

2147. *šubȝ **Ν** 'spike, spear; to pierce' > **HS:** S: Ar **✓** sbb **G** 'pierce, cut; spear (in the anus)' ('percer, transpercere [surtout à l'anus], couper'), {Ln.} 'cut, wound, pierce in the sabbat-' (contamination with Ar **sabbat-** 'anus, podex') **¶** BK I 1O38, Hv. 3O4, Ln. 1284-5 || **K:** G šub-i 'spear, lance' **¶** Chx. 185O, DCh. 1529 || **U:** FP *šuyę (< ****✓** šuwę) 'spear, bear-spear, spike (of a weapon)' > FΔ hui 'Spule', huitti id., '(runde) Spitze, Gipfel', Es hui, Δ hoi, Lv vɔ'j, vʷo̯j 'Netznadel; Spule beim Weben' | Lp: OSw {LÖ} suoj, Pt/Ar 'suouy়া 'netting needle' | Prm {LG} *šū > Z шы št, Z UV/I ši 'spear, bear-spear (рогатина), bayonet', Vt ши ši, Vt MU št 'sting, spike, bayonet' **¶** UEW 787-8, SSA I 177, LG 325, Lt. 198 || **A** (x N *sapE₁h₂ŋ **Ν** '≈ log, trunk of a tree', q.v. ffd. x N *s'ɔ¹b₁Ν₂t₂Ν [or *s₁Νb₁Ν₂t₂Ν] 'stem, piece of wood?'): Tg *sōba 'in stick', pJ {S} *sawę 'pole, rod, staff' ◇ AD NM #33, ≈ S CNM 9-1O (unc. rejection of the K cognate).

2148. ² *šUd^Δ 'fasten tightly, strangle, be violent to so.' > **HS:** WS
 *✓ šdd ~ *-šūd- v. 'fasten tightly, apply violence against, devastate' >
 BHb שׁדַד ✓ šdd G ~ שׁוֹד ✓ šwd G (pf. שׁדָּה šā'dad, ip. יְשׁוֹד yā'shūd)
 v. 'deal violently with, devastate' ({KB} 'verheeren, verwüsten,
 vergewaltigen'), דְשֵׁסֶת kōd 'violence, oppression', Ug šdd G 'devastate',
 Md ✓ šd? ~ ✓ šdd v. G 'fasten (as chains), bind tightly, overpower',
 Ar ✓ sdd G (pf. sadda) v. {BK} 'fermer, boucher (avec un tampon,
 bouchon, etc.) un trou\orifice, barricader un passage', {Hv.} 'stop (a
 flask), dam (a river), close up (a breach)', Gz ✓ sdd v. G 'drive
 out\forth, chase away', Tgy ✓ sdd 'chase away, send', Tgr ✓ sdd v.
 'brace (e.g. skin on a drum), fasten tightly; give trouble, bother, assail'
 ¶ KB 1317, BDB ##77O3, GB 8O8, OLS 433-4, DM 449, BK I 1O68, Hv.
 314, L G 485-6, LH 197 || **K** *šwd-, {FS} *šwed-/*šwd- v. 'choke;
 suffocate, be suffocated; drown, get drown' > OG štoba ~ šdoba n. act.
 'to choke, to suffocate', šišudil- 'strangulation', Lz šk(v)id-, škid-
 'suffocate, strangle', Mg škv id- id., 'drown, hang (so.)', Sv šgwd-, šgud-
 ~ škwid- v. 'strangle\drown, be strangled\drowned' ({TK} msd.: UB/L li-
 šgwd-e ~ -i, Ln li-škwdi) ¶ K 215, K² 249, FS E 425-6, Q 359, TK 458
 ◇ IS MS 35O s.v. 'насилие' *š'w'də, IS SS #3.24.

2149. *šūsād^Δ (= *šūsād^Δ?) 'good, happy, pleasant' > **HS:** WS
 *✓šūd 'be happy' > Ar ✓sūd (pf. sañida) 'être heureux (un homme qui réussit)', ✓sūd (pf. sañada) 'être heureux \ propice \ favorable' (a day, an hour), Sb doS šūd 'beneficence', (?) 'good fortune', šūd v. 'grant\bestoe a favour' (of a deity) ¶ Fr. II 316, BK I 1090, Hv. 321,

BGMR 121-2 || ?? B: Kb զզօցա՞լ 'passer une période heureuse' (unless a caus. of a verb represented in Ah դատ'be happy) ¶ Dl. 932, Fc. 221 || | K *šed-/*šd- 'be proper, fit' > Mg škid- id., {Q} škidapa 'decency; to befit\become (приличествоовать)', ma-škidaupa 'it befits me', Sv šged-, šgd- ~ šked- 'deem sth. worthy' (msd. UB/LB/L լի-šgd-e, Ln լի-šked-e) ¶¶ K 214, K² 248, Q 360, FS K 376, FS E 422-3, TK 458, GP 178 || | IE *swēnd- > NaIE *swād- 'sweet; be pleasant' (× N *ʒ̥ūhd̥d̥V [or *ʒ̥ūhd̥d̥d̥V?] 'sweet', q.v.): [1] *swād- 'enjoy; be pleasant' > Gk ἡδοματι, Gk D ἡδοματι, Gk B οὐδομη 'rejoice, take delight', Gk ἡδυμος, Gk Hm ἡδυμος 'pleasant', ἡδονή 'pleasure' || L suādeō v. 'present (sth.) in a pleasing manner' (→ 'recommend, advise') || Gt sutis 'ἐπιεικής, mild, nachgiebig' || ? Vd sam- 'sud-ē inf. {MW} 'to taste, to enjoy', OI 'svadatē' 'is pleasant, tastes well' || Lt sūdūti 'to salt, to pickle (food)' || Tc B swār- 'please'] [2] NaIE *swā'du-s 'sweet' > OI svā'du- 'sweet, savory, pleasant' || Gk ἡδύς, Gk El οὐδύς, Gk D ὡδύς id. || OSx swāti, OHG swuozi 'sweet, pleasing', NHG süß, MDt soete, Dt zoet, ON sætr, NNr söt, Sw söt, Da sød, OFrs, AS swēte 'sweet', NE sweet || pTc *swāre > Tc: A swār, B swāre 'sweet'] [3] NaIE *°swādw-i-s > OI svād'vī-, L suāvi-s 'sweet, pleasant'] [4] NaIE *swād-o- 'savoury, pleasant', *'swādos- 'pleasant taste; pleasure, satisfaction' > Vd 'prā-svadas- 'pleasant' || Gk ἡδος 'delight, pleasure; vinegar', μελι-ηδής 'honey-sweet'] [5] NaIE *swādon-om, *swādon-a 'delight, pleasure' > OI 'svādanam 'act of tasting; seasoning, making (food) savory' || Gk ἡδονή 'delight, pleasure' ¶ P 1040, EI 566 (*swēh_Ade/o- 'be tasty, please'), 560 (*swēh_A'du-s 'pleasing [to the senses], tasty'), M K III 567-9, M E II 788-9, 797, MW 1122, 1279, F II 622-3, WH II 611-2, Fs. 461-2, Vr. 577, Vr. N 868, Ho. 339, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1008, OsS 898, KM 765, Frn. 944, DLKZ 777, Ad. 725-6 || ?Φ Α: NaT *sūči- 'be sweet' (infl. of N *ʒ̥ūhd̥d̥V [or *ʒ̥ūhd̥d̥d̥V?] '↑'?) > OT {Cl.} sūčī- 'be sweet', sūcig 'sweet', Tkm сүйжи өүүзі 'sweet, tasty', OOsm XIII sūži ~ sūžü, Osm {Rh.} سوچى sūžü, Tk ՚π sūcü 'wine', Tk ՚ sūcük 'pleasant, tasty', Tki sūčük ~ čüčük, Uz sučuk ~ čučuk, Qrg čüčü 'sweet', XwT XIV sūčüg 'sweet; wine', MQp XIII sūčü 'sweet, grape wine', Qzq тұщы tūšši, Bsh сөсө səsə, VTt төңе təňşə 'sweet (non salty)' (water) ¶ Cl. 795-7, Rs. W 457 (Rm.: *sūči- 'be sweet' ← *sūt 'milk' + *sī), TkR 596, Rh. 1086, TrR 796, Jud. 880 ◇ If NaT *sūči- is a

legitimate cognate, it points to the N vw. *ü in the first syll. (N *šüü**a**d ∇).

2150. *š'ayü'd ∇ 'throw, (?) leave (abandon)' > HS: CS (or S) *✓šdw|y 'throw, cast, shoot' > IA ✓šdy G 'shoot', JA [Trg.], JEA ✓šdy|w G (pf. יְשַׁׁלֵּחַ ~ אֶשְׁׁלֵּחַ šə'šlēx ~ šə'slēx) 'swing, throw, cast, shoot', Sr ✓šdw|y G (pf. יְשַׁׁלֵּחַ ~ אֶשְׁׁלֵּחַ šə'šlēx) 'hurl, throw, shoot (an arrow), cast, fling', Ar ✓sdw G (pf. يَسْلَدُ šə'lādā) {dLn.} 'stretch forward arms, hands, fore legs', 'play with walnuts, throwing them into a hole', {BK, Hv.} 'stretch forth the hand' || (× N *š'ät ∇ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down') Ak ✓šyt (inf. šētum, šiātum, p. -šīt-) 'übrig lassen' ¶ Js. 1524, Sl. 1109-12, Br. 757-8, JPS 560, Ln. 1336, BK I 1073, Hv. 315, Sd. 1221 || ?σK *šwed- / *šwd- 'remain' (< 'be left') > OG šd- / šed- 'remain', G rč-, Mg skad-, skid- id., Lz skid-, skud-, sked- (n. act. o-skad-u) v. 'live (wohnen)' || ?φ Sv sed-/sd-, säd- 'remain', UB ka-sed 'escape harm from sth.' (msd.: UB/L li-sed) ¶¶ K 215, K² 249; FS K 379-80 and FS E 426 (without mentioning the Sv cognate), TK 447, GP 167 || u: FP *šayttä' (> *šäyttä ~ *šayta-) 'throw, hurl' > F heittä- 'throw, cast; leave, give up', Es heida- / heit- 'cast, throw' | Lp S {Hs.} saatt'edh 'ersetzen, abschicken, wegtreiben, fahren lassen', {Lgc.} sätti-, {SK} sätte-, sitte- 'throw, hurl' | Z, Prmk šzt-, Yz šöt- 'put corn into the drying-house (овин)', Z šöt- 'throw (e.g. snow-balls) into the crowd' ¶ *-tt- (for *-δ-) may be due to suffixation (*-δ-t- > *-tt-) or to some unknown laws of phonotactics: *-yd- > *-ytt-?) ¶ UEW 781, Lgc. #6077, Coll. H #81.22, SK 65, TmK 781, Lt. J 199 || a: ?φ M *side- > WrM side-, НИМ шидэ-, Brt шэдэ- 'throw, fling' ¶ M *side- may be explained as going back to **sayidE < (delabialization) *šayüd ∇ ¶ MED 696, Chr. 743 || D (in SD) *cāt(t)-/*cānt- v. 'throw' > Ml cāttuka v. 'throw darts, hurl', cātuka, cāntuka v. 'throw', cāt̄tu 'a hurl', Kn jād̄isū v. 'throw', Tu cānd̄uni v. 'fling a spear' ¶ D #2439 ◇ ≠ S NSShS #13 (K *÷ IE *sed- 'sit'; in fact, IE *sed- 'sit down' [rather than 'sit!'] is from N *š'ät ∇ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' [q.v.]).

2151. *š'ühi' ∇ 'fade', 'go out' (fire), 'extinguish' > HS: S *°✓šhw|y, ? WS *šaw?-: [1] S *°✓šhw|y > Sr ✓šhw|y (pf. يَسْهَلُ šə'hā ~ يَسْهَلُ šə'hī) v. 'be extinguished' (fire), 'remisit' (febris), 'evanuit' (robur) ¶ Br. 759; [2] WS *šaw?- '≈ nothing, evil' (× N ?σ *šuw? ∇ 'weak', q.v.

ffd.) ¶ GB 809, KB 1323-5, BK I 1168-9, BGMR 52, L G 521 || Eg XX *swh* (= {EG} *śwh*) 'verschwinden lassen' (unless a caus. of an unattested verb ***wh*) ¶ EG IV 72 || IE: NaIE **swi-* (also +exts. **-g-*, **-k-*) 'decrease, become less, be(come) silent' > Ic *svíða* 'to abate' (of pain) (× N ?σ **šuw?*Ν 'weak'), with **-k-*: OHG *swīgēn*, NHG *schweigen* 'to be silent', OSx *swīgon*, AS *swīgian*, *swigian* id., 'to be quiet' || Gk σίγη, Gk D σίγα (< **swī-g-*) 'silence', σίγα 'silently; in silence', σιγάω, σιεπάω (< **swīgō-p-*) 'I am silent' ¶ P 1052, Bv. 736, Vr. 570, Ho. 337, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1003, OsS 915-6, KM 591, F II 700-1, EI 518 (? **swīg/k-* 'be silent, hush') || U: FU **ščiya-* (or **-ŋ-*) > F *hi i-pu-a* v. 'fade' (with the rf./ps. sx. **-pu-*, cp. F *juo-pu-a* 'to get drunk' ⇌ *juo-dā* 'to drink', F Laan. 282) ¶ Rs. UAW 42 || A: Tg **sī-* v. 'extinguish', **sī-b-* v. 'go out' (fire) > Ewk *sī-* v. 'extinguish', *sīw-* v. 'go out' (fire), Sln չիցն-, Lm հիւ-, Neg *sīw-* v. 'die out', Orc *sīwi-* v. 'extinguish', sipti- ~ siptz- v. 'die out' ¶ STM II 73; a different interpretation: S AJ 215 [#171] ◇ On N **-EHi-* > Tg **-ī-* see Introduction, § 2.4.

2151a. **š'a'q₁ṇg₂aR₄* 'soot' (→ 'black') > HS: CS **šṇ'χ̣hur-* 'soot', **šχ̣hur* v. 'be black' > BHb שָׁחַר šā'hōr 'soot', שָׁחַר šā'hār 'was black', שִׁיחֹר šā'hōr 'black', JA [Trg.] שִׁיחֹרְאֵל šī'hō'r-ā 'coal' (→ MHb չִ'הּוֹר id.), Sr {Lv.} չִ'הּוֹרְאֵל šī'hō'rā 'soot', {JPS} չִ'הּוֹרְאֵל šā'hā'rā 'burnt crusts of bread', Sr ✓ *šhr* v. G 'be(come) black', JEA ✓ *šhr* v. G 'be black', Sh 'get black', SmA շիյր 'dark-coloured' ¶ GB 819, KB 1358-9, Lv. IV 537, Js. 1551-2, 1559, Sl. 1129, Br. 770-1, Tal 887 || ECh: Kwn {J} *sirakṣn* 'black' ¶ ChC, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'black' || A (*saKar- → *saKar-ṇl, {ADb.} *saxar-ṇl 'black' or 'gray'): M ***sayar-* → [1] *sayar-al 'gray, ashen, dun-coloured' > WrM *sagaral*, HIM саарал 'ashen, dun-coloured', Brt һаарал, Kl саарл, {Rm.} *sār* 'dun, light bay, cream-coloured' ('graugelb, булагый'), Ord *sāral* 'gris, cendré; robe qui va du gris au fauve clair'; [2] Ord *sārab_t'ur* 'grisâtre' ¶ MED 657, Chr 66O, KRS 434, KW 318, Ms. O 561 || Tg **saka-rin*, **saka-lyan* ({ADb.} *saxarin*) 'black' > Ewk Skh *sakarīn* 'black', Ewk NB *saha* 'gray', Ewk Hng *saha* 'black, gray', Lm հազրն 'dark, black, brown (бурый)', Orc *sakar*, Nn *saxarī* 'black, dark', Ul *saxari(n-)*, Ork *savari* ~ *sāri* 'black', PCIWrMc [TF] {Mls.}, WrMc *saxaliyan* {Hr.} 'black', {Z} 'black, very dark', Jrc {Md.} *saxa-lian*, {Kiy.} *sahaliyan* 'blackish' ¶ STM II 56, Mls. 233, Hr. 756-7, Z 559, Kiy. 131 [#62O], Md. ChF 138 || K: [1] GZ **na-šqir-* ~ **na-qšir-* 'coal' > OG *naqšir-* ~ *naqšir-*, G *naxšir-* ~ *našxir-*

, Mg nošker-, noškver-, Lz noške(r)- || ? [2] G žyari 'schwarzrot, grau' § Chx. 1O39, K² 139, Abul. 326 ◇ A hypothetic clister *-qg- (< N *-q²g-) was probably reduced to HS and K *-q- (> S *-χ-, GZ *-q-) and to a velar cns. in pA (> M *-χ-, Tg *-k-), as well as possibly to pre-K *g (> K *χ) in K *žy (*< *šy*), as reflected in G žyari.

2152. *šahkE 'to cover, to hide' > **HS:** SES *°✓šhk > Jb C ✓šhk G (pf. šhk) 'lie hidden' § Jo. J 261 || ? WCh: AG {Stl.} *sok v. 'hide' > Su {ChL} sòk, ? {J} čòk, Kfr {Nt.} sók, Anf {ChL} sòk, Gmy {Kr.} sok § ×N *š'a'ka 'to cover' (q.v.) § Stl. VZCh A #233, ChL, ChC, Nt. 37 || **U** *šakkE v. 'hide' > FV *ša|akkE > Lp N {N} čiekkât / -g- v. 'hide, conceal, keep secret', L {LLO} tjiéhkā (in cds.) 'hidden, concealed, secret' | Chr B šaktem v. 'insert, hide' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *tъk- 'verbergen' > Ng {Hl.} tзk- 'verbergen, verstecken, vergraben'; En Tn {Hl.} tos- (inf. tofe, 3s to?ada) id.; Slq Tm {KD} vt. takku (1s aor. taŋŋab_) 'keep (хранить)', Slq Tz {KKIH} jllä taq- v. 'bury' (jllä 'down'), Slq {Cs.}: Nr tahhap, Ke tagannau, Ch/UO/B taknam, NP takannam, MO taŋnaу, Kar taŋnam, Tz taŋnam, takram 'I buried', ? Sq Tz {KKIH} taqitt-qa 'to close', jllä taqitt-qa 'to lock', {Cs.} takatam 'ich schloß zu', ?? Slq Chl {Cs.} tâgadom 'ich bedeckte (mit einem Tuch)'; Mt {Hl.} *tak- 'vergraben' (Mt М тагнамъ {Sp.} 'закопываю') §§ Ps. sL 1O5-6, N I 384, LLO 1152, LG 256-7, Jn. 146, Cs. 144, KKIH 114, 179, Hl. M 35O [#946], 428 || **A [1]** M *saki- 'protect, guard' > MM [PP, S, Hl] saq-i- 'protect', [MA] saq-i- 'guard, protect against', WrM saki-, HlM сахи-, Brt haxi- v. 'protect, preserve, guard', MnR H {SM} sag_i-, {T} sag-i- id., 'expect', WrO {Krg.} saka-, sakiq-, Kl сәк- säk-, {Rm.} säki- v. 'guard, keep', Ba säge- (so in T BJ), sage- (so in T 356) 'wait for, expect', Dx {T} sag-i-, Dg {Pp.} sag-i-, {T} sag-i-, {Mr.} sahi-, Ord sah"xi- v. 'guard; observe (laws, customs)' § Pp. MA 318, Pp. KP 156, Pp. PP 129, H 131, MSS. H 93, MED 662, SM 319, T 356, T BJ 146, T DgJ 356, T DnJ 133, Ms. O 553-4, Krg. 395, KRS 445, KW 31, Chr. 679 || T *sak- (× T *saki- 'watch, be aware') > Chv сыих siχ, сыиха siχЬ n. 'guard (охрана)', NaT *sak-či 'a guard (person), guardian' > OT, Chg ≥XV saqči id., XwT XIV saqči, Tkm θaqči, ET saqči, VTt saqšъ, Bsh haqsъ '(a) guard, sentry', Qzq saqši 'watchman', Qmq saqči, Nog, Qq saqši, Uz соқчи saqči '(a) guard', Qrg saqči, Alt saqči id., 'guardian'] ↳ T *sakla- 'protect, guard' (× *sakla- 'watch') > Tkm θaqla-, Az saxla- 'protect, guard, hold', ET saqli-, Qmq, VTt, Nog, Qzq, Qq saqla-, Bsh

haqla-, Qrg, Alt saqta-, Chv съихла- sixla- 'protect, guard', Osm saqla-, Tk sakla- id., 'conceal' ¶ Jeg. 201, Cl. 805-6, 810, TkR 558-9, Sht. 171, BT 125 ¶ There is lexical interaction between this A root and the A reflex of N *śAħk'ā' 'search, find, know' (q.v.) ¶ ≈ DQA #1957 (A *sèk'u; incl. T, M) ¶ [2] ?? AdS of Tg *segħk- v. 'litter (branches of conifer on the flour), cover the flour with sth.' and of WrM {Kow.} sekci 'herbes qu'on étend sur le lit' (< A {AD} *sek'- 'spread out' < N *ś'ā'ka|æ 'strew, spread', q.v. ffd.) ¶ DQA #1952 (A *s|zegi 'to litter; mat').

2153. *šoKóř̥ē 'to say' > IE: NaIE *sekʷ- v. 'say' > Gk ἔν(ν)έπω 'tell, tell of, relate' (aor. ἔντε-σπον, imv. pl. ἔσπετε) || L īnsequē 'sag an' (= Gk ἔννεπε), īnquam 'I say, speak' (< *insquam, old inj. or conj., acc. to BD), īnquit '(he) said' (< aor. *en-skʷe-t), Um prusikurent 'pronuntiaverint' || OW hēpp, MW hēby(r), W eb(e), ebr 'he said', OIr {Vn.} rosc 'dicton (généralement en vers) d'une formule légale, adage, aphorisme, brocard' (< *pro-skʷo-), {P} arosc 'proverb' (*ad-pro-skʷo-), īnsce 'Rede' (*eni-skʷ-ya), OIr scél, W chwedl 'news, recitation' || Gmc *sagjan > ON, Ic, NNr segja, Sw säga, Dn sige, OSx séggian, OHG, NHG sagen, AS sećjan 'to say', NE say (IE *sokʷē-) || Lt sèkti (prs. sekū) 'to tell, to narrate', sakýti id., 'to say', Ltv sacīt 'to say' | Sl: ChS соунти sočiti 'to indicate', Blg соча v. 'show, indicate', ChS, OR сокъ sokъ 'κατήγορος, accusator', OR соунти sočiti 'to look for, to search, to sue (in a court), to be plaintiff', SCr sočiti 'to search for, to find out, to establish the guilt of', OCz sok 'Ankläger', Cz sok 'rival, adversary', OP soczenie 'accusation', P osoka id., 'libel', osoczyć 'to accuse', R † сочить 'to sue, to be plaintiff' ¶ P 897-8, EI 536 (*sekʷ- 'say, recount publicly'), F I 520-1, WH I 702-3, Bc. G 343, Vn. R 44, Vr. 467, Schz. 243, Kb. 818, OsS 734-5, KM 619, Ho. 288, Ho. S 62, Frn. 757, 773, Brü. 384-5, Mikl. E 313, Mikl. L 870, Vs. III 708, Srz. III 460. 471, BD II 3, 127, 164, 468 || **U:** FP *šoke v. 'say' (→ 'repeat') > F hōke- v. 'say repeatedly; babble, chatter, speak', Es Δ ogeda v. 'teach, give advice' | Prm {LG} *šu- v. 'say' > Z шу-ны, Vt шуыны 'to say' ¶ LG 324, UEW 786-7 || **A:** T *söglä- v. 'say' > MT [TZ], Qzq, Qq söyle-, Tv сөгле- söyle- id., Chg, Az söylä-, Tk söyle-, Tkm Өöyle- Qrg süylö- ~ söylö-, Blq, Xk söle- v. 'say', VTt сөйлә- səylä-, Bsh һөйлә- həylä-, Nog söyle- v. 'say, narrate', Uz swyla-, Chv Δ {Ash.} soňla- v. 'speak' ¶ Rs. W 429, Ash. XI 179 || **HS:** ? S *°✓ šsķi > Ar ✓ sqi G {BK} 'chanter' (se dit du coq), D

{Hv.} 'abuse so. by blaspheming against him' ¶ BK I 1108, Hv. 372 ◇ In T *söglä- its front vw. *ö results from some regr. as., and its voiced cns. *g goes back to a cluster (from N *K...ȝ).

2154. *šilw 'quiet' > HS: S *✓ šlw 'stay quietly, be at rest' (x N *šalū 'intact' [→ 'entire'], 'in good condition, healthy', q.v.) > BHb ✓ šlw (1s pf. šā'lawtī), OA ✓ šlū 'stay quietly, be at rest', BHb šā'lēw 'untroubled, carefree, at ease', 'untroubled state', šalō 'quietness, ease, security, untroubled state', Ug ✓ šlw v. {OLS} 'rest (reposar)' ({A} 'sich trösten'), BA šlā'le 'quiet, carefree', šlā'lu 'negligence', JPA ✓ šly|w G (pf. šlā'le ~ šlā'lā) 'be at ease, quiet, rest, unconcerned', JEA ✓ šly|w G 'forget', ChrPA, NNEA {Mcl.} ✓ šly 'be carefree, calm, rest', JA [Trg.] šlā'lu 'quiet, unconcerned', {Lv.} šil'yā 'Ruhe, Ungestörtheit', Sr ʃil'yā 'quiet, unconcerned', em. ʃal'yā, Md šalia 'tranquil, peaceful, calm', Sr ✓ šly (pf. ʃlā'li) 'be silent, be still, abate, dwell in peace', IA *šlyh (pl. šlyn), JA {Trg.} {Lv.} ʃlīnah ʃelēwā, ʃelēwə'tā 'Ruhe, Zufriedenheit, ungestörtes Leben', ʃlīyotā 'Ruhe, Frieden', Sr ʃel'yā 'stillness, quiet', Ar سلو ✓ s̄lw G 'console oneself for (se consoler de qc., ne plus s'en affliger)', ✓ s̄lw Sh (pf. رسلة paslā) v. 'be safe from wild beasts', سلوا sulwat- 'comfort, consolation', Ak NB šelū 'become negligent, neglect' ({Sd.}: ← Aram), Ak šilūtu ~ šilītu 'negligence' ¶ HJ 1142, KB 1392-4, 1790, A #2609, BK I 1132, Deg. § 62, Lv. T II 482, 490-1, Js. 1582, Sl. 1148, BK I 1132-3, Hv. 334, Br. 778, JPS 579-80, DM 441, Mcl. 442, Sd. 1211 ¶ S *-w- may either go back to the N etymon (that will be reconstructed as *šilw) or be due to contamination with N *šalū '↑' || B: Ah sullan 'doucement', ETwl, Ty sol'lan id., 'lentement' ¶ Fc. 1832, PrGG 298 || IE: NaIE *sil- 'be silent, be quiet' > L silē- 'be silent, be still, rest' || Gt ana-silan 'κοπάζειν, to abate, drop' (of wind) [Mc. 4.39], AS sālness 'silence (Schweigen)' ¶ Mn. 1139, WP II 462, Fs. 44, Ho. 269 || U: FU (att. in BF) *°šilw- > F hiljaa, hiljan, Krl hiljan adv. 'quiet', Krl Ld hil 'slow, quiet', Es hili, hilja 'late' (adv.), hilja 'late' (adj.), Lv ilig 'slow' ¶ SK 75, SSA I 163 || A: M *silw- > WrM silirke- v. 'be lazy, idle', Kl {Rm.} šalā-xa (< *sila-yi-) 'nicht tun, faul daliegen', Brt һәлән ҳатар-ха 'to be idle, to loaf' ¶ Rl. IV 653-4 and Rs. W 416 mention a T root in MQp [CC] {Rl. → Rs.} sili 'ruhig,

gelassen' and Kr *sīlāŋ* 'Ruhe', but it is not confirmed either by Grøn. (as to MQp [CC]) or in KRPS (for Kr) §§ KW 346, Chr. 705.

2155. *šu̥l̥'ē¹ 'throat, mouth' > HS: S *°v̥ ſſl̥ > Ar sāfil- 'throat', masſal- id. (both words restructured as if they were derived from √ſſl̥ 'cough') § BK I 1093, Hv. 322 || ?φ CCh: Ms {J} sūllā, Bnn {ChL} sūldā, BnnM {ChL} sula 'hole' (x N *SīlV 'hole', q.v.) § ChC. ChL || u: FU *šūle 'mouth, lip' > Os: V lul, Vy yul, Ty ɸuɸ, D tut 'mouth' || F huuli (gen. huulen), Es huul 'lip' | Lp: N {N} sullā 'approximation to sth.', L {LLO} sulla 'in der Richtung gegen ..., in der Gegend von ...' § UEW 903 || IE: NaIE *swel- v. {P} 'swallow' > Av xvar- 'genießen, verzehren' || NE swill 'drink eagerly\greedily', Ic sollr 'Trinkgelage' || +ext.: *swelk- > MLG, MDt swalch 'Schlund', NHG Schwalch 'Öffnung des Schmelzofens', OHG swelhan ~ swelgan, ON swelga, AS swelgan 'to swallow', NE swallow v. § P 1045 § The absence of traces of the lr. may be explained by metathesis (N *šu̥l̥'ē¹ > mt. *swelH- > *swel- with no *ə in the postvocalic position).

2156. (2?) *šūl̥ugL²V 'throw down (the enemy), attack, be hostile' > HS: Eg fP s̥yr (= {EG} śl̥r) 'overthrow, throw down (the enemy, etc.)', Eg L s̥ryuw - Bezeichnung für feindliche Menschen § EG IV 257-8, Fk. 242 || K: OG {DCh.} šuyl-i 'quarrel, fight', G {Chx.} šuyl-i 'dissension, strife, quarrel, enmity', šuyl- 'auf Kriegsfuß stehen, in Unfrieden leben' (hardly [↔ DCh.] from Ar šuyl- 'occupation, affaire, travail, besogne', F BK I 1245) § DCh. 153O, Chx. 1854-5 || A: ? M: WrM sūlgüdü- v. 'hate, detest, defame' § MED 743.

2157. 2 *šU₁H₂L²V '∈ roe, deer' > K: GZ *šwel- 'roe, chamois' > G švel-, Mg skwer- id., Lz mskwer-, pskwær-, mskwer- 'deer' §§ K 216, K² 25O, FS K 38O, FS E 427, Chik. 91, Gm. SSh 27 (Gm.'s law: K *šw- > Mg/Lz skv-) || HS: EC {Ss.} *sāl- 'oryx' > Or {Th.} sāl-a, Or B {Sr.} sālā, {Vnt.} sala, Gln sāl-to, Brj 'sāla id., EC → Amh ሳላ sala id. § Ss. PEC 33, Ss. B 161, Th. 296, Sr. 382, Vnt. 131, Gn. 239.

2158. (2?) *šałΓV 'strike, break' > K *°žył- > G {DCh.} žył- vt. 'break, split' ('ломать, колоть, щепить'), {Chx.} 'Risse in etw. verursachen', G Kx {Chx.} žył- 'zerquetschen, beschädigen etw. (z. B. vom Transport)' § G ž- < *š- by as. (*šy- > žy-) § DCh. 103O, Chx. 104O || ? IE: NaIE (+ext.) *slak̥k- or *slak̥k- 'beat, strike' > Clt: OIr slachta (cn. {Vn.}: slactha) 'beaten' ({Vn.} pp. of OIr *slac- 'battre'), ScGl slachdaim 'I strike with a hammer', slachdan 'club';

with an "expressive" -kk-: OIr *slacc* 'sword', NIr *slacaire* {Dnn.} 'batter, bruiser, beater' || Gmc: Gt, OSx *slahan*, ON *slá*, Sw, Dn, NNr *slå*, OHG *slahan* (*sluoc* / *sluogun* / *geslagen*) 'to beat, to slay, to slaughter', NHG *schlagen*, OFrs *slagia* 'to beat', AS *sléan* id., 'to kill', NE *slay* ¶ P 959, EI 549-50, Vn. S 124, Dnn. 649, Vr. 512, Fs. 436, Ho. 298, Ho. S 67, Kb. 904, OsS 817-8, KM 652 || A: NaT **sal-* v. 'strike; move, put into (violent) motion' (× N **sA1'ē* 'put, throw' [q.v.]) > Tkm *θal-* 'beat, strike', Uz *сoл-* *sal-*, Qmq *sal-* 'strike', Qzq, Qq, Qrg *sal-* 'strike\hit (violently)'; → NaT **sal-iš* 'battle, war' > Qrg, Alt, ET *sališ*, Uz *sališ* id. ¶ Cl. 824, DTS 482, Jud. 625, UzR 377, MM 286, KrkR 559, TL 562 || M: *AdS* of M **salu-* vi. 'separate', **salga-* vt, 'separate' (× **salagan* 'branch') < N **śäl₁N₂qU* 'cleave, cut asunder' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≠ IS MS 353 s.v. **έσλαν* 'отделяться (от стада)' (K, U).

2159. **šeíN* (or **šełN*) 'take away\off, destroy, pull off' > K **šeal-* / **šeł-* > G *šeal-* / *šeł-* v. 'destroy, be destroyed, annihilate, spoil' ¶ Fn. SK 96 [#119], Chx. 1829-36 || HS: S *✓ *še11* v. 'take out\away' (× N **co11iN* 'be\make empty?') > Ar ✓ *še11* v. *G* (pf. *salla*, ip. -*sull-*) 'draw (a sword), extract gently, steal', Sq ✓ *še11* v. 'ravir, enlever', BHb ✓ *še11* *G* 'pull out' (2pm ip. *tā'še11ū*, Ruth 2.16), 'plunder', Ak ✓ *še11* *G* 'withdraw (from a storage place?), plunder' (BHb and Ak: × S *✓ *θe11* 'plunder' > Ar ✓ *θe11* id.) ¶ KB 1416-7, GB 814, BK I 1116-7, Hv. 329, LLS 417, Sd. 1142, CAD XVII/1 196-7 || IE: NaIE **sel(w0)-* v. 'take, seize' (× N **śi1[ū]* [or **śi1[ū]?*] 'take, take away\off', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ U: FU **šeíN* v. 'split' > Prm *śo1-* ({LG} **śo1-* 'split, break to pieces' > Z Sk *śo1-* vi. 'split' (of playing knucklebones), Yz *'śu1a1-* vt. 'chip (щепать)' ¶ LG 321 || D **če1-* ({GS} *s-*) v. 'pull off, draw' (× N **če1N* 'pull away, take away\out, rob', q.v.) > Kn *še1e* v. 'draw, pull, pull off, rob', Tu *še1æ* 'force', TI {Km.} *ce1uku* v. 'pull out (as eyeballs)', ? Kui *že1ka* v. 'pull', *že1ba* v. 'pull, draw' ¶ D #2791, Km. 363 [#472] ◇ If FU **šeíN* belongs here, the N etymon is **šeíN*, otherwise it may be either **šeíN* or **šełN* ◇ Bru. 1O5 (S, IE), Blz. KM 12O [#22] (K, S, IE, D).

2160. (2?) **śN̥iN* 'make, build' > K **šeñ-* 'build' > OG, G *šeñ-* id. ¶ Ser. 181, Chx. 178O-1 || HS: Ch ({Nw.} **śina* 'work'): CCh: Tr {Nw.} *śónà* (s.c. -*r*) n. 'work' || Bcm {Sk.} *l̥ente* || Lmn {Lk.} *śónà* || Glv {Rp.} *śzra*, Dgh {IL} *t̥árá* (= *čzrá*), MfG {Brr.} *śzra* ~ *śzre* n. 'work',

pMM {Ro.} **š̄er** id. > Hrz **š̄era**, Mlk **š̄eréle**, Gzg D {Lk.} **š̄ra**, {Ro.} **š̄rá**, Mofu {Ro.} **š̄réy** id. | ZmB {Sa.} **s̄in** id. || ECh: ? Skr {Lk.} **ússan** id. ¶ Ch *-n- > -r-, -f- in the Mdr and some Mtk lgs. (Mdr **šáré**, Glv **š̄árda**, Mofu {Ba.} **š̄ér** 'tooth') ¶ Nw. 34 [#15O], ChC, Brr. MG II 236, Lk. G 137, Ro. 362 [#817] || ?ϕ WS ***v̄çn̄** 'make, work skilfully' > Ar **v̄şn̄** G 'make, manufacture', Nbt **v̄şn̄** v. *G* or *D* 'make' (↔ Ar?), Sb {BGMR} **v̄şn̄** v. 'fortify', **şn̄** n. or v. '(?) work', **v̄şn̄** (pf. **hşn̄**) 'keep shut up \ under restraint', **mşn̄t** 'fortress, castle', Hdr {MA} **mşn̄t(n)** id., OYmn {Slw.} **mşn̄h̄** 'Festung, Bauwerk', Ar NY {Slw.} **şānīs** 'wall (Mauer)', Mn {MA} **?şn̄** 'ouvrier, gardien', Qt {MA} **δy-mşn̄t** '(?) corporation des artisans', Jb {Jo.} **'şinař** v. 'invent', **e'şun̄** v. 'build, invent', Mh {Jo.} **şən̄at** (**v̄şn̄**), Jb E/C {Jo.} **şən̄at** 'way of doing sth.' (hardly ↔ Ar O [< Ar **صَنْفٌ** **şən̄fa** 'art']), Sr **š̄en̄-ā** **š̄en̄-ā** 'skill, craft; a doing, contrivance' → Sr **v̄şn̄** *D* 'act skillfully', BHb **v̄çn̄** *Sh* (abs. inf. **הָצְנַעַת** **haç̄n̄at**) {Hier.} 'solliciter ambulare' ¶ HJ 971, Cn. N II 172, JPS 481-2, Br. 633, KB 972-3, Ln. 1832-5, BK I 1375, Hv. 407, BGRM 143, MA 94, Slw. 136, Jo. M 364, Jo. J 240 ¶ The WS glottalized cns. *ç- (for *š-) needs explaining || ?σ IE ***senX-** '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > Ht {Ts.} **sanh-** 'seek, try, strive for; require' (× N ***ȝn̄h̄n̄** '≈ acquire, obtain, increase', q.v.), NaIE ***selanə-**, ***se|anu-** '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' (× N ***ȝEŋqN** 'seek, try to obtain', q.v. ffd.).

2161. *šūnígo (or ***šüŋo**?) 'snow' > IE: NaIE ***sneɪgʷh-** v. 'snow', ***snigʷh-**, ***snoigʷhō-** n. 'snow' > pInA ***snēha-** > Prkr **sinēha-** 'hoarfrost, snow, mist', pInA ***snih-** > Prkr **sin̄hā-** 'snow, dew, mist', Drd: Shina **h̄in** 'snow' | Irn: Shgn **žəniž** id., Av **snaēža-** v. 'snow' || Gk **νίφη** accus. 'snow', **νείφει** 'it snows' || L **nix** (gen. **nivis**) 'snow', **nīvit** (< ***sneɪgʷheti**) 'it is snowing', **ninguit** id. (*-n-infix) || W **nyf** 'snow', **nyfio** 'to snow'; OIr **snig-ið** 'snows, rains', **snige** ntr. 'drip, flowing', **snecht(a)e** 'snow' (with a *t-sx. like in Gk **νιφετός** 'falling snow, snowstorm'), NIr **sneachta** 'snow' || OHG, AS **snīwan** 'to snow', ON **snýr** 'it snows', Gt **snaiws**, OHG **snēo**, NE **snow**, NHG **Schnee**, ON **snær**, **snjár**, **snjór**, Dn **sne**, Sw **snö**, AS **snāw** 'snow', NE **snow** || Lt **sniēgas**, Ltv **sniegas**, Pru **snaygis** 'snow'; Lt **snig-ti**, Ltv **snigt** 'to snow', Lt **sneigēti** 'to snow heavily' | Sl ***sněgъ** 'snow' (gen. ***sněgà**) > OCS **снѣгъ** **sněgъ**, R **снег**, P **śnieg**, Cz **sníh**, SCr Cr **sniēg**, SCr Sr **снēг**, Blg **сняг** || Tc B **śińcatstse**

'snowy' ¶ P 974, EI 530 (**sneigwh-* v. 'snow', **snigwh-s* ~ *'*snoigwho-s* 'snow'), ~ Tu. #13798, 13802, F II 298-9, WH II 169-70, LP § 26.9, Vn. S 153, Dnn. 664, YGM-1 346, Fs. 440, Vr. 527, Kb. 920, 922, OsS 838, 840, Ho. 304-5, Frn. 853, En. 252, Vs. III 697, Glh. 568-9, Ad. 629-30 || **U:** FU (in FL only) **šüne* (or **č-*) 'wet snow' > F *hyy* 'ice, melting snow' | pLp {Lr.} **sōvē* 'snow with ice and water' > Lp: N {N} *suvvə* 'wet snow', S {Hs.} *suvvie* 'Eisrinde, Eisschicht auf der Erde', Kld {TI} *sūvv* 'Haufen von Eisstücken neben der Wuhne' ¶ SK 94, Lr. #1196, Lgc. #7195, Hs. 1271, TI 538, SSA I 201, ≠ LCm. NLP 13, ≠ It. EWF 52 (F-Lp comparison "ist lautlich nicht statthaft"), ≠ Ps. M 136 (F ÷ Er *čov*, *čoŋ*, Mk *šov* 'foam'; rejected in UEW 621) || **A:** Tg **sünjū* 'hoarfrost, snow' > Ewk *siŋi-kṣṣ* id., *siŋi-lgṣṇ* 'snow', Nn *suŋgu* 'hoarfrost', WrMc *sū(ŋ)-* v. 'become covered with hoarfrost' ¶ STM II 90-1 || M **söŋ* > WrM *söŋ* 'small pieces of ice in a river', HlM *cən̥g* id., {Gl.} *söŋ* 'small pieces of ice in a river (in the autumn), sludge', Brt *hγh(γ)* 'crumbly ice, drifting ice in rivers in spring-time', Kl *cən̥* id., {Rm.} *söŋ* 'Frühjahrseis, lose Eisstücke im Fluß', Ord *söŋ* 'glaçons charriés par une rivière' ¶ KW 333, Gl. II 445, MED 731, Chr. 696, Ms. O 587 || ?φ NaT **säŋ* 'ice floe, block of ice' > Qzq, Nog *seŋ* id., Qq *seŋ* 'ice, ice floe', Tk Δ *seŋče* 'ice-covered ground', Chg Xw {Rl. ← Vm.} *səŋ* 'das leichte Eis, das sich auf der Oberfläche des Wassers bildet', Chv *saŋ* 'small pieces of ice on the river (шүрә) (before the river gets ice-bound)' ¶ NaT **ä* may be explained by as.: **šünigo* (or **šüŋo*) > (progr. as.) ***sünjä* > (regr. as.) ***säŋjä* > T **säŋ* ¶ Rs. W 410, Rl. IV 448, KrkR 574, Sht. 174, NogR 294, Rl. IV 286, TL 19, Jeg. 178 || pKo {S} **səŋ-/sáŋ-* 'be chilly' > MKo *sáŋñar-ha-*, *sánñar-ha-*, NKo *siŋgəŋ* *siŋgəŋ* ha-, *səŋnir-ha-*, *sanir-ha-* ¶ S QK #834, Nam 282, 299, MLC 869, 935, 1065 || ?? pJ {S} **síms*, {Vv.} **sima-*Lu or **simu-*La 'frost' (× N **SEm₁N₂t₃N₄* 'cold'?) > OJ {S} *simo*, {Vv.} *simwo₁*, J {S}: T/Kg *śimó*, K *śímò* 'hoarfrost, frost' ¶ Rs. W 410; Vv. AEN 2 (equates the J word with Tg **xima(n)-* v. 'snow' and rejects the J word as a reflex of N **šüŋL* (my former rec. of the N word), S QJ #713, Mr. 524, Kenk. 1673 ¶ DQA #2077 (A **siŋne* 'hoarfrost'), S AJ 81, KW 333, Rm. SKE 284 ¶ Hardly here Tg **səŋu-n* 'cool', **səŋu-ksa* 'hoarfrost' (STM II 62-3), and M **seŋü-* 'shadow, dark' (= DQA #1914 [A **s|zāŋo* 'cold, cool']) ◇ FU *-e in **šüne* suggests progr. as. (something like **šünigo* > ***šünigi* > ***šüngi* > **šunje*) ◇ An alt. (and less convincing) rec. is N **šüŋo* > **šiŋo* > **šiŋgo* > (mt.) **Snigo* > IE

*sneig^{w̄h}- (for details of the vowel changes → AD NGIE 17-22) ◇ Not here (↔ AD NM) Eg fP šny.t '≈ haily weather', {Fk.} 'storm', ??? Eg MKL šn̄ 'Unwetter, Gewölk', {Fk.} 'storm-cloud' (EG IV 5O2, 5O7, Fk. 268-9), because Eg š goes back to N *š rather than to *š̄. Eg šny.t goes back probably to HS *✓̄šly and is possibly related to Gzg īačalay 'hail' (Lk. G 137) (see OS #537 and Tk. AANM 1) ◇ AD NM #7 (N *šüŋU), S CNM 5 (÷÷ ST), Rs. UAW 476-7 (U, A).

2162. *šUŋE 'breathe' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'soul') > **HS** (× N ?σ *s'ü'NΔ [= *s'ü'ŋΔ?] 'breathe, take a rest, be calm') > Eg fP s̄sn 'breathe', Eg L/G s̄nsn id; hardly here Eg fP s̄sn 'smell smth.', Eg MK/G s̄nsn id., Eg {Mks.} s̄nsn.t 'perfume' (< N *čüŋΔ 'smoke, smell' × N *sūŋΔ 'to smell [sth.]' [q.v.]) ¶ EG IV 172, 277, Fk. 245, Mks. III #2634, Tk. I 13O || S *°✓̄š|snn > Ar sanīn-at- {Ln., Fr.} 'wind' or 'gentle wind', {BK, Hv.} 'wind' ¶ Ln. 1439, Fr. II 361, BK I 1147-8, Hv. 338 || ?? EC: Af {PH} sīne- v. 'inhale snuff, sniff (sth.)', sīno 'snuff (tabac à priser)', Sa {R} sī'nō 'Schnupftabak' (unless ← Tgr {LH} ፳፻ ስēnā v. 'sniff') ¶ PH 191, R S II 326, LH 646-7 || **U:** FU *šuŋe 'soul (of a dead person), ghost' > F Δ huu 'ghost, spirit' || Er {Ps.} čov 'human soul', čov-zo pača-zo 'his soul', čopača 'ghost, Gespänst', Mk {Ps.} šopača id. (according to UEW, pača is likely to mean 'soul', too) | Z {W} šen šz̄n 'shadow of a dead person', Z шонъян šonyan, шонъянőй šonyanzy 'the late ...' (used with the name of a deceased person), Z Vm šz̄n 'stench' || ObU *θūŋ 'shadow soul of a person' > pOs *θuŋk id. > Os: V luŋk, Vy yuŋk, Ty/Y ūŋk, D/K tonx, Nz tunx, Kz ūŋjx, O tōŋk; pVg *t̄f̄w id. > MK tow, towi, UK t̄z̄w, P t̄zwāś ¶ UEW 5O3, Coll. 82, Sm. 55O (FU, FP *šoŋi, Ugr *θoŋki 'ghost'), LG 322, Ht. #127 (ObU *θūŋ) ¶ F huu may be alternatively (but much less plausibly) explained as a loan from Gmc: ON hug-r 'Sinn, Gedanke, Mut', cp. OHG hugu 'mind' (Vr. 265) || **A** (× N ?σ *s'ü'NΔ [= *s'ü'ŋΔ?] '↑'): T: Tlt {Rl.} sünä 'soul', StAlt süne 'human soul which remains near the person's body for some time after his death' ¶ Rs. W 434, BT 134; Rs. supposes that the word is a loan from M (cp. M *süne-sün), which may be true only if the M word exists without the sx. *-sün (of which no ev. is known to me) || M *süne-sün > WrM, WrO sünesün, HlM сүнц(эн) 'spirit, soul of one's life' ({MED} 'animating principle'), Brt hүнэхэ(н) 'soul', Kl † {Rm.} sünsə, Kl D/Ö {Rm.} sümseŋ ~ 'Seele, Schattenseele', Ord {Ms.} sunesu, Mnr H {SM} suniēžə 'soul, animating principle (âme, principe de vie)' ¶ MED 744,

KW 34O, SM 361, Krg. 424, T 361, Chr. 697, Snz. AB 585 || D *²čōŋk²ŋ || ({An.} *čorŋkk²) 'demon, evil spirit' > Tm čōku 'vampire, devil, goblin', Ml čōku 'demon', Tl čōk²ku v. 'be possessed (by evil spirits)', v. 'possess' (of a devil), Prj čōku v. 'possess' (of spirits) ¶ D #287O, An. SG 133, ≠ Km. 365 (does not distinguish between the ² in question and *čorku v. 'be intoxicated, mad') ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE #8 (U, A, D) ◇ Not here K *šwen- 'breathe, sigh; take a rest' (see N ?σ *š'ū¹N² (= *š'ū¹ŋ²))

2163. *šāŋg ∇ 'to wish, to like, to love' > ?K * \circ š(w)n- > G šno 'Reiz, Scharm, Anmut, liebliche Schönheit', šnoiani 'beautiful, pleasant', ?σ G šn-/švn- 'passend finden', 'als selbstverständlich betrachten' ¶ Chx. 1837, DCh. 1524 || HS: S * \circ ✓šng v. 'love' > Sr ✓šng v. G 'love', šengə't-ā n. 'love' ¶ Br. 79O || NrOm *šun(n)- 'love, wish' ($\times N$) ***šonj?** ∇ 'to wish', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU *šaŋ ∇ v. 'wish, strive for sth.' > F havi-, havitse- 'eilig \ wetteifernd nach-streben \ -haschen', havi 'wetteifernde Bemühung', havitele- 'desire, have a desire for, hunt after', Vp habi 'hardly, only just, with difficulty' ('еле, на силу, едва') || pObU {Ht.} *θōŋk- (/ ? *θāŋkā-) v. 'want, wish' > pVg *tāŋk- > Vg: LK/P taŋk-, MK taŋk-, tāŋk-, Ss taŋx- id.; pOs *čāŋka- / *čoŋk- ({ʃ}Hl.) *čiŋka- / *čāŋk-) > Os: V tāŋqa-, Vy yāŋqa- v. 'wish, want, love', Ty/U čāŋq- / čāŋqʷ-, D tāŋx-, K tāŋx- / tāŋxa-, Nz tāŋxa-, Kz čāŋka- 'want, wish' ¶ UEW 496, Coll. 8O, SK 63-4, ZM 1O1, Ht. #146, Hl. rHt 71-2, Trj. S 2O2 || A ($\times N$) ***šonj?** ∇ 'to wish' [→ 'to love', 'to wish evil to'], q.v.): Tg: WrMc {Z} sāŋgu, sāŋguša '(a person) gloating over another's misfortune', sāŋguša- v. 'gloat over another's misfortune', {Hr.} sāŋguša- 'schadenfroh sein, etwas Böses gönnen' ¶ STM II 62, Z 556, Hr. 766 || pKo {S} *sāj'ó- 'be jealous' > MKo sāj'ó-, NKo säu- ¶ S QK #1O34, Nam 296, MLC 924 || pJ {S} *s3nja-m- v. 'grudge, envy' > OJ sónéim-, J: T soném- K sóném-, Kg sònèm- ¶ S QJ #7O8, Mr. 755 ¶ DQA #1913 (A *s|zaŋi 'to envy').

Vg: T taw, LK taꝝ, P t̄ꝝꝝ, Ss tow id.; pOs d. *ɸāy- ∇ 'durch einen Ast enstandene Vertiefung \ Biegung \ Schiefeheit im Holz \ in einem Brett' > Os: VK yāy†, Ty ɸāy†, Kr tāwə, Kz ɸōwī ¶ The BF word points to FU *šāŋka, the ObU cognate suggests *šāŋ ∇ (or *sāŋ ∇), while Hg ág may go back to both variants ¶ UEW 496, 843, Sm. 55O (FU *šāŋkå, IP *šāŋka, Ugr *šāŋkä 'branch'), SK 55, MF 69-71 || ?σ D *číka₁ŋkk-(ay) 'rind of fruit and other useless parts of plants' (\times N *r̄š' äŋka '≈ bough, inedible [or less valuable] parts of plants', q.v. ffd.).

2165. *šūŋka (= *šüŋka?) 'be tight (too narrow), be heavy, be difficult' > IE: NaIE *swenk- 'be heavy \ difficult' > Lt suñkti 'grow heavy, begin to feel heavy', {Frn.} 'in der Schwangerschaft voranrücken', sunkus 'heavy, difficult', OLT sunkinga 'pregnant' || AS swangor {Sw.} 'sluggish (physically and mentally)', {Ho.} 'schwer, langsam, träge', OHG swangar, NHG schwanger, Dt zwanger 'pregnant' ¶ P 1048, Frn. 941, Sw. 166, Ho. 332, Kb. 995, Schz. 277, KM 689 || HS: CS *✓šnk '≈ be tight (too narrow), be difficult' > MHb ✓šnk v. D 'strangle, choke', JA [Trg.] ✓šnk D id., 'trouble, confound', Sh (pf. נִקְנָשׁן ?aš'nek) 'be narrow', JEA ✓šnk Sh 'torment', SmA ✓šnk D 'destroy', ?σ Ar ✓snq G (pf. saniqa) 'suffer indigestion of milk' (of babies) ¶ Js. 1064, Sl. 1166, Tal 915-6, BK I 1153, Hv. 34O || U: FU *šoŋka 'be difficult, sick, in distress' ({UEW} 'eng, Bedrängnis; eng werden') > Prm *šɔg ({LG} *šøg) > Vt šug adv. 'difficult, uneasy', Z šog 'grief, misfortune, sorrow', Prmk šog 'nausea, sickness, sorrow', Yz šo'gal- 'be ill/sick' || ? Hg aggód- 'worry' ¶ UEW 501, LG 32O ¶ The meaning 'eng, eng werden' (reconstructed by UEW) is not attested directly, but is a felicitous scholarly guess (probably based on typological grounds) ◇ The discrepancy between NaIE *we (a reg reflex of N *u and *ü) and FU *o (usually a reflex of N *ø) is puzzling. A possible (highly hypothetic) solution is N *šüŋka with FU *o from N *ü due to the FU vw. harmony (regr. as.: *ü...a > *o...a).

2166. *šinjer ∇ 'mouse' > HS: S: Ak šarānu 'e rat' ¶ Sd. 1185 || U: FU *šinjere 'mouse' > F hiiri, Es hiir, Vp h̄ir | Mk weep šeyər, Er չերք չերք, Δ չերք | Prm *šür > Z, Vt շեր շէr || Hg egér / egerə- | pObU {Ht.} *θēŋkər > pVg tāŋkər > Vg: T/LK/MK/P tāŋkər, LL/ML nom. pl. tāŋkārt, Ss taŋkər; pOs *ɸöŋkər ({Hl.} *ɸöŋkər) > Os: V lönkər, Vy yöŋkər, Ty ɸāŋkʷər, D/Nz təŋkər, Kz lenkər, O lönkər ~ lenkər ¶ Coll. 81, UEW 500-1, Db. OS xxx, It. #303, Ker. II 156, Sm. 55O (FU, FP *šinjiri, Ugr *šiŋkīrī), LG 326, Ht. #150 || A: Tg *siner

'mouse' > Ewk PT/Np *sinqərə-kən*, Ewk Ag/D *hiŋərə-kən*, Lm Al *hiŋər-kən*, Neg *sinqəyə*, Orc, Ud *sinqə*, Ul, Nn Nh *sinqərə*, Nn KU *sinqəri* 'rat', PCIWrMc [TF] {Mls.}, WrMc *singeri* {Z, Hr.} 'rat, mouse', {Hr.} 'small rodent', Jrc {Kiy.} *šinge* 'rat' ¶ STM II 92, Z 595, Hr. 801, Mls. 238, Kiy. 105 [#149] || T: OT {Cl.} *siqir-qān* 'large rat' ¶ Cl. 816 ¶ ≠ Coll. 148 (U, Tg).

2167. *UA* ₂ *šär ∇ 'to spread' > **U:** FU *šär ∇ v. 'reach; spread, open wide' > Prm *šer- > Vt {UZS} *šerya-* 'spread wide (one's fingers), *растопыривать*', 'thin out (plants), *прореживать*', Z *šerg-əd-* 'spread out, move apart, open wide' || pObU *θər- > pOs *θər-əmt- ({Hl.} *θär-əmt-) 'spread out (ausbreiten), unterlegen, auf die Erde legen' > Os Vy *yerəmt-*, Os D *terəmt-* id., Os Kz *θerməθ-* 'ausbreiten'; Vg: T *tä'rämt-*, LK/P *täramt-*, Ss *täramt* {Rd.} id. | Hg ér- 'reach to, extend\stretch; get to, arrive at, come to' ¶ UEW 497-8, LG 319, UZS 498, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *šärä-, Ugr *θärä- 'let go'), Hl. rHt 68, MF 793, ≠ Ht. #156 || **A:** NaT *sär- 'spread' > Tk *ser-* 'spread over', Az *sär-* id., 'hang clothes on the line', Tkm *θer-* v. 'spread out on the ground (fruit for drying), hang clothes on the line', Kr {Rl.} *sär-* 'ausbreiten, ausspannen', Chv *sar-* 'spread' ¶ Rs. W 411, Jeg. 178, TkR 576, Rl. IV 457.

2168. ₂ *šorw ∇ 'dry; to get dry' > **K:** GZ *šwer- / *šwr- 'get dry; become dim' > OG, G šr- vi. 'get dry', Mg skir-, skər- id., Lz skir-, skur-, skir-, skur- id., 'become dim'; ? (according to Gm.) OG šwer- 'get tired' ¶ GZ *-w- is reconstructed on the basis of Gm.'s law (K, GZ *šw- > Mg/Lz sk(v)-) ¶ Gm. SSh 63, K 216, K² 250-1, FS K 381, FS E 428 || **U** *šorwa- 'dry' > pLp *sɔrvē 'dead (dry) pine-tree' > Lp: S {Hs.} soärvie, L {LLO} sår've, N {N} soar've / -rv-, Kld suerrv id.; Lp L {LLO} sårvo, Lp N {N} soar'vo- / -rv- vi. 'turn into dead pine, wither' (of pine-trees) | Prm {LG} *sur- > Z, Prmk шурав- šurav-, Z Δ šural- vi. 'dry, dry in the wind' || Sm {Jn.} *tʃ̥irā- (= {Hl.} *tʃ̥irā-) vi. 'dry up and get hard' ('[hart] trocknen') > Ne: T {Ter.} тъира-, T O {Lh.} t̥irā- 'get dry', F L {Lh.} 3s aor. t̥irrəññā' id. | Mt {Hl.} *tiri 'hard, dried up' (Mt M {Sp.} търы 'hard')] → Sm {Hl.} *tʃ̥iripta- vt. 'dry' > Ne T търабта- id., Mt {Hl.} *tʃ̥iribtə- id. (Mt M {Mll.} triptima-challä 'dried fish, юкола') ¶ Coll. 57, UEW 502-3, Lr. #1161, Lgc. #6810, Hs. 1227, TI 510, LG 324, Jn. 160, Hl. M #1028-30, Ter. 681 ◇ ≠ Gr. II #313 (*čira 'roast') (unt. comparisons).

2169. *ša'ri'XΔ 'to stream, to flow' > HS: S *°✓šr̥h > Ar ✓sr̥h N (pf. ?insaraḥa) 'couler librement et s'introduire en coulant (p. ex., de l'eau)' ¶ BK I 1078-9 || Eg G sət̥h 'e ein Gewässer'; but Eg G šr̥h 'brook' does not belong here (↔ OS #226O), because in this word the character r̥ represents [l] rather than [r], as has been shown by Vycichl (Vc. 262) on the ev. of Cpt Sd ʃlēh ~ ʃleħ (verbe se rapportant à la reparation de bords des canaux) ¶ EG IV 22, 528 || Ch: WCh: NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} sīryá 'river', Sir {Sk.} šərəŋgi 'stream' ¶ ChC s.v. 'river', Sk. NB 37 ¶ ≠ OS #226O (NrBc, Eg šr̥h) || IE: IE *serH-, NaIE *sreu- v. 'stream, flow' (× N *ʒūr'ū' 'to stream' [q.v.]): [1] IE *serH- > OI 'sisarti, 'sarati 'streams, hurries', OI sī'rā 'stream, water' || ?? MIr {El} sirid 'wanders through' ¶ Traces of *H are preserved in OI sisīṣarti (desiderative of 'sisarti') and in Gk Hm ῥώμαι 'I move quickly' (< *srō-jō); but IE *sermo- (> Vd 'sarma 'flowing, das Fließen', etc.) is better explained as going back to N *ʒΔRΔmΔ 'to stream, to flow, to pour' (q.v.)] [1a] NaIE *sero- 'watery part of curdled milk, watery part of blood' > L serum id. || Gk ὅρος 'the watery part of milk, serum'] [2] (× N *ʒūr'ū' '↑' [q.v.]) *sreu- v. 'flow, stream', *srou- o- n. act. 'flow(ing), streaming', *sru-to- adj. 'flowing', *sreu-men- 'stream' > OI 'sravati 'flows', srava- n. act. 'flow(ing)', srū'ta- 'fließend, geflossen', OI srōtah, OPrs rautah- 'river', NPrs دو رūd id., 'torrent, flowing water', Av gen. pl. rāonām 'of rivers' || Gk ρέω 'I flow', ρόος n. ag. 'stream, flow, current', ρυτός 'flowing' || Lt strāva, Ltv strāva 'a stream, streaming', Lt srovē 'current, stream, torrent', srūti (prs. srūvū) 'to stream', sravéti 'langsam fließen, rieseln', Ltv strāvēt 'to stream', Lt srútos 'dungwash, dungwater', Lt E straujā 'rapid stream', Ltv strauja 'Strom(strich)', straume 'stream, torrent, flow' | pSl *struja > OCS Ⱪтруꙗ struja, Blg Ⱪтруꙗ, SCr strúja 'stream', R Ⱪтруꙗ 'stream, jet, spurt', Slv strúja 'branch of a river, stream'; pSl *ostrъvъ ~ *ostrъvo (< *ob-strovъ/0) 'island (in a river)' (← 'sth. flowed about') > OCS Ⱪстровъ ostrovъ, Blg, R Ⱪостров, Uk 'острів, SCr Ⱪstrvo, Slv ostròv 'island'; Sl *strumit (gen. *strumene) (< *sreu-men-) > P strumien, 'stream, brook', Slv strúmen id., 'branch of a river', Uk Ⱪтрумінь 'stream, jet', R Δ Ⱪтрумень 'brook' || OHG stroum (> NHG Strom), AS stréam (> NE stream), ON straumr 'a stream' ||

Arm **աղողանեմ** ařoganem vt. 'I sprinkle, wet', **ողողանեմ** ořoganem vt. 'I water, bathe, bedew, wet' || OIr **sruaim** 'stream', {Vn.} 'flot', OBr **s tr um** 'copia (lactis)' § P 9O9-1O, 1OO3, M K III 443-4, M E II 784-5, ≈ M E II 731, 733, Sg. 592, BM 251, F II 425, 65O-2, WH II 525, Vn. S 188, Slt. 77-8. Flr. 3O9, Vr. 552, Ho. 325, Kb. 976, OsS 882-3, KM 758-9, Frn. 887-9O, Vs. IV 165, 783-5, StSS 63O, Glh. 59O-1, EI 2O7 (*ser- 'flow', *sreu- id.) || U: eU **šarE > FU *šare 'flood, brook' ~ *šäjer▽ 'brook': [1] FU *šare > Ugr {UEW} *θar▽ 'während des Hochwassers entstandener See', {AD} 'flood, stream' > ObU {Ht.} *θūr▽ > pVg *tūr▽ 'lake' > OVg: N SoG, E TM **tur**, S ChusO **tor**, S Vt **topa**, S SSs **turr**, W Sol **түръ** id.; Vg: LK/MK/UK/P/NVK/ML/LL/Ss **tūr**, NVZ **tor**, nom. pl. **tōrt**, SV **tur**, nom. pl. **tūrt**, LL **tor** id.; pOs *θar > Os: V lar (with ppa. of 1s lūram) 'während des Hochwasser an einem Wiesenufer entstandener See', Nz **tor**, Kz **θor**, O lar id., lake', Vy **yar** 'tiefliegendes Wiesenufer und Wiesengelände, das im Frühling überschwemmt ist', Ty/Y **θår** id., D **tor** 'lake' | Hg **ár** 'flood, stream' | [2] FU *šäjer▽ 'brook' > Prm {Lt.} *šor 'stream, brook' > Z **шор** šor 'brook, a stream of water after a shower or from melting snow', Vt **шур** šur 'river', Vt Sl šur 'narrow gully, ложбина' || Hg **ér** (accus. **eret**) 'brook' § In FU *šare the final *e is evidenced by the long vw. á in the first syll. in Hg (F IS I 164); the variant *šäjer▽ < **šarE is due to vowel harmony || pY {IN} *θer- 'flow, float' > Y K **era-** vi. 'плыть (float?)', **eraš-** vd. 'float (сплавлять)'; OY K {Bil.} **yarrai**, {Merk} **jarej** 'плыть' §§ UEW 499, 843-4, Coll. 3, Sm. 55O (FU *šā/orå, FP *šora, Ugr *θåra 'flood, lake'), Lt. 1OO, LG 322, UZS 51O, MF 1O, 16O, Ht. 58, IN 22O-1, 299 || A: T {IS} *s̥iář, {Md.} *s̥iař 'muddy river, swamp, mire, mud' (×N *šíharú 'dirt, earth', q.v. ffd.) || Tg *sire (or *šire?) 'spring of water' > Nn B **sírž** id., Ud **síž**, {Krm.} **sé** 'narrow river-bay with cold spring-water', WrMc **šeri** 'spring of water' § STM II 1O1, Krm. 282 || pJ {S} *situ 'damp place, dampness' > ItOJ **situ**, J T **śicu** § S QJ #625 §§ DQA #2768 (A *s̥jori 'flow, be soaked'), ≠ DQA #2O34 (A *s̥jáři 'earth, sand; marsh'; incl. T, J) || D *čář. ({θGS} *s̥č-?) 'juice, liquid (as food)' > Tm **cář_u** 'juice, sap, water with aromatic substances', Ml **cář_u** 'sap, broth', Kn **cář_u**, **sář_u** 'sap, juice, broth', Tu **sářv** 'sap, soup, broth', **cářv** 'e pepper water', Tl Mrl **cáru** 'e curry', Kui žau 'dhal, gravy, soup', Ku žauyu 'curry', žáyu 'sauce, curry, cooked pulse'; D → Mrt **sář** 'dilute mixture of tamarind, etc.'; there is also a still unexplainable

variant *²čēr̥o > Tm cēr̥u 'sap, juice', Tl cēru 'tamarind soup, broth' || D #2484 ◇ D *čēr̥ points to a N intervocalic *-r̥- (hence N *ša'r̥i'X ∇). Therefore T *-r̥ must go back to *-ry- < N *-riH- (actually *-riX-) rather than to N *-r̥-. The vowels of the first syll. in Tg *sire, T *sjař, and D *čēr̥o may be due to regr. as. (infl. of *i of the next syll.). The glide *y in NaIE *srey- is likely to belong to the heritage of N *žūr̥'ū' '↑' ◇ IS MS 369 (*šar̥n: IE, T, U, D), ≈ Resh. NNE #8 (U, A + unc. T *siř- 'ooze, melt' and Tg *sir- id., which are possibly connected with N *Sur̥i '≈ squeeze out, filter, strain', q.v.).

2170. *šüRd ∇ 'fibre (used as thread)' > **U:** FP *šürt ∇ 'yarn, thread' > Chr H шырты 'šärtъ, Chr U/B šürtö id., StChr L шүртö 'šürtö 'thread' | Prm *šärt 'yarn' > Z шöрт šärt, Yz šört, Vt шöрт šort || **A:** T *sirt > OT sirt 'thick, hoarse hair' || Blgh *širt > Chv šürt 'bristle'; Blgh *širt → Bsh šürt 'bristle', SbTt Tb {Rl.} širt, {Gig.} шырт, SbTt Ichk {TTDS} širt 'horse-hair', Hg särte ~ sört 'bristle' || Chv š- < pT *s- due to the palatalizing infl. of pre-T *i (that later changed into *i due to vw. harmony) || Cl. 846, Jeg. 335, Fed. II 449-50, Gomb. BTL 117, Tm. 251, TTDS 519, Rl. IV 1075, EWU 1322-3 || ?? M *sirkeg (if < *^osirt-keg) 'fibre, thread; bristle' (× N *šER ∇ , Kä 'to plait, to wattle', q.v.) > WrM sirkeg 'fibre, thread; raw silk', HlM ширхэг 'fibre, filament, thread', Brt шэрхэг, Kl širkä 'bristle', širkä 'Borste (des Schweinerückens), Nackenhaare', Kl {KRS} ширкг širkag 'bristle', {Rm.} širkag_ 'raw silk, silk thread', WrM sirkei-, HlM ширхий-х v. 'bristle' (of hair); M → WrMc sirge 'silk, silk thread' || MED 718, 718, KW 360, KRS 676, Kow. 1533, KW 360, Chr. 750, Z 619 || **HS:** S *^o✓š|srd > Ar ✓srd G v. 'sew\stitch (leather)' (× sd. from ✓srd 'pierce'), sard- {BK, Hv.} 'mailed fabric', {Ln.} 'coat of mail' || BK I 1079-80, Hv. 317-8, Ln. 1346-7 ◇ M *i and pre-T *i (> T *i) go back to N *ü (delabialization, which is a reg. change, see Introduction, § 2.4).

2171. *šēR ∇ , m'ü' 'sinew, root' > **HS:** Ch *✓Srm 'root' > WCh: Maha {Nw.} sorom, Bl {IL} šorin, Ngm {Nm.} šori id. | Ron: Tmbs {Sh.} sēmē id. || Stl. VZCh B #190, ChC, JI II 276-7 || **U:** FU {Resh.} *š'e'rm ∇ '≈ sinew, thread' > F hermo, Δ hermu 'nerve' || ObU {Ht.} *θōrām > pOs *dōrem 'signal thread in a net (stretching when fish is caught)' > Os: V lōrām, Vy yōrām, Nz turām, Kz ḡwārām, O lōrām id.; pVg tārām > Vg Ss tōrom id. ('Fühlleine') || Resh. NNE #10, SK 70, Stn. D 802-3, Ht. #162

|| A *sErmü 'sinew' > M *sirmü- 'sinew, tendon' > WrM sirmüsün, HlM шөрмөс, Brt шүрмәһе(н) 'nerve, sinew, tendon; fibre, filament'; but the variant *sirbü-sün id. goes back to N ?σ *śiRbΝ 'sinew; to sew' (q.v.) ¶ MED 716, 718, Chr. 738 || ?φ Tg *sūmu 'tendon' > Ewk, Neg, Orc, Ud sumu, Lm hum, Δ humä, Δ humō, Ul sumul(i), Ork humu ~ sumu id., 'thread made of tendon', Nn: Nh sumul, B suumulu, KU sum-kž 'tendon', Ewk sumumž 'made of sinews' (threads) ¶ STM II 126 || pKo {S} *hím > MKo hím, NKo him 'sinew, strength' ¶ pKo *h- is a reg. reflex of A {DQA} *sí- (cp. pKo *hʌnäh 'one' < A {DQA} *sjóna id. < N *śon'i 'one', pKo *hʌj- 'white' < A {DQA} *sjáyri < N ? *ś ExarΝ 'bright', pKo *hʌrk 'earth' < A {DQA} *sjáři < N *śiharu 'dirt, earth', etc.) ¶ S QJ #513, Nam 500, MLC 1901 || ? T *sErmE > Chv särme kobъz 'violin' (lit. 'string kobъz' [kobъz is a musical instrument]) ¶ DQA #2083 (A *sjörme 'sinew'), ~ SDM97 (*sürmu id.) ◇ The extants data do not allow us to distinguish between the N vowels *e and *i of the first syll. ◇ Resh. NNE #1O (U, A).

2172. *šeħrE 'be awake, watch (over), feel, notice' > HS: CS *✓ šhr > JA [Trg.], JPA, Sr, Md ✓ šhr G 'be awake', JEA ✓ šhr 'remain awake late', Ar ✓ shr G 'spend the night awake' (× N *śihrΝ 'late' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'evening, night') ¶ Lv. IV 515, Js. 1527, Sl. 1129, Br. 760, Ln. 1451, BK I 1156, Hv. 341 || ECh: Jg {J} ser- v. 'see' (prs. sera, p. sIRR-), EDng {Fd.} sàrñilè ~ sàrñilè 'rester les yeux ouverts sans pouvoir trouver le sommeil, ne pas fermer l'oeil' ¶ J J 117, Fdr. 365 || IE *seħr(w)- > NaIE *sēr-, *ser-w- ({IS} *se^Hr¹-, {P} ser₁u-) {P} 'sorgend Obacht geben, schützen, bewahren': [1] IE *seħr- > Av haraiti 'hat Acht, schützt', {EI} 'defends', harətar 'Hüter, Wächter', hāra- 'Acht haben, schützen' || Gk ἥρως (gen. ἥρωος) '*protector' → 'hero, mighty man'] [2] NaIE *serw- > L servā- v. 'watch over, keep', Osc serevkid 'auspicio, iussu', Um seritu SERITU 'servato' || ?? Ld {Gsm.} katare- (= kat-sare-) (< *-soreye/o-) {Pol.} 'stand watch', sarēta {Pol.} 'protector' (valid if Pol.'s translation of the Ld words [EI 458] is right) ¶ The acute intonation in Lt suggests an IE √ with a lr. *H or *H; Gk η points to a palatalized lr. ¶ P 910, ~ EI 458 (*ser- 'protect'), Brtl. 1787, 1806, Frn. 776-7, En. 136, Tp. P A-D 52-3, IS II 107-8, F I 644-5, WH II 525-6, Bc. G 324, 345, Frn. 776-7, ~ Gsm. LW I 64-5, 87 (Ld {Gsm.} katare- 'willfahren' [?], sarēta 'wohlgesinnt') || U: FL *šera|ä- v. 'awake' > F herä- v. 'awake, wake up', Vp heraštuda ~

heräشتüdä id., Es {Rs.} äraneda 'fühlen, ahnen, gewahr werden, entdecken' | ? Mk срѓозе- sārgožə-, Er сырѓозе- sirgože- vi. 'awake' (according to IS, pMr *srga- < *šrga- < *šer-kä) ¶ SK 71, ERV 628, PI 256 || A ({S VL, AJ} *sērī [with the vowel length of the 1st accentual type] v. 'be awake, perceive'): T *seřä- > NaT *sezä- v. 'feel, perceive, understand' > OT, Chg sez- (aor. sezä-ř) v. 'perceive, feel, discern, notice', Tk sez-, Az, Qrg, Qzq sez-, VTt s̄bz- id., Xk sis- 'feel, guess', Tkm θεθεωρ̄ bol- v. 'undergo', ?φ θιδ- 'feel' ¶ Cl. 86O-1, DTS 498, Rs. W 413, TkR 57O, 6O3 || M *seri- v. 'be awake, perceive' > MM [S] seri- v. 'notice, know, learn', [HI, MA] seri- vi. 'awake', sere- v. 'notice' ('s'appercevoir de'), 'feel', (hPSc) sere- v. 'beware', WrM sere- ~ seri-, HIM сэрэ- v. 'awaken, revive; recover consciousness; keep vigil; learn', Ord {Ms.} sere-, Dg {Pp.} sērī-, {T} sere-, Dx šērī-, MMgl {Iw.} serūn vi. 'awake', Mgl {Rm.} serānā 'he is awake', MnR H {SM} sari- 's'éveiller, reprendre ses sens, se dégriser' ¶ H 134, MED 689-9O, Ms. H 94, Pp. MA 32O, Iw. 131-2, SM 327-8, T 357, T DgJ 163, T DnJ 142 || Tg *seri- 'feel, be awake' > Nn KU s̄sri- v. 'feel, notice', Ewk, Sol s̄sri- 'be awake', WrMc sere- id., 'feel, guess, understand'; → Tg *seri-bu- vt. 'awake' > Ewk s̄sriw-, Sol, Nn Nh s̄sru-, Lm hō:ru-, Neg s̄suyw-, Orc s̄suyu-, Ork s̄sru-, Ud {STM} siū-si-, Ud Sm {Krm.} siu-si, Ul s̄sru-ču/i- id., WrMc serebu- v. 'bring (so.) to his senses, sober (so.); to give to feel\understand' ¶ STM II 145, Vas. 378, Krm. 286, Klz. S II 4O, Z 589, Hr. 784 || ? pKo {S} *sari- 'beware, be careful, spare oneself' > NKo sari- id., Ko {Rm.} sari-, s̄jəri- or saři- v. 'be careful of oneself, be anxious about oneself'] ? MKo sirkij 'wisdom', NKo silgi id. ¶ S QK #122, Nam 231, MLC 873, 1O27, Rm. SKE 224, S AJ 256 [#122] || pJ *sír- v. 'know' > OJ sir-, [RJ] s̄ir-, J T s̄ír-, K/Kg s̄ír- ¶ S AJ 91, 266 [#4O], S QJ #4O, Mr. 752 ¶ S VL #2O7 and ~ DQA #1946 (pA *sáři 'know, beware, feel', incl. T, M, Ko, J), S AJ 91-2, 276 [#38] (unc. rec. of a long *ě), KW 325 (M, T). S (AJ 91-2) justifies the adduction of Tg *sā- v. 'know' by presuming that A *-r- (and *-ř-?) was lost after long vowels (S AJ 2O-1), allegedly on the ev. of Tg *ři- v. 'enter' and Tg *mū- 'water', which he equates with M *ire- v. 'come' and WrM mören 'river', but both Tg *ři- and Tg *mū- have obvious N etymologies without *-r- (F N *?r̄e'yā 'come' and N *mūhi 'water, fluid') and hence do not justify the hyp. of the Tg loss of A *-r- or *-ř- ◇ IS MS 331 (*šerə), IS

II 1O7-8 (*šeh̚r̚), Rs. UAW 43 (U, A) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #229 (*ser ~ *sor 'know') (IE, U, A, J + qu. Ko, Gil).

2173. *šät^v 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' > **HS:** WS *šit- (plural *šat-āt-) 'podex, seat (of body)' ('Gesäß') > BHb שְׁתָת 'šēt (pl. שְׁתָות šā'tōt) 'seat (of body), buttocks', IA št 'buttocks, anus', Sr שְׁתָתָא 'šet-ā 'podex, nades; fundus (sepulcri)', Md šata 'buttocks, pubic regions', Ar ȝist- (pl. satat-) {Ln.} 'podex, anus', {Hv.} 'buttock', Mh {Jo.} šit (pl. šatōtən) 'backside, buttocks, anus', Hrs {Jo.} šit (pl. šatōtən) 'backside, posterior', Jb C {Jo.} 'šet (pl. 'štets), Jb E {Jo.} 'šet 'privates (front or back, of a male or female)', Sq {Jo.} šəh, {L} 'šeħ 'parties sexuelles de la femme', Grg Sl suto 'flesh of back above the hip', Grg Ed ušt 'waist'; MHb שִׁית šyt (traditional rabbinical vocalization: שִׁית ʃīt) 'a pit beside the altar (of the Temple) for libations' ('ein unterirdischer Raum ... am südwestlichen Winkel des Altars, wohin der Wein der Trankopfer hinabfiel') may be a late reinterpretation of BHb שְׁתָת šēt written with a mater lectionis 'y for ē § Ln. 56, Hv. 8, KB 1536-7, HJ 1198. Lv. IV 55O, Br. 81O-1, DM 446, Jo. M 396, Jo. H 125, Jo. J 267, L LS 413, L EDG III 1O2, 566, ≈ MiK I #1.255 (S *š^vt-, *ȝi-š^vt-) ¶ Not here (↔ MiK) Ak išdu 'base, foundation' and Ug ȝišd = ȝišdu 'leg' (see N *s|šæd^v [or *s|šid^v] 'lower part')] ? S *-šit- (*v̚ šyt) v. 'put, place' > BHb שִׁית šyt G (ip. 3m yā-'šit, pf. 'šāt), Ph, Pun št (v̚ šyt), Ug v̚ šyt ([AkSc] inf. šītu), Amr {G} v̚ šyt id.; (x N *š'ayū'd^v 'throw, [?] leave [abandon]') Ak v̚ šyt (inf. šētum, šīātum, p. -šīt-) 'übrig lassen' ¶ KB 1375-7, HJ 113O-1, A #27O2, OLS 456-7, G A 32, Hnr. 181, Sd. 1221 || Eg Md stū '(Hand, Arm an etw.) legen' (x Eg P stū v. 'throw' < N *šid^v 'sprinkle, pour' ×N *ç'ū't^v [or *-t-?] 'throw, fling, pour'), ? Eg fP st. (if from *s^vt-t-) 'seat' (→ 'throne'), 'place' > Cpt Sd/B cē se 'seat, place', cē se- in Cpt Sd cēmīcē se-mise & Cpt B cēmīcī se-misi {Vc.} 'delivery chair', {Crum, Crn.} lit. 'birth-place, birth-seat' → 'childbirth, delivery' (MICē mīse is v. 'bear, bring forth') ¶ EG IV 1-6, Fk. 2O6, 328, Vc. 182, Crum 186, Crn. 9O, 145, ≈ Tk I 228 (does not distinguish between stū 'lay' and stū 'throw') || EC: ? Sml Rh {R, C} šittō 'vulva' (← 'podex'?) ¶ DSI 551 || NrOm: Kf {C} šittō, Mch {L} šitto 'vulva', Kcm {CR} setto 'clitoris', Ym {C} sētō 'hymen' (all from *'podex'?) ¶ C SE IV 5O2, LM 52, AD SF 247, Blz. OLBP #1O7 ¶ Ward ESE 4O7 → Tk. I 228 (Eg, S) || ? Ch: CCh: Ktk {Bou.} sātən 'sit down', ECh: Kwn {J} sadí id. ¶ ChC, JI II

295 | | ?σ K *°št- > G št- / šten- / štom- 'remain, leave (let sth. remain)' (x ← K *šwd- 'remain') ¶ Chx. 1822, DCh. 1519 | | IE *sed- v. 'sit (down)' > OI sad- 'sit down, be seated' (3s aor. 'a-sad-at, 3s prs. 'sīdati), Av had- v. 'sit down', hīdaiti (< *sisde/o-) 'sit', OI 'sadaḥ n. 'seat, place, residence' | | Arm նստիմ nstim 'I sit, I am sitting down', aor. նստայ nstay (< *ni-sed-/ni-sd-, cp. OI ni-sīdati 'sits down') | | Gk ἔξομαι (< *sed-yo-) 'seat oneself, sit', ὕστω (< *sisde/o-) 'sit', ἔδος (gen. ἔδεος) 'sitting-place, seat, chair', ἔδρα id. | | L sedē- (1s sedeō) v. 'sit', sīdō (< *sisde/o-) 'sit down' | | OIr said- 'sit' (saidid 'sits'), W seddu 'to sit' | | Gt sitan, ON sitja, OSx sittian, OHG sizzen, NHG sitzen, AS sittan 'to sit', NE sit | | Lt sēdēti 'to sit' (1s prs. sēdmi, sēdžiu 'I sit'), sēsti / prs. sēd- u (usually rf. sēsti-s) 'sit down', Ltv sēst / prs. sēžu, sēdu (rf. sēstiēs) id., Pru sīdons 'sitting' | | Sl *sēsti (< *sēd-ti) / 1s prs.-ft. *sēd-q 'sit down' > OCS сѣстъ sēsti / сѧдъ sēdq, R сесть / сяду, SCr сѣсти & sjěsti / † sjědēm, Slv sēsti / sēdem, OCz siestí, P siąsć / siądę, Blg сядам id.; Sl *sēdēti / 1s prs. *sēdjō 'sit, be seated' > OCS сѣдаѣтъ sēdēti / сѣждъ sēždq, R сидеть / сижу, Uk сидіти / сиджу, SCr sēdeti / sēdīm, Δ sjēditi / sjēdīm, SIn sedēti / sedīm, Cz sedēti / sedīm, Slk sediet' id., Blg седя 'I sit' | | a rdp. in Ht sesd- 'dauernd sitzen, ruhen' ¶ P 884-7, EI 522 (*sed- / prs. *'sedsti ~ *'sisdeti 'sit down' / stative prs. *sēdeh, tī 'sits, is sitting'), M K III 423, 472-4, F I 443-6, WH II 507-9, Vn. S 7-8, Slt. 99, Fs. 424-5, Vr. 477, Ho. 296, Ho. S 65, Kb. 86O, OsS 768-9, Schz. 253, KM 711, Frn. 769, 777, En. 245, Vs. III 613, 618-9, Glh. 551-2, Ts. W 75, Frd. HW EH III 28 | | A: Tg *°sed- v. 'sit' in d. *°sede-kin 'place for sitting' > Ork sədəxi(n-) 'plank-bed (нары), floor' ¶ STM II 137 | | D *čaṭṭa 'back (dos)' (if from 'podex') > Nkr saṭṭa 'back', Klm saṭṭa 'shoulder-blade, shoulder', Gnd Δ saṭṭā ~ haṭṭā 'shoulder' ¶ D #23O3 ◇ Hardly here Eg šd 'vulva' and D *čūtt-, {GS} *s|čūtt- 'private parts' because of the D vw. *ū and of the consonants.: Eg d and D *-tt- (both pointing to a N *-t-), see N *š|čūt̄ 'vulva, anus' ◇ This et. suggests that N *š yields Tg *s- ◇ If G št- / šten- / štom- does not belong here, the N rec. is *Sät̄ ◇ ≠ S NSShS #13 (comparison of IE *sed- 'sit' with K *šwed- / *šwd- 'remain'), ≠ Blz. DA 155 [#36] (HS, D {Blz.} *cūtt-).

2174. *š̥i¹t² (= *š̥i¹tU?) 'thread (made of hair?)' > K *š̥it- 'thread' > G šit-i 'woollen thread' ¶ Fn. SK 95 [#113] (equates G šit- with Sum šitā 'Band'), DCh. 1520, Chx. 1824 || HS: S *š̥ty '≈ bind threads, fix the warp', *š̥itiy- ~ *š̥atay- 'warp' (× N *š̥it² 'to tie' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: pKo {S} *stíj 'belt' > MKo stíj, NKo t̥i ¶ S QK #426, Nam 177, MLC 550 || pJ {S} *si(n)taj or *si(n)tja > OJ side, JT šide 'tassels tied to sacrifices' ¶ S QJ #425 || ??φ T *siδ- > OT [MhK] siδiy ~ siδiy 'one of the two skirts of a robe', Tkm съи́ Ѹиу 'skirt (lower part) of a robe (подол)', Chv шăраç šăraš 'tassel on a belt, trimming on the edge of a hem' ¶ Chv š- < pT *s- due to the palatalizing infl. of *i ¶ Cl. 799-800, TkR 603, Ash. XVII 332 ¶ ~ DQA #1987 (pA *s̥idōu ~ *s̥ijudu 'tassel, string'; incl. T, Ko), ≠ DQA #2025 (A *s̥it² 'bands, ribbons' > J) || ?φ D *čuṭṭi² 'tuft of hair' > Tm cūṭṭi, Tu juṭṭu, Klm žuṭṭi id., Ml juṭṭu 'tuft of hair on shaven head', Kn juṭṭa, juṭṭu id., 'tuft growing on an animal's head', Kdg žitti 'tut of hair as worn by brahmans, woman's backhair', Tl juṭṭu 'long lock or tuft of hair', Gnd čuṭṭi ~ čuṭṭī ~ čuṭṭin 'hair', žuṭṭī 'tuft of hair', Krx čuṭṭī 'hair, bristles, mane'; D → OI jūṭṭa- 'twisted hair' ¶ D #2655 ◇ Blz. KM 120-1 [#23] (K, A, S + unc. Eg st̥y 'knüpfen') ◇ T *siδ- is highly problematic as a cognate both because T *-δ- does not go back to N *-t- and because of its deviating meaning. If D *čuṭṭi² belongs here, it tentatively suggests regr. as. of the vw. of the first syll.: D *čuṭṭi² < N *š̥i¹tU.

2175. *š̥ayu¹t² (or *š̥atUy²) 'twig, rod' > HS: WS *šawt- 'rod, scourge, whip' > BHb שׁוֹת šōt (pl. שׁוֹטִים šō't-īm), Gz ስውጥ sawt id., JA [Trg.], JEA אַטְבָּשׁ šō't-ā 'rod, scourge', Sr ፩፻፻፻ ፩፻፻፻ šaw't-ā 'whip, lash', Ar سُوْطٌ sawt- 'leathern whip' ¶ KB 1337, Js. 1531, Sl. 1116-7, Br. 763, JPS 564, BK I 1164, Hv. 344, L G 521 || B *-s²v¹d²w- (> *-s²v¹t²-) > Ah *tasatt̥a (pl. tisad̥wa) 'branche coupée d'arbre épineux', Tmz {MT} asatt̥a (pl. isəd̥wan) 'branche', Kb {Dl.} tasatt̥a (pl. tisəd̥wa) 'branchette, rameau d'arbre' (the meaning of smallness is due to the f. gender of the word), Sll {Ds.} taṣṭṭat (pl. tiṣaṭuīn), ast̥ta (pl. iṣṭuan) 'branche', BSn {Ds.} taṣṭṭa (pl. tiṣad̥wīn) id., 'rameau', Izd {Mrc.} taṣṭṭa (pl. taṣṭṭwin) 'branche du palmier' ¶ Fc. 1805, MT 617, Dl. 758, Ds. 45, Ds. B 49, Mrc. 38 || K: MG [VT] š̥t̥o, G š̥t̥o ~ r̥t̥o 'branch, twig'. The variant r̥t̥o may be of dialectal origin (West Georgian or

Zanian rhotacism of sibilants?). Hardly borrowed from Arm **նստ** *ost* or NArm **նստ** *vost* 'branch' ¶ Chx. 1848, DCh. 1O42, 1528 || **ս:** RP *š'ayu^ttt[▽] or *šatt'u^ty[▽] 'twig, rod' > Yz šat 'branch of a leaf-bearing tree', 'thin trunk of a tree', Z UV/Vm/I/LV/Sk/Ud šayt, Z US/LL/P/Ss šat 'long flexible rod', StZ вүгыр шатъ vugır šat 'fishing-rod' (vugır means 'hook and line'), шатин šatin 'thin rod, fishing-rod'; Z → Vg sayt ↗ säyt, Os sāyat 'rod' | ? BF: F hutja, Δ hutia 'long thin rod, fishing-rod', Es hudi (gen. hudja) {Slv.} 'cudgel, bludgeon, rod', {W} 'Stange, dünne Latte, Plumpkeule (beim Fischen)', Lv ud^uā {Sj.} 'Stange, Spieß, Lanze, Stachel', {Kt.} 'Stange zum Stoßen der Boote auf Flüssen und Seen' ¶ LG 318, SK 91, Raun EKET 13, Slv. 63, W EDW 1242, Kt. 448, Sj. LDW 121.

2176. *šaw ∇ '(in the) middle' > IE: NaIE *-su, locative pl. ending (\leftarrow 'among' \leftarrow 'in the middle'), e.g. *w^lk^wo(j)-su loc pl. ('among wolves'?) (with the marker of pl. *-oj- from the declension of demonstr. prns.) > OI v^rkē-šu 'among wolves', OLt, Lt A vilkuo-su loc. pl. (StLt vilkuo-se with the change *-u > -e under analogical influences, possibly of the OLt illative case [acc. to A. Senn]), Sl *v^blc-ě-χъ loc. pl. of the word for 'wolf' (> OCS влъцѣхъ vlycěxъ), Gk λύκοιστ loc./dat. of the word for 'wolf' (transformation *-su > -σι due to the infl. of the loc. sg. ending *-i or of the Gk locative ending -ψι < *-bhⁱ), ? L lup-is (× dat./instr. pl.) dat./instr./loc. pl. of lupus 'wolf', NaIE *sūnu-su 'among sons, in sons' > loc. pl. of the word for 'son': OI sūnu-šu, Lt A sunuo-su, StLt sunuo-se, Sl *sīnъ-χъ (> OCS съинъхъ sīnъxъ), NaIE *toi-su 'among\in these' (m. pl.) > OI tēšu, OCS тѣхътѣхъ, Lt tuo^{se} || It is not yet clear if Ht -as dat.-loc. pl. (in anzas 'to\among us', sumas 'to\among you [pl.]') belongs here ¶ Brg. KVG 395, 399 (table), Szem. EVS-8O 146-8, 151, 153-6, 160-2, 167-8, 171-5, 187-92, 196, Szem. IEL 160, 164-92, Bks. 114, 18, 173, Mz. BIES 218-28, Stang SLKM 125, Stang VG 186, Senn LL 120 || K {K, K²} *šowa-, {FS} *šuwa- 'middle, in the middle' > OG šuwa- ~ šowa- 'middle' (šuwa γames 'mihnight'), G šua- ~ † šuva- adj. 'being in the middle of, between; middle', Mg ška- ~ ska- 'middle', Lz ška- ~ ška- 'middle, waist; between', Sv {FS} sga, isga 'between, midst', Sv {TK, GP}: UB/L {TK} sga- ~ isga-, Ln {TK} (i)ska- ~ yska- pv. 'herein-, hinein-', UB {GP} -(i)sga- postp. 'in, into', UP/L sgāw, LB sgaw, Ln skaw 'inside, inner Georgia', UB sgān, LB (i)sgan, L sgān, Ln skän adv. 'inside' ¶ K

218, K² 252, FS K 384, FS E 431-2, Chx. 1849-51, Q 359, Gm. SSh 51-4 (*šw- > Sv sg-), TK 7O2-3, GP 257 || HS: C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} զշեւ, {Bnd.} իշեւ, Aw D {CR} քե'վԻ, Aw {Wldm.} քօվի, Dmt {CR, R} քե'վԻ, Knf {TBZAC} քեւ 'heart' || SC: a SC lge → Mb սահօ 'heart' ¶ Blz. CWL, Hz. NSA 138, Wldm. s.v. 'Herz', TBZAC 1O2 ¶ But Eg OK ս.տ 'place, seat' is more likely to belong to N *'^šä_tΝ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' (q.v. ffd.) || U: FV *š|sawta 'lungs' > pChr {Ber.} *šօδъ id. > Chr: L шодо շօδօ, B/M շօδօ, Н шоды շօδъ | pLp *սօՎtē 'gill(s) (of a fish)' > Lp: MI {Schl.} սյօյdee սնօյդē, L {LLO} սսու՛տē, N {N} սսօվ'de, K {Gn.} suՎՎd, Kld {SaR} սյվբտ suՎՎt id. ¶ UEW 754-5, Ber. 64 [#333], MRS 713, Ep. 151, Lr. #1198, Lgc. #7191, Schl. 133, Gn. 1O67, SaR 329 || A: ?φ Tg *saya(n) 'interstice between fingers\toes' > Ul saya(n-), sayā, Ork saya(n-), Nn Nh sayā, Nn B saya, Nn KU sayra, Ewk saya չ haya չ šaya id., Ewk PT saya 'interstice between reindeer's toes' ¶ STM II 55 ◇ ≈ Blz. 121 [#24] (K, Ag, FU + err. Eg սՅw 'satt', not *'stomach').

2177. *šüwA - *šuwE 'fit, good' > HS: CS *✓šwy v. 'be fit, equal, even' > BHb שׁוֹרֵךְ ✓ šwy G v. 'agree, be like' (pf. שׁוֹרֵךְ šā'wā, ip. שׁוֹרֵךְ - - šwā), שׁוֹרֵךְ šā'wā 'plain', MHb שׁוֹרֵךְ ּשׁוֹרֵךְ ּשׁוֹרֵךְ 'equal', JEA 10א שׁוֹרֵךְ ✓ šwy v. G 'be equal, be worth, be appropriate', Sr ✓šwy|w G (pf. ּשׁוֹרֵךְ šā'wā) 'be equal, fit, like', Ar سُوْيَ ✓šwy G 'valoir', سُوْيَ suwa(n) 'égal, choisi', سِيْعَ-(un) 'égal, pareil' ¶ KB 1333-5, GB 811-2, Br. 76O-1, Lv. IV 518-9, Js. 1532, Sl. 1116, Tal 878-9, BK I 117O-3 || ??? B: SII {Ds.} ssius 'be good' (pf. issius), but Gd ihusi 'was beautiful' suggests that the pB ✓ has an initial lr., which makes the comparison qu. ¶ Ds. 4O || ? C: Bj {R} ּשׁוֹן 'gut, schön' || EC: Sa {R} ּשׁוֹן 'gut!; schön!; bravo!' || SC: ???φ Irq {MQK} ּצָוִת 'nice, sweet' (= {Fl.} ּשׁוֹן 'good') ¶ R WBd 2O8, R S II 3O6, MQK 11O || K {K} *šu-, {FS} *šw- v. 'befit so., be proper' > OG *šu- in še-ma-šu-s 'befits me' (šemašus cxorebay igi 'life befits me, подобает мне жизнь'), še-a-šw-s 'es ziemt sich', šw-en-iер-i 'beautiful', G šven- 'be\look beautiful', Mg skv-: mo-skv-an-dз 'es ziemt sich für mich', skv-a 'beautiful', sku- 'decorate', Lz msku- v. 'be proud, impress by one's beauty', sku-al-i 'beautiful', Sv: sgu- v. 'befit so.' (msd. UB lis-gw-e), UB {GP} sgwän, {TK} sgwan, L sgwen 'beauty, charm'; → K *m-šw-en- 'beautiful' > OG mšwen- 'standing in beauty' ('красующийся'), G mšven-i 'schön, reizend, entzückend', mšvenier- '(wunder)schön,

(bild) hübsch', Mg skvam- ~ skvam-, Lz mskva-, pskva- 'beautiful', Sv U/L musgwen, Ln muskwen 'smooth, even' ||| K 14O, 217-8, K² 128-9, 248, FS K 377-8, FS E 424-5, Chx. 868-9, 1816-7, TK 577, 704, GP 166, 222, 258 ||| IE: NaIE *su- 'good, well', esp. as the first element in cds. (e.g. *su-b^hago- 'beglückend', preserved in IIrn and Sl [with *b^hag- 'zuteilen', cf. P 107, EI 161]) > OI 'su 'well, wrightly', Av hu-, OPrs u- 'good, well' (OI su-'bhaga- 'possessing good fortune, lucky, happy', Av hu-ba^ha 'gutes Eheglück gewährend') ||| Gk ὑγιῆς 'healthy' (< *su-gwijēs 'well living') ||| Clt: Gl su-, W hy- ~ hu-, Crn hy-, OBr ho- ~ he-, Br he- (e.g. W hy-gar 'lebenswürdig' = Gl p.n. Su-carus, OBr ho-mer 'écoulement rapide'), OIr su-, so- (in su-thain 'ewig', so-scélae 'Gospel, Eu-angelium') ||| ON su-svart 'black-bird' (literally 'completely black [one]') ||| Lt sūdrūs 'abundant, rank (üppig, geil), dense' (of plants, vegetation), Lt sveikas, Ltv sveiks 'healthy, good' | Sl *sъ-dorvъ(jь) 'healthy' > OCS съдравъ sъdrav, Blg здрав, SCr, Slv zdrāv, Cz, Slk zdravý, P zdrowy id., R здо'ровый id., 'здо'ров 'is healthy'; Sl *sъbožъje 'possession' (< IE d. *su-b^hago-, see above) > OCz sbožie 'possessions', Cz zboží 'goods (marchandise)', P zbožе 'corn', R Δ збожье 'possessions, wealth, corn', Blr збожже, Uk збіжжя id. ||| P 1037-8, EI 235, M K III 478-80, M E II 734-6, F II 954-5, Vn. S 155-6, Flr. 207, 210, 212-4, ≈ Vr. 559, Frn. 937, 950-1, Glh. 694, Vs. II 84-5, 90, Ma. CS 584, HIK 433-4 ||| U: FV {Coll., Ker.} *šuwä 'good' > F hyvä, Es hea, hüva id. | pLp {Lr} *s3vē v. 'improve, make better, amend' > Lp: N {N} sâvvet v. 'heal', S {Hs.} sūvv'edh, U {Schl.} syvveet, L {LLO} savvēt, Kld {Tl} savva'd_ 'heilen, sich schließen (von einer Wunde)' | pMr *čivə > Er Δ {Ps.} čiv 'gut, tüchtig, brav', Mk Δ {Ps.} čivā 'gastfreundlich' | Chr H {Ep.} шу šu 'health, healthy' (шу эдэм 'healthy person'), {Rm.} šu 'gesund, frisch' ||| Coll. 82, Lr. #1096, Lgc. #6073, Hs. 1275-6, TI 480, Ker. II 158-9 [#443], MRS 727, Ep. 154, ≠ UEW 499 (reconstructs *šeŋja on the alleged ev. of Vt šońer 'straight', Z šań 'gut, tüchtig', and Hg iğen 'yes, very', that are adduced in UEW with queries and hardly belong here) ||| H: M *su[β]u > MM [S, HI] su {H} 'Segen und Schutz (der Genien der Ahnen), Glückseligkeit', {Ms.} 'Fortune', PCIWrM {Ms.} suu 'Fortune', ? WrM suu, ? HlM cuy 'genius, distinction, superiority' ||| H 136, Ms. H 96, MED 740 ||| T: ? OT su esän 'happily (благополучно)' (Altun jaruq 623.5), this may be a loan from Chn su v. 'rise from the dead' (the

character composed of clues 195 and 115 covered by the clue 14O), as supposed in DTS 312; the hyp. of the loan (far from being immediately convincing) can be checked by comparing the OT text of *Altun jaruq* (which is a translation from Chn *Suvarn_aprabha_sa*) with the corresponding Chn text ◇ IS MS 371 (*šwə 'good').

2178. ?σ_(2?) *šw?Δ 'weak' > HS: Eg MK ș̥ 'mit schwachem Arm', Eg fLMK z̥w̥ 'weak' (of arm), 'tired' (of a person's back) (× N *šul̥'ū' 'lax, loose, slack') ¶ EG III 419, IV 14, Fk. 209, Tk. I 65 (Eg ș̥ ÷ Ar salisa 'be mild', B, EC, CCh *s̥l̥-~*š̥l̥-roots for 'soft, smooth', see N *šul̥'ū' 'lax' and N *š̥i̥l̥i ~ *š̥i̥l̥ayΔ 'smooth, slippery') || WS *šaw?- > BHb, MHb נִלְלָה šāw (spelled šāw?) ~ נִלְלָה šāw 'nothing, worthless', Ar saw?- {BK} 'mal, ce qui est mal', {Hv.} 'evil, mischief; wretched', Sb auS šw? 'evil, bad', Gz sayə? 'disgraceful \ scandalous \ depraved act' ¶ GB 809, KB 1323-5, BK I 1168-9, Hv. 342, BGMR 52, L G 521 || A: M *subsu > WrM subsu, HlM субс 'weak brandy (the last of the liquor distilled from stray)', WrM subsara-, HlM субсрax '(to) become weak' (of brandy) ¶ MED 733 || ? IE: NaIE *^oswī- > Ic svíá 'to abate' (of pain) (× N *š̥ühi?Δ 'fade', 'go out' [fire], 'extinguish'[q.v.]) ¶ P 1052, Bv. 736.

2179. *š̥e¹w̥Δ 'give birth, be born' > IE *seuH-/suH- > NaIE *seuLə-/sū- 'give birth' > OI 'sū-tē 'bears \ begets (a child)', 'sū-tu- 'pregnancy', su-'ta-h̥ 'son', sūti- 'birth', Av hūnami 'I give birth', hav- 'give birth', MPrs vi-šūtak 'Ausgeburt' || OIr suth 'produit, portée (des animaux), progéniture', W hog-en 'girl' (*sukā-), hog-yn 'lad' || Arm ուստիր ustr 'son' (transformed by analogy with դուստր dustr 'daughter') || ↳ [1] IE *suH-nu- > NaIE *sū'nu-s 'son' > OI sū'nu-, Av hunu- id. || Gt sunus, ORu sunr, ON sonr ~ sunr, OHG, OSx, AS sunu, NHG Sohn 'son', NE son || Lt sūnus, Pru soūns 'son' || Sl *s̥inъ (gen. *s̥inū, pl. *s̥inov-) 'son' > OCS съинъ s̥inъ (gen. съинѹ s̥inu, nom. pl. съинѹс s̥inove), Blg син sin, SCr, Slv s̥in, Cz, Slk, P s̥yn, R сын, Uk син | [2] *suH-yu- 'son' > pTc *sou > Tc B sou, A se 'son' || Gk L/Cr υές 'son', μ Gk Hm/I/A υός id. ¶ WP 470-1, P 913, EI 56 (*seu(H)- 'bear a child' ↳ *suHnus- ~ *suHyus 'son'), Dv. #408, M K III 481, 492-4, M E II 741, Ch. 1153-4, F II 959-61, Vn. S 205-6, Fs. 460-1, Vr. 530, Ho. 330, Kb. 991, KM 713-4, Slt. 325-6, Frn. 941-2, En 252, Vs. III 817-8, Glh. 547, Wn. 424-5, Ad. 703-4, Ad. H 126 || K *š̥ew-/š̥w- 'give birth, beget' > OG šeV-/šv-, G šv-/šo-b- 'give birth', Mg sk-, sku-, Lz sku-, skv-, sk- 'lay eggs', Mg sk-

əl-ed-i 'Lebewesen, Geborenes'; → [1] K *m-šw-e 'born; child' > OG mšo- in p̄ir-mšo- 'first-born' (p̄ir- 'first'), Mg skua (pl. skual-) 'child', pSv *m-sge-y > {TK} UB/L sgey, LB sge, emsge, Ln ške 'heir, (so.'s) child', UB {GP} sgey 'son', Sv {K} msgay 'child, boy'; [2] GZ *šw-il- 'born (child)' > OG šwil-, G švil-, Lz skir-, skir- 'child', Mg oxora-sk-il- 'brother\sister-in-law' ¶ K 139, 214-7, K² 128, 248, 251, FS K 376-7, FS E 423-4, Chx. 1838, TK 704, GP 258 || HS: C: Bj {Rop.} -šiwi ~ -šuwi pcv. 'be pregnant', šiwia-bi/-ti ~ šuwia-bi/-ti 'is pregnant' ('ū-ša? šuwe'ā-bi 'the cow is pregnant'), Bj {R} 'šuwa 'pregnant' ('ū-ša? šu'ya-bu 'the cow is pregnant'), Bj B {Alm.} 'šuwa 'pregnant' ('ane šu'yātu 'I am pregnant') ¶ Rop. 24O, R WBd 22O, Alm. BS III 63 || Eg G sw̄h ({EG} šw̄h) v. (vom Erschaffen des Samens durch Chnum), as well as possibly Eg fP sw̄h.t ({EG} šw̄h.t), {Vrg.} [sa:₁]w̄ha-] 'egg; hard roe; the place of germinating life in the womb (sc. of a son)', DEg sw̄h 'egg', Cpt: Sd cooyqe souhe, B cwoyqi sōuhī 'egg' (× HS *✓cw̄h 'egg' > Ch *✓cw̄h 'egg' > Hs čūwé 'testicle', pNrBc {Tk.} *cah̄w̄i ~ *čuh̄- 'egg', pMdr *čay- → *čiy- id., etc., see Stl. ZCh 18O-1 [#327], JI II 122-3, Tk. I 155-6, Sk. NB 19, Tk. NB 168) ¶ EG IV 72-4, Er. 417, Fk. 217, Crn. 169, Vc. 2O2, Tk. I 155-6. OS #221O || U: FU *°še|jw̄v > Chr: L † {Ü} шывә šywä, H † {Ü} шыівә šawä 'children, posterity' ¶ Ü 282, 287 || ? D *čēv- ~ *čēp- 'child' > Tm cēy 'son, child', Ml cēvala 'child at the breast (?)', Tu jēvu 'child, lad, youth', jōvu id., 'baby, female child', Prj čēpal, Gdb sēpal 'boy, youth', Gdb sāpal 'boy' ¶ The cognate is qu., because Prj/Gdb -p- points to a pD *--p-/ -v- ¶ D #2813 ◇ AD LRC #45 (IE, K), IS MS 361 s.v. рождать *šēw̄n (IE, K, U).

2180. *šūw̄hv 'loosen' ('release', 'let out', 'melt', etc.) > IE *seuh-/ *suH- > NaIE *seuh₂- / *sū- 'let, neglect' > OI {MW} ✓sū- 'grant, bestow; allow, authorize' (≠ ✓sū- 'set in motion, urge, impel' < N *Suwh₁v 'to push, to cause' [q.v.]) || Gk ἔω (*ἔαFω) 'let, suffer, allow, permit' (Gk [Hs.] εύα · ... ἔα 2sg. imv., Gk Sr [Hs.] ἔβασον · ἔασον 2 sg. aor. imv.) || OHG fir-sūmen 'to neglect, to miss', NHG versäumen 'to neglect', MHG sūmen, NHG säumēn, NGr S saumen, Nr Al sūme(n) 'to delay, to linger, to tarry' (P: < NaIE *sū- | mo-s 'nachlassend, säumend') ¶ WP II 472, P 915, MW 698, 1239, FI 434, Kb. 986, WW 336-7, Schz. 275, KM 628 || HS: WS *✓šw̄h (> μ *✓šȳh) v. 'melt, dissolve' > JPA {Lv.} ✓šw̄h G (pf. חִוְשׁ ſə'waħ)

'zerfließen', Sr $\check{s}w\dot{h}$ G (pf. $\check{s}w\dot{h}\check{s}\bar{a}\dot{h}$) 'melt, waste away', BHb $\check{s}y\dot{h}$ G (pf. $\check{s}w\dot{h}\check{s}\bar{a}\dot{h}$) 'melt, dissolve', Ar {Dz.} $\check{s}y\dot{h}$ (pf. $s\bar{a}\dot{h}a$) 'melt', Gz {L} $\check{s}y\dot{h}$ (js. $y\bar{a}-s\bar{i}\dot{h}$) G 'melt, liquefy, dissolve' ¶ KB 1369, GB 822, Lv. IV 517, PS 4089, L G 522 || ? Eg XX $s\bar{w}\dot{h}$ 'verschwinden lassen (die Sprache der Besiegten)' (unless a caus. from $w\dot{h}y$ 'entgleiten') ($\times N$ * $\check{s}'\bar{u}h\dot{i}'?$ ∇ 'fade', 'go out' [fire], 'extinguish') ¶ EG I 339 and IV 72 || K * $\check{s}w-$ 'let so. go, leave' > OG $\check{s}w-$, G $\check{s}v-$, Mg, Lz $\check{s}k(w)-$ id., Sv {K} $\check{s}gwan-$ (msd. $li-\check{s}gwan$) 'let go, set free, send' ¶ K 214, K² 248-9, FS K 378, FS E 425, Q 359 || A: Tg {ADb.} * $s\bar{u}bE$ 'release, untie' > Ewk $s\bar{u}w-$ 'untie, unfasten, untether', Lm $h\bar{u}-$, Lm A $h\bar{u}w-$ 'untie, unlace', Sln $s\bar{u}w\bar{w}3-$ 'unwrap', WrMc $s\bar{u}-$ vi. 'free oneself from, escape (a misfortune), get untied', $s\bar{u}bu-$ vt. 'release, set free, bare, take off' ¶ STM II 116-7 ◇ IS MS 358 s.v. **пұскать** * $\check{s}əwən$ (IE, K).

2180a. * $\hat{s}'a\bar{e}b\nabla$ 'to rot; rotten' > HS: C: Bj {R} $s\bar{a}be\bar{b}-$ 'morsch werden, rosten', $se'b\bar{a}b$ 'Fäulnis, Rost' || ? SC {E} * $sa\bar{e}b-$ 'dirt' > Alg $sibi$ 'soot', → Mb $sábu$ 'dry cow dung' ¶ R WBd 194, E SC 178, E PC #225 || ? S * $\hat{s}yb$ > Ar $\check{s}āyib-at-$ 'ordure, chiasse, tache; défaut, tache, ce qui dépare ou détruit la bonne qualité d'une chose' ¶ BK I 1284 || D * $\check{c}ap-$, {GS} * $\check{s}ab-$ 'rotten; to rot, ferment' > Tm $a\bar{v}i$ v. 'ferment (as decayed fruit, etc.)', Ml $a\bar{v}iyuka$ v. 'rot, spoil (as fruits laid on a heap)', Kn $a\bar{v}i$ v. 'rot, be spoiled\damaged', Tl $a\bar{v}iyu$ v. 'rot', Ku $hap-$ 'be rotten', Gnd Ch $sav-$, Png $hab-$ 'go bad, become rotten', Knd $sab-$ v. 'rot and produce an offensive smell', Mnd $hab-$ v. 'decay', (?) Krx $\check{c}\bar{a}:w\bar{a}:r-$ 'get an unpleasant taste' ¶ D ##2341, 2424, Pf. 5, GS 127 [#328], 38 [#68] ¶ In some D lgs × D * $\check{c}am-$ < N * $\check{c}\bar{a}m\bar{a}\nabla_x\nabla$ 'sour, bitter' || A: Tg (att. in NrTg) * $s\bar{a}ba-ksa$ 'rotten wood' (*-ksa is a sx. of names of substances [Stoffwörter]) > Ewk $s\bar{e}waksa$ 'rotten tree, rotten wood', Lm $h\bar{a}wus$ & $h\bar{e}was$ id. ¶ STM II 69 || IE: NaIE {WP} * $\bar{k}s\bar{a}\bar{e}p-$ v. 'rot' > Gk $\sigma\alpha\pi\rho\circ\varsigma$ 'rotten, putrid', Gk $\sigma\bar{\eta}\pi\omega$, Gk D $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega$ 'make rotten\putrid', Gk md.: $\sigma\bar{\eta}\pi\mu\alpha\tau$ (pfc. $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\bar{\eta}\pi\alpha$, 2s aor. $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\upsilon$) 'be(come) rotten, rot' || Lt $\check{s}i\bar{u}p-ti$ (1s prs. $\check{s}iumpr\bar{u}$) 'to rot' (of wood), Ltv {ME} $s\bar{u}p\bar{e}t$ 'schmutzig werden, verderben (vom Mehl), modern' ¶ WP II 500, F II 696-7, Frn. 993 ◇ If the Ar word belongs here (which is qu.), the initial cns. of the N word was * $\hat{s}-$ ◇ If WP's IE rec. is accepted, the N etymon is likely to be * $\hat{s}a\bar{e}b\nabla$ (because IE * $\bar{k}s-$ suggests a N * $\hat{s}-$,

cp. NaIE *ḱse(:)r-: *ḱse(:)r-o- 'dry' < N *ḱar ∇ 'be dry'). If so, IE *-p- goes back to *-?b- < N *-?E \bar{b} .

2181. *ḱ ∇ b ∇ ~ *ḱ ∇ q ∇ (= *ḱ \bar{u} b ∇ ~ *ḱ \bar{u} q ∇ ?) 'tribe, people' > IE: NaIE *sebhā (~ *^oswebh-?) 'tribe, Sippe' > OI sa'bhā 'assembly', {MW} 'congregation', {M} 'Gemeindehaus' || Gmc {P} *seβyō > Gt sibja 'blood relationship' (in frasti-sibja 'adoption as [one's] child' ['u̥iθεσ(a)] suniwe sibja accus. 'u̥iθεσ(a)' 'adoption as a son'), ON d. sifjaðr 'related, akin', cd. sif-jungr m. 'a relative', MDt, OFrs sibbe 'blood relationship, kin, Sippenband'; OSx sibbia 'kin (Sippe)', OHG sippa & sibba 'kinship', sippo 'kinsman', NHG Sippe, AS sibb 'kin, relationship', NE sib || LSabīnī (← 'belonging to a tribe'), Osc safinim 'Sabine' (ethnonym) = L Samnium || ?Pru sabs 'selbst, eigen' | ?φ, σ Sl *svobo'da 'freedom' (← *'state of belonging to the kin') > OCS свобода svoboda, Blg свобода ~ свобода, SCr sloboda ~ svoboda, Slv svoboda, R, Uk свобода, Cz svoboda, Slk sloboda, P swoboda ~ świeboda 'freedom' ¶ If Sl *svoboda and Pru sabs belong here, there is a NaIE root variant *swebh-/*subh- pointing to a N *u̥ü (*ḱ \bar{u} b ∇). The variation *-w θ - / *-e- goes back to a kind of Schwebeablaut (**sueb^h-/*seub^h-, see AD NGIE and NVIE) ¶ ≈ WP II 456, ≈ P 883 (*s(u̥)ebho- ~ *s(u̥)obho- 'von eigener Art'), EA 354 (*s(w)eb^h- 'lineage'), ≈ M K III 433, Bc. G 324, Fs. 417, Ho. S 64, Kb. 858, Schz. 262, OsS 758, WW 25O, KM 71O, Vr. 473, Vs. III 582-3, StSS 594, Glh. 562-3, Ma. CS 49O, Brü. 528, En. 258 || HS: WS *šař ∇ b- > Ar šařb- {Ln.} 'a great tribe, nation, people', {BK} 'tribu; troupe, bande' | Sb {BGMR} bo_ ḫ ∇ b 'tribe, community, group of village communities', Mn {MA} bo_ ḫ ∇ b 'tribe', Qtb {Rk.} bo_ ḫ ∇ b 'tribe, tribal group', OYmn [Hmd.] شعب šab 'big community (consisting of many clans)', {Slw.} شعب šab (= Hmr *✓ ḫ ∇ b?) 'ansässiger Stamm, ansässige Bevölkerung \ Gemeinde'; ? SES *✓ ḫ ∇ b 'valley' (if ← 'tribe's country'): Hrs {Jo.} šařb 'valley', Jb {Jo.} šařb 'valley, watercourse', Sq {L} 'šařab 'valley, wadi' (unless akin to Ar šiřb- 'road') ¶ Ln. 1556, BK I 1235, BGMR 13O-1, MA 85, Rk. 169, Slw. 12-4, Jo. H 117, Jo. J 244, L LS 431 || K: OG sopeli 'world, country, land (χωρίον), village (κώμη)', G sopeli 'village, world' ¶ Abul. 4O1, DCh. 119O-1, Chx. 1271 ¶ -p- < N *-b- + lr.? || A: Tg: Lm сэвјэн 'village (село, деревня)' ¶ STM II 134 || ?NaT *sü:₂ (< *süβ?) 'army' >

OT {Cl.} sū, MU, XwT XIII, Osm XIV-XVI sū 'army' ¶ Cl. 781, TL 563, Rl. IV 794-5 ◇ BSl, K, and T suggest a N rounded vw. of the first syll.

2182. *šab|pEh'i' 'log, piece of wood' > IE *(s)peñj- 'long\pointed piece of wood' (x N *p̥ix|yȳ 'sharp bone, sharp tool' [q.v.]) > [1] NaIE *°(s)p(h)eñj-/*(s)p(h)i- 'pointed piece of wood' > OI 'sphya- {MW} 'piece of wood shaped like a sword', {M} 'shoulder-blade', Khw p̥i 'wooden spade' || NPrs {Sg.} feh 'oar; rake or shovel; an agricultural implement for levelling the ground', fäh 'oar, paddle', Shgn fay 'wooden spade', Ydg fīa, KhS phvai, Oss: I fiyyag ~ fyyag, D fiyyagā 'spade, shovel' ¶ IE *s- mobile is due to the merger with N *p̥ix|yȳ || [2] +ext. with *-d- ~ *-t-: Ht iſpatar (obl. stem iſpann-) 'spit, skewer' || NaIE *spit- (~ *°spid-) '≈ spit, spear, needle' (x N *s'ō'b₁N,tN [or *sNb₁N,tN] 'stem, piece of wood', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ P 98O-2, ≈ M K III 547, M E II 779, Ab. I 474-5, MW 1271, VI. II 698, Sg. 942, Bai. 264, F II 83O-1, WH I 318, Frn. 875, Vr. 532, Ho. 311, OsS 853, KM 726, 728 || HS: S *°✓̄ ſ̄ab̄at- '≈ piece of wood' > Ar šabahat- {Ln.} (?) 'a broad piece of wood' (du. شَبَّهَتَانْ ɬaš-šabahatāni 'two pieces of wood of the minqalat- [\in 'means of transport'], upon which bricks are carried from place to place'), شَبَّهَةَ ſ̄ab̄-at- 'rafter \ timber of the ceiling', شَبَّهَةَ ſ̄ab̄-at- 'large door \ gate' ¶ Ln. 1495, BK I 1183 || U: FU *ſappN 'pole' > Vg {Kn.}: T ſapəl, UK ſōpəl, P ſoplə 'Pfahl, Stange, Baumstumpf', LK ſēt-sopəl 'pale, stake', Ss āwi-sōpla 'door-post' | Hg Δ záp 'rung of a ladder; a board in the wall of a wagon \ cart \ barrow' || ? F ſapila 'rod for carrying hay' ¶ UEW 885 (rejects ſapila because of -p-), Coll. 112, MF 7O3-4, SK 97O || A ({DQA} *ſāp̄í 'stick, pole'): M *ſibeₜe > MM [HI] ſibeₜe 'haie', [S] ſibeₜe 'Zaun, Verhau', WrM ſibegē, HlM шибээ 'tall fence, palisade, enclosure of sticks\poles; palisade', Brt шэбээ 'paling, palisade' ¶ H 139, Ms. H 96, MED 694, Chr. 741 || ? Tg *°sapkun > Neg sapkun 'root (of plants)' ¶ STM II 64 || pKo {S} *ſá, p > MKo ſá, p {MLC} 'brushwood, kindling', NKo ſə, p^h [ſə, p] id., 'prop, support (of plants)' ¶ S QK #485, Nam 3O1, MLC 961 || pJ {S} *ſimpá ~ *simpá 'brushwood, firewood' > OJ ſipá ~ ſipá, J: T ſiba ~ ſiba, K ſibá, Kg ſibá ¶ S QJ #466, Mr. 522, Kenk. 1645 ¶ DQA #1919, Mr. KJ 227 (Ko, J) ◇ The internal labial cns. of the N word may have been either *-b- (preserved in Ar and changed in IE and U: N

*-bEh- > *-bh- > NaIE *-p-, -ph-, U -pp-) or *-p- (preserved as *-p- in IE and as *-pp- in U, but changed into -b- [for unknown reasons] in Ar) ◇ The vw. *i in M *sibere (and probably in pJ *simpa) are explained by regr. as.

2183. *^hsæb₁nh₂ 'tallow, animal fat' > IE: L sēbum 'tallow', sēbōsus adj. 'fat' ¶ WH II 504, ≠ WP II 468, ≠ P 894 || HS: SS *✓^hbh > Gz ^hab^h n. 'fat; fatness, obesity', ✓^hbh G 'be\grow fat', Jb C ^hab^h n. 'fat on meat; corpulence', Mh ^hab^h n. 'fat, corpulence', Hrs ^hab^h n. fat' ¶ LG 525, Jo. J 245, Jo. M 371, Jo. H 118, MiK I #1.261 || EC: pSam {Hn.} *subah 'butter' > Sml {ZMO} subag 'ghee, clarified butter, animal fat', Rn {PG} súbāh / cs. subakkí 'liquid fat, oil', Bs {HL} sūba, Arr {Hw.} sībin 'butter', Elm sīpi 'fat', as well as possibly Af {PH} subah 'clarified butter', Sa {HL} subah id., {R} se'bāh ~ ze'bāh ~ su'bāh 'die zerlassene Butter, Schmalz'; the Af/Sa may be a loan from EthS, but its vw. u and its meaning 'butter' (specifically connected with other EC lgs.) suggest its EC origin ¶ ZMO 366, PG 267, HL 135, Hw. A 393, HP 194, R S II 309, Hn. S 96, Blz. RL 258 || ? Ch: CCh: FIM {Kr.} sīburū n. 'fat', Nz {Luc.} sībīri 'fatness' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} sīwē 'fat (animal fat, butter, oil)', Brg {Lk., J} sīwīn, ? Kbl {Cp.} amb sūwāngz n. 'fat', Mu {J} sīwīn n. 'fat', sēwīnít adj. 'fat' ¶ ChL 19, 49, JI 132-3, ChC s.v. 'fat', Fd. 369-70 || A: Tg *sebe 'animal fat' > Ewk s3w3 'melted fat of a bear', s3w3- v. 'melt fat of a bear', Orc s3w3- v. 'melt fat of animals\fish', Ud s3w3si- v. 'melt fat', ?φ Ork s3yin3 'suet of a reindeer' ¶ STM II 135, Krm. 290 ¶ ≈ DQA #1949 (A *sep₂ 'inner fat, entrails'; semantically unc. comparison of Tg with M *sebe-sün 'cud, animal excreta, content of the stomach').

2184. ₂*^hsād₂ 'to tie' > U *^hsáða 'tie; a tie' > pOs *sālə ({Hl.} *sīlə) 'belly girth (of a reindeer), fastening girth' > Os: Kz sōf kef 'Bauchgurt des Renntiers' (kef 'rope'), V sālə id., 'den Zugriemen tragender Riemen über dem Rücken des Renntiers', Km sātə 'um eine Rindenschachtel genähter Verstärkungs«gürtel» aus Birkenrinde' || Sm {Jn.} *särъ-, Hl. *särъ-, *sär- v. 'tie' > Ne: Т сярă-сь, Т О {Lh.} sārā-, FL {Lh.} sārra-ś id.; En X {Cs.} serabo, En B {Cs.} serabo id. (1s aor. obc.); Slq Tz {KKIH} sōrī- 'tie together, attach, tie (a kerchief on one's head), knit', sarre- 'attach, tie to', sarral- 'harness', Mt {Hl.} *sär- v. 'tie' (Mt M {Sp.} сарнымъ 'вяжу', шарнамъ 'привязываю', шярнамъ 'связываю') ¶ UEW 461 s.v. *sāl₂ (but does not rule out U *sáða; in fact, the regular common source of pOs *-l- and Sm *-r- is U

*-δ-), Jn. 137-8, KKIH 168, 171, Hl. M #87O || HS: WS *✓̄sdd > Ar ✓̄sdd 'bind, fasten tightly', {BK} 'serrer, lier fortement' ({Fr.} 'constrinxit, firmiter ligavit'), Mh {Jo.} m3'̄sadd3t (pl. m3̄sōd3d), Jb C 'm̄sēd3t (pl. mō'̄sōd) 'girth round a camel's belly' ¶ Ln. 1517, Fr. II 402, BK I 1203, Hv. 356, Jo. M 372, Jo. J 246 || Eg Md/G šd 'Tuch um den Kopf, Kopfbinde' ¶ EG IV 566 ◇ ≠ IS SS 324 [#3.17] (wrongly equates Os sālə 'harness strap' with F sito- 'tie', M *side-, and Ko sit-, that belong to N *sitv 'to tie' [q.v.]).

2185. ?σ *̄sæd̄w̄w̄ '≈ tip, end (extrémité)' > HS: S *°̄sadaw- > Ar ̄šada- 'extrémité, bout' ¶ BK I 1206 || A: ppM *sedi- > pM *seži- ſür 'extremity, edge, horn' > WrM seži-gür, HlM сәжүр 'margin, hem' ('les bords [de l'habit, des côtés]'), Ord sežú:r 'coin'; M *seži- > WrM seži-, HlM сәжи- v. 'butt with the horns, gore', Ord seži- 'donner un coup de corne de côté', Kl Ö {Rm.} seži- 'mit den Hörnern seitwärts stossen' ¶ MED 692-3, Kow. 1359, Ms. O 569, KW 321 || Tg *sejçe- (+ sxs.) 'point\head of a ski-stick' > Ewk s3j3-kī 'hook of a ski-stick', Ul s3č3-pu(n-), Nn Nh s3č3pū, Nn B s3č3fu(n-) 'point\head of a ski-stick' ¶ STM II 137-8 || K *̄staw- 'head' (× N *t̄w̄w̄ 'head' [q.v.]) > K tav- 'head, ear (of cereals)', Lz ti- 'head', Mg ti-ša 'to himself, home' (lit. 'into head'), Sv: UB/L šda 'ear (of cereals)', LB šda, Ln šta 'corn-cob' ¶ K 175 (*s₁taw-), K DE 358, ≈ K² 66 (*taw-), Q 242, Chik. 43-4, TK 814, GP 271 || ? possibly IE: NaIE *s̄ēd̄h- > Gmc {Wtk.} *s̄id̄ō 'side' > ON s̄íða 'side (of body)', Dn s̄ide, Sw s̄ida, OSx s̄ida, OHG s̄ita, NHG Seite, AS s̄ide 'side', NE side ¶ ≈ P 891, ≈ KM 700-1, Vr. 472, Ho. 292, Ho. S 64, Kb. 858, OsS 768, KM 698-9.

2186. *̄sägaR̄ 'cut, pierce' > HS: S *°̄✓̄sgr > Ar ✓̄šgr 'thrust with a spear' ¶ BK I 192, Hv. 352 || u: FU (att. in ObU) *̄säykr̄ v. 'chop, cut' > pObU *̄šēyär ({Ht.} *̄šēyär) v. 'cut' > pVg *̄šāyär- v. 'cut' > Vg: T šāwr-, P šaør-, N sāør-; pOs *söyär- ({Hl.} *sɔyär) v. 'cut' > Os Ty sāywar-, Y sāwär-, D/Nz/Kz/O sewär- ¶ Ht. 183 [#585], Stn. OV 73 [footnote] || IE: NaIE *sker- v. 'cut' > pAl {O} *skera > Al shqerr (aor. shqorrā) v. 'rip, tear' || OIr sc̄ar(a)im (< *sk̄.rā-mi) 'I separate (trenne)', W ys̄gar 'Trennen' || ON skera 'to cut, to pierce', OHG sc̄eran, NHG scheren, AS sc̄ieran 'to cut (hair), to cut off', NE shear || Lt sk̄irti (1s prs. sk̄iriu), Ltv šk̄ir̄t (1s prs. šk̄ir̄u) 'to separate, to detach, to disjoin' ¶ P 939-40, Vn. S 33-4, Vr. 490, Ho. 278, Kb. 877, OsS 789, KM 643, Frn. 808, Hamp AIEW 149, O 433, Frn.

808, ≈ EI 143 (**(s)ker-* 'cut apart\off') ¶ The IE √ is ambiguous because there are alt. possibilities to explain it ◇ NaIE *k (for the expected *gʰ) is due to as. (**sgʰ- > *sk-) (see Introduction, § 2.2.1O). The IE velar cns. *k suggests that N *g was followed by the vw. *a ◇ An alt. etl. hyp. (involving a mt.): N *χägar√ > HS: S *°✓ ḫrg > Ar ضَرْجَ ✓ ḫrḡ v. 'split' ('fendre') ¶ BK II 19-2O, Hv. 416 || IE and U (as above).

2187. ₂ *χ̄ṇȳṇ 'ray' > HS: S *°✓ ḫṇṇ > Ar ḫuṇṇ- 'rays of light', 'clear, watery' (of milk), ḫaṇāṇ- 'rayon, filet de lumière' ¶ BK I 1234, Hv. 366, Ln. 1554 || K: G sxiw-i 'ray' → Sv {Ni.} sxiw id. ¶ Chx. 13O6, DCh. 12O7, Ni. s.v. ПУЧЬ.

2188. ₂ *χ̄'a'ka 'to cover' (→ 'to clothe') > HS: CS *✓ ḫkk v. 'cover' > BHb ṣek̄r ✓ ḫkk (Late BHb s < *χ̄) v. G 'cover, screen; wrap oneself', Sh prtc. מְשִׁיק 'covering', BHb, MHb suk'kā (⟨ eHb *ṣuk'kā) 'cover of twigs, booth' → 'tabernacle (used in Sukkoth festivities)', JPA ✓ ḫkk G (pf. סְבַּקְתָּא ṣabqatā) 'verwickeln, flechten', {Js.} 'interlace, intangle', JEA ✓ ḫkk D 'cover over', תְּבַּקְתָּא ṣabqatā 'ceiling of twigs or matting, esp. the cover of the tabernacle' (→ MHb סְבַּקְתָּא ṣabqatā id.), Ar ✓ ḫkk: pf. ṣakka {Fr.} 'totum se operuit (armis)', ✓ ḫkk G {BK} 'être couvert d'armes, être armé de pied en cap', mišakk- 'armure, cotte de mailles' ¶ GB 543, Lv. III 522-5, Js. 963-4, 99O, Sl. 81O, Fr. II 44O-1, BK I 1256-7, ≈ KB 713 || Eg P/BD/G ṣc ({EG} ṣt) 'bekleiden, schmücken', Eg P/N/G ṣc 'e Kleid' ¶ EG IV 558 || ?? Ch: pAG {S} *sok 'hide' (× N *šahkE 'to cover, to hide' [q.v. ffd.]) || IE: NaIE *sag- ~ *seg- v. 'cover, wrap, clothe' ([in some descendant lgs.] × N *šahkE '↑') > Ltv segt 'to cover, to thatch, to roof', sega 'blanket, bedspread; cover', sagšā n. 'plaid, wrap', Lt † ságé 'Umschlagetuch, Überwurf', Pru saxtis 'bark (of a tree)' | Gl → L sagum 'a mantle made of coarse wool' ¶ WP II 448-9, WH II 464, Frn. 754, ≈ Kar. II 164, En. 243, ≈ P 887-9 (does not distinguish this IE √ from IE *seg- 'haften, sich anhängen, berühren'), ≈σ EI 64 (*seg- 'fasten').

2189. _(2?) *χ̄ok√ 'be mad\stupid\intoxicated' > HS: WS *✓ ḫkk 'be mad, stupid' > Jb C *χ̄ekk, Jb E ḫék 'be mad', Jb C ḫεk, Mh ḫak 'sin', ? Ar ✓ ḫkk (pf. ṣakka) v. 'doubt about', ṣakk- 'doubt, suspicion' ¶ Jo. J 25O, Jo. M 377-8, BK I 1256, Hv. 372 || A *s|šóka 'drunken, alcoholic drink' > M *sogta- 'get drunk' > MM [LM, S, MA, IsV] soqta-, {IM} soxta-, WrM sogta- ~ sogtu-, HlM согто- 'be(come) drunk \ intoxicated',

Kl **согтх** sogtъ-χъ, {Rm.} sogta-, Ord {Ms.} sog^ht^hō-, Mnр H {SM} sog_d_ō- 'get drunk', Mnр H/M {T} sogdo-, Ba soxte- 'be(come) drunk', Dx sodo- 'get drunk' ¶ H 135, Pp. MA 324, 446, Pp. L III 59, Lg. VMI 64, MED 723, KRS 453, KW 329-3O, Ms. O 58O, SM 351, T 359-6O, T DnJ 133, T BJ 147 || T: OT [MhK] {MKD} soydič, {DTS} suydič 'a circulating feast in winter' ¶ MKD 165, DTS 513 || pJ {S} *sáká-i 'sake (a kind of alcoholic drink)' > OJ sáké, J: T sake, K sáké id. ¶ S QJ #26, Mr. 517 ¶ Hardly here pKo {S} *sù'ir 'wine, alcoholic drink', which is more likely be belong to N *š̥NKVN 'intoxicating drink' (q.v.) ¶ S AJ 275 [#24], ≈ DQA #21O1 (A *sóúgà 'drunken, alcoholic drink', incl. T, M, J) || ?φ **D:** Kn sekke 'country wine' ¶ ≈ D #2749 ◇ Some words belonging to A *ššóka 'drunken, alcoholic drink' may have been connected or contaminated with the reflexes of N *šük'a' 'to drink, to suck' (q.v.). If Kn sekke belongs here, its vw. e of the first syll. needs explaining.

2189a. (2?) *š̥i'k̥i'k̥i'k̥ 'flesh, meat' > **HS:** C: Ag {AD} *šik- ({Ap.} *sik-/*sik-) 'meat' > Bln {Bnd.} s̥ixa, {R} ze'gā (pl. zik), Xm {R} zi'yā, Xmt {CR} seyā, {Bnd.} sīya, Km {CR} siyā, {Bnd.} sīya 'flesh, meat', Q {R} zeypā id., 'body'; Ag → Gz šagā 'flesh, meat' ¶ L G 526, Ap. AV 17-8, R WB 296, CR K 247n, ≈ AD SF 99-1OO || CCh: Mlw {Trn.} šuk 'meat', Mbara {TrnSL} šuk id., šuk sī id., 'body' (sī 'body') || Ke {Eb.} kú-sukí 'flesh' ¶ Trn. LDM 3O, TrnSL 27O, Muk. MChS 256, Eb. 77 || ?σ **K** *š̥su̥k̥- > G su̥k̥-i {Chx.} 'Filet, Lendenstück', {DCh.} 'fillet, beefsteak' ¶ Chx. 1278, DCh. 1196 || **D** *čik- 'flesh' > Tl ciyya 'flesh, muscle', zigili 'plump, fleshy', Gdb seg 'muscle, flesh', Gnd Mn sikahk, (?) Png žeyp 'flesh' ¶ D #2549 || ??σ **A:** T *sīgun ~ *sūgun 'deer' > OT {Cl.} sīyun 'male maral deer', MQp XIII sīyin 'wild bovine', Chg ≥XV suyun 'wild bovine', XwT XIV sīyun 'stag', Alt, Tlt, QK sīyin, Qb, Xk, Shor, Tf sīn 'maral deer', Tv sīn, SY soyun ~ suyun 'male maral deer', Tk sigin, Az sīyin 'elk', Tkm θūyin 'stag' ¶ Cl. 811-2, Ra. 23O, BT 135, RI. IV 617 ◇ If the K and\or the T cognate are valid, the N rec. must be with *š̥-, otherwise N *š̥- cannot be distinguished from N *č̥-. The length of the vowel in T is due to the contraction of the N sequence *-i'k̥i'k̥- ◇ A lateral cns. in Ag and N is suggested by the Gz reflex ◇ The length of the first vw. in T and the glottality of K *č̥ are likely to suggest the presence of a lr. *? or *? (N *š̥i'k̥i'k̥) ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #1O9b (incl. Ag, Ch, and D).

2190. *šak̥a 'to split, to cleave' > HS: WS *✓ ſk̥k v. 'split' > Ar ✓ šqq (pf. šaqqa, ip. -šuqq-) v. 'cut lengthwise, cleave, split', Mh ✓ ſk̥k (pf. ſz̥k) v. 'split, crack', Jb ✓ ſk̥k id., Hrs ✓ ſk̥k (pf. ſek) v. 'split' ¶ Ln. 1575-6, BK I 252, Jo. M 378-9, Jo. J 250, Jo. H 120 || Ch: WCh: Klr ſik^y v. 'cut' || ECh: Brg {J} ſikkí id. ¶ JI II 96-7 || C: Dhl {To.} čaķēd- 'distribute', {E} čaķēδ- 'distribute portions of food' ¶ To. D 149, E SC 214 ¶ In Dhl the glottalized č- (for ſ-) is probably due to as. || IE: NaIE *sek- v. 'chop' (xN ? *ſNKV 'to carve, to chisel' [q.v.]) > OIr {P} éiscid 'haut ab' || Lt † i-sékti 'eingraben, schneiden', iš-sékti 'sculpere', pasékelis ~ posékelis 'smith's big hammer' | Sl *sěkti (prs. *sě'kɔ) 'to chop, to cut' > OCS сѣшти sěšti (prs. сѣкъ sěkъ), R сечь (prs. се'ку), SCr сећи ѧ s(i)jeći (→ prs. сећем ѧ sijéčem), Slv sékati (← prs. sékam), Cz sici, sekati, Slk siect', sekat', P sieć (prs. sieke) id. || L d. sēcula 'sickle' || AS sigđe (< *sekitā) 'scythe', NE scythe | NaIE *sek-ūrā 'axe' > L secūris id. || Sl *sekīra id. > OCS, OR секыра sekira, SCr sjékira, Slv sekíra, R, Blg секира, Uk сокира, P siekiera, Cz sekýra, Slk sekera ¶ P 895-6, EI 38 (? *sekūr- 'axe' ← *sek- 'cut'), Frn. 544, 773, Vs. III 592-3, Brü. 488, Glh. 551, Tls. 541 || A *sak- > Tg {DQA} *sak-pi- > U1 ſaqpi(n-) 'axe' ¶ STM II 56 || pKo {S} *sák-i- 'carve, engrave' > MKo sák-i-, NKo sägi- ¶ S QK #1102, Nam 282, MLC 920 || pJ {S} *sák- 'rip, split' > OJ sák- id., J: T sák-, K sák- 'split, cleave, rip' ¶ S QJ #1674, Mr. 746, Kenk. 1562 ¶ DQA (A #1899 *ſzák'a 'sharp instrument; to cut, split') || ? U: FU *ſ|ſa|ukkV 'a piece (Stück), part' > F lyödä suku-ksei 'to break into pieces' (lyödä 'to beat'), ??φ sukku 'zerquetschter Zustand' || pOs *sák ({ʃl.} *ſt̥k) > Os: Vy sǎq in yönsǎq 'crumbled ice, Eisbrei (pieces of ice that crumble away in spring)' (yöñk means 'ice'), LK sǎq 'fein zerkrümelt (Salz u. a.)', D sǎχat- v. 'break, break to pieces, break up, reduce to small pieces', K sǎχat- 'break to pieces, damage' | Hg Δ szák 'small piece, part', szakit- 'tear, tear asunder', szakad- id, 'be torn' ¶ UEW 457-8 ◇ One could possibly adduce here U (in ObU only) *ſák|yrV v. 'chop, cut', but from the phonetic point of view it is preferable to ascribe it to N *ſägaRv 'cut, pierce' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II 86 (*cek ~ *sek 'cut') (IE, A, Gil, CK, EA; not distinguished from N ? *ſNKV 'to carve, to chisel').

2191. *^hE_Ko 'look at, watch, see' > IE *sek^w- 'look at, see' > Ht sakuwai̥ 'look at, watch, observe', sakuwa 'eyes', Ld saw- 'see, observe', Lw {Ivn.} tawā/i 'eye', Lc tawa 'eyes' (< {Ivn.} pSAn *tak^wa; pSAn *t- < IE *s- || NaIE *sek^w- > Gmc *sex^w-an > Gt saíhan, ON sjá, Sw, Dn se, OSx sehan, OHG sēhan, NHG sehen, AS séon 'to see', NE see || OIr ros̄ n. 'eye, look' (< *pro-sk^wo-), {P} ar-secha 'er sollte uns sehen' || pAl {O} *sākska- > Al: T shoh, G shof 'see' || pTc {ðAd.} *šoträjä > Tc: {P} A šotre, Tc B šotri 'mark (Zeichen)' (< *sek^w-tr-), {Ad.} B šotrūna pl., šotrūni du. ¶ ≈ P 897-8 and ≈ EI 505 (both do not distinguish between *sek^w- 'look, see' and *sek^w- 'follow' < N *š^ro¹ K_o 'to follow'), Ts. W 67-8, Frd. HW 177, Vr. 477, Fs. 404-5, Kb. 834, OsS 749, Ho. 290, Ho. S 63, KM 697-8,), Vn. R 44, O 425-6, Ad. 663, Ad. H 137, Iv. SA 133 || HS: CS (or WS) *✓^hskw|y 'look, expect' > BHb d. שְׁבִיָּה *^hšek̄t̄|yā (pl. cs. שְׁבִיּוֹת ^hšek̄t̄|yōt̄) ?σμ {GB} 'Gegenstand des Schauens, Schaustück', [Vulg.] 'quod visu pulchrum est', מַשְׁכִּית maš'kīt̄ {BDB} 'show-piece (e.g. carved figure), image, imagination', MHb {Js.} ✓ sky G (pf. סָבָה sā'kā) 'look, see, foresee', JA [Trg.], JPA {Js.} ✓ sky|w G (pf. סָבֵי sə'kē ~ סָבָא sə'kā) id., 'look out, hope', JEA ✓ sky|w D 'wait', Sr ✓ sky D (pf. سَبَقَ sak'kī) 'wait for, look for', Md ✓ skw|y ({DM} ska) 'direct the gaze towards, look for(ward to), look', Ar ✓ škw G (pf. شَكَّا šakā) {Fr.} 'ask for (from God)' (→ {Ln.} 'complain'), مشكاة miškāt- {Ln., Hv.} 'niche for a lamp in a wall', Gz maskōt 'window' (Nld. and Jfr.: Ar miškāt ↔ EthS) ¶ GB 785, BDB 967, Js. 989, Lv. T II 161-2, Lv. III 522 (✓ sky|w G 'sehen, scahuen'), Sl. 809, Br. 473, JPS 376, Fr. II 444-5, Ln. 1589-90, Hv. 374, L G 365, Nld. NB 51, Jfr. 266, ≠ Rb. AWA 123 [fn. 20] (derives Ar miškāt- and Gz maskōt from a Hb source) || A: M *siqa^ry¹a- 'look searchingly, take aim' > MM [HI] siqažu üže 'observe attentivement!' (imv.) (üže means 'look, see'), WrM siqaga- ~ siga-, HIM шагаа- v. 'peer, look intesely or searchingly; take aim', ?Mnr H {T} sge- 'see, look', {SM} sg_e- 'see' ¶ Ms. H 97, MED 721, SM 346, T 358.

2192. *^hiK^rU¹ 'to get\be cold; cool' > A ≈ *šik^r ~ *šiokā > T *sogiv. 'get\be cold' > OT soγi- id., XwT XIV, OOsm XVI sovu-, MQp XIV sowu-, Tk soğu-, Az soyu-, Tkm θowa-, Uz sawu-, ET savu-, QrB suu-, Qmq suwu-, Nog, Qzq suwi- (inf. suw-uw), Qq suwi-, VTt d. сүүи-н-,

Bsh *һ̥wə-*, Qrg *sū-*, Alt, Tv, Xk *sō-* v. 'become cold', → NaT **sogɪ-q* 'cold' > OT *sɔyɪq*, MQp XIII and XIV [CC] *sawuq* ~ *sawuq*, Chg ≥XV *sawuq* ~ -q, Tk *soguk*, Az *soyug*, ET *soya* ~ *savuq*, Uz *sawuq*, Tkm *θowuq*, Qmq *suwuq*, QrB *suuq*, Nog, Qzq, Qq *suwɪq*, VTt *su(w)əq*, MsTt *suwəq*, Bsh *һ̥wəq*, Qrg *sūq*, StAlt, Tv *sōq*, Alt {Vrb.} *sūq*, Xk *sōχ*, Xlj *sawuq* id. || Chv *siwə*, Chv MK *si* 'cold', Chv *siwən* 'become cold' ¶ Cl. 8O6, 8O8, DTS 5O7, Rs. W 425, TL 15, Md. 46, Jeg. 19O, TkR 582, Hüs. 271, UzR 374-5, S AJ 176 [#16], DT 191 || Tg *^{r̥}*sik*-/*^{r̥}*ʃjak*- v. 'freeze, be cold' (= {ADb.} **sjaxu-ra*- v. 'freeze') > Ewk Tk *çig*- v. 'freeze', Ewk Skh/Urm *çig*- v. 'shiver', WrMc {Z} *šaxura*- v. 'freeze, shiver, suffer from cold', *šaxurun* n. 'cold', Mc Sb {Y} *šayərun* ~ *səyərun* 'cold', {Mrm.} *šaxurun* 'cold wind' ¶ STM II 389, 423, S AJ 2O8 [#2O5], Y #2O61, Klz. MS 253 || pKo {S} **sik*- v. 'cool off' > NKo *sik*- id. ¶ S AJ 257 [#156], S QK #156, MLC 1O45, BKRS I 766, Rm. SKE 233 ¶ S AJ 281 [#156], SDM95 (A **šjuč* 'cold'), SDM97 (A **šäk'* o id.), ≈ DQA #2173 (A **šjog* id. > T, Tg, Ko + unc. J **szyz* 'gentle' [of wind]), Rm. SKE l.c. ¶ It is possible that the pA vw., denoted as *ä in SDM97, is a reg. reflex of pN **i* || *u* ***šikku*- (in eU, which still had **u* in the final syll.) > FU *^o*šikk(w)* 'cool' > pVg **šikʷ*- / **šekʷ*- 'cool' > Vg: N/K *sēkʷ*, ML *šēkʷ* 'the cool (прохлада)', {Mu.} 'kühl', K *säkʷi*, N *sēkʷti*- v. 'make cold\cool' ¶ MK 54O, BV 11O, ≈ UEW 774 || D *^č*kikk*- v. 'thicken; congeal' (of liquid), 'harden' (× N **čiK* 'tight, narrow, dense', q.v. ffd.) || HS: the S root *^o*v̥škk* is probably reflected in an Arabic dialect (not recorded in known sources) as **v̥šqq*, which was borrowed by some NSA and B lgs.: Jb *šz̥k* 'cold, numbness', Sq *'šečak* n. 'cold', *yhək* adj. 'cold', Si *šq̥i* n. 'cold' ({La.} *əmmutaya šq̥i* 'I am cold', lit. 'I am dying from cold'), Gd {CM} *šaqi* adj. 'cold'; the fact that the words in NSA and B are Arabisms is suggested by their phonetic shape: the cns. *š-* in Jb and Sq (for *š-* expected in an inherited word) and -q- in Si and Gd (typical of Arabisms) ¶ Jo. J 261, LLS 421, La. S 242, CM 123) ¶ Leslau (l.c.) brings forward a possibility of connecting the MSA *v̥* to Ar *v̥šqq* 'être pénible' (??σ) ◇ Cf. AD AltAD #12.

2193. (2?) **š|sulqa, K* *ń* *ń* 'resin' > IE: NaIE *^o*swekʷ*- 'resin' (× N **žukū* [= **žoKū?*] 'juice') > Blt: Ltv pl. *sveki* 'resin', Δ *svakas* (f. pl.) id., Lt *sakaī* (pl.), Pru *sackis* id. ¶ The absence of the expected -v- in Lt and Pru needs explaining. This -v- belongs to the etymological heritage (cp. below FU *-u- and Gnd -v- ~ -w-) ¶ ≈ P 1O44 and ≈ EI 499-

500 (both adduce Gk ὄπος and define its meaning as 'Baumharz, resin', while in fact the Gk word means 'vegetable juice, acid juice of fig-trees' [see LS 1241], hence it hardly belongs here, see N ***χύκου** '↑'), Frn. 756-6, ~ Kar. II 334, En. 241 || **A:** T *sakír 'resin' > OT sayız ~ saqız 'gum, resin', Tkm θaqıd, CrTt, Kr saqız, Qzq, Qrg sayız, Qq sayız ~ saqqız, VTt sayız, Bsh haγıd, ET seyiz, Xk sās, Shor sayis, Yk jas, Chv L cuyxāp suxər 'resin', Tk çam sakizi id. (çam 'pine, fir') ¶ Cl. 817-8, Rs. W 396, TL 117-8, Ash. XII 218, Jeg. 198, Fed. II 70 || ?? **HS:** S *^o✓ **š|srk** 'adhere, cling, clutch' > Sr ✓ **srk** *G* (ip. -**sračk**) v. 'adhere, stick to' (of plaster), JEA ✓ **srk** v. *G* 'adhere, stick, cling, clutch' (unless the basic meaning is 'clutch, hold fast, hang to', as in JA ✓ **srk** v. *G*) ¶ Js. 1O27-8, Lv. III 592-3, Sl. 831, Br. 499, JPS 392 || ? **U:** FU ***š|šur** 'pitch, resin' > pPrm {LG} ***šür** 'resin' > Z, Vt **cup** **šir**, Yz **šar** || Hg **szurok** 'pitch' ¶ UEW 492, LG 257, MszFUE III 603 ¶ The FU ✓ belongs here if one finds a way of explaining the absence of the expected internal ***k** (***š|šur** < ****š|šur**) || ??φ **D:** Gnd sever ~ šever ~ saver ~ sowwer ~ heber 'gum', as well as possibly (with obscure phonetic history) Kn (↔ Tl?) **jigač**, **jigate**, **jibatu** 'stickiness, gum', Tl **jigača**, **jiguru** 'gum, birdlime', and Klm **sijot** 'sticky'; D → OI **cikkä-** 'gum, birdlime' ¶ D #2488 ◇ If both S and FU cognates are valid, the N initial cns. is ***š**- . If the FU cognate is valid, but the S one is not, it may be N ***š**- as well.

2194. *šil'ū (or ***šil'ū**?) 'take, take away\off' > **HS:** WS *✓ **šlw** ~ *✓ **šll** id. > Ar ✓ **šlw** *G* (ip. -**šluw-**) 'lever, soulever, hausser', Mh ✓ **šll** *G* v. 'carry, take, take away', Jb C ✓ **šll** *G* v. 'lift up off the ground',? ltBhb ✓ **šll** (< *✓ **šll**) 'pile up in the street, leave around; pile up sheaves' ¶ KB 715, KBR 757, Fr. II 447, BK I 1264, Jo. M 379, Jo. J 252, GB 545 || **IE:** NaIE ***sel(wō)-** v. 'take, seize, lay hold of' (× N ***ž'U'lh'ū** 'take, take away, pull out' [q.v.] × N ***šeī** 'take away\off, destroy, pull off') > Gk ἔλεῖν, Gk Ep ἔλειν (aor. II inf.) 'to take, to seize, to take into one's power', Gk ἔλωρ 'spoil, booty' || OIr **selb** 'possession', MW, W **helw** id. (in ar **helw** 'en la possession de') || Gmc caus. ('to cause to have'): Gt **saljan** 'to offer as a sacrifice, to sacrifice', OHG **sellēn** 'to give over, to betray, to transmit', ON **selia**, NNr **selja**, Sw **sälja**, Dn **sælgē**, AS **sellan** 'to hand over (übergeben), sell', NE **sell** ¶ P 899, E 564 (***sel-** 'seize, take possession of'), F I 487-8, Vn. S 79-80, Fs. 408-9, Vr. 469, Kb. 841, OsS 739, Schz. 248, Ho. 289 || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr)

*šil]ŋV > pVg *šil]- v. 'acquire' > Vg: N {Mu.} sēl-, ML {Mu.} šēl- 'erwerben, beschaffen', Yk {BV} sēl- 'find, earn, acquire', N сэл- id., {Mu.} sēl- 'suchen, erwerben, kaufen' || Hg szǖl- v. 'give birth to' (< *'acquire [a child]') ¶ UEW 888, MK 54O, BV 11O, MF 604-5 || ?σ δ *čil]- ({θGS} *ś-) v. 'strip off', (→ ?) v. 'pluck' > Tm īli v. 'strip off, pluck', Tu c̄ilkunī v. 'flay', Prj čil-kipl-t- v. 'peel\scale off', Kui sli-ŋga v. 'be plucked', ? Brh sil 'skin' ¶ D #2585. The D √ belongs here if its primary meaning is 'strip off' (< 'take off') rather than 'skin' ◇ If D *čil]- belongs here, the N etymon is *šil'ū'. Otherwise it may be either *šil'ū' or *šil'ū'.

2194a. *šil]V (and *šil]V?) 'fat (Fett)' > U *šil]ä ~ FP *šil]V > F silava, Δ silevā 'pork fat, lard' | pChr *šel > Chr: L/H шел šel 'animal fat, lard (Speck)', M šel id., B šel 'melted lard\tallow' | Prm *sūl > Z s̄t̄v, Δ s̄t̄n. 'fat, lard', Z s̄t̄la adj. 'fat' (of broth) || Vg LK/P {Knn.} šilt 'bear-fat' || pSm {Jn.} *selb ~ *silb n. 'fat' > Ng {Cs.} 'selā 'melted fish-fat', {Ris.} d. sielaga 'intestinal fat of a reindeer', {Cs.} selagā adj. 'fat'; Slq NP {Cs.} d. s̄t̄le id., Km {Cs.} sil n. 'fat', {KD} šit̄ · šīl id., 'tallow', Koyb {Sp.} сыиль n. 'fat', сель 'animal fat (сало)' ¶ All U cognates (except Prm) are accounted for by U *šil]ä, while Prm *sūl point to a U *s- ¶ UEW 478, 758, SK 1O24, Ber. 59, MRS 698, Ep. 149, LG 267, Lt. 2O1, Jn. 14O, Cs. 65, 16O, 189, KD 61 || IE: NaIE (+ext.) *selp- n. 'fat' > OI sar'pih /sarpiš- 'clarified butter' || Gk [Hs.] ἔλπος · ἔλαιον, στέαρ 'olive-oil, stiff fat', Gk Cpr [Hs.] ἔλψος · βούτυρον 'butter', Gk ὄλπη 'leathern oil-flask' || Alb gjalpē 'butter' || pTc *šälpē (= {Ad.} *šälype) > Tc: A šälyp, B šalype '(sesame) oil; salve, ointment' || OHG salba, NHG Salbe, AS sælf(e) 'ointment, NE salve; → Gt, OHG salbōn, NHG salben, Sw salva, Dn, NE salve, AS sealfian 'to apply ointment, to anoint' ¶ P 9O1, EI 194, MW 1184, M K III 446, F I 5O3, O 129, Ad. 652-3, KT 39 (on Tc š = [ś]), Ho. 286 || HS: S *°✓ šsly > Ar ✓ sly T (pf. مُسْلَى | pistalā) 'be fat' (of a sheep), Ar SL مُسْلَى, musallā 'butter' ¶ Bel. 339, Hv. 334 ◇ Vg and Sm point to a N *ś-, Z, Chr, and S suggest a N *s-, while F and IE may go back to both. The variation is possibly due either to lateralizing as. N *s...l > *ś...l or to delateralizing dis. N *ś...l > *s...l ◇ BmK #285 (IE - U *śilä, sc. *šil]ä), ≈ Blz. LB #5Oa (incl. IE, U, Ar).

2195. ***ś|śuł́ṇ** (= ***śuł́ṇ**?) 'trunk, log' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'board', 'trough', and sim.) > **I**E: NaIE *swel- ~ *sel- > [1] *swel- 'plank, board' > OHG swelli 'Sockel, Fußgestell', swella 'Schwelle, sill', NHG Schwelle 'threshold', ON svill, syll 'foundation beam, doorsill, threshold', Ic sull 'sill, the horizontal beam that bears the upright portion of a frame', Sw syll, Dn syld, NNr svill 'threshold', AS syll id., 'doorsill', NE sill] [2] *sel- 'board', 'trough', 'bench', and sim. (× N ***ȝæł́ṇ** 'in tree', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 898-9, EI 431 (*swel-~*sel- 'plank, board'), WW 286, Vr. 573, Kb. 1000, OsS 911, KM 692, Ho. S 63, Ho. 286, 340, HDEL 1206, F II 691-2, Frn. 785, 942-3, ≠ WH II 554, ≠ EM 633 || **H**S: B: Ah, ETwl, Ty a-sallum 'board' ¶ Fc. 1831, GhA 173 || possibly CS *^o**ſullam-** 'ladder, stairs' > JA sullə'm-ā, if Hb sull'ām, Ph slmh, and Ar sullam- id. are loans from Aram; otherwise (if there was a CS *sullam-), this S word does not belong here ¶ BK I 130-1, KB 715, HJ 788 || **U** ***śſuł́ṇ** 'wooden receptacle' > Es {W} sulu 'trough, wooden compartment (Verschlag) in a room (for small animals)' | Prm: Vt Sr śul̄s, Vt Kz śul̄s 'oblong small wooden trough (Holzmulde) (used for screening flour, etc.)', Vt G śul̄s 'oblong bowl' || Sm: En {Dlx.} surukku 'in Geschirr', En X {Cs.} 'śukoka, Ng {Cs.} sīla?ka 'trogähnliches Gefäß'; ?? Slq: Nr {Cs.} holak, Tz {KKIH} sola, Y/B/Tz/Kar {Cs.} solan, NP {Cs.} sollan, Tm {KD} solak 'spoon' (unless the Slq word is a loan from T; see Mt {Hl.} *šom_əlak 'spoon' [Mt: M {Sp.} шомлакъ id., T {Mll.} schomolúkma 'my spoon'] ← T, cp. Qb samalaq, Xk samnax 'spoon' [÷ čavlı 'Schaumlöffel' in other T lgs.?, see Dr. TM III 38, #1056]) ¶ Coll. 8, UEW 488-9, Cs. 66, 92, 159, 249, Dlx. MSE 209, KP 202, KKIH 170, Hl. M #905 || **A**: Tg *^osul... 'pole' > Ud sulaŋku 'in pole, pin (штырь, в жердь)' ¶ STM II 124, Krm. 289 || **D** (in SD) *č̄kūlikk- 'stick' > Tm cūlikki 'pikestaff, sharp-pointed stick carried by travellers', Kn cūlike 'a stout stick to beat cotton with' (× N *č̄ūł́ṇ 'stalk, stick', q.v.) ◇ If the S word for 'ladder, stairs' is *śullam- (and it belongs here), we should reconstruct a pN *ś-, otherwise we remain with an unspecified N *śś-. If D *-l- is due to the infl. of N *č̄ūł́ṇ, we cannot unequivocally reconstruct N *-l- and remain with the unspecified N *-ł- (= *-łł-).

2196. ***ś'ūł́i** 'neck, nape' > **U**: FU *^o**śſuł́ṇi** > Prm *śul- 'neck' > Z съылі śil'i 'neck', Vt силь śiľ 'horse's withers (холка)', сильсөр śiľsər 'nape' (lit.: 'neck's hind part') ¶ LG 271, UZR 389 || **A**: M *sili

'nape of the neck, sinew of the neck' > WrM *sili*, HlM *шил* 'nape, flat-topped hill', Brt *шэлэ* 'occiput, nape, hill', Kl *шил* 'sinew of the neck, mountain ridge', {Rm.} *šili* 'sinew of the neck; nape', WrO {Krg.} *šili* 'nape', Brt *шэлэ* 'back of the head, nape', Ord {Ms.} *šile* 'nuque; tendon, nerve' ¶ MED 706-7, KRS 672, KW 356, Krg. 446, Chr. 744, Ms. O 616 || Tg **silni* 'collar', **si|el-* '≈ neck' > Orc *sili* 'women's collar of satin with fur', Ul *sini* 'women's collar of fur', Ork *sinni* 'collar', WrMc *selxe* 'dewlap, loose-hanging skin under a bull's neck', *selxen* 'stocks on a criminal's neck' ¶ STM II 84, 140, Z 586 || HS: Eg Md {DW} *šššš.t*, *ššššy.t* 'Vorderhals-Gegend', {Fk.} *šššš.t* 'bosom', Eg Md/G {EG} *ššššy* 'Kehle, Kelkopf' (?), as well as Eg XVIII/XX {EG} *ššššy.t*, {Fk.} *šššš.t* 'necklace' (the latter: × HS **s̄v̄rs̄v̄r-* 'chain' > S **šaršar-* id., B: Skn *i-s̄ars̄ar* id., Hs *sassari* id.) ¶ Eg IV 413, DW II 836, Fk. 261-2, Tk. I 312 ◇ The delabialization of *ü in T and M (or in proto-Altaic?) is a reg. phenomenon ◇ If the Eg words do not belong here, the initial N cns. may be either **š-* or **ś-*.

2196a. **šiʃl̥v̄yâ* or **čiʃl̥v̄yâ* 'tooth, fang' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'sharp stick') > HS: S **šaʃl̥v̄l-* > Sq {SSL} *šaʃal* 'dent, crochet', {Ls.} *šaʃal* 'tooth' ¶ Ls. LS 431, SLL LSNP 471 || EC: Kns {BISO} *šūla* 'tooth of wild boar' ¶ BISO 186b, Ss. B 175 || A (× N **šeʃXâ* 'bough, twig, stick' × N **šiʃl̥v̄l̥v̄* 'to roast, to fry, to cook'): T **šiʃl̥* 'tooth, spit' > Chv *шэл* *шъл* 'tooth' || NaT **šiʃ* 'spit, sharp stick' > OT *siš* 'spit, fork, spike', Tk *siš*, Az *šiš*, Tkm *čiš*, Bsh *шөш* *šbš*, Xk. *siš*, Tv, Tf *šiš* id., Qrg *šiš* 'sharp stick, sharp object', VTt *шөш* *šbš* 'sharp rod' ¶ Cl. 856-7, Rs. W 494, Md. 71, Ra. 23, S AJ 192, TL 228 || Tg **sila-pun* 'spit' (× ← Tg **sila-* v. 'roast on a spit, grill' < N **šiʃl̥v̄l̥v̄* '↑', q.v.) > Ewk *silawun*, Lm *h̥ilun*, Neg *silawun*, Orc *silō(n-)*, *silzu(n-)*, Ud *silou(n-)*, Ul *st̥lopu(n-)*, Nn Nh *st̥lpõ*, Nn B *silφo(n-)*, WrMc *šolon* 'spit' ¶ STM II 82 || pKo **sár* 'arrow, sting' > MKo *sár*, NKo *sal* ¶ S QK #162, Yu 436, MLC 895 || pj **sasi* 'sharp stick' > OJ *sasi*, J: T *saší*; ? pj **sas-* v. 'prick, stab' > OJ, J Kg *sàs-*, J T.K *sás-* ¶ S QJ #191, Mr. 748 ¶ But not here M **sidün* 'tooth' (see N **sitv̄* 'tooth') ¶ S AJ 288 [#282], DQA #2097 (A **šiʃl̥a* 'sharp stick, tooth' > T, Ko, J + err. M) || ?ϕ U: FU (att. in FV) **čiʃl̥v̄-m̥v̄* 'fang, eye-tooth (Eckzahn) of predators' > pLp {Lr.} **čzala-m̥v̄* 'fang' > L: U *tjillàma*, L *tjalām*, N {N} *čálam* id., Kld {Tl} *čáɬɬan* 'Hauzahn der Hunde und Raubtiere' | Er цилим пей *čiʃim-rey* 'Überzahn (a new tooth that grows over the old one)', Δ 'fang', Mk

šeíäń-pey Ɂ cííäń-pej 'Überzahn' (pej means 'tooth') ¶ UEW 613-4, Lr. #107, Lgc. #46O, TI 642, ERV 725 || D *čil(l)- 'spike, sharp stick' > Tm cilukku 'tooth of a saw, barb, iron staple', Ml cilukku 'spike, iron barb, javelin', Tu cillēli 'a sharp stick to dart a fish with', Tl cilukku, sela 'arrow' ¶ D #2568 ◇ T *-í- < *-ly- < N *-1N y-. If the T cognate is valid and FU *č- may be explained otherwise, the pN rec. must be *šiř1N yâ, while the FU cognate suggests N *čiř1N yâ ◇ Blz. LB #112b (including Sq, T).

2197. *š₁aH₂ ū¹L₃N 'dew' > **U:** FU *šuža 'hoarfrost, frozen dew' > Lp N {N} čqđđe 'coating of ice formed by frozen rain\sleet on stones or trees' || pObU *šōđ 'hoarfrost, frozen dew' > pVg *šắ id. > Vg: T/P/V/LL šá, LK šá, N só id.; pOs *søy ({ʃHl.}) *săy < *sɔy) > Os V/Vy soy, Ty/Y sōy 'Reif, Rauhfrost', D/K suy 'Rauhfrost' ¶ Coll. 75, UEW 488, Sm. 549 (FU *šuđā, FP *šuđa, Ugr *šuđa 'ice crust'), Ht. 181 [#562] || **A:** Tg *sile(-kse) 'dew' > Ewk siləksə ~ siləksə ~ hiləksə ~ šilukšə, Sln šilikši, Neg siləksə, Orc siləŋsə, Ud {Krm.} silihə, Nn, Ul siləmsə, Ork šiləskə, WrMc siləngi, Jrc {Md.} sie-le-un, {Lg.} šileün, {Kiy.} šileun, Lm hiləs 'dew', hili 'light rain, hoarfrost', Lm A sili 'dew', Nn silə-u-, Ewk silə-ři- v. 'be covered with dew, get wet from dew' ¶ STM II 85-6, Krm. 285, Gru. SSJ #1O, Md. ChF 158, Kiy. 97 [#OO1O] || T *sālgī'm' 'dew, hoarfrost' (> 'cold weather'?) > Chv sivlam 'dew' || Tkm þālgim 'mirage in a desert', OT {Cl.} salqim 'cold, hoarfrost' (infl. of OT sarqim id. ← sarq-im 'an act of hanging down?'), Xk salim 'dew'; see also Shor šalim, Tv, Tf šalin, and StAlt čalin 'dew' (their initial cns. resembles the reg. reflex of pT *ç-; they may be loans from Xk or another T lge. with the merger of pT *s- and *ç-) ¶ Cl. 826, 849, TL 39, Jeg. 2OO, Fed. II 75, Ra. 23O ¶ The unexpected pT vw. *ā still defies explanation || pKo {S} *sə,ri 'hoarfrost' > MKo sə,ri, NKo sa,ri ¶ S QK #215, Nam 299, MLC 936, BKR II 681, Rm. SKE 23O ¶ ≈ DQA #2OO5 (A *sila 'dew, liquid; hoarfrost'; incl. Tg, Ko), Rm. SKE 23O || **HS:** B *°saHluH - *°salHuH (pl. *°suHlaH- - *°su1HaH) > *-sālū- > Kb a-salu (pl. i-sula) 'thick layer of snow'; there is an alt. et. (B *saHluH - *salHuH < N *čaí, U, gN 'snow' or 'hoarfrost'), which is less plausible for lack of the expected reflex of N *g ¶ Di. 771 ◇ Tg *-i- (that may go back to *-ü-, but not to *-u-) suggests that FU *-u- results from assimilative deplatalization of *-ü- ◇ The length of the T vw. points to

a N lr. The long vw. *ā in T *sālgī'm' and *aH in B *°saHlūH suggest a rec. of *-aH- in N *sāH'ū'LūN.

2198. *sāl₁N, qU 'cleave, cut asunder' > HS: CS *v̥s̥lχ id. (or S *°v̥s̥lχ) > Ar v̥s̥lχ G 'split with a sabre', ?? Sr sālīh-ā 'canalis, alveus, cloaca' (< *sālīχ-, pp. of the verb *v̥s̥lχ in the meaning 'dig'?) || Fr. II 446, BK I 1263, PS 2644 || K *°s̥s̥χ₁a₁- / *°s̥s̥χw₁- > G s̥χl- / s̥χal- / s̥χw₁- 'beschneiden (Reben, Baum)' || Chx. 13O6 || u *sālū- 'split, cut' > FU *sālū- (> *sāle-) v. 'cut' > F sāli- 'in Splitter spalten', sāle, gen. sāleen 'splint(er), slat' | Lp: N {N} čalle- v. 'make a line, cut (into) a split', L {LLO} t̥jāllēt 'ritzen, schneiden, schnitzen' | Chr B šela- '(sich) spalten', Chr H šelä- 'erstechen, zerreißen, zerhauen' || pObU *šīl-/*šūl- v. 'cut' > pVg *šīl- id. > Vg: UL s̥il-, T/LL šilt-, LK, MK silt-; pOs *sūl- id. > Os: V/Vy sūl- | Hg szel- v. 'slice, cut' || pY {IN} *θōl-(g3)- vi. break' (-g3, a sx. od vi.) > Y: K šölg3- vi. 'break, faint (in Ohnmacht fallen)', T sōlyō- 'broken' || UEW 47O-1, Sm. 549 (FU, RP *sālā, Ugr *sālā 'cut'), LLO 113O-1, Ht. 184 [#588], MF 577-8, LG 311, IN 222 || To my mind, pObU *i|*ü may be accounted for by the infl. of a labialized vw. (*ü) of the second syll. || a: M *sal₂u₁- (xN *sāl₁ΓN 'strike, break'?) > WrM sāl-, sālu-, HIM сала-, Brt hala-, Kl сал- sal- v. 'separate, branch off; be detached, isolated', Ord sal-, Dg {T} sala- vi. 'be separated, separate', WrO sala- id., 'part from, branch off', d.: MM [S] salulča- 'sich trennen'; M *salga- 'separate' > MM [S] {H} salha- = salga- '(ver)teilen', d. [H] salgagda- 'être donné comme part', WrM, WrO salga-, HIM салга-, Kl салh-, {Rm.} salya- v. 'separate, divide', Ord salga-, Dg {T} salgā- vt. 'separate', Brt halga- id., 'remove' | ↪ M *salayān > WrM salaga(n), HIM салаа, Ord {Ms.}, Mnr H {SM, T}, Dx sala 'branch\twig', 'limb of a tree, offshoot; bifurcation', Kl {Rm.} salā 'Ast, Zweig; Verzweigung', {KRS} sala 'space between fingers, bifurcation', Dg salā 'bifurcation'; M ↪ Tb sala, Xk salā 'bough, twig', Alt салаа 'bifurcation, tributary of a river', Qzq sala 'span (between fingers), arm of a river, fork of a road' || H 131, Ms. H 93, MED 663, 665-6, Gl. II 37O, Ms. O 554-5, Krg. 389-9O, KRS 436-8, KW 309-1O, Chr. 667-9, SM 32O, T 357, T DnJ 133, T DgJ 161, B DChT 146, BIG 179, BT 125, Sht. 165 || ?σ Tg *°salgN- 'cleave in two parts' > Ewk Δ salg3dā- v. 'cleave\tear lengthwise (in two parts)'; ↪ *salga-n 'fork (of a road, river), perineum' > Ork salda(n-) id., 'forked crown of a tree', Nn KU salgā, Orc sāga, Ewk salgan, Neg

salga, Lm *hālgъ* 'perineum', Lm OI *hālgъ* 'span\interval (between the tripods forming the basis of a tent)', WrMc *salgā* 'crossroads, fork of a road', ? *sarǵa* 'perineum' ¶ STM II 58 || Ko: pKo {S} *sá,ri 'interval, space' > MKo *sá,ri*, NKo † *sá,ri* id. || ?σ pJ {S} *sár- 'depart' > OJ *sár-*, J: T/K/Kg *sár-* ¶ S QJ #717, Mr. 747 ¶ DQA #19O2 (A *s|zalo 'be separated': M, Tg, J, pKo *sá,ri-) || D *čal-, {GS} *sel- v. 'split, cut asunder' (× N *čaí, Eñ, o 'to split, to cut') > Tu *selæ* 'chink, crack' || OTl {Km.} *selagu* v. 'cut', Tl {Km.} *celagu* ~ *celacu* ~ *selavu* v. 'cut, chop', {BE} *selagu* ~ *selayu* v. 'cut', Tl *selə* 'hole', || Krx čalx- v. 'open, uncover', Mlt čalge v. 'split\break open' || Brh čalinj v. 'become cracked, split' || Krx čalx- v. 'open, uncover', Mlt čalge v. 'split\break open' || Brh čalinj v. 'become cracked, split' ¶ D #2377, Km. 363 [#47O], 5O1 [#1225-6], GS 65-6 [##2O1, 211] ¶ The Tl verb < N *šä1, wN, qU × D *kell- (> Kn *kelle* 'a shiver, splinter', Tu *kellə* 'a splinter') ◇ N *q is suggested by S *χ, while in K the change *q > *χ and the mt. are due to certain laws of cns. combinations (accounting for the so-called "harmonic complexes" such as *šχ).

2199. *šä1, i, wN (or *šä1, i, wNyN?) 'in a wild gallinaceous fowl' > HS: CS *š'a'law- (or *šalaway-?) 'quail' > BHb שָׁלֹוּ še'la'w (either from OA [if < S *šalaw-] or from *šu'law-), SmHb IA שְׁלֹוִי šlu'wi, JA [Trg.] סְלֹוִי se'la'w, SmA {Tal} סְלֹוִי šlu'wi, sálbi, {BH} סְלֹוִיתָא šlu'iyt, em. סְלֹוִיתָא šlu'iyt, Sr سَلْوَى salway, Ar (↔ Aram) سَلْوَى salwā salway 'quail' ¶ KB 1241, Lv. T II 166, BH II 6O3, Fr. II 348, Hv. 334, Tal 59O, Br. 476, JPS 378 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} súlkú, Kwn {J} súlkó, Kwn M {J} súlgó 'guinea-fowl' ¶ Eb. 93, ChC || U: FU *š|šälwN 'hazel grouse' (Tetrastes bonasia) > Prm *šóla > Z съёла šøla, Vt сяла šala 'hazel grouse'; (Z → ?) Vg {MK}: ML šula, IL šula, P šula, T šula 'hazel grouse' || pOs *séylay ({Hl.} *siylay) > Os: Ty/Y сағтая, Sl сағтай, шоғтая, шатая, Kr шутая 'Tetrastes bonasia, hazel grouse', D šütäy 'partridge' ¶ pOs *-χl- may go back to *-lχ- (mt.) < FU *-lω-; on FU *-w- > pOs *-χ- see Hl. rHt 73-4 ¶ Coll. 111, LG 27O, ≈ Rd. rLG 426 (Z → Vg; wrongly denies the Prm-Os relationship because of the seemingly superfluous Os *-χ-), MK 571, Stn. D 1315-6, PD #2337, Trj. S 444, Hl. rHt 73-4 (on FU *-w- > pOs *-χ-), Stn. OAS IV 127, 14O (FU *-w- > pOs *-χ-) || D (in GnD) *čā]N- 'quail' > Klm sālē ~ sallē ~ sāle, Nkr sā]e 'quail' ¶ D #248O ◇ The coinciding element *-ay in pOs *séylay (*siylay) and S *šalaway (> Sr

and Ar *salway*) may have a common source at the pN level. GnD *-]- (for the expected *-l-) may be due to some positional factor (e.g. N **šäliw* ∇ > ***šäly* ∇ > ***šäí* ∇ > D **čāl* ∇).

2200. **šií* ∇ (-ma) 'eye; look, examine' > **U** **šilmä* 'eye' > F *silmä*, Es *silm* id. | pLp {Lr.} **čilmē* id. > Lp: S {Hs.} *tjälmie*, L {LLO} *tjal'mē*, N {N} *čál'bme*, Kld {SaR} чалъм, K {Gn.} *čailm* id. | Er сельме *šeíme*, Mk сельме *šeíma* id. | Chr Ešińća id. | pPrm **śinm-* > Z *śin* / *śinm-*, Vt *śin* id. || Hg *szém* id. | pObU **šēm* id. > pVg **šäm* id. > Vg: T/LK/P/V/LL *šäm*, MK/UK *säm*, N *sam*; pOs **sem* ({JHl.} **säm*) id. > Os: V/Vy/D/Nz/Kz/O *sem*, Ty/Y *säm* || pSm **sъymä* ~ **seymä*, {Hl.} **sъyme* id. > Ng 'sayme' ~ 'seyml', En *sey*, Ne T *сэв* *се·β*, Ne F *хæс·m*, Slq Tz {KKIH} *sayt*, Kms *sima* ~ *sayma*, Koyb {Sp.} *сима*, {Pl.} *simà*, Mt {Hl.} **sime* 'eye(s)' (Mt: M {Pl.} *ssimä*, *симя*, {Sp.} *симе* id., {Mll.} *schime* 'oculi', T {Mll.} *schimedä* id., K {Mll.} *schíimi* id., {Pl.} *s̥jimide* 'his eye[s]') ¶ UEW 479, Coll. 57, Db. OS xxxi, It. #387, Sm. 54O (U, FU, FP **šilmä*, Ugr **símä*, Sm **sejmä* 'eye'), Lr. #11O, Lgc. #464, Ls. 13O3-4, Gn. 814, SaR 387, Ker. II 135-6, Ht. 184 [#592], LG 256, Jn. 132, Ptp. 37, Hl. M #886, KKIH 167 || **A:** M **sili-* > WrM *sili-*, HlM *шилэ-*, Brt *шэлэ-*, Kl Ö {Rm.} *šil-*, Ord *šili-* v. 'select, choose' (< *'look') ¶ MED 707, Chr. 744, KW 357, Ms. O 617 || Tg **sílma-* v. 'examine, choose', n. 'choice' > Ork *sílma* 'choice', *sílma-* v. 'choose, select', Ewk *sinma-* id., Mc *simne-* 'aussuchen, prüfen, examinieren' ¶ STM II 89, Z 611-2, Hr. 798 || **IE:** Clt: OIr {Vn.} *sell* 'iris de l'œil, œil' → *sellaid* '(he) looks'; W *syllu*, Crn *sellos*, Br *sellout*, *sellet* 'to look' (Vn. does not accept WP's etymology equating the Clt words with Gk στέλψω 'shine') | OIr *súil* 'eye' (unless it is akin to Brtt **sáwel-* 'sun' and goes back to IE **suhl-* / **suhel-* 'sun', as usually supposed, although it is typologically not very plausible and has no parallels in the history of languages [at least to my knowledge]: the mythological concept of the sun as "the eye of the sky/heaven" can encourage the change from 'eye' to 'sun', but hardly from 'sun' to 'eye') ¶ ≈ Vn. S 82, S 201-2, Bc. #4.21, EI 188, 438, 556, ≈ WP II 646, ≈ P 1035 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #48d.

2201. **šiíw* ∇ 'shank, flesh\meat of a limb' > **HS:** S **šilw-* > Ar *šilw-* {Ln.} 'a limb (or member) of flesh\meat; body (of an animal)', {BK} 'membre séparé du corps, reste d'un animal égorgé', {Hv.} *šalīyat-* 'piece of meat' ¶ Ln. 1592-3, BK I 1264, Hv. 375 || NrOm {Blz.} **suyl-* > Hrr {Abb.} *suylēya* 'leg', Gnj *šule* 'calf of the leg' ¶ Blz. OLBP

#89, CR H 661 || Ch: WCh: Bd {IL in JI} *sílāk*, {ChL} *sílān* 'bone' || CCh: Bu {ChL} *síl*, {Mk} *síl*, BuP {Mk.} *síl*, Mrg M {Mk.} *šíl* 'leg' | Hg WI {Mk.} *sílla* id. | Msk {Lk.} *síl* 'bone' | Afd {Stz.} *szale*, {Sö.} *sale* 'shin-bone' || ECh: Mb {Lk.} *sílálo* id. ¶ JI II 36, 22O, ChL, Mk. I 174, 241, 281, Lk. ZSS 189, Sö. 262 || **A:** M **silbi* 'calf of the leg, shin, shank' > MM [HI] *šilbi* 'tibia', [MA] *šili* 'calf of the leg', WrM *silbi*, HIM шилэв 'shin bone, shank, tibia', Kl шилв *šilwj* 'calf of the leg, shin-bone', ? Dg *šilem* 'shin-bone' ¶ MED 705, S AJ 241 [#167], KRS 672, KW 357, Pp. MA 333, Ms. H 97, T DgJ 183, Gl. II 495 || ? pKo {S} **sárh* flesh, meat; skin' (× N ***śiR** ∇ 'skin of animals, rawhide') > MKo *sár(h)*, NKo *sal* ¶ S QK #53, Nam 29O, MLC 895, S AJ 253 [#53] || pJ {S} **sisi* 'meat' > OJ *sisi*, J: Ns *šiši*, Sh *šiši*, Y *čiči* id. ¶ S QJ #128, Mr. J 527 ¶ ≈ S AJ 95, 279 [#12O] and SDM97 s.v. **sæl’wi* (M, Ko, J + unc. Tg **silu-kta* 'gut(s)' that belongs to N **ś’oyi'l'U* 'entrails') || **D:** **cīla-* in Kn *cīlamandē*, Tl *cīlamanda* 'ankle' (× N **ć’i'l’N, ŋN* 'side of body' [→ 'rib'], 'hip') ¶ D #2634; D **mañt-* means 'knee', see D #4677 ¶ D **-l-* may have been ascribed to the infl. of N **ć’i'l’N, ŋN* || ? ϕ **U:** FU (in FP only) (mt.?) **śsiw* ∇ 'flesh, meat' > Er *сывель* *siveł*, Mk *сиволь* *śivəł* 'meat' | Chr L *шыл* *šył*, H *шыл* *šył*, Uf *šył*, M *šił*, B {UEW} *šył*, {Ber.} *syl* 'meat' | Prm **sił*- > Vt *силь* 'meat' ¶ UEW 763, It. #400, Ker. II 144, Ber. 61, LG 258, PI 248 ¶ Chr *š-* (in all dialects, except conflicting evidence on M) suggests FU **ś-* or *ś̄-*, while Vt *s-* suggests FU **s-* ◇ ADb. MSR 21 [#16] (A [M + err. Tg], D). FU and J suggest N **-ł-*, while D *-l-* (apparently pointing to N **ł*) may be ascribed to the merger with N **ć’i'l’N, ŋN*.

2202. **śeíXā* 'bough, twig, stick' > **A** ({DQA} **síla* 'sharp stick; spit' (× N **śiż* ∇ *yā* 'tooth, fang', q.v. × N **śi,?* ∇ 'to roast, to fry, to cook'): T **sił* ~ **śił* 'spit, sharp stick' > OT *síš* 'spit for roasting, fork, spike', Tk *śiś* 'spit, skewer, knitting needle', Az *śiš*, Kr *śiš* ≈ sis 'spit', Qrg *śiš* 'spit, sharp stick' || Chv *шэл* *šył* 'tooth' ¶ Chv *ś-* < pT **s-* due to the palatalizing infl. of pre-T **i* (before the change **i* > **I* due to vw. harmony) ¶ S AJ 192, Rs. W 42, Jeg. 332, Jud. 909, KRPS 476, 646 || Tg **sila-pun* 'spit (for roasting)' > Ewk *silawun*, Lm *hılawun*, Neg *sılawun*, Orc *silō(n-)*, *silazu(n-)*, Ud *silou(n-)*, Ul, Ork *sılopu(n-)*, Nn Nh *sıłō*, Nn KU *sılaō*, Nn B *silfo(n-)*, WrMc *śolon* id.; **sila-* v. 'roast on a spit' (× N **śi,?* ∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ STM II 82, Krm. 285 || pKo {S} **sár* 'arrow,

sting' > MKo sár, NKO sal **J** S QK #162, S AJ 257, MLC 895 || pJ {S} *sásì 'sharp stick' > OJ sasi, J T saší id.; *sás- v. 'prick' > OJ sas-, J: T/K sás-, Kg sás- **J** S AJ 271-2, S QJ #191, Mr. 748 || M *silb|müyü-sün 'needle of a conifer' > WrM silbüüsün ~ silmögüsün, HlM шилмүүс id., WrO {Krg.} šilbusün, Kl шилвсн 'tree neddle(s)' **J** MED 705, 707, Krg. 447, KRS 672 **J** ≈ S AJ 288 [#282] and DQA #2097 (> T, Tg, Ko, J) || **D** *číke]- ({§GS} *s-?) 'twig, rod' > Kt če] 'in long round stick', Kn selę 'twig, small branch, stick', callu, celu, cellu, sellu 'long flexible twig\rod', Kdg žale 'long thin pliable stick', Tu cilæ, silæ 'fishing rod', Tl selæ 'twig' **J** D #2790 || **HS:** DEg šlh 'Sproß, Zweig' **J** Er. 520 || Ch: ? Hs sàrfā 'stalk', ?? Hs šállà 'the reed guaranya', 'flowering spikes of the reed guaranya' (x N *šat'a' 'willow') ◇ A *-i- (for the expected *e) may be due to contamination with N *ščiŋlŋyâ and *šiŋlŋ.

2203. *š'añā 'word; say' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'think') > **U:** FU (att. in BF) *šš|šsaNa 'word' > F sana, Krl A sana ~ šana, Krl Ld, Vp sana, Es sõna, Δ sana, Lv sənà, Lv W sinà ~ sünà id.; → F sanoa, Es sõna-ma, Vp sanu-da 'to say' **J** SK 964-5, ZM 496, Kt. 360 || **A:** M *sana- v. 'say, think' > MM [HI] {Ms.} sana- 'calculer', WrM, WrO sana-, HlM сана-, Kl сан-, Brt hана-, Dg, Dx, Mnr H {SM} sana- 'say'; MM [HI] {Ms.} sana- 'calculer' may have been influenced by Chn M suan⁴ ({Kg.} suan') 'calculate' **J** Ms. H 93, Pp. IM 164, MED 668, Kow. 1281, Krg. 384, KRS 441, SM 323, T 357, T DnJ 133, T DgJ 161, Kg. AD #825 || **HS:** WCh: Bd {Sch.} zénán 'speak', ? Ngz {Sch.} zénz̄n 'riddle, tale' **J** ChL I 260 [#373], Sch. DN 181 || Eg fMK šny v. 'question, inquire into, say, think' > DEg šn 'ask (a question)' > Cpt: Sd ʃinē šine, B ʃini šini 'demander, interroger'; Eg fMd šny 'beschwören, besprechen', šnt '≈ Beschwörung' **J** Eg šny belongs here unless it is a sd. from šny 'turn around' (as suggested by Vc.) **J** EG IV 495-6, Fk. 268, Vc. 265-6, Crn. 246 || ? EC: amb Or sēnā 'memory' (unless derived from sēn- v. 'enter' or belongs to N *cuŋŋv 'know' [q.v.]) **J** Grg. 354, Brl. 371 (Or sena 'ricordo, memoria') **J** Not here Ag: Bln {R} sənā 'fable', Km {CR} sən-iž- 'tell a fable' (adduced by IS [IS MS 339]), because it is a sd. from sənā 'as, like', cp. Ar maθal- 'proverb, parable' ← maθal- 'similar' < S *ma'θa1- id. ◇ The semantic change from 'say' to 'think' is typologically justified (≡σ: Hb way'yōmer bəlib'bō 'and he thought', lit. 'and he said in his heart') ◇ IS MS 339 (*sənā 'think'; U, M + *÷ [with

a query] Ag) ◇ If the Eg word belongs here, the N etymon is ***šańa**, otherwise it is ***s|šańa**.

2204. UA ₂ ***šæHn̄v** 'mushroom, fungus, sponge (Schwamm)' > **U:** FU ***šēlāne** id. > F **sieni**, Es **seen** id. | pLp {Lr.} ***čānā** > Lp: S {Hs.} **tjaanaa** 'tinder-fungus', Vfs {Lgc.} **čān·a** 'frischer Feuerschwamm, Holzknoten, Höcker', L {LLO} **tjatnā**, N {N} **čadna** / -ān- 'tinder-fungus on birch-trees', Kld {TI} **čānnā** 'Baumschwamm, Birkenlöcherschwamm' | pChr {Ber.} ***šin** 'fungus on trees, tinder' > Chr: L **шен** **šen** id., 'tinder-fungus' | Vt **сеньки** **šeńki** 'tinder', Vt: G/Sr **šeńki**, Sr **senkt**, Kz **senka**, **senkъ**, **šenkъ** id., 'tinder-fungus' || ObU ***šīn̄v** 'fungus on trees (Baumschwamm)' > pVg {Ht.} ***šīnəꝝ** id. > Vg: T **šīnəw**, LK **šēnī**, MK **senī**, P **šēniꝝ**, NV/SV **šēni**, O **sēniꝝ** id.; pOs {Ht.} **sāńəꝝ** > Os: V/Vy **sāńəꝝ**, Ty **sāńəꝝ**, Y **sāńəꝝ**, O **sāń**, D **sāńa**, Nz **sāńa**, Kz **sāń** 'fungus on birches and other trees (used as tinder and for other purposes)' ('березовая чага, трутник') ¶ UEW 494-5, Coll. 113, Db. OS xiii, Sm. 548 (FU ***še/ānā** 'fungus' > FP ***šänā**, Ugr ***senā**), Lr. #119, Lgc. #515, Lgc. SL #2821, Hs. 1293, TI 646, Ber. 6O, MRS 7OO, 7O6, Ü 261, UZS 386, Ht. #596, Trj. S 416, Stn. D 1345 || **A:** Tg: WrMc **sence** 'mushroom', **sanca** {Z} 'іудино ухо' ('= edible mushroom [under oak-trees and birches])', {Hr.} 'eßbarer Baumschwamm' ¶ STM II 61, 143, Z 555, 576, Hr. 765, 781.

2205. ***šE'y'ontU** 'finger(s), fist' > **HS:** S *^o✓**šntr** > Ar **šuntar-at-** ~ **šantar-at-** 'finger', OYmn **شتر** **šntr** (= OAr Y ***šantar-** or Hmr ***šntr**) 'finger' ¶ BK I 1275, Slw. 125-6 || WCh: ? Ngz {Sch.} **má-sāyđ-ák** 'forefinger', **sāyđú** v. 'wipe around inside of food bowl with curved forefinger to get what remains' ¶ Sch. DN 111, 145 || **A:** AmTg ***seantu** 'fist' > Orc **sāantu** ~ **säntu** 'fist (clenched for striking)', Ud **santu**, U1 **sāntu**, Ork **sēttu**, Nn Nh **sianto** **š**-v, Nn B **sānto** 'fist' ¶ STM II 69 || **D** (in SD) ***čōńt-** / ***čōt̄t-** ({**GS**} s-) 'strike with knuckles of the fingers' > Tm **cōt̄tu**, Tu **sōn̄tunī** id., Ml **cōt̄tu** 'a slap on the head', **cōt̄tuka-** v. 'rap with the knuckles', ?φ Kn **sōne** 'strike with the fingers' ¶ D #2836 ◇ ADb. SR-D 449, ADb. MES 32 [#29] (Tg, D).

2206. ***šün̄zv** 'milk; to suck(le)' > **K** {FS} ***šže**, {K, K²} *(**s**)**že**- 'milk' > OG **sʒe-**, G **rʒe-**, Δ **rze-** **že-**, Mg **bža-**, Lz **bža-** ~ **mža-** ~ **mža-**, Sv UB/LB/Ln **la,že** id. ¶ K 172 and K² 177-8 (*(**s**)**že**), FS K 288-9, TK 543, GP 2O8 ¶ If FS's rec. of ***š-** is right, K ***š-** (rather than the

expected *s-) is due to as. (**s̥e > *s̥e) || ? HS: amb Eg fP šdū v. 'suckle' (\times N *süt₁y₁Δ ~ *sü₁y₁tΔ 'to drink, to suck [milk]; milk' \times N *čayΔd₁Δ₂y₁Δ 'female breast' [q.v.]?) ¶ EG IV 564-5, Fk. 273-4, Tk. I 314 ¶ If Eg šdū goes back to N *šün₁zΔ, this is one of the cases of N *z yielding Eg d (F Tk. I) || u *šünćä 'breast' > FU *š|šünćä > Hg szűgy 'breast (of a horse, of a human being)', ? szegy, szegy 'breast (of a bovine)' || ? F sisä- 'inner, inside', Es sis i 'inside' || Sm {AD} *šüns₁, {Hl.} *šüns₁ 'breast' > Ng {Mik.} šííša, {Cs.} sinša, En: X {Cs.} šuđo, En B {Cs.} šuđo id.; ? Ne T сюнз, Ne O {Lh.} šunc 'jüngstes liebstes Kind' | Mt {Hl.} *künžü 'breast' (Mt: T {Adl., Mll.} kúnschum 'my breast', M {Mll.} kündschu, K {Mll.} gúnschu 'pectus', K {Pl.} gúndjude 'breast') ¶ UEW 48O, Coll. CG 402, Sm. 54O (U *šünši/ä, FU, FP *šünšä, Ugr *šünćä, Sm *šüns₁), Jn. 144, Hl. MTKV 15 [#84], 88 [#391], Hl. M #595, Lh. 455 ¶ According to Hl. M 79, Mt k- goes back to Sm *s-; but the earlier hyp. (Ps., Coll., IS, AD) about Mt k- from U *š- (= *š- of Coll.'s notation) is typologically preferable (cp. *š > ū in Daghestanian lgs.); cp. Mt keye 'heart' < U *ššüže 'heart' < N *šüžiA id. (U *š- may have been either original or resulting from as. [*š...ž > *š...ž]); the only serious counter-example is Mt key?be ~ ? key?bü 'seven' going back to a supposed pS {Jn.} *seyt³we of Iranian origin; but borrowing from Indo-Iranian sources may have been accompanied by secondary lateralization, like in FU *šata 'hundred' from IIr *šatam; other supposed counter-examples (mentioned in Hl. M 79) are not valid because in those roots we cannot distinguish between U *š- and *š-; besides, Mt kundähä 'black' may be not a derivative from Sm *suntΔ (as supposed in Hl. M), but rather go back to Sm *kümt₁ 'smoke' || A: M *sün 'milk' (\times N *süt₁y₁Δ ~ *sü₁y₁tΔ 'to drink, to suck [milk]; milk' [if M *sün is a bf. from *süd, as supposed by Dr.]) > MM [L, IM, IsV] sün, [S] šur 'milk', [MA] sün id., sü (in sü kökekü šidün 'milk-teeth'), WrM sün, HIM cyy sü, sün-, Dgr {Pp.} sú:, Mnr N {SM} sun, MMgl, Mgl sún ¶ Dr. TM III 58, MED 744, Iw. 133, T 361, SM 36O, Pp. MA 328-9, 447 ¶ The phonetic prehistory of M *sün may be assumed as follows: N *šün₁zΔ > *šünyΔ (if pre-M *y is a reg. reflex of N *z) > *sün (with compensatory lengthening) > M *sün ◇ One can consider adducing D *neńč- 'chest, heart' > Ml neńču, neńňu id., Tm nenču, nenčam id., 'mind', Kt nanž 'heart', Td n̤ž id., 'dewlap', Kdg neńní, néńní, Knd ninžam, Png nenžom 'chest', Prj dińní, Png nenža

'pith', Kui *ninža* 'heart of a tree, pith', Ku *linža* 'kernel, yolk of egg', ? Krx *nisanq* 'core or hard wood of a tree' ¶ Cf. D #3736. Does Ku *linža* preserve the ancient **l*- (< N **z̥*-) before it changed (like any other **l*-) to D **n*-? But D **neńč-* as a cognate is highly qu. for phonetic reasons. It can be tentatively accepted if we suppose a voiced N **z̥*- . But even in such a case the D vw. **e* is not explained ◇ If Eg *šdū* belongs here, the N initial cns. must have been **š̥-*. Otherwise it may have been either **š̥-* or **š̥-* ◇ Eg *š-* and Sm **š̥-* (> Mt *k-*) (if valid) suggest a pN **š̥-*.

2207. (2?) **šoŋ?* **▽** 'to wish' (→ 'to love', 'to wish evil to so.', 'to strive' [→ 'to reach']) > **HS:** WS **v̥ ſn?* v. 'hate' > BHb *שָׁנָא* *v̥ ſn?* G , Ug *v̥ ſn?* G , IA [Eleph.] *שָׁנָא* *v̥ ſn?*, JA [Trg.], JEA *שָׁנָא* *v̥ ſn?* ~ *v̥ ſny* G (pf. *שָׁנְתָה* *ſa'ne* ~ *שָׁנְתִי* *ſa'nī*), Sr *v̥ ſny* G (pf. *שָׁנְתָה* *ſa'ne*), SmA {Tal} *v̥ ſny*, Md *v̥ ſn?*, Ar *v̥ ſn?* G 'hate', WS **šāni?-prtc.* G 'enemy' > BHb *שָׁנָא* *ſō'ne*, Ug *ſn?*, SmA *ſn*, Sr *šāni* *ſa'ne* 'enemy', OCn (AkSc) *šunū* 'Hasser', M'b *šnāy* 'my enemies', Sb *an_ ſn?* '(personal) enemy, ill-wisher'; JA [Trg.] *שָׁנָה* *ſan'?* 'hater, enemy', *שָׁנָא* *ſa'ne* 'hatred, hostility' ¶ KB 1247-8, KBR 1338-4O, OLS 446-7, Lv. III 55O, 556, Lv. T II 174, Sl. 1OO6-7, Sok. 384, Br. 483, Tal 599-6OO, BK I 1274, BGMR 133 || Om (× N **šaŋg* **▽** 'to wish, to like, to love'): NrOm: Kf {C} *šun-*/*šunn-* v. 'love, prefer, want', Mch {L} *šunni(yé)* v. 'love', *šu'n-aččo* 'intimate friend', Shn {Lm.} *šún-* 'lieben, wünschen, wollen', Anf {C, Lm.} *šun-*, Ym {Wdk.} *šunà*, Bnc {Wdk.} *šún* v. 'love' || ? SOm: Ari G {Fl.} *šolim* 'love' (Fl.: Ari G l and n vary as allophones) ¶ AD SF 115, C SE IV 498, LM 51, Lm. Sh 377, Wdk. BY 111, 135, Fl. OO 319 || **U:** FU (in FP only) **š|šoŋe-* v. 'desire, want' > BF (× N **zəŋX* **▽** 'to want, to wish'): Es *ſoovi-* v. 'wish, want', F *ſuo-* 'not (be)grudge, allow, wish', Vo *ſōvi-* v. 'hope, wish' | Prm: Z *си-ны* *ſi-(n̤)* v. 'wish', Z I *ſi-* v. 'be jealous' ¶ But ObU **θōŋk-* (~ **θăŋkā-?*) v. 'want' goes back to FU **soŋe-* id. < N **zəŋX* **↑** ¶ UEW 775-6, LG 256 ¶ UEW 447, 775-6, Ht. #146, LG 256 || ?σ **A** (× N **šaŋg* **▽** 'to wish, to like, to love'): Tg **saŋg-* 'gloat over another's misfortune', pKo {S} **saj'ó-* 'be jealous', pJ {S} **sənja-m-* v. 'grudge, envy' (ffd. see N **šaŋg* **▽**) ◇ But IE **senX-* v. 'strive, reach' (> Ht {Ts.} *ſanh-* id.) cannot belong here, because Ht h (< IE **X*) does not correspond to S *?. IE **senX-* is more likely to go back to N **zEŋq* **▽** 'seek, try to obtain' (q.v. ffd.).

2208. ₂ *²sa|oŋ̚ ɿ́v̚ '≈ run, jump, climb' > **HS:** WS *✓ ſn̚ > Ar ✓ šn̚ D 'être rapide, véloce, se dépêcher, accélérer', Sh (pf. ꙗašnařa) 'être rapide dans sa marche', Mh, Hrs, Jb ✓ ſn̚ (Mh pf. ſūna, sbjn. yz̚ ſn̚, Jb E/C 'ſinař 'stand on the hind-legs with the forelegs on a tree' [of animals], Jb C 'ſotnař v. 'climb and play around; jump', z̚ ſtɔn̚ v. 'jump', Hrs ſōna v. [pf.] 'stand on the hind legs [to feed]') ¶ BK I 1276, Hv. 379, Jo. J 253, Jo. M 38O-1, Jo. H 12O || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) *ſa|oŋ̚ v. 'run, jump' (×N *čaŋ̚U 'jump, skip') > Hg száguld- v. 'move\run at top speed, rush' | pObU *ſūŋ̚w-> pOs *ſayal-/*ſiyal- v. 'gallop' > Os Ty/Y ſåyød-, D saxit-, Kz ſíxød- id., pOs *ſuyam- 'Sprung' > Os: Ty ſuyam, Y ſuwam, D/O ſoxam, Nz ſuxam, Kz ſw̚ xam id.; pVg *ſūm- v. 'gallop' > Vg: T ſōm, LK/P ſūm-, MK/UK ſūm- id., pVg *ſūlənt- id. > Vg P ſūlənt-, UL ſūlint- ¶ UEW 89O, Ht. #579, MN 559-6O || ? *AdS* of **D** *č|kaŋ̚k-, {GS} *čaŋ̚- v. 'jump, climb' (< N *čaŋ̚U '↑', q.v. ffd.).

2209. ₂ *ſ̚r̚aŋ̚ŋ̚č̚ ɿ́v̚ 'bark, skin' (→ 'vessel') > **HS:** CS *°✓ čançin- ~ *činn- > BHb תְּנִצְנָת čin'čenet, SmHb ſān'sēnet '(ε) container' (this semantic interpretation is confirmed by early translations: [LXX] στάμνος 'jar', [Trg.] cəlō'hīt 'flask', L [Vulg.] vas 'vessel', Sr [Psh.] k̚es'tā 'pot' or 'basket (?)', JA {Lv.} נִנְאָצֵנָה čin'n-ā 'basket, plaited container', {Js.} 'basket of palm leaves', JEA אַנְגָּז čan'n-ā ~ אַנְגָּז san'n-ā 'basket', SmA ſ̚nw 'jar', Ar ſinn- 'basket for bread' ¶ KB 973, KBR 1039-4O, Js. 1277, 129O, Lv. IV 2O2, Sl. 967-8, Tal 736, BK I 1373-4 ¶ The unexpected S *č- is probably due to as. (infl. of N *-č̚-) || **U:** FU (att. in ObU) *°š̚r̚a:ŋ̚ ɿ́v̚ 'birch bark' > pVg *ſāš id. > Vg: T ſāš, LK/NV ſōš, MK/UK ſōš, P/SV/LL ſōš, LL/Ss ſāš; pOs *ſińč id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty ſińč, D/K ſeńč, Nz/Kz ſeś, O ſiś ¶ Ht. #597 ◇ It is tempting to adduce here Eg N ſny 'ε vessel' (EG IV 5O3) and the qu. pC ✓ {E} *ſāŋ̚ 'water pot' (> Ya ſānya id., SC {E} *ſa:ŋ̚ or *ſa:ŋ̚ng id. > Irq {MQK} iſāŋgi [{E} iſangij] 'half-calabash bowl'; SC → Bantu lgs.: Mb {E} ſangé 'water pot', Pare ſangū, Luyia {E} *-ſiongo- id. [E PC #472, E SC 179]), but the absence of reflexes of the third cns. (N *č̚) makes such a comparison too uncertain.

2210. *ſ̚äŋ̚ka '≈ bough, inedible (or less valuable) parts of plants (straw, rind of fruit)' > **U:** FU (att. in FV) *ſ̚šäŋke (or *ſäŋke) 'stalks, dry twigs\boughs' > F ſänki (gen. ſängen) 'stubble' | pChr {Ber.} *ſeŋg̚b (= {JBer.} *ſeŋg̚ə) > Chr: H {Wc.} ſäŋya 'dürrer Ast', {MarS}

шәнгы 'šäŋγъ 'dry brushwood, fallen twigs\branches (сухой хворост, валежник)', пу-шәнгы pu-'šäŋγъ, L пу-шенге pu-'šeŋγe 'tree(s)', Uf/M/B pu-šeŋγe id. (pu 'tree') || Some scholars (Setälä, Wk., Stn.) adduce here Lp N {Fri.} sagge 'paxillus, acus reticularia' and Lp K {Gn.} saŋke 'Pflock', but UEW rejects it on semantic reasons; without the Lp word the FU initial cns. may be reconstructed not only as *s- (as in UEW), but also (even more plausibly due to Chr E š-) as *š|š- || UEW 756 (*säŋke), It. #267, SK 1167-8, Gn. 957, Stn. FUV 42, Ber. 6O [#313], MRS 474, 697, Ps. OT 12O || IE: NaIE *sonko- (or *songh0-) 'sheaf of ears, straw, chaff' (× N *žen̥D 'ear of cereal, head of a plant', q.v. ffd.) > Arm բնգստ 'chaff, straw; grain, corn; legume' || MHG, MLG sange 'sheaf of corn, manipulus', eNHG, NGr Δ Sange, Sangel, NE Δ sangle 'sheaf of corn', NLG † sangeln 'kleine Büsche mit Erdfrüchten' || Gk ἄχυρα pl. 'chaff, husks, bran' || WP II 51O, OsS 743, Lx. 176, Paul 493, FI 2O3-4 || D *čekkaŋkk-(ay) 'rind of fruit and other useless parts of plants' (× N ?σ *šan̥Ka 'stalks, branches'?) > Tm cakkai 'refuse as of sugar-cane after pressing, rind of fibrous parts of fruits, bark', Ml cakka 'rind of a fruit', Tl cekka 'oil-cake refuse after pressing oil' || D *-ŋkk- > -kk-, acc. to the theory of KR || D #2276, An. SG 137, KR 14-69 || HS: ?σ S *°✓šn̥k > Ar شنیق šan̥iq- 'piece of wood for raising honey-comb' || BK I 1278, Hv. 379 || ?σ Eg MK šn.w 'grass as fodder for cattle' || EG IV 5O2 and VI 71 ◇ If Eg šn.w and Ar šan̥iq- belong here (in spite of semantic difficulties and the absence of k in Eg), the initial N cns. is *š, otherwise it may be either *š|š- or *s- (*s- is less probable in view of pChr *š- [that usually goes back to FU *š, *š, or *š-]).

2211. *šap̥D (or *šop̥D?) 'to sew (leather); leather' > HS: WS *✓špy|w v. 'sew (leather)' > Mh šz̥fū, Jb 'šfe id., Mh mž̥ſtīw, Jb mž̥ſfe? 'nail for sewing leather bags', Ar شفے | ſišfā (✓šfy) 'awl' || Jo. M 374, Jo J 247, Fr. II 436, Hv. 371, LG 49O || CCh: Glv šap̥t-/šapu, Nkc šap̥an̥šapa v. 'sew' || ChL s.v. || U: FU *šopa 'shirt, garment' ('ein hemdartiges Kleidungsstück') > F sop̥a 'shirt, garment', Es soba 'Shawl, wollene Weiberdecke, Regendecke', Vp soba 'clothes' || pVg *šūʃūp̥ 'shirt' > Vg: T šop̥, ML šup̥, Ss sup̥ || SK 1O72-3, W EDW 1O7O, MK 578, ZM 516 || A: M: WrM sabkin, HlM савхин 'dressed skin, leather' || MED 653 || Tg *sobgu (~*sobgo) 'fish-skin used as leather' >

Neg sobgu id., Ewk subgu, accus. subgu-w3 'fish-skin', Orc subbu, Ud, Ul sugbu, Ork subgu ~ sugbu, Nn sobgo ~ sogbo id., Orc subbu-ma, Ul sugbu-m3, Nn sogbo-ma 'made of fish-skin' ¶ STM II 116, Vas. 365, 373

◇ The rec. ***šap**Δ means that the M vw. *a is original, while the labialized vw. in FU and Tg is due to the assimilating infl. of the adjacent labial cns. *b. An alt. solution is to reconstruct N ***šop**Δ, but in this case the M vw. *a remains unexplained.

2212. *šapE_hŋΔ '≈ log, trunk of a tree' > **I**E: NaIE *sp̥hēn- {P} 'long flat piece of wood' > Gk σφήν 'wedge', [Hs.] σφάντων· κλινέδων 'couch, bed' || Gmc *spēnu-s > OHG, MHG spān, NHG Span, AS spōn, Sw, Dn spān 'chip, shaving of wood', ON spánn, spónn id., 'shingle, wooden disk', NE spoon || OIr sonn 'staff; support', W ffon 'staff' ¶ EI 431 (IE *sp̥hēn- 'flat-shaped piece of wood'), F II 83O-1, WH I 318, Frn. 875, Vr. 532, Ho. 311, Kb. 929, OsS 853, KM 726, 728 || **H**S: CS *šapīn-at- 'boat' > IA spynh 'boat', JA [Trg.] סָפִינָה səpīnā, סָפִינְתָּא səpīn'tā {Lv.} 'ship', {Js.} 'freight-ship', JEA סָפִינְתָּא səpīn'tā 'boat, ship', Sr **סָפִינְתָּא** səpīn'tā, Md spinta, BHb [Jona 1.5] סָפִינָה səpīnā 'ship'; Aram → Ak NB/NA sapīn(n)atu 'ship', Ar safīnat- {Ln.} 'ship, boat' ¶ HJ 797, KB 721-2, Lv. T II 18O-1, Js. 1013, Sl. 825, Br. 49O-1, DM 334, BH II 61O-1, Frnk. 21, CAD XV 164, Ln. 1375 ¶ An alt. CS reconstruction of *s- of the initial cns. is less likely because S *s- goes back to an affricate and cannot be related to FU *š|š- and A *s- || **U**: [1] FU *š|šawŋja 'pole' > F sauva id., Es †, Δ sau (gen. sau) id. | pLp {Lr.} *čāvŋē 'prop' > Lp: N čaw'għe 'a pole in the roof of a lath gamme (Lappish hut which is not for living in)', A tjaavkng-, I čevnji 'prop' || ObU *š|su:ŋ ({Ht.} *sūŋ) 'staff, stick (Stab)' > pVg *š|sūw id. > Vg (partially in cds.): LK/MK soy, P suy, Ss suw, pOs {Ht.} *sōŋ id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty sōŋ, Y/D/K sōw, Nz/Kz sūw, O suw ¶ UEW 468-9, Lr. #125, Lgc. #49O, N I 376, Ht. #578 ¶ [2] possibly U *š|šaymΔ (if < **šawe|iŋΔ) 'log that is hollowed out, wooden vessel' → 'crib, mortar, boat' > F saima 'big boat with sails', seimi ~ soimi 'manger, crib', Krl: K šoim, Ld sajm3, Vp sojm 'big boat', Es soimi, söime, söim 'crib' | Er šuma, Mk сюма šu'ma, Δ šima 'aus einem Baume aushegauener Trog, trough for feeding animals, колода' | Vt: Sr/Y šumik, Kz šum3k 'small glass, wooden bowl', Y šumik 'a glass, 'wooden bowl for vodka' || Slq: Tm somma 'mortar' ({Hl., Stn.} → Os Vy {Stn.} somma id.), Tz sumä 'bucket' ¶ UEW 456-7, Coll. 114, SSA III

142-3, PI 262, Stn. D 1342-3, KKIH 172 | | A (× N *šubý ∇ 'spike, spear; to pierce' × N *š'ob ∇ , t ∇ [or *s ∇ b ∇ , t ∇] 'stem, piece of wood' × N *šab|pEh'i' 'log, piece of wood?'): Tg *s \bar{o} ;ba > Neg sōwa ~ sōya 'stick used to hang a tea-pot over the fire', sōwalā- ~ sōyalā- 'drive\run a stick into sth.', Nn Nh sōwōča 'landmark, sign' ¶ The vw. *o \bar{u} ; belongs to the heritage of N *š'ob ∇ , t ∇ or *s ∇ b ∇ , t ∇ ¶ STM II 1O3 || pJ {S} *s \bar{a} wu \bar{a} > OJ s \bar{a} w \bar{o} , J: T/Kg saó, K sá \bar{o} 'pole, rod, staff' ¶ S QJ #465, Mr. 518, Kenk. 1576 || ?φ M *si \bar{p} ant ∇ g > WrM sigantag ~ sigantug, HlM шаантаг 'wedge' ¶ MED 699 ¶ The loss of *-ŋ- in Tg and J is still to be explained ¶ ~ DQA #2O63 (A *s \bar{i} ðba 'in stick'; incl. Tg, J) ◇ NaIE *p^h suggests the presence of a N lr.; the only N lr. that may be lost in pS and may cause aspiration in NaIE is *h.

2213. *šuq ∇ 'breathe in, smell sth.' > HS: CS *-šūk- v. 'smell sth.' > Sr ✓ sw \bar{k} G (pf. s \bar{a} k) v. 'take breath, draw breath, inhale, smell, scent', ? Ar ✓ šwq G (ip. ya-šūq-u) v. 'excite so.'s desire in'; CS *šawk- > Sr لفاف sawk-ā 'breathing, breath, nostrils, sense of smell', ? Ar šawq- 'yearning' ¶ Schlt. HWS 24 [#3], Ln. 162O, Hv. 382, JPS 37O || K *°s|šuq- > G suq- 'das Gefühl des Überdrusses bewirken (von allzu fetten Speisen)' ¶ Chx. 1287 || IE: NaIE *swek \bar{k} - v. 'smell of sth., smell sweet' > W chweg, Crn whēk, Br c'hwek 'sweet, pleasant', W chwaeth (< *swekto-) 'taste (Geschmack)' || OHG swehhhan 'to 'smell of sth., to smell foul', with gem.: OHG svecka, svecki 'fragrance', OSx swēc n. 'smell, odour', AS swecc, swæcc id., 'taste'; OSx swékkian 'to stink', AS swæccan ~ swēccan 'to smell (of sth.)' ¶ WP II 521, P 1O43, YGM-1 154, 156, Hm. 131, Kb. 998-9, OsS 9O7, 91O, Ho. S 73, Ho. 331 || U: FU *°ššukk ∇ > ObU *°ššuk v. '≈ sniff' > pVg *suk 'schnupfen' > Vg: LK sōx-, sāx-, MK sok-, UK/SV s \bar{s} k^w-, P/NV suk-, NV suk- ≈ s \bar{t} k^w-, LL sok-, suk-, UL sōx- id., Ss {Stn.} si \bar{x} w- 'schluchzen' ¶ The initial *š- was delateralized either in pU\pFU\pUgr or in Vg probably due to ideophonic associations of the word ¶ Ht. #814, Stn. WV 295, MK 571; Ht. l.c. tried to equate the Vg word with Os V s \bar{t} qəm, Os Vy s \bar{t} q \bar{t} m 'schneuzen', which is untenable because of irreg. sound corrs. between vowels, which prevented Ht. from reconstructng a pObU stem || A: Tg: Ork sukrucči- v. 'smell sth., scent' ¶ STM II122.

2214. *šar ∇ 'to be dry' > HS: S *°✓ ſrry > Ar ✓ šrr ~ ✓ šry 'dry sth. in the sun' ¶ BK I 12O8, 1223, Ln. 1524, Fr. II 4O6, 417, Hv. 358, 363 || Eg fMK w-šr 'dry up', Eg G wšr 'das Trockene, das Dürre', Eg Md s-šr

vt. 'dry, dry up', **s-wšr** 'dörren', {Fk.} vt. 'dry' ¶ EG I 374-5 and IV 76, 295, Fk. 7O, 218, 269 ¶ Cal. 28 || IE: NaIE *k|kse(:)r- '(be) dry', *k|kse(:)r-o- 'dry' > Gk ηρός adj. 'dry', ερόν 'das Trockne' || L **ser**-esc-v. 'get dry', **serēnus** 'dry' (of weather) || Ltv {Turk.} **sēr-t** 'to put (corn) to dry before threshing', **sers** 'corn brought home for drying', ??σ Lt Δ **šāras** 'fodder' ({P} 'dry fodder') || MHG, NGr Δ **serben** vi. 'to dry up, to wither (verdorren, welk werden)', ? OHG **serawēn** 'arescere; dwindle, consume' || ?φ Arm **չնր** č̄nor̄ adj. 'dry', **չիր** č̄hir̄ 'dry fruit' (though Arm č̄- is not regularly from *k|ks-) ¶ *÷ (↔ P) OI **կշարհ** 'caustic', sharp' (actually akin to **կշայատի** 'burns') ¶ WP and P reconstruct IE *č̄- on the highly qu. evidence of Lt **šāras** ¶ WP I 503, P 625, EI 17O (*č̄seh,ro-s), Mn. 571, WH II 52O, F II 335-6, M K II 288, Kb. 844, OsS 756, Frn. 964, Kar. II 173-4, Turk. 599, Ach. V 748-9, Slt. 234, Hü. 485 || U: FU *šar▽ v. 'get dry' > pPrm *šur- v. 'get stale, dry, hard' > Z I **šur-** v. 'get stale, dry', šurem 'stale, dry (ဆာစားသူ)' , Z Ud **šurmēm** id. || pObU *šūr- v. 'get dry' > pVg *šūr, ?*šūr- id. > Vg: ML **šurr-**, N **sūr-** id.; pOs *sar- 'trocknen' > Os: Vy/O **sar-**, D/K **sor-** id. | Hg **szárad-** 'dry (up), become dry, wither', **szárit-** vt. 'dry' ¶ Coll. 117, UEW 466, Sm. 549 (FU *šorā- 'wither, dry' > FP *šora, Ugr *sora-), MF 57O-1, LG 275, Ht. 185 [#605] || D *č̄kar- 'rough of surface, coarse' **Error!**) > Tm **caracara** v. 'be rough of surface', Tu **caratæ** 'what is coarse', Kui **srogū** 'a rough surface' ¶ D #2354.

2215. ² *^{č̄}**ER**▽ 'to roast' > HS: Ch ≈ *sur- 'fry' > WCh: Ang {ChL} **sur**, {Flk.} **sūr** 'fry' | ? Hs **sóyà** id. | BT: Gera {ChL} **súrù-mì**, Ngm {ChL} **sūr**, Krf {Sch.} **šúrú-wò**, ? Pr {Frz.} **čúrò** id. | Tala {ChC} **sure** id. || CCh: Hw {ChL} **sīrāñ**, G'nd {ChL} **sūranži**, Gbn {ChL} **sūrenči**, Bk {ChL} **surađa**, Tr {Nw.} **zurra** id. | Gude {ChL} **sūrtič**, Gudu {ChL} **sīrā** id. || ECh: Mkl {J} **sōriyè** 'griller', {ChC} 'fry' ¶ Nw. #55, J LM 177, ChC, ChL, Flk. s.v. **sūr**, Frz. P 27, ≈ OS #479 || ?φ Eg fP **ššr** 'roast, bake' ¶ EG I 21, Fk. 6 || A: M *sira- > MM [MA, IM, LV] **šira-**, WrM **sira-**, HIM **шара-** 'roast, broil, fry', Mnr H {SM} **širā-**, {T} **širā-**, Dx {T} **šitra-** id., Kl **шара-** 'roast', {Rm.} **šar-χα** 'am Spieße braten' ¶ Pp. MA 335, 447, Pp. L III 6O, MED 714, SM 397, T 383, T DnJ 383, KRS 667, KW 35O || Tg *^{č̄}**ščEre-** > Ewk PT **çɔrɔ-** 'be baked (near the fire)' ¶ STM I 422 || pKo {J} ***sʌr-m-** 'boil (food), cook' > MKo **sʌrm-**, NKo **salm-** sām- ¶ S QK #526, Nam 292, MLC 9O1 ¶ DQA #2683 (A ***šero** 'bake, boil').

2216. ₂ ***śiR** **ń** 'skin (of an animal), rawhide' > **HS:** SS ***śír-** id. > Sq {L} 'śirhi 'skin', Grg Sl {L} sīr, Grg Wl {L} sir 'hide of cattle after the hair has been pulled off' ¶ L LS 433, LEDG III 559, SSL LSNP 1474, MiK I #1.267 || **A:** M *sirin > MM [SH] {H} śiri 'rawhide', WrM siri(n), HlM шир 'skin, rawhide', WrO {Krg.} śiri 'hide, skin', Kl {Rm} śir, śiri 'rawhide, animal's skin, hide' ¶ H 142, MED 717, Krg. 451, KW 359 || ?φ pKo {S} *sárh 'flesh, meat; skin' (× N ***śír'** w **ń** 'shank, flesh\meat of a limb', q.v. ffd.).

2217. ***śūr** **ń** 'a herd\swarm\flock (of wild animals)' > **U:** FU ***śśur** **ń** 'herd' > pLp {Lr.} *cōrək 'herd of reindeer' > Lp: L {LLO} tjārā, Nt {Tl} čōrā id., N {N} čqrâ / -rrâg- 'rather small herd of reindeer' || pOs *sur > Os: V/Vy/D sur 'small herds of wild reindeer and elks' ¶ UEW 491-2, Coll. 75, Lr. #165, Lgc. #653, TI 678, Stn. D 1365-6 || **A:** NaT *sürüg 'herd' > OT surüg 'flock, herd' > Tk sūru, Az, Ggz sūrū 'herd, crowd', Tkm сүрү Büri, MQp [CC] sūrvuv sūrūv, Qmq сирив siriv, QrB сюрюү sūrūw, Nog sūrūv, Tv sūrūg 'herd', Uz suru, suruv, Qq sūriw 'herd of sheep' ¶ ≈ Cl. 850, Rl. IV 815-6, Grøn. 227, RKumS 973 || **HS:** S *°✓ **ś**|swr or *°✓ **ś**|syr (***śūr**- or ***sūr**-) > Md sīra 'flock (of birds), swarm' ¶ DM 329 || **B:** Ah, Ttq a-sāra 'herd of wild animals' ¶ Fc. 1851, Msq. 344 ◇ ≈ IS I #40 (***Cur** **ń** 'herd of wild animals').

2218. (₂?) ***śeř** **a,r** **ń** 'reach, approach, enter' > **HS:** S (CS?) *✓ **śřr** > Ar ✓ **śřr** G 'entrer dans l'eau; entamer\commencer (une affaire); être dirigé droit contre quelqu'un (lance)', ?σ Sr ✓ **śřr** G 'visit, inspect; do, deal, commit' ¶ BK I 1216-7, Br. 488, JPS 384 || **D:** {Em.} *kēr- ([GS] *sēr-) 'reach, arrive, go into' > Ml cēruka 'approach', Kt čēr-, Td sō:r- 'arrive', Kn sēr- 'be(come) close\near, go to, approach, reach, enter', Kdg sēr- vi. 'join', Tu śēru- 'arrive, reach', Tl cēru 'join, approach, reach, arrive at, enter\join as a class', Gdb sēr- v. 'arrange, reach', Gnd B {Tr.} sērāñā 'invade (a country), enter or occupy (a house)', Gnd G/HMS {BB, Lind} here 'near', Knd sērpu 'neighbourhood', Kui serna 'cleave to', Ku herinaj v. 'reach', Krx (past stem) ker- 'go', ?Brh kēb 'nearness, vicinity; near' × D *čār- (or *kār-) 'approach, be united' (F D #2460, Em. DS 361-2) ¶ D #2814, BB CVG #3483, 3585, Em. DS 366, GS 180 [#457], 60 [#177] || ?σ **A:** NaT *sāri 'direction (towards)' > OT {DTS} 'direction' (taŋ sari-qa bardilar 'went in the direction of the dawn', tört sari-qa 'to the four directions [sc. cardinal points]'), {Cl.} sāri 'towards, in the direction of', Chg XV sari

'direction, side', XwT XIII ፩፻፻, MQp [CC] *sari* 'towards', Tkm † ፩፻፻ postp. 'to, towards, in the direction of', Osm {Rh.}, Az, Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} *sari*, Kr ፩፻፻ *sari*, Uz *sari*, Tb {B} *sār* ~ *sāri* id., Qmn {B} *sāri* 'direction, side (сторона)', Xk *sari-* (+ppa.) 'side, direction; on\from the direction of' ¶ DTS 488, Cl. 844, TkR 567, Rh. 1O27, Rl. IV 322, Äz. 258, UzR 356, B DK 244, 246, B DChT 145, BIG 182, ≈ Rs. W 4O3 ◇ D *-r- goes back to the cluster *-Hr- (< N *-፩፻፻).

2220. *שָׁאַפּוֹגְּעַל R^N 'hair' > HS: S *שִׁירָר- ~ *שָׁאַפָּר- 'hair' > BHb שְׁנָר ſe'far, Ug ſar, OCn (EgSSc) ſa-ña-ru, BA cs. שְׁנָר ſe'far, JA {Trg.} ſa'far / em. ſa'ñrā, JEA שְׁנָרָא ſeñrā [ſaſñrā]

(cs. שָׂרָר שְׂרָרָה sařar), SmA սար, Sr չութ սար-ā, Md sara, Ar šařr-~šařar- 'hair', Hrs {Jo.} հօր 'hair, wool', Sq {L, SSL} 'šařrihor pl. 'cheveux'; S singl. *š̥n̥sar-at- 'a hair' > BHb אַרְעָשׁ ſařařā id., Ug šařt 'wool', Ar šař(a)rat- 'a hair', Gz ſařerat 'hair', Ak šařtu ~ ſařratu ~ ſeřtu 'hair, hide', Eb ſa-ra-tum [*šařratum], ſe-ra-du-um [*šeřratum] {Frnz.} 'skin, hide'; Cn → Eg N ſařt pl. 'wool (as merchandise)' > DEg ſařt > Cpt Sd/B **copt** ſort 'wool', Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ſá-řá-rú ({ʃ}Hlk.) ſá-řá-rú 'hair, thicket' ¶ KB 1253-4, 1786, KBR 1344-5, Br. 488, OLS 426-7, Alb. VESO 28, EG II 49, Er. 411, Vc. 197, Lv. T 178, Js. 1010, Lv. III 562, Sl. 1189, Tal 602-3, DM 315, BK I 1237-8, Jo. H 117, L LS 432, SSL LSNP 1472, Sd. 1191-2., Frnz. EL 180, Hlk. #187, SivCR 82, MiK I #1.260 || C: pAg *čagwər 'hair' > Bln ſagwər; Ag → EthS: Gz ſagwər 'hair, fur, feathers', Tgr, Amh čagər, Tgy ſagwri 'hair' | ? pLEC {Bl.} *dogor 'hair' (× N *čukn̥ 'hair', q.v.) > Af dogor, Sa {Wlm.} dagar, Bs ogorro, Dsn {To.} ſūr id., Sml dogor 'fur, animal's coat' || Bj {RHd.} ſurač 'pubic hair' ¶ Bl. 217, AD SF119, HL 65, LG 550, To. DL 496 || NrOm: Mj {Bnd.} ſaru 'hair', Shk {Fl.} ſiaru 'beard' | Shn {Lm.} čirá 'hair; hide (Pelz)', ?? Hrr {Abb.} ſorgē 'crown of head' ¶ Fl. OWL, CR H 661, Lm. Sh 400 || Ch: WCh {Stl., AD} *š̥n̥hṇr 'hair' > Hs {Ba.} ſáři 'long hair on ram's chest', Hs Kc {Ba.} ſířo id., ſúřá 'the growth of hair on the head from its first appearance after the head has been shaved until it is long', Bks ſyah (-h < *-r) 'hair', ?? Hs čořo 'a tuft of hair', ? Ywm turtuk 'hair' || ECh: Skr {Sx.} l̥wṛ, EDng {Fd.} láwà, Mkl {J} láwó 'hair' ¶ ChC, JI II 186-7, Stl. ZCh 201 [#520], Sk. HCD 184, Ba. 930, 943, 958, 962, 1043, Sk. HCD 184 ¶ ≠ OS #107 || **U:** FU (in Ugr only) *šäṛuṛṇ 'hair' > pVg *šäṛr (> *šäṛ in some dialects) > Vg N (M) ſařr, ſařr, ſařr 'horse's hair', Ss ſařer, P ſářr 'Roßhaar', T ſářr id., Pferdeschweif', Yk {Vxr.} ſeřr, ſzvřr 'horse's hair' || OHg szér, Hg ſzōr 'hair' ¶ UEW 886, MF 598-9, MK 510, BV 96 || **A:** M *°ſoyir > WrM ſoir, HlM ſořp 'coarse long hair which projects from the fur' ¶ MED 724 || **D:** (in GnD) *čkōřa 'a hair' > Kui ſořa id., Ku hora 'a single hair of the beard', horaja ~ hōđaŋga 'beard', ? GnD ſorkoo 'man with a beard' ¶ D #2894; D *-ō- < *-aγo- < N *-äγo-? ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#17] (D, HS [Ch, Om, Bj] + Sum ſuřur or ſuřur 'cheveux, Haarschopf') ◇ M *°ſoyir points to pN *šäγouři, Rṇ (with D *-ř- < *-yr- < *-yři, r-) rather than to *šäγorṇ, that does not account for the M cognate.

2221. *^šihr^Δ '≈ gray, bright' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'dark'?) > **HS:** S *^šhr > Ar ^šašāhir- 'couleur blanc de narcisse' ¶ BK I 1282 || ?φ B *^šr > Ah ^šr 'be bright (almost white)', asrir 'blanc; de couleur très claire, presque blanche' ¶ Fc. 1856 || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) *^šir^Δ 'gray' > pVg *^šir-/šir- > Vg: N {Mu.} séri, P šir, K sir 'dusk, twilight, dawn', Ss {BV} сэри-пос 'aurora, заря', Yk {Vxr.} ser-pås, seray-pås id. (пос, пас 'light') | OHg XIV szir ~ zýr 'gray', XVIII szür 'gray, dark, dust (dämmerig)', Hg szür ke 'gray' (-ke is a derivational sx.) ¶ MF 605, EWU 1465, ≈ UEW 36 (adduces Z žor, Z US žor 'gray', and Vt žar 'Morgendämmerung' and reconstructs FU *cer^Δ, which is unt., because FU *č does not regularly yield Hg sz- and Vg *š-; in my view, the Prm root belongs to FU *čsar^Δ 'bright [hell]' < N *ž'a'hr^Δ ~ *ž'a'hr^Δ ~ *z|ž'a'hr^Δ 'shine, be bright') || **D:** *č|čir- ({θGS} *š-) 'dark' > Tm iru 'black', irul 'darkness, dark colour', Ml iru 'be dark', Tl irulu 'darkness', Klm čirum 'very dark', Gdb siriŋ 'black', Prj čiruŋ, Gnd hirkī, Knd siruki, Ku sīnga 'charcoal', Kui srīva 'soot'; (× D *čir- [{θGS} *š-] 'night' < N *ši₁hr^Δ 'late, [in descendant lgs.] → 'evening, night'): Tu irlъ, irlъ 'dusk, darkness, night' ¶ D #2552. The semantic change from 'gray' to 'dusk, dark' is typologically justified (a semantic parallel: OHg) ◇ It is tempting to adduce here M *sira 'yellow', but an internal Altaic comparison suggests a different et. of the M word (F s.v. N ? *'š'EXar^Δ 'bright, daybreak').

2222. (2?) *šiX₁U₂R^Δ 'side, edge' > **HS:** S *^ši¹hr- > Ar šihr-at- bord, rivage, côté (d'un fleuve, de la mer, d'une vallée) {Hv.} 'narrow margin of a river, a valley', {BK} ? šahr- 'Chahr, littoral entre l'Oman et l'Aden', (?) 'intérieur, milieu d'une valée' ¶ BK I 1197, Hv. 354 || B: Ah {Fc.} sər 'du côté de; vers', ETwl/Ty {GhA} sər 'vers, en direction de' ¶ Fc. 1851, GhA 177 || **U:** [1] FU (att. in FV) *šiře 'side, edge' > FΔ siiri (gen. siiren) 'Seite, Rand, Kante', Krl A sīri-či, Krl Ld šīri-či ~ sīriči, Vp sīriči '(passing) by, vorbei' | pMr {Ker.} *šiřa 'side, edge' > Er чире čiře, Er Kd/Kl/Vck šiře, Mk шире šiřa, Δ šiřä ¶ UEW 774, Ker. II 157-8, SK 1O18 || [2] FP *šišury^A 'edge, side' > F syrjä 'edge, border, side' | Chr H/Uf/M/B šör 'edge, rib (not a bone), verge', Chr L шöр šör id. ('край, ребро, грань') || pPrm *šür- 'place outside (the object), edge, border' > Z Ud šzr 'place behind (sth.)', Vt šzr in šilšzr 'back of the head' ¶ It. #425, SK 1148, LG 27O, 275, UZS 389, MRS 724, Ü 27O, ≈ UEW 779-8O (FV *šüryä without taking into account Prm) || **A:** Tg: ?

Ewk Uc sirkun 'cape' ¶ STM II 95 ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA #52 (suggested to equate U *śüryä with Tg; adduced the EC, T, K, and D reflexes of N *^rś¹Er¹r¹ 'back [dos], nape of neck', N *śaR¹ 'top, hill', and N *čor¹ 'tip, top, edge'; err.: N *Sir(y)u ~ *Süryä '[top of] hill, mountain') ◇ RP *ś|śüry¹A¹ suggests pN *śiXUR¹.

2223. *śērw¹ 'insert, thrust in, stop up' > **HS:** Eg MK {Fk.} šr v. 'stop up, block', {EG} šrw.t 'Verstopfung' ¶ EG IV 528, Fk. 27O || **D** *ker- (+ sxs. *-uk-, *-ukk-, *-ut-, etc.) v. 'stop up, thrust, plug, dam'] > SD, SCD *cer- (× N *čERH₂ [= *čEr¹V?] 'to stick in, to gouge, to chisel' × N *č¹i¹gR¹ [~ *č¹i¹R¹g¹V?] 'to stop up, to thrust, to plug, to dam?') > Tm ceruku v. 'insert, slide into', Ml cerutuka v. 'shove in, put in, insert', Kn serku, sekku 'shove in, put in, insert, tuck (the end of the garment) into another (part of the garment)', Tl cekku v. 'set (as a precious stone), thrust, tuck up', ceruvuu v. 'insert, stick in', Gnd harž- vt. 'fix, fit in' || NED: Krx ḫerr- 'introduce lengthwise by gradual pushing, insert, stick into or behind', Mlt qere v. 'thrust in, tuck in', {Hahn} kherr- v. 'pocket, put in' ¶ D #2778, Km. 36O, #469, ≠ #454, Em. DS 365-6 || **A:** Tg: Ewk sirbərz- 'drive in (a nail)' ¶ STM II 95 ◇ This is the only unambiguous case of N *ś- yielding D *k-. Cf. D {Em.} *ker- ([GS] *sēr-) 'reach, arrive, go into' < N *šeřar¹ 'reach, approach, enter'.

2224. *ś¹o¹rUb¹ 'to drink, to gulp, to sup, to suck' > **IE** *serbh- / *sorbh- / *sr̥bh- v. 'sip, sup, drink' > Arm արբենամ arbenam 'I drink (alcoholic drinks)' / aor. արբի arbi (< *sr̥bh-) || Gk ῥοφέω, Gk I ῥυφέω 'I sup greedily up, I gulp down', Gk ῥόφυμα, Gk I ῥυφημα {LS} 'that which is supped up, thick gruel \ porridge', {Ch.} 'plat que l'on avale, soupe épaisse' || pAl {O} *serba- > Al gjerb- v. 'sip' || L sorbeō / -ēre 'suck in, drink down, swallow' || Lt sr̥bti / prs. srebiū v. 'sup', surbt / surbiū v. 'suck, sup', Ltv surbt / surbju v. 'sup' || Sl *srb- ~ *srb- ~ *serb- v. 'sup' > OCS сръбати sr̥bati, OR срєбати serebati, R Δсер'бать & 'сёрбать, Blr сер'баць, Uk сер'бати, Slv srébati, Cz střebati, Slk strebat', P sarbać, serbać 'to sup', Blg 'сърбам' I sup' || ?? o Gmc: NGr Δ surpfen & surp(f)en 'to sip', Sw † (early XIX c.) surpa i sig, MHG sur(p)feln, Sw sörla 'to sip', as well as MLG, MDt, Dt slorpen, Dt slurpen, NHG schlürfen 'to sip; to eat\drink noisily', NE r slurp 'eat greedily\noisily', NE Δ, NE Sc slorp 'drink\eat\sup

greedily\noisily' ({KM}: -l- due to the infl. of the Gmc √ represented in MLG *slacken*, MDt, Dt *slokken*, NHG *schlucken* 'to swallow') || Psh رودل raw-'^{dʒ}l ~ r^w-'^{dʒ}l (prs. رُوْدَى r^w'wi) 'to suck breast' || Ht *sarap-* / *sarep-* v. 'sip (nippen)' ¶ P 1001, EI 175 (**srebh-* / prs. *'*srobhej* 'gulp, ingest noisily'), F II 663, Ch. 978, Slt. 240, O 132-3, Vs. III 604, Hlq. 1154, Vr. N 654, Lx. 219, KM 659-60, OED IX 233, 250, Asl. 455, Mrg. 65, Ts. W 71 || HS: S *✓ *šrb* 'drink' > Ar ✓ *šrb* G 'drink, suck', Gz ✓ *šrb* G 'drink, absorb, sip', JA שְׁרֵפָה ✓ שְׁרֵפָה (=✓ *srp*) G {Lv.} 'einschlürfen, Flüssigkeit an sich ziehen', MHb שְׁרֵפָה ✓ שְׁרֵפָה (=✓ *srp*) G {Lv.} id., 'drink', JEA שְׁרֵפָה ✓ שְׁרֵפָה (=✓ *srp*) {Sl.} 'gulp down, consume, quaff', Sr ✓ *srp* G 'sup up, swallow up, absorb', *sar'bā* 'syrop', Md ✓ *srp* G 'swallow, gulp down', Ar (↔ Aram) ✓ *srp* G 'donner trop de lait à son enfant, le nourrir de lait à l'excès', Ak YB (↔ Aram) *sarāpu* v. {CAD} 'sip (?)', {Sd.} '≈ einsaugen' ¶ The devoicing *b > p in Aram (↔ MHb, Ak YB, Ar) (just as other cases of the variation *b ~ *p in S) is still to be explained ¶ LG 533, Lv. IV 613, Js. 1632-3, Sl. 1190, BK I 1083, 1209-10, Hv. 318, 358, Br. 496, 500-1, JPS 389, 392, DM 338, CAD XV 172, Sd. 1028 || A: M **soru-* 'suck (in)' > WrM *soru-*, HlM *copo-x*, Brt *hopo-xo* v. 'suck in, draw in, imbibe', WrO {Krg.} *sor-* 'suck' ~ *suru-* 'imbibe, draw into oneself', Kl *cop-x* 'suck, draw (a liquid) into oneself', {Rm.} *sor-xə* 'aufsaugen, einschlürfen', ?? Dg {Mr.} *sorete-*, {T} *sorto-* 'get drunk', {Mr.} *soretō*, {T} *sortō* 'a drunk; drunk' ¶ MED 729-30, Gl. II 438, Kow. 1413, Chr. 685, Krg. 412, 422, KRS 455-6, KW 332, Mr. D 212, T DgJ 164 || NaT **sōr(u)-* 'suck' > OT [MK] *sōr-* (aor. *sōru-τ*) 'suck (sth.), suck up\out', XwT XIV, Chg XV *sor-*, MQp XIII *šor-*, Tki {Cl.} *šora-*~*šori-*, Tkm *cop-*^{θōr-} (not *šōr-*, as in Cl. 843), OOsm XIV *sor-* 'suck', Tk † *sor-* (aor. *sorur*), Az, Qrg, QK/Tlt/Shor/Kü {Rl.}, Xk *sor-*, Uz *cyp-* *swr-*, Alt {BT} *sōr-*, *soru-* 'suck, suck out', Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq *sor-*, Uz *cyp-* *swr-*, Bsh *hyp-* *hōr-* id., 'extract (liquid)', ET *šori-* id., 'drink (off)' ('Выпить'), ET Δ {Jr.} *šora-* v. 'suck' ¶ A long *-ō- is due to complementary lengthening (*-orob- > *-orw- > *-ōr-) or to (reg.?) vowel lengthening in originally open syllables? ¶ The irreg. š- in some lgs. is puzzling ¶ Cl. 843, Rs. W 429, Rl. IV 542, TrR 786, Äz. 270, TkR 586, UzR 394, Nj. 549, Jr. 288, BR 638, KumRS 288, BT 130-1, BIG 104 || D o₂ *č̄kūr- ~ *č̄urjurup- 'drink, sip' > Kn *sur-i* v. 'drink with a sipping noise', Kn JK *jur-i* v. 'sip', Tu *surusuranæ* 'drinking liquids with a

sipping noise', Tl *jur_rə* 'a sup of liquid or semi-liquid food', *jur_ru* v. 'drink\sip\sup (liquid or semi-liquid food) with a noise', Knd *zuri-* 'suck up (liquids with a noise)', Nkr *čurpip-* v. 'suck', Ku *surpu re?* 'suck in, slurp, eat food easily', ? *žuru* 'gruel', Krx *surup-* v. 'drink with a noisy sucking of the lips' §§ D #2712, ≠ Pf. 197 (believes that Krx *surup-* is onomatopoeic) ◇ The N vw. between *r and *b is reconstructed on the ev. of D, because D *-r- goes back to a N intervocalic *-r- rather than to a cns. cluster. In D *čkūr- and in A the N intervocalic *-b- is lost (*-b- > *-w- > *-Ø-), but in D *čurup- it turned to *-p- (due to some unknown factors). D *u (rather than *o) may be due to as. (something like N *o...u > *u...u) ◇ IS MS 354 s.v. *пить* (хлебать) *čurpə (IE, S).

2225. *šE^r?N¹RbN 'coarse hair, eyebrow' > HS: (mt.) S *šap(p)ař-> JPA [Tos.] d. סָפִירָא ~ צָפִירָא ~ šapī'rā ~ čapī'rā 'goat's hair', Ar šafr- (~ šufr-) {BK} 'bord de la paupière où naissent les cils', {Hv.} 'place of growth of the eyelash' (⇒ pl. [\leftarrow coll.] թաշքար - → Tgr թափար pl. 'eyelashes'), Jb C {Jo.} 'šefz̥r, Sq Δ {SSL} 'šéfz̥r, Sq {Jo.} šfrir, Mh {Jo.} šzfrīr, Hrs {Jo.} šfzrīr 'eyelash', ? Ak YB sappartu {Sd.} 'Kopffell, Fell an Hornwurzel'; CAD interprets the last word as 'tip of an animal horn' (÷ BHb שׁוֹפֵר šō'pār 'horn as a wind instrument?') § Js. 1O14, BK I 1247, Hv. 369, H 2O1, L ALT 166, Jo. M 374, Jo. H 119, Jo. J 247, SSL LSNP 1473, Sd. 1O27, CAD XV165, MiK I #1.266 || K: GZ *čarb- 'eyebrow' > OG, NG čarb-, Mg XIX {Brs.} čob- id. § K 248, K² 3O7, FS K 459, FS E52O, Brs. 74 || A: M *serbe '≈ fish fins, tuft of hair' > WrM serbe ~ serbege, HlM сэрвээ 'fish fins', Kl {Rm.} serwā, {KRS} serwā 'back fin (of a fish)'; M *serbeger > WrM serbeger, HlM сэрвэгэр 'disheveled, with hair standing up', WrM sirbeger 'cop (of birds)', WrM sirbeger, HlM ширвэгэр 'tousled, disheveled, shaggy' (WrM sirbeger üsü coarse, shaggy hair, sirbeger kömüsgē 'shaggy eyebrows') § MED 688-9, 715, KW 326, KRS 45O || Tg *sirpa-kta 'horse's hair, bristle' > Nn Nh surbaqta ~ surpaqta, Nn B/KU surbiqta, Nn B surbiqta, Ul surpaqta id., Orc sipakta ~ sippakta, Neg sıtpakta 'horse's hair' § STM II 99-1OO §§ But hardly here T *sirt 'thick hair, bristle' (F s.v. N *šüRbN 'fibre [used as thread]') and M *sertej- 'stick out, protrude' §§ DQA #202O (A *sirp'aļju 'thick hair, bristle'; incl. Tg, M) ◇ K *č- is likely to go back to *š?- < N *š₁N₁?-;

the Tg and S *p are due to secondary emphatization (N *?...b > *p > Tg, S *p).

2226. ² *šärke- '≈ break, split, cut' > **U:** FU *šärke- 'break, split, chop, cut' > FP *šärke- (× FU *šärk^Δ- < N *'žā¹Rga 'to strike, to trample, to break' [q.v.]) > F särke- 'break, crush (stones, etc.), smash', Es Δ särge- v. 'split, break to pieces', Vp särge-, šárge- 'zerbrechen, spalten (z. B., Kienspäne)', {ZM} särk-ta / prs. särgeb 'chop splinters (used as wooden torches) (щепать луchinу)' | Lp L {LLO} tjier'kē- ~ tjär'kē- 'zu(recht)schneiden, ab-ausrunden (das Loch im Schuh)', tjer'kaʊ 'log, billet' (< *'broken, sawn'), Lp N {N} čiergā 'piece that has been sawn off' | ?? Chr: H {It.} šärxe-, {Ep.} šärgä- v. 'open sth. piled, heaped, rolled up', {Ü} v. 'open, unroll, unfold', E {It.} šerxe- 'öffnen, zerstreuen', E {Szil.} šerxalta- 'ein Sträußchen auseinanderteilen; zerreißen', Chr L {MRS} шерга- v. 'open wide, cut through, move\slide apart' | Mk {Pl} сяряфто- šäräfta- v. 'fell' | Vt sər̩- cōryi- v. 'break (sth.)' || ObU (mt.) *šēχar- v. cut' > pVg *šāχar- > Vg: T šäwr-, LK sōyr- ~ sāyr-, MK sāyr- ~ sāyr-, UK sāyr-, P šaør-, UL/Ss sāyr- id.; pOs *söχar- ({Hl.} *sōχar-) v. 'chop' > Os: Ty sāχwər-, Y sāwər-, D/Kz/Nz/O sewər- id. ¶ UEW 32-3 (s.v. FU *čärke-; does not distinguish FP *šärke- 'break, split' from FU *čärke- 'ache, pain' < N *čæχr^Δ 'be in pain, feel hurt, resent' [q.v.]), It. #268, SK 117O-1, ZM 538, N I 387, LG 267, Ht. #585 || **HS:** S *°✓šrk 'cut' > Ar ✓šrq 'fendre, couper en deux', {Ln.} 'slit (the ear of a sheep\goat), pluck (fruit)' ¶ Ln. 1539, BK I 122O, Hv. 359.

2227. *šErE¹K'a¹ 'red, yellow' > **HS:** S *°✓šrk > Ar ✓šrq (pf. šariqa) 'rougir, paraître rouge (se dit du sang, des yeux atteints d'une inflammation)' | ? (mt.) CS *✓škr G 'be\make red' > MHb, Sr ✓škr G 'paint red', {Br.} 'rubrum fecit', Ar ✓šqr (pf. šaqira) 'être roux, have a ruddy\fair complexion' (of humans), 'be sorrel' (horse), Pašqar- 'red-haired' (person), 'roan, sorrel' (horse), JPA סִקְרָא sik'r-ā, Sr سُكْرَه səkār'tā 'red paint, fucus', JEA סַקְרַתָּא sakra'tā 'red paint', Ar šuqr-at- 'reddish colour' ¶ Js. 986, 1O21, Br. 495, PS 2722, Js. 986, Sl. 829, JPS 38O, BK I 122O, 1254-5, Hv. 372 || **IE:** NaIE *°serk^{kω}- > Lt Δ sárkanas 'grell, rosig, rosarot', Ltv Δ {ME} sárks 'reddish', Ltv sařkans 'red, scarlet', Lt sarkti, Ltv sařkt 'to reddens' ¶ Frn. 763-4, 775-6, Kar. II 155-7, ME III 721 || **A:** M *sirga > MM [MA] širga, WrM sirga, HlM шарга adj. 'light bay' (a horse), Ord šarg_a 'dun

colour (= isabelle)', 'dun' (horse), WrO šarγa 'bay\yellow' (horse), Brt шарға 'light bay, pale-yellow', Kl шарһ šaryъ id., {Rm.} 'yellowish, dun-coloured, light yellow' ¶ Pp. MA 336, MED 716, Ms. O 609, Krg. 439, KRS 666, KW 350, Chr. 722 || T *s̥jārīg ({Rm., SDM95}) *sārīg, {Md.} *s̥jāriγ) 'yellow' (× N ? *'s̥'EXarΔ 'bright; daybreak', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The voiced reflex (M *g, T *g) of N *K is still to be explained || ? U: FU: F s̥ärki 'red-eye, roach, Rutilus (a fish with red scales)' → R Δ co'poraid id. ¶ SSA III 241, ≠ P 910-1 ◇ The vibrant of the N etymon is *r if the cns. *r in T *s̥jārīg belongs to the heritage of the etymon in question (rather than to that of N ? *'s̥'EXarΔ).

2228. *šER₁Ν₂K₃ 'to plait, to wattle', 'plait' > **HS:** WS *✓šrk ~ *✓šrg > Gz ꝑašrəkō ~ šarkō 'plait', šärkō 'rope, snare'; with unexpected *g for *k̥: BHb שָׁרָג ✓šrg G (3pm ip. paus. yə-šō'rāgū 'will be interwoven'), TD (ip. יִשְׂתַּרְגּוּ yištārə'gū 'will be woven, braided together'), MHb ✓srg D 'strap (in zig-zag), girth; make a partition by means of net-work', גְּרַבְּשָׁסָא'רָגֶג sā'rāg 'weaver, net-plaiter', JEA ✓srg D vt. 'saddle', Sr ✓srg G 'set the wrap in the loom, begin to web; interweave, entangle', {Br.} 'plexit, implicuit, firmavit', Ar (↔ Aram?) ✓sr̥g G (pf. سَرْجَة sarağā) 'plait (her hair)' (a woman), ✓sr̥g D 'embellish, adorn', Gz ✓srg G 'intertwine, embroider, interlace' (↔ Ar Eg); acc. to Leslau, also BHb ✓šrk v. 'card (flax)', JPA, JEA, Sr, Md ✓šrk 'comb' (L: "'comb' [that is, sth. used for plaiting]" § L G 512, 534, KB 1261, 1268-9, KBR 1353, Js. 1O22-3, Sl. 832, Br. 496, JPS 389, BK I 1O78, Hv. 317 || **IE:** NaIE *serk̥k̥- 'wicker-work, wattling', ? v. 'hedge in' > Gk ἔρκος 'net, toils, snare for birds; fence, hedge, wall, the place enclosed, court-yard', ὄρκάνη 'enclosure, fence' || L sarcīō, -īre v. 'patch, mend, repair' || with a n-infix: Ht sar-nin-k- 'compensate (ersetzen, entschädigen, büßen)' § P 912, EI 629 (*serk̥- 'construct\repair a wall'), F I 561, ≈ II 418, WH II 478-9, Ped. H § 52.2, Frd. HW 187, Ts. W 72 || **U:** FU (att. in FP) *ššerk̥v v. 'tie together', d. *ššerm̥v... '(sth.) tying together' > Chr L шöргаш šör'g-aš 'to tie together (заязывать, запутывать)', шöрмыц 'šörmъč, Δ 'šörmъč ~ 'šermъč 'bridle', Chr H сермыц 'sermac id. | Prm *šärm̥et 'bridle' > Z сермöд šermad, Z Vm/LV/Ud šermad, Vt šermet id. § It. 175 (no. 302), MRS 528, 725, Ep. 1O8, LG 251 || ??σ **A:** Tg *seruk 'bag, wicker vessels' > Lm h̥ärruk 'bag; wicker vessels (of birch-bark)', Ewk s̥ruk, Neg s̥zruk, Ork s̥ruku 'saddle-bag' § STM II 146 || M *°sarqv 'vessel,

kitchen dish' > Kl Ö {Rm.} *sarx̥a* 'vessel, container, kitchen dish', Kl {KRS} *cab-capx* 'plates and dishes', ?σ MM [S] *sarqut* 'meat for sacrifices' ¶ KW 313 (mentions WrM *sarqu* '?', not confirmed by other sources), KRS 443, H 132] ?? M **sirkeg* 'fibre, thread; bristle' (x N **šüRd* 'fibre [used as thread]', q.v. ffd.) || pKo {S} **sàrk* 'in box' > MKo *sàrk*, NKo *səlgı* ¶ S QK #400, MLC 950 || pJ {S} **sùru* > OJ *sùri* 'bamboo box for travelling' ¶ S QJ #410, Mrt. J 534 ¶ DQA #1970 (A **seru(k'* 'in box\bag').

2229. ₂ **š̥t̥t̥w̥w̥* 'cold weather' > K **št̥ow-* v. 'snow' ({K} **(š̥)to-* v. 'snow', {FS, K²} **t̥ow-*) (x N ?φ **t̥uw̥* 'rain; to sprinkle'??) > OG *tow-*, G *tov-*, Mg *tu-*, Lz (m)*tu-*, Sv: UB/LB/L *šdu-* / *šdw-*, Ln *štu(w)-*, *štu-* (msd.: UB *li-šdw-e*, LB/L *li-šdu-e*, Ln *li-štu-e* 'to snow', UB *šduwe*, LB/L *šdue*, Ln *štue* 'it snows'), UB *šduwa* 'snow-fall'; → GZ **štowl-* 'snow' ({K} **(š̥)t̥ow*] n. 'snow' > OG *towl-*, G *tovl-*, Mg *tɔr-* & *tir-*, Lz (m)*tvi(r)-*, mtur- ¶ K 175-6, K² 73, FS K 151, FS E 163-4, Chik. 189, TK 461, 816, GP 178, 272 || HS: WS **ši'taw-* ~ **šataw-* 'winter, rainy season' > AncHb **šə'tāw* > ItBHb נִתְּנָהָה *sə'tāw* 'rainy season, winter', OA *štw*, JA [Trg.] נִתְּנָהָה *sit'wā*, Md *sitwa*, Sr *јօնա* *sat'w-ā*, SmA נִתְּנָהָה *stw*, Ar شَتَّى شَتْوَةٌ *šitā?*-, شَتَّى شَتْوَةٌ *šatw-at-*, Mh *šētəw*, Hrs *'šətəw*, Jb E/C *'šetə?* 'winter', Sq {Jo.} *'šetə* 'north, north wind' ¶ KB 728, KBR 770-1, Deg. 48, Lv. T II 192, Js. 1O3O, Br. 5O2, Tal 613, DM 33O, Ln. 15O4, BK I 119O, Jo. M 387 ◇ This is one of the K roots suggesting a law: pre-K **st*, **št*, **št* > K **št* (= {K} **(s₁)t*) (> G, Mg, Lz *t*, Sv *šd*), cp. S **qašarat-* → K **ašt-* 'ten', S **χamišat-* → K **χušt-* 'five', N **kušd* 'to chop, to cut' > K **kuwest-* v. 'chop, cut', N **d̥t̥št̥w̥* 'moon' > K **d̥tušte-* id..

2230. _(2?) **šot̥w̥* 'to exercise magic' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to curse', 'to bless') > HS: S **✓ šwt̥* (> **✓ šyt̥*) v. 'harm by magic' > Ar *šiwāt̥-* ~ *šuwāt̥-* 'calomnie, injure', *✓ šyt̥ D* {BK} 'livrer à la mort, à la perte'; CS **✓ štn* v. 'be hostile, oppose, attack, accuse' > BHbt̥ נִטְּשׁוֹ *✓ štn* 'show enmity, oppose', JA [Trg.], SmA *✓ stn G* 'hinder, be hostile', Ar *✓ štn* 's'opposer (à quelqu'un)'; → BHb נִטְּשׁוֹ + *šā'tān* 'adversary, opponent' (→ 'Satan'), JA [Trg.] נִתְּנָהָה *sə'tān* 'adversary, accuser (in court); 'Satan', CS **✓ štm* > BHb נִטְּשׁוֹ *✓ štm G* 'show enmity, persecute', Ar شَتَّم *✓ štm G* 'insulter, injurier', {Hv.} 'revile, vilify' (as. **št̥* > *št*) ¶ KB 1227-8, KBR 1317, Js. 973, Lv. T II 155, Tal

581, BK I 119O, 1231-2, 1288, 1297, Hv. 351 || Eg MKL štm 'heftig werden (beim Sprechen), verleumden', {Fk.} 'be quarrelsome' ¶ EG IV 557-8, Fk. 273 ¶ Vc. GÄSW 4OO, Tk. I 228 || U: FU *šot'a' '(magic) force', v. 'curse' (→ 'cause damage to'), v. 'bless' > pMr *šūdъ- > Er šudo-, Mk šudə- v. 'curse' | Chr M šu'δem 'verfluchen, verwünschen', L 'šuδъš 'Fluch, Verwünschung', H šuδъš 'damnation, invocation' | ?σ F sota, Es sōda 'war, battle', F soti-, Es sōdi- v. 'wage war' || pObU *šōt > pVg *šāt 'Glück' > Vg: T šāt, UL sōt, Ss sōt; pOs *sɔt/*sot ({ʃl.} *sɔt/*sät < *sōt) 'force, power' > Os: Kz sɔt, O sot ¶ Coll. 115, UEW 777, It. #123, Ker. II 151, Ü 272, Ep. 155, SK 1O84, Ht. 186 [#6O8], KrT 884-5 || ?σ D *čočt̥o 'insinuation, disparaging remark; defect, blame; fault' (× N *čod̥u '≈ defect, evil deed', q.v. ffd. × N ?σ *čud̥v 'be weak, be damaged, be weary', q.v.?); the merger is responsible for the unexpected *-t̥t̥- for *-t(t)- || ?φ A (*s|šat-, {S} *s▽t▽ v. 'curse'): M *sadur {S} 'treacherous' > WrM sadur, HIM садар 'vile, immoral, lewd, wanton', Kl {Rm.} sadr 'liederlich, ehebrecherisch, hurerisch', {KRS} садр sadъr 'disgusting, lecherous' ¶ MED 656 || T: Tb/SbTt Δ {Tm.} sata 'middle-headed, slow-witted (бестолковый, непонятливый)', 'credulous', ? VTt Δ {TTDS} satan-u 'to say nonsense, to talk rot' or 'to be middle-headed' (the definition in TTDS is ambiguous), sataš-u 'to be delirious (бредить)', Bsh hatašъ-у id., hataštъrъ-у id., 'to bewilder', hataštъra (imprs.) 'I am delirious\bewildered' (unless the primary meaning of *sata- is 'lose one's way, roam', as in VTt {Rs.}); Starostin adduces NaT *satga- > MT [QB] satga- {Rs.} 'beleidigen, beschimpfen', but Cl claims that OT satga- basically means 'tread, trample' (v.) ¶ Cl. 8OO, Rs. W 4O5, KW 3O7, Tm. 186, TTDS 362, 365, BR 623, Rl. IV 376-81 ¶ Rm. l.c., S CNM 3 ◇ The vw. *a of the first syll. in T and M may be explained by regr. as. (something like N *o...a > *a...a). M *-d- (for the expected *-t-) needs explaining ◇ Cf. IS MS 357 (*'š'ot̥a' 'curse' > U, D), AD #123, S CNM 3 (suggested to adduce M *sadur and T *satga; ÷ NrCs).

2231. 2 *š|čūt̥v 'vulva, anus' > HS ≈ *š▽t̥- > Eg Md šd {EG} 'vulva', {DW} 'weibliche Scheide' ¶ EG IV 566, DW 873 || B: Izd {Mrc.} ižd (pl. iždən) 'vagina' ¶ Mrc. 259 ¶ mte.: (**S...t̥ >) **s...d > *žd || D *čūtt̥- 'private parts' > Tm cūttu 'anus, buttocks, private parts, pudendum muliebre', Ml cūttu 'testicles, penis', Kui suti 'female urinal passage', → OI cūta-, cūta-, cūuti- 'anus' ¶ D #2724, M K I 395 ◇ ≈ Blz.

DA 155 [#36] (D, Eg + err. S *sit- 'podex' and other HS reflexes of N *¹*š̥ät² 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' [q.v.]).

2232. *šat¹ah²i '≈ to take away' > HS: Eg fP šdy 'take, take away, remove, rescue, salvage' ¶ EG IV 560-2, Fk. 273 || IE: *steh- ({M} *steh₂-) > NaIE *(s)tāj- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *(s)tāyu-s- 'thief, theft' (× N *tāhy¹ 'go away, take away, [in descendant lgs.] → 'conceal') > [1] *stāy-, *stāyu-s- > OI stā'yū-, 'stēya-m 'theft' || [2] IE *tāj- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *tāyu-s-, *tāti-s 'thief' (× N *tāhy¹ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The phenomenon of *s- mobile is created by the interaction of N *šat¹ah²i and *tāhy¹ ¶ P 1O1O, EI 543 (*s)teh⁴- 'steal, bring secretly, conceal'), M K I 496 and III 513-4, M E II 75 || A: T *sat- v. 'sell' > OT, MU, XwT, OOsm, Chg xv sat-, MT xiv [IM] سات sāt- ~ طلس sāt-, MQp XIII طلس sāt-, Tkm sat- θat-, Tk sat-, Ggz, Az, Xlj, ET, VTt, Blq, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Alt, Shor sat-, Uz sat-, Bsh hat- id., Xk, Tv sat/d-, Tf sāt'- id., v. 'trade', Yk at-ī n. 'trade', Chv L cūt- sut/d- v. 'sell, trade' ¶ The MT and MQp spelling with the letter alif is merely graphic and does not indicate the length of the vw. ¶ Cl. 798-9, Rs. W 4O5, TL 335, Ra. 226, Jeg. 197, TkR 568.

2233. *štr̥t¹R²V 'tie' (→ 'rope'); to twist (means of tying) > K *štr̥ > Sv L {Dn.} štə,r(ān)- / štrān- 'twist, twist a rope', 1s aor. (pfc.) ḥx štə,rān 'I twisted a rope, 1s prs. xwaštrāni, msd. UB {TK} li-šdrān-i, L {Dn.} li-štrān-e, {TK} li-šdran-i, Ln {TK} li-štrān-i ¶ TK 46O, Dn. s.v. štər(ān) || IE: NaIE *stre₁jg- 'twist together; rope' > L string-ō / -ěre (pp. strictus) 'bind, tie' (to distinguish from other semantic variations of the verb, which do not belong here) || Gmc *striki- 'rope' > OFrs, MLG strik, OHG stric, NHG Strick 'rope' || MIr {EI} srēng 'string, cord' ¶ P 1O36, WH II 6O4-5, Kb. 974, OsS 88O, KM 757, ≈φ,σ EI 574 (*strenk- 'string, pull tight') || HS: mt.: CS *šrt 'rope' > MHb شرط 'sereṭ {Lv.}' 'rope (Seil, Strick)', {Js.} 'stripe, strip of a sheet', Ar شرط šarīṭ- 'rope made of palm-tree fibres', some S lg. (Ph.?) → Gk [Hs., Man.] σύρτης 'cord for drawing with, rein' (reinterpreted as connected with σύρω 'drag, draw, trail along') ¶ Lv. III 59O, Js. 1O25, BK I 1216, Hv. 36O.

2234. (2?) *š¹o²w³V 'feather, wing' > HS: Eg fP šw.t 'feather, wing' ¶ EG IV 423-5, Fk. 262 || Ch: WCh: Fy {J} sō (pl. sō) 'feather', Krkr {L in ChL} sawku id. || ECh: Smr {J} swāk 'wing' ¶ ChL, J R 89 || K: GZ *swe- 'wing, feather' > MG, G X/P sve-, Mg sua, psua-, Lz sua-, psua-, mswa-

id. ¶ K 163, K² 165, Chik. 1O1, FS K 269, FS E 299 || | A: ?σ M *^osoyil- v. 'fly very high' > WrM **soil-**, HlM **сойло-** x id. ¶ MED 724 ◇ This is one of the two N words, in which N ***š**- is likely to yield K ***s**- (see N ***š**ΝΥ?Ν 'thing'). An alt. solution is to reconstruct here N ***š**- and to suppose that in certain (still unknown) conditions N ***š**- yields Eg **š**.

2235. ₂ ***š**ΝΥWΝ 'to swell' > **HS:** Eg Md {EG} **šww** 'emporsteigend, anschwellend' (von einer Geschwülstblase o. ä.), {DW} **šwy** 'emporteigen, aufschwellen' (von einer Geschwülste, Wunde) ¶ EG IV 431, DW 841-2 || K {FS} ***ši**w- 'swell, swell up' > OG, G **siv-**, Mg **šin-**, Sv {K} **ši**w- / **ši**- id., msd.: UB {GP, TK} **li-šy-e**, LB **li-ši-e** 'to swell' ¶ K 177 (***ši**-), K² 18O-1 (***ši**(w)-), FS K 284, FS E 316, Q 357, TK 463-4, GP 179 ◇ Cf. N ***š**ΝΥ?Y^U 'be full'.

2235a. ***š'a?**iwE (or ***č'a?**iwE?) 'body of water', (?) 'wet\swampy ground' > **HS:** Eg **š** 'pool, lake, basin' (acc. to EG and Tk., the spelling of the word represents **šy**; acc. to Vc., it is ≈ ***šyw**) > DEg {Er.} **šy** 'lake, well' > Cpt Sd/B **шні** **šēi** (pl. Sd **шнү** **šēw**) 'puits, citerne, fosse, bassin' ¶ EG IV 397-8, F 26O, Er. 485, Vc. 258-9 || C: Dhl {EEN, E} **čāra** 'lake', {To.} **čāra** 'river, lake' (× N ***š**ΝΥ^U 'surface of water', which accounts for -f-?) || SC: Irg/Alg {E} **čawj**, Brn **čawa** 'lake' ¶ E SC 214, EEN 18, To. D 149 || ?σ S *^oša?Ν₁W- > Ar **ša?w-** 'vase, limon qu'on extraît d'un puits' ¶ BK I 118O ¶ Tk. PAA 9 (C, Eg) || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) *^os^ojw- 'body of water (lake?)' > pGmc ***sajwa-** ~ ***sajwi** '≈ lake' > Gt **saiws** 'lake, swamp', ON **sjá-r**, **sjó-r**, **sæ-r**, OSx **sēo**, OHG **sēo** (gen. **sēwes**) 'sea, lake' (> NHG **See** id.), MDt **see** (gen. **sēwes**) id. (> Dt **zee** 'sea'), AS **sæ** 'sea, lake, swamp' (> NE **sea**); NrGmc → F **saiwo** 'clear place in a sea' ¶ Fs. 4O6-7, Vr. N 856-7, Vr. 575-6, Ho. 266, Ho. S 63, OsS 757, Schz. 249, Kb. 843-4, KM 676, ≠ EI 503 (the Gmc word ← non-IE sources) || D *^oč|kav- > Kn **javugu**, **jōgu**, **javalu**, **javulu** 'swampy ground' ¶ D #2398 || A ({AD} ***sibe**): M ***siber** 'swampy' (of ground), 'swampy ground' > MM **siber**, Kl {KRS} **шивр** 'swampy' (of ground), Kl Ö {Rm.} **šiwř** 'nasses Land mit Gebüsch und Wald, Waldung, Urwald', WrM **siber**, HlM **шивэр** 'dense shrubbery on a marsh, overgrowth on a river bank; dense forest, thicket', Ord {Ms.} **šiwer** 'terrain humide et où il y a du gazon touffu' ¶ MED 695, KRS 669, KW 362, Ms. O 625 || pJ {S} **símpà** / **símpá** 'turf' > OJ **síbà**, J: T **šíba** ~ **šíbà**, K **šíbá**, Kg **šíbà** ¶ S QJ #276, Mr. 522 ¶ DQA explains the unexpected *-mp- by the infl. of pJ ***símpá** ~

*símpá 'firewood' || ?σ Tg *sībe-gi 'swampy ground where horse-tail grows', *sībe(-kte) 'horse-tail' > Ewk sīw3y ~ sīw3y i 'swampy lawn where horse-tail grows', Lm hīw3y 'horse-tail thicket', Ewk sīw3-kt3, Lm hīw3t, Neg siwu-kt3, Ul, Nn siu-kt3, WrMc sibiya ~ sibe 'horse-tail' ¶ STM II 7, Z 599 || ?σ T *°seb- > Tkm Өöv-dek 'spurge (Euphorbia)' ¶ TkmR 587 ¶ St AJ 79, DQA #2099 (A *sīpe 'swamp ground, swamp vegetation') ◇ The Altaic cognate suggests N *š-, while the C cognates may point to a N affricate *č-, but SC/Dhl č may also result from glottalization of *š (as. to *?) that involves affricatization. On N *-äHi- > Tg *-ī- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ Hardly identical with N *š'v̥y'wU 'surface of water' (q.v.), because Eg š 'pool, lake' and IE *sojw- cannot be cognate with S *š|syr and with K *zv̥wā (irreg. corrs. of the initial sibilant and no lr. in Eg and IE).

2236. 2 *š'v̥y'w 'to wish' > HS: WS *✓ ſhy|w ~ *✓ ſwy v. 'wish' > Sr ✓ ſwy|w (pf. ʃəwə, ip. ʃəwə ne-ſwə) v. G 'long, desire', ʃəwə ſawə 'cupidus, studiosus', Ar ✓ ſhy|w G (ip -ſhay- ~ -ſhaw-) v. 'covet, long for', Sq {L} 'ſe?e 'se soucier', Mh, Jb ✓ ſhw|y T (Mh 'ſathi, Jb 'ſuthi v. 'want, like'), n. a. Mh ſʒhwēt, ſh3, Jb ſh3'wεt 'desire' ¶ Br. 462, JPS 363, Jo. M 376, Jo. J 250, Fr. II 462, Hv. 380, Lv. III 488 (JEA 'ʃə ſwy {Lv.} 'sich nach etw. sehnen, etw. im Geiste verlangen' is interpreted by Sl. 792 as [?] 'jump') || ? Eg L š3 'be friendly' (of the heart) ¶ EG IV 401 || C: SC: Irq {Mgw., MQK} ſā?- v. 'want, desire, like, love', {Wh.} ſā?- v. 'like, love', Grw/Alg {Wh.} ſā?-, Brn ſa?- v. 'like', Kz {E} ſa?as-, Asa {E} ſa?at- v. 'love, like' || Dhl ſaw- {To., E} id., {EEN} v. 'love' ¶ AD SF 115, E SC 208, EEN 26, Wh. IC 56, Wh. SI s.v. -h1ā?-, Mgw. 101, MQK 94, To. D 142 ¶ Tk. PAA 9, Tk SCC 84 [#14.1] ¶ Unlike Tk SCA, I do not believe that there was *? in the S √ (the letter ʃ? in Sr is a spelling device) and that ? in SC and Eg (ž) is ancient, it is rather a hiatus-filling epenthesis || U: FU (att. in FP) *ſſ ſſ ſōy 'wish' > pPrm *ſ' i- (< pre-Prm *ſ' ſāyā?) v. 'wish' > Z ſi- id. | ? BF: F ſuo- v. 'wish', 'allow, permit, let', Krl ſūv̥a, Es ſoov̥ 'wish, desire' ¶ LG 256, SK 1110.

2237. ?σ 2 *š'v̥y?w 'thing' > HS: WS *ſay?- 'thing' > Ar ſay?- id., Mh {Jo.} ſi, Hrs ſi, ſi, ſ3y, Jb C {Jo.} 'ſe, Jb E {Jo.} ſi? id., Sq {Jo.} ſi, {L} ſi ~ ſi? 'something', (with a negation) 'anything' ¶ Ln. 1626-7, BK I 1293-4, Jo. M 390, Jo. H 123, Jo. J 259, LLS 428 || K: GZ *ſa- - basis of interr. adverbs: OG, G ſa-da 'where?' (-da is a locative ending), ſaidam, ſaidyan 'where from?', Mg, Lz ſo 'where?', ſo-le 'where from?'

Mg so-šā 'wither? ¶ The semantic prehistory of K *sa-: 'thing' → 'what thing?, what?' (possibly an ellipsis like It *che cosa?* > *cosa?* 'what?'), *sa-da 'in what' → 'where?' ¶ DCh. 1O61, 1O75, Q O116, Marr 185 ◇ This is one of the two N words, in which N *[†]s- yields (or is likely to yield) K *s- (*see* N *[†]s¹θ¹w¹ 'feather, wing').

2238. *[†]sü²ñA 'heart' (< 'breast'??) > K: GZ *sul- 'soul, spirit' (→ 'smell') > OG s¹ul-, G sul- 'soul, spirit, smell', Mg, Lz šur- id., Mg go-šur-v. 'smell (sth.)', šur-am-i, Lz šur-on-i 'fragrant', Lz o-šur-u v. 'smell (riechen)', Lz {K} šur- 'smell sth', 'smell of' ¶ K 178, K² 182, FS K 287, FS E 319, Q 358-9, TK 465, 823, GP 18O, 272 || HS: Eg CT/BD šn² 'chest, upper part of the human body' ¶ EG IV 5O4-5 || C *[†]s¹ñ²z¹- > EC *sazñ- (< *sažñ-?) 'heart' > Kns satā-ta, Arr {Hw.} zàzzá id., Gwd, Gln sañ-kó, Gwd D satañte, Hr, Dbs sasañ-kó id.; ḡ Arr {Ss.} sede id. (acc. to Ss. [absent in Hw. A], a loan from some related lge. because of d) ¶ Ss. WOKS 138 [#13], Hw. A 4O1, AMS 184, 22O, 248 || Ch: WCh: Tng {J} sùldum 'heart' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} sàliyá id. ¶ J T 148, ChC || ??? S *^oš¹u²ñl- or *^oš¹u²ñ- > Ak šúl-u 'ein Totengeist' (?) ¶ Sd. 1269 || U *[†]süžä(me) 'heart' > FU: F sydän, gen. sydämē-n, Es súda, gen. súdamē 'heart' | pLp {Lr.} *ćzðēm 'heart' (> Lp Pa {Tl} čéðé id.) → pLp *ćzðz̥k 'through' > Lp: S {Hs.} t̥jírrəh, Tn {Lgc.} č̥t̥rrəh ({JLgc.} č̥j̥r̥r̥ə), Vfs {Lgc.} č̥t̥rrə] ({JLgc.} t̥š̥j̥rr̥ə), L {LLO} t̥jatā, N {N} č̥âd̥â 'through' | pMr {Ker.} *śiðz̥y > Er śeđey, Mk śeđi 'heart' | Chr šüm id. | pPrm *śüleñ id. > Vt śuleñ id., Z śz̥l̥z̥m 'heart, soul, spirit' || Hg szív, Δ szű, szűv 'heart' | pObU *šim id. > pVg *šim id. > Vg: T šäm, LK/P/LL šim, N sim; pOs*sēm id. > Os E sēm, Nz/Kz sām, O sām || pSm {Jn.} *seyb 'heart, courage' ({AD} *šeub) > Ne T сей, Ne F śeūy, Slq Tm śīd̥, Mt {Hl.} *keye (Mt: M {Sp.} кеемъ, T {Mll.} kéim 'my heart', K {Mll.} gíi 'heart', {Pl.} geíide 'his heart') ¶ Coll. 59, UEW 477, It. #42O, ~ Sm. 549 (FU *śüdäm̥i/*śedmi, FP *śüdäm̥i, Ugr s̥im̥ 'heart'), Lr. #1OO, Lgc. #438, Lgc. SL #2884, Hs. 1322, Ker. II 139-4O, Ber. 73, Ht. #593, LG 27O, SK 1142-3, Jn. 139, Hl. M #455, ≠ 79-8O (supposes that Mt k- is from Sm *s- before *e, *i, *ü) ¶ In my opinion, it is more natural to suppose here a pSm *[†]s-, because a change of a lateral obstruent into a velar is typologically more plausible (it occurs in the Daghestanian lgs.) than a change *s- > *k- || A: Tg *^os¹ñleñ 'heart' > Ewk {Vas., STM} s̥z̥l̥z̥m̥ ~ h̥z̥l̥z̥m̥ ~ š̥z̥l̥z̥m̥ id.; Ewk ȝ of the first syll. may be due to as. ¶ STM II 141, Vas. 376, Vas. RES 269 || ? M

*süldə > WrM {MED} սüldə, HlM սüլդ '«soul»', sc. 'tutelary deity\deities, protecting genius (Tibetan bla)', Ord süld_e 'génie protecteur', WrM {MED} սüridus-un süldə 'ancestral spirits', {Kow.} սüldə 'bénédition; génies tuteurs, pénates, lares', ⇨ : MM [S] sülder 'Glückszeichen; Würde, Majestät', Kl {Rm.} süldr 'Schicksal, Los, Glück; Symbol' ¶ MED 743, Kow. 1428, Ms. O 598, H 137, KW 34O ◇ Coll. 146 (U, Tg), ≠ UEW 477 (rejects the connection of U with Tg, because in his opinion Ewk ս3լ3մ3 is a d. from Ewk ս3լ3 'iron' and is identical with ս3լ3-մ3 'made of iron', which is highly qu. unless a semantic or mythological proof of the above identity is provided) ◇ An alt. N rec. is *ՏՈՒԼՏԱ, which does not account for EC *saz̃-. The sonorant *l in K, Tg, S, and Eg (where *-l->n) is a reg. reflex of N *-č-.

2239. *t'ā¹ 'away (from), from', ablative (separative) pc. > **HS:** C: Ag: Knf {Hz.} -da, as well as possibly Aw -des and Bl -ləd 'from'; Bln -d 'in' indicates also the cause (զռնչատ-ի ճ 'aus Neid') which may go back to a sx. of abl. ¶ Hz. AL 16-7, R BilS 679-80 || | IE [1] NaIE *dē 'away (from), from' > L dē prep. 'from' and dē- (preverb of separation), Fls DE prep. 'de', Osc DAT id., DA(D)- pv. 'de-', Um DA- id. (DAETOM 'deitum, delictum'), Lin-de 'thence, from there', un-de 'whence?' || Clt: OIr di, de 'from ... down, from ... away', OW, Br di, Crn the, pv.: OIr dī-, de-, privative ('without', negative): W, Crn, Br di-] [2] NaIE *-de / *-T (archiphoneme *-d^h | *-d | *-t), separative (abl.) case ending > Gk Cr τῶδε 'from here', Gl βρατου-δε 'ex merito'; *-T 'from' > OI 'ma-d, Av ma-t, OL mē-d 'from me', OI 'tvad, Av թwat ~ թwāt, OL tēd 'from thee'; with the *-o-stems *-ōT / *-ēT: OI vṛkād 'from the wolf', pāścād 'from behind', Gk Dl οὐκω 'domo', Gk D ὅπω 'from where?', ὧ 'from which' (rel.), 'whence?', OL -ōd 'from' (Gnaivōd > L Gnaeō 'from Gnaeus'), Osc sakaraklūd '(ex) sacellō', toutad 'from the community\people', Gt հայրօ 'from where?', as well as the BSl ending of the *o-stem: Blt *-ā (> Lt -o, Ltv -a) and Sl *-a: Lt tō 'of\from this', vilko 'from\of the wolf', diēvo, Ltv dieva 'from\of God', ChS ТЕЛА РАЗЛОУЧИТИ са těla razlučiti se 'to separate **from** the body', ВЛЪКА влъка 'of\from (the) wolf', R 'волка 'of (the) wolf' || AnIE *-a¹t¹i, ablative case ending: Ht -az(a), Ld -ad id., Lw, HrLw -ati, Pal -at (?), Lc -adi, -edi (abl.-instr. case emding) ¶ Brg. KVG 383-4, 404, 411, EI 37 (*dē 'away [from]'), WH I 325-6, Bc. G 314, 332, ≈ Pln. II 444, LP §§ 344, 431.9, YGM-1 452, Stang VG 181, Vnd.1 II 240,

P 7O2, IS I 213, Rsk. 54-6 || **U** *-t ∇ ({Coll., Hj.} *-ta/*-tä) 'from', sep. case ending > FV *-ta / *-tä id. > BF primary sep. ending *-ta / *-tä / *-δa / -δä > F -ta/-tä (after cnss.), -ä/-ää (after vowels) in F *kotoa* 'from home' (\leftrightarrow *kotona* 'at home') (*koto* means 'home'), *luota* 'from (smbd.)' ('de chez'), 'from the vicinity of' (\leftrightarrow *luona* 'near, bei, chez'), *alta* 'from under' (\leftrightarrow *alla* 'under'), *yltä* 'from above' (\leftrightarrow *yllä* 'above'), *ulkoa* 'from outside' (\leftrightarrow *ulkona* 'outside, out of doors'), *tykötä* 'from the vicinity of' (\leftrightarrow *tykönä* 'near, bei, chez'), whence the BF partitive ending *-ta / *-tä / *-δa / -δä > F -ta/-tä/-ä/-ää (*vettä* 'de l'eau', *vertä* 'du sang', *lapsia* 'des enfants'), Es -t/-d/-Ø (aastat prt. 'year', aasta-i-d pl. 'des années', leiba prt. 'du pain'); the form of primary separative (with *-ta / *-tä) from derived stems with locative sxs. *-s- and *-l- gave rise to secondary case forms: elative *-s-ta / *-s-tä 'from within' (cp. the seconadary inessive *-s-sa / *-s-sä 'in' < the locative *-s-na / *s-nä) (> F *talo-sta* 'from the house', *Suomesta* 'from Finland', *Helsingistä* 'from Helsinki', Es *linnast* 'from [the] town') and delative *-l-ta / *-l-tä 'from the surface of' (> F *pöydä-ltä* 'from the table' [sc. 'from the surface of the table'], *tori-lta* 'from the market', Es *laua-lt* 'from the table', *põllu-lt* 'from the field') | Lp S {Sz.} -t, -d ε 'from' (ablative), e.g. *allēt* 'from the west', *yille-d ε* id., *paddē-t* 'from the top', Lp K -δ 'some, du' (partitive), e.g. *sammēδ* 'de la force' | Er -do/-de/-đe, (after vl. cnss.) -to/-te/-đe 'from', Mk -da, -ta, e.g. Er *tolgado*, Mk *tolgada* 'from a\the feather' || A controversial case: Ugr *-l 'from' > Hg -l 'from' (*aló-l* 'from below', marker of the elative case -bó-l/-bő-l 'out of', delative case marker -ró-l/-rő-l) | Vg: UL -l, -əl, Ss -l, -əl, -n-əl 'out of, from' (elative case); Hajdú rejects Ugr *-l as a cognate and tries to find its etl. ties elsewhere (FU d. *-l 'place on', in my opinion probably cds. with *l, e.g. BF *-l-ta/ää 'from', sc. 'from the surface of', and Chr {Sz.} -leč ~ -leč 'from') || Sm *-tE sep. > Ne T {Ter.} -x-д / -гă-д / -кă-д, pl. -x-т / -гă-т / -кă-т, En {Ter.} -h-δ / -go-δ / -ko-δ, pl. -h-t / -g+i-t / -k+i-t, Ng -gə-tə / -kə-tə, pl. -gi-tə / -ki-tə, Mt {Hl.} *-l, a, du 'from' (Mt K {Pl.} i rrnjadu 'von vorn', chúnaadu 'von hinten'), Kms -tt- / -tći- 'from' (+ppa.: tura-tt-a 'from his house' \leftrightarrow tura-nd-a 'in[to] his house', turattan 'from thy house' \leftrightarrow turānan 'in[to] thy house', turatći 'from my house' \leftrightarrow turāní 'in[to] my house') || Y: YK qada-t 'whence?' (qada

'where?'), tada-t 'from there' (tada 'there'), teni-t 'from here' (teni 'here'), Y T xo-t 'whence?' §§ Krn. JJ 207-10 §§ Sz. 56-8, 63-8, Coll. CG 287, Srb. PGS 40-1, Rmb. 50-1, Ter. NJ-93 332, Ter. EJ-93 346-7, Ter. NgJz-93 353-4, Hl. MTKJ 337, Hl. M 140, Kü. KJ 384-5, Hj. US 227-8 §§ The vw. *-a/*-ä in FV *-ta/*-tä may be due to grammatical analogy with the locative *-na / *-nä within the nominal case paradigm §§ If Ugr word-final *-l 'from' belongs here, it points to a pU *-δ∇, which became *t in FV (a reg. reflex of the postcons. *δ). But if Ugr -l does not belong together with FV *-ta/ä (which is Hajdú's hyp.), the pU case ending may be reconstructed with the cns. *t (as in Coll. CG 287-8 and Hj. US 227-8), which suggests that the pN etymon is to be reconstructed as *ta or *tä || A: ? NaT *-ta / *-tä, sep. (abl.) case ending (functioning as a semantic variant of the locative *-ta / *-tä?) > Yk -ta/-to/-tä/-tö (with phonetically conditioned allomorphs -da/-do/-dä/-dö, -la/-lo/-lä/-lö, -na/-no/-nä/-nö) (partitive case ending), OT Tü -da / -dä / -ta / -tä sep.: tabyač-da adırıltı '(the Türküt people) separated **from** the Tabghaches' (Toñuquq inscription), men ... tabyač qayyan-ta bedizči kelürtim 'I have brought stone-carvers **from** the khan of the Tabghaches' (the small Kül-Tegin inscription), qırqız-da jantımız 'we returned **from** the Qırğız land' (Toñuquq), Az Δ -da/-dä 'from' § Kon. GJTRP 157, GJJ 134-5 || D *-ti 'from' > Kui, Ku -ti, Krx -tī sep., Mlt -te, -tī id. (mann-te 'from a tree', male-n-te 'from a man', naib ālar-tī 'from 4 men'), Klm att-aṭ 'whence?', -n-attat (sep. ending ← "increment" -n- [< N *nu] + attat), Tu {ShanBh} -tt̄ / -t̄ 'from' (a ugel̄-tt̄ āklu ońži čeñq̄in̄ getter̄ 'they removed a ball **from** that well', kay-t̄ 'from the hand'), {RamR} -d̄d̄ 'from' §§ An. SG 215-6, BB K 247, Shanm. DN 308-9, 357, 363, 382, ShanBh T 85, RamR SLDT 81, Hahn KG 14-5 ◇ FV *-ta / *-tä and T *-ta / *-tä suggest N *ta or *tä, while IE *d̄ē points to a N front vw., i.e. to N *t̄ä. The vw. *-i, *-ī in D and AnIE apparently suggests a variant *ti of the original N particle, but a cd. of *t̄ä with another pc. is a more plausible solution. IE *(-)de 'from' (> Gk Cr τῶς-δε 'from here', Gl βρατοῦ-δε 'ex merito', L d̄ē, OIr d̄i, d̄e, etc.) provides ev. for N *t̄, while Ugr *-l 'from' (if it belongs here) point to a N *d̄ (rather than *t̄, which is still to be explained) ◇ IS I 212-4 (*d̄a, locative pc.; does not distinguish between the etymon in question and the locative *da, sc. N *d̄oy,a 'place, inside'), Gr. I 157-60 ("abATIVE T" in IE, U, EA, Yk + unc.: Tg, Gil, CK).

2240. *t ∇ - a postnominal marker (prn.?) of plurality ('together') > **K:** [1] K * o -ta, plural ending in the oblique cases > OG, G -ta id.; in modern G this so-called "old plural" is used mainly in the written style and is more bookish than the form with the pl. sx. -eb- | Fn. GAS 55-61, Vogt GLG 30-2 || [2] K *-t, sx. of pl. subjecti in verbs of the 1st and 2nd persons > OG, G, Mg, Lz -t, Sv -d; the same sx. functions (in all K lgs.) as a verbal marker of pl. objecti (with morphological positional limitations that differ in different lgs.) || For more details see Dt. 57-60 || **HS** *-t-, marker of plurality (coalesced with the *t-endings of different origin and functioning, incl. *-t of the fem.-and-inanimate gender, F N *tä [dem. prn. of non-active objects] [q.v.] and N *r'at ∇ 'female, woman' [q.v.]) > C *-(∇)t ∇ /*- ∇ tt ∇ , sx. of pl. > Ag: Bln {Plm.} m̄'raw-ti 'snakes' (\leftrightarrow sg. m̄ra' w -a), k̄nž̄l-ti 'ovens' (\leftrightarrow sg. k̄nž̄l-a), ayg-ut 'lakes' (\leftrightarrow sg. ayg), {R} 'abd-it 'trees' (\leftrightarrow sg. ab'da), 'ardət 'lords' (\leftrightarrow sg. adə'-a), t-ədər-ət 'ladies' (\leftrightarrow sg. t-adə'rə), Xm {R} zin-t 'brothers', n̄in-t houses' (\leftrightarrow sg. zin, n̄in), ir-t 'eyes' || EC *- ∇ t(∇), sx. of pl. > Sa {Wlm.} -it ('da-it 'stones' \leftrightarrow sg. 'da-a; 'santit 'knives' \leftrightarrow sg. 'santi; 'loynit 'herdsman' \leftrightarrow sg. 'loyna; 'hodit 'trees' \leftrightarrow sg. h̄ada), Af {Bls.} -it'te (samm-it'te 'uncles' \leftrightarrow sg. 'sammī; alsit'te 'moons' \leftrightarrow sg. 'alsā), Af S {Morin} -ti (saſol-ti 'elder brothers' \leftrightarrow sg. saſal); Sml *-at > -o / -ad- (+ppa.) (Sml N {Lm.}, Sml B {Mrn.} walālo 'brothers' \leftrightarrow sg. walāl; Sml B iłko 'teeth' \leftrightarrow sg. iłik), Sml Ji {Lm.} -dā ~ -dō (lamdā 'men' \leftrightarrow sg. lam; lohodō ~ lohoda 'legs' \leftrightarrow sg. loho), Bn {Hn.} -ti (urti 'cheeks' \leftrightarrow sg. úr); Arr {Hw.} -te (?arté 'bulls' \leftrightarrow sg. ?ár; ḷaw?-té 'crocodiles' \leftrightarrow sg. ḷáw?; kačč-té 'chests [of body]' \leftrightarrow sg. káčč); Or -ōta ~ -ota (namōta 'men' \leftrightarrow sg. namā; uržōta 'stars' \leftrightarrow sg. urži, Or B hēńčota 'lions' \leftrightarrow sg. hēńča), Kns {BISO} -ada ~ -adda (sinadda 'noses' \leftrightarrow sg. sīna; iskatadda 'women' \leftrightarrow sg. iskatt-eta; afadda 'mouths' \leftrightarrow sg. afa; mottada 'friends' \leftrightarrow sg. motta), Gdl {Bl.} -ada (appađa 'fathers' \leftrightarrow sg. appa; arappađa 'tongues' \leftrightarrow sg. arap'p-at; 'parađa 'years' \leftrightarrow sg. 'par-at); Hr, Dbs -a(:)đđe (kāsaddē 'shadows' \leftrightarrow sg. kāsse; ikāđđe 'peoples, tribes' \leftrightarrow sg. iko), Gln -idđe (šamp-idđe 'youngsters', māng-idđe 'corns'); Ya -et, -et (íkut-et 'thighs' \leftrightarrow sg. íkut; nótet 'lips' \leftrightarrow sg. nōčo) (unless a case of pl. reduplication); HEC: Kmb {L} -ta, -te, suff. of collectiveness (hol'l-ata 'sheep' pl. \leftrightarrow snglt. hōl'-ču; miķ'k-ata 'bones' \leftrightarrow miķ-ič'ču 'a bone') || Dhl {To., Zab.} -ūta, -to, {EEN} -ūta, -to (řánūta 'heads' \leftrightarrow sg. řāni; kalatěčo 'incisors' \leftrightarrow sg. kálatči), (here?) -addi, -udda (sínaddi 'noses' \leftrightarrow

sg. sína; kókaddi 'throats' ↔ sg. kók; žáludda 'friends' ↔ sg. žále) || SC (here?): Irq, Alg -du, sx. of pl. (Irq {Mous} pafaydu 'sides' ↔ sg. pafay; çan̥kadu 'bridges' ↔ sg. çan̥ka, Alg {Wh.} fradu 'bones' ↔ sg. fara) ¶ Zab. MNPC 38-43, 61-76, 90, 115, 137-8, 153-4, 162-6, 179, 196, 207-8, 283, 294-5, Plm. NB 387, R BilS § 146, Wlm. S 159-60, Bls. GGA 177-8, Morin NAS 367, Mrn. SS 26, Hw. A 336, 371, 388, To. D 136, EEN 10, 13, Mous 53-5, Wh. IC 19-26 ¶ Ag *-t- goes back to a pC *-tt- (while pC *-t- > Bln -r-); the same may be the origin of some sxs. in the EC lgs. The origin of the glottalized consonants t̥ and d̥ in the pl. ending of some EC lgs. is still to elucidate ¶ S *-āt-plural (originally marker of n. coll.) does not belong here (↔ IS I 12) (see N *tä, dem. prn. of non-active [inanimate] objects, and the comment at the end of this entry) || u *-t, pl. of nouns for animate beings > FU *-t, plural ending: BF nom. pl. *-t (F kala-t 'fishes', Krl kala-t, Vp kala-d, Lv kala-t, Es kalað), in the obl. cases pl. BF *-j-te- (*-j- is another marker of pl.) ~ *-te-, e.g. pl. gen. *-j-te-n ~ *-t'e-n (> Vp kalojd̥en, F kalojen, Es kalade) || pLp *-k nom. pl. (reg. reflex of pFL *-t, e.g. pFL *kala-t 'fishes' > pLp *kōlēk) > Lp N -k (guolek 'fishes'), Lp S/L -h, -Ø, Lp I -h || Er/Mk -t / -t̥ (tolga-t 'feathers', pé-t̥ 'ends') || ObU *-t > pVg *-t > Vg {Lml.}: T, LK/MK/UK, SV/NV/P/LL/ML, UL -(ə)t, Ss -(ə)d_ (T kōł-ət, IK xūłt, MK/SV/UK kūłł_t, Ss xūłd_ 'fishes', etc.); pOs *-t > Os (all dialects) {Ht.} -t (with allomorphs -ət, -b̥t), pl. ending of the absolute (non-possessive) paradigm || Sm {Mik.} *-t, sx. of nominal pl. > Ne, En, Ng -?, Kms -?i, (combination with the pSm marker of pl. *y) -ye?, -ye?, Slq {Mik.} -T² (= -t/-n) > Slq Tz -t̥, marker of pl. of the non-possessive paradigm: kana-t 'dogs', po-t 'trees'; the same ending is probably present in other ds. of Sq, too (F Cs. GSS 140-54), but for lack of descriptions of these dialects no precise information is available; the same marker of pl. -T² is found as a predicative ending of 3p ({Mik.} -T² 'sunt'), within the predicative endings of 1p -m+T², 2 pl. -l+T², and in the possessive endings of nouns: 1p -m+T² 'our', 2 pl. -l+T² 'vester', 3 pl. -t+T² 'their' ¶ Coll. CG 297, Sz. 51, Laan. 148-50, Krh. 197, 208-9, Lml. HFW 11-2, Ht. ChrO 36-7, Ht. XJ 308-9, Mik. GSS 238-9, Hj. SS 11, 19, 23, 26-7, Hl. M 134, Prk. SG 33-8, KHG 169-70 || A: M *-d, pl. ending of nouns > MM -d, -ud (e.g. [HI] noyan-d ~ [PP] noya-d 'officers' [↔ sg. noyan], yabiɣa-d 'equestrians' [↔ sg. yabuɣan], [S] ele-t 'sands' [↔ sg. ele-sün], [MA] bay-ut 'ties' ↔ sg. bay), WrM -d (mori-d

'horses' [↔ sg. *morin*], *gazad* 'countries' [↔ sg. *gazar*], HlM, Ord, Brt -d ~ -t, Kl -d_, Mgl -t; M *-d is also found in the interr. prn. **ked* (pl. of **ken* 'who?') > MM *ket*, WrM *ked* || Pp. IM 178-80, 229, Gbn. ATG § 172 || Tg: WrMc -ta / -te, pl. ending of some animate nouns: *ama-ta* 'fathers' (↔ sg. *ama*), *eme-te* 'mothers', *asihā-ta* 'youngsters' (↔ sg. *asihan*), *eze-te* 'chiefs' (↔ sg. *ezen*); -t- for the expected *-d- has not yet found explanation || Hrl. 33-4 || ? T: OT -t, - ∇ t: *erät* 'men, warriors' (pl. of *er*), *oylit* 'descendants' (pl. of *oylan*), *tarqa-t* (pl. of *tarqan* - a title), *tegit* (pl. of *tegin* 'prince'), OT {Pel. → Mng.} **türküt* 'Turks' (preserved in Chinese transcription); acc. to Br., this sx. is of M origin, but Sin. UAP 212-3 is not sure about it; Kon. suggests that -t is a loan from Sogdian; -āt in MT *bāyāt* 'gardens' ↔ sg. *bāy*, *aymaqāt* 'stems' ↔ sg. *aymaq* is of Prs (← Ar) origin || SIGTJM 12-3, Kon. GJTRP 147, Tekin GOT 122, Pel. T 687, Mng. TLP 111, Batm. JJP 1O2, Ajd. 144, Br. OTG 15O-1 ◇ The original meaning of the etymon is hard to determine. One of possible meanings is 'together', which is compatible with its use as a marker of multiple subjects and multiple objects in K ◇ IS's hyp. of the exclusive connection of {IS} *-t ∇ with inanimate nouns is not sufficiently proved; its only argument is S *-āt- as marker of pl. of non-active nouns, which is not a valid proof: in fact S *-āt- is a compound: *-ā- as a marker of collectivity (used without *-t- in the pred. case of f.) + *-t- as a nominalizer (allowing to use the construction *N* [nominal] + *-ā- in specifically nominal cases with case endings [*-u of nominative, *-a of accus.-genitive] and with the determiner *-m). The resulting form *N*-āt-um nom. / *N*-āt-am acc.-gen. is not actually a pl., it has the case-and-status endings of sg. and is constructed with predicate verbs in f. sg., because in pS it was a n. coll. (sg. f.). The morpheme *-t- in S *-āt-u(m)/*-āt-a(m) goes back to the N prn. of inanimate objects *tā (q.v. ffd.) and hence does not belong to this etymon ◇ ≈ IS I 12 (*-t ∇ as marker of pl. of inanimate nouns), Sin. UAP 211-4 (U, A), Gr. I 1O6-8 ("plural T" in U, A, EA, Gil, ḡ Ai).

2241. **ti?*û 'shine, be bright, be seen' > HS: Eg: fOK tʒ v. 'be hot (sky, bread, etc.)', G tʒ 'verbrennen', fMD tʒ.w {Fk.} 'heat', {EG} 'Hitze, Glut', NK tʒ.y.t 'Glut' || EG V 229-31, Fk. 293 || K *te- 'light (lux)' → : [1] pGZ *na-te- 'light' > OG *natel-i* n. 'light, ray', OG, G *natel-* adj. 'light, bright', Mg, Lz *note-* 'torch, splinter (used as torch, луцина)'; → *nat-/*ɔnt- 'shine, give light' > OG *nat-eb-a*, *nat-ob-a* n. act. 'shine, give light', G *a-nat-eb-s* 'lights up, illuminates', *a-nt-ia* '(it) shines, gives light'; ??

[2] K *te-n- 'become visible, get lighter' (× N *t'ō¹N² 'appear', q.v. ffd.) > OG ten- 'be dawning' (da witar gantena yamei igi ... 'when the morning was come ...' [Mt. 27.1]), Mg tan- v. 'be getting light; spend the night', Lz tan- 'be getting light; be visible', Sv ten-/tn- 'become visible, be born'; GZ *ten-eb-a 'dawn' > G teneba 'dawn', Lz tanapa id., Mg tanapa 'Easter' ('resurrection') ¶ K 92 (*ten-), 145 (*na-te-), K² 68 (*ten-/te-), 136-7 (*nat-e- 'light', *nat-/nt- 'shine, give light'), FS K 143 (*tan-/tn-), 147 (*ten-), Q 24O, Marr 146, Abul. 318 || IE: [1] *dej- 'shine, be bright' > OI 'dīdē-ti 'shines, is bright', 3p dīdyati || Gk Hm δέατο 3s ipf. 'videbatur', aor. δοάσσατο, Gk δέελος 'visible' || IE broken rdp. *doy-do- and sim. > ON teitr, AS tāt 'glad, merry' (← 'shining'), ON teita 'to gladden, to delight', AS tātan id., 'to caress', AS tāt 'glad, merry', OSx tēt 'glad', OHG zeiz 'zart, lieb, angenehm' ¶ P 183-4, ES 513, M K II 45, F I 354, 378-9, Vr. 586, Ho. S 74, Ho. 342-3, Sw. 167, Kb. 1246, OsS 1241 || [2] IE *dyeu- 'daylight', 'deified daylight, heaven' > NaIE nom. *dyēus ~ diyēus, accus. *dyē(u)m, voc. *dyeu-, gen. *di'w-es, *di'w-os) > OI 'dyāuh' (accus. dyām, gen. di'vah ~ 'dyōh') 'heaven, sky, day', Av dyaoš abl.-gen. 'from the sky'; OI 'di vā' 'by day', 'divasa- 'heaven, day' || Gk Ζεύς (accus. Ζῆν, gen. Δι(F)ός), Gk B/Lc Δέυς 'Zeus', Ἐνδῖος 'at midday' || L gen. lovīs 'of Jupiter', Osc dat. Diúveí, ΔιouFer 'to Jupiter', L diēs 'day' (for the expected *diēus on the analogy of accus. diēm), L [Plt.] dīus 'by day', L nu-dius tertius 'now is the third day' || OIr die, NIr dia, Brtt {RE} *dijīus (< IE *dyēu-s) > OW did, MW, W dydd, OCrn [VC] dēt, Crn deth, dyth, OBr {Flr.} ded ~ did, MBr dēz, Br L deiz, Br T/Cr/V de 'day' || Arm unhl̥ tiw 'day' || Ht siu- 'god' ({GI} 'god of sun', 'god of heaven'), siwanna- 'divine', siwatt- 'day', Lw tiwat- (nom. tiwaz), Pal tiyaz 'god of sun' || [2a] IE *dyēus-patēr 'father daylight, father heaven' (name of a god) > OI 'dyāus pi'tā' || Gk Ζεὺς πατήρ || L Iūpiter ~ Iuppiter, Um voc. Iupater, dat. Iuvepatre || Ilr [Hs.] Δει-πάτυρος || [2b] d. with an *o-sx.: NaIE *'dejwo-s 'heavenly' (→ 'god') > OI de'vah 'heavenly, divine; god', Av daēva- 'demon, false deity' || OL deivos, L deus 'god', dea 'goddess', dīvus 'divine, god' (→ dīvīnus 'divine'), Osc deīvař 'deae' || OIr dia (gen. dé) 'god', OCrn duiu-(tit) 'Gott(heit)', MW {SEv.} dwyw, dyw, W duw, OCrn duy, Br doue 'god', MW {LP} dwym-awl

'divine' || ON *tívar* pl. 'gods', Gmc *tejwaz > ON *Týr* 'war god', pl. *tívar* 'gods', OHG *ziu, zio* (gen. *Ziwes*) 'Mars' (in *ziestac* 'dies Martis, tuesday'), AS *Tīȝ* (gen. *Tīwes*) 'Mars', cd. *tīwes-dæȝ* 'tuesday' > NE *tuesday* || Lt *dīvas*, Ltv *dīvs*, Pru *deiws*, *deywīs* (gen. *deywās*) 'god' ¶ P 184-6, EI 149 (**dye(ū)-* 'day'), 230-1 (**dej'w-o-s* 'god', *'*dyeū-s phā*' 'sky-father'), Ts. W 77, Carr. P 75, Lar. 128-9, GI II 791, Watk. G, Neu AT 116-131, M K II 42, 63-4, 70-1, M E I 750-2, F I 610-1, WH I 345-6, 349-51, 359-60, 732-4, Bc. G 315, 338, LP §§ 6.2, 16, Thr. § 340, RE 87, SEv. 29, Flr. 132, 138, YGM-1 197, Vr. 603, OsS 1291, Ho. 350, Frn. 93-4, En. 158, Tp. P A-D 321-4. Slt. 60-1 || ? A: M: MM [AT] *ciūgen* ~ *ceūgen* 'shining' ¶ MED 1200 ◇ IE **dyeū-* and MM *ciūgen* ~ *ceūgen* suggest a word-final N vw. **u* or **ü*, while the absence of its reflexes in IE **dej-* and K **te-* still needs explaining ◇ Cp. Etr *tiu, tiv-* 'moon' ¶ Pfiffig 304-5, Pallottino Ew 303 ◇ ≠ BmK 303-4 (equating IE **dyeū-* with Sum *dé* v. 'smelt' and D **tī-* 'fire', actually belonging to N **t'ē'yaw'a'* 'fire' [q.v.]), ≠ S NSR 4-6 (err.: compares IE with K **dye* 'day' [in fact from N **dʌwəg|yʌn* 'sun, day, morning'] and reconstructs a pN **dʷ-*).

2242. *₂* ≈ **to'ri* 'fig' > HS: S **tʌri'n-at-*, **tʌri'n-* 'fig tree, fig' > BHb תִּנְתָּאָה tənə'hā, Pun (?) תִּנְתָּאָה tyn, IA tyn, JA [Trg.], JEA תִּנְתָּאָה tēn(ə)tā, SmA tənh, tynh, Sr E ׀׀ te<?>ttā, Sr W ׀׀ ti<?>ttā, ׀׀ tītīti<n>ttā, Md tina 'fig tree', Ar tīn- 'fig(s), fig-tree(s)', snglt. tīn-at- 'fig, fig tree', Ak tittu(m) (pl. tinātu(m)) id. ¶ KB 1544-5, Lv. T II 536, Sl. 1205-6, Ln. 325, BK I 213, Hv. 64 || EC: Sml {R} dəyn 'fig tree, fig', pl. dəymo ¶ R SS II 123 || NrOm: Ym {C} teʔā 'sycamore' ¶ C SE III 85 || D {gKm.} *tōy-, {GS} *tōy- 'in fig tree' > Prj tōy 'Ficus glomerata', Gdb tōy marin id. (marin 'tree'), Gdb toīā ȝ tōya, Knd tōga, Png tōga mar, Mnd tūge 'fig tree', Kui tōga 'fig, fig tree', Ku tōya 'fig' ¶ D #3537, GS 188 [#478] ¶ The cns. -g- in Knd, Png, Mnd, and Kui is still puzzling. Krishnamurti (Km. 33-4) claims that -g- of several D lgs., incl. some lgs. of the SCD, CD, and NED branches, may go back to pD *-y-, without formulating a clear phonetic law ◇ ≠ Blz. DA 160 [#80] (equates the D root with Arm t'uz, Gk B τῦκον 'fig tree' [cp. F II 818] and HS {Blz.} *tik- 'fig').

2243. **tū?rō* 'two' > IE **dwō(ū)* 'two' m. (and **dwaj* f./ntr., {Huld} **duwaj* f.) > OI m. d(u)vau, f./ntr. d(u)vā, YAv m. duua, ntr. duuaē-čā, KhS duva, NPrs du, Psh dwā, Oss: I dʒwwā ~ duwā, D

duw(w)ä 'two' || Arm երկու երկու id. || Gk Mc δύο, Gk Hm δύ(τε)ω, Gk A δύο id. || pAl {O} *duwā (f. *duwai), {Huld} *dū (f. *dū) id. > Al: T/G δύ dū, SG/Be dū, P dū, f. dū || Lm./ntr. δύο, f. δυαε || OIr dáu, dá, NIr dá id., Brtt {RE} *dwāy m. 'tree' > OW dōu, MW deu, W dau, Crn dow, deu, OBr, MBr dōu, Br daou id. || Gt m. twai, f. twos, ntr. twa, OSw Ru tuair, OSw m. twēr ~ twē, f. twār, ntr. tu, ON m. tveir, f. tvær, ntr. tvá ~ tvau, OHG m. zwēnē, f. zwō, ntr. zwēi, eNHG (before XVIII) m. zween, f. zwō, ntr. zwēi (> NHG zwei and zwō), OSx m. twēne, f. twā, ntr. twē, AS m. twēgen, f. twā, ntr. tū 'two', NE twō (and † twain); the ON, OSw, OSx, AS, and OHG m. forms are due to analogical restructuring within the paradigm of cases and genders (in WGmc based probably on pGmc forms of obl. cases, incl. gen. *twayōn and dat. *twayiyōm that preserve the pIE du. morpheme *-o(j)-, see Brg. DK 55ff.) || Lt dū m., dvī f., Ltv dīvī, Pru dwai 'two' | Sl *d(ъ)vā id. > OCS Δύвъ dъvъ, Blg, R, Uk два, SCr, Slv dvā, Cz, Slk dva, P dwa; Sl *d(ъ)vě 'two' f. > OCS Δύвѣ dъvě, Blg, R две, Uk дві, SCr двѣ & dvīje, Slv dvě, Cz dvě, Slk dve, P dwie || Tc: A ων m. (< *dwō-ū), ωε f. (< f. *dwa-j), B ωι m./f. (< *dwō-j) 'two'] The initial component of a cd.: NaIE *dwi-'two-, bi-' > OI dvi-, Av bi-, Arm երկի- երկի-, Gk δι-, OL dvi-, L bi-, ON tvi-, Lt dvi- || HrLw tu-wa-i 'two', accus. tuwaŋzi 'duos', Ht cd. da-yuga 'two years old', dān 'for the second time' §§ PI 228-9, Mn. 174-6, EI 399-400 (*dwōj- ~ *d(u)wojyos 'two, group of two' [cardinal collective], *'dweh₃(ū) ~ *du'weh₃(ū) 'two' du.), M K I 82-4, M E I 761-3, Bai. 163-4, Ab. I 385-6, F I 424-5, WH I 381-3, Huld 56, O 79, Me. EAC 165, RE 141, SEv. 45, LP § 13.3, YGM-1 164, Flr. 151, Fs. 484-5, Vr. 601-2, Ho. 357-8, Ho. S 76, Kb. 1271, OsS 1310-1, KM 896, Frn. 107-8, En. 164, Tp. P A-D 395, ESSJ V 185-8, KT 158, Wn. 585-6, Ad. 598-9, Ad. H 19, 137, Ts. E III 5, Mer. HHG 16, Mer. SGA 283 || HS: S *taw?am- ~ CS *tu?ām- 'twins, a twin, sth. double': S *taw?am- > BHb תְּוָאִם tō?ā'm-īm pl. 'twins', Ar توأم ~ تَوْأَم taw?am- 'one of the twins', Ak tū(?)am-tu 'twins; sth. double (double door, double bag, etc.)'; CS *tu?ām- > BHb תְּוָאִם tō?ā'm-īm 'twins', Ar توأم tu?ām- 'joint à un autre, faisant pendant à un autre; qui vient à la suite d'un autre'; d. CS *ta??um- 'twin' > Ar توأم ta?um-, OA *ta??um(-ā) (→ Ak NA ta??um- 'double, of twins') > Sr W تَوْاْمٌ tā<?>mā, JPA *tāmā [*tōmā] 'twin' → Θωμᾶς 'Thomas' § KB 1561, BK I 189, ≠ Br. G I 384 (an

unc. hyp. connecting S *taw?am-~*tu?ām- with Ar wā?ama 'agree, live peacefully with'), Sd. 1340, 1364 || ? WCh: AG {Tk.} *°tō 'repeat, do again' > Ang {Flk.} tō, tu-tō 'do sth. over and over again', Ang K {J} tō 'repeat (an act)' ¶ Flk. 294, Tk. (p.c., 2OO2) || U: FU (att. in BF) *to-ńće 'second' (*-ńće is a sx. marking ordinal numerals) > F toinen (gen. toisen), Es teine (gen. teise), Δ tōine, Vp toyńe (gen. toyžen), Lv t̄wɔy (gen. t̄wɔyz) 'second' ¶ SK 1327-8, Kt. 444 || A {SDM97} *tūwu 'two' > Tg *juwe- 'two' > Ewk, Sln jū-r, Lm jō-r‡jū-r, Neg jū-l, Ork, Ud žū, Nn žuž-r ‡ žū, Ul žuž-l, Ork dū, WrMc žuwe, Mc Sb žū, Jrc {Kiy.} žuwe ¶ STM I 276-7, Krm. 234, Y#2736, Klz. MS 15O, Kiy. 132 [#637], S AJ 215 [#132] || pKo: [1] {S} (in S AJ) *tub|wir, {DQA} *tuburh 'two' > OKo {Lee} tūpōr ~ tūþōr, eMKo [NR] {Blz.} tufuri, MKo {Lee} turh, {S} tūrh, NKo, Ko Ph tul, Ko: Sl tūl, Ks tūl, Hm tūl [2] pKo {S} *tubu- > MKo, NKo tū- {MLC} 'two, a couple' in cds. and as the first component of nominal phrases ¶ S AJ 255 [#94], S QK #94, Nam 166, MLC 5O1, 5O9, Lee GKS 174, Mr. KJ 245, Blz. N 128 || M *žiₙw,rin 'two' > MM [S] žirin 'two', WrM žirin 'two (women)', Dg žūrū 'pair', MnR H {SM} žür 'couple, pair' ¶ H 9O, MED 1O6O, S AJ 238 [#98], SM 96 || ? T: [1] *tū-í *'making a pair to, a second one (just like this one)' → 'equal, counterpart, corresponding to so.\sth.', 'a place opposite to this one' > OT tūš id., OT U tu₁;₂ 'one of the same age, comrade', 'counterpart', Tkm dūš 'approximately equal' (ol bið dūš bar 'he is approximately of our age', lit. 'he our [age]-equal is'), Qrg, StAlt tuš, Tv, Tf d_uš 'a place opposite to this one' (StAlt tuž-im-da-ψi 'one who is opposite to me', lit. 'opposite-my-in-being'), Qrg tuš-tuq 'corresponding, counterpart', Yk tus 'the side in front of so.', Chv: L тěл тъl, H t̄b̄l 'a certain place; just; opposite'; [2] SDM97 and DQA suggests a T etymon {SDM97} *t₁'ōr-, {DQA} *t̄v̄b̄v̄r 'second' > չ Blgh {SDM97} tvirem (the source?; not mentioned in Erd.) and Chv төпěр teb_řr 'another'; but Jeg. and Fed. suggest a more plausible et.: Chv төпěр 'another' < тата пěр 'noch (тата) ein (пěр), төпре 'another' < тата пěрре 'noch ein' (пěрре is 'one') (cp. VTt TYK {TTDS} täb̄r 'once more' < taγъ bъr, lit. 'noch ein') ¶ Cl. 558, Rs. W 5O1, DTS 59O, Tz. UIS 1O2, RI. III 15O8-9, Rh. 922, TkR 287, BT 159-6O, Jud. 774, TvR 184, Ra. 146, Pek. 2854-5, Ash. XV 28-33, Jeg. 243, Fed. II 214, TTDS 435 ¶ S AJ 33, 292 [#424] (A *džüw᷑ 'two'), ≈ DQA #2247 (A *t̄jubu; incl. M, Tg, Ko), Blz. NI 11O, 112-3, 118-21, 128 ||

?φ **K** *t_qu- 'two' - in extended stems: [1] *t_qu-b- 'pair, twins' > OG, G t_qub-i ~ t_qup-i, Mg t_qup- ~ t_qub-, Lz t_qub-, Sv UB/Ln {TK} t_qwib, L {TK} t_qub 'twin(s); an equal one; couple, pair', G t_qup-ad 'in twos, in pairs', t_qup- 'zwei Dinge aufeinanderlegen', Sv UB {GP} t_qwibd adv. 'in pairs', t_quba 'one of a pair', [2] *°t_qu-č- > G t_quči 'pair of joint fruits\nuts, pair' §§ K 184-5, K² 194, Abul. 415, DCh. 1232, Chx. 137, TK 722, GP 261; the K stems may belong here only if the "harmonic cluster" *t_q goes back to the cluster *t? (cp. GZ *c_qal- 'water, well' < N *či_lHA [= *či_lhA?] 'be wet\moist; moisture [water, etc.]') or there is another source (ext.?) of K *q ◇ Cf. Mng. E-1 23 (IE, U, Ko), IS MS 338 (IE, U, Ko), AD KJRE 11O-1 (IE, S, U, Tg, Ko, K), ~ Blz. IET √ (IE, A, mentions BF, rejects the S cognate [on the basis of Br.'s unc. hyp. connecting S *ta_{w?}am-~*tu_{w?}am- with Ar wā_{w?}ama 'agree, live peacefully with' - not 'imitate']); mentions similar words in other lgs.: Austronesian *Duwa, Ainu tu 'two', Sino-Tibetan *Tur 'pair' and Cherkes tū 'two'), Tk. (p.c.) (Ang, IE); F AD AltAD #4 ◇ Mng. E-1, ~ Gr. II #4O4 (*tu 'two') (IE, U, A, Ko, Ai).

2244. ₂ ~ *ta_g'i' 'to tear' > **HS:** C: Dhl {EEN} d'ār- v. 'tear' || SC: Kz {E} da?- v. 'bite' § EEN 27, E SC 163 (SC *dār- v. 'rend, tear') || Ch: WCh: AG: Su {J}, Mntl {J} tē, {ChC} tē̄, Kfr {Nt.} tē, Mntl {J} tē v. 'tear' | BT: GIm {Sch.} tā-(ālā) id. || CCh: BM: Hld tuwā, Wmd tuwa id. § J S 84, Sch. BTL, ChC, ChL || IE: NaIE *dā-/*də-, *dāj-/*dəj-/*dī- v. 'divide, tear\cut into pieces' > OI 'dāti, 'dyāti 'cuts up, divides, mows', 'dayatē 'divides; participates' || Gk δαίμων 'I divide', δαίσ, δαίτη, δαίτυς 'portion, sacrifice' || Gl arcanto-dan ~ arganto-da_n, 'monetarius' (lit. 'silver divider') || ? pAl {O} *dańa (from *daya- under the infl. of other verbs in *-ńa) > Al daj (aor. dava) 'divide' § P 175-6, EI 161 (*deh_{R(i)}- 'cut up, divide'), M K II 2O-1, 3, F I 341-2, Billy 13-4, O 54 ◇ ≠ BmK 312 (equating the IE √ with S *✓ tħn v. 'grind', SC {E} *dah- v. 'knock' and K *t_{ex}- v. 'break').

2245. *tUb∇ (= *tūba?) (or *tiba?) 'grass, straw; to cut grass\plants' > **HS:** S *'tib_l∇_n- 'straw' > BHb תְּבַנָּה 'təbən, JA [Trg.], JEA תִּבְנָה tib_l'nā, Sr تِبَنَ təb_l'nā, Ar tibn- ~ tabn- 'straw', Ak tibnu 'straw, chaff' ('Stroh, Häcksel') § KB 1553, GB 87O, Js. 1645, Lv. T II 524, Sl. 12O3, BK I 192, Sd. 1354-5 || ?φ Ch: pAG {Stl. VZCh} *d'i'b, {Hf.} *jip v. 'harvest' > Gmy {Hf.} diph, Ang {Hf.} jip, Su {J} dīp id. || ? CCh: Bcm {Sk.} dawo id. § ChC, J S 64, Stl. VZCh §§ The origin of the

initial glottalization in Ch is not clear || K: [1] GZ *tib- 'grass' > G tiv-a 'hay' ({K}: < tib-va, n. act. of tib- v. 'mow'), G Aj tiba-, Mg tib- 'hay', Lz tib- 'grass'; [2] GZ *tib- 'mow' > OG, G tib-, Mg, Lz tip- id. ¶ K 94, K² 71, FS K 149-5O, FS E 162-3 || A: NaT *^ot_l’oPan 'straw, husk, chaff' > Nog tobān 'straw', Qzq, ET topān 'husk, chaff', Qq topān 'chaff, bran', Qrg topōn 'chaff', Shor tobān 'dust of grain, dust of rotten wood' ¶ KrkR 648, Rl. III 1232, MM 349, Sht. 2O2, Nj. 31O, NogR 353, Jud. 751 ◇ NaT *^o is likely to go back to an earlier *ü (regr. as. *ü...a > *^o...a); this pre-T *ü may be either original (< N *ü) or result from labialization of N *i (influences by the labial cns. *b). K *tib- also suggests that the vw. of the N word was either *ü (because K *i is one of the regular reflexes of N *ü) or *i.

2246. *tæb¹ı́v (= *täb¹ı́v?) 'follow, run, chase' ([in pN or in descendant lgs.] → 'beg hard, demand') > **HS:** WS *✓ tbı́ > Ar ✓ tbı́ v. G 'follow, come with', D 'pursue unremittingly', 'demander avec insistance', MHb ✓ tbı́ v. G 'search, ask, claim, summon', JA [Trg.] ✓ tbı́ v. G 'ask, demand, inquire', JEA ✓ tbı́ G 'demand, claim, solicit', Sr ✓ tbı́ G 'seek, demand, beg; require, claim', Mh ✓ tbı́ G (pf. tūba, sbjn. үзтбә), Jb E/C ✓ tbı́ G (pf. tēı, sbjn. 'үзтбә') 'follow' ¶ BK I 19O-1, Js. 1645, Sl. 1191-2, JPS 6O3-4, Hv. 55-6, Jo. M 399 || **D** *tev- v. 'beg hard, importune by begging' (x N *t̥eyw¹v 'ask [for], beg') > Tm t̥evvıu v. 'beg hard, importune', MI t̥era 'beggar', TI dēvurincu v. 'beg humbly, importune', Krx temb- v. 'beg for alms' ¶ D #3431A || **A:** [1] T *t_l’abıra- 'run at full speed, rush, gallop' > OT {Cl.} tavrā- 'hasten, be in a hurry', Tk Δ dabra- ~ davri- 'galop, run at full speed' ¶ Cl. 443, DTS 542, ET VGD 112-4 || [2] T *t_l’abiı́- > Chg {Bu.} tawiš- 'run, jump' and d. *t_l’abiı́-gan 'hare' > OT tavišgan, MOg XIII tawšān, MQp XIV dawušaqan, Chg xv tawušqan, MU tavišqan ~ tavšan, Tki {Cl.} tavšqan (sic!), Tk tavşan, Az dovšan, Ggz, Qmq tavšan, Tkm towšan, Xlj dovušqan, Uz (Shch., TL) twšqan, ET tošqan, Yk tabisxān id.; T → M *taulayi 'hare' > MM [PP] t̥avlayi, [LM] تَوْلَىٰ tavlay, [MA] ta

u
laj, [S] taolaj ~ ta

u
laj, [IsV] taulaj, WrM tau'lai, HIM түүлай, Ord t̥ū'lā, Kl түүлә, {Rm.} tūlā, Dg {Pp.} t̥āu'lē, {Mr.} tau'lī id., Mnr H {T} tūlī id., {SM} t̥ū'lī, MMgl itaula, Brt түүлай 'hare, rabbit' ¶ Cl. 447, Rs. W 453, Shch. Zh 136, TL 164, Bu. I 338, Pp. PP 131, Pp. L II 127O, Pp. MA 343, HJ 145, MED 788, KRS 52O, Iw. 1O7, SM 43, T 367, Mr. D 193, Chr. 438 || Tg (in NrTg) *tēb- > Ewk t̥awul- 'catch up

with (догнать)', Lm t̥wut- 'go behind so.' ¶ STM II 226 ¶ Tg *t- (for the expected *d-) may be due to the infl. of Tg *tebe- 'catch' (< N *tæb^N 'catch, seize') || ?μ pJ {S} *tapasir- 'run' > OJ tapasir- (tabasir-), influenced by pasir- 'run' (unless d. from it with the px. ta-) ¶ S QJ #744 ¶ ≈ DQA #2354 (*tēbā- 'run') [T, M (considered the M word as a genetic cognate of T rather than a loan from it), Tg, J], Vld. 255 (M, T) ◇ If the vw. *e in D *tev- belongs to the heritage of N *teyw^N, the N etymon is to be reconstructed as *täb^N ◇ Qu., because D *tev- has an alt. et.

2246a. ?σ₂ *tæb₁Ν, s₂Ν ≈ 'heel; to trample, kick with the heel' > HS: Eg NK tbs 'heel' > DEg tbs > Cpt: Sd тбс tib_s, B тибс тибс id. ¶ EG V 262, Er. 625, Vc. 211 || A: M *debse- > WrM debse-, HlM дэвсэ-, Brt дэбхэ- v. 'stamp the feet, trample', Kl {Rm.} dew_s- id., {KRS} дэвс- 'kick with the foot', MM [S] debse- v. 'dance' ¶ MED 239, Chr. 214, KRS 191, KW 9O, H 34 ◇ It is tempting to adduve here U: ?? OHg fXVII, Hg t₁apōs- 'tread (on/down), trample' (¶ EWH 1481), but it is more likely to be a derived descendant of U t₁*tapp^N v. 'trample' (< N ? *täbHa or *tabHE 'to trample, to kick, to crumple, to press') ◇ Qu.

2247. *ta?æga 'rock, mountain; top' > HS: B: Ah etəq (pl. itəqqən) 'rocher à pic un peu surplombant' ¶ Fc. 1919 || Om {AD} *dač-/ *tač- 'mountain' > SOm: Hm {Ldl.} duča 'mountain' ¶ Bnd. AL 135, CR H 420-5, HWH 324, C SE IV 507 || C: Ag: Xm {BSW} təgʷa 'up', {R} adv. and postp. dāg 'up, on', bī-dāg 'im/auf dem Lande', dāges 'upon', dāg'sēsa 'upper', Bln {R} dāg postp. 'on, above', Q {R} dig 'über, auf' || Bj {R} 'tagega 'Höhe', ta'gig 'height', Bj A {AD} ?i ta'gīg 'highland, mountainous region', ta'gēga 'high' ¶ Ss. B 61, Ss. PEC 18, Bl. 184, Grg. 118, Brl. 89, Sr. 294, R WB 98, R QW 47-8, R Ch II 352, R WBd 223, BSW KhWL 7 ¶ Blz. OL (HS *daguḥ 'mountain, rock') ¶ Since the connection with EC {Ss.} *dagħ-, {AD} *tagħħ- 'stone, rock', with B *v[✓]d₂ 'stone', and with Ch *d[✓]g- ~ *d[✓]g- 'stone' remains too qu. on phonetic and semantic grounds, it has not been taken hereinto account || A: T *t'āg 'mountain' ({ADb.} *t-) > OT tay, Tkm dāy, Tk daġ, Ggz dā, Az, CrTt daẏ, Qz1 {Jk.} tay ~ tāy, Tv даг d_aẏ, Tf d_aẏ, Slr dāy, SY, Ln, ET, Xk tay, Uz тағ tay, CrTt tav, Qmq, Nog, Qz1, Qq, VTt, Bsh taw, Qrg tō, Alt tū, Chv t̥v, Chv L tu id., Yk тіа id., 'forest' ¶ ADb. Ttd 52 [#18] (neutralization of T *t- and t'-), S AJ 18O [#54], Cl. 463, ET

VGD 117, Rs. W 454, Ra. 168, Md. 27, 178, Jk. K 31, Dr. TM II 439-4O, Jeg. 254, Fed. II 24O || M *de_øe-re 'above, up' > MM de_øere ([PP] de_øere, [MA, IM] dēre), WrM degere, HlM дээр, Kl dēr adv., postp. 'above, on top of, high', Dx չիշր, Dg d̄sr, MnR H {T} dere, {SM} d_зre, Mgl {Rm.} dērā 'on, on top of', Dg {Iv.} dere 'top'; M *de_øe-dü > WrM degedü, HlM дээд 'higher, upper; highest', MnR H {SM} d_īd_i 'upper'; M *degde- > WrM degde-, HlM, Brt дэгдэ- 'rise' → Ewk d̄sgdi-, SlN d̄sgdз-, WrMc dekde- id. ¶ S AJ 239 [#129], MED 242-3, Luv. 17O-1, T 328-9, STM I 228-9 || ???σ Tg *deg- v. 'fly' > Ewk, Lm, Neg d̄z̄-, Orc d̄zili, Ud d̄zili-, Ul, Nn d̄sgdз-, WrMc deyε-, Mc Sb d̄zuz- id.; NrTg: Ewk d̄z̄i ~ d̄z̄ī, Sl, Neg d̄z̄ī, Lm d̄z̄i 'bird' ¶ STM I 228-9 || pKo *tə₁ 'still more, moreover' > NKo tə₁ id. ¶ S AJ 256, S QK #147, MLC 439 || pJ *takà 'high, mountain' > OJ takà- high', J: T/Kg taká, K takà- id; OJ take 'mountain', J: T/Kg také, K takè id. ¶ S AJ 271 [#162], S QJ #162, Mr. 539, 841 ¶ S AJ 283 [#188], DQA #2236 (A *tēga 'high, top; mountain') || U: Sm {Jn.} *t̄äk̄w̄b̄ (= *t̄c̄säk̄t̄w̄m̄) 'das Obere, Oberlauf' > Ne T Y {Ter.} dat. sg. тю" 'up, to the sides', Ne T dat. sg. {Ter.} тю"ū 'up', {Lh.} tā?βu·? ፩ tū?u? 'up', Ne T тю"ū 'top, upper', Ne F {Lh.} dat. či?uβ 'up', En {Cs.} tε?i 'top', Slq Tm {KD} tām 'aufwärts', Slq Ch {Cs.} tāmmel 'das oben befindliche', Kms {Cs.} thāwā 'aufwärts' ¶ Jn. 155, Ter. 699, Cs. 146, 186, 2OO, 257 ◇ The vowels in the A lgs. (T *ā, M and Tg *e) may be accounted for if the N etymon was *taræga. But if the vocalization hyp. of SDM97 (A *ē) is right, this A vw. corresponds to U *ä and may point to N *ä within pN *tä?ŋ̄ḡa. In A there is compensatory lengthening of the vw. (evidenced by T *ā) due to the loss of the Ir. Ah q, Om *-k̄- (and probably Sm *-k-) go back to **-k̄- from N *-?ŋ̄ḡ-)

2248. ₂ *tu?ḡ?ŋ̄? 'listen, hear' > HS: C {AD SF} *t̄ḡ(ḡ) > EC: Arr {Hw.} -tteg-/ttig- 'know' (1s ?ittige, 2s, 3f tēttege, 3m yéttege) (× N *dähgU 'to watch, to look at?'); EC *d̄a¹ḡ- 'ear' > LEC {Bl.} *d̄a₂ḡ- 'ear' > 'Af d̄aḡ 'auricular region', Rn {Oo.} 'd̄og(-e) 'ear', {PG} d̄óg 'ear-drum; hearing (ability to hear)', Bn d̄eg, Sml d̄eg 'ear' (the vw. e on the analogy of the d. verb d̄eg-ay-sad-); → LEC *d̄a₂ga-ay- v. 'hear' > Kns, Gdl d̄akay- 'hear', Or {Grg.}, Or H {Ow.} d̄agay-, Or B/O d̄agā, d̄agēta, Or O d̄age-a, d̄agēta, Elm d̄ek-ay-, Arr {Hw.} d̄eg(a)y-, Kns d̄ak-ay-sad-, and Sml d̄eg-ay-sad- (both latter forms with sxs. of ben. + caus.) v. 'listen'; ≠ also Rn {PG} d̄ág-, {Sim} d̄ag-, Arr d̄edegad-, Ya dek- v. 'hear';

Brj 'daga 'ear' ¶ Ss. B 61, Bl. 137, 248, Grg. 118, Ow. 258, Sr. 294, Sim 19, PG 88, 96, Hw. A 354-5 || Ch: WCh *✓dkw (or *✓dkʷ) > NrBc {Stl.} *n-dukw|y- v. 'hear' > P' {MSk.} ndukù, Mbr {Sk.} džkž, My {Sk.} džkáy-, Sir {Sk.} džhíw i id. | Bd {ChL} džkʷān, {IL in ChC} dúgʷà id. || CCh: Tr {Nw. in ChC} tžkì id. || ECh: Kjk dugiye, Kjk ažigala, Mnj žígéwò, Mu {J} žégéw, Jg {J} døy-, Brg døyí id.; ? Ke {Eb.} dígi 'think' (x N *dähgU '↑') ¶ Stl. ZCh 252 [#56], JI II 184-5, ChC, Blz. EChWL #4O || A *tug∇ ({ADb.} *tuy- = {JADb.} *duy-) v. 'hear, listen' > M *duyul- > WrM dūgul- v. 'hear, listen', HIM, Brt дүүла- id., Ord d_ūl- 'hear', ? MM [MA] {Pp.} du_ūla- 'emit sounds'; → M *duyul-ga- > MM [S] d. du_ūl-g|qa-, [PP] dū_ūlqa 'let know, inform', WrM dūgulga-, HIM дүүлгэ- id., 'advise' ¶ H 4O, MED 271, Chr. 205, Ms. O 16O, Pp. MA 147, Pp. PP 122 || ?? NaT *tuy- (JADb.} *duy-) v. 'perceive, hear, feel' > OT {Cl.} tuy- v. 'feel, perceive, notice', Tk dūy- v. 'feel, hear, learn', Az duy-, ET tuy- 'feel, learn', Ggz, Tkm duy-, VTt, Bsh t̥uy-, CrTt, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Uz, ET tuy- v. 'feel'; Qp → Chv L tuy- 'feel, notice, hear' ¶ Cl. 567, ET VGD 29O, Jeg. 255, Fed. II 241, Rs. W 497, ADb. Ttd 59-6O || Tg {DQA} *°duya- > WrMc dūyle- 'interrogate, investigate a complaint'; but WrMc dūyle-, dūybole- 'collate' may have been influenced by or borrowed from Chn d_uy 'pair; to collate' ¶ STM I 22O || ??σ,φ pJ {S} *tua-p- 'ask (fragen)' > OJ tuóp-, J: T tò- ~ tó, K tó-, Kg tò- ¶ S QJ #1171, Mr. 771 ¶ Pp VG 139, ADb. SRAE 18, ADb. Tdt 59-6O, ≈ DQA #2268 (A *tuyu 'listen, perceive' > T, M, J) ¶ The loss of N *-g- (or its transformation into *-y-) in T, Tg, and J is still to be elucidated ◇ C *t- and EC *d- are likely to go back to a cluster *t- + *?.

2249. (2?) *t̥iy∇ 'to flow' (? [in IE] → 'to run quickly') > HS: S *°-t̥iř- > Ar ✓tyř, -t̥iř- G {BK} 'être liquide et couler', {Fr.} 'fluidum fuit, fluxit', {Hv.} 'flow and spread' (water); ?? cp. also Ak ✓tx̥x G (inf. taxāx) 'übergießen' ¶ BK I 212-3, Fr. I 206, Hv. 64, Sd. 1301 || K *tex-/*tx- 'pour' > OG, G tx- 'pour, spill', Sv də,txel 'liquid', Mg (n)tx-, Lx nt̥x- v. 'fall'; ?? (acc. to K²) Sv šd̥x-, štx- v. 'exhaust', šdex- 'be exhausted' ¶ K 98, K² 7O, Chx. 508, Schm. 115-6 || ?σ IE *dejH- > NaIE {P} *deyə-/*dyā-, *dyə-, *d̥i- 'hurry, run quickly' > OI d̥iyati 'flies, soars' || Gk Hm δένω 'I fled', δέματι 'I hurry, flee, speed', δέσθαι 'to flee' || OIr {Thr.} dían 'swift', déne 'swiftness' || ? Ltv diēt 'to dance' ¶ P 187 (IE 'eilen, nacheilen, streben'), M K II 46, Hofm. 61, F I 389-9O, Thr. § 257, ≈ Kar. I 217-8, ≈ El 208 (*dih,- [prs. *dih,ye/o-]

'fly; move quickly') ◇ An alternative etymological comparison: N ***tiq** ∇ > Ak **taχāχu** 'übergießen', IE and K (as above) ◇ Illich-Svitych (IS MS 347 s.v. 'течъ' ***təh^hₙₙ**) equated K with the dubious IE √ **dā- 'fließen' (P 175) (which is based on an implausible comparison of IIr *dāna- 'stream' with Arm **տամուկ** tamuk 'moist, humid' and Al **dhjamē** n. 'fat').

2250. ***t'ēχaw'a'** 'fire' > HS: C: ? Bj {R} 'dihe' 'embers, charcoal' || EC: ? Sa {R} **tatās** dāh-, **tatās**-a 'Funken machen; das Feuer sprühen \ spritzen'; C \rightarrow Tgy **ተቋዕ በስ** tetaṣ bələ id. (the direction of the borrowing is not clear; but since the word is isolated in S, the C source is more probable); || C \rightarrow Mb -totoxō~-totoko vi. 'boil'; ??σ, φ SC: E adduces Brn čaxasa 'salt (from ashes of burnt reeds)' ¶ E SC 193 (equates Mb, Dhl, and Brn; reconstructs SC *čax- vi. 'burn'), R WBd 64, R S II 358 || Ch: CCh: Bt {Mch.} díye, BtG {Srp.} dié 'fire' || ECh ≈ * \sqrt{Tw} 'fire' > Kwn {J} tòwā, Ke {Eb.} č́wá, Kbl {Cp.}, Ll {Grgs.} tūwā, Smr {J} duwā, Nd D {J} dōw, Tmk {Cp.} dzu, Kjk tawe ¶ JI II 139, ChC, Eb. 6, Lk. ZSS 77, 89-93, Blz. EChWL #27 || K: OG, G day- (aor. -day-) 'brandmarken', G day-i 'Brandzeichen, Brandmal, Brandeisen', G Kzq day- 'braten (Zwiebeln in Fett)' ¶ Chx. 277-8 ¶ as. *t-ψ > *d-ψ? || IE *deh_₂ψ- (= *deə_₂ψ-) > NaIE *dāψ- / *dəw- / *du(:)- (/ ? *dēw-) vt. 'burn, kindle' > OI du-'nō-ti vt. 'burns, tortures', dū-'nah̥' 'burnt', dā'vah~ davah 'fire, Brand' || Gk δαίω ({EI} < *δāF-jω) 'I light up, make burn, kindle', pfc. δέδηε 'burns' (itr.), pfc. prtc. δεδαυμένος || OIr {P} dóim 'ich senge, brenne', {P., Vn.} átúd (< *ad-dowth) n. 'kindling', MW deifyaw 'to burn, to singe', W dewy / inf. deifio (v < *w before y) v. 'scorch, singe' || OHG zusken vt. 'to burn (up), adurere, exurere, oburere' || Lt džiáu-ti 'to hang up for drying', Ltv žaut id., vt. 'to dry' (Lt and Ltv suggest an *ē-grade *dēψ-) || pTc {Ad.} *tu- > Tc: B tu-, A, B twās- 'kindle, ignite, light' ¶ P 179-81, EI 87 (*deh_₂ψ- 'kindle, burn, blaze'), M K II 49-50, Hofm. 50, Ch. 248-9, F I 343-4, Vn. A 102, LP § 39.1, YGM-1 166, Kb. 1270, OsS 1306-7, Frn. 117. Ad. 298-9 || U: FU *tew ∇ -t ∇ 'fire' (× N *tæ'p^₁ ∇ 'to warm, to be warm'?) > Ugr {MF} *täwt ∇ , {UEW} *tūw ∇ -t ∇ > ObU {JHI.} *tōwat 'fire' > pVg *tāwət id. > Vg: T täwət, LK tōwt, tōwt, tōwt, MK/NV tōwt, P/SV tōwt, LL tōt; pOs *tōψət > V/Vy tōψət, Ty tēψwət, Y tēwət, D/L tüt, Nz/Kz tüt, O tut id. | Hg tūz (accus. tūz-ət) 'fire' ¶ MF 648, UEW 895-6, Ht. #631 (ObU *tōψət) ¶ UEW (l.c.) reconstructs here pUgr

*tūr̥⁷-t̥⁷ or *tūw̥⁷-t̥⁷, Ht. #631 reconstructs pObU *tōr̥at, but Helimski (Hl. rHt 73-74) has shown that in stems with front vowels there is a pObU distinction between pObU *-w̥- (> pVg *-w̥-, pOs *-v̥-) and pObU *-v̥- (> pVg *-y̥-, pOs *-y̥-), hence in the stem in question the pObU (as well as pUgr and pFU) medial cns. is *-w̥-. In Os dialects *ő changes into ē due to the infl. of the following *w̥. Acc. to Hl. rHt 68-9, pVg *ā and pOs *e ({Hl.} *ā) correspond regularly to Hg. ē, sc. go back to pFU *ā (in contradistinction to pVg *ā and pOs *ē (*ā) which correspond to Hg. ē and go back to higher pFU vowels). In the stem in question we have to reconstruct pFU *ā and suppose that Hg. ū/ū is here from pFU *aw || A: Tg *da- > WrMc dā- v. {Z} 'catch fire', {Hr.} 'brennen (Feuer)', WrMc dā-bu- 'kindle, light fire', Mc Sb da- 'catch fire', da-və- v. 'light fire', ? Ewk dariçī 'burning', ? Ork darrīngatu, darrīptāŋi 'kindling (wood) (растопка)' ¶ STM I 2OO, Hr. 168, 176, Y ##479, 481 || D {tr.} *tīy- 'fire' ({GS} *tyī-) vi. 'burn' > Tm tī, tiy, Ml, Kn tī 'fire', Tu tū 'fire', Tm tī, tiy v. 'be burnt', Kt ti·y- v. 'be singed, roasted', Td ti·y- v. 'be singed', Kn tī v. 'burn, scorch, singe', Brh tīn 'scorching, scorching heat' ¶ D #3266, GS 2O2 [#511] ¶ The quality of the D vw. may be due to the infl. of *y ◇ The initial d- for the expected *t- in Bj and G may be due to the infl. of other roots (heritage of other N words) (e.g. G dag- 'brandmarken'). IE *-eH- (> NaIE *-ā-) and Tg *-a- suggest the presence of N *a after the lr.

2251. *tōH'ū⁷ ~ *ta|æH'ū⁷ (= *tō'Γ⁷'ū⁷ ~ *ta|æ'Γ⁷'ū⁷?) 'bring, fetch, give' > IE *deHw- ~ *deHwW- > NaIE *dō-/*də-, *dōy-/*dəy-/*du- v. 'give' > OI 'dadā-ti, Av dādāti 'gives', OPrs dadātuv 'let him give!' || Gk δίδωσι 'gives', pp. δοτός 'given' || L dā- v. 'give', pp. dātus 'given' (m. sg.) || Arm տամ ta-m 'I give', aor. ետու etu (< NaIE *e-dō-m) || Olt dúo-mi 'I give', inf.: Lt dúo-ti, Ltv dōt 'to give', Pru dāst 'gives' | Sl *dā-ti (1s prs-ft. *da'mbъ) 'to give' > OCS ΔΑΤΗ dati / 1s ΔАМЬ dāmь, R дать / 1s ft. дам, SCR dāti / dām 'give', Slv dāti, Cz dati, Slk dat', P dać 'to give' || ? Clt: (*pro-dō/ə-) > Brtt {RE} *rodīmi 'give' > OW rodesit 'he gave', MW roði ~ roi, W rhoddi ~ rhoi, Crn rū, MBr reiff, Br reiñ 'to give' ¶ Acc. to P, NaIE *dōu-/*dəu-/*du- is represented by OI dā'vanē, Av dāvōi 'zu geben', Gk Cp δυῖνοι 'er möge geben', inf. δοῖναι, and Larc duim, duis 'dem, dēs' || ? Lc M {ABIV.} da-/du- v. 'give (?)', Ld dāv 'I give (?)' ¶ P 223-6, H

224 (*deh₃-), M K II 13-4, FI 388-9, WH I 360-3, Ped. CG II 473 (Brtt < *pro-d-), ≈ LP § 506 (Brtt < *pro- + Clt *to-ber-), RE 99, Slt. 105, Frn. 111-2, ESSJ IV 194-8, SPS II 353-7, Glh. 189-90, Vs. I 485, Ts. E III 5-11, Gsm. LW 94, 96-7, ABIV I 85 || | **U** *tɔ̄xe- v. 'bring, fetch, give' > F tuo-, Es tuo, tuu- v. 'bring, fetch' | Lp Vfs {Lgc.} tu'ɔ̄kkɔ̄-, Lp S {N} duok'ə v. 'sell' | pMr {Ker.} *tūχb- > Er tuye- tuye-, Mk tuy- tu-, Δ tuyə- v. 'bring, fetch' || pObU {Ht.} *tū-, *tuy- > pVg *tū-l- 'holen' > Vg: T tōl-, MK/UL/ML/Ss tūl-, P tūl-~tul- id.; pOs *tu-, *tuy- 'bring' > Os: V/Vy/Ty tu-, tuy-, Y tu-, tuw-, D tu-, tēw-, tāw-, K tu-, tōw-, tāw-, Nz/O tu-, tūw- | ? Hg tōj- 'lay eggs' || pSm {Jn., Hl.} *t̄b- 'bring, give' (= {Jn.} *tā-) > Ng tasa 'give', imv. та" 'give!', En та" id., Ne T тасъ tās v. 'give', та tā 'Ersatz, Tausch', Ne F ta·s v. 'give', aor. tāŋ·āt 'I gave', Slq Tz {KKIH} tū- 'carry' ('таскать'), Kms det-, tet- 'bringen, holen', Mt {Hl.} ɿ *ta- 'geben, hergeben' || pY {IN} *t̄v- 'give' > Y: K/T {IN} tadī- 'give', ? K {Jc.} tīä- id. §§ UEW 529-530, Coll. 64, Sm. 550 (FU, RP *toxi-, Ugr *togi- 'bring'), MF 635-6, Ker. II 171, Ht. #613, Lgc. SL 179, Jn. 145, KKIH 188, Hl. M #930, IN 247, ≈ Rd. UJ 44 [#56] (Y ↔ U) || **A:** [1] pKo *tā- > MKo tā-kò, NKo tāgo, Ko Ph tā(g)o 'give me' § Rm. SKE 247-8, S QK #947, MLC 378; [2] AdS of A {DQA} *t'ūya {AD} 'offer food to guests' (< N *t̄Uh̄y᷑ 'eat, feed; food', q.v. ffd.- which is the main source, as evidenced by Tg *t- < N *t̄-) §§ DQA #2452 || | **D** {Pf.} *tay- ~ *tey-, {Km.} *tay-~*tey- ~ *ta(:)- ({GS} *t-) v. 'bring', v. 'give (to the 1st\2nd pers.)' > Tm taru/tār- (imv. tā) v. 'give (to the 1st\2nd pers.)', MI taruk, tār- (imv. tā) id., Kt ta·r-, ta-, ta·, Td to·r-, ta-, to·, Kdg tar-, ta· id., Kn tar, tār, tā v. 'lead or conduct near, bring, give (to the 1st\2nd pers.)', TI teccu, tē- v. 'bring', Gnd ta-/tar- v. 'bring', Knd ta-, t-, Png, Mnd ta- id., Kui tapa, tat-, Ku ta?- id., Brh tiniŋ, tir-, neg. ti- v. 'give'; Pf. adduces here Krx tay-, tēy- v. 'send a newly marriage girl out of the village' and Mlt teye id. §§ D #3098, 3418, Pf. 18 [#77], Km. 389 [#598] || ? HS: ??amb Eg N thm '(Leute, Vieh) herbeibringen, holen' (unless a sd. from Eg fMd thm 'stossen, drängen') § EG V 321; Eg h may go back to *ŋ < *ṇ and *χ (the initial combinations t̄vŋ and d̄vŋ do not exist in Eg) ◇ ≠ BmK 275 (unc.: D √ ÷ S *χ̄hd̄y v. 'convey, take' [interpreted as *day-]) and 305 (unc.: IE and U roots ÷ Eg d̄w / d̄ v. 'put, place' and d̄j 'present' [interpreted as *d̄, d̄w v. 'give, put, place'; in fact Eg d̄w / d̄ is a cognate of IE d̄hē- v.

'put' < N *di⁵ē ~ *d⁵āHū? 'to put, to place'], S NSShS #19 (IE, A *t'oye-) ◇ *-y- in A *t'oye- and in D *tay-~*tey- is a hiatus-filling cns. (after the loss of the lr.). A *t'- is due to the lr. (N *t⁵H- > *tH- > A *t'). IE *deHw- (> NaIE *dō-/ *də-) may have resulted from the loss of *-w- (possibly as. *t⁵H'ü¹ > *t⁵Ho) ◇ The variation *t⁵H'ü¹ ~ *ta|æH'ü¹ may be due to assimilation (either labialization *-a|æ- > *-o- or palatalization *-o- > *-æ- under the infl. of *-ü¹) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #174 (*tō 'give') (IE, U, CK + unc. A, Ko, EA).

2252. *tawikæ 'insect, vermin, (?) reptile' > HS: B *ta-wk- 'worm' (metanalysis reinterpreting the form as n. ag. of *✓ wkk) > Ah tawkke, Ty, ETwl tawakke, Gh tawki, Sll tawkkwā, Gd tukækka, Izd tawkka 'worm' ¶ Fc. 1476, Lf. II #O7O9, GhA 197, Mrc. 261 || IE *dejg- ~ 'tick (Ixodes)' > Arm unhq tiz 'tick' || MIr {P} dega (accus. degaid) (< *digāt-) 'stag-beetle' || Gmc *tikan- (with intensifying gem. *tikkān-) 'tick' > AS {Ho., Sw.} ticca id. (P: read tiica or ticca), NE tike and tick, NHG Zecke 'tick'; Gmc *tikan- > MLG teke, OHG zéhho, MHG zechē, zecke 'tick' ¶ P 187-8, EI 257 (*dig¹h₁), Slt. 335, Ho. 346, Sw. 172, Skeat 646, WrW 565, Kb. 1243, OsS 1242, Lx. 33O, KM 876 || A *t|dak⁵ 'snake, lizard' > pKo {S} *tòirjòn 'lizard' > MKo tòiryòn, NKo toron-nyon ¶ S QK #9O9, Nam 162, MLC 464 || pJ {S} *t⁵ká- 'snake, lizard' > OJ t₁uókág₁è, J: T tòkage, K tòkágè, Kg tokáge, Y tògárà ¶ S QJ #123, Mr. 548 || ??σ Tg *dak⁵ 'sheat-fish' > Sln dāxi, Neg dāx₁ dāk₁, Nn Nh dōaqa id. ¶ DQA #22O3 (A *t|dake) || ?φ,σ K *(s)tagw- 'mouse' (unless akin to ECh: Ke dùglà 'mouse') > OG tagu, G tagv-, Lz mtug-, mtuy-, Sv šdugw, štugw- 'mouse' ¶ K 175, K² 66 (*tagw-), FS K 142 and FS E 154 (*tagw-), Abul. 172, Eb. 42 ◇ The K cognate is highly qu. (because of the irreg. *-g- and the meaning).

2253. *tek⁵Ν 'to touch' > HS: WS *✓ t⁵k₁ > BHb ✓ t⁵k₁ v. G 'strike with the hand', JA ✓ t⁵k₁ G id., 'clap', Tgr ✓ t⁵k₁ G 'clap hands' ¶ KB 1642-3, Lv. T II 554, Js. 1693, Sl. 1229, LH 614-5, LG 595 || EC: Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} tu⁵k- v. 'touch', ? Af -ōtok- v. 'strike' (× N *t'ü¹Ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push') ¶ Grg. 38O, Sr. 394, ≠ Ss. PEC 48 (adduces Rn taχ- and Dsn tá? v. 'push', cp. N ≈ *te'h'aka?ē 'to put, to set'), PH 177 || IE: NaIE *deg⁵g- v. 'touch' > Gt tekan (3s p. taítok), MLG tacken 'to touch', ON taka (p. tōk), Dn tagē, Nr ta, MDt taken 'to take', Sw taga 'to take, to touch, to catch'; NrGmc → ME

taken > NE **take** || Tc B täk- v. 'touch' § P 183, EI 595, Fs. 475, Vr. 580, Hlq. 1158-9, Wn. 504-5, Ad. 289, To. DL 529 || A: T *t̥eg-, {§ADb.} *teg- v. 'touch' > OT {Cl.} täg- v. 'touch, reach', MT [IM] däg-, Tk değ-, Az däy-, Ggz dī-, XT {ADb.} dey-, Qrg, StAlt tiy- v. 'touch', Tkm dey- id., 'hit (the target)', VTt, Bsh тий- tiy-, Uz teg- v. 'touch (undeliberately)' ('задеть, коснуться'), ET täg-, Tv d_eý-, Tf d_eý-, Chv tiy- v. 'touch' § Cl. 476, IS AD #A 10, ET VGD 173-5, ADb. Ttd 52 [#4], Ra. 171, Jeg. 249-50, Fed. II 226 § But OT täg- v. 'attack' (Cl. 476) belongs to N *täk^Δ 'to attack' (q.v.) || D *tak- ({§GS} *t-, *-g-) v. 'touch' (×N *taka|æ 'to touch', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 369 (*täk^Δ 'трагать' > IE, A, D *tak-). T *-g- < N *-k^Δ- (reg. , cp. N *hak^Δ 'to stand, to stop, to stay, to be' > T *āg- v. 'rise' and N *čE^Δk^Δ 'to step, to tramp, to trample down' > T *çigru- v. 'trample down').

2254. ² *tAkU^{ñ|ñ}Δ (or *tAkU_ñHΔ_ñ) 'bug' > HS: C: pAg *t^ñk^ñan 'bugs' > Bln {R} təg^ñan ~ təx^ñan, Xm {R} tə'x^ñan, Q {R} tūkān 'bugs', Km {CR} tuxān-a 'bug'; Ag → Gz {L} tək^ñān 'bedbug'; EthS → Sa, Af {R} tək^ñan 'bug' || EC: Sml {ZMO} tuχān 'bug, weevil, bedbug', Sml N {Abr.} tukān, Or {Th.} tu'kan-a (nom. tu'kan-ni) 'bug', Or B {Sr.} tukāni, Qbn {L} tuhāna 'bedbug' || Dhl {E} takk^ñaře 'dung beetle' § AD SF 53, 273, Sr. GBO 222, ZMO 397, Abr. S 155, L G 573, EEN 8, E 169 § *÷ (σ) Brn {E} taqambariya 'butterfly' (E 169) || Eg P tkk.t 'Schlupfwespe, ichneumon (?)' § EG V 336 || S: JEA {Sl.} tkk (without vocalization) 'worm' § Sl. 1207, Js. 1663 (תַּבְּרָה tə'kāk 'worm of silk'), Lv. IV 642 (תַּבְּרָה tə'kāk 'Motte'), Dlm. 420 (תַּבְּרָא takkə'kā 'Zernager [Motte]') || D (in SD) *tak^ññΔ ~ *tak^ñ]Δ ({§GS} *t-, *-g-) 'bedbug' > Kn taguñe, tagani, tagane, tiguñe, tigane, Td tixiñy, Tu tagulæ, cagulæ, Krg M čavñà, Krb tokki 'bedbug' § D #2996 ◇ If the Eg, S, and Dhl cognates are valid (which is not certain), Ag, EC, and D *-n(Δ) may go back to a sx. (whence a N rec. *tAkU_ñHΔ_ñ); alternatively, S, Eg, and Dhl cognates may have lost the *n-element (metanalysis?) ◇ Blz. DA 159 [#70] (suggested to add S, Eg, and SC to the Ag-EC-D comparison).

2255. *tAkæ 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit' > IE *deḱ- v. 'suit, be fit' > L decēt 'it is proper \ seemly \ fitting', ? Um tiçit 'decet, is allowed'] → NaIE n. abstr. *deḱ-os > L dec-us / dec-or-is 'that which adorns or beautifies, distinction, grace' || Vd daśas'yati 'favours, serves, obliges' (↔ *daśas ntr. ÷ L decus) || OIr dech 'der

beste'] other ds.: ? Gk δόκιμος 'trustworthy; approved, esteemed' (unless \leftarrow δοκεύω 'keep an eye upon' [so according to FI 405]) || OHG zehōn, gizehōn 'to restore', gizeh 'richtig', Gt tēwa 'order (Ordnung)', gatewjan 'to arrange, anordnen', AS tiohhian ~ tiogian 'to determine, to fjudge', ?? táwian 'to prepare, to tan' || Ht {Ts.} dakk- 'entsprechen, ähneln' || ? \rightarrow IE *deks- 'right, right (dexter)' (\times N *ṭog ∇ 'straight', q.v.) > OI 'dakṣati 'acts to the satisfaction of', 'dakṣiṇa-, dakṣiṇa- 'right (dexter), southern, able, dexterous', Av daxšat̄ '(?) macht es (einem) recht', dašina- 'right, south' || Gk δεξιτερός 'right (dexter)', δεξιός 'right, fortunate, boding good' || pAl {O} *deca 'right (dexter)' > MAI [Bzk.] djathē id. \rightarrow MAI {FB} diaſte [diaθt \wedge], StAl T djathē, Al {Kf.} djathētē, Al Δ {Huld}: SG diaθt, D diaθt, A jat, M diaſt \wedge id. || L dexter 'right' (\leftrightarrow 'left'), Osc deſtrſt 'dextra est', Um DESTRAM-E 'in dextram', testre e 'in dextro' || OIr dess, NIr deas/deis- 'right (dexter), Gl *dexsiva, dexuae, CltI Dessaueona, Brtt {RE} *dexsowos 'right (dexter)' > MW deheu, W deau, Crn dyghow, OBr, Br dehou 'right' || Gt taíhswa, OHG zëso 'right (dexter)' || Lt dēšinas id., dešinē 'right hand' | Sl *desnъ(jь) 'right (dexter)' > OCS Δεснъ desnъ, Blg 'десен, SCr dēsnī, dēsan, Slv dēsen || Ht {Ts.} takṣ- 'fügen' (im Sinne von 'unternehmen [Kriegszug]'), 'bereiten' §§ P 189-91 and Mn. 137 (both do not distinguish this \vee from homonymous *deķ- 'nehmen, aufnehmen', {Mn.} v. 'find, get'), WH I 346-7, M K II 10-1, 27, M E I 689-91, 710, MW 465, F I 366-7, 404-6, WH I 330-1, 346-7, Bc. G 315, 332, 349, Pln. II 730, Thr. § 262, LP §§ 25.4, 323.3, Fs. 471, 476, Ho. 342-3, Kb. 392, 1243, 1248, OsS 1239, 1242, 1252-3, Schz. 333, Frn. 90, ESSJ IV 218-9, ~ Glh. 192-3, Kf. 83, O 67-8, Huld 53 (pAl *diaθ-t \wedge), RE 122, Flr. 133, Hm. 147, Ts. W 81, Ts. E III 31-2, 40-3, EI 564 (*deķ- (prs. *doķej) 'take\accept graciously or properly'; no distinction from *deķ- 'find, get', see N *t^re¹Kæ 'take, carry'), 271 (*deķes- 'honor') || D *takk-/tak ∇ ({§GS} *t-) v. 'be fit, appropriate, ready' > Tm taku (ft. stem takuv-, past stem takk-/takunt-) 'be fit\excellent', MI taku v. 'be fit, suit', takka 'fit', Kt takl 'preparation of half the village lands for sowing', Td tokob 'suitable', Kn tagu (past stem takk-) v. 'be fit, proper, suit', takka 'fit proper', Kdg takka 'sufficient', Tu takka 'fit, suitable, worthy', Tl tagu ~ tavu v. 'be proper, fit, suitable' §§ D #3005, ≠ Km. 373 [#522] (+ unc. Kui sanža v. 'be fitting, beautiful',

whence unt. rec. of pSD and pCD *čāy- / *čay- ∇ > *tāy- / *tak- ∇) || |
HS: S *✓ t̄kn v. 'be straight, in good condition' (\times N *t̄iK̄a 'be straight', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 355 ('подходящий' *ta^rk̄n: IE, D), IS SS #2.6 (IE, D) → BmK 313-4.

2256. *t̄e^rK̄æ 'take, carry' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'get, possess') >
HS: Ch {JS} *✓ tk v. 'take' > WCh {Stl.} *t̄V̄k- id. > Ron {J}: DfB tyēk v. 'take, take out', Sha t̄zk v. 'take' || CCh: Msg {Trn.} t̄V̄k̄V̄, Msg G tk-, Msg P tik- v. 'take' | ?? Ktk: Lgn {Lk.} zgí, z̄gí, zgó, Bdm {Lk.} žugu v. 'take' ¶ Stl. ZCh 163 [#167], ChC, ChL, JS 261, MB SMSM 112, Lk L 14O, Lk. B 14O || ? S *°-t̄ik- or *°-t̄uk- > Ar ?itākat- (n. act. from a derived verbal stem) 'épilation, action d'arracher le poil et les plumes' ¶ BK I 213 ¶ OS #2388 (*tek- > WCh, CCh *tyak-, erroneously Eg t̄kk *'grasp, seize', in fact v. 'attack') || | **IE** *dek- {Mn.} v. 'find, get' (\rightarrow 'deem, judge'), {P} 'nehmen, aufnehmen' > YAv dasa- 'goods, possessions' ({Brtl.} 'Gegenstand der fahrender Gabe, Vermögensstück'), dasaθavant 'rich', KhS dāś- v. 'receive, get (possessions)', dāśta- 'rich, happy', NPrs داشتن daštān 'have, possess, keep' || Gk I/Ae/Cr δέκομαι 'I take, accept, expect' (Gk A δέχομαι under the infl. of *δέχθω, inf. δέχθαι) || ???σ Sl *desi- v. 'find, meet' (\times N *t̄əs̄s̄V̄ 'to track [game], to follow the tracks of', q.v. ffd.) || ? Ht {Ts.} tak̄s- 'fügen, bereiten' (< *dek-s-) (\times N *t̄A^rK̄æ 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit') ¶ Mn. 137, Brtl. 702, 74O, Bai. 157, BM 207-8, WP I 783, P 189-19O (all of them do not distinguish this ✓ from the homonymous *dek- v. 'suit, be fit', F N *t̄A^rK̄æ '↑'), F I 373-4, Ts. W 81, Ts. E III 40-3, ≈ EI 564 (*dek- 'take\accept graciously or properly'; no distinction from *dek- 'be in order', see N *t̄A^rK̄æ '↑') || | **A:** Tg *t̄uk- (= {JBr.} *t̄ök-) v. 'carry, hold' > Ewk tuk- v. 'carry on one's back, hold', Lm tōk- ~ tuk- v. 'carry on one's back, take', Ud tugz̄l̄z- ~ tuz̄l̄z- v. 'take in one's arms', Ul tūwū, Nn Nh tux̄i, Nn KU tuxi ~ tuxiž ~ tuxž 'armful' ¶ STM II 206-7, Krm. 296 ¶ as.: N *t...K̄ > **t̄...K̄ > Tg *t...k || | **D** (in SD) *tekk-/*tek- v. 'take, pull' ({θGS} *t-) > Tm tekku v. 'receive, take', ? tevvu v. 'get, take, obtain, seize', ? Kt tev- v. 'pull along or out of', Kn tege, tegu, tegi v. 'pull' ¶ D #3407 ◇ The origin of the Tg vw *u in *t̄uk- is still to be established (cp. the abovementioned Bdm žugu). A highly tentative solution is a rec. of a N *te?oK̄æ or *t̄oreK̄æ (*? and *o are N phonemes that may disappear

without traces in IE, unlike other laryngeals and labialized vowels) ◇
BmK 313-4 (IE, D + tying in IE *dekm̥* 'ten').

2257. **tik^{rū}* '≈ show' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'say') > **HS:** S *°✓tyk
(= prm. *-tīk-?) > Gz ✓tyk (*D* pf. *tayyaqā*) v. 'observe, look at' || Ch:
WCh: Ngz {Sch.} tātkú (3s p.) v. 'show, demonstrate' (n. act. tātkà, sbjn.
tātak), Bd {Sch.} tātk̃dān v. 'show' || CCh: BnnM {ChL} takamo, Zm {J}
ták v. 'show' ¶ JS 227, ChL, ChC || **K** *tkw- v. 'speak, say' > OG tkw-, G
tkv- id., Mg, Lz tk(v)- v. 'say', Sv :-kw-: n. act. {K} līkwisg, {GP} (UB)
līkwīsg 'to say sth.', 3s aor. {Test.} x-ākw(in) 'he told him', 3s ft. pfc.
{Test.} x-ākwni(ne) ¶ K 96-7, K² 75, FS K 153, FS E 166-7, Chx. 736-8,
GP 174, Test. S 22 ¶ K *tkw- < **tkw- (as.) || **IE** *dej̄k- v. 'show' (→
'say') > OI dēs- (prs. 'dides̄ti, di'sati, dēsayati) 'show, indicate',
Av daēs- id. (daēdōišt 'shows', imv. dōiši 'show!', 2s aor. inj. dāiš
'du sollst zeigen') || Gk δείκνυμι 'I show' || L dīc-ō / -ēre v. 'say', Osc
deíkum DEICVM id., dicust 'dixerit', Um teitu, DEITU 'dicito'; d.: L
dīc-ō / dicāre 'consecrate, dedicate, devote to gods; inaugurate' || Gt
gateihan 'to announce', AS tēon {P} id., {Sw.} 'to accuse', ON téa (>
tía) 'to show, to communicate', tegə 'to show,to reveal', OHG
zīhan 'to say sth. about so., to blame, to accuse' > NHG zeihen 'to
accuse' | int.: OHG zeigōn > NHG zeigen 'to show' || Ht
tekku(ssai- '(sich) zeigen, präsentieren' ¶ P 188-9, EI 516, Ts. W 89,
Ts. E III 302-6, M K II 43, F I 355-6, WH I 348-9, Bc. G 315, 332, Fs. 204,
Ho. 345-6, Vr. 585, 590-1, 877, Kb. 1251, OsS 1238-9, 1259-60, KM
877, Me. WB 56-7 ('show' → 'say' in juristic usage in some IE lgs.) || **A:**
Tg *çj̄k- + suff. 'come in sight, appear', 'be shown' > Ewk çikiltu- v.
'appear, come in sight' (of leaves, horns of reindeer), WrMc {Z}
çiqzala vi. 'sprout' (of shoots, sprouts of plants), 'rise from the
ground' ¶ as.: N *t...k> **t...k (> pre-Tg **tik- > Tg *çj̄k-) ¶ STM II
391.

2258. **toKE|a* or **taKE|a* 'to tear' > **IE:** NaIE *dej̄k- or *dek- v. 'tear
(up), reduce to threads' ({P} 'reißen, zerreißen, zerfasern') > Gt
tahjan 'to tear', dis-tahjan 'to destroy', Ic tæja (1s prs. tæ, pp.
taði) 'to card (wool)', Nr Δ tæja, taa 'fasern, zerreißen' || ? OI
dasā 'fringe of a garment' (× NaIE √ *dej̄k-, *dok-lo- 'a single hair, tail' >
Gt tagl 'a hair', AS tæzel 'tail', OIr dúal 'plait, tassel') ¶ P 191, M K
II 27, Fs. 470-1, Bv. 785, Ho. 341, Thr. 41 || **A:** Tg *tagdV- v. 'tear out'
> Ewk tagdī- 'tear out, take away (sth. from so.)', Ewk Urm/Ucr tagdī-

'tear away', Lm *tād-* (STM: < **tagdi-*) 'tear to pieces', Neg *tagdi-* id., 'tear away, pull out\aside', Ul *tagdi-*, Nn Nh/B *tadora-* 'tear\pull out', Ud *tagdi-* id., 'tear out\off', WrMc *tadu-* 'tear off \ to pieces \ into two parts' ¶ STM II 15O-1 ¶ as.: N **t...k* > ***t...k* (> pre-Tg ***t...k* → ***tak-dv-* > Tg **tagdv-*) || D (in NED) **tok-*/**tonk-* v. 'tear off' > Mlt *toqe* v. 'nip off (as herbs), cut off (as bamboos)', Krx *toŋkʰ-* v. 'break a part of a plant with fingers, cull or pluck a leaf' ¶ D #3479, Pf. 192 || ?? HS: WS *✓*ntk* v. 'tear away, pull, draw' > BHb ✓*ntk* G (pf. נִתְקַנֵּן nā'tak) id., D (pf. נִתְקַנֵּן nit'tek) v. 'tear apart, tear out', Ar ✓*ntq* G v. 'pull off, draw off', ? Gz ✓*ntk* G v. 'pull' ¶ Here there may be contamination with other S verbal roots beginning with *✓*nt-*, such as *✓*ntš* 'ausreißen', *✓*ntr* v. 'tear'). The initial **n-* may be a former px. ¶ BDB #5423, KB 695, LG 4O7 ◇ D points to a N **o*, while Tg suggests **a*. This discrepancy is still to be explained.

2259. *täyK ∇ 'finger', → 'one' > HS: C: EC **t ∇ k ∇* 'one' > Or T {Mrn.} *tokko* m. 'one', *tokka* f. 'one', Or {Grg.} *tokko*, Or B/Wt {Sr.} *tokko*, Or O {Sr.} *to(k)ko*, *ta(k)ka*, Or H {Ow.} *tokko*, *takko*, Arr {Hw.} *tokkó* m., *takká* f. 'one', Elm *tóko*, f. *taka*, Dsn *takaç*, *tikid(dı)*, Kns {BISO} *takka* ~ *tokka*, Ged {Hd.} *takka* 'one', ? Sa {R} *ti* 'one', ? Af {PH} *tiya* (f. *tī*) 'one thing, something, anything', ? Af {R} *tåw* 'solus, each', Rn *tákkay* ~ *tákkac* 'one by one, one at a time' || Ag: Bln {R} *tū*, Xm {R} *tī* 'alone, solus' ¶ Grg. 377, Sr. 391, 393, Ow. 9O, Hw. A 396-7, BISO 189, 197, Hd. 1O7, PH 2OO, R WB 344, PG 274, To. DL 529, Blz. DL s.v. 'one' || Ch: CCh **t ∇ k ω -* 'one' > Dgh {Frk.} *ték ω è*, *títk ω è*, Ngs {IL} *t^hék^hw \dot{u}* , Msy {Mch.} *takan*, Db {Lnh.} *tákaw*, Gdr {Mch.} *tákə*, Lgn {Lk.} *tkú* 'one' ¶ JI II 262-3, ChC, ChL || IE: NaIE **dej $\bar{k}|k(w)-$* 'finger' > L *digitus*, EpL *dicitus* id. || Gmc (< **doj $\bar{k}|k\wā$*): ON *tá*, OHG *zēha*, NHG *Zeh*e, MLG *tēwe*, NGr M/S *cēve*, MDt *tee*, Dt *teen*, AS *tāhe*, *tā* 'toe', NE *toe* || ? amb Gk δάκτυλος, Gk B δακκύλος 'finger', unless it is from *δάτκυλος < IE **dŋt-kulo-s* (÷ OHG *zinko* 'spike, sharp point' > NHG *Zinken* 'spike', as supposed by J. Hofmann) ¶ Bc. 239-4O, WH I 351, F I 344-5, Ch. 249-5O, Hofm. 51, Bois. 164, Vr. 578-9, Vr. N 726, Ho. 341-2, Kb. 1242, 1254, OsS 1236, 1281, KM 877 ¶ The IE diphthong **eij* may be explained by postulating a phoneme **y* in N (**täyK ∇*) or by supposing that it is due to the infl. of the verb **dej $\bar{k}-$* v. 'show' (< N **tik'ü'* ≈ to show', q.v.); another possibility: **dej $\bar{k}|k-$* 'finger' ←* *dej $\bar{k}-$* v. 'show'. L-git- from -kit- is due to dis. (acc. to WH) || A: NaT **t'āk-* 'only, alone'

> OT {Cl.} täk 'only', Chg täk 'only, alone', Tk tek 'only; odd', təkin 'alone', Tkm tāk 'odd (number)', Az täk id., 'alone', Qzq tek 'only' ¶ Cl. 475, Rs. W 47O, Hüs. 287, MM 341 || Gil: Gil ES {Blz. ← ?} toxəñ 'finger' ¶ Blz. KM 137 [#18] ◇ N *y is suggested by IE (*eŋ) and by T (length of the vw.: N *äy > T *ā). The fortis *t'- in T (suggesting an earlier *t-) may have been influenced by the internal cns. (N *-k- > T *-k-). Another possible solution is to separate the N word for 'finger' (*tŋyKŋ > IE, Gil) from that for 'one' (N *täkŋ > HS, T) ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 137 [#18] (equates Gil toxəñ with K, HS, and A words for 'span, hand', see N *tɔkŋ '≈ [palm of] hand [with fingers], span of hand') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #150 (*tik 'finger') (IE, A, Ko, Ai, Gil + unc. CK, J).

2260. *taLŋ 'to shake, to wave' > HS: CS *✓ tltl id. > Ar ✓ tltl (pf. taltala) 'agiter, secouer', ? BHb תַלְתָּלִים taltall-īm '(?) waving palm-branches' (Cant. 5.11) (the meaning tentatively supposed on the ev. of some early translations: [LXX] ἐλάται, [Vulg.] elatae palmarum 'Trieben von Palmen', as well on the Arabic cognate) ¶ GB 88O, BDB 1068, KB 1603-4, BK I 203 || IE: NaIE *del(d), ? *douj- vi. 'shake, swing' > AS tealt 'unsteady, heaving (ship); precarious', tealt(r)ian 'schwanken, wackeln, unsicher sein', MDt touteren 'to stagger, to reel, to swing', Dt touteren id., 'to be irresolute', Nr tylten 'shaky, unsteady, tottering', Sw tulta 'to hobble, to toddle' || ?? Lt dēsti (prs. dēsiū) 'to linger, to loiter, to delay', dūlinēti 'to wander, to drag oneself along' || ?φ OI dō'lā 'swing, litter', dōlāyatē 'rocks about like a swing, moves to and fro', dōlita- 'swung, shaken, tossed' (unless borrowed from an Austronesian lge., as supposed by M) ¶ WP I 809, P193-4, Ho. 343, Sw. 171, Vr. N 743, ≈ Hlq. 1241, MW 498, M K II 67, Frn. 88 (connects dēsti with IE *del- 'long') || A *t'aL- > NaT *t'alb- > OT {Cl.} talpi- v. 'flutter, palpitate, pulsate' (in ds.: talpin- id., v. 'struggle', [MhK] talpir- v. 'flutter': kuš talpirdi 'the bird fluttered its wings'; [MgK] talpiš- v. 'flutter' (cooperative: kušlar kamuş talpišdi 'the birds all fluttered together'), XwT XIV talbi- v. 'struggle, flutter', OOsm XIV-XVI talbin- ~ dalbin- v. 'flutter, palpitate', Tk Kn dalbin-mak 'to flounder in water' (of so. who cannot swim), Tv dālbay- vi. 'spread' (of wings), dālbay-ālbajna- 'flap wings', Yk talbā n. act. 'swinging', talbar- 'take wing' ¶ Cl. 493, IS AD 47, SDD I 396 || M *dalal- > WrM dalal-, HlM далла- v. 'beckon, wave the hand', Kl dall- 'winken, schwingen'; M *dalayi- 'wave\swing

one's hand\arm' > MM [MA] *dala-* v. 'make a sign', WrM *dalaɪ-*, HlM, Brt *далай-* v. 'raise the hand in order to strike, brandish, swing, wield', M → Tlt/Alt {Rl.} *talay-* '(die Hand, die Peitsche) zum Schlage aufheben, schwingen, in der Luft bewegen' ¶ KW 74, Pp. MA 138, MED 224, Chr. 183, Rl. III 879 ¶ In the preconsonantal position T *l may go back both to A *l and to *í ¶ IS AD 47, Pp. AU 100, Rm. VMT 57 ◇ IS SS 320 [#2.2], IS MS 369 ('трясти(съ)' **taln̥*: HS, IE, A). CS *✓*tltl*, IE *deld-*, and M *dalal-* are likely to go back to a N reduplicated ***taL**▽-**taL**▽.

2261. *taL▽ 'cut (split, trim, cleave)' > K: pGZ **tal-*/tl-* v. 'plane, trim, shave, hew' > G *tal-*/*tl-*, Mg *tol-* id. (× N **tiL*▽ '≈ to rough-hew, to chisel, to cut into slices') ¶ K 90-1, K² 66-7, FS K 143, FS E 155 || IE: NaIE **deləj-* v. 'cleave, carve' ({P} 'spalten, schnitzen, kunstvoll bebauen') (× N **tiL*▽ '↑') > OI 'dalati vi. 'bursts, cracks' (semantic infl. of 'phalati 'bursts, splits, cleaves open or asunder'), dā'layati 'causes to burst', *dala-m* 'part, piece, half' || Gk (int.) δατ-δάλλω 'work cunningly, embellish', δαέδαλος, δαεδάλεος 'cunningly\curiously wrought' || pAl {O} **dalnānya* (adj. with *-no-; ← IE **del-*) > Al *dalloj* 'distinguish, discern', {BFU} 'scheiden, teilen', {Kf.} χωρίζω' || L *dolā-* v. 'hew with an axe' (× IE **del-* v. 'split') || ? OIr *delb* 'form, image', OW *delu*, W *delw* 'imago, figura, effigies' (× IE **del-* '↑') || ON *telgja* 'to carve, to cut', NLG *talter* 'Lumpen, Fetzen' || ? Arm {WP, P} սողեմ tołem 'präge ein, brenne ein' (if from *d_ol- [as WP and P after Scheftelowicz], unless it is a sd. from tołem v. 'thread, string, arrange' [→ 'write'], F N **tUL*▽ '≈ to line up') || Lt *dalīs* 'part', *dalīju*, *dalýti* v. 'divide', *daliā* 'share, destiny', Ltv *daļa*, Δ *dalis* 'part, share', Lt pūs-dylis mēnuo 'moon in its last quarter' (pūs is 'half', mēnuo is 'moon'), Pru *dellieis* 'divide' || Sl **dolā* 'part, share' > RChS, OR Δολιά *dolja*, R, Uk 'доля', P *dola* id., 'destiny', OCz s *doli* 'happily, with success' ¶ P 194-6, EI 143 (**del-* 'carve, split, cut'), M K II 24-5, F I 339-40, WH I 364-6, Vr. 586, LP § 19, Frn. 81-2, Kf. 75, O 55, Frn. 81-2, ESSJ V 62-3, SPS IV 81-2, ≠ WP I 809-12 || A **tæleL-* v. 'split' > M **delbere-* v. 'burst or crack asunder, go to pieces, split, break' > WrM *delbere-*, HlM дэлбэрэ- id., WrM *delberkey*, HlM дэлбэрхий 'split, cracked; crack, cleft, crevice', Kl дэлвркэ 'deep scratch', {Rm.} *delwṛkē* 'tiefer Riss', ¶ MED 248, KRS 196, KW 87 || Tg **delk'i-* v. 'split' (× N ?σ **dæL'k'a* 'to prick', q.v.?) > Ewk *džiki-* v. 'split\chop into**

pieces', Lm **đzlkъ-** v. 'separate, chop into pieces', Lm Sk **đzlkə-**'split, chop (a tree) into pieces', Nn **đzlkj-** v. 'split (reed in order to plait mats)', WrMc **dəlxə-** vi. 'separate', Mc Sb **đzlyz-** 'be disconnected \ ripped off; come off, go off, peel off', Jrc {Md.} **dəlxə-**, {Kiy.} **telxə-** v. 'separate' ¶ STM I 232-3, Y##1200, 1713, Kiy. 119 [#39O], Md. ChF 136 ¶ ≈ ADb. 58 [#11], ≈ SDM97 (A *^rtil(k)a 'split, divide, differentiate', incl. M, Tg), ≈ DQA #2227 (A *tel^Δ 'split, strike' > incl. M, Tg) || **D** *^ota]^l- > Mlt tale- v. 'cut off' ¶ ≈ D #3124 || **HS:** d.: WS *'talam ~ *'talujim 'furrow' > BHb תְלָם 'telem, JA {Dlm., KB, Js.} תְלָמָא tal'm-ā (and [Trg.] {Lv., Js.} תְלָמָא talā'm-ā), Ar تَلَمْ talam-, Gz talm id. ¶ KB 1602, Dlm. 421, Lv. T II 540, Js. 1672, BK I 205, LG 574-5 ¶ It is originally a deverbal derived noun with the nominal sx. *-Δm- ◇ M, Tg *e, and D *a suggest pN *ä ◇ AD GD #125 and DQA l.c. (IE, A), IS MS 360 ('расщеплять' *te^rl̥n: IE, A, ? K, ? HS [C]), IS SS #2.12 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #218 (*tel 'hurt') (IE, A + unc. CK).

2262. ***tiłv** '≈ to rough-hew, to chisel (behauen), to cut into slices' > **K:** pGZ *tal-/*tl̥- v. 'plane, trim, shave, hew' (× N ***täLv** 'cut [split, trim, cleave]' [q.v. ffd.]) || **IE:** NaIE *dələ- v. 'cleave, carve' ({P} 'spalten, schnitzen, kunstvoll bebauen') (× N ***täLv** '↑') > OI dā'layati 'spaltet, macht bersten', 'dalati 'burst' (semantic influence of 'phalati 'springt entzwei'), dala-m 'Teil, Stück, Hälfte' || Gk (intens.) δατ-δάλλω 'work cunningly, embellish', δαίδαλος, δαίδαλεος 'cunningly\curiously wrought' || pAl {O} *dalnānya (adj. with *-no- ← IE *del-) > Al dalloj 'distinguish, discern', {BFU} 'scheide, teile', {Kf.} 'χωρίζω' || L dolā- v. 'hew with an axe' || ? Arm տողես tołem 'präge ein, brenne ein' (if from *dəl̥- [as WP and P after Scheftelowitz], unless it is a sd. of tołem v. 'thread, string, arrange', F N ***tULv** '≈ to line up') || ? L dolā- 'behauen, bearbeiten' (× IE *del- v. 'split') || ? OIr delb 'Gestalt, Form', OW delu, W delw 'imago, figura, effigies' (× IE *del- v. 'split') || LG talter 'Lumpen, Fetzen' || Lt dalis 'part', dalijū, dalýti v. 'divide', daliā 'share, destiny', Ltv daļa, Δ dalis 'part, share', Lt pūs-dylis (μένυσι) 'Mond im letzten Viertel' (pūs means 'half'); ??Lt dylū, dilti, Ltv dēlu, dilstu, diłt 'grow used up (by rubbing)', dilot 'abschleifen' | Sl *doía 'part, share' > RChS, OR Δολιά dolja, R, Uk 'доля, P dola id., 'destiny', OCz s doli 'happily, with success' ¶ P 194-6, Frn. 81-2, Kf. 75, O 55, ESSJ V 62-3, SPS IV 81-2, ≠ WP I 809-12, WH I 364-6 || **A:** NaT ***fil-** 'zurechtschneiden', cut into

slices\strips' > OT {Cl.} *til-* v. 'cut into slices', Tk *dil-*, Ggz *dil-* 'divide in pieces \ parts \ stripes', Tkm *dil-* 'cut into segments \ slices \ stripes', MOg [L] *dillä-* 'cut to pieces', Ggz, Az *dil-im* 'slice', Bsh *täl-*, Qmq, Qzq, Qrg, Alt, Ln, ET, Uz *til-*, Qzl, Xk *tül-*, Yk *täl-*, Chv *čyl-* 'cut into hunks \ stripes', VTt *täl-* id., v. 'chop sticks, cut up leather to thongs', Tv *dil-* v. 'saw up (a log to boards), cut up (leather to thongs)', Tf *dil-* 'cut up to long narrow stripes \ slices' ¶ Chv *č-* < pT **t-* due to the palatalizing infl. of the vw. **i* ¶ Rs. W 49O-1, IS AD 39, ET VGD 23O-1, TkR 27O, TrR 232, GRM 145 ¶ × pA {SDM95} **t'yl(k)∇* v. 'split, divide, differentiate' (> M **cilü-xen* 'space between', Tg **del-* v. 'split, divide', pKo **tärə* 'be different', pJ **tānkāp-* / **tínkáp-* v. 'differ') ¶ SDM95 s.v. **t'yl(k)a* ◇ IE **e* and K **a* are likely to belong to the heritage of ****täL∇***.

2263. **tu1∇* '≈ tell (a story), pronounce magic\ritual texts' > **HS:** S *^o✓*twl* > Ar ✓*twl G* 'exercer un enchantement\sortilège', Ar *tuwal-* 'magic art, witchcraft', ? *^o✓*tlw* (× N ****teL∇*** 'shout, call') > Ar ✓*tlw:* *talā tilāw-at-an* 'he read (a book), recited (sth.)', *tilāw-at-* 'reading, recital' (unless < ✓*tlw G* 'follow') ¶ BK I 205-6, 211, Hv. 62, 64 || ? B *^o✓*tlH* > Shw {Hy.} *utla* v. 'parler, discourir' ¶ Hy. 556 || ? C: Ag: Bln/Q {R} *telā*, Xm {R} *telā*, Km {CR} *tilā* 'medicine, drug (Arznei)' || EC: Sml {DSI, ZMO} *talo* 'decision, advice, opinion, proposal', {DSI} *tali-* v. 'decide, advise', {ZMO} *rule, govern*', Sml N {Abr.} *tálo* 'decision' || SC: Kz {E} *tulatu* 'court case' ¶ R WB 338, Abr. S 234, DSI 574-5, ZMO 385-6, ESC 325 || IE **del-* 'tell, narrate, pronounce ritual texts' > Ht *talliya-* v. 'invoke (gods)', Lc M {KrlSh} *tali* '(heathen) priest' (× N ****teL∇*** '↑' [q.v.]) || Gmc **talō* 'narration', **taljan* 'to tell, to narrate' > ON *tala* 'speech, conversation', AS *talū* 'narration' (> NE *tale*), MLG *tale* 'speech', MDt *tael*, *tale* 'speech, language', Dt *taal* 'language, speech', OHG *zala* 'tale'; ON *tala* 'to speak, to talk', AS *talian* 'to enumerate; to consider (a thing to be so-and-so)', *téllan* 'to narrate' ¶ P 193, Ts. IAH 265, Ts. E III 58-60, KrlSh. XLJ 86, Vr. 58O-1, Vr. N 718, Ho. 342, 344, Kb. 1239, OsS 1226, ≠ Pol. ONRT 661, GI 808 (fn. 1) || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) **tult∇* 'witchcraft' > Hg *táltos* 'sorcerer, shaman; Zauberperd' | ObU **tālt* > pOs **tolt*/**tolt* ({ʃl.} **tolt*/**tält*) > Os: N *tolt* 'giant' (< 'sorcerer'), *toltn*, *tolten* 'mit Zauberkraft', Vy *tolt* 'fever', Kz *tālt* 'Hilfe; Linderung (bei einer Krankheit, in der Armut)', *tófta* 'without effort, without noise;

suddenly'; pVg *tūlt > Vg N tūltan, tūltna 'leicht, einfach' (\leftarrow *'by witchcraft') ¶ UEW 895, Ht. 188 [#637] \diamond May be (but not necessarily is) connected with N *tULN '≈ to line up' (q.v.) \diamond IE *d̥el- (rather than **deyl- with *eū < N *u) is due to a law eliminating clusters of two sonants \diamond AD NM #124, S CNM 9 (÷÷ ST), ≈ Blz. KM 122 [#27] (S, C, B, IE + reflexes of N *tULN '≈ to line up' + unconvincingly: Tg *tēluŋu 'narrating, folk tale' [which should be better referred to N *tēLN '↑'], Ak tēlu 'pronounce distinctly' [ē points to a S *i or *h]).

2264. ₂*tULN '≈ to line up' ([in descendant lgs.] \rightarrow 'to count') > **K:** pGZ *twl-/*twal- v. 'count' > G tvl(-a)/tval-, Mg tval- (\leftarrow G?) id. ¶ Fn. KW-2 42 [#6], Chx. 487-8 || IE: NaIE *d̥el- '≈ row, thread, counting' > Arm սնող toł 'row', սնղես tołem v. 'thread, string' || Gmc *talō 'counting, narration', *taljan 'to count, to tell' (\times N *tu1N '≈ tell [a story], pronounce magic\ritual texts', q.v. ffd.) > AS talu 'series', tæl 'number', ȝetæl 'number, series', OHG zala 'row, number, counting, account', NHG Zahl 'number'; OHG zalōn, NHG zählen 'to count' ¶ P 193, Vr. 58O-1, Kb. 1239, OsS 1226, KM 872, Bedr. 7O7, EI 397 (*d̥el-'aim, compute') \diamond The meaning 'narration, to talk' (as in Gmc) has a double origin: it goes back both to N *tULN '≈ line up' (cp. **compter** - **raconter**) and to N *tu1N '≈ tell (a story), pronounce magic\ritual texts'. An alt. solution is to assume that these two N words are identical: *tu1N '≈ line up' \rightarrow 'narrate, tell (a story)' \rightarrow 'pronounce magic\ritual formulas' \diamond ≈ Blz. 122 [#27] (incl. K, IE; see above s.v. ≈ *tu1N '↑').

2265. ₂*t|tNLTN 'hang' > **HS:** *✓tly|w 'hang' (KB: '(an)hängen') > Hb ✓tly G (pf. תָּלָה tā'lā, pp. תָּלָי tā'lāy), IA ✓tly 'hang', JA [Trg.] ✓tly|w G 'lift up, hang', JEA ✓tly G 'hang, suspend', Ak tullū D 'behängen' ¶ KB 16O1, Js. 1671, Lv. T II 539, Sl. 12O8-9, Sd. 1369 || ECh: Ndam D {J} tūlā, Ll {Grgs.} tūl 'hang' ¶ ChC ¶ OS #508 || **A:** pKo *tár- 'hang, fasten' > MKo tár-, NKo tal- ¶ S QK #952, Nam 140, MLC 403 || pJ *tará- vi 'hang' > OJ tara-, J: T taré-, K/Kg tarè- ¶ S QJ #1159, Mr. 764 ¶ DQA #2386 (A *t'jālo 'hang, strap'; Ko, J + unc. σM *teleyi 'belt for trousers' and Tg *tōli 'belt') \diamond ≈ Gr. II #196 (*tol 'hang') (A, Ko, J, Ai + err. IE + unc. M, Tg).

2266. *tōH₂TN (or *tōTH₂N) 'to fill, to pile up; full' > **HS:** EC *tūl- v. 'pile up' (\times N *ti,pa,io 'stone, heap of stones'??) > Sml, Or, Kns tūl-, Bs tūl-a- 'pile up', HEC *tūl- v. 'pile up, stack' (of grain) > Brj {Hd.} tūl- id., Ged {Hd.} tūl- id., {L} tūle v. 'heap', Sd {Gs., Hd.} tūl- v. 'pile up' || ???σ

SC: Kz {E} **tal-** v. 'grow' ¶ Ss. B 180, Bl. 185, AD GDS #7.19, Abr. S 240, Grg. 381, LM 54, Hd. 113, 223, 263, 396, Gs. 318, ESC 168 || NrOm: Ym {C} **tūl-** 'fare i covoni, ammucchiare', {Wdk.} **tūlo-** v. 'heap up', Mch {L} **tūlló** 'heap, pile' ¶ L M 54, C SE III 83, Wdk. BY 137 || Ch: WCh: Hs **túlì** 'heap, crowd', Ang {Flk.} **tūl** 'a swelling', {J} **tūl** 'swelling after a bit by a fly' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} **təlaŋ** 'völlig' ¶ Abr. H 897, Eb. 97, Flk. s.v. **tūl**, ChC || ?σ B: Ah **təwaltwəl** 'swell, inflate' ¶ ~ Tk. SCC 79 [#6.2] (C, Om, Ch + unc. Eg **twɔ̃** 'hochheben, hold up, support', Ar **tall-** 'hill', and JA **təlī'l-ā** 'high' [actually pp. 'lifted up, exalted' → 'high', see N ***tiₙpa₁jō** '↑']) || K *°**twal-** > G **tval-** 'zur Reife kommen, reif werden (z. B. Früchte)' (< *'become full') ¶ Chx. 474 || A ***tōl** > T ***tōl-** v. 'be filled, be full' > OT {Cl.} **tol-** id., Tkm **dōl-**, Tk **dōl-**, Az, Ggz **dōl-**, VTt, Bsh **tul-**, CrTt, Qry, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Ln, Alt, Xk **tol-**, Uz **twl-**, Chv L **typl-** **tul-**, Tv **d_ol-**, Tf **d_ol-**, Yk **tuɔl-** id., Tf **d_ol-** vi. 'come to an end, be done, be filled'; T d. ***tōlu** 'full' > OT {Cl.} **tolū**, Tk **dolu**, Az, Ggz **dolu**, Tkm, XT {ADb.} **dōlī**, Nog, Qzq, Qq **tolī**, Blq, Yk **tolu**, VTt, Bsh **typlı** **tulı**, Qrg, Alt **tolo**, Uz **twlä**, Tv **d_olu** 'full, filled', Yk **tolor-** v. 'fill, fulfill'; T → Ewk **tolı** 'full' ¶ IS AD 40, ADb. Ttd 61 [#9], Rs. W 486, ET VGD 257-9, Jeg. 256, Fed. II 242-3, Ra. 173, JkR 389, 402, Pek. 2819-20, Rl. III 1191-3, DTS 172-3 || Tg ***dōl-∇m-** v. 'fill' > Neg **dolumča** 'full, whole', WrMc **dolmo-** 'pour in, fill the cup, add (wine)' ¶ STM II 195 || ?σ pJ ***tár-** 'be sufficient, full' > OJ **tar-**, J: T **tari-**, K **tári-**, Kg **tari-** ¶ S QJ 158, Mr. 764 ¶ But S AJ and DQA #229 equate the T and J stems with Tg ***jalu(-m)** 'full' and pKo ***c̥arav.** 'be sufficient, enough' and reconstruct pA ****čālo** 'full, to fill'.

2267. *talɪ́'o' ≈ (back of the) neck, shoulders' > HS: S *°√**tlɪ** 'neck' > Ar **talaf-** 'longueur du cou \ de l'encolure', √ **tlɪ** G (pf. **talifa**, ip. -**tlaf-**) 'avoir un long cou \ une encolure longue'; in Ar the semantic component of 'length' is probably due to the infl. of the paronymous root √ **tlɪ** v. 'be tall' (as in the word **talīf-** 'tall') (< N ***tæL\xE** 'be long', q.v.) ¶ BK I 204, LG 574, Di. 552, Sd. 1369-70 || ???φ C: SLEC {Bl.} ***dul** 'back (dorsum)' > Kns **túl-ta** id., Sml N {Abr.} **dúl** id., 'on', Sml {ZMI} **dul** 'top, surface; on, above' ¶ Bl. 177, Abr. S 68, ZMI 100 || IE (att. in Blt) *°**d_lh_₂eH-b-**-/*°**d_lh_₂oH-b-**-/*°**d_lh_₂]H-b-** 'upper arm' > Ltv Δ **dałba** & **dałbs** 'Stamm des Baums, Stange', Lt **dilbis** 'forearm' ({P} 'Röhrenknochen, Schienbein'), Ltv **dəlbəs** 'Oberarm', **dilba** ~ **dilbs** 'forearm (Oberarm)', Δ 'Schienbein'; ??σ (×N ***dæLb** > 'to gouge, to

dig, to cut through'??): Lt *dálba* ~ *délba* 'lever, crow-bar', Pru *dalptan* · "Durchschlag" 'crow-bar (for punching holes)' ¶ P 246, Frn. 81, En. 156, Tp. P A-D 291-4, ME I 434, 454, 466-7, PiesS 128, 144 || | A **t'aːlu* 'shoulders, shoulder-blade' > NaT **t'aːl* 'upper part of the back; back (dorsum)' > Tk *dal* 'back (dorsum)', Δ *dal* ~ *dalh*, Az *dal* id., 'back part', Az Tbr/Erz {Foy} *dal* 'part of the back between the shoulders', Tkm † *daːl* 'back part', Tkm Δ {Mux.} *dal* 'back' ¶ IS AD 47, Rs. W 130, ET VGD 131-2, ADb. SR 141-2, Az. 95, Foy AS II 213, Mux. 234 || M {Lg.} **dālu* 'shoulder-blade, the hinder part of the shoulder' > MM [MA, IM] دالو *dālu*, [IsV] دال دالو *dāl dālu* (sic!), WrM *dalu*, HIM дал 'shoulderblade', Brt *дала*, MMgl *dālū* ({Lg.} [dālu]), Mgl {Rm.} *dōlu*, Dg *dalu* id., Dx *daleu*, Ba *dali*, MnR H {SM} *dāli* 'shoulder (épaule), shoulderblade', Kl *дал*, {Rm.} *dala* 'sholuderblade'; M → Chg *dalu* id.; M **dalan* ({ADb.} **dalu-n*) 'horse's withers (загривок); fat under a horse's mane' (ADb.: ← adj.) > WrM {Kow.} *dalar* 'nuque, le dessus de cou (des chevaux, des mulets)', Kl *dalъn*, HIM *далан(г)* *dalan~dalan* 'fat under a horse's mane', Brt *далан* 'horse's withers' ¶ IS AD 47, MED 226-7, ADb. MSR 9 [#1O], Pp. MA 138, 435, KW 73, Rm. M 27, Iw. 97, Lg. VMI 25, SM 42, T 327, T BJ 138, T DnJ 117, T DgJ 134, KRS 178, 180, Chr. 183-4, Kow. 1632, 1635 || Tg: Ewk *dalu* 'shoulder-balde of reindeer\elk' (↔ M?) ¶ STM I 195 || ?σ pKo {S} **tār'āj* 'wing of a saddle' (unless derived from *tār-* 'hang', as supposed by MLC) > MKo *tār'āj* 'wing of a saddle', NKO *tarā* 'mudguards hanging on either sides of a horse; two sideboards of a coffin' ¶ S QK #857, Nam 141, MLC 382 || pJ {S} **tā,i* 'hand, arm' > OJ *tē*, J: T/Kg *té*, K *tēe*, Ns *tī*, Sh *tī*, Ht *šī*, Y *tī* ¶ S AJ 266, S QJ #35, Mr. 545 ¶ IS AD 47, STM l.c., ≠ ADb. SRAE 445 (M ÷ T **jāl* 'fat under the mane of a horse'; A **dalu* [{ADb.} **ðalu*]), DQA #362 (A **talo* 'wing, shoulderblade') || | D (in SD) **tō* ({GS} **t-*) 'shoulder, arm' > Tm *tōl* id., Ml *tōl* 'shoulder', Kt *to-* 'upper arm (elbow to shoulder)', Td *tw̚tōfody* 'bangle worn on upper arm', Kn *tōl(u)*, Tu *tōlu* 'arm' ¶ D #3564 ◇ SD rounded **ō* is probably due to regr. as. ◇ IS MS 355 ('плечо': A-D).

2268. **tæl̥iE(-gə)* 'be long' > HS: S *^o✓*tłi* v. 'be tall, high, long' (× N **tułi* 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit') > Ar *talī-* 'tall', ? *talī-at-* 'hauteur, élévation, monticule', (× S *✓*tłi* 'neck' < N **tal̥i* '[back of the] neck, shoulders') Ar ✓*tłi* (pf. *talīa*, ip. -*talī-*) 'avoir un long cou, une encolure longue' ¶ BK I 204, Hv. 61 || IE: [1] **delh-* >

NaIE *dél₂-a- 'long' > Sl {ESSJ} *dъlъ, {Bern., SPS} *dъlā 'length' > OCz, Cz dél, LLs děl, OP dla id.; Sl *dъliti (1s prs. *dъlq) 'to prolong, to make longer' > OCS **пРОДЪЛНТИ** prodъliti (prodъliti slovo 'μηκῦναι τὸν λόγον' = 'to speak long', lit. 'to prolong the speech'), R про-'дли-ть 'to prolong, to make longer', SCr † dljiti id., Cz dlíti, R Δ длить 'to prolong, to postpone', R rf. длиться 'to last'; Sl *dъlina 'length' > R дли'на, SCr † dljina id., → R длин-н-ый 'long' || Gmc: Nr Δ tøla 'zögern, warten' ॥ [2] IE *delefh-//*d]h'g̥h-o- 'long' > NaIE *delegh-//*d]h'g̥h-o- > OI dīr'gha-, Av darəga-, darəg̥a-, OPrs darga-, Oss I/D даргъ dary 'long' || Gk δολιχός id. || ?σ Gmc: Gt tulgus 'firm, steady', OSx tulgo 'very' || Blt (with unexplained loss of *d-): Lt ilgas, Ltv iłgs, Ytv ilg 'long', Pru ilga 'for a long time, diu' || Sl *dēlgъ (adj. *dēlgъjь) 'long' > OCS **ΔЛЪГЪ** dlъgъ ~ **ΔЛЪГЪ** dlъgъ, Blg дълъг, SCr dūg, Slv dōlg, Cz dlouhý, Slk dlhý, P dlugi, R долгий 'long', R 'долог 'is long' || Ht daluki- 'long' (of time and space) ॥ [3] NaIE *dlongh-o- 'long' > L longus || Gt laggs, ON langr, OHG, NHG, AS lang 'long', NE long || MPrs drang 'long' || pAl {O} *dleta 'long' (< *dlongh-to-) > Al gjatē, Δ glatz ¶ P 196-7, EI 357 (*d]h'g̥h-o-s and *dlongh-o-s 'long'), FI 406-7, Frn. 183-4, Zink. LJZ I 73, En. 183, Tp. P I-K 40-1, Bern. I 251-3, StSS 189, 520, SPS V 215-6, 219-20, Glh. 209-10, ESSJ V 207-12, M K II 47, Ab. I 344-5, Fs. 482-3, Hs. S 76, Kb. 588, Ts. W 82-3, Ts. E III 61-5, ABIV. II 111-2, Vr. 345, Fs. 318, O 130-1 || **Ⓐ:** M: WrM delegiū, HlM дэлүү 'large, vast, spacious, wide', MM [MA] delge- v. 'open wide', delgere- v. 'spread', WrM delge- {Pp.} 'ausbreiten', {MED} v. 'spread', HlM дэлгэ- id., WrM delger, HlM дэлгэр 'extensive, vast', MnR {T} delge- vt. 'spread, unfold', MnR H {SM} dierg_e- 'étendre, déployer, étaler, dérouler'; M → Yk däläy, dälägäy 'abundant, vast', Ewk džlžyžy, džlžy 'vast' ¶ MED 248-9, Pp. MA 140-1, T 328, SM 52 ¶ STM I 233-4, ≠ Pp. VG 22 (considers Ewk džlžy to be an inherited Tg word and a cognate of M delge-, delegey rather than a loan) ◇ ≈ IS MS 339 (*tel(h)ñ 'long') and IS SS #2.13 (in both: A, IE, *S [a non-existent Ar ✓ tlh]) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #249 (*del 'long') (IE, CK + err. A *delp 'a 'wide').

2268a. *tułiṇ 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit' > **HS:** S *°✓ tli > Ar tal̩-at- 'high\elevated land\ground' (× S *✓ tli 'be tall, long' < N *tæL̩E(-ga) 'be long'?) ¶ Ln. 312, BK I 204 || EC: Sml {DSI} tuluḥ 'hump; large benign tumour on the hind part of the neck', Or {Grg.}

tullū 'mountain, hill', Sd {C} tullō 'mountain', {Gs.} tullitte, coll. tullo 'hill, heap', {Hd.} tull-ō 'hill' (semantic infl. of tūl- v. 'pile up'?, \wedge N *t_{OH₂}l̄N \neg *t_Ol̄H₂N 'to fill, to pile up; full' and N *ti₁?a₁ō 'stone, heap of stones') ¶ DSI 589, Grg. 379, Gs. 318, C SE II 221 || U: FU *tužka 'point, upper end' (\rightarrow FP *tužka-mN) > F tutka 'Spitze', tutkan (gen. tutkamen), 'Spitze, Ende', Es tutk, tutkem 'Ende, Winkel' | Lp N {N} duťkum ~ duťkun, , L {LLO} tur'kum 'leaf-bud (on trees)', Lp Vfs {Lgc.} d_Ur_čk·om₃ 'Knospe, Kätzchen an Bäumen' | Prm *tojí 'sprout, shoot, excrescence' > Vt tułt̄m 'young shoot on the top of a tree' ('die oberen zarten Sprößlinge der Bäume'), toía 'fir-cone', Z LL/MS pon-toí 'sty on the eye' (pon- 'dog's' \rightarrow '≈ rotten') || ObU {Ht.} *tōž/*těž, *tož/*ta:ž 'Gipfel, Spitze, oberes Ende' > pVg *tālak ~ *tālak id. > Vg: T/LL/ML tałak, LK tālak, MK/UK tālak, P/SV taík, NV taík \notin tālak, UL tałak, Ss tołak ~ tałak; pOs *tōy, *tōy ({JHI.} *tūy, *tūy) > Os: V/Vy tōy, Ty/Y tōy, D/K těy, Nz/Kz tīy, O tāy id. | OHg tōlgy, tōlgy, Hg tōg_Y 'udder', {UEW} 'Euter, Gesäuge' ¶ Coll. 120, UEW 533-4, Sm. 55O (FU *tuđkā 'tip' > FP *tuđkā, Ugr tūđkā), MF 643-5, LG 281-2, Ht. #616-7 ¶ Cf. N *t_Ol̄A(-kN) or *t_Al̄A(-kN) 'head, top, upper end, tip' || D *t[']uļi 'sprout, bud; to sprout, bud' > Tm tulir- v. 'bud, sprout, shoot, put forth leaves', tulir 'bud, sprout', Ml tulir 'a bud', Kn suri 'tender sprout', Kn Hl suli, Kn B čuli 'sprout', Kn R tɔļalu 'mango shoot', Kdg čuļi 'leaf shoot', Tu suli 'tender shoot, germ, bud', Mlt {Drs.} cúle v. 'sprout', cúlo 'blade of grass or corn' ¶ D #3362 \diamond AD LZL 359-60 (*tuļg_Δ HS, U, D + * \div T), IS I 222 (*duλn; U, D + * \div K).

2269. *t[']a¹lhN \neg *taħE1N '≈ to hit, to damage, to be damaged' > HS: S *^o✓t₁h > Ar ✓t₁h G (ip. -tlah-, pf. taliha) 'périr; être triste et chagrin' ¶ BK I 205 || IE *deħl-/*dħ_čl- > NaIE *dēl-/*dəl- v. 'damage, destroy' > Gk δηλέομαι 'I destroy, damage', παν-δάλητος 'destroyed', φρενο-δάληγς 'sinnesgestört' || L dolē- v. 'ache' (mihi dolet 'it hurts me', caput dolet '[one's] head aches'), dolor 'pain', but not dēlē- 'blot out, efface' (where dē- is a px.) || Ltv dēlīt 'to wear out', Δ {ME} 'quälen, Δ {ME} dēl 'es ist eine Schande' ¶ ≠ P 194-5, F I 378, WH I 335-6, 364, ME I 463, ≈ Kar. I 208-9 ¶ L and Ltv < IE *dēl-/*dəl- × IE *del- v. 'split' (< N *tālN 'cut [split, trim, cleave]') || U: FU (att. in Vg) *t|s|š|r'a'|]N > Vg N {Mu.} tal ~ tāl 'illness, contagious disease' ¶ MK

621 || A *tāla- > T *t₁āla- 'bite' (of animals), 'damage, ruin' > OT tala-v. 'damage, pillage', MQp XIV-XV, OOsm ≤XIV tala- 'bite, tear; plunder', Chg ≥XV tala 'pillage', Tk dala-, Az, Ggz dala- 'bite' (of animals), Chv tula-, Δ t₁vla- id., 'kill (an animal)' (of predators), Tkm tāla-, Az tala- 'bite' (of animals), 'plunder', Uz, Qrg tala-, Yk talā- 'plunder', Xk tala-v. 'ruin, destroy', Alt tala- id., 'plunder; scold, abuse', VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qmq tala- 'plunder', 'bite' (of animals)] T → M (x N *taí'h'a 'lift up, carry', q.v.): MM [S, MA] tala-, Kl {Rm.} tala- v. 'plunder', WrM tala-, HlM тала- v. 'take away, confiscate, plunder; ruin', Ord tāla- 'piller et casser les objets'; M → WrMc tala- 'confiscate' ¶ Cl. 492, ET VGD 134-7, Rs. W 458, Jeg. 256, BT 14O, Pek. 2533, MED 771, H 144, Pp. MA 339, KW 376 || ?σ pKo {S} *taráj- 'lure, seduce, coax' > MKo taráj-, NKo tallä- ¶ S QK #624, Nam 139, MLC 4O4 || ?σ pJ {S} *tárás- 'deceive, lure' > OJ tárás-, J: T taras- ¶ S QJ #57O ¶ DQA #2321 (A *tāla 'plunder, seduce') || D *tall- v. 'beat, hit' > Tm tallu v. 'beat, crush', MI tallu 'a blow, stroke, beating', Tu dalliyuni v. 'slap, beat', Tl Δ talgu v. 'strike', Knd talg- v. 'strike, hit' ¶ D #31O5 ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE I #7 (IE, ?U + erroneously HS *dall- 'weak').

2270. *tæl₁h, 'o' ≈ be\make foolish, deceive' > HS: S *°✓tll > BHb ✓tll Sh pf. 3m הַתֵּל hē'tel, 2m הַתְּלָתָה hē'taltā, ip. 3pm יִתְּלַבֵּן yəhā'tel'lu) v. 'deceive, cheat'; ?σ S *°✓tlh > Ar ✓tlh G 'perdre la tête, demeurer interdit \ stupéfait', tālih- 'stupéfait, interdit' (unless sd. of ✓tlh 'périr', see N *t'a¹lh∇ '≈ to hit, to damage, to be damaged') ¶ GB 879, KB 16O2, BK I 2O5 || IE: NaIE *del- {P} 'listig schädigen', *del-os 'lure' > Gk δόλος 'cunning contrivence for deceiving\catching', δολόω vt. 'beguile, ensnare, take by craft' || L dolus (gen. dolī) 'fraud, deceit, guile', Osc accus. DOLOM 'dolum' (L and Osc ← Gk?) || OIr dul 'snare', NIr dol 'snare, fishing net', OIr dolb, dailbe 'deceit', NIr dolbh 'sorcery', W † dōl (pl. dolau) {YGM} 'loop', {Mn.} 'noose' || ON tál n. 'deceit, cunning (Betrug, List)', tæla 'to entice, to deceive' ¶ P 193, Mn. 154, WH I 366-7, Bc. G 315, FI 4O7-8, Dnn. 255, YGM-1 193, Vr. 58O-1 || A: NaT *tālēliju- ~ *t₁Elbä- ({ADb.} *tāl(w)i-) 'mad, fool' > OT Og [MhK] telü 'stupid', Tk deli, Tkm dāli, Ggz, CrTt, Qmq deli, VTt tilb, Qrg teli 'mad', Az däli, Nog teli ~ deli, Blq teli, Bsh tilb id., 'stupid'; NaT *t₁Elbä > OT telvä 'lunatic, mad', Tkm telbe id., Uz telba id., 'stupid', ET Δ {Jr.} telbe, Qrg delbe 'fool, foolish', Qq delbe 'extravagant, crazy' ¶ Cl. 493, MKD 184, DTS 551, ET VGD 214-7, Jr.

3O2, TkR 3OO, Hüs. 1O2, UzR 422, ADb. Ttd 61 [#16] ¶ The variant *t¹Elbä- may be due to the infl. of the reflex of A *dūlwE 'crazy, stupid' < N *dūlUhV 'be mad, be stupid' and/or result from a phonetic change: N *o + *ä of a suffix > *wä > T *bä ◇ Ar √tlh and the long vw. in T *tā|ēli|ü- suggest that in the pN etymon there was a cs. *h, that was lost in Hb and in the prevocalic position in NaIE.

2271. *tälw_{H₂}A - *talw_{H₂}ä '≈ cold season, rain' > IE: NaIE *del- 'rain', 'moist' ('humide') > Arm տեղ teł 'heavy rain', սնեղամ, -եմ, -ռւմ tełam, -em, -um v. 'cause to rain heavily, open the windows of heaven' || OIr {P} delt 'dew', MBr, Br delt 'moist' ('humide') ¶ P 196, ≈σ EI 2O7 (*del- 'flow'), Ern. 151, Hm. 149, Bedr. 697-8, ≠ Ach. IV 392 || **U:** FU *tälwä 'winter' > F talvi (gen. talven), Es talv, Lv tōla, Lv W tāla id. | pLp {Lr.} *tälvē id. > Lp: N {N} dal've, L {LLO} tal've, S {Hs.} daalvie, Vfs {Lgc.} d_al_ewjε, Kld тāллъв tāl:v | pMr {Ker.} *tälə > Er төлө tēle, Mk тяла tāla id. | Chr: KB tel, Uf telə, B tele id. | Prm {LG} *tōl>Z t3v, Yz tōl id. || ObU {Ht.} *tēl(a)y 'winter' > Vg *tāl ~ *tīlī > Vg: T tāl, LK/MK/UK/NV tōl, P/SV/LL tōl, UL/Ss tāl 'winter', LK/MK/Ss tēli 'in winter', P tēl-pāl, UL tēli-pāw₁ 'Winterdorf'; pOs *tēləy ({JHl.} *täləy) 'winter' > Os: V/Vy tēləy, Ty/Y tō₄əy, D/K tētə, Nz tāt, Kz tāt, O tāl | Hg tēl (accus. telet) id. ¶ UEW 516, Coll. 118, Coll. CG 414, Db. OS x, Sm. 55O (FU *tälwä, FP *tälvä, Ugr *tälgä), MF 625-6, It. #271, Kt. 429, LG 283, Lr. #1223, Lgc. #7728, Hs. 4O3-4, SaR 344, Ker. II 166, Ht. #635 || **A:** NaT *tōlu 'hail' > Tk dolu, Az dolu, Ggz tolu (the vl. t- is still to be explained), Tkm {TkR, TDS} dolı (not dōlı, as in AB and Rs. W), XT {ADb.} dolı, Xlj t^uo·lı, Kü {Rl.} tolı, Tv d_olu, Yk tolon ¶ IS AD 42 [#24], Rl. III 1196, Rs. W 486, TkR 278, TDS 264, DT 2O8, ET VGD 26O-1, ADb. Ttd 61 [#5], TvR 17O ¶ IS reconstructs *t'-({IS} *t-) on the basis of alleged variations t- ~ d- (observed in Ggz tolu, Tk Rh tol_u, and MT [L] {presumably Türkmäni} tol_u). But the Ogs. of the Balkans (Ggz and the Balkan Tk dialects) are known to have been preceded in the Balkans by those of the pre-Oghuz Pächänäg-Quman (sc. Qipchaq) population and may have had some Qp substratum (in Qp the opposition t'- : t- was lost) (F Mng. TLP 11, 32-4), so that tol_u in Ggz and Tk Rh may be a Qp loanword, while the supposed Türkmäni identity of the gloss tol_u from the Leiden Glossary is highly qu. Hence IS's conclusion referring this word to the *t'-group is hardly reliable ¶ S CNM 6 on my T *tolu: "Turk. *dōlu (no *tolu)". A

misunderstanding: my lax T *t- = {S} d-. The pT vw. was short, as proved by Tkm d̥olí (TkR 278, TDS 264) || ? OJ turara 'icicle' ¶ S CNM 6 || ?? Attention should be paid to **Gil** A tilf (/ tilv) 'autumn' and t'ulf (/ t'ulv) 'winter' ¶ ST 354, 386, SR RN 162, 264 || K: pGZ *tow] 'snow' > OG towl-, G tovl-, Mg t̥r-, tir-, Lz (m)tvi(r)-, mtur- id. ¶ This K stem belongs here only unless it is d. from {K} *(š)to- v. 'snow' (< N *š̥n̥t̥n̥w̥ 'cold weather') ¶ K 176, K² 73, FS K 151, FS E 163-4 ◇ The absence of *u or *y (< N *u or *ü) in the IE word (*del-) may be explained either by its loss in stem-final position (before vowels of the next morpheme) or as suggesting that the N vw. was *o ◇ The labialized vw. *o in T and K is probably due to the ass. infl. of *U: *-A1U- > T *-olu, GZ *-ow] ◇ AD NM #12 ◇ Gr. II #427 (*tel 'winter') (U, Gil).

2272. *tAíN 'to tread, to pound' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to thresh') > **K** *tel-/*tl- 'trample, press' > G tel- 'trample, crush', {Chx.} 'zertreten, zerstampfen', Mg tal- id., Sv tel-/tl- v. 'press, touch' ¶ K 92, K² 68, FS E 159 || **U:** FU **talä- or **täla-> FP *taíla- ~ *täíN- 'trample, tread upon' > F tallaā-, Es talla- id. | Prm {LG} *taí- > Z taín-, taíav-n̥t 'trample down, puddle (clay) with feet' | ?φ Mk тяля- таíа- v. 'thresh' ¶ UEW 791, FF 1O17-8, LG 278 || **D** *tal- v. 'pound, thresh' (< N *dä́rž̥N 'to strike') > Kn taíisu v. 'pound, beat, deprive rice of its bran by pounding', Tu talu 'threshed, beaten', talpuni v. 'thresh', Gnd dalsānā v. 'pound, thresh' ¶ D #313O ◇ Cf. BmK 293-4 (an attempt to equate the K and the D √ with IE telk- v. 'push', FU *toíN v. 'shove, thrust in', and SC: Irq cil- v. 'sting', Kz cal- v. 'stab', etc.). It is more plausible to equate IE *telk- v. 'push, strike' with T *t'alk'- v. 'strike, beat', etc. (F N *talka 'strike, push').

2273. ₂ *tuíN '≈ be bright\light (hell)' > **A:** M: [1] M *dul (< N *dułi 'fire; to heat') > WrM d̥ul, HlM дүл 'clear, serene, calm, bright' (of weather), Ord d̥uł adj. 'sans vent et sans froid', Kl {Rm.} dul ödr 'summer day; warm windless day' ¶ The absence of final vw. suggests that M *dul is a loanword ¶ MED 272, Ms. O 16, KW 1O17 [2] AdS of M *edür düli 'noon', lit. 'middle of day' (*edür means 'day', pre-M **düli 'noon' coalesced with M *düli 'middle') > MM ödür düli [IsV] 'noon', [IM] 'afternoon', [S, HI] üdür düli 'noon', WrM d̥uli, HlM дүл 'noon, middle', as well as MnR N {SM} d̥ur, {T} dur 'noon, day' (< M *edür 'day') ¶ MED 28O, SM 66, T 331-2, Pp. MA 443, Lg. VMI 28, Ms. H 1O7, H 38

|| NrTg *dōlā 'clear' > Ewk dōlō 'clear' (of the sky), 'evident', Lm n. deləd 'clear sky', adj. 'open' ¶ STM I 215 ¶ ~ DQA #228O (A *tūlī 'clear sky, noon' > T, M *düli, Tg) || ?σT *tūlī 'noon' (unless related to M *düli 'middle' and *edür düli 'noon') > NaT *tūš > OT [MhK] tūš, Chg [San.], Blq, Qmq, Qrg, StAlt tūš, Qzq, Nog, Qq tūš, VTt, Bsh τεως tūš, Kr tūš ~ tis, Uz tuš, Tv дүш түш, Tf дүш 'noon' ¶ Cl. 559, DTS 600, Rs. W 507 ('noon'), TL 78-9, Ra. 178, RI. III 1586-7, Jud. 786, BT 163 ¶ Hardly from *tūš 'halt in a journey', as supposed by MhK and Cl. || D *tu]-{aŋk-/-akk-} ({θGS} *t-) v. 'shine, be bright' (× N *dułi '↑') > Tm tuləŋku v. 'shine, be bright, luminous', Ml tuləŋnuka v. 'glitter', tiləŋnuka, teləŋnuka v. 'shine, glitter', Tm, Ml tulakkam 'brightness, splendour', Kn tołagu v. 'shine', n. 'shine, splendour', tołapu 'shine, lustre', OTl {Km.} tolāku v. 'shine, be splendid', Tl tulakincu v. 'shine, rejoice', tulakimpu 'shining, rejoicing' ¶ D #336O, Km. 381 [#56O], 395 [#633]; for the history of *u see Zv. 65-6 || ? HS: Possibly AdS of SC: Irq {MQK} dēlō, {E} deło 'day', Kz deles 'yellow' (pl.?), Asa -dili?i 'red' (all from N *d'iłia 'sunshine, daylight, bright') ¶ E SC 346 [#11], MQK 29.

2274. ₂ *t¹í¹ñ¹ (= *tA¹y|H¹i¹ñ or *ti¹y|H¹A¹ñ?) 'female' > A: T *ti¹í¹ (~ *t¹í¹) > NaT *tiši (~ *t¹í¹) 'female' > OT tiši 'female' (but [MhK] dat. tiši-qə), XwT, MQ, Chg XV tiši id., Cmn tiši id., 'woman', OOsm XV diši 'woman', Tk diş i, CrTt, Qmq tiši, VTt Δ təšb, SbTt təšb, Alt tiži, Xk tızı, SY tese, Tv дижи d₁iži 'female animal', Kr tiši ə tisi 'female, woman' ¶ Cl. 560-1, ET VGD 244-5 || D *ta¹ll¹ñ¹ ({θGS} *t-) 'female, mother' > Tm tallai, Ml talla, Tl tal(l)i, Prj tal, Knd tali, Png taři, Kui ṭadži id., Kui tali 'female bird\mammal, hen', Gnd M talloꝝ 'mother, female of animals', {Mtch.} talur 'female of animals', Gnd Mu tallur 'mother of animals\birds, hen which has laid eggs more than once', Gnd B ṭali 'cow', Ku tali 'female of animals', Δ talli id., 'mother'; another possible cognate is D *toṭṭo 'nipple' > Ml tottu, Tu, Kn toṭṭu id. (if the N lateral cns. was *-ł- and if IS's hyp. about N *-ł- > D *-ł- is right) ¶ D ##3136, 3488.

2275. *ti¹?a¹ñ¹ 'stone, heap of stones' > A: Hun {Prc.} *tiāl 'stone' ¶ Prc. HsS V || T *t¹jāl 'stone' ({θπAD}: < **t¹Ea¹) > Chv L čul, Chv H čol id. || NaT *tāš > OT tāš, Tk taş 'stone', Tk İç daşağır 'stony country' ('çok taşlı yer'), Az, Slr daš, Tkm dāš, Ggz, ET, CrTt, Qmq, Blq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt taš, Nog, Qzq, Qq tas, Uz taš, Tv, Tf d₁aš, Yk tās 'stone' ¶ Rs. W

466, Cl. 557, ET VGD 167-9, Ash. XV 22O-1, Fed. II 421-2, IS AD # B 15, SDD I 405 || M *čilaγun 'stone' > MM (ChSc) čilaγun, WrM cilagun, HIM պղպ, Brt պղպ(ն), Kl պղպ չօլն, Ord č’iլū, Dg չօլօ ՚ Ms. H 47, H 27, KRS 654-5, KW 444, Chr. 733, Ms. O 704, Klz. D I 131, T DgJ 182; the voicelessness of the initial cns. *č- (for the expected voiced *ž- < pre-A *tj-) has not yet found explanation || Tg *jola, {Vv.} *jolə 'stone' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Ork jolo, Lm jol, Orc, Nn, U1 չոլո, Ud չոլո 'stone' ՚ STM I 263, Krm. 234 || pKo {S} *tōrh 'stone', {Vv.} *twōlō-k > MKo {Vv.} tolh, {S} tōr/torh-, NKo tol ՚ S AJ 37-8, 254 [#83], S QK #83, Nam 159, MLC 478 || pj {S} *d̥isi 'stone', {Vv.} *d̥isə > OJ {Vv.} isi 'stone', ItOJ {Vv.} isì, J: T iší, K iši, Kg iši, Ht iši 'stone' ՚ S AJ 267 [#72], S QJ #72, Vv. AEN 369-70, Mr. 426 ՚ S AJ 37-8, 277 [#68], DQA #2246 (A *tjōyí), S AJ 237 [#88] (A *tjɔ:íla-), SDM97 (A *tō:íi) || K *oṭa:l- > G ṭal-i 'flint, fragment of a tooth' ՚ Chx. 1317, DCh. 1214 || HS: S *till- (~**tīl-~?**tall-) 'mound, heap of stones' > BHb tel, till- 'mound, hill, mound of ruins, heap of stones', JA [Trg.] tel, til'l-ā 'heap of stones, mound', JEA תִּלְאָ til'lā 'ruin-mound', Sr tell-ā 'mound, hill, heap', Ar tall- 'hill, heap', Ak till-, tīl- 'mound' ՚ GB 879, Sd. 1359, Ln. I 311, BK I 203, Lv. IV 644, Js. 167O, Sl. 1205, Br. 824, PS 4438, JPS 613 || ?? AdS of EC *tūl- v. 'heap' (< EC *tūl- v. 'pile up' < N *toH₂lāV [~ *toH₂lāV] 'to fill, to pile up; full') > Sml, Kns, Brj tūl- 'heap' ՚ Bl. 185, Ss. B 180, Hd. 396 || ?φ D *čall- ({θGS} *ʒčall-) 'broken stone, (stone) chip' > Tm calli 'stone chips, pieces of glass', Ml, Tu calli 'chip, postherd', Kn jalli 'broken stone\metal', Tu jalli 'broken stone', Tl jalli 'road metal, broken stone', Prj չալս 'stone chips' ՚ D #2381, AM 291 ◇ The formula *ti₁pa₁io reflects two alt. hypotheses: 1) the pN rec. *ti₁pa₁io presupposes contraction of a N disyllable in Altaic: N *ti₁pa₁io > A {S, SDM94} *tjāiV ~ *tjōiV, 2) the pN rec. *ti₁io presupposes a "vowel breaking": N *ti₁io > *tjōi'a (> *tjōia ~ *tjāiV). The first of the two solutions has an advantage: it accounts for the K, D, and U reflexes (K glottalized *t- < *t?- < N *ti?-, D *ča- < *tja- < N *ti₁pa-, the vw. *-a- both in D and in K) and for the length of the Altaic vw. (due to contaction of a disyllable), while the second hyp. presupposes rejection of both the K and D cognate roots and fails to account for the A vowel length. In the framework of the first hypothesis Tg *-o- and pKo *-ō- may be explained by regr. as. ([N *ti₁pa₁io > pre-A ≈ *tjāiо > A (*tjāiV ~) *tjōiV > Tg

*j^ola and pKo *t^or^h]. Cf. IS SS #11.25, MS 343: A, K ◇ The connection of D *čall- with the N etymon in question is highly qu. for phonetic reasons (*-ll- for the expected *-l-) ◇ ≈ AD AD #2 ◇ AD NM #82, S CNM 8 (÷÷ NrCs), Vv. AEN 4-5 ◇ Gr. II #368 (*tul 'stone') (A, Ko, J, Etr).

2276. *teí₁H₂,∇ 'to bore, to pierce' > HS: C: Bj {R} ✓ t^{l?} (1s: p. 'a-tla?', prs. a-tanlī?) v. 'bore, pierce' || ?φ SC: Irq {MQK} čīl- v. 'sting', Kz {E} čal- v. 'stab', čelet- v. 'drill', ?σ, φ Asa {E} žalas- v. 'bite, sting' ¶ R WBd 226, ESC 193 (SC *čel- v. 'prod, poke'), MQK 109 || A: T: [1] *t' eí- v. 'pierce, bore' > OT {Cl.} täš-, MOg [L] diš-, Tk deš- v. 'split, pierce', Az, Ggz, Tkm, XT {ADb.} deš- v. 'pierce', Qmq, Uz, Qrg, Alt teš-, ET {BN} täš- ~ töš-, Nog, Qzq, Qq tes-, VTt, Bsh tiš-, Tv d^ež-, Tf d^eš-, Xk tis-, Yk täs- id., Tki {Zn.} تیش tiš, ET Δ däš 'hole' → NaT *čäšik 'hole' (> Cmn tešik, Tk dešik, Tv d^ešik, etc.); [2] *čel- 'pierce' (a secondary variant; it resulted probably from precons. depalatalization *í > l): OT, XwT, MQp, Chg, Osm del-, Tk d^el-, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr del-, Az däl- ¶ VTt and Bsh i provides ev. for a pT *e and hence for an A *e ¶ IS AD 39, Cl. 49O, 559, ET VGD 185-6, 21O-2, BN 152, Ra. 172, Rs. W 471, ADb. Ttd 58 [#11] || IE: NaIE *del₁ə₂- v. 'cleave, carve' (× N *čiš-∇ '≈ to rough-hew, to chisel, to cut into slices', q.v. ffd.) ◇ SC *č- still needs explaining.

2277. *tem∇ 'full, complete' > HS: WS *tamm- id. > BHb tam 'is complete, has been completed\finished' (pf. of the verb ✓ tmm), ✓ tmm (ip. yit'tom) v. 'be complete', Ph, Pun tm 'perfect, undamaged; honest', tm (and Pun THEM) 'totality, completion, integrity', Sr ✓ tmm D (pf. يَكْتَمُ tam'mem) 'make entire\perfect', Md ✓ tmm v. 'be, become, remain', Ar ✓ tmm G (pf. tamma) 'être fini, achevé, complété; avoir lieu complètement; finir', tamm-, timm-, tumm- 'fin; complément, ce qui complète; perfection', Mh, Jb, Sq ✓ tmm v. 'be finished, finish' (pf. 3m Mh t³m, Jb E tim, Jb C timm, Sq tem 'is finished, has been finished') ¶ KB 1613-5, JH 329, HJ 1216-8, JPS 714, BK I 206, Jo. M 4O2 || Eg fP tm 'everything, totality', tm 'be complete', Eg NK tm 'vollständig machen' ¶ EG V 303-5, Fk. 298-9 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} tūmā 'much filled', tūmī 'filled sufficiently', {Lm.} tūm- 'be full' ¶ Wdk. BY 137, Lm. Y 379 || ?C: Bj {R} te'mīm 'ganz', temīm- 'ganz sein' (← b-Ar tamīm- 'entier?') || CCh: Msy {Mch.} tem, Db {Lnh.} tēm 'all' ¶ ChC || K: G -tamam- 'kühn sein', G Kx -tamam- 'gut gedeihen' (z. B., von

Pflanzen)] possibly *AdS* of G tem-i '(Dorf-, Land-) Gemeinde' (< N ***taṁh**, ^ū 'earthern wall, hut', q.v.) ¶ Chx. 45O, 472 || **U:** FU *tem ∇ (-) 'full', vt. 'fill, cram' > Chr: KB temə, B teme 'full', KB temä-, L тема- (inf. темáш), KB temä-, U tema- 'become full\sated', L тема- (inf. темáш) 'fill, make sated', KB/U/B teme- id., H тэмä-ш temä- 'get sated, fill' || Hg t̄em-, Hg töm- vt. 'stuff, fill' ¶ UEW 52O, Coll. 119, MRS 569, Ep. 117 || **D** (in SD) *tum(p)- ({⁹GS} *t-?) 'full', (⇒ ?) v. 'be filled, fill' > Kt tumn 'full', Kn tumbu v. 'become full, filled up, complete', tombe 'multitude', Irl thumba 'much', Tm tumpai 'assembly, crowd', Kdg dumb- v. 'become full', Tu tombara 'abundant, much', Kt tub- v. 'be filled full', tubc- vt. 'fill', Kn timbu vt., vi. 'fill', Tu tumbuni v. 'be filled', Krg tumđi v. 'fill' ¶ D #3331 ◇ The vw. *u in D (and u in NrOm) may be due to the ass. infl. of *m ◇ Blz. LB #1c, ≠ IS MS 356 and IS SS 320 [#2.4] (CCh ÷ U *täŋe 'full', D tañ- 'bound'), ≈ BmK 292-3 (HS, D, Sum tum 'abundance, plenty' + unc. FU *tuŋke- v. 'stuff in' [UEW 537-8]), ≠ Gr. II #5 (*tuma 'all').

2278. *t ∇ m ∇ (= *tam ∇ ?) 'hair' > **HS: EC: Rn {PG} tím 'hair', pSm1 {Lm.} *tim- id. > Sml {ZMO} tin/tim- 'a hair', Sml N tín/tim-, Sml B/Ash/My/Db {Lm.} tñ 'hair' ¶ ZMO 393, Lm. SD 337, Abr. S 238, Oo. 68, PG 277 || CCh: Bnn {Lk.}, Azm {Pc.} túmúsá 'hair' ¶ Lk. ZSS 132, Pc. 398 || ?σ Eg fMK tm̄ 'mat; sack (for corn, etc.)' > Cpt: Sd **TME** tme, B **ΘMH** thmē 'natte (jorc, alfa)'; DEg tm 'Matte' > Cpt: Sd **TOM** tom, B **ΘOM** thom id. and/or Sd **TWWME** tōōme, A **TWMEC** tōmes 'bourse, sac' ¶ EG V 307, Fk. 299, Er. 631, Vc. 214-5 || **K:** pGZ *tma- ~ *tama- 'hair' > G tma, Mg toma-, tuma- 'hair', Lz (n)toma- 'hair, wool, fleece' ¶ K 95, K² 73, Fn. KW-2 42 [#9], FS K 151-2 and FS E 164-5 (*tom-) || ? **U:** FP *taŋka 'lock of hair, lump of hair\wool' (< **tam-ka with the sx. *-ka?) > pLp {Lr.} *tōŋkē > Lp: N {N} duog'ge 'lump of hair, lump of wool; tangled beard', L {LLO} tuoggē 'Knoten, Knäuel von etw. Verfilztem, Verwickeltem (z. B. von Haaren, Wolle)', Kld {Lr.} tūŋ:g, {Tl} tūŋ:k 'a cloth of uncarded felt wool', {Tl} tūɛgg_ăd 'sich verfilzen (Haar, Wolle)' | Prm *tug or *tüg > Z tug / tuy- 'tassel', Z Ud tug/tugy- 'Haarflechte, Zopf', Vt tug, Vt MU tūg, Vt B to'g ({LG} təg) 'tassel, fringe hair\fibres (бахрома)' ¶ UEW 791, Lr. #1301, Lgc. #8070, Lt. 221, LG 285, TI 614 ◇ Tromb. CCS II 156 (K, S, Cpt), Blz. KM 121 [#25] (K, HS: C, Ch, *÷ B: in Ntf, BMn, Izn timmi, Shl timint, etc. the element ti- is a px. of f.).**

2279. ₂ ***t**̣**∇****m**̣**∇** 'worm, snake' > **HS**: EthS *taman- > Gz taman 'snake, dragon', Tgy, Amh teman id. ¶ L G 578 || EC: Sa {R} timbaki'yā 'worm' ¶ R S II 355 || IE: NaIE *dem(-el)- 'worm' > Al: T 'dhemjē 'caterpillar, maggot' (-mj- < *-ml-?), T dhemizē ~ {Hamp} dhē'mizē, dhi'mizē, G dhemizē, dhemēz id., 'blowfly' || Gk δεμέλεας accus. pl., Δ [Hs.] δεμβλεῖς pl. 'leeches' ¶ P 201, EI 650 (IE *deme'li-s 'worm'), F I 363-4, Hamp AIEW 143, BFU 116, FJGJSh 402, ≠ O 81 (pAl *ȝōmyā 'worm' ↔ pAl *ȝō 'earth' < IE *d̥gh̥om 'earth'), F I 363-4 ◇ ≠ BmK 308-9 (trying to equate the IE √ with EthS √ **tṃm** v. 'twist', M **tomu**, and Th *tom- v. 'twist').

2280. ₂ ***t**̣**a**̣**h**̣**l**̣**∇****m**̣**∇** 'fire; to kindle; very hot' > **HS**: S *°√thm > Ar taham- 'chaleur brûlante' ¶ BK I 209 || Eg G thm 'kochen' (unless ↔ Eg XVIII/G hm 'heiß sein [ein krankhafter Zustand], brennen') ¶ EG II 489 and V 322 || NrOm {Blz.} *tam- 'fire' > Gf {Mrn.}, WI/ZI {C} tamā, WI {LmS} tama, Cha/Bsk/Bdt {C} tamā, {Fl.} tama, Dk tamā, Male {Fl.} ta·mi, {Si.} 'tami, {Hab.} tamia, tamo, She {C} tam, Bnc {Wdk.} tám, Shn {Fl.} tawa, Krt {Fl.} 'tamo, {Si.} tama, Anf {MYTY} temma, {Fl.} tamo, Gnj {Si.} 'tama, Kcm {Si.} ta'ma, Sz {Fl.} ta·mì, {SWW} tàmmì, HzMa {Fl.} ta·mɛ, {SWW} tammi, Na {C, Fl.}, Shk {Fl.}, Mj {Bnd.} tamu 'fire'; Bnd PO 146 mentions Kf tamo 'fire' (not confirmed by other sources [four rather voluminous dictionaries of Kf!]) ¶ Blz. OL #96, C SE III 116, 176, C SO 35, 45, 63, Mrn. O 157, Wdk. BY 154, LmS 519, Fl. OWL s.v. 'fire', MYTY 120, Hab. M, Si. ACh 4, Si. M 8, SiW BA 12, Bnd. PO 146 || SC: [1] Irq {Blz.} tumúq 'hot ash' (the word is not found in the "Iraqw vocabulary" by Mgw., though Blz. mentions Mgw. as the source); [2] (???) Ehret reconstructs SC *t̥om- 'hot' on the alleged ev. of Kz camali 'hot' and Mb sumasú 'hot season' (→ Kikuyu themithu 'hot season') ¶ E SC 175, Blz. SC s.v. 'ashes' ¶ Tk. p.c. (Om or Eg thm ↔ hm) || A ({SDM95} *t̥**l**̣**am**̣**∇**, {DQA} *t̥**l**̣**èmo**) > NaT *t̥**l**̣**am**- v. 'burn, kindle' > Qrg tam-, Xk tamīl- 'catch fire', OT tamður-, SY tam-dir- vt. 'burn', VTt tamþz-, Qrg, Nog, Qq tamiz- id., Yk timit- v. 'kindle'; OT [MhK] {Cl.} tamdū, tamduq 'fierce fire, blaze' ¶ Cl. 504, Rs. W 459, Jud. 698, RI. III 1001, BIG 216, TL 363 || pJ *t̥**m**̣**z**-s- vt. 'burn, light' > OJ tomos-, J: T tòmos-, tomós-, K tómós-, Kg tòmòs- ¶ S QJ #183 ¶ SDM95 (A *t̥aṃ**∇** [~ t-] 'burn, incend'), S AJ 286 [#254], DQA #2342 (A *t̥èmo → *t̥- 'burn, kindle').

2281. *tam_H, [ū] (or *tām_H, [ū]) 'earthen wall, house' > K *°te_{LJ}:m- > G temi '(Dorf-, Land-) Gemeinde; Stammverband; Gebiet, Bezirk' (x N *tem_N 'full, complete' [q.v.]??) ¶ Chx. 472, DCh. 557 || IE *dom_{LH}u-, *dom_{LH}o-, *demH- (= *dom_{LH}u-, *dom_{LH}o-, *demHx-?) > NaIE *domu-, *domo- 'house', *demə- v. 'build': [1] *domu- > L domus (gen. domū-s) 'house' || Sl *domъ (gen. *domu) > OCS Δομъ domъ (gen. Δομοу domu) 'house', Blg, R дом 'house, home', Uk дім, SCr dōm, Cz dům, P dom 'house', Slv dōm 'home', OR Δомовъ domovъ 'nach Hause' || OI damū-nah / damū-nas- 'householder, master' || Lt namū-darūs 'Baumeister' (as. *d...m > n...m?) || ?φ Arm {Bdr.} տանուտէր tanu-tēr 'master of a house'] [1a] the apophonic grade *°dmōy- is represented in Gk I δμώς (gen. δμωός) 'prisoner of war, slave (Knecht)' (< *'house servant'?) || [2] NaIE *dom-, *dōm / gen. *dem-s 'house' > OI 'dam- id. (att.: gen. pl. da'mām), Av dām, dāmi, dān loc. sg. 'in the house', n^θmō gen. 'of the house' || Gk Hm δῶ 'house' || Arm տուն tun 'house'] [2a] *dem-s poti- 'master of a house' > Gk δεσπότης 'lord, owner', OI 'dam-pati-', Av dāng pati- id., 'ruler' || [3] NaIE *domo-s 'house' (analogical change due to the influence of the more numerous *0-stems?) > OI 'damah 'house' || Gk δόμο-ς id. || L domī loc. 'at home' (÷ OI 'damē 'in [a, the] house, at home') || Lt nāmas 'house' (as. *d...m > n...m?) || [4] NaIE *dem(ə)- v. 'build' > Gk δέμω 'I build', pfc. prtc. δεδμημένος (rdp. from *dmē- [an apophonic grade of *demə-]), Gk D [Pindar] νεό-δματος 'new-built' || KhS pa-dīm- 'make' || HrLw {EI ← ?} tama- 'build' || [5] +ext. *-r- 'building', v. 'build, carpenter' > ON timbr, OSx timbar, AS timber 'timber, wooden building', OHG zimbar id., NHG Zimmer 'room (in a house)', NE timber; Gt timrjan 'erbauen', ON timbra, OHG zimbaren 'to build, to timber', MHG zimbern, NHG zimmern 'to build, to carpenter' ¶ If the interpretation of HrLw tama- is valid, the pIE root is *dom_{LH}u-, *dom_{LH}o-, *demHx- ¶ P 198-9, EI 87 (*dem(h_A)- 'build [up']'), 192, and 281 (*'dōm / *'dem-s 'house, household, nuclear family', *'dom(h_A)os- 'house, household'), M K II 18-9, FI 364-5, 402-3, 408-9, 428-9, WH I 369, Vr. 588, Fs. 478, Ho. 348, Kb. 1252, OsS 1261-2, Lx. 336, Frn. 410, ESSJ V 72-3, Bern. I 210-1, SPS IV 98-101, Glh. 203, Slt. 209-10, Bedr. 690 || A *tām_N 'wall, house' > NaT *tām 'wall' > OT {Cl.} tām, XwT XIII-XIV tam 'wall', MQp XIII, Cmn XIV tam 'roof', Chg ≥XV tam 'roof, wall', OOsm ≥XIV dam 'building', Osm dam, Tk dam 'roof, hut, roofed

shed', Az *dam* 'building, house, roof, roofed shed', Ggz *dam* 'stable, roofed shed', Tkm *tām* 'house', Uz *τομ* *tam* 'roof', Uz Δ *τομ* 'lodging, room (Zimmer)', Qzq *tam* 'wall, house, mud hut', {Rl.} 'Aufbau über einem Grabe', Qq *tam* 'house', Qrg *tam* 'wall (of mud or brick), house (of mud or brick)', ET {Nj.} تام *tam* 'wall, fence, mud building' (→ Oyr T {Rm.} *tama* 'wall [Wand, Mauer]'), SY *tam* 'wall, fence', Sg {Rl.}, StXk *tam* 'Erdschichte', Xlj *dām* *istü* 'roof' {DHST, but not mentioned in DT} ¶ Cl. 5O2, Rs. W 459, TrR 2O7, Hüs. 96, Sht. 191, Jud. 698, Nj. 283, KrkR 616, Ml. ZhU 11O, Rl. III 991, 1648-9, UzR 442, BIG 215, DHST 3O4, ADb. Ttd 62 (* \div **t’ām* without ev. for **t’-*), KW 377 (mentions WrM *tama* '?', not confirmed by other sources) || pJ **tāmūryá* 'plot, camp' > OJ *tamura*, ItOJ [RJ] *tāmūrō*, J: T *tamuro*, *támuro*, K *támùrò*, Kg *tamuró* ¶ S QJ 393, Mr. 541 ¶ Hardly here ($\neq \sigma, \phi$) Tg **tam* ∇ - 'shed, cover' > Ewk *tamana* 'folding birch-bark cover for a tent', Nn B *tam̥x̥l* 'Schirmdach, ηαβεc' (STM II 159) ¶ Rs. W 458, ≈ DQA #2323 (A **t’āma* 'wall, roof'; incl. T, J) || ? σ HS: B **t* ∇ *mmū* > Kb *aṭəmmu* (pl. *iṭəmma*) 'hutte à fourrage, à paille', BSn {La.}, SrSn {Rn.} *aṭəmmun*, Rf {La.} *aṭmun*, Kb Z {Rn.} *aṭəmmu* 'meule de paille' ¶ Dl. 825, La. MChB 363, Rn. 3O3 ◇ The length of the vw. in T **t’ām* is likely to reflect the N lr. ◇ The N final vw. is hard to determine: IE **domhhu-* and B **t* ∇ *mmū* suggest N *-u or *-ü, but Gk νεό-δμα-τος points to an *a-coloured lr., hence pN *-a ◇ Rs. W 459 (A, IE); S NSShS #21 and S NSR (A, IE); cp. also BmK 314 (IE, Sum *dí m* v. 'make, fashion').

2282. ₂ **t* ∇ *m₁* ∇ *ś* ∇ 'to gather, to concentrate, to condense' > HS: S * $\circ\checkmark$ *tm̥s* > Ar \checkmark *tm̥š* v. G 'gather, collect' ¶ BK I 2O8, Hv. 62 || IE **dens-*/**d̥ns-* '≈ dense' > Gk δασύς 'thick with hair\leaves\bushes, hairy' || L *dēnsus* 'dense, thick (with vegetation, etc.)' || Ht *dassu-s* 'massive, heavy, mighty' ¶ P 2O2-3, EI 574 (**densu-s* / **d̥n̥sou-s* 'thick'), FI 351, WH I 341-2, Ts. E III 259-66 ◇ ≠ BmK 3O8 (equating the IE \checkmark with Eg *d̥ns* v. 'be heavy', which goes back to N ***dońćE** 'large, heavy' [q.v.]).

2283. **t’o’N* ∇ 'appear' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'seem') > HS: S * $\circ\checkmark$ *tnn* v. 'be similar' > Ar *tinn-* 'semblable, pareil; ami; égal en rang', {Hv.} 'similar, equal; companion' ¶ BK I 2O8, Hv. 63 || K **tan-*/**tn-* ({Fn. KW-1} **tan-*) 'appear, be visible', **ten-* 'become visible; be getting light'; (× N **ti?* \hat{u} 'shine, be bright, be seen', q.v.) > G *tnev-*/*tni-*/*tn-* 'an jem.\etw. Gefallen finden, etw. gutheißen, billigen', Mg *ton-ua* 'scheinen,

erscheinen', Sv -ten-/ -tn- 'appear, become visible, be born; make visible, show; give birth' (aor. äxten, msd. L {Dn.} li-ten 'show', UB/L li-tñ-e, Ln li-ten-e 'give birth, be born', make visible') §§ ≈ K 92, ≈ K² 68, Fn. KW-1 35 [#28] (G, Mg), Chx. 495, Ni. s.v. появиться; Fn. KD (K *ton-/ *tn-), FS 143, FS E 155-6, TK 434, GP 154 (UB litne 'give birth, be born'), Dn. s.v. ten (liten 'show', litne 'be born') || □ *tōñr- (= *tōñd-) ({§GS} *t-) v. 'be visible, appear, come to mind' (× N *tōñv 'learn [erfahren], inform') > Tm tōñru, Kn tōr-, tōr- 'be visible, appear, come to mind', 'come into existence', MI tonnuka v. 'spring up, occur, appear to the sight', Kt to·r- v. 'be visible', Td twi·l- ~ twi·t- 'be foreseen', twi·r- id., 'be visible', Kdg to·nd-iči 'it (a sudden idea) came in a flash', Tu tōjuni 'appear, seem, be seen', Tl tōcū 'occur in the mind, seem, appear', Krg tō:pu 'that which strikes the mind, an idea; manifestation, appearance', Prj tōnd-, Gdb tōnd- v. 'appear', Knd tōr- v. 'appear, be seen', Kui tōnža v. 'appear, seem', Ku tonža-aíyali v. 'appear' §§ D #3566; the element *-r- is a sx.? ◇ Cf. Fn. KD #73 (K, D *tōr- 'appear, be seen').

2283a. *tEŋgN l̥iN 'heavenly light in the night (star[s], moon)' > IE: NaIE *°dng^hlo- > Gmc *tungal- 'star(s), constellation' > Gt tuggl, OSx tungal, OHG himil-zungal 'Gestirn', AS tungol id., 'star, constellation', ON tungl 'Gestirn, Mond' § WP I 792, Ho. 355, Ho. S 76, Vr. 601 || HS: C: Ag *čzŋgɔ́rw- ({Ap.} *cəmgəlw-/*cəmgərw-) 'star' > Bln/Km {Ap.} šzŋgɔ́rwa, Bln {R} šinru'wā, Km {CR} šingirwā (pl. šingirū-t), Xm {R} šagluwa, Q {R} šengeru'wā, Awn {R} segul'wā id. § Ag *č- for the expected *t- still needs explaining § Ap. AC 20, R WB 326, CR K 252, ≈ AD SF 125-6 || ?φ NOM: Anf {C} čigirō, {MYTY} šigrō, {Fl.} čige·ro, Bsk {C} tēqnā, Kf {C} tōženō, Mch {L} tōžžo 'star' § MYTY 119, AD SF 125-6, C SE III 116 and IV 509, L M 55, Fl. OWL || Ch: CCh: Bt {Mk.} tekeliē, Bc {Sk.} tukulé, {ChL} tukulēy 'star' || ?φ WCh: Kfr {Nt.} dàgar id. | Sy Zk {Sh.} čāžur, Tule {Sh.} čáčür id. § ChC, ChL, Sh. SB 31, Nt. s.v. dàgar || □ *tingkal 'moon' > Tm, MI tingkal, Td tigil, Kn tingal, Tu tingolu 'moon', Kt tigl id., tingl 'month', Kdg tinga 'month', Kui tingal danžu 'crescent moon' §§ D #3213 ◇ Blz. LNA #53 (suggested to equate IE with D and to reconstruct pN *tingka(lV) 'moon').

2284. *tṓp'æ 'head, top' > HS: Eg fP t̥p 'head', Eg N t̥bn id. (+ AdS : N *tähipē 'high place, top, hill'?) § EG V 261, 263-72, Fk. 296 || □

({SDM97} *t'op 'E 'hill, top'): NaT *t_L'öpöjü ~ *t_L'öpä 'top, hill' > OT {Cl.} töpü 'the top (head, summit, mountain, hill)', MQp tepe ~ depe, Cmn tebe, Chg töpe Tk t_Epē, Ggz tepe, Az täpä, Tkm depe, Qry töbe & tebe & töba, VTt, Bsh tübä (→ Chv tübe), Nog, Qzq, Qq töbe, Qrg töbö ~ döbö, Alt töbö, Uz tepa, ET töpä, Tv t'ey ({ADb.}): < **dhey < **depey) 'crown of head, hill, summit', MU tepe ~ töpe, Xlj täpä 'hill, summit, top of sth.', Yk töbö id., 'head' ¶ In the T lgs. we may suppose mutual infl. of the paronymous roots *töpöjü and *t_L'äpe (on the latter see s.v. N *tähipē '↑'). The attempts to unite these two T roots in spite of the phonetic differences (by postulating pT *t'äp'ö [Dr. TM III #872 and DT 2O1] or by reconstructing ppT *t'ëp'ë {Md.}) are superfluous ¶ Cl. 436, TL 2O1, BT 154, IS AD 42 [#23] || (×N *d_Nb_N 'hill') M *dobun 'hill' > WrM добу, -н, HlM дов 'hill, mound, knoll', Ord {Ms.} d_Ow_On 'monticule, colline', Kl {Rm.} d_Ow_On 'hill' → WrM {Gl.} dobogun 'summit of a mountain, peak'; M → Yk dobun 'Erhöhung'; the variant with t- (in Kl товхн < {Rm.} *tobu-qan) is probably a loan from T ¶ Kow. 1818, MED 255, Gl. III 177-8, SM 64, Ms. O 155, KW 97, 404 || Tg {DQA} *dū- ~ *düb- 'upper (on the mountain\hill); top' (×N *d_Oy_a 'place (within, below), inside' ×N *d_Nb_N 'hill?') > Ewk dīw ~ dīyū 'upper (on the slope), dī-lā 'at the top', 'forest on the mountain slope', dīn 'upper part of the mountain', Lm dä 'mountain peak', dāyī & dāw & dāy 'upper, found at the top', Neg dī- (+ppa.) 'top, peak', Orc dī-lā, Ud dīxi 'farther from the river bank', Ork dī-si 'up from the bank', dipti 'upper part of the tent', Ork duwwā, Nn duyž 'the side from the river bank to the woods', Nn Nh duwuy 'farther', WrMc dele 'top' ¶ STM I 2O2-3 || pJ {S} *d_Jipā 'rock, cliff' > OJ ípā, J: T iwá, K íwà, Kg íwa ¶ S QJ #1242, Mr. 429 ¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *top'E 'hill, top' > T, M), DQA #4OO (A *t|dúypē 'hill, top' > M, Tg, J) || IE: NaIE *°doP- ~ *dub- 'tip, summit' (?) > Gmc *ta|opp- (~ ? *tupp-) > AS topp 'summit' (> NE top), OFrk *topp- 'summit' (→ OFr top 'pointe, sommet', topet 'sommet', Fr tourpié 'top, spinning-top, peg-top'), NLG topp, Dt top 'summit', ON topp-r 'Spitze', MHG zopf 'tip', as well as possibly MHG zopf 'plait (of hair)', NHG Zopf id., ON toppr 'aufgebundenes Haar' and typpri 'end' (see N *tupřN 'tail, back' (q.v.) || Sl *diba-ti > Slk dibat', R Δ дыбатъ 'to tiptoe', Uk 'дывати' 'to walk on stilts' || ? Ltv {ME} duba 'a sheaf in a upright position' ('aufgestellte Garbe') ¶ Ptrs. H 7O-1, ≈ P 227, HDEL 1347, 1545, AHDI 69, Sw. 174, GH 562-3, Ho. 351,

Vr. 595, ME I 508, Bern. I 249, Vs. I 557, ≈ ESSJ V 197-8 (does not distinguish Sl *d̥iba-ti 'to tiptoe' from the homonymous verb *d̥iba-ti 'to reel, to stagger') ◇ The labialized vw. of the second syll. in NaT *t̥l̥öpöyü and in M *dobun is due to progr. as.

2285. *tü|up ∇ 'to blow, to breathe' > **HS:** Eg fMK t̥py 'Luft, Lebensatem) einatmen, atmen' || EG V 296 || **A:** T {ADb.} *^ot̥l̥üb- > OT t̥väk 'a blow-pipe' || Cl. 439 || **D** (in GnD) *t̥üp^p- ({GS} *t̥-?) v. 'blow' > Png t̥üb- (p. t̥upt-) v. 'blow with the mouth', Knd t̥üb- id., v. 'puff, blow out (lamp)' || D #3388.

2286. *tup ∇ 'tail, back' > **U:** FU *tupp ∇ 'back (dos), spine' > Chr: L/H түп, KB/U/B tup 'Rücken' | Vt тыбыр 'back (dos), backbone', Vt Sr t̥ib̥ir, Vt Kz tabər 'back (dorsum), spine' || Hg Δ t̥op 'der dicke Teil der Schweinskeule oder des Schinkens', Δ tomp 'Oberschale des Rindes', Hg tempor 'buttock, haunch', † 'thigh (Schenkel)' || UEW 538, MRS 599, Ep. 121, U3S 432 || **HS:** CS * \checkmark tb̥i 'be behind, follow' > Ar {Ln., BK} \checkmark tb̥i G 'follow', {BK} taba^f- 'foot (of quadrupeds)', ?σ Ug \checkmark tb̥i G 'go, depart' || Ln. 293-6, BK I 190-1, A #243, OLS 461, Hnr. 184 || (+ext.) B * \checkmark dfr 'hind' > Ah d̥effər 'derrière', Gh \checkmark dfr v. 'be behind, follow', Kb, Gd, ETwl, Ty, Rf, Izn, Mz, Wrg \checkmark dfr, CM \checkmark dfr, Shl {Z} \checkmark dfr \pm \checkmark t̥fr, Gd etfər 'follow', Zng {TC} etfər 'avoir une dette' (pf. yətfer) || Fc. 261, NZ 451-3, DCTC 285, TC Z 316 || Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} t̥ifo 'behind' || NrOm Kf {C} t̥efō 'kidneys'; ?NrOm * \checkmark d^rp̥ > Bnc {Wdk.} dāb v. 'follow', Ym {C} d̥up^h-, {Wdk.} dùpō ~ dùpō v. 'hunt', Kf {C} dabbō 'caccia con la trappola \ il lacciolo' || Fl. OO 317, C SE III 72 and IV 424, 504, Wdk. BY 100, 121 || **A** ({DQA} *t̥jōb ∇ 'end, edge') (× N *d̥ub ∇ 'edge, end', q.v.): Tg *dubē 'end (of an object), top' > Ewk duw̥ā ~ duw̥ā, Neg duw̥ā, WrMc d̥ubē, dubēn id., 'point (of a sword)', Mc Sb {Y} duvə, duvu 'tip, point, end', {Mrm.} d̥ubē 'oberes Ende, Spitze, Schluß', Lm duw̥st 'top (of tree), point', Orc, Ul du(w)ā, Ud, Nn duž 'end, edge; point' || STM I 218, Krm. 229, Y #2604, Klz. MS 140 || pKo {S} *t̥ijh 'behind, back, North' > MKo t̥ij / t̥ijh-, NKo t̥i̥j || S QK #367, Nam 168, MLC 517 || pJ {S} *t̥úpí 'finish' > OJ t̥úpí 'finish', J: T/K cūi-ni, Kg cūi-ni 'atlast, finally' || S QJ #37, Kenk. 2048 || S AJ 71, ≈ DQA #2264 (*t̥jōb ∇ 'end, edge' > Tg, Ko, J) || The meanings of Tg *dubē and pJ *t̥úpí belong to the heritage of N *d̥ub ∇ || ? IE: NaIE *dubb- (if the original meaning was 'tail') (× NaIE *^odōP- ~ *dub- 'tip, summit' < N *t̥ōp̥æ 'head, top' [q.v.]

ffd.]) > Ltv {ME} **duba** 'a sheaf (standing upright), aufgestellte Garbe' ||| Gmc *tuppa 'plait (of hair)' > MHG **zopf**, NHG **Zopf** id., ON **toppr** 'aufgebundenes Haar' ¶ ME I 508, Ptrs. H 70-1, ≈ P 227, HDEL 1347, 1545 ◇ This N word has phonetically irreg. variants suggesting some unclear ideophonic associations or contamination with other (paronymous) words. Cf. N ***dumPV** 'back, hinder part, tail'.

2287. *ta^rP^kV (or ***ta^wkV?**) 'to obstruct, to prevent, (?) to overpower' > **U:** FP *tawkV v. 'stop\cease (doing sth.), abstain from doing sth.' > F **tauota** / **taukoa-** v. 'discontinue, cease' | Lp N {N} **duow'got** v. 'be weaned; be ashamed to do sth.' | pPrm *dug-d- > Z **dugd+** v. 'cease doing sth.', Vt **dugd+** v. 'stop' (*-d- is a Prm reflexive sx.) ¶ It. #48, Sm. 554 (FP *t^rewka- 'stop'), LG 97, N I 600, ≠ UEW 422 (rejects the Prm cognate because of the alleged lack of corr. between Prm *g and F -k-, but in fact the voiced Prm *g is explained by as. caused by the adjacent reflexive sx. *-d-) || **A:** NaT **t_L'ōg** (< **t_L'awg < **t_L'abg or **t_L'apg?), {§ADb.} ***tōg** {Cl.} 'obstruction, barrier; obstructed' > OT {Cl.} **tōy** 'stopper, obstruction to anyth.; dam; spurs (of a mountain)', ? Shor, Sg **toy** 'gelt (die noch nicht geboren hat)' (of a female animal), Sg, Qb **tu_y** 'eine gelte Stute', Qrg **tū**, Qzq **ty** tuw, Qq **tuw** 'barren' (of a female animal), Qrg **tūbas** 'barren' (of a woman or a female animal) ¶ Cl. 463-4, RI. III 1157, 1430, Jud. 772, MM 352, KrkR 657 || **D** (in SD) *taka- ({§GS} *t-, *-g-?) v. 'stop, resist, obstruct' > Tm **takai** id., Kn **taga** 'delay, obstacle, hindrance' || ?σ **HS:** CS *✓ **tkp** v. 'overpower' (mt. < **✓tpk < [as.] *✓tpk) > BHb תְקַף ✓ **tkp** v. G 'overpower, prevail, attack' (Eccl. 4.12), BA ✓ **tkp** v. G 'grow strong' ¶ ESh MH III 1476, KB 1644 ¶ D #3006 ◇ If CS *✓ **tkp** belongs here, the N labial cns. is a stop (*P), otherwise it may be either *P or *w.

2288. *teq^ræ?U' 'say, talk to' > **HS:** C {AD} *✓ **txw** v. 'say, speak' > EC {Ss.} *-d_h-, {AD} *-t^rvh- v. 'say' > Sa {Wlm.} -d_h- / -d_eh- v. 'say' (imv. e_edh, p. -edhe), Af {PH} (e)-d_he-/-a-d_h-, Sml {AD IPCV} -idih-, Sml N {Abr.} d_{eh}- / d_{ah}- / -dī- / -dāh(d)-, Sml C ri / rih- / rah-, Rn {Sim} -d_{eh}- / -d_{ah}- (ayidah 'he said', ayadēh 'he says'), {PG} -dēh- / -dāh / -dāh- (yadēh 'he says, does', 3s p. yidah) 'say', pBn {Hn.} p.: *-ereh- / n.-p. *-erah- > Bn J -ēr- / -erah-, Bn K -ereh- / -erah- id. || ? Ag *d_zk^w-, {Ap.} *d_əx^w- / *d_əq^w- v. 'speak' > Bln/Q {Ap.} d_zw-, Xm {Ap.} d_zq^w-, Aw {Hz., Ap.} d_zy^w- (1s d_zq^w-) || Bj A {AD} -di- / -dī- (prs. -h-dī-), Bj {Rop., R} -di- (p. 1s 'a-di, 2m te-'diy-a, 3m 'ē-di; prs. 1s 'andī) pcv. 'say, name' ¶

AD SF 57, 321, AD IPCV §§ 1.2.3.2, 1.2.3.3, Ss. PEC 41, Hn. S 67, Hn. BD 35, 57, 144, PG 60, 148, Ap. AV 9, Rop. 78-9, R WBd 55, R WB 115, PH 94, 270-4, 282 || IE *d_l^he^h- 'say' > NaIE *d_l^hē- > Sl *dě- v. 'say' > OP dzie 'inquit', OCz dieti / diem, Cz díti, HLs džeć, LLs žaś, Slv dejati 'to say', OR Δῆι děi, Δῆ dě, R de - pc. of quoting (indirect speech), OUk देह 'namely', Uk Δ δि 'namely, that is' || Ht te- {Frd.} 'sagen', {Ts.} '(autoritativ) sprechen' ¶ Frd. HW 319, Ts. W 85-9, Ts. E III 143-7, 291, Vs. I 489-490, SPS III 106 (*dě as pc. of quoting), ≠ ESSJ IV 229-230, Ivn. OPA 80-1, SPS III 126-8 (does not distinguish between Sl *dě- v. 'place', *děja- v. 'do', and *dě- v. 'say') || K: pGZ *tqw- v. 'report, let know' > OG tqw-, G tqv- 'v. 'say, tell, report, let know', Mg tqu- ~ tqw- ~ tqv- 'say' ¶ K 184, K² 193, FS K 303-4, FS E 338, Chx. 131-2, Q 331 || A: T *tēy- v. 'say' > OT tē-, XwT XIV de- ~ te-, MQp XIII dē-, Chg ≥XV de- 'say', MOg Tkm XIV {Cl.} de-dī 'he said', Tkm diy-, ET de- ~ dä-, Tk de-, Az, Ggz, Uz, Ln, CrTt, Qry, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt de-, VTt di-, Bsh, Qmn ti-, Tb tiy-, Xk tū-, Tv d_e-, Tf d_ε-, SY ti-te-, Yk diā-, Chv te- 'say' ¶ Cl. 433-4, IS AD 39, Rs. W 467-8, ET VGD 221-4, Ra. 170-1, Jeg. 241-2, Fed. II 205, S AJ 182 [#70] || ?σ M *dayu-n 'sound' > WrM dagu(n), HlM дүү(н) ¶ MED 219 || Tg *deb- 'song; shamanizing' > Ewk dəwəz̥y 'song', dəwəz̥y- v. 'sing and dance an Ewenki dance', dəwəz̥ki- v. 'shamanize', Orc dāsango interj. (a refrain of shaman's songs), WrMc deyengu 'melody' ¶ STM I 228, 230 ¶ DQA #2235 (A *tē 'say, sound') ◇ The glottalization of the original *t- in C and K is due to the N lr. *?; K *q < N *qN?; C *✓ tχʷ may be explained by mt. (*teq'æ?U' > *tN?NqU). If M *dayu-n belongs here, its *a may be due to regr. "harmony of vowels" (*e...u > *a...u), which suggests that the final labialized vw. was *u. In the prehistory of IE and T the final syll. *-?U was probably lost. If we accept an alt. hyp. admitting that the N initial cns. was *t, the initial cns. of NaIE and A remains unexplained ◇ ≈ IS MS 365 (*te'h'ₐ 'say' > IE, T + unc.: K *tχ₀- v. 'ask' [actually from N *teywN 'ask for, beg']), BmK 318 (K, Sum dūg₄ v. 'say\speak\tell').

2289. *terN 'to tear, to burst' > HS: S *°✓trr > Ar ✓trr (pf. tarra) éclater, partir (le noyau de la datte quand on la casse avec une pierre); être séparé' ¶ BK I 194 || IE *der-, *derH- v. 'split, tear' (× [?] N *tūR^N or *tuRE 'to pierce, to stick into' × [?] N *tor^N 'to bark, to peel' × N *tAřq^N '≈ to make an incision, to dig') > OI dar- (prs. dr^hnāti, pfc.

da'dāra) v. 'burst, cause to burst, tear', Av auua ... dərənəq 'auseinanderspaltend', NPrs **دَرِيْدَن** därr-īdän ~ **دَرِيْدَن** där-īdän 'to tear, to rend, to lacerate', {VI.} 'lacerare, diserpere', Av dərədar-'split' (pp. dərətō [= OI dr̥'ta-]) || W, Crn, Br dərn 'piece, part' || Lt dīrti (prs. dērū ~ dīriū), Δ dīrti 'to tear asunder, to flay' || pSl *der-ti ~ *dərā-ti (prs. dēr-q) 'to tear, to flay (× N *τορν '↑'): [1] *der-ti > SCr {Tls.} дрёти ~ {ESSJ} drijèti, {Glh.} drijéti 'to tear, to rend, to flay', Slv dřeti 'to skin, to flay', P drzeć 'to tear, to rend', Slk driet', Cz dríti 'to flay'; [2] *dərā-ti > OCS **Δεραти** / prs. **Δερж** deraq v. 'skin, flay, lacerate', SCr dērati, Slv dērati 'to tear asunder, to rend, to flay', Cz dráti, Slk drat' 'to rend, to strip', R дратъ 'to tear, to bark (a tree)', Uk драти ~ дерти 'to tear asunder', Blg дера 'tear asunder, rend, flay' || Gt dis-taíran 'þηγνύναι, zerreißen', OHG zerren, fir-zerren 'to tear, to tear up', NHG zerren 'to tear, to pull, to tug', AS teran 'to tear, lacerate', NE v. **tear** § P 206-9, EI 567 (*der- 'tear off, flay'), M K II 59, M EI 701-3, VI. I 844, Sg. 517, Horn 125, LP § 12.1, YGM-1 163, ECCE 230, Hm. 143, Frn. 96-7, ESSJ IV 209, V 218-9, Bern. I 185, Vs. I 504-5, Glh. 191, Tls. 103, SJSS X 544, SPS V 231-5, Fs. 120, Ho. 346, Kb. 1248, OsS 1247-8, KM 880 || D *ter- ({§GS} *t-) v. 'burst asunder, break, cut' > Tm teri vt. 'burst asunder; break, cut', Ml terikka v. 'cut off', Kn tir_i v. 'cut, cut off', OTl treyyu v. 'be chopped\cut off', trevvu v. 'be cut', Gnd tivv-, Knd tev- v. 'be broken', Png trēz-, Mnd trey- v. 'cut (e.g. crops)' §§ D #3437, Km. 399 [##650, 652] ◇ IS SS #2.11, IS MS 360 ('рватъ' *ter(H)Δ: IS, D + *÷ K *txar- v. 'dig').

2290. *tuRΝ 'back, back side' > HS: S *°-tūr- 'turn back, return' (× *-tūr- 'turn' < N ?σ *tūwrΝ ~ *tuwrE 'to [re]turn, to roll [up], to turn round') > Ak -tūr- G : inf. OAk, Ak A tuāru(m), Ak OB tārū(m) 'sich umwenden, umkehren, zurückkehren', Ak NA/NB tūra 'komm zurück, wiederun' § Sd. 1332-6, 1372 || IE: NaIE *dors-/ *ders- '≈ back (dos)' > L dorsum 'back (dos)' || Ltv {ME} dirsa 'der Hintere' (unless d. from dirst 'to defecate') || OHG zers 'penis' (< *tail?) § WH I 373, ≠ WP I 798, 802, ME I 470, Kb. 1248 § NaIE *-s- must be a sx. or an ext. || U: FU {UEW} *turya 'nape, back of the head' > F turja 'Hinterteil des Nackens', Es turi (gen. turja) 'nape, upper part of the back' || OHg tar, Hg Δ tarja 'Genick, Hinterkopf des Rindes; Schulterstück', tarko 'nape, back of the head' § UEW 538-9 § Acc. to UEW, FU *-ya is

a poss. ending ◇ IE *dors- (rather than **dours- with *ou < N *u) is due to a law eliminating clusters of two sonants ◇ The comparison between Latin and FU was suggested by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #6c).

2291. *tüR ∇ or *tuRE 'to pierce' > A: M *dürü- v. 'pierce, stick\push\shove into' > MM [S] dürü- 'eindringen, hineinsetzen', WrM dürü- to put\push\stick into; slip in, insert, thrust in', HlM дүрэ- id., Kl дүр- där- 'put\push\shove in, hineinstecken', Brt дүрэ- id., 'dip' ¶ H 39, MED 283, KW 105, KRS 220, Chr. 21O ¶ IS AD 47 ¶ Not here T *tür- vi. 'string, thread (a needle)' (< N *türy ∇ ~ *turyE or *tür ∇ ~ *türE 'row, line; to string', q.v. ffd.) || D *tor \bar{a} - ~ *tora- 'hole' (× N *dur ∇ or *dür ∇ 'hole, hollow', q.v. ffd. × N *tor $\bar{r}\nabla h^1 a$ 'to pass over; through'?') || HS: C: Dhl {EEN} här- v. 'pierce, spear' (× N *tor $\bar{r}\nabla h^1 a$ '↑') || EC: Sml törrey ~ törri, Sml {Abr.} tórray ~ tórrí 'dagger', Rn {PG} tör (pl. törár), Ya {Hn.} tör (pl. törári) 'spear' || SC: Kz talangayo 'bleeding arrow', ?? {E}: SC → Mb ito, itoró 'spear' ¶ ZMO 396, Abr. S 239, PG 280, ESC 169 [#7] (*tär- v. 'spear, pierce with a weapon'), EEN 8 (Dhl ÷ Ya -tūra '?'), Hn. Y II 134 || IE: NaIE *der- v. 'prick, pierce' (× N *tor ∇ 'to bark, to peel' × [?] N *ter ∇ 'to tear, to burst' × [?] N *tárq ∇ '≈ to make an incision, to dig') > Lt durti (prs. duriū), Ltv durt 'to stab, to thrust, to prick', Lt durā 'crow-bar' || pSl *der- / *dér- > ?σ SCR ú-driti (prs. ú-drīm) 'to strike'; pSl *dira 'hole' > OCS Δηρά dira 'hole, crack', SCR Δ dira ~ dira ~ dira, R Δ дира, Blr дзирка, Cz dira 'hole'; pSl *dira 'hole' > OR Δырә dira 'hole, passage', R ды'рә, Plb darā 'hole' || OI dārah 'hole in the ground, cave' ¶ P 206-9, ~ Frn. 113, M K II 21, Drd. 861, Vs. I 515, 559, ESSJ V 30-1, 205, Srz. I 765 ◇ IS MS 357 (*tūr ∇ 'pierce'), IS SS 321 (in both papers A is equated with D).

2292. ?σ *tūwr ∇ ~ *tuwrE 'to roll, to turn round, to wind' > HS: S *-tūr-(× S *-tūr- 'turn back, return' < N *tuR ∇ 'back, back side') > Ar ✓ twr G (pf. tāra, ip. -tūr-) 'faire le tour, circuler autour d'un point', Ak -tūr- G : inf. OAk, Ak A tuāru(m), Ak OB tāru(m) 'sich umwenden, umkehren, zurückkehren' ¶ BK I 21O, Sd. 1332-6 || C: Bj {R} ✓ trr (p. 'a-trir, prs. a-tan'rīr) 'drehen, wickeln' ¶ R WBd 232 || IE (+ext.): NaIE *derbh- 'twist\bind together' > OI drōbhāti 'strings\ties together, ties in a bunch', Av dərəwδa- 'bundle of muscles', WIrN *(ham-)darb- v. 'sew' > Xuri dur-, dur-uft, Prc an-darf, Orm un-dərəw- id. || Sl *dorbъ > Blr 'дораb' 'basket, box (Korb,

Schachtel)', R Δ δօրօ'բօկ 'box\basket of bast (короб)' || Arm սնոն
տօն (< *dorb^h-n-) 'σχοινίον, rope, cord, string, twine' || OHG zerben,
p. zarpta (rf.) 'sich (um)drehen, wälzen', AS tearflian (<
*tarbalōn) vi. 'to roll, to wallow' ¶ WP I 808, P 211-2, EI 607 (*derb^h-
'turn, twist'), M K II 60, M EI 703-4, MW 491, ESSJ V 74, SPS IV 112-3,
Kb. 1248, OsS 1230, Ho. 344, Sw. 171 ¶ *-b^h- is to be considered a root
ext. || A *°tū|ür∇ > NaT *tū|r- v. 'roll up' > OT tür- v. 'roll up (a scroll,
one's sleeves, etc.)', OOsm xvdür- v. 'roll up', Tkm düyr-, ET tür-, Yk
tūr- id., Tv d_ür-, Tf d_ür- 'roll up as a tube', Az dür-mäk 'some food
rolled up in flat bread', Qzq, Qq, Qrg tür- 'roll up (sleeves, trouser-
legs), raise (hem of a skirt)', Nog, VTt, Bsh, Alt, Xk tür-, VTt tōr- id.,
'wrap' ¶ Cl. 530-1, Rs. W 506, ET VGD 319-20, Ra. 178, Hüs. 118, Jud.
783, ADb. Ttd 61 [#12] || pJ {S} *tūtūm- 'wrap' > OJ tutūm-, J: T cucúm-
, K cúcúm-, Kg cùcùm- ¶ S QJ #1120, Mr. 776 ¶ ~ DQA #2283 (A *tūri-
'to wrap, to fold', incl. T, J).

2293. *tūr̥ē ~ *tūr̥ē 'full, filled' > HS: S *°✓tr̥i > Ar ✓tr̥i (pf.
tarīsa, ip. -trañ-) v. 'be filled\full' ¶ BK I 196, Hv. 58 || u *ture 'full' >
Prm {Lt.} *tūr 'full, filled' > Vt, Z tīr id., Z tīr- v. 'be full, become filled',
Vt tīr- v. 'fill; become full, satt werden' | F tyrty- 'bis zum Ekel satt
werden', tyrehty- 'stop, be(come) stopped, cease to flow', {Rd.}
'gedämpft werden, gehemmt werden, stocken, sich stauen', pLp {Lr.}
*t̥r̥ə vi. 'stiffen, tighten' > Lp N {UEW} dārrāt 'steif werden,
erstarren, hart weden', Lp Kld {TI} t̥rra- 'aufquellen, dicht werden (ein
spack gewordener Gegenstand in Wasser)' || Sm: Slq NP tiir 'voll,
Füllung', Slq B/Kt/UO tiir-, Slq Tur {Lh.} tīrti- v. 'fill' ¶ UEW 524,
Coll. 64, Lr. #1214, Lt. 198, LG 293, Décsy UP 109 (*tirä) || A: Tg
*dira-, diramiñ 'thick' > Ewk diram, Sln dirami, Lm dīr̥m, Neg diyam,
Orc diyami, Ud deämi ȝ diyami, Ul dīrami, Ork jīrami, Nn žīrami,
WrMc žīramin, Jrc {Kiy.} diramej 'thick', Nn žīrala- (+ppa.)
'thickness' ¶ STM I 207-, Kiy. 135 [#692] ¶ ~ DQA #225 (A *tīri
'thick, plenty' > Tg) || D *tūr- v. 'be filled up' > Tm tūr, Ml tūruka
id., ??φ Krx čūr-nā v. 'get obstructed, blocked up (as a rat-hole, pipe)'
¶ D #3390, Pf. 43 [#245], 77 [#488] ◇ IS MS 356 s.v. 'полный'
*tūr̥a (U, D), BmK 278 (HS, U; unc.: S ÷ Kz tal- v. 'grow' and Dhl {E}
tar- v. 'collect together, mix').

2294. *tarh₂∇ 'to drink' > K {K²} *ter-/ *tr- v. 'drink' > OG ter-/tr-,
G tver-/tr- v. 'get drunk', Sv tr- v. 'drink' (msd. UB/LB/L/Ln litre 'to

drink'); K 69 plausibly suggested that -v- in NG results from mt. *ter-v-* > *tver-* §§ K 95-6 (*tr-), K² 69, Schm. 114; FS K 149 and FS E 162 (*twer-), TK 434, GP 154 || A *tar ∇ 'a kind of beverage' > NaT *tar ∇ > OT tar [MhK] ({Cl.} tār) 'milk residue, that is the clotted milk which remains at the bottom when the pure butter has been melted and drawn off', Yk tar 'sour boiled milk that is fermented in summer and stored for the winter', 'frozen sour milk'; T → WrM tarag, HIM тараг 'clabbered milk, sour milk' § Cl. 528, JkR 375, Pek. 2654, MED 779 § Cl.'s assumption of a long ā is based on the shaky argument of the Arabic spelling, but must be rejected on the clear ev. of Yk || ? M *darasun 'wine' > MM [IM, IsV] darasun id., WrM darasun, HIM дарас(ан) 'sweet wine made from fruit or grain', WrO {Krg.} darasun 'wine, drink', Kl дарасн darasън 'wine made of berries', MnR H {SM} d_зrāsз 'genièvre, vin', {T} derāse, Dx dasun 'wine'; the strange preservation of the final -un in Dx and the unexpected long ā and ə (e) in MnR suggest borrowing (at least in MnR and Dx) § Pp. MA 435, Lg. VMI 25, MED 232, Krg. 545, KRS 183, SM 49, T 329, T DnJ 117 || D *tar- ({§GS} *t-) v. 'drink, swallow' > Tl trāgu, trāvu v. 'drink', Prj tār-, Gdb targ- v. 'swallow' §§ D #3174, ≠ Km. 398 [#644] (⌘÷ Tm ār- v. 'eat, drink' and Gdb K sark- v. 'drink water from the tank'; reconstructs *tar- ~ *čar-) ◇ BmK 300 (K, D). The presence of a N lr. is suggested by D *-r- (< N cns. clusters *-r⊥- reg.).

2295. *tirH ∇ 'be quiet, lie (liegen)' > HS: Ch: WCh {StL.} *t̪ird- v. 'lie down, go to bed' > Ang {Flk.} tēr v. 'cause to lie down, lie down' | Krkr {IL} tādū, {Lk.} tādū v. 'lie down', t̪du v. 'sleep', Gera {ChL} t̪dī v. 'sleep', Glm t̪r vi. 'sink, descend', Tng {J} t̪ide v. 'sleep' § StL. ZCh 166-7 [#195], J T 153 || ? Eg G t̪ih 'sich senken, sich ablagern (vom Schlamm eines Gewässers)' → (?) Eg MK {Fk.} t̪ih.t 'lees, dregs'; Eg N t̪ih 'eintauchen' § EG V 233, Fk. 294 || K *t̪ir- > G tir- '(sich) beruhigen' § Chx. 491 || IE *dreh-/ *dr̪h- > NaIE *drē-/ drə- v. 'sleep' > OI 'drāti, 'drāya-ti, -tē 'is asleep' || Arm տարտամ tartam 'irresolute, sluggish, idle, unsteady, cowardly, moving slowly' || Gk Hm (aor.) ἔδραθον (< *e-dṛ-dʰ-om) 'he slept', prs. δαρθάνω 'fall asleep' § P 226, M K II 76, Slt. 360-1, Ch. 253, FI 349-50, EI 526 (*dreh₁- 'sleep' = *der- + ext.) || ? A *t̪irga > M *žirga- > WrM žirga- v. 'set' (of the sun), ↑ 'sleep', Ord žirga- 'set' (sun, moon, stars), ↑ 'go to bed' § MED 1059, Ms. O 202 || D (in GnD) *ter- ({§GS} *t-) v. 'lie (down), sleep' >

Mnd tēr- v. 'lie, lie down', trēp- v. 'lay down', Knd ter-p- v. 'put to sleep, cause to lie down, lay', Png trēp- v. 'lay down, put (child) to sleep', Kui treppa- v. 'cause to lie down', Ku trip- v. 'lay down, make so. sleep' ¶ D #3425 ◇ D *e for the expected *i needs explaining ◇ IS MS 356 s.v. 'полный' *^turə (U, D).

2296. *tōRgæ (= *torgæ?) 'weak, loose' > HS: B *✓trg > Ah ətrág 'lâcher librement (un animal)', ETwl, Ty ətrág 'dénouer; détacher, lâcher librement; libérer, déboutonner' ¶ Fc. 1591, GhA 192 || IE: NaIE *dregh- '≈ be slack, be loose, be weak' > Lt drūž-ti (prs. drūžù) {Frn.} 'to become weak', mano akis drūžta 'I am gradually losing the sight' (but {PiesS} drūžti 'get clouded, darken'), as well as possibly Lt {Frn.} drižtī (prs. drižtú) 'to be timid, to become miserable\weak' (→ 'to be afraid'?) || Gt trigō 'λύπη, distress', ON tregi 'sorrow', AS treza 'grief, affliction', OHG trāgi 'slow, lazy, sad', NHG träge 'slow, dull', OSx trāg id., trāgi 'Trägheit', OHG trāgī 'weariness, sluggishness', 'taedium, pigritia, segnities, torpor' ¶ WP I 821ff., P 226-7 ('unwillig, verdrossen' ← 'schlaff, zähe sein'?), Frn. 1O6-7, Fs. 48O, Vr. 597, Kb. 1O28, OsS 95O, Ho. 352, Ho. S 75 || A *torgv > M *dorgumži > WrM dorgumži, HlM доргомж 'weak, feeble'; M *dorgun > WrM dorgun, HlM доргон 'lack, deficit; insufficient'; M *dorayju > WrM doru, {Rm.} doragi, HlM дор 'weak, impotent, incapable', Kl Ö doru 'unterlegen, schwach, schlecht', M *doruyi > WrM dorui, HlM, Brt дорой 'weak, feeble, emaciated', MM [MA] doray kibe tūni 'weakened him', doraytūlqu üyle 'weakening work' ¶ MED 262, Kow. 1885-6, KW 96, Pp. MA 143, Chr. 196 || Tg: WrMc {Z} dorgolo- v. 'stop growing (cereals), bloom insufficiently, betoken bad harvest' ¶ STM I 216, Z 828, Hr. 12O (rejects the Mc word as a misinterpretation) || ? NaT *tūr- ~ *tūr- v. 'be(come) weak, emaciated, lean' > OT tūr- v. 'be\become weak, emaciated', Xk tura par-, tura ka- v. 'be exhausted\tired', Yk {Pek.} tuor 'emaciation', tuor- 'get emaciated', tuorχay 'weak'; T → MM [S] tura- 'abnehmen, schwächer sein', turu- 'abmagern' ¶ Cl. 53O, Pek. 2824, 2829, H 155, RI. III 1446, BIG 24O.

2297. *tæRpV (or *tæRPv?) 'tremble, shake' > HS: S *°✓trp > Sr ✓trp G {JPS} 'clap, flap, move', {Br.} 'percussit' ¶ Br. 29O, JPS 182 || IE: NaIE *°drep- ~ *°trep- 'shake, tremble' > Psh دربل dra'b3l 'to shake, to press down' || Sl *trep- > Cz třepati 'to shake, to flutter, to clap,

to flap (one's wings)', LLs *tšepeš*, HLs *třepac̍* 'to swing'; → Sl **trep-etъ* n. act. 'trembling, quivering' > OCS **треπετъ** *trepetъ*, Blg, R *трепет*, SCr *trěpēt*, Slv *trepēt*, P *tzpiot* id. ¶ P 1O94, Vs. IV 98-9, Asl. 4O2, Mrg. 22 || A: M **derbe-* > WrM *derbe-*, HlM *дэрвэ-* v. 'flutter; struggle (as birds\fish)', Ord *d_erwe-* 'battre les ailes (oiseau), flotter au gré du vent (étoffe)', Kl {Rm.} *derw-* 'flattern (von Vögeln), zappeln (von Fischen); ds.: MM [S] *derbel-* 'bebhen, erschütteln', WrM *derbelzə-*, HlM, Brt *дэрвэлзэ-* v. 'flutter, flap in the wind', WrO *derbekütüł-* 'make fly in the wind' ¶ MED 252-3, Ms. O 141, H 36, Krg. 556, KW 9O, Chr. 218 ◇ If the N etymon is ***tæRp**Δ, IE **t-* and S **t-* (for IE **d-* and S **t-*) may be due to as. (N **t...p* > **t...p* > IE **t...p* and S **t...p*) and possibly to ideophony, but if the N rec. is ***tæRp**Δ, M *d-* defies explanation.

2297a. *tAřū '(=) tree, log' > HS: EthS (↔ C??): Tgr {LH} **¶C** tor 'gable-beam in the roof', (d. or cd.?) **¶C¶C** tormor, {Abb.} **¶C¶ṇ** torman 'cross-beam in the roof' → Bj {R} *tir'mān* (pl. 'tirman') 'der Dachstuhl, Querbalken, welcher das Dach stützt' ¶ LH 3O7, R WBd 232 || K: G taro 'Querblatt (an der Wand oder in einem Wandschrank)', {NCh.} 'shelf in the wall' ({DCh.} 'заставацъ') ¶ Chx. 463, NCh. 231, DCh. 554 || IE **deru-* / **doru-* / **drey-* / **drou-* / **dru-*, {EJ} *'*doru* / gen. *'*drou-s* 'tree, wood' > Ht {Ts.} *taru* (*tāru*), Lw {Mlc.} *tāru* 'wood (Holz), tree', LycIs [StB] δέρβη (**derwa-*) 'juniper' ([StB]: Δέρβη ... ὁ ἐστι τῇ τῶν Λυκαόνων φωνῇ ἀρκευθος) || NaIE: OI 'dāru' 'piece of wood, wood (Holz)' (nom. 'drunā', gen. 'drōh', 'drunāh'), 'drū-' 'wood, wooden implement, tree', Av dāuru (gen. sg. draoš) 'tree trunk, piece of wood', NPrs دار dār 'wood (Holz), beam' || Gk δόρυ (gen. δόρατος, Gk Hm δουρός) 'tree, tree trunk, plank\beam', δρῦς 'tree, oak' || pAl {O} **druwa* 'tree, wood (Holz)' > MAI {FB} *druu* 'lignum', Al: T *dru*, G *drū* 'tree, wood (Holz)', SG/Be/Mn *dru*, P *dru*, *drūni*, U *dru*, *druni*, D/Kr *drū* id. || OIr daur (gen. *daro*) 'oak', MW *derw-en* snglt. (pl. *derw*), W dār (pl. *darwen*), OBr {Flr.} coll. *daeru*, MBr {Ern.} *deruenn* (pl. *deru*), Br {Hm.} *deruenn* (coll. *derv*) 'oak' || Gt triu 'tree, wood (Holz)', ON *tre*, AS *tréo* (> NE *tree*) 'tree', OSx *trio* 'tree, beam' || Sl **dérvo* 'tree' > OCS Δρέβο *drěvo*, P *drzewo*, Slv *drevô* id., SCr *drévo*, R 'дерево' 'tree, wood (Holz)', Cz *dřevo*, Slk *drevô* 'wood (Holz), timber'; Sl **drívô* 'tree', pl. **drívva* 'wood

(Holz), fire-wood' > Blg дър'вə, SCr др̄во, Slk дрво 'tree', Slv др̄во 'log, cudgel'; Sl *дръвə 'tree' > Blg дървə, SCr др̄во, Cz Δ, Slk дрво id., Slv др̄во 'log (of fire-wood), club', Sl pl. *дръва 'fire-wood' ({EI} < *druh_A/eh_A) > OCS Δρъвa дръва, SCr др̄ва, P drwa, R дро'ва, Blg дър'вə id.] Possibly words for 'resin, tar' (↔ *deru- 'tree?'): Ltv дар̄ва 'tar, pitch', Lt дервā id., 'resin; resinous stump' || ON tjara 'tar' (< Gmc *terwōn), ON тyrv, Nr тyri, Sw töre ~ tyre 'resinous wood', MDt tar, Dt teer, MLG ter(e) (→ NHG Teer) 'tar', NHG 1c. (in Kurhessen, Schwalm) (Wagen-)Zehr id., AS teoru 'tar, resin', NE tar §§ P 214-7, EI 598, Frd. HW 267, Ts. W 88, Ts. E III 230-5, Mlc. CL 218, M K II 36, M E I 721, Horn 116, FI 411-2, Fs. 480-1, Vr. 591, 597, 603, Ho. 346, 353, Ho. S 76, KM 775, SEv. 31, LP § 67, YGM-1 168, Flr. 128, Ern. 152, Hm. 152, Frn. 90-1, ESSJ IV 211-3 and V 141-2, SPS III 54-7, Gh. 207, O 76, Huld 56 (pAl *druna-) || A: pKo {S} *tòrī > MKo tòrī, NKO tori 'cross-beam' § S QK #373, MLC 465 || pJ {S} túrī-(n)kžj 'ceiling beam' > OJ túrígí, J T curigi § S QJ #385 §§ SDM97 s.v. *t'ör(g)e, ≈ DQA #2392 (A *t'jórgē 'support, beam', incl. Ko, J); the err. rec. of A *t'- is based of unj. comparison with Dg terkin 'dais' (in fact a loan from Mc) and Tg *turga 'prop, support' (in fact derived from Tg *torga- v. 'prop up' < N *tɔRga 'hold, prop up' || ? D *°tāṛ- > Kn tāṛ 'stem or stalk of corn, flowers, etc.' § ≈ D #3185 ◇ The labialized vw. of the first syll. in A may be due to regr. as. ◇ S AJ 289 [#312] (A *°t_L'jer_V tree', IE), ≈ S NSR 4-6 (IE + A *t'jóré [with err. rec. of *t'-] + K: G dvire 'Balken'; on this basis he reconstructed N *d^w-).

2298. (2?) *tōr_V 'bark; to bark (remove the bark), to peel' > IE: NaIE *der- v. 'skin, flay, bark' (× N *tūR_V or *tuRE 'to pierce, stick into' × [?] N *ter_V 'to tear, to burst' × [?] N *tAřq_V '≈ to make an incision, to dig') > Arm տերեմ teřem 'I flay, skin' || Gk δέρω id., δείρω id. (*-yo-present), → δέρμα 'skin, hide, leather' || Lt dir̄ti (1s prs. Lt diriu [*-yo-present], Lt Zh деру) 'to flay, to bark' | pSl *der-ti ~ *dbrā-ti (prs. dēr-q) 'to tear, to flay (× N *ter_V '↑', q.v. ffd.) § P 206-9, EI 567 (*der- 'tear off, flay'), FI 368-70, Frn. 96-7, ESSJ V 218-9, SJSS X 544, Bern. I 185, SPS V 231-5, Slt. 266-7 || A *tōr_V > T *t_L'ōř 'birch bark' > NaT *t_L'ōz > OT toz 'birch bark', Chg, OOsm toz, VTt tuz, Bsh tuδ, Qzq, Qrg toz, Alt, Xk, Shor tos, Tv t'ōs, Tf d_Los, Yk tuōs 'birch bark', Uz tws 'birch-bark used to trim saddles with' (a loan from a lge. with reg. -s < NaT *-z?), ?? Az toz-aγači 'birch tree' (if ← *'birch-bark tree' rather

than ← 'dust tree') ¶ Cl. 571, Rs. W 491-2, Ra. 174, TL 1O3, UzR 467; ADb. Ttd 58-9 and SRAE 79 (on distinction between pT *t̪- and *t̪'-) ¶ For lack of reliable Og data and due to the discrepancy within the Tv ev. and that of Tf one cannot distinguish between T *t̪- and *t̪'- || M *durusun > WrM дурусун, HlM дүрс 'shell, bark', WrO {Krg.} дурсун 'bast, bass', Kl дүрсн дурсң 'bark (Baumrinde)', Brt дүрнән 'lime bast (лүб)' ¶ MED 276, Krg. 576, KRS 216, Chr. 2O4, KW 1O3 || Tg *дүри 'cradle made of birch bark' > Lm dör ɬ dur, Neg duy, Orc duyı, Ud düi, Ul, Nn duri id., WrMc дүри 'cradle' ¶ STM I 217, Pt. 49, Z 836 || pKo {S} *turəj 'bucket, scoop' > NKo ture ¶ S QK #994, MLC 5O3 || pJ {S} *túrūm, pàj 'bucket, pail' > OJ túrubè, J: T cùrube, K cùrúbè, Kg curúbe ¶ S QJ #4O9, Mr. 557 ¶ DQA #2263 (A *tōru 'birch bark, vessel made of birch bark'), KW 1O3 || ?φ HS: Ch: pAG {Stl.} *(n)daram 'bark' > Su {J} dàràm 'thick tree-bark', Tal {J} dàram, Ywm {Sh.} ndàràm, Tmbs {Sh.} dàràm 'bark', Ang {Flk.} darm | Wrj {Gw.} tirhei 'skin' || ECh: Smr {J} tariń 'bark', Ke {Eb.} tīrz 'Schale, Haut', Tmk {Cp.} dār 'human skin' ¶ JI II 8, 296, ChC, J S 62, Stl. ZCh 241 [#16], Cp. 52, Eb. 98 ◇ The unexpected length of the T vw. (if reconstructed correctly on the ev. of Yk tuos) is still puzzling ◇ AD NM #92, Vv. AEN 6, ≠ S CNM 14 (IE *der- v. 'skin' *< N *teri 'to tear, to burst'; rejects the IE cognate of the N etymon in question) ◇ An alt. et. is N *durE > Ch (as above), M *durusun, and T *jür- 'v. 'flay' (> OT jüz-, etc., F Cl. 984), but it fails to explain IE *der-.

2299. *t̪r̪v̪ 'suffer, endure' > HS: C: Bj {R} ✓ trm prs. md. (1s: p. a-'trām, prs. atta'r̪im; prtc. te'rāma) id., 'tolerate' ¶ R WBd 231-2 || U: FV *tar̪k̪v̪ v. 'endure' > F tarje-ta (prs. tarkene-) 'to stand the cold', Es Δ tare-ta, targe-ma (prs. targe-n) {W} id., 'vertragen, sich getrauen' | Chr H: StChr H 'tərxə-š, Chr K 'tərxə-m, Chr Y 'tərxə-m; StChr L tur'ka-š, Chr Y/U 'türke-m 'to endure', 'ausstehen, aushalten, dulden, ertragen' ¶ It. #46, SK 1235, W EDW 112O || A: T *t̪ör- v. 'suffer, endure' > OT töz- ({Cl.} töz-), Chg töz- id., XwT töz- id., Tkm döö-, Az döz-, VTt tüz- (→ Chv tüs-), Bsh tüö-, Qry töz- ɬ tez-, Qzq, Nog, Ln töz- 'endure', Tk Ist döz- id. ('katlanmak, tahammül etmek') ¶ Cl. 572, Jeg. 267, Rs. W 495, ET VGD 272-3, SDD I 471, ADb. Ttd 59 (in *C᷑z-stems the opposition *t̪'- ↔ *t̪- is neutralized).

2300. *t̪Ar̪q̪v̪ '≈ make an incision, dig' > HS: S *°✓ trχ > Ar ✓ trχ G 'scarifier le peau, y faire une légère incision' ¶ BK I 196 || K: GZ

*t_q|xar-/*t_q|xr- v. 'dig' > OG, G txar-/txr- 'dig', Mg (n)txo(r)- 'dig, bury', Lz txor- v. 'plough, dig' (× K *°stxar / *°stxr- v. 'dig' < N *Sid₁V, ∇r∇ ~ *Sid∇r₁V, ∇ 'to shovel, to sweep') § Chik. 286; FS K 158 and FS E 171-2 (*txar-/*txr-); K2 77-8; K 176-7 (*_(s₁)txar-/*_(s₁)txr-) § Within the "harmonious complex" *t + Ir.\uvular the opposition between *q and *χ is neutralized || IE *derH- 'sth. dug' (× ← *der-, *derH- v. 'split' < N *ter∇ 'to tear, to burst' [q.v.] × N *tūR∇ or *tuRE 'to pierce, to stick into' × [?] N *tor∇ 'to bark, to peel') > OI d_ara-ḥ, darī 'hole in the earth, cave' || pSl *d_{br}nъ = {SPS} *d_rnъ (< NaIE *d_rno-) > Slv dr̄n, Cz dr̄n, R д_ерн, LLs dern, P d_arn̄ 'turf, sod' § P 206-9, ESSJ V 224-5, SPS V 50-1, ≈ M K II 21 || D (in GnD) *taṛ-/-taṛ-({fGS} *t-) v. 'dig, scratch' > Gnd Δ taṛānā v. 'dig or scratch up, as pigs', taṛk- ~ taṛk- ~ tark- v. 'scratch', Knd taṛ- v. 'scratch up earth, as rats', Mnd taṛ-v. 'scrape off (bark)', Kui taṛa v. 'dig out, excavate, scratch out', Ku taṛž- ~ tṛaž- v. 'scratch up (as dog, fowl, etc.)' § D #3122 ◇ BmK 301-2 (IE, D, Sum d_ar v. 'split').

2301. *tus∇ or *tüs∇ 'against, in the opposite direction' > IE [1] NaIE *dus- 'mis-, un-', 'bad' (as the initial component of cds.) > OI d_us- ~ d_ur-, Av d_uš- ~ d_už- id. || Gk δυσ- id. || Arm ս- t- 'un-' || L dis- 'un-' as in difficultis 'heavy' (lit. 'un-easy') || OIr do-, d_u- px. 'un-, mis-, δυς-, bad', W dy- 'bad' || Gt tuz- in tuz-wērjan 'to doubt', ON, AS tor-, OHG zur- 'un-' > NHG zer- 'un-, asunder' || Sl *d_bžd_b 'rain' = {SPS, ESSJ} *d_bžd_b 'rain' (< {El} *dus-dyus 'un-day', sc. 'un-weather') > OCS ΔѢЖДЬ d_bžd_b, Blg дъжд, SCr Δ dāžd ~ dāžd, Slv děž, R дождь, Uk дош, P deszcz, OCz déšč, Cz déšť, P deszcz 'rain' || [2] NaIE *deus- v. 'lack' > OI dōšah 'fault, crime, vice, want' || Gmc *tiugōn > AS {Ho.} tīerian ~ tīorian 'nachlassen, aufhören, ermüden, müde sein', {Sw.} tēorian 'to fail, not to be up to the mark; to be tired', NE v. tire § WP I 816, P 219, 227, El 43, M K II 54-5, 67-8, F I 425, WH I 354-5, Thr. § 365, Fs. 484, Vr. 595, Ho. 346-7, 351, OsS 1305, KM 880, Slt. 275-6, SPS V 194-6, ESSJ V 195-7 || HS: S *✓tšsy > Ar ✓tsy L (pf. تَسَّـ تَسَّـ) 'faire du mal à qn.'; cp. also Ar tūs- 'maleur' (unless ← tūs- 'nature'?) § BK I 199, 210 || U *°tüs∇ > Sm: Slq tī'ti-ko 'to swim\go against the stream' § KKIH 184 || A: ?φ M *tus 'opposite (gegenüber)' (× M *tus- 'straight'?) > WrM {Gl., Rm.} tus 'gegenüber', {Kow.} tos 'contre, vis-à-vis, devant', Kl tus {Rm.}

'gegenüber', {KRS} 'opposite, face to face', Ord {Ms.} *t'us*, MnR H {SM, T} *t'us* 'vis-à-vis, en face, vis-à-vis de, en face de', 'opposite' ¶ Valid unless it is a loan from NaT **t'uš* 'opposite to, facing' (Cl. 558, RL III 1501, 1508-9) (< N **tüp'o* 'two', q.v. ffd.). The vl. **t-* for the expected **d-* defies explanation (other than a hypothetic borrowing from NaT **t'uš*) ¶ KW 412, Kow. 1823, SM 437, T 367, Gl. III 180, Ms. O 683 || T: It is worth paying attention to Osm *tüskürü* 'zurück, zurückweichend' ¶ RL III 1579-80 ◇ The comparison with Slq was suggested by Hl. (p.c., 1976).

2302. **t'ûs* 'bush (shrub)' > **HS:** Ch: Ngz *dùs* 'densely wooded area of bush' ¶ Sch. DN 51 || IE: NaIE **dus-(mo-)* {Dv.} 'shrub (arbusto)' > OIr (WH, WP) *doss* 'Busch' || OL *dusmus*, L *dūmus* a thorn bush, bramble' || MHG *zūsach* 'bushes, underwood (Gestrüpp)', *zūse* id., 'lock of hair' ([?] in Gmc contamination with another √ meaning 'zerreißen, zerfasern': OHG *zir-zūsōn* 'zerzausen', {Kb.} 'to free, to dissolve', MLG *tōsen* 'reißen, zerren', etc.) ¶ Dv. #828, WP I 766-7, WH I 381, Lx. 341 || A: T: Tv *d_ös* 'bush, shrub' (unless ← Tv *d_ös* 'root' < NaT **töz* id.) ¶ TvR 179.

2302a. **tǣs* 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' > **HS:** S *^o*daſ* *ſ*- > Ar *daſs-* 'trace, piste; chemin battu', {Fr.} 'vestigium; multum calcata (via)', √*dſ* G 'fouler fortement avec les pieds' ¶ Fr. I 33, BK I 700, ≠ DRS 202 || Ch: WCh: Df {J} *dusāy*, Btr {J} *disāy* v. 'find' | Ngz {Sch.} *tásáy* (n. act. *táší*) v. 'find, come across, stumble upon' ¶ Sch. DN 158, ChC, J R 214 ¶ Probably *d-* ~ *t-* < N **d-* or **t-* + **ɪ* || K *^o*ʒ|ʒ*- > G *ʒi-* (prs. *ʒeV-*) 'forschen, suchen (nach)' ¶ Chx. 2072 ¶ K *^o*ʒ|ʒ*- > G *ʒi-* (pres. *ʒeV-*) 'forschen, suchen (nach)' ¶ Chx. 2072 ¶ K **ʒ-* < **ds-* (with **d-* < pre-K **dɪ-* < [as.] **tɪ-* < N **t...ɪ-*) || A: M *^o*des* > WrM, HlM *des* 'following, next, subsequent, second', *desle-* v. 'be next, follow', unless a loan from Tib *de-s* 'therefore, ergo, after that' (abl. of Tib *de* 'that') ¶ MED 254, Kow. 1709-11, Vv. AEN 15 (M ← Tib) || IE: NaIE **dēſ* / (?) **des-* 'find, track, trace' > Gk δήω 'I shall find', Gk [Hs.] ἔδηεν · εύρεν '(he) found' || pAl ? **en-das-sya*, {O} **en-da-sya* > Al *ndesh* v. 'encounter' || Sl **desiti* 'to meet, to find' (× IE **deḱ-* 'find, get' < N **t'e'Kæ* 'take, carry'?) > OCS ΔΕСНТН *desiti* (prs. ΔЕША *dešq*) 'εύρισκειν, invenire; to find\meet (so. somewhere)', OR, RChS ΔΕСНТН *desiti*, ΔԵՍՆՏԻ *děsiti* id., RChS ΔОСНТН *dositi*, оУДОСНТН *u-dositi*

'to find, to meet', SCr *d̥esiti* (prs. 1s *d̥esim*) id., *d̥esiti* 'to find so. (antreffen), to meet', *desiti se* 'to happen, to occur' ¶ The IE √ may be either **de₁:s-* or **de₁:s-*, because both the Gk and the Al form may be interpreted in both ways, while Sl **des-* may well go back to **deḱ-* ¶ WP I 783, 814, P 217, F I 383, Ch. I 275, AlbED 554, O 284, ≈ ESSJ IV 217-8, Glh. 192, Drd. 75, SPS III 74-6 ¶ If the NaIE √ was **d̥ē-*, it may go back to IE **deH-* < **deHH-* < ***de₁z|z*▽ < N **tæ̥s*▽ (as. *-*ts-* > *-*ts-*), hence the N etymon would be **tæ̥s*▽ ◇ The IE cognate points to a N **t-*. If the N etymon is **tæ̥s*▽, the S initial cns. **d-* may be explained by as. *-*t̥-* > S *-*d̥-* (in the primary stem *(*y*i)*t̥aš* > *(*y*i)*d̥aš*). A similar process in the prehistory of K may explains the pK voiced cns. *^o*ʒ|ʒ-*. But if the N etymon is **dæ̥s*▽, the IE cns. **d-* remains without explanation ◇ AD NM #32, ≠ S CNM 13 (does not accept the G cognates; suggests that M **des-* may go back to to ***di-se* with ***di-* like in **ʒirin* 'two'; suggests to derive Ar √*d̥is* from HS **diyas-* 'to walk'; hence considers this N comparison "very shaky").

2303. (_{2?}) ***t**̣**ń****H₂** **t**̣**ń** 'finger' ([in D] → 'point, sharp edge?') (= ***t**̣**ü****H₂** **t**̣**ń** [?]; an alt. rec. is ***t**̣**a****H₂** **ü****n** **t**̣**ń**) > **HS** ***°t**̣**ń****Ht**- > eB ***ǵaHd**- > B ***ǵād**- (pl. ***ǵūd**-) 'finger' > Kb {Dl.} a-ǵād (pl. i-ǵuð-an), Snd {Prov.} ǵād (pl. iǵudən), {Bs.} t'adi, Wrs {Bs.} خَاد ǵād (pl. يَخْوَدَان iǵudan), Hrw {Bs.} خَاد ǵād (pl. يَخْوَدَان iǵudan), Mz {CM} ǵād, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} ǵād (pl. iǵudan), Izd {Mrc.} a-ǵād (pl. i-ǵud-an), Ah {Fc.} a-ǵād (pl. iǵadwān), Ty/ETwl {GhA}, Tw U {Sdl.} ǵād, Gh {Nh.} a-ǵād (pl. i-ǵadwan), Ttq {Msq.} aǵād (pl. iǵadueñ), BSN/Skn {La.} ǵād, Izn/SrSn/Rf {Rn.} ǵād (pl. iǵāðdan), Tz {Stm.} 'adād (pl. i-ǵwāðān), Si {La.} ǵād (pl. iǵūdān) 'finger', Gd ǵudān 'fingers' ¶ Dl. 172, Fc. 255, Sdl. 278, Lf. II #O335, GhA 30, Mrc. 88, La. MChB 118, Rn. 311, Msq. 94, Nh. 152, La. S 227, Stm. 157, Prov. ZQS 111, Bs. ZOU 86 || ?φ SC: Irg/Grw {Wh.} dīça, Irg {MQK dīça, {E} diça & ciça, Alg/Brn {Wh.} dīnça (pl. dīço), Alg {E} dinça, Brn {E} dinča 'finger' ¶ Wh. IC 23, E SC 193 || ?φ WCh: Hs dīnči 'handful' ¶ Abr. H 216 ¶ Tk. PAA 5 (SC, Hs) || ?σ **D** *tuti, *tut-a ({^gGS} *t-) 'point, sharp edge' > Tm tuti id., Kn tudi, Tu tudi 'point, end, extremity, top', Tl tudi 'end, termination', tuda 'end, extremity, tip', Mlt tota 'point, pointed' ¶ D #3314 || **K:** GZ *tit- 'finger, toe' > OG, G tit-i id., Lz cd. titi-mčkon- 'the little finger', ?? (dis.?) Mg ḳi(n)t-, Lz ḳit- 'finger' ¶ K² 71-2, Chx. 489, Abul. 181, Ser. 72 || ?? **Gil:** A t'adm / radm 'crown (of the head), top', ES t'adm 'crown

of the head' §§ ST 378, ST RN 204, Krn. N 353, 488 ◇ ≠ IS MS 352 ('оконечность' *διλάν, equates the D √ with U *tužka- and K *dud- 'point, upper end'), IS SS 323 [#3.2] (the same comparison) ◇ In HS (or eB) there is as. *t...t > *t...t, while in K there is as. in the opposite direction: *t...t > *t...t ◇ Qu. because of seemingly irreg. sound corrs. ◇ The data of SC and Hs (if belonging here) and Mg կ(ն)t- suggest a word-medial *n (probably N *taH₂ün̄t▽).

2304. ?φ ₂ *tūw▽ 'rain; to sprinkle' > **HS:** S *°✓twn (or WS *✓tw|n?) > Gz tawan 'season of the small rains (Aprile - July), spring rain', ? Ug {Grd.} t_ant (*[t▽pan-a_t-]) 'rain' (not attested by Aistleitner and OLS) § L G 582, Grd. UT 49 || C: Ag: Bln {R} t_unān (*t_zηwān) 'beginning of the rainy season, following the summer heat' § R WB 342 §§ Gz tawan may be of Ag origin || D (in SD) *tū'v¹- v. 'sprinkle' > Tm tūvu v. 'sprinkle, strew', Ml tūvukā v. 'be spilled', tūkukā v. 'strew, spill, shower', Td tu·f- v. 'spread (grain in sun to dry, etc.)', Tu dūsunī v. 'sprinkle' § D #3394; the D cognate is valid unless it goes back to **tuk- || AdS of K {K} *(š)to- v. 'snow', {FS, K²} *tow- (x N *s▽t▽w▽ 'cold weather', q.v. ffd.); cp. {K} *tow]- 'snow' (< N *tä1UH₂A ~ *ta1UH₂ä '≈ cold season, rain') ◇ Fn. KD #97 (K, D).

2305. *t▽w▽ 'head' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'oneself') > **HS:** ?φ NrOm: Sz {Fl.} tuwi, {SWW} tūi ~ tuī 'head', Cha {Fl.} toyā, {C} toyā ~ toyā ~ toy 'head' (unless < *toķa, cp. Gm {Hw.} téķo 'head of') § Fl. OWL, SiW BA 49, C SE III 176, Blz. OLBP s.v. 'head', Hw. EG || SC: Irq {Mous} ti 'oneself; each other' (a rf. and reciprocal prn.): inós ti çarere? 'he will hang himself' ('he' + ti + 'hang' 3m), naṣī ti al-ti?inā? 'the children run after each other' ('children' + ti + 'together-run' 3p) § Mous 139-4O || HS **tw-, prefix of reflexivization in derived verbs (< 'oneself' < 'head') > B *tw- ~ *t-, prefix of passivization > Tw t- ~ tw-, Nf c_w- ~ tw-, Rf, SrSn, Izn twa-, Kb c_w-, Zng t̄-: Tw {Pr.} twāgr̄w ~ t_bāgr̄w v. 'be found' (↔ aǵrw v. 'find'), t_bnk̄d 'être coupé' (↔ aŋk̄d 'couper'), Nf i-c_w-akər 'he was robbed' (↔ aker v. 'rob'), Izn, Rf, SrSn twat̄af 'être pris\saisi\emprisonné' (↔ aṭṭaf v. 'take, seize'), Kb {Dl.} imv. c_wilqəd / pf yacwälqəd 'être ramassé' (↔ ałqəd 'ramasser'), Zng {Nic.} ḥarat̄um 'être relaché, payé, remboursé' ↔ ar̄tum '[re]lâcher, ouvrir, défaire' § Pr. M VI-VII 63-4, Beg. 68, Rn. 61, Nic. 55 || The S prefix *t- and the infix *-t- (following the first radical of the primary stem [> Ak p., Gz js., CS ip.]) with the reflexive

(→ reciprocal, passive) meaning: [1] the stem of the basic stirps (Qal, fa'ala) + infix *-t- (so-called *Gt*) *yⁱCtaC^ΔC(-) > Ak iCtaC^ΔC, Ar yaCtaCiCu (VIII form), JA yiCta'Ce/iC, Sr nəCta'CaC (in Aram/Sr with verbs *primae dentalis et sibilantis* only), [2] the stem of the basic stirps + prefix *t^Δ- (T) *yitCaC^ΔC(-) > BA, JA yiCta'Ce/iC, Sr ne^tCa'CaC, Gz yatCaCaC, [3] the stem of the geminated (4-consonantic) stirps + infix (*Dt*) *y^ΔCtaCCiC(-) > Ak uCtaCCiC, BHb yiCtaC'CeC, JA yiCtaC'CaC, Sr neCtaC'CaC (Hb, Aram, and Sr *Dt*-forms used with verbal stems *primaे* t, d, t̄, s, z, c̄, š, and ſ̄ only), [4] the stem of the geminated stirps + prefix (*TD*) *y^ΔtCaCCaC(-) > BHb yitCaC'CeC, JA yitCaC'CaC, Sr ne^tCaC'CaC, Ar yataCaCCaCu (= V form), Gz yatCaCCaC; these forms underly those of the new (actually derived) WS perfective aspect: Ar *Gt* (VIII form) ?iCtaCaCa, *TD* (V form) taCaCCaCa, BHb *TD* hitCaC'CeC, A T h?itCa'CaC, *TD* h?itCaC'CaC, Sr *T*?ε^tCa'CeC, *TD*?ε^tCaC'CaC, Gz *T* taCaC(a)Ca, *TD* taCaCCaCa, e.g. Ak *Gt* imtaχ^tā 'they faught each other' (↔ ✓ mχā v. 'fight'), *Dt* uxtabbit 'he was robbed' (↔ *D* uxabbit 'he robbed'), BHb *TD* pf. cons. וַיִתְחַזֵּק wayyitħaz'zeq 'and he strengthened himself' (ip. 3pm יִתְחַזֵּק yiħazzə'kū, pf. 3s hitħaz'zeq) (↔ ✓ ḥzq *G* 'be\become strong'), *Dt* pf. cons. 1s אֲשֶׁר וְאֶשְׁתָמַר waʔeštam'mer 'and I kept myself from' (↔ ✓ šmr 'guard, keep'), BA *T* pf. 3f hitgə'zeret 'was cut out', *Dt* ip. 3m אִישָׁתָנָא yištan'hē 'will be changed', *TD* juss. יִתְבָּקֵר *yitbak'*kar 'let search be made' (↔ *D* ✓ bkr), JA [Trg.] {Lv.} *T* pf. 1s אֶתְגָּמָרִית ?itgəmā'rīt 'I was destroyed' (Ψ 109.23, Job 2.17), Ar *Gt* ip. يَتَارِيْعُ يَعْتَرِضُ yaṣtarī'u 'opposes (\will oppose) himself', *TD* يَتَكَبَّرُ yatakabbaru 'makes (will make) himself great', Gz *T* takadna ~ takadana 'covered himself, was covered', *TD* taʔammara 'showed himself' ¶ Br. G I 528-31, Br. AG 38-9, Sd. G 12O-2 [§ 22], 1O*-46*, Rms. 1O1-6, 299-3O7, Lv. I 146, Di. G 137-9, Schlz. FSV 43 (an unc. hyp. driving back the S stems with *t-, *-t- to an analytical construction with *✓ ?tw|y v. 'come') || C *-t-, reflexivizing affix of verbs, sc. prefix of pcvs., and an element of the word-final complex in scvs. (< px. of aux. verbs): [1] prefix: Bj passivizing px. -t^Δ-: {RHD.} p. -tō-dār / prs. -tō-dīr v. 'be killed' (from -dīr v. 'kill'), p. -tdabāl / prs. -tdabīl v. 'be gathered' (from -dbil v. 'gather'), p. -tdagāy / prs. -tdagi v. 'be returned', vi. 'return' / -dgi ~ -digī vt. 'return'; Bj reflexivizing px. -t- in the forms of present, habitative, and permissive "tenses": prs. -ētlīw

(/ habitative and permissive *-tíliw-*) v. 'burn oneself' (from *-liw* vt. 'burn', prs. *-tdabíl* vi. 'gather' (from *-dbil* vt. 'gather'), prs. *-tdagi* (/ habitative *-tdig*, permussive *-tdiga*) vi. 'return' (from *-dgi* vt. 'return'), EC: Sa *-t-*, prefix of the medium voice (autobenefactive ~ intransitivizing voice): it was still preserved as *-t-* in Sa I of the 19th cent. (as described by CR), but has been assimilated to the following cns. in modern Sa (as described by Wlm.): *-iggidil* (< **-i-t-gidil*) vi. 'break', 'break sth. undeliberately' (\leftrightarrow *-igdil* vt. 'break'), *-iggireš-* (< **-itgireš*) v. 'be cut off' (\leftrightarrow *-igreš-* v. 'cut off'), Af *-t-* (interpreted by Clz. as reflexivizing and by Hw. as autobenefactivizing prefix): {Clz.} *-utubəla* 'vedersi' (p. 1s *?u'tubəla*, 2s/3f *tu'tubəla*, 3m *yu'tubəla*, 3p *yu'tubəla*_n, etc.) \leftrightarrow *-ubile* v. 'see' (p. 1s *?ubile*, 2s *'tubile*, etc.), {Hw.} *iðdiħide* (< **itdiħide*) 'sew sth. for one's own benefit' (\leftrightarrow *iħide* 'sew'), *ettēdege* 'know for one's own benefit' (\leftrightarrow *ēdege* 'know') ||| [2] a reflexivizing (rf.) or autobenefactivizing (abf.) sx., **-t-* of the word-final morphemic complex in scvs. (going back to a px. of the aux. verbs): EC: Af {Hw.} *-it-*, e.g. *digir-it-e* 'play for one's own benefit' (\leftrightarrow *digir-e* 'play'), *fahs-it-e* 'boil sth. for one's own benefit' (\leftrightarrow caus. verb *fah-is-e* 'boil sth.'), Sa {Wlm.} *ifikal-it-* v. 'wash oneself', Sml -(a)t-, abf. sx.: *šub-(a)t-* v. 'pour for one's own benefit' (præt: 1s, 3m *šubtay*, 2s, 3f *šubatay*, etc.) (\leftrightarrow *šub-* v. 'pour'), Rn abf. and rf. sx. *-t-* (*warāba-t-ta* 'she fetches water for herself' \leftrightarrow *warāb-ta* 'she fetches water', *qix-t-a* 'he washes himself' \leftrightarrow *qix-a* 'he washes'), Or T {Mrn.} abf. *-t-* ($>$ *-d-* [<< **-t-?*] and *-n-* [<< **-t-n-*]) due to the infl. of the following markers of person-number: **?-* of 1s and **n-* of 1p): 1s aubf. *bē'kadde* (< **bēk-at-?ē*) 'I knew for my own benefit, I understood', 2s and 3f *bē'kattē* (< **bēk-at-tē*), 3s *bē'katē* (< **bēk-at-yē*), 1p *bē'kannē* (< **bēk-at-nē*), etc. (\leftrightarrow basic voice 1s '*bēkē* 'I knew', 2s and 3f '*bēktē*', 3m '*bēke*', 1p '*bēkne*', etc.), Sd {Mrn.} rf.-abf. *-ið-* (as-*ið-* v. 'make for oneself, make oneself' \leftrightarrow as- v. 'make', *hayš-ið-* v. 'wash oneself', etc.); SC: Irq {Mous} *-t* (marker of the middle voice, having reflexive and sim. meanings): *hamčít* v. 'take a bath' (\leftrightarrow *hamāč* v. 'wash'), *tuṣūt* v. 'pull oneself out' (\leftrightarrow *tūč* v. 'uproot'), *dūxūt* v. 'get married' (for a woman) (\leftrightarrow *dūx* v. 'take out, marry [a woman]'), *qifit* v. 'sneeze'; the suffix *-t* may describe a situation, in which the body is central: *qifit* v. 'sneeze', *iwit* v. 'sit', *šakāt* v. 'be tired' ¶ AD KJ 93-6, P 243-4, 249-5O, Mous

175-8, PG 31 || NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} -et-, passivizing\reflexivizing sx.: **b**e?-et- ~ bēt- v. 'be seen' (\leftrightarrow bē?- v. 'see'), yel-et- v. 'be born' (\leftrightarrow yel- v. 'give birth'), ol-et- v. 'fight each other' (reciprocal \leftarrow rf.) (\leftrightarrow ol- v. 'fight'), Ym -t-, passivizing sx.: šuk-t- 'essere sgozzato \ sacrificato' (\leftrightarrow šuk- 'sgozzare, sacrificare'), {C} qon-t- ({Wdk.} kōnto) v. 'be born' (\leftrightarrow {C} qon- v. 'give birth') ¶ AD KJ 93-6, Mrn. O 59-6O, C SE III 33-4, Wdk. BY 144 || K: GZ *taw- 'head' $>$ OG tav- 'head', G tav-id., 'ear of cereals', Lz ti- 'head', Mg ti-ša 'to himself, home' (lit. 'into head'); Sv šda- & šta- 'ear of cereals' (that is due to merger with N ?σ *šæd ∇ w ∇ '≈ tip, end (extrémité)', q.v.) ¶ K 175 (* (s_1) taw-), K DE 358, ≈ K² 66 (*taw-), Q 242, Chik. 43-4 || IE: AnIE: HrLw -ti 'sich', Lw -ti, Lc -ti, reflexive pc., Ht -z, -za id. ¶ Mer. HHG 129, Mlc. CL 226, Lar. 97, Mlc. L 72, Ts. W 107 ◇ ≠ IS I XIII (caus.-rf. *t Δ) tried to find a common origin of the HS marker of reflexivization, the passive sx. in BF, and the causative sxs. in A, U, and D (which is doubtful both for semantic reasons and because of a structural difference: in U, A, and D this is a postverbal sx. that may go back to a N aux. verb, while in HS this is a prefix that is hardly explainable as an aux. verb in view of the syntactic structure of N).

2306. *tayh ∇ (or ***tagy ∇ ?**) 'incline, bend, bend\move aside' $>$ HS:
 [1] S * \circ -tīh- $>$ Ar ✓ tīh , -tīh- (pf. tāha [$<$ *tayahā], ip. ya-tīh-u) v. 'go astray', 'errer à l'aventure (sans savoir où l'on va), s'égarer' ¶ BK I 213, Hv. 65] or [2] amb ? S * \circ ✓ t $'\chi'$ y|w $>$ BHb תְּנַח ✓ tāy|w (pf. tā' \bar{a} , ip. yi-t $'\bar{a}$) 'reel, stagger' (ʔīš la \bar{e} b'rō tā' \bar{a} 'they have stumbled off, each his own way' [Is. 47.15], wubassē'kār tā' \bar{a} 'sie taumeln vom berauschendem Getränk' [Is. 28.7], tā' \bar{a} labā' \bar{b} ī 'mein Herz taumelt' [Is. 21.4]), 'wander about, go astray' (this last meaning is caused by the impact of the paronymous verb BHb תְּנַח ✓ tāy|w 'wander, stray, err' $<$ *✓ t χ w), Ug {DrvG} tāy G (?) 'journey afar' (h. 1.) ¶ KB 361, 1625-6, GB 884, DrvG 159 || U *taye- (or *toya-) vi. 'bend, decline, break' $>$ F taipu- vi. 'bend, be bent, bow', Δ taimi 'Biegung', F taitta- vt. 'break, fold', Es {W} taibū- 'nicht steif oder unbeweglich sein', tai \bar{u} ta- 'biegen, krümmen' | pLp *tāyē 'break' $>$ Lp: N {N} doaggje-, S {Hs.} doājudh v. 'break off', L {LLO} tādjē- 'brechen, durchbrechen' || Sm: Ne O {Lh.} tuyō- 'das Kreuz schlagend und betend sich verneigen (vor dem Heiligenbild)', ?? Kms taylō- 'zerbrechen, niederreißen' ¶ UEW 505-6, Coll. 51, Lr. #1272, Lgc. #7951, Hs. 442, Db. OS x || A *tay'a' $>$ NaT *taya- $>$ OT {Cl.} tayā- v. 'lean against (sth.),

prop (sth.) up', Tk **daya-**, Ggz, Az, Tkm **daya-**, CrTt, Qry, Qmq, SbTt, Bsh, Qq, Qzq, Ln, Alt **taya-** id., Uz **taya-**, Yk **tayā-** 'prop up'; rf. ***ṭaya-n-** 'lean on, support oneself by' > OT **tayan-**, XwT, MQp, Chg **≥xv tayan-** id., OOsm **dayan-** XVI-XVIII 'rely on', Tk **dayan-** 'lean against, rest on', Tkm, Az, Ggz **dayan-**, CrTt, Qmq, VTt, Uz, ET, Alt, Xk, Yk **tayan-**, Tv **d_ayān-** id. ¶ Cl. 567, 569, IS AD 45, Rm. W 455, ET VGD 125-7, ADb. Ttd 6O || Tg: WrMc {Z} **daya-** v. 'lean', ?σ **dayanca-** ~ **dayaca-** ~ **dayaci-** v. 'wave' ¶ Z 773-4, STM I 19O || M ***dayi-** > [1] MM [S] **dayiʒi-** 'abziehen, abfallen von jem-m'; [2] ?σ: M ***dayiba-**, ***dayib**▽**la-** > WrM {MED} **daiba-**, НІМ **дайва-** vi. 'wobble, totter, sway', WrM {Gl.} **daibila-** id., vi. 'shake', {Kow.} **taibala-** se balancer, chanceler, se remuer' (err. interpretation of the initial WrM letter **đ** as voiceless **t**-), WrM **daibalža-**, НІМ **дайвалза-** v. 'totter, wobble, sway, rock', Brt **дайбалза-**, **дайбагана-** 'walk staggering', Kl **дәәвл-** **dāw]-** 'stagger', {Rm.} 'sich zur Seite biegen, sich seitwärts bewegen; wellen, wogen' ¶ MED 221, H 31, Gl. III 2, Kow. 1549, KRS 187, KW 83, Chr. 181 ◇ Coll. 146 (U, A), IS SS 32O [#2.1] (U, A), IS MS 35O s.v. **наклонять** ***tojΔ** (U, A), AD GD 14 ◇ The Ar root **tyh** belongs here if the stem of ip. **-tīh-** is a secondary analogical back-formation from the verbal noun **tayh-** 'going astray' and from the pf. form **tāha** (< ***tayaha**). S ***tyy** is a cognate unless BHb **t̥yy** is a deglottalized variant of S **tyy**. Lack of lengthening of ***a** in T (evidenced by Tkm) speaks in favour of the N rec. ***tayh**▽, because ***tagy**▽ would have yielded an A (and T) stem with a long vw.

2307. (2?) ***ta'q|g'aŷū** 'relative-in-law (person of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes)' > IE ***dehuwer-** > NaIE ***'dājwēr** / ***dājwer-** (gen. ***dājw'r-es**) 'husband's brother' > OI **dē'var-** (**dē'vā**) 'husband's brother; wife's brother (younger than ego)', Psh **جورلے'war**, Ygn **'sewir**, Oss I **тиү tīw**, Oss D **tew** 'husband's brother' (Ygn, Oss, and some other East Iranian forms suggest an Elrn devoicing ***d^h-** > ***t^h-**) || Arm **տայգր** **taygr** ~ **տագր** **tagr** ~ **տեգր** **tegr** 'husband's brother' || Gk **δάῆρ** (< ***δαιῆηρ**, {El} ***δαյаēήр**) id. || L **lēvir** ~ **laevir** (gen. -**ī**) id. (a dialectal form ["Sabinism"] with l- for the expected ***d-**; ē [for ae] is a rusticism; the stem was presumably transformed due to the infl. of **vir**, -**ī** 'man') || OHG **zeihhur**, **zeichur**, **zeiħhor**, AS **tācor**, OFrs **tāker** 'husband's brother' ({P}: the inlaut cs. is due to the infl. of the Gmc

cognate of Lt láigonas 'wife's brother') ||| BSl (*i-stem transformed from the original consonantic stem, the consonantic stem being preserved in the Lt gen. diever̄s): Lt diever̄is, Ltv dīever̄is 'husband's brother' | Sl *d̄ēver̄ > RChS Δ̄ε̄вερ̄ д̄ēвер̄, R 'деверь', SCr д̄ēвeр̄ ѧ d̄j̄ēvēr̄, OP, P Δ̄dziewierz id. ¶ WP I 767, P 179, EI 84 (*daīhawēr), FI 338-9, WH I 787-8, M E I 743-4, M K II 64, Asl. 775, Mrg. 4O, Ab. III 296-7, Kb. 1245, OsS 1239-4O, Stlr. 174, Ho. 341, Frn. 95, Bern. I 198, ESSJ V 19, SPS III 179-8O (Sl *d̄ēver̄ > *d̄ēveř̄), Glh. 2OO, Slt. 58 ¶ *-er- in the IE stem *deñywer- is an individualizing sx. of kinship names (as in *b̄h̄rāter- 'brother', etc.) || A: NaT *t̄aγay 'mother's brother' > OT {Cl.} taγāy 'maternal uncle', Cmn taγay, MQp t̄iγā, Chg ≥XV taγay ~ taγayi id., SY taγey ~ taγay 'mother's relative', MQp XIII t̄āy, Tk d̄ayi, Tkm d̄āyī, Az dayi, Ggz dayka (ADb.: < *dayi-ka) 'maternal uncle', Qq dayi id., 'relative from mother's side', Qrg {Jud.} t̄ay 'matroclinous relationship', Tv d̄āy, Yk t̄āy 'mother's brother (elder than ego)'; NaT *t̄aγ-iza 'mother's sister' (a cd. with *äzä [a root represented in OOsm äzä 'mother's sister']) > OOsm dayiza, diyaza, diyeze, Tk {Rl.} däyzä, Tk Δ̄ dayza, diyeza 'mother's sister', Tkm dayða 'mother's female relative'; StAlt тайда-лар (< *tay-ada-lar) 'matroclinous ancestors' ¶ Dr. TM III #1176 believes that *taγay and Og *tay are different roots (while in many lgs. *t̄āy(I) > *tay(I) go back to *taγay) ¶ The final -i in the Og lgs. and in Qzq may go back to the ppa. of 3s ('his, her') ¶ Cl. 474, ET VGD 127-9, Rs. W 455-6, TvR 139, TkR 243, BT 139, KrkR 157, Jud. 688-9, JkR 371, ADb. Ttd 6O [#7] || Tg *d̄ā- 'relative-in-law' > Ewk d̄ā, Neg dāŋta id., WrMc dancan 'relative-in-law, mother's\wife's relative' ¶ STM I 183-4 || pJ {S} *d̄ia or *daī 'elder sibling, elder relative' > OJ je ¶ It may alternatively belong together with K *lu,da 'sister' < N *H₂UdV 'sister', 'in female relative' ¶ S QJ #813, Mr. 392 ¶ DQA # 2215 (A *t̄āyV 'elder-in-law, elder relative') || ??σ HS: amb B: Ah ti ~ t̄ay 'father, uncle, father-in-law', Ty ti- (pl. t̄uy-) +ppa., Twl ſi-/t̄uy- +ppa. 'father' (TY ti-s 'his father'), Tw D/U {Sdl.} ti- (pl. t̄ay-) ¶ Fc. 1877, PrGG 336, Sdl. 259 ¶ The word is partially or entirely a Lallwort. It belongs here unless the Ll.-factor is not the only origin of this kinship name ◇ IS MS 361 (*t̄a[H̄]jₐ 'a relative': IE, T).

2308. *taqoz̄i 'to plait, to wattle' > K (in GZ) *tqχaz-/*tqχz- v. 'plait (together), weave' > OG tχz- v. 'plait', G tχz- v. 'compose (poetry,

music), fabricate', Lz (n)txoz- v. 'plait' ¶ K 97, K² 76-7, Chik. 285 || |

HS: Ch {JS} *√ tkʷs₁ v. 'tie' > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} tákʷs̥t ~ taus̥t, Bd {ChL} taksān id. || CCh: Glv {Rp.} takʷás 'bind' ¶ The Ch cns. *kʷ as a reflex of N *-qo- still needs explaining ¶ Sch. DN 156, JS 269, RpB 86 || | **IE** *dēh(y)- > NaIE *dē-/ *də-, *dēj- / di(:)- v. 'bind' > OI 'dýati 'binds', Av nī-dýā- 'bind\tie fast' || Gk Hm δέω (< *δέjω) 'I bind, tie'] pp. *də-'to-> OI di'ta- 'bound, tied' || Gk δετο-ς id.] *dē-mn̥ 'string, cord' > OI 'dāman- (nom. 'dāmā) 'string, cord, fetter' || Gk ὑπό-δημα 'a sole bound under the foot, a sandal', διά-δημα 'band, fillet; the band round the τύρα of the Persian king', Gk Mc de-de-me-no 'bound' ¶ WP I 771, P 183, EI 64 (*deh₁-), M K II 34, 69, M EI 716-7, Brtl. 761, FI 374-5, O 59 (shows that Al dūaj 'sheaves of grain' and dell 'tendon' do not belong here) || | **U:** FU *tos∇ 'a vessel, basket' (← *'wicker basket' ← *'sth. wattled') > pPrm *doz- or *döz- '(kind of) vessel' > Z doz, dozy- 'vessel(s), box, bast basket', Z US dωz, Yz 'duz id., Vt duz 'wooden tub (кадушка)', Vt SW dūz id., 'bast vessels' || pOs *tōf > Os: Sr tōf, Ty tōf 'Kiste, Kasten', Os N {Ahl.} tul 'Köcher', Os O tōt 'Zwischenwand' ¶ UEW 532, LG 94, Stn. D 1428 || | **A:** [1] ?φ M *tagsi 'cup' > WrM tagsi, HMI тагш 'cup', Brt тагшә 'tea cup, small cup'; M → Ewk taksi, Δ tāksz, takši 'small cup' ¶ MED 766, STM II 154 ¶ The unexpected M *t-(for *d-) is puzzling | ???σ [2]: It is less plausible to adduce here A {SDM95} *t'os∇ '≈ mat' > ??σ M *dösi 'anvil' > MM [IM] dösi, [MA] döši, WrM dösi, HIM дөш, Mnr H {SM} d_ōšə ¶ Pp. MA 144, 436, MED 269, T 331, SM 62 ¶ A possible semantic prehistory: 'anvil' ← 'sth. undelying, mat' || NaT *tōšä v. 'spread out (as mat)' > OT töšäk, Tk döşek 'mat, mattress' (→ Chv tüžek 'mattress, feather-bed'), döşe- v. 'spread out (as mat)', Qzq töšö- id.; acc. to SDM, NaT *-š- goes back here to *-sc- ¶ In *CEš-roots the opposition *t'- ↔ *t' - is neutralized (ADb. Ttd 57-8) || Tg *°d'q'sçi- v. 'lie (liegen)' > Lm: Ol/B/O/P dʒsçi-, Sk dössi- ~ dōsći- v. 'lie', Ol dʒsçižk 'place to lie, bed' ¶ STM I 238 ¶ The adduction of pA *t'os∇ is plausible only if its original meaning is 'mat, mattress' (as assumed in SDM95) rather than 'spread, lie', which is qu. || | **D** (in GnD) *toč- v. 'tie, bind' > Gnd toh-, doh-, toʔ-, doʔ- v. 'tie', Knd tor̥- v. 'tie, bind, build', Kui tohpa, toht- v. 'tie, bind', Ku doh- id. ¶ D #3536 ◇ K² 77 connects the K √ with IE *teks- 'plait, compose' (P 1058-9), which deviates from reg. sound corrs.

2309. **tü₁y₂z|z*∇ (or **tü₁w|?,z|z*∇) 'in part of an arm/leg' > **HS:** S *^otic̥ciy- > Ak šisītu(m) ~ tisītu ~ tisītu, Ak A sisītu 'Hand-, Fußgelenk' ¶ Sd. 125O || K: OG tezo ~ tezo 'thigh' (Abul.: 'թարյալո [Schenkel]', Jud. 3.16: = μηρός 'thigh'; Lev. 3.9: = ψόαι 'muscles of the loins'), G tezo 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel' ¶ Abul. 18O, Chx. 474 || IE: NaIE *dous- '(upper) arm, shoulder' > OI 'dōs- 'arm, forearm', Av daoš- 'Oberarm, Schulter', eNPrs دوش dōš, NPrs دوش dūš 'shoulder (humerus)' || OIr doē (< *dous-ṇt-s) (gen. doat) 'arm' || Ltv pa-duse 'armpit, bosom (Busen des Kleides)' | ? Sl *pāz₁d₂uxъ ~ *paz₁d₂uxa (< **paz-dux-?) > Slv pāzduha ~ pāzdiha, pāzuha ~ pāziha 'armpit', OCS παζούχα pazuxa 'κόλπος, μασχάλη' ('bosom, armpit'), R, Uk, Blg Δ 'παζυχα 'bosom', SCr pāzuha 'bosom, shoulder', OCz pazuch, Cz pazouch, pazoch, Slk pazúch, P pazucha id. ¶ WP I 782, P 226, EI 26, M K II 68-9, M EI 749-75O, VI. I 931, Sg. 544, Horn 13O, Kar. II 7, Vs. III 186-7, SJSS XV 5, ≈ Glh. 472-3 || ?φ U *^otūž|L|y∇ (or *^os|šūž|L|y∇) > Sm *tūy ({Jn.} *tūy) 'sleeve' > Ne T τιο, {Lh.} tí, Ne F {Lh.} čí, Ng {Cs.} tíja, {Mik.} tíða, En. {Cs.}: X tiojo, B tíjeijo; Slq d.: Nr tönak, MO tönäñ, Ke tünäñ, NP tünnañ, Ch/UO tünäñ, B túñäñ, Yel/Kar tünäñ; Kms {KD} t'ú id. ¶ Jn. 167, Cs. 28, 89, 149, 199.