || HS: S \*°✓šnθ > Ar šanğāt-, šunğuwat- (pl. šanāğī) 'summit of a mountain' (← \*'high') ¶ BK I 1233.

**457.** \*čep'ṇ 'heel, foot, part of leg' > HS: S \*ša\_y, p- 'foot, track' > Ak šēp-u, Ak OB šīp-u ~ šēp-u, Sq {Jo.} šab ~ šaf 'foot' Sq Δ {SSL} šab ~ šhaf ~ šōf ~ sāf 'foot, leg', Jb šef 'trace, track; foot under the ankle', Mh šaf 'trace, track', Hrs šēf 'foot, footprint' ¶ Sd. 1214, Jo. J 246, Jo. M 373, Jo. H 119, L LS 424, SSL LSNP 1472, SSL CLS 97, MiK I #1.269 (S \*šayp-; (S \*šayp-; + err. Grg čämba ~ čämbä 'sole of foot as measure' [in fact loans from C]) || ?C: Ag \*čāp-/\*čānp- > Bln {R} šāf-ā, pl. šāf 'sandal', 'šānfī 'sole of foot, sandal', Xm {R} çabā 'foot, heel, sandal', Km {CR} šambā 'sandal, shoe' → Grg En/Gt čämba, Grg Ed čämbä 'sole of foot serving as measure' ¶ AD SF 12O-1, R WB 317, 326, L EDG III 173 || A: Tg \*°çebə 'heel (?)' > Ewk ç3w3 'prop' (of a stick supporting a kettle suspended over the fire) ¶ STM II 419 || U: FU (+ ext.) \*ś̄sewća 'part of the leg' > Lp N čæw'ža, čæw'že 'hock of reindeer or other quadruped', 'calcaneus, the heel-bone of reindeer' || pOs \*sɔyəñjć ({Hl.} \*săyəñjć) > Os: Ty săywañć 'heel', Kz św̄xəs, O śoxəs 'Hinterseite der Fußwurzel \ des Unterschenkels', Nz śuxəs 'Rückseite des Unter-\\Oberschenkels'; pOs \*s- is evidenced by Os Ty and some other dialects (Kr, Likr, etc.) recorded by Karjalainen, while ś- in Os Kz/Nz/O is due to as. caused by the final -ś ¶ Coll. 75, Stn. D 132O-1, KrT 84O ¶ If this is a valid cognate, FU \*-ća must be considered a sx. ◇ FU \*ś̄ś- for the expected \*č- may be explained by dis. \*ć...ć > \*ś...ć (or \*ś...ć).

**458.** \*čayPn 'vegetation, leaves' > IE: NaIE \*saip- 'thicket', 'hedge' > Gk [Aesch.] αιμός 'copse, thicket' (P: < \*saip-mo-?), Gk αιμασία 'wall (of stones, thorns)' || L saepēs / -iś 'hedge, fence' ¶ P 878, WH II

462-3, Fr. I 39 || HS: SC: Alg {E} *šaba* 'bush, thick undergrowth' || Dhl {To.} *šábu*, {EEN} *šáþu* 'leaf, leaves' (snglt. *šábune*, *šáþune*) || EC: Rn {PG} *séb*, Arr {Hw.} *séb* 'leaf'; HEC: Ged {Hd.} *šafa*, Hd/Qbn {OS ← ?} *šäf-ita* 'leaf', ? Sd {Gs.} *šafinčo* 'branch of the ensete plant' ¶ PG 358, Hw. A 392, Hd. 89, 259, Gs. 298-9, To. D 142, EEN 26, E SC 208 (SC \**šab-* 'foliage, vegetation') || S \*<sup>o</sup>✓*šp<sub>1</sub>?* > Jb C 'untouched \ uncropped grass' ¶ Jo. J 246 || Ch ({AD}) \*✓*š<sub>2</sub>p* 'leaf, leaves') > WCh {Stl.} \**capi* > Hs *šáfi* 'one side of a leaf (of paper), one side of a writing-board \ of a slate' | NrBc {Tk.} \**šap-*~\**šip-* 'leaf' > {Sk.}: My, Kry *šipí*, Sir *šápí* leaf, Mbr *šípuzú* 'leaf of corn-plant' || CCh: Bnn {ChL} *šábàna*, ZmB {Sa. in ChC} *šápá*, {ChL} *šab*, ZmD {KNC} *šáp*, Lame {ChL} *šáb*, LamP *šab*, Mdr {Mk.} *šapa* 'leaf' ¶ AD ChCS #44, JS 16O-1, Stl. ZCh 197 [#489] (pZCh \**capi* 'leaf'), Abr. H 797, Ba. 921, ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 28, KNC 25, Tk. NB 179 ¶ On the alt. (and less plausible) et. of Dhl *šábu* and the Ch √ *see* s.v. N \**le'?*<sup>?</sup> *äpa* 'leaf, foliage' ¶ OS #54O, #2318 (\**šab-* 'plant') || D (in SD only) \**cappo* (actually \**s-*) 'leaf, foliage' > Ml *cappu* 'leaf', Tm *cappal*, *cuppi* 'twigs', *uvval(a)* 'twigs and sprays, dried leaves', Kt *cop* 'broth made of plants, plants used in making broth', Kn *sappu*, *soppu* 'green leaves of plants, foliage', Kdg *cappala* 'leaf', Tu *coppu*, 'soppu 'leaf, foliage, greens' ¶ D #2673 ◇ Hardly here (↔ Blz.) IE \**sop-* 'cane' (Mn. 1247) and S \*✓*šbb* 'grow, grow up' (actually 'ascend, climb') (> Ar √ *šbb* 'grow, grow up', *šubb-* 'jeunesse'), Mh √ *šbb* 'climb, grow up') ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #98c and ≈ Blz. DA 16O [#85] (suggested to add D).

**459.** \**cip<sub>1</sub>n<sub>2</sub>æ* (= \**cib<sub>1</sub>n<sub>2</sub>æ*?) 'eat one's fill, feed to satiety' > HS: pS \*✓*šb<sub>1</sub>* 'have eaten one's fill, be sated' > BHb שָׁבֵן ✓*šb<sub>1</sub>* G id., 'have\get enough of...', adj. שָׁבֵן *šá'bēa* 'satt'), שָׁבָן 'satiation', Ug ✓*šb<sub>1</sub>* G, OA \_\_ *šb<sub>1</sub>* (=✓*šb<sub>1</sub>*), IA ✓*šb<sub>1</sub>* שָׁבָן (traditional spelling for ✓*šb<sub>1</sub>*) (DR KAI ##222-3), SmA ✓*šb<sub>1</sub>* G 'be sated', Sr ✓*šb<sub>1</sub>*, Ar شَبَعَ ✓*šb<sub>1</sub>* (pf. *šabiya*) id., JA שָׁבַע ~ שָׁבָן ~ ✓*šb<sub>1</sub>* 'be satiated\ satisfied', Sb Sh †ob\_e h̄šb<sub>1</sub> v. 'give in abundance', Sb, Hdr {MA}, Qt {Rk.} mob\_ šb<sub>1</sub>-m 'abundantly, to satiety', Mn {MA} Tob\_ šb<sub>1</sub>t 'satisfaction', Mh pf. šib<sub>1</sub>a, sbjn. үзс̄'бε(?), Hrs pf. šōba, sbjn. үзс̄'бз?, Jb C pf. šēn, sbjn. үзс̄'бən, Sq pf. 'šebara v. 'be satisfied', Ak: A (inf.) շաբան, B չըլն(մ) v. 'be satisfied (satt sein)' ¶ KB 1214-6, KBR 1302-4, DR KAI ##222-3, A #2579, OLS 428, Js. 1516, Sl. 1188, Tal 561-2, BK I 1184-5, BGMR 131, MA 85, Rk. 164, Sd. 1207, MiK I #2.65

|| ECh: Ch: Ke {Eb.} sépé 'sättigen' ¶ Eb. 91 || IE \*speh- 'be sated' ({EI} \*speh<sub>1</sub>-, \*speh<sub>1</sub>(i)- 'be satisfied, be filled, thrive; be sated, prosper') > Ht {Pv., Ts.} ispāi- / ispiya- 'eat to satiety, be filled, get full' (ispāi < stative pf. \*spoħye-, 3p ispiyanzi < \*spħ'y-onti) || NaIE \*sp(h)ej- /\*spī- and \*spħe-//\*spħa- 'be filled \ sated, prosper' (× N \*pūH|QyΔ (= \*pūgyΔ?) 'to boil, to get ready' [food], 'to ripen', q.v. ffd.) > OI ✓ sphā-: prs. sphāyatē 'grows fat, increases (wird feist, nimmt zu)', Oss D äfsadun, Oss I äfsadən v. 'eat to satiety', KhS spata- 'sated (gesättig, satt)', spai- v. 'be rich, abundant, satisfied' ¶ Ts. W 3O, Fr. HW 429, Pv. I-II 429-3, Pv. EA 91-2, WP II 68O, P 983, EI 458, 500, M K III 541-2, M E II 776-7, Ab. I 479-8O, Bai. 437, Ho. 312, Vs. III 734, StSS 62O, Frn. 866, WH II 375-6, 573-4 || A: NaT \*°çib- > OT {DTS, absent in Cl.} čiväg 'nutritiousness, satiety', {Cl., DTS} čivgin n.\adj. 'fattening (food)', čivginlen- v. 'be nourishing for the body' ¶ Cl. 396-7, DTS 147 || ?σ Tg \*sabulli- 'treat (a guest with food)' > Neg sawl̥-, Orc sawli- ~ sauli-, Ud sauli-, Ul saul̥/u-, Nn saolt̥- id. ¶ STM II 52) ◇ If the Tg stem is adduced and the T one is not, the N rec. must be ≈ \*ś'a'Pra. Hardly here Sv žūb- 'fill one's mouth with food' (most probably from N \*žūwΔ 'to eat, to taste', q.v.), unless we can explain the voiced Sv ž- (for the expected č-, if the Sv word belongs here) ◇ If the accurate N rec. is \*čibuΔ, the IE cns. \*p is due to as. (\*\*sb- > \*sp-).

**460.** \*čä[ž]urΔ 'the calf of the leg, shank' > IE \*seHwr-ΔH > NaIE {P} \*sōurā 'the calf of the leg' > Gk Hm ἄωροι '(those) without calves' (ἄωροι πόθες 'legs without calves'), Gk I ὕρη 'part of a sacrifice animal', 'the calf of the leg' || L sūra 'the calf of the leg' ¶ P 98O, WH II 632, F I 2O5 || HS: mt. SES \*✓śr̥i > Mh {Jo.} śśrayn 'leg', {Jahn} śrayn 'shank' ('Unterschenkel'), Sq {Jo.} 'śśr̥iśhān 'legs' ¶ Jo. M 382, Jahn 242, Nak. 9 [#8O] (Mh śrayn 'leg, foot') || U: FU \*čäyΔrΔ 'shin, forearm' > F sääri 'shank, shin, leg, calf (of the leg)', Es sääär 'shank, shin, the leg below the knee' | pMr {Ker.} \*śäyärə > Er piíge-šejeŕks, Mk piígə-śäjär 'the lower part of the leg' (piíge, piígə means 'leg'), Er ked-šejeŕks, Mk käd-śäjärks 'forearm' (ked, käd means 'arm') | Prm \*čä|ō|r > Z kok-ćzr 'shank' (kok- means 'leg') (× FU \*śarΔ 'stalk' > Z I ćzr 'stalk of plants'). LG reconstructs here \*čär, but in the absence of Vt and Yz data no unequivocal rec. of the pPrm vw. is justified ¶ UEW 612, LG 311, Raun EKET 167, Ker. II 134.

**461.** \*Čuřr<sup>Δ</sup> 'vulva, vagina' > K \*čur- id. > Mg, Lz čuri id., possibly also G cur-i 'udder', cur-i-tavi 'nipple' (x N \*čär<sup>Δ</sup> 'female breast, udder') || HS: S \*°✓šir > Ar pašar, pl. šuř- 'pubis (surtout de la femme), bord du vagin' (x S \*šir 'hair' < N \*šäyoy<sub>i</sub>R<sup>Δ</sup> 'hair') || BK I 1237-9 || B: Ah təsəssərut 'vagina of a female animal' || Fc. 165O || D \*č|kūř- ~ \*č|kūtt- (< \*\*č|kūř-t-) 'private parts' > Kui suti 'female urinal passage', Tm cūřu 'anus', cūttu id., 'private parts', Ml cūttu 'testicles, penis' || D #2724.

**462.** \*ČUř<sup>Δ</sup> (or \*ČUry|p<sup>Δ</sup>?) 'to twist, to twine' > K \*čar- id. > Sv li-ňčr-e id. ('drehen, winden, zwirnen'), G (da-)car- v. 'unbraid, untwine (a rope)', {Chx.} 'aufdröseln, aufdrehen (Strick)' || FS K 407, Fn. KW-3 51, Chx. 1976, 2048 || HS: SS \*°✓šry > Gz ✓šry G (pf. šaraya) v. 'weave, spin', Tgy ✓šry (pf. šerayā) v. 'weave' || L G 536 || U: FU \*°čor<sub>l</sub>Δ<sub>k</sub>Δ > ObU \*čärak 'fest gedreht, fest gebunden (Schnur)' > pVg \*čarkā ~ \*čirkā 'fest gebunden (Schnur)' > Vg: T čarkā, LK šírkā, MK/UK šorkā, P širkā id.; pOs \*čärak 'fest gedreht' > Os: Ty \*čärəq, Nz šörəx id. || Ht. 131 [#85] || D: [1] \*č|kuř-, {GS} \*čuř- v. 'whirl, spin, move round' > Tm cūřal v. 'whirl, spin, rotate', Ml cūřali 'whirling', cūřal 'revolving', cūřa 'round about', Kt čuļy 'whirlpool in river', Kn tořal v. 'move round, turn round', Tu sulipini, sulipuni 'to whirl, to go round', ? Tl suđi a whirl, circle', suđiyu v. 'turn round', Kui duři 'rolling, writhing' || D #2698 (a), Km. 501 (proposes a different et. for Tl suđiyu), GS 172 [#431], 53 [#134] || and/or ? [2] ? \*kūř- (= {Pf.} \*kūř-/\*čūř-) v. 'wind spirally, roll, rotate' > Tm cūři v. 'be spiral as conch, whirl round', Ml curuluka v. 'be rolled up', cūřtuka v. 'roll up', Td tu·]- v. 'be rolled up', Kt čurñ- v. 'lie in coils (snake, rope)', Kn suruťu, suruňtu vi. 'coil, roll up', Kdg turid- v. 'be rolled up', turit- vt. 'roll up', Tu surali, suruli 'coil, roll of sth.', Prj čird- v. 'turn', Gdb sirl- v. 'revolve, rotate', Gnd surund- v. 'roll', Krx kūř- v. 'tie a sari round one's waist', Mlt kuřge v. 'roll up', Brh kūruŋ id. || D #2684, Pf. 66-7, Em. DS 365 || By D \*č (= {GS} \*k<sup>j</sup>) we denote a phoneme yielding č in SD, CD, but k in Krx, Mlt, and Brh (for discussion / Em. DS 363-9, GS 203-7) ◇ If the D cognate is \*č|kuř-, the N rec. is \*ČUř<sup>Δ</sup>, but if it is \*kūř- (a less plausible alt.), we have to rec. N \*ČUry|p<sup>Δ</sup> because D \*-ř- represents N \*r-clusters, and the only N cnss. compatible with the S ev. are \*y, \*h, and \*?.

**463.** <sup>2</sup> \***čat** **▽** 'to separate, to scatter' > **HS:** S <sup>°\*</sup>✓ **štt** > Ar ✓ **štt** *G v.* 'separate, disperse' ¶ BK I 1189 || **IE** {El} \***(s)ked-** 'scatter' > NaIE \***(s)k(ʰ)ed-** v. 'scatter, disperse' > Gk **σκεδάννυμι** 'I scatter, disperse' || AS {Skeat} **scaterian** 'to scatter, to squander', {Ho.} **tosčeacerian** ({Ho.} to read: **-terian**) 'zerstreuen' > ME **scateren** 'to scatter' > NE **scatter**; possible lexical interaction with the source of ME **schetteren** 'to scatter, to disperse' and NE **shatter** (etymological doublets of **scatter**??) || Tc: A **kät-**, **kat-** 'répandre, jeter, disséminer', B {Wn.} **kät-**, **kat-**, **śät-** id., {Ad.} **kät-** 'strew (to some purpose), sow' ¶ P 918-9 (does not distinguish this ✓ from NaIE \***sk(ʰ)ed-/\*skend-** < N \***čND<sub>L</sub>N<sub>q</sub>N** ~ \***čNqND<sub>L</sub>N** 'to tear, to split' [q.v.]), EI 500, F II 721, Wn. 211, Ad. 157, Ad. H 18, 47, Skeat 539, 554, Ho. 274, HDEL 1160.

**464.** \***či<sub>L</sub>w<sub>J</sub>t** **▽** (or \***čüt** **▽**?) 'to split' > **K:** GZ \***čwet-/\*čwit-** v. 'cut, chop' (× N \***čodh** **▽** 'break [esp. a body part], strike') > OG **čina-dacuet-/-cwit-** v. 'circumcise'-, da-**cwet** id. (Ges. 17.24, Lev. 12.3), Lz **čit-** v. 'cut, chop' (e.g. **diška p-čit-up** 'I chop wood') ¶ FS K 410, Ser. 211, DCh. 1682, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 271-2 (OG **čwet-/cwit-** 'circumcise' ← 'wear out') || **HS:** WS (+ext.) \*✓ **štr** *G* 'split, tear' > BHb ✓ **štr** *N* (pf. **ništar**) 'burst open' (of ulcers, boils), Ar ✓ **štr** *G* 'cut, split', IA ✓ **štr** 'einbrechen', Gz ✓ **štr** *G* 'rend, tear to pieces' ¶ GB 795, KBR 1363-4, BK I 1206, LG 537 || **IE:** NaIE \***(s)ked-** ~ \***skejd-** (/ with a nasal infix: \***(s)kend-**) 'split' (× N \***čND<sub>L</sub>N<sub>q</sub>N** ~ \***čNqND<sub>L</sub>N** 'to tear, to split' [q.v.]): [1] \***(s)ked- / (s)kend-** > OI [Dhat.] **skhadatē** 'splits' (< \***skhnd-**?) [M: "fraglich"], Av **sčandayeiti** 'breaks to pieces, destroys', **skand-** 'break', NPrs **-نکن** **šekän-** vt., vi. 'break' (inf. **šekästän**), KhS **hatcañ-** 'break' (< \***fra-sčanday-**) || Arm **շերտ** **šert** 'splinter of wood, chip' (< \***skhedri**) || pAl {O} \***čenya** > Al {Hamp} **čanj**, **čaj**, {O} **čaj** (aor. **čava**) 'split, cleave, smash' || Lt **skedervā**, **skederlā** 'splinter', Ltv **Δ šķēdērns** 'abgespaltenes Stück' | Sl \***skqdъ** > OCS **сқждъ** **skqdъ** (renders Gk **ἐνδεῆς**) 'too small quantity, scantiness', adv. **πο(-)сқждоу** **po-skqdū** 'little (wenig)', **сқждо** 'little (wenig), scanty, scantily', R 'скуд-н-ый', Blg **о'скъден**, ScR **oškudan** 'scanty, poor' || [2] \***skejd-** v. 'split' > OI ✓ **chid-** (3s prs. **chi'natti**, **chindati**, caus. **chēdayati**) 'cut off/through, hew, chop, split', Av **saēd-** v. 'split', Blc **sindag** id. || Arm **ցնես** **čtem** 'rub the skin off, scratch, bruise' || Gk **σχίζω** 'split, cleave' || L **scindo** / **scīdī** / **scissum** v. 'cut, rend,

tear asunder, split' || MBr {Ern.} *squegaff* 'to cut', *skigea*, *ski ja* 'découper, déchiqueter', Br *skejañ* 'couper, tailler, inciser' || Gt *skaidan*, OSx *skêthan*, AS *scéadan*, OHG *sceidan*, NHG, Dt *scheiden* 'to separate' || Lt *skied-* (inf. *skiesti*, 1s prs. *skiedžiu*) 'separate (a fiber from a flax stalk \ from a thread)', ? Lt *kisti* (1s prs. *kindū*, p. *kidaū*) 'to get worn out' ¶ P 918-9 (does not distinguish IE \*(s)ked- 'split' from the paronymous √ \*-(s)k(h)ed- 'scatter', F N \***čat**▽ 'to separate, to scatter'), P 919-21, Hamp AIEW 148, O 49, M K III 506-7, M E II 561, Horn 175, BM 314, Bai. 449, F II 838-40, Slt. 269, Ern. 645, Hm. 727, Frn. 233, 259, 799, 805-6, StSS 483, 608, Vs. III 661, Wn. E-5 464-5, Fs. 427, KM 640-1, Kb. 872, ≈ Ho. 272, Ho. S 66, HDEL 1191, Skeat 554 || D \***čit**▽ ({§GS} \*c|č-) v. 'harm, crush' > Tm *citai* 'be injured, spoiled, be broken', Tl *cituku*, *ciduku*, *cidiyu* 'be crushed\broken\smashed', Knd *sidli-* 'be crushed (as an overripe fruit)', Mlt *cithge* v. 'squeeze out the seed or stone from a fruit' ¶ D #2526, Km. 354-5 ◇ D \*-t- (prob. from postcons. N \*t, unlike D \*-t- < intervoc. N \*-t-) and GZ \*w suggest the presence of \*w in the N etymon ◇ IE \*k in \*(s)ked- ~ \*skejd- belongs to the heritage of N \*čotqnd▽ ◇ An alt. conjecture: two N words: [1] N \*č|čot▽ 'split' > GZ \*čwet- / \*čwit-, NaIE \*sk<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub>ed-/\*sk<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub>end-, D (in SD) \*čotč- v. 'beat\strike (with fingers)' (> Tm *coṭtu* v. 'strike with knuckles, tap gently [the udder of a goat for inducing the free flow of milk]', v. 'beat, hit, peck [as a crow]', Ml *coṭču* a slap on the head', *coṭčuka* v. 'rap with the knuckles, knock with the fingers [esp. on the head]', Tu *sōnčuni* v. 'box with knuckles of the fingers' ¶ D #2836) and possibly amb WS \*✓ ſtr (if the latter belongs here, the N etymon has an initial \*č-), [2] N \*č|č|čit▽ (or \*čith▽?) 'split, crush' > NaIE \*skejd-, D \*čit▽- v. 'harm, crush', and possibly S \*°✓ ſdh (> Ar ✓ ſdh 'break [the head]'); D \*-t- (rather than \*-t-, the reg. reflex of the N intervoc. \*-t-) may go back to a cns. cluster, but the voiced S \*d has no explanation.

**465. \*ča|o't'▽** 'deviate from the right path, incline, be lame\cripple' > K \*°č|cet- > G *cet-* 'unbesonnen handeln', *cet-i* 'unbesonnen, leichtfertig' ¶ Chx. 1991-2, DCh. 1591 || HS: WS \*✓ ſty 'deviate from the right path' > BHb ✓ ſty|w (pf. תְּבַשֵּׁתָה ſā'ṭā, ip. 2m/3f תְּבַשֵּׁתָה ti-ſ̥iṭē, ip. 3m תְּבַשֵּׁתִי ſeṣṭ(a)) id., MHb ✓ ſty (pf. תְּבַשֵּׁתָ ſā'ṭā), JA pf. תְּבַשֵּׁתָ ſā'ṭā ~ תְּבַשֵּׁתָ ſā'ṭā, JEA ✓ ſty G 'deviate', SmA ✓ ſty G 'turn aside\away', Sr

✓ *s̄t̄w* (pf. **لَمْسَةٌ سَأْتَهَا**) 'deflexit, aberravit', Md ✓ *s̄t̄?* *G* 'turn aside, deflect, lead astray', Gz d. ✓ *t-ṣ̄t̄y* (pf. *taṣ̄at̄ya*) 'deviate from the right path, be bent, lean to one side', *ṣ̄at̄yat̄* 'misleading', Ar *μ* ✓ *š̄tt̄* (pf. **لَمْسَةٌ شَأْتَهَا**) 'be(come) far off' (← \*'go beyond the due distance'), 'go beyond the due bounds in offering a th. for sale and demanding a price for it' ¶ KB 1227, GB 782, Js. 972, Sl. 798, Br. 467, Tal 58O-1, DM 323, Ln. 1548, LG 578 || U: FV \**ćatt̄* 'limp, be lame' > Prm \**ćot̄-* (= {LG} \**ćōt̄-*) id. > Z *чот-* *ćot̄-*, Vt *чут-* *ćut-* id. | Chr E {MRS} *чa'taň*, Chr Uf {Ü} *чатан* 'a lame person, cripple' (belongs here if Ч = ĉ) ¶ ≈ UEW 611 (\**ćat̄*, although Chr -t̄- and Prm \*-t̄- point to \*-tt̄-), MRS 241, Ü 668, LG 31O || D: [1] D (in SD) \**ć̄kott̄-* ({§GS} \**c̄-*?) 'lame' > Tm *cotti* 'lameness, crippledom; lame person', Ml *cotti-kai* 'withered hand', Kt *ćot̄* 'deep depression on the arm where rope\chain has been tied', *ćot̄ gay* 'one arm smaller than the other' (sc. 'is withered'), Kn *cottu*, *sottu* 'crooked(ness)', *cotta*, *sotta* 'a male with crooked\crippled limbs', *cotti*, *sotti* 'a woman with crippled limbs'; [2] (less certain) D \**ćoṭṭ̄-* ({§GS} \**ć-*?) 'crooked, lame' > Tm *coṭṭai* 'crookedness, bend as in the sheath of a sword', Ml *caṭṭu* 'lameness', *caṭṭa* 'person with bent feet, lame', Kn *cotta*, *coṭṭi*, *coṭṭu*, *soṭṭa*, *soṭṭu* 'crooked(ness)', Tu *coṭṭu*, *cotta*, *sotta* 'handless, maimed in the hand', Krg *ćonṭe* 'lame person', Tl *cotta*, *sotta* 'lame(ness), crooked(ness)', Gdb m. *soṭaṭond* / f.\ntr. *soṭiṭe*, Png *ćoṭa*, Ku *sōti* ≈ *sotta*, *soto* ≈ *soṭā* 'lame', Brh *ćōṭ* 'crooked' ¶ D #2838 ¶ In D \**ćoṭṭ̄-* the unexpected cns. \*-t̄t̄- is probably due to a prehistoric sx. or to contamination with a different word.

**466.** \**ć̄t̄w̄* 'meat' > HS: Ch: WCh: NrBc: Kry {Sk.} *śíwì*, My {Sk.} *śíwiyá*, P' *šúwí*, Sir *ṣ̄uyí*, {IL} \**śúwì*, Wrj {Sk.} *śūnà*, {IL} *śúnà*, Cg {Sk.} *śún* 'meat, animal' | SBC: Kir {Sh.} *śo*, Tala {Sh.} *śú*, Jm {Grgs.} *śo*, Buli {Sl.} *śū*, Tule {Sh.} *śawò*, Wng {Sh.} *śaù*, Zar {Sh.} *śu*, Bg {Sh.} *sáw* 'meat' | Ngz {Sch.} *śùwáj* (pl. *śùwàwín*) 'meat, animal' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} *żù*, Hona {Mk.} *śua* 'meat' | HgNk/FIK {ChL} *ṣ̄t̄i* id. | Lmn {Mk.} *śui* id. | Mdr {ChL} *x̄wà*, {Mk.} *ḥȳuwā*, Glv {Rp.} *śùw*, {ChL} *śuwà*, Gdf {IL} *śúwʌ*, Dgh {IL} *śúwè*, Ngs {IL} *śz̄bó* id. | Mtk {Sb.} *żúwēd* 'meat', MfG {Ba.} *áśaw*, *śaw* 'viande; chair animale (viande ou poisson)', pMM {Ro.} \**śaw* > Mkt {Ro.} *śz̄b*, Myn {Ro.} *āśō*, Vm/Zlg {Ro.} *śùwe/a* 'meat', Mada {BaB} *ośśō* 'meat, flesh' | Gdr {Mch.} *śwə* 'meat' | Ktk {Bou.} *śù*,

{Mch.} **šu**, **šwā** id. ¶ JI II 232-3, JS II 177 (pCh \*<sup>h</sup>̄w̄- 'meat'), ≈ Nw. ChCR 29 [#83] (pCh \*hləw̄- = \*š̄i|w̄- 'meat, animal'; does not distinguish this root from WCh {Stl.} \*luw̄ 'animal, meat'), Stl. ZCh 200 [#515] (WCh. \*čaw̄'āy 'meat'), Sk. NB 31, Sch. DN 163, Ro. 253 [#278], 290 [#459], Ba. MG II 78, BaB 163 || C: Bj {R} sə?, {Rop.} šā 'meat' || EC \*sō?- 'meat' > Or fō-ni, Kns {Bl.} sōw̄-ā, Gdl {Ss.} sō?-a  $\ddot{a}$  soh-a, Msl sōh-ā, Gato, Bss sō?-a, Bs sō, Dsn {To.} sō, Elm sōw̄?, Arr {Hw.} sō? 'meat' ¶ R WBd 208, Rop. 235, Bl. 205, Ss. PEC 50, 52, To. DL 526, Hw. A 394 || possibly (not certainly) S \*šay- 'sheep' > BHb **שֶׂה** šē (+ppa.: **שְׁאֵלָעַת** ~ **שְׁאֵלָה** še'a'y-ēhū 'his sheep'), Ph, Ug š, OA š?t, Ar šā?- (coll.), sglt. ša?t- ~ šahat-, Sb šh, Ak fOB šām, šā?u, Ak mA šābu 'sheep' ¶ KB 1221-2, HJ 1094-5, A #2561, OLS 424, Ln. 1623-4, BGMR 132, Sd. 1255, CAD /3 417 || | E: Ht {Ts.} zuwā 'food, bread' ¶ Ts. W 111 || | D \*č̄u<sup>v</sup>- 'flesh, meat' > Brh sū, Gnd savi  $\ddot{a}$  sawvi  $\ddot{a}$  sawwi  $\ddot{a}$  sāwi, ?φ Tm tū, tūvu, tu(v)vai id., ?φ Ml tuva 'raw flesh' ¶ D #3373 || See also E: MEl, NEI šuhi (unknown meaning, but possibly connected with 'sheep': it is used after the word for 'sheep': 26 hi-dū-me šu-hi '26 sheep šu-hi') ¶ HK 1176†◇ MfG {Ba.} ášaw 'viande; chair animale (viande ou poisson)', Myn {Ro.} ášō 'meat', Mada {BaB} oš̄šō 'meat, flesh' may be alternatively equated with NOM ≈ \*ač-'meat' (> Bnc {Wnd.} áč̄, Jnj {Wnd.} áš̄a, WI {LmS} ašuwa, etc. 'meat' [see LmS 298-9]), with Aw {LmS} əšš 'meat, flesh' and with T \*äçkü 'goat' (Cl. 24) ◇ The N lr. \*? is suggested by Ngs and Mkt -b- (< \*-w?-) and by EC \*-?- . Alternatively, a N lr. \*-h- may underly Ar, Gdl, and Msl -h- and Sb h. Ht z- [c-] suggests that the N initial cns. was an affricate (\*č̄- rather than \*š̄-) ◇ Blz. DA 152 [#2] (D, HS, E).

**467.** <sub>2</sub> \*č̄vχv 'to burn' (trans.) > K \*č̄χ- v. 'burn, make hot', 'scorch' (of the sun) > Sv šχ-, šiχ- vt., vi. 'burn', UB/LB msd. {TK, GP} li-šχ-i vt. 'burn', OG, G čχ- v. 'make hot, scorch' (of the sun) (Marc 4.6), 'be hot' (of hot weather), Mg d. čχana- 'heat, hot weather', Lz čχ-v. 'be hot' (of weather), 'roast', Sv šχ-, šiχ- 'burn' ¶ K 231, K<sup>2</sup> 274-5, FS K 415-6, TK 467, GP 180 || | HS: C {E} \*šah<sub>1</sub>a<sub>2</sub>w<sub>3</sub>- vt. 'burn' > Bj -luw pcv. 'burn, burn up, light' (1s: p. a'luw, pcpf. 'īluw, prs. an'līū; prtc. 'luwā), {Rop.} -liw vt. 'burn', rf. -lau 'be burnt', 'burn' (intr.) (× N \*LahPv 'flame; to burn, to shine'?) || Ag {E} \*läx- 'fire' > Aw leg id. || Dhl {To.} šah- v. 'put on fire', {EEN} šah- 'burn up' || C b> Mb -

šahá?iža vt. 'burn', -šahá vi. 'burn' ¶ E PC #567, R WBd 16O, Rop. 213, E SC 21O (reconstructs SC \*šah- vt. 'burn' on the basis of Dhl and Ma'a), EEN 26, To. D 142.

**468.** \*č<sup>2</sup>ŋy<sub>1</sub>č<sub>2</sub> 'girl, (younger) sister' > K \*ččica > G Gr ca (voc. ca-  
v!), cica 'girl' ¶ The form cica is on the analogy of G cicav- 'liebevoll  
ansehen' or due to ideophonic associations (Ll.?) ¶ Chx. 1972, 2011 ||  
IE: NaIE \*sey<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>- 'sister' > BS1 \*sey- > Lt (Δ?) {Otk.} séja ~ séja id. ||  
SCr séja id. end ¶ Otk. DME 195, Tls. 539 || U: FU \*č<sup>2</sup>ŋy<sup>2</sup> 'sister' > Prm  
\*čoy > Z чой čoy id., Z I čojko id. (end; -ko is an endearment sx.) || ? F  
sikko, Krl čikko, Vp čika 'sister' end; BF \*-kkō is an diminutive sx. ¶  
The adduction of BF is valid unless these BF words are a hyporistic  
contraction from \*sisar-ko, a diminutive from \*sisar 'sister' (a BF loan  
from Baltic) ¶ LG 308-9, Wc. FUAA 254 || HS: S \*v<sup>2</sup> ſy<sup>1</sup>w<sup>2</sup> > Ar شاعر  
šār-at- (< \*šayař-at-?) 'woman, wife' (unless derived from the verb  
✓ šyř 'accompany').

**469.** <sub>2</sub> \*čAř<sup>2</sup> 'be lost, die' > HS: S \*v(-)šāř- > Ar \*-đūř- G 'perish',  
'be lost, led astray' (of a thing) ¶ BK II 47, Hv. 423 || D \*ččkā- ({GS} \*s-)  
'die (sterben)' > Tm cā-, Ml cāka- / p. catt- id., Kt kāř čāv 'person  
who dies somewhere so that his body is not found' (kāř 'jungle'), Tf  
soy-, Kn sāy, Kdg čā] (p. catt-), Tu saipi-, Tl caccu / cā- / cāv-,  
Png, Mnd, Ku hā-, Prj čay-, Gnd say- ~ čay- ~ sā-, Knd sā-, Kui sāva (p.  
sāt-), Krx xepē-na / kečas, Mlt keye / kec-, Brh kahiň 'die' ¶ D #2426,  
Em. \*C 366.

**470.** \*č<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>?b<sup>2</sup> '⟨⟩ fish' > HS: S \*v<sup>2</sup> ſ<sup>1</sup>b > Ar ضَبْطَنْجِيَّبَ {Fr., BK}  
'animal living in water, animal marinum', {Bel.} 'fish' ¶ Fr. III 1, BK II 1,  
Bel. 428 || ? NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} čopā 'fish' ¶ Blz. OM #173, Wdk. BJ 12O  
|| ? Eg G ȝbħ 'ein Gewässer mit dem Netz) durchfischen', ȝbħ.w '⟨⟩  
Fischer', ?? Eg Md ȝdħ '⟨⟩ fish' ¶ EG V 568, 633 ¶ ≈ Blz. OM #173  
reconstructs HS \*čabu?/ř 'water creature' > NrOm, SC (Brn čambeřu,  
Alg čembereřu 'frog'), WCh (Hs čumbē 'in frog'), and S; but the SC and WCh  
words can be better explained as belonging to HS {OS} \*čamb- 'lizard,  
frog' (see OS #581) || A: T \*čapak (> \*čabaq ~ \*čapaq) '⟨⟩ small  
sweetwater fish' (= 'Cyprinidae'? ) > OT [MhK] čabaq '⟨⟩ small  
sweetwater fish', Chg [San.] čabak 'in small fish', Tk čapak, Az čapag,  
Qq šabaq, CrTt čapaq 'bream (Abramis)', Tkm čapaq, Nog šabaq 'Caspian  
roach', Uz čavaq 'roach', Qmq, Kr čabaq 'fish', Qzq šabaq balıq {Sht.}  
'bream, small fry', {MM} 'small fish (рыбешки)', VTt čabak šabaq, Bsh

sabaq 'roach (плотва, сорожка)', Qrg čabaq '(all kinds of) small fish', QK {B} čabaq 'small fish, all kinds of Cyprinidae fish', Alt/Tel {Rl.} čabaq '(:, ) small fish', StAlt čabaq 'чебак (=: small fish)', Tv šavaya 'small fish', Chv šub\_ax ~ šob\_ax 'bream' ¶ TL 177, Cl. 395, Dr. TM III #1061, DTS 135, KumRS 351, Sht. 227, MM 385, KRPS 619, Jud. 831, B DLT 219, Rl. III 1928, BT 174, Jeg. 219 || D \*čopp- '(:, ) fish or sim.' > Krx {Hahn} coppō 'young frogs', coppō injō 'prawn fish' (injō 'fish'), Mlt {Drs.} cope-mínu 'cuttlefish' (mínu means 'fish'), ?? D (in McTm) \*čamp- > Tm campai 'fish', Ml campa 'a fish, boat-load of fishes' ¶ D ##2348, ≈ 2848, Hahn KD 33, 69 ◇ The vl. \*-p- in pT and the glottalized p in Ym are due to the infl. of N \*ʔ, sc. N \*-ʔb- > T \*-p (> -p-/b-), Ym p. D \*o (rather than \*a) may be due to the assimilating infl. of \*p.

**471.** 2 \*čab<sub>1</sub>νʔ<sub>2</sub>ν 'war', 'warriors, host' > HS: S \*✓§b? v. 'make war, fight' > BHb ✓çb? G, Sb ✓§b?, Gz ✓§b? G ~ (late spelling) ✓§b? G id., Ak ✓§b? G (inf. §abū) 'zu Felde ziehen'; the n. act. ('war' > 'host') is represented in BHb נַבָּצָן çā'bā 'military men, troops', Ug {A} §b? 'troops, army' (not mentioned in OLS!), Sb §b? 'military operation, battle', Gz §ab? 'war', Ak §abu 'people, soldiers, army'; Cn → Eg N զա-բի-րի, զա-բի<sub>2</sub>-րս (= \*čabi<sub>1</sub>u) 'troops, army' ¶ KBR 994-7, KB 933-5, A #2299, L G 544-5, BGMR 40, EG V 562, Hoch #573 || A: Tg \*čab<sub>1</sub>u<sub>2</sub>ka 'army, war' > Neg çawxa ~ çauxa, Nn čaoxa, Ul čauxa id., Sln çɔ'ra, Orc čauxa, Ud {Krm.} čawa 'army', WrMc cooxa 'army, soldier', Jrc {Kiy.} čauxa ežehēi 'military commission' (Gru.: an err. interpretation as 'military official' based on an error in copying the Chn translation) ¶ STM II 402, Krm. 309, Kiy. 112 [#278], Gru. SSJ #278, Md. ChF 138 || T \*čabu<sub>1</sub>ç> OT čabuš 'military commander', Tk çavus 'sergeant, guard'; T → Prs ﺗَاوِشْ čavuš 'Feldgendarm, Hofwächter' ¶ Cl. 309, Dr. TM II #1055, ≈ Rs. W 101 (T ↔ Prs) || M \*čayur > WrM {Vld.} coura 'alarm\turmoil of war', HIM {Vld.} cūrā 'war, troubles (civil war), army', Brt sūr 'revolt, war, army' ¶ Vld. 209 || pJ {S} \*tupa-> OJ tupa-mono 'army, weaponry', J: T cùwamono, K/Kg cuwamonó 'soldier' ¶ S QJ #1110, Mr. 558 ¶ DQA ##257 (A \*č'abu 'army, war').

**472.** \*čæb<sub>1</sub>ν 'shoulder' > HS: S \*°§ab<sub>1</sub>ν- > Ar ضَبْعَةً ḥab<sub>1</sub>- 'arm, upper part of the arm', ✓ḥab<sub>1</sub> Gt (pf. ضَطَبَ ظَاهِرًا ḥab<sub>1</sub>taħařa) v. 'wrap oneself in a cloak in covering the left shoulder and leaving the right

uncovered' ¶ Hv. 413 || **U:** FU \*šepä 'neck, nape of the neck' > F *sepä*, F Δ *sepi*, *sevi* 'hochgebogener Vorderteil des Schlittens', Est *seba* id., 'Heunetz, welches das Heufuder umschließt', F *sepalus* 'collar' || pLp {Lr.} \*ćēpēttē ~ \*ćēpōttē 'neck' > Lp: N {N} čābět / čāvě 'neck (whole of) or throat (outside); collar on clothing', L {LLO} tjiepēt, S {Hs.} tjeäbuoh, Kld ča:p:at 'neck' || pMr {Ker.} \*sīwə > Er *сиве* šivé, Mk *сиве* šivä 'collar on a shirt' | Chr L шүй, E {Ps.} šüy, M/B šüy 'neck', Chr H {Ep.} шү 'collar' || pPrm \*š+ in Z *сикötш* ši-kzč 'beads' (lit. 'neck-circle') and in pPrm \*šiyes (< \*š+yes) 'horse's collar' > Z *сийöс* šiyas, Yz ši'yas, Vt *снек* šiyes id.; pPrm \*šu-l- 'neck' (\*-l- is a sx.) > Z *съылі* šili, Z LVc šili, Yz ša'li id., Z štv- in štvuz əšədčtn 'to throw oneself on so.'s neck', Vt *сильсьöр* šił-szr 'nape' (lit. 'hind part of the neck') || ObU \*šip(∇) 'neck' > pVg \*šip > Vg (partially in cds.): LK šip, MK/UK/UL/Ss šip, P šip ~ šip 'collar'; pVg \*šip-lūw 'neck' (\*lūw means 'bone') > LK šiplow, P šipluw ~ šupluw, Ss sipluw 'neck'; pOs \*säpəl 'neck' > Os: V/Vy säwəl, Ty/Y säpət, D/K sápət, Nz sapət, Kz sapət, O sápəl ¶ UEW 473-4, Sm. 548 (FU, FP \*šepä, Ugr \*šepä 'neck'), It. #334, Ht. #6OO (and #352), LG 255, 271, Lr. #13O, Hs. 131O, MRS 74, Ep. 157, Ps. OT 132, SZ 357, Lt. J 181, 183, Ker. II 143-4 || **D** \*ćkapp- ~ \*ć|kepp-, {GS} \*žabb- 'shoulder, outer side of the thigh' > Tl *jabba* id., Tm *cappač* 'hips, haunch, shoulder blade', ceppu 'hip', ? appu 'thigh', Kn *cappe* 'the hip bone', Δ *jabbe* 'outer side of the thigh', Prj žabba, Knd zeba 'shoulder', Gnd aṭa žaba id. ¶ D #2339, GS 9O [#261] ◇ The U cognate and D \*ć|kepp- point to N \*e, while D \*ćapp- (and S \*°šabə-) suggests N \*ä (or \*a).

**473.** \*ć'i'bνψν (or \*ć'i'bνψν) 'hyena' > **HS:** WS \*'šabuñ- ~ \*ša'būñ- id. > PBHb [BS] čā'bōñ, BHb [Mas.] צָבֹעַ čā'būñ 'hyena' (ū for o due to folk et. interpreting the words as a pp. צָבֹעַ čā'būñ 'a dyed one'), pl. čəbōñ-īm, Sr چُنْ چُنْ-ā (?- < ñ- by dis.), Ar ضَبْعَ ڇabuñ- ~ ضَبْعَ ڇabəñ-, Gz ئَبَوْ ڇabəñ 'hyena' ¶ GB 672, KBR 997, L G 147, Br. 42, KB 936 || **A:** Tg \*°ćib|pka > Ewk A čipkakū 'wolf' ¶ STM II 399 || **D** \*ćkivνψki 'hyena, tiger-wolf' or sim. (× N \*šibνψñ 'beast of prey' × N \*žiψñmñgE 'leopard') > Kn sivañgi 'tiger-wolf, hyena', Tl cívägi, cívvañgi, cívvañgi, sivägi, sivañhi, sivvañgi 'hyena', as well as Tm civiñki 'Indian lynx, hunting leopard', Ml civiññi 'hunting leopard' ¶ D #2579 ◇ AD NM #2, ≠ S CNM 14

(rejects the comparison, because in his opinion Ewk čipkaku 'wolf' is a loan from Alt čepke 'wolverine', which is hard to believe because of the enormous distance between the Altay lge. in Southwestern Siberia and the Ayan dialect of Ewk [close to the Pacific coast]), ≠ Vv. AEN 14 (doubts about Ewk čipkaku as a cognate, because it is isolated within A).

**474.** ?σ<sub>2</sub> \*č̥ob̥nRn 'press together, squeeze (as in a fist)' > **HS:** S \*°✓ šbr > Ar **خبر** ✓ گبر (ip. -گbur-) {Ln.} 'make (books, writings) into a bundle; collect together (books, writings), collect together an army for war', {BK} 'assembler, réunir les feuillets en cahiers', ✓ گbr D 'assemble, réunir' ¶ Ln. 1764, BK II 5 || **U:** FU \*šúlo w̥r- > R<sup>P</sup> \*šúlo w̥r- 'squeeze, press together' > Er сюворд-амс šuvorda-, šurda-, Mk šuvarda- 'press together, squeeze (in a fist)' | ?σ Lp S {Hs.} tjuoveridh 'müssen, sollen, dürfen' | Es sőõruta- 'make milk flow (by rubbing the teats)' (< \*'squeeze') | Prm {LG} \*šur- 'collect, gather in one place' > Z сюртчы- vi. šurtči- 'accrete, grow together', 'unite into one group', сюрт- šurt- vt. 'tuck up (подтыкать) (a haystack after stowing the hay)' ¶ LG 275, MF 594-5, Hs. 1349-50, ≠ UEW 487 (FU \*šor̥n 'eng; eng werden, sich verengen' > Prm \*šur-, ObU [{Ht.} \*sär-] > Vg {Ht.} \*särt 'kleiner Sumpf, schmaler Landstreifen' and Os {Ht.} \*särt 'enge Straße zwischen zwei Seen' [see Ht. #601], Hg szorul- 'sich verengen' [and related Hg word with the root szor-]; does not recognize the connection of Prm \*šur- with the abovementioned BF and Lp words).

**475.** ?<sub>2</sub> \*č̥nč̥nq̥n (possibly \*č̥nč̥nq̥n ~ \*č̥nč̥q̥n) 'squeeze, press' > **HS:** SC: Irq če q- 'squeeze', Kz ča k- v. 'pinch' ¶ E SC 360, EK 20 || S \*✓ šy k- 'be narrowed \ straitened \ pressed' (× N \*č̥iK̥n 'tight, narrow, dense', q.v. ffd.) || **K:** [1] GZ t \*če čq- 'press, squeeze' > G če čq- id., {Chx.} '(zer-)drücken, (zer-)quetschen, (zer-)malmen, (zer-)treten', Mg ča čq- {FS, K} 'press, squeeze', [2] GZ t \*čde čq- 'squeeze, press' ('einklemmen, quetschen, drücken') > G {FS} čde čq-, Mg ča čq- id. ¶ K 255, FS K 455, 475, FS E 515-6, 538-9, Chx. 2246 ¶ The initial affricates \*č̥- and \*č̥- are due to as. ◇ Doubtful, because the S cognate has a good alt. etymology ◇ It is possible that both the HS and the K items belong together with N \*č̥iK̥n 'tight, narrow', which in such a case must be reconstructed as \*č̥i q̥n.

**476.** (?<sub>2</sub>) \*č̥nhw̥n 'to burn' (vt.) (→ 'to warm' [of the sun], 'heat of the day') > **K** \*č̥w- vt., vi. 'burn', vt. 'bake, fry' > OG čuw-, G čv- v.

'burn, roast', Mg, Lz č(v)- v. 'burn, be hot' (of the sun), 'fry', Sv -č- (prs. -äči) v. 'bake (up to dryish consistency), scorch', msd. UB li-č-i ॥ Mach. K 29-30, K 250, K DE 359, K<sup>2</sup> 310, Chx. 2144-7, DCh. 1674, Q 392-3, Dn. s.v. -č-, GP 187 || HS: WS \*✓ šħy > Ar ḡiħħ- 'soleil, éclat du soleil', ḡuħħā, ḡuħħayy- 'heure du jour où le soleil est déjà élevé sur l'horizon; soleil', OEth \*ħaħay > Gz (modern pronunciation), Tgr, Tgy ॥ ፩፪፪ ስአሕያ 'sun' ॥ BK II 10, 13, L G 149 || C: SC: Alg {E} čah- v. 'set out to dry'; ??φ Irq {MQK} čēħama 'sunshine, midday sun, warmth', čiħ- v. 'get hot, be at sth.'s highest temperature' ॥ ESC 360 (reconstructs pRt \*čah-), MQK 108 || ? A: NaT \*°čabār > OT čavar 'kindling' (Cl. ED 398); the T √ is ambiguous: it may belong to N \*č̄ N X N 'burn' (trans.) as well.

**477.** <sub>2</sub> \*čōKřE (= \*čogřE?) 'sink to a kneeling\squatting\lying position' > HS: WS \*✓ šgř v. 'lie down' > Ar ضجع ✓ ḥeġġř G 'lay down one's side upon the ground, lie down', 'set' (of a star), Gz ✓ šgř G v. 'make up a bed, lean upon', Tgr saggəřa v. 'lean against, lie down' ॥ Ln. 1769, BK II 9, L G 148-9 || WCh: [1] NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} cakʷat v. 'kneel, squat', Cg {Sk.} žugu id. | ? Ngz {Sch.} žōkúlólok 'in a squatting position' ] [2] ? WCh {Stl.} \*čug- v. 'squat' > Hs čugùnā 'squatted on heels', čugùné 'act of squatting' | pNrBc {Stl.} ✓ cg v. 'sit' > Wrj {Sk.} cəgə, My/Mbr {Sk.} čəgə, Cg {Sk.} čəgu || ECh: Bdy {AlJ} žókòm 'squat (s'accroupir)' ॥ Sk. NB 28, 40, Stl. ZCh 184 [#355], Sch. DN 85, Abr. H 890-1, AlJ 85 ॥ ≈ Sk. HCD 275 ॥ The voiced cns. \*g in S and Ch may be either original or resulting from an as. \*k|ķř > \*gř || A ({SDM} \*č'ok'i): T \*čōk- (= {Md.} \*č'ök'-) v. 'kneel down' (→ 'sink') > OT čōk- v. 'kneel' (esp. of camels), 'sink' (köñülüüm čökti qorqtı 'my heart sank and was afraid'), XwT čōk- v. 'kneel, collapse', Chg čōk- v. 'subside', MQp, Qrg čōk-, StAlt {BT} čög-ödö- v. 'kneel', Tk čōk-, Qzq šōk- v. 'sink, kneel', Tkm čōk-, Qq šōk-, Nog šōk-/šög-, Uz چۈك- čwək- v. 'kneel, sink', Az čōk- v. 'sink', diz čōk- v. 'kneel', ET {Nj.} čōk- v. 'sink', tiz čōk- v. 'kneel', Ggz čōk- v. 'sink', Qmq čōk- v. 'squat, sink', VTt چۈرۈي- šüg- v. 'sink' (of a building), Bsh süg- id., 'kneel', Yk söx- v. 'sink', ? süg-ürüy-, Chv Δ čäk- śək/g- 'sink (as ears of cereals)', Chv čäkäň- śəg\_ňn-, {Md.} śňkňn- v. 'kneel'; T (Tk?) → OG [KC], G čōk- v. 'kneel down (niederknieen)', čōk-i 'knieende Stellung', Mg čōk- v. 'kneel' ॥ Cl. 413-4, Rs. W 117, TkR 738, Sht. 239, TatR 651, Nj. 392, BT 181, Pek. 2312, 2379, Jeg. 205, Fed. II 90-1, Md. 51, Chx. 1944-5, DCh. 1581, KEGL VIII 532 || M: MM [MA] čōke- v. 'squat, make (a camel) squat' (← T?) ॥ Pp. MA 136 || Tg

\*çoko- v. 'squat' > Ewk çoko- v. 'squat', Ul čoqčožo- v. 'squat down, squat', Nn Nh čoqčomla- v. 'squat down', čoqčorāčl- v. 'be squatting' ¶ STM II 4O4 || pJ {S} \*tuku-(m)pap- v. 'squat' > OJ tuku-bap-, J T cukubaid. ¶ S QJ #564 || pKo {S} \*čuk- v. 'squat; bow \ incline' → v. 'die' → \*čuk-yò- v. 'kill' > MKo čuk, NKo čuk- v. 'die', MKo čuskür- v. 'squat', MKo čukyù-, NKo čugì- v. 'kill' ¶ SDM97 55, S AJ 252 [#17], S QK #17, Nam 63, 433-4, MLC 219, 147O, 1494, 15O3-4 ¶ KW 431 (Kl cökö- 'elend sein, mutlos sein' \*÷ the above T √), S AJ 286 [#252] (A \*čöküü), and DQA #329 (A \*čöküi 'to incline, to sink' > T, Tg, Ko, J; shares Rm.'s opinion by unconvincingly adducing M \*čökü- 'elend sein', 'lose all hope').

**478. \*čik̥N** 'tight, narrow, dense' > HS: S \*-šūk̥- ~ \*-šīk̥- v. 'be narrow, tight' (× N \*čik̥N, čik̥N, čik̥ 'squeeze, press'?) > BHb Sh ḡpf. הַצִּיקְ hē-čik̥, ip. יָצִיקְ yā-čik̥ v. 'drive (so.) into a corner, press (so.)', hē-čik̥ 1ə- 'harass, press hard', Ug ✓ šy|w̥k̥ Sh†exert pressure', JA ✓ ūy|w̥k̥ (pf. נַקְנֵךְ nāk̥) v. 'be narrow(ed), pressed', JEA ✓ ūw̥k̥ D 'cause trouble, distress', SmA ✓ ūw̥k̥ G 'be in dread', ūy̥k̥ 'distress', Ar ضيق ✓ ḡyq (pf. ḡāqa, ip. -ḡīq-) v. 'be straitened, be narrow', Mh šayk̥ ({ʃJo.} žayk̥), Jb E šīk̥ ({Jo.} žīk̥) 'narrow, cramped', Hrs šīk̥ ({Jo. HL} žek̥, {Jo. ML} žək̥) 'narrow', Ak -sīk̥- (inf. sīāk̥um, sāk̥u) v. 'be(come) narrow\tight' ¶ KB 951, KBR 1O14, Js. 1O56, Tal 627-8, OLS 42O-1, Js. 1O56, Sl. 848, BK II 49, Fr. III 35, Hv. 424, Jo. M 479, Jo. H 132, Sd. 1O39, CAD XV 169-7O || B: Ah žukmat v. 'be narrow (a place)', ?? Zng {TC} ažžīg 'étrangler', pf. yužžāg ¶ Fc. 1952, DCTC 287, TC Z 306 || U: FU (att. in FP) \*šīk̥N ~ \*šīkk̥N 'dense' > pMr {Ker.} šīrə-đə > Er сееде śeyede, Δ śäyede, Mk сиде śidə 'dense\thick (forest, fence)' | F sīkeä 'deep (sea), heavy (sleep)' | Prm \*šīk̥ > Vt {U3S} šīk̥ 'forest' (< \*'thicket'), {Set.} šīk̥ 'dichter Wald' ¶ Set. FULL 267, UEW 774 (FV \*šīk̥N), Lt. 182, ERV 575, Ker. II 134, U3S 389, KC 192, PI 248, ≠ LG 255 (Vt < Prm \*šīk̥ 'set of homogeneous objects'), Ps. sL 32, 74-5, SK 1O22 ¶ In FV the stem has \*-k̥-, in Prm it has \*-kk̥-; the lack of gemination in FV is still to be explained || A: M \*čiqul 'narrow, tight' (× N \*čEřk̥N [or \*čäřik̥N?] 'squeeze; tight?') > MM [HI] čiqul 'étroit, resserré', WrM cīqul, HIM цүхал 'narrow, tight', Ord {Ms.} չ\_ս‘չս‘l id., WrO {Krg.} сиқул 'close, narrow'; ?φ M \*čig|g|q > WrM {Rm.} cīg ~ cīg, WrO cīq 'dense' (cīq modon 'dense forest'), Kl Ö čig 'eng, schmal, gedrängt', ?σ, φ M \*čiq '≈ thicket' > MM [MA] čiq 'brushwood' ('заросли

кустарника'), [HI] čiq 'treillis de bambou' ¶ MED 193, Kow. 2143, Ms. H 47, Ms. O 216, Krg. 636, 648, Pp. MA 134, KW 438 ¶ The structure of M \*čig|q 'dense' and M \*čiq 'thicket' is not typical of M and therefore is likely to suggest its foreign (T?) origin, but no plausible source of borrowing has been found so far || D \*číkikk- v. 'thicken; congeal' (of liquid), 'harden' (× N \*šík'U 'to get/be cold; cool?') > Tm cíkkáñavu 'hardness', Kn jígi 'stickiness, thickness', cíkaní 'thick, hard', Klm sikot 'sticky', Knd sika 'thickness (of fluid)', sikani 'thick' (of fluid), D → OI cíkka 'gum, birdlime' ¶ D #2488, Tu. #478O ◇ Cf. N \*žek'V 'be tight\cramped, tighten' (q.v.) ◇ There are two K roots (GZ t \*čečq- 'press, squeeze' and GZ t \*çečečq- 'squeeze, press') and a SC one (Irq čeq- 'squeeze', Kz čak- v. 'pinch') that may belong here. If this is so, the N etymon must be reconstructed as \*čiqV (see above s.v. \*čík'U 'squeeze, press').

**479.** \*číl'w, V 'little, small' > K \*čul- ({K<sup>2</sup>} \*čul-, {K} \*čuz<sub>1</sub>-) '(male) child, boy' > OG čul- 'child', G čul- 'baby, (male) child', Sv {TK}: UB čüš, čwiš, L čuš id. ¶ K 252, K<sup>2</sup> 316, FS K 463 (\*čul-), TK 863 || HS: S \*°v̥ ſ?l > Ar ✓ ḡ?l G (pf. ﺪَوْلَ ﺪَأْرَالا) 'be lean \ thin \ little \ mean' ¶ Fr. III 1, Hv. 412 || A {AD} \*č'olwe ({SDM97} \*č'ole) v. 'diminish, shrink' > M \*°čölüy-i- v. > WrM cölüi-, HIM цөлий-х 'decline, decay, deteriorate, diminish' ¶ MED 202 || Tg \*°č'ulbi- v. 'grow thin\lean, lose flesh' > Ewk PT čulbū-, čulbūn- v. 'get lean (person, animal)', Ewk Tmt čūlbūn- v. 'be starving', Ewk PT čulbūkā, čulbūn 'lean (person, animal), thin (tree)' ¶ STM II 413 || pKo {S} \*čūr- v. 'shrink, grow less' > MKo čuri-hi- id., NKo čūl- 'reduce, diminish, decrease' ¶ S QK #725, MLC 1508-9 || ?σ NaT {DQA} \*°čülülik- > OT [MhK] čülüük- {MKD, Cl.} 'be in a shabby condition', {DTS} 'fall into decay', {Rs.} 'vernichtet werden' ¶ Cl. 420, MKD 96, DTS 157 ¶ Rs. W 121 (T, M, Ko), DQA ##337 || D \*číkill- ({GS} \*c-) 'small' > MI cillara 'small, trifling matter', Kn cillara 'smallness', Tu cillaræ 'small money', Tl cillara 'small, unimportant', Ku cillera prāncu v. 'retail' ¶ D #2574 ◇ K \*í (> G l, Sv š) is likely to go back to \*-yl- (contraction of N \*-?il-?). N \*-w- is suggested by Tg \*-b-. The adduction of D is tentative and highly qu.; it is possible on assumption of a N medial \*-i-. If the D and T dubious cognates are accepted, the N original lateral is \*-l- (because N \*-l- would have yielded D \*-l-, and N \*-í- would have been represented by D \*-l- and pT \*í). A contamination with N

\***χ**έπιτ<sub>2</sub>λ **ν** 'little, small' (in some daughter lgs.) cannot be ruled out.

**480.** <sub>2</sub> \***χ**|**έ**νθλ **ν** 'be compassionate, have mercy' > K: GZ {K<sup>2</sup>} \*χqal- 'feel sorry (for), regret, spare' > OG, G χqal- id., Mg χqol-op-ua 'charity' §§ K 252, K<sup>2</sup> 317, FS K 468-9 || HS: SS \*<sup>o</sup>χhl (deglottalization from \*χχhl?) > Gz tašāhala, tašāhalē v. 'be gracious, have mercy, be compassionate', Tgy sahla v. 'be benign', Tgr sahala v. 'be merciful' § L G 528.

**481.** \***χ**ίτ<sub>1</sub>λ **ν** 'side of body' (→ 'rib'), 'hip' (→ 'thigh') > K \*χel- 'loins, waist' (→ 'guts, entrails') (× N \***χ**ντχλ **ν** 'guts') > OG χel-i 'loins' [Luke 12.35], 'guts', G χel-i 'waist, loin; intestine', pl. χel-eb-i 'guts', Mg χz-, χi-, Lz (m)χu-, ? Sv UB/L {TK, GP} rdp. χinčil 'gut, intestine' §§ K 249, K<sup>2</sup> 308, FS K 460, FS E 521 (K \*χel- 'gut'), Ser. 209 (OG χel- 'loins, waist'), Chx. 1973, 2135-6, DCh. 1671, NCh. 448, Chik. 69-70, Q 396, GP 280, TK 862 || HS: S \*χi'lař- ~ \*χilař- 'rib', 'side (of body)' > BHb χe'lař id., Ug χlāř 'rib; meat on a rib', BA נַלְעָן \*χa'lař\* (pl. נַלְעָנִים נַלְעָנִי) 'rib', IA pl. cs. נַלְעָנִי 'ribs of...', JA {Js., Dlm.} סְלָאֵן χi'lař- נַלְעָנָא, JEA {Sl.} χi'lař- נַלְעָנָה, SmA χlāř 'rib', Sr χe'lař- אַלְעָנָה, Ug χlāř {OLS} 'rib', {A} 'Rippenstück', Ar ضلَعَ χi'lař- 'rip, side (of body)', Sb d. χlāř '(?) malady affecting the chest', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} χālař, Jb C/E {Jo.}, Sq {Jo.} χař, {L} χalh, Sq Δ {SSL} χi'lař 'rib', Ak fOB χēlu 'rib, side (of body), side'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hoch} ȝi-ra-ř-tu (\*χi'lařtu) 'plank' § KB 965, 1760, A #2320, OLS 416-7, HJ 864, Sl. 855, Dlm. 314, Js. 1085, Tal 641, Br 22, JPS 18, BGMR 41, Jo. M 476, Jo. H 152, Jo. J 325, LLS 361, SSL LSNP 1480, Sd. 1090, CAD XVI 124, Hoch #592, MiK I #1.272 || IE: NaIE \*(s)k<sub>1</sub>h<sub>2</sub>el- 'hip, thigh; rib' (× N \*χaq<sub>1</sub>a<sub>2</sub>ř<sub>1</sub>ř **ν** [or \*χaq<sub>1</sub>ř<sub>1</sub>ř **ν**] 'elbow, ∈ part of a limb?') > Gk σκέλος 'the leg from the hip downwards', (?φ) σχελύδες pl. 'ribs of beef', κωλέα 'thighbone with the flesh on it' || ?? BSl: Lt kūlšē, kūlšis 'hip, haunch', Pru cūlczi 'hip' | Sl \*kъlka ~ \*kъlkъ 'hip' > ChS κλύκα klyka 'ham' ({Mikl.} ἄγκυλη, poples'), SCr kūk 'hip joint, hip', Slv kòlk 'hip, haunch', Blg 'κύλκα id., thigh'; the BSl word is adduced by WP and P, but not accepted as a cognate by ESSJ and Frn.; it is doubtful because of the unexplained stem-medial \*k § WP II 597-8, P 929, Frn. 308, En. 199, Tp. P K-L 256-62, ESSJ XIII 188, Mikl. L 290, Mikl. E 154, F II 60-1, 723-4, 837-8, Ch. 1013, ≠ EI 142 (F, Ch, and EI connect Gk σκέλος with \*skel- 'bend') || D (in SD) \*<sup>o</sup>čkīlamañd- (× N \*χi'řw **ν** 'shank,

flesh\meat of a limb') > Tl c̄īlamān̄d̄a, (→ ?) Kn c̄īlamān̄de 'ankle' (D \*maṇt̄- means 'knee', see D #4677) ¶ D #2633 ◇ The IE data do not contradict the possibility of a N \*i. Acc. to AD's theory (AD NGIE, AD NVIE), the pre-IE \*j (< N \*i) was lost before sonants. IE \*(s)k- for the expected \*s- may be due to the contamination with N \*c̄aq̄a<sup>r̄</sup> ∇ ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 131 [#3] (incl. K, S).

**482.** (2?) \*c̄ām- 'daylight' > K \*c̄am- 'morning' > Mg čume 'tomorrow', očumara 'morning', Lz čuman- 'morning', čumen- 'tomorrow', Sv UB/LB ham 'morning' ¶ K 247-8, K<sup>2</sup> 306, Chik. 19, TK 892, Q 393 || HS: SC: Alg {E} īehemu 'sun, daylight', Brn {E} īema 'sun', īemati 'today', Irg {E} -c̄emu in amēc̄emu 'noon', ?φ Asa {E} demok 'morning' ¶ E SC 360 (reconstructs pRt \*c̄ehem- 'day, daytime, daylight') || ? NrOm: Hrr {Abb} z̄omprē 'artificial light' (Abb: z̄ = [EthSc] Θ) ¶ CR H 668, AD SF 122 || A: ?σ M \*čomur > WrM comur 'clear, legible, evident; accurate; suitable', Brt сомор 'orderly' (of a person) ('аккуратный, собранный') ¶ MED 197, Chr. 390.

**483.** \*c̄ām- 'to interlace, to plait\tie\wrap together' > K: GZ \*čmaš- v. 'interlace, twist; plait\braid together' > OG, G čmasn- v. 'weave, interlace tightly', Mg čimoš-, čumoš- v. 'twist, tie up (tobacco leaves, etc.)', Lz čimoš- v. 'interlace, twist (ropes)' ¶ K 251-2, K<sup>2</sup> 314, FS K 465 || HS: S \*v̄ ſ̄md (from \*v̄ ſ̄mš + a sx.?) v. 'tie\bind together, attach' > Ak v̄ ſ̄md G 'an-\zusammen\ver-bindnen, anschirren', Ar v̄ ū̄md G v. 'dress a wound, anoint, and bind (the head)', BHb v̄ čmd N (pf. nič'mad) 'attach oneself to' ({KBR} 'be involved with'), 'čemēd 'team\pair (of oxen/donkeys)' ('Gespann'), MHb v̄ čmd G v. 'join, attach', Ug ſ̄ m̄d 'pair; pair of oxen', Gz v̄ ſ̄ md G v. 'yoke, harness, bind together', ſ̄ āmd 'yoke; pair (of animals, objects)' ¶ KB 967, KBR 1032-3, Hv. 420-1, OLS 417, Sd. 1080, L G 149-50 || Eg fP (mt.) d̄m̄z 'assemble, bring together; unite' ¶ EG V 457-9, Fk. 313 || SOm: (mt.) Ari suđumt- v. 'gather' ¶ Bnd. AL 151 ¶ Tk. I 259 (Eg, S, Om) || WCh: NrBc {Tk.} \*čim- 'sew' > Sir čimu, Jmb ſ̄im-, P' čimba ¶ Sk. NB 39, ChC, Tk. NB 178 || U \*ō ſ̄im ſ̄a (\*'ſ̄' = \*ſ̄ſ̄t̄) (as. from \*ſ̄imsa?) > pSm \*t̄ȳmt̄ā/ь 'wrap round, bind, (um\zusammen)wickeln' > Ne T {Ter.} т̄мдăцъ, Slq Tz {KKIH} tamt̄il- 'zusammen-drehen\rollen\drücken' ¶ Jn. 147, KKIH 178 || A: ?σ M \*čamča<sub>u</sub> 'shirt' > MM [S] čamča, [MA] čamčay, WrM самса, HIM цамца, Kl † цамца, Kl Ö самса id., WrO

**camca** id., 'blouse' ¶ The second \*č < \*s by as.? ¶ H 25, Pp. MA 130, MED 164, Krg. 617, KRS 625, KW 421.

**485.** ?σ \***ç**EN<sub>1</sub>Ν<sub>2</sub>qΝ 'to press, to squeeze' > **K:** GZ \***ç**neq|x/\***ç**niq|x - id. > OG, G **ç**nex-/çniχ- v. 'press (grapes)', G sa-çxen-el-i 'press-vat (for grapes)', Mg **č**inax- v. 'press', {FS} o-činax-u, {Q} o-činax<sub>3</sub>, o-č3nax-i, o-č3nax-u 'press-vat', Lz **č**inax-u 'press, squeeze', o-činax-u 'auspressen, keltern', n. 'press-vat' § K 252, K<sup>2</sup> 315, FS K 466, FS K<sup>2</sup> 671, FS E 527-8, Q 389 || **HS:** CS \*✓**šn̥k** (<\*\*✓**šn̥q** < \*\*✓**šn̥q** - mte.) > Ar {Ln.} ✓**šn̥q** G 'hang smb. by the neck till he dies', 'bind a camel with the **šināq-** [↓], 'bind the head of a beast\horse', **šanaqa-l-qirbata** '(he) bound the mouth of the water-skin with the bond called **wiqā?**- and then bound the extremity of its **wiqā?**- to its fore legs', {Fr.} ✓**šn̥q** (ip. -**šniq-**, -**šnuq-**) 'strangulavit', 'ligavit (camelum) fune vel loro شناف [**šināq-**] appellato'; {Ln.} **šināq-** 'a rope\cord with which the head of a camel is pulled; a cord\thong with which the mouth of a water-skin is bound'; MHb **שְׁנָק** ✓**sn̥k** G 'press, stuff', JA {Dlm.} ✓**sn̥k** D 'erdrücken (?)', {Lv., Js.} ✓**sn̥k** D 'stuff, press' or (acc. to some scholars) 'choke, cause loss of breath' § Ln. 16O6-8, Fr. III 457-8, Lv. III 558, Js. 1OO8, Dlm. 283 || **D** \***č**kēŋkk- ({<sup>g</sup>GS} \*š-) 'breathe with difficulty' (← \*'be suffocated') > MI **ēññukā** 'breathe with difficulty', **ēññā?** 'breathing with difficulty', **ēkkal** 'asthma', **ēkkam** id., 'hard breathing', Tm **ēñkal** 'asthma in children', Tu **sēñku-** v. 'pant, breathe quickly\heavily', **sēñkæ** 'panting, breathing quickly', Kui **sēke** 'panting, gasping for breath', Ku **sēke** **sēke** **nēñžinai** 'pant' (**nēñžinaj** 'breathe, gasp') §§ D #2804, An. SG 137 (D \*-ŋkk-) ◇ ≠ Kap. ALM 13 (equates the K ✓ with the non-existent Ak **sanāku** 'to press', sc.

actually with S \* $\check{\text{v}}\text{̄}$ ̄ ſnk, as well as with Arm ճնշել čnš-el 'to press, to squeeze').

**486.** \* $\hat{\text{c}}$ Únt $\nabla$  'mucus' (in descendants lgs.: 'sweat', 'dung, filth') > **K:** G çv̄ in̄t̄lı 'nasal mucus' ¶ Chx. 2157 || **HS:** SS \* $\check{\text{o}}$ ̄ ſu|in $\nabla$ , t- > Gz ſənt 'urine', (bf.?) SS \* $\check{\text{o}}$ -ſīn- > Gz  $\check{\text{v}}\text{̄}$ ̄ ſyn (pf. ſēna, js. yəſīn) v. 'urinate', Tgr  $\check{\text{v}}\text{̄}$ ̄ ſyn (pf. ſēna), Tgy pf. ſēna, ſēna id. (possible infl. of S \* $\check{\text{v}}\text{̄}$ ̄ ſyn 'urinate') ¶ LG 540 || **IE:** NaIE {P, El} \*ſwejd- v. 'sweat', \*ſwejdes n. 'sweat', \*ſwojd-, \*ſweidro-/ſwidro- id. > OI 'ſvidyati, 'ſvēdatē 'sweats', Av x $\check{\text{v}}$ isat̄ 'geriet in Schweiß'; OI 'ſvēdaḥ, Av x $\check{\text{v}}$ aēðō n. 'sweat, perspiration' || W chwys id., chwysu 'to sweat' || Gmc \*ſwitjan id. > OHG ſwizzen, NHG schwitzen, AS ſwætan id., NE sweat v.; Gmc \*ſwajta- n. 'sweat, perspiration' > OHG ſweiz, NHG Schweiß, OSx ſwēt, MDt ſweet, Dt zweet, AS ſwāt id. || Gk Hm (ε)l̄δ̄ω, Gk A l̄δ̄ω v. 'sweat' || L ſudā- id. || Ltv ſv̄iſt id., ſviēdri n. pl. 'sweat, perspiration' || Tc B ſyā- v. 'sweat' (< \*ſwidye- + ā-) ||| NaIE \*ſwojd-ōs 'sweat' > L ſudor, -ōris id. ¶ P 1043, WP II 521, El 560, Mn. 164, M K III 570, M E II 798-9, WH II 623-4, YGM-1 158, LP § 153, F I 709-10, KM 691, 695, Kb. 999, 1007, Kar. II 340, Wn. 448, Ad. 721, Ad. H 38 || **U:** FU \* $\hat{\text{s}}$ |ſont $\nabla$  > FP (or FV) \*ſont $\nabla$  'dirt, dung' > F ſonta id., Es ſõnnik 'dung, muck, manure' || Chr: H {Ep.} 'ſandb' 'excrements, urine', {Wc., Ü, Ep.} 'ſandb' 'lavatory', {Ep., MRS} 'ſandb' 'urine with blood (an illness of animals)', L d. {MRS, Ü} ſon'dan, Uf {Wc.} 'ſondb' 'dung, urine', d. {Ü} ſondem 'lavatory' || ? Vt Sr zud 'black mud (used as dye)' ¶ UEW 764-5, SK 1072, It. #122, Wc. TT 92, MRS 691, Ep. 146, Ü 257, 268, LG 269 ◇ If W. Müller (p.c. to L) is right in supposing that Gz  $\check{\text{v}}$  is  $\check{\text{v}}\text{̄}$ ̄ ſyn (rather than  $\check{\text{v}}\text{̄}$ ̄ ſyn, which in his opinion is not the etl. spelling), the Ethopian Semitic cognate is to be rejected, so that the N etymon will be \* $\hat{\text{c}}$ |ſÚnt $\nabla$ .

**487.**  $\iota$  \* $\hat{\text{c}}$ an $\text{U}$  'jump, skip' > **HS:** S \* $\check{\text{o}}$ ̄  $\check{\text{v}}$ ̄ ſmd > Jb  $\check{\text{v}}\text{̄}$ ̄ ſmd (pret. ſūd) v. 'jump a certain height', ſəmdu·n 'a good jumper' ¶ Jo. J 325 || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) \*ſa|onjā- v. 'gallop, jump' (× N \*ſa|onj $\nabla$  '≈ run, jump, climb' [q.v. ffd.]) || **A:** Tg: Nn čangoar, čansoap, Nn B čonsoq, Nn KU čamsop 'quickly, suddenly (to get up, to rise, to jump up)' ¶ STM II 384 || **D:** \*č̄kaŋk-, {GS} \*čaŋ- v. 'jump, climb' (× N \*ſa|onj $\nabla$  '↑'?) > Kn ceŋgu, ceŋgu v. 'jump, skip', Tl ceŋganālu 'leaping, frisking, gambol', ceŋguna 'nimble, agilely, quickly' (applied to leaping), Δ ceŋgu, jaŋgu 'agility', Nk čaŋgay- v. 'climb' ¶ D #2285, GS 127

[#333] ◇ N \*-U is suggested by Tg and by S \*m (probably from N \*-ŋ- near a labialized vw.).

**488.** \*čap<sup>Δ</sup> 'clay, mud; to smear, to moisten' > **HS:** C: SC: Alg {E} čufa 'mud' || EC: Sml qōbo 'mud, dirt, soil, clay', qōb- v. 'mould (out of clay), plaster, daub with mud' ¶ ZMO 122, E SC 328 (s.v. SC \*čūf- 'mud') || **K:** GZ \*čeb- vt. 'glue' > G čeb-, Mg, Lz čab- id., OG čeb-\* ≈ id. (att. within verbs with pxs.); GZ \*čebo- n. 'gum (vegetable glue)' > Mg, Lz čabu- 'gum (vegetable glue), mistletoe' (glue was extracted from mistletoe), OG, G čebo- 'gum, glue' ¶ K 248, K<sup>2</sup> 308, FS K 459, FS E 520-1, Abul. 541 || **A:** M \*čaba[χ]un 'glue' > MM [IM] {Pp.} čabūn n. 'glue' ([ArSc] with a spelling mistake: جبسوں), WrM cabau ~ cabagu, HlM цавуун, Brt сабуу(н) sabū(n) 'glue', Ord {Ms.} čawū 'colle forte', WrO {Krg.} cabaq, Kl {KRS} цавг cawag 'starch', Kl Ö {Rm.} cawag 'glue, fish-glue'; M \*cabug 'sth. glued' > WrM cabug, HlM цаваг 'layers of paper\cloth glued or pasted together', WrM cabug-la-, HlM цавагла- v. 'paste layers of cloth\paper together' ¶ Pp. MA 435, MED 154-5, Ms. O 697, KW 423, Krg. 615, KRS 621, Chr. 379 || **T {DQA}** \*čap- > OT [MhK] čap- v. 'plaster' (är ävin čapdu 'the man plastered his house [with mud]'), Uz čapi-, ET {Nj.} čap-li-, ET Tr {Rl.} čap-la- vt. 'plaster (a wall\house)', Qrg čap-ta- 'glue up, stick up, stop up (заклеивать, закупоривать)', ? Chv {Ash.} šwṛ- 'заворачивать пирог' (= 'wrap the filling of the pie with dough?') ¶ Cl. 394, Rs. W 99, Nj. 279, Rl. III 1925, UzR 515, Jud. 847, Ash. XII 247-8 || **Tg** \*čap > Ewk PT/Y/I čawija, Ewk PT čawida ~ čapida 'white clay' ¶ STM II 74 ¶ DQA #272 (A \*č'ap'a|u|i 'glue, clay' > T, M, Tg), KW 427 || **D** \*čava 'brackish\saline earth, fuller's earth' (× N ?σ \*šah'i'b<sup>Δ</sup> 'desert; saline earth', q.v. ffd. × N \*šab'g<sup>Δ</sup> 'clay') ¶ D \*čavar- ~ \*čamar- ({θGS} \*s-) v. 'smear, oil, rub in (oil, etc.)' (× N \*šæmi 'fat') > Kn savaru v. 'smear, oil, rub in or apply to (water, oil, etc.), convey a sticky substance to a vessel', Tl samuru 'oil, any oily\unctuous substance', camuru v. 'smear, daub, run as with oil', EpTl samaru 'ghee' ¶ D #2389, 2674b ◇ IS SS #12.24, IS MS 344 s.v. 'клей' \*čabla.

**488a.** (?!) \*čaP<sup>Δ</sup> 'to grasp, to take' > **K:** GZ \*čap- v. 'grasp, take' > Mg, Lz čop- v. 'take, grasp, hold', OG čap- ('acquire, take much' >) v. 'drink greedily', G čap- v. 'drink greedily, steal' (σ=: R набрался 'took much' → 'got drunk') ¶ K 248, Chik. 418 || **HS:** WS \*✓ šbt v. 'take' > Hrs ✓ šbt (p. šáybet), Mh ✓ šbt (pf. šāt) v. 'take', Jb ✓ šbt (pf.

$\hat{\text{š}}\bar{e}\dot{t}$ ) v. 'hold', Sq  $\hat{\text{z}}$ ébat (=  $\hat{\text{š}}$ ébat) v. 'be apprehended', Ar  $\checkmark \hat{\text{g}}\dot{b}\dot{t}$  'firmiter tenuit' J Jo. M 473, Jo. H 151, Fr. III 4, BK II 6 || A \*č'ap $\nabla$  (~ \*č'ab $\nabla$ ) > Tg \*čap- ~ \*čab- v. 'grasp' > Ewk çawupça- v. 'grasp, squeeze so.'s hand', Neg çawa-, Ul çawaqtala- ~ çapaqtala- v. 'grasp' || pKo {S} \*čap- v. 'catch, take hold' (x Altaic \*čab $\nabla$  < N u \*čap $\nabla$  'hold, seize, catch', q.v.) > MKo čap-, NKo čap- id. J S QK #512, MLC 1397 JJ STM II 375, SDM97 (A\*čab $\nabla$  v. 'catch, hold'; equates pKo with Tg \*čawā- v. 'catch, hold' [STM I 24O-1] and reconstructs pA \*čičab $\nabla$ ) ◇ The word may be ideophonic (cp. R цаπ, an ideophone of grasping) and hence its pN origin is qu.

**489. \*čipā** (or \*čüpā?) 'be narrow, be compressed' > HS \* $\checkmark \hat{\text{š}}\text{pp}$  ~ \* $\checkmark \hat{\text{š}}\text{bb}$  id. > CS \* $\checkmark \hat{\text{š}}\text{pp}$  v. 'be narrow, crowded' > MHb čā'pūp (pp. of  $\checkmark \text{ç}\text{pp}$ ) 'crowded', Ar čaff- 'narrow, straitened',  $\checkmark \hat{\text{g}}\text{ff}$  G 'se presser en foule', WS \* $\checkmark \hat{\text{š}}\text{bb}$  v. 'be narrow, compressed' > Gz  $\checkmark \hat{\text{š}}\text{bb}$  G (late spelling for  $\checkmark \hat{\text{š}}\text{bb}$ ?) id., Ar (derived  $\checkmark$ )  $\checkmark \hat{\text{g}}\text{bn}$  G 'be narrow' (of place) J Ln. 1794, BK II 3O, Lv. IV 212, L G 545 || C: Ag \* $\checkmark \hat{\text{č}}\text{bb}$  > Bln {R} ša(b)baw- 'enge\schmal sein', Aw {Hz.} cebeb- 'be narrow' || EC: Or Wt {Sr.} dipō 'narrow', dipū 'narrowness', Or WI {Brl.} dību 'valle, depressione, strettoia' J AD SF 118-9, R WB 316-7, Hz. VS 113, Sr. 298, Brl. 11O || K \*č'i'p- 'thin' > Mg čipe, Lz mčipe id., ?? Sv UB/L me-čxre, Sv Ln me-čxere 'lean' (a person) JJ Chik. 231, GP 219, Ni. s.v. худой, GP 219, TK 567 || U: FU \*ššupp $\nabla$  'narrow (schmal, eng)' > F szuppa 'schmal, nach oben schmaler werdend' | ? Lp N {N} čop're 'bag-shaped end of a rug', Lp L {LLO} tjuhppa 'Spitze, Zipfel' | pPrm \*šop- ({LG} šop-) 'tight, narrow, compressed (zusammengedrängt)' > Z {W} šop+d id., Vt сюбег 'narrow', Vt {Mnk.} šubäg 'tight' (of footwear, etc.) || Hg Δ szupojkó, szupujkó 'plötzlich schmaler werdend; dürr, eingeschrumpft; klein; schlank, dünn, mager' J UEW 44 (reconstructs \*čuppa, though Prm and Hg suggest \*š- or \*š̄-), LG 252-3, MF 6O1-2 || A: NrTg \*čip- 'squeeze (with fingers)' > Ewk čipak- id., ? Ewk Ald či'wkañ- v. 'choke', Neg čipixila- 'grip in one's hand, squeeze out (liquid)' J STM II 389, 398-9 || pKo {S} čip- 'pick up, pinch' > MKo čip-, NKo čip- J S QK #1O18, MLC 1554 || pJ {S} túmpám- v. 'stuff, press into' > OJ tuboma-, J: T cùbome-, K cúbómé-, Kg cubomé- J S QJ #1498, Mr. 771 JJ DQA #3OO (A \*č'ip'u 'press [with fingers], pinch': Tg \*čip-, Ko, J) ◇ K, Tg and Ko suggest pN \*i; U and pJ \*u may be due to

assimilation (infl. of the cns. \**p?*) ◇ ≈ Gr. II 275 (\**cupa* 'narrow') (U, A, Ko + qu. OJ *tipisa* 'small').

**490.** \**č̥apν\xE* 'filth, dung', 'rubbish' > **HS:** WS \**v̥ ſ̥p̥* 'excrement, filth' > BHb pl. cs. *k č̥apū'ře*, *q č̥apī'ře* 'animal's droppings, dung', Ar *đaffi-* 'elephant dung', *v̥ đff G* v. 'fart and go to stool' | Mh *šōfzv*, Jb E *ščfzv*, Jb C '*ščfuzv* 'partly formed almost liquid cowdung', Hrs *šōfa?* 'cowdung', Gz *šaffi* ~ *šaffi* 'filth, excrement', Tgr *č̥afzv* ~ *šafzv*, Tgy *šafzv* 'cowdung' ¶ KB 981, KBR 1O48, BK II 32, Jo. H 151, Jo. M 473, Jo. J 323, L G 148, LH 631, MiK I #1.273 || C: ? Ag: Bln {R} *dif'fā* 'faeces of animals' ¶ R WB 98 || **A:** T \**čöb* 'sediment, dregs, rubbish' (> 'sth. worthless, rubbish' > 'splinters, bits of chaff, straw', acc. to Cl.) (×N \**čuqbE* or \**čüqbV* 'carry away, throw [away]??) > OT *čöb* ({DTS} *čöp*, {Cl.} *čōb*) 'residues, dregs, sediment', Chg XV, OOsm xv *čöp* 'rubbish', MQp XIV *čöb* id., [CC] 'residue', OOsm, Az *čöp*, Tk *čöp* 'rubbish', Tkm *čöp* 'mote, small sticks', VTt *čyp* *šüp*, Bsh *süp*, Qmq, Qrg *čöp*, Alt, QK/Tel {Rl.} *čöp*, Nog *šöp*, Xk *söp* 'rubbish', Qzq *šöp-šalam*, Qq *šöp-šar* id. (and Qzq, Qq *šöp*, Qrg, Alt *čöp* 'grass, hay'?); Tb {B} *čöp* 'rubbish', *čöpte-* vt. 'litter, stain (засорить, замарать)' || Chv *šüp*, *šüb* 'rubbish, sweepings' || T → M: WrM *cöb*, HIM *çew* 'deposit, sediment (left after melting butter); cracklings' ¶ In Az, Tk, and Tkm the meaning was influenced by NPrs *چوب* *čub* 'wood', as well as possibly by onomatopoeia ¶ Cl. 394 (OT *čōb* with the long vw. based on the Arabic plene spelling of Mahmûd al-Kašgarî, which is not a sufficient proof), DTS 155, Rs. W 118, MM 4O4, Rl. III 2O47, B DChT166, Jeg. 223, Fed. II 148, MED 2OO ¶ Tkm provides ev. for a short \**ö* in pT; Tb *ö* is not a reg. reflex of T \**ö*, but must be explained otherwise || Tg: [1] ?σ Tg \**čapa* 'roe' > Ewk *čapa* 'soft roe', Orc, Nn Nh *čapa*, Nn B *safa* ~ *cafa*, Nn KU *čafa* 'hard roe', Neg *čapa* 'roe-bladder (of fish)' ¶ STM II 384 ] [2] ??φ, σ Ewk *čupa* 'flour porridge', Ewk Brg *čupa* 'sediment (left after distillation of araq)' (← M?) ¶ STM II 415 ¶ DQA #2724 (A \**č'op'iē* 'dregs, dirt') || **D** (in SD) \**č̥kavar-* ({GS} \**č̥cavvar-*) 'rubbish' > Tm *cavaru* 'rubbish, sweepings', Ml *cavaru*, *cavar* 'green leaves and rubbish used as manure, sweepings', Td *tɔfir* 'afterbirth' ¶ D #2395 ◇ The labialized T \**ö* (in \**čöb*) may belong to the heritage of N \**čuqbE* or \**čüqbV* 'carry away, throw (away)'; it may also be ascribed to the ass. infl. of \**p*.

**491.** <sup>2</sup> \***χ**ΝΡΔ 'to twist, to plait' > HS: S \*✓**χ**pr v. 'braid, plait, weave' > Ar ✓**χ**fr G 'braid', **χ**afīr-at- 'crown, diadem', BHb **צְפִירָה** **צְפִירָה** 'wreath, garland', ḫ Ug {KB} **שַׁפֵּר** 'winden (Ranken)' (not mentioned in Aistleitner and OLS), Gz ✓**χ**fr G 'braid, plait, weave, interwine', Ak ✓**χ**pr G (inf. **שֶׁפֶרְעָו**) v. 'strand (hair\linen), dress (hair)', **שִׁפִּירְתָּו** 'a sash woven or treated in a special technique' ¶ KB 981, 983, LG 148, CAD XVI 132-3, 201 || IE: NaIE \*sper- 'turn, twist', {El} 'wrap around' (x N \***Ρῶρων** 'turn, revolve' [q.v.]) > Gk σπεῖρα f. 'anything wound\coiled', pl. σπεῖραι 'coils\spires of a serpent', συ-σπειράομαι 'be coiled up', 'be formed in close order', Gk Hl σπειράομαι 'be coiled \ folded round'; Gk σπείρα → L **spīra** 'anything coiled\wreathed\twisted', 'a coil of a snake' || OLt **spartas** 'Band' ¶ P 991-2, EI 644, F II 761, Frn. 861.

**492.** \***χ**ΕΡ<sub>1</sub>Δ 'to close, to shut, to hide' > HS: S \*°✓**χ**p<sub>1</sub>t > Ar **خُفَّ** ✓**χ**ft 'serrer avec des cordes, ficeler', 'constringere' ¶ Fr. III 23, BK II 32 || u \***χ**Ept<sub>1</sub>Δ- v. 'close, cover' > Prm \***š**ipt- > Z **š**ipti-, Yz **š**ipti- v. 'close (a door, a window, a stove)' || pVg \***š**äpt- > Vg : T {Kn.} **š**ept-, ML {MK} **š**äpti ~ **s**äpti, LL {MK} **š**epti, P {Kn.} **š**ept-, {MK} **š**äpti, MK {Kn.} **š**äpt-, K {MK} **š**äpti ~ **s**äpti, N {MK} **s**apti ~ **s**äpti v. 'bury, hide' || Sm: Kms **š**a'bda- v. 'hide, conceal' ¶ Coll. 57, Coll. CG 408, LG 256, Wc. SW 250, WVD VII 327, MK 529, KD 61 || a: Tg: Ewk PT **ç**ipça- v. 'hide, conceal' ¶ Vas. 522 || ?σ **δ** \***χ**kātt- v. 'wear (clothes)' > Tm cāttu v. 'put on', Tl cātu v. 'wear' ¶ D #2449, Km. 352-3 [#416] || IE (mt.): Ht **i**stap(p)- v. 'shut, close' ¶ Pv. I-II 471-5 (proposes a connection with OI **s**tabh- v. 'make firm', etc.) ◇ Cf. AD SShS 309.

**492a.** \***χ**ehrΔ 'back' > HS: S \***χ**ah<sub>1</sub>Δ<sub>1</sub>r- 'back (dorsum)' > Mh **šāh̥ar** 'back (of a camel)', Hrs **š**ahr, Jb E/C '**š**eh̥ar' 'back', Ak fOB/OA **šēr**-u 'back (of animals and humans)', 'over, on top of', Ebl za-lum (\*[**š**ahr-um]) 'back'; it influenced S \***θ**uh<sub>1</sub>Δ<sub>1</sub>r- ~ \***θ**ah<sub>1</sub>Δ<sub>1</sub>r- 'top' (< N \***č**ūh<sub>1</sub>Δ<sub>1</sub>rΔ 'top, edge, highest point', q.v. ffd.), bringing about a contaminated CS stem \***θ**ah<sub>1</sub>Δ<sub>1</sub>r- 'back, noon' > Ar **ظهر** **χ**ahr- 'back (dorsum), noon' (→ Mh **θ**ahr, Jb C '**θ**ohur 'noon, midday') ¶ ≈ MiK I #1.284 (S \***θ**Δhr- 'back'), BK II 14, 23, Fr. III 16, Ln. 1787, Jo. M 83, 475, Jo. J 48, 324, Jo. H 151, Sd. 1093, 1115, CAD XVI 138-47 || B \*-**ȝ**ir- 'shoulder' > Ah a-ȝir, Gh a-ȝir, ETwl b-ȝir, Ty a-ȝir id. ¶ Fc. 1288, PGG 390 || u: FU \*°**š**šErΔ (x N \***š**šE<sup>1</sup>rΔ 'back (dos), nape of neck', q.v.) > Prm \***š**ō<sup>1</sup>rΔ- > Z Ud **š**ər 'space behind sth.' (karta **š**ər 'behind the cattle-shed'), Vt

śzr- in сильсьօր śíl-śzr 'occiput' (sií 'neck'), съօր śzr 'behind, over' (bakča śzrti 'behind the kitchen-garden', šur śzrtin 'over the river'), съօրлань śzr-lań 'in the opposite direction, back (direction)', съօրласяնь śzr-lašań 'from the back side' ¶ U3S 4O3, LG 27O || D \*čer- 'back of the neck, shoulder' > Tm eruttu 'nape of neck', Ml erattu, Kui sērkì 'the back of the neck', Ku hērkì ձ herki 'shoulder, neck' ¶ D #2817, 2419.

**493.** \*čärɪ́v (or \*čärɪ́v?) 'female breast, udder' > HS: S \*!<sup>i</sup>ʂarɪ- 'female breast, nipple, teat, udder' > Ar ضْرَعْ ḡarɪ- 'mammelle', Sr ʂer'<sup>i</sup>-ā 'mamma lactis plena' (dis. ruling out the expected sequence \*ʂ...ʂ, F Br. G I 237 [§ 85.dβ]; or a Canaanism?), Tgr ʂərɔ̄s 'udder', Ak ʂer(re)tu 'female breast, udder' ¶ Br. 638, Sd. 1O93-4, BK II 14, 23, Fr. III 16, Ln. 1787, ~ LG 637 (unc.: Tg ← Ar), MiK I #1.274 || Eg fP ʂʂr ({EG} ʂʂr) v. 'milk, suck (a cow's udder)' (ʂ- is a verbal px.) ¶ EG IV 295 || U: FU \*<sup>o</sup>ʂʂä́rV > pObU \*ʂʂär- ~ \*ʂʂir- > pOs \*sär- / \*sir- 'front, front part' > 1) Os: V/Vy sär, Ty/Y sär ~ sir- 'front' (adj.), 2) Os: V/Vy siri-, D/K sira-, Nz ʂirə, Kz siri 'earlier' ¶ Stn. D 16O-1 || D (in GnD) \*č|kar|k- 'udder, breast' > Gnd harva Ձ rawa 'udder', Kui չrāmbu id., sɻāngu Ձ srāngu 'breast', Kui rāngu id. ¶ D #2364 || K \*<sup>o</sup>č|cur- 'udder, female breast' > G cur-i 'udder', cur-i-tavi 'nipple' (tavi 'head') ¶ FS K 415, Chx. 2O32 ◇ Alternative solutions of the irreg. corr. of K \*č|c- and S \*ʂ- are possible. One may envisage two solutions: [1] to assume secondary de-emphatization of N \*č- in K (infl. of \*ʂ, namely N \*čärɪ́v > \*\*čʂVrV > K \*čur-???) or contamination with N \*čuʂrV 'vulva, vagina'), [2] a less probable solution: to assume secondary glottalization in S (caused by some unknown factor, e.g. lexical attraction of some semantically related word). The latter solution is seemingly supported by the Eg cognate (though a possible contamination with N \*čuʂrV invalidates this argument). In order to explain the K vw., one may suppose a N etymon with an Inlaut \*U: N \*čärɪ́v > \*\*čʂUrV > K \*čur-.

**494.** <sub>2</sub>\*čer<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>XV 'wing, feather' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓ʂṛh 'wing' > Ar d. ضْرَعْ maṛraḥ- adj. 'having large wings' (of a bird) ¶ BK I 21 || D \*kerṛ- (~ \*čer-?) (also + sxs. \*-Vkk-, \*-Vk-) 'wing, feather' > Tm cirai, ciraku 'wing', Ml iraku, ciraku, Kt kerŋl ~ kergl 'feather, wing', Kn erake, rakke, rekke, Kdg rekke, Tu kedi 'feather', ediňke, reňkæ, Tl eraka, rekka, Ku rekka 'wing', Tm irai,

iṛaku, Kt rek 'wing, feather', Gnd RSr {Bh.} rekka 'wing-feather', Gnd DM {Mitch.} reka 'feather', Gnd KM {Pat.} reka 'wing', {BB} gerŋ(g) 'feather', Knd ṛeka 'wing, upper arm' ॥ D ##1983, 2591, Em. DS 366.

**495.** <sub>2</sub> \*<sup>č</sup>ot̪**ṇ** 'mud' > HS: WS \*✓<sup>š</sup>w̪t ~ \*✓<sup>š</sup>w̪t > Ar ḡawīt-at-slime' ('limon au fond d'un réservoir d'eau'), Gz čōt 'mud, mire' ॥ L G 565, Di. 13O2, BK II 45 || D \*čott- 'mud, mire' (× N \*šURt<sup>ṇ</sup> 'dirt[y]'??) > MI cotta, Krx čotor 'mud, mire' ॥ D #2843.