

2006. ***sE** 'he\she' (prn. of active [animated] beings and active objects) > **HS:** S: [1] S ***šū?**a 'he, that' > **Hb** הָא hū (spelled **הָעַ?**), **Ug** **hw**, {Hnr.} **huwa** id., **Ph**, **Pun**, **M'b** **_t̄h?**, **OA** **הָא h?** ~ **הָוֹ hw**, **IA** **hw** (**BA** **hū**), **Sr** **W** **ə**^o**hū**, **SmA** **הָוֹ hw** ~ **הָוֹ hw?**, **Ar** **וּ huwa**, **OSA:** **Sb** **ae h?** ~ **aue hw?** (obl. **Tue** **hw**t) 'he', **Qt** **uS** **šw** (obl. **TuS** **šwt**) 'this', **Gz** **מְחַתְּwə?****t̄** 'he' (rebuilt on the basis of the obl. ***?ū?****▽ - t̄▽** < ***šū?****a-t̄▽**), **Mh** **hē**, **Hrs** **hah**, **Jb** **E/C** **še(h)**, **Sq** **yhe**, **hye**, **Ak** **šā** (gen.-accus. **šu(w)āti**) 'he'; [2] S prn. ***šū** 'him' (after a verb), 'his' (after a noun), that becomes a sx. in the descendant lgs., with ***š** > **š**, **h**, **Ø** in some descendant lgs. > **Ak** **-šu**, **BHb** **-ō** ~ **-w** ~ **-hū**, **Ug** **-h**, {Hnr.} **-hu(:)**, **BA** **-(e)h** ~ **-hī**, **Sr** **-h** ~ **-(h)ī**, **Ar** **-hu** (gen. **-hi**), **Sb** **-hw** ~ **-h**, **Mn** **-šw** ~ **-š**, **Qtb** **-šw(w)** ~ **š**, **Gz** **-hū** ~ **-ō**, e.g. **BHb** **בֶּןְ bə'ñō** 'his son' (< ***bi'na-hū** < pS ***'bin-a šū**) and **אָבִיְ bə'vī-w** 'his father' alongside with the more conservative variant **אָבִיהֲ bə'vī-hū** id. (both from ***?a'bī šū** < ***?a'bī šū**; [3] S ***šī?**a 'she, that (f.)' > **BHb** **הִיא hī** (spelled **hī?**) id., **Ph**, **M'b**, **OA** **hiy**, **Pun** **hiy**, [Plt.] **HY**, **Ug** **hiy** (= ***hi:yā**), **IA** **hiy** (**BA** **hī**), **Sr** **W** **ə**^o**hī**, **SmA** **הִיא hī?**, **Ar** **הִיא hiya**, **OSA:** **Sb** **ae h?** ~ **aie hy?** (obl. **Tie** **hy-t**), **Qt** (obl.) **TiS** **šy-t**, **Gz** **מְחַתְּyə?****t̄ī** (rebuilt on the basis of the obl. ***?ī?****▽ - t̄▽** < ***šī?****a-t̄▽**), **Mh** **sē**, **seh**, **Hrs** **sēh**, **Jb** **səh**, **Sq** **se** (in the SES lgs. **s-** for the expected ***š-** or ***h-** for unknown reasons: any infl. of the following ***ī?**), **Ak** **šī** (gen., accus. **šu(w)āti**) 'she'; [4] Similar representations of ***š** are found in the reflexes of the postnominal and postverbal prn. ***šī** 'her' (turned to a sx. in the descendant lgs.); [5] OAk **šu** st.c. 'that of' (accus. **ša**, gen. **ši**) ¶ **Vg.** PP, OLS 17O, Hnr. 86, 12O, 293, Tal 199-2OO, 2O3, MSUS 1O2-7, Seg. AAG 165-72, GBr. JJAP 88-9O, Sd. G §§ 41-45 || **Eg** **-f** (< ***s w-**) 'he' (f- < ***s w-**, accus. to Dk.'s hyp.) (× N ***s|šEw▽** 'oneself, self', q.v.), **-s** 'she', aut. pronouns: **s w t** 'he', **s t t** 'she' ¶ **Ed.** 7O-81, **Tk.** I 29O (wonders if the change **Eg** **-f** < HS *-s^w was conditioned by a following *-u) || **EC** {Ss., AD} ***?us-ū** 'he' (aut. prn.) ~ {AD} ***?is-'**a id., {Ss.} ***?iš-ī** 'she' (aut. prn.) > **Sa** úsūk, **Af** usuk, **Sml** isá-gu, **Bs** usu, **Rn** {PG} úsú, **Arr** {Hw.} ?u(s)sú / nom. ?ú(s)su, **Or** B ísa, **Kns** íša, **Gdl** iyy, **Gwd** úso, **HEC** {Hd.} ***i si** (> **Sd/Ged/Kmb/Brj** {Hd.} i si) 'he', **Sa** i se, **Arr** {Hw.} ?e(s)sé / nom. ?é(s)se, ?Sml iyá-du, **Or** B íse? / ís-ī, **Or** WI íše? / íš-ī, **Kns** íše-tta, íše-nna, íše-dqā, **Rn** {Bl.} i š, {PG} i čé, **Bs** i sē, **Gwd** i so; **Arr** ?e(s)sé 'she', **HEC** {Hd.} ***i se** > **Sd/Ged/Kmb** i se, **Hd** i si, **Brj** i ši 'she' ¶ **Ss.** **PEC**

34-5, Ss. B 106-7, Bl. 170, 174, 240, 247, 253, 297, PG 148, 286, Hw. A 215, Hd. 77, 132, 414 || IE: [1] NaIE **sō* 'he, this', m. nom. (\leftrightarrow **to-*T 'it' (ntr. nom.-accus. and **to-* [non-nominative cases of both masc. and neuter]) > OI *sā*, Av *ha*, Gt *sa*, ON *sá* 'he, this' (m. nom.), Tc B *se* 'this' m., Gk df. art. m. nom. *ō* (\leftrightarrow OI *tad*, Gt *pata* 'it, this' ntr., Tc B *te* 'this' ntr., Gk df. art. ntr. nom.-accus. *τō*); OL *sum* / *sam* accus. 'this one' ¶ Szem. IEL 202-6, Bks. 202-3, M K III 410, KT 163-4 || [2] IE *-*s*, nom. case ending of the animate gender (> NaIE nom. m., f.) > sg: NaIE *-*s* > OI [-*s*] (allophonic variants -*h*, -*s*, etc.), Gk -*ς*, L -*s*, Gt -*s*, OScn -*R*, ON -*r*, Lt -*s*, etc., e.g. NaIE **wlkʷo-s* 'wolf' nom. (> OI ('*vṛkas*'), Gk *λύκος*, L *lupus*, Gt *wulfς*, Lt *vilkas* id.), OScn *stainar*, NaIE **sūnu-s* 'son' nom. (> OI *sū'nu-s*, Gt *sunus*, Lt *sūnū-s*), NaIE **neptī-s* 'niece' (> OI *nap'tis*, L *neptis*); AnIE *-*s* nom. (animate gender) > Ht, Lw, HrLw, Pal -*s*, e.g. Ht, Pal *aruna-s* 'sea', HLw {Mer.} *washa-s* 'lord', Pal *anna-s* mother' ¶ Ffd. see Brg. KVG 376-7, Bks. 172-92, Szem. IEL 160-92, EI 457; for AnIE: Mer. SGA 275-319, Mer. HHG 151, Rsk. 54-5 ¶ The nom. form goes back to a nomen with a thematizing focalizer (*wlkʷo-s* nom. 'wolf' \leftarrow lit. 'wolf-that = волк-то' = 'as for the wolf') ¶ **sō* (unlike other dem. pronouns and **0*-nouns) has no nominative ending, because **sō* and the nominative ending *-*s* are historically identical || U: FU **sE* 'he, she' > F *hān* 'he, she, it', 3s prn., Krl *heān*, Vo *hān* ~ *hān* | Lp: N {N} *sōn* (obl. *sū-*) 'he, she', S {Hs.} *sādne* ~ *sadne*, Kld {SaR} *cōhn* *sōn*: (accus.-gen. *cōh*, dat.-dir. *cōhnē*) 'he, she, it' | Er/Mk *son* 'he, she, it' | Prm: Vt *sō* 'he; that', ? Z *ziy3* 'he' || Hg *ō* 'he, she, it' | pObU **θE:-n* 'they' > pVg **tān* > Vg: T *tān*, LK/P/NV/SV/LL *tan*, MK *ton*, UK *tōn*, UL/Ss *tān* | ? pObU {Hl.} **θōw|y* 'he, she' > pVg *tāw* > Vg: T *tūw*, LK *tāw* (accus. *tāwə*), MK/UK/NV/SV/LL *tāw*, P *tāw* (accus. *tāwa*), UL/Ss *taw*; pOs *ɸōy* 'he, she' > Os: V *lōy*, Vy *yōy*, Ty *ɸeƿw*, Y *ɸēw* ~ *ɸōw*, D/K *tēw*, Nz *tūw*, Kz *ɸūw*, O *luw* id.; pOs **ɸēy* ({Hl.} **ɸiȝ*) 'them' > Os: V *lēy*, Vy *yēy*, Ty *ɸēy*, D *tēy*, Nz *tīy*, B {Ahl.} *li* ¶ Acc. to Rédei, BF **h-* is from **s-* in an unstressed syll. The final cns. -*n* in BF, Lp, and Mr may go back to a very ancient generalization of *-n ∇ of the oblique cases (< N **nū*, genitive pc.) ¶ UEW 453 (**sE*), Coll. 80-1, Hs. 118, SaR 547, TI 514-5, Vrt. tables i, iv, Ht. ##114, 125 || A **s|š* ∇ 'he, this' > T (after stem-final vowels) *-*si* / *-*SI* 'his\her\their' > OT {Ajd., Kondr.} -*si* / -*SI*, {Gbn.} -*si* / ?-*SI*, MQp [CC] -*si* / -*SI* - / -*su*, XwT/Chg {Eckm.}. OOsm {Mans., Gz.}

-sí / -sI, Tk -s i / -s I / (after stems with labialized vowels) -sü / -su, Az, Ggz, Qmq, QrB -sí / -sI / -sü / -su, Tkm -θi / -θI, CrTt, Brb {Dm.}, Nog, Qq, SY {Tn.} -sí / -sI, Qzq -c i / -c ы (-sí / -sI), VTt -s b / -s b, Bsh {Dmt.} -h b / -h b / -h ũ / -h ũ, ET, Uz -sí, Alt/Qmn {B}, Xk, Shor {BabD} -zi / -zI, QK/Tb {B}, Tv -z i / -z I / -z ü / -zu, Chl {Dlz.} -z i / -z I / -z ü, Yk -ta / -tä ¶ This T sx. is likely to go back to N *sE 'he\she' + T *-i/-i 'his\her' (< N *y i 'he, [?] that' [q.v.]) ¶ Xak. 61 quotes Blgh {Xak.} -sí (bälküsí 'his gravestone'), but Bz. HB does not mention this sx., and Erd. 89-90 denies its existence in Blgh; the form bälküsí is probably Qp rather than Blgh ¶ SrbG SIGTJ 94-5, S AJ 196 [#240], Ajd. 144-6, Kondr. 8, Gbn. ATG § 191, Gbn. CC 61, Eckm. ChT 122, Eckm. T 149, Mans. AO 170, Gz. 41, Kon. GTJ 74, Dmt. GBJ 56-7, B DK 79, B DLT 23-4, B DChT 57-9, BabD ShJ 470-1, Dlz. ChTJ 250, Tn. SJJ 51, Xak. 62, Ktw. PLA 46-7, Bz. BT 1-17, Rs. MTS 21-5, Dmt. KP √, Sev. KP √, Pokr. GJ 117, Mag. 198, Ra. MTJ 22 || pJ {S} *s s̄ - 'this' (deictic √) > OJ sō-, J: T sō-re, K sō-re, Kg sō i; OJ s i > J s i (focalizing, pc. and conjunction) ¶ S AJ 268 [#78], S QJ #7, Syr. DJ 155, Kenk. 1644 ¶ S AJ 277 [#74], DQA #2145 (A *s s̄ √ 'this, that, he\she') ||| The genitive case ending in IE and K may belong here as well: IE *-os/*-es (preserved best in the nominal inflection of consonantic stems) > OI -as (gen. of consonantic nouns, e.g. raiñ-as 'king's), gen. of consonantic nouns: Gk -oç, L -is (< IE *-es), OLt -es (ákmen-es 'of stone', móter-es 'mother's, dukter-és 'daughter's'), Lt -s (akmen-s, dukter-s), pSl *-e (e.g. OCS kamen-e 'of stone'), Gt -s (gumin-s 'person's'), Ht -as (halki-i-as 'of corn') (< the pN deictic *ha or *h'e + the N pronominal *sE; the meaning of genitive is expressed here syntactically: in groups "noun N₁ + nominal N₂" the noun N₁ functions as genitive, so that the N nominal phrase "N₁ *ha|h'e| sE" means 'N₁ *ha|h'e|'s he', sc. 'that of the N₁'); very archaic forms are present in heteroclitic nouns: *-nos ~ *-nes in Ht pahhuena-s 'of fire', witenas 'of water', OLt wāndenes id., OI yaknas 'of liver' - cp. nom. yakr̄t); the underlying N word group is N₁ + *nu h̄sE (= *nu gen. + deictic *ha or *h'e + pronominal *sE = lit. "the N₁'s he", sc. 'that of the N₁'); the deictic pc. and the prn. function here as nominalizers of a phrase (N **wetē nu h̄sE literally means 'that of the water') ¶ Bks. 115, 173, Stang VG 221, Rsk. 54-64 || K *-iš (~ *-s ~ *-aš), marker of the gen. case > OG, G -is, -s, Mg -iš, -š, Lz -š, Sv -iš (~ iš), -äš (‡ -aš) id.; the prehistory of this K case ending is similar to

that of the IE one (except for the absence of traces of N ***nu**, sc. noun + N ***h**̄**V** **sE**). Cf. N ***r**̄**y**̄**iyo** 'which' (rel.) ¶ KS 88-93, K 1O3 ◇ In HS, IE, A, and ObU there may be a coalescence of the pronominal etymon in question with N ***s|š****Ew**̄**V** 'oneself' (q.v.). Neither can we rule out some infl. of N ***čE** 'that' (distal or intermediate deixis) (q.v.) ◇ ≈ IS I 7, ≈ Gr. I 99-1O1 (IE, U, A, Ai).

2006a. ***ś**̄**ü** (> ****śi**) 'thou' (a variant of ***t**̄**ü** [> ***ti**] 'thou'?) > **K:** [1] K ***si**, ***si-n** 'thou' > Mg **si**, Lz **si** ~ **sin** 'thou, to thee' (c. rect., erg., dat.), Sv UB/LB/Ln **si** 'thou' (indeclinable); OG, G **šen** 'thou' is likely to go back to the OG/G poss. prn. **šen-** 'thy' ||| [2] ***šwen-** 'thy' (< N ***č**̄**ü** 'that of' + N ***ś**̄**ü** 'thou' + N ***nu** gen.) > OG, G **šen-**, Mg **skan-** ~ **skan-**, Lz **skan-** ~ **cjan-**, Sv **isgwí-** ~ **isgu-** ~ **iskwí-** 'thy'; comparison with other poss. pronouns (K ***čem-** 'my', ***čwen-** 'our') suggests that ***šwen-** goes back to pre-K ***č-swen-**, where ***č-** is a marker of poss. pronouns (< N ***č**̄**ü** 'that of, that witch') ¶ K 162 and K² 164 (***sen-** 'thou'), K 216 (***šwen-** 'thy'), K² 25O (***š(w)en-** 'thy'), K 218-9, Marr 29, IS I 6 (***šwe-** 'thy' < ***č-swe-**), Shan. G 51, Top. SJ 83, TK 7O6, ≠ Gm. SSh 37-4O (Zan **si** from ***šwen** due to morphological analogy) ||| IE *-**si** (*^o-**sej**?) "primary" ending of 2s (pres. active) > OI, Av, Ht -**si**, Gk -**σι** (**εσσι** 'thou art'), -**l** (< *-**si**, e.g. **ελ** 'du gehst' < ***ey-si**), L, Gt -**s**, OCS -**сн** -**si** (**иечн** **јеси** 'thou art' < *^o**es-sej**) ||| NaIE *-**s**, "secondary" ending of 2s (past tenses, active) > OI -**s**, Gk -**ς**, Gt -**s** ¶ Szem. EVS-8O 216, Blz. IEPP 1O, Bks. VT 276-9, Brg. KVG 59O-6 ||| **A:** [1] A ***si** 'thou', gen. ***si-n**̄**ü** > Tg ***si**, gen. ***sin-i** > WrMc **si**, Ewk, Orc, Ud, Ul, Nn **si**, Neg **si**, Sln **ši**, Lm **hī** 'thou', gen.: WrMc **sin-i**, Neg **sin**, Sln **šinī**, Lm **hin**, Ul, Ork **sin(i)** 'thy' ¶ Bz. 1O7-9, STM II 72-3, Krm. 283 || ppT ***si** 'thou' / ***sän-** ~ ***sen-** ~ obl. ***sin-** > Chv **əcě e-z_b** 'thou' / obl. **саh-** **san-** (< ppT ***sän**) || NaT ***sän** / ***sen-** (with variants ***sen(-)**, ***sin(-)**) 'thou' (for all cases except dat. ***saŋa**) > OT **sän** ~ **sen** 'thou' (accus. **seni** ~ **sini**), Tk **sen**, Tkm **θen**, Az, Ggz, ET, Chl **sän**, Qmq, QrB, CrTt, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Uz, Shor, Tv, Tf, SY **sen**, Qmn **sen** ~ **sin**, VTt, Brb, Xk **sin**, Bsh **hin**, Slr **sen** (accus. **seni** ~ **sini**), Yk **än** ¶ Obviously the NaT prn. ***sän** ~ ***sen** ~ ***sin** results from generalization of the stem for the obl. cases that goes back to the A genitive ***si-n**̄**ü** < N ***ś**̄**ü** **nu** (***ś**̄**ü** + marker of genitive). It is not clear why in most T lgs. we find ***ä** in ***sän** for the expected ***i**. It may have been caused by the ass. infl. of the vowel of some case ending followed by generalization of the allomorph ***sän-**

throught the paradigm of the obl. cases (*see* Doerfer: "Alle Unregelmäßigkeiten bei der Deklination der Personalpronomina lassen sich durch Assimilation erklären", Dr. Tbs 214). The original vw. of *si is preserved in the OT Tonyuquq inscription (accus. sini) and in the ppT prn. of 2p *si-ř (< N *ś'ü¹ + N *r² yE, a compound prn. of plurality \ collectivity, q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 86O and Tz. UJS 98 reconstruct sīz 'you' (pl.) with a long vw. for OT without explicit justification of their conjecture; most probably the reason is the plene spelling سىز in MhK (OT QU), but even if this length (not confirmed by either Turkic Runic or Uyghur script of OT) did exist in the OT QU prn., it could not go back to pT or NaT - on the ev. of the Tkm reflex (short i in Tkm θiδ). The vw. i in Chv e-z_ir 'you' (pl.) does not necessarily provide ev. of ppT *i, as shown by M. Räsänen (Rs. MIFTJ 61): among 17 cases of Chv-Tkm corrs. of i-vowels he found only 4 cases where Chv i corresponded to Tkm ī, but 13 cases where the Tkm cognate of Chv i was a short i ¶ Lvt. IM 3O-1, Cl. 831-2, 86O, Rs. W 4O9, 424, Kon. GJTRP 164-6, Ajd. 179, 363, Ashir. OJS 95, B DK 51, Tn. SJ 127-8, Fed. II 481 || pJ {Vv., DQA} *°si > OJ {Mill., ChmU, S} si 'thou, you' ({Mill.} si ga katarake₁ba 'because you say' [Manyoshu 9O4], si ga nakeba 'if you are not [there]' [Nihon Shoki, song 8O]) ¶ Mur. KNND, Mill. JAL 159-6O, ChmU AJV 269, Vv. LDROJ 1O5, Vv. JKAL 6, S QJ #1657 || Korean: Ramstedt proposed to tie in Ko siat 'thou' (used between a wife and a concubine of the same man) ({Rm.} < *si-asi?) and Ko sinim, used as a form of address among Buddhists ¶ Rm. SKE 179 ¶ DQA #1981 (A *si 'thou' > T, Tg, J), Rm. EAS II 68-73 (hyp. of an original *-n in M *tin, Tg *sin 'thou') ¶ [1a] A *°s'ü¹a 'you' (pl.) (< N *ś'ü¹ ?a, sc. *ś'ü¹ 'thou' + pc. of plurality *?a) > Tg nom. *sue ({Bz.} *süä) 'you' / obl. *sun- (ffd. *see* below s.v. N *t'ü¹ ?a ~ *ś'ü¹ ?a) ¶ [2] A *°si (~ *s'ü¹n'ü¹) in postnominal (probably enclitic) position meant 'thy'; in most modern Tg lgs. it has become a ppa. of 2s: Tg *si > Nn, Ul, Orc - si, Ud -hi, Ewk, Neg, Lm -s, Sln -š(i) 'thy' ¶ Bz. 1O9-11, STM II 72-3, Krm. 87 || D: Brh -s, verbal ending of 2s subjecti ¶ Bray I 118, 124-7, An. JB 71-8O ◇ The vw. *ü is preserved as labialized in Tg nom. *sue ({Bz.} *süä) / obl. *sun- (~ ? *°suen-) 'vos' < N *ś'ü¹ ?a ◇ See IS I 6, AD PP √, Blz. IEPP √, ~ Palm. LMP 169-74 ◇ In my opinion, the variant *ś'ü¹ results from assibilation *t'- > *ś- due to the palatalizing effect of the vw. *ü¹ (if not *i); a similar opinion was expressed by Illich-Svitych (IS I 6 and 227). This phonetic change (just as the delabialization N

ტ**'**უ**' > ***ტ**i and N ***ს**'**უ**' > ***ს**i) was probably conditioned by the grammatical (pronominal) usage of the word. This kind of changes (as., reduction, loss of marked phonemic features) is typical of grammatical\grammaticalized morphemes throughout the world (cp. -**სა** > -**ს** and -**სა** > -sa in R: **ნიაլსა** [ba'yalsa] 'I was afraid', **ნიօსა** > **ნიօსხ** [ba'yuś] 'I am afraid', or in NE: [a]₁ hæv 'dʌn] > [a]₁v 'dʌn]; in NE the voicing θ- (initial) > δ- occurred in the pronouns thou, that, this and in conjunctions [θhough], but not in nouns, adjectives, and verbs, all of them preserving the original θ: thumb, thick, think, etc.). An alt. hyp. is that of Blz. IEPP (ტ**|ti and ***ს**u are originally different pronouns of the 2nd person, IE ***ტ**ū resulting from the merger of both) ◇ On N ***ს**'**უ**' ზა 'ye (vos)' (prn. of 2p) see below s.v. ***ტ**'**უ**' ზა ~ ***ს**'**უ**' ზა 'ye (vos)'.

2007. ***ს**Δ 'to, towards', directive\inessive postp. > **HS**: S: [1] S *-a^š, directive case ending > Hb -ā (unstressed: **הַבִּיתָה** hab'bayt-ā 'home' (direction), **עַמִּינָה** yāmīn-ā 'to the right', **קֶדְמָה** 'kēdm-ā 'to the East', **אֶרְצָה** 'arc-ā 'to the earth, to the land (of Israel)', Ug -h (ending of the directive case), Ak -i^š id., [2] S *^o-^ši > Ak -ši, dative of pers. pronouns: **үā-ši(m)** 'to me', **کā-ši(m)** 'to thee' (m.) ¶ Dk. SXJ 55-6, Sd. G §§ 41-2, 67, Strn. 1O3, A U 26 || ? B ***s** 'towards, by means of' > Ntf **s** avec, vers', Ah **s**, **əs**, Kb **s** 'pour, vers' ¶ AiM 23O (***s** instr.), Fc. 1798-8O2 || C: Ag: Xm {Ap.} -s, -g+s ~ -č+s (dative ending of pronouns: aw-s 'to whom', y+g+s ~ y+č+s 'to me', etc.), Aw {Hz.} -s(i), dat.-dir. of nouns, Bln {Hz.} -s i dat.-loc. of fem. nouns, Km {Ap.} -(3)s, -a^š, dat. of nouns and pronouns (ki gən-a^š 'to your mother', nəgus-a^š 'to\for the king', ku-šz 'to you') ¶ Hz. AL 16-7, Hz. NSA 125, Ap. K 25 || NrOm: Shn {C} -š (dat. and accus.: ta-š 'to me, me'), Wl {C}, Gf {Mrn.} -s (dat.) 'to, for' ¶ C SO 13, Mrn. O 3O ¶ Ap. ANH 8 || **K** *-s, dative case ending > OG -s, -s-a, G -s, Mg -s, Mg SZ -s, (after sonorants) -č, Lz -s, Sv -s ¶ KS 69-78, Shan. G 36-46, Kiz. 66, Top. SJ 8O || **U** *-s ~ -č 'to, towards' > pOs *-č, directive ending in adverbs: Os D {Stn.} tɔχət̚, Os O {Stn.} tɔχəs 'thither' ('dorthin'), Os N {Sz.} n̄y+š 'down' (direction), n̄ɔyɔ-s 'up' (direction) || Prm *-ž ~ *-ž 'up to, till' > Vt -օզъ -օž, {Jem.} Δ -Յ՛s or -օ՛s, Z -օդզ -Յ՛z | Chr -š 'into, to': kuδe-š 'into (the) hand', ku-š 'wohin', tu-š 'dorthin' | F -s (in adverbs: ala-s 'down' [direction], 'donwards' ← ala 'ground', ylō-s 'up' [direction] ← yli 'over', ulos 'out' [direction] ← ulko- 'exterior', kauas ~

kauvas 'far away' [direction] - cp. loc. **kauka-na** 'far away' [place]), Lv **kōga-z** 'far away, kauas', **ull-z** 'out' | Mr *-s 'to, towards' (directive): Er -s, Mk -s, -c 'into' (illative ending of nouns), Er **mala-s** 'near' (direction), 'up to' (cp. **mala-v** 'near') || Sm *-s (sx. of directive) > Ne F, Ne T Knn -s (directive → transitive, predicative, essive of nouns): Ne F **rūssí-s** **kayyeā** 'er ging weg zu den Russen', Ne T/W -s infinitive; P. Hajdú finds cognate infinitive forms in Ng (-sa ~ -se ~ -si) and in En (-s(i)), which has not been confirmed by the available grammatical descriptions of Ng and En. Hajdú adduces here the instrumental case ending -sä in Slq (Slq Tz -sä) and -sE in Kms, which is unconvincing, because it is hard to imagine a semantic change from the lative case to instrumental. Kü. SUKF I 147-8 presents an alt. explanation of this Slq and Kms instr. sx. (as well the sxs. of the modal case in NrSm: Ne -ŋāeś, En -s) as going back to a participial form * ∇ sE 'being' §§ Sz. 59, Majt. SM 264-6, Fkt. EJ-93 197, Fkt. MJ-93 183, Srb. IMPJ 60-5, Bat. KZJ 221, Kelm. UJ 247, Jem. GVJ 125, Stn. D 1394, Hj. LIKSz 119-31, Hj. LIS 269-71, KHG 75 §§ The cns. *-ć (in Os, Z, and Mk) < **-s originally after a stem-final dental cnss. *n, *l, *t (e.g. *-nś > *-nć [n̥t̥s̥], a natural epenthesis of a clusive dental element between a clusive dental and a fricative, sc. a delay in losing the contact between the lamina of the tongue and the gum (like in other lgs.: MHG uns 'us' > Yid N unʒ, MHG menš 'person' > Yid menč). Mr -s (for the expected -s) is probably due to the final position. If the Lp directive sx. -s belongs here (Lp N vuolas 'down'), its cns. s (for the expected pLp *ć > Lp N č from FU *-s) is due to coalescence with the translative case ending -s < *-ks ∇ (as explained in Krh. 229-30). The Hg lative ending -é / -á (adduced here by Szinnyei) goes back to FU -y (lative ending) rather than here. The alt. hyp. proposed by Hajdú (Hj. LIKSz 119-31, Hj. LIS 269-71) and equating Ne -s and Z -ž with the F prolativ -tse, -tsi 'through' and with Mr -ćok is less plausible both semantically and phonetically: F -tse ~ -tsi goes back to the BF prolativ affix *-cek ~ *-cen 'through' (Laan. 175-6), so that both the phonetic form and the meaning of the F and the Mr forms do not justify their comparison with Ne -s and Z -ž 'to' ◇ IS MsN.

2008. (2?) * $S\nabla?$ **y, 'ū'** 'be full' > IE: Ht {Ts.} suw- 'full', suwat- v. 'fill (füllen)', md. 'swell, become full' § Frd. HW 200, Ts. W 79 || HS: S: Ak ūē?u '≈ polstern' § Sd. 1222 § Ak ē < *a?i (cp. rēšu 'head' < S *'ra?iš-u, see AD SH 96) || Eg fP s̥y 'satt werden \ sein \ machen', Eg

MKL/NK **s̥əw** 'Sättigung' > DEg **s̥y**, **s̥iy** 'satt werden' > Cpt: Sd **cei sei**, B **ci si** 'be sated' ¶ EG IV 14-6, Er. 4O6-7, Vc. 182 || ?σ **α**: AmTg: Orc **sia**, Nn **sē(n-)** 'meat dumplings, пельмени' (≡σ: NHb **מְמֻלָּאִים** *memula'*?im 'meat dumplings' [lit. 'those filled in, gefüllte']) ¶ STM II 73 ◇ Because of Eg **s-** and **-z-** we have to distinguish between this N etymon and N ***š̥w̥w̥w̥** 'to swell' (q.v.) (where Eg **š̥w̥w̥y** 'emporsteigen(d), anschwellen(d)' rules out lrs.).

2009. ₂ ***š̥i^ri^rb̥w̥** 'strap, thong' > HS: ***✓šbb**, ***°šibb-** > Ak **šibb-** 'Gürtel, Gürtelschlange', Ar **sabab-** 'rope' ¶ Sd. 1226, BK I 1O38, Hv. 3O5 || EC {AD} ***še^rb̥-** (~ ***ša^rb̥-?**), {Ss.} ***šēb-** 'leather strap' > Rn {PG} **sāb** 'narrow thong, strap of leather', Or {Ss.} **sēpani** id., Dsn {To.} **sāb** 'leather strip', Arr {Hw.} **sābit** (pl. **sāb-ó**) 'strap, thong', Hr **šēp-akko** 'leather belt' ¶ Ss. PEC 33, PG 253, Hw. A 391, To. DL 524 ¶ The glottalization in Or **-p-** and the long vw. suggest the presence of a N lr. (most probably ***?**) || U ***š̥i^rw̥â** ({Coll.} ***š̥i^rw̥w̥**, {UEW} ***š̥i^rw̥w̥**) 'strap' > OHg **z̥ius**, **z̥iv** (= [s̥iu]), Hg **szíj** (accus. **szíjat**), Δ **sziju**, **szivu** 'strap' | ObU {AD} ***sēw|yE** > pOs {AD} ***sev̥w̥** 'draught-strap' > Os: V **sev̥a** 'draught-strap of a reindeer or a horse; horse's collar, draught-dog's collar attached to a draught-strap', Vy **sev̥ä**, Ty **sāv̥ə**, Y **sāv̥ə**, Nz **sīv̥ə** 'draught-strap of dogs', D **-sāv̥ə** ~ **-səv̥ə**, Kz **sīw̥-** 'draught-strap' || Sm: Ne: T **ca**, T O {Lh.} **sa**, F L {Lh.} **χā** 'draught-strap' ('Zugriemen, постремка'); Ng {Prk.} **suaŋ** id.; En X {Prk., Ter.} **sa** id., En X {Cs.} **sâ**, En B {Cs.} **so** 'Halfter' ¶ Coll. 6O, MF 585, Stn. D 1312, Trj. S 425, Lh. 4O1-2, Ter. 514, Ter. SILSJ 2O4, Prk. RE 212, Prk. NgJ 56, KP #1316, UEW 493-4 (rejects the Os cognate because it has front vowels, while, acc. to UEW, the pU had back vowels).

2010. ***š̥i^ru^rb̥w̥** (or ***š̥i^rü^rb̥w̥**?) 'clean' > IE {EI} ***seup-** 'pure, what is taboo for humans' > Ht **suppi-** 'pure', **suppa-** 'flesh\viscera of sacrificed animals' || Um **supa** {EI} 'viscera of sacrificed animals' ¶ Frd. HW 199, Ts. W 78, EI 493 || ?Κ: G **supta** 'clean' ('sauber, rein, reinlich, frisch'), unless a loan from some Iranian lge, cp. Phl **spēd** 'white' or ClNPrs {Vl., Sg.} سپید **sapēd**, NPrs {BM} سپید **säpēd** ~ سپید **sepēd** id. ¶ Chx. 1286, NCh. 372, DCh. 12O2, McK 76, SSO II 118, Vl. II 215, Sg. 653 || HS: WS ***✓çpw̥y** 'be clean' > Sr **✓špy** D vt. {Br.} 'clean, filter', {PS} 'colavit, limpidus factus est', {JPS} 'filter, strain', {PS} d. **meṣṭafyānā** 'purus, mundatus, limpidus', Ar **✓ṣfw** G 'be pure, limpid' (of water), 'be clear' (of sky)', Mh **✓ṣfy** (pf. 'ṣayfi) 'be clear',

Mh *sōfi*, Hrs *sāfi*, Jb E/C *'sōfi* 'pure, clean' || Br. 635, PS 343O, JPS 482, BK I 135O, Hv. 40O, Jo. M 359 || **U:** FU *ś̄sīwa ~ *ś̄sīwa 'clean (sauber), fine (häbsch)' > F *siiwo* 'clean (sauber), decent, proper', *siva* 'häbsch, nett, niedlich', *sivakka* 'smooth, fine, clean (sauber)' || ObU {Hl.} *süw|y- > pOs *süy- > Os: V *sü*, Ty *sīw*, Y {Stn.} *siw* 'Schönheit', V/Vy {Stn.} *sükñ* 'schön' (of a person), Vy *sükñ*, Ty/Y *sikñ* 'schön' (of things) || UEW 481-2, Stn. 131O, KrT 835, Trj. VD 187 || **A:** M *suba|u- > WrM *suba-* ~ *subu-*, HIM *суба-* v. 'clean', ???σ MM [MA] *suba-* vt. 'plaster' || MED 733, Pp. MA 326 || ?φ Tg *sib'e- > Ork *sīw3-* vt. 'clean (a pipe), pick (one's teeth)', Nn *sī(y)3si-* vt. 'clean (a pipe, between the teeth)', Neg *sīy3lg3-*, Ul *sīssis3-* vt. 'clean' || STM II 8O ◇ A hypothetic N *-?u|ü- may be responsible for the vw. u in Ht, G, and M, as well as for the vl. *p and the glottalized *ç in S. Alt. explanations of this u: the ass. infl. of *b or a pN *ü An alt. pN rec.: *süb▽ with delabialization in U and Tg.

2011. ?σ *śah'i'b▽ (or *śahüba??) 'desert; saline earth' > **HS:** S *śshb- > Ar *sahb-* {BK} 'vaste désert', esp. 'désert salé', {Hv.} 'wide desert' || BK I 1155, Hv. 341 || ?? EC {Ss.} *zib- 'desert' > Sa {R} *dib-o*, Af {R} *dub-u*, Sml B {Fl.} *dib-id*, {Mrn.} *dib-ad* 'desert', Rn {PG} *yib* 'uninhabited land, wilderness', Sd {Mrn.} *dubb-o* 'forest', (×LEC *dip- 'narrow', represented by Or {Sr.} *dipū* 'narrowness' ← *dipō* 'narrow' < N *çipâ 'be narrow, be compressed'): Or {Th.} *dib-u* ~ *dip-u* 'valle, vallata, gola', {Brl.} *dibu* 'valle, depressione, strettoia' || Ss. WOKS 14O, Th. 1O, Brl. 11O, PG 299 || EC voiced *z- is puzzling; therefore Tk. AANM 1 rejects the S-C comparison || **D:** *çkava 'brackish\saline earth, fuller's earth' (×N *çap▽ v. 'clay, mud; to smear, to moisten' ×N *śab'r?▽ 'clay') > Tm *cavatu* 'earth impregnated with soda, alcaline soil, sediment; fuller's earth', Tu *cavulb*, *cavulu* 'brackish, saline', Tl *cavdu* 'fuller's earth' || **U:** *ś̄sōywa 'soil, clay' > Lp T {TI} čužvε, Lp Kld {TI} čužyə 'Ton, Lehm' | Prm {LG} *sōy 'clay' > Z cěj šoy, Z US šoy, Yz 'šuy id., Vt cюй šuj, Vt G šuy 'soil, clay' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} sö 'earth, soil; clay', {Cs.} sō 'Ton, Erde, Lehm', MO/Ke {Cs.} süe, B/Kar sū id.; Koyb {Ps.} se 'Ton' || **A:** ?φ NaT *say 'stony desert; stony ground, pebbles' > OT {Cl.} sāy 'stony desert', 'an area of level ground covered with stone', Tf say 'pebbles; a spit (Landzunge) of pebbles and small

stones in a river', Xk, Alt say 'pebbles, shallow place in a river', Tv say 'pebbles', 'shallow', Ln say 'pebbles; stony river-bed', Qrg say 'dry river-bed; wadi (dry in summer)', Chg ≥XV čay 'a river that flows in the winter and is dry in the summer', Qzq, ET say 'ravine', Tkm say 'shallow' ¶ The long *ā (supposed by Cl on the basis of *plene* spelling لَّا in MhK) is at variance with the Tkm ev. of a pT short *a ¶ Cl. 858, DTS 481, TL 93, Ra. 225, TvR 362, BT 123, Jud. 621, Rl. IV 219-20 ¶ The loss (or zero reflex) of the N *-b- is still to be explained || ?AdS of pJ {S} *sápa 'bog, marsh' (< N *šab^{r?}ṇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The FU vw. *ə (for the expected *a) may point to a labializing factor (*ü in N *šahüba?) or be due to the labializing infl. of FU *w. The aberrant meaning of U *š̥oywa 'soil, clay' is due to the infl. of the U paronymous √ *šawe 'clay' [UEW 468] < N *šab^{r?}ṇ '↑' (q.v.) ◇ AD NM #11, S CNM 9 (does not accept the et.), Vv. AEN 12 (accepts T *say as a cognate).

2012. *šab^{r?}ṇ 'clay' > **HS:** Ch: WCh *sab- ({OS} *sap-) 'soil' > Hs šabbūwā 'unfertile land, sandy soil' || CCh *sab- ({OS} *sap-) > Bcm sobo nodwe 'clay' ¶ ChC, Abr. H 705-6 || EC *sub?- ~ sib?- 'mud' > Rn {PG} súb 'watery mud', Or {Grg.} sup-ē 'clay', Gln {Ss.} sip-te 'loam' ¶ Ss. PEC 53, PG 267, Oo. 70, Grg. 365 ¶ OS RPV I 81 [#101] (adducing Ar suhb- 'plain', which in fact belongs together with sahb- 'saline desert', see N ?σ *šah^{r?}i'b 'desert; saline earth') || **U:** FU *šawe 'clay' > F savi (gen. saven) 'clay', Es sau (gen. saue, saua), Es Δ savi (gen. save) id. | Er сёвонь šovoní, Mk сёвонь šovəní id. | Chr L/H шун šun, B šun id. | Prm {LG} *šun 'clay, silt' > Z cюн šun 'blue clay, gley; silt', Vt {W} šuned 'silt', ? StVt сүмәд id. || ObU {Hl.} *s^{r?}a wəž 'clay (Lehm)' > pVg {Hl.} *šuwə́ id. > Vg: T sowí, UK/MK/LK sū́, UL/Ss sū́i; pOs {Hl.} *sow̪t, {Hl.} sǎw̪t 'clay (Ton)' > Os: V/Vy sǎw̪t 'clay mud, marshy clay', Ty sǎw̪t 'earth, clay', Y sǎw̪t, Kr sǎwə, Kz sǎwī 'clay' ¶ UEW 468, Coll. 112, Db. OS xi, Ker. II 147, LG 252, 274, Réd. rLG 426, Ht. #580, Trj. S 418, Hl. rHt 74. || **A:** pJ {S} *sápa 'bog, marsh' (× N ?σ *šah^{r?}i'b '↑' × A *sípa 'clay; to smear' < N *šíw^{r?}a [or *šíwga] 'to smear') > OJ sápá bog, marsh', J: T sawá, K sáwà, Kg sáwá id.; pJ *sapa-s- v. 'dip, smear with laquer' > ItOJ saφa-s-, J T sawas- ¶ ≈ S QJ #463, Mr. 20, 748 ¶ ≈ DQA #2011 (pJ < A *sípa 'clay; to smear') || **D:** *čava 'brackish\saline earth' and D *čákav- 'fuller's earth, sediment' (× N ?σ

*šah^ri^bΝ '↑', q.v. ffd. × N *čapΝ v. 'clay; to smear, to moisten', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Gr. II #272 (*siba 'mud') (U, A, J, Ai).

2013. *śibΝ 'beast of prey' > HS: S *°✓ š|sb̥i > Ar sabu- ~ sab- ~ saba- 'big beast of prey' ¶ Ln. 1297, BK I 1045, Hv. 307 || A: Tg *sibi^ge 'beast of prey' > Ewk Tng siwig̃ ~ hiwig̃ 'wolf', Ewk A siwiys 'bear', Lm Ol h̥awyō ~ h̥awy̥, Lm O h̥awzuy̥ id., Orc sīwi (name of a mythical dog) ¶ STM II 75 || M {DQA} *°sibor > HlM шовор 'panther' ¶ Luv. 655 ¶ DQA #2571 (A *zībe 'in predator' > incl. M, Tg) || D *čivΝŋki 'leopard', 'hyena', and sim. (× N *č^ri^bΝγΝ 'hyena' × N *ži^wΝm₁ΝgE 'leopard') > Tm civiŋki 'Indian lynx, hunting leopard', Ml civiňni 'hunting leopard', Kn sivaňgi 'tiger-wolf, hyena', Tl civāgi, civvāgi, civvaňgi, civāgi, sivaňhi, sivvaňgi 'hyena' ¶ D #2579.

2014. *śo^bΝ₁Ν₂tΝ (or *sΝb₁Ν₂tΝ) 'stem, piece of wood' > HS: S *'šab₁a₂t- 'staff, stick, rod' > AncHb *'šabe₁t (BHb [Mas.]) שָׁבֵט 'šab₁et, paus. שָׁבֶט "šab₁et, pl. šabā¹t-īm, BHb (BbV) 'šab₁a₂t, BHb (GrSc) [Or.] σαβτ 'rod, staff, club, sceptre', BA ša'b₁a₂t* or ša'b₁et* (pl. cs. שְׁבַּטִּי šib₁tē) 'stem', SmA שָׁבֵט šbt 'staff', Sb d. šbt (?) 'beating (bastonnade)', d. šbt n. 'stroke, blow (as punishment)', Ak šabbi₁tū 'staff, sceptre'; S → Eg N šbd 'stick for beating', (EgSSc) {Hlk.} šá-b-d, šá-ba-da 'staff', {Alb.} ša-ba-t > DEg šbt 'stick', Cpt B/Sd שְׁבֹּת šbōt id. ¶ BHb [Mas.] e in 'šab₁et' is not original, it may have been influenced by the paronymous word שְׁבֵּת 'šeb₁et' 'tribe' with an original e < *i (F Hb → Ar sib₁- 'Jewish tribe') ¶ KB 1291, 1787, GB 801, BDB 986-7, Yv. II 833, Brø. 145, BH IV 276, Tal 863-4, BGMR 123, Sd. 1119, EG IV 442, Alb. VESO 39, Er. 499, Crum 554, Vc. 258, Hlk. #220, SivCR 85 || K *°s|šwet- 'pillar' > OG sue₁t-i 'column' (sue₁ti a γρυβλισαύτα 'in columna nubis', ψ 98.7), G svet-i 'pillar, column' || ?σ, φ (if ← 'stalk'): OG {Abul.} στρόγγυλο stwiri 'tube\pipe (musical instruments)', G stviri 'reed-pipe', 'pipe (musical instrument)'; Sv {TK} (← G?): UB stwir 'pipe (musical instrument), tube', LB stwir 'tube', L stwir 'barrel (of a gun)' ¶ Abul. 403-4, Chx. 1218, Ni. s.v. СТВОЛЬ, DCh. 1166, 1194, TK 710, GP 259 || IE: [1] IE *sp₁Vt- (× N *šab₁pEh'i 'log, piece of wood?') > Ht ispatar (oblique stem ispann-) 'spit, skewer' || NaIE *spit- (~ *ospid-) '≈ spit, spear, needle' > AS spitu 'spit' (> NE spit), OHG spiȝ id., MHG spiȝ 'spit (Bratspieß)', NHG

Spieß 'spear, spit', NNr *spita* 'Pflock', *spit* 'Spitze', OHG *spizzi* 'spitz, pointed', *spizzi* 'Spitze, Bergspitze', *spizzā* 'Spitze, Stachel, Pfahlwerk', NHG *spitz* 'pointed', *Spitze* 'point, spike, extremity' || Lt Δ *spitnà, spitulé* 'buckle pin' ('Dorn an der Schnalle'), *spité* id., 'needle' || ? L *cuspis, -dis* 'point (of a spear), spear; spit' (< a cd. with a controversial first element, e.g. {Prs.} *kud-spid-, *kuri-spid- or sim.) ¶ Frn. 875, WH I 318, Prs. WF I 409, ≈ EM 161 (*cuspis* ← an unknown source), Vr. 532, Ho. 311, Kb. 937-8, OsS 853, KM 726, 728, Frn. 875, Pv. I-II 450-1 ¶ [2] NaIE mt. *ste₁:b(ʰ)- 'post, pillar, stem of a tree' (× N *č|čib₁ 'stem of a tree, log', q.v. ffd.) || ? A: NaT *sögüt 'tree' (if from **söwüt) > OT U *sögüt*, Chg [San., MA] *sögüd* 'tree', OT QU [MhK] *sögüt* 'willow', Tki *söget*, Osm {Bu.} *sööd*, Az *söyüd* 'willow, pussy-willow', Tk *söğüt* 'willow', Tkm θövüt 'willow' (generic name of different trees of the genus Salix: 'willow, brittle willow, тальник [purple willow]', Qrg *sögöt* 'kind of a purple willow', ET *sögät* 'willow, Salix alba', Shor *söt* 'willow', Xk *söt*, Yk üöt 'willow, purple willow (тальник)', CrTt *sügüt* 'poplar' ¶ Cl. 819, Bu. I 648, Äz. 273, TkR 587, Jud. 657, Nj. 518, TL 126 || ? Tg *so₁:ba (× N *sapE₁h,ŋ 'log, trunk of a tree') > Neg *sōwa* ~ *sōya* 'stick used to hang a tea-pot over the fire', *sōwalá-* ~ *sōyalá-* 'drive\run a stick into sth.', Nn Nh *sowōča* 'landmark, sign' ¶ STM II 103, Pt. NR 117 ◇ If Sv *s̄wīr* is an inherited cognate (rather than a loan from G), the K √ is *swet-, so that the N etymon must be *ś'ō'b,ŋ 'stinging insect'. The same is true if Tg *so₁:ba belongs here. If both qu. cognates are rejected, we remain with an unspecified N *ś|s-. On IE *sp- < N *S₁ŋb- see Introduction, 2.2.1O.

2015. ₂ *ś' A₁č₁ 'insect' > HS: EthS: Gz *şāşūt*, *şāşöt*, *şāşēt* 'gnat, stinging insect, red ant', Tgr *şaşot* 'gnat', as well as Amh č'zčat 'gnat' (with infl. of the EthS reflexes of N t ≈ *č'Uñč'U [or *č'Uñč?] 'ant, stinging insect?') ¶ LG 564-5, LEDH 50 || ?? C: o-Bj {R} č'āčzo 'Mücke, Gelse, Mosquitto' (unless to N t ≈ *č'Uñč'U [or *č'Uñč?] '↑', q.v.) ¶ R WBd 104 || U: FU (in FV only) *°ś|şāş|şke ~ *°ś|şāş|şke 'mosquito, gnat', > F *sääski* (gen. *sääskən*) id., F Δ *sääksi* id., Es *sääsk* (gen. *sääse*) 'mosquito, gnat' | pLp {Lr.} *čōškz id. > Lp: N {N} čuoikâ, S {Hs.} tjuojke, L {LLO} tjuoi'hka, I {It.} čuoska, Kld čūš:k id. | pMr {Ker.} šäškə > Er сесъке šeške, Δ šíškä, Mk сяське šáškə id. ¶ UEW 771, Lgc. #750, Lr. #212, Hs. 1345, Ker. II 139 ◇ o₁or o₂?

2016. *Sač'ū¹ (or *śäč'ū¹) 'scatter, spread about, pour' ([in the prehistory of descendant lgs.] → 'to winnow, to sift') > **HS:** B: Ah əssəs 'filtrer, passer au filtre (un liquide)' ¶ Fc. 1866 || WCh {S} *čičv̥k v. 'filter, sprinkle' > Ngz {Sch.} čičkú v. 'strain, filter', Bks {J} čičák v. 'filter (beer), sprinkle' ¶ Sch. DN 29, J R 14O, Stl. ZCh 192 [#429] || **IE:** Ht sesariya v. 'filter, strain', sesaru 'sieve' (× N *Suří '≈ squeeze out, filter, strain') ¶ Frd. HW 191, Ts. W 75 || **U:** [1] FU (in ObU only) *čačv̥- > ObU {Ht.} *čāč- 'pour out, sweep' > pVg *šāš- 'pour out' > Vg: T šāš-, LK/P/NV/SV/LL šōš-, UL sōs-, Ss sōs- id.; pOs {Ht.} *čač- 'fegen' > Os: V/Vy čač-, Ty/Y čāč- id.; pOs {Ht.} *čačəm- 'pour out' > Os: V/Vy čačəm-, D/K čočəm-, Nz/Kz šošəm-, O sasəm- ¶ Ht. #89] [2] ?σ FU *šāčā- 'pour out', *šāčä flood, high water level in lakes\rivers' > pOs *seč- ({ʃHl.} *săč-) > Os: Vy seč- 'rising water, flood in late summer', sečəm- v. 'rise' (of level of water), 'flood', V seč-yöŋk 'ice remaining on the bank after sinking of water' (lit. 'flood-ice') || pLp *čāčē 'water' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjaadsie, U {Schl.} tjaahhtsē (Lp M {Schl.} 'tjāčē), Kld {SaR} чāдзъ, {Tl} čāž 'water', N {N} čacce / -āž- id., 'level of water in a river\lake' ¶ UEW 469, Coll. 7, Lr. #115, Lgc. #498, Schl. 136, Hs. 1289, Gn. 753, SaR 385-6, TI 649-5O || **A** *sač'ū¹, {Pp.} *sač'ū 'scatter' ('ausstreuen') > NaT *sač- 'ausstreuen' > OT sač- id., Tk sač-, Tkm θač-, Qmq, QrB čač- 'spread about, scatter', Qq šaš- id., 'sprinkle', Uz sač- id., vt. 'pour', Nog, Qzq šaš-, ET sač- ~ čač-, Qrg, Qmn/QK/Tb {Rl., B} čač-, Alt čač-, Sg/Qb {Rl.} sas-, Tv čaž-, ? Yk is- v. 'sprinkle, strew, sow' ¶ Cl. 794-5, Rs. W 392, Rl. III 1905-6, IV 389-9O, 395, B DK 267, B DChT 164, B DLT 221 || **M** *saču- > MM [MA] sači- ~ čači- 'pour out (ausschütten), sprinkle', WrM sacu- ~ саси-, HlM саца- v. 'sow, strew, scatter, spread, sprinkle, spray', WrO sacu- 'strew, scatter, sow', саси- 'strew, scatter, broadcast', Kl {KRS} цацх сасъ-χъ, {Rm.} саса-χα 'to strew, to scatter, to sprinkle', MnR H {SM} saži-, Dg {T} čači- 'strew, scatter, sprinkle, sow'; → M *saču-ra- 'be spread, scattered' > WrM sacu-ra-, HlM саца- id., 'be sown', MnR H {SM} sažira-, {T} sažira-; M → WrMc sacu- 'sprinkle (wine, water on flowers, etc., as sign of friendship or worship)', Ewk çacu- 'sprinkle' ¶ Pp. MA 129, 314, MED 156, 655, Krg. 392, 618, KW 423, KRS 628 SM 317-8, T 357, T DgJ 181, Z 826, STM II 386-7 || ?φ Tg t̪*čiče- 'sprinkle' > Ewk Brg čiçəwəž- id., Nn Nh čičikələž- 'spatter wine from one's fingers as a sacrifice to spirits'; but not here (↔ DQA) WrMc sisə- v. 'sift',

siseku 'sieve' (obviously loans from M *sigsí- v. 'sift', *sigsigür 'sieve', see MED 702-3, STM II 99), hence the pTg rec. {DQA} *š^re¹še- is unj. ¶ STM II 386-7 || pJ {S} *s³s³-k- ~ *-ya- 'pour' > OJ s₁u₂os₁u₂ók-, J: T/Kg sosóg-, T s₂osog-, K sósóg- ¶ S QJ #364, Mr. 756 ¶ Pp. VG 6, ≈ DQA #2159 (A *šéčo 'scatter, pour out'; incl. T, M, Tg, J) ◇ ObU *č- and Tg *ç- may be due to as.: N *S...č > ObU *č...č, Tg *ç...ç, so that the rec. of pA *š- is not necessarily valid ◇ If FU *šäčä is a legitimate cognate (in spite of the questionable semantic connection), the N rec. is to be *š^rä¹č^ru¹. Otherwise the initial sibilant remains unidentified (N *Sač^ru¹) ◇ IS MS 368 *š^ač^ru¹ s.v. 'сыпать' (U, A).

2017. *s|šæd▽ (or *s|šid▽?) 'lower part' > **HS:** S: Ug ရှိစုံ, (AkSc) {Hnr.} ရှိစုံ 'leg'; Ak išdu 'base, foundation' (× S *wⁱsiād- 'base' > BHb ဥေ'စုံ id., Ar wiśād- 'cushion, pillow') ¶ OLS 5, Hnr. 111, CAD VII 232, Sd. 393 || CCh: BB: Gude {Mch.} sūda, Nz {Mch.} šūde, BtZ {Mch.} šido 'leg' ¶ JI II 221 || Eg G s^t ~ st^y 'Osiris's leg' ¶ EG IV 325, 334 || **U:** FU *^os|še|äδ|▽ (or *^os|šiδ|▽) > ObU {Ht.} *θēl, {Hl.} *θäl 'low' > pVg *tälk^w▽ id. > Vg: T tälk^wī ~ tälkī, LK tälk^wə~tälk^w, MK tälk^w, UK tälk^wə, NV tälka, SV/LL tälk^wa, UL/Ss talk^wa id.; pOs *θel id. > Os: D/Nz tet, Kz θeθ, O lel ¶ Ht. #135 || **A:** pJ {S} *sítá > OJ sítà, J: T sítá, K sítá, Kg sítá '(the place) below' ¶ S AJ 272 [#227], S QJ #227, Mr. 527.

2018. *šid▽ 'sprinkle, pour' > **HS:** CS *šdy> JA [Trg.] ✓ šdy|w G 'sprinkle, pour', JEA {Sl.} ✓ šdy G id. (× ✓ šdy|w 'throw, cast' < N *š^rayü¹d▽ 'throw'), Ar ✓ šdy G (pf. sadıya, msd. sadıy-) 'être humide par suite d'une abondante rosée' ¶ Js. 1524, Lv. T II 456, Sl. 511, BK 1073 || Eg fOK st^y 'pour out (ausschütten)', Eg fP st^y 'pour, pour out (liquid)' ('gießen, ausgießen'), Eg NE/L st^y 'sprinkle' (× N *č^rü¹t▽ [or *č^rü¹t▽?] 'throw, fling, pour?') ¶ EG IV 328-9 ¶ The devoicing *d > t may be accounted for by the infl. of N *č^rü¹t▽ || **A:** NaT *síð- 'urinate' > OT sⁱð-, [MhK] سید ~ سد سید- id., MQp siy-, Tkm сий- θiy- (/θī-), Uz, ET, Qmq, QRB, VTt, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, Az siy-, Qzq си- si-, Osm سيمك siy₁-(mek) id., Tk siy- 'urinate' (of dogs, cats)', Ggz d. sī-dik, Tv sidik 'urine', Xk sūde-, SY siz- ~ sez- 'urinate' ¶ Cl. 799, Rs. W 421, Rh. 1103, Ml. ZhU 101-2; Clauson (l.c.) reconstructed a long i probably on the apparent ev. of Tkm θī-, but the ev. does not exist, because Tkm ī is obviously equivalent to *-iy- (where *-y- < *-ð-) ||

? ϕ M *sadara-, *sadagana- > WrM sadara-, sadagana-, HlM садра-, садгана- 'leak heavily over a wide surface' ¶ *sa- < *si- by as. ¶ MED 655 ¶ ≈ DQA #2122 (A *suda 'spit out, spurt' > M) || D (in SD) *če|i̥t̥- ({θGS} *s-) 'sprinkle' > Tu śedī ~ tedi 'sprinkling', śedipini, śeddiyuni v. 'sprinkle with fingers', Kn sidi v. 'be scattered' ¶ D #2758 ◇ M *a of the first syll. may be due to regr. as.

2019. *sa^rh¹ida 'to take aim', 'to direct (e.g. a weapon) straight to the aim', (→ ?) 'to hit (the goal)' > HS: S *°✓šdy ~ *°✓šdd (× S *✓šdy 'throw') > IA, Plm ✓šdy G 'shoot', Ar ✓sdd G (ip. -sidd-) 'hit the right point', D (pf. saddada) 'direct (sth.) aright, point (a spear) at', 'diriger, pointer en ligne droite (un lance, etc., contre qn.)'; Ar ✓sdd → Mh, Jb E/C ✓sdd v. 'aim (a goal)' ¶ HJ 1111, ≈ Br. 757-8, BK I 1O73-4, Hv. 314 || IE: NaIE *se|o;₁d^h- / *si(:)d^h- / *səd^h- 'go straight to a goal\aim' > OI ✓sādh- (prs. sādhati) id., 'attain an object, succeed', 'sādhya_{ti} 'kommt zum Ziel' (i < NaIE *ə), Av -hād- 'lenkend, leitend, zum Ziele führend' || Gk ἀφύεις 'straight (to the goal), direct' || Arm աջ 'right (dexter); right hand' || Phr σιδετο 'succeeded, achieved' || ? W hawdd easy, feasible' ¶ WP II 450, P 892, M K III 456, M E II 722-3, FI 716 (NaIE *sājd^h- / *sīd^h-), ≈ EI 228 (the above words < *seh_(i)- 'go forward, advance') || U: FV *satta- 'geraten, treffen, eintreffen' > F sattu- 'schaden, beschädigen', lädieren', Vp sata-tada 'hurt by hitting, bruise (some place of one's body)'; F sattu- 'hit (the mark), happen', Es {Tamm, Slv.} sattu 'hit (the mark)', 'find oneself (somewhere)' ('geraten') | Er сато- sato-, Mk сато- satə- 'be enough; fall to one's share', {UEW} 'zureichen, hinreichen, genügen' ¶ UEW 753-4, Tamm 526, Slv. 326, ZM 498, ERV 570, Ker. II 132 ◇ The IE lr. (evidenced by NaIE *səd-) is likely to go back to N *h, because *h and *? are the only lrs. that can be lost in S and because *? is usually not preserved in NaIE as *ə.

2020. (2?) *Sidi₁V₂Nr₃ (≈ *SidNr₁V₂) 'to shovel, to sweep' > A: NaT *sidi₁r- v. 'sweep, shovel, strip'; the meaning 'sweep, shovel' is preserved in Ggz siyir- v. 'shovel', Qq siyir- v. 'sweep', Tkm թիր- v. 'wipe off (tears)', Uz sidir- v. 'sweep off', OT co-operative sidriš- v. 'help to sweep off and to shovel up (the snow)'; the meaning 'strip' is represented in many lgs.: OT siyir- v. 'strip, peel, scrape', Osm siyir- ~ SIR-v. 'tear, peel off, strip off', Tk sisiyir-, Az siyir- 'strip off, peel off', Ggz siyir- v. 'strip', Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt siyir, VTt sədər, Δ sъyъr-,

Qmq **sidir-**, Uz **sidir-** vt. 'strip, bark', Qrg **sidir-** 'scrape off, tear off by handfuls', Xk **sizir-** 'scrape off, strip off'; Qrg, Qmq **sidir-**, VTt **sъdъr**, and Uz **sidir-** (with -d- for the expected -y-) may be either loans from some -d-languages (where T *-δ- > -d-) or result from assimilative devoicing (*-δ- > *-t-) ¶ Cl. 8O2-3, TrR 775, Hüs. 279, Rh. 1198, TkR 600, 608, MM 311, KrkR 601, UzR 365, Jud. 674-5, 678, KumRS 292, BIG 206, TTDS 379, Rs. W 414 || M *sidur- > WrM {Rm.} **sidur-** 'abhabeln', {MED} **šudur-** v. 'tear off, peel off', Kl **šudər-** 'scrape, scrape off', Brt **шудар-** 'scrape' ¶ KW 367, KRS 682, STM II 79, MED 757 || K *^ostxar / *^ostxr- v. 'dig' > Sv L {Dn.} **štخار-**/**štχr-** 'dig, dig up (рыть, вскопать)' (msd. **lištχre**, imv. / 2s aor **ax-štχar**) (× GZ *tqχar-/*tqχr- < N ***tAřq**Ν '≈ make an incision, dig', q.v. ffd.) ¶ K2 77-8, K 176-7 (***(s₁)txar-**/***(s₁)txr-**), Dn. s.v. **štχar**, cp. FS K 158 and FS E 171-2 (***txar-**/***txr-**) || ?σ IE: NaIE *ster_{Lə}- v. 'rob' (← v. *'strip, shovel?') > Gk ἀπο-στερέω v. 'rob, despoil', Gk A/I στερίσκω id., Gk στερέω* (attested in 3s imv. στερεῖτω, ft. στερήσω, στερῶ, and aor. ἐστέρησα) v. 'deprive, bereave', στέρομαι v. 'be without, lack, lose' (← *'be robbed') || OIr [ɣ] **ser b** 'theft, plunder' (< *ster-wā) ¶ WP II 636, P 1O28, EI 543 (*ster- 'steal'), F II 792-3, Vn. S 9O-1 ◇ This is one of the K roots that may suggest the law: pre-K *st, *st̥, *st̥ > K *st̥ (= {K} ***(s₁)t**) > G, Mg, Lz t, Sv šd, e.g. S *fašarat- → K *ašt- 'ten', S *xamišat- → K *xušt- 'five', N *š^hΝt^hΝw^hΝ 'cold weather' (> S *šitaw- 'winter') > K *štow- v. 'snow' (→ *štowl- 'snow'), N ***kUšd**Ν 'chop, cut' > K *kwešt- id., N *d^hΝšt^hΝ 'moon' > K *d^htuštē- id. (cf. FU *täštā 'star; sign'), a.o. On IE *st- < N *S^hΝd- see Introduction, 2.2.1O.

2021. *sagæ (= *sage?) 'obtain, hold' > IE: NaIE *seg^h- 'hold, seize, win (in a battle)' > OI 'sahatē' 'overcomes, conquers, wins', Av haz- 'sich bemächtigen, gewinnen' || Gk ἔχω (aor. ἔ-σχον), τρέχω (< IE *si-sg^he/o-) v. 'hold, have' || Gt **sigis** (accus. sihw or sihu), ON **sigr**, AS **siȝor**, OHG **sigu**, NHG Sieg 'victory' || Clt.: Gl **sego-** (in proper names) '≈ win', {Billy ← Evn.} 'power, strength', W **hy** 'kühn' → 'bold, impudent', OIr **seg** 'force, vigueur' ¶ WP II 481-2, P 888-9, EI 123-4 (*seg^h- 'hold fast, conquer'), Mn. 1118-20, M K III 450-1, Brtl. 1705, Bai. 466, F I 602-4, Fs. 419, Vr. 474, Ho. 29, Kb. 850, Schz. 251, KM 707-8, Vn. S 68, YGM-1 288-91, Billy 135 || u *sare- 'obtain, receive, reach' (→ 'arrive, come') (× N ***šare**_{Lŋ}кΝ or ***šeřa**_{Lŋ}кΝ 'be near, approach' [q.v.]) > F, Es **saa-** v. 'get, receive', F Δ **saa-** v. 'come, arrive'

| ? Lp: Kld {TI} sā,k:ă-đ, T {TI} sā,k:a-đ, Kld {SaR} соагкэ v. 'procure, catch' ('anschaffen, fangen'), K {Gn.} sākkē- id., 'give birth to' | pMr {Ker.} *sāꝝə- v. 'obtain, take' > *sayə-/*sävə- > Er сае-мс saje-, Mk сяво-мс śävə- id.; pMr {Ker.} *sāꝝə- v. 'come' > Er/Mk са-мс sa- id. | pChr {Ber.} *šu- v. 'reach (a place), arrive' > StChr L шу-'аш, Chr P/B/M/Uf/Y/V šu- id., Chr H {Ep.} шо-аш 'reach (by going), catch up with' | pPrm {LG} *su- v. 'overtake (so.)' > Vt сутыны 'catch up with (so.)', Z су- su- id., 'overtake, catch (so.)', {W} 'vorfinden, überraschen, sich ereignen' || Sm {Jn.} *t|čъ|āywъ- (~ *t|čъ|āywā-?), {Hl.} *t|čaywā v. 'reach, arrive' ыNe Т тэвă-сь 'reach (a place), catch up with', Ne O {Lh.} tāeþ·ā, Ne F {Lh.} tāe·þ:aś 'ankommen, erreichen', En {Ter.} tō-, {Cs.} taebo ~ toebo? (1s aor.) 'reach (a place)', Kms {KD} (1s prs.) tuíam ~ t'uíam 'zum Ziele kommen, anlangen, ankommen', tuðă' šō>bjām 'ich kam zum Ziele', Mt {Hl.} *taybз- (aux. verb with resultative meaning ← 'reach') (Mt M {Sp.} хадайбага 'death' ← xə- 'die') ¶ Coll. 54, UEW 429-3O, It. #37, SK 932-4, Gn. 93O, Hs. 1289, TI 464, SaR 323, Ker. II 128-9 [##339-4O], Ber. 68 [#358], MRS 728-9, Ep. 151, LG 266, Jn. 144, Ter. 684-5, Lh. 479-8O, KD 74, Hl. M #942 || A *šaga- ({ADb.} saga-) v. 'extract (sth. for oneself), milk' (← *'reach, obtain') > T *sag- id. > OT say- v. 'milk (an animal)', Tk sаг- v. 'milk, extract honey from a beehive', Tkm þay- v. 'milk, suck out', Az, ET, Xk, SY, Tv say-, Uz соғ- say-, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, VTt, Kr saw-, Bsh haw-, Ggz, Qrg, Alt sā-, Slr A sax-, Yk sīā-, Chv L су- su-, Chv Δ sъw- v. 'milk' ¶ Cl. 8O4, Jeg. 192, Fed. II 53-4, Tn. SJJ 2O5, Tn. SJ 476, TkR 555 || M *saya- v. 'milk' > MM [S] sa,a-, WrM saga-, HlMcaa- sā-, Brt hā-, Kl, Ord, Dgr, MMgl sā-, MnR H {SM} suā- ¶ MED 656, KW 317, H 13O, Iw. 131, SM 356 ¶ Pp. VG 29, KW 317, ADb. KL 1, Cl. 8O4 (suggests with a query that the M verb is a loan from T) || Tg *°šaga- (or *°çaga-) v. 'milk' > Ewk Nr çaya- id. ¶ STM II 375 ◇ The final vw. in pN is probably *-e, while M and Tg *-a- of the second syll. may be accounted for by regr. as. ◇ AD GD 8 [#49] (IE, U), Rs. UAW (U, A), IS SS 333-4 [#6.19] and IS MS 356 s.v. получать *sagə (IE, U, D).

2022. (2?) *sēg|k∇ 'eat, swallow' > U *seye- > FU {Coll.}*seye-, {UEW} *sew|yə- 'eat' (x N *s∇wH₂∇ 'to drink' [q.v.]?) > F syö-, Es sōö-, sūü-, Vp sō- 'eat' | pMr {Ker.} *sevz- > Er сэве- seve-, Δ śävū-, Mk сиво- śivə-, Δ śevz- & sevz- 'eat (the whole thing)' ('съестъ')

Prm {LG} *śöy- (= {JLG} *śōj-) 'eat' > Z, Prmk сёй- śoy-, Z US śøy-, Yz 'śuy-, Vt śi- (сиыны) id.; the variant *śöv- survives in Yz 'suv- 'eat' and in Z śov-3d- v. 'feed' || ObU {Ht.} *θī- / *θīψ- 'eat' > pVg {Ht.} *tī- / *tīꝝ- / *tāy- id. > Vg: T tī- / tāy- / täy-, LK/MK tē- / tōy- / tāy-, UK tē- / tōy-, P/LL tē- / tōy- / tay-, NV tē- / tōy- / tāy-, SV tē- / tōy- / tāy-, UL/Ss tī- / tēꝝ- / tāy-; pOs {Ht.} *ɸi- / *ɸiψ- 'eat' > Os: V li- / liꝝ-, Vy i- / iꝝ-, Ty ɸi- / ɸiꝝw-, Y ɸi- / ɸiw-, D/K/Nz te- / tew-, Kz ɸe- / ɸew-, O li- / liw-; pOs {Ht.} *ɸäpat- v. 'feed' > Os: V läwət-, Vy yäwət-, Ty/Y ɸäpat-, D/K tāpat-, Nz tapat-, Kz ɸapat-, O lāpat- | Hg ēv- (/ ē- / ēsz-) 'eat' || pY {IN} *θey- 'eat' > YK/T {IN} leg- 'eat', T {Krn.} legul 'food', lew-l vt. 'eat', OY K {Bil., Merk} lagul 'food', {Merk} lagk, lagitak, {Bil.} lagetak v. 'feed', OY Ch {Mat.} ландык id. ¶ UEW 44O, Coll. 117, ≈ Sm. 548 (FU *sewi-, FP *sevi-, Ugr *θigī- 'eat'), It. #336, SK 1154-6, ZM 539, LG 252, Lt. 62, U 277, #178, 336, Ht. #115, Hl. rHt 73-4, MF 164-5, ERV 63O, PI 248, Ker. II 14O, IN 22O, 3O, Krn. JJ 274, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#79] (Y ← U) || A: M *siꝝü-sün 'food' > MM [S] śiꝝüsün {H} 'Ration', {SM} 'provisions de bouche données par le gouvernement aux fonctionnaires', WrM sigñsün {MED}, HlM шүүс 'food' (usually 'meat'), Ord {Ms.} šüsü 'mouton qu'on sert aux personnes qu'on veut honorer', MnR H {SM} sūssən id., 'grand morceau de viande'; M → WrMc ʃusu id., 'meal provided at the stations to government functionaries' ¶ H 142, MED 704, SM 366, Ms. O 638, Z 684 || ?? NaT: OT (DTS, Rs.) sayur- v. 'swallow, absorb (liquid)' ¶ DTS 481, Rs. W 394, Cl. 816 (hypothesizes OT s'u'γur-) || ? HS: Eg MK skn 'be greedy (gierig, gefrässig)' (of crocodiles, men) ¶ EG IV 318, Fk. 251 ◇ OT a in sayur- (if the word belongs here) may be accounted for by regr. as.

2023. *Sûg ▽ 'back of the neck, back' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} (?) *sug- > Dsn {To.} sug-gu, {Ss.} sugu 'back', Or fugiso 'upside down', {Grg.} fuggisō 'position with top down and bottom up', Gdl {Ss.} sukunna 'lower part of shoulder' ¶ But haedly here Bln {R} zəg ~ zēg 'shoulder(-blade)', Xm {R} zīg 'shoulder, back side', Xm T {CR} sig 'back', Arr {Hw.} zéh 'nape of the neck', and Or WI {Grg.} saggō 'back of head\neck' (from the HS √ represented by Mofu {Ross.} ma-žagwom, pMM *√ ʒgm 'shoulder', and Mb ki-zóga ~ ki-zíra ~ ki-zóka id., see Tk. PAA 5-6) ¶ Ss. WOKS 127-8, Grg. 149, 35O, R WB 296, R Ch II 4O6 (= s. p. 92), Hw. A 4O1, ≈ AD SF 99, To. DL 526, ≈ Blz. DL s.v. 'tail' || A ({§DQA} *s̥juge 'nape of the neck'): NaT {ADb.} *sügsün 'nape of the

neck, withers' > OT {Cl.} süsgün 'backside, rump, (?) spinal column', {DTS} süskün 'spinal column', MQp süksün 'shoulder, upper part of the back', OOsm sügsün, Tk Δ sügsün, süysün 'occiput, withers (затылок, загривок)', Az süysün 'withers (холка)', Alt süksenek 'jugular vertebrae' ¶ Cl. 836, DTS 518, TL 234-5 || AmTg *sug-li(n) 'withers, mane' ({ADb.} süg-li 'mane') > Nn Nh soglū, Nn KU solū, Ul suni 'wild boar's mane', Orc suli 'mane', Ork suli 'withers (of a horse\deer\bear)' ¶ STM II 70 ¶ ADb. MSR 200, TL 234 || D ~ *ču^v- , {§GS} ~ *s|ču^v- > Tm cuval 'nape of the neck, upper part of the neck, back, mane', ? Ml cūmal 'shoulder', (× N *čikū 'base of limbs [shoulder, hip]?) Kui sukor̩i ~ sukoli 'shoulder-blade', Brh čuy 'nape of the neck' ¶ D #2696 ◇ ~ Blz. DA #25 (D, HS, A + unacceptable comparisons with IE, etc.), ~ Blz. LB #6i (EC, D, A + unc. Ag) ◇ Cp. Yn *suga 'backwards'.

2024. *śûyg∇l∇ 'produce sounds by voice or by blowing' > HS: S *zg̚l (as. from **šg̚l?) > Ar zḡl G (pf. زَجْل زَجِيلَ) 'sing, speak loudly', (of several persons) 'produce noise by laughing and speaking loudly' || IE: NaIE *sweig̚h̚l-/*swig̚h̚l- 'produce sound by blowing' > Gt swiglōn 'to blow a flute', OHG swēgalā 'flute, pipe (Schwegel, Flöte, Pfeife, Orgelpfeife), Rohr', {OsS} swēglōn 'to blow a Schwegelpfeife', NHG Schwegel 'flute', AS {Ho.} swezel 'music', {Fs.} swezl-horn 'trumpet horn' || ?φ L sībilā- v. 'whistle' || Fs. 467, Ho. 334, Kb. 998, OsS 907, KM 691, WH II 531-2. EI 72 (*sweig̚h̚l-) || U: FU *ś∇l̚g∇- or *ś∇g̚l∇- > pObU *s̚l̚əy̚- 'hiss (zischen)' > pVg *săl̚i- > Vg LK/MK săl̚i- id.; pOs *s̚l̚əy̚-~*săl̚əy̚- > Os: Y s̚l̚əy̚-, K săl̚ay̚-, Kz sōd̚i-, Ty s̚l̚əy̚l̚e- id., Vy s̚l̚əy̚- {Trj.} 'hiss' (of snakes) || Ht. #591, KrT 864, 890, Ps. 2064, Trj. S 437 ◇ The vw. (*∇) after N *g is suggested by pN phonology that rules out clusters of three consonants.

2025. ² ***Sigir** ∇ 'in (part of a) leg' > **HS:** Ch: Bks {J} sakúr 'leg' || Ngz {Sch.} zìgír 'leg, foot', Bd {ChL} žzgžržn 'leg' || ? CCh (unless from N ***s|šæd** ∇ (or ***s|š id** ∇) 'lower part', q.v.): Tr {Nw.} sarà, G'nd {ChL} sarž, Hw {ChL} sàrà, Pdl {ChL} sžrtì, HgN {Mk.} surra, HgF/HgG {ChL} sura, Lmn Hd {Lk.} sžrá, Mdr {Eg.} sírá, {ChL} súrá, Gzg D {Lk.} sar, Glv {Rp.} šíg, Gdf {IL} sígå, Dgh {IL} sžgè, {Frk.} s`gé, Ngs šígo, Mtk {Sb.} sák, Mkt {Ro.} šík 'leg' ¶ JI II 22O-1, ChC, Sch. DN 18O, ChL || **A:** M ***sižira** 'shank, leg (of animals)' > WrM **sigira**, HIM шийр id., 'hoof',

WrO ڦيٽire 'legs, stands', Kl ڦينه ڦir 'shank; leg of a tripod', {Rm.} ڦirə 'Bein (von den Knien nach unten), Klauen (der Wiederkäuer, Schweine, etc.), Füsse des Dreifusses', MM [MA] شيره ڦira ({Pp.} ڦira) 'legs (of a tripod?)', Ord {Ms.} ڦira 'partie inférieure de la jambe d'un animal', MnR H {SM} ڦirā 'leg'; M → WrMc ڦira 'shin-bone; shank of birds' ¶ Pp. MA 335, MED 702, Krg. 449, KRS 671, KW 363, SM 397, Z 614 || NaT *sīgra, {AdB.} *sīyra (> *sīhar, sījir) 'ankle (лодыжка), shank' > Az Δ sījir 'part of the leg between foot and ankle (щиколотка)', Qrg sīyra 'counter of a boot, heel', Tv sār 'part of the foot from the instep up to the toes', sīri ({AdB.}): < *sījr-i) 'hoof'; d.: *sigir-gak or {AdB.} *sījir-gak 'shank, shin-bone' > ? Chg {Vm.} سیغراق sīyraq (read by Rs. [\leftarrow Vm.?] as sīyraq) 'shin-bone', Nog, Qq, Qmq sīyraq, VTt, SbTt sīyraq 'shank', VTt {DRl.} sīyraq ~ sāraq 'shin-bone', Qzq سیجراک sīyraq, Qrg ڦیغراق 'shank, shin-bone', Ux Δ sīyraq 'shank, ankle', Tlt {RL.} ڦiraq 'the leg from the hoof up to the knee', Alt ڦیغراق 'pastern, knee', Tv sīryaq 'shank (of animals), metacarpus, metatarsus', as well as possibly (but not necessarily) NaT *sījir-gak 'hoof' > Chg {PC} sajraq, Tk Δ sīrnak 'hoof (of bovines)', Tkm sījraq 'hoof of artiodactyls', Uz Xwr sījraq 'leg (of an animal)' ¶ *-ŋ- in the stem *sījirgak (if it belongs here) and in AdB.'s rec. (if valid) remains puzzling ¶ Rs. W 415, TL 287, AdB. SR 313-4, RL. IV 626, 681, 1052, TatR 495, Tm. 196, MM 310, NogR 319, KrkR 601, KumRS 293, Jud. 917, BT 186 || Tg *°sīra ({AdB.}: < *sīra) > WrMc ڦira 'shin-bone (of humans, mammals), thigh (of birds)' ¶ STM II 94 ¶ TL 287, KW 363, AdB. SR 313-4 ◇ The T cognate suggests N *S-, while Ngz is likely to point to a voiced initial cns., unless Ngz z- is account for by assimilation (but definite results may be obtained not before a detailed historical phonology of Chadic is elucidated).

2026. $_{\text{2}}$ * \acute{s} ' Δ y' $\acute{\gamma}$ U 'surface of water' > K *z̥wā 'sea' > OG z̥ua, G z̥va, Mg z̥va, Lz z̥ua (\leftarrow G?), zuya-, (m)zoya, Sv UB/L/Ln {TK, GP, Dn.} zuywa, Sv LB {TK} zuywa ~ zuywā (with anaptyctic u, acc. to Klimov) ¶ K 89 and K² 62 (*z̥wa-), FS K 136, FS E 147 (*z̥w-), GP 278, Dn. s.v. ڙيڻوا, Ni. s.v. مope, TK 847 || HS: S *°s̥sayf- > Ar sayf- 'eau qui se répand et coule à la surface du sol' ¶ BK I 1176, Hv. 347 ◇ K *z̥- < **s̥y (as.) ◇ Cf. N * \acute{s} ' \acute{a} ' $\acute{\gamma}$ iwE (or * \acute{c} ' \acute{a} ' $\acute{\gamma}$ iwE?) 'body of water, (??) wet\swampy ground' (q.v. ffd.), which is not identical with

N *ś'νy'γU, as can be seen in the reflexes of the initial lrs. and in the absence of expected traces of N *γ in the reflexes of N *ś|č'rā?iwe.

2027. ² *śakν 'sit, dwell' > HS *√skn > S *√škn v. 'seat, settle, dwell' > BHb √škn G 'settle; remain, stay, dwell', Ph √škn G 'dwell, settle', Ug √škn G {OLS} 'be situated, settle, dwell', mšknt 'place of residence', IA, BA √škn G 'dwell', JEA √škn G {Sl.} 'settle, sink, reside, dwell', SmA √škn G 'settle down, dwell', Sr √škn G 'alight, perch' (of birds), 'settle, rest upon', Ar √skn G 'stop; be still; dwell\abode in', Ak √škn G vt. 'place (sth. for a particular purpose), set' ¶ KB 1386-9, 179O, HJ 1134, A #2606, OLS 436-7, Js. 1575, Sl. 1145, Lv. IV 553, JPS 577, Tal 894-5, Ln. 1392, BK I 1115, Hv. 328, Sd. 1134-9, CAD XVII 116-57 || Ch: WCh *√sk(n), {Stl.} *sukn- 'sit, rest' > P' {MSk.} siki 'sit, dwell, live', Jmb {Sk.} šinká 'sit' || Bg {ChL} sítgáne, Gj {ChL} šukí, Zul {ChL} yá šukù 'rest', Plc {ChL} šízint, {Sh.} šík, Dw {Sh.}, Ds D/Bn, Brw, Wnd {Sh.} suk 'sit' || Fy {J} šík v. 'take a rest' ('rasten, ausruhen') || CCh: ZmB {Sa., J} súk 'sit', ZmD {KNC} súk 'rester, s'asseoir' ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [#295], ChC, ChL, J R 89, MSk. 203, Sk. NB 40, Sh. SB 37, KNC 24 || SC: Irq {E} suknunu?at- v. 'squat', {EldM} sakʷnene?-it- 'squat (on the haunches)' || ?σ Dhl {EEN} sukkēm- 'remain still', {To.} sūkēm- 'be still' ¶ E SC 351, EldM61, EEN 25, To. D 147 || B *√skn > Ah əskən 'stand on hind legs' (of quadrupeds), Ty/ETwl {GhA} əskən 'se tenir debout sur les pied de derrière en appuyant ceux de devant contre l'arbre, pour brouter'; NrB: Tmz {MT} skən (pf. skən) 'habiter, loger', Izn {Ds.} əskən (pf. iškən), BSn {Ds.} əskən (pf. 'yeskən) 'habiter', Mtm {Ds.} əskən id., əskən 'demeurer', Wrg {Dlh.} əskən (pf. yəskin) 'habiter, loger'; NrB √skn may be a loan from Ar (cp. Ar Mrc skən 'become calm and quiet; live, dwell, reside') ¶ Fc. 1814-5, GhA 171, Ds. B 161, MT 63O, DMA 136-7 ¶ OS #224O (HS *sikun- 'dwell, sit') [S, Ch, SC]; Tk. I 236 and Tk. SCC 84 [#12.14] (S, C, B + unc. Eg snc 'Fundament, Grundriß', sncγ 'gründen') ¶ HS *n is an extension || A *š|sagν (or *-b|w-) 'sit, seat, be seated' > M *sa'γ'u- 'sit' > WrM saqu-, HIM sū- 'sit, be seated, dwell, reside', MM [HI] {Ms.} sa,u 'sit down, sit, dwell (s'asseoir, être assis, demeurer)', [IsV] sau- 'sit down', [L] sau-ba, {MA, IM} sū-ba 'sit', Ord {Ms.}, MnR H {SM} sū-, {T} sū-, MnR M {T} sau- 'sit, dwell, stay', MMgl {Iw.} sau-kū, Mgl {Lg.} söü- ~ sau-, {Rm.} sū-, Dx {T} sau-, Dg {Lg.} s'ō-, s'ūō-, Ba {T} sū- 'sit' ¶ MED 658, S AJ 237 [#81], Pp. MA 328, 447, Lg. VMI 63, SM 355, T 36O, T DnJ 133, T BJ 147, Iw. 131, Rm. M 39 || ? pJ *súwá- v. 'sit' > OJ suw-u {Mr.} 'sit' > J: T suwaru 'sit, be seated', K

sūwatteru, Kg súwa 'sit'] ¶ S AJ 267 [#67], Kenk. 1854, Mr. 76O (suwaru < *suba-ra- < *zuba-ra-) ¶ S AJ 277 [#64].

2028. *š̥ä'ka|æ 'strew, spread' > HS *s̥v̥k- 'sow, strew, scatter' > Eg fP scy id. ¶ EG IV 346-7, Fk. 255 || Ch: WCh: Hs šūkà 'sow' || CCh: Chb š̥gáti, Bu {Hf.} thlika (= [š̥čika...]?) 'sow' | Msg P {Trn.} suki, sokà, Mlw súkí 'faire le trou avant de semer', Mbara {Trn.} čók 'sow' ¶ Ba. 944-5, Hf. B 135. Trn. LM 6O || NrOm: Kf {C} šok-, Mch {L} šo·kkī- v. 'seed', Shn {Lm.} šokà n. 'seed' ('Saat, Same') || EC: Ged ({Lm.}: ← ?) sok- 'sow' (the glottalization *-k- > -k- may be due to the initial lr. of the aux. verb that underlies suffix-conjugated verbal forms) ¶ C SE IV 496, L M 5O, Lm. Sh 374-5 ¶ OS #23O3 (Eg, Hs, Om), Tk. I 236 (Eg, Ch [Hs, CCh], Om) ¶ Tk. I 236 || IE: NaIE *seg̥g- v. 'sow' > L seges (gen. segetis) 'seed (Saat)' (→ 'standing corn, crop'), ? Seia 'goddess of seed' (< *seg-ja) (unless ← *sē- v. 'sow') || MW sehe 'Same', OW segeticion 'prolis'; MW heu (*hou), W, Crn hau v. 'sow' ¶ WP II 4O8, P 887, WH II 5O9-1O, LP § 35.4, Bc. 5O5 || A: Tg *seg̥k- v. 'litter (branches of conifer on the flour), cover the flour with sth.' > Ewk s̥zi-, Lm h̥z̥- & h̥z̥- 'litter branches of conifer on the floor of a tent as bedding', Neg s̥zk- 'litter branches of conifer in order to cut animal's meat or fish on them', Ork s̥zi- & s̥zi- 'litter branches of larch or spruce needles on the floor, spread sth. on the floor', Ul s̥gi- v. 'spread bedding'; Tg *segdi (← M?) > Nn Nh/KU s̥gži, Ul s̥gdi-, Sln s̥ttz- v. 'spread' ('разложитъ'), Ork, Ul s̥gdi 'bedding (подстилка)', Orc s̥ktu, s̥gdi id., 'bed', WrMc sekži 'bedding of a room\nest', 'bedding\\litter in a stall for skinning carcasses'; Tg *sek-te-'spread\\stretch (e.g. branches as bedding)' > Ewk s̥ktz- 'spread branches as bedding', Neg s̥ktz 'branches of coniferous trees as bedding', s̥ktz- 'make the bed', Nn Nh/KU s̥gži id., s̥ktž 'cloth (полотнище) (made of fish skin)', Ork s̥kti(n-) id., Ud soktou(n-) 'bedding (made of a hide, bark, etc.)', Ul s̥ktu- 'make up a bed', WrMc sekte- 'spread bedding, make up a bed', 'spread (hemp in a field to dry it)', sektefun 'bedding, rug, straw-bed; cushion' ¶ STM II 136-7 || pJ {S} *sík- v. 'litter, strew' > OJ sík-, J: T sík-, K/Kg sík- ¶ S QJ #389, Mr. 751 || M: WrM {Kow.} sekci 'herbes qu'on étend sur le lit d'une femme qui accouche, ou qu'on met dans les matelas ou sous le tapis, herbes que les animaux\\oiseaux étendent dans leurs tanières ou dans leurs nids' (→ Yk säksä ~ sāksä ~ säxsä ~ söksö ~ säktä ~ sättä 'bedding of branches') ¶ MED 682, Kow. 1366, Pek. 215O, STM II 137

¶ ≈ DQA #1952 (A *s|zeg i 'to litter; mat' > Tg, J), SDM97 (A *seki) || |
D (att. in NED) *c̥'ḁk- > Krx c̥ā:x- c. 'sow, scatter seed', Mlt {Drs.} cágē
'divide, scatter, sow' ¶ D #2431 ◇ NED *a (if it is from D *a), Tg and M
'*e are likely to go back to N *ä ◇ Blz. DA 163 [#109] (suggested to
equate HS with D).

2029. *sāhk'ḁ 'search, find, know' > IE *sehg-/ *shg- > NaIE *sāg-
/*sag- 'scent out, track, search' (originally referring to hunt) > L sāgī-
'scent out' (Cicero: *sentire sagire acute est*) → 'perceive
quickly, feel keenly', sāgax (< *sag-) 'scenting sth. well' → 'keen,
acute', sāgus 'prophetic, soothsaying' || OIr saig- 'seek out', {Vn.}
'chercher à atteindre, tendre vers, rechercher', Crn hedhy 'try to
reach\attain' ('chercher à atteindre'), W haeddu 'to deserve, to
merit', {EI} 'to earn, to gain', cyrhaeddu, cyrraedd 'to reach\attain'
('atteindre'), MW dyhaedd, Crn drechedhy, MBr dirhaes id. (Erd.:
with pxs. do- + *(p)ro-) || Gk ἡγέομαι, Gk D ἡγέομαι 'lead the way, go
before; believe, hold (have the opinion)', → Gk ἡγεμών, ἡγήτωρ 'one
who leads, leader', κυν-ἡγέτης 'huntsman' (lit. 'who leads the dogs') ||
Gt sōkjan, ON sækja, NNr søkja, Sw söka, Dn søge, OHG
suohhen (> NHG suchen), OFrs sēka 'seek, look for', AS sēcan
id. (> d. NE beseech); Gt sokn-s [sōkn-s] 'ζήτησις, Untersuchung,
Streitfrage', ON sókn 'Suchen, Untersuchung, Streit', AS sócn
'Untersuchung, Nachfrage', → NE seek || Ht sak(k)- / sek(k)-
'know, find out' ¶ WP II 449, P 876, EI 505-6 (*seh_Hg- 'perceive
acutely, seek out'), Mn. 1107, Dev. #703, WH II 464-5, EM 589, Vn. S
9-12, Ern. 175, HDEL 1537, FI 621-2, Fs. 442, Vr. 529, 577, Ho. 306,
Kb. 992, Schz. 276, KM 762, Ts. W 67 || **HS:** S *✓ škħ Sh 'find' > IA, JA
[Trg.], JEA [BT], SmA, Sr ✓ škħ Sh id., Ak {Sd.} ✓ šk∅ Sh (with vowels
suggesting ∅ < *ħ|ʕ|) 'procure (beschaffen)' (?) ¶ HJ 1132-3, Js. 1572,
Sl. 1143-4, Tal 892, Br. 775, Sd. 1210 (s.v. šekħm) || EC {Ss.} *sag-
/*sog- 'predict' > Or {Th., Brl.} fag-, Or B {Vnt.} fag- 'foretell, predict',
Dbs sok- 'predict', Brj sa'gāna 'a particular family with power for rain-
making' ¶ Ss. B 162, Th. 126, Brl. 140-1, Vnt. 51, AMS 185 || **A:** [1] A
*sag- > T *sa:χg 'intellect, intelligence' > OT sa:χy ({Cl.} [MhK] ﺹاχ
sāχ) 'intellect (ʔaλ-ɬaχlu), intelligence, sagacity' || ?σ T *sak 'alert,
awake' > OT saq id., Tkm θaq 'vigilant', 'light' (sleep), Tk sak 'vigilant;
sleeping light', Bsh haq, ET, VTt, Qmq saq 'vigilant, prudent, cautious',
Qq, Qrg saq 'watchful, cautious', Nog, Qzq saq id., 'prudent' ¶ Valid

only if the primary meaning is 'alert' rather than 'awake' ¶ Cl. 8O3, 8O5-6, MKD 152, Sht. 17O, TkR 55, Nj. 497 || pKo *sákí-> MKo sákí-, NKO sägi- 'read characters, interpret', MKo sagui-, NKO sàkoj- 'know each other, make acquaintance' ¶ S QK #81, Nam 282, MLC 868, 92O || AmTg *seku- > Ul səxuli, Nn Nh səxur 'keen' (of ear), 'light' (of sleep) ('чуткий' [сон]), Ul səxulu/i- v. 'sleep light' ('чутко спать'), Nn səxuči- id., 'be vigilant' ¶ STM II 139 ¶ DQA #1957 (A *sék'u 'preserve, be aware': T *sak, Ko, Tg + unc. J *suk- v. 'like' and M *saki- 'protect') ¶ [2] ?φ A {DQA} *sogú- 'search, choose' (influenced by N *sUhKv 'wish, covet' [q.v.]?) > T *sogra- > OT [MhK] {Cl.} suyr-ut- 'search' (ol anin ävin suyruttu 'he searched his house'); possibly: T → WrM surga-, HlM cyrga- 'teach, instruct, train' → Tv surya- id. ¶ Cl. 816, Rs. W 433, MED 739, Tv 392 || ?φ M *so^χoŋgu- 'choose' > MM [S] {H}, [HI] {Lew.} so₁oŋgu-, [HI] {Ms.} soŋgu- id., [MA] {Pp.} sonqu- 'try, test; select, elect', WrM soŋgu-, HlM сонго-, Ord su^χoŋgu-, Dg {T} soŋgo- 'choose, select', Brt hyngra-, Kl cyjh- 'select, elect' ¶ H 135, Lew. II 73, Ms. H 95, Pp. MA 324, MED 726, Ms. O 59, Chr. 688-9, KRS 463, T DgJ 164 || Tg *su^χule-~e- > Nn Hh/KU səulz-, Ul səulz/i- ~ səwlu- 'search (durchsuchen, обыскать)', WrMc suwele- ~ seole- id., 'look for (e.g., a hidden thing)' ¶ STM II 134, Z 575, 653 || pJ *sunkur- 'choose, select' > OJ súgúr-, J: T sugúr-, K súgúr-, Kg súgúr- ¶ S QJ 1292, Mr. 758 ¶ DQA #2105 ¶ Hardly here (?φ) M *siqaya- 'look searchingly, take aim' and Tg *sigi- or *sigā- 'peep out, look out' (see DQA #1992 and N *sEko 'look at' [q.v.]) ¶ ≠ Pp. VG 115, 132 (M, Tg) ◇ AmTg *e in *seku- still needs explaining. In A {DQA} *sogú- the vw. *ø may be accounted for by the infl. of N *sUhKv 'wish, covet'.

2030. *säk₁?U 'plait, tie, bind, wicker' > K *sķw- 'tie (up), bind (up)' (× N *žv̥k₁U 'to tie', q.v. ffd.) || HS: C: Ag *saķ-, {Ap.} *saꝝ-/saq- v. 'sew, weave' > Bln saꝝ-, Xm saq-, Q saꝝ-, Km saꝝ- (?), Aw saꝝ-/saqí || Dhl {EEN} saka?- v. plait, twist', ?σ sōk- v. 'twist (sth.)' ¶ Ap. IC 37, R WB 299, AD SF 1O1, ESC 182, EEN 23-4 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *sak- v. 'weave' > Hs sáka, Gw {Mts.} í sáka, Kfr {Nt.} sák, Ang {Flk.} sák id. || CCh: Msg sasake v. 'weave', Afd {Stz.} szakká [sakka] 'Weberstuhl', wánszaka 'I weave' (= *[u-w]han saka] 'I make weaving') ¶ This Ch √ is to be distinguished from *v̥cg v. 'plait, weave' (which may be a loan from KnT: Teda čaga-, Knr saga- 'weave') ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [#298], Flk. s.v. sák, ChC s.v. 'weave', Sö. 341 || ?σ B *v̥Hsķ > *v̥Hsꝝ > Ah -asəꝝ

'joindre, unir, coudre (brocher des feuilles de manière à former un cahier)', ETwl, Ty **asəy** 'joindre, unir, relier' ¶ Fc. 1831-2, GhA 17O ¶ ¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 226 || Eg fP **sc̥b** ({EG} śt̥b) v. 'spin, weave', DEg **st̥b**, Cpt Sd **c̥w̥t** id. ¶ EG IV 355, Fk. 255, Er. 474, Vc. 198 || ???φ CS *✓skk 'weave, plait' > BHb ✓skk G 'weave, form', JPA ✓skk G 'hedge in', JA [Trg.] ✓skk D 'weave', JEA ✓skk D 'cover over'; the S cognate is acceptable if one admits secondary affricatization (the former affricate *s for the original sibilant *š) due to the infl. of CS *✓nsk (< N ? *nēc̥v 'to plait, to tie together' [q.v. ffd.] × N *šäk̥v, ?U) ¶ KB 664, 712 ¶ Js, 99O, Sl. 81O-1 ¶ Tk. I 76 || **u:** FU *°šäk̥v- v. 'plait' (× N *žv̥k̥v 'to tie') > ObU *sēy- ~ *sōy- (= *sēyw-) v. 'plait' > pVg *sāy- id. > Vg: T säw, LK/MK/UK/P/SV säy-/sāy, NV säy-/sāw-, LL säy-/sā-, UL/Ss say- id.; pVg säy n. 'plait, tress of hair' ({Mu.} 'Haarflechte, Zopf') > Vg: T säw, LK/MK/UK/NV säy, SV/LL sā, UL/Ss say id.; pOs {Ht.} *söy- ({ʃHl.} *sōy-) v. 'plait' > Os: V/Vy söy-, Ty sāyw-, Y sāw-, D/K/Nz/Kz/O sew- id.; pOs *söy ({ʃHl.} *sōy) 'plait of hair' > Os: V/Vy söy, Ty sāyw, Y sāw, D/K/Nz/Kz/O sew id.] ↳ FU *šäktv̥- v. 'plait (bark shoes, a basket), mend (e.g. a net)' > pLp {Lr.} *čēktz- v. 'mend (a net)' > L: S {Hs.} t̥jiktedh, L {LLO} t̥jiktēt, N {N} čik'tet v. 'mend (seine, net)', Kld {SaR} чиххтэ, {TI} čjx:t̥ād_id. | Prm *šéktal- > Z šéktav-ñt v. 'plait (bast sandals, a basket)', Yz šóktal- v. 'add (plait in) birch bark to plaited bast sandals' ('продергивать лыковые лапти берестой'), Vt сикта šikta- v. 'mend bast sandals', Z šéktan, Vt šikta 'кочедык (an instrument for plaiting bast sandals)' || Os: Ty/O sāt- v. 'darn (nets), D sāt- v. 'darn (nets, stockings)' ¶ Ht. 182 [#571], BV 96, MK 5O9, Coll. 75, UEW 47O, Sm. 554 (FP *šäkti- 'mend'), It. #283, Lr. #15O, Lgc. #573, N I 39O, Hs. 1321, SaR 394-5, TI 665-6, LG 269-7O, Lt. J 182 || **A:** AmTg *sakta-n, *sakta-ma 'wickerwork' > Orc sakta(n-), Nn Nh/KU saqtā, Nn B saxta(n-), Ul saqta(n-) 'reed mat', Ul saqtama 'wicker basket (of reed)', Nn Nh saqtama 'basket' ¶ STM II 57, 136-7 || M *sagsuₙ, ~ *seg̥sūₙ: [1] *sagsuₙ 'wicker basket' > WrM sagsu, HIM сагс 'basket made from bamboo': M → WrMc saqsu 'wicker basket', 'wickered container for corn (made of willow-branches)'; [2] *seg̥sūₙ > WrM seg̥su 'small basket', {Kow.} sek̥su 'corbeille d'écorce, petit panier d'écorce', HIM сэгс 'small basket', Ord seg̥su 'basket for carrying soil on one's back'; [3] possibly also M *seg̥l- > WrM seg̥li, HIM сэглий 'mat or rug made of grass' ¶ MED 658, 682,

Kow. 1366, Z 558, 58O || pKo *ská́r- > MKo ská́r v, NKo ְkal- 'spread out (as mat)' ¶ S QK # 741, Nam 22, MLC 44 ¶ ~ DQA #1952 (A *s|zegi v. 'litter; mat', incl. M *seg̚l-, Ko) ¶ The vw. *ā in T *sakta- and M *sagsuṇ (for the expected T *ä and M *e) is due to vowel harmony (infl. of the vw. of sxs.) ◇ Blz. KM 119-2O (K, HS).

2031. ₂ *šákáRá 'intoxicating drink' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'alcoholic drink') > HS: S *šíkar- ~ *šakar- 'alcoholic drink' > BHb šékár, Ak šikáru(m), šikru(m) 'alcoholic drink, beer', Sr ՚šak'r-ā (abs. ՚šak'r-ā) 'sicera (alcoholic drink other than wine, esp. a liquor made from dates or from honey)', JA [Trg.] ՚šik'rā 'alcoholic drink', JEA ՚šak'rā, ՚šik'rā 'alcoholic drink not made from grapes', Md ՚šakra 'e alcoholic drink', SmA ✓ ՚škr TD 'become intoxicated', mškh ՚škr 'intoxicant' (mškh 'beverage'), Ar sakar- {Ln.} 'alcoholic drink (wine, beverage prepared from dried dates, etc.)'; S (Hb, Aram?) → Gk [LXX] σίκερα 'e fermented liquor, strong drink'; S *✓ ՚škr G 'be(come) drunken' > BHb ✓ ՚škr, Ar, Gz ✓ skr, Ak ✓ ՚škr G id.; → Cn *šíakkáran- > BHb ՚šikká'rōn, Ug ՚škrn 'drunkenness' ¶ KB 139O-1, Tal 895, PS 416O, JPS 577, Br. 777, Js. 1576, Lv. T II 68O, Sl. 1145-6, Sd. 1232, Ln. 13OO-1, BK I 1114, A #26O, OLS 437, Ch. 1OO3 || A: pKo {S} *sú,ir 'wine, alcoholic drink' > MKo sú,ir ~ sú,ür, NKo sul (acc. to Starostin, A *-k- > Ko Ø) ¶ S AJ 256 [#12O], S QK #12O, BKRS 749, MLC 1O18.

2032. _(2?) *šó́Ko 'to follow' > IE: NaIE *sekʷ- id. > OI 'sacatē 'accompanies, follows', Av hačaitē 'accompanies' || Gk ἔπομαι 'I follow' || L sequitur 'follows' || OIr sechithir 'follows' || Lt sek̚ti (prs. sek̚u) 'to follow, to follow the trail of, to watch, to observe', Ltv {Frn.} sek̚t (prs. sek̚u ~ sek̚u) '(ver)folgen, spüren', 'wittern' (von Hunden) ¶ P 896-7 (does not distinguish this ✓ from IE *sekʷ- 'see, look' < N *šEKO 'look at, watch; see' [q.v.]), EI 2O8, M K III 417, WH II 519-2O, Vn. S 62, FI 544-5, Frn. 773 || HS: S *°-š|súk- > Ar ✓ swq (ip. -súq-) v. G 'drive (the cattle\ beast), urge (the cattle) to go', {Hv.} 'drive (a beast), impel/urge so.' ¶ Ln. 147O-1, BK I 1167, Hv. 344 || Eg súk 'drive (animals)' (with a puzzling unexpected ՚, probably due to the infl. of the verb súk 'cause to enter' ← ՚k 'enter, go in') ¶ EG IV 55-6, Fk. 215 || ?φ,σ C: EC: pSam {Hn.} *sug- > Sml sug- 'wait', Rn sug- 'wait for, await' ¶ Hn. S 74, PG 268 || ? A: Tg: WrMc {Z} ՚šoxada-

~ **soxata-** v. 'harness a tandem, harness one behind the other', {Hr.} **šohan** 'tandem' ¶ Z 673, STM II 105, Hr. 857.

2033. *UA₂* ***SōKâ** (= ***s|ś|šoKâ**) 'blind' > **U:** FU (att. in BF) *^os|ś|šo(k)k^Δ > F **sokeā**, Krl K **šokie**, Krl A **so(v)eta** ~ **šo(v)eta**, **šoheta**, Vp **soged** 'blind', Es **sõge**, Es E **sə,ke**, Lv **so?gdz** id. ¶ SK 1060-3, Don. VW 1689, ZM 516, Kt. 976 || **A** ***šö_Lk'u** ({SDM97} ***šōk'u**) 'see badly, have bad eyesight' > M ***soqu-** > d. ***soqu-r** 'blind' > MM [S] **soqor**, [L, MA, IsV, HI] **soqar**, [IM] **soqur**, WrM {MED} **soqur**, {Lg., SM} **soqor**, HlM **soxop**, Ord {Ms.}, Ba {T} **soxor**, MnR H {SM} **soguor**, {T} **sogor**, ShY {Ktw. ← MI.} **согор**, Dg {T} **soqor**, {T DgJ} **согор**, **сокор**, Dx {T} **sugo** 'blind'; d. ***soqu-j-** 'be(come) blind' > WrM **soqui-**, HlM **сохой-** id.; M ***soqu-la-** > WrM **soqula-**, HlM **сохло-**, MnR H {SM} **soguoli**- vt. 'make blind', {T} **sogoli-** 'put out so.'s eyes', Dx {T} **sugolu-** 'make blind, become blind'; d. ***soqu-rā-** 'become blind' > WrM **soqura**, HlM **coxpō-**, MnR H {SM} **soguorō-**, {T} **sogorō-** id.; M ***soqur** → WrMc **soxor** 'blind', T (in texts not prior to Mongolian conquest): MQp [CC], Chg, ET **soqur**, Alt {B} **soqor**, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} **soqqor**, Yk **soxxor**, Chv L **sukkər** 'blind', etc.; M ***soqu-l-** → Tlt {Rs. ← ?} **soq-l-un** 'be blind'; the T words are loans, as suggested by their chronology and the presence of the M derivational sxs. -r and **ȝ** -l- ¶ Pp. MA 324, 447, Pp. L III 58, H 135, Ms. H 95, Lg. VMI 64, MED 730, SM 352, KW 329, T 360, T DgJ 190, T DnJ 134, T BJ 147, Ktw. OuJ 443, Rs. W 426, Rl. IV 522-3, BT 129 || Tg {SDM} ***šoka-** > Ewk {Cs.} **sokot̪i**, {STM} **çokot̪i** 'one-eyed, squint-eyed', Lm **çokot̪i**, Neg **çoktoχo**, Orc **čoktoko**, Ul **čōqto**, Ork **toqto** id., 'blind in one eye' || pKo {S} ***siōkja₁ŋ** 'blind' > MKo **siōkja₁ŋ**, NKO **sōgja₁ŋ** ¶ S QK 365, Nam 312, MLC 969 ¶ S AJ 17, SDM97 s.v. ***šōk'u** (M, Tg, Ko ***σ**÷ T ***sāqI** 'mirage' ***σ**÷ OJ **suk-** 'be transparent'); after rejection of the T cognate (***sāqI**) the rec. of a long pA ***ō** is no longer justified ◇ ≈ Rs. UAW 25, ≈ IS SS #13.16, ≈ IS MS 365 (Rs. and IS adduce T ***sokir** 'blind' as a genetic cognate of M ***soqur**).

2034. *UA₂* ***s|šoK^Δ** 'to stick fast, to be stuck\motionless' > **U:** FU *^os|šokk^Δ (or s|šakk^Δ) > Ugr ***θo|akk^Δ** 'stick fast, be stuck; get into' > ObU {Ht.} ***θōk-** > pVg {Ht.} ***täkn-** 'stick fast, be stuck' > Vg: T **takn-**, LK/UK/UL/Ss **taxn-**, MK **tåxn-** id.; pOs {Ht.} ***ɸok-** 'be stuck (hängen\sitzen bleiben)' > Os: V **loqtn-**, Ty **ɸäqʷtn-**, D/K **toxən-**, Nz **tuxən-**, Kz **ɸωχən-** 'hängen bleiben', V **löken-**, Vy **yökən-** 'sitzen bleiben' || Hg **akad-** 'get stuck\caught (in)', **akaszt-** vt. 'hang' ¶ UEW 845-6,

MF 78, Ht. #122 || A: M *soqsu- > WrM {MED} **soqsu-i-**, HlM {MED} **согсой-** 'sit idle; stand up (of hair); stick up\out', WrM {Kow.} **soqsoi-** 'être immobile; se taire tout d'un coup, garder la silence', Kl {Rm.} **soksi-χα** 'unbeweglich sitzen, lautlos sitzen\sein'; WrM {Rm. ← ?} **soqsu-gar-**, Kl **soksoγαր** 'unbeweglich und wortlos dasitzend'; M → WrMc {Z} **soksoχօն** (pl. **soksoχօրի**) '(sits) frowned \ gloomy \ silent \ far from others' ¶ MED 723, Kow. 1408, KW 329, Z 624 || T (← M?): Alt **sokso** {B} 'sth. protruding', **soksoγ-** vi. 'be\sit straight, stretch (быть прямым, вытягиваться)', Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} **soqsoj** 'sich erheben. eine Erhöhung bilden, hervorstehen, торчать', **soqsoyin otirdi** 'er saß gerade, aufrecht' ¶ BT 129, Rl. IV 526.

2035. *šü̥k'ā (~ *šü̥ka?) to drink, to suck' > IE: NaIE *seuk- ~ *seug- 'suck' > L **stūg-ō** v. 'suck' || ON **súga**, **sjúga** 'to suckle'; OHG **stūgan** 'saugen, trinken', NHG **saugen**, ON **súga**, OSx **stūgan**, AS **stūgan** ~ **stūcan** 'to suck', NE **suck** || OIr **súigid** 'sucks' || Ltv **stūkt** (1s prs. **stūcu**) 'to suck, to sip' || Ht **sakiuwai** v. 'water (horses)' (absence of the expected labial glide is puzzling) ¶ But NaIE ***so'kʷo-s** 'juice, sap' (> L **stūcūs** and Sl ***sókъ** 'juice') belongs to N ***žukū** (= ***žočū**?) 'juice' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP II 469, EI 556 (*seug- ~ *seuk- 'suck' 'suck'), WH II 622-3, Ts. W 67, Bc. 333, Vr. 56O, Ho. 329, Ho. S 72, Kb. 984, OsS 89O, ME III 1132, Kar. II 321 || HS: CS *✓ **škū** v. **Sh**, D 'give to drink' > BHb ✓ **škū|w Sh** (pf. **הַקְשֵׁה** **hiš'kā**), Ug ✓ **škū** **Sh**, IA, SmA ✓ **škū** **Sh** (IA pf. **hškū**, SmA pf. **hškū**) id., JA ✓ **škū** **Sh** (pf. **ʔaškī**) vt., Sr ✓ **škū|w** (pf. **שָׁקֶעֶן** **ʔaškī**) **Sh** v. 'water, irrigate; give to drink', Ar ✓ **sqy** **D** 'donner à boire, faire boire souvent, arroser'; S *✓ **škū** **G** 'give to drink' (bf. from *✓ **škū** **Sh**, **D** and contamination with N ***šiķā'yñ'** 'to pour') > Ug ✓ **škū** **G** 'give to drink' ('ofrecer a beber'), Ar ✓ **sqy** **G** (pf. **سَقَى** **saqā**), Sb ✓ **škū** vt. **G** 'irrigate (land), water (cattle)', Gz ✓ **škū** **G** vt. 'water, irrigate', Jb E/C {Jo.} pf. 'še'ke 'water (animals), irrigate', Mh ✓ **hkū** **G** (pf. **hkū**) 'give water to', (pf. **hɔkū**) 'give a drink, irrigate', Sb ✓ **škū**, OAk, Ak OA inf. **šakā?u**, Ak OB inf. **šakū** v. 'irrigate', Ak inf. **šakū** 'give to drink' ¶ GB 86O, KB 1512-4, JPS 592, HJ 1186, Yal 925, OLS 451, Js. 1622, BK I 1109-1O, Hv. 327, BGMR 128, LG 511, Jo. M 155, Sd. 1181 || C: Ag *✓ **skʷ** v. 'drink' > Xm {R} **səqʷ-** (**սագ-**), Aw {R} **sekū** v. 'drink' (labialization in ***kʷ** reflecting the preceding labialized vw.?) ¶ R Ch II 93-4 || Ch (N ***šiķā'yñ'** '↑'): Tng {J} **soke** v. 'give water to a baby' | Bd

{Sch.} *sə̚gi̚n / sə̚?yin* 'drink' || CCh: Higi {Kr.}: HgNk *səxʷi̚*, HgB *suxú*, FlG *səgʷi̚*, HgK *sakʷú* / *səxʷú*, HgG *səgʷi̚* v. 'drink' ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [#296], J T 146, ChL I 26O, II 135, 145, 155, 165 ¶ OS #222O || A *šü₁:k^Δ 'beverage (juice, sap, etc.)' > M *sɪ̚ʃü̚-sün 'juice, sap, beverage' > WrM *sigüsun*, HIM *шүүс* 'sap, juice', Brt *шүүхэн*, Kl {KRS} *шүүч* *шүсэн* 'juice', Kl {Rm.} *шүсн* id., Kl D {Rm.} *шүсн* 'Lauge, Suppe mit Salz' (× N ***ŽUKU** 'juice' [q.v.]) ¶ MED 7O4, Chr. 74O, KRS 688, KW 373 || Tg *šü̚k¹- 'juice' > Neg d. çuyʒpçʒ 'stained with juice', Ud X čüöŋki, Ud Sm {Krm.} čüöŋki 'sap of trees', ?? Ewk d. çük̚in 'undercooked' (of meat) (if from 'having juice'); Tg *šükse (or *ç-) 'juice, sap' > Ewk çük̚s 'meat juice, juice of berries, sap', Sln sūtçʒ 'pitch (of trees)', Lm çüs 'juice (of berries, meat, fish)', Ork süks̚ ~ tük̚s 'juice of berries' ¶ STM II 411, Krm. 311 ¶ The unexpected M *-y- (for *-k-) is still puzzling (infl. of M *sɪ̚ʃü̚-sün 'food, meal' < N *səg|k^Δ 'to eat, to swallow'??) || ? E {HK} *sik* v. 'drink' ¶ HK 1O8O ◇ The cns. *g in NaIE *seug- and *y in M *sɪ̚ʃü̚-sün suggest a N deglottalizing factor (someting like *'h'a in *^ošü̚k¹'a'-h'a > *šü̚k¹'h'a > *šü̚ka) or a variant etymon *šü̚ka ◇ The delabialization in M *i (obviously from *ü) still needs investigating.

2036. *š^Δk^Δ 'honey' or 'bee' > K: GZ *ska- 'bee' > G *ska*- 'bee-hive', Mg (p)ska-, ska-, Lz mska-, mcka- 'bee' ¶ K 164, Q 319, DCh. 1186 || HS: C: Ag ≈ *sa¹k¹a¹- 'honey' (and\or 'bee'?) > Bln {Ap.} *saxara*, Xm sara, Km *saɣaya*, Q {R} *sāqiyā* 'honey', Aw {Hz.} cəɣari, Knf {TBZAC} *sähar* 'bee' ¶ Ap. IC 43, 5O, R BilS 3O2 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *sakʷan^Δ 'honey' > pBT {Stl.} *saHani 'honey' > Bl {Mch.} *saxani* 'bee', Krf {Sch.} šávání, Glm {Sch.} súñ, Gera {Sch.} siña, Pr {Frz.} čigíní 'honey' || NrBc *sukʷan^Δ 'honey' > Wrj {Sk.} súkʷanáj, Kry {Sk.} sukʷán, Jmb {Sk.} súkʷáná, Cg {Sk.} čökáné, Sir {Sk.} sükʷuni, My {ChL} sukʷám || ECh: Skr {Lk.} sóňe 'bee', sóňen 'honey' ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [#3O2], Sch. BTI 147, ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 26, Frz. P 25, Lk. ZSS 39 || A: pKo {S} *skúr 'honey' > MKo (p)skúr, NKo kúlid. ¶ S QK #421, Nam 63, MLC 217 ¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *žügi 'juice' > Ko *÷ T *juk 'resin, gum', M *sigü-sü, and Tg *sükse 'juice', F N ***ŽUKU** 'juice') ◇ Blz. KM 119 [#2O] (K, Ag, Ch).

2037. ?₂ *š^Δk^Δ 'to carve, to chisel' > IE *sek- v. 'chop' (× N ***šaka** 'to split, to cleave' [q.v. ffd.]) || HS: Eg fXVIII sksk {EG} 'zerhacken, zerstören', {Fk.} 'destroy' ¶ EG IV 319, Fk. 252 || WCh *sak- 'carve' > Hs

sássàkā v. 'carpenter', yā sássàkà ítacé 'he adzed bark off tree', Gw {Mts.} šéšèke v. 'carve' | Ang {Flk.} sák v. 'cut down (trees to clean a field)' | Ngz {Sch.} 3s pf. sàsk-ú (vb. n. sáska, sbjn. sásák) 'scrape\cut off in small pieces (skin of mango, etc.); carve wood in this way' ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [#297], Abr. H 787, Mts. G 1O8, Flk. s.v. sák, Sch. DN 144 || ? EC: Or {Brl.} sòk- 'carve (sculpture)', {Th.} sòk- 'scrape (raschiare)' (× Or sòk- 'dig' [probably of different origin]) ¶ Brl. 38O, Th. 3O9 ¶ ≈ OS #218O (*sak- 'cut' > Eg {OS < ?} skk 'cut', WCh *sak- 'cut [down]; carpenter') || A: AdS of *sak- 'carve, rip' (> Tg {DQA} *sak-pi- 'axe', pKo *sákí- 'carve, engrave', etc.) (< N *šákā 'to split, to cleave', q.v. ffd.) ¶ DQA #1899 ◇ ≈ Gr. II 86 (*cek ~ *sek 'cut') (IE, A, Gil, CK, EA) (not distinguished from N *šákā '↑').

2038. ₂ *šuhk̚v 'wish, covet' > HS: WS *°✓'sh̚k̚ ~ *-šūk̚- (~ *✓škk̚?) 'wish, desire' > Gz ✓ sh̚k̚ G 'desire eagerly, wish, covet' (as. s...k̚ > s...k̚), ✓ sk̚w̚k̚ T (pf. tasaķwak̚wa) 'covet so.'s goods', BHb תְשׁוּקָה təšū'kā 'desire', ? ✓ škk̚ in prtc. šōkē'kā (nap'šō) '(his soul) is longing' (Is. 29.8, ψ.107.9), JPA אַקְוֹלָה šū'kā 'eager desire' ('Begierde, Gelüste, Verlangen'), Ar ✓ šwq G (ip. -šūq-) 'excite a desire in', 'fill with longing' (← Aram, whence š for the expected *s?) ¶ Di. 1254 and Br. G I 169 (both: Gz-Hb-Ar), KB 1344, 1519, 1658, Lv. IV 523, Js. 154O-1, BK II 1288-9, Hv. 382, ≈ LG 551 (the connection of Gz ✓ sh̚k̚ with Hb and Ar "is unlikely"), LG 510 ¶ Hardly here (because of the cns. *z̚-) WCh *zak̚w ({Stl.} *šák̚w) 'wish, want' > Hs Sk zák̚uwā, Hs zák̚ī 'eagerness', Ngz zák̚wáj 'desire for, desire to do' (Stl. ZCh 196 [#474], Abr. H 968, Sch. DN 47), which may be equated with S *°✓'s̚k̚ 'love' (> Ar ✓ s̚q 'love passionately') || A: NaT *su:lk ({Cl.} *sūk) 'greed(y), envy, envious' > OT {Cl.} sūq 'greed; envy, envious, covetous', Tki {Shaw} suq, Nog suq 'greedy', Qrg suq 'envy; greed (coveting other people's goods); envious', Qq suq 'greed, envy; glutton', Uz suq 'envious, greedy (as to other people's food)', Qzq sūyanaq 'greedy (as to food)' ¶ Cl. 8O4, Shaw 125, NogR 312, MaM 323, Jud., UzR 39O.

2039. *s'a'th̚k̚v 'thick, large' > K *s|sk̚- ~ *s|suk̚- '(be) thick' > OG {Abul.} gan-suk̚- 'make fat\thick' (Deut. 32.15, Jerem. 5.28), G (ga-)suk̚-eba 'to make thick', G suk̚-va 'to be(come) thick\fat', suk̚-i adj. 'fat', OG {Abul.} skeli 'thick', G skeli id., 'dense' (of fog) ¶ Abul. 69, 4O7, Chx. 1286, DCh. 9OO, 12O2-3 || u: FP {It.} sak̚ə₁, {UEW} *sak̚v ~ *sakk̚v 'thick, dense' > F sakea, Es sage id. | pLp {Lr.} *sōk̚z 'thick

(dicht), dense' > Lp: S {Hs.} *sōoge-ke*, Vfs {Lgc.} *sōk-s*, *sōk:εb_3*, L {LLO} *suohkat* id., N {N} *suokkâd* 'thick' (of liquids, etc.), Kld *su:kăd* 'thick, dense' (of a forest, hair, porridge) | Chr: L *шуко* 'šuko, Uf *šukz*, Uf/B *šuko*, H *шукы* *šukъ* 'much' | Prm {LG} **suk* > Z/Prmk/Yz *suk* 'thick, dense' ¶ UEW 75O, Sm. 553, It. #39, Lr. #1173, Lgc. #7139, Lgc. SL #2251, Hs. 1228, MRS 731-2, Ü 273, Ep. 156, TI 529, LG 266 || HS: CS *✓ *šhk* '≈ high, large' > Ar ✓ *shq* (pf. *sahuqa*) 'be lofty' (tree), *saħūq-* 'high, tall' (of a palm-tree, donkey, etc.), *saħħāq-at-* 'femme grande et qui a les mamelles flasques et pendantes', SmA *šhk* 'high', *šhwk* 'heavens', BHb *שְׁהָן* 'šahak' 'heaven', MHb 'šahak' (pl. *šəħā'kīm*) 'clouds, heaven', name of one of the seven heavens, JA [Trg.] *אֲשֶׁר* *שְׁהָן* *šahā'k-ā* id. ¶ BK I 1061, Hv. 312, Tal 886, KB 1358, Js. 1551, Lv. IV 536, Lv. T II 47O || B *✓ (w) *zHk* 'heavy' > Ah *azuk* 'heavy', Gd *zak* (pf. *əzəzāk*) 'be heavy' (emphatic **z* due to the infl. of **H*?) || ?σ **D** **čāk-*, ({#GS} **s-*) 'make grow, bring up' (← vt. *'make fat, fatten') > Kt *čāk* 'make grow, rear, support', Kn *sāku* 'bring up, foster, rear, nurse', Kdg *čāk* 'rear up (child, young animal)', Tu *sānku-* v. 'foster, nourish, nurse, bring up', TI *sāku* 'rear, bring up' ¶ D #2477 ◇ K *-k- goes back to the cluster *-h̥k- (ass. deglottalization of N *-k- by the adjacent N *h̥ that yields K *∅). The appearance of the vw. u in K **s|suk-*, Ar pf. *sahuqa*, Ar *saħūq-*, SmA *šhwk*, and Ah *azuk* is still to be investigated.

2040. *śik̥t̥i₁ (or [less probably] *śik̥t̥i₂) 'to sink' > IE: NaIE *sek- 'sink' (of water), 'flow down', 'dry up, be exhausted' (of liquid) > OI 'a-sak-ra- 'not ceasing to flow or drying up', rdp. a-saś'c-at 'not drying up', ? 'vi-śak-tā 'a cow that have ceased to give milk' (vi-'apart' + śak- (unless Mayrhofer is right in connecting it to sajati 'attaches, fixes, fastens on') || ḡ Gk Hm {WP} ἔσκετο (ψωνή) (< rdp. *sek-) 'stockte, versiegte (die Stimme)' (twice a varia lectio in the Scholia for ἔσχετο) || Lt s̥ek̥ti (prs. with a nasal infix s̥enku) 'to sink, to become lower' (water)', Ltv s̥ikt̥ (prs. s̥iek̥u) 'to dry up', Lt sekluš, Ltv s̥ekl̥s 'shallow' | Sl (< a form with a nasal infix) *s̥ek-nq-ti 'to run dry, to dry up' > HLs sakac̥, saknyć id., P (w)s̥iaknać, sięknąć 'to become dry, to be quite drained', wsiąkać, wsiekać 'to sink gradually into the ground', Blg 'секвам, 'секна 'run dry, dry up'; Sl *j̥bz-s̥ek-nq-ti 'to run low\dry, to dry up' (*j̥bz- 'out') > OCS НСАКНѢТЬ i seknoti. P zsiaknać. R ис'сякнить id. ¶ WP II 473.

P 894-5, M K I 64, III 227, 419, Frn. 772-3, ESSJ IX 74, Vs. III 826 ¶ The prehistory of the IE √ may be reconstructed as follows: N *śiK₁ś₂a > pre-IE **s₁ek- > *sek- (F AD NGIE, AD NVIE) || HS: CS *√ śk₁v. 'sink' > BHb, JA [Trg.], JPA √ śk₁G 'sink', JEA √ śk₁D 'lower, make sink', Ar √ s₁q₁G 'be gone (somewhere)' (mā p̄adri p̄ayna saqafā 'I do not know where he is gone'), (with assimilatory emphatization *s > *ṣ) Ar √ s₁q₁G 'stray away from the right path', 'crumble away' (of a well) ¶ GB 861, Lv. IV 6O4, Lv. T II 512-3, Sl. 1176, Fr. II 329, 5O8, Hv. 32, 4O1 || A: Tg *s₁ka- 'fall from trees\bushes' (of leaves, fruits, berries) > Nn B/KU s₁χa- id., WrMc s₁χa- 'fall' (of leaves, flowers), 'shed hair\feathers', 'be shed' (of hair) ¶ STM II 8O, Z 597 || D (in GnD only) *°či(k)k-, {GS} *s₁šik- v. 'lower head' > Png hig- id., Kui sika v. 'bend the head down, bow\droop the head', Ku {Slz.} hikk- v. 'hang the head', {Fzg.} hikali v. 'crouch' ¶ D #2493.

2041. *śiK₁ā'γ 'to pour' > IE: NaIE *sej₁k₁ω₂- 'pour out, strain, leak, drip' > OI √ sēc-: *n-present sīñ'cati 'pours (out), sprinkles' (aor. asicat), 'sēka-h̄ 'pouring out, effusion, sprinkling', Av haēk-, hi(n)čaiti 'begießt, gießt aus' || Gk [Hs.] aor. ἔξατι · διηθῆσατι 'be strained, filtered', Gk ὑκμάς 'moisture', ὑκμάνω 'I moisten', ὑκμάζω 'I strain, filter' || Gmc *sīx-an ({Vr.} *sīxω-an) > ON sīa 'seihen', OHG sīhan 'to strain (seihen, heraus-‐durch-seihen)', NHG seihen vt. 'to filter, to strain', AS sīon ~ séon id., vi. 'to exude, to flow, to drip'; OHG sīha, NHG Seihe, AS siohhe 'strainer, filter', ON sīa 'sieve' || Sl: SCr ѕека ~ ѕјека 'ebb' (< *sēkā), Sl *sīkāti > *sīcāti > SrChS съцати, SCr scāti, Slv scáti, Cz scáti, P szcząć, R сцать, Uk 'сцяти' 'to urinate', Sl iter. *sikati > Slv sīkati 'hervorspritzen', R 'сикать' 'to urinate' || Tc A sīk- 'overflow' ¶ EI 448 (*sej₁k- 'pour out; overflow'), ≈ P 893-4 (*sej₁k₁ω-), M K III 364-5, M E II 744-5, F I 717, Hofm. 123, Ho. 295, Kb. 851, OsS 762, KM 699-7OO, Vr. 472, Glh. 541-2 || HS (× N *śūk₁'a' 'to drink, to suck'): S *√ śk₁y vt. G 'irrigate, water' > Ar √ s₁q₁y (pf. سقیٰ saqā), Mh √ h₁ky, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'še'ke, Sb √ śk₁y v. 'irrigate', OAk, Ak OA šakā?u, Ak OB šakū 'to irrigate', Gz √ śk₁y G v. 'irrigate, water' (ffd. see N *śūk₁'a') ¶ GB 86O, KB 1512-4, HJ 1186, BK I 11O8-1O, Hv. 327, BGMR 128, LG 511, Jo. M 155, Sd. 1181 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *sīkātu > Hs šēkā v. 'pour (into vessel), pour water (on a person)' || NrBc: Jmb/My/Dir {Sk.} sīka v. 'pour in' ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [#296], Abr. H 8O6-7, Ba. 935, Sk. NB 35, ChL || ?? Eg fMK scy ({EG}

śtj) 'begatten, erzeugen' (if its basic meaning is 'Samen ergießen' [as supposed by EG]) || EG IV 347-8 || OS #222O || A: Tg *sekje- 'pour in, flow' > Nn KU səkz id., WrMc seki ~ sekiye v. 'stream, flow; strain (цедить)', sekyen 'spring (fons)' || STM II 139 || ?? A {DQA} **šīk'i- 'urine; urinate' > ?φ M *sive- 'urinate' > MM [S] śi,e-, WrM sige-, HlM, Brt šeə-, Ord šē-, Kl shee- šē, MnR H {SM} šē-, Dg {Mrm.} šē- ~ sē- id.; → *sive-sün 'urine' > WrM sigesün, HlM šeəs(эн), Ord šeəsū, Brt шеəс(н), Kl шеəсн šeəs, MnR H {SM} šeəz_з, Dg {Mrm.} še ~ sēs id. || H 139, MED 701-2, Ms. O 611-2, Chr. 752, KRS 669, KW 355, SM 373, Klz. D II 131 || Tg *šikēn 'urine' > Ewk čikən, Sln šixəz, Lm čikan, Neg čixən, Ul čigən- ~ čəz(n-), Ork čiʒ(n-), Nn Nh čiʒ, Nn KU čikəz, WrMc sike id., Ewk čikən-, Lm čikan-, Neg čixən- 'urinate' || STM II 392-3 || ≈ DQA #2189 (A *šīk'i-, *šīk'-di 'urine; to urinate', incl. M, Tg) ◇ The vw. *e in the first syll. of Tg *sekje- (for the expected *i) still needs explaining.

2042. ² *SūKüRΔ 'person (man?) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes, parent-in-law' > IE: [1] NaIE *'swekuro-s 'husband's father' > OI 'svaśura-ḥ, Av xvasura-, NPrs خسرو, Psh s̥ar 'father-in-law' || Gk ἐκυρός 'wife's father' || Al vjeherr (-rr̥i, pl. -ërr̥) m. 'father-in-law' ({O}: influenced by Al vjeherr 'mother-in-law') || L sacer / gen. -i 'father-in-law (husband's\wife's father)' || OHG swēhur 'husband's father', NHG †, π Schwäher, AS swehor ~ swéor, Gt μ swaíhra id. || Lt šešuras (< *seš-) id. | Sl *svekrъ 'husband's father' > OCS свекръ svekrъ, Blg, Uk 'свекор, SCr svékar, Slv svéker, Cz svekr, Slk sveker, P świekiér, R 'свёкор' || [1a] d.: *'swekurā 'husband's mother' > Arm սկենուր skesur id. (< *kwekur-ā < *swekurā- [as.]) || Gk ἐκυρά 'husband's mother' || pAl {O} *swexurā > Al vjeherr (-rr̥a, pl. -rr̥a) f. 'mother-in-law' || [2] NaIE *swe'krū-s 'husband's mother' > OI śva'srū-ḥ 'mother-in-law', NPrs خسرو 'husband's father\mother' || L socrus 'mother-in-law' || W chwegr, Crn wheger id.; d. W chwegrwn, Crn whygeran 'husband's father' || OHG swigar 'husband's mother' (> NHG Schwieger, Yid שוויגער 'sviger), AS swezer 'spouse's mother'; d. Gmc *swexr-ōn- > Gt swaíhrō, ON sværa id. || Sl *sve'kr̥t / gen. *svekrъve 'husband's mother' (< *swekrū- with depalatalization *k̥ > *k within a cns. cluster)

> OCS **свекры** *svekrъ* / **свекръве** *svekrъvъ*, R Δ **све'кры**, R **све'кровъ**, Blg **све'кърва**, SCr **svēkrva**, Sln **svēkrvъ**, **svēkrva**, OCz **svěkrovъ**, P **świekra** id. ||| [3] ? NaIE **sweku'ro-* {Wrk.} 'wife's brother' > OHG **swāgur** ~ **swāger** {Kb.} 'relative of a father-in-law, father-\son-\brother-in-law' || InA: Kshm **hahar** 'wife's brother', Sin **hūrā** 'spouse's brother' ¶ P 1O43-4, EI 85 (? **sweku'ro-s* 'wife's brother'), 195-6 (**swekuro-s* 'father-in-law, husnand's father'), 386 (**swe'kruhₐ-s* 'mother-in-law'), Szem. KT 17-8, Wrk. 17O-1, 185-6, 19O-1, M K III 4OO-1, VI. I 691-2, Slt. 57-8, F I 478-9, WH II 55O-1, LP § 24.4, YGM-1 156, ECCE 3O7, Fs. 462, Vr. 571, Kb. 995, 998, 1OO3, OsS 9O7-8. 914, Schz. 277, KM 687-8, 693, Ho. 334-5, O 51O-1, Frn. 977, Glh. 597 || HS: Ch **✓ *srK* (mt.?) ~ **✓ *sKʷr* 'in-law' (× N ***S'í'hūr** 'person [man?] of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes', q.v.) > WCh: Hs **sūrúkī** 'father-in-law, son-in-law', **sūrúkā** 'mother-\daughter-in-law', **sūrükāj** 'relations-in-law', Gw {Mts.} **šoròkýí** 'wife's father\mother, wife's elder brother\sister, son-in-law' || AG **szyzr* ({Sch.} **səyə₂r*, {Hf.} **sə₂yər*) '(father-\mother-)in-law' > Su {J} **szyzr** 'father-\mother-in-law (Schwiegerleute)', Kfr {Hf.} **szyzr**, Ang {Hf.} **sīr**, Gmy {Hf.} **sīr**, Mpn {Frz.} **s̄z̄r** 'in-law' || BT: Bele {Sch.} **hūrī** 'in-law' (h- < *s-) || CCh: Mf {BLB} **súkʷár** 'mother-\daughter-in-law' || BtG {Mch.} **sérwa** 'mother-in-law' || Glv {Rp.} **šúgūla** 'wife's mother, wife's brother, mother-in-law', Mdr {Mch.} **šóla** 'relative-in-law' || Msy {Mch.} **skul** 'mother-in-law' || Db {Mch.} **səkul** **dā** 'my father-\mother-in-law, my son-in-law', {Lnh.} **sukúl** 'relative-in-law', Kola {Sb.} **sukúl** '(male) relative-in-law' || Lgn {Bou.} **skū** 'mother-in-law' || Mtk {Sb.} **skwār** 'relative-in-law' || MsgN {Rlf.} **tsegelíá** '(male) relative-in-law' ¶ Abr. H 829, Mts. G 1O9, Hf. AG #1O6, J S 82, Frz. DM 58, Sch. ChV 48, Sch. BTL 17, 3O, BLB 321, RpB 82, Mch. D 148, ChC, ≈ Nw. ChCR #74 || ? EC **sñrk-* × N ***S'í'hūr** 'person (man?) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes', q.v.] > Kns {BISO} **sark-att-a** 'brother-in-law of man', Gln {AMS} **serko** 'Schwager' ¶ BISO 173, AMS 36, 221, 267, ≈ Ss. PEC 5.

2043. ₂ ***śal'a'** 'tie, means of tying' (→ 'rope') > U: FU ***śala** (or ***ś-**) 'thread' > Chr H {Ep.} **śol** 'вязок у саней' ('flexible rod used to tie together parts of a sledge'), Chr **śol** in Chr Uf **kit-śol** 'Armband', Chr L **кидшол**, Chr H/Uf **kit-śol** 'bracelet' (Chr **кид**, **kit** means 'hand, arm') || pOs ***săl** > Os: V **sălə** 'Bauchgurt (des Rienntiers), den Zugriemen tragender Riemen über dem Rücken des Renntiers', Km **săt** 'um eine

Rinderschachtel genähter Verstärkungs«gürtel» aus Birkenrinde', Kz šōd ke₄ 'bellow belt of a reindeer' (ke₄ 'rope, cord') || Hg szalag 'ribbon, band' ¶ UEW 461, Ps. OT 123, Ep. 44, 152, MRS 197, SebZ 114, Ü 66, MF 566-7 || HS: CS (rdp.) *šal's'il(-at)- 'chain' > MHb שָׁלַשְׁלָת šal'šelət, EpJA [Trg.] שָׁלַשְׁלָתָא šalšelat, JA [Trg.] šalšelat-ā, SmA šalšelh 'chain', Ar سَلْسِلَةٌ silsil- 'iron-chain', سَلْسِلَةٌ silsil-at- 'iron-chain, succession', Sr d.  šulšā'l-ā 'concatenatio' ¶ Js. 159O, HJ 1155, Js. 159O, Tal 9O5, Br. 784, Fr. II 34O-1, BK I 1122, Hv. 329 || Eg ፩፩ {Crn.} v. 'tow (a boat)', {Mks.} 'haler un navire', Cpt: Sd ፩፩ saase, B ፩፩ sahs n. 'tow' ¶ Mks. I #3366, Crn. 163, Vc. 197.

2044. *šał'a' 'willow' > IE: NaIE *salik- 'willow' > L *salix* id. || OIr sail / gen. sa(i)lech id., W helyg, Crn helyk, Br haleg coll. 'willows' (snglt. W, Crn helyg-en. Br haleg-enn), OBrth salik- (in the n. l. Salico-dūnon) || ON selja (*salhyōn), Nr selije, Dn selje, silje 'sallow', Sw sälg {Mlnv.} 'pussy-willow', Ic selja {Bv.} id., 'willow', OHG {OsS} sal(a)ha 'willow, sallow', MHG salhe, NHG Salweide, AS sealh 'sallow, Salix caprea', NE sallow || Oss I хәрис ҳәrīs, Oss D хәрпек ҳәres, хәрвек ҳәrves 'willow' || ? Gk ἐλίκη id. (× ? NaIE *welik̑- id. > Gk B Ελικών, MHG wilge, AS weliȝ 'willow', NE willow) ¶ WP I 300-1, 453-4, P 879, EI 643 (*sal(i)k- 'willow'), Mn. 111O, F I 494, Frdr. PITA 53-7, WH II 469, Vn. S 13, YGM-1 283, Hm. 368, ≈ Ab. IV 18O-1, Ho. 236, 389, Lx. 321, Kb. 821, OsS 738, KM 622, Mlnv. 579, Hlq. 1145, Vr. 469 ¶ The element *-iķ- is likely to go back to a sx. || U *ś|śa||[a] > FU *ś|śa||[a] 'elm, willow' > F *salava*. Δ salaja 'brittle willow (*Salix fragilis*)' | Er селей śeley, Mk сяли śáli 'elm' | Chr: L шоло 'śolo, Uf/B šolo, H šol 'elm' || Hg szil 'elm' || ? pY {IN} *θal 'tree' > Y: K šāl, T sāl {Krn.} 'tree', {IN} id., 'larch': OY: K {Bil.} tshall, {Klc.} чалга, NW {Lnd.} tschal 'tree' ¶ UEW 458-9, Coll. 111, Sm. 549 (FU *śtliw 'elm' > FP *śēlV, Ugr *śtli), Ker. II 135, MRS 716, Ep. 152, Ü 266, IN 221, 332, Krn. JJ 277, 284, 32O, 332-3 || HS: S *°✓ š|ślp > Ar Mrc سَالِفٌ sālif- 'weeping willow, hornbeam' ¶ Gass. II 651 ◇ It is not justified enough to adduce here names of other trees, parts of trees, or those of trees in general, such as D (in SD) *čall- ({GS} *č|č-?) 'cane' [cf. D #2383], D *čāl- ({GS} č-) 'Acacia' (cf. D #2474), HS *sṇlām- 'ε tree' > Ar salam- 'Mimosa flava', salām- ~ silām- 'a bitter tree', ECh: Mgm sólmó 'ε (very hard) tree' (cf. Hv. 333, JA 124, OS #2182), NrOm: Hrr {Abb.} solā

'Olea chrysophylla (a tree)', Mch {L} šolló 'in a tree' (cf. Blz. OL #118 ['kind of tree'], CR H 660, L M 50), Hs Skt/Kc śállā 'the reed gyaranya', Hs śállā 'the flowering spikes of gyaranya', (?) sàrfā 'stalk' (actually from N *śéíXā 'bough, twig, stick') (cf. Ba. 907, 925). An equation between D *čāl- ({§GS} 3-) 'Acacia' and Eg šnž 'Acacia' (if valid, although too risky on phonetic grounds) points to a N *ś- or *č- and therefore does not belong here ◇ Coll. IUS 69 (FU, IE), ≠ Blz. 160 [#78] (suggested to add D *čāl- 'Acacia' to the IE-U comparison).

2045. *sA1'e̥' 'put, throw' > HS: S *°v̥́š̥l̥w̥h̥? '≈ throw' > Ak inf. šalū 'shoot (arrows), hurl (weapons), reject, throw away' ¶ CAD XVII/1 272-3 || U *säle or *sälke 'sit down (seat oneself) (in\on sth.), get in\on (a boat, a sledge, etc.)' > Prm *sōl- > Z I sɔl- 'get into (water)', Z cōb- sɔv-, Z UV sɔl- 'get in\on (a boat, a cart, a sledge, or another vehicle), mount (a horse)' || ObU {§Hl.} *θēl- id. > pVg {Ht.} *tāl- id. > Vg: T tāl-/tāl-, LK/MK/UK tōl-, P/LL tōl-/tal-, NV tōl-/tal-, SV/ML tōl-/tāl-, UL/Ss tāl- vi. {ChCh} 'get into (a boat\sledge)', {MK} id., 'mount (a horse)' ({BV} 'сесть', {Ht.} 'sich setzen' are misleading translations with polysemic R and NHG verbs); → Vg T tält- vt. 'load into a boat'; pOs {Ht.} *fēl- ({§Hl.} *fāl-) vi. 'get into (a boat\sledge)' > Os: V/O lēl-, Ty/Y fāf-, D/Nz/K tet- | Hg † ełl- 'mount (a horse\donkey)' || Sm {Jn.} *tčiy- (or *tčib-) 'get in\on (a boat, a sledge, etc.)' > Ne T ти-, Ne T O Lh. т"и-, Ng {Prk.} tiayi, 1s aor. т"и?em, Slq Tz {KKIH} т"и- id., '(in den Schlitten, in das Boot, zu Pferd) sich setzen', Kms {KD} 1s prs. ši'lem ~ šə'lem id., 'ich fahre' ¶ UEW 434-5, LG 262, SZ 343-4, Ht. #138, Hl. rHt 68-71, BV 115-6, Trj. S 205, MK 622, MF 147, Jn. 163, KKIH 18, ≠ Rd. UJ 43 [#52] (+ unc. Y K 'elil 'burden, load, freight, weight', ełite- v. 'load, pack, saddle') || A: NaT *sal- 'put, put\throw down' > OT sal- {DTS} 'put, throw', {Cl.} 'move sth., put into motion (wave, etc.)', MQp -صل- șal- 'send', -صال- șāl- 'throw', XwT sal- 'put, put down, throw (down)', Tk șal- 'throw, cast', Tkm θal-, Qzq, Nog, Qrg sal- 'put, build', Az sal- 'put down', ET sal- 'put in', Qmq, VTt, Qrq, Alt, Xk, Tv, Tf sal-, Bsh hal-, Uz sal-, Slr sał- 'put' ¶ DTS 482, Cl. 824, Rs. W 897, S AJ 189 [#140], TkR 561, Äz. 256, BN 130, MM 286, KrkR 559, BR 619-20, Jud. 624-6, Tn. SJ 471, BT 124, BIG 179, TvR 366, Ra. 225 ¶ ≈ S AJ 286 (#251), ≈ DQA #1961 (A *si'ole 'make, put' > T).

2046. *śalū 'intact' (→ 'entire'), 'in good condition, healthy' > IE: NaIE *sōlo-, *solwo- 'entire' > OI 'sarva- 'entire, whole, intact, all, every', Av haúrva- id., 'sound', OPrs haruva- 'whole, entire', Sak har-biśśa- 'all and every', NPrs هر här 'every, all, all kind of, any', Oss I al(l)z, Oss D al(l)i 'all kind of' || Gk A ὅλος, Gk I/Ep οὐλός 'whole, entire, complete', Gk οὐλω_ 'be whole\sound', οὐλε imv. 'salve' || pAl {O} *salwa > Al gjallē 'alive, living', ngjall- vt. 'bring back to life, revive' || L **salvus** 'safe, unhurt, well, sound', d. **salūs** / **salūt-is** 'health, soundness', Osc σαλαῖς, salav̄s 'salvus', Um SALUOM, SALUUOM 'salvum' accus. || Arm ողջ օլչ (< solio-) 'alive, living; sound, healthy; complete, entire' || Tc: A salu 'completely', B sol-me 'complete, whole' ¶ P 979-80, EI 262 (*'solwo-s 'whole'), M K III 446-7, VI. II 1443-5, Ab. I 48, F II 381, WH II 471-3, Krf. 124, O 129-30, Bc. G 324, 345, Slt. 232, Bedr. 561, Xud. II 276, Wn. 412, Ad. 705, Ad. H 22 || **HS:** S: [1] S *✓ śl̄w 'be untroubled, safe, at ease; 'stay quietly, be at rest' (×N *šiLΔ 'quiet', q.v. ffd.)] [2] +ext.: S *✓ ślm 'be completed, remain whole, be intact, sound and safe' > Ak ✓ ślm G 'be completed; stay well; be in good condition, intact', BHb ✓ ślm G (ip. yi-ś'lam, stpf. שָׁלֵם šā'lēm) 'remain whole\unscathed, be(come) completed, keep quiet', Amr ✓ ślm G ≈ id., Ug ✓ ślm G 'estar\ir bien, estar en paz', BA ✓ ślm G 'be finished', SmA ✓ ślm G 'come to an end, be completed', Ar ✓ ślm G 'be(come) safe' (→ 'be free from vice\defect'), Mn {MA} ✓ ślm G 'être indemne', IA ✓ ślm G 'be (re)paid'; ↗ S *śa'līm- > BHb שָׁלֵם šā'lēm, JA [Trg.] שְׁלִים ּšə'lēm, em. שְׁלִימָא śəlē'm-ā 'complete, unmolested, peaceful', Ar سَلِيمٌ salima (pf. of the verb ✓ ślm) 'was safe', Ak śalmu 'whole, intact, entire, healthy, sound'; ↗ S *śa'lām- 'unharmed state' > Ug ślm 'paz, salud, bienestar', BHb شَلَامٌ šā'lām 'unharmed state, well-being, peace' (→ a greeting) (and Cn ↗ Eg [EgSSc] {Hlk.} ּשָׁא-לָא-מָא 'greet, sue for peace'), Ph ślm 'peace, prosperity', Plm, SmA ślm 'peace', BA شَلَامٌ šā'lām 'peace, prosperity' (as well as a greeting), IA ślm 'welfare, well-being, health', JEA شَلَامٌ šā'lām, em. שְׁלִימָא śəlē'mā 'id., 'soundness, health', Ar سَلَامٌ salām- 'safety, security' (→ 'immunity \ freedom from faults\vices' → 'obedience to God', a greeting), Sb {BGMR}, Mn {MA} ślm 'peace' (↗ ślm G 'sue for peace'), Gz salām 'peace, safety' (and a salutation), Ak śalāmu 'health, (physical) well-being; welfare (of a

country\city), safe course\completion of a journey', → *✓šlm D > Pun ✓slm D 'accomplish', BHb, Ph, Plm, Ak ✓šlm D '(re)pay, give restitution for', Ug šlm, (AkSc) šallima 'pay, deliver', Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} šá-l-má-tá 'levy, contribution', šá-l-ma-tá 'complimentary gift, provisions' ¶ KB 1394-9, 1418-25, 1790-1, HJ 1142, A #2609, OLS 438-41, Hnr. 181-2, G A 32, BK I 1132, Hv. 333, Ln. 1412-6, Deg. § 62, Dlm. 424-5, Lv. IV 564, Lv. T II 488, Sl. 1150-1, Tal 901-4, Js. 1578, 1582, 1585-6, Br. 778, JPS 579, DM 441, Mcl. 442, Ln. 1412-8, Hv. 333-4, BGMR 127, MA 82, LG 499-500, CAD XVII/1 206-29, 255-60, Sd. 1211, 1237 (Ak šilūñitū ← Aram), Hlk. ##225-6, SivCR 42, 85 || ?φ A: M: WrM šal, HlM шал adj./adv. 'complete, utter, total', Kl шал šalb, Dg {T} šal 'quite, completely', Ord {Ms.} šal 'tout à fait' ¶ The prehistory of the word and the origin of the unexpected š- are obscure ¶ MED 748, KRS 651, Ms. O 603, T DgJ 182 || D *čāl-({θGS} *s-?) 'sufficient, suitable' > Tm cāl- 'be abundant, full, be suitable, fitting', Ml cāla 'richly, fully', Kn sāl, sālu 'be sufficient\enough, suffice', Tl cālu 'be able, capable, enough', Klm sāl 'be able, can', Gnd Mu hālna 'completely', Knd sāl- 'be capable of, suitable', Ku hāl- v. 'suffice, be enough to' ¶ D #2470.

2047. ₂*S11V 'hole' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} *sill- 'small hole' > Kns {Ss.} sillā id., ??σ,φ Rn sīl 'vagina, birth-canal' || SC {E} *sila 'cave' > Kz {E} silimbayo id. ¶ ≈ Ss. Gssf 245, Ss. B 71, PG 260, E SC 326 || S: Ak fOB šīlu(m) 'Vertiefung (Eindruck auf Leber, Magen usw. in Omina; im Gelände)', ? Ar sāll- (pl. sull-ān-, sulāl-) 'bottom of a valley' ¶ Sd. 1237, BK I 1117, Hv. 329 || ?φ CCh: Ms {J} sūllā, Bnn {ChL} sūldā, BnnM {ChL} sula 'hole' ¶ The deviant vw. *u may be due to the contamination with the reflex of N *šuſl'ē' 'throat, mouth' (q.v.) ¶ ChC. ChL || D *čill- ({θGS} s-) 'small hole' > Tm illi id., 'orifice', cilli 'leak, hole, crack', Ml cilli-kkuttu 'a little hole', Kn jilli 'small hole in an earthern vessel', Tl cilli 'small hole in a pot\paper' ¶ D #2575 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 161 [#93] (HS, D; does not distinguish between this N etymon and N *čA11mV 'orifice, pit' or 'breach').

2048. *šílī ~ *šílayV 'smooth, slippery' > HS: B *✓slī 'smooth, slippery' > Ah əsləl 'être très lis et très doux en touchant', sələlat 'glisser, asləli 'glissement', Gh əšlələm 'glisser' ¶ Fc. 824, Nhl. 165 || IE: NaIE *slej-m- 'slippery', 'smooth' (× N *žilV 'to slip, to slide') > ON slím, NNr, Dn slim, Sw slém, MDt, Dt slijm, AS, OLG, MLG, OHG, MHG slīm, NHG Schleim 'slime', NE slime || Clt (< NaIE *slim-no-):

OIr *slemon* ~ *slemun*, NIr *sleamhain* 'smooth, slippery', Brtt **slimnos* (or **slibnos*) 'smooth' > OW [ɣ] *limnint* · "tondent" 'sie glätten', MW *llefnu*, *lywnu* 'to harrow', W *llyfn* (f. *llefrn*) 'smooth, even', Crn *leven* 'smooth', OBr *limn* 'lentum', {Flr.} 'souple, flexible', MBr *-leffn* (in the cd. *di-llefni* 'hard' with a privative *di-*), Br *levn* 'poli, uni']? ↗ NaIE **slejm-āk-* 'snail' > Gk {Hs.} ΛΕΓΜΑΣ (gen. -ΚΟΣ) 'snail' || L *līmāx* (gen. -CIS) 'slug, snail' (↔ Gk?) || Sl **slimakъ* 'snail' > R Δ, Uk *слимак*, Cz *slimák*, Slk *slimak*, P *ślimak* id. ¶ Not here (or not only here) the apparently extended roots **slejg-* 'smooth, slippery' and **slejd-* 'slippery; to slide' that go back respectively to N **ʒ̥NVL̥i̥Kæ* 'to slip, to slide' (q.v.) and N **śNłixi̥tł* ~ **śNłixidł* 'to slip' (q.v.) ¶ WP II 39O, P 663-4, 96O-1, ≈ EI 527 (**(s)lej-* 'sticky, slimy, slippery'), Vs. III 671-2, Vn. S 13O, RE 132, YGM-1 316, Hm. 514, Flr. 242-3, Ho. 299, Vr. 516, Kb. 91O, Lx. 198, KM 656, F II 97, WH I 802, Tr. 269, Vs. III 672 || u **ś|čil]-* ({Resh.} **ś|čil-*) (× N **ʒ̥i̥łł* '↑') > FU (att. in FL) **ś|čil]-E* ≈ smooth' > F *sileä* 'smooth', Es *sile* (gen. *siledā*) id., F *silittää*, Es *silitada*, Lv *silaštъ* 'streichen, glätten' | Lp N {N} *čâlle*, Lp L {LLO} *tjallē* 'stiffness \ hardness of skin \ leather' (semantic change: 'smooth leather' → 'hard leather') || Sm {Jn.} **sil-* ~ **sel-* v. 'whet' > Ne *сил-* *sil-* id., Slq Tm {KD} *sāl·ab-*, Slq NP {Cs.} *sillam*, Slq Chl {Cs.} *selam* '(he) whets', Slq Chl {Cs.} *sělal* 'smooth', Kms {KD} *sélálem* 'I whet' ¶ Kt. 365, SK 361, Coll. LWL, Ter. 559, Jn. 141 || A: T **sila-* v. 'stroke' > OT *silv-* (or {Cl.} *sil-*) v. 'rub, wipe, caress, stroke', Qrg *sila-* v. 'stroke, caress', Uz *sila-* v. 'smooth, stroke', ET *sila-* v. 'stroke', Qzq\Nog *sila-* v. '(be)smear, clay, massage', Qq *sila-* v. 'smear, caress (e.g. a child)', VTt *sъla-* v. 'smear, rub on', SbTt Tm {Rl.} *sъla-* 'ein-\be-schmieren, einreiben', Bsh *hъla-* v. 'smear', Sg {Rl.} *sila-* v. 'smear, plaster', Chv *шăл-* *šъl-* v. 'sweep, wipe'; the meaning v. 'rub, wipe' is due to the semantic infl. of the paronymous NaT root **si·łł* v. 'sweep, wipe' (> Tk *sil-* [converb *siler*], Ggz *sil-* v. 'wipe, clean', Az *sil-* v. 'wipe, polish, clean'), which may be akin to M **sili-* (> WrM *sili-*, *sile-*, Kl {Rm.} *šilj-xə* 'mit den Füssen verhindern, mit dem Fusse auffangen [einen Ball], mit dem Fusse wegschieben\fegen', F KW 357). If Cl. is right in reconstructing the vw. -i- in the OT verb *silv-*, this vw. may be due either to the same infl. of pT **sil-* v. 'wipe' or to the ass. infl. of **s-* (mentioned in Rs. MIF 53) ¶ Chv *š-* < pT **s-* due to the palatalizing infl. of *i (if the variant **silv-* is

involved) ¶ Rs. W 421, Cl. 824-5, MM 311, NogR 32O, KrkR 6O2, TatR 495, TrR 778, Hüs. 267, TkR 6OO, 6O4, Jud. 678, Rl. IV 652, 7O9, Jeg. 333, Fed. II 44O-1, Md. 71, 176 (pT *sīla v. 'rub, smear') ◇ If the vw. *a in T *sīla- belongs to the ancient root (rather than to a sx.), the N rec. has to be *śīlāy▽ ◇ Rs. UAW 47 (FU, T), IS MS s.v. 'СКОЛЬЗКИЙ' (*sīlā: IE, U, T) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #314 (*sīlu 'rub') (IE, U, A, Ai + qu. Ko, J, EA).

2049. *śīlāy 'be(come) liquid, melt, flow' > HS: C: HEC *śīl- vi. 'melt' > Kmb, Sd śīl- id., 'dissolve' ¶ Hd. 98, 337, 392 || S *-śīl- v. 'flow' > Ar √syl (ip. -sīl-) v. 'flow' (of water) (x N *sūwolā 'liquid, moisture' [q.v.] and N *sīzā 'stream, small body of water' [q.v.]) ¶ BK I 1177, Hv. 347 || D *čīl- ({θGS} *čī- v. 'flow' (x N *čīlā (= *čīlhā?) 'be wet\moist; moisture' [q.v. ffd.]); but Klm sīlka 'river', Nkr śīlka 'brook, river', Prj čīlva 'brook, rivulet', Gnd A sīlka 'small river', Gnd G hilka 'rivulet' belong rather to N *sīzā '↑' (q.v.) or represent a merger of both N etymons ¶ D #2569 || IE: Ht {Frd.} salliyā- vi. md. 'melt, dissolve (in water)', {Ts.} sallai- / salliyā 'zergehen' (unless identical with Ht sallai- / salliyā- vi. 'broaden') ¶ Frd. HW 179, Ts. W 68.

2050. *śūl'ū 'lax, loose, slack' > HS: CS *√śwl (c*-śwal-) > Ar √swl (pf. sawila, ip. -swal-) G 'be(come) lax\flaccid\uncompact', Paswal- 'lax, flaccid, uncompact', sawal- 'flabbiness of the belly\limbs', BHb שׁוּל * *śūl* (pl. cs. śūl-ē, pl. with 3s ppa. שׁוּלִין śūl-āw) 'garment's train, hem' (KB: ← 'was heranhängt') ¶ GB 814, BDB 1OO2, Ln. 1473-4, Fr. II 1833, Hv. 345 || ? Eg MK սՅ *'weak' in սՅ- 'the weak of arm' (x N ?σ *śuwā?ā 'weak', q.v. ffd.) ¶ EG IV 14, Fk. 2O9, Tk. I 65 || IE: NaIE (in Gmc only) *sleu- 'hanging down loosely (schlaf herabhängend), slack' > OSx slēu 'schlaff, feige', ON slær, sljár, sljót 'blunt', OHG slēo 'dull, faded, tepid (stumpf, welk, lau)', AS slāw, slæw 'sluggish, lazy', NE slow ¶ P 962-3, AHDI 61, Vr. 518, Ho. 297-8, Ho. S 68, Kb. 9O9, , OsS 821 || A *sula 'lax, loose' > M *sula 'loose, lax, free, empty' > MM [MA] sula 'free', [S] sula- v. 'lose machen, lockern (den Halskragen)', WrM sula, HIM сүл 'loose, free, vacant, empty', Kl {KRS} сүл sul id., {Rm.} sulu 'lose, locker, schlaff, frei, leer', Ord {Ms.} su'la 'peu tendu, inoccupé, libre', MnR H {SM} sulā 'non tendu, lâche, faible', {T} sula 'free'; M → Ewk Nr sula 'weak, light', WrMc sula 'free' ¶ Pp. MA 327, H 137, MED 736, KW 336-7, SM

357-8 || Tg: [1] *sula- v. 'leave (lassen, verlassen)' > Ewk sula-, Lm hulā-, Orc sulagi-, Ul solaožu/ł-, Orl sulaw-, Nn Nh solā, solōgo-, Nn B solā-, solāgo-, Nn KU solao- id., Neg solapça-, Orc sulagi- remain (be left'); [2] (+ext.) WrMc sulfā 'freely, easily, without special effort' ¶ Z 643, STM II 124 || pKo {S} *sʌr- v. 'fit loosely, be shaky' > NKo sʌr-gapta [sal-gapta] ¶ Gale 641, Rm. SKE 221, S QK #829, MLC 951 ¶ KW 336-7 (M, Tg), Rm. SKE 221 (Ko, M, Tg), DQA #2117 (A *sólo 'be lax, loose') || D *ču]V ({#GS} *s-) 'easy, light (non heavy)' > Tm culuvu, Kn suluvu 'ease, facility, lightness', Kt ču]V 'easy work, easy', Tu culaka, Ku sulkara 'light (not heavy)', Tl culuka(n) 'lightly, with slight\disregard', culukani 'light, easy', suluvu 'easy, easiness' ¶ D #27O3 ◇ ≈ IS MS 351 (*'s'ulə 'незакрепленный' [IE, A, D]).

2051. *śū'l'V (= *śū'l'V?) (or *s-?) 'heel, sole of the foot, bottom', N *k'ū'R V śūl'V 'bottom (bone) of the leg\foot' (cd. with N *kūr'U 'foot, hoof', q.v.) > HS: S *kursull- > BHb קְרַטֵּל ְקָרְסָל (du. with 1s sx. קְרַטֵּלְיָה karsullay) 'ankle' ({KB} 'Knöchel, Fußgelenk'), JA {Trg.}, JPA, JEA ְקָרְסָלְלָה karsul'lā, JEAL ְקְרַצְוֵלָה karçul'lā, Sr مُضْعَلَة kursälā 'ankle', Ak kursinnu 'fetlock, lower leg' ¶ KB 1O69, KBR 1146, Lv. T II 39O, Lv. IV 38 5-6, Js. 1423, Sl. 1O45, Br. 7OO, Sd. 511, CAD VIII 566 ¶ The variant represented by Ak kursinnu is likely to go back to the N genitive construction (→ obl. case form) *k'ū'R V śūl'V nu || B *-sīl- 'sandals, shoes', *v̥l̥w-sl v. 'put on footwear' > Ah esīl 'paire de chaussures', BSn tisili (pl. tisila) 'sandals', Ntf tasilt (pl. tasila) 'fer à cheval', Zng təsiži 'chaussure', Skn tsilā (pl. tsilawin) 'sandals', Kb əsəl 'mettre des jambières, des chaussettes', Gh əsəl 'être chaussé', ETwl, Ty əsəl 'se chausser de' ¶ Some of these words may alternatively go back to L solea 'sandal' ¶ Fc. 1821-2, GhA 172, Di. 77O, La. S 213 || K: GZ *kurs]- 'heel' > OG, G kusl-, G X kursl- 'heel', Mg kurs-i, kurc-i 'heel, kick of a heel', ? kur-i 'heel; heel of a wooden plough', Lz kus-, ? ku(r-) 'heel, heel of a shoe (каблук)'. Alternatively, Mg kur-, Lz ku(r)-, and Sv {K ← ?} kə,r 'heel' (← Mg?) may represent N *kūr'U 'foot, hoof' (q.v.) ¶ K 2OO (*kurs]-), K² 219-2O; FS K 34O and FS E 381-2 (in both: K *kurs-), Q 347, Chik. 65 || IE: NaIE *swol-/*sul- 'sole of the foot; ground' > L solum 'sole of the foot; soil, ground', solea 'a leather sole strapped on the foot, sandal' || OIr sol ~ fol {Vn.} 'sol,

base, plante de pied', nom. pl. **solaig**, dat. pl. **soilgib** 'soles of feet' || ḡ Gk [Hs.] ὑλία {P, Vn.} 'sole' (a different interpretation: {LS} [Hs.] accus. pl. ὑλίας · τοὺς καρπατίνους τομούς '[cut] pieces of leather'??) ¶ WP II 552, P 1O46, WH II 554, LS 1848, EM 634, Vn. S 167-8 || ?σ U: FU *^os|ſ̥i' l▽ 'low' (or *-e-, *-δ-) > ObU {Ht.} *θēl-, {Hl.} *θäl-/ *θēl- 'low' > pVg *tälkʷ▽ id. > Vg: T tälkʷī ~ tälkī, LK tälkʷə, tälkʷ, MK tälkʷ, UK tälkʷə, NV tälka, SV/LL tälkʷa, UL/Ss talkʷa id.; pOs {Ht.} *fel id. > D/Nz tet, Kz ɸeɸ, O lel Ht. 136 [#135], Kn. WV 137, Stn. WV 2O6, Hl. rHt 73 ◇ If the FU (ObU) cognate belongs here, the initial N cns. is *s-. In this case K *-s- (for the expected *-š-) may be due to its position within a cns. cluster. Otherwise (which is likely to be more plausible) the N sibilant is *ſ. FU *^os|ſ̥i' l▽ suggests (if it belongs here) that the N vw. of the first syll. was *ü.

2052. ² *ſæ?rū'L▽ ~ *ſæ?w'ū'L▽ 'look for, search, ask' > **HS:** B *✓swl 'look for' > Tsh {Ds.} siggal (3s pf. isuggʷəl) 'look for', ? Ah səssəggəl 'chercher', as well as Mz ✓swl (səwwəl / yətsewwəl) 'ask (a question)' (← Ar ✓sʔl id.?) ¶ Ds. 62, Fc. 18O9-1O, Dlh. M 196 || S *✓šʔl 'ask (question), ask for' > BHb, EpHb, Pun, Yd, IA, JA [Trg.], JPA, JEA, Sr, SmA, Md ✓šʔl G, Ar, Gz ✓sʔl G, Qt laS ✓šʔl G, OAk inf. šə?ālu, Ak ✓šʔl (inf. šə?ālu ~ šālu) 'ask (question, inquire)'; d. Sb, Mn, Qt laSm mšʔl 'oracle', EpHb, IA, JA, Sr, Md ✓šʔl G, Ar, Gz ✓sʔl G, Sb laS ✓šʔl G 'ask for, beg, plead', Sb, Mn ✓šʔl G 'ask, seek, require', Jb {Jo.} ✓šʔl (pf. šēl, sbjn. yšēl) 'demand payment for a dept', Sq {L} hɔ?ol id., 'borrow' ¶ HJ 1O95-8, KB 1276-9, A #2566, Js. 15O6-8, Sl. 1O98-9, Br. 748, Tal 859-6O, DM 441-2, Ln. 1282-4, BK I 1O36-7, BGMR 121, MA 8O, Rk. 156-7, L G 48O, L LS 139, Jo. J 259, Sd. 1151-2, CAD XVII 274-82 || **A:** Tg *sebule- 'search, look for' > U1 sʒwlu- ~ sʒwłz/i-, Nn Nh/KU sʒwłz- v. 'search so. (обыскивать)', WrMc {Hr.} seole- 'think over (nachdenken), suwele- id., 'look for', {Z} suwele- ~ seole- id., 'look for; think over (обдумывать)'; Tg *sebulen 'a search, searching, looking for' n. act. > Nn Nh sʒułē id., WrMc seolen {Z} id., {Hr.} 'Bedenkung, Sorge, Erwägung' ¶ × Chn sɔ̄u 'make a search, search for?' ¶ STM II 134, Z 574-5, 653, Hr. 783-4, 837 || M *sila- > WrM {MED} šala-, HIM {MED} шала- 'persuade, urge, ask consistently', Kl Ö {Rm.} šala-Xa 'inständig bitten, betteln, mit Fragen und Forderungen bedrängen' (Rm.: < *sila-); M → ? Alt/Tlt {Rm.} šila- 'verhören' ¶ MED 749, KW 346 ◇ B *-w- and Tg *-b- may go

back to a N *-w- or to an epenthesis of a hiatus (N *-æ?u- > *-Eu- > *-Ewu-). M *i may go back to N *ü of the second syll.

2053. ² *ši₁?L^Δ 'to roast, to fry, to cook' > HS: B *^o✓s^ly > Kb əslī 'cuire rapidement' ¶ Dl. 776 || EC: [1] EC *š|s^ll- > HEC {Hd.} *sal- 'cook by boiling, fry, roast' > Brj sal- 'cook by boiling, bake', Kmb šol-, Hd sar- id., 'fry, roast'; Sa {R} sōl- 'braten, rösten auf dem brennenden Feuer', sō'lā 'Fleisch auf heißen Steinen gebraten; Feuerbrand', Af {PH} sola 'camp-fire for roasting meat', Sml {ZO} sol- vt. 'grill, toast, roast'; [2] EC *šil- > Sml {ZMO}, Sml N {Abr.} šil- vt. 'fry', ? Or {Brl.} sil-awu 'affumigarsi, arruginarsi, ossidarsi' ¶ R S II 319, PH 193, Hd. 68, 218, 297, 338, ZO 364, 376, Abr. S 232, Brl. 374 || S: [1] WS *✓çly (*-çlay-) 'roast' (*ç < HS **s...?) > BHb ✓çly (pf. נַאֲלָה, ip. יַאֲלָה, yi-çlā) 'roast (meat)', JPA, JEA ✓çlw|y (pf. נַאֲלָה, çə'lā) id., SmA ✓šly G 'roast', Ar صَلَى ✓šly v. G (ip. -šliy-) 'roast, broil, fry', Gz ✓šlw v. G 'broil, roast' (μ: *✓çly > ✓šlw); hardly here Ak LB šelū 'burn (fumigants)', because e points to a √ with III *ř|h (S *a > Ak e in the presence of a former *ř or *řh); [2] +ext.: CS *✓šlk > JA ✓šlk G 'einkochen, sieden' (→ MHb ✓šlk G id.), Sr ✓šlk G 'cook, broil, boil', Ar ✓šlq G vt. 'boil (food, plants) with fire' ¶ KB 961, Lv. IV 192, 566-7, Js. 1283, 1588, Lv. IV 192, Sl. 965, Tal 732-3, Ln. 141O, 1721-2, LG 556-7, CAD XVI 124, Sd. 1O9O, Br. 784, JPS 582 || A: Tg *sila- v. 'roast on a spit, grill' > Ewk sila-, Sln šila-, Nn silo-, Neg d. silat/ç-, Orc d. siloči-, Ork d. silotči-, PCIWrMc [TF] siilo- / siyolome, WrMc šolo- / šolome id., Lm hul- v. 'spit (meat, fish)', d. hult/ç- v. 'roast on a spit', Ud {Krm.} silo 'fish roasted on a spit'; → Tg *sila-pun 'spit for roasting' (× A {DQA} *sīla 'sharp stick; spit' < N *šēlxā 'bough, twig, stick', q.v. ffd. × N *ši₁l^Δyā 'tooth, fang', q.v.) ¶ STM II 82, Krm. 285, Mls. 237 || ?σM *silün 'soup, bouillon' (× N *s^lū[̄]wol^Δ 'liquid, moisture' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ WS *ç (probably from **s?) in *✓çly suggests the presence of *? in the N word.

2054. ² *S^ΔH_aL^Δ 'salt, spice' > IE *sehl-/*shel-/*sh^l- 'salt': nom. IE *sehl-s > NaIE *sāl-s > Gk ἅλς, L sāl, Ltv sāls,?μ Arm սղ ալ; accus. IE *shel-^m > NaIE *sal-m > Gk ἅλη, L salem, Sl (accus. > accus.-nom.) *sōlъ (> OCS соль solъ, Blg сол, SCr sōl, Slv sōl, Cz sůl, Slk sol', R соль, Uk сіль), gen. IE *sh^l-os > NaIE *salos > Gk ἅλος, L salis || ds.: Vd sali'la- ~ sari'ra- {M} 'salty (?)', OI sali'la-m ~ sari'ra-

m 'sea, sea flood', OI *Λαρά-* 'salty' ||| Um *salu* accus. 'salt' ||| OIr *salann*, Brtt {RE} **salejnos* 'salt' > MW *halwynf* ~ *halaen*, W *halen*, OCrn [LC] *haloin*, Crn *holan*, MBr *holenn*, Br *holen*, c'*hoalenn* 'salt' ||| Pru *sal* id. ||| Tc A *sāle*, Tc B *salyiye* (obl. *sālyi-*) id. ||| NaIE **sal-d-* 'spice (malt, salt)' > Lt *saldus*, Ltv *salīds* 'sweet' ||| Sl **sōldъ-* 'malt' > OR **солодъ** *solodъ*, R, Uk *солод*, Blg *слад*, SCr, Slv *slād*, Cz, Slk *slad*, P *słód* id.; ↗ Sl **sōldъ-kъ* 'sweet' > OCS **сладъкъ** *sladъkъ* id. (↗ R 'сладок' 'is 'sweet', 'сладк-ий 'sweet'), Blg 'сладък', SCr *slādak*, Slv *sladek* *sládak*, Cz, Slk *sladký*, P *słodki*, R Δ, Uk *со'лодкий*, Blr *са'лодкі* ↗ ↗ NaIE **salda-* v. 'salt' > L *sallē-* v. 'salt', *salsus* (< **sald-to-*) 'salted' ||| Gmc **salta-* 'to salt' > Gt *saltan*, OHG *salzan*, NHG *salzen* id. ↗ Gmc **salta-* 'salty' > ON *saltr*, AS *sealt*, OFrs *salt*, MLG *solt*; ↗ Gmc {Wt.} **saltam* 'salt' > Gt, OFrs, OSx *salt*, MDt *sout*, Dt *zout*, OHG *salz*, NHG *Salz*, AS *sealt* 'salt', NE *salt* ¶ P 878-9, Lub. AP*a 59-60, Krtl. LVBS § 1.6, Wy. IEa 66, FI 78-9, WH II 465-7, Bc. G 34, Slt. 22-3, Vn S 17-8, RE 125, Hm. 385, Frn. 759-60, Kar. II 151, En. 241, Fs. 409, OsS 740, Ho. 285, 292, Ho. S 62, Vs. III 712-3, Glh. 557, 571, M K III 448, Vr. 461, Kb. 823, AHDI 55, Wn. 417, JGH 194, 229, 231-6, 337, Ad. 678, ≈φ EI 498 (**sehₐ-(e)l-* 'salt') ||| **HS:** B **zaHl-* (> **zāl-*) > Ah *tə-zall-it* 'fine salt from Tidikelt', ? Ty, ETwl *ta-ȝol-t* 'antimony, oxide of antimony', *a-ȝ̥la* (pl. *i-ȝ̥latъn*) 'jeu d'urine' ¶ Fc. 1959, GhA 221 ¶ Empatization **s* > **ȝ* may be due to the Ir. (evidenced by the vw. *a* < **aH*) || Ch {AD} **s₂u'H'v̥l* 'salt' (**s₂* acc. to AD ChCS) > CCh: pMM {Ro.} **šuwal* 'salt' > Mada *sùwá1*, Mkt *šúgù1*, Zlg *šùwál* id. || ECh: Skr {Lk.} *súluŋ*, {Sx.} *sùlūm* 'salt', ?σ Ke {Eb.} *súlá* 'sea' ¶ Ro. 318 [#603], ChC, AD AD ChCS || ???σ S **š|s̥l̥* > Ar *salař-* 'in bitter tree, in aloe, Sælanthus quadragonus, Cacalia sonchifolia (plants)', {BKI} *sawlāř-* 'aloe' (?imrun min *sawlāřin* 'more bitter than aloe') ¶ Hv. 331, BK I 1124.

2055. *s^rū^ˊwolṇ (= *süwolṇ?) 'liquid, moisture' > **I**E: NaIE **sūl-*, -ā 'liquid, sludge' > OI 'surā' 'in intoxicating beverage', Av *hurā*, MPrs *hur* 'intoxicating drink, milk wine (kumiss)', KhS *hurā-* f. 'fermented milk of mares' || Lt *sulà*, Ltv *sula* 'sap', Ltv *sūla* 'pus, running sore', Pru *sulo* 'curdled milk' || Gk *ὕλη* (with *ū*) 'mire, slime, sediment, matter (excreted from the human body)' || ON *sol-* (in cds.) 'mire, puddle', AS *sol* id., OHG *sol* {Kb.} 'Sumpfloch, sumpfige Stelle', MHG

sol, sul 'saline fluid', NHG **Suhle** 'bog; sump; wallow of pigs', AS **solu** (**solwe**) 'puddle', NNr **søle** 'mud' (< *sulw-); Scn → F **sula** adj. 'molten, fluid' | → Gt **bi-sauljan** 'μιαίνειν, to stain', Nr **søyla**, OHG **bi-sulen** 'to soil', NHG **suhlen**, **sühlen** 'to wallow in mire', AS **sylian** 'to soil', NE **sully** | → NHG **Suhlen** 'muddy puddle, wallow, slough', AS **sylen** 'puddle, slough, mire' ¶ WP II 453, 468, 513, P 913, Mn. 1334, M K III 487, M E II 717, Bai. 492, F II 962-3, Vr. 529, Ho. 306, Kb. 925, 985, Frn. 9, En. 15, EI 323 (*^lsuleh_A- '≈ [fermented] juice') || HS: S *^o-šsīl- > Ar √syl *G* (pf. **sāla**, ip. -sīl-) 'flow' (of water) (× N *šīl^N 'be[come] liquid, melt, flow' and N *sīz^N 'stream, small body of water') || Ch: Su {J} **sēl** 'dicke Suppe' || Smr {Lk.} **sālē** 'Brühe aus getrockneter Hirse und Milch' ¶ J S 81, Lk. ZSS 81 || K: GZ *šōwel- 'wet, soaked' (× ← K *šōw- < N *^rs¹ū¹wħā- *^rs¹E²u wħā^N 'moisture, water, rain; [be] wet') > OG **swel-**, G **svel-**, Δ **sobel-** & **sobel-** 'wet, soaked', Mg **šu(e)-**, **š3-** 'wet' (of snow'), Lz **šu-** 'wet'; GZ *šōwl- v. 'wet, make wet' > OG **sov1-**, Mg **šolua**, Lz **o-šol-u** id.; OG **swel-i**, G **svel-i** 'wet', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} **šwel** id., 'whey' ¶ K 174, K² 182, FS K 286, FS E 315, Srj. KE 28, TK 824 || U ***sula** > FU ***sula** 'thawed, melted; to thaw, melt, liquefy' > F, Es **sula** 'molten, liquid, fluid, not frozen', **sula-** v. 'melt, thaw' | Er\Mk **sola** 'not frozen, thawed', 'molten' (of fat, etc.), **sola-** v. 'thaw, melt' | pChr {Ber.} ***sul-** 'thaw, dissolve' > Chr: H **шылаш** 'sъlaš, L **шүлаш** šu'l-aš 'to thaw, to dissolve', E {Ps.} **šule-** 'schmelzen', B **sule-** id. | pPrm {LG} **sūl-** 'thaw, melt, dissolve' > Z **сыив-** sīv-, Δ **sīl-** id., Vt **sīlmīnīt** 'to thaw, to dissolve, to be boiled soft (развариться)' || ObU {Ht.} *θālā- ~ *θōlā- 'thaw, be liquefied' > pVg *tāl-ā- 'thaw' > Vg: T/K/N {Mu.} **tāl-**, T {Kn.} **tal-ā**, Yk {Vxr.} **tāl-**, LL {Kn.} **tal-**, Ss {Kn., BV} **tol-** 'thaw'; pOs {Ht.} ***čōla-** 'thaw' > Os: V **lōla-**, Vy **uōla-**, Ty **čōč-**, **čōča-**, Y **čōč-**, D **tāt-**, **tāta-**, K **tāt-**, Nz **tōta-**, Kz **čōča-**, O **lal-** id.; ObU d. *θāl-t- ~ *θōl-t- vt. 'melt' > pVg ***tāl-t-** id. (> Vg: Yk {Vxr.} **tāl-t-**, Ss {BV} **tol-t-** vt. 'melt [fat, metal]'), pOs {Ht.} ***čōl-t-** ({Hl.} ***čūl-t-**) vt. 'thaw (snow), melt (fat, etc.)' (> Os {Trj.}: V **lōltā**, Vy **uōlta**, Ty/Y **čōčtā** id.) | Hg **olvad-** vi. 'melt, dissolve' || ? pY {IN} *θālā- 'thaw' > Y K/T **aīā-** id., aīō- 'thawed, melted' ('талый'), T **aīā-** v. 'thaw' ¶ UEW 450-1, It. #202, Coll. 115, SK 1099-10, MRS 733, 752, Ü 274, Ps. OT 129, Ber. 69 [#365], Lt. 197, LG 267-8, Ht. #140, BV 121, Trj. S 215, MF 500-1, IN 219-20, Ku. 24, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#80] (Y ← U) || A {S} ***šōl^N**, {SDM97}

*š̥ō̄l̥i 'juice, liquid' > NaT *sȫl 'meat juice, juice, soup' > MT {Rs.} sȫl {Br.} sūl id., 'matter, pus', 'liquid', MU {Rs.}, Qzq {Sht., MM} sȫl 'meat juice', Qzq {Rl.} sȫl 'eine Salzbrühe aus eingesalzenem Fleische' (x ↔ R солъ 'salt'?), Qq, Qrg sȫl, Bsh hūl 'ichor', Nog sȫl id., 'meat juice', VTt sūl 'juice (in cells and tissues of bodies), serum', qanlı sūl 'ichor' ¶ Rs. W 43O, Rl. IV 583, 83O, Bu. I 648, Sht. 186, MM 324, KarR 586 || Tg *šō̄la 'soup, bouillon' > Nn Nh/KU čō̄lō, Nn B colo id., Ud čōlo, U1 čō̄lō(n-) 'soup', WrMc š̥ul̥a 'juice of fruits, ichor' ¶ STM II 405, 429, Z 686 || pJ {S} *s̥irú 'juice' > OJ siru, J T síru, J K/Kg śirú ¶ S QJ #261, Mr. 526 || ?σ M *silün 'soup, bouillon' (*i because of the influence of N *š̥i₁?L̥V 'to roast, to fry, to cook' [q.v.?]) > MM [MA] {Pp.} š̥ilen, [IM] {Pp.} š̥ile, [S] {H} š̥ulen 'soup', [HI] {Ms.} š̥ulen 'bouillon, soup', WrM silü(n), HIM шөл(өн), Brt шүлән id., 'broth', Ord {Ms.} š̥ölö 'bouillon', WrO {Krg.} š̥öl(öñ) 'soup, chowder', Kl {KRS} шөлн š̥ölən, {Rm.} š̥ülən ~ š̥ölən ~ š̥ilən 'soup, bouillon', Dg {T} š̥il id., {Mr.} š̥ile 'soup', Dx {T} š̥ulie, ShY {SDM} š̥ulen id., 'broth', MnR H {SM, T} š̥ulō 'soup, clear broth'; M → Tg: Ewk, Neg, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn silə, Sln š̥il(z), Lm hil, WrMc sile 'soup' ¶ Pp. MA 333, 447, Ms. H 98, H 143, MED 708, Luv. 657, Chr. 738, Krg. 456, KRS 681, KW SM 385, T 386, T DnJ 143, T DgJ 183, Mr. D 216, STM II 85 ¶ S VL #229 (*š̥ȫl̥V 'juice, fluid'), SDM97 (A *š̥ō̄l̥i 'juice, fluid'), DQA #2178 (A *š̥j̥ȫl̥i id. > T, M, Tg, J) ¶ The kind of vowel length in this A √ (> T short vw. and Tg long one) develops in open syllables of N words (under still unknown prosodic conditions) and is not due to complementary lengthening (because of loss of lrs. or other elements of a syll.) ◇ U *s̥- and K *š̥- provide ev. for N *s̥-. The T cognate can be explained if we suppose that the N vw. of the first syll. was *ü. Altaic and Tg *š̥- < **s̥j̥- (N *s̥ǖwəl̥V > **s̥j̥ȫl̥V > A *š̥ȫl̥V > Tg *š̥ȫla). N *-wəl̥V- is reconstructed on the ev. of K *-we- and the long vw. in A.

2056. *s̥øȳi'l̥U' 'entrails' > HS: S *š̥iliy-at- 'placenta, afterbirth' > BHb š̥il'yā* id. (att. with 3f ppa.: שְׁלִיתָה š̥ilyā'tāh 'her afterbirth'), MHb קְשִׁילַעַת k̥š̥il'ya, JA [Trg.], JEA אֲשְׁלִיתָה aš̥lyitah, em. שְׁלִיתָא š̥ilitā {Js.} 'afterbirth, placenta', SmA קְשִׁילַה k̥š̥ilah, Sr קְשִׁילַת k̥š̥ilat, Md š̥ulita 'membrane enveloping the foetus', Tgr תְּהִלָּת s̥elat, Tgy š̥elat id., Ar سَلَّى salā(-n) {Ln.} 'secundine (thin skin in which is the foetus\young in the womb)', Ak fOB s̥ilītu ~ š̥elītu ~ š̥alītu 'afterbirth'; bf. Ar سَلَّيْتَ saliy-at v. (3f pf.) 'her secundine became

disrupted in her womb' ¶ Frnz. LS2 262-3, KB 1411, Lv. IV 562, Js. 1582, 1584, Sl. 1149-50, Tal 900, DM 454, LH 169, Bsn. 218, Ln. 1418, BK I 133, Sd. 1043, CAD XV 264, MiK I #1.246 || HEC *sal- 'belly, stomach' > Brj {Ss.} salay, {Hd.} sa'lē id., Sd {Gs., Hd.} sálto 'stomach', Hd {Hd.} satto id., {Ss.} ? sālasih-te 'belly'; Kmb {Hd.} salā'n- 'be pregnant', salān-čuta adj. 'pregnant' ¶ Ss. B 163, Hd. 143-4 (HEC *salto 'stomach'), 218, 297, 336, 390, Gs. 284 || NrOm: She {CR ← Mnt.} sīl, {Fl.} šīl 'belly' ¶ Blz. OLBP #15, CR NGS 623, ≈ Fl. OO 317 || Ch ≈ *sal- 'liver' > WCh: Jmb {Sk.} sálá || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} sàliyâ, Ll {Grgs.} sìylà, Kwn sálñā, Ke {Eb.} sálde, Smr {J} šárá id. ¶ ChC || u *s̥íslala 'intestines, bowels' > F suoli, Es sool 'intestine, bowel', F Δ suoli 'Mitte des Leibes' | pLp {Lr.} *cójle 'bowel' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjoǎlie, L {LLO} tjàllē, N {N} čoalle, K {Gn.} čuoall id. | Er сюло šulo, Δ šula, Mk сюла {Ahl.} šula, {Ker.} šula 'gut' | Chr: L шоло šolo, Uf šolo 'gut(s)', H {Ep., Ü} шол šol 'gut' | Prm {LG} *šul 'gut' > Z сюв šuv / šuvy-, Z UV, Vt šul || pOs *sol ({[Hl.]} *săl < *săl) 'gut' > Os: V/Vy sôl, Ty/Y sõ‡, I/Nz sut, Kz sõ‡, O sol || Y {Schf.} šole 'intestine', Y (K?) {IN} šolye 'gut' ¶ Coll. 116 (FU, Y), UEW 483-4, It. #125 (FP *šola), Lr. #173, Lgc. #675-6, Hs. 1327, Ker. II 149, MRS 716, Ep. 152, Ü 266-7, LG 273, SZ 359, Stn. D 1329, Ang. UJ 129, ≈ Rd. UJ 49 [#82] (Y ↔ U) || a: Tg *síl'ü-, d. *sílu-kta 'gut(s)' > Ewk silukta & hilukta 'gut(s)', silu-ma-'cook food from bowels (из требухи)', Ewk Y/I/VI hilu-ma- 'cook guts', Sln šilukta ~ šilutta, Neg sulta, sülukta 'guts', Lm hiltä, Orc silukta, Ud {Krm.} sulukta ~ sulikta, Ork suluqta 'guts', Neg sula- v. 'take out the guts (in order to cook them)' ¶ STM II 85, Vas. 353, 478, Krm. 289 || ? T *°solak > OT [MhK] {Cl.} solāq 'spleen' ¶ ≈ Cl. 826 (solaq ← solaq 'situated on the left' ↔ sōl 'left') ¶ ≈ DQA #2050 (A *sílo 'internal organ', incl. Tg, T) ◇ The highly tentative rec. of N *-øyi- is an attempt to account for the long vw. *ö in U and the presence of *i in the first syll. of the Tg, S, and NrOm cognates ◇ IS MS 344 (*šaln 'gut'), Rs. UAW 23, Coll. 148, UEW 483-4 (all authors: U, A), Blz. LB #73c (S *šilyat-, U, Tg, C + qu.σ: S *šalīl- 'embryo' and D *čūl(-) 'pregnant') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #188 (*tul ~ sul 'guts') (U, A + qu. Ko + err. Y, Gil, CK).

2057. *sü̥l̥w, ∇ 'thread, string' > IE: Ht suejl- 'Faden, Band' ¶ Ts. W 77 || u: FU *°sEjlje (= *°sü̥l̥je?) > Er сэль 'spun thread' (hardly ← сэль 'fathom') ¶ Er ə may go back to different FU front vowels,

including *ü J ERV 631, ≈ UEW 444 (refers the Er word to FU *süile 'Schoß, Klafter') || A: M *sülbere > WrM sülbege, HlM сүлбәә 'thread, cord' J MED 742 || pKo *sir 'thread' (× N *säR'U' 'sinew, fibre', q.v. ffd.) || HS: S: [1] S *°✓š|sll > Ar salil-at- 'wool upon the spindle', [2] (?) +ext.: S *°✓š|silk (*°'š|silak-?) > Ar silk-at- (pl. silak-) 'spun thread' J BK 1117, 1129, Hv. 329, 333 || Ch: CCh: Mbara {TrnSL} sile 'rope, corde', Bcm {Sk.} salte 'thread', Mtk {Sb.} súlom, {ChL} sulj, Mf {BLB} súlóm 'arrow' J ChC, ChL, JI II 3, Sk. B 25, BLB 322, TrnSL 277, 286 || ?φ D *°čiela- > Tm cilai, Ml cila 'bow (weapon)' J If D *°čiela- belongs here, its deviating vw. *i|e (delabializartion from *ü?) needs explaining J D #2571 ◇ Not here (because of the initial sibilant) K: GZ *mšwīld- 'bow (weapon)', which is akin to GZ *mšwil- 'shoot (an arrow)' (see K² 129) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 164 [#114] (D, CCh 'arrow, bowstring' + unc. K).

2058. *šalb∇ 'cut out, pull out' > HS: S *✓šlb ~ *✓šlp > Ar ✓sib G 'carry off forcibly, plunder', Gz ✓sib G 'take off\away, plunder', BHb, JA ✓šlp G 'draw from a sheath, take off', JA [Trg.] ✓šlp G 'loosen, pull, draw', JEA ✓šlp G 'pull off\out, remove, draw', ChrPA ✓šlp G 'draw from a sheath', SmA ✓šlp G id., 'remove', Sr, Md ✓šlp G id., 'pull out', Ak ✓šlp 'draw from a sheath', 'tear out, pull out' J BK I 1118, Hv. 329, L G 498-9, KB 1427-8, Schlt. 2O9, Lv. IV 565-6, Js. 1587, Sl. 1152-3, Tal 9O4-5, DM 469, Sd. 1145, CAD XVII/1 23O-1 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *°ša|olw|yā 'hollowing adze (Hohlbeil); to gouge out' > ObU {Hl.} *s̄w̄l̄w̄yāl 'hollowing adze (Hohlbeil)' > pVg {{Hl.}} *s̄aw̄l̄t̄ > Vg Ss sowli 'Hohlbeil mit einem wendbaren Stiel'; pOs *suw̄yāl > V/Vy suw̄yāl, Ty suw̄yāt̄, Y suw̄yāt̄, D/K soxāt 'Hohlbeil, adze for cutting grooves' | Hg Δ szalu 'Deichsel (adze), Queraxt, Querbeil, Hohlbeil', Δ szalul-, szalul-, szalval- v. 'gouge out or clean with a crooked axe (e.g. the internal wall of a wheel)' J UEW 889 (*s̄al̄k|yāl), MF 567-8, Ht. #582, Hl. rHt 73-4 (on ObU *w and *y), Trj. 44O, Stn. FUV 35 (*÷ F salvata v. 'bolt [the door], bar, close' and Lp Vfs {Lgc.} suolw̄st v. 'bite') || A: M *°salba- 'cut grass, weed out' > WrM salba-, HlM салба- id. J MED 664.

2059. *šilk∇ (= *šilka?) 'let out' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'throw', 'fall out') > IE: NaIE *selg- 'let out, throw, pour out, free' (× N *čal∇ 'to pour [out]?' > OI sr̄jati {MW} 'lets go\fly, discharges, throws, casts', [RV] 'sarga 'a stream, gush, downpour', [MBh, Rm] 'sarga n.

act. 'letting go, discharging, voiding (an excrement)', Av *hərəzənti* 'they send off', *upa-ŋharθtāe* 'zu übergießen', Prth *hirz-* 'lassen, verlassen' ||| OIr *selg* n. 'hunt' (\leftarrow *'releasing the hounds'), Brtt {RE} **selg-* v. 'hunt' > OW *in-helcha* 'venando', *helgha-ti* imv. 'hunt!', MW *hely*, W *hel*, *hela* 'to hunt', OCrn [LC] *helhwur* 'hunter', Crn *helghya*, *hellya* 'to hunt', OBr *a olguo* · "indagatione" ('par des recherches \ investigations \ enquêtes'), MBr *hemolch* (for **emholch* < *ambī-solg), Br *hem-olc'hiñ* 'to hunt' ||| MHG *selken* 'to drizzle down' (of clouds) ¶ WP II 508, P 900-1, EI 481 (all of them: **selg-*), M K III 497-8, MW 1183-6, 1245, Vn. S 80-1, RE 105, Flr. 68-9, Hm. 374, SEv. 10, OsS 753, Lx. 191 ¶ OI 'sargā points to a IE *g, rather than * \tilde{g} (\Leftrightarrow P, EI) ||| HS: CS * \checkmark Šlk 'let go, send' > BHb \checkmark Šlk *Sh* (הַשְׁלִיךְ) 'throw, cast off, throw away', MHb \checkmark Šlu^bka \checkmark elū'kā G pp. f. 'Weggeworfene, Verworfene', SmA \checkmark Šlk G 'send', *Sh* 'throw', Ar سُلَّكَ \checkmark Šlk G (ip. -sluk-) 'insert (a hand)', 'travel, go along (a road\course)' (possibly bf. from \checkmark Šlk *Sh* [pf. ?aslaka] 'engage so. in a road\course' \div Hb *hi'šlīk* '↑') ¶ KB 1414-6, Lv. IV 562, Tal 900-1, Fr. II 345-6, Hv. 333 ||| U: FU *śilke ({It.} *śölke = *śElke) '≈ sink' > pLp {Lr.} *ćzlkz- 'go through (the ice)' (of a foot), 'sink into sth.' > Lp: N {N} čal'gāt id., Vfs {Lgc.} čā'łako't 'fall through sth.', S {Hs.} d. tjalgudh id., 'disappear', Nd {TI} čelgāt 'durch schwaches Eis treten' ||| pOs *sēly- ({JHl.} *săly-) > Os: Y sələm, səllažləm, K {PD} sətəm, sətatäm 'allmählich herabfallen (осыпáться), erschüttet werden, ausfallen' ¶ It. ULW 193-4, Lr. #108, Lgc. #457, Lgc. SL #2843, Hs. 1301, TI 641 ||| A: ?σ Tg *silgi- 'get through (a narrow opening)', 'пролезать' > WrMc silgi- ~ silki- id., 'kriechen (лезть)', Lm hulgъ, Neg sūlg̤i- id., 'force one's way through', Nn Nh d. silgiči- vt. 'push through' ¶ STM II 83, Hr. 794 ◇ ≈ IS MS 350 s.v. *śel(k)ə незакрепленный (does not distinguish this etymon from N *śuł'ū 'lax, loose, slack' [q.v.]). IE points to a N *-a, while FU *-e and Tg *-j may be explained by as. or go back to suffixes.

2060. *śalvāmā 'collect on the bottom' (of liquid), 'a place (a depression) where water collects' > HS: S * \circ \checkmark ſ̄sm̄l > Ar samal-at-, ſuml-at- {Hv.} 'black mud, remainder of water', {BK} 'petite quantité d'eau et de boue qui reste au fond d'un bassin; limon noir au fond d'un puits', samal- 'reste d'eau au fond (d'un vase, d'un puits)', ſumlān-

'remainder of wine' ¶ BK I 1142, Hv. 337 || Eg G *s̥mr* 'Gewässer im Gau von Diospolis parva (VII. Gau von Oberägypten)' ¶ EG IV 139 || U: FU (att. in FP) *ś̥sal]mo (vocalism after Db.), *ś̥sol]ma (vocalism after UEW) > FP {Db.} *śalmo, {UEW} *śolma 'valley, depression with water, well' > Prm *śo]nm- (= {LG} *śo]n̥m-) 'depression with water' > Z сён śon 'narrow gully, depression (ложбина, лощина)', Z Ud 'valley, gorge, depression between two slopes', Z UV 'a gully in the river valley, flooded in flood-time', Vt {Mu.} śum 'small oblong lake near a river' | F *salmi* 'strait, narrows, sound', Es *salm* id., 'narrow strait between two islands' | pLp {Lr.} *ćōlmē > Lp: S {Hs.} tjoālmie 'Sund, in dem kein Strom geht', L {LLO} tjal'me 'Sund; Rinnal, Wasserrinne; vom Wasser in einem Deltagebiet ausgegrabener Wasserlauf', N {N} čoal'bme / -lm- 'marked contraction of a lake, sound between two lakes or reaches of a fjord', T {TI} čua⁹lm 'Sund, Meerenge' ¶ UEW 775, SK 956, Lr. #174, Lgc. #677, Lgc. SL #291O, Hs. 1327, Db. OS x, LG 252 || D *čalm̥v ({{GS} *c|ć-?}) (¬ *kalₐa(-m̥v)??) 'hole dug for water in dry bed of river' (× N *čA1m̥v 'orifice, pit' or 'breach') > Tl *celama* 'hole dug for water in dry bed of river', Kn *calame*, *calime*, *calume*, *cilume* id., Ku *salma* 'well' || ?? Brh *kal* 'place where water collects' (unless ← InA) ¶ D #2367, Em. NDVS 377-8, Em. DS 369 ◇ If Brh *kal* belongs here (but Ar and Eg do not), pD had an initial *k̥-, hence the N rec. must be *śalm̥(-m̥v). If the Eg *s̥mr* and Ar √*sml* belong here and Brh *kal* does not, the N etymon must be *śalm̥v. In my opinion, the latter alt. is more realistic.

2061. *ś̥l̥x̥it̥v ~ *-d̥v 'to slip' > HS: B *√*s̥ld̥* > Zkr {Ds.} n̥as]ū]ūd, Rf BA {Rn.} ḁns̥w̥z̥z̥ḁ, Ttq {Msq.} pf. i̥selelet 'glisser' ¶ Rn. 336, Ds. B 154, Msq. 138 || K: GZ *sx̥let̥-/*sx̥lit̥-/*sx̥l̥t̥- v. 'stumble, slip' > Mg cxi̥lat̥-/cxi̥lit̥-/cxi̥ir̥t̥-, ? Lz l̥t̥- id., OG sx̥let̥-, G sx̥let̥- / sx̥lit̥- / sx̥l̥t̥-, 'slip, dart off' ¶ K 167, K² 171, ≈ FS E 309 (*sx̥l̥-) || IE: NaIE *slejdh- 'slippery', v. 'slide', *slidh-OS 'slippery, smooth' > Gk ὄλισθίνω v. 'slip; slip and glide along' (aor. ὄλισθον), ὄλισθηρός 'slippery', ὄλισθος 'Glätte, Schlüpfrigkeit' || OIr *slaet* 'masse glissante, coulée, amas, tas', NIr *s̥laod̥* 'a smooth sweeping mass; swathe' || MHG *slīten*, AS *slīdan* v. 'slide, slip, glide', NE *slide*; AS *slidor* 'slippery, smooth', NE *slidder*; NHG d. *Schlitten* 'sledge' || Lt *slýsti* (prs. *slýstu*, p. *slýdaū*) 'to slide, to slip, to glide', Ltv *sl̥ist*, *sl̥ist* '(aus)gleiten', *sl̥idēt* 'to slide, to glide', *pa-sl̥idēt* 'to

slip', Lt *slidūs*, Lt Z *slydūs* 'slippery' ||| OI 'srēdhati' 'fail, err, blunder' (P: ← *'gleitet ab'), *srīdh-* 'failure, error' ¶ P 663-4, 960-1, M K III 558, ≈ M E II 786-7 (*h₁*slejdh-*), F II 377, Vn. S 125, Dnn. 652, OsS 825, Lx. 19, Ho. 298, KM 658, Frn. 830, 833, Mn. 1209, 1213, ≠ H 527 (**(s)lej-* 'slicky, slimy, slippery') ◇ K 167 (K, IE). The variation between N **t* (in B and K) and N **d* (in IE) may be due to ideophonic connotations.

2062. *śū́l|hū(-kē) ~ *śil|hī(-kē) 'mucus, slime, saliva; to spit' > **HS:** C: Bj {Rop.} *śil* 'saliva', {R} *śil* 'saliva, drivel' ¶ R WBd 198, Rop. 232 ||| **IE:** [1] NaIE **sleig-*/**slīg-* 'slime, saliva' > MHG *slich*, *slīch*, NHG *Schlick* 'slime, ooze' ||| Sl **slizь* 'slime, mucus' > R *слизь*, Slv *slīz* id., Blg 'слиза' 'saliva'; Sl **slbzā* 'tear (lacrima)' > OCS, OR **сльза** *slbza*, R *сле'за*, Uk *слі'за*, *сльо'за*, Blg *съл'за*, SCR *suža*, Slv *sólza*, Cz, Slk *slza*, P *łza* id. ||| [2] NaIE **slej-* +ext.: BSl: Ltv *sliēnas* 'saliva, drivel' | Sl **slīna* 'saliva' > SrChS **слюна** *slina*, Blg, Uk 'слина', Blr 'сліня', SCR *slīna*, Slv *slīna*, Cz, Slk *slina*, P *slina*, (with a puzzling ю) R *слю'на*, Blr, Blg 'слюна' 'saliva' ||| L *salīva* 'Speichel' ||| Clt ({Vn.}): not necessarily ← L: OIr *saile*, W *haliw*, Br *salō* 'saliva' ¶ In some IE lgs. (esp. Gmc and Sl) there is contamination with paro- and synonymous roots for 'silt', 'slippy', etc. ¶ Lx. 197, ≠ Paul 514, Kar. II 225, WH II 468, Vn. S 14, ≈ Glh. 562, 596, ≈ Vs. III 668, 671-2, ≈ Vr. 516, ≠ P 663-4, ≠ El 527 (**slej-n-* ← **(s)lej-* 'slicky, slimy, slippery') ||| **K:** G *sila* 'hemorrhoidal slime' ¶ DCh. 1172 ||| **U:** FU **śū́lke* (att. in FP) ~ **śū́ķe* (att. in ObU) > F *syulkī*, Es *śülg* 'saliva', F *syulkē*, Es *śülgā*, Δ *śülgē-* v. 'spit' | pLp {Lr.} **ćolkz-* v. 'spit' > Lp: S {Hs.} *tjalgedh*, L {LLO} *tjål'kat*, N {N} *čol'gât*, Kld *čol:geb* id.; pLp **ćolkz* 'saliva' > N {N} *čol'gâ* / -*lg-* id., L {LLO} *tjålka*, S {Hs.} *tjalge* id., 'spittle', Kld *čōplk*, {Tl} *čoł:k* 'saliva' | Er *сельге* *šeíge*, Mk *сельге* *šeíga* id., Er *šeíge*, Mk *šeígə* - v. 'spit' | Chr: L *шүвил* 'śūwъl', B *śuwäl-wüt*, H {MRS} *шыўульвыд*, {Ep.} *шыўывильвыйт* *šə'wə́lwyt* 'saliva' (wüt, -wyt 'water'), *śawäl-* (inf. *шыўэл-äsh*), L *шүвал-* *śuwäl-* v. 'spit' | Prm {LG} **śöł-* v. 'spit' > Z *сыолав-* *śzlaw-*, Vt *сяла-* *śala-* v. 'spit', Z *сыёвзыы-* *śzvžt-*, Vt *сялзыны* *śalžtnt* v. mom. 'spit' ||| ObU {Ht.} **śūżəꝝ-* ({ʃHt.}) **śūðəꝝ-* v. 'spit' > pVg **śūłꝝ-* > Vg: T *śūlk-*, LK/MK/UK *śāłꝝ-*, P/NV/SV/LL *śäll-*, UL/Ss *śāłꝝ-* id.; pOs {Ht.} **söyəꝝ-* ({ʃHt.}) **süyəꝝ-*) > Os: V/Vy *söyəꝝ-*, Ty/Y *söyəꝝ-* id. ¶ Coll. 117, UEW 479, Sm. 549 (FU **śülk/đki(-)*, RP

*šülkī, Ugr šüdkī 'saliva, spit'), Lr. #161, Lgc. #458, Hs. 13O1, SaR 399, TI 677, Ker. 135, MRS 74O, 758, Ep. 159, LG 27O, Lt. 128, Ht. #564 || A: M *silü-sün 'saliva, spittle, slaver, slobber' > MM {H} šilüsün, WrM {MED} silüseün, HlM шүлс id., WrM {Kow.} šilüseün 'salive, humeur, phlegme', Kl {KRS} шүлсн šülsən, {Rm.} šülsə, Ord {Ms.} šölösü 'saliva, drivel', Brt шүлхэн, Dg {T} šulse ~ šille, {Pp.} silsū, {Mr.} šulese 'saliva'; M *silü-key 'slippery, full of saliva; saliva' > WrM silükei, HlM шүлхий id., Kl {KRS} шүлкə šülkä 'full of saliva' ('слюнявый'), {Rm.} šülkē 'full of saliva; saliva', ?? MnR H {SM} šiorg_uo 'saliva, drivel', → T: Chg {Rl.} sylagäy, Tkm сүлекей Өүлекей, Uz сүлак swlak, сүлакай swlakay, Qmq silegey, VTt {Rl.} sylögäy ~ sylagäy, Bsh hələgəy hylagäy, Nog, Qq silekey, Qzq сілекей silekey, Qrg šilekey, Alt чилекей cilekey, Tb/Qmn {B} čilekey, Xk silgey 'saliva', ET {Nj.} šölgäy ~ šülgäy, Az selik id., 'slime' ¶ H 14O, MED 708, KW 37O-1, KRS 686, SM 397, T DgJ 184, Mr. D 218, Rs. W 435, Rl. IV 6OO, 741, 831, Nj. 55O, 552, UzR 393, TkR 598, RAZS 279-81 (Az selik 'slime, saliva'), Äz. 26O, B DChT 165, B DK 268 || Tg *silemse 'saliva, dew' > Ul silzmsz id., WrMc silengi id., 'drivel' ¶ STM II 86 ¶ The meaning 'dew' may be due to the infl. of the Tg reflexes of N *šaH₂'ü'L₁Ν 'dew' (q.v.) ¶ Rs. W 435 (T, M, Tg) || D *čoll- ({#GS} *ž|ʒ-) 'saliva' > Tm collu 'dribbling at the mouth as of a child', ? cālai 'dribble, saliva flowing from the mouth', Kt žol, Klm zoll, Gnd A čol ~ žol 'saliva', Kn jollu id., 'slaver', Tu jollæ 'saliva, spittle', Tl collu, jollu 'slaver, saliva drivelling from the mouth' ¶ D #2862 ◇ BF, Lp, and Mr point to a FU *í < N *í, while ObU suggests FU *ž < N *ž. All other lgs. (C, IE, A, and D) do not distinguish between N *í and *ž. The unexpected D *ø needs explaining ◇ ≈ IS MS 365 (N *šuln 'слизь'), Rs. W 435 (A, U).

2063. *šæmi 'fat (Fett)' > HS: S *šam₁Ν n. 'fat, oil' > BHb שָׁמֵן 'šemən id., JA [Trg.] שָׁמַן šə'man n. 'cream, fat (of milk)', שׂוֹמְנָא šum'n-ā n. 'fat', SmA, IA, Plm šmn 'oil', Pun šmn in zbh šmn 'oil sacrifice', Ug šmn 'fat, oil, butter', Ar سَمِن samn- 'melted butter', Jb C *šēn 'fat, fatness', Ak fOAK šamn- 'oil, fat, cream', Eb šamnum {Krb.} 'fat', {Frnz.} 'oil'; d. CS *ša'min- adj. 'fat' > BHb שָׁמֶן šā'mēn, JA [Trg.] שָׁמֵן šə'mēn, JEA שָׁמִינָא šə'minā id., Ug šmn id. ('gordo, cebado'), Ar samina pf. G 'was\became fleshy' ¶ KB 1449-51, HJ 1163, A #2637, OLS 444-5, Lv. T II 493, Sl. 575-6, Tal 9O9, DM 443, BK I 1143, Hv. 337,

Jo. J 262, CAD XVII/1 321-3O, Krb. EG 34, Frnz. MLE 181, MiK I #1.248
 || Eg Md *smy* {EG} 'fat milk, cream', {Fk.} 'curds' ¶ EG IV 13O, Fk. 227
 || B *✓*siHm* 'fat (Fett)' (× N ***čixm** id. [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ Fc. 1835, Msq.
 141, Dl. 778 || C: Bj {Rop.} *simūm* 'suet, fatty covering of kidneys' ¶
 Rop. 233, Blz. EDB 24 || Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} *šamən* (secondary
 glottalization?), {Nc.} *semen* 'be(come) fat' || WCh: mt. Dir {Sk.}
šinama 'oil' || ECh: Mb {J} *síwín* n. 'fat', Nd D {J} *swáñ*, Smr {J} *swáni*,
 Skr {Sx.} *súnú*, Mgm {JA} *séwén*, Bdy {AlJ} *séwèñ* 'oil', *séwén* kà tältà
 'fat' (n., lit. 'hard oil'), Kbl {Cp.} *súwángá*, Ll {WeibP} *søngø*, Ke {Eb.}
son, {Eb. in ChC} *sɔn*, Kwn *súwáne*, EDng {Fd.} *séwè*, Brg {Lk., J}, Mu {J}
síwín 'oil, fat' ¶ Sk. NB 34, Lk. L 12O, ChC, WeibP 81, Eb. 93, JA LM 123,
 AlJ 114, Blz. EChWL #26 ¶ OS ##2247 (HS **siman* 'oil, fat') || **A:** M
**seme-žin* > MM [MA] {Pp.} *semeži* 'fat of the intestines', WrM
semežin, HlM сэмж(ин), Brt *hemже*, Ord *semeži* 'fat around the
 intestines, fat of the epiploon'; M → WrMc *semecen*, *semezen*
 'epiploon' ¶ Pp. MA 32O, MED 687, Ms. O 57, Z 587 || Tg **semesik*
 'omentum' > Ewk *saməsik*, Lm *hemzhék*, Neg *saməsik*, WrMc *semusu*
 id. ¶ STM II 142 || ???σ pKo **sam* 'amnion (caul) and placenta' > NKO
sam ¶ S QK #825, MLC 9O1 ¶ ≈ DQA #1962 (A **sēmela* 'fat', incl. Tg)
 || **D:** **čavar-* ~ **čamar-* ({^θGS} **s-*) v. 'smear, oil, rub in (oil, etc.)' (× N
 ***čap** 'clay, mud; to moisten', q.v. ffd.) > Tl *camuru* 'oil,
 any oily\unctuous substance', *camuru* v. 'smear, daub, rub as with
 oil', EpTl *samaru* 'ghee' ¶ D #2389, 2674b ◇ ≈ IS MS 348 (*^r*sä'mə*
 'to grease' > IE, A, ?K, HS) (did not distinguish between reflexes of N
 **sæmi* 'fat' and N **č'o'mh₂E* 'to smear' [q.v.]).

2064. (2?) ***šim** (= **sim* ?) 'name (as a sign of identity), the
 same' ([in IE] → 'one') > **HS:** S **šim-* 'name' > BHb **שָׁם** *šem* (pl. **שָׁמוֹת**
šē'mōt), Ph, Pun, Ug, OA, IA *šm*, BA +ppa. -**מְשָׁם** *šem-*, SmA {BH} *šam*,
 ChPA *šm*, *šum*, JA [Trg.] **שָׁם** *šem* / em. **אַמְּשָׁם** *šə'm-ā*, JEA *šə'mā* (cs.
šem ~ *šum*), Sr **שָׁמָּה** *šə'm-ā*, (+ppas., e.g. **שָׁמָּה** *šem-ī* 'my
 name'), NNEA {Mcl.} *šima*, i^o*šma*, Ar **شَمَّا** *?ism-*, Sb mS *šm*, Gz *səm*,
 Hrs {Jo.} *hem*, Mh {Jo.} *ham* (pl. Hrs/Mh *hemōtən*), Jb E/C *šum* (pl. **שִׁמְתָּה**
šim-tə), Sq {Jo.} *šem*, Ak *šum-u*, Eb {Krb} *šum-um* ¶ KB 1432-5, 1791-2, HJ
 1155-9, A #262O, OLS 44O-1, Lv. T II 491, Lv. IV 569-7O, Sl. 1153-4,
 Dlm. 427, Schlt. 2O9, Ln. 435, Br. 784-5, Mcl. 3O7, BGMR 126, Jo. H
 52, Jo. M 158, Jo. J 262, Krb. EG 4O, Krb. PE 1O7 || pB **?i-sim* 'name'
 (acc. to Pr. M IV-V 111, the B word is not an Arabism; **?i-* is a reg. px.

of masc. nouns) > Ah, Kb, Izd i-səm (pl. ismawən), Tmz ism (pl. ismawn), ETwl {GhA} esəm, Gd ism, Zng {Msq.} išmi, {Bs.} ꙗš̥ | *ašm 'name'; Kb, Tmz, Izd, Gd ✓ səm v. 'name' ¶ Fc. 1837, GhA 174, DI 777-8, MT 641-2, Mrc. 176, Lf. II #1464, Msq. Z 521, Bs. Z 147 || Eg fMK səmy ({JEG} ś my) v. 'report, make report, announce, proclaim' (< v. *'call, name') > Cpt Sd c̥mme səmme, B c̥emi semi v. 'name, appeal, accuse' ¶ EG IV 127, Fk. 227, Vc. 188, Crn. 152-3 || C *šim- ~ *šum- 'name' (= {E} *si/um-) > Bj {R} s̥im (df. 'ū-səm, 'ū-səm) id., -s̥im (1s p. a's̥im) v. 'name' || Ag *šən̥w, {Ap.} *sən̥w 'name' > Bln {R} šən̥w ~ šin̥, {Bnd.} sən̥w, Xm, Km šən̥w, Aw {CR} šur̥i id.; d. Bln {R} šiñ- 'nennen, benennen' || EC *s|šum̥- or *s|šu?m̥- 'name' > Sd su?ma, Hd summa id.; ??σ Rn s̥umá't'a brand; mark (to distinguish lifestock)', sum- v. 'brand (lifestock)' ¶ E PC #447, R WBd 2O1, R WB 328, Ap. IC 46-7, Gs. 295, PB 172, PG 269, Blz CL 179 || Ch {JS} *✓ s̥im, {Nw.} *s̥i/um, {Stl.} *sumi 'name': WCh {Stl.} *suma-na id. > Hs s̥unā (< *sum-na) id. | AG: Su {J} súm, Gmy, Cp s̥im, Kfr sum, Tal sw̥m, Ang {Hf.} súm, {Flk.} s̥um id. | BT {Stl.} *sum▽ id. > Krkr s̥im, Tng s̥um, Krf {Sch.} šímí | NrBc {Stl.} *s̥um▽n id. > Dir šin, P' {MSk.} s̥im, Cg šimàn | SBC: Tala s̥im, Buli s̥im, Wnd š̥im, Zar s̥um, Kry w̥usum, Jm {Csp.} sim, Grn {Jgr.} s̥in, Sy {Csp.} s̥um, Bg {Csp.} y̥isím id. | Ron: Klr {J} sim, DfB {J} súm, Fy {J} ku-súm id. || CCh *✓ ſ̥im id. > Tr {Nw.} ſ̥im, Hw ſ̥im | Mrg {Hf.} ſ̥im, Cb ſ̥ima, Klb {AD} ſ̥imì, {Mch.} ſ̥im, Br ſ̥ima, Wmd ſ̥imò | BB: FIJ, FIL ſ̥im, Gude l̥im | Mtk sb.: {Ro.}: Mkt ſ̥um, Mada ſ̥imé, Myñ ſ̥imi, Hrz ſ̥imáy, Mlk, Vm ſ̥imáy, Zlg ſ̥im; Gzg {Lk.} ſ̥imed, {Ro.} ſ̥imíd 'name' | Db {Lnh.} ſ̥imì id. | Ktk: Lgn {Bou.} ſ̥im, Bdm {Cfr.} h̥amù id. | McMgs: Mbara {Trn.} ſ̥im id. | McMs: Ms {J} sámna, sémna, Bnn š̥eme, ZmB {J} sám, {Sa.} sém, ZmD {KNC} šém, Azm {Pc.} siminà id. || ECh: Mb {J} sámè, Mjl semmî, Kjk simi, Brg {J} rósòm, Mkl {J} sùmá, Kwn ká-sám, sém, Ke {Eb.} sám, Smr {J} súmí, EDng {Fd.} s̥iñ, Bdy {AJ} seme, Mgm pl. {J} sémè id., Mkl {J} súmà, Nd D {J} h̥amí, Tmk him id. ¶ × Ch *sim- 'ear' < N *ś'i'm̥n▽ 'hear' in several Ch lgs (Gzg, Db, some Masa lgs., Tmk, Smr), where the word means both 'name' and 'ear' ¶ JI II 248-9, Stl. IF 9O, ChC, ChL, Hf. AG 2O, Csp. 27, 59, Jgr. 186, KNC 24, Ro. 296, Pc. 351, Blz EChWL #58; ffd. see AD ChCS #2O ¶ OS #23O4 (HS *süm: S, Ch), #2244 (*sim- 'call, speak': S, B, Eg *÷ Ch, LEC), Vc. 188 (Eg, S) || K ? *s̥ulm̥- > Sv: UB {TK} šwim ~ šüm, Ln {TK} šwim, L {Dn., TK} šum ~ {TK} šəm 'kind of, dialect' (mērma-mīrma šumi liyrāls

lēwknex 'they sing many kinds of songs') (unless Sv ←b- Aram šum 'kind' < S *šim- 'name'?') || Dn. s.v. šum, TK 825 || IE: NaIE *sem-/*som-/*sm̥- 'the same, one' (→ 'together'): [1] *som-/*sōm- 'the same, alone' > OI sa'ma- 'the same, equal, like, Av, OPrs hama- 'like, the same' || Gk ὁμός 'one and the same, like' || OIr -som, reinforcing pc. of the 3rd pers. (ys hé-som 'c'est lui'), W hw̥n 'this one' (< *som-dʰe) || L sim-ul 'at the same time', similis 'like, resembling' || Gmc *samaz 'same' > Gt (sa) sama, ON samr, OHG der samo, daž sama 'the same'; adv.: ON sem 'just as', Sw som 'as, where, when', OHG sama 'same as', AS same 'same', NE same || Sl *samъ 'oneself; the same' > OCS самъ samъ 'self, ipse; the most', Blg сам, SCr, Slv сāм, Cz, Slk, P sam 'self, ipse', alone', R сам 'self, ipse', 'самый 'the same, the most' || Arm նմն օմն 'some, certain, some one' || [2] *sem-/*sm̥- 'one' > Gk Mc e-me, Gk m. εἷς (< *sem-s), ntr. ἕν (< *sem) (gen. m.\ntr. ἕν-ός), f. μία (< *sm-iə); px. ἅ- / ἅ- 'one-, same-' (as in ἀδελφός 'brother' ← 'one from the same womb', ἅπαξ 'once') || Arm մի mi (< *sm-iyos, {EC} *sm-ih_A) 'one' || L sem-per 'always' || Tc: A sa-s, B se (*sem-s) 'one' m., A sām, B sana, somo f. || OI sa-'kr̥t, Av ha-karət 'once, all at once' || AdS of NaIE *som/*sm̥ 'together' (→ 'with') (< N *зæм₁? ∇ (or *з-?) 'together; to unite, to tie together' || P 9O3-5, AHDI 57, EI 499 (*so'mo-s 'same'), 399 (*sem-s ~ *sem ~ *sm-ih_A- 'united as one, one together'), M K III 411, 436-7, Glh. 539-40, FI 1, 471-2, II 390, WH II 538-41, Vn. S 169, Slt. 454, Fs. 409, Vr. 461-2, 470, Kb. 823, Schz. 244, OsS 740, Ho. 269-70, Ho. S 62, Frn. 753-4, Vs. III 551-2, StSS 592, KT 158, Wn. 415, Ad. 6758-9, Ad. H 15 ◇ u for *j in some lgs. (Ak, Aw, WCh, Sv, T, etc.) is due to the labializing infl. of *m.

2065. *sim ∇ 'be wet; moisture, liquid' > K: GZ *šim- 'wet; water' > G X sim-ur-i 'water', Mg šim-e 'wet, wetness' || Fn. KW-2 43, FS K 284-5, FS E 317 || HS: EC: Or {Grg.} sama 'become mouldy\spoiled\dirty', HEC {Hd.} *šam- 'be wet, rot' > Ged {Hd.} šam- 'be wet', šamo 'wet', Sd {Gs.} šam- 'be wet\humid\damp, rot', šama 'wet, damp, moist; corrupt, putrid' || Grg. 251, Brl. 366-7, Hd. 166, 259, 391, Gs. 300 || A: M *sime 'sap, juice, liquid' > WrM simē, HlM шим 'sap', Kl шим, {Rm.} šimə 'juice', Ord {Ms.} šime 'juice, sap; abundant milk (from an udder)', Mnr H {SM} šimē 'juice, sap', Dg {Mr.} šime 'juice', {T} šim id., 'succulence'; M → PCIWrMc simen, WrMc šimen ({Z} симэнъ)

{Z} 'moisture, humours of the body (from food and drink)', {Hr.} 'Feuchtigkeit; Säfte, Sekrete' || MED 7O9, KRS 673, Ms. O 618, SM 396, Mr. D 216, KW 357, Rm. M 38, Mls. 237 || But M *sime- 'swallow, suck out' and WrMc simi- 'suck' have to be preferably connected with N *ś|s̥ēHm_N 'to swallow' (q.v. ffd.) or result from a merger of both N etyma || D *cimm- ({θGS} *s|č-?) 'moist(ure)' > Tm cemmal 'water', Tu {D} śime, {Mnr.} šima 'cold, moistness', Tl cemma 'moisture', Ku žimbrī pīgi 'drizzle' || D #2539, Mnr. 6616, 649 ◇ ≈ Blz. 162 [#99] (D, K + err. the D and HS reflexes of N *SEm_LN, t_N 'cold', q.v.).

2066. *ś|s̥ēHm_N 'to swallow' > U: FU (att. in FV) *ś|s̥ēme 'drink, swallow, gulp' > F siemi (gen. siemen) n. 'drink, gulp, beverage', siemaise- v. 'gulp (down), swallow', Es seem (gen. seeme), sōōm (gen. sōōme) 'draught, gulp', 'Trunk, Schluck' | Er симе- śime-, Mk симо- śimə- v. 'drink' || UEW 773, Ker. II 142 || A: NaT *sim- (~ *sim-, *süm-) v. 'swallow' > MQp [CC] {Grøn.} sim- v. 'gulp, swallow' ('schlucken, verschlingen'), Osm {Rh.} süm- 'butt with the snout in sucking', Tk † süm- 'suck (butting with the snout)' (of lambs, etc.); NaT *simür- > OT simür- v. 'swallow in a single gulp', Brb, Nog, Qq simir-, Qzq cimip- śimir-, ET, Osm {Rl.} sümür- id., Az sümür- id., 'suck out', Tkm сымыр- ёümür- 'eat greedily', Uz simir- 'suck\drink slowly' || Cl. 829-3O, Rs. W 422, Grøn. 22O, Rh. 1O95, TrR 797, Rl. IV 737, 853, MM 318, BT 141, Äz. 276, TkR 599 || M *sime- 'swallow, suck out' > MM [MA] {Pp.} śime- v. 'absorb (a liquid)', WrM simi-, HlM шимэ- 'draw a liquid into the mouth, suck', Mnr H {SM} śzmu- 'suck', Mgl {Rm.} siminā 3s 'sucks' || Pp. MA 333, MED 7O9, KW 358, Rm. M 38, SM 374 || Tg *sime- 'suck' > SIn śimə- 'suck', Lm himat/ç- 'suck (a bone)', (with as.) çtmcə- 'suck', Orc simiči- 'suck, suck out', Ud simisi- id., 'suck sth. round (обсасывать)', Ul siminə-, Ork, Nn Nh simi- 'suck in, soak', PCMc, WrMc simi- 'suck, swallow'; but not here Tg *çime- ({DQA} *śime-) > Lm çtmbəl- 'percolate', Ul, Nn Nh čime- id., 'get soaked', WrMc śime- ({Z} ёимэ-) 'be absorbed' || STM II 87, 394, Z 61O-1, Hr. 796-8, Mls. 237 || pKo {S} *símij- v. 'soak, permeate' > MKo símíj-, NKo simi- || S QK #547, Nam 318, MLC 1O25 || pJ {S} *sím- 'soak' > OJ simm-, J: T śimi-, K sími-, Kg śimi- || S QJ #512, Mr. 751 || The vw. *-i- may be due to contamination with N *sim_N 'be wet; moisture, liquid' (q.v.) || ≈ DQA #2163 (A *śimi- 'suck, soak', incl. T, M, Ko, J) || HS: B *-suHm- > Ah {Fc.} suməm 'sucer

avec un bruit de lèvres', BMn {Bs.} **s**mūm 'suck, lick', Rif {Rn.} summ, Izd ssumm {Mrc.} 'suck' ¶ Fc. 1O83 || C: Ag {Ap.} *səŋʷ- v. 'swallow' > Bln/Dmb {R} səŋʷ-, Km {CR} ʃəɣʷ-, Aw suŋ- ¶ Ap. AV 19 ¶ Ag *-ŋʷ- < C, HS *-m- (near a vw. *u) reg. || WCh: Tng {J} sumbe 'suck' | NrBc {Stl.} *sψmđ- 'suck' > {Sk.} Wrj sánd-, Sir sándú, Cg zumđ- ¶ Stl. ZCh 253 [#78], Sk. NC 42, ChC || ?? Eg fMd s̄m 'v. 'swallow' (contamination with a derivative of s̄m 'swallow'?) ¶ EG IV 44-5, Fk. 214 ◇ ≈ IS MS 336 (*s̄em^H 'swallow': IE, A, U), Rs. UAW 41 (U, A) ◇ Unc. σ (⇒ IS MS): ÷ IE *semH- 'ladle out, pour (out)' (> Lt semiù / sémti 'draw, scoop\ladle out', Ltv smelù / smel̄t 'scoop\ladle out', OIr sem- 'pour out', {Vn.} verser, puiser', ? Gk γάμη 'water-bucket', F P 901-2, Vn. S 82-3) (IE *-H- reconstructed by him probably on the accentual ev. of Lt sémti) ◇ The N lr. is reconstructed on the ev. of the FU long vw. and the B vw. *u (regularly from *uH). The vw. u in B and in some WCh lgs. (Tng, Cg) may be due to the ass. infl. of *m (cp. u in the reflexes of N *s̄im∇ 'name' in different Ch lgs.).

2067. *s|š̄i'Xm∇ 'be dark, darken' > HS: WS *✓ š̄hm 'be black\dark' > JA [Trg.] ✓ š̄hm G {Lv.} 'bräunlich\dunkelrot sein', JA [Trg.] מְחִימָה šə'ḥīm / מְחִימָה šiḥ'mā 'dark, black', מְחִימָה šə'ḥūm id., JEA מְחִימָה šə'ḥem 'dark-coloured, glazed', MHb מְחִימָה šā'ḥūm 'dark-red', SmA š̄hw̄m 'brown', Sr ✓ š̄hm G 'be dusky\swarthy', Ar {Ln., Hv.} ✓ š̄hm G 'be\become black', {BK} saḥam- 'black; black colour', ḥasḥam- 'black', Jb ✓ š̄mm: ȝnš̄ha'mim 'be\become dark (in complexion)', š̄ha'mum, š̄ha'mim 'brown, dark (complexion)' ¶ Br. 769, Lv. IV 583, Lv. T II 468, Js. 1548-9, Sl. 1128, Tal 885-6, JPS 571, Ln. 1321, BK I 1O64, Hr. 312, Jo. J 261 || u *s|š̄im∇ > FP *sim∇ (~ *š̄im∇?) 'dark, rusty; rust' > pChr {Ber.} *simъ 'black' > Chr: L шем šem, шеме 'šeme 'black, dirty', Uf šemъ, šem, M śim, śime 'black', H шим šim id., шимъи šimə 'black, dark' | Prm sim- 'rust, rusty' > Z cim sim, Yz sim id. || ?? (with BF *h- < irreg. *š-) F himmeä, Δ himeä 'dim, obscure', Es Δ imi 'schwach glänzend, schimmernd' || pY {IN} *θem- 'black, dark' > Y K emū- 'black', em-bə- 'dark', em-il 'night'; OY: K {Bil.} emmel, NW {Lnd.} émil, Ch {Mat.} емило, {Boe.} эмыдьынъ id., K {Bil.} aimáivi, {Klc.} аминпъйа 'black' ¶ UEW 758-9, It. #4O2, Sm. 553 (FP *siimψ 'rust'), Ber. 52 [#325], MRS 699-7OO, 7O6. Ep. 15O, Ps. OT 12O, LG 258, SK 17, W EDW 13O, IN 92 (on pY *θ > modern Y zero), 22O, 299, 326, 33O-1 || a: M *°süme- > WrM süme-i-, HlM сүмий- v. 'appear'

dimly', WrM *süme-ger*, HlM *сүмгәр* 'obscure, indistinct, pale' ¶ MED 744 ◇ M *ü (for the expected *i) is probably due to the ass. infl. of *m.

2068. *śâym ∇ (-t ∇) '≈ hips, loins' > **HS:** WS (or SS^o) *^oś|sijumat- (or *θ-?) > Gz *samaṭ* (~ *samat*) 'loins, flanks, waist', Tgr *səmət* 'flank, side', Tgy *šəmti* ~ *šəməti* ~ *šənti* 'waist', Amh *šənt*, Har *šīnti* 'filet', ??σ Ar *samt-* 'basque de la cuirasse qui garantit le derrière; bas d'une robe qui dépasse celle de dessus; courroie qui tient à la selle', {Hv.} *sumt-* 'woollen garment'; EthS → Bln {R} *simit* ~ *simit* 'side' ¶ LG 503, LH 347, R WB 305, BK I 1138, Hv. 336 || **u:** FU *śâym ∇ (or * \hat{s} -) 'groin, loins' > Lp T {Gn.} *ši jms* (gen. *ši jmiz*) 'side' or 'groin' (F 'kuve'), {TI} 'Weiche' || Os: Nz *suyəm*, Kz *søyəm* 'groin (Leistengegend)', Sh *suyəm* 'hip, loin-cloth (Hüfte, Lendengürtel)', Kr *søyəm* 'waist', N {Páp.} *sōyəm* 'Lenden, Kreuz' ¶ Gn. 887, TI 552, KrT 820, Stn. D 1299, ≈ UEW 45 (FU *ćâym ∇ ~ *śâym ∇ ; AD: FU *ć- is untenable because pOs *s- is not from *ć-) || **a:** M *^osami 'groin' > WrM *sami* 'groin', HlM *самъ* id. ¶ MED 668 || ?φ **D** *ćon̄ta 'hip, waist' ({GS} *s-?) > Kn *son̄ta*, Tu *son̄ta*, on̄ta 'waist', Tl *tɔn̄ti* 'loins, hip' ¶ The cerebrality of *-n̄t- may be due to the infl. of N *y (palatality > D cerebrality) ¶ D #2840.

2069. *ś'i'm ∇ 'to hear' > **HS:** S *✓śm ∇ *G* 'hear' > BHb, Ph, Ug, Amr, OA, IA, JA, SmA, Sr, Eb ✓śm ∇ *G*, Sb omS šm^q *G*, Ar, Gz ✓śm ∇ *G*, Mh/Hrs/Sq {Jo.} ✓hm ∇ (Mh pf. hīma ~ hūma, Hrs pf. hōma, Sq pf. 'hūzmañ), Jb {Jo.} ✓śm ∇ (pf. śīñ), Ak inf. *G* šemū 'hear', Mn omS šm^q *G* 'witness' ¶ KB 1452-6, 1792-3, HJ 1164-6, A #2639, OLS 441, G A 32, Tal 909-11, Lv. IV 577-9, Sl. 1158-60, Br. 686-7, BGMR 127, MA 82, Ln. 1427-30, LG 501-2, Jo. M 157-8, Jo. H 51, Jo. J 262, Krb. EG 15 || B *s ∇ m(m) 'ear' > Gd {Lf.} ē-səm (pl. səmmən), Awj {Prd.} 'i-səm (pl. smīwən) 'ear', d. *ta-sūm(m)- ∇ t 'pillow' (like Fr oreiller ← oreille, R под-уш-ка 'pillow' [lit. 'under-ear-er']) > Kb ṭa-sum-ṭa 'oreiller, coussin', Izn {Rn.} tsumṭa (pl. ṭosamtawin), Rif {Rn.} tsummat id., Nf tsum'tā, Skn 'tsümti, Awj ta'śūmt 'pillow', ≈ *a-sāmū > Ah asāmu 'oreiller'; → Ah sūmat, Kb ssumat 'avoir\utiliser pour oreiller' ¶ Fc. 1834, Lf. II #1465, Prd. 164, 170, Di. 781 || d.? Eg fP s̄m ∇ ({EG} śm ∇) v. 'hear', ?? Eg fP s̄m ({EG} śm) 'achten, respektieren' ¶ The loss of * ∇ needs investigating ¶ EG IV 120, 144, Fk. 229 || Ch {Stl.} *sim- 'ear' > CCh *śim 'ear' > Tr {Nw.} ḡim, Hw {ChL} śima-ra, Gbn/G'nd {ChL}

sim̄a-ta id. | Mrg {Kr.} sim̄i, BuP sim̄, KlB {AD, Mk.} x̄imi, H1d/Wm {ChL} x̄imi, Cb {ChL} s̄sim̄a id. | HgN sim̄e, HgK sim̄, HgG sim̄wu, Kps sim̄y | Gude {Hsk.} l̄smá, {IL} lim̄n, Gudu {IL} sim̄, FlJ ž̄sm̄n id. | Lmn {Lk.} s̄sm̄n id. | Mdr {Eg.} sim̄a, Glv {Rp.} h̄imia, Gdf {IL} sim̄a, Dgh {Frk.} sm̄e id. | Suk {IL} s̄sm̄aj 'ear' (and s̄am-ni 'hear') | Mtk {Sb.} ž̄mbād, pMM {Ro.} sim̄ay > {Ro.}: Mkt s̄um, Mada sim̄e, Myn sim̄i, Vm sim̄ay, Zlg ž̄sm 'ear', as well as Mofu {Brr.} s̄um̄ay, {Ro.} š̄im̄ay, Gzg D {Lk.} sim̄ed, {Ro.} š̄im̄id id. | Db {Lnh.} ž̄imi, Kola {Sb.} ž̄imi id. | Gdr {Mk.} s̄um id. | Ktk: Lgn {Bou.} sim̄ id. | Msg {Mch.} x̄ema id. || ECh: Kwn M {J} s̄emd̄i id. | Kbl {Cp.} s̄am̄i, Ll {Grgs.} s̄um̄a id. | Smr {J} s̄umi, Nd D {J} h̄am, Tmk {Cp.} him id. | Mb {J} s̄um̄m̄o, Mjl sum̄amo 'ear']? Ch {Stl.} *ku-sim̄- 'ear' > WCh: SBC *kusmi (< *ku-sim̄-?) > Bg kumsi, Grn kʷansi, Kir/Tala/Zar k̄sm, Buli kum id. | Hs kúnne id. | AG *kʷom > Ang kʷom, Su/Cp kom, Gmy {Fp.} kum id. | Bl k̄umō, Tng {J}, Dr, Ngm kumo, Krkr, Bele k̄umó id. | Wrj kumáj, Kry k̄um, Dir, Jmb k̄umá, My kumáj id. | Sha kum, Fy humù, Df h̄wám id. || CCh: Ms {J} húmná, ZmD {KCN} húm, ZmB {J} húm 'ear', Azm {Pc.} húmbá 'ear, leaf', húmbá 'hear' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} kó-sónj 'ear' ¶ Stl. IF 9O, JI II 114-5, J T 1O5, ChC, ChL, KNC 1O, Ro. 242, Pc. 217, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'ear' || K *sem̄- / *sm̄- 'hear, be heard' > OG sem̄- / sm̄-, G sm̄- id., Mg sim̄- ~ s̄sm̄-, Lz sim̄-, Sv sə̄m̄- / sm̄- id., Sv UB lisme msd. 'be heard; hear sth.'; d. *sm̄-en- / *sm̄-in- 'listen' > OG, G smen̄- / smin̄-, Mg simin̄-, Lz simin̄-, sibin̄-, Sv sm̄in̄- (Sv UB {GP} msd. lism̄ne) id., Sv LB {TK} sə̄män ~ sə̄man n. 'hearing, attention' ¶ K 164-5, K² 163-4, 167, FS K 267-8, FS E 296, Chik. 314, GP 168, TK 713 || u: FU (att. in Os) *°sim̄(-∇1, -∇]-) '≈ be heard' > Os Kz s̄im̄as̄-, Os Sn s̄im̄all̄e- 'zu hören sein' ¶ Stn. D 1342.

2070. *s̄äm̄₁∇₂g∇ '(lock of) hair, fine hair' > HS: SES *✓š̄my > Mh š̄ōm̄y, Jb E š̄ūy 'fine hair shed by camel' ¶ Jo. M 395 || Eg P/BD sm̄b 'behaarter Teil des Kopfes; Haare am Kopf' ¶ N *g > Eg ȝ (is it regular?) ¶ EG IV 122 || C: HEC ({Hd.} *š̄ōmba) > Brj {Ss.} 'š̄omi, {Hd.} š̄oma, š̄omi, Hd š̄omba, Sd š̄ōbba 'pubic hair'; Af {Hw.} sammo 'pubic region' || SC {E} *sēem̄- 'hair' > Iqr {MQK} sēem̄i 'a hair', sēēn̄w 'hair, fur', Kz sāamayo 'body and limb hair', Asa sēemuk 'hair; feathers', {Fl.} sému-g 'headdress, hairdress' || ??? Bj {R} š̄imbēhāni ~ š̄imbāni, {Rop.} š̄ambə'hāni 'eyebrows' (× N *č̄i'm̄∇ 'eyelid; to blink [eyes]' [q.v.]) ¶ Ss. B 174, E SC 15O, MQK 92, Hd. 75, R WBd 215 (equates Bj with Bl š̄ebkā 'hair'), Rop. 238 || NrOm {Blz} *s̄∇m(m)- 'hair' > Ym {Wdk.}

sómā 'hair', {Lm.} somà id. (but {C} somā 'head'), She {CR ← Mnt.} som 'hair (capelli)' ¶ Wdk. BJ 133, C SE III 83, CR NGF 623, Lm. Y 373 || Ch mt. *s¹ñH²m- > WCh {StL.} *suHim- > Hs sūmā 'growth of hair on the head' | BT: Ngm {Mk.} s̄m 'hair', Tng {J} sayūm 'beard' || CCh: FlJ {ChL} s̄mč̄n, FIM {ChL} š̄mk̄i, FIB {ChL} š̄mk̄i, Gudu {ChL} š̄mk̄i 'hair' | Suk {IL in ChC} šúmbùt id. | Bnn ūmítà, BnnM ūmit 'hair', Azm {Pc.} ūmítá 'feather(s)' ¶ JT 141, Ba. 958, Mk. II 282, Pc. 211 ¶ Blz. OLBP #47, OS #228O, ~ Sk. HCD 237, Tk. I 74-5, Tk. SCC 83 [#12.13] ||

U: FU {UEW} *säñe 'hair; to plait hair' (→ v. 'plait') > F sää 'fiber, filament; end (of thread)', (?) säie id. | Prm *si > Z, Vt cni si 'hair' || ObU *sēy ~ *sōy {< **sēyw?} 'curl, tress of hair', {Ht.} *sēy- ~ *sōy- {< **sēyw-?} v. 'plait' > pVg: [1] *säy 'Locke, Haarflechte, Zopf' > Vg: T säw, LK/MK säy (säy-ān 'their curl\tress'), UK/NV säy, SV/LL sā, UL/Ss say; [2] pVg *säy- v. 'plait' > Vg: T säw-, LK/MK/UK/SV säy-/säy-, NV säy-/säw-, LL säy-/sā-, UL/Ss say-; pOs: [1] *söy 'tress of hair' > V/Vy sōy, Ty sāyw, Y sāw, D/K/Nz/Kz/O sew id.; [2] pOs *söy- v. 'plait' > V/Vy sōy-, Ty sāyw-, Y sāw-, D/K/Nz/Kz/O sew- | Hg sző- / szöv-, Δ sū- / sūv- v. 'weave, spin' ¶ UEW 471-2, LG 254, Ht. #571, MK 509-10 ||

A: *säña 'hair lock' > M: [1] *sañna > WrM sañna, Kl {KRS} sañna 'forelock of a horse', WrO sañnā, sañnai 'tuft, forelock'; [2] M *sañmay > WrM {Rm.} sañmai, Kl Ö {Rm.} sañmā ~ sañmā ~ sañmā 'Haarzotte auf dem Stirn oder dem Scheitel (der Pferde\der Menschen)'; [3] MM {MA} sañziq 'locks, curls' ¶ KW 313, MED 672, KRS 441, Krg. 385, Pp. MA 318 || Tg *señye(n) 'beard, gill' > Ul sənəm bi ~ sənəm bi 'bearded', sənə ~ sənə 'gill', Lm O həñnən 'fringe of cloth (бахрома)', Lm həñnə, Ewk sənəñə, Neg sənəñə, Orc sənə, Ud sənə, Ork sənə, Nn Nh sənyə 'gill', WrMc señele 'gill, cock's comb' ¶ STM II 143 || ??σ T {TL} *sañ-ak, *sañ-it 'a place on the neck under the jaw' > Alt sañat ~ sañit 'a place under the ear at the end of the jaw; jaw, neck', {Ra.} 'gill', VTt sañaq, Nog sañqaq, Qq sayaq 'gill', Tlt {Ra.} sāt 'jugular vein', Tv sāt 'carotid artery', Tf sāt 'cervical artery' ¶ Tl 222, Ra. 226 ¶ SDM97 (A *señ(∇)m∇ 'fringe, hair lock'), DQA #965 (A *señaloju id.)

¶ The vw. *a of the first syll. in M and T is probably due to v. harmony.

2071. *s¹ñm²ñgE ~ *s¹ñgmE 'enter, penetrate' > HS: S *°✓š̄sȳm > Ar ✓sȳm G 'inivit (puellam)', ps. pf. suyima 'ventrem plenum habuit', 'avoir le ventre plein' ¶ Fr. II 32O, BK I 1095 || C: Bj {R} š̄um-

scv. 'come home, enter; penetrate', {Rop.} ʃūm- 'enter, interfere' → caus. Bj {Rp.} ʃūm-s- vt. 'enter, put in', Bj N {R} ʃum-s-, Bj R {R} ʃum-š- 'hineinführen' ¶ Rop. 238, R WBd 215 || ? Ch: Mdr {ChL} s̄msa 'come' || SBc: Kir K/L {Sh.} ʃin 'come!' ¶ ChL, Sh. SB 34 || u *sōne 'enter, creep in, penetrate' > Lp: OSw {LÖ} suogne 'intrare', N {Fri.} suogna-/suonja- ~ suodnja-/suonja- vi. 'smyge, smætte ind i', {N} sudnjā / -nj- 'creep into (with difficulty) (e.g. creep into a cave)', L {LLO} suotnja ~ suokna- 'durch eine Öffnung hindurchpassieren', K {Gn.} suoanñe-, Nt {Ti} suanña- vi. 'enter' | ? Er sova-, Δ su'va-, Mk su'va- 'enter, go in' || ObU {Ht.} *θ̄v̄y- (~ ? *θ̄v̄yā) id. > pVg {Ht.} *tūw- > Vg: T tō- ~ tōy-, LK tūw-, UK tuw-, P/LL tū- id.; pOs *fāja-/*fōj- ({Hl.} *f̄āja-/*fāj-) id. > Os: V lāja- / lōj-, Vy yāja-, Ty/Y fāj-, fāja-/fājʷ-, D/K tāj-, Nz tōj-, Kz fōj-, O lāj- id. | OHg av- 'eindringen, sich hineinnehmen, einwachsen'; → OHg avat- 'eindringen lassen; einsegnen' > Hg avat- 'initiate (so.) into' || Sm *t̄c̄üy- 'enter, go in' > Ne T тю-сь, Ne T O {Lh.} t̄ü-ś, Ne F {Lh.} c̄ū, Ng {Mik.} t̄dī, En {Ter.} 3s aor. چعا, Kms {KD} 1s prs. šūíem || YK {Krn., Nik.} šog- 'enter', {Krn.} ft. šoxteye 'I shall enter' ¶ UEW 446-7, Coll. 4, Db. OS xxix, xxxii, Sm. 548 (FU *sōoni- 'enter' > FP *sōoni-/*suona-, Ugr *θān̄i-), Fri. 688-9, N III 586, TI 342, Ker. II 147, LG 266, Ht. #144, MF 1O1, EWU 61, Jn. 167, AD YN, Krn. JJ 284, Nik. RJS 6, Ang. 229 || A: M: [1] M *°simgū- > WrM simgū- 'creep in, sneak in'] [2] M *singu- ~ *sunigu- v. 'dive' > WrM singu- ~ ʃingu- ~ {Rm.} sunigu-, HlM шүнгә-, Kl Ö {Rm.} sunga- ~ šunga- 'dive' ¶ MED 711, KW 337, 368 ¶ The variant *singu- with an unexpected *i may be due to the infl. of *singe- 'set' (of a celestial body), 'be absorbed into sth.' (F N *śiŋkU 'sink, fall') || NaT (↔ M ?): Nog süŋü- 'dive', Qzq, Qq süŋü-, VTt Δ {Rs.} səŋgb- 'dive, plunge' ¶ Rs. W 436, KrkR 596 || D (in CD) *cōŋk- 'enter' > Klm sōŋg-, Nk sōŋ- id., Prj ćōŋg- 'pierce' (of a thorn), Gdb sōŋg- 'be pierced into', sōŋ- 'pierce, penetrate' ¶ D #2676(a) ◇ In some descendant lgs. the phonetic history is likely to have been: *-mg- > *-ŋg- > *-ŋ-or: *-gm- > *-ŋ- (as.) > *-ŋ-. The long vw. in D suggests that the nasal cns. was preceded by a lr. (N *s'ōŋgE) ◇ In many lgs. there may have been (mutual?) infl. of N *s'ōŋm, ŋ, gE ~ *s'ōŋgE and N *śiŋkU '↑' (q.v.), so that it is hard to distinguish between their respective reflexes.

2071a. *Som ∇ d ∇ (> *Sond ∇ ??) 'sand, small stone', (?) 'dirt' > IE: NaIE * \circ sa h_1 ond h - and *sam h_1 d h - 'sand' > Gmc *sanða- > ON sandr, OHG sant, MHG, MDu sant ~ sand, NHG Sand, OSx sand, OFrs, AS sond 'sand', NE sand (and Gmc → F santa id.); there is a pGmc variant with *m: MHG samp t , NGr B/Trl samp, Yid טַמְאָת zamd 'sand', apparently related to Gk ἄμμος 'sandy soil', but the cns. μ in ἄμμος may be due to the infl. of ἄμμος 'sandy ground' and ψάμμαθος 'sea-sand' (Güntert on the latter: Reimwortbildung, interaction between two originally different roots); the pGmc and Gk words with *m suggest pIE **sam h_1 d h - ¶ KM 623, FI 84, Gnt. R 119-20 || A: pJ *súná 'sand' > J: Tk súna, K súna, Kg súna, Ns šíná, Sh šínà, Y čínáñ id. ¶ SDM97 s.v. A *sun ∇ || HS: B: [1] * \circ ✓smd > Ntf asəmdəd (pl. isəmdəd) 'pierre sur laquelle on aiguise les couteaux' | [2] *✓swn > Nfs tasawant 'pierre à fusil', Sw {La.} tasowənt 'e small stone' ¶ Dray 371, La. S 277 || Ch: WCh: Buli {Sh.} šínes 'sand' || ECh: Skr {Lk.} sínē, {Sx.} sín-jórr, Jg {J} šeń, Brg {J} sánó, Mu {Lk.} sínòk, {J} sínìyó, Mjl sínó, Kwn {Mch.J} g̃síñ, Smr {J} g̃awsíñ, Nd D {J} kúsayñ, Tmk {Cp.} k̃səñ, EDng {Fd.} g̃ósíne 'sand' ¶ JI II 281, Blz EChWL #69 || ??σ U: FP *sonta 'dirt' > F sonata, Es sõnnik 'dung, manure' | Chr: H šandþ, B/Uf šondo id., 'urine' | Vt S zud 'black mud (used for dying)' ¶ UEW 764-5, Ep. 146 ◇ If the FU root is a valid cognate (in spite of the semantic distance), it suggests a pN *s- ◇ B *✓swn, the WCh root and pJ *súná are likely to have lost the N dental stop ◇ Alternatively, it may be supposed that there was lexical interaction between two different etyma: N *S ∇ n h_1 d ∇ and *S ∇ m ∇ d ∇ .

2072. *Sämir ∇ 'fat' ('Fett') > IE: ≈ NaIE *smeru- 'fat, grease' ('Schmer, Fett') (× N *maRi ∇ or *‘maři ∇ 'animal fat' [q.v.]) > Gmc *smerwa- > ON smiqr, smør 'butter, fat', Dn smør, Sw smör, NNr sm(j)ør 'butter', OSx smero, OHG sméro (gen. smerawes) 'fat' ('Schmer, Fett, Schmiere'), NHG Schmer 'pork fat, grease, suet', Gt smaírþr n. 'fat', AS smeoru (gen. smeo(r)(u)wes) 'fat, grease, suet, tallow', NE smear n.; Gmc {Wht.} *smerwyān 'to spread grease on', {AD} 'to anoint, to smear' (× N *merūq ∇ 'to smear' [q.v.]) > ON smyrja, smyrva 'bestreichen, salben', Sw smörja, Dn smøre, NNr smyrja 'to smear, to anoint', OHG smirwen 'salben, schmieren; to fatten', NHG schmieren 'to smear', AS smierwan 'to anoint', NE smear || OIr smi(u)r (gen. smera), NIr smior, W

mer 'marrow' ||| Gk μύρον 'sweet-oil, sweet juice of plants, ointment, balsam', μυρίζω, σμυρίζω 'rub with ointment\unguent, anoint', ? σμύρις 'emery powder (used by lapidaries for rubbing and polishing)' (× Gk μύρρα 'myrrh' ← S [*murr- id. > OCn, Ak murru, BHb מָרָה mor, Ug mr, Aram מָרָה mū'rā, etc.]) ||| Lt P/Z smársas 'fat' n., esp. 'fat \ tallow of poor quality' (× Lt smársas 'smell, stench') ||| Tc B șmare 'oil', {EI} 'oily, freasy' ¶ WP II 69O-1, P 97O-1, EI 194 (*'smeru-), Vn. S 142, Fs. 438, F II 273-4, 751, Ch. 723-4, 1O28-9, Vr. 52O-1, AHDI 62, Sw. 154, 156, Ho. 3O2, Ho. S 68, Kb. 917-8, OsS 832-4, KM 663-5, ≈ Frn. 841, Wn. 456, Ad. 668, Ad. H 36 ¶ × N *ć'ō'mh₂E 'to smear' (q.v.)

|| A: T *sämiř 'fat (fett)' (< *sämīr-y-) > OT sämiz, MQp semiz, MOg XIII sämüz, Chg sämiz, Tk semiz 'fat (fett)', Tkm семиз θеміз 'fat', thick' (of an animal), ET, Uz, Qmq semiz, VTt симез simъz, Bsh һимең һимъз, Xk simis, Alt {BT} semis 'fat', Qzq семіз semiz, Yk ämis 'fat', Alt/Tlt/Kü {Rl.} sämis 'fat, fattened', Nog, Qq, Qrg semiz 'fat, fattened, stout', Chv самар samъr adj. 'fat, thick'; NaT *sämri- (or *sämrü-) 'fatten, grow fat' > OT {Cl.} sämrī-, MQp semir- id., Chg sämir- id., become thick\stout', Tk semir-, Tkm семре- θемре-, ET {BN} semrū-, semir-, Uz, Qmq semir-, VTt симер- simъr-, Bsh himъr-, Qzq семір- semir-, Alt {BT} semir-, Alt/Tlt/Shor {Rl.} sämir- 'fatten, grow fat', Nog, Qq, Qrg semir-, Xk simir- 'fatten, grow stout' ¶ Cl. 83O, Rs. W 4O9, Rl. IV 5O9-11, Pek. 257, Jeg. 177 ¶ The pT alternation *-ř / *-r- may be accounted for by a pre-T nominal sx. *-y- in *sämīr-y > *sämiř || D *ćamṇr-, {GS} *samṇr- v. 'smear' > Kn savaru v. 'rub in, apply to (as water\oil\medicine\ashes)', Tl camuru v. 'smear' ¶ D #2389, GS 1O8 (on D *-m- > Kn -v-) ◇ NaIE ≈ *smeru- and ET semrū- bring to mind the idea of a N *-ū (*Sämirū), but the basis for such assumption is too narrow to be decisive ◇ This N etymon may go back to some cd. including N *śæmi 'fat' (q.v.) with a N sx. *-rṇ (or a second component of a N cd., from which only the syll. *rṇ has survived).

2073. (2?) *SEm₁ṇtṇ 'cold' > HS *✓sm̥t > B *✓smđ 'be cold' > Awj {Par.} ✓šmt, Ah, ETwl, Gh, Tmz {MT}, Izd, Rif, Izn, BSn, Shl, Mz, Wrg, Ntf, Gd ✓smđ 'be cold', Kb ismid 'être froid', Sll iṣmid id., aşəmmiđ 'le froid', Zng {TC} šämmyuđ 'froid' ¶ AiM 254-5 [#15.1.], Fc. 1835, PrGG 299, Mrc. 1233, Dl. 778-9, Ds. 135, Dl. 778-9, Rn. 317-8, MT 642-3, Dray 228-9, Par. 166, TC D 8, Nic. 373, Bs. MS I 121 || Ch *✓smđ > WCh: NrBc: Cg {Sk.} šidān, P' {MSk.} sàndí 'cold', Dir {Sk.}

sùmbùdù id., Mbr kʷi šindi 'harmattan' | SBc: Plc {Sch.} šimtu, Ds Bn {Sch.} šimki, Zar GL {Sch.} šimda 'cold' || CCh: Lgn {Nc.} súmade 'Wind, Kälte', {JI ← Lk.} sámádž, sámádž 'wind', Glf {Lbf.} šama 'cold' | Gzg D {Lk.} himed 'wind' | Gdr {Srp.} semiá id. | Ms {Mch.} síme, ZmD {Srp.} shimbéde, ZmB {Sa.} símbède, Azm {Pc.} símet-ná 'wind' ¶ JI I 37 and II 78-8O, ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 178 [#308], Lk. L 118, Pc. 35O-1 ¶ Gr. LA 54, AiM l.c. || A: M *°semtere > WrM semtere- 'freeze out, be destroyed by frost' (unless ← WrM {Kow.} semtere- 'se briser, se casser' < N *š|še,y,m,∇,t,A 'tear, break' [q.v.]) || ? D: Tu {Mnr., D} sima 'cold, chill', {D} simma adj. 'cold'; (× D *čim∇ 'moist, wet' < N *sim∇ 'be wet; moisture, liquid') Tu {D} síme, {Mnr.} šima 'cold, moistness'; not here Tm cemmal 'water' and other reflexes of D *čim∇ 'moist, wet' (↔ Blz.) ¶ D #2539, Mnr. 6616, 649 ¶ The absence of the expected T-cns. (resulting from metanalysis?) is puzzling ◇ ≈ Blz. DA (equated D with HS + unc. the D and K reflexes of N *sim∇ '↑').

2074. (2?) *š|še,y,m,∇,t,A 'tear, break' > U: FU *š|sentä- v. 'tear, tear off, break' > Er sínde-, Mk síndə- vt. 'break, break off, break to pieces' || OHg, Hg szed- vt. 'pluck, pick (lesen, pflücken)', (→) 'gather, collect' ¶ UEW 473, Ker. II 142, EWU 14O2, MF 574 || A: M *°semtere > WrM semtere- {Kow.} 'se briser, se casser', ? {MED} 'lose hair\wool\feathers\skin' ¶ MED 687, Kow. 1358 || ?σ IE: NaIE *snejt- (mt. from *sejnt-) 'cut, harvest' > Gt sneipan 'to harvest', ufsneipan '屠宰, to slaughter', ON sníða 'to cut, to mow', Sw snida 'to carve', AS snīðan 'to cut into, to hew (stone), to cut off, to amputate, to cut (hair, corn), to cut into pieces', OHG snīdan 'to cut, to mow', OSx snīthan, NHG schneiden 'to cut' || Sl *snětъ > Uk čít 'block (of wood), log', OP sniat, Cz MS/L snět 'trunk of a tree', Cz snět m. 'small tree, small block of wood' || ?σ OIr π snéid 'petit, bref' ¶ WP II 695-6, P 974, Vn. S 149, KM 669, Fs. 44O, Vr. 524, Kb. 921, Schz. 263, OsS 838, Ho. 3O4, Ho. S 68, Ma. CS 461.

2075. *š'e'n∇ 'long time', 'old' > HS: S *'šan-at- 'year' > OAk šantu(m) ~ šantu(m), Ak šattu(m), Ph št (pl. šnt), Pun SATH, Mb št, Amn pl. šnt, BHb שָׁנָה šā'nā (a bf. from pl. שָׁנִים šā'n-īm for the phonetically reg. **šat), Ug šnt, (AkSc) {Hnr.} šanatu (a bf. similar to Hb šā'nā), OA cs. šnt, pl. abs. šnn, IA šnh, cs. šnt, št, BA cs. שָׁנָת šanat, pl. שָׁנִין šanin, JA [Trg.] נָשָׁנָה ša'nā, אַתָּשָׁנָה šat'tā,

SmA šnh, Sr abs. **ša'na**, em. **ša<na>ttā**, Ar **sanat-** id. ¶ GB 850-1, 929, KB 1478-9, 1784, HJ 1170-5, Hnr. 182, OLS 447-8, Tal 914, Lv. T II 499, 521, Js. 1604, 1636, Br. 789, BK I 1154 || Eg fMKL **sñf** 'last year' (with the deictic pc. -f) ¶ EG IV 162, Fk. 231 || Ch: ? CCh: Tr {Nw.} **sóni**, Pdl **sóna** 'year' (unless loans from Ar) ¶ ChC, ChL || possibly also S *^o✓ **wθn** 'old' (if from HS **✓ **wčn** < inactivity px. ***w-** + px. ***t** + ***šn**) > BHb **yā'sān** 'old', Ug **yθn** 'viejo, rancio', ✓ **yθn** G 'be\become old' ¶ KB 427, OLS 546 || Ch {AD} *✓ **ws₁n** 'year' (***s₁**, acc. to AD ChCS) > WCh *✓ **(w)sñ** > Ngm **sání** | NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj **wásñnná**, Kry **wásñn**, Sir **wásñnuwá**, Jmb **wásun**, Dir **ášin** ¶ IE: NaIE ***sen(o)-** 'old; former' > OI 'sana- 'old, ancient', Av **hana-** 'old, old person' || Arm **հին** **hin** (gen. **հնոյ** **hnoy**) 'old, worn, decayed' || Gk **ένος** 'belonging to the former of two periods, last year's', **ένη καὶ νέα** 'the old and new (day)', sc. 'the last day of the month (that consisted of two halves, one belonging to the old, the other to the new moon)', **δι-ένος** 'two years old' || L **senex** (gen. **sen-is**) 'old' (of a person), cmpr. **senior** 'elder, old', **sene-ō / senere** 'be old', **senescō** 'grow old', **senatus** 'council of elders, the Senate' || OIr **sen** 'old', Brtt {RE} ***senos** 'old' (of a person) > MW, W, MBr **hen** id., Br **hen**, Crn **hēn** 'old, ancient' || Gt **sineigs** 'πρεσβύτης, πρεσβύτερος' ('old'), **sinista** 'πρεσβύτερος, eldest', L (← Brgn) [AmM] **sinistus** 'sacerdos apud Burgundios omnium maximus', OFrk **sini-skalkus** 'the eldest house servant', ON **sina**, NNr Δ **sina**, Sw Δ **sena** 'last year's grass' || Lt **sēnas** 'old, worn, ancient', **sēnis** 'old person', **seniaī** 'long ago, a long time ag, for ages' || NaIE ***seno-mātēr** 'grandmother' > OIr **sen-máth(a)ir**, Lt **sen-mótē** id. ¶ P 907-8, EI 409 (***seno-s** 'old'), M K III 426, F I 522-3, WH II 313-4, Vn. S 83-4, RE 117, Ern. 316-7, Hm. 374, ECCE 255, Slt. 69, Fs. 422-3, Vr. 476, Frn. 775, Kar. II 169-71 || D (in GnD) ***čeŋħ-** 'old' (of a person) > Gnd **sēnāl** & **senāl** 'aged, old man, senior', Kui **senda** 'first-born, eldest' ¶ D #2808 ◇ But U ***səŋk** 'old' (of a person) (UEW 448, Coll. 71) probably belongs to N ***zəŋE** (or ***zəŋ̚E**) 'old' rather than here (because of its vw.).

2076. ***śi|ūñi(-k)** (= ***śi|ūñū?**) 'dark, night' > R: M ***söni** 'night' > MM [MA, IsV, IM, LV] {Pp., Lg.}, MMgl {Iw.} **söni**, WrM **söni**, HlM **шəнə**, Ord {Ms.} **söni**, Kl {KRS} **cə**, {Rm.} **sō**, **sōn**, Mnr {SM, T, Pot.} **söni**, Mgl {Rm.}, Dg {T} **süni** id. ¶ Pp. MA 326, 446, Pp. L III 59, Lg. VMI 65, MED 732, Rm. M 39, KW 335, KRS 457, SM 353, T 360, T DgJ 191,

Iw. 133 || Tg *siŋk- 'dark night, dark' > Ewk siŋkā, siŋkāw 'dark night, darkness of the night', Lm hīŋku 'dark night', Lm A siŋku, Neg siŋkəltən 'darkness', Lm hīŋkəltən 'northern side, shady side', Ork sikkəw 'dark night; it is dark' ¶ STM II 91 ¶ DQA #2056 (A *s|zjono 'night') || ► (in CD) {gKR and An.} *čintt- 'evening, night' > Klm čintevelā 'evening', sittena-čluñ 'in the evening', Nkr sítte 'evening', Prj čitta 'night' ¶ D #2528, An. SG 127, KR 14-69, GS 127 [#331] (*čint-) || HS: Eg: BD/RT s̄nk 'dark', MK {Fk.} s̄nk.t 'darkness' ¶ EG IV 175, Fk. 234 || WCh: NrBc: Cg {Sk. in ChC} s̄in, {Sk. NB} s̄in 'night', ? P' {Gw.} s̄i-i, {MSk.} ci 'night' | SBc: Kir {ChL} suŋrì, Bg {Csp.} zondi' 'evening' ¶ Hardly here: BT: Grm {Sch. ← Sh.} žinni, Krf {Sch.} žinkú, Dr {ChL} žun 'black' | SBc: Ds B {Sh.} z̄ini, Ds D {Sh.} z̄i, Ds Bn {Sh.}, Zar L {Sh.} z̄i, Dw {Sh.} z̄i, Sy {Csp.} z̄i, {Car.} z̄i, Sy Zk {Sh.} žžə, Zar GL {Sh.} žinjì 'black' ¶ ChC, ≈ Stl. ZCh 179 [#313] (*s̄i, H, ni 'night, be black' > NrBc + qu. BT and SBc words for 'black'), Sch. BTL 136, Sk. NB 17, MSk. 208, Sh. SB 42, Csp. 42, 49 ◇ Tg and D *i may go back either to N *i or to *ü, while M and SBc point to a labialized vw. of the first syll., but the quality of the M labialized vw. (*ö for the expected *ü) remains puzzling ||| N *ši|üñū may underly some roots for 'sleep, dream' in HS, K, and IE: HS: [1] HS *✓ wsñ v. 'sleep' > CS *✓ wsñ v. 'sleep', *wa'sin- 'asleep' > BHb, Ug ✓ yšn G 'sleep, fall asleep', Ar ✓ wsñ G v. 'être endormi d'un profond sommeil, être dans son premier somme, sommeiller', {Hv.} 'sleep deeply; slumber', BHb يَسِنْ يَأْسِنْ 'asleep, sleeping', Ar وَسِنْ wasin-un 'qui est profondement endormi, qui est dans son premier somme', BHb يَسِنْ يَأْسِنْ sttpf. G 'asleep', Ar وَسِنْ wasina pf. G 'était profondément endormi' ¶ KB 427, OLS 542, BK II 1538-9, Hv. 870 || Ch *✓ wsñ 'sleep' > CCh: Lgn {Lk.} wísàñ, MsgP {Mch.} wesen 'sleep' || WCh: ? Wrj {Gw.} ussauna 'sleep', ? P' {MSk.} (ndur) ášin 'lie down, sleep', {IL} ndz̄w ašiñ, Dir {Sk.} yísá, {IL} yísáh 'sleep' ¶ ChL, ChC, Lk. L 125, MSk. 165, Sk. NB 40 ||| [2] S *ši'n-at- n. 'sleep' > BHb שִׁנָּה še'nā, Yd šnh id., BA še'nā* n. 'sleep' (att. +ppa.: שִׁנְתָּה šin't-ēh 'his sleep'), BA em. אַשִׁינְתָּא šinə't-ā, SmA šynh, Sr شِنَّة em. šenə't-ā, Sb tnS šnt, Ak šittu, Eb šit-t-um (= {Frnz.} šittum), Mh/Hrs {Jo.} šənēt, Jb C {Jo.} 'šo'nut, Jb E 'šu'nut (misprinted in Jo. M as ωύνυτ) n. 'sleep', Ug šnt id., 'dream', Ar أَشِنَّ sinat- {BK} 'envie de dormir, premier somme, profond sommeil', {Hv.} 'slumber; deep sleep', Sq {L} šinoh 'heure de la nuit' ¶ KB 427, 1479-80, 1794, HJ 1175, A #1250, OLS 448, 542, Br. 789, Tal

364, BK II 1539, Hv. 87O, Jo. M 432, Jo. H 124, Jo. J 293, CAD XVII/3 4O5, Sd. 1292, Frnz. MLE 182, LLS 417, MiK I #2.82 || Ch *✓sn, *sun- 'sleep, dream' > WCh: AG *s⁷un- 'dream' > Ang {Kr.} sun, Su sùyùn, {J} sùgùn, Gmy {Kr.} suwùn | DfB {J} sunan, Bks {J} sunàt, Klr {J} n. act. 'aswà̄n 'dream' | BT: (a) Pr {Frz.} čón, {ChL} čán n. 'sleep'; (b) Krkr {Kr.} n. sunà, Gera {Kr.} n. sun̄, Ngm {XChL} sùnâ, Krf {ChC} n. súnnà, Pr {Frz.} čúnà n., Bl {Lk.} ?i- súná 'dream' | NrBc 'sleep' > Wrj {Sk.} sən-, Kry {Sk.} sánasán, My {Sk.} sánasánò, Sir {IL} sə́nì, {Sk.} súnsúni, Mbr {Sk.} sən- id.; 'dream' (d.): Wrj {Sk.} məsən-, n. mùsənáj, Cg {Sk.} müśiní, Kry {Sk.} məsən-, n. mùsán, My {Sk.} ámùsùn, P' {MSk.} ndər mäsína, Sir {Sk.} n. mùsùní, Mbr {Sk.} n. mūšən̄, Jmb {Sk.} ámbəsəná, Dir {Sk.} məsən̄ | SBC 'dream': Bg {Sh.} pí šán̄, Kir {ChL} šandən, Tala Z {ChL} šonè, Gj {ChL} šunkitì, Buli {ChL} šôn, Dw {ChL} šet̄, Zr {ChC} šèdn, Zr K {ChL} šùd̄ | Ngz {Sch.} sùwán, Bd {ChL} súwánán v. 'dream' || CCh: McTr 'dream': Tr {Nw.} ci žine, Hw {ChL} s̄t̄s̄nirà, G'nd {ChL} sun̄tta, Gbn {ChL} sinàrata, Bk {ChL} s̄inata | BB 'sleep': Bcm {Sk.} šínə, n. act. šíntə, BtG {Mch.} činō, Mln {ChL} číntì n., Gudu {IL} cənt id. | McM's 'sleep': Ms {Mch.} sən̄, {ChL} n. act. sənda, Lame {ChL} n. act. šènè, syènè, LamP {IL} nde šen, Bnn {ChL} n. act. s̄iyéná, BnnM sena, Azm {Pc.} səná, Zm {J} sén, ZMD {KNC} šén | ChC, ChL, Sk. NB, KNC 24, Frz. P 26-7, Pc. 347 || K: Sv: UB īsnaw, L īsnaw n. 'dream' (as well as LB (h)is̄tam id.??) | TK 338, GP 112 || IE: NaIE *snoud^h-/*snud^h- 'slumber' > Lt snaud- (inf. snáusti, 1s prs. snaudžiu) vi. 'drowse, doze, slumber', Ltv snaūst (1s prs. snaūžu) 'slumber, sleep', Lt snaudā 'drowse, doze, somnolence', Ltv snaūda 'Schlummer, Halbschlaf', Lt snūdā id., snūsti (p. snūdau) 'begin to drowse\doze\sleep' || Gk νυστάξω 'I nod in sleep, nap, slumber; am sleepy' | Frn. 852-4, F II 329-30 ◇ If these words for 'sleep, dream' belong here, N *í is specified as *ū (*u|ü), so that the N etymon may be reconstructed as *ší|üñū 'sleep, slumber' (a semantic variant of *ší|üñí 'dark, night') ◇ The identity of the initial sibilant in *ší|üñí(-k⁷) (= *ší|üñū?) 'dark, night' is conjectured from *ší|üñū 'sleep, dream' ◇ Bl. KM 139-40 [#26]. (equates HS *✓wṣn with the Sv and the IE cognates).

2077. *sən̄⁷i¹ 'one, only; to be separated' > IE: NaIE *seni-/ *s_oni-, *senu-, sŋ-ter- 'alone, separated' > OI sanu-'^{tah̄} / sanu-'^{tar-} 'away, off, aside', sanutya- '≈ fernstehend', Av hanarə 'except, without' ||

Gk I/Hm ἄτερ 'aloof, apart from, without' (< *s_ŋter) || Gt sundrō 'κατὰ μόνας, κατ' ἵδεαν, apart, separated', OSx sundar 'besonders', OHG suntar 'separated, far', MHG, AS sundor 'apart, separated', ON sundr 'entzwei, gesondert', NHG ds.: besonders, sonderbar, sondern || L sine 'without' || OIr sain adj. 'different, distinct, particular' (*s_ni-s), W o-han, a-han- 'from', gwa-han 'separated, different', OW han 'other' ('alium'), Crn hanys 'heimlich' || pTc {Ad.} *s_ɛñaj > Tc: A sne, B snai 'without' || Ht sani- 'one and the same', sannapi 'single (vereinzelt)', sanizzis 'excellent' ¶ P 907, EI 24-5 (*sen-i/u- 'apart'), M K III 427, WH II 542-3, Vn. S 14-5, FI 178, Fs. 458, Vr. 561989, OsS 895, Schz. 275, Lx. 218, KM 715-6, Ho. 33O, Ho. S 72, Wn. 433, Ad. 712-3, Frd. HW 187, Ts. W 69-7O || HS: S *°✓ š|sny > Ar {Fr., BK} sanāy-at- 'totalité, le tout', {Hv.} ?as-sanāy-at- 'the whole, the entire thing', {Ln.} (?axaðahū) bi-sināyatihī '(he took it) wholly' ¶ Ln. 14O, BK I 1155, Hv. 341 || Eg P snw ({EG} śnw) 'sich trennen von jemandem' ¶ EG IV 157 || ??σ SC ≈ *san- ({E} *saŋ-) v. {E} 'come apart, separate' > Kz sanas- v. 'split (firewood)', a SC lge. → Mb -sangé v. 'leave, take leave' ¶ E SC 179 || A *son'i' ({SDM97} *sonu) 'one, single' > Tg *soni > WrMc sońo 'one, only, single', sonixon ~ sońoxon 'single, unpaired' ¶ STM II 111, Z 621, S AJ 227 [#308] || M *°sondu- 'be odd' (of numbers) > WrM sondu-gay, HlM сондгой 'odd (number)' ¶ MED 726 || NaT *sınar 'one of a pair' > OT sıñar ({Cl.} sıñär) 'a side, one of the two sides' (unk. length of a in Cl.'s transcription), Nog sıñar 'only one, single' (ониң sıñar alması qalyan 'he remained with only one apple', sıñar ulı 'the only son'), Osm {Rl.} صينار sinar 'von einem Geschlechte abstammend', Tk Δ sinar, Kr {Rl.} sıñir, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Tlt {Rl.} sıñar, VTt səñar, Bsh həñar, ET sıñar 'one of a pair', Qmq sıñar id., 'very similar', Kr {KRPS} sıñar awuč 'palms of one hand' ¶ Cl. 840-1, Rs. W 417, DTS 504, NogR 321, KumRS 294, KRPS 493, Rl. IV 622, 631 || pKo {S} *hʌnàh 'one' > MKo hʌnà(h-), StKo hana ¶ S QK #63, S AJ 254 [#63], Nam 469, MLC 178O, Rm. SKE 6O ¶ For the origin of Ko *h- cp. Ko *hím 'sinew, strength' < pA {DQA} *síorme 'sinew' < N *šēR, N, m'ü' 'sinew, root' || pJ {S} *sa- (px. of reciprocal action) > OJ sa-; pJ *sane 'completely, definitely' > OJ sane ¶ S QJ #1635, Mr. 515 ¶ DQA #2111 (A *síóna 'one, single'), Rm. SKE 6O (Tg, Ko).

2078. ***Sōñā** (= ***śoñā**?) 'hear' > **A:** M *sonus- 'hear, listen' > MM [IM, LV] {Pp.} sonus-, [HI] {Ms.}, [S] {H} sonos-, [MA] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} sonas-, WrO {Krg.} sonos-, Kl сонс-, {Rm.} sonos- ~ sonsa- id., WrM sonus-, HlM сонсо-x, Ord {Ms.} sonos- id., 'obey', MnR H {SM} sunoss- id., {T} sunose-, Dx {T} sonosu-, Dg {T} sonso-, {Mr.} sonse- 'hear, listen', Mgl {Rm.} sonusu- 'hear'; MMgl {Iw.} sunasā 'quick hearing', M *sonur 'sense of hearing' > WrM sonur, HlM сонор 'hearing, the quality of hearing well', WrO {Krg.} sonor 'sense of hearing, fine hearing', Kl сонр sonъr adj. 'hearing well', Kl D {Rm.} sonъ 'hörbar; mit scharfem Gehör', Brt һонор 'fine' (of hearing), 'sensible' ¶ Pp. IM 124, Pp. MA 324, 446, Pp. L III 59, Lg. VMI 64, Ms. H 95, H 135, Iw. 133, MED 728, Krg. 408-9, KRS 454-5, KW 331, Rm. M 38, Chr. 684, SM 362, T 361, T DnJ 133, T DgJ 161, Mr. D 211 ¶ ≈ DQA #2075 (A *sju̥na 'hear, observe' > M + unc.: the T and the qu. Ko descendants of N *c'í?rāñā 'recognize, know [connaître]' [q.v.]) || **HS:** CCh *✓śn 'hear' > Lgn {Lk.} śáñá, {Bou.} šz̃ngz̃, Msg {Trn.} śáñá id. ¶ JI II 185 || ?σ SES *✓śny 'see' (× N *c'í?rāñā '↑', q.v. ffd.) || **IE:** NaIE +ext. *sent- 'perceive, feel' (→ 'think') > L sentiō / sentīre / sensi / sensum 'feel, perceive' (> It sentire 'to hear'), sensus 'feeling, meaning' || OHG sin (gen. sinnes) 'sense, mind, intention' (< *sinθna- < *sent-no-) > NHG Sinn id.; → in the Gmc lgs: MHG, NHG sinnen wv. 'think'; AS sinnan 'sinnen, nachdenken, sorgen um', OHG sinnan sv. (< Gmc *sinθjan) 'to strive for, to endeavor, to demand' > MHG sinnen id. || Lt † sintéti 'to make up one's mind, to think, to think over', sintéjimas 'opinion' | OCS сѧшь sešť 'prudent' ¶ WH II 515-6, EI 418, EM 924, Ho. 295, Kb. 853, 856, OsS 765, Schz. 251-2, Lx. 195, KM 709, Frn. 786, Mikl. E 292, ≈ P 908-9 (identifies this IE √ with IE *sent- 'go') ◇ If the ambiguous SES *✓śny 'see' belongs here, the N rec. will be *śoñā, otherwise it is a less specified *Sōñā.

2079. *śūñā (or *śūyñā) 'to disappear, to finish' > **HS:** CS *śvñ- > Ar سَنْتَ san-it- 'barren soil/year', سَنَاتَ sanat- {Ln.} 'draught, barreness', μ σανάτη sanat- 'barren year' (-t- of سَنَاتَ sanat- reinterpreted as belonging to the √, whence the verb √snt G 'experience draught') (× Ar san-at 'year' < S *śan-at- id.), SmA šny ūñi prtc. 'deteriorated', mšny 'destruction' ¶ Fr. II 362, 367, BK I 1148-9, 1154-5, Ln. 1440-1, 1448, Hv. 339, Tal 914 || **A:** NaT *söñ-

'disappear' > OT *söñ-* 'die down, disappear', Tk *söñ-* 'go\die out, be extinguished', Tkm {TkR, TDS} *θöñ-* 'die out' (of fire), 'be extinguished', Az, ET, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt {Verb.} *söñ-* id., VTt *sün-* (→ Chv *sün-*), Bsh *hün-* id., Ggz *son-* id., *söñ-~sen-* 'fade'; a connection with MQp, Osm *söyün-* 'go out, die down' (of fire) is qu. ¶ Cl. 834, Rs. W 43O (mentions Tkm *θöñ-* [Rs.] *söñ-*] with a long vw., which is at variance with the data of TkR and TDS), Jeg. 198, TkR 589, TDS 608 || M **söñü-* 'be extinguised, go out' (of fire), 'perish' > MM [MA] {Pp.} *söni-* 'be extinguished', [S] {H} *süno,egu* 'auslöschen', WrM *söñü-*, HlM *cehθ-*, Brt *hγhθ-* 'be extinguished, go out' (of fire), MnR H {SM} *sunō-* id., 'fade', {T} *suno-* 'perish, fade', Kl {Rm.} *söñ-* 'vergehen, untergehen, zu Ende sein; verlöschen (das Feuer)' ¶ Pp. MA 326, H 138, MED 732, Chr. 697, SM 361, Rm. KLW 333 || ? pJ *sín-* 'die' > OJ *sín-*, J: T *sìn-*, Ky *sín-*, Kg *kešíñ*, Ns/Sh *šín-*, Ht *š̄n-*, Y *ŋní-* id. ¶ S QJ #14, Mr. 752 ¶ S AJ 112, ≈ 274 [#13], S VL 206-7 (A **síñn*); SDM97 (A **sú:ne* - **só:ni* 'fade, extinguish') and DQA #2092 (A **síñni* id.); in S AJ, SDM97, and DQA a long pA vw. is reconstructed on the basis of erroneously recorded Tkm **söñ-*); not here (⇒ SDM97 and DQA) Tg **sí-* (- **sú-*) 'extinguish' (< N **š'ühi?* *ŋ* 'fade', 'go out' [fire], 'extinguish') || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) **swéjn-* 'decrease, (?) disappear' > ON *svína* ~ *svina* ~ *svena*, Nr Δ *svína* ~ *svina*, OHG *swínan* 'to dwindle, to decrease', MHG *swínen* 'abnehmen, schwinden', MDt *swinen* 'verschwinden, auszehren' ||| NaIE **swendh-* 'disappear, wither' (× N **Sūnd* *ŋ* 'dry up' [intr.], q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 1052, Vr. 57O, Ho. 338, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1005-6, KM 694.

2080. ?σ **s'ü'N* *ŋ* (= **s'ü'ŋ* *ŋ*) 'breathe, take a rest, be calm' > K **šwen-* 'breathe, sigh; take a rest' > OG *suen-*, G *sven-* v. 'rest', Lz *švan-* 'breathe' || ?φ Sv *šwem-* / *šwm-* v. 'rest, take a rest\breathe' (UB 1s aor. [= pfc.] *ot-šwem*, 1s pfc. *ot-šoma*, msd. Ln *li-šwem*, UB *li-šwmīne*, LB *lišwmīne*, L *lišmine*) ¶ Sv -m- defies explanation (assimilative labialization *-ŋ- > -m-?) ¶ K 174-5, ≠ FS K 282, ≠ FS E 313-4, GP 179, 244, TK 465 || A: Tg **sinti-* 'calm, silent' > Ewk *sinti* 'calm' (of weather), *sintili* n. 'quiet, silence (in the space)', *sintilž* 'be quiet, silent' (of a person), Nn Nh *siŋčižn-* 'become silent' ¶ STM II 91-2 || ?? T: Tlt {Rl.} *sünä* 'soul', StAlt *süne* 'human soul' (× N **šUŋE* 'breathe', q.v. ffd.) || ? M **süne-sün* 'spirit, soul of one's life' (× N **šUŋE* '↑', q.v. ffd.) || HS: Eg *s̄nni* 'calmer, apaiser' ¶ Mks. II #78.3619

| possibly also **HS** *✓ wsn̥ v. 'sleep', *sin- n. 'sleep', *sun- 'dream' (x N *ší|üñí(-k ∇) 'dark, night', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The meaning 'calm' (attested in both Eg and Tg) is obviously ancient, but the connection with 'breathe' is still hypothetical.

2081. *son^rṇq¹ü¹ (= *soni^rq¹ü¹?) 'sinew, tendon; root' > **HS:** S *✓ ſ|sn̥χ (x N ?σ *šaŋKa 'stalks, branches' [q.v.]??) > Ar sinχ- 'root' ¶ BK I 1150 || EC: Sml sūn̥, Sml N sūn̥ {Abr.} 'belt, strap', {Gal.} 'tendon, nerve, vein', Sd {Hd.} sun-čo (pl. sunna), Tmb {L} sun-ču 'belt of leather' ¶ ZMO 368, DSI 564, Abr. S 228, Gal. 131, Hd. 394 || **IE:** *sneHw-, *senHw-o- 'sinew' ({Mn.} *senaw-o-): **[1]** NaIE *snēw-, *snēju-, *snēu₁r- 'sinew, string, cord' > OI 'snāyū, 'snāyū-h, OI 'snāva ntr., Av snāvar_ə, Sgd sn[?]w 'sinew' || Gk νευρά f., νεύρον ntr. 'sinew, bowstring' || L nervus 'sinew, tendon' || OHG snuor 'string', NHG Schnur 'string, cord, twine', MLG snōr, MDt, Dt snoer, Dn, Sw Δ snor 'cord' || BSl (x N *šaŋeXæ or *šaŋAXæ 'to plait, to twist, to tie'?): ? Ltv Δ snaujis 'noose, loop' ({ME} 'Schlinge') | Sl *snova-ti ~ *snu-ti / prs. *snuj-q 'set warp' > RChS **сновити** snuti / prs. **сновж** snovq, OR snovati / snuju, Blg снова, SCr snòvati / snūjēm, Slv snováti / snújem, Cz snouti ~ snovati / snuji id., Slk snovat' 'to wind, to reel' || Tc B šñor (pl. šñaura) 'sinew' ||| **[2]** NaIE {Mn.} *osenaw-o-/ā 'sinew' > Gmc {KM} *senawō ~ *seniwo-, {P} *sinwā 'sinew' > ON sin, OHG sénawa, sena 'sinew', MHG sénewe 'sinew, nerve', NHG Sehne 'sinew, tendon, fibre', Sw sena 'sinew, nerve', AS sionu (gen. sionwe) 'sinew', NE sinew ||| The relation of this root with IE *sneH-/snoH- 'plait, twist' → v. 'spin' (< N *šaŋeXæ [or *šaŋAXæ] '↑') is not yet clear; in some descendant lgs. the verb may have coalesced with the derived reflexes of the IE root for 'sinew' or have served as an additional source of words for 'sinew' (cf. the hyp. of EI 571: 'sinew' ↔ IE *(s)neh₁(i)- ~ *sneh₁u- 'twist fibres together') ¶ But Av hinu 'Band, Fessel' and Ltv Δ {ME} pa-sainis 'Band, Fessel, Schnur', Ltv sainjöt {ME} 'schnüren, einpacken, (in Bündel) zusammenbinden', {Turk.} 'to pack (up)', Ltv sainis 'parcel, bundle, package' are better explained as derived from Av hā(y)- 'binden, fesseln' and Ltv si e t 'to bind' respectively (see N *žṇχ^ri¹ 'to plait, to bind') ¶ ≈ P 891, 976-7, Mn. 1127, 1232-5, AHDI 56, 62, ≈ 56, M K III 533-4, F II 311-2, Vr. 476, Ho. 295-6, Kb. 842, 923, OsS 754, 841, ME III 93, 636, 973, Vs. III 699, Mikl. E 312, Wn. 458, EI 571 (*s)neh₁(i)- and *sneh₁u- 'twist fibres together to form thread; occupy

oneself with thread') || **U** *sōne 'vein, sinew' > F **s**uoni, Es soon id., 'tendon' | pLp {Lr.} *sōnɔ 'sinew, vein' > Lp: S {Hs.} suone, L {LLO} s̄uotna, N {N} suodnâ / -n- id., Kld cūnh, K {Gn.} sūññ id., 'sinew-thread, thread' | Er/Mk san 'vein, sinew' | pChr {Ber.} *sün 'sinew, tendon' > Chr: L шöн šön, B {Ber.} sün, M {Ber.} sön, {UEW} šün, Uf {Ps.} šün, H шүн šün | Prm *sōn ({LG} *sōn 'sinew' > Z, Vt cōn s3n, Vt B sen || ObU {Ht.} *θ̄n̄n̄ > pVg *t̄n̄n̄ 'vein, sinew' > OVg: N NSs tāane, N SoO танъ, N W Sol тéhъ, Vg: T tān̄, LK/Ss tān̄, UK/P/NV/SV tān̄ id.; pOs *fan id. > Os: V/O lan, Vy yan, Ty/Y fān̄, K ton, Nz tun, Kz fən̄ || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *č̄zn̄ 'sinew' (or *t̄zn̄, if the unexplained change *t- > č- occurred at the level of pSlq or some Slq dialects) > Ne T {Ter.} тэ? t̄z? (nom. pl. тэн" ten?), Ne T O {Lh.} t̄z?o, Ne F L {Lh.} t̄z̄i:n ({Lh.} t̄j̄e:n), Ne FP t̄z̄i?o, En X {Cs.} t̄i?, En B {Cs.} ti (gen. sg. t̄ino?), Ng {Cs.} tān̄, {Ter.} taŋ 'sinew' | Slq: Tz LTz {KD} t̄z̄n̄ ({KD} t̄ən̄) 'sinew', Tz/B {Cs.} čēn id., Tz {Prk.} d. t̄n̄t 'tendon', Kar {Cs.} tən̄, Tm {KD} čād_ ({KD} t̄šād), MO {Cs.} čēn, Chl {Cs.} čān, NP/UO {Cs.} čāne 'sinew' | Kms {KD} t̄en̄ 'sinew, vein', Koyb {Sp.} тенъ 'sinew' | Mt {Hl.} *t̄zn̄ 'sinew' (Mt K {Pl.} дуњ, дунъ 'жила', Mt M {Sp.} тенъ id.) ¶ Coll. 58, Db. OS xii-xiii, xxx, UEW 441, ~ Sm. 548 (FU *s̄t̄tni 'vein' > FP *s̄ooni, Ugr *θ̄ørsin̄), MF 318-9, It. #163, Lr. #1179, Lgc. #7161, Hs. 1267-8, Gn. 992, SaR 331, Ber. 59, MRS 724, 746, Ü 280, Ps. OT 133, LG 203, Lt. 166, Ht. #143, Jn. 32-3, Cs. 134, 280, Hl. M 358 [#1004] || **A:** ? Tg *suna 'strap, belt, rein for draught-dogs' > Ewk suna 'rein for draught-dogs, strap, rope', Lm hūŋkan 'rein for draught-dogs', Ork suna id., suna- vt. 'tie', Orc süna 'shaman's long draught (hold by people during the ūni-festivity)', Ul suna 'shaman's belt', Nn Nh/KU sona id., 'long strap in children's garment', WrMc suna ~ sūna 'rein of draught-dogs' ¶ STM II 127, Z 633, 653 || NaT *siŋir 'vein' > OT U {Cl.} siŋir 'muscle, sinew', MQp siŋir 'sinew', XwT XIV siŋir 'bowstring', Chg siŋir id., 'sinew', OOsm siŋir, Osm siŋir 'nerve, sinew', Tk siŋir 'nerve', Tkm siŋir, ET, Qrg siŋir, Uz singir, Qmq, Qrb, Nog, Qq, Uz siŋir, VTt сендер съյър, Bsh һъյър, Qzq сіңір siŋir, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} siŋir, Xk, Tv сиир sīr, Tf sī:r 'sinew', Yk iŋir 'thread' ¶ Cl. 841, Rs. W 423, TL 264, Rl. IV 687, 696, Ra. 227 || M *sinda-sun > WrM sindasun, Hlm шандас 'nerve, tendon, sinew, vein', Ord šind_asu⁴ 'nerf, tendon', Kl шандас 'tendon of Achilles', Kl Ö {Rm.} šandasŋ 'Ende der Flechse, Sehne', Brt шандааха(н) 'tendon(s) of hind legs; muscles' ¶ MED

71O, Ms. O 618, KRS 664, KW 348, Chr. 72O || pKo {S} *sí'úr* 'string, sinew; bow string' > MKo *sí'úr*, NKO *siwī* | S QK #314, Nam 326, MLC 104O | | DQA #2009 (A **síŋri* 'sinew'; incl. T, M, Ko) ◇ IS MS 341 s.v. жила **son/H/n* (IE, A, U), Coll. IUS 7O (IE, U) ◇ The common designation of sinew and root is natural, because both served as ropes ◇ The rec. of N ***q** in this etymon is qu., because it is based on the ambiguous Ar root only. A vw. between N ***n** and the qu. N ***q** is suggested by U *-n- (rather than U **-ŋ- which is expected as a reflex of N *-nq- = *-ŋq-). The vw. *i of the first syll. in T and M (as well as possibly in Av *hinu*) may be explained by as. (N **soni'q'ü'* > **sin...*). If the Ar word is not taken into account, the pN rec. must be **son, n̥ H'ü'* (= **soniH'ü'*?).

2082. **s'ü'n̥c* **▽X▽** (= **s'ü'n̥c* **▽X▽**?) 'worm, snake, (?) lizard' > **HS:** Eg fP *sʒħ* 'e snake' | EG IV 394 || B: BSN *ṣað* (pl. *iṣatṭən*) 'vers intestinaux' | Ds. B 363 || NrOm {Blz.} **šuš-* 'snake' (x N **ś|šuš|ś* ▽ 'worm, snake', q.v. ffd.) | | **U:** [1] FU **s|t'ü'n̥c'ā* 'worm' > Krl Ld *čünčž* ~ *čünčžü* 'angle-worm, earth-worm (Regenwurm)', Vp {ZM} *čuńz* ~ *čuńž* id. || pVg {Stn.} **tāńś* / **tāńś* 'worm' > Vg {Kn.}: T *tańś* ~ *tāńś*, LK/MK/UK *tōńś*, NV/SV/LL *tō* *ńś*, P *tōńś* ~ *tuńś* 'worm' | pVg **tāńś* / **tāńś* goes back to **s|tuńc'ā* (with depalatalization **ü* > **u*, probably resulting from regr. as. (**ü...ā* > **u...ā*) | UEW 53O, ZM 65, Kn. VW 7O, Stn. WV 13O, 212 | | [2] U **s* **▽ŋc** **▽(-1▽)** 'lizard' > FU **s'ü'n̥c* **▽1▽** > F *sisilisko*, Δ *sisälisko* id., Es *sisalik*, Δ *sisulik* ~ *süsalik* id., 'lacerta' | pLp {Lr.} **tēńćz̥l̥ŋkēs* 'lizard' > Lp: S {Hs.} *deädjaalummes*, Ar *dīččol*, L {LLO} *tädtjuli*, N {N} *dæččälâgges*, Kld {TI} *čeń:čleň:j:k* (with ideophonic variants) | pChr {Ber.} **šinšań* id. > Chr: L *шыншале* *šəŋ'sańe*, Uf/B *šəŋ'sańe*, M *šinšańe*, H {Ep.} *шäкшäльбы* *šäk'sańa*, {MRS} *шäкшäльбы* *šäk'sańb* | Prm {LG} **čōč* **▽1** ({LG} **čōčč* **▽1**) id. > Z *дзодзув* *žožuv* ~ *чодзув* *čožuv*, Z LV *čožuv*, Z Lt *žož+1* id., Yz *'žužl* ~ *'čužl* 'small inedible fish' || ObU: pOs {Ht.} **sōšosəl*, {Hl.} **sūšasəl* 'lizard' > Os: V/Vy *sosəl*, Ty *săsa₄t*, Y *săsa₄*, D *săst*, săs, săst, Kz *sōs₄*, O *săs₄*; Vg (↔ Os?): L {Mu.} *soslä*, *sosla*, N {MK} *soslä*, *sossəl* 'a mythical animal resembling a lizard or a dragon', UL {Kn.} *sosla* 'a mythical animal' || Sm {Jn.} **t|čånsə*, {Hl.} **t|čansə* 'lizard' > Ne: T *tańz* id., TO {Aŋ.} *tānc* id., 'snake', F L {Lh.} *tāns* 'lizard'; Ng {Cs.} *tan'su* (pl. *tandu?*) 'river-lamprey (Neunauge, речная минога, Lampetra flivialitis)'; En {Cs.}: X *'tańu*, B *tasu* id.; Slq:

Tz {Prk.} *tüši*, Tm {KD} *čöž*, Nr {Cs.} *töš*, MO {Cs.} *tös*, Chl *tösö*, Ke *tüssü*, NP *tüssü* 'lizard'; Kms {KD} *t'on·z_ə*, {Cs.} *thenze*, Koyb {Sp.} *tañza* id.; Mt {Hl.} **tanž*▽ 'lizard' (Mt T {Pls.} *taansche*, Mt K {Pls.} *tandi*, Mt M {Sp.} *tañže* id.) ¶ UEW 454-5 (U **s*▽*ŋc*▽(-1▽) ~ **s*▽*č*▽(-1▽)), SK 1O43-4, Lr. #1244, Lgc. #697O, Ber. 62 [#322], MRS 696, 756, Ep. 148, LG 91, Stn. D 138O, KrT 879, Trj. S 434, MK 566 (Vg ← Os), Jn. 151, Cs. 61, 87. 149, 213, 256, Hl. M #959 || A: Tg **isele(n)* 'lizard' > Ewk *iſſl̩* & *hiſſl̩*, Sln *iſſl̩*, Lm *iſſl̩*, Neg *iſſl̩*, Orc *iſſl̩*, UL *iſſl̩* ~ *zſſl̩*, Ork *zſſl̩*, Nn *iſſl̩* & *iſſlin* 'lizard', Ud *ȝ̩l̩* 'e lizard', WrMc *iseleku umiyaha* 'scorpion' (with *umiyaha* 'worm, insect') ¶ STM I 332, Krm. 243 ◇ FU **s'ūŋc*▽ suggests that the nasal cns. of the pN word was **ŋ*, while the cns. **ń* in FU **s'tūńc*▽ is due to as. In Tg the initial sibilant was lost by dis. One is tempted to suppose that FU **s'ūŋc*▽1▽ and Tg **iselen* 'go back to a N (analytical?) diminutive **•s'ūŋc*▽X▽ L▽, but then we face a phonetic problem: the N diminutive pc. is **l*▽ with a postalveolar **l̩*, while in the FU stem we see a N **l* ◇ UEW 454 (U, Tg).

2083. ₂ **śäNč*▽ 'knee, articulation' > HS: S *^o*ś*|*ś*θiₙ, C- > Ak OB/YB *šiſ̩itu(m)* ~ *tis̩itu* ~ *tiſ̩itu*, Ak MA *siſ̩itu* 'wrist, ankle' ('[Hand-‐Fuß-‐]Gelenk') ¶ Sd. 125O || U {UEW} **śänč*▽ 'knee' > ObU **čāńč* 'knee' > pVg {Ht.} **šānš* > Vg: T *šānš*, LK *šāns*, MK/UK *šāns*, P/LL *šanš*, NV *šānš*, UL/Ss *sāns* id.; pOs {Ht.} **čāńč* > Os: V/Vy *čāńč*, Ty *čāńč*, Y/D/K *čāńč*, Nz/Kz *šaš*, O *sās* id. || Sm: Koyb {KD} *sūn·i*, *sūn·e*, *sūn̩i*, *sūn̩i* 'knee', Koyb {Sp.} *сынε* id. ¶ UEW 471, Coll. 69, Ht. #1O3, KD 58 ◇ Qu. (because of the phonetic uncertainty in S).

2084. ₂ **Sūńd*▽ 'dry up' (intr.) > IE: NaIE **swendh-* 'wither, disappear' (× N **śūńæ* or **śūyńæ* 'to disappear, to finish' [q.v.]) > OHG *swintan* 'to dwindle, to vanish' ('schwinden, sich verzehren, zunichte werden'), NHG *schwinden* 'to become less, to wither, to dwindle, to fade', *verschwinden* 'to disappear', OSx *far-swindan* id., AS *swindan* 'to waste away' || ?φ Sl **vęd-* in **vęd-nę-ti* 'wither, fade' (> P *więdnąć*, Cz *vadnouti*, Slk *vädnút'*, HLs *wjadnyć*, Blg *вяна*, SCr *věnuti*, Slv *véniti*, R 'вянутъ, Uk 'въянути) and in Sl **u-vęd-a-ti* id. > OCS **ѹвѧдати** u-*vęd-a-ti*, R *увѧдатъ*) ¶ The loss of **s-* in Sl is puzzling (metanalysis in the verb with a preverbs?) ¶ P 1O47, Ho. 338, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1OO6, Schz. 279, OsS 917, KM 694, Glh. 666, Vs. I 375 || D **čuńt-* ({*GS*} **s-?*) 'dry up' > Tm *cunčtu* id., 'be

evaporated by heat', Kt *cund-* vi. 'boil away', Kn *sun̥dū* 'evaporate', Tl *cun̥dū* 'be evaporated\dried up'; D → OI *sun̥th-* 'become dry' ¶ D #2662, M K 353-4 ◇ IS MS 365 s.v. *сохнуть* *^r*s'undə*.

2085. **S'ü̥ndü* 'in river, body of water' > IE: NaIE **sindhu-* (?) 'river' > OI *sindhu-h* 'stream, river; the Indus', Av, OPrs *Hindu-*'Indus-land, the Indus' || OIr *Sinainn* accus. sg., *Sinnae* dat. sg. 'the Shannon' ¶ Fick VW II 303, WP II 509, M K III 668, M E II 729-30 (does not accept this IE et.) || A: M: WrM *söndü-lge* 'stream, brook', 'ruisseau' ¶ The meaning of the sx. -lge is obscure (usually -lge is used for deverbal nouns of result) ¶ MED 731, Kow. 1424 || B: eD ***čuñt'i* (→ OI *cun̥ti*, *cun̥dyā-* 'well', *cun̥tikā* 'kleiner Wasserbehälter', [Hmc.] *cun̥dhi* 'small pond', Prkr *cun̥dhi* 'natural pool', Pali *sondī* 'a natural tank in a rock') > D (bf.?) **čuñv* 'pool, pond' > Tm *cun̥ai* 'mountain pool or spring tank', ? Kn *dōne*, *dōne* 'a small natural pond in a rock', ? Tl *dona* 'a pool in a hill' ¶ D #2716, M K I 394 || HS: Eg BD *swn.w* 'Gewässer, Teich' ¶ EG IV 69 || C: Dhl {EEN} *sōni* 'river' || Asa {OS ← ?} *sōpon-k* id., → Mb {E} *sondá* 'valley' ¶ E SD 182, EEN 25 || ?? CCh: ZmB {Sa.} *z̄nā*, ZmD {Srp.} *zna*, {KND} *s̄ná?* 'river' ¶ ChC, KNC 23 ◇ The unexpected delabialization *^r*ü̥* > *i in the prehistory of IE still needs investigating.

2086. (2?) **sü̥N_LDN_RN_F* (or **sü̥RN_F*) 'nasal mucus', ? '≈ liquid' > HS: EC **sinra-* ~ **sunra-* (or **sirra-*/**surna-*) 'nasal mucus' > Sa {R} *sin'rā-* ~ *sun'rā-* (→ ? Tgr {R} *ስንጋዬ* *səndəa-* id. [not confirmed in LH]), Or {Grg.} *furrī*, Kns {Bl.} *sorn-ēta*, Hr {AMS} *surun-ho*, Brj *sur'ra*, Sd *sandiddo* [*-nr- > -nd-] id. ¶ mt. *-nr- > Kns -rn-, Hr -r^vn- ¶ Ss. PEC 23, 32 (EC **sirn-*/**surn-*), R S II 329, Grg. 151, Hd. 102, 221, 390, AMS 186 || Eg XVIII *snx.t* {EG} 'nasal mucus', {Fk.} 'phlegm' ¶ EG IV 171, Fk. 233 || U: FP **sürE(-m^v)* 'snivel, nasal catarrh' > pChr **šürem* > StChr L, Chr Y *šürem* 'nasal catarrh' | pPrm **zürim* 'snivel' > Z, Vt *z̄r̄im* id. ¶ UEW 761, Ber. 74, LG 108, MRS 747 || A possibility: IE: NaIE **ser-* 'watery part of curdled milk, watery part of blood' > L *serum* id. || Gk *ἀρός* id. ¶ The words of the same phonetic shape, but meaning 'a stream', 'a lake', and sim. (OI 'sara-h', etc.), belong to the IE √ **serH-* v. 'stream' < N **ša'ri'*X^v 'to stream, to flow' (q.v.) ¶ P 909, WH II 443-4, F II 425 ¶ An alt. solution: IE **serH-* v. 'stream, flow' (< N **ša'ri'*X^v) is the source of Gk *ἀρός* and L *serum*, too ◇ In U and (?) in IE the N cluster *-NR- (= *-N_LDN_R-?) (or *-RN-) contracted to *-r-. If the IE

word belongs here, its lr. is lost in the prevoc. position ◇ If the N etymon was *süN₁Ν₂RΝ₃Ν, it may go back to a N cd. with the first component *sūŋΝ 'smell' ([in C, Om, Ch] → 'nose') (q.v.). If this is the case, the unspecified *N is to be replaced by N *ŋ, so that the N etymon will be *süŋΝRΝ₃Ν.

2087. *'s'ä₁n₂'z'â '(lock of) hair, feather' > HS: S: Ar زَيْنَاء zayzā?- ~ zīzā?- ~ زَيْنَاء زَازِيَة zayzā ~ زَيْنَاء زَيَّارَى zayāzā (pl. زَيَّارَى zayāzā) 'feathers, tips of feathers' ¶ Fr. II 27O, BK I 1O32, Hv. 3O3 || CCh: McHigi: FIK {ChC} činči, {ChL} šinči 'hair' | Cb s̄sí ~ šiší, WMrg čiči(r), Ngx šiši, Klb šiši 'hair', Mrg {ChC} šinše giε 'feather' | Msy {Mch.} səsən tálā, Kola {Sb.} súsúŋ, Db {ChL} sùson 'hair' ¶ ChC, ChL || ? K: G I činčl- 'down feathers', G činčl- 'fibres of a root' (G činčl- belongs here if it is a loan from Zan, where pK *č yields *č; in this case the phonetic history may be as follows: N *säŋzâ > pre-K *sEnžV > [assimilatory devoicing] *sEnčV > [as.] K *čEnčV > Zan *činč- → G činč-) ¶ Chx. 1936 || U: FU *'s'äečV 'thin fibres of plants used to produce threads' > Hg szösz 'oakum, hemp', szöszke 'flaxen-haired, blond' || Prm: Z, Prmk sʒ 'the best and purest kind of hemp-flax-fibres' (infl. of Z sʒ 'pure, clear'), Z {W} sʒ ~ sɔʒ 'fibre, thread, oakum'; Z → VTt süs 'oakum, tow' → Chv süs id. ¶ Hg sz- points to FU *s-, while the depalatalization *s > *s in the prehistory of Prm must be explained by positional changes (dis.?) ¶ UEW 433 (*sæčV), LG 262-3, MF 599-6OO || A: T *sač 'head hair (of humans)' > OT, MU sač, MQp sač ~ saš, Chg saž ~ sač, Tk sač, Uz sač, ET čač ~ sač, VTt чəч šäš, Bsh säs, Nog/Qzq/Qq šaš, Org, Qmn/Tb/QK {B}, Tlt {Rl.} čač, Brb/Kü {Rl.} cac, Tbl {Rl.} čač ~ cac, Alt čač, Sg/Qb {Rl.}, Xk sas, Yk as, Tf češ, Chv šüs id., Tkm θač, Az sač, QrB čač id., braid', Qmq čač, Tv čäš 'braid' ¶ Cl. 794, Rs. W 39O, TL 197, Rl. III 19O5, IV 195, 389, 394, Ra. 196 || Tg: Ewk sāji 'plait (of hair), long hair' ¶ STM II 54 || Ko {S} *čičh 'feather' > MKo čis, čičh ¶ S QK #119, Nam 445-6 || ??? M: MM [MA] سانچيق sanžiq {Pp.} 'кудри', WrM sancig, HlM санчиg 'tuft of hair on the temples of women; side whiskers', as well as Kl sanžiq 'kurze Haare über den Stirn', unless Rm. is right in deriving the Kl word from sanži- 'hang' and interpreting it as 'etwas hängendes'. Rm.'s explanation is hard to apply to WrM and HlM because of the vl. WrM -c- and HlM -č- (unlike in WrM sanži-, HlM санж- 'hang, hang down'), so that the

WrM and HlM word may have resulted from contamination of a word for 'hair' and WrM *sangig-sangig*, HlM санжиг-санжиг 'dangling, hanging loosely with a swinging motion' ¶ MED 671, 673, Pp. MA 318, Kow. 1288, KW 312 ¶ ADM57 s.v. *sāč∇ (T, Tg, Ko), S AJ 287 [#258] (A *säč∇), ADM97 s.v. *senč‘∇ (T, Ko, qu. M *sancig* + unc. Tg *çeçe 'patch, rag') ◇ If the N word was *śäŋzâ, it was later transformed into *śäyžâ (loss of the marked feature of nasality in almost all branches). Its subsequent development may be hypothetically reconstructed as follows: *śäyžâ > (as.) *śäycâ (in most lgs.) or *żäyžâ (in pre-S); *śäycâ > *śäcâ (in most lgs.); vowel as. in T, M, and Tg: *ǟ:...â > *ā:...∇.

2088. ?ϕ₂ *śew∇n̄z∇ 'in bone' > U: FU *śew∇n̄cā (or *ś|ćewćśā) '≈ heel; heel-bone, hock' > pLp {Lr.} *ćēvćē > Lp: L {LLO} tjeu'tjē 'der Knochen zwischen dem Schienbein (tibia) und dem Metatarsus (Kanonenbein) am Hinterlauf (des Renntiers, usw.); Tarsus; Fußwurzel', N {N} čæw'ža / -wž- ~ čæw'že / -wž- 'hock of reindeer or other quadruped; calcaneus, the heel-bone of reindeer, etc.', Kld {TI} čieū:če_ 'Fußgelenk, Beuge des Hinterbeines (bes. beim Renntier)' || Os {Stn.}: Ty sāwən̄t 'heel', Y kōr-sāwən̄t 'heel, back part of the foot', Nz śuxəś 'Rückseite des Unterschenkels beim Pferd', Kz śwχəś, O śoxəś 'Hinterseite des Fußwurzels und des Unterschenkels (bis zur Kniekehle)' ¶ Lr. #134, Lgc. #559, LLO 115O, N I 459, TI 657, Stn. D 132O-1 ¶ The authors of UEW reject the connection between Lp and Os (F Stn. D 1321). If nevertheless the connection does exist, the FU word is *śew₁∇n̄ćā (unless it is *śewćā with a secondary *-∇n- in Os?) || HS: S *°✓ š|sns|š > Ar sanāsin- pl. 'os qui aboutissent aux vertèbres' or 'extrémités des os des côtes' ¶ BK I 1151 || AdS of K *ʒ∇ʒwäl-, {K, K²} *ʒʒwäl- 'bone' (< N ?σ *ʒAħu1∇ '≈ [calf of] leg, [?] bone of leg', q.v. fdd.) ¶ This AdS influenced the meaning of the K word ◇ The et. presupposes reductions in K and Lp, which weakens its plausibility. The as. between the reflexes of N *ś and *ʒ in Ar is natural and practically inevitable.

2089. *s|śäŋ∇ 'tooth' > HS *sin- 'tooth' > S *'śinn- 'tooth' > OAk, Ak √ śinn-u(m), Eb {Krb.} śinn-, BHb ՚šen̄ ՚šen̄ (stem śinn-: śin'n-ā 'his tooth', śin'n-ayim 'teeth'), Ph, Ug, SmA ՚šn̄, BA ՚šen̄ / śinn- 'tooth', JA {Trg.} ՚šen̄ / em. ՚šin'n-ā, JEA אַנְנִי ՚šin'nā, Sr ՚šen̄'n-ā, Ar sinn-, Gz sənn̄, Tgy sənn̄i, Jb E'šnin id., Jb C ՚šnin id. (pl. ՚šnun) ¶ KB 1472-4, OLS 446, Lv. IV 584, Lv. T II 498, Sl. 1136-7, Tal 915, Br. 789, BK I 1147, Jo. J 262, Jo. M 609, L G 504, CS 241, Bsn. 189, Sd. 1243, Krb. EG 6-7,

MiK I #1.249 || B *-sīn- 'tooth' > Ah i-sīn-añ 'teeth', e-sīn 'incisive tooth', Gh i-sin 'tooth', pl. i-sin-añ, Gd a-sēn, pl. sēn-eñ, Si a-sāīn, pl. i-sīn-añ (āī < i regularly in final closed syllables, / La. S 4), Skn, Snd i-sīn, pl. i-sīn-añ; the homogeneous and consistent (throughout the whole B family) phonetically reg. structure of the word, allowing the rec. of pB *-sīn-, rules out its explanation as a loan from Ar NA sənn 'tooth' ¶ Fc. 184O, Lf. II #1481, La. S 224, Nh. 149, Sarn. 1 || Ch *s₂in, pl. *s₂an 'tooth' (by *s₂ [ʃNw.] *ʂ] I mean the phoneme which yields WCh and ECh *ʂ and CCh lateral *ʂ̪) > WCh: SBc {Sh.}: Zar K, Tala, Buli šín, Zar Gl/L, Sy B, Gj šīn, Grn šīñ, Plc P, Wnd šēn, Bg, Kir šaŋal 'tooth' || CCh *ʂ̪in, pl. *ʂ̪an 'tooth' > Ktk: Lgn {Lk.} ſini, pl. ſan, Bdm {Lk.} h̪fnay, Glf ḫir 'tooth' | McMrg (with *-n > -r) Mrg, Klb ḫir, Pdk ſira id. | Tr źin id. | McMtk: Mtk źe'en, pMM {Ro.} *ʂ̪an > {Ro.}: Hzr, Vm ſahán, Mofu ſér, Zlg źír, as well as Gzg {Lk.} ſeŋ, ſiŋ, {Ro.} ſíŋ id. | McMdr (with *-n- > -r-): Mdr ſáré, Glv ſír-da id. | McMs: Ms ſi-ta id. | McMg: Msk ſt̪y̪t̪, Mlw ſt̪y̪ſt̪ id. | McMs: Azm {Pc.} ſíná, Ms {ChL} ſiano, {Mch.} ſíyá, Bnn {ChL} ſínà, BnnM {ChL} ſiino, Lame {ChL} ſí?i id. || ECh: Mu {Lk.} ſiŋaŋù, pl. ſáŋi, Jg {J} ſáŋò, Brg ſáŋó, Mkl {J} ſéŋo, pl. ſeŋeŋ, Bdy ſintá, pl. ſíná, Ke ká-sáŋ, Tmk h̪in 'tooth' ¶ JI II 33O-1, J LM 175, AlJ 113, Trn. LDM 2O, Ro. 349 [#753], ChL, Sh. SB 32, Pc. 351-2 ¶ The forms of Ktk and Mu suggest that *ʂ̪in was originally the form of sg., while *ʂ̪an was pl. (formed by means of the HS pattern of *a-plurals, / Gr. IP) || Eg ſrn (= ſrn in EG's transcription) (the phonetic reading of a character resembling a fish-spear, or, acc. to Gard., 'two-barbed arrow-head', {EG} 'Zweizack') ¶ EG IV 148, Gard. 514 || ??? SC: Irq {MQK} ſiħinō ~ ſeħnō 'tooth', 'incisor' (pl. ſiħna? ~ ſeħna?, ſiħenī), {Wh. IP} ſiħino 'tooth', pl. ſiħini, {Wh. SI} ſeħno ~ ſiħno 'a tooth', Alg {Wh.} ſiħino, pl. ſiħeni, Brn {Wh.} ſiħina, pl. ſiħeri ¶ MQK 93, Wh. IC 26, E SC 18O ¶ The SC word is qu. as a cognate, unless one finds an explanation for the unexpected word-medial ħ || U: FU *ſ|ſ̪äŋ̪∇ (or *-ü- [less plausible]) 'pin, peg' > Lp N {N} ſag'ge '(wooden) pin, peg, knitting needle', LK ſaŋ'ge id. || pObU *θüŋk 'Keil' > pOs *ɸöŋk ({ʃHl.} *ɸüŋk) id. > Os: V t̪öŋk, Vy yöŋk, Ty ſöŋk, Nz t̪üŋk, Kz ſüŋk, O lüŋk; pVg *t̪üŋkǽ 'Stöpsel, Ppropfen' > Vg T t̪üŋkǽ ¶ N III 367, Stn. WV 28O, Ht. 138 [#147] || D: [1] D *čāñla, 'chisel, awl' > Kn cāna ~ cāna ~ cēña 'a small chisel', Tu cēñň ~ cēñň, Tl ſēnamu 'awl, chisel' ¶ D #2445 | [2] NED *čāŋk∇r- v. 'be on edge' (of the teeth), 'have the teeth'

set on edge' > Krx čangrnā v. 'be on edge' (of the teeth), Mlt čarge v. 'have the teeth set on edge' ¶ D #2289, Pf. 19O.

2090. *sūŋN 'to smell (sth.)' > **HS:** Eg fP ssn 'smell smth. (riechen)', Eg MK/G sns id., Eg {Mks.} sns.t 'perfume' (× N *čūŋN 'smoke, smell' and N *šUŋE 'breathe' [q.v.]) ¶ EG IV 172, 277, Fk. 245, Mks. III #2634 || C: EC {Ss.} *san-/*sin-/*son-/*sun- 'nose' > Sa, Af, Sml san, pBn {Hn.} *sáŋ (> Bn J/Bi/Kj/L sáŋ), Rn sám, Arr {Hw.} sōnó, Dsn {To.} sōn-o, Elm {Hn.} sōno, Or {Grg.} fuńí-ān, Or Wl {Brl.} funy-an(i), Or H {Ow.} fuńí-āní, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} funn-āni, Kns sīna ~ sōna, Gdl sina, Gwd, Gln sindē, Hr, Dbs sind-ičče id., HEC {Hd.} *sano 'nose' > Sd, Ged sano, Kmb sanu(-ta), Hd sanē, Brj 'suna id.; EC *sīn- > Sa {R} sīn- v. 'smell, emit smell (riechen, Geruch verbreiten)', sīn n. 'smell (Geruch)', sī'nō 'pleasant odour', Hd šiʔn- v. 'smell' (of meat, butter); the EC verb may be influenced by EthS (see Tgr {LH} 8.5 šena vi. 'smell of', vt. 'smell [sth.]' < N *čiwnN 'smell, stench') || Dhl {To.} sīna, {EEN} pl. sinanne 'nose' || Ag {Ap.} *pssan-/*psan- 'nose' > Xm {Ap.} 3s3ŋ, Xm T {CR} asən, Knf {TBZAC} sän, Aw {Hz.} ássán ¶ R S II 325-6, Ss. B 169, LG 562, LH 646-7, Grg. 150, Sr. 305, Brl. 153, Ow. 261, Hw. A 432, Hn. BD 119, PG 256, Hd. 106, 297, To. D 146, EEN 24, Ap. AV 5-6, TBZAC 102, Blz. CWL, To. DL 526 || NrOm {Blz.} *sin(d)- 'nose' > Mj sīnu, Shk sīnt, Na sinus id. | BMa šīnte, Sz sūn-i, HzMa šīni, GaMa šīndi id. | Jn {Wdk.} sīyā id. | Bnc {Wdk.} sīnt, She sīnt id. | Mch {L} šītō, Shn šīnta, Anf šīnto, {Gt.} šīnnē id. | Cha {C} sindā, Bdt sīde, WI/ZI {C} sīdē, Gm {Hw.} sīde, Gf sīde, Bsk {C} sīntsā (= sīncā), Dk {C} sindā id. ¶ Blz. OLBP #85, Wdk. BY 166, Hw. EG || Ch: WCh: Hs sānsānā v. 'emit a smell', Gw {Mts.} šūšūna id. | Wrj {Sk.} sāsān-, Cg {Sk.} šāsān-, My {Sk.} šāšin-, P' {MSk.} sasūn-, Sir {Sk.} šišidiwi, Jmb {Sk.} sāhsān (misprint for sānsān?) 'smell (riechen)' || pMM {Ro.} zīN 'smell of' > Mada zīŋ, Myn žu, Mkt žīn, Mlk žé, Gzg zāřáŋ, Mofu za] Ch *Sīn 'nose' (× N *čūŋN 'smoke, smell'?) > WCh: Fy {J} šīn 'nose' || ? Tng {J} wīsūn id. | Tala {Sh.} 3s3n, Buli {Sh.} pīšīn id. || CCh: Gude {IL} šīná, Bcm {Sk.} šīné id. | Suk {IL} šīn, {Mk.} šīn id. | ZmD {Srp.} šīn id. || ECh: Smr šīndé, Kbl {Cp.} hīšīndě, Ll {Grgs.} hīndā, Tmk {Cp.} hūn 'nose' ¶ JI II 258-9, ChC, ChL, Ro. 329 [#688], Blz. EChWL #62 ¶ Gr. LA 60 || **K** *sūŋsun- > G {Chx.} sun- 'smell (smth.), an etw. riechen, beriechen', {DCh.} sun-i 'odour, stench' ¶ Chx. 1282, DCh. 1200 || **U:** FU (att. in Prm) *sūňun- > Prm {LG} *zūŋ n. 'smell' > Vt зын zīn, Vt Kz {UEW ← ?}

z̄š̄ŋ̄ (z̄ər̄ŋ̄), Vt G {Wc.} z̄t̄m, Vt Uf {Wc.} z̄t̄ŋ̄, Yz z̄n̄ id., Prmk зын z̄n̄ 'stench' ॥ ≠ U *s̄šaŋk▽ 'taste, smell' > Hg szag n. 'smell', Slq Tz sanga- 'smell (sth.)' (Slq {Set.} s̄aŋam 'schmecken') ॥ LG 1O8, Lt. J 115, Wc. W 133 [#1272], UEW 463, ≠ Sz. MNyH 159 (÷ Hg szag), ≠ Set. FUS 6O (Vt ÷ Slq s̄aŋam, Hg szag) || ॥ A: M *siŋsi- > WrM siŋsi-, HlM шинши- 'smell\sniff all over', 'track down by sniffing (as dogs do)', WrO {Krg.} šiŋsi- v. 'sniff', Kl шинш- šiŋša- 'smell\sniff all over', {Rm.} šiŋiš-(χθ) 'aufspüren, wittern' (Hund) ॥ MED 712, Krg. 442, KRS 675, KW 359 ◇ M *i of the first syll. may be explained either by regr. as. (*u|ü...i > *i...i) or by delabialization of the N vw. (which in this case is to be reconstructed as *ü) ◇ IS MS 342 s.v. запах *sun(g)ə.

2091. *säŋeXæ (or ***säŋAXæ**) 'to plait, to twist, to tie' > IE *snēh-/*snōh- (= *snēx-/*snōx-) > NaIE *snē-/*snō- 'plait, twist' (→ 'spin') > Gk νέω 'I spin', 3s prs. νῆ (*< σνήκει*) 'spins' || L neō / nē-re v. 'spin' || OIr sní i d 'spins, patches', sním n. act. 'spinning', Crn nethē, MBr neza- v. 'spin', W nyddu, Br neza- id., 'twist'; OIr snáth 'thread', OBr [χ] notenn, MBr neut, Br neud(enn) id., ?σ OIr snáthat 'needle' || Gmc *snō- → *snō-θ- > OGtn snóþ, Sw snodd n. 'braid (cord)', AS snōd {Sw.} 'fillet', {Ho.} 'Kopfband, Kapuze', NE snood] OHG nājen, nāen, NHG nähen, MDt naeyen, Dt naaien 'to sew'] ON snúa 'to wind, (to double and) to twist (yarn), to twine (thread)' || Ltv Δ {ME} snā-t (prs. snāju) 'to twist loosely together, to spin' || ?σ Ht senahha- {Mn.} 'snare, ambush', {Ts.} 'Hinterhalt' ॥ ≈ P 973, Mn. 1127, 1232-5, F II 311-2, WH II 159-6O, Vn. S 148-9, 151-2, LP § 24.4, Hm. 598, YGM-1 346, Ho. 3O5, Kb. 711, OsS 637, KM 5O1-2, Vr. 526, Vr. N 461, ME III 974-5, Ts. W 74, EI 571 (*s)neh_{1(i)}- and *sneh_{1u}- 'twist fibres together to form thread; occupy oneself with thread') || HS: Eg fOK sn̄h 'binden, fesseln' ॥ EG IV 168-9 || S *°✓ ſ̄ſn̄h > Ar sanīh- 'fil sur lequel on enfile les ornements du cou (perles, coquillages, etc.)' ॥ BK I 1149 || WCh: pNrBc *šaŋh- v. 'sew' > Wrj {Sk. in ChC} šáŋh-, {Sk. NB} *šaŋg-, Mbr {Sk.} šáŋh- id. ॥ ChC, Stl. ZCh 196 [#481], 255 [#1O7], Sk. NB 39 ॥ The lateral *š in NrBc needs explaining || U: [1] FU *säŋe 'a hair, hair plait' > F säää 'fiber, filament, strand, cord' (× FP *säŋä 'thread'), säie (gen. säikeen) 'fiber, filament, (head of) thread' | Prm {LG} *ší 'a hair, fiber, string' > Z, Vt c̄n̄ sí 'a hair', Z Δ, Prmk sí 'thread', Z Δ vuḡr sí 'fishing line' (vuḡr

'fish-hook'), Yz **śi** 'thread, fiber, a hair' ||| Hg **sző**-/ **szöv**- v. 'weave, spin' | ObU: (I) {Ht.} *sē-~*sōꝝ-, {gHl.} *sāꝝ-~*sōꝝ- v. 'plait' > pVg *sāꝝ- id. > Vg: T **säw**-, LK/MK/UK/P/SV **säꝝ**-/*sāꝝ-, NV **säꝝ**-/*sāꝝ-, IL **säꝝ**-/*sāꝝ-, UL/Ss **saꝝ** id., pOs {Ht.} *sōꝝ- id. > Os: V/Vy **söꝝ**-, Ty **sāꝝw**-, Y **sāw**-, D/K/Nz/K/O **sew**- | (II) ObU {Ht.} *sēꝝ~*sōꝝ, {gHl.} *sāꝝ~*sōꝝ 'hair plait' > pVg *sāꝝ 'hair plait, pigtail' > Vg: T **säw**, LK/MK/UK/NV **säꝝ**, SV/LL **sā**, UL/Ss **saꝝ** id., pOs *sōꝝ 'hair plait (Haareflechte)' > Os: V/Vy **söꝝ**, Ty **sāꝝw**, Y **sāw**, D/K/Nz/Kz/O **sew** ||| [2] FP {UEW} *sāŋjä 'thread' > F **sää** 'fiber, filament, strand, cord' (see above [1]) | Prm {LG} *sEŋis 'thread' > Z **сүнис** suňis 'thread, yarn', Vt **сүнъыс** siňis, Vt MU/Y siňis, Vt Kz seňas 'thread' ¶ UEW 471 (FU *sāŋe 'Haar, Haarflechte; flechten, spinnen'), 755, SSA III 244, LG 254, 266, Ht. #571, Stn. D 13O8 || ?σ **δ** *čam- 'be produced, get ready' > Tm **camač** 'be made, constructed, formed, get ready', Ml **camayam** 'getting ready for a grand occasion, equipment, dress', Kn **sama** 'getting ready, preparation', Tl **sama-kattu** 'be\make ready, Klm **savaril-** 'make oneself ready' ¶ D #2342 ◇ If Ht **senahha** belongs here, the N rec. is with *-χ- (*sāŋexæ or *sāŋAχæ), otherwise it is with an unspecified *χ (= *h|x). If the basic (underived) FU cognate is *sāŋe, we reconstruct a pN *sāŋeχæ, but if it is FP *sāŋjä, the N rec. is likely to be *sāŋAχæ.

2092. *SUN̥g, 'o' 'produce loud vocal sounds (call, make an incantation, weep)' > **HS**: C: Ag: Bln {R} **šin̥-** 'rufen, herbei-\an-\zurufen'; but Bln **šin̥-** 'nennen, benennen' is likely to go back to C *šim-~*šum- 'name' < N *šimν 'name' (q.v.) ¶ The vw. may be due to apophony or to the infl. of **šin̥-** '(be)nennen' ¶ R WB 328 ||| IE: [1] NaIE *sengʷh- 'speak, make an incantation', 'sing' (× N o *žin̥o 'sing, produce [musical, ritual?] sounds by voice' [q.v. ffd.]) ||| [2] NaIE *swen- v. 'sound, echo, ring' > OI **sva'nah** n. 'sound, roar, tone, song', **svana**- v. 'resound, echo', Av **xwan-** id., Oss I **χonʒn** v. 'call, invite, lead' ||| L **sonus** 'sound', **sonā**- v. 'ring, sound' ||| OIr **senn-** 'sonare, play (a musical imstrumemt)', MIr **seinm** id., **seanma** n. 'playing music, singing' ||| AS **swinn**, **swin** 'melody' ¶ P 1046, Mn. 1346, Ab. IV 214. ||| A: Tg *son̥'a' 'cry (weep)' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Orc, Ud, Nn KU **son̥o**-, Nn Nh/B **son̥go**-, Lm **hoŋ-**, Ul **son̥go-** ~ **son̥gi-**, WrMc **son̥go**- id. ¶ STM II 111-2 ||| T *sin̥ile- v. 'whine, howl' > OT **sin̥ile-**

({Cl.} *sinqilē-*), OOsm ≥XV *sinq(i)le-* ~ *sinq(i)lde-* id., MQp XIV *sinqilde-* v. 'howl' (of dogs), Chg {Rl.} - سنکر - *sinqrä-* 'weep quietly', - سنکلا - *sinqla-* id., 'howl', Osm *sinqle-* 'whine, moan', Tk *sinqle-*, Δ *sinqele-* ~ *sinqile-* v. 'sob quietly, moan'; but T **sinq* (θ for humming and buzzing) hardly belongs here ¶ Cl. 832, 840, Rl. IV 689 || ? M **senqene-* > WrM *senqene-* v. 'sing' (of wind) ¶ MED 688 ¶ The front vowels *e in M and *i in T may be due to the infl. of the reflexes of N θ **zinqo* '↑' (e.g., the infl. of M **zinqine-* v. 'ring, tinkle' [of bells]) ¶ ≈ DQA #2668 (A **sinqeu* 'whine, weep'; incl. Tg, T).

2093. *šinqkū 'sink, fall' > HS: Eg P/RT *snk* {Hng.} 'set' (of the sun), 'sink into water' (of a drowned person), {EG} - vom Untergehen (von der Sonne), vom Verschwinden ins Wasser (vom Ertrunkenen), *snk.w* fP {EG} 'Stelle wo die Sonne untergeht' ¶ EG IV 175, Hng. 723 || IE: NaIE **sengw-* v. 'fall, sink' > Arm անկանիմ *ankanim* v. 'fall' || Gmc **sinkwan* > Gt *sigqan*, ON *søkkva*, Sw *sjunka*, NNr *søkka*, Dn *synke*, OSx, OHG *sinkan*, NHG *sinken*, AS *sincan* 'to sink', NE *sink* ¶ WP II 495-6, P 906, Mn. 1127, Slt. 367, Fs. 420, Vr. 576-7, Ho. 294, Ho. S 64, Kb. 855 || A: **sinqE* 'sink' > M **singe-* 'sink, set' (of a celestial body), 'be absorbed' (of liquid), 'be digested' (of food) > MM [MA] {Pp.} *šinge-* id., [S] *šinge-*, [IsV] *šinge-* 'sink', 'set' (of the sun)', [IM] {Pp.} *naran singekü* 'west' (lit. 'setting of the sun'), Ord {Ms.} *šinge-*, Kl {Rm.} *šingə-* 'set (of the sun, etc.)', 'be absorbed' (liquid), Kl {KRS} *шинг-* *šinge-* 'soak, be absorbed', WrM *singe-*, HlM *шингэ-* id., 'be digested' (of food), Kl *шинг-* *šinge-* 'soak, be absorbed', Brt *шэнгэ-* id., 'sink\plunge into', Mnr H {SM} *шэңгэ-* 's'imbiber dans, pénétrer dans'; M → WrMc *singe-* 'be absorbed' ¶ MED 710-2, Pp. MA 334, 446, H 141, Lg. VMI 66, Ms. O 620, SM 377, KW 359, KRS 675, STM II 90 || T: [1] NaT **sinq-* 'sink into (sth.)' > OT *sinq-* id., 'be absorbed\digested', Osm {Rh.} *sinq-* 'be absorbed; be swallowed, go down the gullet, be digested', 'slink and crouch into the smallest possible space', *sinqe* ger. 'sinking', Tk *sinq-* 'penetrate' (of smell), Az d. *sinir-* 'be digested', Tkm *θinq-*, ET, Qmq, Nog, Qrkl, Qrg, Tv *sinq-*, VTt *сен-* *съη-*, Bsh *һен-* *һъη-*, Uz *sinqi-*, Tf *sinq-* id., 'soak into the earth, be absorbed', Qzq *сін-* *sinq-* id., 'penetrate; find room, go in, fit in', Yk *iŋ-* 'soak into the earth, be absorbed'; [2] ?? T {Rs.} **sinq-* 'go in, fit into' > Chv *шың-ьс-* 'find room, go in' ('поместиться'), Shor/Sg/Qb {Rl.} *sinq-* 'hineinpassen, hineindringen' ¶ Chv *ш-* < pT **s-* due to the

palatalizing infl. of *i **J** Cl. 833-4, Rs. W 418, Rh. 11O2-3, Rl. IV 622, Ra. 227, Ash. XVII 3O9, Md. OJ 43 || pJ {S} *síntúm- 'sink' > OJ sídúm-, J: T sízum, K sízum-, Kg sízum- id. **J** S QJ #1O73, Mr. 754 **JJ** ~ DQA #2151 (A *s'júñu 'to sink', incl. T, M, J) ◇ In most lgs. the phonetic history is likely to have been: *-mk- > *-ŋk-, in some lgs. > *-ŋ-. In Ko the cluster *-mk- contracted to *-m- ◇ In many lgs. there may have been (mutual?) infl. of N *síŋku 'sink, fall' and N *s'ó'm₁n₂gE ~ *s'ó'gmE 'enter, penetrate' (q.v.), so that it is hard to distinguish between their respective reflexes.

2094. *sáʔeŋ₁k₂n₂ ~ *séʔaŋ₁k₂n₂ 'be near, approach' > **HS**: EC: Rn sókkò 'closer, nearer', HEC *šík- ({Hd.} *šink-) v. 'approach' > Ged, Sd {Hd.} šík-, Hd {PB} šíka? - id. || Ag *sákkʷ- '≈ be near' > Bln {R} sákk-r-vi. (md.) 'approach', sákk-s- vt. (caus.) 'make so. approach' **J** PG 262, Hd. 21, 26O, 393 (+ unc. Hd hinč-, Kmb hinč y- 'be[come] close, approach'; rec. of HEC *šink- with an unj. *-n-), AD SF 96, 272-3 (C *v̥'s₁ŋ₁kʷ) || NrOm (↔ HEC?): Omt (Gf?) {Mrn.} šík-, Gm {Hw.} šíko vi. 'approach' **J** Mrn. O, Hw. EG || SES *°v̥'š₁k > Sq {L} v̥'š₁k 'se rapprocher' **J** L LS 4O9 **JJ** AD SF 272-3 || **D** *čekk- (~ *čenkk-) 'near, close by' > Prj čekkal 'near', Krx čaxā 'around, near, in the vicinity of', ? Tm cengatā(n) id., cengali 'nearness, neighbourhood' **JJ** D #2753; An. SG 137, KR 14-69 (both on D *-ŋkk- > -ŋk-~ -kk-) || **U** *saře- 'arrive, come' (× *saře- 'obtain, receive, reach' < N *sagæ [= *sage?] 'obtain, hold', q.v.) > FΔ saa- v. 'come, arrive' || pMr {Ker.} *sářə- v. 'come' > Er/Mk sa- mč sa- id. | pChr {Ber.} *šu- v. 'reach (a place), arrive' > StChr L шу- 'аш, Chr P/B/M/Uf/Y/V šu- id., Chr H {Ep.} шо- аш 'reach (by going), catch up with' | pPrm {LG} *su- v. 'overtake (so.)' > Vt сутыны 'catch up with (so.)', Z су- su- id., 'overtake, catch (so.)', {W} 'vorfinden, überraschen, sich ereignen' || Sm {Jn.} *tʃ̥y|åyw̥- (~ *tʃ̥y|åyw̥-?), {Hl.} *tʃ̥ayw̥a v. 'reach, arrive' **Ы** Ne T тэвә- съ 'reach (a place), catch up with', Ne O {Lh.} täeβ·ā, Ne F {Lh.} täe·β:aś 'ankommen, erreichen', En {Ter.} tō-, {Cs.} taebo ~ toebo? (1s aor.) 'reach (a place)', Kms {KD} (1s prs.) tułam ~ t'ułam 'zum Ziele kommen, anlangen, ankommen', tužā' šo'bjam 'ich kam zum Ziele', Mt {Hl.} *tayb̥- (aux. verb with resultative meaning ← 'reach') (Mt M {Sp.} хадайбага 'death' ↔ xə- 'die') **JJ** Coll. 54, UEW 429-3O, It. #37, SK 932-4, Gn. 93O, Hs. 1289, TI 464, SaR 323, Ker. II 128-9 [##339-4O], Ber. 68 [#358], MRS 728-9, Ep. 151, LG 266, Jn. 144, Ter. 684-5, Lh.

479-8O, KD 74, Hl. M #942 ◇ The phonemes *s and *e in U *saɣe- may belong to the heritage of N *sagæ (= *sage?) 'obtain, hold' and therefore are not taken into account in the rec. of the N etymon ◇ HEC, NrOm *-k- < *-?k-.

2095. *säŋqU 'shoulder, nape, back of the neck' > K ≈ *s̥iŋq- > Sv UB/L/Ln šiq 'back (dorsum)' ¶ Ni. s.v. спина, GP 273, TK 818-9, Dn. s.v. šiq || HS: C {AD} *si|unkʷ- 'nape, back, shoulder' > Bj {R} sənkʷā ~ sankʷā id., Bj A {AD} ?u sinkʷa 'back' || EC: Sa {Wlm.} sunku 'shoulder joint', Af {PH} sunku (pl. sunkūka) 'shoulder', Sml {R} sagan (pl. sagammo) 'Nacken, Genick', {Lrj.} sagan-madon 'nape (joint of the neck)' ¶ AD SF 91-2, PH 185, Lrj. 242, R SS II 338 || u *säŋk▽ ({UEW} *seŋk▽ ~ *säŋk▽) 'arm, (?) shoulder' > ObU {JHI.} *θeŋk- (or *θiŋk-) > pOs *fēŋkər ({JHI.} *fīŋkər) 'upper arm, shoulder' > Os: V tēŋkər 'upper arm', Vy yēŋkər 'Arm von der Schulter bis zum Handgelenk, das ganze Arm', D/K tēŋkər 'Achsel', Kz fāŋkər, O tāŋkər 'shoulder (Achsel, Schulter)' || Sm: Ne: T {Ter.} тяңгәд tāŋgad 'biceps; naked arm', T Tz {UEW → Lh.} tāŋkād 'upper arm', F P {Lh.} čeŋkāt 'forearm' ¶ UEW 439, Coll. 18, KrT 1O68, S D 782, Ter. 7O3, Lh. 5O3 ◇ AD GD #48 (U, HS), IS MS 355 s.v. плечо² (U, HS).

2096. *Sap▽ 'to taste, to be tasty' > IE: NaIE *sap- ~ *sab- 'juice', v. 'taste, perceive': [1] *sap- > Av višāpa- (viš-šāpa-) 'poison-juiced' (sc. 'whose juice is poison') (viš- 'poison'); Irn → Arm վիշապ višap 'dragon' || Arm համ ham (< *sap-mo-) 'juice, savour, taste' || L sapio- / -ere v. 'taste; have taste; discern, be wise, think', sapor n. 'taste', Osc SIPVS 'sciens'; L sapta 'juice' || Gmc: MHG be-seben 'wahrnehmen', ON sefi 'mind', OSx sevo 'Gemüt, Herz', AS sefa 'mind, heart'; ? ON safi 'sap (Saft)' | [2] *sab- > OHG saf & saph (gen. saphes, saffes) 'juice', MHG saf (gen. saffes), saft, NHG Saft, MLG sap(p) 'juice, sap', AS sœp id., NE sap || Ilr sabaium 'beer' ¶ WP II 45O-1, P 88O, ≈σ EI 566 (*sap- 'sap', ? *sap- ~ ? *sep- '≈ taste, come to know'), Brtl. 1173, Hü. I 247, WH II 476-7, Bc. G 324, Vr. 459, 467, Ho. 268, 288, Ho. S 64, Kb. 817, OsS 744, Lx. 17, 175, KM 619, ≈ Mn. 11O7, 1112-3 || HS: C {E} pC *šob- 'be pleasant, sweet, pleasing'): Bj {R} 'šibō 'beauty, pleasantness', {Rop.} 'šibi, 'šibi 'good', {R} šebōb (p. a-š'bōb) 'be good, beautiful', {Rop.} šibob 'be good' || ? Hd {E ← ?} šop- 'be sweet' ¶ PB 174 || (here??) SC: ERt {E} *šeba 'beer' > Kz {E} sawa-ko (-ko is a sx. of m.), Asa šeba id. ¶ E PC #249, E SC

93, E p.c. (2002), R WBd 209-10, Rop. 235 || D *čav- ({θGS} *s-) 'taste' > Tm, Tl cavi id., Kt čayv 'taste let in mouth for food just eaten', Kn savi, samvi 'that has taste', 'that is palatable\savoury\sweet\nice', Tu sabi, savi 'flavour, taste; palatable, sweet', Klm savvi, Nkr savad 'sweet' JJ D #2396(a) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #398 (*sap 'touch\taste') (IE, Ai + err. A, J, EA).

2097. *saP¹ū(-s²Δ) 'thorn, pointed stake' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'needle') > HS: CS *ša'pāy- > Sr {Br.} ḫapā'y-ā 'stimulus, σκόλοψ', {JPS} ḫapā'y-ā ~ ḫapā'y-ā 'sharpened stake, splinter, thorn', Ar ḫa'ṣ safā(n) {Ln.} 'any kind of tree having pruckles\thorns', {BK} 'arbre à épines', {Hv.} 'prickly grass', {Br.} [Naq.] 'pricks of barley (spinae hordei murini)' ¶ Br. 794, JPS 590, Ln. 1378, Hv. 325, BK I 1104 || IE: Ht sapikkusta- ~ sepikkusta- 'needle' ¶ Ts. W 70 || U: FU *sapśΔ 'pointed stake\stick' > Lp: S {LÖ} tjuopsem 'furca', N {Fri.} čuopsem 'bifurcum ferreum' | Chr: V šapš 'netting-needle', → (μν) 'winding-spool', → (μν) L шопш šopš, H шапш šapš 'winding-spool, thread on a winding-spool' || ObU {Ht.} *θōpəs > pOs *sopəs 'netting-needle' (*s- for *θ- by as.) > Os: V/Vy sāwəs, Ty/Y sāpəs, D/K/Nz supəs, Kz sāpəs, O sopəs id.; pVg *tās 'small stick' > Vg: T tās, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LLz tōs id. ¶ UEW 432, MRS 692, 719, Ht. #153, ~ Coll. 118 || A: Tg *sap- (+ sx.), *saps- 'needle' > Neg sapkī, Orc saptu 'netting-needle\spit', Orc sapsaŋki 'needle for pricking birch-bark', WrMc sabsi- v. 'stitch (leather when making footwear), prick\singe with a needle (skin of ill persons for treating them)' ¶ STM II 64 || M *sibüge(n) 'awl' > MM [S] śibüge 'Bohrer, Pfriemen', [IM] sibüge, [MA] šibüge, WrM sibüge(n), HIM шөвөг, Ord šöwögö, Brt шүбгэ, Kl шөвг, {Rm.} šöwga ~ šöwgo, MnR H {SM} šub_ug_e, MnR H/M {T} šibuge 'awl' ¶ H 139, Pp. MA 332, 446, MED 696, Ms. O 630, Chr. 737, KRS 681, KW 367, SM 383, T 382 || ?σ NaT *sübri > OT süvri 'with a tapering end, sharp, pointed', Tk sivri, Az {Cl.} sivri, Qzq/TbTt {Rl.} sürü 'pointed' ¶ Cl. 791, Rl. IV 796 ¶ KW 367 (M, T) ¶ M *i and T *ü are probably due to the ass. infl. of the reflexes of N *ü ¶ ≠ DQA #2665 (A *siäbi 'to sew, to perforate, awl', incl. M).

2098. ²*sāpΔ 'riverbank, river' > HS: S *°šip- (or *°sīp-) > Ar sīf- 'shore of the sea or of a great river, side of a valley' (df. السَّبِيفُ pas-sīf-

is applied to the sea-shore of 'Oman); Ar *sīf-*, Ar Δ **sīf-at-* → Jb C pl. 'sef, sg. *sift*, Jb E 'seft, Mh *səft* 'sea-shore' ¶ Ln. 1485, BK I 1176, Hv. 347, Jo. M 355 ¶ Not here Hb *שָׁפֶה* *שָׁא'פָה* 'bank, shore' (from N **šā'p?*Δ 'lip; [→] edge, shore, riverbank') || Eg fMKL/Md *sp.t* 'bank (of waterway), shore; edge (of a wound, well, vessel, horizon)' ¶ This word may have influenced the Eg word for 'lip' (*sp.t* with *s-* for the expected *š-*, cp. S **šā'p-at-*'lip', see N **šā'p?*Δ '↑') ¶ EG IV 99-100, Fk. 222 || B **sīf-* ~ **sūf-* / pl. **sāff-* 'river' > Mz {Dlh.} *suf* (pl. *isufən*) 'rivière qui coule, torrent', Shw {Hy.} *suf* (pl. *isafən* ~ *isaffən*), Sll {Ds.} *a-sif* (pl. *i-säffən*), SrSn {Rn.} *a-sif* (pl. *asaffən*), Izd {Mrc.}, Tmz {MT} *a-sif* (pl. *i-saffən*) 'rivière, fleuve', Kb {Dl.} *asif* (pl. *isaffən*) id., 'wadi', Nf {Beg.} *usəf* (pl. *i'saffən*) id., {La.} *usəf* (pl. *isaffən*) 'rivière', Ah † {Fc.} *ă-sif* 'valley' (preserved in toponymy) ¶ Rn. 313, La. S 289, Ds. 131, 250, Dlh. M 184, Dl. 759, Fc. 1806, MT 617, Msq. Z 527, Hy. 456, Mrc. 402, Beg. N 317, Fc. 1806 ¶ Some infl. of N **čE,y,p*Δ 'sink, immerse; swim; flow' cannot be ruled out || NrOm {Blz.} **šaf-* > Zs {C} *šafā* 'river, lake', Gf {C} *šāfā*, Gm {Hw.} *šāpa* 'river' ¶ Blz. OL #212, C SE III 207, C SO 51, Hw. EG || Ch: WCh: Gmy *šip* 'river' ¶ ChC ¶ OS #2253 (**šip-* 'river, river-bed') || A: M **saba* > WrM *saba*, HlM *cab*, Kl *cab* 'river-bed' (unless ← *saba*, *cab* 'vessel'), WrM *sab*, HlM *cab* 'frontier, limit', Kl Ö {Rm.} *sawa* 'Grenzland, Seitenplatz'; M → Chg *sapa* 'Seitenplatz außerhalb der Stadt', Osm *sapa yol* 'round-about way' ¶ MED 653, KRS 434, KW 315 || T **sep-* > Xk *šip* 'small river bay', Tv, Tf *sep* 'river bay', Qb/Sg/Qc {Rl.} *sep* 'tributary of a river, Nebenfluß', ? Chg {Rl.} *sipa* 'terrace' ¶ Rs. W 410, BIG 187, Rl. IV 493, 726, Ra. 226 || AmTg **saps*Δ 'bank (of a body of water)' > Orc *sapsa* id., Ul, Nn Nh *sapsi*, *sapsi qıranı* 'bank (at the edge of water)', Nn KU *sapsıklı*, Nn B *safsı* *qıranı* id. ¶ STM II 64 || pJ {S} **sip̚* 'tide' > OJ *sipò*, J: T/Kg *šiō*, K *šiō* ¶ S QJ #1166, Mr. 525 ¶ DQA #1922 (A **sap̚i* 'shore': T, Tg, J) ◇ The front vw. of the first syll. in T, pJ, and possibly in branches of HS (S, B, WCh) may be due to regr. as. (**a...E* [= **a...i??*] > T **e...*, pJ **i...*, and HS **ī...*). Alternatively, the stem with **ī* in HS (S, B, WCh) may be interpreted as a bf. from pl. **sāp-* (the pattern **ī* sg. - **ā* pl., preserved in B?).

2099. **šip*Δ 'to pour, to drop, to drizzle, to filter\screen' > HS: Eg fXXII *sfsf* ({EG} *śfśf*) 'spenden (Wasser)' ¶ EG IV 118 || +ext.: S **všpk* v. 'pour out, spill' > BHb *všpk* (pf. *שְׁפַךְ* *שָׁא'פָךְ*, ip. *yishpach*).

š'pok) v. 'pour, pour out', Ug ✓ špk v. 'spill', JPA ✓ špk G v. 'pour out, spill, shed', JEA ✓ špk G id., 'flow', Sr ✓ špk G 'pour from one vessel into another, empty out', Md ✓ špk v. 'pour out, spill', Ar ✓ sfk v. G 'pour (blood, tears)', Gz ✓ sbk v. 'melt', Tgr t̥əsəbbəkə 'gegossen werden (aus Metall)', Ak ✓ špk (inf. šapāku) to pour, heap\pile up'; possibly S → Eg ſfc ({EG} ſf̥t̥) 'in oil (used in rituals and originating from SW Asia)' ¶ KB 1504-5, OLS 449, Js. 1616-7, Sl. 1170-1, Br. 795, JPS 591, DM 472, Sd. 1168-9, BK I 1101, Hv. 324, LG 483, CAD XVII/1 412-22, EG IV 118, Fk. 225 || IE: NaIE *ſeip-/*ſeib- v. 'pour, spill, screen': NaIE *ſeib- > MLG ſīpen, MHG ſīfen, AS ſīpian v. 'drop, drip', NE ſeep, ſipe; Sw Δ ſipa 'langsam fließen, sickern', MLG ſīp 'small brook' | NaIE *ſēl̥bon 'tropfbares Fett' > Gmc *ſaiþō 'soap, resin' > AS ſāpe id., OHG ſeifā, ON ſápa 'soap'; Gmc → F ſaippiā, Δ ſaippio, L ſāpō 'soap' (see Rufinus *Apologia Originis*: τῷ Γερμανικῷ σμήγματι καλεῖται δὲ σάπων) | NaIE *ſeip- > OHG ſib, NHG Sieb, Dt zeef, AS ſife n. 'sieve', NE ſieve || Sl: SCr ſípiti 'to drizzle' || Tc A ſip-, ſep- v. 'anoint', ſepal 'ointment' ¶ WP II 468, P 894, WH II 504, ≠ 478, Vr. 462-3, SSA III 143, Ho. 270, 293, 296, Kb. 836, 848, OsS 751, 758, Lx. 193, KM 699, Wn. 427-8, ≠ Glh. 548-9 || A (pA **ſipe(r̥)) M: [1] *ſibere- > WrM ſibere-, HlM шиврэ- v. 'drizzle', M *ſiber > WrM ſiber, HlM шивэр, шивир 'drizzling rain, light shower', Ord ſiwer 'une fine pluie' ¶ MED 695, Ms. O 625 | [2] ? M **ſiβ̥ü- (acc. to Rm. SKE, it may go back to pA {Rm.} **ſip̥ü-) > MM [MA] ſū- v. 'filter', WrM ſigü-, HlM шүү- v. 'filter, strain; percolate', Kl шүү- ſū- v. 'filter', Mnr H {SM} ſū- 'faire ou laisser écouler' ¶ Pp. MA 337, MED 693, KRS 688, KW 372, SM 383 || ? pKo *ſpiri- v. 'moisten' > MKo ſpiri- id., NKo ſuri- v. 'sprinkle, shower, rain slightly' (× NKo ſuri- 'scatter, sow?') ¶ ≈ S QK #959, MLC 814 || Tg: WrMc ſibkuri {Z} 'drain-gutters\holes in city walls, капельники, желоба\отверстия на городской стѣнѣ для стока воды', {Hr.} 'Loch am Fuße der Mauerzinnen als Wasserabfluß und Schießscharte' (WrMc ү spelled with the characters of WrM ü) ¶ Z 600, Hr. 789] ¶ SDM95 s.v. *ſiba 'clay; to smear', Rm. SKE 49 (WrMc *ſipki- [for WrMc ſibkuri?] ÷ WrM ſigü- + *÷ Ko č̥hi-da v. 'sift' and [with two queries] T: QK {Rl.} čū-, Tb {Rl.} čū- 'mit einem Netze fischen') ¶ M ſiba- (> WrM ſiba-, HlM шивах v. 'plaster, apply ointment') does not belong here but rather to

A *sipa- 'clay; to smear' < N *šíw^{r̥}í a (or *šíwga) 'to smear' (q.v.)
 ◇ IS SS 345 [#11.11] (S, Eg ꝑft, IE, M).

2100. *śip^ñ 'young of a bird' > HS: Eg G ꝑft 'in bird' § EG IV 118 ||
 B *^ośāf- > ETwl/Ty {GhA} tassāf 'in blue-violet sparrow' § GhA 17O,
 PrGG 290 || NrOm: Gng {Blz.} *śāff- 'bird' > Kf {R ← Krapf} ꝑoffeé
 'bird' § R K 79, Blz OL s.v. 'bird' || ?? WCh: Wrj/Kry {Sk.} ši w 'cock' §
 Sk. NB 12, Stl. ZCh #33O ({Stl.}) *ši w 'bird'; mentions Su {← ?} ši
 'bird') || D (in GnD) *čīv- ~ *čīpp- 'young of birds' (× N ψο *čīpu(-
 r̥ñ) 'small bird') > Knd śīpři, śīpi 'chicken', Gnd čīva ꝑ čīwā(l) ꝑ
 čīvnā ꝑ cīvā, Kui śīpa, Ku hippa ꝑ hipā ꝑ hīpa id., 'chick' § D #2636
 || A: M *siba-ψun 'bird' > MM [L] {Pp.} šibawun, [MA, IM] {Pp.}, [HI]
 {Ms.} šiba-un, [S] {H} śibao-un id., WrM sibagu(n), HIM шүвүү
 'bird, fowl', Brt шүбүүн, Ord {Ms.} ši wū', Kl {KRS} шовүүн, {Rm.}
 šowūn, MnR H {SM, T} šū, {Pot.} шиво, MnR M {T} šibu, {Pot.} шипо
 'bird', ShY {Pot.} шовүүн § H 139, Pp. L III 6O, Pp. MA 332, 447, MED
 747, Rm. 366, SM 383, T 386, Pot. 418, Ktw. OuJ 451 || STg *sipi- 'in
 small bird; a swallow' > WrMc {Z, Hr.} sibirgan 'motley swallow,
 gesprengelte Schwalbe' (-gan induced by guldargan 'swallow'), Jrc
 {Kiy.} šibi,r,hun 'swallow' § Z 599, Hr. 788, Kiy. 107 [#183] || pKo {S}
 *čīāpì n. 'swallow' (× N ψο *čīpu(-r̥ñ) '↑') > MKo {S}, NKo čēbi § S QK
 #183, Rm. SKE 26, Gale 848, MLC 1464, Nam 425 § Rm. SKE 26 (Ko,
 Tg), DQA #2014 (pA *s|z̥ip^ñ 'a kind of small bird').

2101. (2?) *ś^{r̥}ū^{r̥}P^ñ (or *śū^{r̥}?P^ñ?) to sleep', '(?) to rest (sich
 erholen)' > IE *swep-/*sup- v. 'sleep' > Ht ꝑup- v. md. 'sleep' || NaIE
 *swep-/*sup- v. 'sleep, dream' > OI 'svapiti, 'svapati 'sleeps', Av
 x^vap- 'sleep' || Gk ὄπαρ 'waking vision, Wahrtraum' || L d. sōpiō /
 sōpīre 'put/lull to sleep' || ON sofa, AS swefan 'to sleep', MHG
 ent-sweben 'to fall asleep', swēp (gen. swēbes), AS sweofot n.
 'sleep' || Sl *sъpā-ti 'to sleep' > OCS съпати, SCr spāti, Slv
 spáti, Cz spáti, Slk spat', P spać, R спать, Uk 'спати id., Blg
 спя v. 'sleep'] ↳ NaIE *'swop-nos, *'swep-no-s, *sup-'no-s n. 'sleep,
 dream' > ON svefn, AS swefn id. || OI 'svapna-, Av x^vapna- n.
 'sleep, dream' || Tc A ꝑpäm, B ꝑpäne n. 'sleep' || Sl *sъnъ id., 'dream'
 > OCS сънъ sъnъ, Blg сън, SCr sān, Slv sen sān, Cz, Slk, P sen, R,
 Uk сон id. | Lt sāpnas, Ltv sapnis n. 'dream' || Gk ὄπνος n. 'sleep' ||
 Arm բուն kʰun (gen. բոնյ kʰnoy) id. || pAl {O} *supna > Al gjumē id.

|| L **somnus** id. || pClt {Vn.} *sou̥no- > OIr **súar**, Brtt {RE} *sou̥nos n. 'sleep' > MW, W, Crn, OBr, MBr, Br **hun** id., OCrn [ɣ] **hun** 'letargia' || ↳ NaIE {EI} *'sw̥opniyo-m n. 'dream' > L **somnium**, Gk ἐνύπτιον, Lt Δ **sapnūs** id., OI 'sv̥apniyam 'dreamy' || d.: IE *sw̥ep̥r-/*sup̥r- > L **sopor** (gen. **sōpōris**) 'deep sleep' 'deep sleep', Gk ὑπαρ 'true dream, waking vision', Ht **suppariya-** v. md. 'dream, sleep' ¶ P 1O48-9, EI 17O, 527, Ts. W 78, F II 966, 97O-1, WH II 557-8, 561, Vn. S 196-7, RE 13O, Slt. 63-4, Vr. 528, Ho. 334-5, Lx. 41, 222, O 138, Glh. 539-4O, 571, Frn. 762, Kar. II 154, Wn. LE 125, Wn. 46O-1, Ad. 666, Ad. H 29, 36 || HS: SES *✓ ſ̥e̥p̥ > Jb C {Jo.} 'ſef (ip. 'yſef, sbjn. 'yſef), Jb E {Jo.} 'ſef 'sleep', Sq {L} ſ̥ef ~ ſ̥e̥f id. ¶ Jo. J 267, Jo. M 425-6, 593, L LS 4O9, 42O || Ch: CCh: Msg {Brt.} **safaua** 'sleep', Msg G {Trn.} inf., pl. **sifí**, sg. **s3fá** v. 'se reposer à l'ombre' | Nz {Mch.} **z̥avə** 'sleep' | Suk {IL} **s3vāj** id. || ?? WCh: My/Mbr {Sk.} **saw** v. 'rest' ¶ JI I 154 (*✓ z̥b 'sleep') and II 298-9, ChC, Lk. DQM 111, Trn. LM 114 || ?φ,σ Α: Tg: WrMc {Hr.} **sebi-** 'sich erholen', **sebki-** id., 'wieder zu Kräften kommen', {Z} **sebi-**, **sebki-** 'take breath, rest' ¶ Hr. 773, Z 581, STM II 134 || M *seb(ki)- > WrM {MED} **sebki-** v. 'recover from fatigue; to rest, refresh oneself', HIM {Luv.} **сэвхий-** v. 'rest' (but **сэвхий-** 'be cooled [e.g. by sweating]' may be of another origin), Brt **һәб гүүлә-** 'let the horse take breath' ¶ MED 679, Gl. II 395, Luv. 372, Chr. 7O1 ¶ STM II 134 ◇ The discrepancy between the IE ev. of N *u̥ü and the M-Tg ev. (pointing to N *e or *ä) is still to be explained. Sq ſ̥e̥f suggests that the discrepancy may be solved by reconstructing N *ſ̥u̥?æP_Ν ◇ IS MS 367 s.v. спать (IE, HS: SES, Msg).

2102. *S'ū'p̥N 'to sweep' > IE: NaIE *sw̥ep̥-/*seup̥- 'sweep' > Vd (h. 1.) **sva'pū** '(?) broom' || Gmc *sw̥ōpōn > ON **sópa**, Dn, NNr **sopa** v. 'to sweep', NE **sweep**; AS ȝe-sw̥ōpe, OHG gisopfa ~ gisophā, gisopfo ~ gisopho 'garbage, discharge', NE **swoop**; ON **sóf1** 'broom' || ?σ NaIE *sw̥ep̥-/*seup̥- 'pour (schütten), scatter' > L [Fest.] **sup̥-ō** / -āre 'throw', diss-sip-ō (~ dissup-ō) / -āre 'strew around, scatter, disperse' || Sl *su-ti / *sъp̥-ō 'v. 'pour (schütten)' > OCS **сѹтн** **suti** / **съпж** **сърд**, OR **suti** / **с(ъ)ру** id., SCr with pvs.: **sà-súti** / **sà-spēm** 'pour out', **nà-súti** / **nà-spēm** 'pour in\into', etc.; Sl ip. *s̥ípā-ti 'schütten' > ChS **сыпать** **sípati**, SCr **sípati**, Slv **sípati**, Cz **sypati**, Slk **sypat'**, P **syrać**, R 'сыпать' id., Blg 'сипвам' 'I pour' ¶ WP II 524, P 1O49, EI 582 (*sw̥ep̥- 'throw,

sweep (into the air)'), M K III 561 (the meaning of *sva'pū-* is not clear), WH I 256-7, Vr. 628, 53O, Ho. 339, Kb. 376Vs. III 812, 818, Glh. 548 || HS: B *✓*sfđ* > Sll {Ds.} ✓*sfđ* v. G 'sweep', Mz {Dlh.}, Mtm {Ds.} ✓*sfđ* v. G 'wipe (off\away)', Wrg {Dlh.}, Tmz {MT}, Gd {Lf.} ✓*sfđ* v. G id., 'clean by wiping', Kb {Dl.} ✓*sfđ* v. G 'wipe, rub', Ah {Fc.} ✓*sfđ* v. G 'clean (by wiping, etc.), remove (dust, sand)' ¶ Ds. 31, Ds. B 121, Dlh. M 184-5, Dlh. Ou 29O-1, Dl. 76O, MT 618, Fc. 18O6, Lf. II #1432 || Ch: WCh: Dir {Sk.} sàfá, Sir cázfu, My čázfá 'sweep' || CCh: Gude {ChL} sàbag-ič, FIJ {ChL} súvàbì, FIM {ChL} šíbi, FIB {ChL} súba id. | Lgn {Bou.} sàwàyà id. || ECh: Mgm {J} sàwwò, Mkl {J} síppè id. ¶ ChC, ChL || A (?) *šüpu ~ *šip'ü' v. 'sweep', n. 'broom'): NaT *süp 'broom' > Chg {Rl.} süp id., d. Chg {Rl.} süpsä, süpsük 'Kehricht'; T *süpür ~ *sipir- v. 'sweep' > OT {Cl.} sipir-, [MhK] {Dnk.} süpür-, MQp XIII-XIV süpür- id., Osm {Rl.} -سوپور süpür-, Tk süpür-, Chg {Rl.} süpür-, sipür-, ET, Az süpür-, Tkm сүпүр- түпүр-, Uz supur-, Qmq, QrB, Alt {BT}, Qmn {B}, Tlt {Rl.} sibir-, VTt себер- сబер-, Bsh hепер- хырър-, Nog., Qzq, Qq, Qrg S sipir-, Qrg šipir- v. 'sweep', Tv širbır v. 'sweep', Chv шапар šyb_ъr 'broom'; T → M *siþür (> *siþür) 'broom' > MM {MT} ši,ür, Kl сәвүр säþür, {Rm.} säwür (infl. of säwür 'Fächer') ~ šür, WrM sigür, HlM шүүр šür 'broom'; M → Yk sippir id.; *siþür- 'sweep' > MM {MT} šiþür-, {Hl} ši,ür-; *siþürde- 'sweep' > WrM sigürde-, HlM шүүрдэ-, Kl сәвүрд- säþürde-, Kl D {Rm.} säwürde-, Ord {Ms.} šürde- id.; M → Yk sippiy- 'sweep', Ewk sippiy-~sippir- id. ¶ Rl. IV 848-50, Cl. 719, 729, 732, Rs. LTS 171, Rs. W 437, MKD 171, Jud. 682, 921, BT 128, B DK 246, TvR 267, Pek. 2234-5, Jeg. 334-5, Pp. MA 336, Ms. H 98, MED 703, KRS 445, SM 383, KW 319, T 386, STM II 93 ¶ Chv š- < pT *s- due to the palatalizing infl. of *ü || ? M *sebi|ü- v. 'fan, wave', {?} 'sweep' > WrM sebi-, HlM сәвә-х v. 'fan, wave', Ord {Ms.} sewe- 'éventer, s'éventer', Dx šiu-, Mnr H {SM, T} šü- 'sweep', ?σ Kl D {Rm.} säw-χα 'mit den Flügeln flattern\schlagen'; → *sebi-ýür 'fan' > WrM sebigür, HlM сәвүр id., Kl {Rm.} säwür 'Fächer' ¶ MED 679, Ms. O 577, SM 383, T 386, T DnJ 142, Rm. 319 || ? Tg {DQA} *°ç|šip|i|ü- > Ewk çip- v. 'scrape' ¶ STM II 398 || ?φ (mt.?) pKo {S} *psír- 'sweep, wipe' > MKo psír-, NKo s:il- ¶ S QK #603, Nam 321, MLC 1027 ¶ DQA #2166 (A *šip'a 'to sweep', incl. T, Ko) || D *čEpp- (= *čipp-?) 'sweep' > Tm cíprā, Kn cípari, Kdg čípe, Tl cí:puru, Klm, Nk sabdi, Prj čépid, Gdb sepeč čépēd sēpe sēpēt, Gnd hēpur čepur, Knd siper, Png

hipos, Mnd hēpur, Kui sēperi, Ku hepori $\not\sim$ hapuri 'broom', Krg tippi, Knd sipa-, Png hīp-, Mnd, Ku hēp-, Kui sēpa- v. 'sweep', ? Tm cīvu 'sweep clean (as floor)' §§ D #2599 ◇ The delabialization *ū > *i (as observed in M, Tg, and probably in D) is a rather frequent phenomenon (see Introduction, 2.4) ◇ IS MS 348 s.v. мести *'s'upn (IE, A, D).

2103. *śEP₁q₂ṇ 'cover, bury' > **U:** FU *śipt₁pt₂ṇ- v. 'shut, cover' > Z śipt₁-, Yz śipti- id.; Z → Vg N {MK} sapti ~ säpti, ML {MK} šapti- ~ säpti, LL {MK} šēpti-, P säpti-, K šāpti- ~ säpti- 'bury, hide' § LG 256-7, MK 529, ≠ Coll. 57 || **HS:** Eg fP sby (EG šb̥) 'close arms about so., enclose, shut away' § EG IV 91, Fk. 22O || **IE:** ?μ NaIE *°sepel- v. 'bury' > L sepeliō v. 'bury' (sup. sepultum) § Dv. #353, WH II 517, EM 615 § The origin of the morphological structure of the L word remains unknown.

2104. *säq₁i₂yē 'matter, pus, gall' > **HS:** Eg Md/N s̥y 'gall' > Cpt: Sd ciše s̥iše, A ciče s̥ix₂e id., 'bitterness' § EG III 228, Vc. 203 || SC: Irg {Mgw., MQK} sāxi 'bile', {E} saxi 'gall-bladder' § E SC 179, Mgw. 100, MQK 92 || ?φ CCh: Lgn {Nc.} tseki 'gall' (c- for the expected s- is puzzling) § Lk. L 123 §§ ≈ OS #2171, Tk. I 169 || **U:** *sāye ({Jn.} *sexji) 'pus, liquid of the body, rotten liquid' > pLp {Lr.} *sēy₃ matter, pus' > Lp: S {Hs.} s̥iše, L {LLO} s̥jedja, N {N} sieggjā / -j- 'matter (in a boil, wound), Kld {Gn., SaR} s̥iyu 'matter in a boil' | pMr {Ker.} *s̥iy- > Er, Mk сый s̥iy, Er/Mk Δ s̥i 'matter, pus' | pChr {Ber.} *süy id. > Chr: H шү šü, L шүй šüy, Uf šü, B šüy, M šüy id. | Prm {LG} *siš 'rotten stuff, rot; rotten' > Z cisc̥ siš, Δ siš $\not\sim$ siš, Vt cisc̥ siš id., Yz 'siš 'rotten' || pObU {Hl.} *θey- (= {Ht.} *θäy- ~ *θey-) ~ *θöy- 'pus, matter' > pVg {Ht.} sāy > Vg: T/UK/P säy, LK säy, Ss say id.; pOs {Ht.} *föy > V løy, Vy yöy, öy, Ty/Y föy, D/K tøy, Nz tøy, Kz föy id. | Hg Δ eύ $\not\sim$ év id. || Sm {Jn.} *te ~ *ti 'pus, matter' > [1] *te > Sq Tz {KKIH} tē, Slq Tm {KD} tē' id., UO {KD} t̥ē 'ear-wax', Kms {KD} ča, Koyb {Sp.} тэ 'pus, matter'; [2] *ti > Mt {Hl.} ti (Mt M {Sp.} ты) id. | Sm *ti- $\not\sim$ *te- v. 'rot' > Ne T d. тим-зъ, Ne F {Lh.} t̥im-ć, Ng {Mik.} t̥im-si id., En X {Cs.} 1s aor. t̥imerō? 'get sour', Slq Tm {KD} tēmba, Slq Chl {Cs.} v. čiemba, Kms {KD} 1s prs. t̥eříem 'rot' §§ Coll. 11, UEW 434, Sm. 54O (U *sexji 'matter' > FU, FP *seeji, Ugr *säjǐ, Sm *tiəj), Lr. #1139, Lgc. #6313, Hs. 1129, Gn. 955, SaR 32O, ERV 627, PI 261, Ker. II 14O, Ber. 72 [#386], MRS 742, Ep. 157, LG 259, Lt. J 176, Ht. #118, MF 115-6, Jn. UK 57 (U *sexji 'faul, Fäule'), Jn. 161, Hl. M 358, KKIH 181 || **A:** Tg *sī,

*sī-lse ({Bz.} *sui-lsä) 'gall' > Ewk sī, Sln šīldz, Neg siltz, Ud {Krm.} silihз, Ul siltz ~ siltz, Ork suiltz, Nn siltz ~ siltz, WrMc silhi 'gall', Jrc {Kiy.} šilihi 'gall bladder' ¶ Bz. 994, STM II 73, Krm. 285, Kiy. 126 [#516] ◇ Hardly here the alleged IE √ {P} *sej-/ *soj- 'tröpfeln, rinnen, feucht', arbitrarily abstracted by WP and P from *sejl- (> Lt séilé 'saliva', etc.) and *sejm- (> OHG seim 'Honigseim', W hufen 'cream', etc.) ◇ On N *-eHi- > Tg *-ī- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ IS MS 336 s.v. ГНОЙ *säjñ (Tg, U), AD GD 7.

2104a. *śaRΔ 'top, hill' > **K:** G ser-i 'hill'; ≠φ Lz {Blz. ← Tll. ← ?} ser̄ti 'top of a hill' ¶ DCh. 1164 || **IE** *ser-/ *sr- > Ht {Ts.} ser 'oben, oberhalb, darauf, darüber' || Gk Hm βέρν 'peak'; but hardly here βέρν {EI} 'promontory' ¶ Ts. W 74, F II 568, EI (Gk βέρν 'promontory' < IE *wri- 'fort') || **HS:** EC: Sml sare 'upper, top, topmost; above, up, high', Rn sarāt 'of the sky, (of) above, upper', sártis 'above him\it, on top of him\it, the top of him\it', sárčé 'above, higher than' ¶ ZMO 356, PG 256-7 || **U** {UEW} *śarma 'top of the tent' > FU: Vg: UL {Knn.} suŕmas 'smoke\light hole at the top of the tent', ML/P {Mu.} surma/ suram, K {Mu.} sōram ({[Mu.]} sōrēm) id. || Sm: Nn: T сарва, T O {Lh.} sārwa 'top of the tent', En 'sama?a 'smoke hole at the top of the tent', ? Kms {KD} mā-zəro id. (mā? ~ mā? 'tent') ¶ Coll. 58, Coll. CG 144, UEW 463, WVD 308-9, MK 579, Ter. 533, Kh. 404 ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 139 [#24], Blz. IB #111f and ≈ Blz. LNA #52 (all: including K, IE, and EC).

2105. *śArΔ(na) 'to sing, to utter ritual\magical incantations' > **HS:** S *-śīr- v. 'sing', *śīr- 'song' > BHb ip. -śīr-, pf. śār 'sing', śīr 'song', JPA שִׁירָא šī'rā id., Ug √ šyr 'sing' ([AkSc] 3m yaśīr in a pr. n.), šr ([AkSc] šīru) 'song', šr 'singer', SmA, ChrPA -śīr- 'sing', אֲשִׁירָא šī'rā 'Gesang', Ak OB šēru id. ¶ KB 1371-4, A #2682, OLS 451-2, Hnr. 181, Tal 89O-1, Lv. IV 549, Sd. 1219 || Ch: Kwn {J} sīré v. 'sing' ¶ ChL, JS 228 (Ch. *√ sr) ¶ HS *-r- < *-rn- (as.?) || **U:** FU *śarna 'solemn\magic utterance' > F saarna 'sermon', saarna- v. 'preach', Krl A soārnu 'folktale, legend' | Prm *śorńi ({LG} *śorńi) > *śorńi ({LG} *śorńi) (*o > *ɔ due to *r) > Z сёрни śorńi, Yz 'śorńi 'conversation, discourse', Z śornit-, Prmk {W} čornit-, {WR} śorńit- 'speak, talk' || Os: K sārnāy- 'invoke (protecting spirits, etc.) by incantations' ({PD} 'hervorzaubern, durch Zaubersprüche herbeirufen'), Km sārnāymān yāstata 'mit Schmeichel \ Koseworten sprechen' (yāstata 'say, speak') ¶ Coll. 55, It. #38, UEW 463, Sm. 553 (FP *śarńa 'discussion'), LG 253-4, PD #209O,

Stn. 1373 | | A: NaT **sarin* 'incantation, song', **sari₁n*- v. 'sing' > Qzq † {RI.} *sarna-* 'sing incantations', Qzq {Sht.} *sarn-* v. 'lament, bewail, sing mournfully; moan', Qmq, Alt {BT}, Tb/Qmn {B}, Xk {BIG} *sarin* 'song', Tel/Shor/QK/Sg/Qb {RI.} *sarin* 'Gesang', qor *sarin* 'Wettgesang, in dem die beiden Gegner sich gegenseitig tadeln\verspotten', *sarina-* 'Lieder singen', Tb {B} *sarina-* 'sing', Alt {BT, RI.}, Qmn {B} Tel/Shor {RI.}, Qmq *sarna-* id., Nog, Qmq *sarn-* 'sing' (of birds), Tkm *сарна-* *θarna-* 'mumble, mutter', rcpr. *θarnaš-* 'exchange angry words' ¶ RI. IV 323, 334, Sht. 168, NogR 289, BT 126, B DChT 147, B DK 246, TkR 567, BIG 182, KumRS 279 || ?σ Tg {DQA} **sarin* 'a feast (Gastmahl)' > Nn Nh/KU *sarū*, Nn B *sari(n-)* id., WrMc *sarin* id., 'a meal, banquet'; Tg **sarila-* v. 'feast (schmausen)' > Nn *sarila-* id., 'celebrate a wedding', WrMc *sarila-* v. 'feast, offer a meal' ¶ STM II 66 ¶ DQA #1936 (A **sar*▽ 'song, feast') ◇ The absence of *n in S may either be original (in this case N ***na** is an additional element of a cd.) or result from later loss (due to metanalysis?) ◇ Coll. 146 (U, T) → IS MS 342 (**śarnā* 'заклинание' > U, T) and UEW 462-3 (FU, T).

2106. *säR'U' (= **säRo?*) sinew, fibre' > HS: WS (or CS?) **šurr-* 'navel-string' > BHb *šor** 'navel-string, navel' (att.: שָׁרֵךְ *šor'r-ek* 'thy [f.] navel-string', etc.), Ug *šr*, JPA {Lv.} *שׁוֹרָא* *šō'r-ā*, JEA {Sl.} *שׁוֹרָא* *šō'r-ā*, Sr *še^or^u'r-ā* id., Md *šura*, NMd *šorra* 'navel', Ar *surr-* 'navel-string'; SES (× N **žirw*▽ - **žir'u* 'root' and N **žeRgū* 'vein, sinew?'): Mh {Jo.} *širē* 'navel', Hrs {Jo.} *šerā*, Jb C {Jo.} *ši'reh*, Sq {L} *širah* ~ *širah* id. ¶ KB 1522-3, OLS 453, Lv. IV 525, Br. 802, DM 456, Mc. HM 512, Ln. 1338, BK I 1075, ~ Js. 1542 (JA *שׁוֹרָא* 'chain, cord'), Sl. 1124, Jo. M 395, Jo. H 124, Jo. J 267, L LS 421, 433, SSL LSNP 433, MiK I #1.254 || B **✓srw* > Izn/Rf *asraw* 'fil de chaîne du métier à tisser', Rf B/A *fiřu usra* 'fil horizontal (trame)', Tmz *i-sirr* (pl. *i-sarr-ən*) 'fibre de bois\viande; fil de trame, fin pour le tissage des djellabas ou des burnous' ¶ Rn. 314, MT 653 || IE: NaIE **ser-* 'thread, string' (× NaIE **ser-* 'fasten together in rows' < N **šeR*▽ 'row' × N **žeRgū* '↑') > OI *ṣarāt* {MW} 'thread', {M} 'sutra', *ṣarit* {MW} 'thread, string', {M} 'sutra', *ṣarāṇi-* {MW} 'a strait\continuous line', OI *mauktikasara*, *muktāmaṇi-sara*, *maṇi-sara* 'string of pearls', NPrs هار *ḥār* 'row, string (of pearls, etc.)', ??σ YAv *ḥarā-*, *ḥaraiti-* 'a legendary mountain ridge' (Brtl.: "nach Yt. 19,1 umlagert das Gebirg alle Länder des Westens und Ostens") || Tc A *sar-* 'vein' || Gk δρις

'fishing-line of horsehair', ὄρμός 'cord, chain' (× IE *ser- 'fasten together in rows') || Olt sérís 'thread, cobbler's thread' || ON sørvi 'Halsband aus aufgereihten Perlen\Steinen' ¶ P 911, F II 421, MW 775, 821, 836, 1182, ≠ M K III 442, Mn. 1131, Brtl. 1787, VI. II 143-9, Sg. 1485, ~ Bai. 479-8O, ~ Vr. 577, Wn. 414, ≠ EI 354 (OLt sérís < *ser-'line up') || U *sär^V > FU *sär^V 'vein, root' > Chr: H шäр šär 'blood vessel (artery, vein), pulse', Lшер šer, L вүршер vür-šer 'pulse' (← 'blood-vessel'; вүр means 'blood'), кидшер kid-šer 'pulse' (кид 'hand'), B/Uf vür-šer 'blood vessel' | Prm *ser in *vir-ser 'blood-vessel' (*vir 'blood') > Z UV vir-sər, Vt Sr vir-ser, Vt Kz ver-ser 'blood-vessel' || pObU {Ht.} *θēr 'root' > pVg {Ht.} *tār id. > Vg: T tār, LK/MK/UK/NV tār, P/SV/LL/ML tār, UL/Ss tār; pOs {Ht.} *þer id. > Os: V/O ler, Vy yer, Ty/Y þār, D/K/Nz ter, Kz þer | Hg ér (accus. eret) 'blood-vessel, vein, artery' || pY {IN} *θar- 'root' > OY K {Bil.} larkul, {Merk} larkun id., YK {IN} lar-quł, {Krn.} lar-xul id. (-q~-x and -l are nominal suffixes) ¶ The names for blood-vessel\sinew and for root were connected because both were used as threads (ropes) ¶ Coll. 77, UEW 437, It. #3O1, Sm. 548 (FU, FP, Ugr *särä 'fibre'), 553 (FP *ser^V 'vein'), MRS 87, 197, 697, 7O2, LG 264, Ht. #155, MF 159-6O, IN 22O, 3O7 || A: Tg: [1] *sire-, *sire-kte 'sinew, thread' > Ewk sīrəktz 'sinew, vein, sinew-fibre', sīrən 'in a horsehair (in self-shooting bows, fish-nets, etc.)', Sln širiktz ~ širittz, Neg, Orc siyəkt, Ud sīzktz, {Krm.} sēktz 'thread', Lm sīrən 'a hair, thread in a self-shooting bow', Orc siyəktz 'thread in a snare device', Ud sīz 'a hair (trigger in a self-shooting bow)', Ork sīrəktz 'fibre, a hair (in threads)', Ul, Nn KU sīrəktz 'thread, rope', PCMc sīren 'thread', WrMc sīren id., 'bowstring', WrMc sirge ~ sirxe 'fibre, thread' ¶ STM II 97-8, Krm. 283, Z 616-9, Mls. 238 | [2] ? Tg *serē- v. 'embroider' > Ewk sərə-, Lm hərə- id., WrMc sereme 'threads (of deer wool) for embroidery' ¶ STM II 146 || ? pKo {S} *sīr, {Vv.} *sīlā 'thread' (× N *sūl₁w₂^V 'thread, string') > MKo {S} sīr, MKo XV {Vv.} sīrl 'thread', Ko sil id., 'silk thread', ?σ MKo XII sil {WS} 'Watte, Flocken' ¶ S QK #1O68, MLC 8O7, Rm. SKE 233, Gale 62O, Xol. 359, Vv. AEN 5, WS 125 ¶ ~ DQA #2718 (A*slēr̥i 'thread, embroidery' > Tg *serē-, Ko) ◇ The tentatively reconstructed labialized vw. in N *säRU has been preserved as w and u in Izn/Rf asraw and Rf fiřu. This vw. is most likely to have been *ø (that leaves no traces in IE) ◇ In some descendant lgs. it may have contaminated

with paronymous N words, such as N ?σ *śiRbΝ 'sinew; to sew' (q.v.) (whence *i in Tg *sire-).

2107. *śeRΝ 'row' > **U** *śerΝ > **FU** *śerΝ 'row, order' > **Chr:** B s̄r 'Gemütsart, Character, Art und Weise, Gewohnheit', Uf š̄r, H s̄r id., 'Beschaffenheit, Bau, Konstruktion', ? L шыр š̄r 'norm, measure, limit' || Prm: Z MSs/UV śer 'skill, craftsmanship; custom, way of behaviour', Z {W} śer 'Gewohnheit, Sitte, Mode, Weise' || ObU {Ht.} *śir 'manner (Art und Weise)' < pVg *śir > Vg: LK/MK/UK/P/UL/Ss sir id.; pOs *śir > Os O śir ~ sir 'custom, manner, law', V moya-sur 'wie beschaffen', D -sir '-lei', Y s̄er, K sir 'Art, Beschaffenheit' || Hg sz̄er 'implement, remedy', {UEW} 'Mittel, Gerät, Zeug', Δ sz̄er 'row, order' || ?σpY {IN} *θar 'something' > Y K šar id. || ?σ Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} śer? 'Sache, Angelegenheit', Ne T серев' 'according to, as', En {Cs.} sie?, Ng sier 'Sache', Ng d. {Mik.} 'śer-kaīlī 'būntelen (guiltless, innocent)' (lit. 'ohne Sache'), Kms {KD} m̄bi· śere 'was?', was für?, что такое?' (if literally 'what is the thing?') ¶ According to Jn. 67-8, the Sm √ is to be reconstructed with an initial *k rather than *s- (on the ev. of Kms śere Sm *k- before front vowels yields Kms š- ~ ś-) and hence does not belong here. But the Y cognate supports the traditional view (reflected in UEW 475) connecting the Sm √ with U *śerΝ ¶ UEW 475, ≈ Ber. 58-9 [#3O6] (pChr *ćir- with an unjustified *ć-), MRS 756, LG 25O-1, Ht. #6O2, Jn. 67-8, KD 63, IN 221-2 || **IE:** NaIE *ser- v. 'fasten together in rows, string', (P) 'aneinander reihen, knüpfen' (× N *ȝeRgū 'vein, sinew' × N *säR'U' 'sinew, fibre') > Gk εὐρω (*seriō) 'fasten together in rows, string', ἐνείρω v. 'string on (a th.)'; (× NaIE *ser- 'thread, string' < N *säR'U' '↑'): δρυος 'cord, chain, necklace' || L ser-ō / -ēre / serui / sertum 'join together, put in a row, connect', seriēs 'row, succession', Osc (MANIM) ASERVM '(manum) adserere' || OIr {Vn.} sern- 'étendre, joncher, arranger', {P} sern(a)id 'serit', streh 'row' ¶ P 911, EI 354 (*ser- 'line up'), WH II 522-3, Bc. G 312, Vn. S 93-5, FI 469 || **HS:** CS *šūr-at- 'row' > MHb שׁוֹרָתָא šūrā, JA [Trg.] šūrə'tā, Ar سُورَةٌ sūr-at- 'row (of stones\bricks in a wall), sign\token (in a written text)', JEA šūrə'ta 'row', ? BHb שׁוֹרָה šūrā 'retaining wall (of terrasses)' (× שׁוֹרָה šūr 'wall' < S *šūr- id.?); S → G šar-i 'row (of fruit-trees, grape vines, etc.), bed for vegetables (Beet)', šar- v. 'plant (in rows), make beds for vegetables' ¶ Chx. 1754-5 ¶ KB 1348, Js.

1542, Ln. 1465, BK I 1163, Hv. 343, Sl. 1124-5, Chx. 1754-5 ¶ S *-ū- belongs to a derivation pattern.

2108. *^rs^rE^rΔ 'back (dos), nape of neck' > HS: S (WS?) *^rsry|w > Ar ^ةلَرَتْ sarāt- 'back (dos)', ? SES: Mh {Jo.} sār 'behind; back, backwards', Jb E/C {Jo.} 'ser id., 'because of', Hrs sār, ser 'behind, after', Sq {Jo.} sər, {L} sər 'behind'; the unexpected s- suggests that the SES word is an ancient loan from Ar; otherwise the pS origin of SES s- is *s- (< HS *c-), so that the S word does not belong here ¶ BK I 1085, Bl. 322, Hv. 319, Jo. M 351, Jo. H 112, Jo. J 231, L LS 290-1 || C: Bj {R} 'sara 'back (Rücken)' (unless a loan from Ar, as suggested by Bj {Rop.} sārāt id.) || Ag: Xm {R} sāra 'back' || EC: Af {PH} 'sarra 'back, rear', sarra 'sheep's tail', Sa {R} sa'rā 'tail, rear', Brj {Hd.} saro 'tail of sheep' || Dhl sāre {To.} 'back (dos)', {EEN} 'lower back, meat above buttock' || SC: Brn {E} sira 'buttocks' ¶ Blz. EDB 25, ESC 178, EEN 24, To. D 146, Hd. 218 || Eg P s̄, Cpt coi soi 'back (dos)' ¶ EG IV 8, Vc. 185 || D *čar-, {θGS} *šar- 'neck' > Tl ar_u, ar_r_u, Prj čar id.; but D *čer- (> Tm eruttu 'nape of neck', Ml erattu, Kui sērki 'back of the neck', Ku hērki ^ا herki 'shoulder, neck') belongs rather to N *čehrΔ 'back' (q.v.) ¶ D ##2817, 2419 || ? U: FU *^ośErΔ > Prm *šō^rrΔ- 'space behind sth.' (× N *čehrΔ 'back', q.v. ffd.) || A: NaT *sirt 'back (dorsum) of an animal' > OT Og {Cl.} sirt id., Chg sirt 'shoulder, shoulder blade', MQp XIV, MOg sirt 'hill', Tk sirt, ET sirt, Qmq sirt, VTt s̄rt, Bsh h̄rt, Tv sirt 'back of an animal; ridge of a mountain', Tkm θirt 'hind part, ridge of a mountain, hill', Nog sirt 'rear, exterior part', Uz sirt, Alt sirt id., 'ridge of a mountain', Qrg sirt 'exterior part, highland', Qq, Xk sirt 'exterior part, back of an axe', Qzq sirt id., 'height, hills'; T → Hg szirt 'rock, cliff' ¶ Cl. 846, Rs. W 419, TL 268, DTS 505 ◇ Qu. because the vowels in A, FU, and D violate rules of reg. sound corrs. ◇ Blz. DA 154-5 [#24] and Blz. LB #6b (HS, Vt, D).

2109. *S'i'RΔ 'red, yellow' > HS: ? S *^rs^rr> Ak ? ^ršršr v. 'be red': šaršerru ~ šaršarru 'rote Paste, rote Farbe', BHb (↔ Ak?) ^{שָׁרְשָׁרְ} šā'r paus. 'red lead (minium)' ¶ Sd. 1191, KB 1536, ≈ GB 866 (רָשָׁרְ) || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} šarán 'red' || ?φ CCh: Azm suruna 'the red sub-soil' ¶ JR 221, P. 361 || C: Ag {Ap.} *sar-/*sär- 'red' > Bln/Q {R} sər- 'be red', Xm {R} zər-~cər- id., Xmt {CR} sər- id., {CR} səro, {Bnd.} sārou 'red', {Ap.} sär-, Aw {CR} sər- 'red' ¶ Ap. AV 17, R WB

309, AD SF 207 || IE: NaIE *ser-/sor- (+exts. *-to-, *-b_Lh₀-, *-p-, *-k̥-) 'red, reddish': [1] Ltv sárt_s 'red' (of the human face), Lt sártas 'light red', 'light bay' (of horses) || [2] L sorbum (<*sorbh- or *sordh-) 'red berry (service-berry, rowan-berry)' || R Δ сор(о)балина 'hip-berry, blackberry', Psirp(iк), sierp(n)ik, Blr сярпуха 'Serratula tinctoria (a yellow dying plant)' → ? Lt seřpēs (pl.) id. || Lt serben̄tas {PiesS} 'currant (berry)', {Frk.} 'schwarze Krausbeere, Gichtbeere, Johannisbeere', serbentā {Frk.} 'Johannisbeere' || Sw {P} sarf 'red-eye (fish)' ¶ But not here (↔ P) R Δ co'pora 'red-eye, roach, Rutilus (a fish with red scales)' (↔ FU, cp. F särki id.) ¶ P 91O-1, WH II 562, Frn. 776-7, PiesS 644, Vs. III 721-2, SSA III 241 || A: M *sira 'yellow' (× A {S} *sjār▽ 'white, light [of colour]', {DQA} *sjāyri 'white; yellow' < N ? *'s'EXar▽ 'bright; daybreak') > MM [MA, IM, LV] šira, [S] {H} šira, WrM sira, HlM шар, Brt шара, Kl šara, Ba, MnR H {T} šira, {SM} šira, Dg {Mr.} šar, Dx {T} šira, MMgl {Iw.} širā, Mgl {Rm.} šira 'yellow' ¶ Pp. MA 335, 447, Pp. L III 60, H 141, MED 714, S AP 238 [#107], T 383, T DnJ 143, T BJ 152, KW 349, Rm. M 39, Iw. 134 ◇ The et. is qu. for several reasons: (a) since the S cognate denotes a product of culture and a trade article, it may be a Wanderwort, (b) the IE▽ is a dubious cognate, because it is not represented in its pure form, without extensions (P wants to see the pure form of the ▽ in the word OI sāra-, which he translates as 'Mark eines Baumes', while M K III 461 translates it as 'firmness, strength, hardness (of wood)'; in any case, this word is semantically too remote from the meaning 'red', and M is right in rejecting P's et.), (c) the M word may go back exclusively to N ? *'s'EXar▽ '↑' ◇ ≈ Gr. II #437 (*ser 'yellow') (IE, M + err. Sm, Tg, J, CK).

2110. *sür▽ 'rub, scrape, smear' > U: FP *sür▽ v. 'smear' > Chr: L шураш šü'r-aš 'to smear', M šüre- 'schmieren, bestreichen', B šüre- 'einschmieren', H {Ep.} шыраш 'шэрә-ш 'to smear, to rub' || Prm {LG} *zür- > Z зырав-ны zırav-n̄t, Δ zıral- 'rub, smear', Vt зыра-ны zıra- id., 'paint' ¶ UEW 761, MRS 746, 760, Ep. 163, LG 108 || HS: Ch: WCh: AG: Su {J} šwōr 'Brei aus einem Gefäß kratzen; reiben', Ang {Stl. ← ?) šwōr- 'rub' || ECh: Smr {J} sár 'rub' ¶ JS 83, Stl. VZCh A #244, ChC s.v. 'rub' || A: T *sür- 'rub, smear' > Osm {Rh.} sür- 'rub on\against', Tk sür- 'rub on, smear, anoint', Uz sur-: yer sur- v. 'plane (earth surface)', ET Δ {Jr.} sür- & süy- 'rub, polish, make smooth\even', {Mal.} 'scrape (animal's hide to produce leather)', Bsh Δ hōr-, Tv sür- id., Kr

{RL.} *sür-* 'rub', Tkm *сүр-* *θүр-* 'rub, plough', Ggz, Qmq, QrB, Alt {BT} *sür-*, Uz *sur-*, VTt *сөр-* *сөр-*, Bsh *һәр-* *һәр-* v. 'plough', Qzq *sür-* v. 'furrow, scrape, plane', Qq, Nog *sür-* v. 'plane (wood), plough', Qrg *sür-* v. 'rub, plane (wood), Tlt {RL.} *sür-* 'reiben, einreiben, hobeln', Slr {Tn.} *sür-* & *sür-* 'sweep' (× N **S'ü'rб* *в* - **S'ü'b* *в* *r* *в* 'to swing, to sweep' [q.v.]), Yk *үр-* 'scrape, scrape clean (the inner side of hide)', Chv *сәр-* *сөр-*, Δ *сөр-* 'rub, smear'; NaT **sürt-* v. 'rub' > OT, Chg XV, ET, Qrg, Osm {Rh.} *sürt-*, Tk *sürt-*, Tkm *сүрт-* *θүрт-*, Uz *surt-* id., Qmq, QrB, Alt {BT}, Xk *sürt-*, VTt *сөрт-* *сөрт-*, Bsh *һәрт-* 'rub, smear', Az *sürt-* id., 'pass sth. on sth. (проводить одним предметом по другому)', MQp [CC] *sürt-* 'anoint', Qzq *sürt-*, SY {Ml.} *sürt-*, {Tn.} *surt'* & *suṛt-* 'smear, wipe', Qq, Nog *sürt-* 'wipe' ¶ Md. 64, 177, Cl. 846, ≈ 844, TL 382, Rh. 1O88-9, Jeg. 188, UzR 387-8, RL IV 81O, Jr. 281, Äz. 278, Tn. SJ 49O, Tn. SJJ 2O8, Ml. ZhU 1O7, GRM 443, Jud. 672-3, TkR 6O1, Sht. 185-6, Pek. 3165 || M: Ba {T} *šire-* 'sweep' (unless < M **sirbe-* v. 'sweep, dust' [F N **S'ü'rб* *в*] | T BJ 152 || D **čōr-* ({θGS} *c-?) v. 'itch, scratch' > Tm *cori* v. 'itch, scratch in order to allay itching', *cori* v. 'itch', *corant-* 'scratch', Ml *cori* n. 'itch, scab, nettles', *coriyuka* v. 'itch, scratch, rub oneself', Kt *toyr-* v. 'itch', *čorŋg* 'an itch', Kn *tur_i* 'itching, the itch, scratching', Tu *tojji* & *coji* & *cojji*, Prj *čod-*, Gdb *soy-*, Gnd *soh-* v. 'itch', Ku *žūra kalka* 'itching of the feet' ¶ D #2865 || K **sres-* / **sřs-* 'polish, rub (in), grind' > G *sres-* / *sris-* id., Mg *sirs-ol-* 'polish, rub (in)', ?? Sv {K} *srās-* 'cut, trim, square'; → GZ **sřsw-il-* 'pimple, abscess' (< pp. 'rubbed [place]') > OG *sr̥swil-*, G *sirsvil-*, Mg *sursu-*, Lz *msursu-*, *msirsu-* ¶ K 165-6, K DE2 173, K² 167-8, Chx. 1273 ¶ K **sres-* / **sřs-* < (as.) pre-K **śr-es-* / **śr-s-?* ◇ D **ō* (for the expected **u_{i:}*) is still to be explained ◇ ≈ Fn. KD #121 (K **sřsw-* 'scab' ÷ ; D **čorjic-* / **čurjic-* 'Grind, Flechte').

2111. *śuřrē 'heavy, large' ([in K] → 'full', 'whole') > IE: NaIE **swer-* 'heavy' > Gmc **swēra-* id. > ON *svárr*, AS *swær(e)*, *swār*, OHG *swār(i)*, MHG *swære*, *swāre*, NHG *schwer* 'heavy', OHG *swāri* 'burden', Gt *swers* 'εντιμος, honoured' (< 'weighty') || Lt *svarūs* 'heavy, weighty', Lt *svāras*, Ltv *svars* 'weight', Lt *sverti* (1s prs. *sveriū*), Ltv *svěrt* 'to weigh' || L *serius* 'serious, earnest' (< 'heavy') ¶ P 1151, WH II 521, Fs. 466, Vr. 565, Ho. 331, Kb. 996, OsS 9O3, Lx. 221, KM 692, Frn. 949, 951 || HS: CS **v* *śřr* v. 'valuate' (< *'weigh') > BHb *v* *śřr* G 'reckon', MHb *v* *śřr* D 'put a valuation on,

estimate', JA {Trg.}, JPA, JEA ✓ ſ̄r D id., 'measure, calculate', BHb שָׁעַר 'ša'ar, JA שָׁעַרְאָם ſ̄a'm 'r-ā, SmA ſ̄r n. 'measure', Ar ſi'r- {Ln.} 'correct price\rate at which a thing is to be sold', {Hv.} 'rate, current price', BHb שָׁעָרִים ſ̄a'm pl. 'measures' (Gn. 26.12) ¶ KB 149O, GB 854, Js. 1612, Tal 919, Lv. IV 59O-2, Sl. 1168, Ln. 1363, Hv. 321, BK I 1O91, A #2913 || ? Eg N ſ̄b 'rich, big' (× Eg fMK ſ̄b 'make bigger', a caus. from ſ̄b 'big?') ¶ EG IV 41-2 || EC {Ss.} *šor- 'rich' > Or {Grg.} sōr-om- 'become rich', sōr-omā, sōr-essa 'rich', {Th.} sores-a 'ricco, opulento', sōrōm-a / nom. -ni 'ricchezza', pBn {Hn.} *sūr- 'good' (> Bn Bi sūr-ida, Bn J/Kj sūr-iya, Bn K sūr-úwa id.), Hr/Dbs {AMS} šor(o)kičo m. / šor(o)kiče f. 'rich', Gln {AMS} šorohitto, šorkitto m. / šorkitte f. id., Dbs {AMS} šorohum- 'become rich' || Bj {R} ✓ ſrr pcv. (pf. aſ'rār, pqpf. 'eſrirā) 'be long', ſe'rāra 'long', {Rop.} ſarāra 'long and fairly thick' || Ag: Bln {R} ſīr- 'sich erstrecken, lang\hoch\fern sein' ¶ Ss. PEC 33, Hn. BD 11O, 124, Grg. 363, Th. 3O9, AMS 187, 223, 267, R WB 329, R WBd 2O5, Rop. 234, Blz. CL 179 || Ch: WCh: Bl {IL} ſirri, {Bnt.} ſíri 'big' || ?? ECh: Smr ſyʌr 'be long', Mkl ſòpùrù 'long' (unless akin to Mu ſágár, Mjl -ſágʌr, Kjk ſugor id.) ¶ ChL, Bnt. K 23, ChC, Blz. EChWL #49 || K *sur- > G X ſru 'very', OG, G ſruli 'full, whole', Sv ſuru {FS} 'übermäßig, sehr, groß, ganz', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} ſuru 'too (trop), very', Sv UB {GP} ſuru 'redundant(ly)' ¶ Fn. KW-1 #48, FS K 275, FS E 3O5-6, TK 711, GP 259 || U: FU (att. in BF) *ſ|ſure 'big' > F ſuuri 'big, high', Krl ſūri & ſūri id., Vp ſúr & ſuúr 'big', Es ſuur 'big, adult' ¶ Coll. and UEW equate the BF word with Krl ſūrima & ſūrima 'groats', Er ſúro, Mk ſóra, {Ker.} ſóra 'corn, grain', Chr E ſürö 'cabbage soup', Chr H ſərāš and Chr Uf ſüraš 'groats, porridge', but the connection is high;y qu. (on semantic grounds), albeit not ruled out (=σ: 'groats' → 'coarse' → 'big' in the prehistory of NE great, G groß, R крүпный) ¶ SK 1136, ZM 527, Coll. 59, UEW 779, Ker. II 15O, Bc. 879 || D (in NED) *čurčurčur- > Krx žuržurur-nā v. 'feel heavy (as from bad digestion)', ? Mlt júrjura 'slowly, dimly, drowsily'; D → Mrt ſursuri 'dullness\drowsiness which arise from eating plentifully' ¶ D #2692, Pf. 191 ◇ The absence of the expected lengthening of *e in IE may be explained by metathesis: *ſuřrē > **ſurſe > ppIE *ſwerH- > NaIE *ſwer- ◇ Blz KM 12O [#21] (K, C, IE, [?] U + unc. WrM ſür 'commanding appearance, grandeur, majesty; might' [which is certainly a loanword, as suggested by the absence of any final vw.] - MED 744, KW 34O-1).

2112. *śihr^Δ 'late' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'evening, night') > **HS:** EC: Sa {R} sarōy 'be late (sich verspäten, zu spät \ später kommen)', Af sárra 'later time', sárrak 'afterwards' (× sárra 'back, rear [derrière], serra 'tail') ¶ R S II 331, PH 189 || CS *°✓šhr 'evening' > Ar {Hv.} sahrat- 'even-tide'; (× N *šeħré 'be awake, watch [over], feel, notice', q.v.) *✓šhr 'pass the night awake' > Ar ✓šhr G (pf. sahira) 'pass the night awake', JA [Trg.], JPA, Md, Sr ✓šhr G 'be awake', JPA {Js.} ✓šhr G 'get up early' ¶ Ln. 1451-2, BK I 1165, Hv. 341, Js. 1527, DM 451, Br. 760 || K: GZ {FS} *ser- 'night' > OG ser- 'night' (serit vidre cis̄kramde 'the night up to the dawn [aurora]'), OG, G ser-i 'evening meal', Mg, Lz ser-i 'night' (← OG?), Mg o-sar-e 'shirt' (← *'nightie, nightgown' ← 'that of the night') ¶ FS K 268, FS E 297, GM S 132, 164-5, IS I 241 || IE: NaIE {Vn.} *sēr- 'late' > L sērus 'late', sērum 'late hour, evening' || Clt {Vn.} *sīro- > OIr sír [sīr] 'late, long lasting' ({Vn.} 'long, durable'), tri bith sír 'forever', Brtt {RE} *sīros ('long in time' → 'long in space') > OW, MW, W, OBr, Br, OCrn hir, Crn hýr 'long' ¶ The IE cognate is acceptable unless the L and Clt words are derived from IE *sē(i)- {WH} 'langsam\spät kommen, sich hinausziehen', {Vn.} 's'attarder, relentir, s'arrêter' ¶ Vn. S 115-6, P 891, WH II 326-7 (all of them derive the L and Clt words from IE *sē(i)-), RE 11O, ≈ EI 357 (*sēro-s or *seh,ro-s 'long') || ? A: T: OT {Cl.} sūr-č-ük 'a story told at night' ¶ Cl. 845 || D *čir- ({GS} *ś-) 'night' > Tm, Ml iravu, irā 'night', Irl r̄avu, ra·podu, Kt irl, Td i·l, Kn irul, irat̄u, irlu, Kdg iri, Tu irk̄b, Tl r̄eyi 'night', Gdb sirtal 'evening' ¶ × D *čir- 'dark, black' ¶ The D cognate is acceptable unless it is identical with the √ for 'dark, black' ¶ D #2552, Zv. 145 [#209] ¶ Possible infl. of D *čirk- ({GS} *ś-) 'dark' < N *śihr^Δ '≈ gray, bright', [in descendant lgs.: → 'dark'?] is to be taken into account ◇ The presence of a N lr. (*h) is suggested both by Ar sahrat- and by D *-r- (resulting from *r-clusters, while N *-r- outside clusters yields D *-r-). If OT sūr-č-ük belongs here, its vw. ü (for the expected i) needs explaining ◇ Qu., because the presumed Af, IE, and D cognates have alt. etl. explanations ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 138-9 [#23] (unc. adduction of Bj and Om words for 'cloud' and of Gnc śirari 'heaven').

2112a. *S'i'hūr^Δ 'person (man?) of the other exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > **HS:** S: Ar §ihr- 'daughter's\sister's husband' ¶ The emphatic cns. §- (for the expected

s-) still needs explaining (infl. of Ar *✓ shr* *L* 'copulate with a woman' or Ar *§ihr-* 'relationship' \leftrightarrow *✓ shr* v. 'melt'??) § Ln. 1737-8, BK I 1379-80, Hv. 408 || EC (?) **s̄vr-* 'relative' > Or {Brl., Grg.} *fira* (nom. *fir-ri*) 'relative, friend', (\times N ***SûKüR** ∇ 'person [man?] of the opposite exogamous moiety, parent-in-law?'): Kns {BISO} *sark-att-a* 'brother-in-law of man', Gln {AMS} *serko* 'Schwager'; but not here Sd *sōr-ičča*, *sōr-āmo*, and Ged *sōrēssa* 'eldest brother' (derived from HEC **sōr-* 'be first, preceding') § Ss. PEC 5 (reconstructs pEC **sar-* ~ **ser-* ~ **sir-* ~ **sur-* 'relative', but does not specify the cognates in individual lgs.), Brl. 148, Grg. 145, BISO 173, AMS 267, Hd. 33, Gs. 294 || Ch **✓ swr* ~ **✓ skʷr* ~ **✓ srw* ~ **✓ srKw* ({Nw.} **s̄vr* ∇) 'in-law') (\times N ***SûKüR** ∇) > WCh: Hs *sūrūkī* 'father-in-law, son-in-law' | AG **s3v3r* ({Sch.} **səχə₂r*, {Hf.} **ʂə₂χər*) '(father-\mother-)in-law' (ffd. see N ***SûKüR** ∇) | Ngz {Sch.} *saurák* (pl. *sauraučín*) 'father-in-law, mother-in-law' | BT: Bele {Sch.} *hūrī* 'in-law' (*h-* < **s-*) || CCh: Tr {Nw.} *s3rw3kī* 'male relative-in-law' | BtG {Mch.} *sérwa* 'father-in-law', Bcm {Nw.} *šerwey* | Mdr {Mch.} *šōlā* 'relative-in-law' | Msg {Nw.} *sula* id. § Nw. ChCR #74, Sch. DN 145, Sch. BTL 17, 30, ChC §§ OS #437 (AG \div Ar) || IE: NaIE {E} **syō(ŋ)ros* ({Schn.} **syəguro-* / **syēgū'rō-*) 'wife's brother' > OI *syā'lāh* id. || Sl **šūrb* id. > OCS *шоуръ* *šurъ*, McS *шуръ*, SCr Sr *шұра*, OP *szura*, *szurza*, P *szurzy*, ds.: Blg *шурей*, *шурек*, SCr *šurjak*, Slv *šurják*, OCS *шоуринъ* *šurinъ*, R, Uk *шурин* (pl. R *шуръя*) id. | Arm *hnp hor* 'son-in-law' § WP II 514, P 915, EI 84-5, M K III 551-2, M E II 782, Tr. 261, Glh. 615 || D **če;լ* ∇ ({§GS} **s-*) 'relative-in-law (spouse's younger brother?)' > Tl *ērālu* 'husband's brother's wife' (-alū denotes fem. sex?), Nk *serutra* 'husbands younger brother's wife', Gnd *sēr(a)ndu* \pm *harndu* \pm *ervond* 'spouses younger brother; spouse's younger sister's husband', *sērīy-ar* ~ *sērīy-al* \pm *serey-ar* 'elder brother's wife' (-ar ~ -al is a sf. of the female sex), Knd *sēgon* 'husband's younger brother', Mnd *hēžun* 'wife's younger brother', Kui *seženžu* 'husband's younger brother' §§ D #2819 ◇ D **e* < N **i* is irregular (cp. N ***čikū** 'base of limbs [shoulder, hip]' > Tm *cəkil* 'upper part of the shoulders', Kn *tegal* 'shoulder') ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#47] (D, EC, Ch).

2113. (2?) ***SuH|wER** ∇ (= ***šuwER** ∇ ?) 'sour, seasoned' > IE: NaIE **sūro-* 'sour, salty, bitter' > ON *súr-r* 'sour, bitter', *sýra* 'sour milk', MLG, MHG *súr* 'bitterness'; ON *sýra* 'sour milk', OHG *súr* 'sour,

bitter', NHG *sauer*, Nr, Dn, Sw *sur*, AS *sūr*, Dt *zuur* 'sour', NE *sour* || Lt *sūrūs*, Δ *sūras* 'salty', Ltv *sūrs* 'bitter', Lt *sūris* 'cheese, cottage-cheese', Pru *suris*, *sur* 'cheese' | Sl **sīrъ* 'sour, raw, moist' > R *сырой*, Uk *сирий* id., OCS, OR *сыръ* *sīrъ* 'úγρος, damp' (of fresh plants), Cz *sýrý* 'damp, dank', Slv d. *sírov* 'raw, uncooked'; Sl **sīrъ* 'cheese' > OCS *сыръ* *sīrъ*, R *сыр*, Uk *сир*, SCr *sīr*, Slv *sīr*, Cz *sýr*, Slk *sýr*, P *ser*, Blg d. *сирене* id. ¶ WP II 513, P 1O39, Vr. 562, Ho. 33O, Kb. 994, OsS 898, KM 626, Frn. 944-5, En. 259, Trt. 293-4, Vs. III 819, StSS 67, Glh. 549, ≈ EI 69 (**sū-ros* or **suH-ros* 'sour, acid' [especially of liquids or cheese]) || A ({DQA} **sūyre* {AD} 'sour, acid, odorous'): T **sirke* 'vinegar' > OT, Tkm, Qzq, Qrg *sirke*, Tk *sirke*, Az *sirkä*, ET *sir(r)kä*, Uz *sirka*, VTt *сөркә* *sýrkä*, Bsh *һыркә* ¶ Cl. 851, Rs. W 423 || M **sori-* v. 'taste' (presumably 'taste spiced food') > WrO *sori-* 'taste, try', MM [S] *sori-* 'prüfen, versuchen', WrM *sori-*, HIM *сори-*, Brt *һори-*, MnR H {SM} *sori-* 'try out, test, examine'; → M **sori-sun* 'spices', esp. 'wild leek\onion' > Kl {Rm.} *sorsŋ* 'Gewürz, eingekochte Lauchblüten', MnR H {SM} *soroz_з* 'wild leek\onion', WrM {Kow.} *sorisun* 'grappe des raisins, poignet d'oignons', WrM {MED} *sorisu(n)*, HIM *соръс*, Ord {Ms.} *sorisu'* 'wild leek (the dried flowers of which are eaten)' ¶ KW 332, H 136, MED 729, SM 355, Ms. O 584, Krg. 412, Gl. II 438 (*sorisun*, HIM *sořson* 'flower buds of onion\garlic'), Kow. 1412, Chr. 685 || Tg {DQA} **sūr-* ~ *sur* 'odour' > Ul *sōrl*, *sōru(w)l*, Nn *sōrl*, *sōrlst-* 'stinking, fetid', Ul *sōrsu-*, Nn Nh *sōrlst-* 'stink, be fetid', Nn *sur 3n3-*, *surgi-* 'have a strong smell', *surgi* 'fragrant, odorous', WrMc *sur seme* 'with good smell' ¶ STM II 113, 129 || pKo {S} **sūi-* 'become sour' > MKo *sūi-*, NKo *sūi-* ¶ S QK #466, MLC 1O22 || pJ {S} **suarasi* > OJ *suarasi* 'Lugisticum chinensis (зоря), Nothosmyrnium japonicum' ¶ S QJ #12O8, Mr. 531 ¶ DQA #2O37 || ?ϕ U: FU **ć'uy'r* ▽ > Prm **ćūr-* > Vt *ćirs* 'sour', Z *ćir-* 'turn sour' (of kvass), 'go bad' (of meat), 'turn rancid' (of butter) | F {LG ← ?} ć *suira-ta* 'be spoiled, nauseating' (not found in the available dictionaries of F, incl. SK and SSA) | L N {N} *čiwrâ* 'evil-smelling, malodorous', *čiwrividit* 'to smell bad' || ObU {Ht.} **ćär-* > pVg **ćär-* > Vg: P *śar-*, NV/SV/LL *śar-* / *śār-*, UL, Ss *śor-* 'turn bitter' (of fish); pOs **ćär-* > Os: V/Vy/Ty/D *ťär-*, Nz/Kz *śōr-*, O *śār-* 'turn rancid, go bad' (of fish, fat) ¶ The deviant **ć-* is puzzling (infl. of a different FU root or of the heritage of a different N etymon?) ¶ LG 3O7, Ht. #82, ≈ Coll. 117, N

I 395 || ??σ HS: S *^ośaw₁ṇ₂r- > Ar شورٌ šawra(n) 'honey taken from the hive', شورٌ šūrat- 'bee-hive', ✓ šwr G (ip. -šūr-) 'collect honey from the hive' ¶ BK I 1285, Hv. 381 ◇ The T vw. *-i- (< A {DQA} *-ūy- < N *-uH|wE-?) and the M vw. *-o- still need explaining ◇ The Ar cognate is qu. for semantic reasons. It may be alternatively and tentatively equated with FP {LG} *sārwā 'sweet beverage' > Chr E šor'wa 'sweet beverage made of honey with water (медовая сыта)' | Prm *sorvā > Vt sursvu, Δ survu, Z zarava 'birch-tree sap' (LG 1O4, Ü 269, Ps. OT 125, MRS 72O), although FP *s- is not cognate with S *ś-. But if the Ar word belongs here, the N rec. must be *śuwERā.

2114. ? *'^śE_Xarā 'bright; daybreak' > HS: S *'^śaḥar- 'daybreak, dawn' > BHb 'aḥar (trad.) 'aurora', {KB} 'aurora' or 'daybreak', M'b ḥṛt, Ug ḥṛ, Ar aḥar- 'daybreak', JA [Trg.], JPA ḥaḥā'r-ā 'dawn, daybreak', SmA ḥṛ 'dawn', Ak ʂe̪l̥irtu, ʂeru, Eb si-/ex(EN)-lum (= ʂexrum) 'morning' ¶ KB 136O-2, A #2592, OLS 435, Tal 886-7, Lv. IV 537-8, Js. 1551, Ln. 1317, Hv. 311, Sd. 1218-9, Krb. EG 29 || u *ścā'rā 'bright (hell), white' (× N žā'hṛā 'to shine, to be bright; light [lux]', q.v. ffd.) || a *sja:¹rā ({SDM95} *sā:ri, {SDM97} *sāri) 'white, yellow' > Tg *sja:¹rū- ({SDM95} *sjarū-) 'light, whiteness; light in the sky (rainbow, etc.)' > Ewk sērūn 'rainbow', Ewk SB ʂērūn id., 'lightning', Ork sērro, sīro 'rainbow', WrMc ʂari '(is) white, clean', n. 'light, rays' ({Z}: бѣло, чисто, свѣтло; свѣтъ, сіяніе луча) ¶ STM II 72, Z 666-7 || T *sjar(ig), ({Rm., SDM95} *sār(ig), {Md.} *sjarīy) 'yellow, light (hell)' (× N *śErEK'a' 'red, yellow'?) > NaT *sārig > OT sariy 'yellow', Tkm θāri, Tk sari, Az, Qzq, Qrlq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt sari, VTt sari, Bsh ḥar, Xk, Shor sariy, Tv, Tf sariy, Uz sariq, ET sariq ~ sariy 'yellow', Yk arayas 'light yellow' || Blgh *śar (< *sjar) 'white' (in the place name *śarkel, attested in the medieval Byzantine and Hb sources as Σάρκελ שַׁרְכֵל 'Sarkel, "white city" [the ChS name of Sarkel Бѣловѣжѧ bělověža means 'white house\tower']) > Chv L шурpa šura 'white'; Blgh → OHg sár 'yellow (?)', blond (?), Hg sár- (in cds. sár-arany 'pure gold', sár-gyik 'yellow lizard'), sárga 'yellow' (× N *śErEK'a' '↑'?) ¶ Cl. 848, Rs. W 4O3-4, TL 6O1-2, Gomb. BTL 2OO, Jeg. 339, Fed. II 462-3, EWU 13O5-6, Ra. 226, Md. 114 || M *sira 'yellow' (× N *śi'Rā 'red, yellow', q.v. ffd.) || pKo {S} *háj- 'white' > MKo háj-, NKo hi- ¶ S QK #1OO, Nam

482, MLC 1898 ¶ On the origin of Ko *h- (< A *si-) *see* s.v. N *šēR₁ñm'ü' 'sinew' || pJ {S} *siruà- 'white' > OJ sìrwò-, J: T šírói, K síroi, Kg široka, Ns šíru-, Sh šírú- ¶ S QJ 89, Mr. 840 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *säri 'white; yellow'), DQA #2036 (A *sìyri id.) ¶¶ The pA rec. with *-ja:₁- is evidenced by Chv L šurъ, Chv H šorъ 'white', Hg sárga (< Blgh) (Chv, Blgh š- < *si-), and by Tg *sja:₁rū- ◇ Cf. Jn. 138, Dybo OS I viii, SK 973-4 ◇ N *ś- of this etymon is not a certain rec., because U *ść'a'r▽ results from contamination of two N words.

2115. *ś|šayiわR▽ 'nit' > U: FU *ś|šaywar▽ 'nit' > F saivar, Δ saivara, Es saere, saeras id. | pLp {Lr.} *čivrɔs 'nit' > Lp: L {LLO} tjiuros, N {N} čiwros, Kld čivras id., S {Hs.} tjuvres id., 'a fly' | Prm {LG} *śzr▽l 'nit' > Z cеров śerov, Δ śerol ≈ śeral, Prm śe'rɔv, Vt cерел śerel, Vt Y/M/Uf śerer | Er šarko, Mk šarka id. | Chr: L шаргенче šar'gence 'nits', Uf šarkenče, B šarkince, H {Ep.} шаргэнье šargeńə 'nit' ¶ In Mr and Chr the FU √ merged with loans from Turkic lgs. (F below on T **sirkä 'nit') ¶ Coll. 149, UEW 77O, SK 948-9, Lr. #143, Lgc. #596, Hs. 1353, MRS 693, Ep. 147, LG 251 || A: T **sirkä > NaT *sirkä 'nit' > OT sirkä, MU, MQp, Chg, OOsm sirke, Tk sirke, Ggz, Az sirkä, Tkm Өirke, Uz sirka, ET si(r)kä, Kr, Qmq, Qrb, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt sirke, Qzq śirke, VTt серкә sýrkä, Bsh hęrkә hýrkä, Xk sirge, Tv sirge, Tf sirhe || pBlgh *śirkä id. (with *śi...a < pT *si...a due to vowel harmony; *ś- is a phonematized palatal allophone of *s- [preceding *i] after the synharmonic generalization of the back vocalism) > Chv шärka šýrg_a 'nit' ¶ Cl. 85O, Rs. W 423, TL 182, Jeg. 335, Md. 79, 176 || M *sirke '∈ parasitic insect' > MM [MA] sirke 'nit' (← b- T?), WrM sirke, HlM ширх '∈ flea', Kl Ö {Rm.} širkə '∈ a red insect on cattle, red lice', Ord šir"xe 'louse' ¶ Pp. MA 232, MED 718, KW 36O, Ms. O 623 || Tg *sere- ~ *sor▽- 'eggs of insects', 'lay eggs' (of insects) > WrMc sere 'eggs of insects', Ewk soro- 'lay eggs in reindeer's nasal cavity' (of insects), sərəŋki ≈ soronki 'an insect laying eggs in reindeer's nasal cavity' ¶ STM II 113 || ? pKo {S} *hjæ₁ 'nit' > MKo hjæ₁, NKo (< cd.) sə,khæ 'nit' ¶ S QK #299, MLC 939, Nam 488 || pJ {S} *sírám(u)í 'louse' > OJ sìrám₁jí, J: T šírami, K/Kg sìramí, Ns šiyan, Sh šíran id. ¶ S QJ #45, Mr. 525 ¶¶ DQA #1982 (A *sìyri 'nit, louse') || D *čír-, {GS} *śír- 'nit' > Tm, Ml, Kn īr, Kt čír, Td ti·r, Kdg čí·ri, Tu tirъ ≈ cirъ ≈ sirъ, Tl īru, Klm sì·r, Nkr śír, Nk pl. sīrku, Gnd sīr

‡ hīr ‡ hīr, Png, Mnd hīr, Ku hīru, Krx čīr §§ D #2625, GS 116 [#309], 44 [#101] || HS: WCh: SBc: Zar {IL} sār 'louse', Zar K {Sh.} sīr, Zar GL {Sh.} sār, Zar L {ASh.} sjēr, Sy {Csp.} sār, Sy B {Sh.} sērə - sārə (in Sh. SB the badly printed letter e or ε is hard to read), Sy Z {Sh.} sīeru id., Jm {Csp.} sūrūdū, Grn {Csp.} sūyā 'flea' § ChC, Sh. SB 26, Csp. 18, 57 ◇ Rs. UAW 19 (U, A), S AJ 87, 276 [#43], IS MS 336 s.v. гнида *šajra (A, U, D + unc. [?] K *čil-) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #162 (*čuri 'fly' n.) (A, J, FU + unc. Sm, EA).

2116. *ser₁▽, X▽ 'grove, coppice; ∈ tree' > HS: S *ošsar₁▽, h- > Ar sarh- 'any thornless tree', '∈ tree of Nejd' § Fr. II 306, BK I 1079, Hv. 317 || U: FU *sert▽ 'grove, forest' > Prm *sörd (= {LG} *sörd) '∈ grove (forest)' > Vt SW sūrd, Vt сурд surd 'grove', Z sord '∈ forest' or '∈ grove' (in place- names) || Hg erdō 'forest, wood' § LG 261, Lt. 64, ≠ MF 161 (derives erdō from ered- 'have its source, rise, spring') || A: M *sireñi > WrM sirenji, HlM ширэнгэ, Brt шэрэнги 'grove, coppice of small trees, densely growing bushes' § MED 716, Chr. 750 || D *čerak- 'firewood' > Tl ceraku in vant-a-ceraku 'firewood for cooking' (vant-a 'cooking'), Gnd Mu herk 'a bundle of firewood' §§ D #2794 ◇ The vw. after *r is suggested by D *-r- (< N *-r- outside cns. clusters). The U and D cognates point to a pN *e, while M *i is still to be explained.

2117. *š₁i₂y, ar₁U₂y▽ 'beam' ([in descendant lgs.] → pole) > HS: WS *šarw▽y- (or *šarw▽y-?), ? *šāriy- > JA [Trg.], JPA שָׁרֵי šā'ri, שָׁרִיתָא šārītā 'joist, beam, post', JEA šārītā 'beam', Ar {Ln.} sāriyat- 'column (of stone or of baked bricks), mast' (unless a prs. prtc. of the Ar v. ✓ sry [in which of its meanings?]), Gz šārwē (with a spelling variant sārwe) 'beam of wood, log, trunk' § LG 535, Lv. IV 611-2, Js. 1631-2, Sl. 1181, Ln. 1356 § Aram and Ar point to a pS *š-, while the traditional Gz spelling with š- does not necessarily reflect the OEth phoneme and may have appeared after the merger of *s and *š in living EthS lgs. || K: G sar-i 'stake, vine-prop' § Chx. 116O, DCh. 111O || U: FU (att. in FP) *ššarya 'lath, beam' > F sarja 'series, row', lohipadon sarjat 'lange Holzspleiße' (lohipato is 'salmon-weir'), Krl A saryu, sardú 'latticework, sledge-laths', Krl {SK} šarya, sarya 'herd, crowd', Es sari (gen. sarjā) 'series' (↔ F?), 'cluster (of berries)', {W} 'Traube, Eierstock' | Prm *šori 'beam, roost for hens' > Vt šur̄ id., Z šor 'beam (for drying clothes) within a house', čipan šor 'roost', Z US

śor 'cross-beam, pole' ('перекладина, горизонтально подвешенный шест'), Yz 'śur 'pole' ¶ UEW 77O-1, Sm. 553 (FP *śarja 'spar'), W EDW 1111, Lt. 62, LG 253 || ? A: (mt. of *y?) Tg *sjaran 'pole' ('жердь') > Ewk sēraŋ, Lm hārъŋ, Neg sēyaŋ, Orc sāŋi, Ud saŋi id., ? Ul cd. sesaŋi 'pole for a *balagan* (store hut)', ? Ork cd. sēsŋi 'a pole for building a tent', Nn Nh/KU sā: 'a pole for hanging fish to dry', Ewk sēr- v. 'prepare poles as the frame of a tent' ¶ STM II 72 || NaT [1] *siruk 'pole' > OT siruq 'a pole, tent-pole', Chg suruq, MQp siruq 'pole', Osm XVIII siriq 'a long piece of wood', Tk sirič 'pole' ('шест, жердь'), Ggz sirič id., 'stick', Sg {Rl.} siraq, Tlt/QK {Rl.} siriq 'Strange'; T → M: WrM siraq, HlM шураг 'pole, long mast, stake', Kl шуург id. ('шест'), Kl D/Ö {Rm.} šūraq 'Strange' | [2] *sira 'pole, row' > StAlt sira 'pole' ('жердь', 'Strange'), Osm, Az, Ggz sira 'row, series' ('Reihe, Ordnung, Reihenfolge'), Kr sira id., 'line' ¶ Cl. 848, BT 137, Rl. IV 637-41, Hüs. 28O, KRPS 494, GRM 451-3, MED 713, KRS 686, KW 37O ¶ The vw. *I of the first syll. has not yet found explanation || M *surgayaq 'pole, rod' > WrM surgagag, HlM сургааг, Brt һургааг id., WrO šuuraq ~ šuuraq 'a pole', Kl Ö {Rm.} šūryaq 'Strange' (WrO and Kl š-under the infl. of the above M loanword from T) ¶ MED 739, Chr. 691, KW 37O, Krg. 458 || pKo {S} *hjə₁ 'a house rafter' > MKo hjə₁, NKO sa, karä, Δ hjə, karä ¶ S QK #277, Nam 488, MLC 933 ¶ The vw. of the first syll. in the A lgs. (Tg *ja, T *i, M *u) may be explained by contraction of N *-iya- and by regr. as. ¶ DQA #2067 (A *sjoýru 'pole; tent made of poles') ◇ M *u of the first syll. may be due to mt. or to regr. as (**siru > *sur..., cp. NaT *siruk).

2118. ?σ₂ *śiRbN 'sinew; to sew' > HS: S *°ś|sr̥b > Ar ✓ sr̥b v. 'confectionner, coudre, faire une outre' ¶ BK I 1077 || A: M *sirbü-sün 'sinew, tendon' > MM [IM, IsV] {Lg.} sirbüsun id., [IM] {Pp.} sirbü 'bowstring', [LM] {Pp.} širbüsun, [S] {H} śirbüsun 'sinew', [HI] {Ms.} širbüsun 'tendon', WrM sirbüsun, HlM шөрвөс, Brt шүрбәһә(н) 'nerve, sinew, tendon; fibre, filament', Ord {Ms.} šörwösu, Dg {Pp.} širbəs, širbəs, {Lg.} širbəs, {T} širbes, širbus id., Kl шүрүсн šürüsŋ 'nerve, sinew, tendon; fibre, filament', {Rm.} šürwəsŋ ~ šir(w)üsŋ 'Sehnen, Nerven', Mnr H {SM} šbuz_з 'nerf, muscle, fibre, filament, nervure'; but the variant *sirmü-sün 'sinew, tendon' goes back to N *šēR₁N, m'ü' 'sinew, root', q.v.) ¶ Pp. MA 446, Pp. L III 6O, Lg. VMI 64, H 141, Ms. H 97, Lew. II 75, MED 716, KRS 687, KW 371, SM 37O, T DgJ

184, Chr. 738, Cev. 856 ¶ SDM95 (A *sürmü 'sinew'), SDM97 (A *sürmu id.: M + unc.σ Tg *sumu 'sinew', pKo *hím id., 'strength', F N *šēR₁Ν₂m'ū').

2119. *S'ū'r₁Ν₂ - *S'ū'b₁Ν₂r₁Ν₂ 'to swing, to sweep' > IE: NaIE *swerb^h-/*surb^h- v. 'swing, sweep' > W chwerfu n. act. 'whirling, turning round', chwerfan 'whirl for a spindle', {YGM} 'pulley, wharve' || Gt af-/bi-swaírban, OSx swervan 'to wipe off', OHG swérban 'abwischen, abtrocknen, abreiben', MHG swerben 'sich wirbelnd bewegen', ON sverfa, AS sweorfan 'to scrub, to file, to wipe' || Gk συρφετός 'anything swept together, sweepings' ({F} 'Kehricht, Unrat'), ? [Hs.] σύρφη · ψρύχανα 'dry sticks, firewood' || BSl: Ltv svārpsts 'a borer, drill, gimlet', svārpstīt 'to bore' | Sl *sv̄rběti 'to itch' > SCr сврбети ~ sv̄bjeti, Slv srběti, Cz svrběti, Slk svrbiet', P świerbieć, R свер'беть, Uk свер'біти 'to itch', Blg сър'би 'it iches'; → Sl *sv̄rbъ n. act. 'itching' > R Δ 'свороб id., ChS сврабъ svrabъ, OR своробъ svorobъ, Cz, Slk svrab 'scabies', SCr, Slv svrāb 'itch, scabies'; OCS [Supr.] d. сврабънъ svrabъnъ adj. 'κνησμῶδης, causing itch'; the semantic prehistory of the Sl √ ('itch' ← v. 'scratch' ← v. 'rub, sweep') may involve contamination with IE *swerb^h- 'weep, rub' (F N *sürΝ 'to rub, to scratch') ¶ P 1O5O-1, EI 6O7-8 (*swerb^h- 'turn, move in a twirling motion'), ~ F II 823-4, YGM-1 156, Fs. 1O-1, Vr. 568, Ho. 335, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1OO1, OsS 913, Schz. 278, Vs. III 573, 583-4, Glh. 6O1, SJSS XXXVI 32, StSS 595 || A: M [1] *sirbe- > WrM sirbe-, HlM ширвэ-, Ord {Ms.} širwe- ~ šörwö-, WrO širbe-, Kl {Rm.} širwe-χə v. 'sweep', ? Ba {T} šire- 'sweep'(unless to N *sürΝ '↑' [q.v.]); [2] *sirba- > WrM sirba- ~ sirbe-, HlM шарва-, Ord širwa-, Brt шарба- 'wag the tail', WrO širbe- v. 'wave', Kl {Rm.} šarwa-χə 'wedeln, mit dem Schwanze schlagen', d. Kl шарвадх šarw-ad-χъ, шарвлзх šarwъ-lz-χъ 'wag the tail' ¶ MED 718, Ms. O 623-4, Krg. 451, KW 351, 361, KRS 665, Chr. 722, T BJ 152 || ? T: Slr {Tn.} sūr- ~ sūr- 'sweep' (unless to T *sür- 'rub, scratch' < N *sürΝ 'rub, scrape, smear' [q.v.]) ¶ Tn. SJ 49O, TL 382 || D *v̄čibpir- 'fan' > Tm civiri, Kui ɿperi 'a fan', Kn sīguri, sīgudi 'e chowrie', Tl sīviri 'chowrie' ¶ D #258O.

2120. *śVRixka 'cold' > HS: C: HEC *sirga 'cold' > Brj sirgā 'cold' (of weather), sirgā-ga 'cold' (of food), sig'gir-i n. 'cold' (of weather),

sirgē-**d**- v. 'cool, become cold', Hd, Kmb **sigg-** id., Hd **sigga(:)lla**, Kmb **sigga** 'cold' (of food) ¶ Hd. 43, 22O, 298, 338, Ss. B 166 (hyp.: HEC *sirg- < *sigr-) || K mt. *°s̥karχ- > Sv UB/L/Ln {TK} s̥karχ-al 'hail' ¶ TK 7O8, Ni. s.v. 'градъ', GP 259 || IE: NaIE *srējg-/srīg-, *srīg-os(-) 'cold, frost' (× N *z̥|z̥i|R₁H₂▀ - *z̥|z̥i|H₂R▀ 'be very cold'??) > Gk βρύος 'frost', βρύειν (pfc. with prs. sense ἔρριγα) 'be cold, shiver from cold' || L frīgus / frīgoris n. 'cold, coolness', frīgidus adj. 'cold', frīge- 'be cold\chilly, freeze' || Lt Δ {Nsl.} strékti (prs. strégiu) 'to freeze' (upē apstrégē 'the river has frozen') || Sl ~ *srežb > Slv srež 'crusted snow, white frost', P ſrež, Δ ſrzež, Cz ſtříž 'first ice on water', Slk ſtříž ~ ſriež 'ice crust, hoarfrost' ¶ WP II 7O5 and P 1OO4 (in both: no BSl cognate), WH I 547-8, F II 654-5, Brü. 534, Ma. CS 482-3, Kmc. 816 || U: FU *°šv̥r▀... > Hg Δ szirony, szilonu 'the surface of snow that has been frozen after melting weather', (here??) szirony, szirogy, sziroty 'breiiger Schnee, Graupelregen' ¶ ≈ UEW 464-5 (equates Hg szirony 'surface of snow' with Z čarzm 'ice crust on the snow' and Sm *ſtrā 'snow' and reconstructs pU *šar▀ 'snow, ice crust on the snow' [see N ?σ *cA[R₁]V₂V - *cAyR▀ 'freeze, feel cold', N *z̥|z̥i|R₁H₂▀ - *z̥|z̥i|H₂R▀ '↑']), MF 58O ◇ The identity of the N velar cns. (*k, *g, or *k?) is not clear. It may have been *k, while HES *g and IE *g may have been due to the infl. of the adjacent N *x.

2121. *ſURt▀ 'dirt(y)' > IE: NaIE *swordo- 'dirty, black' (× N *čūrt▀ 'soot' [q.v.]) > L d. **sordē-** v. 'be dirty, unwashed', **sordidus** 'dirty', **sordēs** 'dirt' || Gt **swarts**, ON **svartr**, AS **sweart**, OSx **swart**, Dt **zwart**, OHG **swarz**, NHG **schwarz**, Dn **sort** 'black', ON **sorta** 'black colour' || NPrs حُوَلْ Xval 'lampblack' ¶ WP II 535, P 1O52, WH II 562-3, Fs. 464, Vr. 531, 565, Ho. 334, Ho. S 72, Kb. 996, OsS 9O4, KM 69O, ≈ EI 147 (*swerd- ↔ *swer- 'darken by making red or black') || HS: Eg fRNK **sæt** 'dirt' (and Eg MK [Fk.] **sæt** 'earth'?) → Eg fBD **sæt** 'besudeln, lästern' ¶ EG IV 27, Fk. 211, Hng. 663 || K *°š|swar-/*°š|swr- > MG [Vsr.] **swar-**, G **svar-/svr-** v. 'stain, make dirty' ¶ Chx. 1242, DCh. 12O1 || ? R: AmTg *sorṭoan 'yellow' (-gj-, -gž- < *-rt-, F ADb. SR-D 119) > Orc **sogžo**, Ul **sōgjo(n-)**, Ork **sōgdo(n-)** 'yellow', Nn Nh **sōgjō** id., ? Tg. *sōr- 'become yellow' > Nn Nh **sōron-**, WrMc **soro-** id. ¶ STM II 1O3-4, 1O9 || ?? D *čikott- 'mud, mire' (× N *čot▀ 'mud',

q.v. ffd.) ◇ The loss of *t in K *š|swar-/*š|swr- may be due to metanalysis.

2122. *Sář'i¹ 'to drip' > IE: NaIE *sresk- v. 'drip' (*-esk- goes back to a sx.) > Av srask- / srasča- v. 'drip, trickle down', Av sraska- 'tears, weeping', NPrs سرمشک serešk 'a tear, a drop, droppings of the eaves', MPrs srixt 'dropped' || Arm սրսկել srsk-el 'to sprinkle' ¶ WP II 6O2-3, 7O5, P1OO2, Brtl. 1644-5, Sg. 675 || A: NaT *sark- v. 'drip, overflow' > OT sarq- id., Tkm սարկ- թարզ- 'drip', ET sarqi-, VTt sarq-, Bsh հարզ- v. 'drip, ooze', Qmq sarq- v. 'flow in thin current', Nog sarq- 'ooze', Qrg sariq- 'drip' ¶ Probably a merger with a different √, hence the meaning 'hang down' (in OT, Tk, etc.) ¶ Cl. 847-8, Rs. W 4O4, Jeg. 183, Nj. 495 || M *sari- v. 'drip, urinate' > WrM sari, HlM {MED} սարի- v. 'drip, leak; urinate in an irregular manner', HlM {Gl.} sari- 'urinate', {Luv.} sari- 'urinate' (of a dog), Ord sari-, Brt հարի- 'urinate with a leg raised' (of a dog) ¶ MED 675, Gl. III 187, Luv. 351, Chr. 677, Ms. O 563 || D (in GnD) *čar- v. 'drip, fall (out\off)' > Gnd B saṛānā v. 'drip' (of water from wet clothes), v. 'dribble' (of saliva), Gnd Mu haṛ- 'fall in drops', Png, Mnd haṛ- 'fall off' (of leaves), Png haṛ 'fall out' (of hair) ¶ D #24O4 ◇ Depalatalization *ř > T *r before a cns. (Hl.'s rule).

2123. ₂ *Sur'i '≈ squeeze out, filter, strain' > A: T: [1] sǘr- v. 'filter or strain (liquid)' > OT {Cl.} süz- id., Chg XV süz- 'purify, clarify', MQp [CC] süz- 'strain, purify', Tk süz-, Az, ET, Qzq, Qq, Nog, QrB, Qmq, Qrg süz-, Tkm սուզ- թյօն- , Uz suz-, VTt սօզ- սօզ- , Bsh հօզ- հյօն- , Chv սըպ- սեր- v. 'filter (liquid)' ¶ Cl. 861, Rs. W 438-9, Jeg. 188-9, Md. 64 | [2] ?σ T *síř- vi. 'melt, ooze' > OT siz- id., XwT XIV, MQp XIV (incl. CC) siz- 'melt', Chg ≥XV 'drip, ooze', OT U {Tz.} siz- 'sickern', Tk սիզ- 'ooze, leak, percolate', Tkm սուզ- թյօն- , Az, Qrg siz-, Alt {BT} sis-, Uz siz- 'ooze, leak', Qzq, Nog siz- 'elude, evade, run away' ¶ Cl. 861, Tz. UIS 98, Rs. W 42, Az. 279, BT 137 ¶ If the primary meaning is 'melt' and the meaning 'ooze' is due to the infl. of T *sǘr-, T *síř- does not belong here || Tg *síři- 'squeeze out (liquid)' > Ewk սիր- և շիր- , Ud sī-, U1, Nn sīrl- v. 'squeeze, squeeze out, milk', Lm hūr- v. 'milk; squeeze out (matter from a wound)', Neg siy- v. 'milk', Orc sī- v. 'milk, squeeze out (milk from the breast)', WrMc sīri- 'squeeze, squeeze out, milk, squeeze out matter from a wound' ¶ STM II 93, Krm. 283 ¶ ≈ DQA #2O21 (A *šjúřu 'to leak, to ooze'; incl. M, T *síř-), ≈ DQA #2184 (A *šjúři 'flow, drip'; incl. T sǘr-, Tg *síři- (= *sīrl-) and T *síř-

may be explained by mutual as. of the vowels of both syllables: ***Sūrī** > *súri- > pre-Tg *siri- (> Tg *síri-) and T *sír-; alternatively, Tg *í of the first syll. may belong together with other cases of Tg *í < N *u (see Introduction, § 2.4) || IE: Ht sesariya- 'seihen, filtrieren' (xN *Sač'u' ~ *ś'ač'u' 'scatter, spread about, pour', [in the prehistory of descendant lgs.] → 'to winnow, to sift?') ¶ Frd. HW 191, Ts. W 75 ◇ The tentative rec. of N ***Sūrī** is preferable to reconstructing N ***Sūrī**, because the latter fails to explain T *sír- and Tg *síri-.

2124. *Sūrī (= ***Sūrē**?) 'speak, declare' > IE *swēr- 'speak (solemnly)' > L sermō (gen. sermōn-is) 'talk, conversation, discourse', adserō ~ asserō 'declare', e.g. in libertatem adserere 'to declare (a slave) free' (lit. 'declare [him] into freedom'), Osc sverruneí dat. 'spokesman' || Gmc *swēr- > Gt swaran, ON swerja, OHG swerien, swerren, NHG schwören, OSx, AS swerian 'to swear', NE swear; ON sóri pl., MHG swuor, NHG Schwur 'oath'; ON svara 'to answer', svar, OSx ant-swōr, AS and-swaru n. 'answer', NE answer || ? pTc *śärp- (= {Ad.} *śärp-) > Tc A/B śärp- 'explain to, inform, teach' || Ld śfarwa {EI} ≈ oath', {Gsm.} 'Gelübde' ¶ P 1049, WH II 521-2, Buck OU 325, Vr. 565, 568, Fs. 463-4, Kb. 1001-2f, KM 695 (Gmc *swēr- 'swear' ← ellipsis of 'pronounce an oath', preserved in ON sverja eiðum), Ad. 655-6, KT 39 (on Tc ś = [ś]), ≈ EI 535 (*s)wer-'say, speak'), Gsm. LWE I 95-6, Hirt UG I 33 (on Gmc *e²) || A: T *söř 'anything spoken, word' > OT söz id. ({Cl.} sōz with unj. indication of length of the vw.), XwT XIII, MQp XIV, OOsm ≥ XIV, Chg ≥ XV söz 'word, speech', Tk sōz, Tkm θöδ, Az, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg söz, VTt süz, Bsh hüδ, Uz cüž swz, Alt, Xk, Tv sös, Yk ös 'word' ¶ Cl. 860, DTS 511, Rs. W 430 || HS: WCh: pBl {Stl.} *sñr- > Bl {Lk.} sor- 'speak', ? Pero čérò id., Tng {J} sēre{id.}, 'deliver a speech' | AG *sñvñvñr {Hf.} 'swear' > Kfr {Hf.} seger 'swear', Gmy {Hf.} sūr id., {Srl.} šūr puoe = šūr pʷʒ id., 'take an oath', Ang {J} sñr, {Hf.} sñr 'swear', {Flk.} sñr 'an oath; repentance, regret', Mpn {Frz.} sér v. 'confess guilt', n. 'confession' ¶ Stl. ZCh 245 [#28], J T 142, Hf. AG #91, Flk. s.v. sñr, Frz. DM 54 || Eg fP sñr 'fortell; make known' ¶ EG IV 189-90, Fk. 235; I am thankful to Tk. (p.c., 2002) for drawing my attention to the Eg cognate and for providing data on Gmy {Srl.} and Ang {J} ◇ Rec. of ***Sūrē** is preferable to that of ***Sūrī**, because the latter does not explain T *ö (***Sūrī** would have yielded T *sür).

2125. *śiharu, *-P_N 'dirt, earth': *śiharu > HS: S *^oś|s_Nh_Nr- > Ar d. ساھرہ sāhir-at- {BK} 'terre, surface de la terre; désert', {Hv.} 'surface of the earth; untrodden desert' ¶ BK I 1156, Ln. 1452, Hv. 341 || Eg G s̄r '≈ dirt' ¶ EG IV 191 || U: FU *ś̄ar_N 'excrements, dirt; to defecate' > pChr {Ber.} *śur 'excrements, dung' > Chr L/B/M/Uf šur, Chr H š̄r id. (with an irreg. vw. that defies explanation); Chr H šara-, Chr Uf/B šora-, Chr L/E šora- & šara- v. 'defecate' | pMr {Ker.} *šara- > *śäřa- 'defecate' > Er śeřne-, Δ śäřni-, Mk śäřňə-, śeřňə-, šärəndə-, śäřəńdə- id. (× FU *ćar_N 'dung' < N *ć'ä'ř_N 'dirt, dung, rubbish', q.v.) || Hg szar 'dirt, excrements', szar- 'defecate' | Os: Nz śɔr 'dung (of reindeers, elks)', Kz śɔr 'excrements, round pieces of dung' (× N *ć'ä'ř_N '↑') ¶ UEW 465-6, Coll. 117, Ker. II 138, Ber. 7O, Ü 268, 275, MF 568-9, LG 25O, 271 || A *sjařu > T {IS} *s̄ář, {Md.} *sjař 'clay, swamp, dirt' ({θπAD}: < **sEář) (× N *šaři'X_N 'to stream, to flow') > Blgh *šāř (→ OHg sár 'muddy river, swamp, mire', Hg sár 'mud, mire, dirt' [EWU 13O5, Gomb. BTL 112], Chr L/H šor 'scale [in a cauldron], dirt' [MRS 719, Ep. 153]), Chv L wyp šur 'swamp, quagmire' || NaT *saz 'clay, swamp, dirt' > ET saz, StAlt, Xk sas 'swamp, quagmire', Chg, Qrg, Chg, Nog, Qmn/Tb/QK {B}, VTt saz, Bsh hař 'swamp', Qmq saz id., 'clay', QrB saz topraq 'clay, clayey soil' (topraq 'earth'), QrB d. sazlıq 'clayey, argillaceous', Qq, Qzq saz 'clay (in saline soil), marshy swamp', Kr saz 'dirt, silt', Yk aš 'pus, matter' ¶ Yk points to a pNaT short *a, while the Hg loan from Blgh suggests a pT long *a ¶ Rs. W 4O6, TL 93, 376, Md. 114, 177, Jeg. 339, Fed. II 462, Bii. PDG 43, Nj. 496, KumRS 274, RKB 118, Sht. 154, Pek. 164, BT 126, BN 132 || M *siru-γay (~ *sirayu?) 'earth, soil' > MM [S] {H} śiro_Nay, [HI] śira_Nu, [MA] śira_Nu ~ śirū 'earth', [IM] śirū 'sand', WrM sirugai, siruga, sirui, HlM шорой, шороо 'earth, ground, soil', Ord {Ms.} šorō, Mnř H {SM} śirū, {T} śirū, ShY {S ← ?} śzrū 'earth', Brt шорой 'dust, soil', WrO {Krg.} śiroi 'earth', Kl {Rm.} šorā ~ šorā id., 'soil, sand', {KRS} шора 'dust, sand', † 'earth', Ba śiro 'dust'; M → Ewk siružī & śiružī & sirgi & s̄rgi 'sand, pebbles', Sln {Iv.} серги 'sand' (a merger with the Tg cognate?) ¶ Pp. MA 336, 447, Ms. H 97, H 142, MED 718-9, Krg. 451, SM 4OO, T 383, T BJ 152, KW 365, KRS 68O, Chr. 73O, ≈ S AJ 234 [#25] || Tg *siru-n, siru-kta 'sand' > Neg siyun, Orc siya, siru, Nn Nh slyā, Nn KU slrō ~ slrū, Nn B slru(n-) 'sand', Ul slyā(n-), {PSchm.} siru id., 'pebbles', Ewk PT {Cs.} śeruk id., Sln śiruktā 'sand' ¶ STM II

96 || pKo {S} *h̄ärk 'earth' > MKo h̄ärk, StKo h̄ılk h̄ık, Ko: Sl/Cl/PhN/Kw ҳык, Ph һык, Chj ҳык § S AJ 252 [#24], S QK #24, Nam 48O, MLC 1894 §§ ≈ S AJ 291 [#403], ≈ DQA #2034 (A *s̄jáří, incl. T, M, Tg, Ko), Pp. VG 3O, 6O, 114, KW 365, Md. OJ 195 || | A form with an ancient root-extension (originally a N cd. with the second element *P_N) survives in IE and D: IE: NaIE *strup-/*srup- 'scabby dirt on the body' ('schorfiges Schmutz am Körper') > Gk πύπος (pl. πύπαι) 'dirt, filth, uncleanness' || Sl *strupъ (< *strūpos) 'scab on a wound' > R, Blg սրպ, Cz strup id., OR սրպն սրպъ 'wound, scab on a wound', OCS սրուպъ սրупъ 'wound (τραῦμα, vulnus)', P սրուպ 'scab, scurf', SCr սրուպ 'tetter, mange', Slv սրուպ 'poison' § WP II 7O3, P 1OO4, F II 665-6, Vs. III 784-5, SJSS XXXVIII 185, Srz. III 56O, Ma. CS 478 || D *čaṛṇp- 'cowdung' > Prj ćarpi (BE: probably = čaṛpi), Gdb saṛpi ဆရပါ, Gnd sarapi ဆရပါ ဆရပါ ဆရပါ ဆရပါ ဆရပါ, Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku ṛāpi id. §§ D #24O2 (b) ◇ The original bisyllabic *-iha- is suggested by Ar sāhir-at- (with vowels belonging to the derivational pattern) and by pT *s̄jař (> Chv L šur, where š- is from *s̄j-).

2126. *śírka ~ *śír'ga 'pain; to be ill/wounded, to pine, to languish' > IE: NaIE *sergh- v. 'languish, be ill' > OIr սերգ {Vn.} 'consumption, maladie, diminution', NIr սարգ f. decay, decline', սարգամ, սարգիմ v. 'pine, languish' || Lt sīrgti / prs. սերգ, Ltv sīrgt / prs. սիրցտу ~ սերց 'be ill', սերցա 'illness, epidemic' || Tc A սարկ, Tc B սարկ {Wn.} 'illness, pain', {EI} 'illness' || ?? MHG sérwen, sérben 'innerlich abnehmen, entkräftet werden, dahinwelken', sérwe, sérbe f.†'Abnahme, Entkraftung'] Gmc (×IE *swerk-, {EI} *swerHK- 'watch over, be concerned about' < N *čūR'k'a 'watch, [?] watch over'): ON sorg, OHG s(w)orga 'sorrow, care', OHG sworgēn 'be anxious, care', AS sorȝ 'sorrow, pain' (> NE sorrow), ON syrgja 'be concerned about', AS sorȝian 'grieve, be anxious about', Gt սաւրց 'sorrow, care' § WP II 529, P 1O91, ≈ EI 516 (*swergh- [with unj. *w] 'be ill'), EI 636 (Gmc < *swerHK- 'watch over, be concerned of'), M K II 495 (NaIE *seragh-/*sragh- if the *w-element in Gmc [OHG sworgēn] is secondary), Mn. 1131, Kb. 1007, Vn. S 92, Lx. 192, Frn. 787, Wn. 422 || HS: S *°✓š̄rk > Ar ✓srk (pf. sarika) v. G 'pine away', 'être affaibli, tomber dans la langueur' (~ ✓srq G [p. sariqa] 's'affaiblir, devenir lâche et languissant [les articulation, les

nerfs])' || BK I 1083-4, Hv. 318 || A: T *sír 'ache, pain' > NaT *siz > OT sīz-la- v. 'ache, have a sharp pain', StAlt {BT} sis 'aches in bones (ломота, боль в костях)', Tlt {Rl.} sis 'sharp pain', Tk sizi id., 'pang', Tkm сид-сид θid-θid (ideophone of pain) || Cl. 863, Rs. W 420, Rl. IV 660-7, BT 775, TkR 603 || M *sirqa- v. 'injure, cause pain' (xN *²Δr₁Δ₂XΔ ~ *²Δ^{'X}₁Δ₂rΔ 'to cut, to wound'??) > MM [S] śirxa- 'verletzen, schädigen', d.: WrM sirqad-, HlM шархт-ах 'be wounded or injured'; M *sirqan 'wound, sore' > WrM sirqa(n), HlM шарх 'wound, sore; injury', Brt шарха, Ord šarxa 'wound, sore', Kl шарх, {Rm.} šarxa id.; M *sirkire- ~ *sarkire- > WrM sirkire- ~ sarkire-, HlM шархира- v. 'bite, sting' (as pain or sensation produced by eating hot pepper, etc.), 'feel pain as from rheumatism', Ord {Ms.} šar"xira- v. 'éprouver une douleur lancinante', MnR H {SM} sg_irié- 'causerr une douleur lancinante, avoir un goût piquant et aigre' || H 142, MED 718-9, 753, Luv. 647, Cev. 840, KRS 667, KW 350, H 142, Chr. 723, SM #348, Ms. O 610.

2127. ²*ś|śuś|śΔ 'worm, snake' > HS: NrOm {Blz.} *śuś- 'snake' (xN *s'ū'₁n₂ćΔXΔ 'worm, snake') > Wl {Lm.} śōśša, Zl/Gf/Bdt {Lm.} śōśa, Dwr {Lm.} śośa, Malo/Bsk {Lm.} śoś, Gm {Hw.} śōśši, Dc {Lm.} śōśšj, Zs {Lm.} śōśj, Cha {Lm.} śośa & śośa 'snake', Kcm śośše 'python', Gmr {Bnd.} śoś (?), Mj {Bnd.} śo(:)ś, BMa/DMa {Bnd.} śoś 'snake' || Blz. OL s.v. 'snake', Bnd. PO 149, Lm. W 51, Hw. EG s.v. 'snake' || B: Ah a-sis 'ver de bois' || Fc. 1867 || U: FU *ś|śuś|śΔ 'intestinal worm' > FU: Mk {PI, Ps.} сюзял śu'žal, Er {ERV} сөзял śežal, {Ps.} śežal & śižal id. || Os D/Km/Kr sustə id., 'tapeworm' || UEW 492, Coll. 116, Ps. sL 66, Stn. D 1381.

2128. *sa^w'ūśΔ 'get dry, harden' > IE: NaIE *saus- / *sus- 'dry, arid' > OI 'ś uṣyati 'becomes dry, arid', 'ś uṣ kah̄ 'dry, arid, dried up', Av haoš- 'dry up, wither (vertrocknen, verdorren)', huška- adj. 'dry, dried up', OPrs uška- 'Festland', KhS huška-, CINPrs خوشیدن ^خōšī-dān, NPrs χūšī-dān 'to grow dry', {VI.} 'exsiccati, exsiccare', حشک χošk 'dry, withered', Oss D исуңсуң iſusun, Oss I сысын s3s3n 'evaporate, dry out' (< *wi-śuš-) || Gk Hm αὐσος, Gk A αὐσος 'dry, dried' || pAl {O} *sausnya (d. from IE *saus-) > Al thaj vt. 'make dry, dry up' || L sūdus (< *suz-do-) 'dry', 'bright, cloudless' (of weather) || AS séar, MLG sōr, NNr søyṛ 'dry' || Lt saūsas, Ltv sauss 'dry', Lt saūsti 'to get dry', saūsinti vt. 'to dry', sūskis 'Aussatz, Krätze', Ltv

suškis 'scabby person, filthy creature' (\leftarrow 'dry', \div OI 'śuškaḥ'), Pru
 sausai 'dry' | Sl *sūxъ adj. (adjs. *suxъ-јь) 'dry' > OCS **сѹхъ**
 suxъ, Blg **сѹх**, SCr, Slv **сѹх**, Cz/Slk (adj.) **сѹхý**, P (adj.) **сѹху**,
 R pradj. **сѹх** ('is dry'), adj. **сѹхой**, Uk adj. **сѹхий**; Sl *suš-i-ti vt.
 (caus.) 'to dry' > OCS **сѹшнти** **суšити**, SCr **суšити**, Slv **суšити**, Cz
sušiti, Slk **sušit'**, P **sušzyć**, R **сѹшить** id., Blg 'сѹша vt. 'I dry';
 Sl *sъx-nq-ti 'to get dry' > OCS **съхнжти** **съхнqти**, Blg 'съхна', SCr
sъhnuti (se), Slv **usahniti** uszhniti, Cz **schnouti**, Slk **schnút'**, P **schnač**, R 'сохнуть', Uk 'сохнутти' id. ¶ P 88O-1, M K
 III 361-3, VI. I 696, 757, Sg. 462, 487, BM 193, 203, Ab. III 211-2, FI
 188-9, WH II 624, Ho. 287, AlbED 886-8, O 471, Frn. 766, Glh. 593, Vs.
 III 73O, 813, Chrn. II 22, \approx EI 17O (*h₂sus- ~ *h₂sous-ος 'dry') || **HS:** ?
 Eg fMd **šw** ($<$ *✓ ss̥w?) 'dry, dried', DEg **šw** 'get dry', adj. 'dry' (Vc.:
 ✓ šw) > Cpt: Sd **щooγε** **шoue**, B **щwoγi** **шoui** 'get dry'; Eg N **šw**.t
 'dry place' ¶ EG IV 429, Fk. 263, Er. 494, Vc. 225, 274 || CCh: Mrg {Hf.}
 šu v. 'dry up' (water), Ms {ChL} **soya**, BnnM {ChL} **so?amo** vt. 'dry' || ECh:
 ? Kwn M {OS \leftarrow ?} s3we v. 'dry up' ¶ Hf. GML 35, ChL ¶ Tk. I 1O2 (Eg,
 Ch [Mrg, Kwn M], qu. S *✓ ſw 'roast'), OS #2224, OS CChELR 2OO ||
K: GZ *šuš- v. 'dry, roast' > G {DCh.} **šuš-** vt. 'dry, roast, fry', {Chx.} (mo-
)šuš- 'aus-‐durchbacken', 'verbrennen, versengen (z. B. Dürre das
 Land)', Lz {FS} **šušker-i** 'roasted, fried' ¶ GZ *š- > Lz š-; G š- (for the
 expected s-) is due to as. (*šuš- > šuš-) ¶ ≈ K² 183 (*šuš- \leftarrow IIr *śus-),
 DCh. 153O, Chx. 1855, FS K 385, FS E 433 || **U:** FU *ſ|šaš̥v > Ugr *θaš̥v
 'get dry/hard' > ObU *θōš- / *θaš̥-ā- > pVg {Ht.} *tāš- / *tāš-ā- vt. 'dry'
 > Vg: T tāš- / taš- / tašā-, LK tōš, MK/UK/UL tōš-, P/NV/SV/L/ML tōš- /
 toš-, Ss. tōš- id.; pOs {Ht.} *sāsa- / *sōs- 'get dry' > Os: Ty sās-, sāsa- /
 sōs-, Y sās- / sōs-, D/K sōs-, O sās- id., Os V/Vy {Trj., Ht.} sōsəm, Os
 Ty/Y {Trj.} sāsəm 'hard, dried up' | Hg ašz- 'go dry, parch, wither' ||
 Sm (\Rightarrow UEW): Ne **сѹса-** 'be drained, run out' (of reserves) (adduced in
 Lh. SA 157) may well belong here (N *sa'w'ūš̥v > *su₁;š̥v > *su₁;s̥v >
 Ne susa-) ¶ UEW 844, Ht. #166, Trj. S 434, MF 98 || ?σ Α: Tg: WrMc
susa- 'die' (of animals) ¶ Z 64O ◇ In Tg there is as. **š...š > Tg *s...s.
 The loss of the expected initial *s in Eg may have several explanations
 (such as as. **sš > š or reinterpretation of the initial *s̥v- as a
 causative px., leading to a bf. šw), but they do not explain why w
 follows rather than precedes š ◇ IS MS 367 s.v. сохнуть *šuš̥v (sc.
 *šuš̥v̥v) (IE, U, K).

2129. *sít^Δ 'tooth' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'sickle'?) > **K *°š̥d̥t̥** -
Sv: UB/LB/L šdik, L štik 'tooth' ¶ TK 815, Ni. s.v. зубъ, GP 272, Dn. s.v.
šdik || A *s̥sid̥t̥^Δ ~ *s̥sid̥t̥E > M *sidün 'tooth' > MM [LV, IsV] sidün,
[MA, IM, HI] šidün, [S] {H} śidu, WrM sidün, HlM шүд(эн), WrO
šidün, Kl шүдн šüden, (Rm.) šüdŋ, MnR H {T} šdi, {SM} šd_i, {Pot.}
шито, MnR M {Pot.} шюту, {Rkh.} shutu, Dg {Mr.} sidü, Dx {T} šidun,
Ba {T} sdøj ~ døj, Mgl {Rm.} súdún id. ¶ Pp. L III 8, 60, Pp. MA 332, 446,
Lg. VMI 63, Ms. H 97, H 139, MED 698, Krg. 445, KRS 685, SM 371, Pot.
414, Rkh. 378, T 384, T BJ 152, T DnJ 143, Mr. D 189, Rm. M 39, KW
370 || (here?) NaT *°síδiψ > OT [MhK] {Cl.} síδiψ 'the gaps in the teeth
between the gums' ¶ Cl. 799-800, MKD III ¶ If the T word is a valid
cognate, the pA √ has *-d-, otherwise it is *-d̥t̥- || D *čet-, *čet- + sxs.
'sickle' > Prj četal, Gdb set, Gnd seṭer ~ saṭar ~ saṭar id. ¶ D #2756
|| HS: ?σ Eg stū 'manier la fauille' (unless identical with Eg stū
'[Hand, Arm an etw.] legen', see N *'š̥ät^Δ' 'buttocks; to sit, to sit
down') ¶ Mks. II #78.3917 ◇ If the cognates meaning 'tooth' (Sv, A)
and those meaning 'sickle' (D, Eg) belong together, the N etymon had *-
t-, but if these are two different N words, the one meaning 'tooth' had
*-t|d-. The connection between 'tooth' and 'sickle' may be based on the
construction of mesolithic sickles (discovered in the Natufian culture)
which had a row of microlithic stone tools (resembling teeth) as their
cutting edge.

2130. *sit ∇ 'to tie' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to spin') > **HS:** S *✓šty
 '≈ bind threads, fix the warp' > Ak šatū inf. 'Faden knüpfen', MHb
 ✓šty G (pf. שָׁתַּי $\ddot{\text{š}}\text{ā}'\ddot{\text{t}}\text{ā}$) 'fix the warp, start the loom', JA [Trg.] ✓šty
 G 'weave'; → S *'šitiy- ~ *'šatay- 'warp' (\times N *š'i't ∇ 'thread [made
 of hair?]) > BHb שְׁתִּי $\ddot{\text{š}}\text{ā}'\ddot{\text{t}}\text{ī}$ 'web', MHb {Lv.} שְׁתִּי $\ddot{\text{š}}\text{ā}'\ddot{\text{t}}\text{ī}$, JA [Trg.],
 JEA شَتِيّ $\ddot{\text{š}}\text{ā}'\ddot{\text{t}}\text{ī}'\text{y}-\bar{\text{ā}}$, SmA šty, Sr  šet'y-ā, Ar سَتَّةٌ $\ddot{\text{s}}\text{ā}'\text{t}'\text{y}-\bar{\text{ā}}$,
 satā-t- 'warp, trame de tissu', cp. Ak šutū 'web' ¶ Sd. 1203, 1293-4,
 KB 1539, GB 867, Br. 811, Lv. IV 617, Lv. T II 521-2, Js. 1637, Sl. 1185,
 Tal 936, BK I 1051, Ln. 1306 ¶ × N *š'i't ∇ '↑' (q.v.) || Eg OK/Md stuy
 'fasten together (knüpfen) (e.g., a collar, a net)' ¶ EG IV 330 ¶ Tk. I
 228 || K {FS} *šet-/*št- {K²} *(s)e^t- / *(s)t- v. 'spin (with a
 spindle)' > OG st-, G rt- v. spin', Mg rt- v. spin, (?) turn', Sv -lt-/let- v.
 'spin' (msd. UB/LB/L li-lt-e, Ln li-let-e, 3s aor. UB anlet(e)) ¶ K 172
 (*(s)t-), K² 177, FS K 281, FS E 312 (*šet-/*št-), TK 440, GP 52, 158 ||
U: FP *sit ∇ - v. 'tie, fasten' > F sito-, Es sidu- 'bind, tie, fasten', F
 side (gen. siteen), Es side 'band, tie, bond' | Er sodo-. Mk sota- v.

'bind, tie' | Chr: L шү́дьиш šǘbъš, YO/V {Bk.} šəbəkš, Uf/M šǘbъš, B šǘbъš ~ šǘbüs, H шéдьиш šəbəš 'hoop of a cask' (< prtc. of the v. *šǘbъ- ~ *šǘbə-) ¶ UEW 762-3, Ker. II 146, MRS 742, 759, Ep. 16O ||

¶: M *side- > WrM s̄ide, HlM шидэ-, Brt шэдэ- v. 'baste or stitch', WrO š̄ide- v. 'baste, tack', Kl шид- id., {Rm.} š̄idə- 'mit weiten Stichen heften, zufällig annähen', Ord š̄id_e- 'faufiler, piquer', MnR H {SM} sdiē- 'rapiécer'; M → WrMc s̄izin 'rope'; d. M *sideme-sün > WrM sidemesün, HlM шидэмс 'thread, cord, string; ribbon', WrO š̄idemesün 'string, cord', Kl шидмсн '(thin) rope', {Rm.} š̄idm̄sŋ 'dünner Strick\Faden, Zwirn', Ord š̄id_emes 'bout de corde\fil' ¶ MED 697, Chr. 743, Krg. 445, KRS 671, KW 355, Ms. O 613, SM 334, STM II 99 || ? Tg: Ul {PSchm.} си́тако 'clasp, buckle (застежка, пряжка)' ¶ STM II 99 || Ko: [1] pKo *stíj 'belt' (× N *š̄i't̄v 'thread') > MKo stíj, NKo t̄i 'belt'; [2] Ko {Rm.} sit- (sit-ta / sit-č̄z / sit-č̄in) v. 'baste (clothes)' ¶ Rm. SKE 239, S QK #426, Nam 177, MLC 550 ¶ DQA #1987 (pA *s̄idoju → *s̄judu 'tassel, string [заязка, ремешок'], ≠ Rm. SKE l.c. (Ko *÷ Ewk sitimn̄z v. 'attach, tie together'; in fact, Ewk sitimn̄z is a loan from M [WrM s̄izimn̄e-, HlM шижимнэ- v. 'attach, fasten' × Yk sitim 'rope, cord', see MED 722, STM II 99, Pek. 2253]) ◇ IS MS 364 s.v. связывать *š̄idn̄ (U, A), IS SS #3.17, Rs. UAW 1O (U, A), Coll. UA 1O (U, A), Blz. KMNE 365 (HS [Eg, S], K, ? A [M, Ko]).

2131. *süt₂y, v. ~ *sü₂y, t̄v 'to drink, to suck (milk); milk' > HS: S *✓ šty (prm. *-štay) v. 'drink' > BHb ✓ šty (pf. תְּתַשׁ šā'ṭā, ip. תְּתַשׁ - š't̄ē), Ug ✓ šty, OA, BA, SmA, Sr ✓ šty G, JA {Trg.}, JPA, JEA ✓ šty G, Gz ✓ šty (pf. satya, js. -stay), Ak ✓ šty (inf. šatū), Eb ✓ šty id., Sb mšty n. 'drink' ¶ KB 1537-8, 1796, OLS 458-9, Tal 936, Lv. IV 616-7, Sl. 1184-5, Br. 811, L G 518, BGMR 129 || Eg fP šdy v. 'suckle' (× N *čay, v. d₁, v. y, v. 'female breast' × N *šüñz, v. 'milk; to suck[le]') ¶ EG IV 564-5, Fk. 273-4, Tk. I 314 (Eg šdy ÷ □S *θady- 'female breast') ¶ Eg š- < *š- of N *šüñz || K *°št̄v, m- > Sv: UB/L li-šdme, Ln li-št̄me msd. 'to make (so.) drink, 'to become drunk', UB {GP} ot-šdə, ma, L {Dn.} ot-šdə, m 1s aor. 'I made him drink' ¶ TK 46O, GP 178, 244, Dn s.v. šdəm || IE: NaIE *swējd- 'milk' > Irn: Av xšvīd- (x- remains unexplained), KhS švīda-, NPrs شیر 'milk' || Lt sviestas, Ltv svieſts ~ svieſts 'butter' ¶ P 1043 (adduces OI kṣvīdyati 'becomes wet'), M K I 295 (rejects kṣvīdyati), Bai. 415-6, Brtl. 562, Frn. 953 (the Lt-Irn connection is not mentioned), ≈ EI 382 (? *(k)swejd- 'milk') || ¶: T

*sūt 'milk' > OT QU/U {Cl.} süt, MU, MQp, MOg, XwT süt, Chg süd ~ süt, OOsm süd, Tk süt / süt- ~ süd-, Tkm θüyt, Az süd, XT {DH} sít, XIj sít ({ʃDT} sít), VTt cət sət, Bsh hət hət, Uz sut, Qmq, Qrb, Qzq, Qq, Nog, ET, Ln, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Shor, Tv süt, Tf süt, SY süt ~ söt, Yk üt, Chv cět sət, Δ {Md.} sət ¶ Cl. 798, Rs. W 438, TL 448-9, Jeg. 189, Fed. II 46, Md. 64, Ra. 229 || M *sūn 'milk' (acc. to Dr., bf. from *süd [sc. *süd], reinterpreted as pl. *sü-d) (× N *šünʒν '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ ≈ DQA #2094 (A *sjút 'i 'milk, ∈ liquid' > T, M + unc. Ko *stím 'sweat').

2132. ² *šv̥t̥t̥v̥l̥v̥ 'to set, to put, to collocate' > **HS:** S *✓štl v. 'set, plant' > BHb ✓štl v. G 'transplant (a plant)', MHb ✓štl v. G 'set, plant', JA, Sr ✓štl G 'plant', Ar E (↔ Aram) ✓štl v. G 'transplant (a plant)', BHb שְׁתִּיל šə't̥il v. 'transplanted shoot', Pun ↔ Gk [Diosc.] συγιλεσαθέ : 'Ἐράκτων τὸ μέχα' ({LS} 'Urospermum picoides') (÷ Hb šət̥i'lē šā'dē 'transplanted shoots of the field'), JA שְׁתִּיל אֲשֶׁתֶּלֶא 'transplanted) shoot', Ak A/YB ✓stl v. G ✓stl 'plant', Ak šitlu 'sprout, shoot', Md šitla 'plant', Ar SL (↔ Aram) šatl-at- 'nursery-plant' ¶ KB 1539-40, BDB 1060, LS 1598, Wehr 414, Js. 1638-9, Sl. 1185, DM 477, Br. 812, Hv. 351, Sd. 1033, 1251, CAD XV 197 || **IE:** NaIE *stel- v. 'place, put, set' (stellen, setzen) > OI [Dhat.] 'sthālati 'stands' || Arm ստեղծեմ stel-em 'I collocate, place, settle, establish', ստեղծանեմ stelcan-em 'I create' || Gk στέλλω (*στέλ-έω) 'set in order, arrange' || OL [Fest.] stlocus > L locus 'place' || *stol-no-s > ON stallr n. 'Gerüst, Altar; Stall', AS steall 'act of standing, place', OHG stal 'place of residence, place, stable', MHG stal 'Steh- \ Wohnort, Stall', NHG Stall 'stall, stable', NE stall; OHG stellen 'to put, to set up, to institute' ('apponere, collocare, statuere') > NHG stellen 'to put, to place, to set' (→ Stelle 'place') || Pru stallit 'to stand' ¶ P 1019-20, EI 472 and 506 (*stel- 'put in place, [make] stand [up!]', M K III 525, WH II 817-8, F II 786-8, En. 254, Stl. 333 (fn. 81a), Vr. 542, Ho. 318, Kb. 949, 960, OsS 862-3, Lx. 208, KM 736-7, 744-5 ◇ On IE *st- < N *šv̥t̥- see Introduction, 2.2.1O.

2133. *šv̥t̥t̥im̥v̥ (= *šv̥t̥im̥v̥?) 'to hear' (< | → 'ear'), ? 'to feel' > **HS:** Eg fP s̥zm 'hear' (Eg z̥ may go back to *-ty- or *-dy-) ¶ EG IV 384-7, ~ Tk. I 262 (equates Eg s̥zm with S *✓šm̥i 'hear' by supposing that Eg z̥ goes back to *s̥) || ? WS *✓çwt (mte. *š...t̥ > *ç...t̥?) > Jb C eṣ'bet 'listen carefully', ṣe'set 'listen carefully, keep one's ears open', Sr, JA [Trg.], JEA, Md ✓šwt G, SmA ✓šwt Sh 'listen'; WS *çawt- 'voice' >

Sr **ʃ̥ət̥** **ʃ̥awt̥ā**, Jb C **ʃ̥abt̥** id., Ar **صوتٌ** **ʃ̥awt̥**- 'voice, sound' ¶ Jo JL 243, Tal 73O, BK I 1382, Hv. 409, Js. 1272, Sl. 957-8. Br. 625 || IE: Ht **istamass-** 'hear', **istamana-** 'ear', ? Lw **tummant-** 'ear' ¶ Frd. HW 9O, Pv. I 452, ~ Ivn. SA 153 || K ***š̥t̥'u'm-** 'ear' > Sv: UB/LB **š̥dim**, L/Ln **š̥tim** 'ear', ? GZ d. ***sa-'**^{š̥}**t̥um-al** ({K²} ***(s)a-(s)tum-al-**) 'pillow' (< nomen loci 'place of the ear', like R **подушка** 'pillow'?) > OG **sastumal** 'pillow', G **sastumal** 'head of the bed', ? σ Mg **ortumel**, Lz **omtunal** 'bearing log of the fire' ¶ TK 815, Ni. s.v. **уҳо**, GP 272, Dn. s.v. **ш̥т̥им**, K² 175 ◇ If the N stop was ***č̥** (indirectly suggested by HS), K ***č̥** is due to as. ***š̥t̥** > ***st̥**.

2134. ***sUč̥ū** 'beat, strike' > U: FU ***sUtt**▽ (= ***s'ō'tt**▽?) 'strike' > Prm ***sōt-** ({LG} ***sōt-**) v. 'chop, strike' > Yz **'süt-** 'cut' (mom.) ('рубанутъ'), Z **сöt-** **szt-** id., 'strike' || ? Hg **ü̥t-**, Δ **it-** 'strike, hit, knock' ¶ The Prm cognate points to a FU ***o**. The Hg front vw. **ü̥-** may be due to the ass. infl. of a front vw. in the next syll. (an old *-ü?) ¶ Coll. 121, LG 265, Lt. 146, Lt. J 18O, ~ UEW 23 (rejects the connection between Prm ***sōt-** and Hg **ü̥t-** because of the discrepancy between their vowels and derives [with a query] Hg **ü̥t-** from FU ***akt**▽ 'beat, chop', though FU ***ä-** does not regularly yield Hg **ü̥-** or **i-**) || A: Tg: Ewk **sutiga-** 'knock out (вышибить, выбить)' ¶ STM II 131 || D ***čutt'i** ({GS} ***s-**) 'hammer' > Tm **cutti** 'small hammer', Ml **cutti**, **cuttika**, Kn **suttige**, Tu **sutti**, **suttigæ**, Tl **sutte**, Gnd **sutte**, Kui **suthi** 'hammer'; D → Mrt **sutkī** 'an instrument of stone-splitters' ¶ D #2668 || IE: NaIE ***(s)teuk-**^{k/g-} 'hit, strike' > MDt/NLG {P} **stūken** 'stoßen, aufschichten', Nr Δ {WP} **stauka** 'to push' || Sl ***stukъ** n. act. 'knocking' > SrCSl/OR **стуукъ** **stukъ**, P **stuk**, R/Uk **стук** id.; ***stuka-ti** v. 'to knock' > P **stukać**, R 'стукать', U1 'stukati', Blr 'стукаць' id.; R **сту'чать** id. | Ltv **stuknīt** 'to push forward by little strikes', Δ {ME} 'stossen, schlagend vorwärtsstoßen' || ? OIr {P} **stúag** 'chop with an axe' (infl. of OIr **túag** 'axe' < NaIE ***teuk-**/***tuk-** v. 'thrust, stab, prick' < N ***č̥'ū'ka** 'to thrust, to stab, to push?') (unless **stúag** is a misinterpretation of OIr {Vn.} **stúagaid** 'il courbe') ¶ WP II 616, P 1O32-4, Vn. S 193, Vs. III 787, Brü. 523, Kar. II 312, ME III 11O2 ◇ The *-k/g-extensions in IE and the element -ga- in Ewk may belong together and point to a N compound etymon ***o'sUč̥ū-ka** ◇ IS SS #1.31 (U, D), IS MS 33O s.v. **бить³** (U, D).

2135. ***s|šEw**Δ 'oneself, self' (< '[human] body [??]) > **HS** *✓ **sw** 'himself' > Eg fO **sw** 'he; him, himself' (x N ***sE** 'he\she', q.v.) ¶ EG V 59 || EC {Ss.} *?is- 'self, oneself' (< N ***h'i** 'iste' [q.v.] [or N ***y i** 'he'] + N ***s|šEw**Δ 'self', possibly x N ***?iñ**Δ**še** 'person, man' [q.v.]) > Af is-i, Sml, Elm is, Rn is- (+ppa.), Bn se (< *is-e), Bs is-e, Or H {Ow.} if-i, Or S {Sr.} uf-i & if-i & of-i, Kns is-i, Gdl iss, Brj {Ss.} issi, Ya eh '(one)self' ¶ Ss. PEC 35, 54, Ss. B 107, Bl. 171, PG 160, Ow. 187-9, Sr. 331, 376, 396-7, Hd. 130, 201 || IE: NaIE *swe- ~ *se- 'himself' ('sich'), gen. {P} *swe, dat. {P} *sebhēj, {Szem.} *sebhī, enclitic gen.-dat. *s(w)oj 'of\to himself' ({Szem.} dat. *s(w)oj), *swō-(pronominal adj.) 'his own' > OI 'sva-, Av hva- ~ xʷa- ~ havā-, OPrs huvā- 'own, one's own' || Arm **ինքն** in-kʰn (gen. **ինքեան** in-kʰean) 'he, she, him\her-self' (p kʰ < *sw-) || Gk ἔ, Gk P Fhe 'himself' (< *swe), gen. Gk Hm ἕο, εἴο, εύ, εὖ, Gk A οῦ (< *swesyo), dat. Gk A οῖ, οῖ, Gk L Fοῦ (< *swōj), Gk Hm οῖο (< *sewō), possessive Gk A ὅς, Gk D Fός 'his own' (< *swos) || pAl {O} *swaj-ta > Al vəhte ~ vete ~ vətē '(one)self' || L sē 'himself', sibī, Osc sífeí, Pæl SEF'E'l 'to himself' (< *sebhēj), OL sovos, L suus 'his\her own', Osc suveis 'of himself (sui)' (gen.), súvad 'sua_', Pæl SUOIS 'suis' || Gt, ON sik, OHG sih, NHG sich accus. 'himself', Gt sis, ON sér 'to himself'; → possessive Gt seins, OHG sīn, NHG sein 'his' (< *sej-no-s ← loc. *sej?), Gt swēs 'one's own; property' || Pru sien accus. 'himself' (or 'oneself'?), sebbei 'to himself' (or 'to oneself?'), Lt savē accus. 'oneself', savēs 'of oneself' (gen.), dat. sáu, sáv 'to oneself', sávas, Ltv savs 'one's own', Pru swais id. (or 'his\her own?') | Sl *sę accus. 'oneself' (> OCS сѧ sę), *sebě 'to oneself' (> OCS сѧвѣ sebě), *svojb 'own's own' (OCS сѧвѡн svojb) || ?? Ht si- 'he', Lc *si- id. (in sesi 'his') may be alternatively (and better) equated with NaIE *sō- 'der' (masculine gender) and U *sE 'he\she' (F N *sE id.) ¶ P 882, Szem. EVS-70 203, Szem. IEL 220-1, M K III 566, M E II 787-8, FI 431-2, Kb. 853, Bc. G 324, O 498, Frn. 767, En. APG 130-2, En. 247, Frd. HW 192, KrlSh. XLJ 20, 65 || U: FU *°s|šEwΔ > ObU *θōw 'he' > pVg *tāw id. > Vg: T tūw, LK täw, accus. tāwə, MK/UK/NV/SV/LL täw, P täw, accus. tāwa, UL/Ss taw; pOs *fōy ({ʃHl.} *fūy) id. > Os: V lōy, Vy yōy, Ty fēyw, Y fēw ~ fōw, D/K tēw, Nz tūw, Kz fūw, O lūw ¶ Ht. #125, Hl. rHt 71-4, Vrt. table I || A *sEwān 'human body, spirit\soul' > Tg *seben 'spirit, ghost' > Orc səwā(n-), Ud səwə(n-)

'helper spirit (ghost) (helping the shaman)', Ewk, Neg **s3w3n** id., 'idol representing the helper spirit', Ul **sewo(n-)** ~ **s3w3(n-)**, Ork **s3w3**, Nn Nh **s3w3**, Nn B **s3w3(n-)** 'helper spirit', 'idol', Sln **s3wū** 'spirit', 'idol', Lm **hawki** ~ **sawki** 'god' ¶ STM II 135, Krm. 290 ¶ ≠ DQA #1950 (A ***seb**∇(n∇) [~ *z-] 'strange, supernatural'; unc. comparison of the Tg word with M ***sebe**-**ꝑün** 'strange' and Ko **sὸn** 'guest').

2136. ₂ ***śi'h'** w∇ 'sun' > **HS**: Eg fMK **sw** 'day' (in a date) > DEg **ssw** ~ **sw** id., Cpt Sd/B **cɔy-** **su-** id.; ? Eg fMK **sw** 'time' > DEg **ssw** ~ **sw** 'Termin, Zeit', Cpt Sd **chY sēw**, Cpt B **choY sēu** 'time (temps)' ¶ EG IV 57-8, Fk. 215, Er. 461, Vc. 2OO || ?φ S: Ar **✓zhw** (ip. -zhuw-) G 'shine' (of a lamp) (as. -sh- [-shī-] > -zh-?) ¶ BK I 1O23, Hv. 3OO || **A:** ? Tg ***si'yūn** 'sun' > Ewk **siyūn** ~ **hiwun** ~ **šiwun**, Sln **šigū**, Neg **siwun** ~ **siyun** ~ **siyun**, Orc **s3u(n-)**, Ud **sū(n-)**, Ork {STM} **s̄u(n-)** (probably < ***sy-un** < ***siun**), Ul, Nn B **siu(n-)**, Nn Nh/KU **siū** 'sun', PCMc [TF] **siyun** 'sun', WrMc **šun** 'sun, day'; but the spelling of PCMc does not necessarily reflect the pronunciation (**siy-** or **sy-**), but may be a mere spelling device to render ***ś-** ¶ STM II 78, Vas. 35O, Krm. 288, Ci. 32O, Mls. 24O ¶ On the origin of Mc **ś-** see Introduction, § 2.2 ◇ Hardly here NaIE ***sa_Lwel-** / ***s(u)wel-**, ***sūl-** / ***swen-**, ***sun-** 'sun' (P 881-2), because in this way the element *-(e)l- remains unexplained. For a better et. of this IE word see N ***3aHū́i** 'light (lux), sunshine, sun'.

2137. ?φ (_{2?}) ***śäw_Li**∇ 'to want', 'to beg' ([in descendant lgs.] → desiderative, volitive) > **A:** T ***säb-** 'love' > OT {Cl.} **säv-**, MQp/XwT XIII **säw-**, Chg XV **sew-**, Tk **sev-**, Ax **sev-**, Tkm **сөй-** **θöy-**, Uz **sev-**, ET **söy-**, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg **süy-**, VTt **сөй-** **söy-**, Bsh **höy-**, Alt {BT}, Tlt {Rl.} **sü-**, Chv **sav-** id., ? Yk **iāy-** 'be friendly to' ¶ Cl. 284, Rs. W 4O6-7, Jeg. 173 || Ko {S} ***sipi-** 'wish, want' > MKo **sipi-**, NKo **sip^h-** **sip-**, **sip^hi-** id. ¶ S QK #832, Nam 325, MLC 1O43, 1O66 || A sx. with voluntative or optative meaning: M *-**su_L:** / *-**sü_L:** ***ora-su** 'let me enter!', **ög-sü** 'let me give!' > MM -**su** / -**sü** (**kele-sü** 'I shall say!', Mgl -**sūn** (with a secondary -**n**), WrM -**su-gay** / -**sü-gey** ¶ Pp. IM 255 || NaT *-**sun** / *-**sün**, 3s optative > OT -**zun** / -**zün**, MU -**sun** / -**sün**, ET -**sun**, Az -**sun** / -**sün** / -**sin** / -**sin** || Tg -**su**, marker of imv. (2s, 3s) in several archaic verbs: WrMc **bi-su**, Nn **bi-su** 'be!', WrMc **o-so** 'let him\it be, be!', become!', WrMc **gay-su** 'take!', Nn **ga-su** 'buy!', WrMc **bay-su** 'ask (a question)!', Nn **di-su** 'come!' ¶ ≈ DQA #1975 (***sebe** 'to love,

to have fun'; incl. T, Ko) || IE: NaIE *-s-, *-sy-: [1] volitive sx. *-s- 'want to' > OI -s- in *śuśrū-śatē* 'he wants to hear', OL *viss-*ō > L *vīs-*ō (**wejd-s-ō*) 'want to see', Gt *ga-weisō* 'I visit' (< 'want to see'); [2] in several lgs. *-s-, *-sy- changed into a marker of future: Gk -σ- in *δεῖξω* 'I shall show', *λεῖψω* 'I shall leave', OL *dixō* 'I shall say', *faxō* 'I shall do', *capsō* 'I shall take', Osc *fust* 'will be', Lt *duos* 'will give'; the less reduced variant *-sy-: OI participium futuri *bū-śya-nt-* 'who\which will be', OCS **БЫШАЩЕ-ИЕ** *bīšaště-je* 'future' ¶ Brg. KVG 529 || HS: ?σ CS *✓ *śwā|y* > BHb ✓ *śwā* D 'cry for help', **עֲזֹבָה** 'outcry' (✓ *śwā*) (unless related to Plm *śyāt* {HJ} 'protectrice, female helper', suggesting a CS ✓ *✓ *śwā|y* or *✓ *śyā|y* 'help') ¶ KB 134O-1, GB 814, HJ 1129, Tal 883 || ?φ C: Ag (Ap.) *ciw-/caw- 'beg' (× N **wec*▽ [or **wic*▽?] 'to order, to require, to beg'???) > {Ap.} Bln, Km *śiw-*, Xm *čāw-*, {R} *caw-*, Q *śew-*, Dmb {R} *śaw-* ¶ Ap. AV 2O, R WB 331-2, CR LK 254, ≈ AD SF 1O5 ◇ Ag {Ap.} *c- (= *č-?) may go back to *S...? < *S...i, ◇ ≈ AD NEPGF 24O-1 (does not distinguish between the reflexes of this N etymon and those of N **Suwh*,▽ 'to push, to cause' [as well as some possible grammaticalized reflexes of N **śuwāh*▽ 'loosen']), Gr. I 2O4-6 ("future S" in IE, A, EA).

2138. **śiw^{r̥}i*a (or **śiwga*) 'to smear' > HS: CS *✓ *śyy* - ? *✓ *śy* (*-**śuyy*- | ? **śuyy*) ~ *-*śūy|y*- > BHb ✓ *śy* G (2pm imv. **עֲזֹבָה** *śōy|ā*) 'be smeared \ plastered up', {BDB} 'be blinded', *Sh* 'plaster up', JA [Trg.] ✓ *śy* G vt. 'smooth, paste (glätten, bestreichen)', JEA ✓ *śy* T 'be smoothed down', JA [Trg.] -*śāy*- G 'plaster', Sr ip. -*śāy*-, pf. *śāy* v. G 'daub, besmear', SmA *śšy* 'smooth', ✓ *śy* TD 'be coated'; ?? Ar ✓ *syy* v. 'add fat to the food; smear the hair with fat or with oil' ¶ GB 183, BK I 1O95, Tal 919, Lv. T II 5O3-4, Js. 1538, 1611-2, Sl. 1168, Br. 791, JPS 566 || B *✓ *zwy* v. 'smear' > Ah {Fc.} *əhwy*, Gh {Nh.} *əžwy*, Tnsl *əšwy*, ETwl, Ty *əzwaŋ* id. ¶ B *z- may be due to as. *sy > *zy (> B *z) ¶ Fc. 625, Nh. s.v. 'oindre', GhA 218, Pr. H 72 [#439] || K: GZ *sw- v. 'pass one's hand over (sth.), smear, oil (sth.)' > OG *sw-*, G *sv-*/s-, Mg, Lz *s(v)-* id. → GZ *sw-am-/sw-m- id. > G *svam-*/sm-, Mg, Lz sum- id. ¶ K 163, K² 164-5, Chx. 1214-6, FS K 268, FS E 297-8 || ?φ IE: Ht *sah-* 'verunreinigen, beschmieren' ¶ Ts. W 66 || # **sipa* 'clay', v. 'smear' > NaT **siba* v. 'smear' > OT *siba-* ~ *suva-* v. 'smear with clay, plaster' (partially coalesced with *suba-* ~ *suva-* v. 'water' ← OT *sūv*

'water'), MT XIV [IM] *siba-*, Osm *siva-* 'beschmieren, tünen, mit Stuck bewerfen', Tk *siba-* v. 'smear', Xk *сыба-* *siba-* v. 'smear (the house with clay)', Sg {Rl.} *suba-*, Shor {Rs.} *šuba-* v. 'smear\coat with clay', ET Tr {Rl.} *suba-* v. 'plaster'; Osm *siva* 'plaster, stucco', Shor *siva* 'hardened dung in bear's stomach in winter' ¶ Cl. 785, DTS 515, Rs. W 414, BIG 204, Rl. IV 672, 788, 1105 || M **siba-* v. 'smear, coat with mud\clay, plaster' > MM [MA] *šiba-*, WrM *siba-*, HlM *шава-* v. 'plaster, stucco; apply mud\ointment', Ord *šawa-* v. 'cover\coat with mud', WrO {Krg.} *šabə-* v. 'daub, smear, cover with dirt', Brt *шаба-* v. 'putty, coat, besmear', Kl *шав-* *šaw-* vt. id. ('за-\об-мазывать, шпаклевать'), {Rm.} 'beschmieren (mit Lehm), tünen', Dx {T} *šuwa-* v. 'smear\coat'; → M **sibar* 'mud, clay' > MM [S] *šibar*, [HI, IM] *šibar* 'mud', [MA, IsV] *šibar* 'clay', WrM *sibar*, HlM *шавар* 'mud, morass, clay, plaster, stucco', Ord *šawar* 'boue, enduit de boue', Brt *шабар*, WrO *šabar*, Kl {Rm.} *šawr* 'mud, clay, dirt', Kl {KRS} *шавр* 'clay', MnR H {SM} *šawar* 'boue, mortier, argile, badigeon', MnR M {T} *šawar*, Dx *šuwa*, Ba *šbar*, bar 'clay', Dg *šawar* 'clay, mud' ¶ H 139, Ms. H 96, Lg. VMI 66, Pp. MA 332, 447, MED 693-4, Krg. 431, Chr. 712, KRS 659, KW 352-3, Ms. O 610-1, SM 369, T 381-2, T DgJ 182, T DnJ 142, T BJ 152, Mr. D 192, Pp. IM 123 || Tg **sipa-* (= **siφa-*?) v. 'smear' > Ewk *siwā*-id., Ud *siφala-*, Nn B *siφəktəz-* v. 'stop up (a hole)', Lm *hiwtəz* & *hiwtaw* 'swamp, marsh' ¶ STM II 74 || pJ {S} **sápa* 'bog, marsh' > OJ *sápá*, J: T *sawá*, K *sáwà*, Kg *sáwa* id.; pJ **sapa-s-* v. 'dip, smear with laquer' > ItOJ *saφa-s-*, J T *sawas-* ¶ S QJ #463, Mr. 2O, 748 ¶ Rm. 352-3 (M, T), Rs. W 414 (T, M, Tg), Pp. VG 3O, 46 ¶ Altaic *-p- (suggested by Ud/Nn -φ- and pJ *-p-) is likely to go back to *-bh- < N *-w̥- | g- ¶ DQA #2011 (A **sípa* 'clay; to smear'; incl. T, M, Tg) ◇ IS MS 348 (**śiwa* 'to smear [with clay]'; U, K, A). If the Ar cognate is valid, it suggests N *-g-, the Ht cognate points to N *-g|y-, which contradicts the K ev. for a "lighter" lr. (N *f).

2139. *Suwh₁N 'to push, to cause' (→ 'to ask for', → causative) > IE **seuh₂x-*/**suuh₂x-* > NaIE **sewə-* ~ set in motion' > OI ✓ *sū-*: *sūvati* 'sets in motion, vivifies, urges', pp. 'pra-sū-ta' 'angetrieben, gesandt', *savi-tar* 'stimulator, rouser, vivifier' (to distinguish from ✓ *sū-* 'grant, bestow; allow, authorize' < N **šūwħ₁N* 'to loosen', q.v.) || Av *xvəŋħay* 'drängt', *maŋnu-šūta* 'vom Geist getrieben' (OI/Av ū < NaIE *ū < IE *uh₂x; OI i < NaIE *a < IE *h₂x) || ? OIr *soid* twists, turns' ||

Ht {Ts.} **s**_uwāū- 'stoßen, drängen, schieben', {El} 'push, urge', ??? Pal **s**_ūnāt 'poured out' || Not here Gk ἔτω (*ἔττω) 'let, suffer, allow, permit', OHG f i r - **s**_ūmēn 'to neglect, to miss', MHG **s**_ūmēn 'to delay, to linger, to tarry', which belong to IE *seuh-/ *suH- 'let, neglect' < N *šūw_hṇ '↑' || EI 507 (*seuh₃- / prs. *su'neh₃-ti), M K III 488-9, MW 698, 1190-1, 1239, Kb. 986, F I 434, Ts. W 79 || **A:** Tg *sub- '≈ push' > WrMc **s**_{ub}ada- 'push each other', Ul **s**_{ubaq}a- 'interfere, meddle in other people's business' || STM II 115 || **D:** ? D *^očo^čv^l- ({^oGS} *s-?) > Kn **s**_ō, **s**_ōvu, **s**_ōhu 'drive off, chase away', **s**_ōvali 'chasing away, driving off'; the connection with Tm **ō**ppu 'drive away, cause to flee' and **ō**ccu 'drive away, chase' is highly qu. || D *_o (for the expected *u) is still to be explained || ≈ D #2878 || | This N word was grammaticalized as a marker of causativity: HS *s_uv- > S *š_uv- (px. of causative verbs, Sh -stems) > Ak šv-, BHb, OA hv-, Ar, Gz pa-, Sb hv-, Mn, Qtb, Hdr S šv- || Eg s- (px. of causative verbs) || B *s_uv- id.: Shl **i**rd 'be clean' → s-ird 'make clean, wash', Tmz **θ**amaz 'take (often)' → s-θamaz 'make so. take (often)', Tw imyar 'être grand' → samyar 'rendre grand', etc. || C prefix of causality*-s_uv- (following the personal pxs. of verbs) (in verbum finitum of the prefix-conjugated verbs), sx. of causality *-s_uv- (preceding the sxs. of person-gender-number) (in verbum finitum of the suffix-conjugated verbs and in some nominal forms of verbs) > Bj pxs. and sxs. -s_ō/se-, -s- || Ag (sxs.): Bln {Plm.} -s-, -is-, -s₃-, Xm {Ap.} -s-, -⁺z-, -⁺ss-, Km {Ap.} -š-, Q {R} -š-, -z-, Aw {Hz.} -č- || EC *-š- (prefixes): Sa {Wlm.}, Af {Hw.} -ys-, -s-, (?) -y-, (sxs.): Sa -is-, Sml -si-, Or, Sd -s-, ? Rn -s- ~ -(i)č- || SC: Irq {Mous} caus. sx. -s- || NrOm caus. sx.: Gf {Mrn.} sx. -s-/ -is-, Cha {C} -s-, -is, -š, Zl {C}, Ym {C} -s, Kf {C} -č- || Ch: traces of the HS marker of causativity have been found in Hs: Hs -ár, -šé, causative sxs. of the verb || Dk. SHL 100-1, Dk. AL 104-7, Dk. JDPA 256-61, Sd. G 116-7 (§ 89 [17]), 122-3 (§ 94 [22]), Bst. ESA 19, Lip. 334, 387-392, Ed. §§ 440-5, AD KJ 93-7, AD SF 287, Pr. M VI-VII 57-9, Cadi 41-5, Hz. AL 31, Ap. REA V, Ap. Kh II 470-1, Ap. K 331, PH 246-7, PG 31-2, Mous 170-5; C SE III 34, 143-4, and IV 209-12; C SO 39, Mrn. O 58-9, AiM 223, PorS 363 || ? **A:** J (incl. Ryukyu ds.) -s-causative: J noko-s(u) 'leave behind' ↔ noko-r(u) 'remain' ◇ AD NEPGF 240-1 (did not distinguish between the reflexes of this N word and those of N ?φ *š¹āw₁f₁ṇ 'to want' (as well as some possible grammaticalized reflexes of N *šūw_hṇ 'to loosen, to release'), Gr. I 200-2 ("causative S" in IE, Y, A [Tg, J, qu. T], EA, Ai).

2140. *^rs¹ū¹w̥hā ~ *^rs¹E[?]uwh̥N 'moisture, water, rain', 'to (be) wet' > HS: S *°✓š|sh̥h, *°-š|suh̥h- > Ar sah̥h- 'rain', ✓sh̥h (ip. ya-suah̥h-u) v. 'pour forth (water), flow down'; S *°š|sayh̥- ~ *°š|sayf- > Ar sayh̥- 'flowing water', sayf- 'water running on the ground' ¶ BK 1O57, 1173-4, Hv. 31O, 346-7 || NrOm: Bnc {Wdk.} sō?, Gmr {Fl.} sō? 'water' ¶ Wdk. BY 11O, 182, Fl. OWL, Blz. OL (*sō? 'water') || C: Ag {Ap.} *səw- ({ʃAp.} *səw-) 'rain' > Km {Ap.} səwa, {CR} suwā, Xm {Ap.} s̥t̥wa, Bln {Bnd.} suwa, {R} zu'wā, Q {R} suwā 'rain' || EC: Ya sɔχɔ 'rain' || SC: Alg saʔami, Brn {Wh., E} saʔama 'river', ?? Asa {E} soʔoŋk 'valley' ¶ R WB 312, Ap. AV 19, Blz. CWL, E SC 18O, Wh. IC 25, ~ AD SF 1OO || ??φ Ch: WCh: Cg {Sk.} zāwē 'water' | Gj {Sh.} zē, Tule/Zem/Sy/Zar {Sh.} žā, Zem D {Sh.}, Ds/Wnd/Dw {Sh.} šā id. ¶ JI II 34O-1, Sh. SB 33 || K **šōw- v. 'wet, wetten' → GZ *šōwel- 'wet, soaked' and GZ *šōwl- v. 'wet, make wet' (x N *s^rū¹w̥lN 'liquid, moisture' [q.v. ffd.]) || IE *seuH-/*suH- > NaIE *seu(ə)-/sū- 'moisture, rain' > Gk ūel (with a long ū) 'it rains', ūetōç 'rain' || Gmc: OHG sōu (gen. sōuwes & sowes) 'juice', AS sēaw 'juice, moisture', ON sœgr 'rain; sea' || Pru suge [suγe] 'rain' || pAl {O} *sūya > Al shi 'rain' || pTc {Ad.} *su-/swāsā- > Tc A/B su-/swāsā- v. 'rain' ¶ P 912-3, EI 477 (*suH- 'rain'), Lehm. GE 213 (on the Gmc ev. of a lr. in this word), Krs. WT I 299, Wnt. TE 193-4 (on the Tc and Gk ev. of an IE lr.), F II 978-9, Ho. 287, Kb. 926, OsS 845, Schz. 264, Vr. 577, 413-4, Wn. 443, Ad. 693, Ad. H 1O2 ¶ AD ChCS #17, 27 || A: T *s̥ub ({Md.} *s̥ūb) 'water' ({θπAD}: < **sEūb) > NaT *su_{L:}b 'water' > OT [MhK] sūw ~ suw, {Cl.} sūv (sc. suw), {DTS} suv ~ suw ~ sub ~ suγ 'water, river', [MCh.] šuv 'water' (interpreted by Md. as šub), Tkm c̥yb θuw, Tk su, Uz, Qmq, Nog c̥yb suw, Az, ET, VTt, SY {Ml.}, Slr {Ten.} su, Qzq c̥y suw, Qq suw, Bsh h̥tw, QrB, Qrg, Alt sū, Tv, Tf, Xk, Shor suγ, Yk ū || Chv šiv, Chv MK {Md.} šū 'water' ¶ Md. 12O-1, 177, Cl. 783-4, TL 88-9, MKD 169-7O, DTS 512, 515-6, TkR 592, Ra. 229, Jeg. 34O, Ml. ZhU 1O5, Ten. SSJ 487 ¶ The rec. of a long vowel (Cl., Md.) is not justified (Tkm has a short u, the long ū of Yk goes back to *-ub) || d.?: M *subag 'narrow long swampy depression' (< *'river'), 'ditch, canal' > MM [HI] {Ms.} subaq 'fossé, canal', WrM subag, HlM c̥ybag 'ditch, trench, canal; narrow long swampy depression', Brt h̥ybag 'ditch, gutter' ¶ Ms. H 96, MED 733, Chr. 687 ¶ ≈ DQA #218O (A *š̥ubaļu 'water' > T {DQA} *sib [= *su_{L:}b?]) || D *°čū- 'wet' > Gnd sūsū (ajānā) 'be just a little wet' (of clothes drying) ¶ ≈ DED #2242 (+

unc. D *čōk-, {GS} *zōk- 'wash, rub' [D #2872, GS 119, #312]) ◇ The tentative N rec. **süwħā explains the pT form as resulting from vowel harmony: *sü-...-ā (= [syü...-ā]) > (synharmonic as. with preservation of the palatality of *sy-) *syu...-ā (or *sju...ā) and later pT *sy- (or *sj-?) > Chv š-. The alt. rec. N *s'Eƿuwhā is an attempt to explain the pT diphthong *-ju- as going back to a former bisyllabic structure *-Eƿu- ◇ N *-ħ- is reconstructed on the ev. of S and K (it is the only N cns. yielding S *ħ and K zero). N *s- is reconstructed on the ev. of K *š-. But if the K cognate is rejected (as ambiguous), we must replace N *s- and *-ħ- by unspecified *s- and *-x- ◇ AD LRC 7-8, IS MS 341 (*səwə 'жидкость' > IE, T, K, HS).

2141. (2?) *s₂wħā 'to drink' > K *šw- v. 'drink' > OG su imv. 'drink!', G sv-, Mg, Lz š(v)-, Sv {K} š(w)- 'drink' (lałə₁-š aor. 'he drank', mi-šw-a pfc. [res.] 'I have drunk'); → GZ {K} *šw-am / *šwm v. 'drink' > OG suam- / suem- / sum-, G svam- / sm-, Mg, Lz šum-id. ¶ K 17O, 173-4, K² 179, FS K 281-2, FS E 313 || HS: B *✓swħ ({ʃPr.} *✓swħ₁) (perfective stem *-swah) v. 'drink' > Ah {Fc.} imv. ašu / 3 m pf. išwa (Fcj. 24), Gh {Nh.} ašu, Gd {Lf.} ešw / išwā, Awj {Par.} šu / yešwā, Sll {Ds.}, Izd {Mrc.} su / išwa, BSn {Ds.} sū / išwu, Kb {Dl.} səw / yəšwa, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} su, Tmz {MT} səw / swi ~ swa, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} səw / yəšwu, Si {La.} su / išua, Nf {Beg.} ésu / yesuwā, Skn {Srn.} sū / išuā, Zng {TC} ešbi 'boire' (pf. yišbe) ¶ Fc. 1842, 2001, Msq. 38, Lf. I 258 and II #1512, Dl. 795, MT 661, Dlh. M 195, Dlh. Ou 307, Mrc. 35-6, Beg. N 22O, TC Z 303-4, Nic. 368, Par. 161 || Ch {AD} *✓s₂wħ v. 'drink' > WCh: Hs šā | Su {J} šwā, Ang šwē, Cp šū, Gmy {Fp.} suə, Tal {IL} sūwā v. 'drink' | Fy {J} šo, DfB {J} šoh id. | Bl, Krkr {J} s-, sa-, Grm {Gw.} s̥heňa or s̥hena, Krf {Sch.} shé-wò, Ngm sòwò id. | Wrj {Sk.} sá, {J} sà! (imv.), Cg {Sk.} šā, Kry {Sk.} sā, My {Sk.} sa-, Sir {Sk.} sà, P' {MSk.} sa, Jmb sí, sá, Mbr {Sk.} sí / sā | Bg {J} še, {Sh., IL} ša?, {Jgr.} šā, {Csp.} šè, Kir {Sh.} se, Grn {Sh., Csp.} saj, Tala {Sh.} h̥a, Jm {Csp.} he, {Gw.} h̥iyé, Gj/Zul/Plc {Sh.} ūa, Buli {Sh.} ša, Tule {Sh.} še, Zem/Tule/Wnd/Ds/Dw {Sh.}, Sy/Zar {Sh.} ūe | Ngz {Sch.} sá, Bd {Sch.} s̥s̥-yín, s̥s̥gín id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} za, Gbn ši, Hw sa | Cb {IL}, WMrg {ChL} sa, Mrg {IL} s̥ah | FlJ {ChL} se, FlB/FIM {ChL} si, Gude {Hsk.} sa, Bt {Mch.} s̥a, Bcm {Sk.} s̥obó, Gudu {IL} sa | Mdr {Eg.} šá, šúše | Suk {IL} s̥s̥ván id. | Mtk {Sb.} sa, pMM {Ro.} *say > Mofu {Brr.} -s-, {Ro.} séy, Gzg D {Lk.} še, {Ro.} sí, Mkt {Ro.} sá, Mada/Myn/Mlk {Ro.} še,

Hz {Ro.} šáwà v. 'drink' | Db {Lnh.} sà | Gdr {Mch.} sə | Lgn {Lk., Bn.} se, Bdm {Lk., Cfr.} hi, Msg {Trn.} s` | ZmB {Sa.} sé, ? {J} čé id. || ECh: Kwn {J} sè, Ke {Eb.} sé | Kbl {Cp.} sùwɔ, Ll sì | Smr {J} šʌ, Tmk {Cp.} hè | Skr {Sx.} sé, {Lk.} sa | EDng {Fd.} s̄ɛ | Mb {Lk.} súwà, Brg {J} sáyà, Jg {J} s- id. ¶ JI I 51 {Ch. *✓ s₂w) and II 11O-1, JS 88, Nw. #39, Stl. IF 92 (Ch *sa|i?-> *swy / *sy? / *sw?), ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 18O [#326] (WCh *sahw ~ *sihw), Ro. 239, Csp. 15, 47, Sh. SB 35, Hsk. 267 ¶ AD ChCS ##17, 27 || ? U: FU {Coll.}*seye-, {UEW} *sew|y-e- v. 'eat' (× N *sēg|k∇ 'to eat, to swallow' [q.v. ffd.]).

2142. o *śow'y∇ 'to sound' > IE: NaIE {P} *swej-/*swi- v. 'sound', +ext.: *swejsd- id. > OI kṣvēdati ~ kṣvēdati 'buzzes, hums, murmurs' (k- from metanalysis in some word group or due to onomatopoeia?) || OIr {Vn.} séit- 'souffler', {P} sét- 'play (a wind-instrument)', ind fet 'sibilus' ({Vn.}: f- < *sw-), NIr fead 'a whistle', W chwythu 'to blow (wind), to play (a wind-instrument)' || ? Gk σίω v. 'hiss' || Sl o *svistъ n. 'whistle' > OR សុន្តត់ svist, Cz svist, P świst, R, Uk សិន្ត id.; → *svistati ~ *svisteti 'to whistle' > OC, OR សិន្តតាំ svistati, R សិន្តតែ ~ សិន្តតារ៉ា, Uk សិន្តតាំ, Cz svistěti ~ svistati, Slk svistat', P świstać id. ¶ Not here Gt swiglōn 'to blow a flute', OHG sweglōn 'to blow a Schwegelpfeife', AS {Ho.} swezel 'music', and L sibilā- v. 'whistle' (see N *śūyg∇! ∇ 'produce sounds by voice or by blowing') ¶ P 1O4O-1, EI 72 (*swej- 'blow through a small aperture so as to hizz or buzz'), Vn. S 76-7; M K I 295-6 (because of the onomatopoeia he rejects all connections of the OI word), M E I 441, F II 7O4 (σίω is o), Vs. III 58O-1, Ma. CS 389 || U: FU *śoye- v. 'sing, sound', *śoye 'voice' > F soi- v. 'sound, ring', soitta- 'play (a musical instrument)', soitto 'music', Es sōitle- v. 'scold' | pLp {Lr.} *čōyɔ v. 'sound, resound' > Lp: L {LLO} tjuodjat, N {N} čuoggjât / -j-, K {Gn.} čūyyeð id., Vfs {Hs.} tjuojedh id., tjuoje n. 'sound' | pChr {Ber.} *šo-kτъ- v. 'sound (lauten, tönen)' > Chr: H шакташ 'šakta-š, L шокташ šok'ta-š / šokte-, B/M/Uf šokte- v. 'play (music), be heard' || ObU {Ht.} *sūy 'voice, sound' > pVg *sūy > Vg: LK/MK soy, P/Ss suy 'voice'; pOs {Ht.} *sōy ({ʃ}Hl.) *sūy) 'sound, voice' > Os: V/Vy sōy, Ty/Y sōy, D/K sēy, Nz/Kz sīy, O sīy id. | Hg zāj, † szaj 'noise, din, sound' ¶ Coll. 114, UEW 482-3, Lr. #188, Lgc. #754, Lgc. SL 2899, Ber. 64 [#336], MRS 689, 714, Ht. #565 || ? R: pJ {S} *sawak- v. 'sound, make noise' > OJ

sàwàk-, J: T/Kg sawág-, K sáwág- ¶ S QJ # 987, Mr. 748 ¶ ≈ DQA #1938 (A *sàybo 'sound' > J + unc. T *söglä- 'say' [in fact from N *šok̥o[ŋ]é 'to say'] + Tg *sawu- [an unjustified rec. from Orc sərīki n. 'sound' and o: Ud safu-safu ð-, safura- and Ewk sauda- 'rustle']) || HS: C: Dhl {EEN, To} sō? v. 'sing', {To.} sō?e 'song' || SC: Asa šišapā 'voice' ¶ E SC 231, EEN 24, To. D 147 ◇ IS MS 342 s.v. звучать *śoјΔ (IE, U) ◇ Qu. (at both the IE and the N levels) because of the onomatopoeic factor in the history of the words.

2143. *sižΔ 'stream, small body of water (lake and sim.)' > HS: S *syl > Ar sayl- 'water-course, torrent', saylat- 'a stream, shower', (⇒ ?) √ syl (pf. sāla, ip. yasīlu) v. 'flow' (water) ¶ BK I 1177, Hv. 347 ¶ Possible infl. of N *s'ūwolΔ 'liquid, moisture' (q.v.) || IE: NaIE *selos- 'lake, marsh' > OI 'sarās- 'lake, pond', 'Sarāsvatī- (name of a stream and of a goddess), Irn *harah- 'lake' in n. l.: Av Haraxvaitī-, OPrs Harauvati- 'Arachosia (a province in the Persian empire)' (÷ OI 'Sarāsvatī-) || Gk ἔλος ntr. (gen. ἔλεος) 'marsh-meadow, marshy ground; backwater' || ? W heledd, hēl 'meadow along the side of a river' ¶ P 9O1, EI 37O (*'seles- 'marsh'), M K III 443-4, FI 5O1-2 || U: FU *sižΔ 'moisture; small stream; moist, swampy land' > Prm: Z зіля zīla 'a place with stagnant water (место, где стоит ржавая вода)', 'nasse, sumpfige, morastige Stelle', arśa-zīla 'anhaltender Staubregen im Herbst', Yz zīlk'ya 'moist, swampy' || OHg ügy ~ igypt 'spring, brook, river' ('fons, rivulus, fluvius') ¶ UEW 442, LG 1O5, MF 959-6O || D *čil- ({§GS} *s-?) 'pond, brook, river' > Tl cilupri 'a pond', Klm silka 'river', Nkr śilka 'brook, river', Prj čilva 'brook, rivulet', Gnd silka 'small river' & hilka & ilka 'rivulet' ¶ D #2569 ◇ *÷ Eg fP š ({Vc.} < *√ šyw) 'lake, pool, basin' > DEg šy 'lake, well' > Cpt ʃni šēi 'well, basin' (EG III 397-8, Fk. 26O, Vc. 258), probably belonging to N *ś'ā?iwei (or *č'ā?iwei?) 'body of water, (?) wet\swampy ground' (q.v.).

2144. 2 *suŋ|gžΔ 'finger(s), hollow hand' > HS: CS *šən̥yāl- 'hollow hand' > BHb 'šən̥al*' 'hollow hand, handful' (attested forms: שְׁנַלְיָה 'his hollow hand', pl. שְׁנַלִּים šən̥al-īm and pl. cs. שְׁנַלְיָה, Md šula 'hollow hand', JA {Trg.} קָשְׁנַלָּא ~ קָשְׁנַלְיָה ~ קָשְׁנַלְיָה 'hollow of the hand\sole', Sr {Br.} פְּגַלְלָה šən̥'lā 'handful' ({Br.} 'pugillus, manipulus') ¶ KB 1487-8, Lv. T II 5O3, Js. 161O, Br. 793, DM 454 || U *suž'a' 'finger' > pObU *θūž(Δ) id. > pVg *tūžā

'fisnger-ring' > Vg: T *toíā*, LK/MK *toíā*, UK *tuíā*, P/NV/UL/Ss *tuíā* id.; pOs {Ht.} **fuū* ~ **fuū* 'finger' > Os: V *lou* (with 1s ppa. *luuəm* 'my finger'), Vy *uū*, Ty/Y *fuū*, D/K *tūy*, Nz *tūy*, Kz *fuū*, O *luu* id.; V/O *luu* 'sewing-ring (Nähring), finger-ring', Vy *uuū*, Ty/Y *fuū*, D *tūy*, Nz *tūy*, Kz *fuū* id. || Sm {Jn.} *^o*t̥yā*, {Hl.} *^o*t̥ya* 'finger' > Mt {Hl.} **taya* id. (Mt: M/K {Mll.} *taia* id., M {Pl.} *taīčda* 'his finger', T {Mll.} *tājam* 'my finger') §§ Coll. 64, Coll. CG 405 (**sul*Δ), UEW 449 (**suž*Δ), Sm. 54O (U **sawdā* 'finger' > FU **s/šawdā*, FP **šawdā*, Ugr **sudā*, Sm **təjä*), MF 651-2, Ht. #116, Jn. UK 21 (U **sužā*), Hl. MTKV 62-3, 88, Hl M #941 ◇ In S the N cns. *-ž- yields *-l- if the root-initial cns. is a sibilant; therefore no S *š...š-roots are attested.

2145. *sežA 'a relative from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ('father\son-in-law', 'mother's brother', and sim.) > **K** {K²} **siže-* or {K} **siže-* 'son-in-law' > G *size-*, Mg *si(n)ža-* Δ *sinda* id., Lz *siža-* id., 'bridegroom', Sv: UB/L *čiže*, LB/Ln *čiže* 'son-in-law' §§ K 163, K² 181, TK 831 §§ The pK rec. **siže-* is preferable. As.: N ***sežA** > **sežA* (whence regularly K **siže-*); dis. *š...ž > s...ž in Zan || **HS**: EC **švz-* ({Blz.} **s v z-*) 'relative-in-law' > Sml *sóddog* 'father-in-law', *sóddóh* 'mother-in-law', Rn {PG} *séyyóh* ~ *sóyyóh*, {Oo.} *so'yóh* 'female-in-law' (= mother- \ daughter-in-law'), {PG, Oo.} *seyyóh* (-kk-) 'male-in-law (father- \ son- \ brother-in-law)', pBn **siddáh* 'mother-in-law', 'sister-in-law' > Bn B/J/Kj *siddah*, Bn K *soddóh* id., Or {Grg.} *soddā* 'in-law, wife's sibling', Or H {Ow.} *soddá*, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} *soddā* 'in-law' (Or → Arr *soddá* id.), Arr *sóh* 'in-laws', Gln {AMS} *soqo* 'son-in-law' § Hn. BD 118, 149, PG 259, 1O (on the morphophoneme -h / -kk-), Oo. 7O, Grg. 36O, Sr. 386, Ow. 271, Hw. A 394, AMS 222 || ? (mt.?) WCh: P' {MSk.} *čosì-ti* (pl. *čosáni*) 'in-law', ???: Wrj {Sk.} *žayi-na* id., *čiyakʷ-aŋ* 'female relative-in-law' § MSk. 171, Sk. NB 27, Stl. ZCh 255 [1O2] || **U** **čečä* 'uncle' > F *setä* 'father's brother', ? Es Δ *sedí* 'mother's brother' | plP {Lr.} **čēcē* 'father's brother' > Lp: S {Hs.} *tjiədsie*, L {LLO} *tjiəhtiē*, *tjāhtiē*, N {N} *čæccē* id., Kld {TI} *čiečč* 'father's younger brother' | Er *čiče* 'elder brother-in-law (sister's husband)', Mk *žavə* 'ščava ~ ščava' 'mother's mother', *žyatja* 'ščäťa' 'mother's father' | pChr **čüčə* ~ **čečä* > Chr L *čüčü* *čüčü*, H *čyčy* *čəčə*, {Rm.} *čičə*, U *čüčö* ~ *tūćö* 'mother's brother' | pPrm **čož* 'mother's brother' > Z *čož* *čož*, Z Lt/Ud *čož*, Vt

Чүжмурт čužmurt id., Чүжбұбы 'mother's father' ||| Vg: LK {Kn.} šäš, Ss {Kn.} sasiꝝ 'uncle', P {Kn.} šäššə-m 'my uncle' || Sm {Jn.} *čicä 'mother's younger brother' > Ne T тидя, T O {Lh.} t"ide, Ng {Mik.} d. t̄tida, Slq: Tz {KKIH} t̄tä 'mother's younger brother', Tm {KD} d. (dim.?) če'žəg_a, MKe či'č'a id., Ch {Cs.} tečea, MO {Cs.} čeča 'mother's brother', Ke {Cs.} c̄itca, NP čiče, Nr dim. cežegə 'uncle' || pY {IN} *čāčā 'elder brother, uncle' > Y K {IN} čāčā id., {Krn.} čača 'elder brother' ¶ UEW 34-5, Sm. 536 (U, FU *cečä, FP *č/šečä, Ugr *čečä, Sm *cicä), Lr. #126, Lgc. #534, Hs. 1315, TI 665, PI 312-3, RMarS 167, Ep. 144, Rm. OTS 158, Ber. 7, Jn. 33, KKIH 183, KHG OSJ 92, Cs. 135, 147, 258, IN 21, Krn. JJ 284, ≈ Rd. UJ 35 [#5] (Y ← U) ¶ Pre-U assimilatory affricatization of *s-: N *sežA > *čečä ◇ Blz. KM 119 [#18] (K, EC, U) and 130 (added NB), AD NM #111, S CNM 12 (÷÷ proto-Lezgian).

2146. *S_iž'V 'to skin, to scratch' > K: GZ *žižg-wŋ- v. 'pinch, nip, tweak (a large portion)' > G žižgn- id., Mg žgžžgon-, žgižgon- id. ¶ K 269, K² 281, FS E 574 (*žižg-) || HS: C: Ag *°sVsk- v. 'skin' > Bln {R} sis̄k- ¶ R WB 311 || A: Tg *sisa- v. 'scrape, scratch' > Ul sis̄a/l- 'scrape (скоблить, скрести)', WrMc siža- 'dig in the earth' (of pigs), 'gnaw' (of worms) ¶ STM II 98 || ? NaT *soy- v. 'skin (an animal), peel' > OT soy- v. 'skin', XwT XIV soy- v. 'strip off', MQp *soy- v. 'peel', Osm XIV soy- v. 'flay', Tk soy- v. 'strip, undress, peel', Ggz, Az soy- v. 'peel, skin', Tkm соý- θoy- v. 'peel', SY soy- v. 'skin (an animal)', Qrg soy v. 'skin' → 'slaughter', Qzq soy- 'slaughter\skin (an animal)', 'undress', Tv soy- v. 'skin, take off (a saddle)', Alt soy- id., 'slaughter', Xk soy- v. 'skin, bark', VTt suyu- id., 'slaughter' ¶ Cl. 858, Rs. W 425, Ten. SSY 206, Jud. 650, Jeg. 198 ◇ K *ž-, C, and Tg *-s- are due to as. between sibilants.