

1522. *ñä¹, prn. of collectivity and plurality > **U:** FP *ñä¹ 'these, they', plurality prn., correlating with the sg. pronouns of the *t-series and with the prn. *cé 'that' > F nāmä pl. 'these' ↔ tämä 'this', nuo pl. 'those' ↔ tuo 'that', ne pl. 'those' ↔ se 'that', Es nemad ~ nad 'they' ↔ temä ~ ta 'he\she\it', need 'these' ↔ see 'this', nood 'those' ↔ too 'that', Vo nāmä 'they' ↔ tämä 'he\she' | pMr {Ker.} *ñä- > Er ñe, ñet, ñetñe 'these' ↔ te 'this', nonat 'those' ↔ tona 'that', Mk ñä, ñät 'these' ↔ tä 'this', nona(t) 'those' ↔ tona 'that' || Chr L нуно nuno, Chr H ныіныі nena 'they' ↔ Chr L тудо tuðo, Chr H тыідьі таðа 'he\she\it'; Chr L нине nine, Chr NW {IT} nena 'these' ↔ Chr L тиðе tiðe, Chr NW теðа 'this'; Chr K {Wc.} 'ni·na 'these' ↔ 'ti·ða 'this', 'na·na 'those, they' ↔ 'taða 'that, he', Chr U {Wc.} 'ni·nз· 'these' ↔ 'ti·ðз· 'this', 'nu·nъ 'those, they' ↔ 'tu·ðъ 'that, he' || Prm: Z nauz (/ na- in the obl. cases) 'they, those' ↔ siuz (/ obl. s+ -) 'he\she\it, that', Prmk нія niya (/ obl. n+ -) ↔ сія siya (/ obl. s+ -) 'he\she\it, that' ¶ UEW 300-1 (*ñä [~ *ne ~ ?ni] 'dieser, ? der, jener'), 306 (*no 'jener') (does not recognize that the *ñ-pronouns have plurality meaning even at the pFP level), SMJM 135-6, Ker. II 93, Lt. KZJ 290, Lt. KPJ 307-8, LG 185, 193, Wc. TT #645, 652, 1190, 1222, Ps OT 78-9, 149, 151 ¶ In most cases the vw. of the *ñ-pronouns coincides exactly with that of the corresponding sg. pronouns, hence it is system-induced rather than original. The only exception is Z na-, nauz 'they, those' < pPrm *na- (Lt. 169), which suggests that the pFP prn. was *ñä (Prm *a < FP *ä reg.) || **HS:** Eg þ 'this, the' m. ↔ tþ f. ↔ nþ abstr. (Eg M pl.), þw 'this' m. ↔ tw f. ↔ nw abstr. (Eg M pl.), þn 'this (near me)' m. ↔ tn f. ↔ nn abstr. (→ pl.), þf 'that' m. ↔ tf f. ↔ nf abstr. (Eg M pl.); in Eg O (see Ed. 83-9, EG 216, 251) nw, nf, etc. were abstract pronouns: nw 'Dieses, Dieses da', nf 'Jenes' ({Lpr.} 'this, these things') probably going back to collective pronouns, but later they acquired the function of pl. forms of pronouns (see Gard. 85); the original connection of the Eg O n-pronouns with plural is evidenced by their syntactical agreement with pl. of prtcs. and relative forms; in Eg M they function as pl. only ¶ Ed. 83-9, EG 216, 251, Lpr. 68-71 || **IE:** "primary" verbal ending of 3p *-(e)nti (↔ *-ti 3s) (e.g. *bhero-nti 'they carry' > OI 'bharanti, Gk φέρουσι, L ferunt, Gt baírand id., OCS беरжть berqť 'they take', cp. the AnIE ending of 3p: Ht -nzi, Lw, Pal -nti), the pIE "secondary" ending of 3p *-(e)nt (↔ *-(e)t 3s) (as in the NaIE form *(e-)bheront 'they carried' > OI 'abharan, Gk ἔφερον id., cp. OCS веζж

vezo 'they transported'; AnIE: Lw, Pal -*r̥ta*, Lc nasalized vw. + -*t̥e*) |||
 Brg. KVG 592-6 (incl. a synoptic table), Bks. 232-49, Rsk. 8O-1 ||| The word-final elements *-ti and *-t in the IE personal endings of 3p are induced by the analogy with the endings of 3s *-ti and *-t ||| K (×N
 *nE, dem. dual prn., 'they [two]'): [1] GZ *-en, sx. of 3p > OG -en (čam-en da swam-en 'edunt bibuntque'), Mg -an (koχen-an do koχurčul-an
 'they sit and sing') ||| [2] OG -(e)n, sx. of the plural of objects: v-i-xil-en 'I saw them' (↔ v-i-xil-e 'I saw him'), gw-i-xil-n-a 'he saw us' ('us' originally incl.), m-i-xil-n-a 'he saw us' ('us' originally excl.), g-i-xil-n-a 'he saw you (pl.)' ||| K 79, FS K 114-5, FS E 123, Dt. 44-6, 61-5, Shan. G 75, Fn. GAS 81 ||| Nominal endings of pl. in some branches of N: K: GZ
 *-n-, marker of pl. in the casus rectus (subject of vi. and object of vt.) >
 OG -n- (kac-n-i 'men') ||| Mg Sn -en-, sx. of pl. in the ergative and dative:
 erg. gur-en-k, dat. gur-en-s (Mg gur-i is 'heart, chest') ||| KS 1O-1, Marr
 GDGJ 34, Q O25, O3O-3 ||| HS: S *-ān- > Ar -ān-, sx. of collectivity
 (fursān- 'riders' ↔ fāris- 'a rider'), Gz -ān (pl. of masc. nouns and adj.:
 կատիս-ան 'priests'), Ak nom. -ān-u (later -ān-ū) / accus.-gen. -ān-i,
 sx. of "individualizing plural", denoting a number of individually
 recognizable objects (OB իլ-ան-ū 'personal gods (each with its own
 name)' (↔ իլ-ū 'gods in general, Pantheon'); but Aram pl. f. ending -ān
 hardly belongs here, it is rather an innovation (rare on OA, but typical
 in later Aram) based on the analogy of pl. m. -īn (< obl. pl. *-ī- + df.
 art. *-ma, like BHb -īm); S *-na, marker of the rel. mood in 2pm and
 3pm of verbs > CS ending of ip. indc. (in 2pm and 3pm) > Ar -na (ta-
 ktub-ū-na 'you [2pm] write \ will write', ya-ktub-ū-na 'they [m.] write \
 will write'), BHb -n (optional ending added to the ip. form of 2pm and
 3pm of verbs) ||| MSUS 91-2, ≈ Lip. 239-4O, Gtz. AMP 121-3O, Sd. G 77,
 Cer. ArJ 214, Zewi ∀ ||| LbB: B pl. ending {Pr.} *-an, *-īn > Ah {Pr.} -än ~
 {Fc.} -īn (= {GhA} -en), in most other B lgs. -ən, -in (Shw irgaz-ən
 'homines' [↔ sg. ərgaz], Sll tiləy̪m-in 'she-camels' [↔ sg. talyəm-t],
 BMn ifri-wən 'wings' [↔ sg. afri], Kb isəlm-an 'fishes' [↔ sg. asəlm], Si
 iṭar-ən 'legs' [↔ sg. ṣar], Gd durar-ən 'mountains' [↔ sg. adurar], Zng
 {TC} tanqud-ən 'points' [↔ sg. tanqud]) ||| ? Gnc {Mi.} -en, ending of
 plural and collectivity: Gnc GC ta-har-en-em-en 'dry figs', ta-hau-
 n-en-en 'ripe figs', Gnc T i-rich-en 'wheat, corn' (÷ B *ird-∇n), Gnc
 GC ta-moc-en 'barley' ||| ONum -n (= *-∇n), pl. ending (nbən
 'workers' in one of the Dhugga inscriptions) ||| Pr. M IV-V 5O-2, 55-61,
 TC Z 312, AiM 175, 2O9-1O, Fv. LJ 42O ||| the C nominal marker of pl.

*- ∇ n- > Ag *-An > Bln -an, Q/Km {R, CR} -ən, Xm -ān; *-t-An > Xm {R} -tān, Xm {R} -tān, Km {CR}, Q {R} -tən || EC *-an(∇) pl. > Sml -an, -ān, Rn {PG} -né (àbtíñè 'maternal uncles'), Bn -ní, O -an, -ān, Gdl -ana, Arr -n, Dsn -anu, Dbs/Gln/Gwd -āne, Gwd/Cm -īne, Ya -an, -en, -n ∇ , Brj -ana, -āni, Sd -ane, -anna, Kmb -annu || ? Dhl -ni pl. ¶ Zab. MNPC 73-5, 82-3, 92-3, 111-2, 128, 138-41, 169, 179-8O, 191-4, 211, 238-4O, 255-9, 295-6, PG 6O, Hw. A 17O-1, To. DL 91 || Ch {PorS} *- ∇ n, pl. sx. of nouns > WCh: Hs -una, -anni, -ina, -oni | BT: Dr {Nw.} -in, -ān, -en, -yen (and enlarged [due to metanalysis?] -iyán/ -uyán, -ŋžén / -ŋžín, -ŋgin), Gera {Sch.} -nà, -nì, -nè | Bd -zn, Ngz {Sch.} -ín (with rdp. of the stem: wákak-ín 'trees' ↔ s. wákà) | Fy {J} -an || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} -en || ECh: Jg {J}, Tmk {Cp.} -nán ¶ PorS 335, Sch. BTL 94-5, Sch. DN xviii, Nw. KL 82-4, Lk. L 18-9, Cp. 28 | HS: marker of pl. in pers. pronouns: Ch pl. sx. *-n in pers. pronouns: [1] {Kr.} *mu-n ({Blz.} *muni) 'we, us, our' incl. > {Kr.} CCh *mun id. > BM: Mrg nà-màr 'we' incl., màr 'our' incl., Cb muri 'we, us' incl., -mùrì 'our' incl. (-r, -r- < *n), Wmd na-mùn 'we' incl., -mùn 'our' incl., Klb -mùn 'our' incl., mùn 'us' incl.; FJ màmun 'we' incl., FIM -mù 'our' incl. | BB: G'nd gùmùn 'we' incl., -mùn / -mən 'our' incl. | McMdr: Mdr mìyà 'our' incl., Dgh mìre 'us' incl., (here?) mundà 'we' excl. || {Kr.} WCh *mun 'we, us, our' (without distinction between incl. and excl.) > Hs mū / (completive past) mun 'we' | Dr mini 'we', mìni 'us', Tng (ha)mìnì 'we', Ngm mwùnì 'we' | SBC: Zul min 'we' | AG: Gmy {Kr.} t-mìn 'we', mìn 'our', Ang {Kr.} muni 'we', mun 'us', Su {J, Kr.} mun 'we, us'; [2] Ch *ku-n 'ye', 2p prn. > Hs kū, Ngz kun, Tr kun, Mgm {JA} kùŋ, Mkl {J} kùnè, etc.; [3] WCh *su-n 'they' (> Hs sū, Dw sun) ¶ Kr. RChP 74-94, AD EPCCChL, J S 75, Brq. PS || ?? EC: Dsn mûni 'we' incl. ¶ To. DL 211-2 ¶ Blz. PPCh1 2-4 (Ch-Dsn parallel: Ch *muni, Dsn mûni) || HS *-n ∇ , marker of pl. (~ f. pl.) in pers. pronouns: [1] S *pantin-na 'ye' f. pl. > Ak attina, BHb אַתְתָּנָא ~ אַתְתָּנָה ~ אַתְתָּנָה pat'tennā ~ pat'ten, Sr pat'ten (spelled פַּתְתֵּן), Ar pantunna, Gz pantan || C: EC {Ss.} *ati-n (~ *iti-n?) 'ye' pl. > Sa átin, Rn atín, Sml idín-ku, Dsn {To.} pitíni, Gdl inna-t, as well as the var. ≈ *isi-n 'ye' pl. > Af ísin, Or isani ~ isini, Kns íšina ¶ Bl. 131, Ss. PEC 11, PG 7O, To. DL 483 || [2] S *šin-na 'they' f. pl. > Ak šina, Ug hinna, BHb hen, BA ?in'nan, JEA יִנְנָא ?in'nūn, Sr חַנְנָא heñ'nēn, Ar hunna || A *-(∇)n, sx. of pl. > M *-n, pl. sx. > MM -n ([S] noqan 'dogs' [↔ noqay 'dog'], [PP] {Pp.} élč'i-n 'messengers',

yabuqu-n 'those going' [↔ sg. yabuquy sg.]), PCIWrM -n (with nomina actoris ending in -gci and nomina actoris futuri in -qun [pl. qu-n]), in WrM -n, pl. of a few nouns: gergen 'wives' (↔ sg. gergei), with professional names (üyledbürici-n 'workers'), WrM -ta-n (from nouns with -tai: mori-ta-n 'equestrians'), HIM -n with professional words: хөдөлмөрчи-н 'workers'), Ord гаха-н 'hogs' ¶ Pp. IM 175-7 || T *-an/*-en > OT [MhK] rare pl. morpheme: är-än 'men', oyl-an 'sons' (probably with the meaning of collective plurality), preserved in ethnonyms: suvarin, quman ¶ SIGTJM 15-6, Prc. TschPS § 35, Nm. QQ 100, Kon. PSM 146, Rs. MTS 54, Br. OTG 150, Gbn. ATG §§ 56, 171 || Tg *-(a)na / *-(e)ne, pl. of kinship terms and other animate nouns: Nn, U1 ama-na 'fathers', Nn agā-na 'elder brothers', bariana 'comrades', andāna 'friends'; Tg *°-nān/*-nēn, dual-plural (× N *nE, dem. dual prn.) > Ewk Z/Ucr/Skh -nān / -nān / -nōn, sx. od du.\pl.: aku-nān 'brothers, two brothers', girkī-nān 'friends, two friends', Ewk Skh goxinān 'twins' (goxi 'pair') ¶ Ci. 254-5, Ci. MChT ∀, Vas. 778, ≠ CiL MA 225-31 (unc.: the Tg sx. < Tg. {CiL} *nay, sc. Tg *ñjari~*ñari 'man', see N *ññyäřñ 'man') || Ko: MKo -naj, NKo {MLCl -nēy [-ne] {MLC} 'the group, all of', {Mazur} sx. of the "representative pl." of animate nouns ¶ Rm. SKE 224, MLC 337, Mazur KJ3 376 ¶ ~ Rm. VAJ §§ 25-6, Pp. PSA 74, Mng. TLP 111 || ? U: a pl. sx. *-n|nñ can be seen in the pl. forms with ppas.: Vg K küäl-ān-em 'my houses' (↔ küäl-em 'my house'), Vg Ss xáp-an-uv 'our boats' (↔ xáp-uv 'our boat'), Er čora-n-t 'thy sons' (↔ čora-t 'thy son'); Serebrennikov tries to explain in a similar way the Z forms with ppas.; Sinor supposes a similar situation in Ancient BF || Sm: Slq Nr {Cs.} loga-ni-l 'thy foxes' ↔ sg. loga-l 'thy fox', loga-ri-t 'his foxes' ↔ loga-t 'his fox', etc.; pSm {Hl.} *-nъ- (sx. of pl. possessor + 1s possessoris) in *-y-nъ 'mei, meae, mea' (with the marker of pl. *-y-): Mt {Hl.} *ayə-nE 'my children' (Mt M {Sp.} аине) ↔ *ayam 'my child' (Mt M {Sp.} аимъ), Ng {Hl.} nüə-ńə 'my children' ↔ nüə-mə 'my child' ¶ Sin. UAP 206-7, Srb. IMPJ 106, Hl. M 145, Cs. GSS 304-25 ◇ IS's hyp. about *-NĀ as a sx. (rather than a separate word) does not bear scrutiny, it is refuted by the position of FP *n- and Eg n- as the **first** (word-initial) elements of dem. pronouns, which proves the original mobility of N *ññyäřñ and hence its original status as a word. IS supposed that *-NĀ marked pl. of animate nouns only; this hyp., although not immediately convincing, deserves investigation. The hyp. of the opposition of *-NĀ to {IS} *-tñ (pl. of inanimate nouns) is based on

unproved (and probably erroneous) interpretation of {IS} *-t ∇ as connected with inanimateness (see s.v. N *t ∇ [postnominal marker of plurality]) ◇ ≈ IS II 94-6 [#333] (*-N Δ , pl. suffix of animate nouns), Sin. UAP (U, A), Heg. MÜ 79-81 (U, HS, K, A + very qu. parallels in E nouns).

1523. *nE, dem. prn. of duality, 'they (two)' > **HS:** S *-ni, marker of df. in dual (nom. *-ā-ni, accus.-gen. *-ay-ni) > Ar nom. -āni, gen.-accus. -ayni (ending of du. abs.), Ak nom. -ān, gen.-accus. -īn, and Ak OA gen.-accus. -ēn (du. abs.), Aram -ēn in trēn 'two' ¶ Sd. G 76, 81 || ? B: Tz {Stm.} mārāw-i-n 'twenty' (cp. mārāw 'ten') ¶ Stm. 1O1, AiM 214 || K: GZ *-en, sx. of 3p, OG -(e)n, sx. of the plural of objects (×N *n̄'ä', prn. of collectivity and plurality, q.v. ffd.) || **u** *-n̄ñ, marker of du. (mainly in pers. pronouns → du. of ppa., du. subjecti of verbs) > Lp Pt {Coll.} bódīimen 'we two came', bódalimen 'we two would come', bódīiden 'you two came', bódaliden 'you two would come' || ObU *-īn, marker of du. in pers. pronouns > [1] pVg {Stn.} *-īn id.: *mīn 'we' du. (> Vg: Ss {Rmb.} mēn, Ss/UL {Stn.} ← Kn.) mēn, ML/LL {MK} min, K {MK} mīn, T {MK} mēn id.), *nīn 'you' du. (> Vg: Ss/LL {Rmb.} nēn, ML/LL {Vrt.} ← Mu.) nin, K/P {Vrt.} nēn, T {Vrt.} ← Mu.) nēn), *tīn 'they' du. (> Vg: Ss (Rmb., Ht.) tēn, {Ht.}: LK tin, MK/UK/NV/LL ten, P tin ~ ten, SV/UL tēn); [2] pOs *-in, marker of du. in pers. pronouns: pOs *min 'we' du. (> Os {Stn.}: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/O min, Nz/Sh men, Kz/Sn mīn), pOs *nin 'you' du. (> Os {Stn.}: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/O nin, NMz/Sh nen, Kz/Sn nīn); Os {Ht.} *fīn 'they' du. (> Os {Ht.} V/O lin, Vy yin, Ty fīn, D tin, Nz ten, Kz fīn) || Sm *-n̄ñ, marker of dual: [1] dual in pronouns > Ne T -̄ñ du. in mani-̄ñ 'we' (du.), p̄dari-̄ñ 'you' (du.), p̄di-̄ñ 'they' (du.), En 1d 'modini-̄ñ, 2d ūdi-̄ñ, 3d budī-̄ñ (↔ 1p 'modina-̄ñ, 2p ūda-̄ñ, 3p budu-̄ñ), [2] dual possessoris of nouns and dual subjecti in verbs: Ne T -mī-̄ñ 'our (du.), we (du.)', -ři-̄ñ 'vester (du.), you (du.)', -đi-̄ñ 'their (du.), they' (du.), En -̄ñ (dual possessoros, dusl subjecti) (1 du. -ȳñ ~ -b̄i-̄ñ, 2d -ři-̄ñ, 3d -đi-̄ñ), [3] possibly in (compound?) markers of dual in nouns: pSm {Hl.} *-k̄bñ > Ne T -ha-̄ñ / -g(a)-̄ñ / -k(a)-̄ñ, En -h̄t-̄ñ / -ḡt-̄ñ / -k̄t-̄ñ ¶ Coll. CG 3O1-2, Ter. EJ 442-51, Ter. NJ 38O-8, Ter. SJ 324, Ter. V 369-7O, Rmb. 99, Stn. WV 22O-1, Stn. D 884, 1OO4, MK 3O5, 337, 642, Vrt. tables I and II, Ht. #142, 393, 43O, Hl. M 134 || **A:** Tg *-nān/*-nēn, dual-plural (×N *n̄'ä' '↑') > Ewk Z/Ucr/Skh -nān / -nēn, sx. of du.\pl.: aku-nān 'brothers, two

brothers', *girkī-nān* 'friends, two friends', Ewk Skh *goxinān* 'twins' (*goxi* 'pair') || Vas. 778.

1524. *n̥i 'not' > **HS**: Eg n̥ 'not', Cpt n̥ən̥ 'not' || EG II 195, Vc. 135 || K *nu, *numa 'do not!' (prohibitive) > OG/G nu, Mg nu, numu, n̥m̥ id., Sv UB/LB/L/Ln nō id., UB {GP} nom id., UB/L {TK} nōm ~ n̥m, LB {TK} nem 'do not' (prohib.), UP num(a) (negation with imv. and sbjn.) ||| K 148-9, K DE 173, K² 144, FS K 243, FS E 267, Top. SJ 9O, TK 635, GP 237 ||| IE *nej, *ne 'not', *n̥- 'un-, -less': [1] NaIE *'nej negative pc. (not a clitic) > Av naē- 'not, no-' (in cds. with encl. particles and pronouns: naē-čis 'none, keiner', naē-kay 'nobody, nothing', naē-ča 'and not, etc.') ||| OL n̥i, L n̥ī 'not, that not, unless', Osc n̥i 'not' ||| Gt nei 'not', ON, OHG {Vr.} n̥ī 'no' ('nein') (= OHG {Kl.} ni 'nein?') ||| Lt niēkas 'nobody, neī ... neī 'neither ... nor', Ltv Δ {ME} nei ... nei id., nei 'auch nicht, nicht einmal' | Sl *n̥i 'not' > OCS **NH** ni 'not' (stressed: **НН НН** 'or not'), 'and not', OCS **NH** ... **NH** ni ... ni 'neither ... nor', Blg, R n̥i ... n̥i, SCr, Slv, Slk ni ... ni id.] [2] NaIE sentence negation *ne (→ word negation in some lgs.) > OI 'na 'not', Av, OPrs na- id. ||| Gk νε- 'un-, -less' + adjectives with initial vowels (contraction of -ε + the initial vw. of the adj.): νήκουστος 'not hearing' (↔ νε- + ἀκου- 'hear'), νώνυμ(ν)ος 'nameless' (↔ νε- + ὄνυμ- 'name'), νηλεής ~ νηλής 'pitiless, ruthless' (↔ νε- + ἔλεος 'pity'), νήκεστος 'incurable' ||| L ne- in cds.: ne-sciō 'I do not know', neuter 'neither (none of two)' (< ne-uter 'not any of two'), etc.; L ne-que, Osc ne-p, nei-p 'and not', Um neip 'non', neip ... nep 'neither ... nor' ||| Clt: CltI ne-, Gl ne, OIr n̥í, Brtt {RE} *ni > OW ni, MW, Crn ny, W ni, OBr ni, ne, MBr, Br ne ||| Gt ni, OHG, OSx ni, ne, AS ne 'not' ||| Pru ni, Lt ne 'not' | Sl *ne 'not' > OCS **нe** ne, SCr n̥e, Blg, R n̥e, Slv, Cz, Slk ne, P n̥ie 'not'; Sl *n̥ě (< *ne je) > OCS **нѣ** n̥ě '(there) is not'] [3] NaIE *n̥- 'un-, -less' (privative and negative px.) > OI, Av, OPrs a- (before cns.) / an- (before vowels) id. ||| Gk ἀ- (before cns.) / ἀν- (before vowels) id. ||| OL en-, L in-, Osc AN-, Um A- / AN- id. ||| OIr i n- (before mediae) / é- (before tenues) / an- (before vowels), W, Crn, Br an- id. ||| Gt, OHG, NHG, OSx, AS, NE un-, ON ó-, ú-, NNr, Dn u-, Sw o- id. ||| Tc: A a(n)-, B e(n)- 'un-' ||| Ht {Ts.} cd. natta 'not', nawi 'not yet' ||| P 758, Bks. 222, EI 395 (*ne 'not'), M K II 12O, Brtl. 1O3O-5, FI 1 and II 314-5, Ch. 1-2, 336, 75O-1, WH I 686-7 and II 15O-1, 166, Bc. G 32O, 339, Pln. I 319-2O, 369-7O, 563-4, II 469-7O, 676, 726, Billy 112, LP § 8, RE 116,

Fs. 374-5, 516, Vr. 415, Ho. 376, Kb. 724, OsS 647-8, 1OO1, KM 8O3, Frn. 488-9, 491, ME II 715, Glh. 435-6, Vs. III 52, 71-2, ESSJ XXIV 91-3, ≈ XXV 96-7 (err.: Lt *n̄e i* and Sl **n̄i* < **n̄e* + **i* 'and'), Frn. 48-9, En. 214, Ad. 83, Ts. W 56, CHD L-N 4OO-19, 421-24 || | **U** **n̄i* 'not' > FU **ñ̄i*, **ñ̄im* 'not' > Hg *n̄e*, *n̄em* 'not' || pOs **ñ̄em* ~ **ñ̄om* ({ʃHl.} **ñ̄äm-* ~ **ñ̄ɔm-*) > Os: Nz *ñ̄em* χ̄yāt, Kz *n̄em* χ̄w̄yat 'nobody' (χ̄yāt, χ̄w̄yat means 'anybody'), Nz *ñ̄emv̄t̄:z*, Kz *n̄emḡt̄:z* 'nowhere' (χ̄t̄:z, χ̄t̄:z 'wohin'), Nz *ñ̄emñ̄t̄:z*, K *n̄emət̄* 'nothing'; Vg: N *n̄em-xåtpä* 'nobody, n̄-mat xåtpä 'nothing' (xåtpä 'somebody, anybody', mat 'some-\anything'), Ss *n̄emat* 'keinerlei' || ? Prm: Vt G *no-kin-no* 'nobody', *no-mir-no* 'nothing', Vt G *no-kit̄:š* 'nowhere' (kin 'who', mar 'what', kit̄:š 'woher'), ?? Z P *ñ̄i-n̄am* 'nothing' (n̄am 'a bit, ρυτъ') (unless *ñ̄i-* is a loan from R *ñi*) || Sm negative and prohibitive verb: En *ñ̄e-*, Ng *ñ̄i-* 'do(es) not, did not' (proh. and neg.), Ne *ñ̄i-* prs.\past 'do(es) not', 'did not', *ñ̄o-* proh. 'do not' ¶ Coll. 38, MF 464, ≈ UEW 3O1 (unc.: the neg. stem may go back to U **n̄ä* ~ **n̄e* ~ [?] **n̄i* 'this'), LG 196-7, Ter. NJ 389, Ter. EJ 452, Ter. NgJz 431-2 || **A:** pJ {S}: [1] **n̄a-* 'lacking, non existent' > OJ *na*, J T *náj*, Kt *náj*, Kg *na-ká*, Ns *né-*, Sh *né-*; [2] **-(a)n̄-* 'not' (verbal negation) (× N **?äyñâ* 'nothing, there is no...', q.v.) > OJ *-(a)n̄-*, J: T *-na-*, Ns/Sh *-n̄*, Ht *-n̄e* 'not' ¶ S AJ 267 [#56], S QJ #56, Mr. 835 ¶ ≈ DQA #74 (reconstructs pJ **n̄a-*, but unconvincingly derives it from A **ñ̄ni* 'not', negative verb) ◇ AD GD #3 (Eg, IE, U, A), Gr. I 212-3 ("negative N" in IE, U, A, EA, Ai).

1525. **nu* (or **n̄ü*?), postp. and pv. 'from', postp. 'of' > **U** **-n̄*, genitive case ending > F *-n̄*, Vp *-n̄* / *-ñ̄*, pLp **-n̄* > Lp S *-n̄*, Chr L *-n̄*, -*ñ̄n̄*, Chr H *-n̄*, -*ñ̄n̄*, -*ən̄*, Er/Mk *-ñ̄* (F *kala-n̄*, Lp S *guole-n̄*, Chr L *kol-ñ̄n̄* 'of [the] fish', Er *kudo-ñ̄* 'of the house'), Ne T, En *-ñ̄*, Slq Tz, Kms *-n̄*, Mt M *-n̄*, Y T/K {Krn.} *-n̄* (distinguished by IN from the indf. gen. *-n̄/-d* < **-nsä*); the unabridged U allomorph **-nu* survives in pronouns: F *mi-nu-n̄* 'my', *si-nu-n̄* 'thy' (-*nu-* is a presuffix in all oblique cases), Es *mi-nu* 'my', *si-nu* 'thy' ¶ Coll. CG 282-4, Hl. SelJ 364-6, Hl. MTKJ 377, Krn. JJ 36, IN 191 || **A:** M **-nu*, marker of the genitive case > WrM (reflecting OM norms) *-nu* (*modunu* 'of the\ a tree'), MM *-ni*; pM {Pp.} **mi-nü* 'my' (> WrM *minu*), **c̄i-nü* 'thy' (> WrM *c̄inu*), **ma-nu* 'our' (> WrM *manu*), **ta-nu* 'votre' (> WrM *tanu*), **i-nü* 'his\her' (> WrM *inu*) ¶ Pp. IM 185-94, 219-22 || Tg {Bz.} **-ŋ̄i*, marker of the genitive case (< **-n̄* + adjectival **-ki*, related to WrM *-ki* in *ende-ki*

'being here, belonging to this place' from *ende* 'here') > Nn, Ul -ŋgi, Orc, Ud, Ewk -ŋi, Sln -nī, Neg -ni ~ -ŋi, WrMc -i / -ni ¶ Bz. 78-9 || T *-ŋ (presumably from *-n + an adjectival sx., as in Tg), gen. ending > OT {Gbn.} -ŋ ~ -n, after cnss. -ɪŋ / -iŋ ~ -aŋ / -an ~ -ŋ, in later Og lgs. -n / -in / -ɪn / -ün / -un, in most other lgs. -niŋ / -niŋ / -nūŋ / -nuŋ (with a denasalized allomorphs in some lgs.: -dŋ / -tŋ) ¶ Gbn. ATG 87, Sev. KP 47-8 || Ko: Rm. mentions traces of the ancient gen. ending -n in the form hʌŋn (acc. to Rm., gen. of hʌŋ 'day') ¶ Rm. VAJ 35 || J: postposition of genitive: pJ {□S}*nʒ > OJ nʒ > J no; in J the ancient N marker of genitive still remains an analytical postposition ¶ The ablative meaning 'from' survives in T *-tan/*-tän 'from, out of' (< N *d₁oy,a 'place, inside' + N *nu) as compared with the T locative ending *-ta/*-tä 'in'; this *-tan/*-tän is represented in all T lgs: OT (after l, n, r) -tan / -tän, (after other cnss. and vowels) -dan / -dän with a dialectal var. -tin / -tin / -din / -din; the var. -dan/-dän/-tan/-tän survives in most later NaT lgs., in Yk it is -tan/-tän/-ton/-tön (due to palatal and labial harmony of vowels), in Xk and Shor it is -dan/-tan/-den/-ten/-don/-ton/-naŋ/-neŋ; in Chv the same ending has the form -ran/-ren/-tan/-ten. The variant with closed vowels (-din/-diŋ/-tin/-tiŋ/-duŋ/-düŋ) survived in ET and Chg ¶ Gab. ATG 88-9, Sev. KP 55-7, Kon. GJTRP 158-9, Andr. ChJ-66 48, Karpov XJ 432, BabD ShJ 47O-1 ¶ Rm. VAJ 33-5 || IE: *-n 'from' within *-d^he-n survives in Gk πόθεν 'where form?', οὐρανόθεν 'from the sky' (compare with the loc. *-d^he in OI i'ha, Pali idha 'here', OI 'ku-ha, OCS κъде къ-de 'where?', OCS съде съ-de 'here', Gk ἐνερθε 'beneath') ¶ Brg. KVG 454-5 ¶ *-n-, the marker of oblique cases (presuffix, a morpheme preceding the case endings) in heteroclitic nouns, e.g. IE {Bks.} *'¹wed-ŋ-s 'of water' (↔ *'¹wod-or 'water') > Ht wetenas, Gt watins, Gk ὑδατος gen. (↔ *'¹wod-or nom. 'water' < Ht 'wātar, Gt watō, OHG waz^zar, Gk ὕδωρ) ¶ Bks. 188, 22O ¶ NaIE adv. and prep. *nō 'from, away' > Blt prep. (with gen.) (> Lt nuō 'from, off, out of', Ltv no [nūo] id.) and preverb 'hinaus-' (> Lt nuo-, Ltv no-) || Msp {Mlw.} no 'from' ¶ The long vw. *ō suggests that NaIE *nō goes back to a compound with a N deictic *h¹Ν (most probably *¹nu h¹e¹ 'this [one] from'), but this is not necessarily the case with Msp no, that may also represent N *nu 'from' without additions ¶ Frn. 511, Kar. I 629-30, Mlw. M 206 || D *-Νŋ-, a presuffix of oblique cases ("inflectional increment"): OTm, Tm, Ml, Kn -

iŋ- (OTm {Shanm.} *kanaŋ-iŋ-āl* 'by the dream', *náŋr-iŋ-oṭu* 'with time', Kn gen. *guruv-iŋ-a*, instr.-abl. *guruv-iŋ-inda* from *guru* 'guru'), Toda -ŋ- (instr. *ʈr-ŋ-al* from nom. *ʈr* 'buffalo'), Kdg -n- (accus. *baʈte-n-a*, instr.-abl. *baʈte-n-inʒi* from *baʈte* 'road'), Tu -n-, Tl -ni- / -na- (*pustakā-ni-ki* 'to the book'), Klm, Nkr, Gdb, Png -n-, Prj -n-, -in-, Gnd -n-, -ŋ-, -iŋ-, Kui -ni-, -n-, Ku -n-, -na- (presuffixes of oblique cases), Brh -n-, -an- in gen. ¶ An. SG 184, 189-91, Shanm. IID, Shanm. DN 196-249, Zv. CDM 18-19 || HS: N *nu with the ablative meaning survives in B *n, an ablative (en)clitic 'from' (after a verb or a chain of other clitics); in Tmz, Sll, Tz, Dmn, ASgr, Kb, and many other B lgs. the ablative n 'from' is opposed to the directional d 'towards' (< N *dloy,a 'place', q.v.): Kb awi-n 'carry away' ↔ awi-d 'bring', Tz idda-n 'go away' ↔ idda-d 'come', Ntf əkšəm n v. 'come out' ↔ əkšəm d 'come in', Ah äns-īn 'lie down there' ↔ äns-äd 'lie down here' ¶ AiM 226-7, Ai. MCB 117-8, 2O8 [table 26], Pr. M I-III 2O8ff. || Om: *-n∇, genitive ending: NrOm: Ym {Lm.} -ni (asú-ni 'eines Mannes'), {C} -n, -ni; *-n(∇) as a generalized marker of oblique cases > NrOm *-n(∇), marker of accusative (Ym nā-ni 'a child' accus., Mj {All.} wéte-n 'vaccam', kankas-n 'dogs' accus., Kf {C} uyaʔo-n 'pontem', Shn {Rtl.} bī-n 'him' accus., tān 'me' accus.); in Ym {Lm.} -ni- is the initial element of some markers of oblique cases: dative-benefactive -ni-k (asú-ni-k 'to\for a man'), directive -ni-ki (asú-ni-ki 'zu einem Mann') (just as in the IE heteroclitic nouns); a similar origin may be supposed for Kf «caso modale» -ne and for the marker of the instr. case in Kf {C} (-nā) and in Shn {Lm.} (-n3) || SOM: dative-benefactive (Ari kī-n 'for him', ī-n 'mihi', Dm is-in 'for me', Hm {Ldl.} šonya-na 'to the guests', tsin-nʌ 'for sorghum': tsin-nʌ wo muda yε?ε 'Let us go on an exchange-trip for sorghum!') ¶ Hw. CO 22-31, Lm. Y65, 73, Lm. Sh 65, 86, Rtl. ShM 193-7, Zab. CO 621, C SE III 5O-1 and IV 299-3O1, Ldl. H 41O-2, Fl. D 518 || EC: Sd {C} -ni, Ged -n-ka (m. possessor) / -n-ta (f. possessor), Dsn -n (marker of genitive in two nouns; not mentioned in To. DL) ¶ Zab. CO 621, Mrn. S 86, Ss. D 2O6 | Much more questionable is the origin of the prepositional *nota genitivi* *n∇, found in LbB, Eg, and Ch, but the transformation of the N **post**position *nu 'of' into a **pre**position is only one of the alt. explanations, less plausible than the hyp. drawing back the *nota genitivi* to N *ŋ'U' 'thing' (q.v. ffd.) || K: the element *-n in K *°-gan > OG, G -gan 'from, out of' (used as a postpositional ending) (< a cd., possibly N *gay∇ nu 'from the side' or N *gänh∇ nu 'from the

side' [with N ***gay**Ν 'side' or N ***gānh**Ν 'side of sth.', q.v.]) ◇ In pN the marker of genitive ***nū** could be followed by other postpositions (former nouns) or by nouns serving as postpositions. Such N constructions (noun + ***nū** + case postpositions) underly the IE forms for oblique cases of the heteroclitic nouns, the corresponding D forms with the presuffix *-Νn-, as well as some forms in the Om lgs. These constructions are explained as former (pN) genitive phrases (noun + ***nū** + another noun) ◇ ≈ IS I 1O and II 78-81 (N *-n of oblique cases in IE, K, HS, U, A, D), Gr. I 13O-7 ("genitive N" in A, J, U [incl. Y], IE, Gil, CK, Ai). IS treated this morpheme as a suffix, although its mobility (its functions as a postnominal case marker as well as an analytical particle [in B and Blt]) and its analytical status (in B, in the Blt prep., and in J) suggest that it was originally a word rather than a sx.

1526. ***ñ**Ν 'we' excl. > **K**: Sv n-, nə,- 'us' excl. (object px. of verbs), Sv UB näy, L nay, LB/Ln nä 'we' excl., Sv UB ni-šgwe-ų, Sv LB ni-šgwe ~ ni-šge 'our' excl.; the element -šgwe goes back to K *čwe- (a component of possessive pronouns) < N *č'ü¹ 'that of ..., that which' {q.v. ffd., see also s.v. N *wΝyΝ 'we' and N *g'U¹ 'we' incl.) §§ Top. SJ 83-4, Tt. 18-9, 22, TK 626, GP 229, 237, Dn. s.v. nay, Dt. 34 || IE *ne-/*nō 'we' (stem of oblique cases), e.g. [1] accus. *nō-s ~ *ŋ-s > Ht anzas, nas, OI nas, Av nā, L nōs (accus. → nom.), Gt uns(is) (uns < *ŋs), OCS **ניסי** ni (and **насъ** nasъ < *ŋs-om, originally gen. with the gen. pl. ending *-om), Clt (stem of obl. cases → nom.): OIr sní (< NaIE *s-nēs), ni, Brtt {RE} *nī(s) > OW, MWE, W, OBr, Br ni, Crn nū 'we'; *ŋs-me- > Gk Ae ἡμεῖς, Gk A ἡμεῖς, OI as'mān 'we' nom.; Lw {Mlc.} ānza 'we, us' (dat., accus., and possibly other cases), [2] other oblique cases: Ht dat. anzas, nas, L dat.-abl. nō-bis, Gt dat. uns(is), OCS dat. **наմъ** namъ, [3] poss. prn. 'our' > HrLw azis (< ŋso-), L noster, OCS **нашъ** našъ, Gt unsar, IE *ŋs-mos > Gk Ae ἡμμος, OI as'māka-, Av ahmāka-, [4] accus. du.: OI nauč, OCS **нана** 'us two', as well as Gk A νώ id. (Cowg.: < *νωF̄ ē) and OI ā'vām accus. 'us two' (Gk *νωF̄ ē and OI ā'vām are from IE {Cowg.} *ŋH'we < N *ñΝ 'we' excl. + the N dual pc. *o'h¹U [see N *h¹æ ~ *o'h¹U]); Cowg. postulates here a morpheme *-lwe (probably from N *o'h¹U) §§ Bks. 2O8-11, Brg. KVG 41O-3, BD II/2 412 (*: OI ā- in ā'vām is an IE px. *ē-), Cowg. EG 169-7O and fn. 57, EI 454 (*'noh₁ 'we two, us two', *ŋh₁'we 'us two'), M K I 67, M E I 176, LP §§ 337-57, Vn. S 15O-1, Thr. § 4O3, RE 144, Mlc. CL 2O || **HS:** [1] HS *nΝ-, px. of 1p in verbal conjugation: S {Hz.} *ni- (with verbs *G*,

active voice) > Ak *ni-*, BHb *ni-/nā-*, Ug *n̄-*, BA, JA *ni-/nə-*, Sr *nε-/nə-*, Ar *nə-*, Gz *nə-*, etc. (according to Hz., in the WS lgs. the original vw. *i in **ni-* [with *G*, active voice] was partially replaced by the reflexes of *a due to levelling within the conjugation paradigm, while in the ps. voice and in the derived conjugations the vw. *i was replaced by other vowels [Ar u, etc.] due to morphological processes) || B **n̄-* > Ah, Kb, Shl, Si *n(̄)-*, 1p px. of verbs || C **n̄-* (1p in verbs of prefix conj.) > Bj *ni-'i* 'we burned', *ni-d'bil* 'we collected', EC: Af *n-udūreh* 'we returned', *n-a-dūreh* 'we return', Sa {Wlm.} *n-anu* 'we are', Bn *á-n-ùhūñʒ* 'we ate', Sml N *n-iði* 'we said', Rn *n-imiy* 'we come', *n-ahe* ~ *n-ehe* 'we are', as well as the Cushitic 1p presuffix **n-*, sc. personal px. of the former aux. verbs in periphrastic constructions underlying the suffix conjugation in EC, Bj, and Ag (e.g. Aw {Hz.} *des-n-áyá* 'we study', Km {Ap.} *was-n-əkʷ* 'we hear', Af *miði-n-oh* 'we are good' ↔ *miði-t-oh* 'thou art good', Bs *day-n-e* 'we descended', Rn *Karsanne* < **kars-ad-n-e* 'we cook') || [2] HS **n̄*, short prn. (mainly sx. or clitic) of 1p: S postnominal *-*n̄* (= *-*nu* ~ **ni?*) 'our' > Ak OB -*ni*, BHb -*nū*, Ar -*nā*; S postverbal *-*n̄* 'us' (direct object): Aram, Ar, Gz -*nā*, BHb -*nū*, Mh -*n*; S *-*n̄*, marker of 1p subject in predicative nomina (> WS perfect) > Aram, Ar, Gz -*nā*, BHb -*nū*, Mh -*ʒn*, Ak -*ānu*, Ak A -*āni* || C: EC: Sa {Wlm.}, Af {PH} *ni* 'our' (prenominal prn.) | EC: Sa {Wlm.} *ni*, Af {PH} *ne* / *nē* 'us' (preverbal prn.), Dsn {To., Ss.} *ńi* 'we, us' excl., Bn J/K *nú* 'us' (preverb), Bj {RHd.} -*n* 'our', Ya {Hn.} -*ni* 'our', -*ini* 'us', *n-...-n̄* 'we' (combination of a px. and a sx. in verbal conjugation) || Eg -*n* 'we, our' (postverbal and postnominal sx.), *n* 'we' (dependent prn.), OEg *nū* 'we' du. (with the marker of dual -*u*) || [3] HS prn.: [a] **?anihEn-n'ū* 'we' excl. (aut. prn.) (**?an-* [focalizing topic pc. → marker of autonomous pers. pronouns < N **?ən̄* 'self, the same'] + *-(i)*hen-* [< N **XAn̄, n̄* 'together'] + HS **n'ū* [< N **n̄* 'we' excl.]) (survives in S, B, and C), [b] the var. **?an̄-n'ū* (**?an-* + **n'ū*) (preserved in Eg and possibly in C); these HS compound pronouns gave rise to: S **?a'nihnūla* 'we' (aut. prn.) > BHb *אֲנָהַנּוּ ?אֲנָהַנּוּ*, Ph *?n̄hn*, BA *אֲנָהַנּוּ אֲנָהַנּוּ* *?a'nahnā*, IA *?n̄hn(h)*, Plm *?n̄hnw*, JA *אֲנָהַנּוּ(ה)* (*?a'nahnā*, JEA {Sl.} *אֲנָהַנּוּ אֲנָהַנּוּ* ~ *אֲנָהַנּוּ ?a'nan*, Sr *הָנָן* *הָנָן* ~ (archaic) *הָנָן*) {Nld.} *?a'nahnā*, Ar *نَاهْنَانْ* *نَاهْنَانْ*, Gz *nəhnā*, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} *nəhā*, Jb E *'n̄ha*, Jb C *'n̄han* ~ *'n̄ha*, Sq {Jo.} *han* ~ *'hanhən*, Ak (a)nīnu || C: Bj {RHd.} *hi'nin*, {Rop.} *he'nnən* 'we,

us', {R} ha'nan, han'in, he'nin 'we', {R} he'nē-b 'us', {RHd.} -hōn, {Rop.} -hon 'us', {R} han'nē ~ he'nē 'our' || Ag: Q {R}, Km {CR} anən, Km {Ap., Ss.} an-diw ~ an-niw ~ {Ss.} anən-diw (-diw is a marker of pl., cp. əntə(n)diw 'you' pl., naydiw 'they'), Bln {Hz.} yžn, Xm {Ap.} yžn 'we' (obl. yžna ~ yžnə-, poss. yžna- 'our'); Km {Ap.} anə 'our' || EC: Sa/Af {Wlm., PH} nanu 'we' (aut. prn.), Dsn {To.} n̄ini 'we' excl., Arr {Hw.} ɿonó 'we', -na (bound subject prn.), Rn náh 'we' excl., innó 'we' incl., Sml N {Abr.} anná-k-u ~ anná-g-u 'we' excl. (↔ inná-k-u ~ inná-g-u 'we' incl.) (-k-~-g- is a marker of m., -u is a nom. ending), anná-k-a ~ anná-g-a 'us' excl. (-a is an accus. ending), Bn Kano, J un(a) 'we' (focus-marked Kano, J un-é), Bs {Hw.} no 'we, us' (dat.-ben. nōn), Kns {BISO} ɿno 'we, us', Gdl {Bl.} ɿnno 'we' (ɿnno- obl.), Or B nū, nu(h), {Sr.} nū (nom. nuya, nuwinī), Or O nū (nom. nūti, nutini), Or Wt nū (nom. nuti, nutī), Or WI nuy (obl. nu-), Or H nu 'we', 'us', Hr/Dbs {AMS} ɿno, Gln/Gwd {AMS}, Cm {Hab.} ɿne 'we', Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS}, Cm {Hab.} -inna- ~ -ino-, Gln {AMS} -ine- 'us' (verbal second px.), Brj {Hd.} nānu, Ged {Hd.} no?o, Kmb {Hd.} na?ōti, Brj nin-si, Hd/Kmb {Hd.} ne(:)-s 'us' (whence Hd nēse 'we'), Sd {Hd.} ninke 'we, us' (from gen. with the marker of masc. possessi *-ke, cp. Brj nin-ka m. 'of us, noster' ↔ nin-ta f. 'of us, nostra'), Ya 'n̄ini? 'we' || Dhl n̄áni 'we' ¶ Rn náh and Bj hinin certainly reflect HS *ɿanihEn-n'ū', while some of the forms without clear traces of a lr. may reflect *ɿanv-n'ū' || Eg N ɿnn 'we' (= {Satz.} *yanan, {Vc.} *yanā-na) 'we' > DEg ɿnn > Cpt: Sd/B **ANON**, A/F **ANAN** || [4] HS *ɿanihEn-n'ū'-k_v (and *n_v-k_v) 'we' du. > Ch: Ron {J}: Klr ȳiḡi:n, Fyer kon 'we' du., Sha ḡn id., proclitics: Klr ḡi, Bks kú id. || ECh: Mgm -(y)eŋ 'us' du., -t-eŋ 'our' du. (-t- is a marker of possessive forms) || B *hanā-χ 'us, 'to us' > Tw {Pr.} ān̄yχ ~ hān̄yχ id.; postnominal sx. *-nayχ 'our' > Tw -n̄yχ, Kb, Shl -nayχ, Si, Wrg -n̄nayχ, etc.; postverbal sx. *-vχ ~ *-(v)n̄vχ 'us' > Ah -n̄yχ, Kb, Shl, Wrg -ayχ, Si -anayχ, Zng {MH→Nic.} -nag^h ¶ This compound prn. is likely to go down to HS *ɿanihEn-n'ū' (and *n_v-vχ 'we'?) + reflex of N *yEgi or *y'u'gi 'both, two' (q.v.) ¶ AD SF 174 and Tk. I 125-6 (in both: C, Om, S, Eg, Ch), Blz. PPCh2 4O-53; on S: KB 69, 1669, Sl. 144-5, PS 25O, Jo. M 29O, Jo. H 95, Hz. VP 35-4O, Lip. 36O-1, 37O-1, 378-83, Sd. G 41-6, 5*, 8*-9*; on Eg: EG I 97, II 194-5, and 2OO, Satz. EPP 53-4, Ed. 7O-9, Er. 35, Vc. 13, Lpr. 64-7; on B: AiM 216-7, 221-2, Pr. M I-III 164, 167, 17O-3 and VI-VII 11, 16, Stm. 52, Hz. VS 12-7; on C: R BedS §§ 157-165, Rop. 197-8, RHd. B 111-2, 119-22, PH 234-8, 259-83, Hz. AL 49-5O, PG 4O, HL 132, Grg. 178, Sr. 119-2O,

Ow. 98, BlSO 46, Bl. G 42, PG 40-52, Hw. A 215, 220-1, Hw. B I 553-66 and II 110, Ss. D 207, Hn. S 30, AMS 97-8, 280, Hd. 256-9, Hn. YII 39, 42-50, E SC 386, Eld. SC 289, To. D 37, EEN 40, To. DL 211-4 ॥ [1,2,3] NrOm: prn. of 1p (hard to make etl. identification with the above points [1], [2], or [3]): Kf {C} nō, nu 'we, us, our', Shn {Lm., Rtl.} nō / nō 'we', nō 'our', Anf {MYTY} nuši 'we', nuna 'our', Cha {C} nu, nōka, Bsk/Zl/Gf {C} nu, Wl, Dc nu- 'we', Bdt {Hw.} nu 'we' (clitic with verbs), nu-mba 'we' (abs.), 'us', nū 'us', nu-ni nom. 'we', Gm {Hp.} huni nom., nuna accus., {Hp., Hw.} nū (gen. and the short form), Zs {Hw.} ní 'we' excl. (and nu(y) 'we' incl.?), Gnj {Si.} nūna, Kcm {Si.} nuna, Krt {Si.} nunt, Zrg {Si.} 'nuna, Male {Si.} 'nūni 'we', Bnc {Wdk.} nū, nūnā 'we' excl. (abs., subject), {Brz.} nū 'we' excl. abs., nūn 'we' excl. (subject) (and {Wdk.} nīn, {Brz.} nīn 'we' incl., nī {Wdk.} 'our, us' incl.?), Ym {Wdk.} īnnō ॥ īnnō 'we', HzMa {SiW} nūngā 'we' excl. | Dzd: Mj {All.} īnu 'we', īn 'us', n- 'our', Sk {AY} nāta 'we', n- 'our' (px. of nouns), 'we' (px. of verbs), Na {AY} nákis 'we', nákná 'us' (-na is a marker of accus.), nákñ 'our', n- 'our' (prenominal) ¶ C SE III, IV 53-9, 477, Mrn. O 33, Lm. Sh 365, Rtl. ShM 196, Hp. 371, Hw. EG, Hw. CO, Hw. NKL 229, Hw. NZL 266-9, MYTY 105, Wdk. BY 108, 126, 182, Brz. PhGG 11-4, All. D 383, AY ShM 3, 7-8, AY NG 6-7, Si. ACh 22, Si. M 11, SiW ABK 17 || Ch: prn. of 1p excl. (hard to identify with the points [1], [2], or [3] - because of phonetic reduction and the complicated morphological and phonological history): [a] absolute (aut.) prn.: CCh: Higi {Kr.}: HgNk yé, HgF yž-gyo, HgG yìyè, HgK yž-ŋyé, HgB yyè, FlK yiy, FlG yùyì, FlJ ?iyin, FlM yid(ù), FlB yidì | BB {Kr.}: Gude (?)in, Gudu in, Bcm, Mln yì | BM {Kr.}: Wmd na-?yà, Mrg, Klb nà-?yà, Hld na-yàñ, WMrg yž?à, Cb (i)yàr, Bu yero (BM *-r- < Ch *-n-) | Tr sb. {Kr.}: G'nd ŋgà?an, Boka ka-nññ, Hw kàn | Lmn {Wl.} nàyìn (abs. prn.), -yìn 'we' excl. (postverbal subject sx.) || ?φ WCh {Kr.}: Bd a-žà, Ngz žà 'we' excl. || ECh.: Bdy {AlJ} -níñ / -níñ (suffixed subject marker of 1p excl.), Mgm {JA} ní:, ní:-tà (abs.), ní / ní (subject prn., clitic), EDng {Fd.} nì, {Ebob.} níñ(iñ) we' excl. (abs.), {Ebob.} ní 'we' excl. (subject), ?φ Mkl {J} kàyè (abs.), ?ây- / ?ây- (subject pref.) 'we' excl. || [b] possessive 'our' excl.: CCh: BB {Kr.}: Bcm -ayñò, Gude -giyin / -gëñ, Mln -guynò | Higi sb. {Kr.}: HgNk -yè, HgF -ŋigyo, HgG -yìyè, HgB -ŋgyè, FlK -ŋyí, FlG yžyì, FlJ -ŋgi, FlM -kud(ì) | BM {Kr.}: Hld, Klb -?yà, Wmd -?yà, WMrg -?à, Cb -yàr, Bu -yero, Ngx -yero | Tr sb. {Kr.} G'nd -ya?an / -?ññ, Gbn yž?ññ, Hw -nññ, Boka nàni | Msg G/P {MB} -yi, Mlw {Trn.} -yí, Mbara {TrnSL} -í | Lmn {Wl.} -`yin || ?φ WCh: Bd -žà, Ngz (-ä)-žà || ECh: Mkl {J} -yèy- (m. possessi), -d-èy- (f.

possessi; -d- is a marker of f.), Mgm {JA} (-t)-íñi ॥ [c] 'us' excl.: CCh: BB {Kr.} Bcm nε-γnò, Gude -g-γen / -k-εn(a), Gudu bi-in (nε-, g-, k-, bi- are markers of the object case) | Higi sb. {Kr.}: HgNk γε, HgF n̄γyò, HgG l̄yè, HgK ?γε(-ndε), HgB γyè / rì, FIK γiγ, FIG n̄γi, FIJ n̄γà-yū, FIM ḡ-da (n̄γà-, ḡ- are markers of the object case) | Tr sb. {Kr.}: G'nd -ga?an-či (-či is a marker of accus.), Hw -k̄n, Boka -?an | Msg G {MB} -i, Msg P -γi, Mbara {TrnSL} -í | Lmn {Wl.} -ni(y)- || ?φ WCh: Ngz/Bd {Kr.} žà || ECh: Mkl {J} -āyn(i)-, Bdy {AlJ} -n̄iŋ, ?in̄iŋ, Mgm {JA} -ni § Blz. PPCh2 4O-53, Kr. RChP, AD EPCChL, MB SMSM 1O6, TrnSL M 166, Trn. MVM 183, Wl. L 85, J R, JA LM 32-42, AlJ 35-9, Fd. 217, Ebob. MVOD 3O-4 §§ HS *?anihEn-n'ū 'we' (aut. prn.) is likely to go back to a cd. *?an- (focalizing topic pc., forming aut. pers. pronouns) + *(i)hēn- 'together' or *(i)h̄n- 'other' + *n'ū 'we, our'. The element *(i)hēn- 'together' (if it appears here) is cognate with Eg fp h̄n⁹ 'together' (EG III 11O-1, Fk. 172) and goes back to N *XAñiñV, nñV 'together' (q.v.). In this case *-(i)hēnñV-nñV originally means 'we together'. An alt. conjecture is to suppose here the presence of the element *(i)h̄n- 'other' < N *h̄ññV (= *XinñV?) 'other' (q.v.). In the latter case the original meaning of the pronouns is 'nous autres' (like Sp nosotros and Ctl nosaltres 'we' < L accus. pl. nos alteros 'us others') ||

Gil: Gil A n̄iñ, Gil ES n̄iñ 'we' excl. §§ Pnf. I 231, ST 219 || ? D *nām / (obl cases) *nam- 'we' incl. > OTm nām, Tm, Ml nām, OKn nām ~ nāvū, obl. nam-, Tu namo, Krx, Mlt nām 'we' incl, Brh nan 'we' (without distinction between incl. and excl.) §§ Zv. CDM 37-8, 47, An. SG 251-5 || ? A {S} *na 'I' > M *na-, stem of the obl. cases of the prn. of 1s || Ko {S} *nà 'I' > MKo nà, Ko Ph/Chs na, Ko S nā, Ko Kw/Chj nä, §§ S AJ 253 [#44], S QK #44, Nam 85 ◇ The original meaning of 1p excl. survives in K, C (Dsn, Rn, Sml), Ch, and Om (e.g. Zs), but in D we find the meaning of 1p incl. ◇ Both the D and the A pronouns may be alternatively explained as a shortened form of D *manāmu (> Tl manāmu 'we' incl.) and A *māna- 'we' incl. < N *mi ?a 'we' (q.v.) + N *nū genitive. D *-āmu / *am- may be explained by analogy with D *tām (obl. *tam-) 'they' and *yām 'we' excl. A *-a in **māna- is probably a marker of case. If this is true, D *nam 'we' incl. and A *na 'I' do not belong here ◇ IS I 7 (D, IE, K, HS), ~ Gr. I 7O (hesitantly connects IE and Gil markers of 1p\l d).

1526a. ***ῆ**Ν, a marker (pronoun) that formed analytic equivalents of passive participles ([in descendant lgs.] → derived passive verbs) > **IE**: NaIE *-no-, sx. of passive participles and deverbal adjectives: NaIE {Brg.} *p̥-no- ~ *plē-no- 'filled, full' > [1] *p̥-no- > OI pūr'na-h̥, Ir lán, Gt fulls, Lt pílnas, OCS πλήνъ plěnъ, [2] *plē-no- > L plēnus, OI prāna-h̥ || Productive sxs. of descendant languages: OI prs. prtc. bhind-ā'na-h̥ and pf. prtc. bibhid-ā'na-h̥ ↔ bhid- 'bind', Gmc *-ono-/eno-: Gt waúrp-an-s, OHG gi-wortan, ON orðenn 'geworden', Gt bit-an-s 'bitten', as well as OCS несенъ nes-en-ъ 'carried, getragen', ζαβενъ za-bev-en-ъ 'forgotten' ¶ Brg. KVG 316-7 || **HS**: S px. of passive-reflexive derived participles and verbs: [1] *na-, px. of passive-reflexive participles and (in the WS lgs.) of the new perfect (← verbal adjectives) of the passive-reflexive *N*-pattern (Hb niph'al, Ar 'infa'ala, 7th form): BHb נִשְׁבָּר ni-š'bār 'broken', נִשְׁבָּר niš'bār pf. 'was broken', Ak naprusu (verbal adj.) 'divided'; [2] *-n- (following the personal px.) in the finite verb (Ak præt., WS new imperfective): Hb נִשְׁבָּר יִשְׁבָּר yiššā'ber (-šš- < *-nš-) 'is \ will be broken' (new imperfective), נִשְׁבָּר וַיִּשְׁבָּר wayyiššā'ber '(and) was broken', Ar ya-n-qatilu 'is \ will be killed', Ak ipparis (-pp- < *-np-) 'was divided'. In Ar the pf. form was restructured on analogy of the ipf., hence -n- in the pf.: ?in-kasara 'was broken into pieces', ?inhazama 'was beaten' ¶ Br. G 536-7, Br. AG 38-9, Sd. G § 9O (117-8), Dk. JDPA 293-4 || **K** {K} *na-, px. of past passive participle: OG na-ban-i 'washed, gewaschen', na-guem-i 'beaten', na-ķuet-i 'abgeschnitten', na-šob-i 'born', Sv na-ķwem 'getragen' (of garments), na-sdug 'geflochten' ¶¶ K 145, Shan. G 157, Dt. 227-8 || **A**: Tg: Ewk {Vas.} -na/-nə/-no, result of an action: dukū-na-w 'written by me' (lit. 'my written') ↔ dukū- 'write' ¶ Vas. 7O6 || T {Cl.} *-(**ῆ**)n, e.g. OT [MhK] {Cl.} tevrēn 'threads which are twisted to make waistbands' ↔ tevir- v. 'twist' ¶ Cl. xliv, 443 || ??σ M: WrM {Pp.} -n, sx. "denoting a quality caused by an action" (in Pp.'s words): WrM singen, HlM шингэн 'thin (in consistency)', 'weak' (of liquid) ↔ WrM singe-, HlM шингэ- 'be dissolved' ¶ Pp. GPMJ 1O1, MED 711-2.

1527. ***ῆ**α**ئ** 'go' (→ 'go to do sth.') > **HS**: Eg ۋ n̥y v. {EG} 'go\move\sail (somewhere)', {Fk.} 'travel' ¶ EG II 2O6, Fk. 126 || S: [1] the verb *-nū- vi. 'move, shake, dangle' > BHb ✓ n̥w̥ G (ip. نۇن يەن 'nūn) 'shake' (intr.), 'dangle', MHb, JA {Trg.} ✓ n̥w̥ G 'move' (intr.), ? Ar ✓ n̥w̥ G (ip. -nū-) 'expand the wings for darting on one's prey' (of

a falcon), *TD* (pf. *tanawwañ*) 'walk ahead', as well as possibly CS *-nū- > Ug {A} nā 'verlangen' (absent in OLS!) and Ar *✓nwf* (ip. -nū-) 'demander, solliciter', nū- 'thirst' [2] S *✓nūy|w > Gz nañā (f. nañā-ī, m. pl. nañā-ū) 'come!', (with loss of *ñ): BHb X̄ nā (particle of request or encouragement) '≈ please', Ug nā, Amr na, Sr l̄ (~ ɳ̄) nē id., Ar *✓nwy* 'se proposer une ch., avoir l'intension de ...' ¶ L G 382, JB ES 18, KB 62O, Grd. UT #1586, A #18O4, Hff. 236, Lv. T II 98, Br. 41O, BK II 1368-9, 1373, Hv. 8O8, 81O || ? One of possible sources of the -n-infix of the present tense in Bj ¶ ~ AD NEPGF 237-4O || K *n- v. 'want, desire, wish' > G, Lz n- id., Sv US/L/Ln n- id. (χ-o-n-i 'er will, er ist dafür') ¶ K 145, K² 135-6, FS K 234, FS E 257-8, Dn. s.v. n-⁵ || IE: [1] ?? NaIE *nā- 'help, be useful' (× N *‘nāqā 'assist [help, protect]' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ [2] One of the possible sources of the *n-infix in the IE verbal imperfective\present forms ¶ Brg. KVG²² 509-15 || A: Tg *-nā-/*-nē- (verbal sx.) 'go to (do sth.)' > Ewk duku-nā- 'go to write' (from duku-'write'), Ud kʒptʒ-nə-mi 'I go to lie down' (from kʒptʒ-mi 'ich liege'), wakča-na-mi 'I go to hunt', WrMc tací-ne- 'go to learn' (tací-'learn') ¶ Vas. 777, Shn. 77, 141, Hrl. 251 || | As indicated above, this N word may be one of the possible sources of the verbal imperfective\present forms in IE (*-n-present) and Bj (*-n-present). Another source may be represented by the HS imperfectivizing construction *Pan + verbal stem ¶ ~ AD NEPGF 237-4O.

1528. ₂*nāX, nāb (or *nāb, nāb?) 'hungry and thirsty', 'not to drink' (→ 'to be sober') > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} nañab- 'be hungry\sober', 'nāñeb n. 'hunger, sobriety' ¶ R WB 279-8O || Eg MKL/NK nħb.t n. 'wish, desire' ¶ EG II 294 || IE: NaIE *nāb^h- 'sober, hungry and thirsty' (× NaIE *nāgʷʰ- 'sober, hungry and thirsty' < N *nāHgo ~ *nāgʷʰ?o 'hungry, thirsty?') > Gk νήψω, Gk D νάψω 'drink no wine, be sober' || Arm նօրի nōtʰi (< *nawtʰi) 'fasting, hungry, famished, starved' ({F}: ← eArm *nawtʰ < *nāb^h-t-) ¶ F II 318-9 (*nāb^h-), Slt. 355-6, as well as ≠ WP II 317 and P 754 (both reconstruct IE *nāgʷʰ- without explaining the Arm cns. ʷ), ≠ EI 175 (νέψω < *n'ēgʷʰ-e/o- 'not drink') ◇ The Eg evidence suggests a voiceless lr. (*X > Eg ḥ), while the voiced lr. ɳ in Bln is probably due to as. (*ħb > *ñb).

1529. *‘nāXib (or *nāb) 'thin, meagre' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'weak') > HS: WS *✓nħp ~ *✓nXb 'be thin \ meagre' > [1] WS *✓nħp > Ar *✓nħf* G (pf. naħifa / ip. -nħafu ~ pf. naħufa / ip. -nħufu) 'be naturally lank \

meagre', *naħif-* 'mince et maigre naturellement', Mh/Jb $\check{\eta}\text{ħf}$: Mh *nħayf*, Jb E/C '*nħif* 'lean, thin'; [2] S * $\check{\eta}\text{ħb}$ > Sr $\check{\eta}\text{ħb}$ *G* 'grow lean, waste' (pf. **naħib**, **naħibā** 'lean, meagre') || BK II 1216, Hv. 755, Jo. M 291, Jo. J 186, Br. 422, JPS 336 || as. * $\check{\eta}\text{ħb}$ < * $\eta\text{ħp}$ || C: Bj {R, Rop.} pcv. $\check{\eta}\text{ħw}$ {Rop.} 'become weak\thin', {R} 'schmachtig, mager, schwach sein' ({R} p. '*anħaw* / prs. *anħi*) || R WBd 182-3, Rop. 223 || Ch: CCh {Stl.} **nuf-* 'soft' > Wmd {ChL} *nōnōfū* 'softness' || Mf {BLB} *néf-néffe?* ~ *náf-náffap* 'fin, moulu finement (pour une farine), léger\fin (pour un tissu)'; Ch → Ar Ng *nafnaf* 'soggy, moist, soft'; CCh **nuf* partially contaminated with CCh **luf-* 'soft' < (?) N ***Lab** ∇ 'be soft', q.v. ffd.), whence Msm {Vnb.} *louloufout* 'softness' and Mf {BLB} *lēf-léffe?* ~ *·áf-láffap* 'fins (pour les cheveux)' || Stl. IF 131, ChL III 217, BLB 211, 251 || IE: NaIE *(s)*nēb^h-ri-* / *(s)*nōb^h-ri-* 'narrow, thin' > Arm **նուրիք** *nurib* 'subtile, fine, slender, thin, slim; narrow' || Dn *snever* 'eng, knapp', NNr Δ *snøver*, *snøv* id., ON *snæfr* 'flink, rasch', *snæfr* 'rasch' || WP II 698, P 973-4, Vr. 527-8, Slt. 44O || IE **s-* mobile points to a presence of a palatal element in the pre-IE dialect of N: *(s)*nēb^h-* < **hñēj^b* ∇ < N ***ñ** ∇ *Xiba* || A: T **jubka* 'thin' (of flat objects) > OT {MKD} *juwqa* 'thin', {Cl.} *juvkā* ~ *juvgā* '≈ slender, insubstantial, thin', MQp XIII {Cl.} *jupkā*, XIV [CC] *joga*, Chg XV *jupqā* 'thin, slender', OOsm XIV *juxa* 'thin', Osm {Rdh.} **يُوقِّة** *yufqa* 'thin (of flat objects), poor', Tk *yufka* id., 'fine, weak', Tkm *jūqa* ~ *juqwa*, Az *juxa*, Nog, VTt *juqa*, Bsh *յօկա* *jēqa*, SY *juqa*, Kr G *juwya*, Uz *jupqa*, ET *jupqa* ≠ *župqa* ≠ *juqa*, Qmq *juqqa*, Qzq, Qq *žūqa*, Qrg *župqa* ≠ *žuqa*, Alt *žuqa*, Xk, Tv *čuya*, Tf *ćuya*, MChv {Md.} **šúxa* > Chv L/MK *çýxe* *śūx_e* 'thin' (of flat objects) || Cl. 874, MKD 235, ET J 241-2, Rdh. 2216, AzRL II 585, Ra. 198, Rs. W 209, Md. 62, 134, 162 (T **žuyka* ~ **žubka*), ≠ DQA #263O (unc.: T < A **žuňjbe* 'weak, bad', see N **žoř'a w* ∇ or **žař'o w* ∇ *'≈ of poor quality; weak, bad'). The rounded vw. **u* in pT may be due to the infl. of the adjacent **b* || Comparison with M **nimgen* 'thin' (of flat objects) and Tg **nem(i)* 'thin' is hardly acceptable (\Leftrightarrow SDM97). M **nimgen* and Tg **nem(i)* may be cognate to T **jinc-* 'be narrow, thin' (Cl. 945-6) || D **navur-* 'tender, thin' (\times N **ňäp* ∇ *r* ∇ 'tender, beautiful', 'thin [not dense]', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IE **s-* mobile before an initial sibilant may be interpreted as a palatalized variant of pIE *‘- (see Introduction §§ 2.2.5-6).

1529a. ? ₂ *nec **נְאָכֵל** 'plait, tie together' > HS: S +ext. *✓nsk ~ *✓nsg (< N *nec **נְאָכֵל** × N *säk **נְאָכֵל** 'plait, tie, bind, wicker' [q.v.]) > BHb ✓nsk (pp. f. G **נְטוּבָה** nətū'bā) v. 'entwine, plait, weave', IA ✓nsk 'plait, weave', JA **נִסְכָּא** nis'k-ā {Sl.} 'thread of a woof', {Lv.} 'Gewebe', Ar **نَسْجٌ** nṣg v. 'weave (cloth), plait', {BK} 'tisser une étoffe, tresser' ¶ KB 664, KBR 703, Js. 917, Lv. III 408, Sl. 752, Fr. IV 272, Hv. 765, BK II 1247 || B (+ext.) *°✓nsl > Si sənsəl v. 'plait (leaves) in order to weave baskets' ¶ La. S 305 || C: Ag: Aw {Hz., Plm.} əncéw- (1s əncép-) v. 'tie, bind', Bln {R} inšaw- v. 'tie, tie together', Q {R} enšēw-, Km {CR} anšäw-, Xm {R} iəc uw- v. 'tie' ¶ Hz. VS 105, Plm. VSA 293, R WB 41, AD SF 299 || D {Pf.} *neč-/*ney-, {Km.} *neč-/*eč- > *ne(:)y-, [θGS] *ne's'- v. 'weave, plait' (× N ***reč** **נְאָכֵל** 'to tie, to plait', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Qu., but indispensable to explain the S cns. *s (reg. from N *č).

1530. ??? ₂ ***N'a'č** **נְאָכֵל** 'falcon' > HS: CS *'na|içac- > BHb **נְאָכֵל**, (BbV) **נְאָכֵל**, SmHb nəš 'falcon', JA (BbV) [TrgO] **נְאָכֵל** naç'čā id., JA [TrgJ] br nçç? ~ br nyçç? (*[niçə'čā]) id. (lit. 'son of a falcon'), JA [Trg.] {Lv.} **נְאָכֵל** nā'čā or **נְאָכֵל** nē'čā 'Habicht' or 'Sperber', JEA {Sl.} **נְאָכֵל** nṣ? (unk. voc.) 'falcon', Sr **נְאָכֵל** nəs'sā {Br.} 'hawk (Accipiter)', SmA nṣ, nṣṣ, nṣṣh 'e bird', Ug nṣ {Grd.} 'falcon', {OAS} 'e 'bird (of prey?)' (possibly 'hawk, falcon'), ?σ Ar **نَصَّةٌ** nass-ät- 'female sparrow'; OHb fem. *neč'čā (> *niç'čā) 'female falcon' (Job 39.13) was transcribed in LXX as νεσσα and translated by Aquila as ἔραξ and by Hieronymus (Vulgata) as accipiter, while the Tiberian Masoretes read (and vocalized) the word as **נְאָכֵל** nō'čā, interpreting it as a wrong spelling for **נְאָכֵל** nōčā'tah 'its (= stork's) feather' (**נְאָכֵל** in their "Masora parva" comment) within the context **הַסִּידָה וְנְאָכֵל** which they understood as 'stork and its feather', while acc. to Aquila and the Vulgata it meant 'stork and (female) falcon'. This Masoretic misinterpretation is responsible for the strange vocalization (with unexpected ū and lack of gemination of č). KB 676 preserves the traditional Masoretic vocalization as **נְאָכֵל** nō'čā, but accepts (after G. Hölscher) the semantic interpretation of **נְאָכֵל** nçh as 'female falcon'. The LXX translators were probably not sure about this difficult place and preferred to transcribe it (instead of translating) as ασιδα και νεσσα. The vw. of the first syll. of the word is not clear: both its Tiberian and Babylonian vocalization of BHb point to pS *i (*'niçac-), while SmHb and Ar suggest pS *a (*'naçac-) ¶ KB 674, 676, KBR 714-5, Hölscher H 99, Yv. II 779, Grd. UT

#1682, OAS 333, Lv. T II 123, 126, Spr. BA I 181 (Lev. 11.16), 316 (Deut. 14.15), Sl. 771, Br. 442, Tal 545, BK II 1267, Hv. 772 || amb A: ? M *način ~ *lačin 'falcon' (unless ← 'Latin or European falcon' ← a European word for 'Latin') > MM [HI] lačin 'falcon', WrM nacın, HIM нач, Kl начн načən id., Brt нашан 'gyrfalcon, falcon' ¶ Ms. H 73, MED 556, KRS 37O, KW 272, Chr. 325 || ? NaT *lačin 'falcon' (← ?) > OT, Chg, XwT, MU, MQp lačin 'falcon', Qzq lašin, Sg/Shor {Rl.} lačin, Xk ılačin, Az, Qmq, Tv, Shor lačin, Tkm tāčin, VTt lašın, Bsh lačın ~ ylvania, Nog, Qzq, Qq lašin ~ ılašin, Alt lačin, ET lačin id., Osm {Rh.} lačin 'female peregrine falcon', Tk lačin (i because of a folk-etl. connection with European lgs.) ¶ The irreg. initial *l- (for the expected *j-) may be explained either by borrowing (from which source?) or by internal phonological processes (not identified so far). The unexpected preservation of the final *-in (which is not typical in T) suggests a borrowing either from some unknown lge. of the Altaic family or from a non-Altaic lge. ¶ Cl. 763, Rs. W 313, TL 17O, 651, Rh. 1617 || ?? Ko {Rm.} načən 'a special kind of hunting falcon' ¶ Rm. SKE 135 ¶ KW 272, Rm. SKE l.c. ◇ This word in M, T, and Ko may be a loan from the European word for 'Latin' ('falcon' ← "Latin falcon") or represent merger of the A word with the loanword. In the former case the N etymology is to be rejected.

1531. *nAdN '(the whole) clan' > HS: S *°n̥d̥wly > Ar √ndw G 'convoquer à une réunion', {Hv.} 'assist at a meeting', {BK} Pandiyat-(pl.) 'réunion, assemblée' ¶ BK II 1229-3O, Hv. 76O || K: GZ *nad- 'collective assistance in agriculture' > OG, G nad-, Mg nod-, Lz node(r)- id. ¶ K 145, K² 136 || D *nāt-, {GS} *nād- 'village' > Tm nātū 'country, district', Kn nātū 'cultivated land; the country' (↔ 'city'), Ml nātū id., 'kingdom, district', Kt na·t 'country, settled area', Td no·t 'sacred place', Tu nādū, nādū 'district, village', Tl nādū 'a country', Gnd nār ~ nār, Knd nāru, Png nāz / nās (obl. nāt-), Mnd nāy (obl. nāt-, Kui nāžu, Ku nāyū ~ nāyu 'village'; D → Mrt nāt 'place' ¶ D #3638, GS 161 [#395].

1532. (2?) *nidN '≈ eye; to look' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to look for, to seek?') > A: M *nidün 'eye' > MM [LM, MA, IM, IsV, HI, S] nidün, WrM nidiñ, HIM нүд(эн), Ord {Ms.} nüd_ù, Brt нюдэ(н), Kl нүдн, {Rm.} nüdŋ, MMgl {Iw.} nidün, Mgl {Rm.} nüdün, Dg {T} nidü, Dx {T} nudun, Ba {T} nedon, Mnr H/M {T} nudu, Mnr H {SM} nud_u id.; *nidüle- v. 'look' > WrM nidiñle-, HIM нүдлэ- id., Dg {T} nidñe- id., 'examine', Kl нүдл-

× 'to notice', {Rm.} *nüd*- 'mit den Augen sehen', Brt *њюдэл-* v. 'recover one's sight, get the habit (of visiting, going somewhere)' || Pp. L III 72, Pp. MA 249-51, 442, Lg. VMI 57, H 116, Ms. H 78, MED 578, Chr. 342-3, KRS 388-9, KW 282, Rm. M 35, SM 287-9, Iw. 12O, T 353, T DgJ 157-8, T DnJ 131, T BJ 144 || **D:** SD *ni^t-, nēt- > Kn nittisū- v. 'look at', as well as (× N *TewdA 'look for, find') Tm nētū 'seek, look out for', Ml nētukā 'obtain, get', Kdg nə^td- v. 'earn' || D #3766 || ?σ **K** *nd- v. 'wish' > OG nd-, G nd- 'wish' (OG, G msd. nd-oma, 3s prs. unda), Sv *χwi-ndwn-e* 1s 'I wish'; × K *n- 'wish' (OG, G, Lz, Sv n-) || The adduction of K is legitimate unless *nd- is derived from *n- || Abul. 326, Fn. KD #5 (*nd-), K 145 (*n-), FS E 257-8 (*n-) ◇ ≠ Fn. KD #5 (equates the D √ [inaccurately reconstructed as *nāt-/nēt-] with K *nat-/ne^t- [without specifying its reflexes; he obviously means G natvr-/na^tr- 'wünschen, ersehnen, begehren', Chx. 927-8]).

1533. *ní^tU₁da or *ní^tU₂da 'to tie' > IE: NaIE *ned^b- v. 'tie' > OI *nad^b-, pp. nad'dha- (< *nad^b-ta-) 'tied', 'nahyati 'binds' || L nōdus 'a knot' ({KM, Vr.}: < *noz-do- < *nod^b-do-; WH rejects this hyp.) || OIr náidm 'fait d'attacher \ de lier, contrat', nasc- (< *n_od-sk-) v. 'tie, attach', Br naskā- 'attacher (les bestiaux par les cornes)' || ON nista 'to attach' (with the sx. *-st-), OHG nestilo, nestila 'lace, band', ?φ AS nostle 'fillet, band' || WH II 172-3, EM 772-3, M K II 147-8, M E II 31-2, Vn. N 1-4, Vr. 408, 410, Kb. 723, OsS 647, Ho. 238, ≈ P 758-9, ≈ WP II 825, ≠ EI 336 (L nōdus < IE *ned- 'knot' with unj. *d) || **U:** FU (or FP?) *níða|ä- (or níða|ä-) 'bind together' > F nito- v. 'stitch, sew, bind', Es nídu- 'connect, bind together' | pLp {Lr.} *níðē- vt. 'fasten, join\stitch together' > Lp: L {LLO} njatēt id., N {N} njāðđe- / -đ- 'tack\lash on\together, join together by tacking\sawing (skin traps, etc.), fasten (scythe) on the handle', Kld nād_te- 'binden (mit einer Wurzelfaser), nähen' | Mk недя- нéда- vi. string (as beads)', Er недя- нéда- id., 'hang on\up, haft', {Ps. [but not mentioned in ERV]} нéта-, нáта- 'anfügen, aufreihen, umbinden, mit Stricken befestigen' || Ps. H 23 adduces here Hg nygaláb 'bundle', but MF 476 and UEW 713 reject it and (rather unconvincingly) connect nygaláb with Hg nyolc 'eight' || The hyp. of the IIr origin of the FU √ is hardly acceptable because it fails to account for the palatalized *ní and for the vw. *i in FU || ≈ UEW 713 (FU ← pre-IIr *n_od- or *ned^b-), Set. FUD 382, SK 386, Lr. #751, Lgc. #43OO, TI 292, ERV 408, Ker. II 95, PI 178, Ps. FI 23 || **HS:** Ch: WCh: Zar {ChL} n̄ttu, Zar K {Sh.} n̄d v. 'tie' || CCh: Mdr {Mg.} n̄woda / n̄uda,

{Mch.} *ŋud*, {ChL} *ŋudanajuda*, Glv {Rp.} *ngud-*, Gv {ChL} *ŋgùðaænúfà*, Dgh {Frk.} *ŋgwid* id. ¶ ChC, ChL || Eg fMd *nwđ.t* 'baby's napkin' ¶ EG II 225, DW 451-2 ◇ Ps. FI 23 (FU ← Ary), IS II 88 (*^rni₁da) (IE, FU) ◇ The Ch and Eg data suggest the presence of N *w or *U. The initial ŋ- and the glottalized *đ in Ch may point to a N lr., most probably *? (sc. N *ñi₁?U,da → *ní₁?U,da). In IE the N lr. *? is regularly lost without traces (such as vowel lengthening). The pN rec. *ñi₁?U,da is justified if the FU palatal *ñ- goes back to N *ñ- with ass. palatalization (caused by *i). The alt. pN rec. *ní₁?U,da presupposes pre-IE depalatalization *ñ->*n- (neutralization of the palatality feature before the palatal vw. *i?).

1534. ₂ *ñāHgo (or *ñag₁ñ₂go) 'hungry, thirsty' > HS: Eg fMK *nʒʒ* v. 'parch with thirst', n. 'thirst' ¶ EG II 377, Fk. 144 ¶ Tk. I 56 || S (+ext.) *o√ngr > Ar √n̄gr 'être pris d'un violent accès de soif', naḡar- 'accès de soif violent' ¶ BK II 12O2-3 ¶ Tk. I 56 || IE: NaIE *nāgʷʰ- 'sober; hungry and thirsty' (× IE *nābʰ- 'sober, hungry and thirsty' < N *ñāX₁ñ₂X₃ 'hungry and thirsty', q.v.) > Gk νήφω, Gk D νάφω 'drink no wine, be sober' || OHG nuohturn ~ nuohtarn 'sober, with an empty stomach', NHG nüchtert, MDt nuchterne, Dt nuchter id. ¶ WP II 317, P 754, Kb. 738, OsS 661, KM 515-6 (qu.: OHG nuohturn ← L nocturnus 'by night, nightly'), F II 318-9 (rejects the Gmc cognate and reconstructs IE *nābʰ-), Vr. N 47, ≠ EI 175 (νέφω < *n'ēgʷʰ-e/o- 'not drink') ◇ The Eg cognate is valid unless its primary meaning is 'ersticken' (cp. EG: *nʒʒ* 'ersticken, verdursten; Dursten, Durst').

1535. *nig₁E, Xä 'to butt, to push, to pierce' > HS: CS *√ngħ, *-ngħ(-) v. 'butt' > JA [Trg.] √ngħ G (pf. nə'gaħ) id., JEA √ngħ G 'gore', BHb נָגַה √ngħ (ip. -ggħaħ) 'gore' (of oxen), ? Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} √n̄għ Sh ḡanġaħha {Fr.} 'superavit et vicit', {Hv.} 'overcome' ¶ KB 63O, KBR 667, Fr. IV 241, Hv. 75O, Js. 873, Sl. 729 || IE: NaIE {IS} *neiġħ- v. 'pierce' > OIr nes(s) 'coup, blesure' (< *niġħ-s) (× N *ñU₁K₂ñ₃ 'to strike, to peck, to hit??) || Sl *n̄bz-/niz-, *n̄bz-ti 'penetrate, pierce' > OCS ΝΗΣΤΗ nisti (prs. ΝΕΖЖ ПЬЗД) 'penetrate', OR ΝΗΣΤΗ nizti (prs. ΝΕΖЖ ПЬЗД) 'pierce', OCS ВЪНИСТН въ-nisti (prs. ВЪНВѢЗЖ УЪ-ПЬЗД) 'I stick\thrust into'; caus. *noziti > R Δ назить & назить 'be a draught, penetrate' (of wind)', RChS ВЪНОЗИТН въ-noziti, R во-н'зить v. 'stick\thrust into'; Sl *noz- (acc. to IS, an

apophonic *⁰-grade based on the analogy of other verbal roots, like ***þ̥rati** / ***þorъ**): R **за-'ноза** 'a splinter in one's hand, foot, etc.'), Uk **за'ніз** (gen. **за'нозу**) 'a stick put through the ox-yoke'; Sl ***nožь** (< pre-Sl ***noz-jo-s**) 'knife' > OCS, OR **ножъ** **nožъ**, Blg **нож**, SCr **nōž** (gen. **nóža**), Slv **nōž** (gen. **nóža**), R **нож** (gen. **но'жа**), Uk **ніж**, P **nóž** (gen. **nóža**), Cz **nůž** id. ¶ P 76O (***negh-**), ≈ Vn. N 11 (Ir **nes(s)** < IE ***nek-**, Vs. I 348-9, II 78, and III 80, Glh. 443, SJSS VI 307, ESSJ XXVI 19, 68-9, ≈ EI 537 (OCS **nožъ** and Mir **nes(s)** < IE? ***h₁negh-es** 'spear' ↔ IE ***h₁negh-** 'stab') ¶ The N lr. must have coalesced with ***gʰ** without leaving traces (N ***-g₁N₂X-** > ***-gH-** > IE ***-gh-**) || U: FU ***nikkä** vt. 'stick (in), pierce' > pLp {Lr.} ***nakkēt(t)ē** vt. 'stick (in), push' > Lp: S {Hs.} **näkkiedidh** 'schieben, einherschieben, stoßen', N {N} **nâkketi-** v. 'stick, put', Kld {TI} **näkχe-** 'hinein-stecken\ -schieben' || ObU {Hl.} ***něk-** > pVg ***năk-** > Vg MK **năk-** in **əl-năki-** 'fortschieben', **năknăk-** 'aufrütteln, erwecken'; pOs **něk-** 'stoßen' > Os: Ty/Y **něk-**, Kz **năkī-** '(leicht) stoßen (z. B. beim Aufwecken)', d.: Kz **năkamə-** 'anstoßen', Ty **někamtə-**, VK **někamt-** '(an)stoßen' ¶ Coll. 101, Coll. CG 79, UEW 304-5, Lr. #701, Lgc. #4058, Hs. 967, TI 272, ≈ Ht. #424 (pObU ***năk-/*něk-**; + unc. Vg T **ńăk-** 'treten'), WVD VII 210, MK 350 (Vg **ńăk-** & **ńăk-** 'treten') ◇ IS II 96-7 [#334] (***N**Eg_Δ 'вонзать': HS, IE). IS adduces here S ***✓ngp**, ***✓ngš**, and B ***✓ngs**, which is less convincing because of the unexplained third cns. I prefer to equate S ***✓ngš** and B **✓ngs** with IE ***nejkg_hs-** (> OI 'nikṣati' 'pierces', etc.) and to reconstruct N ***nígE_S₂N** 'butt, pierce' as a separate N etymon. The pN rec. ***níg_E_₁Xā** enables us to equate S and IE with FU ***nikkä** v. 'stick, pierce' (where the long cns. ***-kk-** is likely to go back to ***-gχ-** [or ***-gh-**?]). The connection between N ***nígE_S₂N** and N ***níg_E_₁Xā** (if any) may belong to the realm of pre-N (or N?) derivation.

1536. *nígE_S₂N (= ***nígE_S₁N**?) 'butt, pierce' > **HS**: S ***°✓ngš** > JA [Trg.] **✓ngš G** (3m ip. **שָׁגַן יִנְגֹּשׁ**) v. 'attack, gore'; ?? S ***✓nkš** (as. ***-kš-** < ***-gš-**) > SmA **✓nkš G** 'gore', Ar **✓nks** (ip. **-nkus-**) {BK} 'renverser', {Hv.} 'reverse, invert, throw upside down' ¶ KB 633, Lv. II 92, Js. 876, Tal 528, BK II 1341, Hv. 798 || B **✓ngs** > Ah **əŋgəs**, Sll **əngəs** v. 'butt so.', Kb **✓ngs**: **najjəs** 'bousculer' ¶ Fc. 1339, Dl. 556 || IE: NaIE ***°nejkg_hs-** v. 'pierce' > OI 'nikṣati' id., Av **naēza** 'point (of a needle)', CINPrs {Sg., VI.} **نَيْزَه** **nēza**, NPrs {BM} **نَيْزَه** **nejze** 'short spear, demi-lance, javelin, dart, pike', {VI.} 'lancea, hasta' ¶ M K II 158-9, M E

II 41, VI. II 1386-7, Sg. 1442, BM 576 || D *nīk- ({θGS} *-g-?) > Tm nīcuni v. 'go through, pierce', Tl īgu 'enter, penetrate', ? Klm īkeŋ 'pierce, thrust in (knife)' ¶ ≠ D #3686 || ? U: FU: Vg MK {Kn.} nākəs- 'stossen, rasseln (?)' (unless derived from Vg MK nāk-, cp. əl-nāki- 'push') ¶ WVD VII 21O ◇ If Vg MK nākəs- belongs here, N *S may be identified as *ś ◇ The D root lost its sibilant (probably *-igES- > **-igS- > **-ikS- > D *-i:k-) ◇ IS II 96-7 [#334] (*NEgΔ 'вонзать': HS, IE).

1537. *nūH₁ 'æ' ~ *nūw 'æ' 'now' > IE *nuHx 'now' > Ht {Ts., CHD} nu 'now, and, but', {CHD} nūwa- 'still, yet' || NaIE *nū 'now' > OI 'nu, 'nū, Av nū 'now' || Gk νῦ 'now' (as well as νυν, νῦν id. < *nu-m?) || L num 'nun noch, nun jetzt', → 'whether' (interr. pc.), nudius (< *nu- + *dyeus 'day'): nudius tertius 'the day before yesterday' (lit.: 'it is now the third day'), nudius quartus 'it is now the fourth day', etc. || Gt nu, ON nú, OSx nū, OHG, AS nū ~ nu, NGr Δ nu, NHG nun 'now', NE now || Lt nū 'now, today', Ltv nu ~ nū 'now', Pru -nu in tei-nu 'now' | Sl *nъ 'but' > OCS нъ нъ, Blg нъ, но, R но, SCr Δ но, Slv но || pTc {Ad.} *nū > Tc: A nu {Wn.} 'now' → 'just, but', B {Ad.} no 'however, but' ¶ Ts. E II 339-43, CHD L-N 460-70, P 770, EI 397 (*nu), M K II 175, M E II 52-3, WH II 184-6, F II 325, Fs. 380, Vr. 412, Ho. 239, Ho. S 56, Kb. 737, OsS 660, KM 516, Frn. 509-10, En. 264, Vs. III 77, ESISJ-SGZ II 508-10, ESSJ XXVI 50-1, Wn. 320, Ad. 347 (Tc B no 'however, but'), Ad. H 19, 26, 34 (Tc nu & no 'now, therefore') || A: Tg *nē 'now, immediately' > Ul nз, Nn nз, Ork n† ~ nз 'immediately', Ud nз id., 'without fail (Непременно)', WrMc ne 'now' ¶ STM I 614, Krm. 266 || U: FU (att. in FP only) *nñü: 'now' (partially × FU *ññük▽ < N *ñük▽ ~ *ñukE 'now') > F nyt, F Δ ny, nyу 'now, at the present time', Es nüñd, Δ nüñ 'now', Lv ní id. || Er héy, Mk ní id. || Prm *ní ~ *ni 'already' > Vt ni, ini, Z Ud ní ~ ni id. ¶ SK 406-7, ~ UEW 707, LG 192 ||| N *nūH₁ 'æ' nu (N *nūH₁ 'æ' + N genitive pc. *nu) '(of) the present time' > IE *nuHx-ṇ▽ > NaIE {P} *nū-no- 'jetzig' > OI nū'nam 'now', MPrs nūn, NPrs nūn, نونْ لِـ äk-nūn, كُـونْ ko-nūn id. || BSl: [1] Lt {Herm.} nūn ~ nun 'now', [2] a fossilized case form of the adj.: Lt nūnař 'today, now' | Sl *nñně 'at the present time' > OCS, OR нынѣ nñně, R 'ныне', Blg нине, OP, OCz nyne, C, Slk nyní, P ninie, var. *nñně > OR нынѣ nñně, R Δ ноне || ? L nunc 'now' (< *nun-ke

or *num-ke) ¶ P 77O, M K II 176-7, VI. I 117 and II 902, WH II 187-8, Frn. l.c., Herm. LS 365, Vs. III 77, 82, 91, ESISJ-SGZ II 51O-2, ESSJ XXVI 57-63 || HS: C: Ag *n^hnh 'now' > Bln/Q {R} nān, Xm nən 'now (jetzt)' ¶ R WB 284 || U: Z n̥in, Z Δ n̥in 'already' ¶ LG 192 ¶ The delabialization of *ü in Z (or already in pFU?) needs investigating ◇ IS II 97 reconstructs here *Nüq^h 'now' (> IE, U). The N cns. *-q- was reconstructed by IS on the alleged ev. of U *Nük^h 'now' > F nyky- adj. 'present' (of time), supposing that U *-k- is a reg. reflex of N *-q-, which is at variance with the numerous cases where N *-q- yields U zero (e.g., N *p^hoq^hi 'to cover' > U *poy^h 'be wrapped', N *taqoz^hi 'to plait, to wattle' > U *tos^h 'basket, vessel', N *sä1^hl^hq^hU 'to cleave, to cut asunder' > U *sälü- 'cut', N *son^hq^hū 'sinew, tendon; root' > U *sōne 'vein, sinew' a. o.) as against two cases of U *k < N *q in U cns. clusters (N *p^hož^hq^h 'thigh, haunch' > U *počka 'Schenkel' [see s.v. N *p^hoqEž^h ~ *p^hož^hq^h] and N *mūq^hE,ři 'shoulder' > U *mvrk^h id.). N *-q- is ruled out by the Ht cognates nu and nuwa, because the reg. Ht reflex of N *-q- is -h-. F nyky- may be equated with Ht nukku 'now' and Ag *n^hnk^h- 'today' and hence go back to N *ñük^h ~ *ñukE (q.v.). On the possible connection (or identity) of the N etymon in question with N *ñaw^hy,ŋ 'new' see s.v. N *ñaw^hy,ŋ ◇ ≈ Gr. II #280 (*nu 'now') (IE, Ai, Gil + qu. EA + err. U + err. A, J, which belong to N *ñaw^hy,ŋ).

1538. *ñi^hw^h (or *ñi^hhw, *ñi^hhiw^h, *ñi^hhohi^hw^h?) 'to lead, to direct (oneself) towards' (→ 'carry [somewhere]') > HS: S *ñi^hw 'lead, guide' > BHb ñhy|w G (pf. נְהַנֵּהָ, imv. נְהַנֵּהֶ) 'lead, guide', Ar ñi^hw G (pf. نَهَنَ, ip. -ñhuw- ~ -ñhaw-) 'direct oneself towards', naħw- n. 'side, tract' ¶ KB 647, GB 497, BDB 634-5 [#5148], Fr IV 252-3, Hv. 756 || IE *nejHx- '≈ lead, direct towards' (× N *ñáñ^h 'take so. with oneself, lead') > NaIE *onej- > OI 'nayati '(he) leads', pp. nī'ta-'led (ductus)', Av naye^hti 'brings, leads', OPrs a-naya 'he led\brought', Phl nītan 'führen, treiben' || Ht {CHD} nai-/ne- vt. 'send, dispatch' (and also vi., vt. 'turn'?), {Ts.} 'lenken, leiten, richten, schicken, wenden', (× N *ñæñE 'go [away]') nanna- vi. 'treiben, ziehen, marschieren, fahren', vt. 'treiben, fahren' ¶ WP I 321, P 76O, H 346, Dv. #452, M K II 137, M E II 17-9, Ts. E II 253-7, 271-3, CHD L-N 347-5O, 357-8, Sturt. CG 215, 247 (believed that nanna- is a rdp. of nai- 'lead') || A: Tg *ñeb- 'carry away' (× N *ñib|p^h 'to bend down, to

sink' [q.v.]) > Ewk ȝ3w- 'carry away', Ud {Krm.} ȝzugi- 'bring\carry back, carry away' || STM I 667, Krm. 268 || ?φ U: FU: pPrm {LG} *nu- 'carry, lead' > Z ȝy- nu- 'lead', Vt ȝy- nu- (inf. ȝуыны) 'carry, lead, lead away' || LG 196, ~ It. #105, ≠ UEW 710; both It. and UEW adduce (hesitantly) F nouta- 'follow the traces' and reconstruct FU *o; for F nouta- see N *ńoŋuda 'follow in the traces, hunt, pursue' ◇ If the Tg word belongs here, the pN rec. will be *ŋ'i'hw. The prehistory of Tg *-e- still needs investigating. N *ŋ- regularly yields S *n- (rather than *ń-) in the presence of a lr. Something similar is likely to have happened in IE, but the positional reflexes of N *ŋ- have not yet been investigated. If the Prm word belongs here, the N rec. may be *ńŋohi w, but in this case the absence of any trace of a lr. before *j in IE and the vw. *e in Tg are puzzling.

1538a. *ńAk 'woman' > IE *neK- > Ht nega- ~ neka- 'sister' || Ts. W 56 || HS: EC *nāk¹- > Sml nāg 'woman, wife', ? Dl: Gwd {Bl.} nahāyye, Gwd/Grs {AMS} naħayę, Hr/Dbs {AMS} naħte (pl. naħadde) 'wife' || The Dl words belong here either if {AMS} ħ (for the expected h) is due to inaccurate recording or if ħ of the Dl lgs. may go back to EC *-k- under still unknown conditions || ZMO 301, Bl. 306, AMS 238 || D *nāk- 'female' > Tm nāku 'female calf\fish\snail, heifer, female fish; femininity', Ml ā-nāku 'heifer', Kt na·g, Td no·x 'female buffalo between two and three years old', Tu nāku 'female calf', Tl elā-nāga 'damsel' (elā < D *i]a 'young'), Prj nēva 'female pig' || D 3634 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 157 [#49] (equated D with EC and IE + err. Tg *nekūn 'younger relative' [see N *ńeKU 'relative[s] of a younger generation']).

1539. *ńEko 'to open (?), to bare, to uncover' > IE: NaIE *nogʷ- (⇒ *nogʷod^ho-, *nogʷ-no-) 'naked' > ON nøkkvá 'to denude, to bare' || *nōgʷ-os- > BSl: Lt nūogas, Ltv Δ nōgs [nūogs] 'naked' || Sl *nāgъ / *nagъ-jъ id. > ChS ńaгъ nagъ, SCr, Slv nāg, Cz, Slk nahý, P nagi, R на'гой (pradj. наг), Uk нагий] ⇒ *nogʷ-od(^h)o- (~ *nogʷ-to-) > L nūdus 'naked' || Gt naqar-s, ORu {Krs.} nAkža, ON nøkkuiðr (< Gmc *nakwīθaz), OHG na(c)kot, NHG nackt, MDt naect, nake(n)t, Dt naakt, AS nacod id., NE naked] d. *nogʷ-to- id. > OIr nocht, W noeth, Crn noeth, noyth, nōz, MBr noaz, Br noazh] d. *nogʷ-no- 'naked' > OI nag'na-, Av māgna- id. || Gk mt. γυμνός id., 'bare', [Hs.] λυμνός · γυμνός id., Gk Cp [Hs.] d. ἀπολύγματος · ἀπογύμνωσις 'stripping bare' || ON nakinn, NNr, Sw naken, Dn

nøgen, OFrs *naken*, Dt *nakend* 'naked' || Ht *nekumant-* (*nikumant-*) 'naked' (of humans, gods), 'uncovered' (of horses) ¶ WP II 339-40, P 769-70, EI 45-6 (**ne/og^hno-s* 'bare, naked'), Vs. 370, Vr. 404, 414, Vr. N 461, Krs. R #54, Mkj. 135, Kb. 714, OsS 638, KM 501, Ho. 229, Frn. 511-2, Glh. 432, ESSJ XXII 70-3, WH II 185, Vn. N 19, Ern. 446, M K II 126-7, M E II 5-6, FI 332-3, Ch. 241-2, Ts. E II 307-9, CHD L-N 433-4 || HS: S *^o✓nk? ~ *^o✓nky G 'uncover' > Ar [Qam.] ✓nk? G {Hv.} 'take off the scab of (a wound)', {Fr.} 'eschara nudavit (ulcus) antequam sanatum esset', {BK} 'enlever la croûte de la plaie avant qu'elle soit guérie' (with the accus. denoting the wound); Ar ✓nky (pf.  *nakā*, ip. -*nkiy-*) {Fr.} 'escharam detraxis (ulceri)', {BK} 'ôter la croûte qui recouvre la plaie' ¶ Fr. IV 330, 336, BK II 1336, 1345, BKIG IV 617, Hv. 796 || C: Ag *[?]ʒnk- vt. 'open' > Bln {R} enk-, īnk-, Q {R} enš-, Xm {R} iek-, ek- ¶ R WB 37 || A *n^eke- > M *neve- vi. 'open' > MM [S] {H} neke- [nege-], WrM nege-, HIM, Brt n̥eə- nē-, Kl hee- nē-, {Rm.} nē-, Ord, Ba {T} nē-, Dx {T} nie-, MnR H {T} nē- id., {SM} niē- 'ouvrir, déboucher' ¶ H 114, MED 568, KRS 374, KW 275-6, Chr. 341, SM 272, T 349, T DJ 130, T BJ 144 || Tg ≈ *nigⁱ- vt. 'open' > Ud X {STM} nīgi-, Nn nīxəli-, Orc, Ul, Ork nī-, Ewk, Neg nī-, WrMc ney- vt. 'open' ¶ STM I 588.

1540. **ñuk* ∇ (= **ñuk'* ∇ ?) (or **ñuk* ∇ ∇ ??) 'darkness, night' > HS: S *-nīk- 'sleep with (a woman), copulate' (< *'spend the night with') (× N *^ñü ζ ' ∇ 'lie down, sink, bow [down]') > Ak prm. -nīk [inf. niāku(m) > nāku] {Sd.} 'copulate', {CAD} 'have illicit sexual intercourse', Ar ✓nyk G (ip. -nīk-) 'copulate with' (Fr.: 'futuit, inivit mulierem'), Jb C/E {Jo.} ✓nyk G (pf. n̥ēk, 3m sbjn. yink), Hrs {Jo.} ✓nyk G (pf. n̥yōk, 3m sbjn. yz'nek) 'sleep with (a woman)', Mh {Jo.} ✓nyk G (pf. n̥yūk, sbjn. yznyēk ~ yznyīk) id., 'copulate with' ¶ Rms. 265, CAD XI/1 197-8, Sd. 784, BK II 1376, Fr. IV 358, Jo. J 199, Jo. H 100, Jo. M 309, MiK I #2.53 || IE: Ht {CHD, Ts.} neku- 'es wird Abend', 'become evening', {Ts.} neku- 'evening', nekut 'evening, night', {CHD} nekuz(a) 'evening, nightfall; dawn, twilight', {CHD, Ts.} nana(n)kuss- 'be(come) dark\obscure\gloomy' || NaIE *nok₁ ω t- / *nuk₁ ω t- 'night' > OI nom. *nak*, accus. 'nakt-am, Wx nayd id., Av d. upa-naxtar 'an die Nacht angrenzend' || Gk nom. νύξ, gen. νυκτός 'night' || L nom. *nox* (gen. noct-is, gen. pl. noct-ium) id. || OIr in-nocht, MBr he-noez, Br he-nozh, MW he-noeth 'tonight' (lit.

'this night'), MW *pēu-noeth* 'every night', W *beunoeth* 'nightly'; Brt {RE} *noxts, {P} *noKt-stu- 'night' > OW, MW, W, OCrn, OBr, MBr nos, Br noz, Crn nōs id. || Gt nom. naht-s (gen. naht-s), ON nátt, nóttr, NNr natt, nott, Dn nat, Sw natt, OFrs, Dt nacht, OSx, OHG naht, NHG Nacht, AS niht ~ neaht 'night', NE night || pAl {O} *nakti- > Al natē id. || Lt nakt-is (gen. pl. naktū), Ltv nakts, Pru accus. nakti-n 'night' | Sl *nōkť id. > OCS **нощь** nošť, Blg ношт, McdS ноќ noč, SCr nōć, Slv nōč, Cz, Slk, P noc, R ночь, Uk ніч || Tc A nokte 'at night', noktim 'last night', B nekciye 'last night, at night'] ? NaIE *°neuk- > Lt niūksóti 'appear\be gloomy, be murky', ? niaukus 'cloudy, dark, dim' ||| NaIE *°nug^hg^h- or *°nuk^hk^h- 'night' > Gk [Hs.] νύχα · νύκτωρ 'by night', Gk d. νύχιος, νύχειος, νούχαιος 'nightly'; the quality of the cns. χ (< *g^hg^h or *k^hk^h) is still puzzling ¶ Ts. E II 273-4, 301-9, CHD L-N 394-5, 432-7, WP II 337-8, P 762-3, EI 394 (*nekʷt-~*nokʷt-), M K II 121-2, M E II 2-3, F II 327-8, WH II 181-3, LP § 52, Thr. § 221, RE 115, Flr. 271, Ern. 558, Fs. 368-9, Vr. 405, Vr. N 462, Ho. 236, Ho. S 54, Kb. 713, Oss 636, KM 500, O 282-3, Frn. 481-2, 499, 505, En. 213, ESSJ XXV 175-7, Glh. 439-40, Vs. III 86-7, Ped. TIE 222, Wn. 319-20, Ad. 342, JGH 50, 103 ¶ The unusual apophony *°o/*u in NaIE is explained by AD's hypothetical prehistory of the IE vowels (*noKt-/nuKt- < *nyoKt-/nuKt- < *nyakt-/nuKt- < N *°nuk^h 'dark') [a phrase with N *tä, dem. prn. of inanimate objects, like 'das Dunkle, the dark?'], see AD NGIE 17-9); Ht neku goes back to *nyakku < N *nuk^hu or *nuk^h + sx. *-u ||| u: FU (att. in FL) *n̥lukk^h 'sleep' > F nukku- v. sleep, be asleep', Vo nukua id., Krl A nukkuō ~ nukkuō, Krl Ld nukkuda, Vp {ZM} nukta ~ nukkuda 'be drowsy', Es {SK} nukku- id., 'be slumbering, sleep' | pLp {Lr.} *nokz- 'be drowsy\sleepy, fall asleep' > Lp: S {Hs.} nakkedidh 'be sleepy\drowsy\asleep', L {LLO} nähkkät 'fall asleep', N {N} nök'kät / -kk- id., 'go to bed', Kld {SaR} nohke- 'be drowsy' ¶ The vw. *u for the expected *ü may be due to vw. harmony (infl. of the back vw. of the next syll.) ¶ SK 397-9, ZM 367, Lr. #734, Lgc. #4204, Hs. 966, LLO 654, N III 119, SaR 215, ~ Blz. SNE #18 (err. rec. FU *nukk- + err. Hg nyugod- 'tranquil' [belonging together with nyugsz- 'lie, take a rest, repose'], which in fact goes back to FU *nūŋ^h 'ruhen', see UEW 328) ||| A: Tg: Lm n̥zəçzñz- 'dark, black' ¶ STM I 650 || Yk nuktä- 'be drowsy' and nukariy- v. 'fall asleep' (Pek. 1759-60) are likely to be loans from some Uralic (or unknown Altaic?) source; they cannot be

inherited T words, because in that case the original initial *N- would have yielded Yk s- || CK: ChK {Md.} *nəki 'night' > Kor nəki-, nəkinək, Aly nəki-, Chk nki-, nəxirit id.; Itl nkənk || Im W nkənk id. ¶ Md. ECK 98, Zh. RKS 275, Moll II 85-6, KEMGU NS, Moll IR s.v. нкəнк ◇ The unexpected gemination of *k in U and the cns. -χ- in Gk suggest the presence of a N lr. that is likely to be a "light" one: *h or *?, because *? leaves no traces (*ə) in the intercons. position in NaIE, *h may have influenced the quality of the velar cns. (*Kh > NaIE *kʰ > Gk χ) and because *? and *h are the only lr. consonants that can disappear in S (and Eg) ◇ ≈ Blz. SNE #18 (IE, U, Yk ←b- U), Glh. 439-40 (IE, U, CK, EA: Esk unuk 'evening', unuak 'night') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #278 (IE, U, CK + qu. EA + unc. J).

1541. *ñük∇ ~ *ñukE 'now' > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} ni'kī 'to-day, then, now', Dmb {R} nekī, Q {R} ney 'to-day' ¶ R WB 283, R QW 106 || ?? S: Gz ?ənka 'yet, now then' (unless ← ?ən-ka 'so, then!', therefore' ← ?ən [÷ Ar ?inna 'certainly, indeed', {Br.} 'siehe, wahrlich', Hb הַ hen 'voici' < N *hEñ∇ 'iste'] + -ka) ¶ L G 29-30 || IE: Ht nukku 'jetzt, sofort' ¶ Ts. E II 345, ≈ CHD L-N 471 (nukku = nu conj. + -(k)ku) || U: FU *ññük∇ 'now, already' (x FU *ññǖ: < N *ññH, 'æ' 'now') > F nyky- 'present' (in cds.: nyky-aika 'the present time', nyky-polvi 'the present generation', nyky-kansa 'the people of to-day'), nykyääñ 'at present, now', Es nüüd, Δ nüü 'now', Vp nügud 'now' | Er հեյ ñey 'now, at the present time', Mk հի ñi 'already' | Prm {Lt, LG} *ñi ~ *ni 'already' > Vt հի ñi, Z հին նին, Z Ud ñi ~ ni id. ¶ UEW 707, ERV 409, PI 180, LG 192.

1542. *ñaka 'fell, skin' > IE: NaIE *nak- id. > Gk νάκος 'fleece', νάκη 'woolly\hairy skin, goatskin', [Hs.] νακύ(δ)ριον · δέρμα 'skin' || AS næsc {Ho.} 'deerskin', {Sw.} 'skin' (< *nak-s-ko-) || Pru nognan 'leather' ¶ WP II 316, P 754, F II 287, Ch. 733, Ho. 230, En. 216, Sw. 122, EI 269 (? *nak(es) '≈ pelt, hide') || HS: Eg fMK nkñ {EG} 'mit Fell bespannter Schild', {BnH} 'Fell (beim Schild)' ¶ EG II 346, BnH s.v. nkñ || +ext.: S *ñkp > BHb ñkp D (pf. נִקְּפָה nik'kep 'schinden\zerfetzen (Haut)' (Job 10.28), Gz ñkf G (pf. naķafa, sbjn. yənķaf) v. 'peel, bark', Tgr ñkf G (pf. naķfa) 'detach \ strip off (the leaves)', Tgy ñkf G (pf. naķaf) v. 'bark', Sq {L} ñkf G (pf. neqof) 'scrape', Jb C {Jo.} ñkf (pf. nkɔf, sbjn. yunķzf) 'pick off', 'fall off' (scab), e'nuķaf 'uncover, pick the scab off' ¶ KB 681, ≈ BDB 668 [#5362], LG 399, LH 329, Jo. J 190

|| A: M *nekeyi 'sheepskin (\goatskin?) with its wool' > MM [S] {H} nekei 'sheepskin', [HI] {Ms.} nekei 'fourrure', [IM] نَكِي {Pp.} nekej 'fur coat', [MA] nekej dēl 'fur coat made of sheepskin', nekejn ebèsün 'grass used for tanning sheepskin', WrM nekei, HlM нэхий 'sheepskin with its wool', Ord {Ms.} ne^h"xī 'peau de mouton préparé servant de fourrure', WrO nekej 'sheepskin', Kl {KRS} нека nekä 'untanned sheepskin (with its wool)', Kl Ö {Rm.} nekē 'bereitetes Schaffell', Brt нэхэй 'made of fur', нэхы id., 'long-haired' (of sheep)', нэхы дэгэл 'fur-coat, sheepskin coat', Mnr H {SM} nik‘ī id., 'goat-skin; fur (fourrure)', {T} nikī (djel), Mnr M {T} nekej 'fur coat' ¶ H 114, Ms. H 78, Pp. MA 248, 442, MED 572, KRS 374, KW 274, Chr. 341, Ms. O 489, Krg. 214, SM 276 || ? Tg *nakita 'bear's hide' > Ewk nakita, Neg naχata, Ud n̥ata, Ork natta id., Lm naqъt id., 'bear', Ewk Skh/Tt/Urm/Chmk nakita 'bear'; the cognate is valid unless the primary meaning was 'bear' ¶ DQA #1393 (pA *nak‘i|o "a k. of skin", sc. 'in hide').

1543. *ñækæ 'pursue (the enemy), wage war, kill' > IE: NaIE *neḱ- 'kill; corpse' (× N *ñUKV 'to strike, to peck, to hit', q.v.) > OI 'naśyati 'is lost, disappears, perishes', Av naśyeiti 'verschwindet', naśista 'verderblichst', naś- 'calamity', naśu- 'corpse' || Gk νέκυς, νεκρός 'corpse', [Hs.] νέκεις · νεκροί 'corpses' || L nex, necis 'death, murder', necā- v. 'kill' || pTc {Ad.} *näk- > Tc A, B näk- vt. 'destroy', vi. 'perish' ||| NaIE **ñk- (× N *qEññKV 'to strangle, to kill', q.v. [?]) > OIr éc (< *ñ^hkū-) 'death', Btn ankou, Crn ancōw, MW angheu, W angau, Crn ancōw, Br hano id. (< *ñk(t)u-), Ir écht {P} 'Totschlag, {EI} 'killing' ({EI} < *ñk-ti-) || Gmc *arhtō ({EI} < *onkteh_A-) > OHG āhta 'hostile persecution', AS ōht id., 'oppression', NHG Acht 'outlawry, ostracism' ¶ WP I 60, P 782, Dv. #469, EI 150 (*neḱ- 'death', *'neḱ-u-s id., 'dead'), M K II 146-7, M E II 28-9, F II 299-300, WH II 153-5, LP § 8, OsS 7, KM 6, Kb. 11, EWA I 118-20, Schz. 83, Ho. 241, Wn. 313, Ad. 335 || HS: B *✓nyH v. 'kill' (× N *ñUKV 'to strike, to peck, to hit') > Ah, Gh aŋy (3m pf. iŋyā), ETwl/Ty əŋyū (3m pf. ETwl inyā, Ty yəŋyā), Kb nəy (pf. yəŋyā), Izd nəy (pf. inyā), Mz, Wrg nəy (pf. yəŋyū), Nf/Si {La.} aŋy, Gd ενη (pf. yεννω) 'kill' ¶ Fc. 1401-2, GhA 143, 246-7 (on cj. 1 A 7), Dl. 267, Dlh. M 138, Dlh. Ou 222, Lf. II #1072, Mrc. 256 || ?? S (+ext.) *✓nkm 'take vengeance' ¶ GB 520, LG 274, Br. 446 || A: M *neke- > MM [S] neke- 'verfolgen, hetzen, überfallen', [HI] neke- 'fondre à l'improviste sur', WrM neke-, HlM, Brt

нәхә-, Kl нәк- nekə- 'pursue in order to seize, seek, require', Ord ne^h"xe- 'exiger la remise de qch., reclamer' ¶ MED 572, KRS 374, KW 274, Chr. 341, Ms. O 489 || Tg: Ewk PT нәкә- v. 'fight, wage war' ¶ STM I 618 ◇ IS MS 357 (*n^räk¹) 'pursue [the enemy], M, Tg, S, B, IE *Hneḱ- + err. IE *Henḱ- [actually belonging to N *qEñ|ŋK² '↑']).

1544. *ῆæκ'ū' 'carry, bring' > IE: NaIE *neḱ-//*ῆḱ-//*enḱ- 'carry' > Gk ps. aor. ἦ-νέχ-θην 'was carried', ἐνεγκεῖν 'to carry' ({F} 'herbeischaffen, davontragen'), aor. ἐνέγκατ || BSl: Lt nēš-ti (1s prs. nēš-u), Ltv nes-t 'carry, bring' | Sl *nes-tì (1s prs. *nes-q) 'to carry, to bear' > OCS, OR **нести** nesti (prs. nesq), SCr nēsti, Slv nēsti, Cz nēsti, Slk niest', R, Uk нести id., Blg не'са 'I carry'; iter.-dur. *nosī-tì (1s prs. *noš-q) > OCS **носити** nositi (prs. nošq), SCr nositi, Slv nōsiti, Cz nositi, Slk nosit', P nosic̄, R но'сить 'to carry', Blg 'нося 'I carry' || pTc *enk- > Tc: A ents-, B enk- 'take, grip, seize' || ?Ht ninink- {CHD} 'mobilize \ set (people) in motion; move, remove, transfer (sth., so.); set in motion', {Ts.} 'in Bewegung setzen, antreiben; bewegen' ¶ F I 512-3, Ch. 346, Frn. 497-8, Vs. III 67, 85, ESSJ XXV 19-23, Glh. 441, ≈ P 316-8, Ad. 77-8, Ts. E II 328-32, CHD L-N 438-41, ≠ EI 35 (BSl, Gk, Tc < *h₁eneḱ- 'attain') || HS: C *✓ nḱ > Ag *ῆνḱ- {Ap.} 'give here' > Bln {R} nāx- 'give', Xm {R} naḱ- 'geben, darreichen', Aw {CR} naꝝ- 'give (here)'; +ext. *ῆνḱ-s- 'bring' > Bln {R} nāq-s-, Xm {R} nə-s- id. || SC: Irq {Mgw.} nuqūs- 'pick up' || ?σ EC: Or B {Sr.} naḱ- 'put on\into, pour into', Or {Grg., Brl.} naḱ- id., 'add to', Arr {Hw.} naḱ-ad- vi. 'return' ¶ R WB 284, R Ch II 85, Ap. AV 16, Mgw. 116, E PC #457, E SC 185 (adduces Dhl {E} niķķið- 'raise the eyebrows' = {To.} niķid- 'wink at\to'), To. D 144, Brl. 318, Grg. 299, Sr. 373 ¶ Ar ✓ nq₁ G 'convey, transmit, transfer' (Hv. 795) is qu. as a cognate (because of the unexplained ext. *l and a plausible interpretation of *n- as a historical px.) || A: Tg *nekü- 'carry, lead' (× N *Típñkù 'let, let go', 'move' [trans.]??) > Nn KU nuku- & noku-'carry, lead', Ud {STM} нэхү- id., 'bring', ? Lm nākär 'a present (подарок, гостинец)', {CiR} нэкзə 'a present, sweets; reserve\stock (запас)' ¶ STM I 619, CiR 152 || T *jük 'a load' > OT jük id., Tk үүк, Tkm, Qmq, Nog, ET, SY, Ln jük, VTt, Bsh jöök, QrB žük, Alt žük, Xk čük, Tv čük, Tf čük, Chv: L çäk šük, H šük ¶ ≈ Cl. 911-2 (unt.: T *jük ← pre-T **jü- 'carry' - a conjecture based on comparison of *jük with T *jüδ- 'carry' [in fact from N *žed₁h₁üü 'pull, drag, draw']), ET J 262-3, Ra. 199, Md. 69, 163, Serg. 12O ◇ The

phoneme *u/w in the expected pIE *nēku/w- is likely to have been lost on a word-internal morphemic boundary.

1545. *næk̥V 'to plait, to tie' > **U:** FU *nä|ek̥V (att. in Ugr) 'tie, plait' > Ugr {UEW} *nä|ek̥V > Os Kr {KrT} nēwāy- 'die Zettelfäden des Gewebes «flechten»'; pVg *nīr̥- 'tie' > Vg: LK/Ss nēr̥-, P nēw- 'binden' | OHg X nyék '(?) hedge (Zaun, Hecke)' (< *'wattle fence'), XIII nyék 'hedge (Hag); enclosed place in a wood (e.g. 'kitchen-garden)', Hg Δ nyék 'wattle fence' ¶ UEW 874, Stn. D 1O26, KrT 564, EWU 1O38 || **A:** M *neke- v. 'knit, weave' (× N *rælw, Kæ 'sinew', 'to tie'?) > MM [MA, IM, S] neke- 'weave', WrM neke-, HIM нэхэ-, Brt нэхэ- 'weave, knit', Ord ne^hxē- v. 'tisser, tresser', MnR H {SM} nik[‘]i-, {T} neki-, Dg {Mrm.} neku- 'weave', Kl нек- in ds.: некх nekə-xə 'cloth, weft', некəч 'weaver', неклнн n. act. 'weaving'; M → Ewk Brg/Np nɛkz- v. 'knit (stockings)' ¶ H 114, Pp. MA 248, 442, MED 572, Chr. 341, KRS 374, Ms. O 489, SM 276, T 350, , Klz. D II 124, STM I 618 || **HS:** Eg {Mks.} ncc 'ficeler', Eg fOK ncc v. 'fetter, be fettered', {Mks.} 'ficeler, entraver', Eg fP ncc n. 'fetter', Eg ME {Fk.} ncc.w 'bonds', Eg G {EG} ncc 'das Seil an der Harpune' ¶ Mks. I ##2257, 2274, EG II 367, Fk. 143 || ? Ch: Zar {ChL} ḥgun, Zar K {Sh.} ḥgēn v. 'plait', ? Kir {Csp., ChL} ḥane, Kir Mn {Csp.} ḥān v. 'tie' || Msg {ChC ← Mch.} nágā v. 'tie', {GKrs.} nigi- 'binden' ¶ ChC, ChL, Csp. 69, Lk. DQM 71.

1546. *nēk̥U 'relative(s) of a younger generation' > **HS:** S (+exts.): [1] WS *'na|ik̥d- 'progeny' > BHb נְכַד 'nēk̥ed 'progeny, posterity', (+ppa. 1s) nēk̥dī 'my posterity', MHb נְכַד 'nēk̥ed 'offspring, grandson', Gz nagad 'tribe, clan, kin, progeny', Tgr, Amh nəgəd 'race, tribe'; [2] S *^onag̥l- > Ar نَجْل naḡl- 'genus, stirps, propago', 'natus, filius', {Hv.} 'offspring, child' (merger with Ar نَجْل √nḡl v. G 'beget' [unless the verb √nḡl is derived from naḡl-]) ¶ KB 658, BDB 645 [#522O], Js. 91O, L G 391, Fr. IV 246, Hv. 752-3 || **A** *nek[‘]u(n) 'younger relative' (× N *nīku 'small, little'?) > T *jegen > OT {Cl.} jeägen 'son of a younger sister or daughter', Tk yegən 'son of a sister or of another female relative', SY jəyen, ET Δ {Mal.} jägin, Uz жиян žiyən, Δ žiyan, Alt žēn, Tb {RL.} nān, Xk čēn, Tf čēn 'nephew', Tv чээн čēn 'nephew, niece', Nog jiyan, Qq žiyan, Qrg žēn 'nephew, grandson (daughter's son)', Bsh eñən jəyən 'grandson', Yk sīān 'daughter's\sister's child\grandchild', siyan 'cousin, second cousin' ¶ T *-g- (for the

expected *-k-) is still puzzling ¶ Cl. 912-3, ET J 166-7, TL 291, Rl. III 317, 631, 196O, Ra. 73, TvR 561, Pek. 2189-9O || Tg *nekun 'younger relative' > Ewk n̥z̥kū 'grandchild', as well as a word used when addressing younger relatives, Sln n̥z̥x̥ū, Orc, Nn Nh n̥z̥ku, Nn KU n̥z̥kū 'younger sibling', Ul n̥z̥ku, Ork nuk(k)u id. (address word), Lm nō 'younger sibling', 'younger cousin from mother's side' (used with ppas.), Neg n̥z̥x̥un ~ n̥z̥kun 'younger sibling\cousin, nephew, niece', Jrc {Kiy.} n̥iγohun 'younger sister'; ?? Ewk n̥ikī 'a relative', ??φ Lm n̥ōγz 'younger sister's child; a child of father's\mother's younger sister', Lm O n̥ōγz 'member of ego's clan' ¶ STM 617-8, 637, 644, Kiy. 113 [#291] || M: {Pp.} *nekün '(male\female) slave' > MM [S] nekün 'servants, slaves' ({H} 'Hausleute, Dienstboten, Sklaven'), [L] نکون بول {Pp.} nikün bōl 'female slave'; ?? *nekeleyi > WrM nekelei, HlM нэхлий, MnR H {SM} nik'ili, Qrg T (↔ M) nikeley 'bastard', 'illegitimate' (of a child), Kl неклә neklä 'adoptive child', {Rm.} nekəlē 'unechtes Kind'; M → (?) Qzq {Rl.} nekäsi 'illegitimate child' ¶ Pp. VG 38, Pp. L III 72, H 114, MED 572, SM 276, KRS 374, KW 274, Jud. 556, Rl. III 671 ¶ Pp. VG 38 (M, Tg), ~ SDM97 s.v. *n̥iāk'e 'nephew' (T, M *nekeleyi, Tg: they adduce only Ewk n̥ikī 'relative' rather than Tg *nekun), ≠ DQA #238O (pA *nek'ō [unc.: 'friend, relative'] > Tg *nekun), ~ DQA #1484 (pA *n̥jōgē 'son-in-law, nephew', incl. Lm n̥ōγz, T) || IE: NaIE *nepōt-'grandson, nephew' (if from **nekpōt-, a cd. with the second element *pōt- induced by other words refering to the clan membership, such as *dems-pōt- 'head of the clan') > OI 'napāt 'offspring, son, grandson', Av napā nom. / napāt-, OPrs napā nom. / napāt- obl. 'grandson, descendant', NPrs نواده nāvāde 'grandson' || Gk Hm νέποδες pl. 'offsprings (?)' || L nepōs (gen. nepōt-is) 'grandson, nephew' (→ Al nip id., OFr neveu 'grandson, nephew' → NE nephew) | Olt nepuotis {Frn.} id. || Gmc {Vr.} *nefōd ~ *nefēd > ON nefi 'nephew, relative', OSx nevo 'nephew', AS nefā 'sister's son, grandson, stepson', OHG nēvo, nēfo 'grandson, kinsman, maternal/paternal cousin', NHG Neffe 'nephew' || OIr nia ~ niae 'sister's son, grandson', MW nei, W nai, MBr ni, Crn nōi 'nephew' || d.: Sl *nestera (< *nept-terā) 'niece' > RChS, OR **нестера** nestera, SCr nēstera, OP nieściora id. || → *nept-yo- > Av naptya 'offspring' || Gk ἀνεψιός 'first cousin, cousin' (< *sm̥-neptyo-) || Sl *netъjь ({ESSJ} *neptъjь)

'nephew' > ChS, OR **NETH** netiji ~ **NETH** neti 'nephew', Cz Δ net', OP nieć, Uk нетий, SCr † gen. netja, d.: SCr nećak, Slv nečák id. || → *nept-ī- 'granddaughter, niece' > Av naptī- 'granddaughter', OI nap'tī-h id., 'daughter' || L neptis 'granddaughter, niece' || OLt nepté id. || OIr necht, MW, W, OBr nith, MBr niz, Crn nyth 'niece', Br niz id., 'nephew' || Gmc {Vr.} *nefti > ON nipt 'female close relative, niece', OHG nift id., 'stepdaughter' (→ niftila 'niece' > MHG niftel id.), MDt, MLG nichte, NHG (← NLG) Nichte 'niece' ¶ WP II 331-2, P 764, Dlmr. 4O, EI 239 and 392 (*'nepōt-s / gen. *'nepot-os 'grandson', [?] 'sister's son'), 394 (*'neptih_A- 'granddaughter, [?] 'niece'), M K II 132-3, M E II 11-2, Horn 234, VI. II 136O, Sg. 1429, FI 1O6 and II 3O7-8, WH II 161-2, O 3OO, Vn. N 15, Ern. 445-6, YGM-1 342, 345, Vr. 4O6, 41O, Kb. 718, OsS 643, 65O, KM 5O6, 51O, Ho. 233, Ho. S 55, Zh. IN 355, Frn. 494, Glh. 436, ESSJ XXIV 224 and XXV 18-9, Mikl. E 214, Srz. II 433, Vs. III 67-8.

1546a. *ṇiḳu 'small, little' > K: GZ *neḳu- 'little finger' > OG, G neḳ-i id., G X niḳora titi id. (titi 'finger'), M naḳu- 'little finger' ¶ K² 141, Abul. 327 || HS: [1] (+ext.) HS *✓nḳs 'little, small' > WS *✓nḳç 'be small\insufficient' > Md ✓nḳs 'decrease', Ar ✓nqs G vi. 'decrease', ḡ Sb {Bll.} ✓nḳs Sh (h-nḳs) vt. 'diminish' (but BGMR interpret the word as 'cede, concede'), Sb {BGMR} d. mḳç-m 'loss, damage', ??σ Tgr ✓nḳs G 'become weak, deteriorate', Jb C ✓nḳs G (pf. nḳçs) 'become short, of small amount', 'do sth. petty and undignified', Sq {Jo.} ✓nḳs G (pf. 'nzkaṣ) 'grow less', Jb C {Jo.} nzk'uṣun 'insufficient' (of milk, water), Mh ✓nḳs G (pf. nə'kawṣ) 'be of small amount \ incomplete, be disgraced, do sth. mean' ¶ BK II 1326, Hv. 793, Bll. 4OO, BGMR 98, Jo. J 191, Jo. M 298, L G 4OO, LH 329 || Eg fP nzs 'klein, gering' (× N ***ṇ**U**ṇ** **ṇ** 'small, few??') ¶ EG II 384-5 || C: Bj {R} ✓nḳs (p. an'kāṣ) 'be(come) small \ short', ne'kāṣ 'small, short', {Rop.} nakaš ~ nakaš 'short, small in stature' || EC: Sa {R} ✓nqs (p. 'unquṣa) 'weniger \ geringer sein' ¶ R WBd 183-4, R Sa II 291, Rop. 224 || [2] ??? Bj {R} nāḳū 'zart, schwach, dünn', {Rop.} n?akw 'soft, fine', a-n?akw 'be soft\fine' ¶ R WBd 183, Rop. 224 || A: M *nigun 'boy' > MM [HI] {Ms.} ni?un 'boy', WrM nigun ~ nugun, HlM нүгүүн 'boy, son', Brt †, b nugan id. ¶ Ms. H 81, MED 58O. 595, Chr. 333 ¶ The de-emphatization ***ḳ** > ***k** (underlying M *-g-) is still to be explained.

1547. *נָקַד 'strike, peck, hit' > **HS:** WS *נְקַד (prm. *-nkiy-) 'hurt, hit' > OA נְקַד G (inf. נְקֵה) 'beat, hit', Sr נְקַדְוּ v. G (pf. נְקָה na'kā) 'harm, hurt, injure', EpHb נְקַד Sh (3p pf. הִקָּה) 'beat, hit', BHb נְקַדְוּ Sh (pf. הִקָּה hik'kā) 'strike, smite', נְבָה nəkē adj. sg. cs., נְבָה nəkā adj. pl. 'smitten, stricken', d. נְבָה mak'kā (< *ma-n'k-at-) n. 'blow, wound, slaughter', Ar נְקַד G (pf. نَكَد nakā, ip. -nkiy-) 'wound, hurt' ({Fr.} 'afficit noxâ, nece, vel vulneribus'), Gz נְקַד (pf. nakaya, 3m js. یَأْنَکِی) 'injure, hurt, damage, harm', Qt {Rk.} nky v. 'injure, diminish', Sb d. nky, nkyt 'mischief (malveillance, tort)', Jb C {Jo.} נְקַדְוּ (pf. en'ke) 'hurt, hit on a sore spot', Sq d. {Ls} 'monke? 'coup (de couteau)' ¶ HJ 730, BDB 645-6 [#5221-3, 4347], Br. 428, JPS 339, Fr. IV 336, Hv. 799, LG 397-8, LLS 267, Rk. 105, BGMR 96, Jo. J 189 | ?? S *נְקַד- +exts.: [1] CS *נְקַד 'stechen' > MHb נְקַד G 'sting, puncture', Ar נְקַד G 'peck (a grain)' (bird), 'crack (a nut)', [2] S *נְקַר v. 'peck, prick' > BHb נְקַר G 'dig out, peck out', נְקַר D 'gouge out (the eyes), pierce', Ar נְקַר G 'strike', Gz נְקַרְוּ v. 'peck, prick, pierce', Ak נְקַר v. 'hew out', (× N *נְעַקְד 'hole') Ar נְקַר G 'hollow out (a stone)', [3] ? WS *נְקַז 'puncture' (× N *נְעַקְד 'hole' '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ KB 679-82, KBR 722-3, Hv. 791, BK II 1321-2, LEDG 399-401 || B *נְצַח v. 'kill' (× N *נְאֶקְעָה 'pursue (the enemy), wage war') > Ah, Gh ئَنْجَى (3m pf. ئَنْجَا), ETwl/Ty ئَنْجَى (3m pf. ETwl ئَنْجَا, Ty یَأْنَجَا), Kb ئَنْجَى (pf. یَأْنَجَا), Izd ئَنْجَى (pf. ئَنْجَا), Mz, Wrg ئَنْجَى (pf. یَأْنَجَا), Nf/Si {La.} ئَنْجَى, Gd ενν (pf. یَعْنَن) 'kill' ¶ Fc. 1401-2, GhA 143, 246-7 (on cj. 1 A 7), Dl. 267, Dlh. M 138, Dlh. Ou 222, Lf. II #1072, Mrc. 256 || IE: [1] NaIE *neuk-/nuk- 'hit, push' > Gk νύσσω, Gk Α νύττω 'touch with a sharp point, prick, spur, pierce' (< *nuky-) || Lt niukinti 'push, urge on', niukas, niuksas 'punch, cuff' | Sl *nuk- (× ↗ interj. *nu) > ChS **نوُوكاتи** nukati 'hortari', R по-нукать (× ↗ instigating interj. نُعَي), Uk 'нукати, 'њукати 'to drive on, to urge on', Cz nuknouti 'to impel', P nukać 'to drive on, to impel, to set to work', SCr nūkati 'to persuade, to talk into (doing sth.)' || Gmc *nukk- > MLG {Paul, KM} nucken 'drohend den Kopf bewegen', {KM} nuck(e), NHG {KM} Nücke, pl. Nücken 'versteckte Bosheit, unfreundliche Laune', MDt nucke 'cunning, guile', Dt nuk 'whim, caprice' || [2] NaIE *nek- {Dv.} 'harm; to kill', {P} 'kill', *nekus 'dead person, corpse' (× N *נְאֶקְעָה '↑', q.v. ffd.) > OIr nes(s) 'coup,

blessure', ?σ Brtt: W {Vn.} *nyc̥h* 'peine, chagrin', Br *nec'h* 'peine, angoisse', MBr *nechif* 's'affliger' || for other cognates within IE see N ***ñæKæ** ¶ F II 329, ≈ Frn. 505 (Lt *niuk-* as **o**), KM 516, Paul 439, Vr. N 477, ≈ IS III 64, ESSJ XXVI 43-4 (Sl **nukati* ↔ interj. **nu*), Vs. III 326, Vn. N 11 || **U:** FU **ñokke* v. 'peck', **ñokk*Δ 'beak' > F *nokkia-* v. 'peck', *nokka* 'beak' | Lp Kld {Tl} *nūgæk·ā-* v. 'peck' (acc. to SK, a loan from F, bur acc. to Db, a genetic cognate of F) || ObU **ñūk-* v. 'peck' > pVg **ñt̥k*ω- > Vg: LK *nāk*ω-, MK/ML *nāk*ω-, P *nāk*-, Ss *nāx*ω- id.; pOs **ñɔk-* > Os: V *ñɔχ-*, *ñuqa-*, Vy *ñɔq-*, Ty *ñoq-*, Y *noq-*, D/K/O *nɔχ-*, Nz *nux-*, Kz *ñwχ-* id. ¶ Db. OS xxvii [#102], Ht. #425, Trj. S 288, SK 390-1, TI 288 || **D:** **nokk-* v. 'indent, scratch' > Ml *okkuka* v. 'indent', Tu *okku* v. 'scratch, make furrows', Tl *nokku* v. 'pinch, indent' ¶ D #378O ◇ FU **ñokke*, D **nokk-*, and NaIE **nek-* can be explained by postulating pN ***o** (***ñokke**), but NaIE **neuk-*/*nuk-* points to a N ***u** or ***ü** (***ñûkæ**). The problem still needs investigating.

1548. ₂ ***ñüK**Δ - ***ñuK**E 'hole' > **A:** M **nüken* 'hole, grave' (× ppM **lüken* < N **lōwK*Δ*ñ*Δ 'hole, opening') > MM [MA] *nüken* 'pit', [IM] *nüken* 'grave', [L] {Pp.} *nüket* pl. 'holes', [IsV] *nüken* 'hole', WrM *nüke(n)*, HlM, Brt *ñyx(ən)* 'hole, pit, chink, crevice, opening, orifice', Kl *ñykñ* 'hole, opening, pit, burrow', {Rm.} *nükñ* 'Loch, Öffnung, Mündung', Ord {Ms.} *nū^hx'e* ~ *nū^hx'u* 'trou, enfoncement, terrier, fosse', MnR H {T} *noke* 'pit, hole', {SM} *nok'uō* 'hole, opening, pit, well', Dg {Pp.} *nugū*, *nük'ě*, {Mrm} *nugu*, *nug*, *nuh* 'Öffnung, Loch', Dx {T} *nukun* 'pit, hole, opening'; d. **nüke-le-* 'make\drill a hole, pierce' > MM [S] {H} *nukelē-* 'ein Loch bohren', WrM *nükele-*, HlM *ñyxla-*, Brt *ñyxel-* 'make holes, drill a hole, pierce, perforate', Kl *ñykl-* {Rm.} *nük]-* 'male a hole, pierce', MnR H {SM} *nok'uōlo-* id., Ord *nū^hx'e* ~ *nū^hx'u* 'trouer'; d. **nüket-* v. 'pierce' > MM [LM, IM] *nüket-* id. ¶ Pp. MA 262, 443, Pp. L III 72, H 120, Lg. VMI 59, Pp. MDG 89, MED 597, KRS 389, KW 282, Ms. O 503, SM 282-4, T 352, T DgJ 158, T DnJ 131, Klz. D I 125, Chr. 335 || **HS:** S *✓*nkk* 'cleft, crevice' > BHb *ñā'kīk** (att.: pl. cs. *ñā'kīkī*) 'cleft', Pun *nk* 'cave, rock cleft (?)', Gz *nækāk* 'cleft, crevice'; +exts.: [1] WS *✓*nkj* > MHb *ñkj* 'ñekās' 'cleft, cavity, ravine', Sr *ññk'ñ-ā* 'cave, hole', Gz ✓*nkj* G 'be split, cleft', (?σ) Ar ✓*nqñ* G 'déchirer (par exemple, sa chemise)', {Fr.} 'diffidit, laceravit (sinum indusii)'; [2] (× N ***ñUK**Δ 'to strike, to peck, to hit') *✓*nkr* 'dig, hew out, make a hole' > BHb ✓*nkr* v. G

'gouge, pick out (e.g. the eyes)', *D* 'gouge, bore out', MHb {Js.}, JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓*nkr* v. *G* 'dig, chisel', JEA {Sl.} ✓*nkr G* 'pick out, hew, pluck out', Sr ✓*nkr G* {JPS} 'hew out, hollow out', Md ✓*nkr* 'dig', Ar ✓*nqr G* 'hollow out (a stone), engrave (stone\wood)', 'pierce the egg for letting out the chicken' (of a hen), Gz ✓*nkw̥r* (pf. *nakwara*, js. *yə-nkw̥ər*) 'prick, pierce, make a hole', Mh {Jo.} ✓*nkr* (pf. *nəkawr*) 'dig with an entrenching tool\adze', Jb C {Jo.} ✓*nkr* (pf. *nkr*) 'dig with a small tool or the fingers', Ak fOB ✓*nkr G* (p. *iikkur*) 'hew out, carve' (and 'tear down, demolish'?); [3] CS *✓*nkd* 'stechen, picken, hucken' (× N *נָקַד '↑') > BHb d. נָקַד / נָקְדָה *nakud*- (*nakudd-* (pl. *nakud'd-im*, *nakud'd-ot*) adj. 'speckled', נָקְדּוֹת *nakud'dot* n. pl. '(glass-\silver-)beads', MHb נָקַדָה *nakud'dā* 'point, dot, drop', Sr נָקְדָה *nakdə'tā* id., Ar نقطה *nuqṭat-*, Md *nukṭa* 'point, dot' (as. *-kd- > *-kt- in Ar -qt- and Md -kt-), Ar ✓*nqd* 'crack (a nut) with the fingers'; [4] WS *✓*nkz* (× N *נָקַז '↑') > MHb ✓*nkz G* v. 'puncture', *Sh* (pf. *hik'kiz*) 'let blood, be bled', JPA {Js.} ✓*nkz Sh* (pf. אֲקִיז *ʔak'kez*) id., Sr ✓*nkz G* v. 'point, add vowel-points', נָקְזָה *nuk'z-ā* n. 'point', *nukzānayā* adj. pl. 'with vowel-points', Ar {BK} *nuqz-* 'well', Sb ✓*nkz* 'excavate\dig (as a grave)', Qt *nkz* n. 'well', Gz ✓*nkz G* 'be worm-eaten'; [5] S *✓*nkb* 'pierce' > BHb ✓*nkb G* 'bore, pierce', Md ✓*nkb* id., 'make a hole', JEA ✓*nkb G* 'pierce, perforate', Ar ✓*nqb G* v. 'pierce (a wall), bore', Sb {BGMR} ✓*nkb* 'cut\excavate (a channel)', 'creuser (un canal)', Qt {Rk.} ✓*nkb* 'bore a hole, pierce', Mh {Jo.} ✓*nkb* (pf. *nīkzb*) 'be cracked', Jb E/C {Jo.} ✓*nkb* (pf. 'nīkzb) 'crack, break', Ak fOB ✓*nkb G* (p. *iikkub*) 'deflower, rape'; hence d. (ps.) adj. f. with the meaning 'female' (← 'perforata'): BHb נָקְבָה *nakē'bā*, Md *nuk(u)bta*, Sr נָקְבָה *nekəb'tā* 'female'; d. *'nakəv̥b- 'hole' > Md *nikba* 'hole, stone bored with a hole', BHb נָקְבָה *nekəb* 'tunnel, mine', MHb נָקְבָה *nekəb* 'hole, perforation, incision', JA נָקְבָא *nik'b-ā* id., JEA {Sl.} נָקְבָא *nik'b-ā* 'perforation, body orifice', Sr נָקְבָה *nek'b-ā* 'hole, opening, hollow, burrow, tunnel', Ar نَقْبَة *naqb-* 'hole in a wall, breach; tunnel; ulcer', Sb *nkb* 'channel, passage', Qtr *nkbən* 'channel' ¶ KB 678-82, HJ 756, Js. 931-5, Sl. 753, 772, 776, LG 399-401, Br. 444-6, JPS 350-2, DM 294, 299, 396, Fr. IV 318-26, BK II 1318-24, 1329, Hv. 790-4, BGMR 97-8, Rk. 111, Jo. M 296-7, Jo. J 187, 190, CAD XI/1 328-9 || ?? B (with an ext.) *✓*nqr* > Kb ✓*nqr G* (imv. *ənqrər*)

'perforer, trouer' (unless borrowed from Ar \checkmark nqr), Wrg \checkmark nyr 'raciner, s'enfoncer, se perdre dans le sol', ? Ah d. ənnəyər 'serrure en bois' ¶ Dl. 57O-1, Dlh. Ou 223, Fc 14O9.

1549. *nä₁K₁N₁, hē 'see, perceive' > **HS:** S * \checkmark nkh > Ar \checkmark nqh G (pf. naqaha, ip. -nqah-) 'catch the meaning of', {Fr.} 'intellexit (sermonem)', imv. ?anqih lī samaṣka 'listen to me!', 'lend me thy ear!', naqih- 'intelligens, percipiens sensum verborum', \checkmark nqh Sh (pf. ?anqaha) 'make so. understand (a speech)' ¶ Fr. IV 329, Hv. 796 || Ch {JS} * \checkmark ng 'see' > WCh: Hs nīgā 'perceive' | (x N ≈ *'ñ'Exa 'see') Su {J} nā, Ywm {IL} nā?, Kfr/Gmy nā 'see' | Mbr {Sk} naṣ-, Wrj {Sk.} nāhā, Kry nāh3 id. || CCh: Lmn {Lk.} nṣ- id. | Glv {Rp.} naṣ-, Dgh {Frk.} nṣinè / nṣa id. | Lgn {Lk.} n̄gʷa, {Bou.} ?ñŋg̃ id. ¶ JS 219, ≈ JI I 144-5 (Ch * \checkmark ngn 'see') and II 284-5, Ba. 519, ChC, ChL || **U:** FU *näke 'see' > F näke- 'see, notice', Es näge- 'see' | pLp {Lr.} *nēk3 n. 'dream', *nēk3- v. 'dream' > Lp: S {Hs.} nięgedidh v. 'dream', L {LLO} niekati- id., niehkō n. 'dream', N {N} niekko / -g- id., niegādit v. 'dream', T {Gn.} níkka- id. | pMr {Ker.} *ñäye- > *ñäye- > Er hee- ñeye-, Δ nii-, Mk n̄ye- ñäye- 'see, catch sight of' | Vt B {Wc.} na,al- v. 'look at, regard' || ObU {Ht.} *ñi-, *ñiχ- > pVg d. *ñiχ-1- 'be seen\visible' > Vg: T ñäwl-, LK/MK/ML ñiχ- P/LL nīl-, UL/Ss nēχl-; pOs {Ht.} *nū-, nūχ- id. > Os: Ty ni-, nīχ-, Y nū-, D/K nīw-, Kz nī-, O ni- | Hg nēz- (with a sx. -z-) 'look, see' ¶ Coll. 1O1, UEW 3O2, Db. OS xxxiii, It. #257, Sm. 546 (FU, FP *näki-, Ugr *näkī-), SK 41O, Lr. #731, Lgc. #419O, N III 32-3, Ker. II 93, ERV 4O8, PI 184, Ht. #418, Trj. S 294, MF 47O || **A:** pKo {S} *n̄jə,kī- ~ *n̄jə,jkī- 'consider, regard' > MKo n̄jə,kī, n̄jə,jkī, NK0o yə,g̃i- ¶ S QK #774, Nam 1O3, 1O6, MLC 316, SKE || **D** *nek- ({GS} *-g-) > Tm nikar v. 'shine, be visible', Kn negaṛ 'become manifest\notorious\well-known, cause oneself to appear', Tl negadu 'be published, be well-known' ¶ D #3659, Zv. 66-7O (on D e and *i in SD and Tl) || **AdS** of K * \checkmark nax- 'see' (< N ≈ *'ñ'Exa 'see', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The de-emphatization of the original *K in the prehistory of U and D is due to as. (*-Kh-> U, D *-k-). It is worth paying attention to S * \checkmark nkr (> Ar nakr-, nukr- 'acuteness of mind', BHb \checkmark nkr Sh [pf. hik'kīr, ip. yak'kīr] 'recognize, erkennen', JA, ChPA \checkmark nkr Sh [JA pf. אֶכְרַ ?ak'kar] id.), though it cannot be ruled out that the \checkmark goes back to \checkmark n-kr with the

ancient prefix *n^oν- ◇ The D vw. *e for the expected *a (< N *ä) still needs explaining ◇ Gr. II #328 (U, Ko + qu. J).

1550. ² *נַהֲלָה 'to walk\lead; way' > HS: S *✓ nhl(D ?) 'lead (esp. to a watering-place); lead (a herd), guide' > BHb ✓ nhl D 'lead to a watering-place; lead\bring to a station\goal', נַהֲלָה nahalal 'pasture' (or 'watering place'), MHb ✓ nhl D 'lead', Ar manhal- 'watering-place', {BK} 'aiguade, endroit dans le désert offrant quelque verdure et de l'eau', {Dz.} manhal-at- 'station, stage of the road', Ar nāhil-at 'going to the water' (of men\beasts), Sb mnhl 'watering-place, well' ¶ KB 638, BDB 624-4, Js. 881, BK II 1358, Hv. 804, BGMR 94 || A: T *jōl 'way, road' > OT {Cl.} jōl, {TL} jōl, MQp, MU, XwT, Chg, OOsm jōl 'road, way', Tk yōl, Tkm, XT {DH} jōl, Xlj {DT} juōl, Ggz, Az, Kr, Qmq, Nog, ET, Slr, Ln jōl, Uz jōl, VTt, Bsh юл jul, Qrb, Qrg žōl, Qzq, Qq žōl, Alt žōl, Xk čōl, Tv čōl, Tf čōl, Qzl nōl, Yk suōl, Chv L šul id.; T → AncM *žōl > WrM žōl, HlM зол 'good luck, fortune', Kl Ö {Rm.} † zōl 'Glück; glückliche Reise, Erfolg' ¶ Cl. 917, Rs. W 205-6, Ra. 102, ET J 217-9, TL 531, DT 229, KW 475 || ?φ Tg *nulgī- 'nomadize' > Ewk, Neg nulgī-, Sln nūlgī-, Lm nūlgə-, Orc nugguwu-, Ul nūlžu/i-, Ork nuldī- ~ nulji- id., Ewk, Neg nulgī, Lm nūlgə, Ork nuldī ~ nulji n. 'nomadizing, distance of one day's migration', Orc nuggī, Ul nūlži 'family' ¶ The Tg stem belongs here unless it is borrowed from M (WrM negülgē- 'move, cause to nomadize', see MED 569) ¶ STM I 609-10 ◇ Qu. because of the semantic distance, but preferable to alternative comparisons (e.g. T *jōl ÷ Ar -zūl- 'pass away, retire from [a place]' [that does not explain the T long vw.]).

1551. *נְאָמֵן 'pleasant, gentle, fine' > HS: S (or CS) *✓ n̄m > BHb ✓ n̄m (3 m ip. paus. yi-n̄ām) 'be pleasant, lovely, charming', Amr {G} ✓ n̄m 'be pleasant', Ar ✓ n̄m 'be green and tender; lead an easy life; rejoice'; BHb נְעִימָה nā'im 'pleasant', Ph, Pun n̄m 'agreeable, good, favourable', Ug n̄m {A} 'lieblich, gut', {OLS} 'apuesto; agradable; benéfico; bueno', Amr {G} naim-um, niim-um 'pleasant', ? Eb na-im (in pr. names), Cn → Eg [EgSSc] na-⁊-mu, na-⁊-a-ma4 (= {Hoch} *naɪ̄, i, mu) 'dear, pleasant'; Ph, Pun n̄m n. 'good, fortune', Ug n̄m 'gracia, donaire; delicia', Amr {G} naim-um, nuim-um 'pleasure' ¶ KB 666, HJ 738-9, A #1806, OLS 314-5, G A 26-7, BK II 1298, Hv. 783, Krb. PE 98, Hoch #244 || U: FP *num∇ (~ *ñum∇?) 'soft, tender' > Chr H нымыж 'нъмъž 'tender' | Prm *ñumií ~ *ñumií > Z UVc ñimles 'soft,

free of lime' (of water), Vt *num̥les* ~ *ńum̥les* 'soft' (of water), 'not tightly twisted' (of yarn) || Prm *ńum̥l may have a palatal *ń- due to the infl. of FU *ńäm̥V 'soft' (see N *u* *ńä\xm̥V 'soft') || MRS 364, LG 199 || A: M *nomu-qan 'peaceful, meek, gentle' > MM [MA] *nomuqan* ~ *nomu\xan* {Pp.} 'смирный' (translating Chg *jabaš* 'tame, docile' or 'kindly, peaceable'), [HI] *nomuqan* 'doux', WrM *номуқан* {Kow.} 'doux, tranquille, apprivoisé', {MED} 'peaceful, meek, gentle', HIM *нөмхөн* id., WrO {Krg.} *номо\xан* 'quiet, peaceful', *номо\xон* 'bland, placid, calm, peaceful', Kl {Rm.} *номхан* ~ *номуан* 'friedlich, zahm', {KRS} *нөмхн* *номуън* 'quiet, tame (смирный, спокойный, тихий)', Brt *нөмгөн* id., Dg {T} *номхон* id., {Pp.} *номхан*, {Mrm.} *номокон*, {Mr.} *номехон* 'gentle, mild' || Pp. MA 259, Ms. H 79, MED 591, KRS 381, KW 279, Krg. 223, Klz. D II 125, Mr. D 200, T DgJ 158, Chr. 330 || T {Md.} *jim̥Vίča- ({AD}: or *ju-?) → T {Md.} *jim̥Vίča-k ({AD} or *ju-?) 'soft' (× N *u* *ńä\xm̥V 'soft', q.v. ffd.) || T *I often goes back to N *u, this delabialization needs investigating || Tg *ońum- > Lm Ol *ńuman-* 'quiet' (of water surface) (ń- due the infl. of Tg *ńem\u- 'soft' < N *u* *ńä\xm̥V '↑') || STM I 646, 652-3 || ?σ, φ pJ {S} *námjá 'slippery, smooth' > OJ *námjá*, J: T *naméraka*, K *námérákà*, Kg *nameraká* (× N *u* *ńä\xm̥V?) || S QJ #457, Mr. 492 || ≈ DQA #1487 (A *n\xumà 'warm; soft, mild'; incl. T, M, J, and Tg *ńum-).

1552. *'ním̥?V 'name, word' > IE *'no(:)m-n(-)/*'ńom-n(-) 'name' > OI *nāma*, Av *nāma*, OPs *nāman-* id. || Gk: Αὐνομα, Δύνυμα id., in proper names D Ἔνυμα- || pAl {O} *e|inmen > Al T *emér*, Al G *emēn*, {IP} *ēmēn* id. || Arm **անուն** *anun* id. (Me.: < *anuwn < *onomno-), gen. **անունան** *anuan* || L *nōmen*, Um NOME, numem id. || OIr *ainm* n-(gen. *anme*, pl. *anman*), Brtt {RE} **anman* > OW *anu* (pl. *enuein*), MW *enu*, *enw*, W *enw* (pl. *enwau*), Crn *hanow* (pl. *hanwyn*), MBr *hanu*, *hanff*, Br *anv* id.; W e- on the analogy of the pl. forms || Gt *namō* (accus. pl. *namna*), ON *nafn*, NNr, Sw *namn*, Dn *navn*, OSx, OHG *namo*, NHG Name, AS *nama* id., NE name || Pru *emnes* (ce. for *emens*?), *emmens*, accus. *emnen* id. | Sl *j̥mę (gen. *j̥mene) id. > OCS **и́мя** *ímę* (gen. **и́мене** *ímenę*), Blg *име*, SCr *íme* (gen. *ímena*), Slv *ímē*, R *имя* (gen. *имени*), Uk *им’я*, P *imię*, Cz *jméno*, Slk *měno* || Tc A *ńom*, B *ńem* (pl. *ńemna*) 'name' || Ht *lāman* id. (dis. from **nāman*?) || WP I 132, P 321, Mn. 851, ≈ H 390 (**h₁nomn̥* → **h₁enh₃mṇ* → **h₁neh₃mṇ* 'name'), M K II 153, M E II 35-7,

F II 396-7, Ch. 8O3-4, WH II 173-4, Bc. G 339, LP §§ 8.2, 75.4, Vn. A 36-7, RE 113, Hm. 38, Antt. SA 126-7, IS II 82-3, Fs. 369-7O, Vr. 4O3, Kb. 715, OsS 639, Ho. 231, Ho. S 54, KM 5O2, O 87, Huld 61-2, LamP 148, Ivn. PiILX, Me. EAC 48, 142-3, 15O, Me. AAE 55, Slt. 23-4, Grgv. BEO 128 (believes that Arm *anun* is a Phr loanword from DM - because Arm *a-* is a reg. reflex of IE **o-* in DM, but not in Arm), Fs. 369-7O, Ho. 231, Vr. 4O3, En. 165, Tp. P E-H 28-3O, Stang VG 225, ESSJ VIII 227-8, Glh. 276-7, Vs. II 129-3O, Vn. A 36-7, Wn. 327-8, Ad. 27O-1, Ad. H 28, 117, CHD L-N 31-6, Ts. E II 27-9 ¶ The initial vw. in Arm, Al, OIr, and Pru (and possibly in Gk?) is based on **ŋmen* or **ənmen* (with an initial non-phonemic vocoid). On the possible prosodic origin of Gk *ō-* (and on IE and N ‘-’ see Introduction, § 2.2.6. The initial long vw. in L, IIr, and Ht is a grade of apophony or is due to the influence of **g̃nō-* v. 'know' (in L). The existence of an initial lr. is ruled out by the ev. of OI [RV] cds. '*sā-nāman*, *sap'ta-nāman*, *'ahi-nāman*, etc. without lengthening of the final vw. of the first element (F Cowg. EG 152). I agree with Cowg. and Bam., who reconstruct the IE stem as **nomn̥* / gen. **ŋmen-s* and do not see any reason to suppose the existence of a lr. in either the initial or the medial position ¶¶ On the discussion see Hamp GPV 6O and Wnt. TE 2O2-3 (both hypothesize **ə₁nomn̥* = **Enomn̥*), Cowg. EG 156, Bam. SLT 14O-1, Szem. S 238-49, Ei. UWHM 162 (fn. 77) (**ə₁noə₃mōn̥*), Schn. ANS 263 (**ə₁nēə₃m̥n̥*), Jas. NS 376 (**ə₁na₃mēn̥*) and Bks. IELG 47, 229-31 (**ə₁na₃-mēn̥*/**enə₃-men-m̥*/**n₀ə₃-mn-ōs*), CHD L-N 31-6, Ts. E II 27-9 || | HS: SOm: Ari {Bnd.} *nām-*, *nāmi* 'name', {Fl.} *nam* id., Gll {Fl.} *lāmi* 'name' (in Gll dis. from *nāmi*, as in Ht), Hm {Ldl.} *nam-* ~ *nab-* 'name', Dm {Fl.} *nāb-*, {Bnd.} *nāp-* 'name' ¶ Bnd. AL 155, Bnd. LE 263-4, Bnd. MO 168, Fl. Somot. ms. || S *✓*nb?* v. 'name, give a name' > Ak ✓*nb?* (inf. *nabū*) v. 'name, give a name, appoint', BHb *nā'bī* (spelled נָבִי *nby?*) 'prophet' (originally ps. prtc. 'named one, appointed one') (→ BA, JA נָבִי *nabiyy'-ā*, Sr נָבִי *nabiyy-ā*, Ar *nabīy-* 'prophet' → Gz *nabiyy* id.), Ar ✓*nb?* G, D 'announce' (semantic infl. of *nabīy-?*), Jb ✓*nby~nb?* v. 'name', Sq {Jo.} 'זְנַבֵּץ? (✓*nb?*) v. 'name'; in S we must assume that **n...m* was dissimilated to **n...b* ¶ CAD XI/1 32-9, Sd. 697, 699, KB 622-5, KBR 661-2, Br. 411, Nld. NB 34, BK II 1179, 1191, Fischer 131, Jo. J 179, L LS 255, L G 385 || | u **nime* 'name' > F, Es *nimi* 'name' | pLp {Lr.} **n̥m̥z* > Lp: N {N} *nāmmā* 'name, reputation', S {Hs.} *n̥imme*, L {LLO} *namma*, Kld *n̥mm* id. | pMr {Ker.} **limə* 'name' > Er лем īem, Δ īäm, Mk лем īem | Chr H īäm, Chr U/B īüm | Vt/Z īim 'name' || | pObU **nēm* id. > pOs {Ht.} **nem* (= {Hl.} **năm*) > Os: V/Vy/D/Nz/Kz *nem*, Ty/Y *năm*;

pVg *näm^Δ > OVg S Kg **на(м)ми**, OVg S Vt **намъ**, OVh S Tr **намя**, OVg N Ber **нѣ ма**, Vg: T/LK näm, MK/UK/NV/SV näm, LL näm, UL/Ss nam | Hg név 'name' || Sm *nim~*nüm {Jn., Hl.} 'name' > Ne T ním?, nûm?, Ne F, Ng ním, En nít?, nû?, Slq Tz {KKIH} njm, Slq Ke nim, Kms nim, näm, Mt {Hl.} *Nim ~ *nüm 'name' (Mt M {Sp.} **нуммеде** 'his name') || pY **nim {IN} *niw 'name' > OY XVII {Wts.} nim, OY K {Merk} niiv, {Bil.} newe, OY Ch {Mat.} **ныва**; Y: K {Krn.} nju, {Jc} niu, {IN} nū 'name' ¶ Coll. 39, UEW 305, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *nimi, Ugr *nîmî, Sm *nim), Lr. #7O2, Lgc. #4O66, Hs. 98O-1, Ker. II 77, Ht. #428, Jn. 1O2, KKIH 136, Hl. M #756 (misprint: *nûm for *nüm), IN 24O, 318, Krn. JJ 236, Ang. 182, ≈ Rd. UJ 4O [#35] (Y ↔ U) || A: Tg *nim-ŋan, {Brk.} *ním-ŋa- 'fairy tale' > Ewk nimŋā-kān, Lm nîm-ŋan, Nn Nh nîmā, Orc nîma, Ud {STM} nîm[?]aŋku, Ork nîmā~ nîmga 'fairy tale', UI nîm(aŋ-) 'fairy tale; beginning of an extatic incantation (камлание)' ¶ STM I 594, S AP II 224-5, Brk. LDK 66-7 || ?φ pJ *ná_N 'name' > OJ nà, J: T nà(mae), K nā, Kg ná, namáe, Ht nàŋ 'name' ¶ S AJ 69, 266 [#5O], S QJ #5O ("all modern dialects point unanimously to náN"), Mr. 49O || ?φ pKo *ni'jaki 'tale, story' > MKo *ni'jaki, NKO iŋagi ¶ S QK #916, Nam 123, MLC 1333 || ? M: [1] *°nim in MM [MA] nim nik'en 'each other' (nik'en is 'one') ¶ Pp. MA 253-6] [2] WrM nim 'mark, sign'; but the variant *im id. (> WrM im, Kl im, Ord em ~ im 'sign [a cut in cattle's ear]') is akin to T *im 'mark, sign' and to Ewk him id. (Rm. W 171 traces it back to A *pim) ¶ MED 4O9, Kl 269, KW 2O8, Ms. O 237, ET Gl 632-3, STM II 324 ¶ S AJ 24 and SDM equated Tg *nim-ŋan and the J words with T *jom 'omen, legend, tale, magic device'. DQA adduced pKo *ni'jaki 'tale, story'. Earlier (S AJ 24) Starostin interpreted the sound corr. of T *o~*u and Tg *j (~*j) as a reflex of the pA diphthong *ju; later (StDM95) Starostin, ADb., and Md. reinterpreted it as a reflex of A *ā before *o of the second syll. In SDM97 they preferred to reconstruct pA *īamo (→ DQA *ījōmo(ŋa) 'name; spell, divination'). Actually T *jom, M *dom (↔ T), and pJ {S} *n̄m- (> OJ nom- v. 'pray') belong to N *īum^Δ 'magic, spell' (q.v.), rather than here ¶ S AJ 69, 276 [#48], ≈ SDM95 (A *nǣmo 'name; spell, divination'), ≈ DQA #1213 (*ījōmo(ŋa), incl. Tg, Ko, J) ◇ Cf. AD LRC (IE, U, J), IS II 82-3 (*nimi 'name' > IE, U, S with an inaccurate semantic interpretation of the S √; the SOM and Altaic cognates were not adduced [in 196O's the SOM

cognates were not yet recorded]) ◇ On N and pIE *⁶- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ Gr. II #273 (*nim ~ *nom 'name') (IE, U, Y, J, CK).

1553. *⁶NDN̄C¹DN̄₁ 'high, big, strong' > HS: ≈ *⁶nD¹ŋ¹DN̄₁? - > Eg N n̄š v '≈ be strong' ¶ EG III 209 ¶ It is likely that Eg ŋ may go back to *ŋ || S *⁶n̄š? v. 'be high, lift up' (→ v. 'carry') > Ar ⁶n̄š? v. 'grow up', 'become older' (of a child), 'be high in the sky' (of clouds), Sb n̄š? v. 'arise, take action; build up, raise', OCn našša / yinašši, BHb אֲשֶׁר ⁶n̄š? 'carry, lift, lift up', Ug ⁶n̄š? G 'lift up, put on', Ph, Pun, M'b, OA n̄š? ⁶n̄š?, IA n̄š? (= ⁶n̄š?) v. 'lift up, carry', BA אֲשֶׁר ⁶n̄š? JA [Trg.] אָמַת ~ נִמְתֵּן ⁶n̄sy|w G 'hoch halten', SmA {Tal} ⁶n̄sy G 'take, carry', Sb ⁶n̄š? 'arise, take action', Mn {MA} ⁶n̄š? 'entreprendre; édifier', Gz ⁶n̄š? v. 'lift', Ak našū v. 'lift, carry', Eb ⁶n̄š? ≈ id. ¶ KB 683-4, 1749, KBR 724-7, HJ 760-4, A #1859, Grd. UT #1709, DrG 153, OLS 334-5, Lv. III 402-3, Lv. T II 114-5, Tal 533, BK II 1255-6, Hv. 768, HJ 760-3, L G 404, Sd. 762, BGMR 98-9 || C: Bj {R} ⁶n̄š? (1s: p. a-n'sā?, prs. atnasī?) pcv. md. 'get up, rise' ('sich erheben, empor-\\auf-steigen') ¶ R WBd 185 ¶ In addition, there is a WCh word deserving attention: WCh {Stl.} *nan 'big' > AG: Su {J} nan, Ang {Flk.} nan 'big, large', Mpn {Frz.} nán v. 'grow big', nánán 'large' || SBC: Sy {Sh.} nūŋ, noŋ 'big' || ? Ron: Fy {J} nán 'brother' ¶ Stl. ZCh 235 [#821], J S 76, Flk. s.v. nən, Frz. DM 41 || U *n̄náńć¹DN̄ 'big, strong, hard' > Hg nagy 'big' || {UEW}: ?σ Z US/LL/LV/MS, Yz naž 'stingy' (← *'hard'), Z LV/Sk nać 'completely' || pY {IN} *ńáńć¹θ₁ > Y K {Jc.} nńáńće 'big' (ńáńće 'połuteułel kełuł 'Ein großer Greis ist gekommen') ¶ UEW 310, MF 461, Lt. J 150, SZ 103 s.v. дзиկ, 340 s.v. скүп, Ang. 172, IN 238 || A: M: WrM naicigar 'coarse, thick' ¶ MED 1207 || ?φ T: MQp [BMTQ, L, AH] jüče 'high', Tk ყუცე, Kr {Rl.} jüžä id., ? Az uža id. ¶ Rs. W 212, Zaj. VAKBM I 27, TAG 109, Rl. III 614-5, ET J 263.

1554. *⁶n̄iŋ¹u¹ 'hair (of animals)' ([in U] → v. 'unhair, pluck out hair\\feathers') > U *⁶n̄iŋa- 'unhair; lose hair' > F nivo- 'deprive of hair, unhair a skin; shed hair', Krl nivo 'Stelle, wo die Haare abgenutzt sind' || pLp *⁶n̄vē- 'shed\\lose hair, deprive of hair' > Lp: S {Hs.} n̄jyvv'edh '(sich) haaren, die Haare verlieren', L {LLO} navvēt '(ein Fell) enthaaren, pälen (man reißt zuerst die Haare aus, dann schabt man sie mit dem Messer)', N {N} n̄avve- / -v- 'pluck off the hair of a skin', T {TI} navvēde 'unhair a skin' || Er невеле- неве́ле- 'grow bare (облезть), lose hair\\feathers', Mk {Ahl.} nevila- 'sich abnutzen' ||

ObU: Vg {Kn.}: P nä̚t-, Ss no̚t- 'das Leder\Fell schaben'; Os: Kz ḥɔw-, O naw- 'free of hair, unhair (a reindeer-hide)' || Sm: [1] Ne F P {Lh.} ñewā- 'be worn out (as the hair of fur boots)'; [2] Sm {Jn.} *n̄iŋkъ- ~ *n̄iŋkъ- 'pluck out (rupfen)' > Ne: T һингă-сь 'pluck (a bird), pluck out (feathers, hair, grass)', T O {Lh.} n̄iŋkā-, F Ks {Lh.} ñiŋkā-ś 'pluck (a hen), pluck out (grass)'; Slq Tz {KKIH} ñiŋq̄l- 'pluck out (feathers, grass)'; ? Kms n̄iŋgə- 'reißen, scharren', Koyb {Sp.} 1s prs. һынгылямъ 'деру'; Mt {Hl.} *N̄iŋgə- 'pluck out (rupfen)' (Mt M {Sp.} һиндіямъ 'щиплю') ¶ UEW 3O6 (*niwa- or *niŋa-), Coll. 39, Coll. CG 73, 127, 166, ~ Sm. 546 (FU *niwā-, FP *niwa-, Ugr *n̄iŋga- 'unhair [skin]'), Lr. #7O6, Lgc. #4O87, Hs. 1O12, LLO II 585-6, TI 12O5, ERV 4O6, Jn. 1O1-2, Ter. 314, Lh. 288, KKIH 141, Ptp. 38, 99, Hl. M #761 || A *nuŋâ ({DQA} *nūŋu) 'wool, down' > T *juŋ 'wool' > OT, MQp XIII juŋ, Tk Δ, ET, Slr juŋ, Az Δ, Kr T/G, SY, Ln jun, Uz žun, Tkm jün, SY juŋ ~ jün ~ jüŋ, Tk үүн, Ggz jün ~ ün, Qrj, Qmq, Nog jün, Qzq žün, Tv čuŋ, Xk nuŋ, Tb {Rl.} ñuŋ, Yk suŋ, Chv: L çäm śüm, H śüm 'wool', Qrg žün, Qq žün, VTt йөн jɵn, SbTt, Bsh jɵn 'wool, hair (of human body)', Alt ᳚uŋ 'feather', Yk suŋ 'wool\feathers that were shed from animals' ¶ Acc. to Cl. 941 and TL 146, the variant with ü is due to the infl. of T *jūg 'feathers' ¶ Cl. 941, Rs. W 211, ET J 267, TL 148, TatR 19O, Md. 58, 163 (T *žum ~ *žuŋ), BT 58 || M: [1] *noŋu-sun 'wool, down' > WrM nogusun, HlM һоос(он) 'wool, down', Ord nōs, Br һооһон, WrO nōsun, nosun, nōs 'wool', Kl һоосн nōsŋ, {Rm.} nōsŋ 'wool; hair (of human body)', Dx {T} nogosun, Shrн {Pot.} ногусун, Ba {T} nogsun 'wool'; M *noŋulur > WrM nogulur, HlM һоолуур 'soft wool, down', Br Δ һоолуур 'down', Kl Ö {Rm.} nōlꝑ 'soft fine hair, down', Kl D {Rm} nōlūr 'Flaum, Hauthaar, Daune', Ord nōlū'r 'duvet laineux (des chèvres)'; ? M *noŋur-sun > WrM nogur-sun, HlM һоорс(он) 'down, fluffy feathers' (× M *noŋura- 'become tattered, threadbare, worn out, frayed?'); [2] M *oŋuŋga-sun 'wool' > MM [S] {H} nungasu (spelled նողիասս) 'wool (of sheep)' ¶ The M cognates with *-ŋ- are valid if A *-ŋ- yields M *-ŋ- (as suggested by S and ADb.) or if *n...ŋ < *n...ŋ̄ by dis. ¶ Clauson (Cl. TMS 234, Cl. 941) unconvincingly claimed that MM nungasu is a loan from T (being an ardent anti-Altaist, Clauson tried to ascribe most common elements of T and M to borrowing) ¶ H 12O, MED 588-9, Ms. O 496-7, Krg. 222, KRS 381-2, KW 279-8O, Chr. 33O-1, 431 T DnJ 13O, T BJ 144, Pot. 422 || Tg: WrMc nungarı {Z}

'down, soft wool', {Hr.} 'Flaum', {Z} nunneri 'down, fluffy thin hair', {Hr.} nuñneri funiyehē 'Flaumhaar', Mc Sb nuñan 'downy hair, floccus; down, pile, eider down' ¶ Z 239-40, Hr. 723-4, Y##144, 2283 || pJ {S} *núnuá > OJ núnuó, J: T nùno, K núnó, Kg núno 'fabric, cloth' ¶ S AJ 271 [#177], S QJ #177, Mr. 502 ¶ DQA #1514, Pp. VG 73, 123, S AJ 285 [#235], KW 279, STM I 611 || D (in SD) *niñ- 'string, tying, bondage' > Tm niñá v. 'tie up, fasten, braid', niñavaí 'tying, bondage, that which is plaited', Td niñ 'twisted string', Kn Hl nene, Kn G {KG} nEñE, Tu niñæ, nəñæ, ninæ 'a wick' ¶ D #3668 ◇ A *u (> T, J *u, M *u ~ *o, WrMc u) is due to as. (N *ñiñu > **nuñu > A *nuñâ [{DQA} *núñu]) ◇ Cf. also Jb C 'nøy 'long fine hairs' (more plausibly from N *ñäwgä 'hair, down' [q.v.]).

1555. *נָפַר 'move to and fro, sway' > HS: WS *-nūp- > BHb ✓�wp Sh (pf. נָפַר הֵנִינְפּ) 'move to and fro, brandish' ('hin und her bewegen, schwingen'), MHb ✓�wp G 'move in the air, soar', JA [Trg.] ✓�wp v. Sh (pf. נָפַר אֲנִינְפּ) 'erheben, schwingen', JEA {Js.} ✓�wp vi. G {Js.} 'wave', {Sl.} 'sway to and fro', vt. Sh {Sl.} 'wave (an offering)', Sr ✓�wp G (pf. nāp, ip. nə-nūp) 'bend, waver to and fro', Sh 'lift up, beckon', MHb נָפַר nā'pā, JEA {Sl.} נָפַר יְאֵן nāp'y-ā n. 'sieve', Sq {L} ✓�wf G (pf. nəf) 'make a sign (with the hand?)', Mh {Jo.} ✓�wf Sh (pf. h3nwf) v. 'beckon so.'; with rdp.: MHb נָפַר תַּזְבִּין nāp'nep v. 'swing, fan' ¶ KB 644, HJ 741, 744-9, Lv. T II 98, Js. 888-9, 922-3, Sl. 738, JPS 333, LLS 262, Jo. M 306 || D *nāv- v. 'winnow' > Tm nāvu v. 'winnow, clear grain from stones', Ml nāvuka 'cleanse rice from stones', Krx nāb- v. 'thresh rice, winnow' ¶ D #3769, Pf. 99 [#727] || A: M *nabta-: WrM nabtalza-, HlM навталза- v. 'wiggle, sway\move from side to side (as a dog)', O nab_t'ā- 'pendre et flotter au gré du vent', Brt набтагана- v. flutter' (about sth. hanging down) (infl. of M *nabtayi- > WrM nabtai-, HlM навтай- 'hang, hang down?') ¶ MED 555, Ms. O 479, Chr. 316.

1556. *נָפַר'E' 'breathe, blow' > HS: Eg N nfý v. 'breathe out, exhale (ausatmen, hauchen)', Eg fNK nf 'breath (Hauch des Mundes, Atem)', Cpt: Sd NI ɿe nife, B NI ɿi nifi 'to breathe', n. 'wind' ¶ EG II 251, Vc. 149-50 || S (+ext., originally from cds.?): [1] S *✓npš 'breathe' (< N *nop'E' 'breathe' + N u *PušV 'to blow' [q.v.]) > BHb ✓npš N 'draw breath, breathe freely, recover', Sr ✓npš G 'breathe, be alive, have life', Gz ✓nfs G 'blow' (wind, spirit), Sq ✓nfš G 'respirer, vivre, se ranimer', Mh pf. n3fh 'recover from a faint', Ak ✓npš G 'breathe'

freely, relax', Ar \checkmark nfs TD 'breathe, respire'; \Rightarrow S *'napaš- n. 'breath, soul' > BHb נֶפֶשׁ 'nepes̄ 'breath, breathing, throat; soul, person, self', EpHb npš 'life, soul, person', Ug npš 'throat, gullet; soul', Ph, Pun, OA npš 'person', Yd npš id., 'soul', JA [Trg.] נֶפֶשׁ na'paš / נֶפֶשׁ אֲנָפֵשׁ nap'šā 'soul, person, will', JEA {Sl.} napšā 'soul, body, self', Sr نَفْسٌ nap'š-ā (cs. نَفْسٌ na'peš) 'breath of life, soul', SmA npš 'soul', Ar نَفْسٌ nafs- 'soul, person, -self', نَفَسٌ nafas- 'breathing', Mn nfš id., Sb, Qt nfš id., 'life', Gz nafs 'soul, person, breath', Sq {L} 'nofoš '-selves' (rf. prn., in pl.), Ak LB napšu 'life, breath', OAk napaštū, Ak 𒀭 napištū 'breath; life, vigour, good health; person', ? SES (if *š > *h > zero): Mh nōf / df. ḫ3-nōf 'self', ḫ3nōf-i 'myself', ḫ3'naf-k 'yourself', ḫ3n'fayh3m 'themselves', Hrs {Jo.} ḫ3-nōf- '-self' (nōfi 'myself', nōf3h 'himself'), pl. ḫ3-ny3hōf- '-selves', Jb C {Jo.} 'nuf / df. 'e-'nuf 'self', 'ha-'nuf 'to oneself', Sq {Jo.} nɔf-, nhɔf- 'self'; [2] S * \checkmark npx 'breathe, blow, inflate' (< N *nop'E' + N ?φ o *Puq ∇ 'to let out air\gas' [q.v.]) > Ar, Mh, Jb E/C \checkmark nfx G 'blow, inflate', Hrs \checkmark nfx G 'blow', Gz \checkmark nfx G 'blow, breathe on', Ak \checkmark npx G 'blow upon; blow (sth.)', hiss', amb BHb/Aram/Sr \checkmark npħ v. G 'blow' (×CS * \checkmark npħ), \Rightarrow WS *man'pax- 'bellows' > Ug mpħ, du. mpħm, BHb מַפְּחִית map'pāħ, Gz mənfāħ id.; [3] CS * \checkmark npħ v. 'blow' (< N *nop'E' + N o *puħ ∇ 'to blow [blasen]' [q.v.]) > Ar \checkmark nfħ G 'blow' (of wind), Gz \checkmark nfħ G 'blow', (×S * \checkmark npx) amb BHb/JA/Sr \checkmark npħ v. G 'blow', and SmA \checkmark npħ G 'become swollen', Sh vt. 'blow (breathe of life), inflate'; [4] WS * \checkmark npθ > Ar \checkmark nfθ G 'puff\blow upon', Qt {Rk. D} \checkmark nfθ 'spit out; proclaim', {Rk.} 'appoint' ← 'spit, blow on sth.'; [5] Ar \checkmark nfħ G 'blow strongly' (wind) § HJ 744-9, KB 669-74, BDB 655-6, 659-61, A #1815, 1826, OLS 285, 327-8, Lv. T II 122-3, Js. 922, 926-7, Sl. 77O, Br. 435, 441, JPS 346-7, BK II 1304-6, 1309-11, Tal 536-7, 541, Hv. 785-7, BGMR 93, MA 66, Rk. D 157-8, Rk. 110-1, LG 388-9, L LS 271, Jo. M 283-6, Jo. H 94, Jo. J 181-3, CAD XI 263-7O, 288-91, 296-304, ≈ MiK I #1.200 (*napa/iš- 'throat'), ##2.45-6 (* \checkmark npx, * \checkmark npš) || C: LEC {Bl.} *nef- '≈ breath, soul' > Sml náf 'soul, self', Sml N {Abr.} nēf 'breath', Arr {Hw.} nafá 'body', Or {Th.} năfa, Or B/O {Sr.} naf-a, Or Wt {Hn.} nafa_id.; ≈ *nef|bs- 'breath, soul' (unless ↔ Ar): Or B {Bl.} 'habse? 'soul', Rn {PG} nēbsí 'a breath', Rn nēbs-ad-, Sml nēfso v. 'breathe' § Bl. 166, Bl. G 86, Sr. 372, Hn. W 57, Th. 253, PG 233, ZMO 307, Abr. S 188, Hw. A 387, AD SF 177 || u: FU *on'o|pt ∇ > ObU {Ht.} *nopət 'lifetime' > pVg *năt id. > Vg:

T/P/NV/SV/LL nat, LK/MK нăт, UL/So нот; pOs {Ht.} *nopat, {§Hl.} *năpat (< *năpat) > Os: V/Vy nowat, Ty/Y năpat, D/K/Nz nupat, O nopat id. ¶ Ht. #435 || A *n'öb'▽- > M *nöxele- 'come in gusts' > WrM nögele-, HlM нөөлөх id., WrM nögele-kü salkin 'a gust of wind' ¶ MED 592 ¶ ≠ DQA #2735 (pA *nja|obo; M + semantically unc. comparison with T, Tg, and J).

1557. *nōp₁▽, h¹i¹ 'fog, cloud' > HS: Eg G nfу 'fog' (?) or 'darkness' (?), Cpt Sd/B NI q nif 'fog' ¶ EG II 251, Vc. 149-50 || EC: Dsn {Flm.} nēbo (~ нăдо?) 'cloud' ¶ Fl. GO, Blz. DL s.v. 'cloud' || IE *nebh- → [1] IE *nebhos / *nebhes- ntr. 'cloud, fog, sky' > OI 'nabhaḥ' / obl. 'nabhas- 'vapour, cloud, mist; sky', Av nabah- pl. 'air space, sky' || Gk νέφος n. (gen. νέφεος) 'cloud' || Clt: W, Crn nef 'heaven', Br neñv id., 'sky', ?φ OIr nem (s-stem) 'sky' || Sl *nebo / obl. *nebes- / pl. *nebes-a 'sky' > OCS НЕБО nebo / obl. НЕБЕС- nebes- / pl. НЕБЕСА nebesa (→ R 'небо'), Blg не'бе / pl. небе'са, SCr nēbo / pl. nebësa, Sln nebō / pl. nébesa, Cz nebo / pl. nebesa, Slk nebo / pl. nebesá, P niebo / pl. niebiosa, Uk 'небо 'sky', R 'нёбо 'palate (roof of mouth)' | Lt debesīs, Ltv debesis 'cloud', debess 'sky' (Blt *d- due to the contamination with a different word, possibly the Blt cognate of Gk δνόφος 'darkness, dusk, thick clouds') || Ht nepis-, nepisa- 'sky' || [2] NaIE *nebh-ełā 'cloud, fog' > Gk νεφέλη 'cloud' || L nebula 'vapour, fog, mist' || OIr nél 'cloud'; W niwl, nifwl, Crn niwl id. (← L nebula?) || Gmc *nebla-, *nibula- 'fog, mist' > OSx neval, OFrs nevil id., OHG nebul 'fog, darkness', NHG Nebel 'fog, mist', AS nifol 'dark', ON nifl- id. (in cds.: niflvægr 'dunkle Straße', niflhel 'underworld'), njól 'fog, night', AS nofol 'dark' ¶ P 315-6, EI 110 (*'nebhes- ~ *nebh-el- 'mist, cloud, sky'), Bc. 52-3, 1484, M K II 134, M E II 13, F II 309-10, WH II 151-2, YGM-1 342, Vn. N 8, IP § 97, Schz. 220, Kb. 718, OsS 642, KM 505, Ho. 236, Ho. S 55, Vr. 409-10, Vs. II 53, ESSJ XXIV 100-4, Glh. 436, Frn. 85, Ts. E II 310-5, CHD L-N 448-53 || A: Tg *nup- v. 'smoke' > Ewk nuw-, Lm nūb/p- 'be smoked (elaborated by smoke)' (of a hide), Ewk nuwç̄ 'smoked hide, ровдуга (leather made of reindeer hide)', Neg nūp- vi. 'smoke' (of a lamp), Lm nūbgit- vt. 'smoke (a hide to dress leather)', Neg nūpkit- id., v. 'smoke (fish, meat)', Orc нуčи id., Ud {ØSTM} нūрćи- vi. 'emit smoke', vt. 'smoke (sth.)', нiupti- 'be smoked', Ork nūputči- ~ нūруссi- 'be smoked' (of a hide), 'be covered with soot', Nn нupči vt. 'smoke,

elaborate by smoking' ¶ STM 607-8 || pKo {S} *n̥ā̄i 'smoke' > MKo *n̥ā̄i, NKo n̥ä ¶ S QK #80, Rm. SKE 158, Nam 102, MLC 315 || pJ *n̥ip̥ər-v. 'smell (of sth.)' > OJ n̥ip̥ōp-, J: T n̥iō-, K n̥iō-, Kg n̥iō- ¶ S QJ #234, Mr. 736 || ? T *jip̥ar 'smell, fragrance' (→ 'musk') > OT {Cl.} jip̥ār 'scent' (in QB), 'perfumes, musk', XwT XIV, MQp XIV [CC] jip̥ar 'musk', Tk Δ jip̥ar, Qq žūpar, Qrg žip̥ar 'scent, pleasant odour', Yk sibar ~ simar 'odour, stench', Bsh йофар j̥ifar, SY šuv̥ar 'musk' ¶ Cl. 878-9, KW 469, ET J 284 ¶ Rm. EAS I 77, Rm. SKE 158 (Tg, Ko), S AJ 297, ≈ SDM97 (A *nöbi, incl. Tg, Ko, J), ≈ DQA #1477 (A *nibile- 'to smoke, to smell', incl. Ko, J) ◇ Dsn -b- and NaIE *-b^h- point to N *-p_L∇_JH- (probably *-p_L∇_Jh-) with loss of the lr. in Eg and IE (the loss of IE laryngeals in the prevocalic position is reg.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #67 (*nep 'cloud') (IE, CK, EA).

1557a. ₂ *N∇p∇R∇ 'bank, shore, edge' > HS: Eg fMK {EG} npr 'edge; bank, shore', {Fk.} npr.t 'brim (of well)' ¶ EG II 249, Fk. 130 || K: G napir- 'bank, shore; edge' ('Ufer, Küste, Gestade; Rand'), {DCh} id., 'border (of a country)' (unless d. from K *p̥ir- 'lip, edge' with the px. of pp. *na- [K 145], although the semantic interpretation of napir- as a ps. participle is hard to understand) ¶ Chx. 92, DCh. 958.

1558. ₂ *n̥ā̄q∇ 'to bend, to swing, to sink' > HS: S *-n̥ā̄χ- 'lie down, sink; rest, repose' (→ 'have rest') > OCn [EA] nuχ- 'be at rest' (of so. who is in safe condition), BHb ✓ n̥wħ G (נָהַת / נְגַנֵּת yā-'n̥āħ) 'settle, rest, repose; have rest, wait', Ph Sh 3m pf. ynuχ 'erect (an altar)', Ug {A, OLS} ✓ n̥wχ 'rest, have a rest', n̥χt {A} 'Ruhesitz', {OLS} 'diván', Amr {G} ✓ n̥wχ v. 'rest', n̥āχum 'rest', IA d. n̥yħ n. 'rest, tranquility; resting place', EpJA ✓ n̥wħ 'be at rest', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓ n̥wħ G 'rest, lie', JEA {Sl.} ✓ n̥wħ G 'rest, be calm', Sr ✓ n̥wħ G (pf. n̥āħ, ip. -n̥āħ) 'rest, be at rest, stay quiet', Ar G ✓ n̥wχ (n̥āχa/-n̥āχ) 'kneel' (of a camel), Sh ✓ n̥wχ 'make (a camel) to kneel', Mh {Jo.} ✓ n̥wχ Sh (pf. h̥awneħ) 'give so. a rest from working', šawneħ v. (pf.) 'rest', Hrs {Jo.} 'šawneħ / yəšōnəħ, Jb E {Jo.} 'šinħ id., Gz ✓ n̥wχ (pf. n̥ōχa, js. yə-n̥āχ) 'repose, linger', Ak ∀ ✓ n̥wχ (inf. n̥āχu ~ n̥uāχu, p. in̥āχ) 'be slow\still; relent, be appeased; rest, repose' ¶ HJ 721-2, 729-30, KB 642-3, 1745, A #1772, Grd. UT #1625, OLS 323, Hff. 237, G A 27-8, Js. 885-6, Dlm. 265, Sl. 735-6, Br. 419, JPS 331, BK II 1363-4, Ln. 2864, LG 409, Jo. M 307, Jo. H 99, CAD XI/1 143-50, Sd. 716-7 || Eg XX n̥uχ 'knock down (the attacking enemy)' (of a lion), 'throw back (an enemy) with its horns' (of a bull), Eg G n̥uχ 'repulse (an attacking enemy)' ¶ EG

312, 314 ¶ Semantics: ← vt. 'sink, fell, knock down' || C: Bj {R} *nū?*-scv. 'senken, sinken lassen, niederlassen' || ??ϕ Ag: Bln {R} *na^q* υ- 'auf den Rücken liegend emporschauen', *na^q-s-* vi. caus. 'auf den Rücken legen' ¶ R WBd 178, R WB 279 || Ch {Stl.} *n^hāx- 'wait' > CCh: {ChL} HgB *nāχ̥ndó*, Kpf *nūχ̥nté* 'wait' ¶ Stl. IF 124, 211 ¶ ≈ OS #1837 (HS *nah- 'bend' [intr.]: S, Bln), ≠ #1907 (HS *n^hāw^hāq- 'rest' v.: S ÷ AG *nuk-, see N *'*n̄ūk'* 'lie down, sink, bow [down]') || IE *ne^hu- > NaIE *ne^hu- vi.\vt. 'bow, nod' > L *nū-tus* 'gravitation, downward movement', *nū-*ō / -ērē (pfc. *nūī*, pp. *nū-tum*) v. 'nod', *nū-men* 'a nodding with the head, nod' || Gk νεύω (aor. νεῦσαι) 'bow the head, nod, beckon, bow in token of assent' (< NaIE *ne^hu-s-?) || Lt {Frn.} *nīāsti* (prs. *nīāsiū*) 'neigen, beugen' ¶ The absence of the lr. (or its traces) in the stem *ne^hu-s- is accounted for by IE morphological laws (NS PK 301) ¶ The editors of IS III (← P 767) adduced OI 'navatē' 'moves', which, acc. to M E II 23, does not exist; in any case, the IIR words for 'move' (adduces by P and the editors of IS III) are not semantically close enough to justify the comparison ¶ P 767, EI 394 (*ne^hu- 'nod'), WH II 189-90, F II 309, Frn. 500 ◇ Ffd. see IS III 61-6 (*Νυ^hū) in HS, K, IE + unc. A + err. [?] NED *^onūk- 'bow, droop'). IE *n- provides ev. for a N *n̄- (*n̄ī-) and rules out N *n̄-.

1559. ₂ *'*n̄āχ̥a* 'assist (help, protect)' > HS: Eg fMK *n̄x* v. 'protect (so.), help' ¶ EG II 304 || IE: NaIE *^o'nā- 'help, be useful' > Gk ὀνί-νη-μι, -νά-μεν (ft. ὀνήσω, Gk D aor. ps. ὠνάθην) 'profit, benefit, help, assist', ὀνησις (Gk D ὀνᾶσις) 'use, profit', Gk Mc ονο 'profit' ¶ Hardly here OI *nā'tham* 'help', *nāth-* 'Zuflucht suchen' (which is better explained as going back to NaIE *netH- 'help, grace, favour' < N *nātH₁, *χ̥* 'to seek, to seek help; to help' [q.v.]) ¶ WP II 315, P 754, M K II 151-2 (no definite et. of 'nā-thā), M E II 33; F II 395-6 and Ch. 803 (both find no convincing IE et. of ὀ-νί-νη-μι) ◇ On pIE and N *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1560. *'*n̄ar'* 'thin, narrow' > IE: NaIE: Gmc *narwa 'narrow' > OSx *naru* adj. 'eng, kummervoll', *nar(a)wo* adv. 'eng', AS *nearwū* (gen. *nearwes*) 'narrow, confined', NE *narrow*; d.: MHG *närlich* 'gering, wenig, notdürfig' ¶ Ho. S 54, Ho. 232-3, Sw. 123, Lx. 149 || A *nar- 'thin' > M *narin 'thin, narrow, fine (not coarse)' > MM *narin* [L, MA, IM] {Pp.} 'thin', [IsV] {Lg.} 'mince', [S] {H} 'fein, genau', WrM *narin*, HlM *нарийн* 'fine (not coarse); narrow, tight; thin', Mnr H

{SM, T} narin id., Brt **нарин** 'thin, narrow', Kl **нэрн** närg id., {Rm.} närg 'fine, narrow', Ord {Ms.} narīn 'fin, effilé, étroit', MMgl [Z] nārin, Mgl {Rm.} nōrin 'thin, fine', Dg {T} narin 'thin, narrow, flexible', {Pp.} nařīn 'thin', Ba {T} naroŋ, Dx {T} narun id.; M *narida- > WrM **narid(a)-**, HIM **нарийдах** 'become thin, slender, narrow, tight', Kl **нэрд-** 'become thin', Brt **нарида-** 'become thin\narrow', Ord narīd_a- 'être trop étroit\fin'; Mnř H {SM} narind_i- 'être\devenir fin\étroit\menu' ¶ Pp. L III 71, Pp. MA 246, 442, H 114, Lg. VMI 56, MED 565-6, KRS SM 258, Iw. 118, T 348, T BJ 144, T DnJ 13O, T DgJ 156, Chr. 322-3 || Tg: WrMc **narχun** 'thin', Jrc {Kiy.} narhun 'slender' ¶ STM I 585-6, Kiy. 134 [#672] || T *jar- > Qrg ţarō 'wiry, lean, поджарый' (of a horse) (unless from T *jara- 'be fit', whence 'be well trained' - of a horse); T *jargak 'lean', 'dressed hide without hair' (if ← 'thin hide\skin') > Qrg ţaryaqtaу 'lean', Qmq Δ jaryaq 'lean, skinny', Uz Δ ţaryaq 'dressed hide of a lean goat\sheep', Tkm, Nog, Bsh jaryaq, Qzq, Qq ţaryaq 'dressed hide without hair', Qrg ţaryaq id., 'membrane (перепонка)', ET ja(r)yqaq 'dressed hide without hair', 'parchment', Alt {RL.} jarγaq (ţaryaq) 'shabby hide', Chv řurχax 'membrane, threadbare\shabby coat' ¶ T *jargak belongs here if its primary meaning is 'lean, thin' rather than 'hide' ¶ ET J 141-3, TL 384 (NaT *jariy 'hand-made leather'), Nj. 772, Jud. 236, MaM 162 || ??φ pKo *yā,rp- 'thin' > MKo yā,rp-, NKo yā,lp- ~ yālp- ¶ S QK #11O, Nam 376, MLC 1182 ¶ ≈ DQA #1437 (pA *nēra 'thin, flat' > M, Tg, T, Ko) || K: MG [VTq.] narnar-i 'tender', G narnar-i 'zart, fein, sanft' (× N *ñärh₂ē ~ *ñāh₂rē 'unripe, tender, weak') ¶ DCh. 959, Chx. 923.

1560a. *ño'f'r̥ 'moist, mud; (?) to gush' > **HS:** EC: Dsn ñuru 'wet', (??) Arr {Hw.} ñōr 'mud' (× N *ñāRU 'swamp'?) || SC: Irq {MQK} nāf- 'be wet', nāfari 'wet land along river bank', Alg {EC} nař- 'get wet' ¶ Hw. A 389, To. DL 523, E SC 352, MQK 76, Blz. DL s.v. 'wet', Blz. SCL s.v. 'wet' || S *°vñfr > Ar ✓ñfr G 'gush forth', nařñār- 'wound gushing with blood, vein spurting with blood' ¶ Hv. 781, BK II 1293 || **A:** M *noř:r- > MM [IM] {Pp.} nor-, WrM **nor-** 'become wet, soaked, damp, moist', Ord {Ms.}, Kl nor-, Brt **норо-**, Mnř H {SM} nōri-, {T} nori-, Dx {T} noro- 'get wet', M d. (caus.) *noř:rga- > WrM **norga-**, HIM **норго(-x)** vt. 'wet, moisten, soak', Ord norgo-, Kl норг- noryb-, {Rm.} noryā- ~ noryă-, Brt **норго-**, Mnř H {SM} nōrg_a- vt. 'wet' ¶ IS II 89 reconstructs M *ñ on the ev. of Mnř ñ, but the regularity of the Mnř reflex of the pM

vowel length is not yet evident ¶ Pp. MA 443, MED 591, KRS 382, KW 279, Ms. O 497, Chr. 331, SM 284, T 352, T DnJ 131 || pJ {S} *núrá-'get wet' > OJ núra-, StJ nurasu 'to wet', nureru 'to get wet', nureta 'wet, soaked', J: T nüre-, K nüré, Kg nuré- 'get wet' ¶ S QJ #491, Mr. 738 ¶ ~ DQA #149O (M and J < A *njuře 'become wet, soak') || D (in SD) *nóur[á]mb. > Tm nurambu 'mud, mire', Tu nurumbu 'alluvium' ¶ In pSD before a derivational sx. *a the contrast *o ↔ *u was neutralized (Zv. 65-6) ¶ D #37O7 || ? U: FU: Vt nūr 'dampness' (on other possible connections of Vt nūr see N *ńaRU 'swamp') ¶ ~ LG 2O1 ◇ ~ IS II 89-9O (*ńohrə 'humid; to flow'; equates M *nōr(u)- 'soak, moisten' with S ✓nhr 'river, stream', U *ńor▽/*ńōr▽ 'moist, swamp, flow', ? D *ńir 'moisture, water' [see N *ńihr'a' 'to stream; a stream, liquid']).

1561. *náher▽ 'day, sun, daylight' > HS: WS *nahār- ~ nāhar- 'day' (× N *něh'U'r'i' 'light, fire'?) > Sr ;^{r, 9} nā'har cs. 'morning', Ar nahār-'day, day-time', Mh, Hrs nžhōr 'day', nžhōren '(at) midday', Sq {Jo.} 'žnhor 'days', Jb C 'nhe'rε? 'at midday' ¶ Br. 417, Fr. IV 343, BK II 1354-5, Jo. M 29O, Jo. H 95, Jo. J 186 || A *nńhar▽ 'sun, dawn, day' > M *naran 'sun' > MM {MA, IM, IsV, PP}, MMgl naran, WrM naran, HIM ńap(ан), Kl narn, Ord, MnR nara, Mgl, Dx, Ba naran, Dg. nar ¶ Pp. MA 245, 442, Pp. KP 154, Lg. VMI 56, MED 565, KRS 368-9, KW 272, SM 357-8, Iw. 118, T 348, T DnJ 13O, T DgJ 185, T BJ 144 || T *jarin 'early in the morning' > OT jarin 'early in the morning; to-morrow', Tk յարին, Kr Cr, SY jarin, Yk sarsin 'to-morrow', Ggz jārin 'morning, to-morrow', Qzq Δ, Qq žarin 'next year', Chv iran 'to-morrow' ¶ Rs. W 19O, Cl. 97O, DTS 241, ETJ 147-9, Jeg. 343, Fed. II 473 || pKo {S} nár 'sun, day, weather' > MKo nár, NKo nal ¶ S QK #186, Nam 95, MLC 3O2 ¶ SDM97 (A *nar▽ (~ *neru) 'day, sun' > T, M, Ko), ~ DQA #1439 (pA *něrá 'day, sun, light'; incl. T, M, Ko) || D *nēr- 'sun, day, time' > Ml nēram 'sun, day, time', Tm nēram 'time, season, opportunity', Kdg ne·ra 'sun, time', Brh dē 'sun, sunshine, day, time'; the pD meaning 'daylight, morning' may be discerned in Kdg ne·rate and Tu nērdæ 'early in the morning' ¶ D #3774, ~ GS 178 [#451a] (D *nē- 'time, sun') ¶ D *-ē- < N *-ahe- ◇ IS MS 339 s.v. день *nahrə (> A, S), ~ IS II 85-6 [#32O] (pN *ńara 'fire; to flame'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of N *náher▽ and those of N *něh'U'r'i' 'light, fire').

1562. *ñe'q'ñrñ 'forehead, front of the head, (?) nose' > **HS:** B ✓ *nyr ~ *yrn ~ *rny 'forehead' > Izn {Rn.} t̄a-nyēr-t̄ (pl. t̄aniriwin), {La.} t̄i-njēr-t̄, Kb Ir {Pic.} anyir, Rf A {Rn.} mt. aynär, Gd inar, Sw {La.} i-nīr (pl. inīrən), Tmz {MT} -i-nir, Zw {La.} anir, Izd ayirni (pl. iyrnan) ~ ajrri (pl. ijrri), Nf arnay, Mz arnay (pl. irnayən) id. ¶ La. S 242, Mrc. 123, Rn. 391, Dlh. M 174, La. MChB 112 [fn. 2], Pic. 432, MT 495 || S *ñx̄r: S *nax(r)ñr- 'nose, nostrils' > BHb *נַחֲרִים nəħi'rayim* pl. (< du.) 'nostrils' (att.: +ppa. נַחֲרִיו nəħi'rāw 'its nostrils'), MHb נַחֲרִיר nāħi'řir 'nostril', JPA, JEA {Sl.} נַחֲרָא nəħi'rā 'nostril', Sr נַחֲרֵס nəħi'r-ē (pl.) 'nose, nostrils', Ak naxñr- 'nostril'; SES *naxñrñ- 'nose' > Sq {L} naħrñr, {Jo., SSL} 'naħ'rir, Mh {Jo.} nəħrñr, Hrs nax'rer, Jb C {Jo.} nax'rer, Jb E {Jo.} nəħ'rer id.; S *°nuħar- > Ar nuħar-at- ~ nuħr-at- 'snout, forepart of the nose', nuħr-at- 'nose', nuħar- (pl.) 'nostrils'; ds.: Ar manħar- 'nostril, nose', manħūr- 'nostrils', but these nouns or some of them may have also derived from *ñx̄r 'snore, snort' (o?) or *ñx̄r 'pierce' (*naxñr- as pp. 'pierced') (cp. Ar ✓ ñx̄r [pf. naħira] 'être usé et troué', nāħi'ř- adj. 'percé et offrant un passage au vent') ¶ KB 648, 651-2, Lv. III 371-2, Sl. 741, Br. 424, JPS 335, BK II 1220, Hv. 757, L LS 265, SSL LSNP 1468, Jo. M 308, Jo. H 99, Jo. J 199, Sd. 714, MiK I #1.198 || C: Ag *ñař-, {E} *ňar- 'head' > Aw {Hz.} űári, Kfl {TBZAC} ῥkʰuri, Dmt {CR, R} ῥari id. || LEC {E} *ňar- 'forehead' > Arr {Hw.} űār id., Or {Grg.} űāra 'eyebrow' ¶ E PC #466, Hw. A 388, Grg. 301, Brl. 321 || **U:** FU *ññere 'nose, beak, foremost' > pLp {Lr.} *ññere 'cheek' > Lp: L {LLO} nierra, Kld ñir id., N {N} nierrâ id., 'side of face' | Er űeř, Mk űäř 'beak, snout, mouth (of animals)' | Chr L/E/H ñer 'nose; hill between depressions' | Prm {LG} ñür > Z, Vt һыр ñır 'nose, beak, snout, muzzle' || ObU *°ññir > pOs *°ñir > Os: V/Vy űir 'cap\promontory in a river (мыс; Kap, Landzunge, Vorsprung des Steilufers zwischen zwei Bächen)' (like in R һос 'nose' → 'cap') || Sm {Jn.} *ňerъ 'point, extremity (Spitze, Ende)', 'in front (of)' (adv., prep.) > Ne: Т һерня, Т О {Lh.} һје·рн·е 'in front', Т һеръ 'earlier', һе'ры adj. 'front, preceding, former', Т О {Lh.} һеръа_ adj. 'front', F NI {Lh.} һје·р 'vorher'; Ng {Hl.} һера 'place in front (of sth.)', {Mik.} һера loc. 'in front'; Slq (cd.?): Tz {KKIH} һенна 'forward, in front', Tm {KD} һенне 'forward'; Kms {KD} һер 'Gipfel, Spitze', {Cs.} һер 'Spitze', һjerimnä 'forward, front (впередъ, передній)', Koyb {Sp.} +ppa. һerde 'its end'; Mt {Hl.} *ірзп 'earlier, long ago' (Mt M {Sp.} герень, ирењь),

*irnE- 'in front' (Mt {Mll.}): M irnēnde, K īrning, T örning 'antrorsum', {Pls.} īrnjadū 'in front' (-nde, -ing, -nde are case endings) || pY {IN} *naδ- (misprint for *ńaδ-?) → *ńaδ-ya- 'face' (with the nominal sx. *-ya) > Y {IN}: K ńaśa, T ńača 'face'; OY: K {Bil.} neatsha, {Klc.} нячага, Ch {Mat.} няча, {Boe.} нячя по id. ¶ Coll. 39, UEW 303-4 (*nere [*nēre]), Db. OS xix, ≈ Lr. #732, Lgc. #4192, SaR 213, LG 197, Lt. 195, It. #361, Trj. S 31O, Stn. D 107O, Jn. 11O, Ter. 302-4, KKIH 14O, Cs. 185, Hl. US 125, Hl. M #8O, 353, 355, 359, IN 238, 312 || D ~ *nerki, {GS} *net-i 'forehead, head' > Tm nerri 'forehead, front', Ml nerri, Kt neč, Tf nity, Kdg, Klm, Nkr netti 'forehead', Kn netti id., 'head', Gnd nēč, Knd neti, Mlt nitlu 'crown of the head', Tu netti id., 'forehead', Tl netti 'head', Gdb nedide 'scalp' ¶ D *-r̥- < **-r̥r̥- (from *-r̥- + a sx.?) ¶ DED #3118, D #3759, GS 59 [#166] ◇ Ag *ŋ- suggests the presence of a lr. or uvular cns. (*nH- or *nq-> *ŋ-), which accounts for the length of the FU *ē. If the S cognate is valid, the N rec. must be *ńeqv̥r̥v̥, otherwise the rec. is less specified (N *ńeHv̥r̥v̥) ◇ IS MS 354 s.v. *neqra 'перед (головы)', IS II 82 (*ne'rH'i 'front part of the head, forehead').

1563. *ńiXr̥v̥ 'hollow (in the ground, in a tree), hole, pit' > IE: NaIE *nəloar-/ *nēr- 'hole, hollow in the ground' > BSl: Lt nāras 'cave, hole', Frn.} 'Höhle, Bau (widdlebender Tiere)' | Sl *nora '(animal's) hole' > OR **Norðnora**, R, Uk но'pa, Cz nora, P nora, nura || Gk [Hs.] νηρίδας · τὰς κοῖλας πέτρας 'hollow rocks' accus. pl. || ? OI 'nāra'ka- ~ naraka-ḥ 'hell, underworld', Pali naraka- 'Abgrund, Spalte' ¶ W II 334, P 766, Frn. 495, ESSJ XXV 184-5, Vs. III 82-3, Chrn. II 577, F II 315-6, M K II 138, M E II 37 || HS: S *°v̥n̥hr̥ > Jb C {Jo.} 'naħar (pl. 'nħehr̥) 'hole in a tree-trunk in which animals may nest', naħ'run 'having a big hole' ¶ Jo. J 186-7 || A: Tg: Ewk niru ~ nirū 'small hollow\pit' ({Vas.} 'ямка, впадинка') ¶ Vas. 296, STM I 600.

1564. ₂ *ńūr̥v̥ 'to penetrate' > IE: NaIE (in BSl) *°ner- 'penetrate, plunge, dive' > Lt nērti (prs. nēriù) 'to dive, to plunge' → nāras 'diver (= duck), Ltv nīrt 'to dive', nīrēt, nīrdāt 'to plunge' | Sl *ner- / hor- / (R-gr.) *n̥er- ~ *n̥yr- 'dive, plunge' → L-gr. (iter. stem) *nir- ~ *n̥ir- id. > Cz nořiti, Slk norit' 'to dip', SCr Δ {Chrn. ← ?} nōriti 'id. (?)', ChS cd. **ВЪНРѢТИ** въ-nr̥eti / **ВЪНРѢЖ** въ-n̥r̥q 'парєтъ, penetrate', **ИЗНРѢТЪ** iz-n̥retъ 'екдунел, emerges (from)', Slv pondréti / pondr̥em vt. 'dip'; → Sl iter.-dur. *n̥r̥ati

~ *ni'rati ~ *n̥rati > RChS **НИРЯТИ** n̥irjati, R ны'рять, Uk ни'ряти 'to dive', Blg Δ 'норвам 'I dive', 'норна 'dive', SCr p̥onirati 'to lose oneself into subterranean passages of the chalk formation' ¶ W II 334, P 766, Tr. 197, Frn. 495, BER IV 653, 685, ESSJ XXV 188-9, XXVI 65, Vs. III 91-2, Chrn. II 581-2, Drd. 525 || D: [1] *nuṛ▽ 'creep in, penetrate; insert' > Tm nurai 'creep through a narrow passage, penetrate', nuruntu 'insert, stick in', nurai 'narrow way, opening, cave', Ml nurayuka 'creep in, squeeze through', Kn norę 'creep in', Tu nūru- id., nurumpæ 'hole', Knd ḫug 'enter, steal in, get into, enter through a passage', Png, Kw ḫug- vi. 'hide', Kui ḫupka- (< *ṛuk-p-) / ḫukt- 'thrust in between, insert', Krx nuṛ-, Mlt nuđe- 'hide, conceal' ¶ D #3714 | [2] ? *nu(:)ṛ- 'force one's way through, shove in' > Kn nūru 'force one's way through', Krx nurūg- 'push back into the fire unburnt ends of logs protruding', nurg- 'shove in, insert', ?σ Mlt nurge v. 'drag, draw (as a net)'; the decerebralization *-ṛ- > *-ṛ- (or earlier depalatalization *-ṛ- > *-r-?) may be due to a suffix (reduced to zero acc. to the laws of D phonology that rule out cns. clusters) ¶ D #3711 ◇ IS MD 357 (*nurə: IE, D).

1565. *‘n̥yäṛ▽ 'man (vir), male animal' > A ≈ *ñäři ({SDM97} *ñärija, {DQA} *ñjäři) 'man, young man' > Tg *ñjari ~ *ñari 'man, young man' > Nn nař~nay 'person', Nn KU nřra 'male animal', nřra bžyž 'male person', Ork narł, Orc nā~ñī 'man (person, male person)', Ud {STM, Krm} nī, Ud A {Shn.} nē '_hombre!' (address word for a person), Ul ñī 'person', Ewk A ñōřī, Ewk V/Np ñērawī, Ewk PT/I nirawī ~ ñirawī '(young) man, husband', Neg ñēyawī, Lm ñarł, Sln nirō 'male person', Jrc {Kiy.} niyarma 'person' (in phrases: hadi niyarma 'nobleman', hehē niyarma 'woman', faši niyarma 'carpenter', andahai niyarma 'guest', etc.), WrMc niyalma 'person', Mc Sb {Mrm.} nälma ~ nalma ~ nalm ~ nalm 'person, man, somebody' ¶ STM I 598-9', Krm. 266, Kiy. 112-6 [#273, 281, 299, 330-333, 336-7, 339], Z 244-6, Klz. MS 231, S AJ 213 [#92] || pKo {S} *nār-ná 'brave' > MKo nār-ná, NKo nallä- id.; ?? MKo {Nam} nāj > NKo nā 'man, person' ¶ SDM95, S QK #615, Nam 96, 102-3, MLC 303, Rm. SKE 158; the enigmatic loss of *-r (F IS II 93) suggests a change of the word-final *-jṛ into -j || T: [1] T *järm▽k > Chr çapmäk šarmäk ~ çampäk šamräk 'young, young man', Blgh → : OHg gyermek 'young man, child' (> Hg gyermek 'child'), VTt/Bsh Jermäk p.n., Oyr B {Vld.} žermegej 'young person, child' ¶ Rs. W 198,

Ash. XII 36-7, 66, Md. 36, EWU 495-6, Rm. SKE 28 1[2] ? T *jeŕne '(elder) brother-in-law' > NaT *jezne > OT {Cl.} jäznǟe 'the husband of one's elder sister or of one's father's younger sister', MQp XIII {Cl.} jeznǟ 'son-in-law, bridegroom', XIV [CC] jezne~jizne 'brother-in-law', Chg ≥XV jäznǟ 'sister's\daughter's husband', Tkm Δ jezne, Az jeznǟ, VTt җизни žizni, Kr G ježne, Kr T jezńa, Bsh εζηε јьδнä, Nog, SY jezde, Uz җeznǟ ~ җezdä, Qzq, Qq җezde, Qrg җezde, Alt җeste, Tv česte, Xk čiste 'husband of an elder sister or of an aunt' ¶ Cl. 988, ETJ 169-7O, TL 298, Pokr. 64-5; TatR 761 ¶ S AJ 291 [#394] (*ńjari) (Tg only), ≈ SDM97 (incl. Tg, Ko), ≈ DQA #1471 (incl. Tg, Ko, T) || IE **ner- 'man, male animal' > Vd 'nā (< *nār) (accus. naram, nom. pl. 'narah) 'man, person', Av nā / nar- id., μ: OI 'narah' 'man, husband, hero', Av narō 'man'; Blc nar, Phl nar 'male', NPrs ն̄ar 'husband, male', Oss näl 'male animal, man (vir)' (< Irn d. *nar-ya-) || Arm սյր ayր, gen. սուն արն 'man, husband' (< *nṛ-?) || pAl {O} *nera > Al nje'ri 'man, human being', Al SG/D/P/Be/Ç né'ri, A 'ńer || Phr αναρ 'man' || Gk ἄντρος, gen. ἄνδρος 'man (male person)' (probably merger of the expected nominative *nṛ with the stem variant of the oblique cases: gen. *ἀρ-ός < *nṛ-ós) || L [Y] nerīōsus 'resistens, fortis', Osc riir 'vir, princeps, procer (title of rank)', gen. pl. NERUM 'virorum' || OIr ner 'wild boar', MW {Flr. ← ?} ner 'lord', W nēr 'lord, Lord; hero' || ?? Lw annarummi, Ht innarauwant- 'strong' ¶ P 765, EI 366 (*hₙer / gen. *hₙr̃-os 'man, person'), Mn. 837-8, IS II 92-3, M K II 138, 148-9, Bai. 174, Ab. II 165-7, F I 107-8, WH II 164-5, Bc. G 32O, Vn. N 1O, YGM-1 343, Flr. 266, O 304, Huld 100-1 (IE *A₁ner- > pAl *neri), Slt. 121, Pv. I-II 366-73, Lar. 27 || HS: C: Ag: Aw յՅրչի 'male person' || EC: Arr ներդէ 'young man' and\or EC {Bl.} *nirig- 'camel foal' > Dsn նիրին 'newborn donkey\camel', Sml nirig, Sml N nírig, Rn նիրաχ 'male camel foal' ¶ E PC #47O (pC *njerž 'man, young man'), Bl. 26O, ZMO 308, Abr. S 188-9, Hw. A 389, PG 237, To. DL 522 || ??? Eg nr 'people (homines)' (mentioned in IS II 93) is qu. according to EG II 279; nr.t is {EG} a "spielende Schreibung für rm̄t 'Menschen'" || K *°nar- > G nar-i 'male camel' ¶ DCh. 959, Chx. 923 ♦ AD LRC #19: IE, Tg; IS MS 349 (*najr̃a 'male person') and IS II 92-3 (*NajR̃a 'male person, male') (in both: IE, A [Tg, Ko], HS [Eg, C]). IE *n- rules out pN *ń-, hence the Tg palatal cns. (or cluster) *ń-|ńj- must be explained by postulating a word-internal *y

in pN. It may be also responsible for Arr *ní- and pAg *ŋ̥∇- (< **n∇?∇- < N *ñ∇y∇-) ◇ On N and pIE *‘- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1566. *ñus∇ 'to breathe' > **HS:** S (+ext.): [1] CS *✓nšm 'breathe' > Sr, Md ✓nšm v. G id., BHb ✓nšm v. G 'pant, puff', {GB} 'heftig atmen', MHb, JA ✓nšm v. G 'breathe', JA {Lv., Js.} ✓nšm v. T (pf. ?i t̥na'sam) 'take breath, rest', Sr ✓nšm v. G 'breathe', Ar ✓nsm v. G (ip. -nsim-) 'blow gently' (breeze), 'diffuse itself' (aroma); → CS *naša'm-at- > BHb נִשְׁבָּעַ nəšā'mā 'movement of the air; breath, breath of life; living being', MHb nəšā'mā 'soul', BA נִשְׁמָתָךְ nišma'tāk 'thy breath of life', JA [Trg.] נִשְׁבָּעַ niš'mā, נִשְׁמָתָךְ nišma'tā, Sr נִשְׁמָתָךְ nəšam'tā 'breath, spirit, soul', Md nišimta 'soul', Ar nasamat- 'breath of lime, soul; asthma'; words of the root ✓nsm in Mh, Hrs, and Jb (Mh nəsēm 'breath, soul', etc.) are loans from Ar] [2] S *✓nšp 'blow, winnow' > Ak ✓nšp v. G 'blow away, winnow', BHb ✓nšp G 'blow, blow upon', JEA {Sl.} ✓nšp G 'blow', JPA Bz {Sl.} ✓nšp G 'blow, breathe', Ar ✓nsf G 'winnow', 'scatter (dust) (of wind) ¶ KB 73O, 1749, Js. 941, Lv. T II 131-2, Sl. 779, Sl. P 361, Br. 451, DM 300, 307, BK II 125O-3, Hv. 766-7, CAD XI/2 56, Sd. 758, MiK I #2.5O-1 || EC *n∇ss- 'breath' (× EC *neb|fs- id. < N *nop'E' 'breathe, blow'?) > Arr {Hw.} nassé 'breath', Kns nessā 'soul, breath', Gdl nass 'voice, character', pSam {Hn.} *nas v. 'rest' > Sml, Rn nas- id. ¶ Hn. S 69, ZMO 305, Abr. S 187, PG 231, Hw. A 387 || IE: NaIE *neus- v. 'smell sth.' (× N *ñiśu 'smell, breathe heavily' with mt.) > Sl *níuxa- ({ESSJ *níuqxa-}) vt. 'smell (sth.)' > R 'нюха-ть, Uk 'нюхати, P niucháć, Blg 'нююшкам, 'нююшна, SCr njušiti, njuškati, Cz Δ njuchati id., Cz čenichati vt. 'to smell' (of an animal) || Gmc: AS néosian, niusan 'to find out, to visit', OSx niusian, niuson, OHG niusen 'to try, to endeavour', NHG nüscheln 'mit der Schnauze wühlen', ON nýsa 'untersuchen, spähen', njósna 'spähen', Gt bi-niuhsjan 'κατασκοπήσαι, to spy out', niuhseins 'ἐπισκοπή, visitation' ¶ Vs. III 93, ESSJ XXV 156-9, P 768-9, Ho. 234, 237, Ho. S 56, Kb. 73O, OsS 654, Vr. 41O, 413, Fs. 93, 377 || U: FV *nuska- 'sniff, breathe heavily' > F nuuskaa- v. 'snuff', nuuski- v. snuff, smell, scent', Es nuuska- 'blow one's nose', nuuski- 'sniff, snuffle, sniffle' | ErMr носка- noska- v. 'pant, breathe heavily and moistly through the nose' ¶ The long vw. ū in F and Es ({UEW} "sekundäre Dehnung") still needs explanation ¶ UEW 711, SK 405-6, SSA II 244-5.

1567. *‘**ñūs₁y₂**,^Δ 'woman' (general term), 'woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > **HS:** S *niš-'woman' (used in pl. and with pl. endings only) > Ar nis-ūna 'women', nisā?- id. (and through metanalysis: ✓ ns̥w, whence nisw-at-un ~ nusw-at-un 'women'), Sr **ନେଶ୍(କ୍)**-**ତ୍ତ୍ଵ**, SmA **ନ୍ତ୍ରୁଣ** 'women', BHb **נִשָּׁׁתִּים** (*ā < an apophonic *a-plural correlating with *niš-, cp. *ban-'sons' - a plural stem correlating with *bin- 'son'), Ak niš-ū 'people' (-ū is a marker of pl.; semantic contamination with *'pi-naš- 'person' - *'unāš- 'people') ¶ KBR 93, 729, Br. 45O, Tal 55O-1, BK II 1254 || CCh: McMdr: Dgh {Frk.} níšē, Gv {Kr.} núsā, Gdf {IL} nósā, Glv {Kr.} núsā 'woman' | Tr {Nw.} nušu id. || **K:** GZ *nusa 'son's wife' > Lz nusa, Mg nosa ↗ nisa id., OG nusa-dia 'uncle's wife' ¶ Ch. 988, Q 289, ≠ AD IEH 21, K KON ¶ The word may be either a loan from IE or an ancient K inherited lexeme. In the latter case GZ *nusa must go back to pre-K **nuś^Δ < **nuśya < **nusya < N *‘**ñūs₁y₂**,^Δ || **IE:** NaIE *snuso-s 'son's wife', {EI} id., 'brother's wife' > OHG snur, NHG † Schnur, Yid **שְׁנֻר** šnur ↗ šnur, AS snoru, ON snor ~ snør 'son's wife', Gt Cr *schnos (cn. for schuōs) 'sponsa, fiancée' || Gk νυός 'son's wife, bride' || Arm **նու** nu (gen. **նուոյ** nuoy) 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, brother's wife' || L nurus, -ūs 'son's wife, grandson's wife, young married woman' (μ < *nurus, -ī on the analogy of socrus, -ūs 'mother-in-law')] → μ *snus-ā > OI snu'sā 'son's wife', Sgd ūwnšh, CINPrs **سُنْوَه** sunuh, d.: CINPrs **سُنْهَار** sunhār, NPrs sonhār, Psh nžōr 'daughter-in-law' || Sl *sně'xa (*sně'xə) 'son's wife' > SrChS, OR **స్నేఖా** sněxā, Blg **снѣ́хъ** xa, Slv snáha, snéha, R **స్నోఖా** id., P d. sneszka id., SCr snàha 'son's\brother's wife' ¶ Acc. to IS's hyp., the IE initial *s reflects a palatal element (*y) within the original √. Another explanation is phrasal metanalysis: in phrases *...-(0)s nuso-s '(so.'s) son's wife' (where *-(0)s is the genitive ending of the preceding noun) *-s was reinterpreted as belonging to the following noun *...-(0)s nuso-s > *...-(0)s snuso-s ¶ In OI and Sl the word got a standard feminine ending *-ā ¶ WP II 697, P 978, EI 148 (*snu'so-s), M K III 535, M E II 771, Sg. 704, Mrg. 57, F II 328, WH II 19O, Fs. 414, Kb. 923, OsS 841, Ho. 305, Vr. 528, Vs. III 700, Glh. 568, O 302-3 (Al nuse 'bride, young daughter-in-law' ↔ L *nūptia, a local variant of nūpta 'married woman, bride'), Sl. 194-5 || **U:** AdS of FU *ñīs^Δ 'woman, wife' (< N *ñiz'ñ'U 'female'

[q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The vw. *-ī and the cns. *-s- in FU do not correspond to *ū in K and IE, therefore the etl. connection of FU *nīs∇ with N *nīz'ī 'female' is preferable ◇ On the N word-initial laryngoid *'- as the source of the NaIE *s- mobile before root-initial sonorants see Introduvtion, § 2.2.6 ◇ ~ AD NM #98, ≠ S CNM 12 (unc.: IE *snusi- ← b- NrCs *nūsa; ÷ NrCs *nū|ōsa 'daughter-in-law', ST *nō 'female relative').

1568. *nīśu 'smell (odorare), breathe heavily' > HS: S *°✓nīśw > Ar ✓nīśw v. 'smell (sth.)', naśwat- 'odour', nuśūr- 'good smell' ¶ Fr. IV 278, 284, BK II 1255, 1266-7, Hv. 772 || ?? B *✓nīśw v. 'sneeze' > Nf, Si aŋzu (pf. inzu) id., Sll, Nf, Si tinzi 'a sneeze' || IE: NaIE *neus- v. 'smell (sth.)' (with mt.) (× N *nīus∇ 'to breathe') || U: FU (in FV) *nīśtä- (more plausible than *nīstä-) v. 'pant, puff, snuff (a burning object), blow one's nose' > F niistä- v. 'snuff (a candle), blow one's nose', Es niista- v. 'snuff ('a candle, etc.)' | Chr: L нішталаш, U/B nūstala-, H нышталаш v. 'blow one's nose' ¶ UEW 708, SK 378 ¶ Rd. (UEW) reconstructs *s (*nīstä-) on the ev. of the alleged Lp cognate: Lp N {N} nīsteti- v. '(happen unintentionally, because one is not careful enough' →) 'let go, let slip out of one's hands, let fall', Lp T nīste-e- 'wegschnappen'. But the adduction of the Lp word is to be rejected for semantic reasons (even Rd. is close to recognizing it: "Die Zugehörigkeit des lapp. Wortes ist aus semantischen Gründen sehr unsicher"), hence there is no reason to reconstruct *s. More than that: *ś- in the Eastern dialects of Chr (U, B) usually (but not always) goes back to FU *ś or *ś rather than to *s || A: M *nisun 'nasal mucus' (× N *Lizū 'saliva, mucus', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ D *nēc- ~ *nēńc- (or *nēk- ~ *nēńk-) v. 'breathe, breathe heavily' > Tu nēsa 'asthma', Prj nēń(ž)-, Gdb, Png, Mnd, Ku nēńž-, Gnd nēž-, Kui nēńža v. 'breathe', Knd nēńz- v. 'sigh, respire when exhausted or tired', ? NED: Krx nāx-na, Mlt nēgye v. 'breathe' ¶ D #3765. The velar reflexes x in Krx and g in Mlt are likely to point to a D *ḱ (= lateral *č?) ◇ The D vw. *ē needs explaining.

1569. *nāt'o' 'bend, bow, incline' (intr.) > HS: S: [1] CS *✓nāt'w 'bend, incline' > BHb ✓nāt'y|w G (pf. נָתַתְהָ nā'tā, ip. יִתְבֹּאֵעַ yi-t'bā) id., EpHb ✓nāt'y vt. Sh (pf. h̄t̄h) 'incline', JPA ✓nāt'y ~ ✓nāt'w G (pf. יָתַבְנָה nā'tē ~ אֲתַבְנָה nā'tā) 'incline, hang over', JEA ✓nāt'y 'incline', ? Ar ✓nāt'w G 'weave (a fabric)'; [2] μ S *°-nūt- > Ar ✓nāt'w G (pf. nāt'a, ip. -nūt-) vt. 'hang, suspend' ¶ KB 654-5, HJ 728, Lv. III 377-8, Js. 89O, Sl. 744, Hv. 779, 808, BK II 1287, 1367-8 || B *nāt'w G 'pli', *✓wñd 'plier, tourner'

> Sll {Ds.} *i-nid-i* (pl. *i-nād-ān*) n. 'pli', v. caus. *snuðu* ({Ds.} *snuð*) 'plier', Wrg {Dlh.} *ənnəd* 'tourner, entourer', Kb {Dl.} *ənnəð* '(s')enrouler; tourner, tourner autour', Ah *ənnəd* (pf. {Fc.} *innəd*) vt. 'tourner, changer de direction', Twl/Ty {GhA} *ənnəd* (pf. *innəð*) 'enrouler, envelopper, tourner (dans une autre direction)' ¶ Ds. 222, Dl. 546, Dlh. Ou 212, Fc. 1298, GhA 140, 346 (on the conj. 1 A.2), ≈ Pr. #531 || IE: NaIE *^onet- 'lie down, rest' > Gmc (×NaIE *netH- 'help, favour' < N *^ña^tH₁Ν 'to seek, to seek help; to help'): ON *náða* 'Ruhe', pl. *náðar* 'Ruhe, Ruhe des Schlafens' (*ganga til náðar* 'sich zur Ruhe legen'), OHG {OsS} *gināda* ~ *ganāda* 'Niederlassen in der Absicht zu ruhen; Ruhe', MHG *genāde* 'Ruhe', (×NaIE *netH- 'help, grace, favour' < N *^ña^tH₁Ν '↑'): NHG *Gnade*, Dt *genade* 'favour, grace, clemency, mercy', OSx {Ho.} (*gi-*)*nātha* 'Gnade', *gi-nāthēri* 'Erbarmen' (é = Umlaut of a) ¶ ≈ WP II 327 (does not distinguish between this IE √ and the abovementioned NaIE *netH- 'help, favour'), Vr. 403, Vr. N 195, OsS 259, Lx. 61, KM 263, Ho. S 54 || A: NaT **jat*[‘]- 'lie down' (× N *^ȝA[‘]ȝ[‘]Ν 'to lie [liegen]') > OT *jat*- 'lie down', 'lie down to sleep', 'settle down' (of nomads), MQp XIII *jāt*- ~ *ja^t*-, Chg XV *jat*- 'sleep', XwT XIII *jat*- 'lie (down)', Tk *yāt*-, Ggz, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET, SY, Slr, Ln *jat*-, Xlj *jat*-~*jāt*-, Qq *žat*-, Qrg *žat*-, Alt *žat*-, Xk *čat*-, Tv *čit*-, Tf *čit*[‘]-, Yk *sit*- 'lie', Tkm, Az, Kr *jat*-, Uz *ět*- *jat*-, Qzq *žat*- 'lie, (go to) sleep' ¶ Cl. 884, Rs. W 192, ET J 156-8, Ra. 200, DT 221, Md. 105, 160 || M *^onatuyi- > WrM *natui*-, HlM *натай*- 'bend down, hang, hang over', {Kow.} 'pendre, être suspendu' ¶ MED 567, Kow. 613 ◇ The N word-final labialized vw. cannot be *u or *ü (because it does not yield *u/*w in IE), hence the tentatively reconstructed labialized vw. is *o.

1570. *^ña^tH₂ȝ[‘]o[‘] 'woman (of ego's generation) belonging to the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'sister-in-law') > HS: B *n^ñȝHd- > Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} *tanutt* (pl. *tinudin*), Kb {Dl.} *ta-nuθ* (pl. *ti-nuð-in*) 'husband's brother's wife' ¶ Dl. 546, Rn. 392 || C: EC: Or {Grg.} *naddēn* (pl. *naddō*) 'woman, lady', Or B {Sr.} *nadēni* 'woman (married)', *nadittī* 'woman' || Dhl *naṭa* 'woman' ¶ Grg. 298, Sr. SO 372, Th. 252-3, To. D 144, Blz. CL 181 || ??φ NOM: Mc {L} *nūtä* 'one of two wives of the same husband in relation to the other one' ¶ L M 44 || u *n^ñhato 'sister of husband\wife' > F *nato* 'spouse's (husband's \ wife's) sister; brother's wife', Es *nadu*

~ *nado* 'husband's sister' | Lp: Rr {Lgc.} *no:t̥z* 'younger sister of one's wife', Vfs {Lgc.} *nōt·z* 'elder brother's wife' | Chr: H {Ep.} *нүдьи нүбъ* 'spouse's sister', L *нүдьо* 'нибօ', Uf/B *ниբօ* 'spouse's younger sister' || Sm {Jn.} **nāt̥č̥b* 'sibling-in-law' > Ne: T *надо*, T O {Lh.} *nāðū* 'spouse's younger brother', F L {Lh.} *nāttu* id., 'spouse's elder brother's son', T {Ter.} *нē надо*, F *нēн nāttū* 'spouse's younger sister' (*нē нē* 'woman'); Kms {KD} *nado*', {Cs.} *nado*, *nadu* 'spouse's brother' ¶ Coll. 38, It. #3O, UEW 299-300, Sm. 539 (U, FU **nātiw*, FP **natiw*, Sm **nāt̥e* 'in-law'), Lgc. #4238, Lgc. SL #1366, MRS 361, Ep. 77, Ü 135, Ps. OT 78, Rm. BT 88, Jn. 98, KD 42 ¶ U *-t- (rather than *-tt-) reflects postcons. *t || D **nāt-*/**nātt-*/**nānt-* 'husband's sister, brother's wife' > Kn *nādani*, *nādini*, *nāduni*, Ml *nāttūn* id., Tm *nātti*, *nāttūn*, *nāttanār* 'husband's sister', Kt *na·tu·ry* 'a woman's sister-in-law \ female cross-cousin', Knd *nān̥ga*, Mnd *nān̥žaṛ* 'wife's younger sister', Ku {Isr.} *nān̥žo* id., {Fzg.} *nān̥žo* 'sister-in-law', Kui *nān̥ža* 'younger sister-in-law', Krx *nāsgo* 'elder brother's wife'; D → OI *nān̥ndr̥-*, *nandīni-*, *nandā-* 'husnand's sister' ¶ D #3644, Pf. 74 [#455] (D **nāt/-tt-*, **nāt/-tt-/nt-*, **nāt-*- ∇ k-), Tu. #6946 || K: Sv: {Ni.} *nati* 'свойственникъ (relative-in-law?)', UB *nāti*, LB/Ln *nāti*, L *nāti* 'kinsman' (unless somehow connected with Sv G *natesavī* id.) ¶ TK 632, GP 226, Ni. s.v. *свойственникъ*, Dn. s.v. *nāti* || ? A: [1] Tg: Ewk PT/Skh/Uc *ńāti* 'female relative', 'daughter, sister', Ewk B *ńāt̥z* 'sibling, one's child' ¶ Here the palatality of the Ewk cns. ń- cannot be of pN origin, because pN *ń- is ruled out by the U initial *n|ń-. ¶ STM I 627 ¶ [2] ??? Tg: WrMc *nece* 'wife's elder brother's wife' (the vowels are influenced by WrMc *nēye* 'wife's younger brother's wife', see N **nayE* 'woman') ¶ Z 220 ◇ B and D provide ev. for a N emphatic *t̥. The U and K cognates point to *t̥ (most probably from *t̥ under the de-emphasizing ass. infl. of *H₂ (especially if it was *h̥ or *h̥?)) ◇ In Sm and K the word broadened its meaning: 'female relative-in-law' → 'relative(\sibling)-in-law (irrespective to his\her sex)', as well as in ds. of Sv: → 'kinsman' ◇ IS II 81-2 (**nāt̥o'* in U, D), ≈ Blz. KM 17-8 [#20] (added Ewk *ńāti* and Mc *nūtä*).

1571. **ńāt̥H₁* ∇ 'to seek, to seek help; to help' > K {Fn.} **ńāt̥-* 'wish' > OG *naṭr-* 'beatum/am dicere, benedicere' (Lc. 1.48, ψ 71.17, ψ 143.15) ({Ser., DCh.} 'ублажать'), G {DCh.} *naṭra* n. 'wish', {Chx.} *naṭvr-/naṭr-/naṭrul-* v. 'wish, long for, desire' ¶ Chx. 927-8, DCh. 963, Ser. 124, Fn.

KD #5 || IE *netH- 'help, grace, favour' (× NaIE *°net- 'lie down, rest' < N *n̥at̥'o' 'to bend, to bow, to incline' [intr.]) > OI nā'tham n. 'help, refuge', nāth- v. 'seek help, Zuflucht suchen' || Gt n̥iþan 'to support', [L-gr.] ON náð 'grace, favourable attitude, compassion', Sw nåd 'grace', OHG gināda 'mercy, grace, reconciliation', NHG Gnade, OSx (ge)nātha 'favour, favourable attitude, grace' || Ht nut- '≈ Glück, Wohlbefinden, Ansehen' or sim., nūt- ~ nū- 'in desirable condition', 'contentment (?)' §§ Mn. 839, ≈ WP II 327 (does not distinguish between this IE √ and IE *net- 'lie down, rest'), M K II 152, M E II 33-4, Fs. 376, Vr. 4O3, Kl. 361, Ho. S 54, Ts. E II 352-4, CHD L-N 476 || u: FU (att. in ObU) *°nātt̥- > ObU {Ht.} *nāt- 'help' > pVg *nāt- id. > Vg: T nāt-, LK/MK/UK/UL nōt-, P/NV/SV/LL nōt-/nōt-, Ss nōt-; pOs {Ht.} *nāt- id. > Os: D/K nōt-, Nz/Kz nōt-, O nāt- § Ht. #477 || D *nāt- ({θGS} *nād-) 'seek, look' (× N *r̥o'dE 'seek, wish' × N *TewdA 'look for, find') > Tm nātu v. 'seek, inquire after', Ml nātuka 'follow with the eyes, covet, seek', Tu nādu- 'search, seek', Gnd nār- 'see, look at' ↗ nād- 'gaze' §§ D #3637 ◇ ObU (or pFU, pU) *ñ- may result from palatalization *n|ñ- > *ñ- caused by unknown factors. If D *nāt- belongs here, D *-t- (the reg. reflex of N *-t-) for the expected *-t- (< N *-t-) may be due to the de-emphasizing infl. of the N lr. *H₁ or to coalescence with N *r̥o'dE. A less plausible alternative: N *nātH₁ with IE *n- due to contamination with N *n̥at̥'o' 'bend, bow, incline' (intr.) ◇ Fn. KD #5: K, D *nāt-/nēt- 'see, look').

1572. ₂ *nā'h'w'E' 'vessel' > HS: S *°✓nwy > Gz nāwāy 'vessel, utensil' § L G 410 || IE: NaIE *nāy- 'vessel (made of a trunk), boat' [(in descendant lgs.) → 'ship'] > OIr náu 'ship', MW {Vn.} noe 'large vase, auge', W noe 'kneading-trough, flat vessel, dish', Br neo id. (< *nauyā) || Gmc: Nr nu'a trough hollowed out from a tree trunk', ON π nō-r 'ship', AS d. nōwend 'shipman', OHG nuosc 'slot, tub, canal', {Kb.} 'Nüsch, Röhre, Rinne', {OsS} 'gutter (Rinne), gutter-shaped trough for cattle', MHG nuosch id., 'tube', NGr B {Grimm} nuesch, nuescht, nousch 'Rinne, Gerinne, Kanal, Trog', OFrs nōst 'trough', MLG nōste 'cattle-trough, water-trough' || OI nāu-h 'boat', OPrs d. nāviyā 'fleet', OPrs nāvāža-, Av naवāza- 'shipman', Phl nāv, CINPrs {Sg.} ناو nāv 'trough; drain-pipe, boat, small ship', NPrs {BM} ناو nav 'channel; ship', KhS no 'boat', ChrSgd nw, BdhSgd n?w̥h 'boat', Oss I

naw, Oss D nawä 'ship' ||| Arm նավ naw 'ship, vessel, boat' ||| Gk Hm νηῦς (gen. νηός < *nāwós), Gk A ναῦς (gen. νεώς) 'ship' ||| L nāvis id. ¶ WP II 315, P 755-6, EI 74 (*'neh_R-s / gen. *n̥h_R'w-os 'boat'), M K II 181, M E II 59, Bai. 192, Ab. II 162, Sg. 1382, BM 557, F II 292-3, WH II 148-9, Vn. N 5, YGM-1 3, Vr. 411, Ho. 238, Kb. 738, OsS 661, Grimm VII 1008, Lx. 154 ◇ The Clt and Gmc data prove that the primary meaning of the IE word was 'wooden vessel, trough', whence later 'boat' and 'ship'. Therefore the tempting comparison of IE *nāw-s 'ship' with Eg n̥, n̥w 'come, go, arrive, journey, travel, sail' (where the meaning 'to sail' is by no means the primary one) [BmK #569] is untenable: serious etymology cannot be based on comparison between secondary derived meanings. Hence this comparison cannot serve as an argument for V. Ivanov's daring hyp. of paleolithical navigation (Ivn. LDDM 236). On the Eg verb see s.v. N *ñafE 'go' ◇ N *h is the only lr. that may be lost in S and causes lengthening of vowels in NaIE.

1573. *ñaw_{1,2}, ἄνω 'new' > IE *newo-/ *nowo- 'new' > OI 'navə-, new, fresh, young', Av navə-, CINPrs նաս, NPrs նոս, Oss näwāg 'new' ||| Gk νέ(θ)ο-ς 'new, young', Gk Mc ne-wo id. ||| L nouu-s 'new' ||| OLT *nava-s (in n. l. Navikai), Pru nauns 'new' (indluenced by jauns 'young'), dadj. neuwenen | Sl *nōvъ(-jъ) 'new' > OCS новъ novъ, Blg нов, SCr, Slv nōv, Cz, Slk nový, P nowy, R 'нов-ый' (pradj. 'нов'), Uk 'новий' ||| pTc {Ad.} *ñawe > Tc: A r̥nu, B r̥nuwe id. ||| Arm d. նոր nor 'new, fresh' ||| Ht newa-, Lw {Melch.} nāwa/i- 'new' ||| NaIE *newyo-/ *nowyo- 'new' > OI 'navya- id. ||| Gk I νεῖος 'new' ||| Clt: Gl nevio-, novio- in n. l. Neviiodunum, Noviodunum (lit. 'new town'), OIr nuae, nóe 'new', Brtt [RE] *nowiyos id. > OW nouid, MW, W newydd, Cm nweth, newyth, nowyth id., OBr [ȝ] nouuid, neuid- id. (in the d. neuidter 'nouveauté'), MBr, Br nevez 'new' ||| Gmc *niujaz > Gt niujis, ON nýr, Dn, Sw, NNr ny, OSx, OHG niuwī, NHG neu, AS nīewe, nīwe 'new', NE new ||| Lt naujas id. ¶ WP II 324, P 769, EI 393 (*'newo-s), M K II 144-5, M E II 25, Horn 234, Ab. II 175, F II 306-7, WH II 181, Vn. N 23-4, RE 115, Flr. 266, Fs. 377-8, Vr. 413, Ho. 236, Ho. S 56, Schz. 224, Kb. 730, OsS 655, KM 509, Frn. 487-8, En. 213-4, ESSJ XXV 225-39, XXVI 7-14, Glh. 441-2, Slt. 229-30, Me. EAC 50, 91 (on Arm nor), Wn. 328, Ad. 269, Ad. H 34, Frd. HW 150, Ts. E II 320-3, CHD L-N 455-8, Melch. CL 157, Ivn. SA 154 ||| A {DQA} *nébi 'new' > Tg {S} *njab- 'young, new' > UI ñawža(n-), Nn Nh naonžoā, Nn KU naožoā 'young', Ud I/Sm {Krm.} ñapula, Ud K {Krm.} ñaola 'boy\girl (adolescent)', Ork naožoqqa(n-) 'boy'; Lm n̥y̥i 'new,

fresh' ¶ STM I 616, 636, Krm. 269, S AJ 221 [#223] || pJ {S} *nípí 'new' > OJ nípí, J: T níi-, K níi-, Kg ni-ke, Ht n̄- id. ¶ S AJ 27O [#13O], S QJ #13O, Mr. 497 || ??σ pKo {S} *nā- 'younger relative' (in cds.) > MKo nā-s-harmi 'wife of grandfather's younger brother', NKo nā- 'younger brother (in cds.) ¶ S QK #772, Nam 105, MLC 336 ¶ S AJ 11O, 279 [#121], DQA #1418 (incl. Tg, J, Ko) || HS: B *✓ yny (prm. {Pr.} *-yñāy) 'be new' > Tw imv. inaj (3m pf. {Pr.} jä-ijnaj) 'be new \ recent', Ty imv. iynay (3m pf. yñ-ynay) 'be new' ¶ Fc. 701-2, 2000, Pr. M VI-VII 157, GhA 206 ¶ It is tempting to equate it with IE *yow-en- 'young', but it is hardly tenable because IE *-en- is a sx. || NrOm (unless akin to C *✓ngʷ 'suck' [acc. to Lm. W 481-2]): Gm {Hw.} na?á 'child, boy', Wl {Lm.} na?á 'boy, son', Malo/Zl/Gf/Bsk {Lm.} na?á 'boy, child', Dwr {Lm.} nā, naho id., 'son', Kcm na?á, Zl {C} nāyē, Gmr {Bnd.} nā? 'boy', Bnc {Wdk.} nā? 'child', Ym {Bnd.} na?o, {C} na?ō 'boy', {Wdk.} nā-ní 'our child', {Lm.} nā 'boy, son', Shn {Lm.} na?á, Bdt {Lm.} nā?á, nāye 'boy, son', Mch {Lm.} 'na?o 'child, boy', Kf {C} na?ō 'slave, servant' (< 'boy'), Cha {Lm.} nā 'child', Anf {MYTY} na?o 'baby' ¶ Bnd. PO 156, Wdk. BY 108, 132, Lm. Y 369-70, ≈ Lm. W 481-2, LM 43, Hw. EG s.v. 'boy' and 'child', C SE IV 477, MYTY 118, Hw. EG ◇ An ancient connection between N *nūh₁[æ] ~ *nūw[æ] 'now' (q.v.) and N *næwy₂ 'new' (the latter supposedly derived from or even identical with the former) is hardly plausible because of the different vowels of these N words (reconstructed on the U and A ev.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #280 (*nu 'now') (IE, A, J words for 'new' + err.: no distinction from words for 'now'; see N *nūh₁[æ] ~ *nūw[æ]).

1574. *nayE (probably = *nayi) 'woman' > IE: NaIE *-nī, derivational marker of the female sex (deriving words for women from the corresponding words for men): *pot-nī 'domina' (< b *pot- 'dominus, owner') > OI 'patnī, Av paθnī-, Gk πότνια (transformed into a standard -ā-stem of feminine nouns), OLT -patni (in cds.: viešpatni 'Frau' < *'hostess, hospes [f.]'), as well as OLT viešnī 'female guest' (< b viešis 'guest'), OCS -ъини -inji: богынин boginji 'goddess' (< b богъ bogъ 'god'), другынин druginji 'amica', господынин gospodinji 'δέσποινα, domina' ¶ BD II/1 215, 283, Frn. 551, 1244-, Vnd. 1 I 424 || u: FU {UEW} *naye 'woman, wife', *naye- v. 'marry' > F d. nainen (gen. naisen), Es naine (gen. naise) 'woman, wife', F nai- v. 'marry' || ObU {Ht.} *nāy > pVg *nāy >

OVg S SSs **naije**, Vg: T **nāyī**, LK/MK **nāy**, P/NV/SV **nay**, UL/Ss **nāy** 'gentlewoman'; pOs ***nāy** > Os: Sh **nay** 'wife\daughter of a hero\prince', VK **nāy** 'wife of an official', V **nāy**, Ty/D/K **nāy** 'queen (in playing-cards)' | ? Hg **nō** 'woman, wife', **neje** 'his wife' || Sm {Jn.} ***ne** 'woman' > Ne {Ter.} **ne**, Ne T O {Lh.} **nē**, Ne F **né**, Ng {Mk.} **n̄t**, {Cs.} **nē**, En {Ter.} **ne**, {Cs.} **nē** id., Slq Ch/UO **neä** 'Frau', **nie** 'Tochter', Kms {KD} **nē** ~ **n̄** 'woman, wife', Koyb {Sp.} **нэ** 'woman' ('баба, женщина'), Mt {Hl.} ***nā** 'woman' (Mt A {Msr., Strl.} **nah** 'ein Weib', Mt K {Mll.} **ne** 'wife', Mt M {Mll.} **ne** 'woman') ¶ UEW 297-8, Sm. 539 (U, FU, FP ***näxi**, Ugr ***nägī**, Sm ***ne** 'woman'), Ht. #42O, Jn. 1OO, Cs. 139, KD 44, Hl. M #727 || **A:** Tg: WrMc **neye** 'wife's younger brother's wife' ¶ Z 216 || **HS:** WCh: Sy {Csp.} **nī** 'daughter' ¶ Csp. 46 || ??σ possibly Eg G **ny** 'ein Klageweib' ¶ EG II 201.

1575. (2?) ***ñiz̥i** 'female' > **K** ***ñež̥zw-** > G **nezv-i** 'female animal (esp. pig, goat, sheep)', (→ Mg **nezv-i** 'female' in **nezvi yeži** 'sow' ¶ Chx. 951, Q 288, 35O || **U:** FP ***n̄is** 'woman, female' (× N ***ñūs** **u** 'woman') > pLp {Lr.} ***n̄isōn** 'woman' > Lp: U {Schl.} **niisuna**, L {ILO} **n̄isōn**, N {N} **niso** (gen. **nissón**), Klt **neezzan**, Kld **n̄zzan** id., S {Hs.} **n̄üjsen-** in cds.: **n̄üjsenäjja** 'woman, wife', **n̄üjsenes-tjuppe** 'woman's hat', **n̄üjsenes-vuoddeh** 'woman's boot-laces' | Er **ñiz-aña** 'wife's mother' (**ñiz-** 'wife' + **aña** 'mother'), {Ps.} **ñizaka** 'female animal' ¶ It. VFUMr 264 (***n̄is**), UEW 708 (***n̄is**), Lr. #729, Lgc. #418O, Hs. 1O18-9, Stn. FUV 61 || ?σ **HS:** S: Ar **nazīf-at-** 'woman married out of her tribe' (unless derived from √ **nzī** 'ôter, enlever'), ?? **nuzzaf-** (pl.) 'female animals (sheep, etc.) agitated by sexual desire' - possibly × √ **nzī** 's'ébranler et se mettre en mouvement (surtout avec une agitation qui témoigne d'un désir)' ¶ BK II 1235-7, Hv. 762 ◇ The lr. in the Netymon explains the length of the U vw. One may consider adducing here WrMc **neye** 'wife's younger brother's wife', but it is more plausibly connected with N ***nayE** 'woman' (q.v. ffd.).

1576. ***ñež̥i** 'finger, toe; ? knuckle of a finger' > **HS:** B √ **nsy** 'toe, foot of ungulate animals' > Ah **ti-nse** (pl. **tinsawīn**), Gh **činči** id. (pl. **činčawīn**), Wrg {Dlh.} **ti-nsi** (pl. **ti-nsa**) 'pied et bas de la patte d'un quadrupède (la chèvre, la brebis, l'âne, le chameau, etc.)', Mz {Dlh.} **ti-nsi** (pl. **ti-nsa**) 'pied d'animal (surtout ovin)', Kb **ti-nsa** pl. 'sabots de bovidés', Shl {La.} **tinsit** (pl. **tinsa**) 'pied de toute bête de somme' ¶ Fc. 1415, Nh. 184, Dlh. Ou 225, Dlh. M 14O, Dl. 576, La. MChB 12O (fn.3)

|| A {AD} *ní[n^r]ŋu 'finger's breadth, knuckle of a finger' > T **[j]el-lig (> *illig ~ *ellig) (ADb.) > OT elig 'finger's breadth', Chg äli(k) 'finger's breadth as unit of length', ET Δ {Jr.} ilig id., 'finger', ET H {Ml.} elek 'finger's breadth', ET iKKi elik 'breadth of 2 fingers' (iKKi is 'two'), Qrb, Nog. Qq, Qrg eli, Qzq eli, VTt illb, Brb {Rl.} iliy, Bsh ilb, Alt {BT} elü, Alt\Tlt {Rl.} ölü, ET X {Ml.} elek, Qb/Sg {Rl.} elis, Tv ilis, Yk ilis 'finger's breadth as unit of length', Alt ölü 'vershok (Russian measure of length, ≈ 2 inches)', Uz törtelli 'breadth of 4 fingers' ¶ Rl. I 814, 816, 819, 1248-9, 1489, Cl. 14O-1, ET Gl 263-4, TL 259, Ml. X 9O, ADb. SR 178, BT 119, 191 || Tg {ADb.} (att. in AmTg) *níŋju (= *níŋju < *níŋju) > Orc níŋi 'finger (as measure of length)', Ud X níŋi, Ud Sm níni 'finger knuckle's breadth (measure of length)' ¶ STM I 639, Krm. 267 ¶ ADb. MSR 13 [#61] (A *nílju). ADb. SR 47 (A ejlgi) || D u *neṭi or *noṭi 'crack\snap of the thumb and middle finger; cracking of the finger joints' > Tm, Ml noṭi 'crack\snap of the thumb and the middle finger', Tm noṭi-v. 'snap with the thumb and the middle finger', Ml noṭi 'snap of fingers', Tl neṭika 'a knuckle cracking or snapping of the knuckles' ¶ D #2936 ◇ Tg *i is still to be explained (assimilating infl. of the ancient vw. *i of the next syll.?) ◇ ADb. MSRm 22 [#31] (N *níeλu > A, D).

1577. ₂ *níab^{r?}ŋV 'warm, heat' > HS: Eg fP nby, fBD nby.t 'flame, live coals', fP nby vi. 'burn' ¶ EG II 244 || C: Bj {R, Rop.} ✓nb^{r?} pcv. ({R} 1s p. 'amba?', 1s prs. anam'bī?, prtc. 'neb^{r?}a) 'be\become hot', {R} 'be hot' (sun), 'neb^{r?}a 'heat, heat of the sun', {Rop.} nab^{r?}a 'hot' || ? +ext.: Ag: Q {R} embelaw-, Km {CR} enbəlaeu- 'be hot' (↔ EthS?) ¶ R WBd 179-8O, Rop. 221 || ? +ext. or cd.: S *✓nbl? 'flame' (× N *bEíŋV 'boil, cook') > Ug nbl?_u, Gz nabal, Ak nablu 'flame' ¶ A #1739 (Ug nbl?_ut), OLS 316, L G 383, Frnz. LS7 626, CAD XI/1 25-7 ¶ ≠ Tk. I 9O (HS *✓nbl > Eg nbj, S, Ag *✓nbl, as well as *✓bl in C, B, and Ch, actually N *bEíŋV '↑' and N *biłU 'to be warm, to burn; warm') || A *níaba > NaT *jaba > OT {Cl.} java 'warm' ([MhK] java jēr 'warm place', jawa 'warm'), Yk sabān ~ samān 'heat', 'warm summer', 'warm' (of summer) ¶ Cl. 872, MKD 219, Pek. 2OO6, 2O61 || Tg *níama 'warm' (as. *ní...b|p > *ní...m and × N *níäṣmV 'soft') > Ewk, Orc, Ul, Nn níama, Lm níam, Neg níam, nímagdl, Ud {Krm.} níamahi, Ork namā 'warm, warmth', Sln namagdi 'warmth' ¶ STM I 63O-1, Krm. 269 ¶ ADb KL (A *níapa 'warm'), STM I 631 (Tg, T); ≠ SDM97 (*níamo 'warm, soft, mild') and ≠

DQA #1487 (A *n̥jūmà id.) (in both the Tg root *ńama 'warm' is equated with M *nomu 'soft' and with J and T reflexes of N *ńḁ̈m̥N).

1578. ? (2?) *ńačxN 'wet, moist' > **HS:** S *°✓nθ̥h > Sb ✓nθ̥h v. 'provide irrigation (?)' ¶ BGMR 1O2 || **U:** FU *ńačkN 'wet, moist' > F nahkeā 'damp' (but not nahkeā 'leathery' ↔ nahka 'leather') | pLp {Lr.} nōckz 'wet, raw' > Lp: N njuoskâs, njuoskâ- 'get wet', S njuotskes, L njuoskas, Kld {Gn.} nūckas 'wet, raw' | Er načko, Mk načka 'wet, moist' | Chr: L нoчко 'nočko, Uf nočko, H načkz id. || Os: Kz nāšax, O nāsax 'raw' ¶ Coll. 1O2, UEW 311, Lr. #787, Lgc. #4471, MRS 358 || possibly also ?σ IE *yes- v. 'boil, seethe, ferment' (×N *ńočN, qN 'to moisten, to be moistened; to sprinkle', q.v. ffd.) ◇ A phonetic var. of N *ńočN, qN '↑'? ◇ Qu., because the HS root is represented by uncertain data of one lge. only.

1579. *ńočN, qN 'to moisten, to be moistened; to sprinkle' > **HS:** WS *✓n̥sx v. 'sprinkle' > Ar ✓n̥x 'aquā conspersit', {Hv.} vi. 'wet, sprinkle'; nađx-at- {BK} 'une ondée', {Hv.} 'a shower'; Sb n̥čx v. 'defile, sprinkle with impurity' ¶ Fr. IV 291-2, BK II 1278-8O, Hv. 777, BGMR 92 || **U:** FU *°ńočN 'moist' > pPrm *ńuć id. > Z nūž 'moist', 'viscid' (of clay), 'flexible', Yz nūž 'moist' ¶ LG 2OO || ?σ IE *yes- v. 'boil, seethe, ferment' (← *v. 'become moist'?) (×N ?*ńačxN 'wet, moist'??) > OI yas- (prs. yas-yati) v. 'boil, become hot, foam', Av yah-, KhS jis- v. 'boil' || Gk ζέω 'I boil, seethe' || OHG {OsS} ięsan 'to boil, to foam' ('effervesce'), {Kb.} jesan ~ gesan 'gären, to ferment', AS ȝist 'foam, yeast', NE yeast || W ias n. act. {LP} 'boiling, intense heat\cold', {YGM} 'thrill, shiver', ? OIr es(s) 'cataract' (← *'foam') || ?? Ht is(sa)na-, essana- 'dough' ¶ WP I 208, P 506, Mn. 444, H 77 (*yes- 'boil'), M K III 13, M E II 4O6-7, Bai. 111, F I 612, OsS 464, Kb. 33O, LP § 20, YGM-1 295, Wn. 595, Pv. I-II 381-5 || **D** *noč- 'wash' (×N *rNčN, qN or *rNčN, qN 'to wash', q.v.) > Tm nučakku 'wash, wipe off moisture, dissolve', Tu ned̥i, ničiyuni, ničipini, Bel nod̥i, Prj nod̥-, Gdb nor- id., Gnd nor-, norr-, Knd noř-, Png noz-, nuz-, Kui nobga (< *nog-b-), Ku nor-, Mlt nór-e if. ¶ D #3783 ◇ If the Ht word belongs here (which is not certain), S *-č- must be an extension, because it cannot reflect N *-q- for lack of the expected correspondence in Ht. But if the Ht word (or IE *yes-) is not a legitimate cognate, *-q- (> S *-č-) belongs to the N etymon.

1580. ₂ *ńug ∇ ≈ 'in deer, antelope' > **HS:** Eg OK/MK n̄w̄z̄w 'addax antelope (Addax nasomaculatus)' ¶ EG II 226 || ? Ch: Mdr {ChL} cd.? nágìgúré 'antelope' ¶ ChL || **U:** FU (att. in ObU) *ńu γ |w ∇ > ObU *ńō γ |w 'elk' > pVg *ńōw 'Elch' > Vg: T n̄ō ({Ht.} misprint n̄ō), MK n̄ōw id.; pOs *ńō γ 'elk' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/SI n̄ō γ , Y n̄ōw, K/Kr {Stn.} n̄ōχ id. ¶ Ht. #442, Hl. rHt. 73-4 (on the reflexes of FU *-γ- and *-w- in ObU), Stn. D 1O29, Trj. S 317.

1581. (_{2?}) *ńahæg $\text{r}'\bar{u}$ (or *ńah $\text{l}\nabla$, gE?) 'drive, chase' > **HS:** WS *✓nhg (prm. *-nhag-) 'drive (game), follow (tracks)' > BHb ✓nhg G (ip. -nhag) vt. 'drive (an animal), drive away, drive on; lead, lead out', JEA {Sl.} ✓nhg G vi. 'follow a practice\custom, lead', Ar ✓nhg o G (pf. nahāga, ip. ya-nhāg-u) 'follow (the tracks of)' → ☰ nahg- '(plain) road' → ✓nhg G 'trace a road', Gz ✓nhg G (pf. nahaga) 'lead to pasture', Sh (pf. ?anhaga) 'push forward (herd), drive (herd)' ¶ KB 637-8, Js. 880-1, Lv. III 347-8, Sl. 731-2, BK II 1352-3, Hv. 802, LG 393 || IE: NaIE *yāg h - 'chase, hunt' > Gmc: OFrs jagia, OHG jagōn 'to hunt, to persecute; jagen, treiben, verfolgen', NHG, Dt jagen 'to chase, to drive, to hunt'; → OHG jagid (> MHG jaget > NHG Jagd) n. 'chase, hunt, pursuit', MDt, Dt jacht id. → Dt jacht 'yacht' (← 'hunting ship, Jachtschiff') || ?? Vd yah'va {MW} 'restless, swift, active' (but {Bt.} 'der jüngste, neueste', {Cpl.} 'der jüngste, ewig jung\munter'), {MW, Bt.} yah'vat(-ī) 'ever-flowing' (of a river), {MW} pra-yakṣati '(?) is quick, speeds on', {Bt.} 'vorwärts eilen, streben; (einer Sache) nachtreiben, erstreben, erreichen', {Cpl.} 'vordringen, eilen, streben'; the OI words are valid cognates if their interpretation by MW (and WP, P, partially Bt. and Cpl.) is right ¶ WP I 195-6, P 502, Kb. 519, OsS 461, M 329, Vr. N 284, MW 838, 849, Bt. V 114, 134, Cpl. 343, 349; M K III 1-2, 13-4 and M E II 391, 407 (M interprets Vd yah'va as 'young, vigorous', yah'vat-ī as '(?) youngest', and 'pra-yakṣati as 'displays', rejecting the connection of the OI words with Gmc) || **A:** ?σ M *ne γ ü- 'drive the herd to other pasture grounds, trek, nomadize, move from place to place, migrate' (× N *ŋæñE 'go [away]') > MM [HI] {Ms.} ne γ ü- 'transhumer', [LM] {Pp} ne γ ü- 'reisen', [MA] {Pp.} nūyē- (Pp: read ne γ ü-), nū- 'nomadize away', [IM] nū- 'wegfahren', [S] {H} ne γ u-ne γ ü- 'sich auf den Treck begeben, trekken', d. ne γ uri ne γ üri 'Treck, (Karren-)Zug, Karawane', WrM negü-, HlM, Brt hyy-, Kl hyy- nū- v. 'nomadize, move from place to place; trek, migrate', Ord nū- 'déménager', ? WrO {Krg.} nē- 'move, go past', Dg {T} neu- 'nomadize,

migrate' ¶ Ms. H 78, Ms. O 503, Pp. L III 73, Pp. MA 262, 443, H 116, MED 569, Chr. 335, KRS 390, KW 282, T DgJ 157, Krg. 212 ◇ If the M √ belongs here, the N etymon must be *ńahæg'ū^r, otherwise we remain with some unspecified vowels (N *ńah₁ñ₂gE) ◇ The phoneme *u/w in the expected pIE *yāgʰu/w- is likely to have been lost on a word-internal morphemic boundary.

1582. *ńogūlñ (or *ńogūlñíñ?) 'tear out\asunder, pinch' > HS *ńngl > S *°ńngl > Ar √ nḡl G (pf. نجل naḡala, ip. -nḡulu) 'rip up, skin (a beast) from the hocks, till (the ground); √ nḡl G (pf. نجل naḡala, ip. -nḡilu) 'erase (a writing)', 'strike off pebbles' (camel), 'pierce (with a spear)' ¶ Fr. IV 246, BK II 1207, Hv. 752-3 || Ch: MfG -'ngz1- 'cueillir, arracher', Mf {BLB} ḥgʷalala 'fête de récolte' ¶ Brr. MG II 211, BLB 262 || ? Eg G ngz 'die Glieder zerfleischen, den Augapfel ausreißen', Eg P ngz 'kill, slaughter' ¶ EG II 348 ¶ ≈ OS #1896 (Ar √ nḡl 'mow, reap' ÷ Mf ngz1- 'cut') || A: M *noȝula- vt. tear to pieces, tatter' > WrM nogula-, HIM հօօլօ- id., Kl հօօլ- 'pull (at\about), pluck' ('тормошить, трепать, теребить'), Brt հօօլօ- 'pull (at\apart)' ('теребить, раздергивать'); → M *noȝura- > WrM nogura-, HIM հօօրօ- 'become tattered, worn out', Brt հօօրօ- 'become worn out' ¶ MED 588, KRS 381, Chr. 330 || D *nu]- v. 'pinch, pluck, nip' > Tm nullu id., Ml nulluka v. 'pinch, pluck', nullə 'a pinch, bit', Kt nu]-, Kn Δ nullu v. 'pinch', Tl nulumi id., nul(u)ci v. 'pinch, nip off, squeeze' ¶ D #3717 || ?σ,φ U: FU *ńülke- v. '≈ skin, flay, lose hair' > F nylke- v. 'skin, flay, strip the skin off', Es nülgə-, nülg̩i- v. 'skin, flay' | pLp {Lr.} *ńzlkz 'get the hair separated from the hide' > Lp: S {Hs.} njälgedh 'die Haare durch Auswassern der Felle lösen \ abtrennen', N {N} njäl'gâ / -lg- 'get the hair\feathers torn or scraped off in a certain place' | Er հելցե- նելցե-, Mk հելցո- նելցօ- 'take away, take by force (entreißen, wegnehmen)' || pOs *ńeȝləm-, {SHl.} *ńiȝləm- > Os {Ps.}: Y ńeȝdəm-, K ńeȝatmə- v. 'moult, lose\shed hair' || pY {IN} *ńel- 'flay' > Y K ńel-bə-t- id. ¶ UEW 319, ≈ 329, SK 407, Lr. #755, Lgc. #4310, PI 179, Ker. II 93-4, PD #1461, IN 238-9 ◇ D *-u- and FU *-ü- go back to N *-ogü- ◇ If the problematic U cognate is valid, the N lateral cns. is likely to have been *l, which is responsible for both D *l and for U *l (< *l in precons. position). If the U cognate is rejected, the N rec. must be *ńogūlñíñ.

1583. ?σ, φ (₂?) *ñägoR ∇ (or *ñägoR ∇) 'groin, small abdominal organs (kidneys, pancreas, and sim.)' > IE: NaIE *neg^{w̥}ro-s 'kidney(s)' > Gk νεφρόι (pl.) 'kidneys' || Itc {Mul.} *nex^{w̥}ro- 'kidney' > L Δ [Fest.] nefrendēs 'kidneys' or 'testicles', L Prn [Fest.] nefrōnēs, L Ln [Fest.] nebrundinēs id. || Gmc {Vr.} *neur(i)an > ON nýra, OSw niūre, ME, MLG nēre 'kidney', OHG nioro id., 'loin', NHG Niere 'kidney' ¶ P 319, Dv. #263, EI 329 (*(h_1)neg^{w̥}ro-s), F II 31O, WH II 156, Mul. 285-6, Vr. 413, Kb. 728, OsS 651, KM 511 || ?φ U: eU *ñārmä 'groin' (x N *ñ ∇ ... + *' r^1 aRH₂ñm ∇ [*H₂ = N *h?] 'upper part of a limb' [q.v.]) > RP *ñārmä > F näärva 'Leiste, Weiche', Δ näärän (gen. näärämen) 'Leiste des Pferdes', Es nääre (gen. näärme) 'Halsdrüse' | Lp T {Gn.} nāirme 'Schambug, Schamleiste' || pObU {Ht.} *ñ̄rm ∇ > pOs *ñārəm 'Leistengegend, Ende des Oberschenkels' > Os Nz ñɔrəm, Os O ñarem id.; pVg *ñ̄rəm 'Schulter, Hüfte' > OVg N SoO нюрмъ, Vg N {Mu.} nārəm ≈ [ñārəm] ¶ eU *ā < **ā < *-ägo- ¶ Coll. 1O1, UEW 312, Sm. 546 (FU *ñ̄rmå, FP *ñ̄rma, Ugr *ñ̄rma 'groin, hip'), TI 571, Ht. #475 || A: NrTg ≈ *ñerun 'gland' > Ewk ñɔrin, Ewk Ald ñirun, Lm ñiruń, Lm B ñiruń id. ¶ STM I 654 || M *noyir (= *no' r^1 ir?) 'fat adhering to the intestines, pancreas' > WrM noir, HlM {MED} нойр id., {Gl.} 'long piece of fat adhered to guts of a pig', HlM {Luv.}, Brt {Chr.} нойр 'pancreas', Kl {Rm.} nōr 'Darmfett', {KRS} нөр nōr 'pancreas' ¶ MED 589, Luv. 27O, Chr. 329, KW 28O, Gl. II 44, KRS 384 ¶ M *-o' r^1 i- is probably from *-oꝝo- < (by as.) *-äꝝ|ꝝo- ◇ The discrepancy between IE *ñ- (regularly from N *n- or *ñ-) and *ñ- in FU and Tg may result either from pre-IE depalatalization *ñ- > *ñ- (caused by unknown factors) or from secondary palatalization *ñ- > *ñ- in U and Tg (or pA) (caused probably by some lexical interaction, e.g. the infl. of N *ñ ∇ ... ' r^1 aRH₂ñm ∇) ◇ Ernits KSTM, Ernits PSTM (Lp, TM).

1584. *ñuk ∇ 'shake, swing, tremble' > HS: WS *✓ñknk > Gz ✓ñknk v. 'shake, agitate', Ar ✓ñkk (pf. nakka) v. 'urge (a debtor)', {BK} 'insister, presser, importuner', ✓ñknk v. 'importuner son débiteur', ? Sq {L} negneg v. 'shake' ¶ L G 396-7, BK II 1336, 1345, Hv. 796 || Eg N (XX) n̄wɔc '≈ to tremble' ¶ EG II 225 || ?? C: Ag *✓ng^{w̥}d v. 'tremble' > Bln {R} nāgūād- 'zittern, beben (die Erde)' (x Ag *✓ng^{w̥}d 'thunder' < C {AD} *✓ñk^{w̥}d id.) ¶ R WB 281-2, AD SF 176, 24O, L G 182 || U: FU *°ñu' k^1 ∇ v. 'tremble' > pObU *ñðꝝ-/ñūꝝ- > pVg *ñɔw-/*ñūw- > v.

'tremble (bebén)' > Vg: T **ńow̥t̥-**, MK **ńow̥t̥-**, P **ńow̥at̥-**, Ss **ńowit̥-** ~ **ńuwit̥-** 'schaukeln'; pOs ***ńoꝝa-** ({ʃl.} ***ńāꝝa-**) > Os: V/Vy/Ty **ńoꝝa-**, Y **ńowa-**, Kz **ńoꝝa-** vi. 'move'; V/Vy **ńoꝝal̥-**, Ty **ńoꝝaɸ̥-**, Y **ńoꝝaɸ̥-**, D/K **ńoꝝatt̥-**, Nz **ńoꝝat̥-**, Kz **ńoꝝaɸ̥-**, O **ńoꝝa₁-** 'schaukeln' ¶ Ht. #443 || D (in NED) ***nukk-** v. 'shake' > Krx **nuk-nā** v. 'shake, cause to oscillate', Mlt **nuke** v. 'shake' ¶ D #3696, Pf. 192 [#147] ◇ IS II 91 (***ńükə** 'трясти, трембить' > U, D).

1584a. *‘**ńak**’ ‘laugh, be amused’ > **U:** FU ~ ***ńak** (or ***nak**-?) ‘laugh’ > F **nauraa**, Δ **nakraa** id., Ing **nagrā**, Krl K **nakroa**, Krl Ld **nagrada**, Lv **na’grə** id. || pOs ***ńāꝝ-** ‘laugh’ > Os: Ag/Ty **ńāꝝ-**, Nz/Kz/O **ńāꝝ-** id., Ag/Ty/Y **ńāꝝ**, Nz/Kz/O **ńāꝝ** ‘laughter, a joke’ | ? OHg ≥XVI **newet-**, Hg **nevet-** ‘laugh’ (influenced by [albeit hardly cognate with] OHg ≥XV **mewet-** id. < Ugr ***mEkꝝ**- ‘laugh’ [> Vg: T **mävənt̥-**, LK/P **mäꝝənt̥-**, Ss **mowint-** id.]) ¶ SK 369, SSA II 2O9-1O, Stn. D 1O28, Trj. S 3OO-1, ~UEW 872, ~EWU 1O24 || D ***nak(k)-** v. ‘laugh, smile’ > Tm **nakū** id., **nakkal** ‘laughing, mockery’, Ml **nakkekka** v. ‘laugh’, Kn **nagu**, **nage**, Tl **nagu** v. ‘laugh, smile’, Prj **nav-**, Gdb **nag-** ✎ **nagg-** ‘laugh’ ¶ D #356, Zv. 119, 129 || IE: NaIE *‘**yekw-**/*‘**yokw-** ‘laugh, play, be amused’ > L **iōcus** (gen. **iōcī**) ‘a joke, jest’ || Gk ἔψιλα, ἔψιλα ‘game played with pebbles’ || Lt **jūōkas** ‘laughter, joking’, Ltv **jōks** ‘jest, joke, fun’ (unless borrowed from L **iōcus**, as supposed by WH, WP, and P; but, acc. to Būga, this is an inherited L-grade of the IE stem), → Lt **jukdýti**, **jukinti**, Δ **jūkinti** ‘make laugh’ ¶ Better (for semantic reasons) than the alt. hyp. (of WP): L **iōcus** < NaIE ***yek-** ‘speak’ (< OHG **jēhan** ‘say, speak, MW **iēith**, Br **iēz** ‘language’, etc.) ¶ ≈ P 5O3, WH I 716-7 (both: L **iōcus** < IE ***yek-** ‘speak’), Frn. 197, Bg. SBE #88 (= Bg. RR I 446), Bg. PDK 432 ◇ Os **ń-** and IE *‘**y-** point to a N *‘**ń-**, D ***n-** may go back either to ***n|ń-** or to ***ń-**, while Hg is likely to suggest a N ***n|ń-** (depalatalization due to a still unknown cause?) ◇ Schrd. DU 95 [#45] (D, U), ~ Blz. LB #97 (U, D).

1585. ***ńok** **ń** **X** ‘be in front, take the lead, precede, be first’ > **HS:** S ***ńuk** **ń** **X** > BHb **נָקְה** **נָקְה** n. cs. ‘in front of, facing’ ¶ Hb **ń** is regularly from ***ń** or ***X**, but ***-k** **ń** **X** is ruled out by one of the S incompatibility laws ¶ GB 5O5, KB 66O || (+ext.) B ***ń** **nk̥d** > Ah **ənkəd** ‘aller en avant’ ¶ Fc. 1368 || **A:** Tg ***ńōg-** (~ ***ńōk-**?) ‘taking the lead, precede, be first’ > Sln **ńōgū** ‘first, former’, Lm **ńōꝝ** adj. ‘front, first’, Ewk **ńoꝝī** ✎ **ńōwū** id., **ńō-** v. ‘precede’, Neg **ńōꝝū** ~ **ńōwū** ‘first, taking

the lead, front', 'in front', Orc **ńōki** adj. 'front, initial', Ud H/A **ńauχe** ~ **ńouχe**, Ud Sm **ńōχo** 'first, front', Ork **ńowu** 'first, going in front of others' (a reindeer in a team) ¶ STM I 641-2 || **Gil:** Gil: A **nuʂi-**, ES {Krn.} **nuʂind** adj. 'front', A **nuʂi** adv. 'in front' ¶ ST 213, Krn. N 479 || **D:** GnD ***nōk-** 'be in front of others, precede' > Png **nōk-** 'go first, precede', Kui **nōka** 'precede, go ahead of', **nōki** 'ahead, in front of', Ku **nōk-** 'precede'; ? Kn **nōl** 'precede, take the head' ¶ D #3799 ◇ The Tungusian vowel length is compensatory (N *-**ok**₁∇₂**X**- > Tg -**ōk**-).

1586. *‘ń'a'Ko 'soft parts of the animal's body (liver, marrow, suet)' > **HS:** S *°√**nky/w** > Ar **niqu-** 'marrow', **naqw-** 'bone of the arm, bone full of marrow', √**nqw/y** v. 'extract marrow from a bone' ¶ Fr. IV 329-30, BK II 1335, Hv. 796 || **IE:** NaIE *‘**yekw-ṛ(t-)** / gen. *‘**yekw-'n-es** 'liver' > OI **'yakr̥t** (/ gen. **yak'nah**), Av **yākarət**, NPrs **ᬁگر** ūegär, Oss **igär**, Ydg **yēχan** id. || Gk **ἡπαρ** (gen. **ἡπατος**) 'liver' || L **iēcur** (gen. **iecoris** ~ **iecinor-is**) id. || Blt ***yeknā** id. > OLT **jāknos**, Lt **(j)ēknos**, Ltv pl. **aknas** (→ bf. sg. **akna**), Δ **jēknos** pl., Pru {En., Tp.} **iagno** (emendation of the ms. *ce.* **Lagno**) | ??σ Sl *°**jykno** ~ ***jykra** 'hard-roe': [1] *°**jykno** > LLs **jikno** id.; [2] ***jykra** id. > ChS, OR **ńikra**, ikr̥a, Blg 'икра, SCr **íkra**, Slv **íkra**, Cz **jíkry** pl., **jíkra**, Slk, P **íkra**, R **и'кра**, Uk **і'кра** ¶ P 504, EI 356 [***yekwṛ(t)**], M K III 1, M E II 391, Brtl. 1282, Horn 95, VI. I 521, Ab. I 541-2, Bai. 108, FI 639, WH I 673, Frn. 192-3, En. 183, Tp. P I-K 11-4, ESSJ VIII 216-20, Glh. 275 || **U:** FU *°**ńok|y|w∇(-̂∇)** > ObU {Ht.} ***ńōχə̄z** 'meat' > pVg ***ńăχə̄-** > Vg: T **ńawí**, LK **ńowí**, **ńuwí**, MK/P/NV/LL/UL **ńowí**, SV **ńawí**, Ss **ńōwí**; pOs ***ńoχ̄t** ({Ht.} ***ńăχ̄t**) id. > Os: V/Vy **ńoχ̄t**, Ty **ńăχ̄w̄t**, Y **ńăw̄t**, D/K **ńōχə**, Kz **ńōχi**, O **ńōχa** ¶ Ht. #445 || **A:** NaT *°**jakri** 'suet, fat (of an animal)' > OT **jaqr̥t** ({Cl.} **yakr̥t**) 'fat, suet' (semantic infl. of T **yāχ** 'fat') ¶ Cl. 905, DTS 238, ≠ Rs. W 177 (**jaqr̥t** within the entry of **jāχ** 'fat'), ≈ ET J 59 (**jaqr̥t** ↔ **jāχ** 'fat'?), AD NM 26 (***ń'a'KU** > T ***yakr̥t**), ≈ Vv. AEN 18 (misunderstanding of my inconsistent notation: the entry quoted in NM was written long ago, when I used different phonetic symbols; in fact T ***yakr̥t** = ***jakri**; Vv. points to a morphological problem: the element *-**r̥t** is not a living sx. in OT, but it may go back, just as extensions in IE, S, etc., to earlier structures, including N derivation or composition of word groups, cf. IE ***yekw-ṛ-** 'liver' - / AD NMI § 5) ◇ FU ***ə** (for the expected ***a**) may be due to the assimilative infl. of N *-**o**.

1587. *ńô^hK^hŃ or *ńaΓôK^hŃ 'in canine' > **U** *ńuk^hŃ '≈ fox' > Sm {Jn.} *nokå 'fox' > Ne: T нохо, T O {Lh.} noχo 'polar fox', T accus. pl. носи (> *nokå-γ), F L {Lh.} noχā́ id.; Kms {Pl.} nagabai 'lynx', Koyb {Pl.} nagameida, {Sp.} нагамайна id. (майна 'bear') || ? FU {UEW} *ńuk^hŃ-s^hŃ or *ńuk^hše 'sable, marten' (< *'fox'?) > F nois in a n. l. Noisniemi = R Соболино (↔ соболь 'sable'), F nokko 'sable', Es nugis 'common marder (Martes martes, Baummarder)' | Z Lu {UEW}, Yz ńiz, Vt {W} niž ~ naž 'sable' || ObU *ńökəs 'sable' > pVg *ńökəs > Vg: T ńoks, LK/MK/LL ńoxs, UK/P/NV ńoxʷs, SV ńaxʷs, ML/UL/Ss ńoxəs id.; pOs *ńöγəs > V/Vy/Ty ńöγəs, Y ńöwəs, D/Nz/Kz ńöχəs id. | Hg nyuszt 'marten' ¶ Coll. 1O2-3, UEW 326-7, LG 19O, Lt. 18O, Ht. #449, MF 491-2, Jn. 84 || **A** *ńok^hŃ (and *°ŋok^hŃ?) 'dog, wolf' > M *noqayi, 'dog' > MM [L, MA] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} noqai, [IM] {Pp.} noqai, MMgl {Iw.} noqai, WrM noqai, HIM нохой, Ord {Ms.} noχ̄, Kl ноха, {Rm.} noχā, noχā, Mgl {Rm.} noqəj, Dg {Pp.} nogø, Dx {T} nogi, Ba {T} nogui, MnR H {T} noχuē, {SM} noχuē'; the root may have merged with the descendant of N *Tuk^h'æ' 'canine' (→ 'lynx') (q.v.) ¶ Pp. L III 72, Pp. MA 259, 442, Pp. MDG 186, Lg. VMI 58, Iw. 119, MED 592, KRS 382, Ms. O 495, KW 278, Rm. M 34, SM 282, T 352, T DnJ 13O, T BJ 144 || Tg *ńoke ~ *ŋoke ({SDM} *ńōke, {DQA} *ŋoke) 'wolf' > WrMc nīγoχe, Mc Sb {Y} yuxz, yuxu 'wolf', Lm ńókz ~ ńóka ~ ńuzkz ~ ńžžkz 'male canine (dog, wolf, fox, polar fox)', Orc ńöksyö 'wolf' ¶ STM I 665, Z 223, Y #22O3 ¶ The front vw. in Lm and Orc may be due to as. (infl. of the next syll.) ¶ SDM97 (A *ńök^ho 'dog, wolf'), ~ DQA #154O (pA ńják'u; incl. Tg, M) || **D** *nak^hŃ 'fox, jackal' (× N *Tuk^h'æ' 'in canine' [→ 'lynx']??) > Kn nakke, Tl nakka 'jackal', Klm nakka 'fox', Gnd nakka, Ku nakka ~ naka 'jackal', Knd naka id., 'fox' ¶ ≈ D #36O6 || ? HS: WCh: Bg {J} ńáŋ, Kir {Sh.} ńaŋ, {ChL} ńzŋ 'dog' ¶ ChC, ChL ¶ Cf. S: Ar naqāθ-'hyena' [BK II 132O] ◇ D *-a-, the initial ń- in Lm and Orc and the final ń in Bg and Kir suggest something like N *ńaΓôK^hŃ (*ńg- or *ńγ- > Lm, Orc ń; *-ΓK- > Bg, Kir -ŋ). Otherwise, the D vw. *a may be due to the infl. of D *nari 'jackal, fox' (> Tm nari, etc., see D #36O6).

1587a. ?σ *ńuK^hŃ (+ an additional N word) 'in small fur-bearing animal' > **U** *ńuk^hŃ-sé (or *ńuk^hše) 'marten, sable' > FU {UEW} *ńuk^hŃ-sé or *ńuk^hše 'marten, sable' > F nois 'sable' in the n. l. Noisniemi (= R Соболино ↔ соболь 'sable'), Δ {Kll.} nokko 'sable', Es nugis (gen. nugise) pine marten, Mustela martes' | Prm *ńiž 'sable' > Z Lu

{UEW} **ńíz**, Yz **ńíz**, Vt **ńízv** **ńíz** id., Yz **vá-ńíz** 'otter' (lit. 'water-sable') || ObU {Ht.} *ńókəs 'sable' > pVg *ńókəs > Vg: T **ńoks**, LK/MK/LL **ńoks**, UK/P/NV **ńoxw̥s**, SV **ńaxw̥s**, ML/UL/Ss **ńóxəs** id.; pOs *ńoyəs ({ʃHl.} *ńáyəs) > V/Vy/Ty **ńóyəs**, Y **ńówəs**, D/Nz?Kz/O **ńóxəs** id. || pY {IN} *noqθə- 'sable' > Y {IN}: K **noqšə**, T **noqsə**, K {Jc.} **noxša**, **noxšo** id. ¶ Coll. 1O2-3, UEW 326-7, SK 389, LG 19O, Lt. 18O, Ht. #449, MF 491-2, IN 237, Ang. 184, ~ Rd. UJ 41 [#4O] (Y ↔ U) || A: pKo {S} *nə,kori 'badger' > MKo **nə,kori**, NKo **nə,guri** ¶ S QK #773, Nam 1O3, MLC 329 || ? HS: S *°✓ nķθ > Ar naqāθ- 'hyena' ¶ BK II 132O ◇ This etymon may be genetically identical with (or derived from) N *ńók̥N 'in canine'.

1588. *ńük̥ü 'lie down, sink, bow (down)' > **U** *ńüjik̥u- vi. 'bow, bend down' (× N *ŋa'ʔiɡu 'to bow, to bend [down], to hang [by sth.], to hang down'?) > FU: pLp *ńz̥k̥N- 'bend down' > Lp: N **njâkkâ-** / -g- 'bend down, stoop down' (of person), 'sink, settle, get crooked' (of a house), L {LLO} **njákēti-** vi. 'bend, bow, writhe' (of a tree, person), Kld {SaR} **ńigkl̥e** v. 'bow, bend down'; pLp {Lr.} *ńz̥k̥e 'crooked, bent' > Lp: N **njákke**, K {Gn.} **ńihk** || Sm: Sm {Hl. → IS III} *ńiku ~ *n̥ku, {Jn.} *n̥k̥ ~ *ník̥- 'bend \ bow (the head), nod' > Ne T {Ter.} d. **ńikhī-** **ra-**сь ~ **ńikhī-**рё-сь 'to turn back one's head (быть с откинутой головой)', Ne F {Lh.} **ńihūw-** ~ **ńihu?** ~ **ńihiw-**, Ne F P {Lh.} **ńixiβ-** 'bow, bow low (before so.)', En {OSIPL} **n̥xu-** 'to pray', Ng {Cs.} **ńigut̥m** v. 'beten, den Kopf biegen', Slq Tz {KKIH} **n̥kaltiimp̥-** v. 'nod' || pY {IN} *ńiy(i)- vi. 'bend' > YK **nigi-bu-y-** id. ¶ Coll. CG 4O2, UEW 317-8, Lr. #752, Lgc. #438O, Hs. 1OOO, N III 46, Gn. 1O91, TI 3O1, Ps. B 284-5, Jn. 1O1, Ter. 316, Lh. 323, KKIH 138, SaR 211, IN 236-7 || A: T *jükün- 'bow, kneel' > OT **jukün-** 'bow, do obeisance to; worship', XwT XIV **jükün-** v. 'bow, worship', MQp XIV **jükün-** 'serve kneeling', MQp XIV [CC] **jügün-**, OOsm XIV-XVI **jükün-** 'kneel', ET **jükün-** v. 'bow, kneel', Qq **žügin-**, Qrg **žügün-** v. 'bow', Qzq **жүгін-** **žügin-** 'sit cross-legged; worship, admire', Qmq **jügün-**, VTt Δ **žygən-**, Bsh **jøgən-**, Uz **jukun-**, Yk **sügün-**, **sügüy-** 'kneel', Chv: L **çäkäñ-** **śyg_ñn-**, H **śyg_ññ-** 'bow, curtsey' ¶ Cl. 913, ET J 264-5, Sht. 1O7, Jud. 972, Pek. 2379-81, Ash. XIII 8, IS III 64-6, RI. III 5O4 || D (in NED) *nūk- 'bow, droop' (× N *ńow|Ha'Kİ 'to bend, to be crooked') > Krx **nūx-**, **nūkʰ-** 'bow (the head), keep down (the eyes); silence, defeat, put down', Mlt **nūge** v. 'droop, walk\behave without energy' ¶ The length of *u results from D morphophonemic alternation (probably "the rule of Krishnamurti", Zv. 184) and/or from

coalescence with N *ń'ow|Ha'Kİ § D #3723, Pf. 193 [#149] || ?σ HS: WCh: Hs nōkē 'draw back (as a tortoise drawing its head into its shell), retire, withdraw' || AG: Mpn {Frz.} nōk v. 'stop (doing sth.)', Su {J} nōk 'stehenbleiben, bleiben, aufhören' (but Su nōk 'ausruhen' is likely to be akin to Mpn nōk 'breathe') § J S 77, Frz. DM 44-5, Ba. 822 || ?σ S *-nīk-, *✓nyk G 'sleep with (a woman), copulate' (× N *ñ'ū'kU [or *ñ'ū'k₁ñ'ū'U??] 'darkness, night', q.v. ffd.) > Ak prm. -nīk (inf. nīāku(m) > nāku) {Sd.} 'copulate', {CAD} 'have illicit sexual intercourse', Ar ✓nyk G (ip. -nīk-) 'copulate with' (Fr.: 'futuit, inivit mulierem'), Jb C/E {Jo.} ✓nyk G (pf. nēk, 3m sbjn. yink), Hrs {Jo.} ✓nyk G (pf. nzyōk, 3m sbjn. yz'nek) 'sleep with (a woman)', Mh {Jo.} ✓nyk G (pf. nzyūk, sbjn. yznyēk ~ yznyīk) id., 'copulate with' § Rms. 265, CAD XI/1 197-8, Sd. 784, BK II 1376, Fr. IV 358, Jo. J 199, Jo. H 1OO, Jo. M 3O9, MiK I #2.53 ◇ ≠ IS III 61-6 (T and D + unc. HS, K, and IE reflexes of N *ñūqñ 'to bend, to swing, to sink' [q.v. ffd.]; he reconstructs N *Nñq'ü) ◇ In descendant lgs. (e. g., T) contamination with the reflexes of N *ñūqñ '↑'?

1589. *ń'ow|Ha'Kİ (= *ńoqaKİ?) 'to bend, to be crooked' > U: RP *nokke 'crooked, bent' > Mk нокла 'slope, declivity (as of a road\way)', {LG} nokz̄l, nokz̄la, {Jh.} nokol, nokola 'sloping, inclined' | Prm: Z нюкыль нукт́н. 'bend, curve (сгиб, изгиб, выгиб, загиб)', Z V нукт́, Z Ud нуки́l 'Biegung, Krümmung, Haken; krumm, gebogen', Z Ud нукт́-нукт́з̄n 'writhen, huddled up (from pain)' § UEW 714, PI 181, LG 2OO || A: M *naki-yi- > WrM naki-, HlM нахий- x v. 'bend; cave in, be shaky', Kl naki- vi. 'bend, bow, incline forward', {Rm.} naki- 'sich ein wenig seitwärts biegen'; 'schaukeln, schwanken (z.B. Gras)', Brt naxī- vi. 'be bent, bend down, cave in'; M *naki-gar > WrM nakigar, HlM нахигар adj. 'bent, bending, flexible', Kl {Rm.} nakiyār 'ein wenig schief gebogen' § MED 561, KRS 366, KW 27O, Chr. 324 || D (in NED) *oñūk₁k₁- v. 'bow' (× N *ñ'ū'k₁ñ'ū' 'lie down, sink, bow [down]', q.v. ffd.) || ? HS: S *o✓nχg > Ar ✓nχg G 'agiter dans tous les sens le seau descendu dans le puits, pour l'emplir de l'eau' § *-χ(∇)g- < **-χ(∇)k- (dis.)? § BK II 122O ◇ The hypothetic N sequence *-ow|Ha- can explain the apparent discrepancy between the FP ev. of a N vw. *-o- and the M ev. of *-a-. If this hypothesis is rejected, we remain with a less specific N etymon *ńoqaKİ. If the Ar cognate is accepted, the N etymon is *ńoqaKİ.

1590. ²*ńǘk̥i^uńv (or *ńǘk̥i^uńv?) 'tear, tear out' > **HS:** Eg BD nk̥i^u 'tear out (the heart)' ¶ EG II 343 || WS *√nk̥i^u 'tear' (→ 'split') > Ar √nq̥i v. G 'tear (one's own garment), slaughter (a camel for guests), kill', Gz √nk̥i v. G 'be split, have cracks, become torn'; ⇒ WS *'nak̥a^u- 'a crack, split' (x N *ńǘk̥i^uńv - *ńuK̥E 'hole') > Gz nači n. 'split, crack', Sr ^{جُهْدٌ} neči^u-ā 'cave, hole', MHb ^{عَكَبٌ} 'neča^u' 'cleft, cavity, ravine' ¶ LG 399, ~ KB 681, Js. 934, BK II 1329, Hv. 794 || **U:** FU *ńük̥i^uv. 'tear, jerk' > F nyki-, Vp nük̥ā- id. || pObU: pVg *ńǘw^u- 'pluck (rupfen, zupfen)', {BV} v. 'nibble (grass)' > Vg: T ńüw^u-, LK ńāw^u-, P ńāw^u-, Ss, MK {BV} ńaw^u v. 'pluck, nibble' | Hg Δ nyū- & nyō- 'shred (flax), pluck (raufen), wear out (a garment)' || Sm {Jn.} *nek̥- ~ *ńek̥- 'pull out' > Ne Т нэхэ- id., Ne F {Lh.} nžx^u- id., En X {Cs.} 1s aor. obcj. ne'hibo 'take', Ng {Mik.} ńak̥- 'take, seize'; Slq Tz {KKIH} näkä- 'pull (тянуть, дергать)'; Koyb {Sp.} нэбля 'натягиваю (I stretch)' ¶ UEW 318, Coll. 1O3, Sz. 152, SK 4O6, Kn. WV 2O1, Stn. WV 25, BV 68, Jn. 1OO, KKIH 136, Hl. M #338.

1591. **U** *ńä1 ∇ 'tongue' > **U:** FU *ńälmä id. > pLp {Lr.} *ńälmē 'mouth'
 > Lp: S {Hs.} njaalmie, L {LLO} njal'mē, N {N} njal'bme / -lm-, Kld
 ńāl'm id. | Chr: P {Gn.} ńälmə, H {Ep.} йы́лмый үэ́лмə, L йы́лмē үъ́лмē,
 Uf/B үъ́лмē 'tongue, language' || ObU {Ht.} *ńīlm ∇ 'tongue' > pVg
 *ńīlm ∇ id. > OVg S: ChusO nelma, Kg нэлма, SSs neelme, Tr
 ńильма, OVg E TM, OVg N SoG njelm, Vg: T/P ńiíləm, LK/MK/UK
 ńiləm, NV/SV/LL ńiíləm, UL/Ss ńēləm id.; pOs {Hl.} *ńäləm, {Ht.}
 *ńäləm id. > Os: V/Vy ńäləm, Ty/Y ńǻfəm, D/K ńä́təm, Nz ńatəm, Kz
 ńáfəm, O ńáləm | Hg nyelv id., 'language' ¶ Coll. 43, Db. OS xxx,
 UEW 313-4, It. #287, ~ Sm. 546 (FU, Ugr *ńelma, FP *ńälmä
 'mouth'), Lr. #763, Lgc. #4352, ~ Ber. #24 (pChr *yilmə, but *y- is at
 variance with the ev. of Chr P ńälmə), MRS 161-2, 166, Ep. 34, Ht. #463,
 MF 480-1 || **D** *nāl ∇ -(k ∇) 'tongue' > Kt na·lg, Kn nälage, nälige, Tu
 nalayi, nalāyi, Tm, Ml nākku, Tl nälika, näluka, nälka, Klm
 na·lka, Nkr nälka, Knd nälika id. ¶ D #3633, Zv. 128, 131 || **HS:** WCh:
 Grn {Hrn., Sh.} ńá�à 'tongue', as well as possibly Wnd {Sh.} ңгèš, {L}
 ңгєš and Dw {ChC} ңгуš id. (unless going back to *ŋ ∇ -l ∇ s ← *l ∇ s
 'tongue', cp. Bg {J} ңзлзз 'tongue') ¶ JI II 328, ChC, Hrn. EG s.v. 'tongue'
 || ? **I**E: **U** Ht lala- 'tongue', Lw {Lar.} lali- 'tongue (?)', {Mlc.} lāla/i-
 'tongue, gossip'; but Ht lala- 'harmful speech, slander', lala- v. of
 speech, HrLw lali- 'word, speech', and Ld {Gsm.} lālē- '(aus)sprechen'

do not necessarily belong here, but may be independent onomatopoeic stems § 1- for the expected *y- is due to the ideophonic factor § Ts. E II 2O-1, CHD L-N 21-6, Mer. HHG 78, Lar. 62, Mlc. CL 122.

1592. (2?) *ńołlē (or *ńałlē) 'sinew' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bow' → 'arrow'), 'to tie together', ([in HS] → 'to put on footwear') > **HS:** S: [1] *'nałlāl- 'sinew', → 'tie' (noun) > Ar nałl- 'nerf, boyau, morceau de cuir avec lequel on entoure l'arc au haut de la cambrure ou sur les côtés; chaussure, soulier, sabot', BHb נַעַל 'nałal 'a sandal', Ug {A} näl 'sandal' (but OLS 313-4 and Mrgl. BM 18f. interpret Ug näl otherwise), Sr ڻڻ nał'l-ā 'horse-shoe', Md nala 'shoes, sandals', Mh {Jo.} nəñāl, Jb E näl 'sandals', Sq {Jo.} 'nałal, {L} nałal 'chaussure'; [2] *√näl v. G 'tie' > BHb √näl v. 'secure (a door by straps), fasten sandals on one's foot', Ug näl 'binden, schließen', JA [Trg.] √näl v. 'tie a shoe', Md √näl v. 'shoe a horse, bind up, tie', Ar √näl v. 'give sandals to so.; wear boots; shoe (a horse, a camel)', Gz d. nałūlt 'widow whom the late husband's brother marries by levirate' (lit. 'a tied one [f.]') § BK II 1296, Hv. 782, KB 666, KBR 705, A #1805, Br. 435, Lv. T II 118, DM 283, L G 382, L LS 629 || **U** *ńōłe 'arrow' (< **'bow' < **'bowstring' < **'sinew') > F nuoli 'arrow', Es nool 'arrow, bow' | pLp {Lr.} *ńōłz 'arrow' > Lp: S {Hs.} njuole, L {LLO} njuolla, N {N} njuollâ, Kld ńūll | Er/Mk ńal id. | Chr L ńölö nölö 'arrowhead made of bone' | Prm *ńöł / *ńöly- 'arrow' > Z ńzv / ńzvy-, Yz 'ńüł, Vt ńzł, Vt B ńel, Vt SW ńoł || pObU *ńłłāl 'arrow' > pVg *ńłłāl > OVg: S ChusO ńiôla, S VT ńela, S SSs njela, E TM njel, OVg N SoG näl, N SoO ńяль, Vg: T/P/NV/SV/LL/ML ńel, LK/UL/Ss ńäl, MK/UK ńzł id.; pOs *ńal > Os: V/Vy/O ńal, Ty/Y ńåł, D/K ńot, Kz ńɔł id. | Hg nyíl (accus. nyilat) id. || Sm *ńzły ({Jn.} *ńeżzy-) 'arrow' > Ne T -ńi ({Lh.} -ńi) in түни tūń'ńi 'gun' (lit. 'fire arrow'), Ne F {Lh.} -ńi in ńtńi 'Stellbogen' (ńtń- 'bow'), En {Mik.} -ńiy in tūńiy 'gun', Slq Ch {KD} -ńi^č in q'ěs'əńi^č 'arrow for shooting at birds', Kms {Cs.} neā, njä 'arrow', {KD} 'ńå 'bullet', Koyb {Sp.} ńe 'arrow; копейцо у стрелы; bullet', Mt {Hl.} *ńey or *neу 'arrow' (Mt: K {Mll.} néi, M {Mll.} nèi id.) §§ UEW 317, Sm. 539 (U *ńixłi, FU *ńiłli, FP nöoli, Ugr *ńiłli, Sm *ńeøj), Lr. #789, Lgc. #4462, Hs. 1009, LG 197, Ht. #459, Jn. 108-9, Hl. M #729, 746 || Another line of semantic changement: FU *ńołlāl (or *ńałlāl) v. 'tie together' > Hg nyaláb 'Bündel, Bund' | pOs *ńula 'together' > Os: V/Vy ńula, Ty ńuła, D ńuta, Nz ńutâ, Kz ńw̄ta § MF 476, 488 || **A:** ?φ Tg

*^ońu_člge (or *yu_člge) > Ewk Tmt ńulga ~ julga ~ yulga, Ewk Z/Tng/Urm/Ucr ყūlgə 'arrow, iron arrowhead' § STM I 350.

***nogūl|í** **?**] 'tear out\asunder, pinch', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If **U** *ń*i*|ūl|í - belongs here, the N lateral cns. is *-l- (while D *-ll- is inherited from N *ńogüllí), otherwise it is either *-l- or *-l- ◇ IS II 91-2 (*ńüllə > D, A + U *ńülke [see N *ńogüllí or *nogūl|í '↑']).

1594. *ńaglí **?** (or *ńaglí **?**) 'fade, be worn out, be spoiled' > **HS:** S *o√nyl > Ar √nyl G (pf. naẏila, ip. -nyalu) 'be spoiled in tanning' (hide), 'be ulcered' (wound) ¶ Fr. IV 308, Hv. 784-5 || **U:** FU *ńa]lí - 'get spoiled' (skin) > Prm {LG} *ńoí- > Z hělъzъy- ńoíz+, Z HS ńoíz+ vi. 'become flushed because of sweat\damp' (of skin, particularly of a baby), 'spoil because of sweat\dampness' (skin), 'rub off' (skin) || ObU {gHt.} *ńā]-, {gHl.} *ń̄]- > Vg K {Szil.} ńálltt- 'become leprous', Vg {Coll. ← ?} ńult 'leprosy, scab, tetter'; pOs *ńā]ə- ({gHl.} *ń̄]ə-) > Os: VT ńā]ə- 'come out, fall out' (hair), ńā]əy- vi. 'scale, peel off', O ńāləm 'sich lösen (Schleimhaut im Mund), ausgehen (Haare)', Kz ńō]mət- 'fall ill with scrofulosis', Ty ńałəmtə-, Nz ńōləmt-, Kz ńołəmt- 'fall out' (hair from a poorly dried hide), 'have a disease in which the skin (esp. that of the head, behind the ears, and on the temples) scales off, bleeds, and festers'; Coll. 41 (← ?) quotes Os Sr ńaθəm- and Os S ńotəm- id., which (if not mistakenly recorded) points to a pOs (and hence pFU and pN) *-l- rather than -l-, evidenced by more reliable data of Stn. D ¶ Coll. 41, LG 189, Stn. D 1051-2 || **D** *nal- > Tu nalagu- 'fade, wither, be reduced by sickness', Tm nali v. 'waste, pine away, suffer, fail', nalaŋku 'grow faint, wilt, lose stiffness', Kn nalagu, nalugu 'become rumpled \ ruffled (as cloth)', nalavý, naluvu 'weakness', Tl nalāgu, nalugu, naliyu 'be crumpled \ rumpled', {Km.} 'fade, wither' ¶ D #3611 ◇ There is conflicting ev. about the quality of the N lateral cns.: D and Coll.'s data on Os point to a N plain *-l-, while Stn.'s Os data provide ev. of a N postalveolar *-l-. Is the solution connected with the infl. of the adjacent N *g or of a final N *i (suggested by the Prm palatal *í) or with contamination of two roots in D (e.g. **na]- 'fade, wither' and D *nal- 'crush, squeeze' [> Knd nälpid., etc.], which may go back to a hypothetical N *NaP'ílí, preserved in Jb √nfl v. 'break off a chip, splinter of stone, cut a sliver (of wood)?'

1595. *ńog'rā'luyí **?** 'slime, tears (?), moisture, fluid; raw' > **HS:** SES *o√nyl > Mh nɔyɔlít (pl. nɔyāl), Hrs ɔnyāl, Jb C naẏlt, Jb E ɔn'yłst 'sweat' ¶ Jo. M 288 || ? ECh: Smr {J} nūl, Nd D {J} nūlā 'weep' (if ←

*'shed tears' ↔ a word for 'tears') || IE *yēlo-/*yēlo- > NaIE *yēlo-/*yēlo- 'unripe, raw' > Ltv jēls 'raw; undercooked; sore', jēlsa vieta 'sore\raw place' | ?σ Sl *jālovъ 'unfruitful' (soil), 'barren' (× *ālovъ id.) > ChS яловъ jalovъ 'sterilis', OR яловъ jalovъ, R 'яловый', Uk 'яловий', Blg 'ялов', 'ялъв, SCr jālov, Slv jálov, Cz, Slk jalový, P jałowy 'unfruitful' || ??σ Clt: W {P} iāl 'clearing, glade' (← *'waste plot'), Gl iālo- *'clairière' in n. l., e.g. Nanto-iālo- 'valley-glade' > Fr Nanteuil ¶ P 504-5, Kar. I 355, Vs. IV 554-5; Glh. 286-7 and ESSJ I 66-70 (Sl *ālovъjь); Mikl. E 99 (*jal-), Mikl. L 4, Billy 88, Dtn. 262 || U: FU *nōlō:₁Δ 'moisture, slime, fluid' > Er XVIII {Dms.}, Er Δ nōla 'sap' | Chr: L ноло nōlo 'moisture, moist, sap', nōlk 'season of sap flowing (when the bark is separated from the tree)', H {It.} nālb, Uf/B nōlb 'sap' ('juice'?') | Lp I njale 'sap, birch sap' || Os: V nālt, D nātə 'rust', K nātə 'slime', Kz nōlt 'rust, slime' ¶ UEW 318-9, Ps. B 92, ERV 415 || A *nāl₁Δ > T *jāl 'fresh, moist; moisture' > [1] *ja₄l₁ > NaT *ja₄l₂ 'fresh, moist' > OT jaš id. (jaš tananı 'fresh sesame seed', jaš ot 'fresh forage', jaš sūnūkları 'moist bones'), jaš 'green vegetables', XwT XIV jaš 'young, fresh, MQp XIII jāš 'green', Osm {Rh.} ياش jaš 'wet; moisture', Alt žaš 'fresh, green', Bsh jäš 'fresh', Ggz jaš, Qzl {Jk.} šas 'fresh, moist', Xk čas 'fresh, young', Tk yaş, Az jaš 'moist', CrTt, ET jaš, Uz jaš. VTt jäš, Nog jaš, Qzq, Qq žas, Qrg žaš, Tv čaš 'young', Kr T/G jaš id., 'moist, juicy'; [2] T *jāl₁ > NaT *jāš 'tears' (× N *ža₁XΔ [or *ža₁HΔ] 'dripping fluid', q.v. ffd.) > OT {Cl.} jāš, XwT XIV jaš 'tears', Tkm, Uz Δ, Xlj jāš, Tk yaş, Ggz, Az, Qmq, ET jaš, Uz ēsh jaš, Kr jaš ~ jaš, Qzq, Qq žas, Xk čas, Tv čaš, Tf caš 'tear(s)' || Chv L күççүлъ kuś-śul id. (cmpd.: kuś 'eye' + śul) ¶ Cl. 975-6, Rs. W 192, ET J 161-4, Rh. 2186, BRS 243, BT 50, BIG 312 || Tg *nāl- 'moist' > Ewk nālikin 'moist' (wood), 'not dry' (undressed hides, raw leather), Neg nālxin 'raw, not cooked\baked sufficiently' (food, bread), 'unripe', Nn Nh nālō ~ nālō ~ nījālō ~ nījālō 'fresh, raw, uncooked' (meat, fish), 'moist' (wood), Ud {Krm.} nāligi, {STM} nāligi, UI nālu(n-) ~ nēlu(n-) 'moist, raw' (meat, fish, wood), Lm nāləqça, nāləq id., 'undressed' (hide), Ork nālu ~ nālu ~ nāluw id., 'uncooked' (food), 'unripe' (fruit, vegetables) ¶ STM I 630, Krm. 268 || pKo {S} *nār 'sth. raw, moist' > MKo nār, NKo nāl ¶ S QK #140, Nam 96, MLC 302 ¶ S AJ 256 [#140] ¶ S AJ 76, 280-1 [#145] || D *nōla 'saliva, sticky liquid' > Tm nōla 'saliva', nōla

'slaver; glutinous fluid in fish\fruit\snails', Kn lōla, lōli, lōlu, lōle 'saliva, slaver, tenacious mucus, phlegm', nōli 'sticky (juice)', Tu nōne 'saliva, spittle', rīoli 'anything sticky, gummy, viscous; saliva'; D → OI lālā- 'saliva, spittle' ¶ D #2937, Tu. #11O27 ¶ The cns. l- in words for 'saliva' may be due to the ideophonic factor [Ll.] ◇ IE *^h points to a following front vw., while T (and pA?) *ā may go back to *-oHā- < N *-ogā- rather than to *-oHe-; hence the tentative rec. of pN *ā in the N etymon (*nōg^rā'l^ry, ∇). T *-í and D *-]- point to a N palatalized *í, while U *-l- may go back only to the plain N *l; the contradiction may be removed by postulating a N cluster *-ly- (> **-í-> T *-í- and D *-]-) and by supposing that in the prehistory of the U root the N cns. *y was lost ◇ ≈ IS MS 365 s.v. *nōlā 'слизь' (IE, A, D + unc. U *nōlke 'slime, saliva, mucus' and ? U *nōle- 'lick').

1596. *níhla 'moist, slippy' > HS: S *✓nhl 'give water, make wet, give to drink' > Ak LtB ✓n^rl (inf. na^rālu) v. 'water, make wet', BHb d. nah^alō'l-īm pl. 'watering-places', Ar ✓nhl G (pf. nahila, ip. -nhalu) 'drink a first draught; quench (thirst)', {BK} 'goûter un peu d'un breuvage; étancher la soif, avoir bu à sa soif' ¶ CAD XI/1 6, Sd. 694, KB 638, BK II 1358, Hv. 8O4 || Ch: CCh: Ms {OS ← ?} nūl 'moisten', {ChC} nūlumo 'moist' (OS: Ms n < *n?), Azm {Pc.} nūlōbá 'damp' || ECh: Mgm {JA} nālō 'couler (la pluie à travers le toit)', ? Smr ("Sibine") {OS ← ?} nūwālā 'rain' ¶ JA LM 112, ChC, Pc. 322 ¶ OS #4OO || u: FU *níla 'slime, mucus' > F nila 'bast, bass', 'slime, mucus', koivun nila 'birch-tree sap', nilja 'slime, mucus', Krl nīla 'sap', ? Es nilane (gen. nilatse) in nilane lats 'helpless baby' (if ← 'snivelling child') || amb Lp: L {LLO} njallē 'etwas Glattes oder Schlüpfriges; der Baumsaft, wenn er sich zwischen Stamm und Rinde gesammelt hat, so daß es «rinnt», Nt {TI} nāl·a / -]- 'slippy\smooth place' | ?φ Er {Rv.} nolaža 'smooth' (soil, ice, etc.) || ObU *nī'l / *nī'l> Vg N {Mu.} nāl 'slime of a tree', Os: O nēl 'sap-wood (Splint), sap (of willow, birch-tree)' || Sm: Ne T {Cs.} nyūlū 'juice', ho-nyūlū 'sap of a tree' (y = [†]?), Ne FL {Lh.} nīl: id.; ?φ Nn T O nālū 'soft and moist white layer under the bark of a tree' ¶ IS II and the editors of IS II adduce here FU words for 'slime, moisture, sap' with back vowels in the first syll. (Er {Dms.}, Er Δ nola, Chr nolo & nolb, etc.), explaining their back vowels by the infl. of the stem-final *-a (while Rd. in UEW explains it by onomatopoeia), but external comparative ev. suggests the presence of a different N etymon,

reconstructible as *níog'ä'l_y, △ 'slime, tears (?), moisture, fluid; raw' (q.v.); contamination with the latter may account for ə in Er nolaža || Coll. 1O2, UEW 318-9, 329, ≈ Sm. 546 (FU *nílā, FP *níla, Uhr *níla 'sap-wood'), SK 38O-1, TI 294, LG 198-2OO, Ht. #789, 79O, Cs. 18, 27, Lh. 295 || A: M *nil(a)- > MM [MA] {Pp.} nila- v. 'plaster (walls with alabaster)', nilaqu 'plasterer's trowel', Kl {Rm.} nilā- (< **nila-yi-) 'be sticky, slimy, watery (klebrig \ schleimig \ wässerig sein)', WrM {Kow.} nilcui^m 'glutineux, visqueux (comme les phlegmes, la colle, la bile, etc.)', 'клейкий, kleevatый, lipkij, sлизистый', {MED} nilcui^{m-a} 'sticky, adhesive', HIM нялцайм id., WrM {MED} nilcai-, nilcui-, HIM нялцай- 'become sticky, clammy', {Luv.} нялцай- 'be sticky, slimy'; M *nilbu ~ *nilmu > MM [IM] nilbu 'a spit', Dg {Mr.} niolome ~ niolome 'spit, spittle, saliva', M *nilbu-sun ~ *nilmu-sun 'saliva, spittle, mucus, tears' > [HI] nilbusun 'saliva, tears', [S] {H} nilbusu(n) 'tears', [LM] نَلْبُسُونْ nalbusun (fallacious vocalization for نَلْبُسُونْ nilbusun?), [MA] nilbusun 'spittle', WrM {Kow.} nilbusu(n) 'larme; salive, bave', {MED} nilbusun, nilmusun, HIM нулмас id., 'mucus', {Luv.} нулимс(ан), Kl {Rm.} nulumsŋ, Brt нёлбонон 'tears', MMgl [Z] nilbusut pl. 'tears', Mgl {Rm.} nilbusun, Mn^r H {T} nilbuse- Mn^r Nr {SM} nump'uz₃, Ba nemsonj 'tears', Dg {Mr.} niolemose, {Pp.} nombosu, {T} nōm(b)os; (bf.?) M *nilbu- ~ *nilmu- v. 'spit' > MM [LM, MA] نَلْبُو- nilbu-, [S] nilbu- ~ nilmu-, HIM нулма-, {Luv.} нулима- || Pp. L III 72-4, Pp. MA 253, 442, Ms. H 79, H 117, KW 276, Rm. M 34, Kow. 663, MED 583, Gl. II 38, Luv. 276, 269, Iw. 119, SM 29O, T 351, T BJ 144, T DgJ 158, Mr. D 199-2OO, Klz. D II 125 || Tg: Ewk nilli ↗ nili ↗ nildi 'slime (on fish)' || STM 593 ◇ IS II 88-9 (*nílə > U, A), Rs. UAW 49-5O (U, A).

1597. *níeq¹, a, l△ 'bed of a torrent, valley' > HS: S *'naxal- 'wadi, gorge, ravine' > Ak naxallu, naxlu id., BHb נַחַל 'nahal' 'torrent, torrent-valley, dry bed of a torrent', Ug nyl {A} 'torrent, wadi', {OLS} 'torrent', [AkSc] {Hnr.} naxal_{1,2}u 'wadi, ravine (?)', JA [Trg.] נַחַל na'hal / נַחַלְאָה naħ^al-ā id., 'valley', JEA {Sl.} נַחַלְאָה naħ^alā 'wadi, stream', Sr نَهْلٌ naħ'l-ā (cs., abs. نَهْلٌ naħ^al) id., 'gorge'; Cn → Eg [EgSSc] {Hlk.} na-χa-l 'stream, brook' || KB 648-9, BDB 636, A #1773, OLS 323, Hnr. 152, Js. 894, Sl. 741, Br. 423, CAD IX/1 124-5, Hlk. #143, SivCR 82 || D *níēl- or *níāl- {GS} *níēl- 'field, flat land' > Gnd nēli ↗ nēl ↗ lēli 'field', ne'l 'ground, earth, flat land', Tm, Ml nālam, tl nēla

'earth, land', Klm e·l, Nkr eł 'earth', Knd nēle id., 'ground', Png nēla 'ground, Png, Mnd nēl 'hill-field', Kui nela 'plot of high ground for cultivation', Ku ne?la {Fzg.} 'field (for cultivation)', {Isr.} 'dry field', Krx nāl 'fields, terraced fields'; D → OI nāla- 'field under cultivation' || D #2913, GS 143 [#364] || K: G (← Zan?) nol-i 'fruchtbare Anschwemmungsland an einem Fluß; mit jungem Gras bewachsenes Wiesland' ¶ Chx. 964 ¶ The vw. o (< K *a) suggests the Zan origin of the word, but the loss of the expected X (< K *q) is puzzling.

1598. Regional 2 *²ńälýN 'four' > **U:** FU *ńelyä id. > F neljä, Es neli (gen. nelja) | pLp {Lr.} *ńelyē (or *ńēlyē?) > Lp: S {Hs.} nieljije, U {Schl.} nél'ja, L {LLO} niel'je, {UEW} niel'ya, N {N} njæl'ljē, I {It.} nelji, Klt {Lr.} nellj, Kld níell id. | Er níle, Mk nílə id. | Chr L ныл nъl, H нбіл nəl id. | Prm {LG} *ńö́l ({LG} *ńö́l) id. > Z нёль nö́l, Z US nö́l, Yz 'ńúl, Vt ньыль n̄t̄l, Vt Shm/Kz/B nūl, Vt: Sr n̄l, Y níl, Kz nǘl || ObU {Ht.} *ńílN id. > pVg *ńílN / *ńä1(∇)-: *ńílN > Vg: T nílī, LK/MK/UK nílə, P nílə, NV/SV/LL/UL/Ss níla 'four'; *ńä1(∇)- is represented in the word for 'forty': Vg T nēləw, LK/MK/UK/Nv/SV/LL nälmən, P nälmən, UL/Ss naliman; pOs *ńelä ({Hl.} *ńilä) 'four' > Os: V/Vy nälə, Ty/Y nětə, D/K nětə, Nz nítə, Kz nătə, O níl | Hg négy 'four' ¶ Coll. 1O2, It. #322, UEW 315-6, Db. OS xxxi, Sm. 546 (FU, FP *ńeljä, Ugr *ńiljí), Ker. II 96, Ht. #46O, Lr. #72O, Lgc. #4372, Hs. 978, Schl. 99-1OO, Ep. 78 || **D** *nāl- 'four' > Tm/Ml/Kn nāl, nālu, Kdg na·l̄t, Tu nālъ, Tl nālugu, nāluvu, Gnd nāluŋ, Kui nālḡi, nāl 'four', Klm na·liŋ 'four things', na·l̄ udul 'four days', Nkr nāliŋ 'four things', Nk nāli, Knd nālḡi 'four' (non-masc.), Prj nel 'four', nālu(k) 'four things', Gdb nālug & nālig 'four' (neut.), Krx nāx '4 things', naib 'four' (of animals and things) ¶ D #3655, Zv. 133 ◇ The FU vw. *e for the expected *ä may be due to the palatalizing infl. of *ń- and *-ly-.

1599. *ńǖlunj₂K₂N (= *ńǖlunj₂K₂N?) 'marrow, brain' > **HS: S: Gz nālā, Tgr, Tgy, Amh nala 'brain, skull' || ? Ch: WCh: Krkr ndulaka, Ngm ndàlakù 'brain' | Wrj {Sk.} ndžlínā, Kry ndžláy, My ndžlī, Sir {Sk.} ndžlím id. | Zar žongâ id. | Ngz {Sch.} žánák (pl. žánánin), Bd àžànán id. ¶ ChC, ChL || **A** ({ADb.} *ńulŋi): NaT: [1] *julun ~ *jǖlün (< pre-T **jǖlun **julün?) 'spinal marrow' > OT julun {MKD, Cl} 'spinal cord', {DTS} 'spinal marrow', ET Δ {Jarr., Mng., Rl.} julun, Uz Δ jǖlün & jǖlün, Nog julin, Qzq жүләйн žülin, Qq žülin, Qrg žülin, Alt žülin, Tf {Cs.}**

čilen, Yk sülün 'spinal marrow', Tv čün id., 'nerve', Bsh Δ jələn id., jələn 'spinal cord', Shor {Rl.} čiliŋ '(spinal\bone) marrow', Xk čiliŋ, QK {B} jülen 'marrow' 1[2] *jülik or *jilik 'marrow of bones' > OT, MU, MQp [incl. CC], XwT jilik, Chg (j)ilik, Tk ilik, Uz Δ jülik ↗ jüyük ↗ jilik, Tkm jüyük ~ jilik, VTt žilək ~ jələk, Az, Kr, Uz ilik, QrB žilik, Alt žilik ~ juluq, Tv čiliq, Yk siläk ~ sälī ~ sili id., Qmq jilik, Qrg žilik 'hollow bone', ET jilik ~ žilik 'marrow, hollow bone', Nog jilik, Qq žilik 'shin-bone' ¶ Though MhK translated the word as 'نخاع' (= 'spinal cord'), the ev. of many other T lgs. suggest that the original meaning was 'spinal marrow' ¶ Cl. 927-8, 930, MKD 233, ET J 265-6, TL 263-4, ADb. SR 314, DTS 278, Rs. W 245, Jr. 160, Mng. G 739, Rl. III 556, 2086, and IV 170, Jud. 274 || Tg *°ńuŋi (< **ńuŋi) > Ewk PT ńuŋi, Ewk Tk nuŋi 'marrow' ¶ STM I 646 || M *žiluya ({ADb.} *žiluga) 'brain' (or 'brain, marrow') > MM [IM] žolā id., Brt жолоо 'baby's fontanel' ¶ Pp. MA 439, Chr. 232, ADb. SR 314 ¶ ADb. SR-D 448 [#35], 453, ADb. SR 47, 314 || D *nūL∇g∇ ~ *mūl∇g∇ 'marrow, brain' > Prj nulli, nūlgum, nūlgut, Kt mi·l, Tl mūlagā, Klm mull, Gnd muře ↗ muřgonži, Knd muřva, Krx murmā 'marrow', Tm mūlač, Ml mūla id., 'brain', Brh milī id., 'kernel of nut', Tu mūle, Mnd mūra 'brain', Kui mula id., ? nīli 'bone marrow' ¶ D #5051 ¶ D *m- (side by side with the expected *n-) may result from the infl. of D *mūl∇ 'bone' (D #5050) ◇ The vowels of NaT *julun ~ *jülen may go back either to the vowel sequence *-ü...u- or to *-u...ü, but M *žiluya suggests that the sequence *-ü...u- is the only acceptable one ◇ If D *mūl∇g∇ belongs here, the N rec. is with *-l-, otherwise it has an unspecified N *-ł-. ◇ ADb. SR 314 (A, D).

1600. *ń∇í∇ (or *ń∇ł∇) 'insect' > **A:** AmTg *ńeile- 'nit, small louse' > UI ńilə-kətə 'nit', Ork nəliyə, Ud ńəžigə 'small louse', Nn ńiləkə id., 'nit' ¶ STM I 616, Krm. 271 || D *nuł- 'stinging insect' > Tm nułłal, nöllal 'gnat, eye-fly, mosquito', Kn nöla, nölavu 'a fly', Krg nurŋgi, Prj nuřni ↗ uřni, Gnd DM nulē, Gnd HMS nūle 'mosquito', Gnd B {Tr.} nullē 'a flea (esp. one which damages kodon and kutki flowers)', Gnd M nulle 'gnat, Klm nulle 'a fly' ¶ D #3715 || **H:** B: Ah a-nəllug 'ant', ETwl a-nəllug 'small ant' ¶ Fc. 1387, GhA 147.

1601. 2 *ńiqUí∇ 'scrape, scrape off, rub, polish' > **H:** S *°√nxl > Ar nixlīy- 'morceaux de chair qui sont restés sur la peau d'un animal écorché et qu'on enlève en préparant le cuir', ? √nxlG 'trier\séparer

les parties viles et enlever les meilleures' ¶ BK II 1223 || A *níw̑â
'scrape, polish' > T *jíl- 'rub' (× N *žiL̑N̑ 'to shove, 'to knead\stir'??) > NaT *jíš-, *jíši- v. 'rub': *jíš- > SbTt {Tm.} jíš- v. 'wipe, smear, rub, plane (wood)', SbTt Tb/Tr {Rl.} jíš- 'glatt machen, polieren, hobeln', StOir дъыш- ѡiš- v. 'rub, rub on', Xk čis-, Qb {Rl.} jis- id., v. 'rub up (sth. with)' ('натереть'), Qrg жыши- ѡiši- id., 'rub off', QrB, Qmq iši-, Qzq, Qq is-, Alt ѡiš-, QK {Rl.} jíš- 'rub up (sth. with)' ('натереть'); NaT *jíši- > Qrg ѡiši-, QbB iši-, Qmq iši- id. | eT *jílg̑- → M *žilgū- v. 'wipe, polish, dust; rub\brush against' > WrM зülgü- ~ зilgü-, HlM, Brt Δ зүлгэ-, Kl зүлг- id. ¶ Rs. W 202, ET Gl 667-8, BT 62, Rl. III 496, 498, Tm. 92, BIG 327, Jud. 285. MED 1085, KRS 259, Chr. 268 || Tg *níyl̑a'- 'rub, polish, smear, dye' > WrMc níla-, nile- 'rub, polish', Neg нiуl̑ - ~ нiл̑ - 'smear, rub', Ul nili- v. 'smear, dye', Nn Nh нiulz- ~ нiulz- v. 'dye', Ork nilitči- ~ niličči-, Ud X {STM} үзiлz- v. 'dye' ¶ Z 232, ~ STM I 638.

1602. *níam̑o' 'squeeze, grasp' > IE: NaIE *yem-/ *ym̑- 'hold, hold fast, grasp' > OI yam- (aor. 'yamati, 'yamat, prs. 'yacchati [< IE *ym̑-ske-], pp. ya'ta- [< IE *ym̑-to-]) 'hold, lead, controle', Av yam- (ayamaite 'mag sich zuziehen'), Av, OPrs yasa- (Av yasōiš 'du sollst zulassen', OPrs āyasatā 'nahm an sich'), Av, OPrs pp. yata- || pTc *yäm- > Tc A үом-, B үäm- 'achieve, obtain; reach' || ??? Gk ἄμερος, Gk D ἄμερος 'tame, tamed' (< *'held') || Sl *jym̑- / inf. *je-ti 'take' (× N *rem̑N̑ 'seize, hold', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 505, EI 270-1 (*yem-), Mn. I 443, M K III 2-3, M E II 399-400, F I 235-6, Wn. 27, 503-4, Ad. 497-8, Ad. H 22, JGH 61-2, 303, IS I 133, ESSJ VI 71 || u {IS} **níamo > *níoma- ~ *níam̑- 'squeeze, hold fast' > Lp L {LLO} njämmō- 'umschlingen, umfassen, mit den Händen um etw. greifen' | Chr {Szil.} нiуморгем 'zusammengepreßt werden', {Ü} numurgem 'сжимаюсь' ('I am pressed together' or 'I am squeezed'), {LG ← Trc.} нiуморгем 'I squeeze (сжимаю)' | Prm: Z нiамравны нiамрав-nt, mom. нiамыртны нiамирт-nt 'to squeeze', Prmk нiamlav-nt 'to knead (dough, clay)' || OHg XIV nyom- 'pressen, (zusammen)drücken', Hg nyom- v. 'press' || Sm: Nn T O {Lh.} нiамā- grasp ('fassen, ergreifen, packen'), En {Cs.} no?a- v. 'catch' || pY {IN} нöm- 'squeeze, press' > YK нiум-ušay- ~ mum-ušay- id. (-ušay- is a sx.) ¶ Coll. 40, 103, UEW 322 (U *níoma- 'fangen, ergreifen' > Lp, Sm), 330 (FU *níam̑N̑ 'zusammendrücken' > Chr, Prm, Hg), ≠ 876 (Hg nyom- < Ugr *níol̑N̑

'drücken'), Sm. 546 (FU *níomå-, FP *níoma-, Ugr *níåma- 'seize, grasp'), Ü 135, LG 2O2, TmK 479-8O, EWU 1O45, ≈ MF 488-9, Lh. 296, Cs. 86, IN 24O || D *níam- 'squeeze, press' (× N *níam) 'be weak\soft; make soft, knead?') > MI níamunþuka 'squeeze, knead', Tm níemir / -pp- / -tt- 'press with the hands', níemir / -v- / -nt- 'be crushed \ compressed', níemi vi. 'break, give way as under a weight' (← *'be crushed'), níemitu vt. 'crush, press out with the hands', Kdg návñd- ({IS} < *hamñd-) 'squeeze', Tu nauntu 'squeezing, pinching', naunþuni 'to pinch', Ku nabgali ({IS} < *hamuk-) 'press down' ¶ D #2926, Km. 187 ◇ IS II 85 (*níam); IE, U, D), IE MS 339 (*níomə 'to hold': IE, U, D + unc. ?A [M *nomu-qan 'peaceful, calm', T *jum- 'press']).

1603. 1 *níḁ̈m (soft) > HS: S *√ním 'be soft \ smooth' > Mh {Jo.} níḁ̈yam, níḁ̈yamz̄t 'soft, smooth', Jb E 'níim, Jb C ne'níim id., Hrs níḁ̈äm id., neñäm v. 'soften', Ar √ním (pf. nañuma, ip. -níam) 'be soft \ mellowy', {BK} náñim- 'doux, souple, mœlleux (vêtement, etc.), doux au toucher, tendre' ¶ Jo. M 278, Ho. HL 92, BK II 1298, Hv. 783 || u {UEW} *níäm (soft) ~ *níám, {Sm.} *níämkk (soft) > Lp S {LÖ} nemok id. || ObU {Ht.} *níämek id. > pVg *níämak, *níämök > Vg: N {Mu.} níamek, IK {Kn.} níämök, MK {Kn.} níämök id.; pOs *níämak > Os: V/Vy níämak, Ty/Y/D/K níämak, O níämak id. || Sm {Jn.} *níäm- (or *ním-?) 'soft' > Ng {Cs.} d. 'níaman, níamagâ id., Slq Tz {KKIH} níamik, Kms {Cs.} d. níömür, {KD} nízmyr id.; acc. to UEW 33O, the Sm vw. is irreg. and is a reflex of a back vw.; the irregularity of the Sm vw. (if any) may be explained by the ideophonic factor or by the infl. of *ní- ¶ Coll. 38 (*níEm), UEW 314 (*níäm), 33O (*níäm) on the ev. of the questionably adduced Ne T O níñjk 'hurtig, flink, geschickt' and En B níuggo 'soft'), LG 2O1, Ht. #464, Jn. 1O6, KKIH 139, Cs. 185 || A: T [1] NaT *jim 'quiet' (× N *dûm (be motionless, be silent, be quiet), q.v.) > 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 čimärγay adj. 'quiet, shy', чымаарар- čimärar- 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; [2] *jíumíu-íča- v. 'be\become soft' (× N *níäm (pleasant, gentle, fine), q.v.) > NaT *juim, uša- 'become\be soft' > OT, XwT XIV, Chg XV jumša- 'be soft \ quiet', Qmq, Ggz jimiša- "Tk ýumša-, Osm {Rl.}

jum(u)ša-, Tkm, Uz, ET jumša-, Qq jímša-, Qrj Cr jímša-[~]Nog jumsa-, VTt j̥ımša-, Qzq жымса- žümsa-, Qrg žümša-, Qb/Qc {RI.} jímja-, Alt {Bu.} žimiža-, Xk нымза- nimza-, Tv čimča-, Tf címža-, Yk simnā-'be\become soft', Alt {B}, Tlt {RI.} žimža- vt. 'soften', Chv çeměç-šeṁbś/ž_- 'become soft'; → T *jimi-íčak (< *nímiíčaq) ({Md.} *žimvíčak, {SDM97} *jim-íčak) 'soft' > OT {Cl.} jímšaq ~ jumšaq, Xk nimzax, MQp XIII, Chg XV, Tkm, ET, Ln jumšaq, Ggz jimišak, Osm {RI.} jum(u)šaq, Tk yumşak, Az jumšaq, Uz jumšaq, SY jumsaq, CrTt jímšaq, Qmq jimišaq, VTt, Bsh j̥ımšaq, Qzq, Qq žümsaq, Alt žimžaq, Sg čimžaq, Qb/Qc {RI.} jímjaq, Tv čimčaq, Chv çemçe šemz_e id.] ? Chv šı̥məl 'light (in weight), easy' ¶ MKD 233, Cl. 938-9, ET J 252-3, DTS 279-8O, Ra. 2OO, Rs. W 2O1, RI. III 5OO-1, 58O-6, GAJ 181, Bu. II 384, Ra. 2OO, BIG 12O, RXS 385, 8O1, Ash. XIII 26, Md. 83, 161 || M *nemešün > WrM nemegün, HIM нэмүүн 'soft, gentle; pliable', Kl {Rm.} nemün 'soft, pliable' ¶ MED 574, KW 275 || Tg *níemv- > Ewk n̥zmu-mz 'soft, tender (to the touch)', Nn n̥zməri, WrMc nemeri 'soft' ¶ STM I 652-3 || ??σ,φ pJ (S) *námja > OJ námjæ, J T nameraka 'smooth' (×N *n̥ð̥imv '↑', q.v.) ¶ Rs. W 2O1 (T *'j̥im ÷ WrM nomiqan, sc. nomiqan 'peaceful, meek, gentle, calm', see MED 591), SDM97 (A *níamo) ◇ The T vw. *I in *'j̥im and T *Iu in *j̥iumi|u-íča- need explaining (assimilating infl. of the adjacent consonants?) ◇ IS II 86-7 (ι *níämə > U, A).

1604. *nía, n̥i, čičv 'grass' > U *níacv 'in grass' > Lp: N {Fri.} njuočco-rasse, -rase 'horsetail (plant)' ('equisetum, kjæringrok, kjæringsnelde'), L {LLO} njohtsō 'blättrige Pflanze, die in Mooren ... wächst und nach der der Renntier gelüstig ist' | Prm *níča > Z Ud нята нáča 'soft low grass in wamp meadows', Z LV нáča 'мокрица (Stellaria media, winterweed)', Yz нáča id., 'звездчатка (Stellaria, chickweed)' || Sm *níåč'ý|ã 'grass' > Ne T тядә, Ne T O {Lh.} нáδä, Ne F {Lh.} n̥zåttää 'cuo moss, Renntierflechte (ягель, Cladonia rangiferina)', Ng {Mik.} nótə 'moss', En X {Cs.} 'nara, En B {Cs.} 'nada id., Slq Tz {KKIH} nūt̥ 'grass, hay', Slq Tm {KD} nūč, Kms {KD} no·?, {Cs.} no'd, no'n 'grass', Koyb {Sp.} нотъ 'grass', но 'hay', Mt M {Pl.} нотнь id. (mentioned by Jn., but absent in HI. M) ¶ UEW 311, Fri. 496, LG 2O2, Jn. 1O5, KKIH 142, Cs. 185 || A: Tg *níajaka ~ *níancvka 'grass' > Ul, Nn Nh нáča, Nn KU n̥ača 'grass, weeds', Lm n̥anciχa 'grass, greens' ¶ STM I 627 || D *níáńč- 'poison' (< *'poisonous grass', like NE

grass for 'marihuana') > Tm, Ml *nańcu*, Td *noʒ*, Kn *nańju*, Tl *nańji*, *nańju*, Prj *neńž* 'poison', ? Krx *máńž* 'vegetal poison used for intoxicating and catching fish', ? Mlt *mańžraha* 'benumbed'; D → Mundari *mańžom* 'prepared poison; to poison' §§ D #358O, Pf. 114 || | ?σ K *^onač- > G *nač-i*, G Gr *nača* 'green shell of a hazel-nut' § Chx. 942, DCh. 974.

1605. ₂ *ńuŋ^ŋ∇ 'to rest, to slumber, to sleep' > HS: S *-nūm-, *√nwm 'slumber, sleep' > BHb, JEA √nwm, ip. -nūm- 'slumber, be drowsy', Sr √nwm, ip. -nūm- 'slumber, sleep heavily', Ar √nwm, ip. -nūm- 'sleep', 'abate' (wind, sea)', Gz √nwm, prm. -nūm- 'sleep, take a rest', Ak OB {Sd.} √nwm (inf. nāmu) 'slumber', Ug d. nhmmmt 'sopor, desvanecimiento' § KB 643, Lv. III 359, Br. 42O, Sl. 737, Js. 887, JPS 332, Ln. 3O4O, Hv. 8O9, OLS 321, LG 4O9-1O, Sd. 729 || | U *ńu₁;₂ŋ∇ 'take the rest, repose, sleep' > FU *ńu₁;₂ŋ∇ 'take the rest, repose' (UEW: 'ruhen, rasten') > Er, Mk ńuya- nuva- 'slumber, doze' ({PI} '(по)дремать'), Er ńuvcе- nuvše- vi. 'doze', {Rv.} 'dösen, vor sich hin träumen', ńuya- nuva- 'doze' (in ds.: ńuvažya 'sleepy, sleepy-head, drowsy-head', ńuvaževě- inch. 'doze', etc.) || ObU: pVg *ńūnt- 'take a rest' (× pVg *ńūn- 'stretch' > Vg {BV}: Ss ńuŋc-, MK ńuns- 'stretch oneself', Ss ńuŋyisł-aŋkve, MK ńunsí- ~ ńusí- 'draw out, вытянуть') > Vg: LL ńont-, N ńūnt- vi. 'rest', T il-ńōnt- 'sich ausruhen (bzw. ausstrecken)', Vg {MK}: N/ML ńunti, LL ńonti, T ńontant- ~ ńontant- '(take a) rest' (= 'ruhen', (Hg) 'pihen'); Os N {PápB} ńoꝝol-, ńoꝝol- vi. 'sleep, rest' | OHg XIV nyug- vi. 'rest, lie, sleep', XV nyug- 'Ruhe halten, ruhig verbleiben', Hg nyug(o)sz- (/ nyugod- / nyugv-) 'lie (liegen), take a rest, repose', OHg ≥XIII nyugol(o)m, Hg nyugalom 'rest, stillness, quiet(ness), peace', nyugta 'peace' || pY *ńuŋe- 'sleep' > OY NW {Lnd.} núngrnee 'I am asleep' §§ UEW 328, PI 182-3, ERV 42O, MF 489-9O, EWU 1O47-8, MK 374, IN 24O, 314.

1606. *ńAŋŋ'i^ŋ 'ē coniferous tree' > IE: NaIE *yoŋni- 'juniper' > L iūniperus 'juniper' ({Ld.}: < *yoŋni-peros) || ON einir, Sw en, Dn ene, Nr einer id., Nr eineber, Dn eneber 'juniper berry', MLG eynberenholt, NLG, ēn(e)ke 'juniper', NLG ēnberen 'juniper berry' ({Ped.} < *yajnia-) > § WP I 2O8-9, P 513, ≈σ EI 481 (L and Gmc < *yoŋni-s 'reed, rush'), WH I 731, Vr. 97, Hlq. 183 || | U: FU *näŋ∇ 'larch (Larix sibirica)' > Z U/I ńia, Sk ni-pu, Lu ńeya-pu id. || ObU {Ht.} *nīŋk∇ 'larch' > pVg *ńik id. > Vg: LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML ńix; pOs *näŋk

id. > Os: V/Vy *näŋk*, Ty/y/D/K/O *näŋk*, Nz/Kz *naŋk* ¶ UEW 3O2, LG 19O, Ht. #432 || A {ADb.} **ŋāŋe* ({DQA} **ŋjāŋe*) 'fir-tree (Abies)' > Tg **ŋāŋt'a* id. > Ewk *ŋāŋtə*, Lm *ŋāŋtə* ~ *ńāŋta* id., Neg *ŋāŋta* 'Abies, Picea', Ud *ŋanta* 'coniferous tree (Abies, Picea, etc.)', Ul, Nn Nh *wantə*, Nn KU *ŋanta* 'Abies', Ork *wan(l)ta mōní* 'Abies, Pinus', WrMc *wantəqa* 'coniferous tree' ¶ STM I 657-8, Krm. 272 || pJ {S} **m̥m̥m̥i* or **m̥m̥ami* 'fir-tree' > OJ *m̥m̥om̥i* > ltOJ [RJ] *m̥m̥i*, J: T *m̥m̥i*, K *m̥m̥i*, Kg *m̥m̥i* ¶ S QJ #27O, Mr. 484 ¶ ADb NN 35, ~ DQA #1528 (> Tg, J; rec. of Tg **ŋjāŋ-ta* with an unjustified **j*) ◇ If D **vāŋni* 'prickly tree' (D #533O) belongs here (as suggested by ADb.), the N rec. may be ~ **ńiwaŋy'i* (cp. *w-* in some Tg lgs. and Eg *wɛn* 'Nadelholz') ◇ A **ŋ-* is due to as. (N **ń...ŋ* > **ŋ...ŋ*). FU **n-* for the expected **ń-* still needs explaining ◇ ADb. NNN 35 (N **ńayŋ* > A, U, IE + qu. D).

1607. **ń'eŋH* ¶ '≈ woman' (and 'woman from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes'?) > **U** **ńiŋä* 'woman, wife, female animal' > FU: pLp {Lr.} **nīŋēləs* > Lp: S *minnēles*, L *nīŋēlis*, Kld *ниңәләс* 'female animal', N *nīŋēlās* ~ *nīŋēlās* id., 'a female' | Er *ни ńi* 'woman, wife' | Z Vm *ńin* 'female' (*ńin* čeri 'female of salmon [cëmga]') || ObU {Ht.} **nī* > pVg **nī* > Vg: T *nī*, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/LL/UL.Ss *nē* 'wife, woman, female animal'; pOs **nī* > Os: V/Vy *nī*, Ty/Y/Nz/Kz *ne*, D/K *neŋ*, O *nī* id. | Hg *nō* 'woman, wife', *neje* 'his wife' (× N **nayE* 'woman'?) || Sm {Jn.} **ne* 'woman' (× N **nayE* '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Coll. 41, UEW 3O5, Lr. #727, Lgc. #4388, SaR 213 || A ≈ **nēŋ* > 'female relative (sister or brother's wife)' (partially LI.) > T **jeŋä* 'wife of one's elder brother or of one's father's younger brother' > OT {Cl.} *jāŋä*, {DTS} *jeŋgä* id., Chg XV *jeŋgä* 'woman who adorns the bride and presents her to the bridegroom', ET *jāŋgä*, Uz *jeŋgä*, Qzq, Qq *žengä* 'elder brother's wife', Tkm *jeŋhe*, Slr {Tn.} *jeŋgo* ~ -u ~ *jeŋgo* ~ -u, Nog, SY *jeŋge*, VTt *жингә* *žingä*, Ln *jeŋä*, Alt *ženje*, Xk *nige*, Tv *čenje* id., 'wife of an elder relative', Yk *sajas* 'wife of an elder relative', Az *jeŋkə* *yenčä* 'bridesmaid (woman accompanying a bride to her bridegroom's house)', Tk *yengə* id., 'brother's\uncle's wife' ¶ Cl. 95O, ET J 189-9O, TL 313, Rs. W 197-8, TatR 769, MM 175, Hüs. 121. Pokr. TR 65 || Tg **neŋne* > Ewk *nəŋńi* 'sweetheart' (but hardly here Ewk *nono* 'grandmother' and Ewk {Rm.} *ńiŋńi*-ge ~ *nəŋńi-gä* 'aunt', {STM} *ńiŋńi-kä* 'grandmother', actually ↔ Ewk {Rm.} *ńiŋne* ~ *nəŋne* 'mother', {STM}

ń̄z̄n̄z̄ 'grandmother, mother' [obviously Lallwörter]) ¶ STM I 605, 622 ¶ Hardly here ($\neq \phi$) M *nagaču 'maternal uncle; relatives on mother's side' (MED 556) and pKo {S} *nù'iž̄ 'boy's sister' (> MKo nù'iž̄, NKO nuiž̄, see S QK #345, Nam 115, MLC 358) ¶ ≈ SDM97 s.v. *nēju 'brother's wife', ≈ DQA #1434 (pA *nēju 'female relative [sister or brother's wife]', Rm. EAS I 76, Df. IV 207 || IE: NaIE *yenə-ter / *yənatr- 'wife of husband's brother' > OI yātā / yātar-, CINPrs يارى yārī, Psh yōr (pl. yūnē) id. || Gk ἐνάτηρ id. (pl. Gk A εἰνάτερες) || Phr accus. τανατερα 'id. (?) || Lianitrices 'wives of brothers' || Arm ներ ներ (etymologically correct նէր ներ) / gen. նիրի նիր 'wife of husband's brother or another wife of the same husband' || Lt jentē (gen. jenters) 'husband's brother's wife', Ltv īetere, Cur jentere id. | Sl *jētr̄t / gen. *jētr̄ve 'wife of husband's brother' (*-t/ve due to the infl. of *svekr̄t/ve 'husband's mother') > ChS հատրայ jētry, Blg յարչա յարչա, SCr jētrva, Slv jētrva, OCz jatrev, P t̄ jätrew, R t̄, Δ ятров, Blr d. ятровка, Uk d. ятровка ¶ P 505-6, ≈ EI 522 (*h₁yenh₂-ter-), Szem. KT 26, M K III 15-6, M E II 410, Mrg. 100, Sg. 1525, FI 464, Ch. 323, WH I 668, Frn. 193, ESSJ VIII 188-90, Glh. 300, Slt. 193-4 ¶ NaIE *yenə-ter is derived from pre-IE **yenə- (< N *ń'eŋH^N) with the sx. *-ter of kinship names ◇ The A and IE cognates suggest a pN *e, while the vw. U *i may be due to the assimilating infl. of the N initial *ń- ◇ ≈ Adb. NNN 35 (A, U, IE + err. D vān- 'elder brother's wife', see N *wān^N - *χ^N, wān^N 'relative [of a younger\the same generation] of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes').

1608. *ńoŋuda (or *ńoŋüda?) 'follow in the traces, hunt, pursue', 'move quickly' > HS: CS *-nūd- > BHb ✓ nwd G (ip. -nūd, pf. nād) 'sway (schwanken)', 'be\become homeless', Sh 'shake', MHb ✓ nwd G 'move, be unsteady', JEA ✓ nwd G id., 'shake', Md ✓ nwd G 'shake, quake, tremble', Sr ✓ nwd G id., 'sway to and fro (as a reed\branch), stagger', Ar ✓ nwd G (ip. -hūd-) 'move one's head; nod the head from sleepiness', TD (pf. tanawwada) 'swing (bough)'; (?) μ: WS *✓ ndd ~ *✓ ndnd > BHb ✓ ndd G 'wander about; flee, take to flight', Ug ndd G 'go, wander, be in a hurry', {Lip.} 'go to and fro', MHb/JA {Js.} ✓ ndd G 'move, shake, chase', Ar ✓ ndd G 'run away' (camel), Tgr ✓ ndnd 'shake' ¶ KB 635, 640, Lv. III 353, Js. 877-8, 883-4, Sl. 734-5, A #1755, Grd. UT #1615, OLS 318, Br. 419, JPS 330, DM 293, Fr. IV 257, 350, BK II 1223-

4, 1364, Hv. 758, 8O6, L ESAC 33 || Eg fMd *nwud* vi. 'move; step back, retreat', '≈ stagger (wanken)' ¶ EG II 225 || B: Tmz {MT} *nyuddu* ~ *nwuddu* 'marcher, se promener', Iz {Loub.} *njuddu* 'se promener', n. act. *tanjuddut* ¶ MT 544, Loub. 577 || Ch: WCh: Krkr {Lk.} *nd-*, Krf {Sch.} *ndò?*, Ngm {ChL} *ndoŋ*, Bl {Lk.} *di* 'go' | Wrj {Sk.} *ndák-* id. | Wnd {IL} *`*ñzi* 'go' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} *nžā*, *nžau* 'go' ¶ JI II 162-3, ChC, ChL ¶ SYv. ES IV 72 (S, Eg), OS #1826 (S, Eg, B, WCh, CCh) || IE: NaIE **yεudh-* / **youdh-* / **yudh-* 'stir, move' ({P} 'in heftiger Bewegung sein') > OI 'yudhyati 'moves, fluctuates' (as water)' (≠ 'yudhyati 'fights'), *ud-yudh-* 'boil up' (as water), Av {Brtl.} *yaoz-* 'in unruhige Bewegung geraten', OPrs {Brtl.} *yaod-* id., {Hinz} *yaud-atim* apr. accus. f. sg. 'in hellem Aufruhr', Blc {Brtl.} *žuzay* vi., vt. 'move' || Lt *jūdēti* 'to move, to stir, to budge', Ltv *jūdīt* 'zanken machen, verhetzen', *jūdīt* 'langsam treiben, unruhig machen' | Sl **judi-ti* '≈ to instigate, to beckon' (< 'to cause to move') > P Δ *judzić*, Uk 'юдити' 'to instigate, to incite, to seduce', Blg 'юдя' 'beckon, seduce' || L *jubēō* 'order' (< 'cause to move') || ? Tc A *yutk-* 'be anxious' ¶ Hardly here (≠σ) OI *yudhyatē*, Av *úðyεití* 'fights', and related words (↔ WP, P, EI, and IS) || Possibly also (with pre-IE depalatalisation **ñ-* > **n-*?) Ht {Ts.} *nuntar-* 'Eile, Hast', {CHD} *nuntaras* adv. 'promptly, without delay, soon', *nuntaras* gen. 'of haste, of swiftness', *nuntariya-*, *nu(t)tar(r)iya-* adj. 'swift', *nuntarriya-*, *nuntarriye-* v. 'hasten, be quick', *nu(n)tarnu-* v. 'hurry, hasten' ¶ WP I 2O3, P 511-2, Mn. 446, 453-4, MW 854, Brtl. 1231-2, Hinz 152, ≈ M K III 2O, WH I 724-5, Frn. 195-6, ESSJ VIII 191-2, ≈σ EI 2O1 (**yudh-* 'moved, stirred up, fight'), CHD L-N 472-4, Ts. E II 347-5O || u **ñon|wða-* 'follow (the tracks of)' > F *nouata-* / *nouda-fid.*, 'fetch, overtake', Krl A *nouto-* ~ *noudo-* 'follow (e.g. the tracks of)', Es *nðuda-* strive for, aspire to, be intent (on), require', *nðue* / *nðude* 'requirement' || ObU {Ht., ſHl.} **ñūwəl-* v. 'pursue, hunt' (more likely than **ñūχəl-*) > pVg **ñīwəl-* / **ñāwəl-* 'pursue' > Vg: T *ñawl-*, LK *ñāwl-* / *ñāwl-*, MK *ñowl-*, UK/P/NV/SV/ML *ñiwl-*, UL/Ss *ñāwl-*; pOs **ñoyəl-* > Os: V *ñuyəl-*, Vy *ñoyəl-*, *ñuyəl-*, Ty *ñoyəf-*, *ñuyəf-*, Y *ñowəf-*, D/L/O *ñoxəl-*, Nz *ñuxət-*, Kz *ñōχəf-* id., 'chase, hunt' || Sm: [1] Sm {Jn.} **ñorv-* 'pursue' > Ne T *ñöraču-цъ*, Ne T O {Lh.} *ñōrok·ūč* 'pursue, overtake', Slq Tz {Prk.} *ñort-* 'treiben, verfolgen'; [2] {Hl.} **ñota-*, {Jn.} **ñotā-* 'pursue' >

Ne T нёда-сь, Ne T O {Lh.} нōδā, Ne F {Lh.} нōttāš, Slq Tz {KKIH} нōt+-'pursue, overtake', Mt {Hl.} *нодə-, *нодə- 'pursue, chase' (Mt M {Sp.} мнежанода гайтыгымъ 'I pursue a beast' [мнежа 'beast'], нодаштам 'I chase') || But Sm {Jn.} *нo- 'pursue' and pY {IN} *нåw- 'watch, follow\pursue (an animal)' belong rather to N *нo₁ñ,wΔ 'to hunt, to pursue' (q.v. ffd.) || Coll. 41, Coll. CG 408 (*нðwða- = *нзwða-), UEW 323-4 (*нoηða- or *нoωða-), ≠ Sm. 539 (U *нoхf-, FU, FP *нixi-and Ugr *нugř-, Sm *нo- 'pursue' without distinction between the reflexes of N *нoηûða and those of N *нo₁ñ,wΔ), SK 385, Ht. #446 (*нūχəl-), Hl. rHt. 73-4 (on pObU *w and *χ), ≈ Jn. 111, Hl. M #766, Prk. 119, ≠ IN 236 and IN UASJu 84 (the above U √ ÷ pY *нåw-'следить, преследовать'), ≠ Rd. UJ 4O [#37] (Y *нåw- ← U *нoη|wða-) || ? A: Tg: Lm յ3di 'track' || STM I 667 || ??φ OT {Cl.} jind-'search (sth.), seek (sth.)' || Cl. 946 || The front vw. in both Tg and T is puzzling || D (in SD) *nōñt- vt. 'stir, obtain (sth. out of sth.), dig out' > Tm nōñtū 'stir, dig out, grub up, root out, pick off as the scab of an ulcer, pick out as wax from the ear, pilfer, pluck as an ear of grain', Ml nōñtukā 'to stir, to dig, to tease', Tu nōñdavu-, nōñdañru- v. 'rake up, stir' || Semantics: 'stir' ← *'make move' || D #3795 ◇ The cns. *-ŋ- was lost (partially due to dis.) in NaIE and HS ◇ The original meaning (connected with hunting) still survives in U and Tg, but is lost in HS, IE, D, and T (due to the loss of the hunters' way of life?) ◇ IS II 9O-91 s.v. *нoωða (all cognates, except Ht and A).

1609. *l* *нaŋgū 'tongue' > IE: NaIE *yŋgʰū- ~ *dŋgʰū-/*dŋgʰwā ~ *lŋgʰū- id. > Arm լեզու lezu id. (× IE *lejgʰ- v. 'lick'?) || OL dingua, Lingua, Osc {Vtr.} FANCVA, FANGVAM 'tongue' || Clt {RE} *tangwātō-> OIr tengae, Brtt {RE} *tawātos > MW {Vn.} tauawt, {RE} tafawt, W tafod, OCrn tauot, Crn tavas, MBr teaut, Br teod id. || Gt tuggō, ON, NNr, Sw, OSx tunga, Dn tunge, OHG zunga, NHG Zunge, AS tunge id., NE tongue || BSI *(y)inžū- (< IE *yŋgʰū-) > Pru iñsuvis [inzuvis], Lt liežūvis id. (× liežti 'to lick') || Sl *j,ježikъ 'tongue' > OCS язъикъ jězikъ, Blg ეզիկ, Δ jazik, McdS јазик, SCr jézik, Slv jézik, Cz, Slk, HLs jazyk, LLs jězyk, Plb jõzěk, P język, R, Blr я'зык, Uk я'зик; in pSl the initial *e is regularly preceded by prosthetic *j-, hence here the rec. of Sl *j- is synchronically superfluous, but etymologically justified || pTc {Ad.} *käntwo (mt. < *dŋgʰwā) > Tc A käntu, Tc B kantwo 'tongue' || ? IIR: OI ji h'vā, Av

hizū-, hizvā id. ({P} < as. *g̃ig̃hwā, and Irn *sizvā- < *zizvā- due to dis. of sonorants), OPrs hizan-, Phl uzvān, Oss: I ȝvzag, D ävzag id. ¶ WP I 1792, P 223, GI 814, EI 594 (*dŋg̃uhₙ-), M K I 436-7, M E I 591-3, Bai. 29O, Ab. IV 279-8O WH I 806-7, EM 36O, Mul. 147, Vn. T 5O-1, RE 14O, Fs. 482, Vr. 6OO, OsS 13O1-2, Schz. 337, KM 892, Ho. 355, Ho. S 76, Kb. 1266, Frn. 369-7O, En. 184, Tp. P I-K 55-9, Fs. 482, ESSJ VI 74-5, ≈ Glh. 3OO-1, Slt. 159-61, Wn. 2O4, Ad. 139. Ad. H 118 ¶ The variants *dŋg̃hū- and *lŋg̃hū- are accounted for by ancient dis. (prior to the denasalization *ń > *y, sc. *ń_Lŋg̃hū- > *dŋg̃hū- ~ *lŋg̃hū-); in the case of *lŋg̃hū- the ideophonic factor and the infl. of NaIE *lejg̃h- 'lick' and esp. of its nasalized present stem *ling̃h- have played a role (see N *Lig₁, æ 'to lick, to sip, to suck'; an additional source is probably N *LAŋK^Δ 'tongue', ? 'palate' [q.v.]). The voiceless *t- in Clt and Osc {Vtr.} F- are still puzzling || K *nena- 'tongue, word' > OG ena- 'tongue', G ena- id., 'language', Mg nina-, Lz nena- id., 'word', Sv UB/KB/L/Ln nin (/ pl. UB/KB/Ln nə₁n-är, L nə₁n-ar) 'tongue, language' ¶ K 147, K² 141, Q 289, TK 635, GP 237; FS K 239 and FS E 264 (*nen-) ¶ The palatal vw. *e may be due to the infl. of the former palatal *ń- || U *ńaŋkče(m^Δ) 'tongue' (→ 'hard palate', 'gills') > pLp {Lr.} *ńōkčəm 'tongue' > Lp: S {Hs.} njuoktjeme, L {LLO} njuoutjæv, N {N} njuovčā / -k'čām-, Kld {SaR} nūχχčemí, K {Gn.} nūχ:čem id. | ?σ Chr: L/Uf/B nošmo 'hard palate', H нашмы паšmъ 'gills' | ?σ Prm *ńočkčim (= {LG} *ńočkčim) 'gills' > Z нёкчим nōkčim id. || ?σ ObU *ńt_Lŋ₁kčəm^Δ ({Ht.} *ńt_Lŋ₁kčəm^Δ) 'gills' > pVg *ńt_Lkč^Δm id. > Vg: UK nžxšəm, P naxšəm, NV/LL näxšəm, UL/So nāxšəm id.; pOs *ńaŋkčəm id. > Os: D nāŋxšəm, K naxšəm, Nz/Kz nɔχšəm id. || Sm: Ne: T ńinzi' ńińži?, T O {Lh.} ńińči?, F NL {Lh.} ńińški, F {Ppv.} 'ńinšiku 'palate'; Kms {KD} nēnī?, nēni, {Cs.} nēni; Koyb {Sp.} ńyñi id. ¶ The primary meaning of the U √ must be 'tongue' (↔ UEW), whence (by metonymy) 'hard palate'; the meaning 'gills' appears in pFU due to fishing as an important economic occupation of the pFU community ¶ Coll. 4O (*ńaŋkče 'tongue'), ≈ UEW 311-2 (*ńaŋkče [?] 'hard palate', [?] 'gills'), Lr. #788, Lgc. #4458, N II 1O4, SaR 222, MRS 351, 359, Ep. 75, Ü 133-4, LG 189, Ht. #444, Ter. 313, Lh. 235, Ppv. 67, KD 44, Ptp. 44, Cs. 184 || D *nāŋku ~ *nākku 'tongue' (× N *LAŋK^Δ 'tongue', ? 'palate', q.v.) > Tm, Ml nākku, Gdb nāŋgu id.; AdS of D *nālk^Δ 'tongue' (see N u *ńä1^Δ 'tongue') ¶ D #3633, Zv. 128, 131 || ?σ A *nńiŋ^Δ 'curse, swear' > Tg *nńiŋi- v. 'curse, invoke a harm to' > Lm ńiŋi-, Ork niniči- id., Ewk niniči- ~ ńiŋi-

v. 'curse, swear', 'omen harm', Sln n. '(religious) curse' || STM I 598
 || pJ {S} *nónásír- 'curse, swear' > OJ nónósír-, J: T/Kg nonośír-, K nónósír- || S QJ #95O, Mr. 737 || ~ DQA #1469 (A *njañe 'to curse, to swear'; incl. Tg, J) ◇ The U cognate goes back to a cd. (or d.?). The prehistory of the Tg (and A) vw. of the first syll. needs investigation
 ◇ IS MS 373 (*nán̥g' ~ 'tongue'; IE, U, K).

1610. *næñs¹i² 'dirt, dirty liquid' > HS: S *°✓ngš|s v. 'be dirty' > Ar نجس naḡs- {BK} 'sale, malpropre; impur, immonde', {Hv} 'impure, unlean', ✓nḡs G v. 'be unclean, impure, filthy' || BK II 1204, Hv. 752
 || IE: NaIE *ṇsi- 'dirty-coloured; dirt, mud' > OI 'asi-tah̄' 'black' || Gk οὐσία (gen. οὐσίας) f. 'mud (of a river), slime', οὐσία 'muddy' || P 771, M K I 64, F I 162 || U: FP *nEṣV 'dirt, (dirty?) liquid' > Z Vm/I/Ud nasti 'dirt' || F [Agr.] nesi 'liquid, juice', F nese id., Krl A nezevā, nezevü 'moist', nestüö v. 'become wet', Es nestütada, nestutada v. 'moisten' || BF *e suggests to a FP *e, while Prm *a points to a FP *ä || A: Tg *náñs'a 'dirt' > Ewk náñna 'dirt, dirty', Lm náñsə, Orc náñsa, yañsa ~ náñsa, Ork nañsa ~ nañsa, Nn yañsa ~ náñsa ~ náñsa id. || STM I 633-4 || ~ DQA #1405 (Tg < pA *náñja 'dirt; to smear') ◇ The loss of the expected *-ŋ- in FU (FP) still needs explaining.

1611. ₂*níp¹a² 'face', (?) 'nose' ([in A] → 'front') > HS: EC: Sa {Bl. ← ?) nef, {R} nəf, nif, Af néf / nēf- 'face' || ≠ Bl. 166, R S II 286, PH 174 || S *°nīp- > Ar AT/Mrc {Bss., DMA} nif 'nose' → Kb nnif 'nez, amour-propre' || DMA I 102, Di. 548 || A ({SDM97} *níbV 'front, in front'): Tg *níb- '≈ front, forward' > Ewk PT níwdz 'in front', 'forward', Orc naukä ~ naukī id., 'at first', Ork náwra- ~ náorra- 'go forward \ in front (of others)' || But Tg *níg- 'be in front, first' is more likely to belong to N *níok₁V₂X₃V₄ 'be in front, precede, be first' (q. v. ffd.) || STM I 627, DQA #1483 (Tg *níb- ~ *níb-) || ?φ pJ {S} *màpiā 'front, before' > OJ {S} mape, {Mr.} mape, J: T máe, K màē, Kg maé id., {Kenk.} 'the front' || The change *ní- > *m- is still to be accounted for (as. *ní...p > m...p??) || S AJ 267 [#65], S QJ #65, Mr. 469 || SDM97 (A *níba), S AJ 297 [#585], ~ DQA #1483 (A *níjōpo 'front, in front, front side'; incl. J, Tg *níb-).

1612. nápVrV 'tender, beautiful', 'thin (not dense)', 'sparce' (of hair, wool) > HS: Eg V nfr 'good, be good, (be) beautiful' ({Vc.} acp. *nāfir), Cpt: Sd NOY qe nufe, B NOY qI nufi 'good, beautiful' || EG II 253-6, Vc. 15O || D *navuru 'fine, tender' (× N *'níXibV 'thin,

meagre'??) > Kn navuru, navaru, naviru 'that is tender \ soft \ fine', Tl navuru, nauru 'soft, delicate' §§ D *-r- for the expected *-r- suggests that in pre-D the root was followed by a sx.-cns. §§ D #3618 || mt. U {Coll.} *ñärpä 'thin (not dense), sparse' > FU: pLp {Lr.} *ñärpē id. > Lp: S adj. njäärbēs, U njärbee, , N d. njar'bād, L njar'pē id., Kld hëappn 'thin' (of liquids), 'sparse' (hair, wool) || Sm: Ne F N {Lh.} ñje·rþæð 'lichtmaschig' (Netz) §§ Coll. 4O, SSA II 254, Lr. #767, Lgc. #4367, SaR 2O9-1O, TI 294-, Lh. 315.

1613. *níg'u 'grind, crush, rub, rub down\off, rub to powder' > HS: Eg fOK nʒ ({Vc.} *✓ nʒy) id. (EG: 'ver-\zer-reiben, mahlen') > DEg nt id. > Cpt: Sd/B **NOYT** nut / Sd **NAT-** nat-, B **NOT-** not v. 'grind'; Cpt F stt. **NAT** nat < Eg {Vc.} stt. *naʒyew; → Eg fMK nʒ, nʒy.w ({Vc.} *nayʒaw) 'flour' > DEg nȳt > Cpt: Sd **NOEIT** noeit, B **NWIT** nōit, F **NAIT** nait id. ¶ EG II 369-7O, Fk. 143, Er. 131, Vc. 141, 145 || Ch {JS, JI} nŋk- 'grind' > WCh {Stl.} *nič- 'grind' > Hs níčā id. | Fy {J} nič, Bks {J} nuk id. | Bg {Sh.} nok, Zar K {Sh.} nk id. ¶ JS 125, JI I 82 and II 17O-1, Stl. ZCh 235 [#818] || ?? B (with ext.) *✓ nȳd 'écraser, broyer, réduire en poudre' > Tmz {MT}, Kb {Dl.} ✓ nȳd G (imv. Tmz aŋyəd, Kb aŋyəd) id., Mz {Dlh.} ✓ nȳd G 'broyer, pilier', Izn {Ds.} ✓ nȳd G 'écraser', BSn {Ds.} ✓ nȳd G (imv. aŋyəd) 'broyer' ¶ MT 479-8O, Dl. 368, Dlh. M 138, Ds. B 52, 1O8 §§ OS #1871 (HS *nič- in Eg and WCh) §§ Tk. I 32O || K: OG naq- v. 'pound' (DCh.: 'тoлoчь'), G naq- '(zer-)stampfen\stoßen, kleinstoßen, klopfen (z. B. Steine)' ¶ Chx. 933, DCh. 967 ¶ The vw. a is probably due to apophony || A *ník'u 'grind, gnaw' > NaT *jík- 'demolish, destroy' > OT jíq- id., MQp XIII jíq- 'demolish', XwT XIV, Chg XV jíq- 'destroy', Tk yík-, Ggz jík-, Tkm, Qmq jíq-, Az jíχ- 'destroy, demolish', Xlj juq-, VTt Δ {∂RI.} žyq- 'destroy' ¶ To distinguish from T *jík- 'throw down' (in some lgs. contamination of both roots) ¶ Cl. 897, Rs. W 2OO, ET J 273-4, RI. IV 116, Bu. II 358, GRM 221, TkR 376, Hüs. 161, KumRS 158, DT 23O || M *niqu- 'rub, crumble' > OM *niqu- (→ Ewk niku- v. 'grind'), WrM niqu- ~ nuqu-, HlM húxa- v. 'rub, massage; mash, press; crumble', Brt húxa- húxa- 'knead, mash, rub, mix by rubbing', Ord {Ms.} nu'χu'- 'pétrir, malaxer, masser', Kl húx- 'knead, rub, mix by rubbing', Kl {Rm.} nuχu- 'kneten, zerreiben, zermalmen', MnR H {T} nugu- 'knead' ('месить, замесить'), {SM} nu'q_u- 'pétrir, broyer qch. entre les mains', MMgl [Z] {Iw.} nuqu- v. 'pound', ¶ MED 586, KRS 388, Ms. O 5OO, SM 288, T 353, Iw. 12O, Chr.

346 || Tg *ń^Uki- '≈ gnaw, pound' > Ewk ńzki- 'gnaw, crack (by teeth)', Sln ńuxukin. 'pestle', WrMc d. niyoxu-, niyoxule- v. 'pound (in a mortar)', niqca- 'destroy, demolish' ¶ STM I 591, 637 || pKo {S} *níkì- 'knead, mix' > MKo níkì-, NKo igi- ¶ S QK #777, Nam 119, MLC 1319 ¶ DQA #1451 (A *ník'ú 'grind, crunch; knead'), Pp. VG 39 ||| A reduplicated variant is attested in WCh (Sha {J} nûj, Klr ńiŋ 'grind') and in pJ {S} (*nɔnkɔ-p- → *nunkù-p- 'rub, wipe (off)' > OJ nògòp- > J: T nugú-, K nágú-, Kg nágú-, see S QJ #682, Mr. 738) ◇ The B cognate is qu. because it is not attested in its pure form (without extensions).

1614. ₂ *ńoqa 'lowland, depression' > **K** (GZ?) *noqa- > G noqa- 'bog, marsh, swamp', ? G G/I noqo 'langsam fließendes, sumpfiges Wasser'; Tümpel'; {acc. to K and K²} Mg noya-, noyo- 'branch of a river, plain', {K} 'low place, river-bed', Lz noya 'lowland, bank' (K believed that the change *-q- > Zan -y- is reg. [see *d(l)aqw- 'elbow' > Lz xe-duy- id.], but FS refer this Zan word to the K √ *noy- 'lowland, swamp') ¶ K 148, ≈ K² 144 (*noya-), Chx. 965, FS K 242 || **U:** FU *°ńokka 'ravine, depression' > Prm {LG} *ńuk id. > Z MSs ńuk, Z ńukss 'depression\ravine with a river', Vt ńuk 'ravine (овраг, лог)' ¶ LG 200, Lt. 208.

1615. *ńaRU 'swamp' > **U** *ńor^ro¹ 'swamp' > ? F noro 'swampy valley' || pPrm {Lt.} *ńür 'swamp' > Z ńur, ńurv̥t̥v, Vt SW ńur, Vt ńur id. (Prm *ü for the expected *u due to the palatalizing infl. of *ń-?); but Vt ńur 'dampness' may go back to N *ńo^rı^rńr¹ 'moist, mud; (?) to gush' (q.v.) as well || ObU {Ht.} *ńūrm¹ > pVg *ńūrm¹ 'meadow' > Vg: ML ńurəm id.; pOs *ńorəm 'swamp' > Os: V/Vy ńorəm, Ty/Y ńorəm, D/K/Nz ńurəm, Kz ńūrəm id.; UEW suggests a different Vg cognate: pVg {UEW} *ń̥tr > Vg: T/P ńēr, LK/Ss ńār 'swamp' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} ńar̥t̥ 'tundra', UTz {KKIH} ńar̥t̥ 'swamp', Ke {Cs.} n̥jār 'tundra', Tm {KD} ńār 'swamp, Moorwald' || pY {IN} *ńorə 'swamp, puddle' > Y: T {IN} ńor-ií id., K {IN} ńoro-í 'puddle', {Jc.} ńoroł-ca(g)e 'swamp', ? ńorod-ōzi 'puddle (Wasserpfütze)' (ōzi 'water') ¶ UEW 324-5 (U *ńor¹), SK 393, ≈ LG 201 (Prm *ńEr), Lt. 221 (Prm *ńür), Ht. #476, KKIH 129, Ang. 184, IN 239, ≈ Rd. UJ 41 [#38] (Y ← U) || **A:** Tg *ńa_Lru 'swamp' > Ewk ńārut \triangleq narut \triangleq ńāru 'small swamped lake, swamp, swampy glade in a forest', Lm Al ńarvqāy \triangleq ńarvqāw 'swamp, puddles', Nn n̥lārō \triangleq n̥l̥rū \triangleq ńarō \triangleq ńarū, Ud ńau 'swamp, swamp in taiga (Маръ)', WrMc niyari 'marsh, quag' ¶ STM I 636, Krm. 269 ¶ S AJ 257 [#169] || **HS:** S (+ext.): Ak OB,

LB **nāri-** 'morass, marshland' ¶ CAD XI/1 353 || EC: Arr {Hw.} **ńōr** 'mud' (× N *n^o'ń'r▽ 'moist'?) ¶ Hw. A 389 ◇ U *-o- is due to as. (infl. of the final rounded vw.)? ◇ Gr. II #376 (*nur 'swamp') (U, Y+ err. A, J, Gil).

1616. *ńiR▽ 'rub, scratch, scratch\draw\make a sign' > **U** *ńir▽ 'scratch, scrape' > Prm *ńir- 'rub' > Z **ńirt-** **ńirt-** 'rub, scratch', Δ **ńirav-** & **ńiral-** v. 'rub, massage', Vt {U3S} **ńiryā-** **ńiryā-** 'anoint', **ńirt-** **ńirt-** 'rub sore, wipe off' || ?σ OHg XV, Hg **nyír-** v. 'clip, trim, cut, shear' || Sm: Ne F {Lh.} **ńira-** 'gnaw; plane with a scraper' ¶¶ UEW 32O-1, LG 192, U3S 3O1, EWU 1O42-3, Lh. 324 || **A** *nńir▽ > Tg *ńi^ńiru- 'draw (a picture, lines)' > Sln **niru'**yan 'a drawing', Neg **niyuyit**, **niyu-**, Orc **ńiru-** ~ **ńuru-** v. 'draw, write', Ul **ńuru-** ~ **ńuri-**, Ork **nuři-** ~ **ńiru-** ~ **ńuru-**, Nn Nh **ńiru-** v. 'write', WrMc **niru-** 'draw (a picture), draw lines, paint' ¶ STM I 6OO, Hr. 7O9-1O || T *j^riR- ~ *jař- ({Md.} *jař-) 'draw a sign' (× N *yař▽ 'to draw\scratch a sign', q.v. ffd.); the variant *j^riR- is represented by Blgh *žir > Chv çырп śir 'write' and the M loanword **ȝiru-** 'draw, paint' || ??σ pKo *nirk- > MKo **nirk-**, NKo **iłk-** v. 'read, recite, chant', Ko Ph **iłk-** 'read' ¶ S QK #724, Nam 125, MLC 1361 ¶ SDM97 (A *ńäre 'draw' > T *jař ~ *jří, Tg *ńiru- 'draw', and MKo **nirk-** 'to read'), ~ DQA #147O (T, Tg, and Ko < A *ńjaře ~ *-ř-? 'draw [zeichnen]') || **HS:** S *^onīr- > Ar بير 'nīr- 'marque de fabrique à l'étoffe; tracé bien distinct de la route', ✓ **nyr** (ip. -nīr-) 'marquer une étoffe de la marque nīr-' ¶ BK II 1375-6, Fr. IV 357-8.

1617. ² *ńuR▽ 'become very hot, shine' > **HS:** S *nūr- 'light, fire' (× N *neh'U'r'i' 'light, fire') > Ak fOAK **nūru** id., Eb **nu-ru₁₂-um** (= nūrum) {Krb.} 'Licht', IA F **nawr**, JA [Trg.], JEA נָרָה nū'r-ā, Sr נָרָה nū'r-ā, Md **nura** 'fire', d. BHb נֵר nēr 'small clay lamp filled with oil' (< adj. *na'wir- 'shining'), Ug {DLS} **nr**, [AkSc] {Hnr.} nēřiu 'lamp (?)', {OLS} 'brillo, resplandor' → 'lámpara', BHb מְנוֹרָה mənō'rā 'lampstand', Ar **nūr-** 'light, luminous body', ✓ **nawr** (ip. ya-nūr-u, pf. nāra) 'shine, glow', nār- 'fire', Mh **nawr** 'light, glamour', Gz **nār**, nūr 'light, fire' ({L}: ← Ar), ✓ **nawr** D {L} 'be lit/lighted, illuminate'; a secondary variant: WS *nīr-, *✓ **nyr** > BHb נִיר nīr 'light, lamp', Ar **niyār-** (pl. of nār-) 'lights', Jb e'nyer v. 'glow' (of light) ¶ GB 489, 494, KBR 6OO. 697, 723, A #185O, DLS KTU IV 284, Hnr. 152, OAS 331, Lv. III 363, Lv. T II 99, Sl. 738-9, Br. 421-2, DM 294, Nld. MG 118, Fr. IV 35O-1, BK II 1364-5, Hv. 8O6-7, Jo. M 3O7, Jo. J 198, LG 4O1, 41O, CAD XI/2 347-51, Frnz. LS3

144 || A: NrTg *ńūre- 'incandence' (of metal) > Ewk ńūrз vi. 'incandence, become hot', Neg ńiuз- id., Lm ńōrji- ȝ ńōrgi- ȝ ńōrga- ȝ ńūrji- vt. 'incandence, ńo:ejib- vi. 'incandence' ¶ STM I 649 || Ko: [1] Ko {Rm.} nur- vi. 'burn (as cloth before a fire)', {MLC} nulli-ta 'scorches, burns, singes' [2] ? pKo {S} *nūrī- 'have a burnt smell' > MKo nūrī- id., NKo nuri-, nori- 'be rank, foul-smelling' ¶ Rm. SKE 173, S QK 911, Yu 162, MLC 364-5, 342, 357, S QK #911 || M *nurma 'hot cinders, embers; bonfire' (× N *ȝeh'U'r'i' 'light, fire', q.v. ffd.) || pj {S} *nirā(n)k- 'temper (metal) by putting heated metal into water' > OJ nīrāg- ¶ S QJ #967, Mr. 736 ¶ DQA #1448 (A *nīrī 'to heat [нагревать, накаливать] > M, Tg, J) ◇ IS MS 337 s.v. 'гореть' *ńūrī ◇ Qu., because S *nūr- may alternatively go back to N *ȝeh'U'r'i'.

1618. *ńa?Rä (or ***ńä?RA?**) 'pungent, strong' (of sensations, feelings, etc.) > HS: S *°√nṛr > Ar √nṛr v. 'être excité au point de se jeter sur quelqu'un' ¶ Fr. IV 226, BK II 1176 || U: FP *ńärä 'heartburn' and sim. > F närä 'angina, ardor stomachi, närästys 'heartburn, acid dyspepsia' | Z ńzra in set phrases: Z Lu/Skt ńzra viuz, Z UV ńzra viye '(it makes) heartburn, sinking sensation in the pit of the stomach (сосёт под ложечкой)' (viuz, viye 'kills, strikes') ¶ UEW 713, LG 19O, SK 415 || A: Tg *°ńar- > Orc ńarakta 'very' ¶ STM I 635 || IE: NaIE *yōr- (an apophonic grade of *yēr-) 'strong, violent' > Gk ζωρός 'pure, sheer' (of wine without water) || Sl *jarb(jb) > OCS яръ jarъ 'amarus, austerus', SCr jār 'hot, cruel', jār 'anger, fury; passion', Slv jār 'ardent, furious', Cz jarý 'fresh, ardent', Slk jarý 'full of strength, fresh', HLs jěry 'pungent', P jarý 'pure, bright, vigorous' (woda jara 'pure water', światłość jara 'a pure unadulterated light', dzień jarý 'bright day', stary ale jarý 'old but vigorous' [of an old man]), OR, RChS яръ jarъ 'anger', R 'ярый 'ardent, violent'; Sl *jarbk(jb) 'bright (esp. of colours, light)' (× N *ż'a'hr̠V [~ *ż'a'hr̠V ~ *z|ż'a'hr̠V] 'shine, be bright', q.v.) > Blg 'ярък, SCr jārak, R 'яркий bright (esp. of colours, light)', Slv járek id., 'shining', OR, RChS яръкъиñ jarbkjí 'severe, furious; bright' (but Cz jarý 'young' is connected with N *ńařřE '≈ young', q.v.) || ? ClNPrs يارا yārā, NPrs yara {Sg.} 'boldness, courage; strength, force', {VI.} 'robur, potestas, audacia' ¶ Mn. 452, VI. II 15O1, Sg. 1525, F I 618, ESSJ VIII 176-8O,

Bern. I 447-8, Glh. 288, Vs. IV 562-3 ◇ It is tempting to adduce here T *jaru- 'be(come) bright, shine' > OT jaru- id. (Cl. 956-7), but for semantic reasons it is more plausibly connected with N *ž̥aʰ̥hr̥V (‐ *ž̥aʰ̥hr̥V ‐ *z̥|ž̥aʰ̥hr̥V) 'shine, be bright' (q.v.). In any case, a coalescence of both etymons in T *jaru- remains a possibility ◇ If the N etymon is *ńa?Rä, U *ńärä is explained as going back to **ńarä (regr. as.).

1619. *ńE^rΓ¹Ar̥V 'sprout' > **U** {UEW} *ńEr̥V ~ *ńär̥V ~ *ńärke, {IS DU} *ńär̥V, {Db.} *ńōr̥V 'rod, young sprout' > Chr {Szil.} nör̥a 'sprout' ('Sproß, Sprößling'), nör̥ö 'twig' ('Zweig'), Chr L {Üp} nörgö 'young sprout', {MRS} 'young' (of a sprout), Chr H {Rm.} nör̥a 'young tree', {Ep.} nör̥a, nör̥a 'flexible sprout, young sprout' | Prm *ńōr ({LG} nōr) 'rod, twig (лоза, ветка, прутик)' > Z ньöр нзr / нзry- id., Yz нür 'rod (прут)', Vt ньöр нзr 'twig, branch, birch rod (ветка, розга)' || ObU {Ht.} *ńir 'Rute' > pOs *ńer(i) ({JHI.} *ńir(i)) > Os: V ńerəm id., D ńerəm id., 'Zweig, dünne Weide', Ty ńer 'auf einem abgebrannten Platz aufgewachsener Hain', Kz ńär 'Laubholzhain', Laubholzdickicht', ńärəm, Y ńer 'gerissener Baum'; pVg *ńir 'Rute' > Vg: T ńär, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML/Ss ńir | Hg nyír 'birch tree', Δ nyír 'young sprout (junger Schößling)', meg-nyír-ez- v. 'mit Ruten schlagen' || Sm {Jn.} *ńzr- 'willow' > Ne T ńero, Ne T O {Lh.} ńērū, Ne F {Lh.} ńērū; Sm {Jn.} *ńerkå (~ *ńvrkå), {Hl.} *ńzrka ~ *ńvarka id. > Ng {Adl.} ńerkı, En {Cs.} niggá, {Mik.} n̄ga', Ne T ńerká, Ne T O {Lh.} ńērk·ă id., Slq Tz {KKIH} ńarq̄, Kms {Cs.} nargá, {KD} n̄rga & n̄ryá id., Mt {Hl.} *ńhergV id. (Mt T/K {Mk.} nérgē, M {Mll.} nérgö 'salix', K {Pl.} nergà 'тал', M {Sp.} ńarga 'ивняк, тальник') ॥ Coll. 43, UEW 331, ~ Sm. 546 (FU, FP ńeri, Ugr ńir̥i 'twig'), IS DU, Db OS XXII, XXIV, Ü 134, MRS 36O, Ep. 77, Ht. #47O, Hl. rHt 75, KrT 629, PD 1466-7, Jn. 1O8, KKIH 139, Hl. M #748 || **D** *ńār̥- 'sprout', {GS} *ńēd̥- v. 'appear, sprout, shoot forth' > Ml ńār̥u 'young plant fit for transplanting', Tm ńār̥u v. 'sprout, shoot forth', ńār̥u v. 'appear, arise', Kt na·t, Knd ńāru 'seedlings for transplantation', Knd ńēr̥- v. 'rise from the seed' (a plant), Kn Gl ńāt̥u v. 'sprout', Kdg nə̄·r̥- 'become tall, straighten oneself so as to become tall' (of a plant), 'rise up and come to view', Tu nēji 'nursling, young plant of rice', Tl ńār̥u 'young sprouts or plants which are to be transplanted', Gnd ńēr 'rice-seedlings', Png nēz-, Mnd nēy-, Ku ney- v. 'sprout', Kui nēža- id.,

'germinate and shoot up' §§ D #2919, GS 142 [#363] || K *^onoyr- (*'nās̥rE '≈ young, new-born') > G Gr {IS ← ?} noyr- 'young grass' § IS MS 349 ◇ IS II 83-5 (includes the D √ into the etymon *nās̥rə 'young, new-born'), IS MS 349 (D *nās̥- and G noyr- < N *nās̥rə). In the light of my recent phonological research (suggesting that D *-z̥- goes back to N *-r- and is not akin to T *-ř-) D *nās̥- 'sprout' is to be kept apart from T *nāř 'springtime'. In U *norke 'sprout' *-ke is a sx. G Gr noyr- is absent in the standard dictionary of Georgian dialects (Ghl.) and therefore remains qu. Hence *Γ in the N rec. is within uncertainty brackets ' '. If GS's rec. of a pD *e is right, the N etymon must have been *nē^rΓ¹ΝrΝ. D *-z̥- (the reg. reflex of the intervocalic *-r-) points to a vw. before N *r.

1620. *níhr^a 'to stream; a stream, liquid' > HS: S *na'här- 'stream, river' > BHb נָהָר nā'hār id., Ug nhr {OLS} id., {A} id., 'flood', OA nhr 'river, water-course', JA [Trg.] נָהָרָא nahā'r-ā 'stream', JEA {Sl.} נָהָרָא nahā'r-ā 'river, canal', Sr nah'r-ā, Ar nahr- ~ nahar- 'river', Sb ?nhr pl. 'irrigation channels', Ak nāru 'river, canal; vein'; WS *✓nhr v. 'stream' > BHb ✓nhr G id., Ar ✓nhr G 'flow abundantly' (blood, river), Gz ✓nhr G 'flow, go down' § KB 639, GB 489, A #1762, OLS 321-2, HJ 72O, Lv. T II 95, Js. 882-3, Sl. 734, Br. 417, BK II 1354, Hv. 8O3, BGMR 94, CAD XI/1 368-76, L G 394 || U *níra 'stream, liquid' > FU (att. in BF) *Nira 'brook' > F nira 'small brook with a rapid current, brook in a forest', Es nira 'brook' || Sm {Jn.} *nēz̥r 'liquor' > Ne T ḥep" 'egg-white', Ne T O {Lh.} nērə_ 'sap of a tree', Slq Ke {KD} nēz̥r 'liquid produced during copulation (vätska, som alstras vid samlag)' §§ SK 384, Jn. 1O9-1O || D *nīr, {GS} *nír- 'water, liquid' > Ml nīr 'water, juice, moisture', Tm nīr id., 'sea, liquor', Kt, Td nīr, Kn nīr, nīru, Kdg nīri, Klm īr, Nk, Nkr īr 'water', Knd nīr masu 'mist, dew', Kui nīru 'juice, sap', Brh dīr id., 'water, food-water' §§ D #369O, GS 144 [#368] || ?φ A: It is worth paying attention to Ko: OKo Sl {Lee} *narih, MKo nāj / nājh-, NKo nā 'river' § The unexpected vw. *a (> MKo ā) needs explaining; an alt. hypothetic origin is N *laK^u 'body of water (lake, river)', q.v.) § Lee GKS 8O, S QK #229 (pKo *nājh). Nam 1O1, MLC 315 ◇ IS MS 369 (*ní(h)r^U 'to stream, to flow': ?U, D, S).

1621. (2?) *nē_LH_JrΝ 'plain, ground' > HS: B *nēr > Ah tenere, Gh činiri 'plain, desert', ETwl, Ty tenere (pl. tinariwen) 'plaine désertique' § Fc. 139, Nhl.15O, 19O, GhA 149 || A: T *jer 'earth' > OT jer ({Cl.}

jḗr) 'ground, earth, land, soil', Tk yér, Az, Tkm, Uz, SY, Nog, CrTt jer, Ggz jér, ET jää(r), VTt žér, Bsh eþ yér, Qzq, Qq žér, Xk чир čir, Xlj jer ~ jér, Tv čer, Tf č'er, Yk sir, Chv čěp sér 'earth, land', Kr jer, Alt žer id., 'country' ¶ Cl. 954, ET J 191-2, TL 87, Rs. W 198, S AJ 177 (#23), BIG 317, Sht. 67, Ra. 195, DT 222-3, Jeg. 211, Fed. II 11O || ?σ Tg: Lm n̄zrkz 'place under the hearth or close to it; hearth' ¶ ~ STM I 355 || ?φ pKo {S} *nārá(h) 'country' > MKo nāráh, NKO nara ¶ The vowels still defy explanation ¶ S AJ 257 [#169], S QK #169, Nam 87, MLC 287 ¶ ~ S AJ 29O [#359] (A *nār̄i 'earth, land': Ko, Tg *nā 'earth, land, dry land'), ~ DQA #1441 (T and Tg < A *n̄éra 'earth, floor'), STM l.c. || ?φ U: Chr: L ныр nur, H ныр nyr 'field' (unless to U *n̄or'o 'swamp' < N *n̄aRū id.) ¶ Ü 135-6, Rm. BT 88.

1622. *nāX_{l,i,r}U(-k|gē) 'cartilage' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'cartilage of the vertebrae', 'backbone') > HS: S (WS?) *'naħ_{l,r}r- > Ar naħr- 'clavicule et la partie du corps entre le bas du cou et le sternum', ? Tgr nəħar 'breast', ? Jb C {Jo.} 'naħar 'windpipe and lungs', Sq {L} 'naħar 'avoir mal à la gorge' ¶ BK II 1213, LH 324, Jo. J 187, L LS 264, MiK I #1.196 || U: FU *nōrke, {Db.} *nōrke 'gristle' (× N *muŋi'H'orK_l [or *muŋi ŋarK_l?] 'gristle, horn') > pLp {Lr.} *nōrkēs > Lp: N {N} njuorges / -r'iga 'gristle' (also of separate rings of the windpipe), L {LLO} L {LLO} njuorakis ~ njuor'kēs 'cartilage in the nose, nose meat of fishes', K {Gn.} nōargas 'cartilage' | Chr L nōrgö nōrø, Uf/B nōrø, H {Ep.} nōrgy i nōrø 'cartilage' || ObU {Ht.} *n̄trk_l id. > pVg {Ht.} *n̄trø id. > Vg: T n̄erkz ~ n̄eraw, MK n̄iri, P n̄eriø, Ss n̄ariø; pOs {Ht.} *n̄arak > Os: Vy n̄arəq, Ty/Y n̄årəq, D/K n̄ora, Nz n̄ora, O n̄ar id. || ? OHg XVI nyír, Hg Δ nyír (+ppa. 3s nyírja) 'flesh ("frog") in the horse-hoof' ('Strahl am Pferdehuf') (semantic infl. of nyíl id. < nyíl 'arrow', which is a loan-translation from Sl or German) || Sm {Jn.} *n̄zr 'gristle' > Ne: T n̄ep", T O {Lh.} n̄erø id., F Nl cd. puyyeñ-n̄je·rr̄t 'gristle of the nose', d. n̄dø·ɸ:ɔk̄u 'gristle'; Ng {Ter.} n̄ip id.; En {Ter.} n̄y" n̄t? / ныр- n̄tr- id.; Slq {KD}: LTz n̄zr̄; Ch n̄zr id. ¶ Db. reconstructs the pFU (and pU) vowels as *o...e on the basis of his theory (Db OS xxvi-xxxiv) of two corr. sets for pU *o: [1] in *-e-stems (those with a final *-e) *o > F o, Lp N uo, Mr o, Chr ü, ö, Prm *u, Vg ɔ (~ a), Os a, o (preceding ɔ?), Hg í, [2] in *-a-stems FU *o > F o, Lp L oa, Mr u, Prm {Lt.} *u, *ø, Vg û / ă (/ ū), Os a (/ô / u / ă), Hg a (/ á). UEW reconstructs here U *n̄zrk_l = {UEW} *n̄erks} or *n̄örke ¶ Coll. 43, Db. OS xxvi, UEW 317, It. #62, Sm. 546 (FU *n̄irk̄i, FP *n̄erky-, Ugr

*ńírkī 'cartilage'), Lr. #794, Lgc. #4467, N II 99, LLO 628, ≈ Ber. 43, MRS 36O, Ep. 77, Ü 134, LG 187, Ht. #317, MF 485, EWU 1O43, Jn. 1O8, Ter. 3O5, Ter. SILSJ 287, Lh. 314, KP 144 || A *ńiru(k[∇]) (or *-ŕ-) > Tg *ńíjri(-kta) 'vertebrae, spine' > Ewk niri ~ ńiri, Sln n̄zrdz, Orc, Ud {STM} ńíkta id., Ud {Krm.} id., Lm ńiru id., 'back (dos)', Neg n̄ukta, n̄uyukta, Ul ńerqaqta ~ ńerqazta ~ ńiruqta, Ork ńirukta, Nn Mh/KU ńiruqta 'spine' ¶ STM I 639-4O, Krm. 266 || M *niruꝫun 'back (dos), spine' > MM [S] {H} niriꝫun ~ niriꝫun id., [IM] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} niryun, [L, MA] {Pp.} nirūn 'back (dos)', [HJ] {Ms.} nirisun (err. spelling of niriꝫun?) 'spine', WrM nirugu(n), HlM нүрүү(н), Brt нюрга(н) 'back, spine, backbone', WrO {Krg.} nirüün 'spine', Kl нүрһн nurꝫun id., 'back', {Rm.} nurꝫan 'Rücken', Ord nurū 'back (dos), vertebrae', Dx {T} nurun 'back (dos)', Dg {T} nirō id., 'spine', MnR H {T} nuru 'back (dos)', {SM} nuru id., 'fish-bone', nuru yass 'spine' (yass 'bone') ¶ H 117, Pp. MA 257, 442, Pp. L III 72, Lg. VMI 57, Ms. H 79, MED 585, Krg. 221, KRS 386, KW 282, Chr. 343-4, Ms. O 5O2, SM 291, T 353, T DgJ 158, T DnJ 131 ¶ ADb. SR-D 3O6 (A *niruꝫ- 'back, backbone'), Pp. VG 39, 116 (M, Tg + qu.: OT {Cl.} jır 'north' [acc. to Pp., 'north' ← †behind one's back']), ≈ DQA #1457 (M and Tg < A *ńira 'spine') || D {Pf.} *nar- 'sinew, tendon, nerve' > Tm narampu, Ml ńarampu, Kn nara, naravu id., Kt narb 'muscle, sinew', Td narb 'muscle, vein', Tl naramu 'vein, nerve, tendon', Tu nara id., narambu 'sinew, nerve', Klm, Knd naram, Prj nerub, Gdb narub, Gnd naral 'vein', Kui qrambu 'tendon, sinew', Kw nromi 'nerve', Mlt nāru 'the veins', ?? Krx nari 'pulse' (unless ← InA: cp. OI nādī 'pipe, tube, pulse', Npl, Ass nāri 'pulse', Hnd nārī, nārī 'vein, pulse') ¶ Ml *ń- may suggest a pD *ń- (< N *ń-), but the existence of this D phoneme in the initial position is by no means evident ¶ D *-r- goes back to *r-clusters (in this case to *-Xr-; if pN had *-X∇r-, the vw. was syncopized in pre-D) ¶ D #29O3, Pf. 174 [#8] (Krx nari ← InA).

1623. *ńär_{H₂}ē (or *ńäH₂rē?) 'unripe, tender, weak' > HS: NrOm: Kf {C} nirō 'soft, tender', Mch {L} níra(yé) 'be soft, loose, flexible' ¶ C SE IV 15O, L M 44 || K: MG [VTq.] narnar-i 'tender', G narnar-i 'zart, fein, sanft' (× N *ńar'ū[†] 'thin, narrow?') ¶ DCh. 959, Chx. 923 || U: FU *ńäre 'raw, unripe' > FΔ, Krl Ld, Vo, Es Δ näre 'young fir-tree' | pPrm *ńer (= {LG} ner) > Z ner 'weak, unripe, not grown up (невозмужалый)', Vt nored 'unripe, young' || ObU {Ht.} ńär 'raw' > pVg *ńär > Vg: T ńär,

LK/MK/UK/NV **ń̄r**, P/SV/LL/ML **ń̄r**, UL/Ss **ń̄ar** 'raw'; pOs *ń̄ärəy > Os: V/Vy **ń̄ärə**, Ty/Y **ń̄ärə**, D/K **ń̄ärə**, Nz **ń̄ärə**, Kz **ń̄ar**, O **ń̄ar** id. ¶ SK 414, LG 199, Ht. #469 || A: Tg: WrMc **niyere** {Z} 'weak, feeble, thin, not solid', {Hr.} 'ungefüttert, dünn (Kleider)', Mc Sb **nīrə** 'weak, weakly, feeble' ¶ Z 249, Hr. 718, Y#25O2 || D *nar- 'be deficient in growth' > Tm **naruñku** id., 'grow lean as a child', **naruñkal** 'stunted growth', Kn **narañtu** 'become deficient or stunted in growth', Tu **naraðb** 'stunted(ness)', Krx **narma'ā-** 'soften down, reduce in point of stoutness' ¶ D #36O8 ◇ D *-r- is a reg. reflex of N *r-clusters, therefore we may suppose the presence of a N lr. (preferably after *r, otherwise we would have to expect lengthening of the preceding vw.); the absence of lrs. in the K word suggests that the N lr. was *H₂ (= *ŋ|h|h|n) (unlike the "strong" lrs. *X and *Y that survive in K).

1624. (2?) *ń̄'a'Rk̄a|æ (= *ń̄'a'Rḡa|æ?) '∈ deer' > IE: NaIE *york̄- 'roe deer' (× N *'X' i RḡN 'horned?' artiodactyl', q.v.) > Gk ζόρξ, ζορκάς 'roe, gazelle'; the variant δορκάς is being explained by F and P by folk-etl. connection with δέρκομαι 'see' || Clt: W {YGM} iwrch, iyrchyn 'roebuck', iyrches 'roe', OCrn yorch · "caprea", Crn yorgh 'roebuck', Br yourc'h 'roe deer'; {F}: Gk [Opp.] ζορκος, [Hs.] ζορκες, ζυρκες 'roebuck, gazelle' may be loans from Galatian (a Clt lge. in Asia Minor) ¶ WP I 2O9, P 513, EI 155 (*'york-s 'roe deer [Capreolus']), LP § 3.2, YGM-1 298, ECCE 31O, Hm. 837, LS 445, F I 41O, Ch. 293-4 || A: Tg *ń̄ark̄g- 'young elk' > WrMc **niyarχuca** id., Ewk Tmt **ń̄argū**, Ewk M/Urm **ń̄arguçān** 'two-years-old male elk', Lm **ń̄arçān**, Neg **ń̄atçān**, Orc naguça, naguçka 'first-year young elk' ¶ STM I 635 || T *jargun > OT {Cl.} jaryūn '∈ wild quadruped'; Early pT → M *žorgul > WrM зоргул, HlM зоргол 'one-year-old deer' ¶ Cl. 963, MED 1O71 ¶ DQA #14O9 (A *ń̄argu 'young male deer\elk' > T, M, Tg) || possibly also ?? HS: B *v̄nh̄r 'mohor antelope' (= {Pr.} v̄nh̄r, where *H₃ is a "strong" lr.) (< **n̄v̄qr- < **n̄v̄rq- resulting from de-emphatization of *ń̄'a'Rḡa|æ?) > *nīr- > Ah {Fc.} e-nir 'mohor antelope' (pl i-nīr-ən), Tns {ABs.} ti-nhir-t, Twl/Ty {GhA} eñer (pl. iñerən), Twl {ABs.} inir, tinirt, anir, Ty {ABs.} enir (pl. inirən), anir 'antelope dama' ('mohor antelope') ¶ Fc. 1399, Pr. H #559, GhA 254.

1625. *'ń̄asřE '≈ young, new-born' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'springtime') > HS: S: Cn *'ń̄asřN,r- 'young person (boy, a youth)' > BHb 'naṣar id., Ph n̄ṣr 'servant', Ug n̄ṣr 'boy; servant'; Cn (pl.) → Eg

[EgSSc] {Hlk.} na-^ča-rú-na 'warriors, soldiers' || KB 668, A #1808, OLS 315, HJ 739-40, Hlk. #136 || IE *^čyeħr- > NaIE *_čyēr- / *^čyōr- / *_čyər- 'young', 'springtime' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'year') > Sl *jaro ~ *jara ~ *jarb 'springtime' > RChS, OR **яра** jara, R Δ яра, SCr jār, Cz, Slk Δ, LLs, OP jaro, P jar, Uk Δ яр id.; d. *jarb f. > Slk jar f., Uk яръ f., P jarz id., OR **яръ** jarb, R Δ, Uk яръ, Slv jār f., Cz jař 'spring crop', SCr jar 'spring barley'; Cz jarý 'young'; d. *jarbka 'young animal' > Blg 'ярка', Slv jārka 'young hen', SCr jārka 'a hen that laid for the first time', Slk jarka, Uk 'ярка' 'year-old sheep', OR **яръка** jarbka, R, Blr 'ярка' 'young sheep' || W iār, Br yar 'hen' (< *yər-ā) (< 'young hen', ≡σ: above Blg) || OI *yār- 'year' in paryā'rīnī '(a cow) that calves for the first time in a year', Av yār- 'year', OPrs duš(i)-yāra- 'unfortunate year (Miß-Jahr)' || Gk ὥρα 'season, hour' (→ L hōra 'hour'), ὥρος 'time, year' || L hōrnus adj. 'of this year, this year's' (↔ *hō yōr- 'in this year') || Gmc {Vr.} *jēra- 'year' > Gt jer, ON ár, Sw, Dn, NNr år, OSx jār ~ gēr, OHG jār, NHG Jahr, AS ȝēar (ȝ- = [y-]) 'year', NE yēar || Lw {Mlc.} āra/i- 'time' || P 296-7, ~ EI 654 [*(*h₁*)yēro/eh_A- 'year, new season'], M K II 227-8, M E II 98-9, F II 1150-1, WH I 658-9, LP § 119, YGM-1 295, Hm. 835, Ho. S 4, 25, Ho. 141, Vr. 12, Fs. 301, Kb. 520, OsS 4622-3, KM 330, ESSJ VIII 175-81, Glh. 288-9, Vs. IV 559, Ad. 271, Mlc. CL 24, Mlc. LL 41 (fn. 28) || U: FU *ñōre 'young, new-born; springtime' > F nuori / nuore-, Es noor 'young' (→ Lp N nuorâ- id. [↔ SK 401]) | pLp {Lr.} *ñōrɔ 'weak, tender' > Lp: U {Schl.} njuaras, Ml {Schl.} ñuāras 'thin', L {LLO} njuoras 'tender, soft, not yet hard' (of plants, children), 'fresh' (of vegetables), N {N} njorâs 'soft, not woody yet' (of plants), 'weak in the body, not able to stand' (of babies), Pa {TI} ñuɔr̩s 'weak', 'tender' (of babies, reindeer calves); → Lp: U {Schl.} njuarahka 'zart', njuarahkadtja 'Kind im zarten Alter', L {LLO} njuorak 'tender, little' (of babies), N {N} njorâk 'young reindeer calf', njuorâk- (in cds.) 'new-born, suckling, baby' | Chr {Ber.} *ñōra > L {Ü} hörö 'ñōrā, E {Ber.} ñōrō 'flexible and weak', H höryi 'ñōrə 'flexible and young' (of a sprout, a tree); *ñōrga (×N *ñE'Γ'ArV 'sprout', q.v.) > L 'ñörgö 'ñōrɔ 'young sprout; young', H hörgyi 'ñōrɔ 'flexible and young' || ? Sm: Mt {Hl.} *ñarha, *narha 'new' (Mt K {Pls.} njáarha, Mt M {Sp.} ñapa); possibly also (↔ Jn. and Hl.) Mt *nara 'springtime' (Mt K {Pls.} nára id., {Mll.} nāramua 'it is springtime') || ~ SK 401, Lr. #793,

Lgc. #4469, Schl. 1O1, LLO 628, N II 98, TI 309, Ü 134, Ep. 77, MRS 36O, ≈ Ber. 43, ≈ Hl. M 314-5 [##722, 724], unc. Jn. 98 || A {SDM97} *ńā́ř'a¹, {SDM95} *ńā́ř̄'V 'young; spring, summer' < T *ńā́ř > NaT *jāz 'summer, spring' > OT jāz 'summer', MU jaz id., 'spring', MQp [CC] jaz, Tkm jāž, Az, VTt jaz, Bsh jaž, Qrg žaz, Alt žas, Xk časχi, Tv čas, Tf čas, Yk sās 'spring', Tk yaz, Ggz, Kr, Nog jaz, Qzq, Qq žaz, Blq zaz, Uz jaz 'summer' || Chv L šur 'spring', Blgh *ńār → Hg nyár 'summer' ¶ Cl. 982, ET J 71-2, TL 73-4, Ra. 134, Jeg. 219, Fed. II 138-9, EWU 1O37 || M *nirayi 'new-born; new, fresh' > WrM nirai, HIM нярай, Kl {Rm.} nirā ~ nirā, Brt нарай id., ?Φ: MnR H {SM} nargē² 'jeune, en basâge, tendre', {T} nargē 'young' (of trees); M → Yk niräy ~ níräy ~ níray 'new-born, baby' → Ewk niray ~ níray id. ¶ MED 585, KW 277, STM I 639, SM 258, T 348 || Tg *ńárgu 'young, new' > WrMc niyaraxun ~ niyaraxun 'new\fresh' (of grass, vegetation), 'young', 'greens', niyaraxuca 'young of en elk', Lm nárçän, Neg nátçan, Orc naguça 'young elk (of the first year of life)', Nn nárgi ~ nárgi, Orc nárgi 'young willow' ¶ STM I 635, 639 || pKo {S} *ńjāřít-m 'summer' > MKo njāřít-m, NKo jāřít-m id. ¶ S QK #19O, Nam O7, MLC 1163 || pJ {S} *nátù id. > OJ natu, J: T nacú, K nácù, Kg nácu ¶ S QJ #241, Mr. 494 ¶ S AJ 74, SDM97 (A *ńāř[a]), DQA #1476 (A*ńāř̄'a¹ 'young; spring, summer') || ?K amb *°noyr- (× N *ńE'Γ'ArV 'sprout', q.v.) > G Gr {IS ← ?} noyr- 'young grass' ◇ IS II 83-5 (*ńāřrə 'young, newborn') and IS MS 349 (*ńo'γrə 'young'). IS adduces here D *ńāř- 'young plant, sprout', which is preferably connected with a different N etymon (see N *ńE'Γ'ArV '↑') ◇ S *-ř- < N *ř or *γ. Lw āra/i- 'time' suggests a weak lr. (*ř), while G noyr- (if real) points to a N *γ ◇ M *ř and K *o need explaining. M *ř may be due to assimilating infl. of the palatal cns. *ń- ◇ On N and pIE *- - see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ Gr. II #362 (*nyar 'spring [season]') (IE, U, A, Ko + qu. Gil + err. J + unc. Ai, CK).

1626. *ńitūrV'g'V 'fist, knuckles of fingers; to strike with the fist\knuckles, hold in the hand' > U: FU (att. in BF) *NürkkV 'fist, knuckles of fingers' > F nyrrkki 'fist', Δ {Lnr.} nyrrkkä, Vp {ZM} nürk 'fist', Krl nürkkı, Es K nürk: 'knuckles of fingers' ¶ SK 408, ZM 37O || A: *ńitūr[u,k]ga 'fist' > T *ńuturuk ~ *ńituruk > NaT *juṭuruk 'fist' > OT {MKD} judruq, {Cl.} jiðruq ȝ juðruq, {DTS} jidruq ȝ juðruq, MQp [CC] juruq, Tkm Δ judruq, Kr juduruk ~ juduruχ, Qzq, Qq žüdiriq, Nog юдрык judiriq, VTt йодрык jødrøq, Bsh jøðrøq, Qrg žuduruq, Alt

{B} дъудрук (new spelling јудрук) žudruq, Qmn {B} judruq, QK {B, Rl.}, Brb/Tlt {Rl.} judruq, Tv čuduruq, Tf ńudruq, SY uzruq, Yk suturuk, as well as Qmn {B} ńunduruq ~ ńunturuq and Xk munzurux (< *ńuń'd'uruq < *ńuťuruk (possibly × T *jumruk 'fist' [lit. 'clenched'] ← *jumur-, caus. of *jum- v. 'shut, clench') ¶ TL 253 and ADb. SR 182, 317 (both: T *jɪŋđruk), Cl. 892, MKD 232 (OT judruq), DTS 265, 277, ETJ 248-9, Rl. III 565, BT 57, KrkR 259-60, BR 222, B DK 213, 235, Ra. 21O || M *nidurga 'fist' > MM [HI] {Ms.} nudurga, [MA] {Pp.} nudurqa ~ nudurq'a [nudurga], WrM nɪdurgə, HIM нүдрага, Ord {Ms.} nu'd'u'rga, Brt нюдарга, MnR H {SM} nudurg_a, {T} nudurga id., Kl {Rm.} nudrꝝva 'geballte Faust', d.: Kl нүдрма, {Rm.} nudrꝝma 'fist' ¶ Ms. H 80, Pp. MA 261, MED 578, KRS 385, KW 280, Chr. 342, SM 288, T 353 || Tg *ńurga 'fist' > Ewk ńvrka, Sln nor'ga & nuru'ga, Neg nelga ~ noyga, Ork nugga, {PSchm.} nurka, Ul ńugža, ńugžaku, ? WrMc nuzan id. ¶ STM I 590 || ?σ pJ {S} nínkír- 'hold in the hand' > OJ nígír-, J: T nígir-, K nígír-, KLg nígír- ¶ S QJ #948, Mr. 735 ¶ SDM97 (A *nidurgi 'fist' + 'hand'), KW 280 (T, M), DQA #1463 (A *njúdurgi 'fist' > T, M, Tg, J), ADb. SR 317 (T, M, Tg) || K: MG, G r̥tq- 'beat, hit' ¶ DCh. 1042 || ?? HS: S *✓ trk ~ *✓ ḫrk ~ (Ak) *✓ trk > Ph trk G 'strike', JEA ✓ ḫrk G 'strike (with the knuckles of fingers)' ([BT] trk lyh b̥s̥kwt̥l? {Lv.} 'er schlug ihn mit dem Fingerglied'), Ar ✓ ḫrq G 'knock (at the door), beat, play with the fingers upon (a musical instrument)', Ak fOAk ✓ trk G (inf. tarāku) 'schlagen, klopfen' ¶ HJ 1233-4, Lv. II 198, BK II 75-6, Hv. 431, Sd. 1324-5 ¶ The initial *n- was lost probably due to its reinterpretation as a derivational px. of the N-pattern; *t̥ (alongside the expected *t) is due to regressive as.: (N *t...q >) *t...k > *t̥...k; Ak -k- is due to progressive as. (*t...k > t...k) ◇ If G r̥tq belongs here, we reconstruct a N cns. *q, otherwise we remain with an unspecified N *K (N *nítūrñKñ) ◇ ADb. SR 317 (A, U).

1627. *ńet̥ñ 'stalk, stem, trunk' > A: Tg *ńeti 'log, beam' > Ewk ńztiñ 'cross beam on the ground in the middle of a chum (Tungusian yurt)', 'seating place (made of rods) close to the walls of a chum', Ud Sm {Krm.} ńesigi 'the lower part of the wall of a chum', Ud X/Sm {Krm.} ńesigi 'a log close to the inner wall of a hut that serves for keeping bedclothes, a log for keeping dishes' ¶ STM I 655, Krm. 271 || D (in McTm) *ńet̥t̥. 'stalk' > Tm n̥et̥t̥u 'stalk, peduncle', Ml ńet̥t̥u, ńett̥ti 'footstalk of a leaf or fruit' ¶ D #2925 ¶ D *t̥ for the expected *t (due

to a sx.: *ńet̪- < *ńet-t?) || HS: S: Ar ئەتەت- naṭā-t- (pl. ئانتەت-) {Hv.} 'stalk of unripe dates', {BK} 'pétiole d'une datte non mûre' ¶ BK II 1287, Hv. 78O.

1628. ₂ *ńo₁ń₂w₃ (or *ńo₁y₂w₃) 'to hunt, to pursue' > HS: Eg fOK n₂w 'hunter' ¶ EG II 218 || ? S *°✓ n₁y₂w ~ *°✓ n₂w₃ > Gz ✓ n₂w G (js. -n₁a₂w) 'hunt, lay snares', Tgr pf. G nəfə 'hunt', Ar ✓ n₂w₃ G (ip. -nūń-₂u) 'expand the wings for darting on its prey' (of birds of prey) ¶ LG 382, BK II 1368, Hv. 8O8 || U *ńowē > Sm {Jn.} *ńo- 'pursue' > Ne T d. нёта-сь 'to pursue (гнаться за кем/чем)', Slq: Tz {KKIH}, Tm {KD} ńo- 'pursue, chase' || pY {IN} *nåw- 'watch, pursue' > Y: K {IN} nob-dī- 'watch (следить), pursue (преследовать)', T {IN} naw-rī- id., {Ku.} nawrī- 'watch, observe' (-dī ʌ -rī is a sx. of vt.) ¶ This U (Sm, pY) √ does not belong (⇒ Rd., IN) to U *ńoŋ|wδa- (that goes back to N *ńoŋuda (or *ńoŋüda?) 'follow in the traces, hunt, pursue') ¶ Sm. LM #115, Sm. 539 (U *ńoχ̪-, FU, FP *ńuxi-, Ugr *ńugř-, Sm *ńo- 'pursue' without distinction between the reflexes of N *ńo₁ń₂w₃ and those of N *ńoŋuda or *ńoŋüda), Jn. 111, Ter. 3O8, KKIH 141, ≠ UEW 323-4 (Sm *ńo- < U *ńoŋδa- 'follow, pursue'), ≈ IN 236 (pY *nåw- < U *ńoŋδa-), Ku. 164, ≠ Rd. UJ 4O [#37] (Y *nåw- ← U *ńoŋ|wδa-) ◇ If the S lr. is of N origin, it is most likely to go back to N *ń (rather than *y), because the loss of the "light" N lr. in Eg is more plausible (though still enigmatic) than that of the "heavy" cns. *y.

1629. *ńäwga 'hair, down' > HS: S {Jo.} *°✓ n₂w₃ > Jb C {Jo.} 'noy 'long fine hairs (not only of camels)' ¶ Jo. J 198 || U {IS} *ńāwa 'hair, down' > F naava, Krl nōāva, Krl Ld nūāv 'beard-moss' (← 'fine hair, down'); the ancient meaning is preserved in Lp {SK} (← eF): Lp L nāvvā- 'down, fine hair', Lp Ar navvā 'hair on a human body' || Lp: N {N} njavvə / -v- 'long hair \ beard under the throat of a male reindeer \ he-goat', L {LLO} njaavie 'long hair under the throar of a reindeer' || Sm {Hl.} *ńa- (< *ńāwa with the reg. loss of *-w-) > d.: Ne T нянз ńanz, Ng ńansa, En X nōđo n. 'down', Ne T нāнг ńāng 'a fine hair of nap (ворсинка), nap (начёс)', Slq Tz ńalg̪ n. 'down' ¶ SK 364, LLO 986, N II 65, Ter. 352-3, KKIH 139 || D (in SD) *navir 'man's hair' > Tm navir id., navitam 'man's tuft of hair, (crown of) head', Kn navir(u) 'hair' ¶ D #3615 || A: ? T (< cd.?): OT {Cl.} jowlac 'fine goat's hair', {MKD} jowlac (= jowlac) 'goat's down' ¶ Cl. 876, MKD

231 ¶ ə for the expected a is due to the infl. of the adjacent w (?) ◇
Schr. UDM 756 (U, D), IS II 87 (?*níä́wH a 'hair': U, D).

1630. ~ *'ní̥Exa 'to see', ? 'eye' > A: [1] (A {DQA} *níjā 'eye') > Tg {DQA} *níjā-sa, {AD} *níjā-sa(l) 'eye(s)' > Nn KU/Nh nasal, Nn KU Tsal, Orc isa, Ud {Shn.} yehæ, Ud X/A/B/Sm {Krm.} yāh ~ yehä, Ud I {Krm.} yāh, Ud K {Krm.} yahä, Ul tsal, Ork Tsia, Tsal(a), Ewk ēsa ɻ jēha, Sln Tsal ɻ 'eša ɻ 'yesa, Lm æsъl ɻ yāsal, Neg ēsa, WrMc yasa, Mc Sb yasa, Jrc {Kiy.} yaši, {Md.} njac̄i ({Md.} njač̄i) id. ¶ STM I 291-2, Krm. 242, Kiy. 124 [#496], S AJ [#38], DQA #1473 || M: Mnř H {SM} nū́- v. 'look'; but M *nidün 'eye' goes back to N *nídV '≈ eye; to look' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ The Mnř vw. ū́ needs explaining ¶ SM 287 || ?? pKo {S} *nún 'eye' > MKo nún, NKo nun, Ko Hm nûn ¶ S AJ [#27], S QK #27, Nam 115, MLC 359 ¶ SDM97 (A nā́: 'eye'), DQA #1473 (Tg, Ko) ¶ [2] The A cd. {DQA} *níjā-*mjūri 'tears' (< *níjā 'eye' + *mjūri 'water') (the first component going back to N *'ní̥Exa 'see; ? eye', to N *zôyñV 'see, look' [or 'eye'], or to N *nídV '↑') > Ko: MKo nún-mír 'tears' ¶ SDM95 || pJ *nà-mì(n)tá 'tears' > OJ nami-ta ~ namida, [RJ] nàmìdá ~ nàmitá ¶ S AJ 88 ¶ The Tg words *ińa-mū- v. 'weep' and *(i)ńa-mu-kta 'tears' are likely to go back to N *zôyñV + N *mûhi 'water, fluid' (ffd. see N *zôyñV '↑'). The M and T words for 'tears' are of different origin (⇒ DQA #1473): M *nil-mu-sun 'tears' is identical with M *nilbu-sun ~ *nilmu-sun 'saliva, spittle, mucus' (< N *níhla 'moist, slippy', q.v. ffd.), T *jáí 'tears' (> NaT *jāš, Chv L κυցցուլք kuśšúl [< *kuś-śul-β, lit. 'tears of the eye'; Chv κυց is 'eye']) is identical with T *jáí 'fresh, moist; moisture' (< A *níáíV < N *níog'áíly, V 'slime, moisture, fluid; raw', q.v. ffd., probably ×N *žáíXV ~ *žáíHV 'dripping fluid' [q.v. ffd.]), see Cl. 972, 975-6, Rs. W 192, S AJ 195 [#23O], Jeg. 12O-1, Fed. II 13, Rh. 2186, BR 243, BT 50, BIG 312 ¶ ~ S AJ 3O-1, 275 [#21] (A *níá 'eye', *níá(í)-müri 'tears'), ~ DQA #1473 || K *°nax- > OG {Abul.} nax- 'see', G nax- / naxul- / naxv- 'see (so.)', look at, visit', {Chx.} id., 'find' ¶ Abul. 325 and SSO I 586 (OG and eNG nax-, providing ev. for -X- rather than -q-), DCh. 974-5, Chx. 945-6 || HS *√nħy v. 'see' > S *°√nħy > Ar نَحْيَ √nħy (ip. -nħiy- ~ -nħay-) v. 'direct one's looks towards' (with semantic infl. of the paronymous verb √nħw v. 'direct oneself towards' < N *nírħħwV 'to lead, to direct [oneself] towards') ¶ BK II 1218, Fr. IV 257-8, Hv. 756 || B *°√nyħ (×N *zôyñV

'↑', q.v. ffd.) > Ah əni (habit. hānnej) v. 'see' ¶ Fc. 1357 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *nah- v. 'see' (× N *näk̥₁ṇ, hē 'see, perceive'?) > Su {J} nā, Ywm {IL} nā?, Kfr/Gmy nā 'see' | Mbr {Sk} naγ-, Wrj {Sk.} náhā, Kry náhā id. | Gmy, Kfr nā, Cp nā, Su nā id. | Krkr ná, Krf nè, Gera nī, Grm nē id. || CCh: Glv naγ, Dgh n̄-ínè, n̄a 'see' | McTr: Pdl na, Gbn n̄i, Hw nād̄z̄n̄ id. | HgB n̄yō id. | Bcm nā v. 'see' ¶ ChC s.v. 'see', ChL, J S 76, Stl. ZCh 235 [#82O] || ??φ Eg XVIII n̄w v. 'see, look' ¶ The loss of HS *χ is puzzling ¶ EG II 218, Fk. 127 ¶ Tk. I 126 ◇ Cf. AD AltAD #3.

1631. *ńE'γU'(-ṇ) (=*ń'äγU'(-ṇ)?) 'larvas, worms, nit(s)' > **U** *ńiw̄e 'maggot(s), worm(s)' > FU *ńiw̄e id. > Lp: N {N} njiw̄dnjā / -wnj- 'nits', njiw̄njā / njiw̄dnjāg- 'is a small white\grayish insect found e. g. in books; is an insect which comes on thick sour milk', L {LLO} njim̄nja 'young louse' || ObU {Ht.} *ńiŋk ~ *ńūŋk 'maggot' > pVg {Ht.} ńiŋkʷ- id. > OVg S Vt ńiŋk, OVg N BerK ńiŋk, Vg: LK ńiŋ, ńexʷ, MK/NV ńiŋ, UL/Ss ńiŋkʷ; pOs *ńiŋk id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/O ńiŋk, D/K ńiŋk, Nz ńiŋk, Kz ńiŋk id. (Os Kz ń- still defies explanation) | Hg nyū (accus. nyūv-e t) 'maggot', Δ 'worm, louse' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} ńēńt 'earthworm', Tm {KD} ńēń 'worm', Nrm {Cs.} ńeū, MO/Ch {Cs.} ńeī, UO {Cs.} ńäi, NP {Cs.} ńeju, Ke {Cs.} ńeiju, B {Cs.} ńeńe, Kar {Cs.} ńiń 'angle-worm'; Kms {KD} nejmā, nejme id. ¶ Coll. 93, UEW 32O, Ht. #467, MF 493, KKIH 14O, Cs. 141, 197, KD 44 || **A** *ńńeyṇ or *ńńäyṇ 'louse' > Tg *ńńey- > Ewk ńzykz ፩ ńzykz ፩ ńzykz ፩ ńzykz 'small louse' ¶ STM I 616 || pKo {S} *ní 'louse' > MKo ní, Ko: Ph i, SI/Chl/Hm/Chj/Kw ṫ, Ks ṫ: ¶ S QK #5O, Nam 119, MLC 1316 ¶ Rm. SKE 165 tried to reconstruct pM **ní-sün 'louse' on the ev. of its presumable d. *nisel- (actually *nisal-) 'kill lice, crush with the thumb' (> WrM nisal-, HIM ńas]-, Kl ńiscl- nis]-), but Rm.'s hyp. is untenable because in fact M *nisal-, *bogesün nisači- 'kill lice with fingernails\fingers' is a sd. from *nisal- 'hit\snap with the fingers', *nisči- 'press\squeeze with fingernails or between fingers' (see MED 586, Gl. II 33, KRS 379, KW 277) ¶ S AJ 253 [#5O], DQA #1422 (A *neyi 'louse, nit', incl. Tg, Ko) || ?φ **D** *ńńāŋk...- 'worm' > Tm nāŋkuŋu, nāŋkuŋ 'earthworm', nākku-ppūci id., 'roundworm, tapeworm', Ml ńaŋŋūl, ńaŋŋūl, ńaŋŋūl, Kn Hl ńəŋžūl, Kn B nakkil-ħu]a, Gnd M nārvānž 'earthworm' ¶ D #29O6 || **HS:** WCh: Tng {J} ńaŋa (df. ńaŋi), Krkr {ChL} ńz̄w-ńz̄w 'mosquito' ¶ J T 126, ChL.

1632. ² *ńažir ∇ 'sun', '≈ sunshine, heat (hot weather)' > **A:** M *nažir ∇ 'summer' > Brt հաշար nažar, Dg {T, MYC} nažir, {Mr.} nažire, {Mrm} nažir ~ nadír id. ¶ Chr. 317, T Dg 156, MYC 463, Mr. D 194, Klz. D 122 || ? pKo {S} *náč 'day, day-time' > MKo náč, NKo nac nat ¶ QK {S} #992, Nam 1O1, MLC 312 ¶ But T *jāy 'summer' is more likely to go back to N *žaH₂y ∇ 'summer' (see N *žayH₂ ∇ ~ *žaH₂y ∇) (↔ Blz. LNA) || **D** (in SD) *ńāčiř, {GS} *ńēsiř 'sun' > Tm ńāyiru ~ nāyiru, Ml ńāyiru ~ nāyaru, Td nöř, Kn nēsar(u), Tl nesərə 'sun' ¶ D #2910, GS 221 [#54O] ◇ Suggested in Blz. LNA #4O (M, Ko, D *÷ T).

1633. *ŋ'U¹ [1] 'thing', [2] 'what?' (most probably, a phonetic reduction or an ellipsis from *ya ŋ'U¹ or *?äy ∇ ŋ'U¹ 'which thing?') > **HS:** C: Ag: Xm {R} nā 'property, thing' || Bj {R}, Bj B {Alm.} na 'thing', Bj {R} nā 'which?' ¶ R Ch II 86, R WBd 177, Alm. BS III 49 || ? EthS: Gz nāwāy 'vessel, ustensil, property' (< *'thing'), Tgr ն.բ nay 'belonging to', 'of' (nota genitivi), Tgy ն.բ nay 'of' (nota genitivi) ¶ LG 41O, LH 337 || ? WCh: Ang {Flk.} ne 'who, which, whom' (rel. prn.) | Tng n̄əj 'what?', nūj 'who?' | SBC: Wnd nínin, Zar յնէ 'what?', Wnd núnò, Zar յնօ 'who?' ¶ Flk. s.v. ne, ChL || *ŋ'U¹ may be one of the possible sources of the LbB, Eg, and Ch prepositional nota genitivi: LbB *n ∇ > ONum nota genitivi n || B *n ∇ (nota genitivi) > Tz n 'of' (afus n tmyart 'the hand of a woman'), Zgg, ASgr, Izn, Wrg, Ah, Gd, Nf, Si, Zng n, Shw ən 'of' ¶ AiM 181, 23O, Ai. MCB 17O-6 || Eg n, nj (f. n.t) 'of' (nota genitivi), Cpt Կ-ən-, px. of gen. ¶ EG II 196-7 || Ch {Gr.}: Msg na, Lgn n, Mrg r (< *n) 'of' (nota genitivi) ¶ Gr. LA 47 ¶ This source of the LbB, Eg, and Ch nota genitivi is more plausible than N *nu 'of' (q.v.), as suggested by its position: **A** + nota genitivi + **B** 'A of B' (while N *nu is postnominal: **B** *nu **A** 'A of B') || **K** *°n ∇ > Lz na, na-mu (pl. na-ni) 'what' (relative), Mg ni 'that, which' (relative), Mg namu 'which, what' relative (Marr: na + marker of 3 pers. mu) ¶ Marr 32, 172, Q O47, 289 || **A** {SDM97} *ŋ'ō 'what?, who?' > NaT *ne 'what?' > OT neä ({Cl.} nā), XwT, MQp, Chg, OOsm ne, Tk ne, Az nā, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq, StAlt ne, VTt, Bsh n̄i id.; a cd. *nEmE > OT {Cl.} nā-mā 'something, anything', Chg {Cl.} nemä 'thing', MQp {Cl.} nemē 'thing, anything', in later lgs. 'what?': Tkm näme, Qzq nemene, Bsh nämä, Uz nima, ET nimä, Xk nime 'what?'; another cd. is found in Xk, Shor nō 'what?' ¶ Cl. 774-5, 777-8, Rs. W 352, Isx. M 235-6 ¶ The presense of the nasal sonorant in the initial position in T

contradicts reg. phonetic laws. One of possible explanations is to suppose that in ppT the word still preserved an initial vw. (ppT * ∇ ne < N *ya η' U' 'which thing?' or N * $\text{?äy}\nabla$ η' U' id.). The delabialization of the vw. in the T word may be connected with the former non-initial position of the syll. (maybe unstressed syll.?) within ppT * ∇ ne || Tg {SDM97} * $\eta\bar{u}$ 'who?' > Ewk $\eta\bar{i}$ (the higher synharmonic series), Sln $\eta\bar{i}$ -x3, Lm $\eta\bar{i}$ ~ $\eta\bar{i}$, Orc $\eta\bar{i}$, Ud {Krm.} $\eta\bar{i}$, {STM} $\eta\bar{i}$ ~ $\eta\bar{i}$, Ul ηui ~ ηuy ~ uy, Nn Nh/B ui ~ uy, Nn KU $\eta\bar{i}$, WrMc ωe , Mc Sb {Y} v3· id. ¶ STM I 66O-1, Krm. 266, Y #2895 || pKo {S} * ηu - 'who?' > MKo ηu -, Ko: Ph/PhN/Chj nu-gu, Chs/Ks/S1 nugú, Hm $\eta\bar{u}_g wá$ ¶ S AJ 255 [#1O1], S QK #1O1, Nam 114, MLC 356 || pJ {S} * $\eta \dot{\nabla}$ 'what?' > OJ $\eta\bar{a}ni$, J: T $\eta\bar{a}ni$, K $\eta\bar{a}ni$, Kg $\eta\bar{a}i$, Rk ds.: Ns ηu , Sh/Ht/Y $\eta\bar{u}$ id. ¶ S AJ 1O4, 268 [#88], S QJ #88, Mr. 493 ¶ S AJ 55, 278 [#84], SDM97 (A * η' ö' 'what, who'), DQA #1552 (A * $\eta j\nabla$ 'what?, who?') ¶ SDM97, DQA, and S AJ adduce here M *ya $\dot{\gamma}$ un 'what?' (and *ya $\dot{\gamma}$ uma id.) without justification (if they had been right, it would have been the only case of M *y- < A * η -). On M *ya $\dot{\gamma}$ un see s.v. N *ya 'which?' || ? U: Y K/T neme 'what?' (Y T {Krn.} nem- η , nem-e- η) ¶ IN 271, Krn. JJ 87-9 || ? D: Krx $\eta\bar{e}$ 'who?', Mlt {SKD} $\eta\bar{e}re$ - 'who?' m., $\eta\bar{e}ri$ -, $\eta\bar{e}$ - 'who?' non-m. ($\eta\bar{e}$ -k obl. for both m. and non-m.), Brh dēr, dē 'who?' (sg. and pl.) (if Emeneau is right in postulating that Brh d- is from * η -, which he attributes to the "NDr." proto-lge.) ¶ D 467 [#5151], Hahn KG 29-3O, SKD 44-5, ≠ Pf. 49 ("Original PNDr * \bar{e} was enlarged by * η -), Em. BDCG 14-5 ("We must assume that ... this whole NDr. group has η - [of whatever origin] as its one secondary peculiarity"), 65 ◇ IS MsN s.v. *na interrogative (T, K, D, C, Ang), ≈ Gr. I 232-4 ("interrogative N" in T, Y, J, Ai, EA + unc. Ko + err. Ugr).

1634. (2?) * $\eta i b | p \nabla$ (or * $\eta æ y b | p \nabla$) 'bend down, sink' > IE: NaIE *kneib- '≈ bend down, decline' > Gmc * $xn\bar{i}p$ -/* $xnip$ - > ON hnípa 'to hang one's head, to be despondent, to be sullen\gloomy', AS hnipian vi. 'to droop, to bend down', MHG nipfen 'einnicken' || Lt knibti (1s prs. knumbū 'to fall, to descend, to lose elasticity, to decline' ¶ P 08, Vr. 243, Ho. 166, Sw. 91, Lx. 151, Ju. III 183, ≠ Frn. 277-8, ≈ IS III 57 || HS: S * \circ -yib- > Ar $\check{y}yb$ (3m ip. ya-yib-, pf. yāba) 'set, disappear' (of the sun), 'be absent, hidden from' ¶ BK II 52O-1, Hv. 54O ¶ Belongs here if the meaning 'to set' is primary || ?σ A: Tg * ηeb - 'carry away' (× N ? * $\bar{n}'i'h w \nabla$ [- * $\eta'i'h w \nabla$ - * $\bar{n}|\eta o h i w \nabla$?] 'to lead, to direct [oneself] towards', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If the N etymon is * $\eta i b \nabla$ or * $\eta æ y b \nabla$,

the IE cns. *-b- may be accounted for by the IE incompatibility law that rules out vl. cns. and vd. aspirate in the same root ◇ The pN rec. *ŋib|p ∇ does not account for the Tg root *ŋeb-. Therefore, if Tg *ŋeb- is a legitimate cognate, we must prefer the N rec. *ŋæyb|p ∇ .

1635. ??? *‘ŋUc|ç ∇ (= *‘ŋUc|ç ∇ ?) 'late, evening, night; (?) delay' > HS ~ *‘ŋu’c- > S *°✓ ŋs|š: (G prm. *°-ŋuss- ~ *°-ŋusš-) > Ar ✓ ŋss G (ip. -ŋuss-u) v. 'patrol \ go to the rounds by night', 'come late' (of news)', ŋass- 'patrol, night-watch', S *°✓ ŋws|š (G prm. *°-ŋūs|š-) > Ar ✓ ŋws (ip. ŋa-ŋūs-u) 'prowl about by night' (of man, wolf) ¶ BK II 248-9, 407, Hv. 471, 509 || Ch: Ngz ŋestú 'be late' ¶ Sch. DN 126 || IE: NaIE *°‘wes- 'sunset' > OSx west 'in the west', AS west id. ('westlich'), NE west; ON vestr 'west, to the west', OSx, OHG westar 'westward'; OHG westan, NHG Westen 'west'; ON vestan, OSx westan(a), AS westan(e) 'from the west', OHG westana id., {Kb.} 'westward'; OHG westar, AS westerra 'western', NE western (unless + OI a'vas 'down' (direction) ↔ NaIE *au- 'down') ||| NaIE *‘wesperos 'evening' > Gk ἔσπερος id. || L vesper (gen. vesperis) id. ||| It is possible (but not certain) that this etymon took part in the creation of IE *wes- 'dwell, pass the night, stay' (together with N *ŋu’š ∇ 'live') (P 117O-1) > OI 'vasati 'stays, spends the night', OIr fó(a)id 'spends the night' ¶ P 73, 117O-4, Vr. 658, Ho. S 87, Ho. 391-2, Kb. 1185, OsS 1132, Schz. 321, WH II 77O-1, F I 575, EI 184 (*‘wespero-s ~ *‘wekeros 'evening') || A *ŋo’ç ∇ 'evening, late' > pKo {S} *nič- 'late' > MKo nič-, NKo nič-, Ko Ph nit- / niži-n id. ¶ S QK #212, Nam 90, 118, MLC 375 || ? Tg: Ewk učē 'long time ago' ¶ STM II 295 || pJ {S} *nətì { ~ nətí? } 'after, afterwards' > OJ nötì, J: T noćí ~ noći, ?K nōćí, Kg noćí ¶ S QJ #288, Mr. 501 || ? NaT *očig 'youngest, latest, smallest' (× N *ŋUc ∇ 'small, few', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ It is tempting to adduce here WrM öcigen 'yesterday' and the related M words, but this is unt. because of the cns. h- in MM [IsV] höcken, [LV] hečegen and MM [McSc] xecige udur (P SD I 10) suggesting an initial pM *ψ- (F Lg. VMI 33, Pp. L III 74, Iw. 436, T 379) ¶~ SDM97 (A *ŋoč'e 'late, evening'), ~ DQA #142O (A *ŋleč'e 'late', incl. Ko, J) || ? K *° ∇ nž > Mg onž- 'fall' (of night), 'вечереть', onžua ~ onžwa ~ onižua 'evening' ¶ Chik. 303, Q 293-4 || ? D *načč- > Tm naccu 'delay, procrastination', Tl naccu 'delay, slowness' ¶¶ The unexpected D vw. *-a- needs explaining ¶ D #578 || ???φ U: FP {UEW, Sm.) *ñoča 'slow, sluggish (träge)' > pLp *níčē id. > Lp:

L **n̥jāhtsē** 'langsam, träge (beim Gehen)', N **n̥joacce** 'slow, dilatory', Nt **ńūgšš** 'langsam (beim Arbeiten)' || Prm {LG} *ńōž- > Vt **ńežъya-** n̥ožya- v. 'stretch out (words)', Z Vm/I **ńz̥**, StZ **ńyöжйö** ńz̥yз 'slowly, quietly' ¶ UEW 713, Sm. 553, Lr. #777, Lgc. #442O, LG 198 ¶ The U cognate is qu. because U *-č- is not the reg. cognate of S *-s|š- and K *ž-. The palatality of FP *ń- needs explaining ◇ Cf. ADb. NNN 35 (N *ń₂Oč́v 'late, slowly' > A, D, U *ńoča + err. IE *n̥ās- 'live, dwell') ◇ The whole etymology is tentative, because both IE *wes- (in Gmc) and the T word have alt. explanations. T oči ~ očuγ is found only in the T lgs. neighbouring the Mongolian language area and may be a loan from M (WrM öcüken, HlM οчүүхэн 'little, small'). If the K (Mg) word belongs here, the N rec. must be *ńUc|čv ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6. This etymology suggests that N *ńU- may yield IE *we-.

1636. ₂ *ńUč́v 'small, few' > HS: Eg fP n̥z̥s 'klein, gering', fOK n̥z̥s 'der Kleine' (× HS *√n̥ks 'little, small' < N *níku 'small, little') ¶ EG II 384-5 || ?φ S *°√wyl̥s > Ak fOB/OA -w̥i̥s- (inf. w̥i̥ 'ās̥u) 'wenig, (zu) gering sein\werden' ¶ Sd. 1496, DRS 482-3 || A: Tg {S, SDM} (att. in AmTg) *ńūči- 'small' > Orc ńīči, Ud X/Sm {Krm.} ńiča?, Ud B/I {Krm.} iča?, Ud A {Shn.} ič?a, ńič?a, ?Ul nuči ~ ńūči, ?Ork nūči 'small' ¶ STM I 589-90, Krm. 272 || M *üčü-ken ~ *öčü-ken 'small, little' (× N *x̥ü'w̥iñčv [or *x̥ü'ñčv?] 'thin, narrow') > MM [Hl] ücüg̥ken 'small, little' ('petit'), [IM] üčügen ~ üčüken, [S] {H} ucugen ~ ucugan, [MA] öčüken id., [MA] öčōn 'peu', WrO ücüken, üciňken, ücōňken, ücüüken 'small, little', ücüüg̥ken 'trifle', WrM ücüken ~ öcüken, öcüg̥ken, HlM οчүүхэн, Kl γчүкн 'small, little; few', MMgl účikä 'light (levis)', Dg {Pp.} účēk, {T} učēk, {Mrm.} učēke 'peu', {Pp.} účīkēn, účīxen, {T} učēken 'small, little' ¶ Ms. H 107, Pp. MA 273, 449, H 157, Krg. 195, MED 629, KRS 558, Iw. 142, T DgJ 171 || NaT *očiçig (probably *ōč-ig) 'smallest, youngest, latest' > Qb {Rl.} očuγ, Sg {Rl.} oči, Shor {Rl.} oča, QK {Rl.} oži 'youngest, smallest, latest', Xk {BIG} очы oči 'smallest, youngest (child in the family)', Tb {B} oči 'the youngest (girl)', ?σ Alt {BT} očo čečen 'fourth finger'; *°ōč- > Yk {JkR} ūohun-, {Pek.} ūosun- v. 'diminish, reduce', {JkR} n. act. ūostū 'diminishing, reduction' ¶ Rs. W 356, Rl. I 1133-7, B DLT 179, 182, B DChT 141, BIG 133, BT 118, BIG 133, JkR 44O, Pek. 3051 || pJ *úsú 'thin' > OJ úsú, J: T ūsu, K úsu, Kg úši, Ns ūsú ¶ S QJ #104, Mr. 843 ||

??σ pKo {S} *n̄s- 'low, inferior' > MKo n̄s-kāp-, n̄s-, NKo nās- nat- ¶ S QK #616, Nam 1OO-1, MLC 312 ¶ ~ S VL 228, ~ SDM97 (A *níjč'i and *ŋūč'e), ADb. NNN 34, cp. ~ DQA #1544 (A *ŋóyču thin, small' > T *ōču- [sc. *očug] 'smallest', M *ōčü-, Tg *ŋūši, pKo *n̄s-, pJ *úsú-) ◇ NaT *o- suggests a pA and a pN back vw., while M *ü- and Tg *ü are likely to be due to ass. (infl. of the pA *i of the next syll.).

1637. *ŋa^{r?}igu 'to bow, to bend (down), to hang (by sth.), to hang down' > A *ŋayigu, {IS} *ŋaygu- 'bow, hang down' > Tg {ADb. in IS} *ŋaygu- (= {ʃADb.} *ŋəjxu) 'descend, decline' > Ewk ŋēw- v. 'lie down lower on the slope, lie down closer to the hearth\fire', d. ŋeyūr- vt. 'move\put (sth.) closer to the fire\chimney', WrMc wasi-, Mc Sb waši- vi. 'descend, go\get down', 'set' (of the sun), 'alight'; possibly also d. *ŋaygu n. 'slope', adj. 'being in a lower place' > Ewk ŋēyū ʃ ŋēwū 'lower, being on the river-bank \ on the edge', Sln n̄z̄, Orc ŋää '(river-)bank', Lm ŋāy ~ ŋēy ~ ŋāy ʃ ŋlāy adj. 'being on the bank\coast\edge', ŋēwu ʃ ŋēwu 'lowest', Ork ŋowwē, ŋol 'coastal, coast', UI wayt 'lower (riverside) part of the village', Nn Nh wayi, Nn B wat 'riverside' ¶ STM I 659-60 || M *°nayigu- 'bow down, stoop' > WrM naigu-, HlM найга- id., 'hang down (as branches, leaves)'; ??σ M *nayigu- 'reel, walk unsteadily' > WrM naigu, HlM {Luv.}, Brt найга- 'stagger, reel (шататься, качаться)', Ord nāgu- 'se balancer' (plantes sous l'action du vent), 'chanceler' (personne ivre); M → WrMc {Z} naugxu- 'hang (over), hang down, bend down' ¶ MED 558, Cev. 362, Luv. 258, Chr. 318, Ms. O 485, Z 207 ¶ IS III adduces here T *jayka- 'shake', which is highly qu. for both semantic and phonetic (*-k-) reasons. M *nayigu- 'flutter in the wind; quiver; shake, sway' (> WrM naigu- id.) is likely to be related to T *jayka-, but its connection with N *ŋa^{r?}igu 'to bow, to bend' is qu. ¶ ~ ADb. NNN 38 (A *nayga 'качаться') || HS: S *°fāwig- 'crooked, bent' > Ar ʃawīga G pf. 'was\became crooked, bent, distorted', d. (?) *°✓ ŋwg > Ar ✓ ŋwg vt. G (pf. ʃāgā) 'turn aside (a beast, with the rein)' ¶ Fr. III 239, Hv. 507 || K: Sv {Ni.} -n̄kw-/-nekw-, Sv L {Dn.} -n̄kw-/-nīkw v. 'bend, bow', Sv UB {GP} -nekw-/-n̄kw-/-nīkw-: msd. li-nekw 'to bend', li-n̄kw-e (pfc. oχ-n̄ikw-a) vt. 'to bend' ¶ Ni. s.v. ГНУТЬ, Dn s.v. n̄ikv, GP 162, 249 ¶ -k- < *-rg- || IE: NaIE *kneigʷh- 'bend, bow' (× N *^rk'uñigU 'bend, incline, bow' [q.v. ffd.]) || U *ník'u- vi. 'bow, incline, bend' (× N ?

***ńi̥ük'ū** 'lie down, sink, bow [down]', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 350 (*ńigə
'наклоняться = bend down' > IE, U), IS III 56-61 (*ńaŋgu 'bend down,
bend, hang down' > IE, U, A with further details), ADb. NNN 38 (A, U,
IE) ◇ Sv -k- and U *-k- suggest the presence of a N lr. (most probably
*?) that caused glottalization in Sv and devoicing in U; in IE the N stem-
internal *? (not preceding a cns.) is lost without traces.

1638. *ńi̥ka (more probable than *ńi̥ka) 'cervical vertebrae, neck,
nape of the neck' > U *ńika 'vertebra, joint [of a body], neck, nape of
the neck' > FU *ńika > F níkama 'vertebra, node of a stalk' || Hg nýak
'neck' | Vg: T näk, LK/MK näx (pl. näkt), UK/NV nax, P näk (pl. näkt),
UL/Ss nak 'node of a stalk, joint'; Os Kz ñák id. || Sm: Slq: Tz {Hl.} nuk+
'collar-bone', Nr {Cs.} nug, Kt nukka 'occiput'; hardly here Ne ńixiră-
'den Kopf nach hinten biegen, быть с запрокинутой головой'
(adduced by IS), which rather belongs to Sm {Jn.} níkə- ~ nikə- 'den
Kopf biegen' ¶ IS II 92, Ht. 2O2 [#781] (adduces Os V/Vy/Ty nōψ, Kz
nūw 'bough', but not Os Kz ñák), Jn. 1O1 || A {IS} *ńika 'neck,
vertebrae', {DQA} *ńjáke > M *nigur-sun 'spinal marrow, spinal cord' >
WrM nígursun, HlM ńigarsc(ан), ńigas, Kl ńuhyrcsн nígyrsun
'(spinal) marrow', {Rm.} nígyrsun 'spinal marrow, cartilage between
vertebrae'; ? MM [Hl] nírusun or nírisün 'spinal cord' (acc. to Ms.,
a slip of the pen for *níyursun, but Lew. may be right in considering it a
misspelling for nírysun 'back, spine') ¶ MED 58O, KRS 385, KW 281,
Ms. H 79, Lew. II 64 || Tg *ńik-, *ńikin- 'neck' > Ewk Brg níkin 'neck,
vertebrae of the neck', Ewk níkinma ~ ńikinma ~ nikimńa ~ ńikimńa ~
nikimna ~ ńikimna ~ nikimńa id., Ewk Chmk níkin 'throat', Sln níxama
~ níxima 'neck', Lm ńíqən ~ ńíkъn ~ ńikan 'back of the neck,
vertebrae of the neck', Neg níxma ~ nikimna ~ nikma 'neck, vertebrae
of the neck', Ul ńíqə(n-) id., 'back (dorsum)', Ork níqə(n-) 'neck part
of a fish head', níqimńa 'neck of a reindeer', WrMc níkde {Z} 'place of
the saddle on horse's back (at the end of the mane and of the front
shoulder-blades)', 'nape', {Hr.} 'der den Sattel tragende Teil des
Rückens bei Pferd, Maultier und Esel; Sattellage' ¶ STM I 591, Z 231, Hr.
698 || ? T *jaka 'collar' > OT jaqa, Tk ýaka, Az jaχa, Tkm, VTt jaqa,
Qzq, Qq žaya, Nog jaya, Qrg žaqa, Alt žaqa, Uz jaqa, Yk sawa, Chv L
çýxa śuʂ_a 'collar' ¶ The T word is homonymous with *jaka 'edge,
border', but it is not clear if the words are etymologically identical
('collar' → 'edge' or 'edge' → 'collar'?); if the original meaning is 'edge,
border', the T √ does not belong here ¶ ET J 82-4, Jeg. 222, Fed. II 146-

7, Cl. 898 **JJ** If the T word belongs here, SDM's rec. *näk'a or *näk'e may be justified **JJ** SDM97 (A *näk'ə 'neck, vertebra'), DQA #1464 (A *njäke 'neck, vertebra') || **IE**: NaIE *knok(k)o-/*knek(k)o- 'nape of the neck, hill' (x N *gūn'K'E ~ *gūn'K'Δ 'nape [→ 'neck'], rear part of the head', q.v.) > ON hnakki, hnakkur 'nape', OHG {Kb.} nac 'summit, crown, neck', {OsS} hnach & hnacch 'nape, occiput', MHG {KM} nac(ke), NHG Nacken, MLG necke, MHG ge-nic, ge-nicke, NHG Genick 'nape of the neck', AS hnecca 'nape, back of the head, neck', NE neck || Clt: OIr cnocc 'protubérance, colline, mont', NIr cnoc, W cnwch 'protubérance', cnwch y gwegil 'la bosse de la nuque', OBr cnoch 'tumulus (hill)', MBr knech, Br krec'h, kreac'h 'hill' || Tc A knuk 'neck, nape' ¶ Vr. 242, Ho. 166, OsS 408, Kb. 714, Lx. 61, KM 248, 500-1, Vn. C 132 (IE *knokko-), Wn. 225, ≠ P 558-9 (*kneu-g-, -k-) || ? **HS**: S *'řunuk- ~ *'řinuk- 'neck' (x N *řomKē '[∈ part of the] neck', q.v. ffd.) ◇ There may be two alt. hypotheses for this √: [1] N *ŋ- yields IE *kn- and U *ñ- (or zero in some positions), while T *j- and Tg *ń- are positional reflexes of A *ŋ- before *i; [2] IE *kn- reflects N *ñ-. I find the first hyp. more natural because of the presence of a velar\lr. feature in IE, which is parallel to A *ŋ- (found in similar roots not before *i, e.g. in N *ŋa^rig^u 'to bow, to bend', N *ŋ^rU¹ 'thing; what?', N *ŋ^rΔ¹ 'h^rΔmP^ri¹ 'gnat, mosquito'). The second hyp. does not cope with the fact that N *ñ- (allegedly evidenced by U) yields IE *n- rather than *kn- in several N words (*ñi 'not', *ñUKΔ 'to strike, to peck, to hit'). IE *n- (rather than *kn-) in *nēhs- 'nose' (< N *ŋäqasā id.) and NaIE *ñāy- 'dead body' (< N *ŋa^rw^ri¹ 'dead, dead person') may be due to the presence of a N lr.; n- in Ht nanna- vi. 'treiben, ziehen, marschieren, fahren' (< N *ŋæñE 'go [away]') may be due to as. ◇ AD NM #108, Vv. AEN 7, ADb. NNN 38 (A, U, IE).

1639. *ŋ'iw^ro¹Δ 'extend, stretch, become long' > **HS**: S *°-řūl- > Ar ✓ řw^l (pf. řāla, ip. -řūl-) 'deviate from the right course', řāla ři... (ip. yasřūlu ři...) 'extend the bounds in', {BK} ✓ řw^l G 'dépasser\excéder le chiffre \ la mesure' ¶ BK II 411, Hv. 51O || **A** *ŋōlři¹Δ ({SDM} *ŋōlΔ, {S VL} *ŋōlΔ) 'long; to extend' > M: WrM nolig, HlM нолиг 'long\boring' (of a conversation) ¶ Luv. 27O, Cev. 38O || Tg {S} *ŋōlři¹- 'be long' → *ŋōlΔmi 'long' > WrMc golmin, Mc Sb gollin 'long, extended', Ul walml ~ wolml ~ nolml, Orc ŋoń(i)mi, Ud {Krm.}

wanimi, {STM} wanimi ✕ wańimi, Ork, Nn Nh ḥońim, Ewk ḥōnim, Sln ninomi, {Iv.} ᬠoňóm, Lm ḥon̄m, Neg ḥonom id.; d. *ḥōl̄m̄i-la 'length' > Ul ḥolmila, Orc ḥónila, Ud wanila, Nn ḥon̄lā- (+ppa.) id. ¶ STM I 664-5, Krm. 218 || pKo {S} *n̄r̄- 'be extended, extend' > MKo n̄r̄i-, NKo n̄l̄- ¶ S QK #123, Nam 92, MLC 372 || pJ {S} *n̄n-k̄a 'long' > OJ n̄ḡa-, J: T nagái, K náŋai, Kg náge, Ns n̄ḡa-, Sh nágá-, Ht n̄a-, Y n̄á- ¶ S QJ #44 ¶ S AJ 1O9, 276, DQA #1546 (A *ḥōla 'long; to extend'), S VL 227-8 || ?

U: FU: amb Hg nyúl(-ik) 'stretch, extend, expand', unless it is related to nyújt- id., which goes back to FU *ńây▽ 'stretch, extend' ¶ Coll. 1O3 (tentatively equates Hg nyúl- with Vt nuyal- 'stretch, extend'), UEW 3O9 (explains the Hg and Vt forms as derived from the reflexes of FU {Rd.} *ńńây▽ 'stretch, extend' [> Vt M nuyal- id., Z nøykal- 'such erweitern, sich ausdehnen']) || D *n̄l̄- 'be long; extend' > Tm n̄l̄ 'be long', n̄l̄ 'length', Ml n̄l̄a, n̄l̄e, n̄l̄avē 'far', n̄l̄am 'length', n̄l̄uka 'extend oneself, become long', Kt ni·ṝ-, ni·ñ̄- '(iron) becomes longer by expansion', ni·t̄- 'lengthen (iron)', Td ni·]- 'be stretched out straight' (rope), 'stretch oneself over\into', Kt, Td ni·t̄- 'stretch out' (limb), Kn n̄l̄ 'grow long\high, extend, extend oneself', Kdg ni·ja 'length', Tu n̄el̄ya 'great, large', n̄i t̄ u- 'stretch out\forth', Tl n̄l̄ugu 'stretch, stretch one's limbs', Knd nilba 'straight, erect', Kui n̄l̄ba 'be standing' (corn), Ku niluwu 'long (in measuring)' ¶ D #3692 ◇ ADb. NNN 35 (A [*ḥōla], U, D), DQA #1546 (A, D).

1640. *ḥ̄ṇ̄í▽ 'h̄ṇ̄mP̄i' 'gnat, mosquito' (≈ N *ńṇ̄í▽ 'insect' + N *h̄ṇ̄mP̄i' 'venomous vermin'?) > **A:** Tg *ḥalma- 'gnat' > Ork ḥalma-qta ~ nalma-qta ~ nalpa-qta ~ namma-qta, Ud ḥama-kta, Orc gama-kta, Ul galma-qta ~ garma-qta, Nn B galma-qta ~ garma-x̄ta ~ garma-qta, Nn Nh/KU garma-qta, Ewk, Neg ḥanma-kta, Sln nama-kta ~ namma-kta ~ namma-tta, WrMc galma-n, Mc Sb (galamən) [gaɻmən] id. ¶ STM I 657, Krm. 271, Y #2259 || pJ *àm̄u 'gadfly' > OJ amu, ItOJ [RJ] àbú, J: T ábu, K àbú, Kg abú ¶ S QJ #1512, Mr. 376 ¶ DQA #1525 *ḥalma 'a stinging insect': Tg, J) || D: [1] (in McTm) *nu]amp̄- 'mosquito, gnat' > Tm n̄u]amp̄u 'gnat, eye-fly, mosquito', Ml n̄u]amp̄u 'gnat, eye-fly' ¶ D #3715 ¶ ?? [2] D *umm▽]- 'stinging insect' > Kn ummuři 'insect', Tu umil̄o ~ umbli 'mosquito, gnat', Nkr ummel 'mosquito' ¶ D #638 || **HS:** [1] (mt.) S *'nam̄a]l̄- 'ant', coll. *namāl- > Ar naml̄- ~ numl̄- 'ant(s)', snglt. naml̄-at-, BHb נַמְלֵה nəmāl̄-ā 'ant', MHb pl. נַמְלִים nəmāl̄im

nəmā'1-īm 'ants', Sr **لُجْرُ** nəmā'lā 'ant nest', Mh {Jo.} nōmīl (pl. nōmōl), Hrs {Jo.} lōmēl (pl. lōmōl), Sq {Jo.} 'nəmħeł, Ak namālu, namlu, lamattu (< *la'manatum < *na'malatum) 'ant' § BK II 1349, KB 662, KBR 7O1, Br. 431, Sd. 533, 725, Jo. M 299 | [2] S *^onimm- > Ar nimm-at- 'ant, louse' § Fr IV 337, BK 1346 § The change *n...lm- > *n...mm- and the mt. *✓nlm > *✓nml are due to the S incompatibility law that rules out a sequence of two dental sonorants in the same √ || Ch: ? WCh: Su {J} ḥgum, Ang ḥgum 'insect' || ECh: Jg {J} lōlmō 'ant' § JJ 114, Stl. ZCh 218 [#68O] || U: FU *íām∇ ~ *^on|ḥo|ume 'small fly or mosquito': [1] FU *íām∇ (= íum∇?) > pChr {Ber.} *lum- > Chr: H lъme, Y lūmey, M lumiy, B lume 'a very small fly' || pVg *íu'may/*íū'may 'gnat' > Vg {Knn.}: LK īomay, MK *īōməy, P īomay ~ īamay, Ss īūmūy ~ īūmuy id.; [2] Prm *nomi 'mosquito' > StZ nom / nomy- 'mosquito', Z USs nom 'gnat' ('мoшкá'), Yz num 'mosquito', Vt n̄m̄t 'gnat', Vt C n̄m̄t 'mosquito' § UEW 262, 71O-1, Ber. 34, LG 193, Lt. 56 ◇ Ffd. see N *ń∇í∇ (or *ń∇l∇) 'insect' (the difference in the initial nasals [N *ń- ≠ *ŋ-] still needs explaining) and N *^rh¹∇mP^ri¹ 'venomous vermin'.

1641. *^rŋ¹amT∇ 'to give' > HS: S *✓ntn ~ *^o✓ndn ~ (?) *^o✓ndy v. 'give' > BHb ✓ntn (pf. nā'tan, ip. -tten), Amn, Ed, Yd, OA, IA, BA, JEA, Nbt, Plm, JA, Md ✓ntn G, Ug {OLS, A}, Ph, Pun ✓ytn G, OCn Sn tñ, Ar NY S (← SS?) ✓ndy (pf. ?anda, ip. yandi), JA [Trg.] ✓ntn G 'give, present (schenken)' & ✓ddy (pf. ?addi ip. yiddi) 'give', Jb ndɔh 'give it here!', Akk ✓ndn (inf. nadānu) 'give' § The variant ytn in Ph and Ug goes back to metanalysis of the Cnn ip. *-ttin- < *-ntin- § KB 692-4, 175O, KBR 733-5, HJ 478-9, 766-7O, Alb. PSI 44, A #1255, Grd. UT ##1169, 1716, OLS 543-4, Lv. T II 133, Sl. 78O-1, DM 3O7, Jo. J 18O, Bns. NJ I 191, Sd. 7O1 || WCh: pBT {Stl. ZCh} *un, {Stl. VZCh} *on v. 'give' > Bl {IL} ḡnó id., Tng oni, Ngm ona, Maha oni v. 'give' § J T 127, Stl. ZCh 247 [#47], Stl. VZCh B #14 || U: FU *amta v. 'give' > F anta- v. 'give, give as present', Es anda- v. 'give', pLp {Lr.} *vōmtē > Lp: N {N} vuo^wde- / -wd-, L {LLO} vuobitē- ~ vyogtē- v. 'sell', I {It.} vye^bdi^δ, Pa {TI} uŷ·d·e-, Nt {TI} uŷ·t·ē- v. 'give' | pMr *andə- > Er аndo- ando-, Mk аndo- andə- v. 'nourish, feed' | pPrm *ud- v. 'feed, give to drink' > Z, Prmk ud- id., Vt ud+ v. 'give to drink' || Hg ad- v. 'give, give as present' § UEW 8, Coll. 72, Db. OS xxxii, Sm. 541 (FU *f̄mtå- 'give, sell' > FP *ěmta-, Ugr *f̄mta-), LG 295-6, SK 2O, Lr. #144O, Lgc. #8716, TI 7O4, Ker. II 34-5 || ? A: pJ {S} *átápá- v. 'give' > OJ átápá-, J:

T `atae-, K átáé-, Kg ataé id.; → OJ átápji 'price' ¶ S AJ 112, 269 [#117], S QJ #117, Mr. 387, 678 ¶ S AJ 279 [#109], SDM97 (A *amta 'give' - rec. based on the external comparison with U) || D *amm- v. 'sell, give away' > Tm ammu v. 'sell, send', Gnd amanā, mamanā, omm- v. 'sell' ¶ D #186 ◇ We reconstruct N *ŋ- on indirect ev.: *ŋ- is the only N phoneme responsible for the correlation S *n- ÷ U, D *∅-.

1642. *ŋæñE 'go (away)' > HS: Eg P/CT nnuy v. 'go, go away' ¶ EG II 276 || amb IE: (× N *ñ'i'hwN 'to lead')? Ht nanna-, nanniya- vi. 'drive, ride in an animal-drawn vehicle', vt. 'drive (animals, persons, evils)' ¶ CHD L-N 391-3, T EII 271-3, Sturt. CG 215, 247 (believed that nanna- is a rdp. of nai- 'lead') || A {DQA} *ŋéni 'go' > Tg *ŋene- 'go, walk' > Ewk ŋ3nū- 'go (gehen, fahren), walk', Ewk ŋ3n3-, Neg, Ud ŋ3n3-, Ork ŋ3(n)n3- vi. 'move (somewhere), go', Sln ŋ3n3- 'set off, leave (отправиться)', Lm ŋ3n- & ŋöñ- & ŋəñ- vi. 'move, go away', Ork ŋ3n- 'go away', Ul ŋ3n3-, Nn 3n3- vi. 'move, go, go away', WrMc gene- 'go, set off' ¶ STM I 67O-1, Krm. 273 || pKo {S} *nàń(ʌ) 'go, move forward' > MKo nàń-, nàńá-, nás-/nań-, NKo nás- = nat-, nā-ka- ¶ S QK #174, Nam 88, 99, 1O1, MLC 292, 311 || pJ {S} *ín- 'go away' > OJ ín- id. ¶ S QJ #214, Mr. 697 || ? M *neñü- 'drive the herd to other pasture grounds, trek, nomadize, move from place to place, migrate' (× N *ñahæg'ü' 'drive, chase', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ DQA #1533 (A *ŋéni 'go [down, away]', incl. Tg, Ko, J, M), S AJ 18, 72, 257, 292.

1643. *ŋańN 'take so. with oneself, lead' > HS: S *°✓ ŋnyw > Ar عَنْ ŋāni-n 'captive' ¶ BK II 39O-1, Hv. 5O5 || IE *nejHx- > NaIE *nej(ə)- / *ní- v. 'lead', Ht {CHD} nai-/ne- vt. 'send, dispatch' (× N *ñ'i'hwN [- *ñ'i'hwN] & *ñ|ŋoħiwiN?] 'to lead, to direct [oneself] towards', q.v. ffd.) || A {DQA} *ŋáńi 'take so. with oneself' > AmTg *ŋāni- v. 'fetch, go to take so./sth.' > Nn Nh ŋānɪ-, Ul ŋanžv-/l- 'go to fetch sth.' ¶ STM I 657 || ?σ pKo {S} *níń- 'combine, continue' > MKo níń-, NKo iś- = it- ¶ S QK #998, Nam 127, MLC 1369 ¶ ≈ DQA #1529 (A *ŋáńi 'take so. with oneself', incl. Tg, ?σ Ko) ◇ ≈ ADb. NNN 35 (N *ŋ₂ArńV 'take so.\sth. with oneself' > IE, A {DQA} *ŋáńi + err. D nań- 'approach, join').

1644. *ŋ₁Nw, ańN 'sky, cloud' > HS: CS *řanān- ~ *°řanan- ~ *°řa'w'ann- 'clouds' > BHb נָנָן 'clouds, cloud-mass (Gewölk)', BA נָנָן, Sr ՚ନ୍ଦ୍ର ନାନା'ନ-ା 'cloud', Ar {BK} ŋanān-at-, {Hv.} ŋanān- 'cloud' (< *°řa'w'ann-), ŋanān- 'rain cloud' ¶ KB 811-2, Br. 533, JPS 42O, BK II 377, Hv. 5O2 || A {DQA} *ŋańa {AD} 'sky, clear sky' > Tg *ńanńa

'sky' > Ewk, Neg, Orc, Ud **ńaŋńa**, Lm **ńaŋńe** & **ńan**, Ork **nāŋna** 'sky', WrMc **nīŋarñiŋa** 'sky, clear sky' ¶ STM I 634, Krm. 269 || T ***aŋ̚-** > [1] T ***aŋ̚ař** 'cloudless sky' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} **ayāz|s** 'cloudless, bright', MQp XV **ayaz** 'clear weather', XIV [CC] **ayaz|s**, Chg XV **ayaz** 'a clear cloudless night', Qmq, ET **ayaz**, Tv **ayas**, Bsh **ayađ**, Chv L **uyar** 'clear weather', Tkm **ayađ**, Tk **ayaz**, Az, VTt, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg **ayaz** 'frost'; [2] Bsh Δ **ayat-** 'become clear' (weather), [3] SbTt **aybq** 'clear' (of weather); ? [4] NaT ***ayníq-** 'become clear' (of sky, weather)', 'recover (from illness), get sober' > Qzq, Qq, Qrg **ayiq-** id. (× T ***ađi-** represented by OT **ađi** 'sober') ¶ Cl. 46, 276, ET Gl 1O2-3, TL 13, RI. I O, 218 || ?? pJ {S} ***ámâj** 'sky, rain' > OJ **àmè**, J: T **áme**, K **àmē**, Kg **amé**, Ns **àmf**, Sh **ámi**, Ht **àmí**, Y **àmì** ¶ S QJ #59, Mr. 381 ¶ DQA #1526 ***ŋáńa** 'clear sky' || D ***vāńa** 'sky, cloud, rain' > Tm **vāńi**, **vāńam**, Gnd KM {BB} **vāńa** id., Ml **vāń(am)**, Kt **vańm**, Td **poń** ~ **foń**, Kn **bāń(a)**, **bāńa**, Tu **bāńa**, **bāńa**, Krg **bāńa** 'sky', Tl **vāńa**, Klm **vańa**, Nk **vāńa**, Prg **vāń-i**, Gdb **vāyin** 'rain' ¶ D #5381 ¶ D ***vāńa** suggests the loss of the N initial ***ŋ** with compensatory lengthening of the vw. ¶ Cp. D ***v̚iń** 'sky' < ***wEyń|n̚** ~ ***wEń|n̚y** 'daylight' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ ADb. NNN 34 (N ***ŋ₁ařńi** 'sky' > A, D).

1645. ***ŋeh'U'r'i'** 'light, fire' > HS: CS ***✓nhr** 'light', v. 'shine' (× N ***naher** 'day, sun, daylight' and N ***ńuR** 'become very hot, shine'?) > BHb **✓nhr** v. 'shine, be radiant', נַהֲרָה **nahā|rā** 'light' ('Licht, heller Schein'), BA נַהֲרָא **nahō|rā**, JA נַהֲרָה **nə'hōr**, em. **nahō|rā**, Sr נַהֲרָה **nuh'r-ā** (cs. נַהֲרָה **nə,hor**), Md **nhura** 'light', Sr, Md **✓nhr** v. 'give light, shine', Ww **?nhr** v. *Sh* 'illuminate', Plm **nhyr** 'illustrious' ¶ JI 72O-1, KB 639-4O, 1744, KBR 676-7, BDB 626, Br. 417-8, DM 291, Nld. MG 118 || A: [1] Tg ***ŋēri** 'light' > Ewk **ŋ̚ři**, Lm **ŋ̚ři** ~ **ŋ̚řin** n. 'light (lux)', adj. 'light (hell)', Sln **ŋ̚ři** 'daybreak (aurora)', Nn Nh **ŋ̚řun-** v. 'be dawning' ¶ STM I 671-2 ¶ Pp. IAL 25, S AJ 18, DQA #1439 (pA ***ŋērá** 'day, sun, light': Tg + unc. T, M, and Ko roots that belong to N ***naher** '↑', q.v. ffd. + ??φ J ***ärí-** 'dawn') | [2] M (d.?) ***nurma** 'hot cinders, embers; bonfire' (× N ***ńuR** '↑') > WrM **nurma**, HIM **հյրամ**, **հյրմա** 'hot cinders, embers; bonfire, campfire', WrO **nurma** 'cinders, ashes', Kl † **հյրմ** **nurm**, Brt **հյրմա** 'hot cinders, embers' ¶ MED 59, Krg. 229, KRS 386, Chr. 333 || D: [1] D ***neřyuř-** > Krx **niyř** 'embers, live coals, brand', Mlt **nare** 'flame' || Ml **ńeri** 'heat, burning,

pungency', Tm *neruppu*, Ml *ńerippu* ~ *nerippu* 'fire', Kt, Td *nep* 'live coal' || Tl *nippu* 'fire', Nkr *nirkip-* v. 'kindle', Gdb *nirik-* ~ *niruk-* v. 'light a lamp', Gnd *nirwānā* vt. 'burn', Kui *drē* 'ignition, a flare' §§ D #811 | ? [2] D **erij-* 'fire', vi. 'burn' > Tm *eri* 'fire', *eri-* vi. 'burn', Ml *eri* 'heat, burning, pungency', Kt *erv-* vi. 'shine brightly' (of anything except sun), Td *er-* 'be very bright', Kdg *eri-* 'have burning\astrigent sensation' (of mouth), Tu *eri* 'the glare\heat of fire', *eriyu-* 'glare, be hot', Tl *eriyu* v. 'burn, grieve', Klm, Nkr, Nk *erk-* v. 'light (fire)', Prj *erip-* 'burn the mouth', Gnd *ers-łars-* v. 'taste pungent', Knd, Ku *er-*, Kui *erpa* v. 'kindle, light' §§ D #2929 ◇ N *ŋ-yields S *n- (rather than *ŋ or *ɣ) in the presence of a laryngeal in the same root (see Introduction, § 2.1) ◇ ≈ IS II 85-6 [#320] (*ńara 'fire; to flame'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of N *ŋeh'U'r'i and those of N *náherV 'day, sun' [q.v.]).

1646. *ŋäqasā 'nose' > HS: the S root *✓nχ̂s ('nose'?) is attested in a derived noun meaning 'bone of the nose': Mh nʒχ̂s̄iš, Jb E nʒχ̂se·s̄, Jb C nax̂seš, Hrs nʌχ̂s̄iš id. ¶ Jo. M 308-9, Jo. J 199, Jo. H 100 || IE *nehs- (> NaIE *nās-), in oblique cases *nhos- 'nose' (*H = traditional *H₂) > OI 'nāsā f. 'nose' (Vd [RV] gen. du. na's-oħ, [AthV] instr. sg. na's-ā), OPrs accus. nāham, Av nānha ~ (?) nāh-, BdhSgd nns || L nāris 'nostril' (pl. nārēs 'nostrils, nose'); OL nasum, L nasus ({WH}: < ex. gem. *nasso-) || Gmc: ON nos, Nr nos, Dn næse, Sw nāsa 'nose', Sw nos 'muzzle, nose', OHG nasa, NHG Nase, OFrs, MDt nose, Dt neus, AS nosu 'nose', NE nose || Lt nōsis 'nose', Ltv nāss 'nostril', Pru nozy ({En.}): = *[nōsī]) 'nose' | Sl *nōsъ id. > OCS **носъ** nosъ, Blg, R нос, Uk ніс, SCr, Slv nōs, Cz, Slk, P nos ¶ The structure of the word and its paradigm were reconstructed by Lub. on the basis of archaic forms: nom. *nehs- > Ltv nāss, Vd du. 'nāsā, accus. *nehs-ŋ > Ltv nāsi, OPrs nāham, L nārem, obl. *nhos- > ChS, OR **носъ**, Vd gen. du. na'soħ | WH II 143, 145-6, Lub. AP*a 6O, P 755, ≈ EI 395 (*'Hnas-s ~ *'Hnās / *Hna's-os), Mn. 827, M K II 146, 157, M E II 30-1, Gersh. G 39, 139, Bai. 21O, WH I 143-4, Kb. 716, OsS 64O, KM 503-4, Ho. 238, Vr. N 469, Vr. 415, Hlq. 707, 717-8, Frn. 509, En. 217, ESSJ XXV 212-6, Glh. 44O-1 || A *ŋäksa 'nose' > Tg *ŋjaks'a, *ŋjaksi-n 'nose' > Nn Δ նօզօ 'nose', Orc նիզօ, Ud {Krm.} յոհօ ~ յօհ, Ork naqsa, Ul նակսա ~ վակսա id., Lm A նես ~ յես 'nose, beak', Neg նասին '(bear's) nose' ¶ STM I 587, 636, Krm. 273, S AJ 218 [#173]; on the reflexes of

Tg *ja and *ks see Ci. 1O6-8, 194-7, 229 || pKo *nʌčh 'face' > MKo nʌčh ~ nʌs, NKo nac^h [nat] id. ¶ S AJ 257 [#182], S QK #182, Nam 1OO-1, MLC 313 || ?? M *nakčar-: derivatives with this √ denote some part of the nose: WrM nagcarqai ~ nagcirqai, HIM nagčirhay 'posterior (internal) nostrils', Kl nakčxa 'bridge of the nose', Brt һагсагар 'having a flat bridge of the nose' (F Cev. 362, Luv. 258, KW 27O, Chr. 317, KRS 367, S AJ 244 [#24O]), the cns. *č in M is likely to go back to a sx. and not to belong to the pA stem (unless we accept SDM's hyp. of a pA *č > M *č and Tg *s) ¶ SDM97 (A *ŋäkča), S AJ 18, 293 [#454], DQA #1538 (pA *ŋjäkč∇ 'nose, some part of the nose') ◇ Here N *ŋ- yields IE *n- rather than *kn- (the regular reflex of N *ŋ-), which may be due to the presence of a lr. The a-coloured IE lr. *H points to a N vw. *a after *q. ADb reconstructs the N etymon as *nayŋkČV 'nasopharynx' ◇ Cf. AD PNPh, AD AltAD #8.

1647. (2?) *ŋ'i¹Hat'a¹ 'in sharp instrument, sharp tooth; to bite\cut' > A: *ŋ|nat'a (~ *ŋ|nit'a??) 'in knife', 'cut' > NaT *°ja:¹t 'big knife; weapon' > Osm {Rh.} سَلَتْ yat 'arms, weapons; armour', Tk үат 'armour', as well as possibly d.: Tk үatağan, Az yatayan 'in long knife' ¶ Rs. W 192, Rh. 2179, AzRL I 516, RI. III 19O, 199] less plausible (??σ): NaT *jitig 'sharp' > OT jitig, jit(t)i, Kü/Qb/Qc {RI.} jidig id., Xk čitug, Tv čidig ¶ Cl. 889, RI. III 526-7 || pKo {S} *nát > MKo nát 'sickle', NKo nas nat id., 'scythe' ¶ S QK #4O9, Rm. SKE 162, Nam 94, MLC 311 || pj {S} *nátá > J: T nàta ~ natá, K nátá, Kg nátà 'hatchet' ¶ S QJ #416, Mr. 494 || M *nitul- v. 'cut' > MM [S] {H} nitul- 'cut' ('ab-\durch-schneiden'), WrM nitula-, HIM һятла- 'kill, slaughter (cattle)', Ord nu¹t'u¹l- 'kill' ¶ H 117, MED 586, Ms. O 5O3 ¶ SDM97 (A *net'a > T, M, Ko, J), Rm. SKE 162 (Ko, J), ~ DQA #1461 (A *nít'a 'sharp weapon', 'in knife': Ko, J, M, T *jiti) || IE *kneHd- > NaIE *knēd- / *kenad- 'bite, cut with a sharp instrument' > Gk κνώδων (gen. -οντος) 'sword' (originally an acp. *biting'), pl. κνώδοντες 'two projecting teeth on the blade of a hunting spear' || Lt kásti (1s prs. kändū) 'to bite' (< *konad-), Ltv kōst (1s prs. kōžu, kōdu) id., 'to be sharp, to cut', Lt kañdis n. 'bite, sting' ¶ ≈ P 56O, ≈ F I 887-8, ≈ Ch. 349-5O, Frn. 227 ¶ The apophonic grade *kenad- (< *kenHd-) is a secondary formation based on *kneHd- (most probably from earlier *knjēHd- [see AD NVIE] < N *ŋ'i¹Hat'a¹) || HS: ? Ch ~ *pād∇ 'bite; eat (hard food)' (in some lgs. contamination with the reflex of N *pitē 'eat' [q.v.]) > AG: Su {J}, Gmy at, Tal àt, Ang {ChL} pāt,

Cp {ChL} ?**ȝ**t 'bite' | BT: Grm {Sch.} **ȝ**d- 'bite', Dr {J} **ȝ**d-, Krf {ChC} **ȝ**ddá-wò, Pr {Frz.} **ȝ**ddò 'eat (hard food)', ? Krkr {Lk.} **ȝ**ad- id. || CCh: BB: BtG {Mch} **ȝ**dò, Bcm {Sk.} **ȝ**dò, Gudu {ChL} ó:du, ? Nz *?**ȝ**id- 'bite' || ECh: Brgt {J} ?**ȝ**ddí 'eat (hard food)', Mkl {J} ?**ȝ**dímá / ?**ȝ**dí id., ?á?**ȝ**idá 'bite' ¶ ChC, ChL, J LM 55-6, Frz. P 18 ◇ The cognates in the A lgs. and in Ch suggest a mt. N *-H**ȝ**t->*-t_L▽,h-, whence M *-t- and Ch *-d-.

1647a. ? ***ȝ**i^ut^u 'worm(s), maggot(s), nit' > IE: NaIE *knid- ~ *kñid- 'nit, louse' (×N *K'E¹ñit▽ 'louse, nit') || HS: S *^oñVtt- > Ar SL **ñatt-** 'moth, tick, mite' ¶ Hv. 451 || WCh: AG: Gmy **ñit**, Chip **nìyεt** 'worm' ¶ ChC, ChL || A: M *ötün 'worms, maggots' (unless with *ψ-) > WrM ötü(n), HlM **øt** id., Kl **øtñ** ötən, Brt **ȝtə(h)** 'worm(s); M *ötü- v. 'develop maggots' > WrM ötü-, HlM **øtø-** id., Brt **ȝtø-** id., 'begin to breed' (of maggots\worms), Kl **øt-** öt- id., {KW} *ötö- 'Würme haben' ¶ The absence or presence of pM *ψ- cannot be checked on the extant data. M *ö- < *i- (ass. infl. of *-U) ¶ MED 646, Chr. 516, KRS 427, KW 302 ◇ Qu., because IE *knid- ~ *kñid- has a good alt. et. (N *K'E¹ñit▽) and with the extant data the absence of pM *ψ- cannot be proved.

1648. ***ȝ**a^uw^ri¹ 'dead, dead person' > HS: S *^oñw^r|w > Ar **ñw^ry** (pf. **ñw^ru**, ip. -**ñw^riy-**) v. 'announce the death of so.' (the direct object being the dead person) ¶ BK II 1300, Hv. 784 || IE: NaIE *nāu- 'dead body; death' > ON nā-r 'corpse', Gt nau-s (gen. nauis 'dead person', AS nē(o) id., 'corpse', nēobedd 'death-bed' || Sl *naub, *naubje > ChS, OR **наубъ** naub, SCr nau, R Δ **навъ** 'dead person', OCz nau (gen. nau) 'grave; next world', d. unaviti v. 'kill', Slv nāv 'soul of a dead person', Slv nāvje, Blg Δ **нави** 'souls of unbaptized children', Blg **нави** 'evil spirits' | Ltv nāvē 'death', Pru nowis · "Leib" 'body' (← *'corpse'); ? Lt nōvē 'death, pangs of death', nōvuti 'to destroy, to torture to death' (× nōvē 'Bedrückung', nōvuti 'bedrücken') ¶ P 756, EI 150 (*'neh_Awi-s 'corpse'), Fs. 372, Vr. 405, Ho. 232, Frn. 509, En. 217 (Pru nowis 'trunk of the body'), Vs. III 35, ESSJ XXIV 49-52 || A {DQA} ***ȝ**ñjābi 'dead person' > Tg ***ȝ**jābi- 'dead person' > Ewk **ȝ**ēwi id., 'spirit of a dead ancestor', Lm **ȝ**zbi 'invisible person', UI **ȝ**zwu- ~ **ȝ**zu- v. 'bury', **ȝ**zuwī 'burial' ¶ STM I 658 || ? pJ {S} *m̥ò or *m̥à (or *m̥á, on the ev. of modern J ds.) > OJ m̥uò, J: T mò, K/Kg mó 'funeral, mourning' ¶ S QJ #1071, Mr. 484 ¶ SDM97 (A

*ŋāwē 'dead man'), ≈ DQA #1539 (Tg, J < A *ŋjābi 'deceased') ॥ S, Md., ADb. (SDM97), and DQA adduce here an alleged pT {SDM, DQA} *jēbeg (sc. *jebeg) 'cemetery, grave', presumably yielding Yk sibian 'ghost' and Chv śvva 'cemetery, grave', which is unt.: in fact Chv śvva is akin to OT jōy 'funeral feast' < pT *jōg < ppT ≈ *dōg, as attested by the Gk gloss δόγια (MenP, 3rd c.); cp. OChv *śvva (→ R Δ σιοβά 'Chuvash cemetery' [Dal IV 382]) (F Rs. W 197, Cl. 895, Jeg. 2O4, Fed. II 89, Mrv. II 112) ◇ ≈ ADb. NNN 35 (A, IE + unc. SD *nav-aj- 'be troubled, perish' and an unc. OHg-F parallel: OHg nūvad- vi. 'ersticken, ertrinken' and F nuutua 'be tired', see EWH 1O49, SK 4O6).

1649. *ŋūwāy ॥ 'long hair' > HS: CCh: Mrg ŋw̥i 'beard' ॥ ChL || A *ŋuye- '≈ long hair (of animals)' > Tg *ŋuye-lse, *ŋuye-n 'long hair under the neck' > Ork ŋīwəltz ~ nīwəltz 'long hair under reindeer's neck', Lm Sk ŋōyyzldō, Lm M ŋōyžldə, Lm O ŋōyžllz ~ nōyžllə, Lm Ol mōyžlra ~ ŋōyžlra, Ewk tuyallz ~ mūyžllz ~ tuyāl̥r̥ id., tuyan ~ mūyžn id. ॥ STM I 551 || ??φ pJ {S} *b̥ (¬ *b̥a) 'tail' > OJ wō, J: T/Kg ó, K ð, Sh yū id. ॥ S AJ 267 [#75], S QJ #75, Mr. 5O3 ॥ ≈ DQA #1545 [Tg, J < A *ŋūye 'long hair'] || U *wāyä 'long hair (of animals)' > Chr H wāyä {Szil.} 'die längeren Haare an Fellen', {Rm.} 'Verbrämung aus Lammfell' || Sm: StNe T eǐtē-, Ne T BZ {Lh.} yéjittē-, Nn F βjeyyž- v. 'adorn with long white hairs of a reindeer', '(mit Renttierbart) Muster sticken', Ne T O {Lh.} yéjittē- '(mit Garn) Muster sticken' ॥ UEW 562, Ter. 91-2, Lh. 1O7 ◇ ADb. NNN 34 (N *ŋiAyu 'long hair of an animal' > A *ŋōye, U).

1650. *ŋuhy^ra¹ 'to rest, to lie, to repose' (→ 'to sleep') > HS: S (att. in EthS) *°✓nhy 'repose, be quiet', (?) 'lie down to sleep' > Gz ✓nhy v. G (pf. nəhyə, js. -nhay) 'repose, feel relieved, be quiet; recover', Tgy ✓nhy ~ nhw G (pf. nəhayə ~ nəhawə) 'feel relieved, relaxed', Har nēra 'sleep', Amh ańńə v. Sh 'put to sleep', Grg {L} (v. G 3a pf.): Ch nəya, Ez nəyyə, Ed nəra, Gt nīra, En ne?ə 'sleep, lie down to sleep' ॥ L G 394, L EDG III 466 || ???φ AdS of Eg fMK ŋw v. 'sleep', Eg {Mks.} ŋw n. 'sleep, drowsiness' (< N *faw^roy¹ ॥ 'spend the night, sleep' [q.v.]) ॥ EG I 169, Mks. I #O587 and II #O647 || C: Bj {R} nəy- scv. 'spend the night, sleep, rest' ॥ R WBd 187 || Ch: WCh: Klr {J} nā vi. 'lie, sleep', Sha {J} nā (pf. nāh-í) vi. 'sleep', {IL} nā vi. 'lie (liegen)', ? Dr nōn 'sleep' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} nūne 'lie (liegen)' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} nēj 'se coucher' ॥ J R 267,

354, ChC, ChL || A: Tg {S} *ŋu_Lŋa- v. 'sleep' > Ork ŋua-, Ud {Shn.} ŋu^Ha-, {Krm.} ŋua- id., d.? Ewk ninā- & ńinā- id. ¶ STM I 597, 666, Krm. 272, S AJ 221 [#227] || M *nøyir n. 'sleep; drowsiness' > MM [S] {H} nøyir n. 'sleep', [MA] {Pp.} nøyur 'sleepy', WrM nøir, HIM, Brt ноир n. 'sleep; drowsiness', Klm нөр nör, {Rm.} nōr, MnR H/M {T/SM} nōr, MMgl [Z] {Iw.} nøyr, Ba {T} nor, Dx {T} no n. 'sleep', Mgl {Rm.} noir ~ neir id., 'drowsiness' ¶ Pp. 26O, H 12O, Ms. H 8O, SM 284, T 352, T DgJ 158, T DnJ 13O, T BJ 144, Chr. 329, KRS 384, KW 28O, Rm. M 34 || NaT *ū n. 'sleep' > OT u_L:_J, Xlj ū, Yk ū id. ¶ Cl. 2, 42-3, Pek. 3064-5, DT 209 ¶ T *ū may be (but not necessarily is) somehow connected with T *uδi- v. 'sleep' (*ū → *uδi or bf.: *uδi → *ū?); cp. N *hulod_Lŋ_J?ŋ 'be motionless, sleep' || pj {S} *úi n. 'sleep', *úi- v. 'sleep' > OJ i n. 'sleep, dream', wi-na- v. 'sleep', ItOJ [RJ] wí-nébúri, J: T inebúri ~ ineburí, K ínébúri, Kg ineburí 'drowsiness', T ne- (< *i-ne-) v. 'sleep' ¶ S QJ #15O, Mr. 697 ¶ ≈ DQA #1551 (A *ŋúŋuu 'to sleep', incl. M, Tg, J) || U *ńu_Lńŋ_J 'take the rest, repose, sleep' (× N *ńuŋŋ_J 'to rest, to slumber, to sleep', q.v. ffd.) ◇ M *o (for the expected *u) still needs explaining.