

2310. ***ṭä**, dem. prn. of non-active (inanimate) objects (without distance opposition [proximal ↔ intermediate ↔ distal]) > **HS:** I. HS ***t**▽-/*-▽**t**, marker of the so-called "feminine gender", actually feminine-and-inanimate gender (a merger with N ***ṛ?**at▽ 'female, woman' [q.v.], as well as probably with N ***ṭi** that constructs nomina act. [q.v.]), used in different grammatical functions: [a] verbal px. ***t**▽- of 3 pers. "feminine" (= feminine-and-inanimate\collective) > S, B ***t**▽- id., EC ***t**(▽)-, Bj, Aw **t**(▽)- of 3f in pcvs., ***t**- as marker of 3f in many Ch lgs., as well as the 3f marker *-t- within the person-number-gender sxs.; [b] HS nominal ending *-▽**t**-, marker of both the female sex in nouns (like S *-at- in ***b**in-at- 'daughter' > Hb **בת** bat, Ar bint-, etc., B *-t in ***t**-funas-t 'cow', ONum ult 'daughter') and of the fem.-and-inanimate gender (that is used to form singulative, collective, and abstract nouns) in S, Eg, B, C, and Ch, [c] HS pronoun ***t**▽- (prn. of the fem.[-and-inanimate] gender) > OAr **tā** and **tī** 'this\that' f. (Br. G I 317-8 [§ 107g]), Sb **t** 'that (f.) which' = 'lo que' (**t**-b-śrn 'lo que está en el valle' (here the formal f. of **t** is likely to have an abstract meaning of Sp **lo**) - / Bst. 42, Bst. DSRP); LbB: Gnc T {Mi.} -to 'this' (mensey-to 'this king'), pB ***t**-ā f. sg. / ***t**-ī f. pl. 'that\those which', 'that\those of' (ddn.) (the elements *-ā/*ī go back to N ***ha**, deictic pronominal pc. ['ille', distal deixis], and to N ***yE** [= **y'i?**] 'these, they' [deictic marker of animate pl.]) > **ta** f. sg. / **ti** f. pl. 'that\those which, that\those of' in practically all B lgs. (with a phonetic variant **ṭa** / **ṭi** in Kb and several other NrB lgs.) (Pr. M III, AiM 176, 211, 217, Fc. 1448-59), Bj **t**-, marker of the fem. gender in the df. art.: Bj A {AD} nom. sg. **tū-**~**tu-**, accus. sg. **tō-**~**tū**, nom. pl. **tā-**~**ta**, accus. pl. **tē-**~**ti-**, Bj Hd {Rop.} nom. sg. **tū-**~**ti-**, accus. sg. **tō-**~**ti-**, nom. pl. **tā-**~**ti-**, accus. pl. **tē-**~**ti**, Bj (dialect recorded by Reinisch) nom. sg. **tū-**, accus. sg. **tō-**, nom. pl. **tā-**, accus. pl. **tē-**; B ***t**▽-, prefix of fem. nouns, both sg. and pl. (going back to an article similar to that of Bj), e.g. Sll, Nf **ta-lγəmt** 'she-camel' (pl. **ti-lγəmin**, **ti-lγəmatin**), Kb **ṭa-funast**, Tmz **ta-funast** 'cow', Zwr **t-funast**, Zmr **ṭ-funast** id. (pl. **ṭifunasin**), **ṭ-myart** 'old woman', Mz **t-məṭṭut** 'woman', etc. (F AiM 208-9); Sml -**ta**, -**tu**, -**tī**, fem. forms of df. articles; C marker of fem. ***t**- in dem., interr. and poss. pronouns: Bj {R} **t-ūn** 'this' f. (accus. **t-ōn**), **t-ān** 'these' f. (accus. **t-ēn**), Sa {R} **t-ā**, **t-ay** 'this' f., **t-o**, **t-oγ** 'that' f., Sml -**t-aní** (accus. **-t-án**) 'this' f. (sx. of a noun), **-t-āsi** (accus. **-t-ā**) 'that' f. (general deixis), etc., Or H {Ow.} **t-**

ana rect. 'this' f. (\leftrightarrow m. *x-ana*), t-uni nom. 'this' f. (\leftrightarrow m. *x-uni*), t-áñi 'this' (anaphoric) f. (\leftrightarrow m. *x-áñi*), t-ámí 'which?' f. (\leftrightarrow m. *x-ámí*), t-iyya 'my' f. (\leftrightarrow m. *x-iyya*), t-e 'thy' f. (\leftrightarrow m. *x-e*), etc., Or B tunì(-n̄) 'this' f., rect. t-ánā, gen. táná, etc., Sd t-e, t-enne, t-ēne, t-in 'this' f., etc. (F AD KJ 28, 46-8, 106, 116-7 and s.v. N *K^ū, dem. prn.), as well as a marker of the fem. gender within postnominal agglutinated markers of personal possession in Bj (-t-), Sml (-t-: i'nán-t-ay-d-u 'my daughter', where -t- is the marker of fem. of the suffixed poss. prn. -taydu, -ay- is the morpheme of 1s, and -d- is the marker of fem. of the postpositional article, cp. 'ínán-k-ay-g-u 'my son', where -k- and -g- are masc. gender markers), Or Δ -t-, etc. ¶ AD KJ 107-8, Ow. 88] The same marker *-t- of the f.-and-inanimate gender is found in the S compound ending *-ā-t- which functions as a marker of feminine "plural" (Hb -ōt, Ar -āt-, Gz -āt, Ak -āt-). There is syntactic and morphological ev. that proves that in pS the forms with *-āt- were not real plurals, but collective nouns (in sg.): [a] the *-āt-forms have case endings of sg. (nom. *-u, accus.-gen. *-a) and a marker of status determinatus of sg. (*-m), [b] if they function as a subject, their predicate (in Arabic) is sg. f. Here the S morpheme *-t- is actually a nominalizer (substantivizer) of an originally analytical construction of collectivity (with collectivity pc. *-ā < N ?σ *?a'h'a [collective pc. of inanimate, '≈ de ça']). This is suggested by the fact that S *-ā-t- is found only in the purely substantive cases (nom., accus., gen.), while in the pred. case (> f. pl. of the WS new perfect) we find S *-ā without *-t-. The same *-t- is found as a substantivizer of Ak adjectives in pl. (-ūt- in sunstantivized adjectives in pl. \leftrightarrow -ū as pl. of not sunstantivized adjectives) || In Ch this HS prn. *t ∇ contaminated with the reflex of N *r ∇ a ∇ 'female, woman', giving rise to a personal prn. of 3f (actually, feminine-and-inanimate) that Blz. reconstructs as *ta. In WCh it functions (1) as a preverbal subject marker of 3f.: Hs tā (with past), ta (with some other verbal forms), in the BT lgs. (with neutral form, pf.: Bl, Gera t̄i, Krf, Glm, Grm t̄a, Tng ta, etc.), in the Ron lgs. (with the main aspect of the verb: Fy, Bks, Klr t̄i); (2) as an aut. prn. of 3f (prefix + *ta, acc. to Kr.'s rec.): Hs i-ta, Bl i-t̄a, Ngm t̄e, Krkr d̄i-t̄aw, Tng ñ-ta, Fy, Bks yí-t, Ngz, Bd a-t̄u, Zul ti 'she'; (3) as an object prn. of 3f (*t ∇ , acc. to Kr.): Hs, Bl ta, Krkr, Tng t̄a, Ngz at̄u, Bd t̄u; (4) as a postnominal poss. prn. of 3f (*ta, acc. to Kr.): Hs ta, Bl t̄o, Krf t̄aa, Krkr (t̄i)-t̄aw, Tng t̄o, Pr t̄e, Ron: Fy -it, Bks -et. In CCh

this pronouns appears: (1) as a ppa. of 3f: Gude -tà, Bcm -rò (-r- < *-t-), Mln -(g3)-tò, FLM -tù, Mbara -tá 'her'; (2) as an object prn. of 3f.: Bcm (na)-rò, Gudu ba-r (-r- < *-t-), FLM (gà)-tá, Msg G/P {MB} -ti 'her', Mbara -tá; (3) in some CCh lgs. it is one of the elements within isolable pers. pronouns of 3f (as in Mbara tití 'she'). In ECh it functions as a subject prn. of 3f (Mkl tí-/t-, Bdy -tí, -gít), as a pronominal object sx. of verbs (Mkl -t, -tì 'her', Bdy -tá 'her', -tì 'to her', Tmk -d 'her', Mgm -tí, -tì 'to her'), as a ppa. of nouns (Mkl -tù, Bdy -t, -tì 'her'), and as an emphatic aut. prn. ("pronom d'insistance"): Tmk tān 'she' (\leftrightarrow dān 'he'), as a dem. prn. of the f. gender (*t-pronouns of f. \leftrightarrow *k-pronouns of m. [ffd. details see N *K'ü¹, dem. prn.]). It also functions as a demonstrative element (without connection with the fem. gender, sc. not having merged with N *r'at² '↑': Ke m. sg. tóŋ 'this', f. sg. tāŋ, pl. téŋ 'these' [Sch. ED 158-9]) and as a CCh subject prn. of 3s m.: Msg G {MB} tə, Msg P {MB} te, Mbara, Mlw ti ¶ Cf. Kr. RChP, MB SMSM, J R, Sch. BTL, Sch. DN, Frz. GP, Blz. PPCh1 √, Blz. PPCh2 √, Trn. MVM 76, TrnSL 163-6, J LM, JA LM, Al. DB 196-2O6, Cp. 31 || II. A variant *t³ without de-emphatization survives in Ch as *d⁴, a dem. prn. (\rightarrow a marker of definiteness) > {Sch.}: Hs káràs dín 'the carrot(s)' (\leftrightarrow káràs 'carrot, -s'), Su lú dī-s⁵ 'this house' (\leftrightarrow lú 'house'), G'nd naf-dá 'the man', naf-dí 'this man' (\leftrightarrow naf- 'man'), Msg díf dá 'the man' (\leftrightarrow díf 'man'), Mkl ?á?ú dón 'the water' (\leftrightarrow ?á?ú pl. 'water'), as well as a pers. prn. of 3m (Tmk dān 'he') ¶ Sch. ED 158-6O || IE [1] NaIE *to- (nom.-accus. *to-d), dem. prn. of the neuter (inanimate) gender (\leftrightarrow *sō dem. prn. of the animate gender) > OI tā-d 'it, that' ntr. \leftrightarrow sə (~ sə-s) 'he, that' m., Av G, YAv tā-t 'this, it' ntr. \leftrightarrow YAv hā m. || Gk τό, df. art. ntr. \leftrightarrow δ, df. art. m. || pGmc {SGGJ} *θat 'das' (ddn. prn.), ntr. (\leftrightarrow *sō m.) > Gt þata ntr. \leftrightarrow sə m., ORu þat ntr. \leftrightarrow sə m., ON þat ntr. \leftrightarrow sá m., AS ðæt ntr. \leftrightarrow sē m. In the obl. cases it was generalized for all genders, e.g. NaIE accus. m. *to-m > OI tam, Av təm, Gk τόν, Gmc *θan(on) (> Gt þana, ON þann, AS ðone), NaIE accus. f. *tā-m (cf. nom. f. *sā) > OI, Av tām, Gk τήν. The form of the f. (a NaIE innovation) is *sā (based on *sō-), but in many lgs. it is *tā (e.g. pGmc *θō > Gt þō, AS ðā). In many branches of NaIE *to- was generalized throughout the paradigm off all genders: OCS Тъ m., Тѧ f., То ntr., Lt tās m., tā f. Cf. also Lt am 'so', OIr 3m pers. pronouns as infixes: -d (+ nasalization) m. (< *tom), -d ntr. (< *tod), Tc A/B tu dem. prn.

('das') ntr., A *täm* 'this' ntr. § P 1086-7, Brg. KVG 399-400, Bks. 202-5, SGGJ III 318-22, Ho. 286, 360, KT 164-5, Wn. 421-2, 443 || [2] NaIR *-d = *-T (archiphoneme from **-t in the word-final position), ending of the neuter (inanimate) gender in pronouns: NaIE *i-d (= *i-T) 'it, that' (\leftrightarrow *i-s m.) (> L *i d* ntr. \leftrightarrow i s m., Gt *ita* ntr. \leftrightarrow i s m.), *k^wo-d 'what' \leftrightarrow *k^wo-s 'who' (L *quod*, ON *hvat* \leftrightarrow *hver*, OHG *(h)waz* \leftrightarrow *(h)wer*), and *k^wi-d 'what' \leftrightarrow *k^wi-s 'who' (> L *quid* \leftrightarrow *quis*, Gk *τι* \leftrightarrow *τις*), etc. || AnIE *-t ntr. \leftrightarrow *-s anim. gender: enclitical forms of the pers. prn. 3s: Ht, Lw, Pal -at ntr. \leftrightarrow -as m., Ht *apat* 'it, this' ntr. \leftrightarrow *apas* 'he\she, this' anim. gender, Ht, Pal *kuit* 'what' \leftrightarrow *kuis* 'who' || Brg. KVG 402-3, Bks. 202-6, KrlSh. XLJ 20-2 || [3] IE *-ti, "primary" verbal ending of 3s (e.g., in the prs. tense) > OI -ti, Gk -σι (τίθη-σι 'puts'), L -t, Gt -þ, OHG -t, pSl *-tъ (> OCS -тъ, R Δ -тъ), Ht -zi, Lw, HrLw, Pal -ti (e.g. OI 'bhara-ti, L fer-t, Gt baíri-þ 'carries', OCS **бєрєтъ** beretъ 'takes'), IE *es-ti 'is' > OI 'asti, Gk ἔστι, L est, Gt, OHG ist, pSl *jestъ (> OCS **иестъ** јестъ, OR **иестъ** јестъ, R есть, P jest, etc.), Ht eszi, HrLw asti; IE *-t, "secondary" verbal ending of 3s (e.g., in the ipf.) > OI -t, L -t, Osc -d (кúм-bened 'convenit'). These endings spread to the 3p forms and were added to the original **-n-ending of 3p. due to generalization within the paradigm of the 3rd person: pre-IE **-t 3s \leftrightarrow **-n 3p > IE "secondary endings" *-t 3s \leftrightarrow *-nt 3p, "primary endings" *-ti 3s \leftrightarrow *-nti 3p (ffd. see N ***ñ̄á**, prn. of collectivity and plurality) || Brg. KVG 590-8, Bks. 232-7, Pv. I-II 285, KrlSh. XLJ 22-3, 40-1, Mer. HHG 34-5, EI 457 || K: Mg te 'this', ti 'that' (attributive pronouns, followed by nouns), tena 'this one', tina 'that one' (aut. pronouns, used without nouns) § Q 042 || u *tä, dem. prn. of inanimate objects (→ 'this', 'that'), as well as the initial element of compound pronouns (*tä-m ∇ , *tä-t ∇ , *tä-k ∇ , *tō < **tä + *o, U *tä + *a > FU *t̄ä ~ *t̄ä, etc., that indicate different distance-deictic positions: proximal, intermediate, distal, etc.): [1] U *tä > F (with case endings) tähän̄ 'hierher, her', tässä 'hier, hierbei' | Lp N {N} die 'there (nearer the person addressed than the speaker), die-t 'iste' || pMr *tä > Er te té, Mk тя tä 'this', (with case sxs.) Mk тяса tä-sa, Er тесэ тe-se 'here', Mk тяста tästa, Er тестэ тe-ste 'from here' || pChr {Ber.} *ti > Chr: Н тъi тe 'that, he', E {Ps.} тe \notin ti \notin te 'this' || pObU {JHl.} *tē 'ille' or 'hic' > pVg *tä > Vg: P tä, Ss ta 'that'; pOs *tē-tä ({JHl.} *tä-ta) 'here' > Os: V tēt, D tētä id. | OHg té 'hierher' (in the

set phrase *ʃem the ſē towa* [= *szem té szem tova*] 'weder hierher noch dorthin') 111 [2] U *^otä-m^Δ > F tämä 'this', Es temä, Δ temä 'he\she\it' 111 [3] U *tä-t^Δ > Chr: H {MRS} тыйды тәбъ, {Ep., Rm.} тыйды тәбә 'that, he', E {Ps.} тәбә 'this' || Sm: Ng {Ter.} тәти 'that' (anaphoric) 111 [4] U *tä + *a > FP *tā > Lp: N {N} dā 'here (hic-deixis)', dā-t 'hic' (obl. dā-), K {Gn.} tātt, Kld {Kert} tadd_ 'hic' | Prm *ta > Vt ta 'this', Z ta 'this, such' 111 [5] U *tä-k^Δ > Er теке ſeke 'just this', Mk тяка täka 'the only one' || pObU *tēꝝ > Vg T tü 'jener' (< *tāw); pOs *tēꝝ ({{Hl.}} *tāꝝ) > Os: O ti 'jener', V/K tēꝝ, Y tēꝝə 'hierher' || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} тикы 'that, this' 111 [6] U *tō > F tuo, Es too 'ille' | Lp: N {N} duot / duos- 'that one over there, that ... over there', dō '(far) over there', dōt / dō- 'that (one) far away over there', S {Hs.} duode 'iste', L {LLO} tuot 'that one over there (but nearer to the speaker than tāt 'ille'), Kld {SaR} түдт tu,t: 'ille' | pMr *to- > Er/Mk {Ker.} to-, tu- in Er/Mk тона тона 'ille', Er to-sa 'there, then' | Prm *tō (or *to) 'that' > Z tərit 'yesterday' (< tə-rít 'that evening'), Z Lu tə-lun, Z US tw-lun, Vt tolon 'yesterday' (lit. 'that day'), Vt tu-pal 'that side' (pul 'side'), Vt Sr tu, ? Z Ss t+ 'ille' || pObU *to 'ille' > pVg *tā, *tān- > Vg: P ta, LK/P ton, UL tōn id., LK tāt, Ss tot 'there'; pOs to-m 'ille' > Os: V tom(+), Vy tom+, Ty tōm(+), D/Nz tōm(ə), Kz tōm(ī), O tōm(i), tām id. || Slq Tz {KHG} to 'ille' 111 [7] Other compound pronouns with U *tä- > Lp: N {N} dāt 'this\that' (obl. dā-), S {Hs.} daade 'this, hic', L {LLO} tat 'this (der\die\das, dieser\diese\dieses), he\she\it', K {Gn.} tətt, Kld {Kert} tədd_ 'iste', təddā 'hic' || In the Sm lgs. there are rich systems of deictic pronouns based mainly on combination of U *tä with markers of deixis (vowels) ({{Hl.}} *tə(-), *tā(-), *te(-), *ti(-) ≈ this, that, *tū(-) 'this') and with other morphemes: Ne T {Ter.} тюку 'this, that (present)', такы 'that (pointed at)', тям' (pl. тев') 'this (pointed at, вот этот)', талий 'iste', талиюм' 'iste (the nearest between two)', төхэ 'ille (distant)', төхэюм' 'ille (more distant between two)', etc., Ng {Ter.} tane 'ille (more distant)', təndz 'that', takz 'that (pointed at), ille', etc., Slq Tz {KHG} tam 'hic', toí, tōnna 'ille' (besides the abovementioned to 'ille'), t̄na, t̄nana 'that' (anaphoric), Mt {Hl.} *ti 'he' (Mt M {Sp.} ты) → *tin 'he, that (jener)' (Mt M {Pl.} тинь 'he, they', {Sp.} тынъ 'вотъ') and Mt *tik '(?) 'here' (Mt M {Sp.} тыкъ), d. *tE1Vŋ 'hither' (Mt K {Pl.} delan 'сюда'), d. *ta|ānājā '≈ da, dort' (Mt M {Sp.} дана 'there') || In Y there are different pronouns and pronominal adverbs

based on N ***ta** + deictic markers of distance and syntactical (local, temporal, etc.) morphemes: Y: T/K *tudel* 'he', *tittel* 'them', T *tie-*(stem) 'ille', *ta-* (stem) 'that' (anaphoric), T (attr.) *taŋ* / (aut. prn.) *taŋu-n/-t* 'that', *taŋ* / *taþun* ({Krn.} таңүн, таۋун) ~ *tamun* 'that near, known, but absent here', T *tiden*, *tidaŋ*, K *tinetaŋ* 'that' (anaphoric), T *tada* 'there', *tida* 'then (earlier)', *tadat* 'then (later)', *tan* ~ *tat* 'so', K *tā* 'there', *tī* 'here', *tat* 'from there', K/T {IN} *tāt* 'so', etc.; pY {IN} **ti|u* 'this' > Y: K (attr.) *tiŋ* / (aut. prn.) *tuþen* ({Krn. JJ} түбән, {Krn. JJ-K} түшән) 'this', T {IN} *tuŋ* 'this', T *ten* 'hic', K *tī* 'here' (\leftrightarrow *tā* 'there') ¶ UEW 505, 513-5, 526-8, Kert SJ 173-4, Hs. 123-6, Ker. II 165, 168, Ps. M 140-1, Ber. 76, Ep. 125, Ps. OT 151-2, Rm. BT 144-5, MRS 119, LG 277, 284, Ht. #611, 614, Hl. rHt 68-9 (on pObU **ē*), Hl. M 150, #954, 977, 1006, 1016-7, 1022, 1075, EWU 1514, Ter. OGNJ 148, Ter. NgJ 169, KHG 293, Krn. JJ 72, 82-7, 278, Krn. JJ-K 354-5, IN 247-8 || A **t'æ-* 'der, das' (ddn. dem. prn.), **t'æ-r'a'* 'der, das' (marked topic-focalizing case, sg.), **t'æ-k|gə* (a dem. prn.), **t'a* (< ***t'æ-a*) 'that, ille' (prn. with ille-deixis) > M **te* 'that' (> MMgl *te*, Mgl, Ba *te*, MnR H {T} *te*, {SM} *tje*, MnR M {Rkh.} *ti* id., HlM {Pp.} *tē* *terə*, Brt *tē* *tere* 'that [pointed at, ۋوھ تۆت]'); M **te-re* (theme-focalizing case \leftrightarrow stem of obl. cases **te-gün*) 'that' (used also as 'he') > MM *tere*, WrM *tere*, HlM, Kl *terə*, Brt, Ord *tere*, Dg *tərə*, obl.: M **terən* > MM *te'ün*, WrM *təgün*, HlM, Brt {Pp.} *tūn*, Kl *tūn*; **te-de* (pl. of **tere*) > WrM *tede*, MM, Ord, Brt *tede*, HlM {Pp.} *tedə*, Kl *tedə*, Dg {Pp.} *tədə* ¶ Pp. IM 225-8, Iw. 136, Rm. M 40, SM 416, T 364, T BJ 148, Rkh. 379, Chr. 459 || Tg: I. AmTg **te-y|i* 'that', distance-deictically unmarked dem. prn. (\leftrightarrow **ey* 'this', hic-deictic prn.) > Nn Nh *təy*, Nn B *tī*, Nn KU *təy*, Orc *tī*, *təi* 'that, he\she\it', Ud {STM} *təi*, *təyi* 'that, this', Ud Sm {Krm.} *ti* 'that', Ul *tū*, *təy* 'that, he\she\it', {PSchm.} 'this'; Tg **tere* ~ **tar* (due to vowel harmony) and its pl. **tese* > WrMc *tere* (pl. *tese*) 'that, he', Mc Sb {terə} [*tərə*] 'that, he\it', {tesə} [*təsə*] 'they' (\leftrightarrow {era} [*ərə*] [*ərə*] 'this', {esə} [*əsə*] [*əsə*] 'these'), {terə} [*tərə*] 'that', Ewk *tar*, *tare*, *tari*, Neg *tay* 'that, this, he\it', Sln *taya*, *tari* 'that' || II. Tg **tā* 'that, ille' (marked) > Nn B *tā* 'there', 'there (pointed at place) ('تاڭ, ۋوھ تاڭ'), Orc *tā-dū* 'there', *tādūk* 'from there', *tāla*, *tāti* 'dorthin', Ud {STM} *tadu* 'there', *tala* 'there (dort, dorthin)', Nn, Ork *taya* 'that side', Ewk *tādū* 'there', *tala* 'there (dort, dorthin)', Lm *tar* 'that', 'voilà' ('ۋوھ, ۋوھ, تو; تۆت') ¶ STM II 165-7, Krm. 294, Y#2878-

83, Hrl. 42-3 ¶ Mc *tere* cannot be a loan from M (as some scholars believe), because it has an irreg. form of pl. (*tese*) with an ancient (pN) et. and without parallels in M ¶ The semantic position of Tg **tey*_i, within the system of the Tg dem. pronouns (↔ **e(y)* 'this' and **ta* 'that, ille') can be understood from the scholars' observations. Avrorin (Avr. GNJ I 262) points out that Nn *tzy* is used much more than R *tot*, while *zy* 'this' is used only if the object is very near to the speaker. It means that *tzy* is the unmarked member of the opposition. From its R translation (not only '*tot*' = 'that', but also '*oh, ona, ono*' = 'he, she, it') we may conclude that this is also used as a distance-deictically neutral pronoun. On the relation between Tg **te-* and **ta-* cf. Sem BD 61 {on Nn B: *t̄t̄tyi* 'iste (pointed at)' ('вон tot [не так далеко]'), *tāti* 'ille (pointed at, more distant than *t̄t̄tyi*)} and Sun. KUD 85 {on Nn KU: *tiy*, *tzy* 'that' ('*tot*'), *taya* 'that (on the other side)'}}. Sun. UJ 40 points out that Ul *tu* 'that' and *zy* 'this' are usually used as a kind of articles || ? NaT **t̄e-ge* ~ **t̄i-gi* ~ **t̄e-g[u]* '≈ iste', 'вон tot' ({IsxP}: 'that seen, but more distant than *by* ['this']) > VTt, Bsh *t̄egē* *t̄gb̄*, Qrg *tigi* 'that' ('*tot*'), Qrg *tē*, StAlt *tu*, Qmn *tu ol*, Xk *t̄iḡi t̄iḡi*, Tv *d̄ō / d̄ō / d̄ū / d̄ū* 'that pointed at' ('вон tot'), Tf *d̄ē* 'that (seen from here)', Slr U *tū* ~ *t(‘)ū*, Slr Ul *tū* 'that (ille); there (illic)' ('там, вон там'), Slr U *t(‘)ūgu* 'there (illic)'; in Slr there is a system of 4 deictic pronouns: *pu* 'this (nearest to the speaker)' ↔ *šu* (= {Tn.} *cu*) 'this (less near)' ↔ *vū* 'that' ↔ *tū* 'that (farthest from the speaker)' (Tn. SJ 129) ¶ Ra. 172, Ra. MTJ 256, Isx. M 247-9, IsxP 231-4, BIG 227, 416, B DK 53, Tn. SJ 129, 522, 526, Rs. W 479, S AJ 194, RI. III 141O ¶ The prn. is not attested in OT, therefore S AJ 52 supposes that it is a loan from M. The M source may be the stem of the obl. cases **te-gün-*. The loan hyp. can explain the initial lax **t̄-* (reflected in Tv and Tf *d̄-*) for the expected pT **t̄'-* || pKo **t̄já*₁ 'that' > MKo *t̄já*₁, NKO *čə*₁ 'that' ¶ S AJ 52, 254 [#87], S QK #87, Nam 154, MLC 1417 || ?? J: J to in to mo kaku mo 'this and that, so and so', to-kaku-no 'this and that', ?? to as a quotative pc. (Gr. ← As.³: to may go back to a dem. prn.) ¶ Prl. JUA 177, Kenk. 1994, As.² 142, As.³ 139, Mill. JL 344, Gr. I 97-8 ¶ S AJ 52, 289, DQA #2286 (A **t̄a* / *t̄e* 'that' > T **t̄já*₁-(*kō*), M **te-re*, Tg *ta-*, Ko), S AJ 52, 289 [#311], Rm. SKE 26 || D: in D this N prn. is represented in 4 different functions: in the {Zv.} "resumptive" and personal (3s) prn. **tān* / (obl.) **tan-* 'himself', in its pl. form **tām* / **tam(m)-* 'they themselves, they', in the ending of the inanimate gender *-tu (Zv. DL 21), and in the ending of the 3s ntr.

(inanimate) of the appellative non-past {Zv.} *-N-(a)t_o (Zv. DL 32; on the meaning of the term "appellative" / Zv. DL 26-7): [1] sg. *tān / obl. *tan-, "resumptive" and pers. prn. of 3s > Tm tān / obl. tan(n)-'oneself', tānē 'himself', Ml tān / obl. tan-, '(one)self', tānē 'by himself', Kt ta·n / obl. ta(n)-, Td to·n / obl. tan-, Kdg ta·n† / tan-'oneself', Kn tān / obl. tan- 'he\she\it' (with the meaning of a reflexive prn.), Tu tānə, Klm ta·n / tan-, Prj, Gdb, Gnd tān / tan- Kui tānu / tan- '(one)self', Tl tānu / obl. tan- 'one's self, he\she, him\her-self', Png tān 'he, himself', tā 'his, one's own', Kui tān 'him\her-self', Krx tān / obl. tang- 'himself', Mlt {Drs.} tān(i) / tang- 'him\her\itself, Brh tēn 'self, my\thy\him\self, ourselves, etc.' ¶ D #3196 ¶ [2] pl. *tām / *tam(m)- 'they, themselves' > Tm, Ml tām / obl. tam(m)-, Kn tāmu / tam-, tāvu / tav-, Klm, Prj, Gdb, Krx tām / tam-, Nkr tām, Gnd tammā, Knd tām, Kui tāru, Ku tambū / obl. tam-, Mlt {Drs.} tām(i) / obl. tam- id., Kt, Td ta·m / tam-, Kdg tanga 'themselves' ¶ D #3162 ¶ [3] *-tu, ending of ntr. (inanimate gender) in pronouns and numerals, e.g. [a] Tm atu ~ a·tu 'that thing' (↔ a-van 'that man', a-val 'that woman'), Ml a-tu, Kt a-d, Kdg a-d†-, Png a-di 'that thing', Kn a-du, a-tu, a-ttu 'that thing' (↔ a-va 'that man', a-val ~ āke 'that woman'), as well as with merger of the homonymous markers of f. and ntr.: Tl a(d)dī, Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gnd Δ a-d, Knd a-di, Kui ā-di, Mlt {Drs.} āth 'that woman or thing'; [b] Tm itu ~ i·tu 'this thing' (↔ ivan 'this man', ival 'this woman'), Ml itu, Kt id, Kn idu ~ itu ~ ittu, Kdg id†, Png idī 'this thing', Mnd idī 'this' (ntr.), as well as with merger of the markers of f. and ntr.: Tl i(d)dī, Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gdb id, Gnd Δ (h)id, Knd idī, Ku īdi, Krx īd, Mlt {Drs.} īth 'this woman or thing'; [c] Tm utu, Kn udu, Tu undu 'ista res', as well as with merger of f. and ntr.: Ku ūdi, Krx hūd 'ista mulier aut res'; [d] Tm oñu ~ oñnu (Zv.: < *or-tu) 'one' ntr., Ml onnu, Gnd Δ unthāl id., Kn ondu, Kdg ond†, Tu onji, Tl ondu, Krx oñtā, Mlt -ond 'one thing', and with merger of f. and ntr.: Knd ungi 'one woman or thing'; [e] Kdg dañd† (< *iran-tu) 'two things', Tu raddā, Tl rendu, Nk erndi, Krx ēr ~ ēñd id., Prj irdu id. (↔ irul 'two men', iral 'two women') ¶ D #1, 410(a), 474, 557(a), 990, Zv. DL 21 ¶ [4] {Zv.} *-N-(a)t_o, 3n of the appellative non-past > ModTm -ppa-tu (3n, appellative), Tl -tun-dī, Png -n-at (3n ft.), Gnd -ndū (3n, {Zv.} "past

irrealis cum habitual") §§ Zv. DL 32 || E: [1] MEl -t 'iste' (allocutive ending of nouns) ↔ -k 'hic' (locutive), resembling the situation in Slavic: *tъ (a ddn. and anaphoric prn.) (> R тoт 'ille, iste') ↔ *sъ (< IE *k̓-i-) 'hic' (ESISJ-SGZ II 618-23, 707-10); [2] MEl -t, a rare ending of the inanimate gender ("Dans la documentation méso-élamite, les inanimés à suffixe -t ... sont en voie de disparition" - GrilS EGE 13), and possibly AchEl -t|da/-te, generalizing sx. of abstract nouns (derived from nouns and adjectives): marri-da 'all, everything', daki-da 'other things' (cp. daki 'various, other') §§ McA 66, Dk. JDPA 97, GrilS EGE 13-4 ◇ AD GD 14, IS I 7 (*tä 'this, that') → BmK 287-9 ◇ The N prn. *tä is a member of several semantic oppositions: [1] N *tä as a prn. of non-active objects is opposed to N *sE (prn. of active [animated] beings and active objects). This opposition is preserved in IE (*sō 'he' [active gender] ↔ *toT 'it' [non-active gender]), partially in FU (F hän and Lp N {N} s̄qn [both from N *sE] are used for human beings ['he\she'], while the t-pronouns are used indiscriminately), in D (Krx -s m. ↔ -d ntr. and f. [merger of homonymous markers] in pronouns, F Hahn KG 23-6), and probably in Eg (-f [< *sw-] m. ↔ -t f. [sc. "female-and-inanimate" gender]). In some daughter families N *tä was opposed to the N animate *y i 'he' (e. g., S *y- 3m [< N *y i 'he'] ↔ *t- 3f) or to other dem. pronouns (that either were connected to animate beings or were originally neutral as to the opposition 'active' ↔ 'non-active'): C *k- m. (< N animate [?] dem. prn. *k'ü) ↔ *t- f., Sm: in Ne T the pronouns тюкү and тиқы (anaphoric) are used anaphorically when referring to non-humans only, while for human beings the prn. of 3s гыда 'he\she' (a Ne innovation) is used (Ter. OGNJ 148) | [2] The N prn. *tä as denoting a single object is opposed to the N prn. of collectivity\plurality *ñä (q.v.). The opposition is preserved (a) in U (e.g. F tämä 'this' ↔ nämä pl. 'these', tuo 'that' ↔ nuo pl. 'those', etc.), (b) in Eg: p̄z 'this, the' m. ↔ t̄z f. ↔ n̄z abstr., pl., pw 'this' m. ↔ tw f. ↔ nw abstr., pl., pn 'this (near me)' m. ↔ tn f. ↔ nn abstr., pl., pf 'that' m. ↔ tf f. ↔ nf abstr., pl. (Gard. 85); in Eg O (acc. to Ed. 83-9, EG 216, 251) nw, nf, etc. were not pl. forms, but abstract pronouns: nw 'Dieses, Dieses da', nf 'Jenes', probably from collective pronouns: pw 'this' m. ↔ tw f. ↔ nw abstract < *coll.), (c) in IE ("primary" verbal endings: *-ti 3s ↔ *-nti 3p, "secondary" endings: *-t 3s ↔ *-nt 3p), while in Eg fMK nw, nn, and nf had (preserved?) the

function of pl.; this situation may go back to an ancient difference between dialects of Eg, so that one cannot rule out the very old age of this n-pl. of prounous (which may be even inherited from pN) (cp. the dual marker *-n̥i in S, -n̥ of du. in Tz {Stm.} mərāw-i-n̥ 'twenty', and other traces of the N prounoun of duality *nE 'they [two]' [in U, K, and A, see s.v. *nE]) | [3] A new opposition of N *tä demonstrative vs. N *Ko interrogative has developped in some lgs., in which both N *Ko 'who?' and N *tä lost the semantic feature of animateness (in N *Ko) and inanimateness (in N *tä), and both were generalized as interr. resp. dem. pronominal stems: L quantum ↔ tantum, NHG was ↔ das, wer ↔ der, NE where ↔ there, when ↔ then, R куда ↔ туда, когда ↔ тогда, как ↔ так, какой ↔ такой, Y T qada 'where?' ↔ tada 'there', probably also in WrM kədū(n) 'how much?' ↔ tedüi 'so much' ◇ The sx. of the theme-focalizing case (≈ marked nominative) *-re in A *te-r∇ (preserving this function up to the attested M lgs.) is akin to the IE nominative-accusative ending *-r in heteroclitic nouns and is to be projected up to the pN level (F N *r∇ - theme-focalizing [topicalizing] pc.) ◇ IS I 7 (IE, HS, K, U, A, D), Gr. I 94-9 ("demonstrative T" in IE, U, A [incl. Ko, J], Gil, CK, EA, Ai).

2311. *ti, syntactic pc.: it is combined with words of verbal meaning to build analytical nomina actionis > IE: NaIE *-ti-, sx. of nomina actionis, e.g. *m̥-ti-s 'thought' (abstract noun) (↔ *men- v. 'think') > OI mati-h̥ 'mind, intellect', Av mainiš 'memory', L mens (gen. mentis) 'mind', Gt ga-munds 'μνημοσύνη, μνεία' = 'Andenken, Gedächtnis', OHG gimunt, AS ȝe-mynd 'memory', OCS pa-męТЬ id., NaIE *gno-ti-(s) 'knowledge' (↔ *gno- v. 'know') > Gk γνῶσις 'knowledge, inquiry', OI 'pra-jñā-ti-h̥ 'knowing the way to' (n. abstr.), OHG ur-c(h)nāt 'recognition, agnitio', OCS po-znatъ 'cognitio', OCS zna-tъ, Lt žinó-ti 'to know' (infinitive), NaIE *dō-ti-s 'giving' (n. abstr.) (↔ *dō- 'give') > OI 'dāti-, Gk δῶτις, Gk A δόσις 'giving' (n. abstr.), 'gift', L dōs (gen. dōtis) 'a dowry, gift', Lt dūotī, OCS da-tъ 'to give' (inf.) ¶ Brg. KVG 348-9, Fs. 194 || HS *-t- and *t∇-, sx. and px. of nomina actionis: [1] HS sx. *-t- > S *-at sx. of nomina actionis and of deverbal abstract nouns, in numerous patterns, e.g. in the pattern *1∇2a'3at-: BHb צְדָקָה cədā'kā 'righteousness', Sr يَدْرِى yidā'ṭā 'knowledge', Ar حَرَكَة ḥarakat- 'movement', خَرْجَة xarağat- 'military expedition' (< n. abstr. 'going out'), ئُنْفَضَّة nufağat-

'shivering caused by fever', BHb בָּרְכָה bərā'kā, Gz barakat 'benediction', Ak i²iltum 'Verbindlichkeit', dīktum 'killing' (n. act.) (from the verb dūk-), or the S pattern **1i³at- (> *2i³at-): *ši¹nat- 'sleep' (n. abstr.) (< **wši¹nat- ↔ *✓ wšn v. 'sleep') > BHb שֵׁנָה šē'nā, Ar شَنَّة sinat-, Ak šittu n. 'sleep' || BHb infinitives with -et/-at, -t, e.g. לֹדַת 'rēdēt 'to descend' (✓ yrd), דִּבְרַת 'dařat 'to know' (✓ ydř), תְּתִת tet 'to give' (✓ nt̄), בְּנֹת bə'hōt 'to build' (✓ bny), Ph infinitives with -t: Ph By l-d⁴t 'to know' (✓ yd⁴), Ph šbt 'to sit' (✓ yšb), l-bnt 'to build', Pun l-tt 'to give' (✓ ytn) ¶ JB NB 86-94, Sd. G 57-63 [§§ 55-6], FrdR 73, 82 || Eg -t [*-∇t], sx. of nomina act. (and other abstract nouns) in different nominal patterns, e.g. in the pattern reconstructed by Osing as *'1i.23-at (> Eg L {Os.} *'1e.23-~t): Eg OK qrs.t (n. act. of qrs 'bury') > Eg L {Os.} *'ke.rs-~t > Cpt kaise 'Bestattung, Balsamierung', Eg NK nq⁴.t 'Schneiden, Schmerz' (n. act. of nq⁴ 'einritzen, audreßen') > Eg L {Os.} *'ne.k⁴-~t > Cpt A neeke 'Wehen', Eg OK wzš.t (↔ verb wzš 'ausscheiden') > Eg L {Os.} *'we.zš-~t 'Ausscheidung' → 'Harn' > Cpt Sd/B/F iš 'Harn', etc., or in the pattern *'1a.23-ut (> Eg L {Os.} *'1a.23-~t): Eg NK grg.t 'Fang (mit dem Schleppnetz)' (n. act. of grg 'Falle stellen') > Eg L *'ga.rg-~t > Cpt Sd گوپهه corcs 'Fang mit dem Schleppnetz' ¶ Os. I 96-118 || B nomina act. (used also as infinitives) of the form *t∇-...-∇t, where the prefix *t∇- goes back to the prefixed article and therefore does not belong to the N etymon in question, but the sx. *-∇t does belong here. Examples from Tw {Pr.}: t-andər-t 'fait d'être en colère' (inf. and nom. act. of the verb əndər 'be angry'), tъmbint 'act of grazing, pasturing' (inf. and n. act. of ədən) ¶ Pr. M IV-V 81-97 || C: Ag: Bln {R} -ət, -t, sx. of abstract nouns: bi'r-ət 'heat', fər'h-ət 'joy', gə'n-it 'age' || Bj {Rop.} -t i, sx. of nomina act. : 'tamti 'act of eating' (↔ tam 'eat'), 'dābti 'act of running' (↔ dāb 'run'), hi'rərti 'act of walking' (↔ hi'rər 'walk') ¶ R BilS 661, Rop. 38 || [2] HS *t∇-, prefix of deverbal abstract nouns > S *t∇- id.: Ar nomina act. (masdar): تَذْكَارْ taθkār-un 'to remember, das Erinnern' (↔ *✓ δkr 'remember'), Gz tafḍāl 'Vollendung', BHb תְּגִמּוּל tag'mūl 'compensation', Sr taktu'šā 'fight'; with both a prefix *t∇- and a sx. *-at-: BHb תְּرִדְמָה tardē'mā 'deep sleep', Sr taħmeṣ'tā 'bashfullness, modesty' ({Br.} 'pudor, pudefactio'), etc. ¶ JB NB 287-311 || ឧ *-t∇ ~ *-tt∇, sx. of nomina act.

(→ infinitive): BF {Laan.} *-ta-k / *-tä-k, infinitive (*-k is the lative case ending) > F sx. of the "1st infinitive": -ta/-tä, -da/-dä, (after short vowels) -a/-ä, (after certain cnss.) gmc.+-a/-ä (juos-ta 'to run', pes-tä 'to wash', teh-dä 'to make', saa-da 'to get', sano-a 'to say', tulla [< *tul-ta-k] 'to come'), Vp -da/-da/-ta/-ta, sx. of the infinitive (aya-da 'to drive [fahren, treiben]', hüpta 'to jump', pan-da 'to put'), Lv -da / -d3 sx. of the infinitive (tūlda 'to come', yu·ōd3 'to drink'), Es -da (marker of the infinitive) | pLp {Krh.} *-dē-k, sx. of the infinitive (*-k going back to the lative case ending) > Lp: N/Å -t, J -yh / -t, I/Kld -δ, T -d ~ -de, sx. of the infinitive (pLp *kul·z-dēk 'to hear' > L: N {N} gullāt, J guwłayh, Klt kulləd id.) || pOs {Ht.} *-ta / *-tä, sx. of the infinitive > Os: V -ta/-tä, Vy -ta/-tä, -nta/-ntä, Ty/Y -tayþ/-täþ, P -tayþ, S/Nz/Sh/O -ta, Kz -tī id.; Os Sh {Gu.} -at, sx. of abstract nouns: xūw-at 'length' (↔ xūw 'long'), lōw-at 'size' (↔ *lōw 'large, big') || Sm *-t▽, sx. of deverbal abstract nouns (< U *-tt▽): Slq: Chl {Cs.} oldöt 'Anfang' (↔ oldam 'I begin'), UO {Cs.} èaldöt, Chl {Cs.} oaldöt 'sign' (↔ Chl oaldam 'zeichnen, ein Zeichen machen), Ne O {Lh.} gen. sg. nāmk'k-āδ-an (nom. sg. is nāmk') 'das Hängenbleiben (↔ nāmkā 'hängen bleiben') §§ Lh. PUAS 273-87, Sz. 79, Laan. 246, Krh. 288-90, Ht. ChrO 55-6, Majt. SM 355-7, Gu. MOUJ 311 || A: ? NaT *°-ti/*-tī, a rare sx. of deverbal nouns: OT {Cl.} ögdī 'praise' n. ↔ ög- ({Cl.} ög-) v. 'praise' § Cl. xlivi, 100-2 || ? Tg *-te in *bu-te 'death, illness' (> Lm butən 'illness, disease', Neg butun 'lepra' ↔ pTg *bu- v. 'die') and in *jeb-te 'food' (if ← 'das Essen', as supposed by Rm.) > Ewk Z jʒbtʒ, Orc ʒʒptʒ 'food' ↔ pTg *jeb- v. 'eat' § STM I 98-9, 279-80 §§ Rm. EAS II 124-5; both the T and the Tg sxs. are qu. as cognates because they are rare and may be alternatively interpreted as forming nomina obiecti.

2312. *t'ü̥ (> *t'i) 'thou' > HS: [1] HS *t▽-, verbal px. of the 2nd pers. > S {Hz.} *ti- id. (in the prefix-conjugated verbal tenses of the underived verbs [G]) > Ak ti-, Ar ta- (transformed from *ti- due to generalization of the vw. -a- in the paradigm of the ip. activi), BHb ti- ~ ta- ~ tā- ~ te- (ti-k'bor 'you [sg. m.] will bury', tə-dab'ber 'you will speak', נָבַת tā'-bō 'you will come', wat'tebkə, [pf. c.] 'and you wept') going back partially to the original *ti- and partially to the generalized *ta-, Ug, Ph t▽-, BA ti- (~ un-attested *tə-), JA ti- ~ tə-, Sr -t̄-tε- ~ -t̄-tə-, OSA Sb t̄v- (tr̄hm 'mayest thou have mercy'), Gz tə-, Mh, Jb, Sq tʒ- (sbjn.\js. and prs.); in the derived verbal patterns (and probably

in the negative verbal forms) the pS px. is **ti-* and **tu-* (the latter from **ti-* + *-*u-* of derivational origin) (ffd. see Hz. VP) ¶ Hz. VP ∀, MSUS 142, Seg. AAG 263-307, Br. SG 126-43, Bst. 14, Jo. MSA 15 || LbB (= pre-B) {Pr.} **t*∇-, px. of 2s of the verb > ONum {Rö.} *t*∇- id. (O. Rössler's tentative rec. is based on proper names, e.g. *trnb-n* 'you [god] will add to us') || pB {AD} **t*∇-...-at, {Pr.} **t*∇-...-ad, 2s of verbs (the preradical vw. *∇ varies according to tenses: namely **tā*-...-ad|t in pf., **tū*-...-ad|t in ip., resulting from grammatical processes and analogies within the verbal aspect system) > Shl, Tmz, Dmn, BMn, Rf, Jrb, Snd, Zwr, ASgr, Wrs *t*-...-t (~ *t*-...-t), Ah, Ttq, Gh, Mz, Wrg, Shw, Izn, SrSn, BSn, Zng, Nf *t(a)-...-(a)d* and *t(a)-...-(a)d*, Fgg/Grr *t*-...-č, Kb {Mmr.} *t*-...-d, Kb AZ {Gln.} *t*-...-t, Kb GK {Gln.} *t*-...-đ, Shnw {La.} h-...-đ ¶ The B form **t*∇-...-aT is a "mixed form" ({Pr.} "système mixte") going back to contamination of the original verbal **t*∇-form and the predicative adjective (stative) with 2s sx. *-T (F below [4]). In my opinion, the pB form was **t*∇-...-at, while the voicing *-t > -d is an innovation of Tw and some other lgs., which is not shared by the rest of the B lgs. The causes both of the voicing *-t > -d and of the emphatization *-t > -t̄ ~ -d̄ ~ -đ̄ are not yet known ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 9-10, 12-7, Rö. JN 440-1, Ai. MSB 83, Beg. 45-58, Allaoua PPK, Mmr. 49-50, La. Ch 59-60 || C **ti-*, prefix of the 2nd pers. of pcv. > Bj *ti-/tɔ-/t-*, 2 pers. prefix: (p.) *ti-...-a* (2m), *ti-...-i* (2f), *ti-...-na* (2p) || Ag: Aw {Hz.} *ti-* 2s (no opposition of gender) (*tínté* 'you come' ↔ 1s *ánté*, 3m *yínté*, etc.) || EC **t*-, 2s of pcv.: Af, Sa, Sml, Rn *t*-, Bn J -t- (preceded by á-: 2s *átùhùñž* 'you [sg.] ate', *átàhàñž* 'you eat' ↔ 3m *ážùhùñž*, *ážàhàñž*)] In all C lgs. the same marker of the 2 pers. *-t- functions in the suffix-conjugated verbs (going back to constructions Nominal form of the verb + Auxiliary pcv.) as the initial element of the former aux. verbs, e.g. EC: Or B *tum-t-ž* 'you (sg.) forged' ↔ *tum-ž* 'he forged', Sd {Mrn.} *hun-te* 'you (sg.) exterminated' ↔ 3m *hun-e*, Af *ab-teh* 'you (sg.) did' ↔ *abe-h* '(he) did', *ab-tah* 'you (sg.) do' ↔ *ab-ah* '(he) does', Ag: Aw {Hz.} *žew-t-é* 'you (sg.) bought' ↔ 3m *žew-é*, etc. (2s: verb + **t*∇-?∇, where *-?∇ is the stem of the aux. verb ↔ 3m: verb + **y*∇-?∇) ¶ AD KJ 118-9, AD IPCV § 1.2, Zab. VC, Hz. AL 22, Sim 24, PH 254-5, PG 42-4 || Om: verbal sxs. of 2s sometimes contain the cns. t (e.g. Ym {C} pf. -t, ipf. -ata, -uta, {Lm.} -t(a)), but this is not enough to draw conclusions because of the complicated interplay of possible archaic morphemes with innovations and with sxs. of tenses\aspects ¶ Bnd. MO 103-4, C SE

III 16-9, cp. genetic hypotheses: Blz. PPCh1 23-5, Zab. VO 25-8 ¶ Dk. SXJ 78, Blz. PPCh1 11-2O, FrdR 61, 68, 70, 73, 77-8 ¶ [2] HS *^{oo}-tⁱ, verbal sx. of the 2nd pers. within the paradigm *-mi 1s - *-ti 2s, surviving in HEC only: Kmb yom-mi 'I am' - yon-ti 'thou art', as well as in the paraphrastic paradigms of the HEC independent pfc. and independent ipf. going back to endings of the aux. verb * ∇ n-: {AD} *it ∇_1 n-m ∇ 'I eat' - *it ∇_1 n-t ∇ 'you (m. sg.) eat' - *it-t ∇_1 n-t ∇ 'you (f. sg.) eat', *it ∇_2 n-m ∇ 'I ate' - *it ∇_2 n-t ∇ 'you (m. sg.) ate' - *it-t ∇_2 n-t ∇ 'you (f. sg.) ate', whence Alb {Mrn.} itam 'I eat' - ittantⁱ 'you (sg. of both genders) eat', iččo 'I ate' - ittontⁱ 'you (m. sg.) ate', Sd {Mrn.} itemmo ~ itam 'I eat' - itatto 'you (m. sg.) eat', itommo 'I ate' - itotto 'you (m. sg.) ate', etc. ¶ AD PLOG 1O3-12, Mrn. S (on Alb: Mrn. S 3OO), Mrn. ApD, C SE II 228-9, 237-8, C S 597-692 ¶ [3] HS *-ti within the autonomous isolable (subject) prn. *?an-ti 'thou' (< N *^{oo}ñ ∇ 'self, the same' + N *t^ü [> *tⁱ] 'thou') > pS *?an-ta 'thou' m., *?an-ti 'thou' f.: (α) pS *?an-t-a 'thou' m. > BHb אַתָּה $\dot{\text{a}}\text{t}'\text{tā}$, Ph, Ed, OA, Yd $\dot{\text{a}}\text{t}$, Pun (RomSc) [Plt.] ETHA, Ug $\dot{\text{a}}\text{t}$, (AkSc) {Hnr.} $\dot{\text{a}}\text{tta}_L$, Amr {G} $\dot{\text{a}}\text{tta}$, IA, Nbt, Plm $\dot{\text{a}}\text{nt}$, EpJA $\dot{\text{a}}\text{nth}$ ~ אַתָּה $\dot{\text{a}}\text{th}$ ~ אַתָּה $\dot{\text{a}}\text{t}$, BA k אַתָּה $\dot{\text{a}}\text{nt}$, q אַתָּה $\dot{\text{a}}\text{nt}$, JEA Nd/G אַתָּה $\dot{\text{a}}\text{nt}$, JEA B אַתָּה $\dot{\text{a}}\text{t}$, Sr W אַתָּה $\dot{\text{a}}\text{nt}$, Ar أَتْتَ $\dot{\text{a}}\text{nt}$, Gz $\dot{\text{a}}\text{nta}$, Ak atta, Eb an-da, (β) S *?an-t-i_L 'thou' f. > BHb אַתְּ $\dot{\text{a}}\text{tta}_L$, Ph $\dot{\text{a}}\text{t}$, IA, EpJA $\dot{\text{a}}\text{nty}$ ~ $\dot{\text{a}}\text{nt}$, Sr W אַתְּ $\dot{\text{a}}\text{nt}$, Ar أَتِتْ $\dot{\text{a}}\text{nti}$, Gz $\dot{\text{a}}\text{ntī}$, Ak attī ¶ Br. G I 3OO-1, Br. SG 48, KB 98, OLS 58, Hnr. 1O8, 293, HJ 85-6, GB 76, 78, 895, G A 13, Rybak AN, Harv. 97 ¶ The opposition *?an-ti_L f. ↔ S *?an-ta m. is a pre-S innovation based on association of *?anti with the fem. ending *-i_L and on pre-S creation of *?anta < *?anti + HS marker of masc. (in 2s) *-a (that appears as the ending of masc. in Bj ti-...-a, 2m form of pcvs. within the paradigm a-dir 'I killed' - ti-dir-a 'you (m. sg.) killed' - ti-dir-ī 'you (f. sg.) killed' - i-dir 'he killed', etc.) || C *?anti 'thou' (without gender distinction) > Ag * $\dot{\text{a}}\text{nt}^i$ 'thou' > Bln {R} $\dot{\text{a}}\text{rn}^i$, Aw {Hz.} $\dot{\text{a}}\text{n}^i$ || EC *?ati 'thou' > Sml adí-ga, adí-gī, Rn $\dot{\text{a}}\text{tī}$, Or ati, Kns {BISO} átti, Gdl {Bl.} átte, Bs {HL, AOM} ati, Af/Sa atú (-u from the nominal case inflection), Sd ate, etc. || Dhl {To.} $\dot{\text{a}}\text{ta}$, {E} $\dot{\text{a}}\text{ta}$ 'thou' ¶ AD SF 13-4, Bl. 131-2, 184, Ss. PEC 1O, PG 4O, HL 78, Ow. 254, Sr. 266, AOM 6, E SC 282, To. DL 4O, To. D 37 || ? Om: Dzd: Mj yetu 'thou' (accus. yet-ñ), Shk yetá, Na yetá id. ¶ All. D 383, 392 (note 6), Bnd. MO 145-6 ¶ This Dzd prn. may explain (but not necessarily does) the origin

of the puzzling NrOm prn. *ne 'thou' and SOM * ∇ na id. (> Ari \bar{a} ná, Gll \bar{y} lná id.). The possible scenario is: HS * $\text{?an}\text{-t}\nabla$ with subsequent loss of *n in Dzd and of *t in NrOm and SOM (cf. AD SF 2O-1); Bnd MO 145-6 and 2O1 rejects similar explanations by supposing that Dzd *-t ∇ is a sx. §§ AD PP 69, 112, AD PSH § 6.3 (#174), HL 78, Blz. PPCh1, Blz. PPCh2 ||| [3a] The same HS isolable prn. * $\text{?an}\text{-ti}$ 'thou' followed by morphemes of pl. and du. gave rise to autonomous pronouns of 2p and 2d: HS ** $\text{?an}\text{-tin}$ 'you' (pl.) > C (nom.): LEC * ?atin id. > Sa átin, Sml idín-ku, Rn atín, Dsn ?itíní , ? Bs {AOM} isin || Ag: Blz. ?nt' t ∇ n, Km {CR} int ∇ n, {Ap.} ?ntä(n) diw nom. (accus. ?ntä), Q {R} ent ∇ n, Aw {Hz.} ?ntóži (Hz: -ži "was later added, as a part of the renewal of plural marking of pronouns" - Hz. ES § T.2) ¶ Bl. 131, Hz. AL 2O, Hz. NSA 134, PG 4O, Ap. K 32O, To. DL 211 || S * $\text{?an}\text{-tim(mu)}$ (< ** $\text{?an}\text{-ti-n-mu}$) 'you' (pl. m.) and * ?anti-n-na 'you' (pl. f.) > pronouns of 2 pl.: Ak OB/OA attunu m. (< * ?antunmu < *an'tinma by assimilative labialization), attina f., Eb {Frnz.} an-da-nu 'you' pl., BHb פָתְנָא pat'tem 'you' pl. m., פָתְנָא pat'ten 'you' pl. f., SmHb {BH, Mc.} attimma 'you' pl. m., atten 'you' pl. f., Ug ?atm pl. m., IA ?ntm pl. m., BA יָתְנָא pan'tün, EpJA ?twn pl. m. ¶ Sd. G 41, KB 99, 167O, BH IV 42, HJ 86, A #464, OLS 59 || Om: pNrOm {AD} * $\text{?antEn}\nabla$ (~ * $\text{?antun}\nabla$?), {Blz.} * $\text{?antuni}/*\text{?antuna}$ 'you' (pl.) > WI {C} int \bar{e} , {Bnd.} intena, {AlA} inte, Hrr {CR} h \bar{a} ntēnā, Zl/Gf {C} int \bar{e} , Gf {AlA} hinte, Bsk {C} inti, Zs {Si.} ?uti'ni , {C} (ω)untuna, Zrg {Si.} 'hutuna, {Bnd.} ω utuna, Bdt {Hw.} hinūni, Gnj {Si.} ?inina , Dwr {Bnd.} h \bar{u} ntetta, Dc {Bnd.} intena, Drz {AlA} intenī, {Bnd.} intani, Cnc {AlA} intenī, Oyda {Bnd.} intana, Male {Bnd.} inči, Gdc {Bnd.} innu \bar{n} na, Cha {C} int \bar{e} \rightleftarrows inti, {Bnd.} inte, Gamu {AlA} ēti, Ym {C} ittō, {Bnd.} n \bar{u} ttō, {Wdk.} nittō, Kf {C} ittō, ittoši, Mch {Bnd.} itōši, {Lm.} ittō(ši), Shn {Lm.} itti, Bnc {Bnd.} intāyku 'you' (pl.), {Wdk.} yintāykn̄ id. (obj.), 'vester' (pl., poss.), Anf {MYTY} inta 'vester' \rightarrow intashine 'you' (pl.) (derived like bašinne 'they') (cp. Anf {Bnd.} intāši 'you' [pl.]) || Dzd: Mj {Bnd.} iti, {AlA} yetu 'you' (pl.), Shk iti id., it- (verbal prefix of 2p), Na iti-kis 'you' (pl.) || SOM: Dime {Bnd.} yät \bar{s} , Ari/Gll {Bnd.} yetá, Hm B {Bnd.} yäddi 'you' (pl.), Ari {Bnd.} -ete, Ari G {Bnd.} -et (verbal endings of 2p) ¶ AD SF 134-5, Blz. PPCh1 23-5, Lm. Sh 274, AY ShM 7, 9, Wdk. BY 113, 132, AlA ODS 1O, MYTY 1O5, Bnd. AM 7, Bnd. MO 163-4 ¶ Blz. PPCh1 3-6, 11-25 ||| [4] HS *-t'i¹ 'you (sg.) are', sx. of the 2s subject of the nominal predicate: S *-a-

ta m., *-a-ti f. id. (*-a- of the pred. case) > Ak -āta (m.), -āti (f.) id. (the so-called "stative"), WS *-ta (m.), *-ti (f.), 2s forms of the WS new perfect > Ar -ta m., -ti f., BHb -tā m., -tə₂ f., Ph, Pun -t (the unvocalized script does not distinguish between gender forms), IA -t m., -ty f., Sr -t m., -ty f. (pronounced -tə₂ in both genders due to the reduction of the final vw.), but before object sxs.: -tā- (Sr W -to-) m., -tī- (Sr W -ti-) f. (Sr k̄tltny [k̄atal-'to-n] 'you [m. sg] killed me', k̄tltny [k̄atal-'ti-n] 'you [f. sg.] killed me'); in SS (OSA, the EthS and SES lgs.) *-t- of the sxs. were replaced by *-k- (generalization of *-k- from the 1s ending within the conjugation paradigm) ¶ The differentiation between *-ti f. and *-ta m. is a (pre-)S innovation, identical with the aforementioned differentiation in the isolable pronoun (*F* above [3]). In the Ak forms the vw. -ā- was introduced due to the generalization of the vw. of the 1s form: pS *ša'lim-āku 'I am well', *ša'lim-a-ta 'you are well', etc. > Ak šalmāku 1s, šalmāta 2m, etc. ¶ MSUS 137, Sd. G 1OO-1, 8*, Br. SG 45 [§ 75], 126-49, Seg. AAG 265, 263, FrdR 58 ¶¶ Dk. SXJ 85-94, Dk. AL 92-7, Blz. PPCh1 11-7 || B *-t (> -d, -d), marker of 2s of the qualitative verbs (verbs denoting quality) > Kb {ABs., Mmr.} -(ə)d (zəddig-əd 'you [sg.] are clean'), Gd, Awj -at (Gd {CM} məqqur-at 'thou art big', Awj məllat 'thou art white'), Ah -äd (karroğ-äd 'thou art sad'), Ttq -ad (səməm-əd 'thou art bitter'), Gh -ad (mallul-əd 'thou art white'); in Si {La.} -at has been generalized as marker of 2s throughout the tenses of the indicative: ləmz-at 'tu a mâché', gafl-at 'tu passeras' ¶ Ai. MCB 74, 77-8O, Mmr. 65-7, La. S 51-2 || Eg O/M -ti, marker of 2s in the "pseudo-participle" (= Gard.'s "old perfective"): Eg M hr.ti 'thou art content', iw.t(i) {Gard.} 'thou art come' ¶ Ed. 271-2, Gard. 234-8 ¶¶ Dk. SXJ 85-94, Dk. AL 92-7, Blz. PPCh1 11-7]][4] The same HS ending *-ti 'thou' followed by morphemic markers of pl. and du. (just as in [3a]) gave rise to endings of 2p and 2d of predicative nomina (→ stative forms): S *-a-tim(mu) (< **-a-ti-n-mu) 'you' (pl. m.), *-a-ti-n-na 'you' (pl. f.), and *-a-tim-ā 'you' (du.) (*-a- is the marker of the pred. case of nomina) > Ak -ātunu (2p of both genders; -ā- by generalization from 1 sg. -āku), WS person/number endings of the "new perfective" (Qatal-tense): 2pm *-tim(mu), 2pf *-tinna, *tim-ā 2d, whence BHb מְתַעַן - תְּעַנֵּן 2p m., מְתַעַן - תְּעַנֵּן 2p f., Ug -tm 2p m., -tn 2p f., -tm 2d, IA נְתַעֲנָן - *-tūn (BA נְתַעֲנָן - תְּעַנֵּן) 2p m., IA נְתַעֲנָן - {Seg.} *-tēn (JA [Trg.] נְתַעֲנָן - תְּעַנֵּן, JEA נְתַעֲנָן - תְּעַנֵּן) 2p f., SmA {Mc.} תְּעַנֵּן - ton 2p m., נְתַעֲנָן - tēn 2p f., Sr W -tun, Sr E

-'ton 2p m., Sr W/E -'tən 2p f., Ar -tum 2p m., -tunna 2p f., -tumā 2d; in pre-Ak, Aram, and Ar labializing as. -um- < *-im- followed by generalization of *-u- (in Ar and Ak) ¶¶ For references see above [4] and Siv. U 72, Dlm. GJPA, Levias 86, Epst. 54, Mc. GSA 143, A U 51-3 ||| IE: [1] NaIE *tū nom. 'thou' and possibly *tw-om id. (preserved in IIr and Tc B) > pIIr *tū > Av G tū (following the sentence-initial word), Prt tu, MPrs tō, ClNPrs تُ tu, NPrs تو tu, Oss I dʒ, Oss D du 'thou' (Ab.: Oss d- < *t- originally in an intervoc. position in word groups, where this change is regular); pIIr *tuv-am (either from NaIE *tw-om or on the analogy of *eǵʰom) > OI 'tvām ~ tu'vam, Av G tuuəm, YAv tūm, tum, OPrs tuvam ||| Gk D τú, Gk A σύ (σ- on the analogy of ε 'thee' [accus.] < IE *twe) ||| Arm դու du 'thou' ||| pAl {O} *tū > Al G/T ti ||| L tū ||| Clt: OIr tú ||| Gmc: Gt þu, ON þú, OHG dū ~ du, NHG du, AS ðū ~ ðu 'thou', NE thou ||| Lt tū, Ltv tu, Pru tou (enclitic tu) | pSl *t̄ > OCS тъи ty, Blg, Uk ти, R ты, SCr, Sln t̄i, P, Cz, Slk ty ||| pTc {Ad.} *tuwe > Tc B t(u)we (acc. to Ad., from IE *tuHom ≈ NaIE {AD} *tw-om), Tc A tu (< NaIE *tū) ||| AnIE *ti 'thou' nom. > Ht zik, zigga, {El} zīg 'thou' (-g by analogy with 1s), tug 'thee', Pal {El} tī 'thou', tū 'thee' ¶¶ Blz. IEPP ȏ, AD PP ȏ, EI 455 (IE *'tuH [emph. *tu'Hom], accus. *'tewe [encl. *te, emph. *'twem], gen. *'tewe), GSchm. IGPP 113-9, 143-4, Brdg. KVG 41O-3, Brtl. 654-5, 66O-1, M E I 682-3, Ab. I 378, F II 817, EWA II 826-36, Frn. 1133-4, En. APG 129, Stang VG 247-8, Glh. 624-5, Vs. IV 13O, LP §§ 337, 357, KT 162, Wn. 516-7, Ad. H 149-56, Cowg. EG 169-7O, O 455-6, Huld 116, KrlSh. XLJ 2O, 36, Ts. W 92, 1O9 ||| [2] IE *twe and *te 'thee', *tu-/*twe-/*teu-/*te- (+ case markers or without them) functioning as the stem of oblique cases of the prn. of 2s; Cowg. EG 169-7O and Ad. H 161 reconstruct the IE case system of this prn. as follows: stressed accus. *'twe, unstressed accus. *te, stressed gen. *'tewe, unstressed gen. *toj. G. Schmidt's rec. (GSchm. IGPP 11O, 144, 2O4-5, 245-6): accus. *tē and *tu, gen. *teu, dat.-loc. *tow-oj and *tu-b̄ej, abl. *tu-s. O. Szemerényi's rec. (Szem. EVS-8O 228-34): NaIE: accus. *twe(:)/*te(:), *twe(:)-m/*te(:)-m, gen. *tewe/*tewo and (encl.) *t(w)ej/*t(w)oj, accus. *twe-d, dat. *t(w)ej/*t(w)oj, *te-b̄i; pIE: accus. *tu-'e, gen. *tu-'os, dat.-loc. *t(w)ej, *t(w)-eb̄i, abl. *tu-ed. Beekes's rec. (Bks. VT 249-53): accus. *'twe, gen. *tewe, *tej, Av *twed, dat. *teb̄yo, *toj, loc.-instr. *toj. Representation in some principal IE lgs.: OI accus. tvā,

'tvām, abl. 'tvad, dat. 'tubhya(m), tē, loc. 'tvē, 'tvayi, instr. 'tvā, 'tvayā, gen. 'tava, tē, Av {Reich.} accus. θwām (YAv θwā), abl. θwat ~ θwāt, dat. taibyā, taibyō, loc. tē, gen. tavā ~ tava, Gk accus. σέ (Gk D τέ), dat. τοι, σοι, gen. σεῦ > σοῦ, σοι, L accus. tē(d), dat. tibī, gen. tui (OL tīs), Gt accus. þu-k, dat.-loc. þus, OHG accus. di-h, dat.-loc. dir, Lt accus. tavē, dat. tāu, instr. tavimī, loc. tavujē, gen. tavēs, OCS accus. **тъ те**, dat. **тебѣ** / **тъ ти**, loc. **тебѣ тебѣ**, instr. **тобоյъ** tobojō, gen./accus. **тебѣ тебѣ** (by analogy of the dat. form) / **тъ ти**, Ht accus., dat.-loc. tuk ~ tukka, gen. tuel, abl. tuedaz, Pal accus.-dat. tū 'dich, dir'; in Brtt the accus. form *te acquired the meaning of nom.: Brtt *ti 'thou' > OW, Mw, W ti, Crn ty, te, MBr, Br tē §§ GSchm. IGPP 12O-44, Blz. IEPP V, Brg. KVG 41O-3, Rch. 2O4-13, Stang VG 248-53, LP §§ 348-57, RE 139, Ts. E III 423-6, KrlSh. XLJ 2O || **U: [1] U** *tE (originally *ti < N *t'ū?) 'thou' nom., *ti-nu gen. (> *tin'ū ~ *tun'ū [serving as a common basis for the oblique cases] < N *t'ū nu with the N genitive pc. *nu) > FU {It.} *ti- / tinΔ (and *tenΔ?) (in BF, Chr, Prm, Hg) ~ *tu- / *tunΔ (in Lp and Mr) > F sinā (gen. sinun), Es sīna (gen. sinu) | pLp {Wk.} nom. *tunna, *tun, ill. *tunn- + case ending, gen./accus. *tun (> *tū in the Northern and Southern dialects, probably a bf.) > (1) nom.: Lp: N dān ~ dōn, Vfs dātnē, L ton, totno, Ar ton, M todn, Kld/T/Nt/A tonn ~ ton, I tun, (2) gen./accus.: Lp: Kld {Kert} tone, T tonj, N dū ~ du, L/Ar tū, tuwwa, M/Nt/A/I tū | pMr {Ker.} *tun > Er/Mk nom. тон ton, gen. тонъ тоń | pChr {Ber.} *tińa > Chr: Н тыйнъ таń, L тый тъj, Ch тънъ ~ тъń, P/B/M tiń 'thou' | Prm *ten ({Lt.} *tēn) 'thou' (< FU *tenΔ?) > OPrm te / obl. ten-, Z, Prmk, Yz тэ te 'thou' / obl. тэн- ten- (accus. Z tenz, Yz 'tenʌ, dat. Z tenɪd, Yz 'tenut), Vt тон ton 'thou' || Hg tē (accus. téged) || Sm {Hl.} *tēn, {Jn.} *tēn 'thou' > Ng {Mik., Ter.} tənз, {Cs.} tənnəŋ, En (cmpd.) {Cs.} todí, En X {Prk.} todí 'thou' (but En B {Prk., Ter.} ū 'thou', obviously of different origin), Slq Tz {KHG} nom.-accus. tan 'thou', 'thy', dat./all. tänti, Kms {KD} nom.-gen. t'an, accus./dat./loc. t'a'nan, Koyb {Sp.} танъ 'thou, thy', Mt {Hl.} *tən- 'thou' (Mt: M {Sp.} танъ, {Pl.} танъ, K {Pl.} -ды-) || pY {IN} *tət 'thou' > Y T/K {IN} tət, {Krn.} tet, OY XVII {Wts.} dót, tot, totlié, OY Ch {Mat.} tota, {Boe.} тотли 'thou', OY O {Mat.} ти- || **[1a]** Lp prn. of 2d (Lp N {N} doai, Lp Ar {Lgc.} dōj, Lp Tf {Lgc.} d_oaj < *tun-Δy) is explained by E. Itkonen (It. LC 100) as derived from the prn. of 2s (pLp

*tun, *tunna) ¶¶ Acc. to Sm.'s and Jn.'s alt. theory of the U historical phonology, the pFU and pU prn. is reconstructed as *tun (Sm. LM 38, Jn. UK 14), but since no details of the rec. are published, at least in the papers available to me (incl. in the "Historical phonology of the Uralic languages" by Sammallahti), it is so far impossible to evaluate it ¶¶ It. #388, UEW 539, AD PP, Wk. EUL 278-86, Lgc. #7947, Kert SJ 73, Ker. II 169, Ber. 76, Kov. LV 23O, Kov. GM 246, Lt. 138, Lt. J 61, LG 293-4, Lt. DPJ 1O8-1O, Jn. 147, KHG 288-9, KD 143, Ter. NgJ 161, Ter. EJ 447, Cs. GSS 347-53, Prk. ED 86, Hl. M 147-8, #928, IN 248, 322, Krn. JJ 72, Krn. IMJJ 142-3, PBS II 115-25 ¶¶ The variant *tun^u < *tin^u by as. The forms without *n (Lp *tū and Hg t̄e) may be interpreted as phonetically reduced variants of *tun^u and *tin^u ¶¶ [2] U *ti|e 'thy' (enclitic prn. → ppa.) > (with nouns in sg.) BF *-s i > F -s i, Krl -š, Vp -jž, Vo -zi | pLp {Krh.} *-tž > Lp: N/U -d, Kld -d_, Pt -t | Er -t (кудо-т 'thy house'), Mk -t in most obl. cases (ор-со-т 'in thy coat', ор-до-т 'of/from thy coat', etc.), but -ćə / -ć- (< -t- + demonstrative šə / š) in the nom., gen., and dat.-iness.: орце or-ćə 'thy coat', орценъ or-ćə-ń 'of thy coat', орцти or-ć-ti 'to thy coat') | Chr: L -t (ава-т 'thy mother'), H -t, -et, -c | Prm: Vt -ed, -d, Z -+d, -d 'thy' || Hg -(a/o/e/ö)d (ház-ad 'thy house', könyv-ed 'thy book') (Hg -d < FU *-n-t? - / Décsy UP 67) || Sm {Jn., Sm.} *-r?, {Hl.} *-r(ъ), {Kü.} *-δ 'thy' in nom. (> Ne F, En -r, {Cs.} -lo, -ko, -ro, Ng -rž, Slq Tz {KHG} -l(+), Kms -l, -l?, Mt {Hl.} *-r in Mt *təndər 'thy' [Mt M {Sp.} тындаръ]) and Sm {Jn., Sm.} *-t?, {Kü.} *-d/t? obl. (> Ne -d(a), -θu, -ta, En -δ, -d, -do, -to, Ng -dž, -ta, -tž, Slq -d, -d?, -t, -t?) ; the pU voiced cns. *-δ- (> pSm *-r-) for the expected *-t- (> pSm *-t-) is still to be explained ¶¶ Majt. SM 273-6, Majt. VJ I 111-8, Laan. 181-4, Krh. 237-8, Ps. M O4, PI 334, KHG 184-8, Hl. SelJ 365-6, Hl. M 142, Kü. SUKF I 164-82, Kü. KJ 384, Décsy UP 67-8 ¶¶ The status of *ti|e as an enclitic word (rather than a sx.) is evidenced by its position: in some lgs. it follows case endings (incl. those of late origin): F kirjassa-si 'in thy book' ¶¶ [3] A morpheme or morphemes reconstructible as *t? (sometimes fused with preceding grammatical or derivational morphemes) function as the verbal marker of 2s (< postverbal prn. of 2s) in several tenses of the U lgs.: F -t, Es -d | Mk/Er -t (present) | Chr L/H -(?)t (present) | Vt -d || Hg -d (s/obcj.; the endings -sz and -l of the subjective conjugation are Hg innovations based on verbal derivational sxs. with loss of the original marker of person) || Sm: NrSm: [1] s/obcj., sg. of the object: Ne T, En B -p -r, Ng -rž; [2] s/obcj., du. or pl. of the object: Ne T -d -d, Ng {Ter.} -tä, En B

{Ter.} -δ ||| Slq Tz {Hl.}: -l (s/obcj.), -nt̄ (sbcj.) ||| Kms {Kü.} -l (both s/obcj. and sbcj.) ¶ Coll. CG 242-4, 308-10, Sz. 129, Décsy FUS 176, BBB 417-8 (Hg -d < *tE; Hg -sz and -l of 2s go back to derivational sxs.), Ter. NJ 386, Ter. NgJz 428 || A: A *°t'i 'thou' > M *či 'thou' > MM c i, WrM c i, HIM či, Dg, Brt ši, MnR, Mgl, Ord, Kl či, Dx či, Ba če. The genitive *činü of this prn. (> MM c inu ~ cini, WrM c inu, HIM činī, Ord, MnR čini, Klm činb, Brt šení(:), Dg šinī, Dx činī, Ba čene) goes back to **ti-nu < N *t'ü' nu ('thou' + postposition of genitive). Other oblique cases are based on *čima (originally accus. < **ti-ma < N *t'ü' m A, sc. 'thou' + marker of accusative), whence pM accus. *čima-yi 'thee' (*čima + M accus. ending *-yi), dat. *čima-du(r) 'to thee' (*čima + M dative ending *-du_r), etc. || In some modern M lgs. the M pronoun *či 'thou' in the postpredicate position (sc. following either a verbal or the nominal predicate of the sentence) changed into a personal affix of the predicate. This occurred in Brt, Kl, Dg, and Mgl: pM *či 'thou' > Kl -č, Brt -ši ~ -š, Mgl -či, Dg -ši (Kl гарв-ч, Brt гарбаш 'you went out', Mgl irān-či 'you come', Dg yawbej-ši 'you will go'). In the postnominal position M *či had a possessive meaning. It lost its stress and ultimately (in modern M lgs.) became a ppa.: pM *činü 'thy' > HIM -čin, Kl -čŋ, Brt -šni ~ -š, Ord čin, Mgl -či, Dg -šiń, -šni (pM *aqa činü 'thy elder brother' > HIM {Pp.} ахъаčън) ¶ Pp. IM 35, 112, 213, 218-24, 251, Snz. SG 151-2, Snz. SG-G 84-5, T DnJ 27-30, T BJ 40-8, T DgJ 53-4 || D {Zv.} *-N-ti, pers. ending of 2s non-past of verbs > OTm -ti († non-past), Kui (ft.), Krx (prs., female) -di, Knd (non-past) -n-i(d); D {Zv.} *-N-ti-r, pers. ending of 2p non-past > OTm -tir, Kui ft. -d-eru, Krx prs. female -d-ay, Knd non-past -n-ider ¶ Zv. DL 36 ¶ The D pl. sx. *-r goes back to N *rN yE (= *rN y'i?) , a compound prn. of plurality \ collectivity (q.v. ffd.) || E: pE {McA} *-ti > MEl {McA} -ti, {Dk.} -t(i) > -t, {ER, GrilS} -t, AchEl {Pap.} - (n)ti, -(n)ta (verbal enclitical marker of 2s), MEl {Dk.} -h-t(a), {GrilS} -h-t (verbal marker of 2p), MEl, AchEl {ER} -t (nominal sx. of 2s, so-called "allocutive", sunki-t 'thou [the] king') ¶ McA 113, GrilS EGE 33, ER E 76-7, Dk. JDPA 100-3, Paper RAE 42-4 || K: GZ *tkwen- 'you' (pl.), 'your (vester)' > OG tkwen-, G tkven- id., Mg, Lz tkva(n)- 'ye', tkvan- 'your (vester)' ¶ K 176, K² 75-6, FS E 167, Chik. 223-4 ¶ This prn. goes back to a N cd. *t'ü' 'thou' + *ku of plurality + *nu of genitive; which suggests that the original meaning of *tkwen- was 'of you, yours' (pl.).

but later it was generalized as the prn. of 2p without case distinctions (cf. a parallel change in the prehistory of G šen 'thou') ◇ IS I 6, AD PP ∀, Blz. IEPP ∀, UEW 539, McA 1.c. (D, El), BmK 285-7, Gr. I 71-4 (IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA). The variant *t̥i is likely to result from delabialization of the original N *t̥'ū[†] (loss of a marked phonemic feature typical of grammatical morphemes, possibly induced by the analogy with N *m̥i 'I'). The de-emphatization *t̥- > HS *t- is very typical, but is obligatory in grammatical words\morphemes only. That is why there are no glottalized cnss. among the grammatical morphemes in HS. On M *ta 'you' (pl.) and U *tä ~ *te id. see s.v. N *t̥'ū[†] ƿa 'ye (vos)' ◇ On N *s̥'ū[†] (> *śi) 'thou' (that may go back to a phonetic variant of *t̥'ū[†]) see above *s̥'ū[†] (> **śi) 'thou' (entry 2OO6a).

2312a. *t̥'ū[†] ƿa ~ *s̥'ū[†] ƿa 'ye (vos)', prn. of 2p (N *t̥'ū[†] ~ *s̥'ū[†] 'thou' + N *ƿa, pc. of plurality [q.v. ffd.]) > IE verbal endings of 2p: {Bks.} "primary" *-t̥He (> OI -tha, Gk -τε, L -t̥is, Gt -þ, Lt -t̥e, Sl *-te, Ht -t̥enī), "secondary" *-te (> OI -ta, Gk -τε, L -t̥is, Gt -þ, Sl *-te, Ht -t̥en) ¶ Szem. EVG-SO 216, Bks. 232-7, Brg. KVG 591-6 (incl. the table of p. 596), Mer. SGA 334, 339-40 || **U [1]** *te ~ *tiy▽ (as well as *te + du. sx. *-vā) 'ye' (pers. prn. of 2p) > pLp {Krh.} *tiy > Lp: N {N} dī, Vfs {Lgc.} dīyyeħ, S {Hs.} dī(j)ħ, Kld {SaR} тыйй тиyy 'you' (pl.) | Er тынъ tiń, Mk тинъ tiń id. | pChr {Ber.} *te, {Rd.} *te id. > Chr: L t̥e te (gen. тендан tendan, accus. тендам tendam), B/M t̥e, H t̥ä tä (gen. тәмдан tämdan, accus. тәмдам tämdam) | Prm *ti id. > Z t̥i ti (gen. tiyan), Prmk тійö tiuz ~ ti ti (gen. tiyan), Yz 'teyəz (gen. ti'yan), Vt ті ti (proc. тія tiya, gen. тіляд tiład) || OHg XII tiv [tiü], XVI thew, XVIII thii, Hg t̥i 'you' (pl.) (unless OHg -ü < *-v < *-k) || ? Sm {Jn.} *te(n) 'you' (pl.) > Ng təŋ, Slq Tz tē, Kms {Kü.} ši?, Koyb {Sp.} ce; but Mt {Hl.} *tendä id. (Mt M {Sp.} тэндэ, {Pl.} тендя) is a derivative from the prn. of 2s (Mt *tən 'thou') ¶ Sm *te(n) may go back either to the pU prn. for 'ye' or to the prn. of 2s with an additional marker of pl. || pY {IN} *tit > Y T/K tit 'vos', tit- (+ noun), tit-íe 'vester' ¶ UEW 540 explains pLp *-y, Prm -yəz, and Mr *-ń (< U *n▽) as ppas. || **[2]** The U pronouns *te ~ *tiy▽ 'you' (pl.), when used enclitically after nouns, gave rise to ppas. of 2p: Chr: L -da, H -da/-dä | Prm: Vt -(t̥)d, -t̥-, Z -n̥t̥-d, Prmk -n̥t̥-t̥, Yz -n̥i-t̥ || Sm: Ne T rect.-accus. -да" -da? / gen. -та" -ta? 'vester' (pl. possessoris), En B {Ter.} rect. -ra? / gen.-accus. -ra? id. (du. and pl. possessi: rect. -ða? 'vestri' / gen. -ta?), Ng {Ter.} rect. -r̥t̥? /

accus. -m-ti? (-m is the marker of accus.) / gen. -ti? 'vester' (pl. possessoris) (pl./du. possessi nom. -tū? 'vestri' / gen. -tu?), Slq Tz {KHG} [-l+ti₂] = -l+ti₁/t 'your' (pl.) / gen.-accus. [-ti+ti₂] = -ti+ti₁/t, Kms {Kü.} -la? / (after a nasal cns.) -na? 'vester' (pl. possessoris), Mt {Hl.} *-ra₁? / *-rä₁? 'vester'; benefactive forms of 2p of nouns: Ng -ru? / -tu? (taðz-ru? tu?o 'the reindeer came for you [pl.]', lit. 'cervus-vobis venit'; satərətəm-tu? kōða?aru? 'you [pl.] obtained [preyed on] a polar fox for yourselves', lit. 'vulpem-vobis consecuti estis')]]] [3] The U pronominal morpheme *te ~ *tiy▽ 'you' (pl.), when used enclitically after verbs (sometimes with sxs. of pl.), gave rise to personal endings of verbs: (sbcj.) Mk -da, -də, Er -do, -dé | Chr L/H -da | Prm: Vt -d̄t, Z -(n)n̄d, Prmk -t, -t̄z, Yz -t̄ʌ, -t || Hg -tok / -tök / -tek || Sm: Slq Tz {KHG} -l+ti/n (ending of 2p), Ne T {Ter.} -da- (ending of 2p, sbcj.), -ra- (id. with sg. obiecti) (prs. -da-?, -ra?, p. -da-ć, -ra-ć), En {Ter.} -ra- (2p, sbcj. and s/obcj. with sg. obiecti), -δa- (s/obcj. with pl./du. obiecti), (prs. -ra-? / -δa-?, p. -ea-ć / -δa-ć), Ng {Ter.} -ru? / -rū? / -rt? / -ri? (2p, sbcj. and s/obcj. with sg. obiecti), -tu? / -tū? / -ti? / -t̄i? (2p ending, s/obcj. with pl./du. obiecti), Kms {Kü.} -le? (ending of 2p) JJ UEW 539-4O, Laan. 182-4, 191-4, 228-3O, Mark PSUS-25 ∀, Mak. KJ 69-72, Kask EJ-66 47-9, Vääri LJ 144-8, Krh. 2O9, 24O-5, 28O-3, It. LC 97, Lgc. #7843, Lgc. SL #2644, Hs. 118, SaR 352, 365, Fkt. EJ-66 185-91, Fkt. MJ-66 2O3-5, 2O7-14, Ps. M O5, Ber. 75, Kov. LV 227, 23O-3, Kov. GM 244-9, LG 279, Lt. J 45, 61, 67-9, 185, Lt. KZJ 287-92, Lt. KPJ 3O5-9, Tepl. UJ 265-72, MF 632-3, Ht. ChrO 38-9, Stn. XJ 216-2O, Stn. OG 7O, Trj. VD 84-7, EWU 1516-7, Jn. 156, KHG 184-7, 258-64, 288-93, Hl. M 144, #983, Ter. NJ 381, 386-8, Ter. EJ 444-51, Ter. NgJ 96-7, 161, 185, Ter. NgJz 423-31, Kü. KJ 383-6, Krn. JJ 72-8O, Krn. JJ-T 44O-1, Krn. JJ-K 354, Ku. 272-3, IN 248, JN III || A nom. *tüa ~ süa / gen. *tüa'nu ~ *süa'nu 'you' pl. > Tg nom. *sue ({Bz.} *süä) / obl. *sun- (~ ? *suen-) id. (< N *ś'ū' ?a, sc. *ś'ū' 'thou' + plurality pc. *?a) > WrMc suwe, obl. suweni, Nn Nh nom. suz / obl. sun-, Nn B/KU sū, Orc, Ud, Ork, Neg, Ewk, Sln nom. sū / obl. sun-, Lm hū / obl. hun-, Ud {Krm.} nom. su / obl. sun-, Ul suni ~ sunu; in many Tg lgs. the form *suenu ~ *suni is used with the sx. ≈*-ŋgū|i:|: WrMc suweninge, Ewk sunnī, Lm hunnī, Neg sunnī ~ sunnī, Orc suńingz, Ud suńunu, Ork sununu, Nn: Nh suŋgi, B/KU sungi, B sunəngi 'yours'] In some modern Tg lgs. the Tg prn. *su became a ppa. of 2p: Nn, Ul, Orc -su, Ud -hu 'vester' J Bz. 1O7-11, STM II 72-3, 115, Krm. 87, 91, 288 || M *ta / gen. *tanu / dat. *tan-a 'you' (pl.) > MM nom. ta / gen. tanu, WrM nom. tā / gen. tanu, HlM, Brt

nom. *tā*, Dg nom. *tā* / gen. {Pp.} *tanaī*, Kl {Pp.} nom. *ta* / gen. *tań* ~ *tanb*, MnR {Pp.} nom. *ta* / gen. *tani*; later on (in Brt, Kl, Dg, Mgl) M **ta* in the postpredicate position changed into a subject ending of 2p: Kl -*t*, Brt -*ta*, -*t*, Dg -*tā*, Mgl -*to* (Kl гарв-т, Brt гарба-т 'you [pl.] went out', Dg хэлсэн-тā 'you [pl.] said'); in the postnominal position **tanu* became later a ppa. of 2p: > HlM -*тaн*-*tān*, Ord -*tan*, Kl -*tŋ*, Brt -*tñā*, Dg -*tāń*, Dx *tani* ~ *tayi*, Mgl -*toni* 'vester' ¶ Pp. IM 218, 221 ¶ ~ S AJ 52 (A *sä 'thou' in T *sä-n and Tg *si 'thou') ◇ See IS I 6, AD PP V, Blz. IEPP V, ~ Palm. LMP 169-74, Gr. I 71-4 ("second-person T" in IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA) ◇ Cf. N *?*ta*, pc. of plurality ◇ S *-timmu 'ye' m. (the autonomous prn. *?*pan-timmu*), *-tinna 'ye' f. (the aut. prn. *?*pan-tinna*), and the related pronouns of B, C, and Eg do not belong here. They are likely to be independent derivatives (or cds.) of pHs origin (N *?*t'ū* + HS markers of pl.). Mutatis mutandis the same is true of K **tkwen* 'ye', 'vester'.

2313. **t*∇, a marker of passive participial constructions (verb + N **t*∇ = an analytical construction with the meaning of passive participle or passive verbal adjectives) > IE: NaIE *-*to*-, a marker of verbal adjectives (mostly with passive meaning), that in some descendant lgs. were incorporated into the verbal system as passive participle.: NaIE **gnō-to-s* ~ **gny-to-s* 'known' (> L *nōtus* id., OIr {LP} *gnáth* 'known', W{YGM} *gnawd* 'customary', Gk γνωτός 'perceived, understood; well-known', Gt *kunþs* 'bekannt', Lt *pa-žintas* 'gekannt'), NaIE **klu-to-s* 'heard, heard of' (> OI *sru'ta-* heard, listened to, heard of, Gk κλυτός 'heard of, famous', Linclutus 'famous'), NaIE **s(y)ūtos* 'sewn' (> L *sūtus*, Lt *šūtas*, OCS *šitъ*, OI *syū'tah* id., Gk νεο-κάτ-τύτος 'freshly sewn'), NaIE **mṇ-to-s* 'thought (gedacht)' (> OI *ma'tah* id., Lt *miritas* pp. 'remembered', L *com-mēntum* / -i 'invention, what so. invented', *com-mēntus* 'which has remembered', Gk αὐτό-ματος 'acting on one's own will', [of things] self-moving, self-acting') ¶ Hirt IG III 284-6, Bks. 250-1, LP § 9.1, YGM-1 236 || **U:** FU *-∇tt∇ nomina patientis (objeci) (> pp. and sim.) > BF *-(*t*)tu / *-(*t*)tü, pp. of pfc. > F *laulettu* 'sung', *tehtu* 'done', Krl *annettu* 'given', *ommeldu* 'sewn', Vp *anttud* 'given', *fehtud* 'done' (with -d on the analogy of the pfc. prtc. ending -nud), Vo *sātu* 'received' | Er -do ~ -da and compound morphemes -sto / -ste, sxs. of gerunds (verbal adverbs): *oza-do* 'in sitting position (сидя)', *yuram-sto* 'on passing (проходя)', Mk -da: *koma-da* 'gebückt, in bent\leaned position' || Hg -at / -et, sx. of

deverbal nomina obiecti: *i t - a t* 'document' (\Leftarrow *i r - v.* 'write'); Hg *-tt*, sx. of past pp.: *olvasott* 'gelesen' (*a tegnap olvasott könyv* 'das gestern gelesene Buch') ¶ Sz. 79, Laan. 249-50, Fkt. EJ-66 192, PI 120, Majt. SM 355-7, Majt. VJ-76 387, 400 || This FU pp. may underly the BF passive verb stems (the prs. pp. F *saa-ta-va* 'being got/received' with the participle sx. *-va*) ¶ Coll. CG 279 || A: T **-t ~ *-tu/*-tü ~ ? *-ti*, sx. of deverbal adjectives with passive meaning: NaT **ögi-t* 'ground grain' (> OT [MhK] *ögít* 'ground wheat, etc.', ET {Jr.} *ügüt* 'grain cleaned ready for grinding') \Leftarrow **ögi-* v. 'grind', NaT **jart(u)* 'sth. split' (> OT {Cl.} *jartu* 'sth. split off', [MhK] *jartu* 'long strips of wood', VTt *jart* 'half') \Leftarrow pT **jar-* v. 'split', Az *joγur-t* 'sour milk' \Leftarrow *joγur-* v. 'mix', Tkm *ayır-t* 'offshoot, ответвление' \Leftarrow *ayır-* v. 'separate', as well as possibly OT [MhK, QB] *sökti* 'bran' \Leftarrow *sök-* v. 'tear apart' ¶ SrbG SIGTJ 229-30, Cl. xliii, 101-2, 819, 954-9 || Tg **-ta / *-te*, sx. of derived nouns (passive result of an action): Ewk *-ta / -tə* / *-to*, e.g. *z̄m̄zn-tə* 'remainder' (sc. 'what is left') \Leftarrow *z̄m̄zn-* v. 'leave', *nōdān-tə* 'отброс' ('sth. thrown away') \Leftarrow *nōdān-* v. 'throw' ¶ Vas. 790 || HS: In the pHs lge. nomina obiecti and passive deverbal adjectives with the ending **-∇t-* may have existed, but since they are always feminine (because of their ending **-∇t-* associated with the fem. gender), they cannot be distinguished from forms with the feminine **-t-* derived from masculine prts., adjs., and substantivized adjs. As to the **t∇-* prefix with the original meaning of nomen obiecti, it cannot be distinguished from metonymic usage of nomina actionis with the prefix **t∇-* (F N **t i*): BHb תְּגִמּוֹל tag'mūl 'compensation' is both a nomen obiecti and a nomen actionis ◇ Cf. IS I 218-9 (**-di*, sx. of the past; IS did not distinguish between **d'i* of imperfectiveness and **t∇* of pp.), Cald. 508-10 (FU: F *-t* [pp.] and Hg *-t* [past tense], D **-t(t)* [p.], T *-d-* [p.], IE: NPrs *-d-* [p.]), Gr. I 179-82 ("passive participle T" in IE, U, EA); IS I xiii (caus.-rf. **tΔ*) tried to find a common origin of rf.-ps. verbal derivatives in U and HS (F N **t∇w∇* 'head') and a marker of causative in A, U, and D (which is doubtful both semantically and because of a structural difference: in U, A, and D this is a postverbal sx. that may go back to a N aux. v., while in HS this is a px. that is hardly explainable as an aux. v. in view of the syntactic structure of N) ◇ ≈ Gr. I 197-200 ("denominative T" in IE, U, Y, A, CK, Ai, EA).

2314. (2?) **t∇*, pc. of marked (definite?) accusative (\rightarrow accus. of pronouns) > HS: S **-t∇* or **-āt∇*, accus. ending of pers. pronouns

(***šū?**a(:)t[▽] 'him', etc.): OAk {G} -āt, accus./gen. ending of suffixed pers. pronouns (-ni[?]-āt 'us', -kin-āt 'you' f. pl., -šin-āt 'them' f.), Ak OB (-ā-/ū-)ti, accus. ending of prs. pronouns (-ni[?]āti 'us', -kunūti 'you' m. pl., -kināti 'you' f. pl., -šunūti 'them' m., -šināti 'them' f.), Ak OB -(ā)t(i); accus.-gen. ending of separate pers. pronouns: 1s 'y-āti, 2s OAk ku(w)-āti, 2m Ak OB/OA k-āti ~ kāta, 2f Ak OB/OA k-āti, 3m šu-āti > šāti (with innovative forms: šuātu > šātu), 3f OAk ši-āti, later šāti, šuāti, 1p ni-āti, 2pm kunū-ti, 2pf kunāti, 3pm šunū-ti, 3pf šin-āti; the forms kāta and šuwātu (> šātu) result from analogy: 2m kāta with -a due to the infl. of the nom. attā 'thou' m. (versus attī 'thou' f.), 3m šuwātu with -u on the analogy of nom. šū 'he' (vs. šī 'she'), Ug {Siv.} -t, ending of accus./gen. in pers. pronouns: hw-t 'him, his', hyt 'her (accus./gen.)', hmt 'them, their (m. pl.)', hmt 'them, their (du.)', Sb accus./gen.: 3m hwt, 3f hyt, 3pm hmt, hmwt, 3pf hnt (↔ nom.: h[?], h[?] 'he', hy[?], h[?] 'she', hmw 'they' m., hn f.). In some lgs. these forms lost their ancient case meaning: Ph OBy h[?]t 'he', OPh, Ph hmt 'they', Ar Sp HUET 'he', HIET 'she', HUMAT 'them' m., HUNNAT 'them' f., Ar P {L ← ?} hūtu 'he', hite 'she', Gz wə?atū 'he, this\that', yə?atī 'she; this\that' (f.) (with new accus. forms based on the nominal accus. ending -a: wə?at-a, yə?at-a), ɻəmmūntū 'they' m., ɻəmmāntū 'they' f., ɻəllōntū ~ ɻəllūntū 'these' ¶ Sd. G 41, G OAWG 13O-2, Dk. AkJ 90, 106, Dk. XAU 114, Siv. U 36, BGMR 55, FrdR 45-6, L G 20, 25, 6O2, 625, Br. G I 3O3-6 || C: Ag *-tt, accus. (or accus./dat.) of pers. pronouns and some nouns: Xm {Ap.} -t, object case ending of pers. pronouns (yí-t 'me', kí-t 'thee', ní-t 'him', njí-t ~ njír-t 'her', ytna-t ~ ytnä-t 'us', kítä-t ~ kítä-t 'you' accus. pl., njítä-t ~ njätä-t 'them'), Bln {R} yi-t 'me, to me', kū-t (k^wz-t) 'thee, to thee', ní-t 'him, to him', yi'na-t 'us, to us', in'ta-t 'you' (accus. pl.) 'to you', na-t 'them, to them', Km {Ap.} ku-t 'thee', etc.; the same accus. ending is used with some nouns in Km {Ap.}: aba-t 'patrem', i^w3na-t 'feminam', in Bln: žāna-t 'elephantem', jə'rəba^{uk}kun gən'jīna-t 'I need a female slave', nī gən'jīna-t ke'žāntī^ux 'he married (his) female slave', as well as possibly with feminine nouns in Km: l̄wā-t 'cow' accus. (vs. l̄wa 'cow' nom.), l̄wāyān-t 'the cow' accus. (vs. l̄wāyān 'the cow' nom.) (unless in the latter case the ending -t is connected with the *t-

ending of f.); ?? Bln {R} -t̄, marker of accus. in proper names (with a final cns.) and pronouns > *gir'gīs-t̄ ja'rəbnaūkun* 'we are looking for Girgis', *aw-t̄ jərəbdə'nāuȝun* 'whom are you looking for?' || EC: Sa {R} yō-t ~ yō-d 'me' accus., nū'ma-t 'uxorem' ¶ Ap. K 325, Ap. Kh I 259, 263, R BilS 677-8, R S II 345, 377, R WB 42-3, 209, 279, 365-6 || U: FU *-tt̄, sx. of the accus. > F -t of the pronomianl accus. (*minu-t* 'me', *sinu-t* 'thee', *häne-t* 'him', *meidä-t* 'us', *teidä-t* 'you' pl., *heidä-t* 'them', *kene-t* whom?), Krl -t of the pronomianl accus. (*minu-t* 'me', *sinu-t* 'thee', *häne-t* 'him', *meidä-t* 'us', *teida* (*miä-t* 'us', *t⁹iä-t* 'you' accus. pl., *hiät* 'them'), Ing -d_ of the pronomianl accus. (*mejye-d* 'us', *tejye-d* 'you' pl., *hejye-d* 'them') || Os: V {Trj.} -t ~ -bt, accus. ending of pronouns (1s män-t, 2s nøy-bt, 3s løy-bt, 1d min-t, 2d mñin-t, 3d lin-t, 1p møy-at, 2p nøy-at, 3p løy-at), Sh {Trj.} -at id. (1s man-at, 2s nan-at, 3s tuw-at, 1d min-at, 2d nän-at, 3d tän-at, 1p mun-at, 2p nan-at, 3p taw-at), Kz {Rus.} -at id. (1s man-at ~ man-ta, 2s näy-at, 3s fuw-at, 1d min-at, 2d nän-at, 3d fän-at, 1p mun-at, 2p nän-at, 3p faw-at), Vy/Ty/Y/P/D/K/Kr/Nz {Ht.} -t id. | Hg -t, accus. of pronouns and nouns. Szinnyei (Sz. 60) and Klemm (Klemm MTM 27Off.) believed that the Hg accus. is akin to the Mr df. form with -t̄, which is hardly plausible because the latter goes back to the enclitic U prn. *tä < N *tä (dem. prn. of non-active [inanimate] objets) ¶ Laan. 19O-2, Laan. IJ 1O8, Jelis. FJ-93 1OO-1, Mak. KJ 69, Trj. XJ 328, Rus. SXJ 84, Ht. ChrO 7O-1 || ? IE *-e_T, accus. ending of personal pronouns (acc. to Blz.'s hyp. [Blz. IEPP 14]) > OL accus. mēd 'me', tēd 'thee' (GSchm. IGPP 1O2). Blz. (IEPP 3 and 8, note 6) equates this OL form with the Ht ntr. nom.-accus. ppas. -mi|e-t 'my', ti-t 'thy', which is hardly acceptable, because this Ht ending is obviously that of the neuter gender (< IE *-T nom.-accus. ntr., whence L id, quid, quod, etc.) ↔ the animate gender ending (nom.) -s (in Ht -mi-s 'my', -ti|es 'thy') IE *-s nom. anim. (whence L is, qui s, etc.) ◇ Blz IEPP 3, 14-15 (HS, IE, U) ◇ This N particle is hardly identical with the N prn. *tä, because the latter refers to inanimate objects, while the N accus. pc. *t̄ is used with pronouns that denote (at least in the 1st and 2nd persons) human beings. One of the possible explanations is that N *t̄ originally denoted accusative of definite referents (like BHb ՚ɛt and the Tk accus. form), hence their use with definite pronouns in U, HS, and possibly IE. It is possible (but not certain) that the N

accus. particle ***τ̄ν** is a reduced var. of the N word ***ʔεγ'ν'****τ̄ν** 'reach, obtain' (q.v.).

2315. ***τ̄ΕιU** 'to take' > **HS:** S *^o-**τ̄ι-** > Ar **✓tyf** (ip. -**τ̄ιu**, pf. **τ̄āia**) v. 'take, carry away' ¶ BK I 212-3, Hv. 64 || **K:** pGZ ***τ̄e(w)-**/***τ̄i(w)-** v. 'contain, have enough room for (содержать, вмещать)' > OG **τ̄e(v)-**/***τ̄i-** 'contain, receive', G **τ̄e-/τ̄i-** 'contain', Mg (n)**τ̄i(r)-**, **τ̄r-**, Lz (n)**τ̄i(r)-**, (n)**τ̄i(n)-**/(**τ̄i(r)-**) {Kl.} 'fit in', {Chik.} 'поместиться' ¶ K 180, K² 186. Chik. 326 || **IE:** Ht **d̄a-**, HrLw **ta-** v. 'take' ¶ Ts. E III 5-11, Mer. HHG 114-5; connection with IE ***d̄hē-** v. 'put' is not ruled out, but is less plausible || ? **A:** M ***tu** / ***tü** > MM [S] **tu** 'having', possessive pc. (**ḡergai tu** 'having a wife', **qaħċa niħu tu** 'having [only] one eye'), WrM **-tu** / **-tü**, HIM **-τυ** / **-τγ**, sx. forming adj. (sometimes written separately) and expressing the idea of possessing: WrM **mori-tu** 'having a horse' ¶ H 153, Pp. GPMJ 111, MED 838, 848.

2316. ***τ̄abν** 'fit, good' > **HS:** S ***τ̄ab-** 'good, pleasant' > BHb **טוֹב τ̄ob** id., Ug **τ̄b** 'good, sweet, pleasant', (AkSc) {Hnr.} **τ̄abu** 'sweet, pleasant', OA, IA, Plm **τ̄b**, BA **בְּτַבָּτ̄ab**, JA [Trg.] {Lv., Js.} **תַּבְּτַבָּτ̄ab** / em. **תַּבְּתַבָּτִבָּא**, [BT] {Sl.} **בְּתַבָּתַבָּτ̄ab**, JEA {Sl.} **τ̄ab**, Sr **תַּבָּתַבָּτִבָּא** **τ̄ab** 'good', JA [Trg.] **בְּתַבָּתַבָּτִבָּא** **τ̄ab** adv. 'well, much', Ar **τ̄ab-un** 'chose bonne \ agréable \ douce', {Hv.} 'palatable thing', Ak **τ̄abu(m)** 'schön, gut, süß', Eb {Frnz.} **τ̄ab-** 'good'; in pS the adjective (in its pred. form) was incorporated into the verbal system as a stative form (> WS new perfect): BHb **בוֹתָב τ̄ob** 'is good', Ar **τ̄aba** 'was good', Ak (stative) **τ̄ab** 'is good, fit, beautiful' → d.: Ak **τ̄iābu(m)** 'to be good, to fit', JA **✓τ̄ib G** (pf. **τ̄ə?eb**) {Js.} 'be bright \ good \ well', {Lv.} 'wohlgegen \ fröhlich sein', Sr pf. **תַּבָּתַבָּתִבָּא** **τ̄ib** 'was good', Ar **✓τ̄ib G** (pf. **τ̄aba**, ip. **ya-τ̄ib-u**) v. 'be good' ¶ BDB 373-5 [##2895-6], 1O94 [#2869], Js. 515, Lv. II 131-2, Lv. T I 292-3, Sl. 492, Br. 265, 269, HJ 415-9, KB 355-6, Sd. 1376-8, 1380-1, A #111O, OLS 479, Hnr. 131, Frnz. EL 167, BK II 126-8, Hv. 443 || **EC:** Dsn {To.} **qabán** 'good, pretty', {Ss.} **qabán** 'pretty' ¶ To. DL 492, Blz. DL s.v. 'good' || **IE:** NaIE ***d̄habh-**, **d̄habh-ro-** 'fit, good' > L **faber** 'ingenious, skilful' (→ 'worker, artisan') || Arm **դարբին** **darbin** 'forger, locksmith' || Gt **gadōf ist** 'es ist passend, schicklich', ga-daban 'sich ereignen, passen', ON **dafna** 'to become fit\strong, to thrive', MDt **gedouf** 'sich fügen', Dt **deftig** 'proper, decorous, portly', AS {Ho.} **ȝedafen** ~ {Sw.} **ȝedēfe** 'fitting, seemly', NE **daft** || Sl ***dobъ** 'good' > R Δ **доб** 'is good', до'бοй 'good', Uk Δ **добий** 'good'; ***dob-rъ**

(adj. **dobrъjь*) 'good' > OCS Δοбръ *dobrъ* 'good, beautiful', R 'добрый', Blg до'бър 'good, good-hearted', SCr *dōbār*, Slv *dóber*, Cz *dobrý*, P *dobry* 'good' | Lt *dabà*, Ltv *dabā* 'nature, character', Lt *dabiñ-ti* (prs. *dabiñ-ù*) 'to adorn, to beautify' ¶ P 233-4, WH I 436-7, Fs. 176-7, Ho. 69, Sw. 41, Vr. 71, Frn. 79, Kar. I 193-4, ESSJ V 45-7, Vs. I 520-1, Glh. 2O2, Slt. 146, ~ EI 139 (**dhabh-* put together' → **dhabhros* 'craftsman') ¶ The sequence **d^h...b^h* (rather than ***t...b^h*) is due to the IE incomptability law that rules out combination of vd. aspirates and vl. cnss. in the same root || A: M **tab* > WrM *tab*, HlM *тав* 'pleasure, confort; benevolence', Kl *tawə* 'wish; pleasure', WrM *tabtai*, HlM *тавтай* 'good, comfortable, pleasant', {Kow.} 'bien, convenablement', Kl *tawta* 'comfortable, favourable', ? MM [S] *tab* 'recht, richtig, wahr', Ord *t'ab_* 'bien, efficacement, complètement' ¶ MED 760-1, Kow. 594, 1609, H 143, KRS 470-1, Ms. O 639 || ?φ NaT **t'ap* 'satisfaction, sufficiency' > OT {Cl.} *tap* id., 'satisfactory, sufficient', Qc {Rl.} *tap* 'das Passende, Zusammenhörige', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} *tap-pila qıl*, *tabiñča qıl* 'tue was du willst, nach eigenem Gutdünken!', Tv *таптыг t'ap-t'iγ* 'tasty, sweet, beautiful' ¶ Cl. 434, Rl. III 946 ¶ Rs. W 462-3, TvR 4O7 ◇ IS MS 355 s.v. 'подходящий' (fit'), IS SS #13.6, Mö. VW 51 (all of them: S, IE).

2317. ?σ₂ **tab*Δ '≈ head' > HS: Eg N *db.t* 'head' ¶ EG V 494 ("wohl fehlerhaft") || ? A **o't'ab*Δ > M **tabu* 'head of a nail' > WrM {Rm.} *tab*, *tabu*, {Kow.} *tab* id., {Gl.} *tab* 'head of a nail\sword-hilt' ('шляпка, бляха на эфесе меча, на гвозде'), Ord *t'ab_* 'head of a nail', Kl {Rm.} *tab_* 'Nagelkopf, Mützenkopf', {KRS} *tavə* 'head of a nail\rivet, button, rivet', Brt *таб* 'head of a rivet, metal plate (бляха)', WrM {MED} *tab*, HlM *тав* 'part of the scalp on which a braid or pigtail grows' ¶ MED 780, KW 373, Kow. 1594, Chr. 4O7, KRS 470, Gl. III 27, Ms. O 639, STM II 149 ¶ The word is attested in modern M lgs. only, which may be accounted for by its meaning (a technical term not expected to be mentioned in short vocabularies of the MM period or in "The Secret History"); an alt. hyp. of its foreign (Turkic) origin, although phonetically plausible, is hardly acceptable because the word is not attested in the T lgs. (as far as it is known to me).

2318. ₂ **tæb*Δ 'catch, seize' > HS *√ *tb* > B *-*tt*Δf- (§Pr.: < *√ *wdf*=eB *√ *wtf*) v. 'seize, grasp' > Rf, SrSn *ət̪af* v. 'seize, take', Izn *ьt̪f*, Si *ət̪af* (pf. *yət̪af*), Nf, Snd *ət̪af*, Gd *ɛt̪af* (pf. *iṭṭaf*, Lcj. 8) v. 'seize', Kb, Wrg *ət̪af* v. 'hold, take, seize', Mz *ət̪af* 'tenir ferme, saisir, attraper', Tmz *tt̪af* 'prendre, saisir, tenir, attraper', Izd *t̪af* (pf. *iṭṭaf*) v. 'take,

seize', Sll {Ds.} *attaf* (pf. *ittaf~ittāf*) v. 'hold, possess', Ah *attaf* v. 'take, hold', Twl, Ty *attaf* v. 'take, marry' (pf. Twl *ittbf*, Ty *yattbf*, Pcj. 1 A 2) ¶ Lf. I 242-5 (on Lcj. 8) and II #16O3, Rn. 311, Fc. 276, Mrc. 2O2, 229, Dl. 835-6, Dlh. Ou 342, Dlh. M 38, La. S 292, MT 738, GhA 3O, 246-7 (on Pcj. 1 A 2), Ds. 226, 276-7 ¶ B *-tt₁▽f, *✓₁w₁t₁f < *✓₁t₁p by as. from *✓₁t₁b) || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *tab- (~ *tab-?) 'seize, catch' > Krf {Sch.} twá-wò (verbal noun *tòfá*), Glm {Sch.} táb-àlá, Gera {Sch.} tâw-mí v. 'catch, hold' | Gj {ChL} dòbí v. 'seize' || CCh: MfG {Brr.} -tʒb- 'accepter, recevoir, prendre ce qu'on donne' || ECh: Mkl {J} (aor.) tî:bá / (progr.) tâ:bú 'picorer' ¶ Stl. ZCh 168 [#2O5] (adduces Hs tâbè v. 'rip' - ??σ), Abr. H 834, Ba. 968-9, ChC s.v. 'catch', Sch. BTL 59, 88, Brr. MG II 239, J LM 18O || Eg XXI d̥b̥d̥b 'angreifen' ¶ EG V 442 ¶ OS #2446 (*tab- 'catch, seize': Eg, Ch; adduces Hs tâbè without indicating its real meaning) || A: Tg *tebe- ({DQA} *tēbē-) v. 'catch' > Ewk tʒwʒ- ~ tʒwʒ-, Neg tʒwən-, Lm tʒw- v. 'catch, grasp (sth. flying)', Ud tʒwʒnʒ- v. 'try to catch sth. flying', tʒwʒŋi- v. 'catch sth., throw back', WrMc tebdeʒe- v. 'play ball, play shuttlecock' ¶ STM II 226, Z 724 ¶ The WrMc tebdeʒe- has a variant tebkeʒe- (Z 724) obviously connected with the Wanderwort represented by WrM tebeg, HIM тэвэг 'shuttlecock', and Kl {Rm.} tewag 'a shuttlecock made of metal pieces with feathers' (MED 789, KW 395); the origin of the word is obviously Turkic: OT [MhK] tepük 'a thing cast from lead which is wrapped in goat's hair or the like and used as a toy', MQp tepük 'a toy with which children play' (↔ pT *t'ep- v. 'kick' [Cl. 435, 439]) || M *teberi > MM [MA, IM] tebere- 'embrace', [S] teberi- id., 'put one's arms round (umfassen)', Kl тэвр-, Brt тэбэрү- id., WrM teberi-, HIM тэврэ- 'encircle, encompass with or carry in one's arms', Ord t'ewere-, MnR H {SM} t'ōri- 'carry\hold in one's arms, embrace' ¶ Pp. MA 343-4, 447, H 147, MED 79O, KRS 488, Chr. 451, Ms. O 662, SM 425-6 || pKo {S} *tə,pír- 'lead, take so. with' > MKo tə,pír-, NKo tə,bul- ¶ S QK #86O, Nam 15O, MLC 443 || ?σ pJ {S} *tāmpá 'bundle' > OJ taba, J: T tâba, K tâbá, Kg tabá ¶ S QJ #1O31, Mr. 536 ¶ DQA #2362 (A *t'ēpá 'catch, embrace; armful').

2319. *t'ebA (~ *tem₁b₁▽?) 'ruminant (antelope, cervid)' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *tāb▽(-r) 'gazelle' > AG: Su {J} tâp 'crested duiker', Ang {Flk.} tēp, {ChC} tep 'antelope', Gmy latap, Kfr {Nt.} tap id. | ? NrBc {Sk.}: P' tambura, Sir təmbəri, Jmb tamur, Mbr tambur, Kry tambur 'gazelle' ¶ Stl. ZCh 161 [#153], ChC s.v. 'antelope', J S 84, Flk. s.v. tēp,

Sk. NB 10 || SC: Grw çefelu 'reedbuck', Kz çefeluko 'Thomson's gazelle' || JE SC 354 (SC *t̪çefelu > pRt *cefelu 'small antelope') || u *tewä 'elk, reindeer' > F teva 'male elk' || Hg tehén, Δ tehen, tején 'cow', † 'cattle' || Sm {Jn.} *t̪çz̪y 'domestic reindeer' > Ne T ты t̪, Ne F t̪, Ng {Mik.} tā, En {Mik.} t̪a, {Ter.} tea, Kms {KD} t̪o, Mt {Hl.} t̪z̪i:gä (Mt {Mll.}): M t̪iggä, K dége, T t̪agä 'rangifer ferus', Mt T {Pl.} tagoe 'Cervus tarandus, олень' = 'Rangifer tarandus'); cds.: Slq UTz {Hl.} ɔtä 'domesticated reindeer', maćin ɔtä 'wild reindeer (maći 'forest, woods') || Hl.'s reconstruction of the Sm √ as an unambiguous *çz̪y is hardly justified || Coll. 62, UEW 522-3, Jn. 155. Hl. M # 1001 || A: T {Md.} *t̪ebä, {ADb.} *tebä 'camel' > OT [ThS II] tebä, OT QU [MhK] {Cl.} täväy, OT Og [MhK] {Cl.} däwäy ~ däwā, XwT XIV tevä, MQp XIII-XIV tewē ~ dewē, Cmn XIV töve, Tk dəve, Az dävä, CrTt, Qry deve ~ teve ~ tüye, Tkm düye, VTt, Bsh dəyä, Blq, Nog, Qzq, qq tüye, Uz tuya, ET, Ln tögä, Qrg, Alt tō, SY te ~ ti, Xk тибә tibe, Tv t̪ewe, Tf t̪ebe, Chv təve, Slr töyüvä 'camel', Yk taba 'reindeer' || Chv L тёве təve, Chv H təve 'camel', Blgh → Hg teve 'camel' || Cl. 447-8, Shch. Zh 103-4, ET VGD 313-5, Mng. WK, BT 156, Ra. 233, Md. 96, 178, Jeg. 244, Fed. II 211, Rs. W 468, DTS 556 || The initial cns. t̪- in Tv and Tf suggests pT *t̪-, though ADb. (Ttd 51) finds that in roots with a medial voiced obstruent the opposition *t̪- ~ *t̪- is neutralized || M (← T?): WrM temegen, HIM тэмээ(н), Kl temen 'camel'; M → Sln t̪mägä, Orc, Nn t̪mz, WrMc temen 'camel' || STM II 235 ◇ The appearance of m in NrBc and M has no explanation so far.

2320. 2 *t̪ob₁ 'teat' > HS: WS *t̪ub₁y- (~ *^ot̪ib₁y-?) 'teat' > Ar t̪uby- ~ t̪iby- 'teats of animals', Gz t̪yb, Tgy t̪ub 'teat', Tgr t̪ub 'breast, teat', d.: Ar {BK} ✓ t̪by 'avoir les pis bien à bas' (a she-camel); S *^o✓ t̪bw > Gz ✓ t̪bw G (js. yə-t̪bū) 'suck (the breast), suck milk', Tgr ✓ t̪bw, Tgy pf. t̪eba id.; WS *^owat₁b- > Ar wat₁b- 'outre à lait, sein très développé', 'protuberant woman's breast', Mh {Jo.} wōt̪zb 'teat, nipple', Hrs {Jo.} h-āt̪zb 'teat', Jb C {Jo.} 'εt̪zb 'teat of a camel', Sq {L} 'p̪at̪ab 'pis' || BK II 58-9, 1561, Ln. 1829-30, Hv. 427, 878, LG 587, L LS 57, LH 616, Bsn. 913, Jo. M 433, Jo. H 138, Jo. J 294, MiK I #1.277 || A (*^ot̪ob-): M *tobči 'nipple (?)', button' > MM [MA, IM] {Pp.} tobči 'button', WrM tobči, HIM товч 'button; nipple, teat', WrO tobči 'button, nipples', Br тобшо 'button, nipple', Kl товч, Ord {Ms.} d₁obč'i, Mnr H {T} debči, {SM} d₁ěsž'i, Mnr M {T} toyči, Dx t̪iži

'button' ¶ MED 81O, Krg. 501, KRS 499, SM 54, T 328, Pp. MA 35O, 448, T DnJ 136, Ms. O 14, Chr. 423 ◇ Valid only if the primary meaning of M *tobči is 'nipple, teat' rather than 'button'.

2320a. *tūb² 'thin, small, of short stature' > **HS:** EC: pSam {Hn.} *dūban- 'thin' > Sml dūban- 'be thin' ('essere sottile\magro\snello'), Bn {Hn.} dūa 'thin'; Dsn {To.} dādab- 'become thin' ¶ Hn. 58, DSI 182, To. DL 49O || S: Ar tibb-at- (pl. tibab-) 'oblong piece of land \ cloth \ cloud', tibbān-at- 'longue bande de cuire \ d'étoffe; longue bande de terre\nuage que l'on voit s'étendre sur l'horizon' ¶ Ar tafāf-at- 'petite quantité, un peu', tafīf- 'peu nombreux' ¶ BK II 51, 87, Hv. 425 || D (att. in KK) *°tup- > Kui tup 'short, dwarfish', tupri 'short', tupura 'a short man\boy', Ku tūpla 'short', tupla 'dwarf' ¶ D #2963 || A: Tg: Lm: Sk tōbəzçəz, Ol tōbərəzəkəz ~ tōbərəzkkən 'dwarf', Ol tōbəŋz, O tōbəŋz, Sk tōbəzñz 'of short stature, dwarfish' ¶ STM II 201.

2321. (2?) *tūb² (or *tubE?) 'calm, quiet, (?) even' > **U:** FU *tūw² 'calm, quiet' > F tyven, Es tüve 'calm, quiet' ('ruhig, still') || ObU {Ht.} *tōyən > pVg *tāwənt 'Ruhe, Stille' > Vg: T tūwēt, LK tāwət, UL tā:bānn̩t, Ss/Sg tawant; pOs *teyən ~ *tōyən 'still' ({JHI.} *tāyən ~ *tōyən) > Os: V/Vy terən, Ty tāwən, Y tāwən, K tewin, Nz/Kz/O tewən ¶ UEW 525-6, Sm. 55O (FU *tiwä 'calm, deep' > FP *tivä, Ugr *tīgä) (both UEW and Sm. do not distinguish between this √ and FU *tūw² 'deep' < N *tūbsA 'deep', q.v.), Coll. 12O, Ht. #626 || A (*°t'üb²): M *tüb- → *tūbsin 'even, straight, calm' > MM [MA, HI] tūbsin 'even, straight', [S] tūbsin tukel 'ruhig, friedlich', tūbsin xarixu 'in Frieden heimkehren', WrM tūbsin, HIM түвшин 'level, even, peaceful, calm', {Kow.} 'tranquillement', Kl төвшүн 'peaceful(ly), quiet', Kl Ö {Rm.} tūwšŋ 'glatt, eben, friedlich, ruhig; Frieden, Ruhe', tūwšjda-xə 'ruhiger, milder werden, sanftmütig sein\werden', MM [HI] tūbsi(erit 'pacifier'; M *tūbkine- > WrM tūbkine- {Kow.} 'apaiser, radoucir', {Gl.} 'appease, pacify, establish calm (усмирить, укротить, водворить спокойствие)', Kl Ö {Rm.} tūpkŋ-xə 'sich besänftigen, beruhigen, sanftmütig werden'; M *tūbtü > WrM {Kow.} tūbtü 'straight, sincere', Kl {Rm.} tūptə-xə 'sanft, ruhig, mild werden' ¶ KW 415-7, MED 848-9, Gl. III 236-7, Kow. 1907-9, KRS 511, H 153, Ms. H 103, Pp. MA 357-8 || ??σ **HS:** S *°√tbb > amb Ar √tbb G (pf. tabba) 'traiter (qn.) avec douceur', 'act kindly\mildly' (coalesced [1] with Ar √tbb v. 'be intelligent; être habile, savant', akin to Sr √tbb v. 'make

inquiry, inform oneself, be informed', Sb **†bb** v. 'teach, proclaim', Gz **✓†bb** v. 'be wise, prudent', and Sq {L} **†eb** v. 'know', as well as [2] with Ar **✓†bb** v. 'treat medically', possibly akin to Jb **✓†bb** v. 'cut the skin of a slaughtered goat') ¶ Fr. III 36, BK II 50-1, Hv. 425, BGMR 152, Jo. J 274, L LS 198, Ls CDG 585, JPS 165, Br. 265 ¶ The adduction of Ar **✓†bb** 'traiter avec douceur' is valid unless it is a sd. from **✓†bb** 'be wise' ◇ IS SS 317 [#1.14] (FU, M ***tüb** 'quiet').

2322. *tuh₂ib ∇ 'reed, stick' > **HS**: S: Ak **†ubū** '(=) reed' ¶ Sd. 1393 || ?φ EC (mt.?) ***?utub-** 'pole', {Ss.} ***?utb-** 'roofpole' > Sml **udub** 'pole, pillar, post', Sml N **údub** 'roofpole, tentpole', Rn {PG} **útùb** 'curved house pole', Or {Grg.} **utubā** 'central pole that supports roof beams', Or B/O {Sr.} **utubā**, Or Wt **utuwā** 'poles, long thick sticks', Arr {Hw.} **?utúb** 'centre-pole of a house' ¶ Ss. PEC 57, Abr. S 242, PG 286-7, Grg. 391, Sr. 39, Hw. A 344 || IE: [1] NaIE ***twib^h-**, ***tub^h-** 'hollow as a reed' ('röhrenartig hohl') > Gk **σῖφων** 'tube, pipe, siphon (used for drawing wine out of the cask)', 'service-pipe for water in houses', Gk [Hs.] **σιφνός** · **κενός** ({P} 'hollow') || L **tībia** 'pipe, fife, flute; shinbone', **tuba** 'straight war-trumpet', **tubus** 'pipe, tube', Osc \rightarrow VL ***tufa**, ***tufus** 'tube, horn (musical instrument)' > Romance lgs.: It Tr **tuf** 'Öse', Srd L **tuva** 'Höhlung im Mühlstein', Port **tufo** 'Öffnung zum Ablassen des Wassers', Sp Mrg **tufo** 'end of an axle', It STs **tufa**, It Sr **tofa**, It Ab **tofə** 'shepherd's horn', It Np **tofə** 'bugle-horn' ¶ L **tībia** may go back to a merger of IE ***twib^h-** and IE ***(s)teyb^h-** 'stalk' (> OCS **стъблъ** id., etc.) ¶ WP I 751, P 1102, WH II 680, 712, F II 713, ML ##8964, 8969 || [2] ?σ NaIE ***dheyb^h-**/***dhub^h-** 'sharp stick, pin, wedge' > Gk [Hs.] **τύφοι** · **σφῆνες** 'wedges' || Gmc: Sw, NNr **dubb** 'pin', NGr Trl **Tuppe** 'large piece of wood'; (dim.): OHG **tubil** 'plug', **tubili** 'dowel', MHG **tübel**, MLG **dövel** 'Dübel, Pflock' (\rightarrow NHG **Dübel** ~ Döbel 'peg, pin'), MDt **dövel** 'peg, plug, pin, dowel', NE **dowel** ¶ P 26, EI 638 ('**dhub^h-o-s** 'wedge, peg'), F II 950, Hlq. 160, Kb. 1043, OsS 965, Lx. 233, KM 145 || A: M: WrM **toibur**, HlM {MED} **тойвор** 'stick, cane, crutch' ({Gl.} 'костыль, клюка, багор') ¶ MED 819, Gl. III 149, Kow. 1582 || ?φ Tg: WrMc {Z} **teben**, **teben** **moo** 'prop, support', {Hr.} **teben** **moo** 'Stützholz' (**moo** is 'tree as timber, log') ¶ STM II 225, Z 722, Hr. 894 || Gil A **t'if** 'reed' ¶ ST 381 || ?φ D ***tūpp¹** ∇ / ***tūmp₁** ∇ ({θGS} ***t-**) 'tube, hole' > Kn **tūbu** 'tube of an ear-ornament' (but Kn **tūbu** 'nave of a wheel' is a loan from Mrt **tūbā** id. < OI {Tu.}

*tumba-), Tl *tūparamu* 'hole', Tm *tūmpu* 'tube, sluice, bamboo tube' §§ D #3389, Tu. #5869 ◇ In IE *twībh- the incompatibility law (rejecting a combination of a vl. stop and a voiced aspirate in the same √) is infringed, which is probably due to the two-syll. distance between *t- and *-b- in the N word (and presumably in the Pre-IE root) and possibly to the presence of a cns. between them. But in IE *d^heubh- (if it belongs here) the obligatory as. does operate, probably due to a kind of phonetic reduction (in prosodic conditions that were different from those of *twībh-?) ◇ The short vw. of the first syll. and the long vw. of the second syll. in Ak may be explained if Ak *tubū* goes back to *tub^NH^N (mt. from N *tuh₂ib^N) ◇ The M vw. *o for the expected *u is still to be explained.

2323. ₂ *tæb^U 'to fill' > **A** *°t'eb^U v. 'load, convey in a carriage; fill' > Tg *tebu- id. > Ewk t₃w(u)-, Ewk I tup- ~ t₃p- v. 'put into, load, fill, stuff (with sth.)', Lm t₃w(u)-, Nn B t₃u- v. 'load, fill, stuff', Neg t₃w-, t₃wu- 'id., Orc t₃wu-, t₃u-, Ork t₃w(w)z-, t₃u- v. 'load, stuff', Ud t₃u- v. 'load, pour in', Ul t₃u-či- v. 'load', WrMc t₃bu- v. 'load, put a load (on the shoulders, on a carriage), fill (a vessel)' § Ci. 168, STM II 224-5 || M *te₃e- v. 'load; convey, transport' > WrM tege-, tegege-, HIM тәә- id., MM te₃e- [S] v. 'load (on a vehicle)', [HI] 'charrier', Ord t'ē- v. 'convey, transport; carry (a foetus in one's womb)', Kl t₃e- tē- 'carry, convey\transport', {Rm.} id., v. 'load' § MED 792, H 147, Ms. O 654, Ms. H 1OO, KRS 489-9O, KW 395 §§ ≈ DQA #233O (A *t'eb^N 'to put' > Tg *teb-, M *te₃e-) || **HS:** WS *✓t₃b₃ 'fill' > Ar ✓t₃b₃ G 'emplir, remplir (une mesure, un vase, une outre)', Jb ✓t₃b₃ G (pf. Jb C t₃ā₃, Jb E t₃ē₃) v. 'drink more than enough', Jb E✓t₃b₃ Sh (pf. εt₃'ba₃) 'make so. drink too much milk', š₃t₃'ba₃ v. 'drink plenty, too much' (this Jb verb was influenced by ✓t₃b₃ v. 'drink straight from the source') § BK II 53, Jo. J 274, Jo. M 4O5 || ?C: Bj {R} -tib pcv. 'fill' (1s: p. a'tib, prs. an'tib), -tāb 'be full' (1s: p. a'tāb, prs. 'atābi) § R WBd 22O ◇ In some Tg lgs. there may be infl. of Tg *tēb- v. 'put (stellen)' < N *t₃ap^N (= *t₃ap₁?) 'to put' (q.v.) || | An alt. (and less plausible) comparison: N ₂ *tæp^U 'to fill' > **A:** Tg *tebu- v. 'load, fill' || **HS:** Bj {R} -tāb v. 'be full', -tib v. 'fill', a'tāb 'full' || S *✓t₃pp v. 'be full' > Ak MA {Sd.} tappu 'filled (gefüllt)', MHb {Lv.} pp. ՚ՌՈՓԵ՞ ՚ա՛ընը 'full', Ar {BK} ✓tff Sh v. 'fill up, remplir entièrement (un vase, la mesure)' § BK II 87, Hv. 433, Lv. II 182-3, Sd. 1379-8O || ?φ Ch: Hs túmfāyé v. 'fill; become full' § Abr. H 898 §§ OS #2481 (*t₃u(m)f- 'fill, be full': S, Hs).

2324. ***ṭub**̣**ń** **ŋ** 'lake; natural depression filled with water' > **K** ***ṭba** (< ****ṭwba**? ~ ***ṭub-** 'ravine, lake' (× N ***ṭübřA** 'deep'??) > OG, G **ṭba-** 'lake', Lz **ṭoba-**, **ṭiba-** 'lake, pond', Sv {K} **ṭub(a)-** 'ravine, lake', Sv {TK}: UB/Ln **ṭubä**, Ln **ṭa, bä**, L **ṭuba** 'puddle, swamp'; ? Sv {Ni.} **ṭwib** 'river', Sv UB {GP} **ṭwib** 'ravine with a rivulet, runnel', Sv UB/LB/L {TK} **ṭwib** 'ravine, gorge' || K 179 and K² 185 (***ṭba** 'lake'), TK 719-2O, GP 26O, Ni. s.v. **pěka**, GP 26O; GM S 114-5 and GM SAKS 43 (anaptyctic ο in Zan) || The variant ***tub-** is represented in Sv (**ṭwib-** < ***ṭub-i**), while the variant ***ṭb-** may go back to ***ṭwb-**, like in the √ ***gʷʰw̥s-**/***gus-** v. 'web' (with ***gʷʰw̥s-** > G **ksov-**, F K 67) or in other cases of ***CwC** > ***CC** supposed by K: ***kʷm-** v. 'emit smoke' > G **kʷm-** v. 'burn incense', ***rkw̥m-** > G **rkm-** v. 'cover', ***s̥wm-** > G **sm-** v. 'stroke with the hand, smear', ***ṭizw̥n-** > G ***ṭizn-** v. 'lice', ***ṭikw̥n-** > G **ṭikn-** v. 'leap', ***warcxw̥n-** > G **varcxn-** v. 'comb', ***tkw̥lep-** > G **tklep-** v. 'eat greedily, gobble' || **HS:** NrOm: BMa {SSW} **tawé** 'lake' || SiW ABK 17 || S ***°ṭibř-** > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} **ṭibř-** 'fluvius; vadum aquae', {BK} 'fleuve, gué', {Hv.} 'river' || Fr. III 38, BK II 54, Hv. 426 || **IE:** NaIE ***dʰeub-** ~ (with a nasal infix) ***dhumb-** 'depression in the ground (filled with water)' (× ***dʰewb-** 'deep' < N ***ṭübřA** id.) > Ilr **ðúþþl̥ç** 'sea' || MHG **tumpf** 'pool, puddle', OHG **tumpfilo** 'shallow place (Untiefe); whirlpool', MHG **tümpfel** 'deep place in water, Strudel', NHG **Tümpel** 'deep place in water', 'pool of stagnant water', NE lc **dump** 'a deep hole in the bed of a river\pond' || Lt **duburýs** ~ **dūburýs**, **dùburas** 'pit, depression filled with water', **dumburýs** id. || P 267-8, Kb. 1O45, OsS 969, Lx. 234, KM 796, OED III 714, ~ Frn. 1O8 || **U** ***tow** **ŋ** 'lake, pond' > FU: pPrm {LG} ***tū** > Z, Vt **t̥** 'lake' || pObU {Hl.} ***tōw|y** 'lake' > pVg ***tɔw** > Vg T **tō**; pOs ***tōy** ({Hl.} ***tūy**) id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty **tōy**, Y/K **tōw**, D **tēw**, Nz **tūw**, O **tuw** id. | Hg **tó** (accus. **tavat**) 'lake, pond' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} ***to** 'lake' > Ne T **to**, {Lh.} **tō**, Ne F {Lh.} **tō** & **toȝ**, En {Ter., Mik.} **to**; ? Ng {Mik.} d. 'turku (< {Jn.} ***to-rkā**); Slq Tz {KKIH} **tō**, Slq Tm {KD} **tū**; Kms {KD} **t̥u**, Koyb {Sp.} **to**; Mt {Hl.} ***toh** id. (Mt: K {Pl.} **doh**, {Mll.} **dō**, M {Sp.} **toa**, M/T {Mll.} **to**) || UEW 533, Coll. 62, Sm. 54O (U ***tox̥t̥** 'lake' > FU, FP ***tuxi**, Ugr ***tūgī**, Sm ***to**), MF 635, Ht. #62O, LG 292, Jn. 164, KKIH 186, Hl. M #1O43 || **A:** T ***t_u'uba**, {ADb.} ***tuba** 'deep lake, deep place in a lake/river' (infl. of N ***ṭübřA** 'deep') > Chv **taňpa t̥b̥a** 'deep place in a river\lake (οΜΥΤ)', MsTt, VTt TYK/TYT, Bsh Δ

тъба id., 'deep place (пучина, омут)', VTt U тъба 'deep lake without outlet with steep banks; swampy river-bed that is without water in dry years', Qq tuba 'backwater (заводъ)' ¶ Ash. XIV 282, IS MS 336, TTDS 416, BR 529, KrkR 653 ◇ In IE and K this N word coalesced with N *tūb̥sA 'deep' (because of the merger of N *u and *ü), the meaning 'lake' being interpreted as 'a deep depression filled with water'. But in U and T, where *u and *ü did not merge, the distinction between N *tub̥sV 'lake; natural depression' and N *tūb̥sA 'deep' has been preserved (although there is semantic infl. of N *tūb̥sA on N *tub̥sV) ◇ U *o (for the expected *u) is still to be explained ◇ Cf. IS MS 336 s.v. 'глубокий' ('deep') *tub̥sə (?IE *d̥ewb/p- 'deep', T *t_Luba 'омут', U *tuwV 'lake', D *tuvV v. 'dip in', K *t(u)ba 'deep, lake') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #231 (*to 'lake') (U, J, Ai, Gil).

2325. *tūb̥sV 'hoof, (finger-\toe-)nail, sole of the foot, heel' > **HS:** EC: Af {PH} dīb̥i (pl. dīb̥i), {R} ti'b̥i, Rn dāddāb 'heel', ? Arr {Hw.} téb 'foot, spoor' ¶ PH 91, RA II 115, Hw. A 396, PG 100 || ? Ch: WCh: DfB {J} tàmbà 'sole (Sohle)', tàmbà ti sakúr 'sole of the foot', Bks {J} tà~bà-i sây 'sole of the foot (with the heel)', tà~bà-i râ 'palm of the hand' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} tàbă, Kwn M {J} taba 'foot' ¶ ChC s.v. 'foot', JR 146, 221, OS #2347 || ?φ Eg NK tbs 'heel' > DEg tbs > Cpt: Sd **تَبَقْ** tib̥s, B **تَبَقْ** tib̥s id. ¶ EG V 262, Er. 625, Vc. 211 ¶ OS #2347 (C, Ch) (pHS *tab-/*tib-) || **U** *°top_Lp_Ja (or *°šop_Lp_Ja) > Sm {Jn.} *topå, {Hl.} *topa 'hoof' ('Klaue, Huf') > Ne T тоба 'hoof', Nn T O {Lh.} tōb_ă, Ne F L {Lh.} tōp_ă 'Klaue, Huf' | Slq: Tz {KKIH} top̥t, {Cs.} top̥e 'foot', Nr {Cs.} tob, Ke top̥pa, NP top̥pe 'foot' | Mt K {Hl.} *tobalo ({Pl.} tohotò 'hoof') ¶ Ter. 664, Lh. 492, KKIH 185, Cs. 148, 225, Hl. M #1044 || **A** {SDM97} *t'ūp̥'o 'hoof, (finger-\toe-)nail' > NaT {S, SDM95} *t'ubnák 'hoof' > OT QU [MhK] {Cl.} tuyaq, MU tuyaq, MQp tuyaq ~ tuyaq, XwT tuyaq ~ tuyaq, Chg tuwaq, Osm XIV-XVI duynaq ~ tuyaq ~ diynaq ~ tuyaq, Tk tuynak ~ duynak, Tkm tuynaq, Chg {Rl., Bu.} تواع tuyaq, {Bu.} توافت tuynaq ~ tuyaq تياق t'ūyaq, ET {BN, Jr.} tuyaq, {Rl.} tuyaq تويافت tuyaq, {Nj.} tuyaq, Δ tuyaq, ET Δ {KtnM} tubaq, ET Kc {LCq} tuyaq, Uz түек tuyaq, VTt, Bsh t'ūyaq, Qry, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qq, Qrg tuyaq, Qzq tuyaq, StAlt түйгәк tuyqaq, QK (B, Rl.), Sg {Rl.}, Qc {Rl.}, Qb {Rl.} tuyqaq, Xk түйғаш tuyqaq, SY {Ml.} tuyaq ~ tuyuq ~ tuyiq, Tv дүюг дүүүш, Yk {Pek.} түжаш tuyjaq ¶ Cl. 519, Rs. W 499-

500, ≈ TL 147 (adduces a misquoted Slr "c'īnay" for c'īrnax that does not belong here, *see* Tn. S 305), S AJ 179, TrR 252, 868, Rl. III 1424, 1435, BIG 239, B DLT 209, BT 157, BN 58, Nj. 340, RUjS 508, Jr. 317, Mng. G 808, Ml. ZhU 124, 128, Bu. I 410 ¶ The rec. of *-b- in *t'ubñak is suggested by ET tubaq & tuvaq & tuwāq and by Chg {Rl., Bu.} تواغ. But ADb. (TL 147) reconstructs the pT √ as *t'uyŋak || ppM **tu^rur > pM tuŋur 'hoof' (× N *t^lNP_RN ~ *t^lNR_PN 'in part of the foot', 'foot', q.v. ffd.) || Tg *^ot^rüpa 'fingernail' > Orc tipa id.; → Tg *tüp-ken 'nail (clavis)' > Ewk tipkən 'wooden nail, peg', Sln tikkəsū, {Iv.} төбкөсүн, Lm tipkin & tipkən & tipkir 'wooden nail; stake (кол)', Neg tipkən, Orc tippə (< *tipkən), Nn Nh tukpə, Nn KU tipkə, Nn B tufkə(n-), Ork tukpə/-n- ~ tupkə/-n- 'nail (clavis)', Ud tikpə / tikrən-, U1 tukpə / tikrən- 'nail, peg' ¶ STM II 185-6 || pKo {S} *t^loph 'fingernail' > MKo t^loph, Ko Chj t^lop id., Ko Ph/PhN/Kw (and StNKO) son-t^lop, Chs Lson Lt^lop, Ks/S1 son t^lop, Hm sōn t^lop 'fingernail' (lit. 'hand nail', because son means 'hand') ¶ S AJ 252 [#13], S QK #13, Nam 459, MLC 1708 || ?pJ {S} *túmá-ji 'fingernail, claw' > OJ túmē, J: T cùmē, K/Kg cùmē, Ns čím̄, Sh čím̄, Ht s̄t_m_ì, Y m̄mí ¶ S AJ 268 [#93], S QJ #93, Mr. 555 ¶ SDM97 s.v. *t'úp'o 'nail, hoof', DQA #2404 (A *t'júp'o 'nail [ноготь], hoof'), S AJ 278 [#87] (A *t'up'N) ◇ The nasal element in J and WCh defies explanation so far. Altaic *-p'- may well go back either to N *-p- or to *-P̄-̄, but N *-P̄-̄ (namely *-b̄-̄) is more plausible in the light of Ch data ◇ Gr. II #65 (*topa 'claw') (U, A, incl. Ko, J).

2326. *tübñA 'deep' > K *tba 'deep' > Mg toba-, tobo- 'deep', (× N *tubñN 'lake; natural depression filled with water'): Sv UB twib & {K} tub(a)- 'ravine' (ffd. *see* s.v. N *tubñN) ¶ K 179 (*tba 'lake'), GM S 114-5 and GM SAKS 43 (anaptyctic o in Mg), TK 720, GP 260 || HS: S *v^lt^lbñ v. 'sink deep, be drowned' (× N *t^la¹p¹N 'plunge, immerse', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *d^heub- 'deep', with a nasal infix: *d^humb- 'Erdvertiefung' (× N *tubñN '↑') > Gt diups, ON djúpr, AS déop, NE deep, OSx diop, OHG tiof, NHG tief 'deep'; Gt daupjan, OSx dōpjan, OHG toufen, NHG taufen 'to baptize', ON deyfa, AS diepan 'to dip, to baptize', dyppan id. (> NE dip), ON deypa, dýfa, dúfa, AS dýfan 'to dip', NE dive; MHG tobel, NHG Tobel 'wooded gorge, ravine, gully' || OIr {Thr.} domuin, W dwfn, Crn down, MBr {Ern.} doun, Br deun 'deep' (< *d^hubni-) || Lt dubus

'hollow, concave', Ltv *dôbjš* 'hollow, deep', Lt *dùbtí* (prs. *dumbù*) 'to become hollow\sunken; to stick, to sink', Ltv *dubt* vi. 'to sink, to be hollowed out, to become hollow' | Sl *d̥'no 'bottom (of river\sea\lake, of vessel)' (< *d̥hub-no-) > OCS ΔѢНО дъно, Blg дъно, SCr dnō, Slv dnō, Cz, Slk, P dnō, R, Uk дно id. ¶ P 267-8, H 154 (*d̥heub- 'deep'), Fs. 121, Vr. 76, 78, 87, Kb. 1O19, 1O24-5, OsS 939, 942, 947, Lx. 227, Ho. 72-3, 79, 81-2, Ho. S 13, Thr. § 19O, LP § 48, YGM-1 197, Ern. 195, Hm. 153, Frn. 1O8-9, Kar. I 222-3, 234-5; ESSJ V 174 and Glh. 2O1-2 (in both: Sl *d̥bno with unj. [for the pSl level] rec. of *b) || U: FU *tūwā 'deep' > F *sūvā* 'deep', Es Δ *sūva* ↗ *sūvā*, ? Es *sūgav* 'deep, depth', Lv *t̥vā*, Lv W *t̥vā*, *tūvā* 'tief, weit nach innen' | pLp {Lr.} *t̥vē 'deep; the water far out, deep water' > Lp: N {N} dāvvē -v- id., 'the deep of the river or fjord', U {Schl.} di vvvē-, I {It.} tavve 'die Meerestiefe, das tiefe Meer', Pa {TI} t̥v·vv, T {TI} t̥vve, Kld {TI} t̥v·vv(ə), K {Gn.} t̥ɔjvv [t̥ɔ'v̥v̥] 'open water surface, esp. deep sea', S {Hs.} d̥yvvēne 'draußen in einem Fjord' || ?? Chr tū-, tūyū- 'outside' ¶ UEW 525-6, Sm. 55O (FU *t̥iwā, FP *t̥ivā, Ugr *t̥igä 'calm, deep') (UEW and Sm. do not distinguish between this √ and FU *tūw▽ 'calm, quiet' < N *t̥üb▽ [or *t̥ubE?] 'calm, quiet, [?] even', q.v.), Kt. 416, Lr. #1216, Lgc. ##7677, 7877a, Hs. 475-6, TI 578 || A {S} *°t̥üp'▽ > NaT *t̥üp 'bottom (of a river/lake/vessel), bottom, root' > OT tūp, Tk dip/dib- id., VTt, Bsh t̥p, StAlt tūp 'bottom (of a river/lake/vessel), root', ET tūp 'bottom, root, under', Tkm düjp, Az dib, Ggz dip, Tv d̥üp, Xk tūp id., 'bottom (of a river/lake/vessel)', Qrg, SY tūp 'bottom (дно, низ)', Tf d̥üp 'bottom (of a vessel/river)', Chv t̥ep ↗ t̥ap id., 'root' ¶ Cl. 434-5, Ra.178, Rs. W 5O5, TL 1O8-9, ET VGD 317-9, Md. 65, Dr. TM II 652ff., TkR 191, Hüs. 1O6, Ml. ZhU 127, BN 159, Nj. 326-7, BT 162, S AJ 194 [#2O7], ADb. Ttd 54 ¶ S AJ 289 [#316], ≠ SDM95 s.v. *t̥ub'i' end, edge' (includes T *t̥üp 'bottom', cp. N *t̥o'r̥p'æ 'head, top') ◇ In many lgs. (IE, K) the reflexes of this N word coalesced with those of N *t̥ubn▽ 'lake; natural depression filled with water'. But in U and T, where N *u and *ü did not coalesce, the distinction between N *t̥übñA 'deep' and N *t̥ubñ▽ '↑' has been preserved. In IE (Gmc and Blt) the reflexes of this N word may have been semantically unfluenced by the paronymous reflexes of N *t̥a'r̥p'▽ 'plunge, immerse'. In pA there is mte. from the initial cns. to the word-medial one. In IE the cns. *d̥h- for the expected *t- may be due to the pre-IE incompatibility law (ruling out roots with emph. vl. + vd. cnss. [> IE vl. + vd. aspirate]). The

length of the vw. in T is due to the presence of an additional cns. (N ***τ**)
 ◇ Cf. IS MS 336 s.v. 'глубокий' ('deep') ***τubən** (?IE, T, U *tuw^Δ 'lake', D *tuw^Δ v. 'dip in', K ***τ(u)ba** 'deep, lake'), S AJ 289 (A, IE).

2327. ? **τ** ***τäbH_a** or ***τabH_E** 'trample, kick, crumple, press' > HS: B ***τbb** (× N ***τa'p¹E** 'squeeze, press') > Ah **atbəb** 'se serrer dans ses vêtements, être serré dans ses vêtements' § Fc. 1882 || C: SC: ?? Alg {E} **çoborot-** v. 'melt', C → Mb -**síbi** v. 'wring' (× N ***τa'p¹E** '↑') § E SC 176 (equates Alg, Mb, and Dhl; reconstructs SC ***τūb-** v. 'squeeze out') || IE {EI} ***dapH-** > NaIE ***dap^h-** 'trample, push, knead, strike' (× N ***dap_LN₁V₂** ~ ***davop_Δ** 'push' [q.v.]) > Arm **տոփես** top^hem 'I strike' || Gk δέψω vt. 'soften by working with the hand (kneten, walken)' || Sl ***děb-** (inf.: {ESSJ} **děbati**, 1s prs. **děbo**) v. 'strike' > Cz **děbati** 'to strike, to lash', R Ps **дябатъ** 'to break', SCR † **děpīm** / **děpiti** (ip. **dépati**) v. 'strike'; ? Sl ***deptati** > P **deptač** 'to tread upon, Cz **deptati** id., 'to oppress' § IE ***d-** rather than ***t-** due to the pre-IE incompatibility law (ruling out roots with emph. + vd. [> IE vl. + vd. aspirate]) § WP I 786, P 203, EI 550 (***dapH-** 'strike'), Slt. 389, Tls. 85, FI 37, SPS III 159, Brü. 87, ESSJ IV 225 || U **τ** ***tapp_Δ** v. 'trample', 'strike with one's foot' (× N ***τab_LN₁qa** 'hit, strike' × N ***dap_LN₁V₂** ~ ***davop_Δ** 'push' × N ***τa'p¹E** 'squeeze, press') > pMr ***tapa-** > Er/Mk **tapa-** 'zertreten, niedertreten' || Prm **τ** ***tap-** 'trample, press; flap (хлопнуть)' > Z **τ** **tapkt-** 'flap', 'strike with one's hoof' (of a horse), 'walk slowly', **tapyav-ni** 'walk with soft quiet steps', Vt **τ** **taprti-** 'stamp one's feet' || Hg **τ** **tapos-** 'tread (on/down), trample', **ta** **pod-** 'treten, zertreten' || Sm: Ne T **τ** **тăпăр-** v. 'kick, push with one's foot', Ne O {Lh.} **tapar-** 'mit dem Fuß treten, stoßen', Slq Tz {KKIH} **tappal-** 'kick, strike with the foot (пнуть, лягнуть)', {Erl.} **tapir-** 'mit dem Fuß stoßen', Slq {Cs.}: B **taper-**, Ke **tăber-**, Nr **tabar-** 'stoßen' §§ UEW 509, MF 613-4, LG 278, TmK 671, Ker. II 164, Lh. 449, KKIH 179, Erl. 251, Ter. 509, Cs. 146, 286 || A **τ** ***t'äp'Δ** (~ ***täp'Δ?**) > T ***t'äp-** v. 'kick, stamp, clap' (× N ***τab_LN₁qa** '↑') > OT **täp-** v. 'kick, stamp, clap', MT XIV [IM] **däp-**, Tkm **däp-**, **däpin-**, Tk **tēp-** v. 'kick' (of horses)', Osm {Rl.}, Chg {Rl.} **däp-** 'mit Füssen treten, ausschlagen (von Pferden)', Ggz **tep-** 'kick, strike with the feet', Az **täp-** v. 'stop up; felt (valenki, felt boots)', **täpik** 'a kick (пинок)' (***t'** > Tkm d- in ***C** **Δp-** roots, F ADb. Ttd 54), XT **dəp-**, Qzq, Qrg, Uz, StAlt **tep-**, StXk **теп-**/-б- **tep-**/-б-, Sg **тіп-**/-б- **tip-**/-б-, VTt, Bsh **тьр-**/-б-, ET **täp-**, Tv **t'ēp-**/t'ēv-er, Tf **t'ēp'-**, Yk **täp-** v. 'kick' ('пинать, лягать'), Chv

тап- tap/b_- v. 'kick, push' ¶ IS AD 43 [#8] (mentions a Tv variant *dēv-, not confirmed by Tv dictionaries), Cl. 435, TrR 85O, RI. III 1108-9, 1687, TL 394, TvR 409, Ra. 234, Jeg. 23O, ADb. Ttd 55-6, BIG 223, 225, Fed. II 171-2 || M *teyire-> WrM teire-, HlM тэйрэ-х v. 'kick with the hind legs, kick back', Ord {Ms.} t̄ir- 'kick with the hind leg', Kl {Rm.} t̄ir- id., {KRS} тиир- t̄ir- id., 'kick with the foot' (пинать, лягаться)', Brt тиирэ- 'trample the ground (утаптывать)' ? M {DQA} *tübü-> WrM t̄über- v. 'stamp the feet, trample underfoot' ¶ MED 797, 848, Ms. O 662, KRS 498, KW 396 (Kl t̄ir- < *tewire-), Chr, 422 || Tg *tebb- (or *tepp-?)> Lm t̄ebk- 'press\squeeze (sth. juicy)'; ↳ Tg *tepte- 'trample down' > Ewk t̄prtž- id., Nn t̄pržtž- 'dance' (n.), ? Lm t̄pržzjñi- 'trample ground on the same place, mark time' ¶ STM II 224 ¶ IS AD 5O, Pp. AU 1OO ¶ M *tübEr- v. 'stamp the feet, trample under foot', Tg *tūb- v. 'step, trample' (> Ewk tūw-, Lm tō- id., Neg tūasan 'track'), and pJ *túmpú- 'trample, destroy' (> J T cùbu-s- id., ItOJ túbúra-, J T cùbu 'be trampled, destroyed', F-S QJ #1197, Mr. 772) may either belong to a different etymon or have a labialized vw. due to the infl. of the labial cns. ¶ ≠ DQA #239O (A *t̄jōp'e 'trample' > T, M, J) || ? ↳ D *tapp- ({AD} *dabb-) v. 'strike, beat' (×N *tab, ∇, qa 'hit, strike', q.v. ffd.) ◇ *a in U *tapp∇ is probably due to vowel harmony (N *-ä...a > U *a...∇). One of two possible pN reconstructions is *tabHE (suggesting that A *ä is due to regr. as.: *-a...E > A *ä...∇) ◇ The et. is qu. because such onomatopoeic words and roots may have originated independently in different descendant families and subfamilies. M *d- (for *t-) in *debse- is still to be explained (as.?).

2327a. *tab, ∇, qa 'hit, strike' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'kill') > HS: S *✓ tbx v. 'slaughter' (→ v. 'cook') > Ak ✓ tbx (inf. tabāx), BHb ✓ tbh G v. 'slaughter, slay, kill off', Ug ✓ tbx 'sacrificar, degollar', JA {Trg.} ✓ tbh v. D, JEA ✓ tbh v. G 'slaughter, slay', Sr ✓ tbh G 'slay, strike', Pun, OA d. tbh 'butcher, cook', Ar طبخ ✓ tbx v. G 'cook', Gz ✓ tbh G (pf. مَوْهَبَةٌ tabha, js. مَوْهَبَةٌ يَأْتِبَاهُ [yatbah]) v. 'slaughter, slay, kill', Tgr/Tgy ✓ tbh G 'strip off the skin', Sb d. tbx 'meat', Hrs ✓ tbx (pf. tabōx) v. 'cook\boil', Mh ✓ tbx (pf. طَهَبَةٌ tabab3) v. 'cook', 'make a mark' (← *'slaughter, sacrifice', cp. Gz Sh رَأْتَبَاهَا v. 'make an incision, sacrifice'), Jb ✓ tbx (Jb E pf. t̄jx, Jb C pf. t̄ēx v. 'wrap edible corms in cow pats and bake'), Jb C t̄zb'χun 'baked' ¶ Sd. 1235-6, A #1111, OLS 479, HJ I 419, KB 352-3, KBR 368, HJ 419, Lv. T I 293, Js.

516, Sl. 492-3, ≈ Br. 267, JPS 166, BK II 52, Jo. M 406, Jo. J 274, L G 585-6, LH 615 ¶ EthS *ħ for the expected *χ has not been explained (a loanword from a ħ-lge.?) || U: FV *tappa- v. 'strike' (→ v. 'kill') (× N *daph₂N, yN ~ *dayopN 'push' × U t *tappN v. 'trample' < N ? t *ṭäbHa or *ṭabHE 'trample, kick, crumple, press') > F tappa-, Es tapa- v. 'kill, slaughter' | pMr *tapa- > Er/Mk {Ps.} tapa- v. 'strike and wound (or leave a mark)', {KC, PI, ERV} тапа- v. 'break, defeat (the enemy)', Mk {Ahl.} tapa- 'schlagen, prügeln' | ? t Chr tapt-aš 'forge (ковать, отбивать)' ¶ UEW 509-10, Ker. II 164, KC 299, PI 266, ERV 645 || A t *t'äp'N (~ *täp'N?) > T *t'äp- v. 'kick, stamp, clap' (× N ? t *ṭrä'bHa '↑', q.v. ffd) || D *tapp-, {AD} **dabb- (?) (< **tapH-) (× N ? t *ṭäbHa or *ṭabHE '↑') > Tm tappu v. 'strike, kill', tappač 'a blow', Kn dabbe, debbe, ḍabbe, ḍebbe 'a blow, stroke', Tl debba id., dabbadincu v. 'slap', Prj tapp- v. 'strike, kill', Knd tap- v. 'strike, hit' ¶ D #3075 || ?? K: GZ *tkwep-/*tkwip- 'beat, beat up' (× N *dūk'U 'strike, beat', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The cns. *k for the expected *χ and the unexpected labialization (*w) may be due to the heritage of N *dūk'U ◇ IS MS 330 and IS SS #1.10 (both: t *ṭap'N v. 'beat': IE *tep- 'beat\tread', A *t'apN v. 'beat\forge\tread' [T, Tg], U *tappa v. 'beat with feet, tread', D *tapp- v. 'beat', K *ṭkep-/*ṭkeb- v. 'trample', HS *ṭp- v. 'beat, break, trample'), → BmK 318-9 (*t'ab-/*t'ab-: S, U, D). In my opinion, we may distinguish here between several N words: *ṭab₂N, qa 'hit\strike', t *ṭa'p'N 'hit (the target)', *daph₂N, yN ~ *dayopN 'push', (?) t *ṭrä'bHa 'trample, kick, crumple, press', and *ṭa'p'E 'squeeze, press'. In the descendant lgs. the roots going back to these words influenced each other, sometimes contaminated and merged. Ideophonic associations could also play a role. U *-pp- < *-bH- (H is a vl. lr.) < N *-b₂N, q-.

2328. ?φ 2 *ṭN bN 'L'N 'dip in, immerse' > K: G ṭbor- 'unter Wasser setzen' ¶ Chx. 1332 || HS: WS *√ṭbl v. 'dip in' > BHb √ṭbl G (ip. -ṭbol) v. 'dip into (a liquid), dive, plunge into', JA [Trg.] √ṭbl G 'dip into, bathe', JEA √ṭbl G vi. 'immerse oneself for ritual purification', vt. 'dip food', Ar {KB} muṭabbal- 'feucht' (not found in the available dictionaries of Classical Ar), Gz √ṭbl G v. 'wash with holy water', ṭabal 'holy water, baptismal water', ? Mh məṭbəlōt 'hot stones put under and on to dough in a glowing fire' (← *'hot stones put into water to heat it

and to cook food in it') ¶ KB 353, KBR 369, BDB #2881, Lv. T I 293, Js. 517, Sl. 493, L G 586, Jo. M 4O6 ◇ K *r < *'L' still needs investigating.

2329. ² *t̥ûH^h'c^h⟩V ~ *dûH^hc^h⟩V 'glide, slip' > HS: WS *✓ t̥hs|ç id. > Mh, Hrs ✓ t̥hs G, Jb E✓ t̥hs G v. 'slip, stumble', Jb C Sh e̥t̥hes ~ e̥t̥hes v. 'slip', Ar Y {Goit.} չսիս 'schlüpfrig'; WS *✓ dX^h|ç > Ar ✓ d̥s G 'glisser, trébucher dans un terrain glissant', Sq {L} ✓ d̥h^h (= ✓ d̥s) 'glisser, trébucher, s'égarer', Gz ✓ d̥s G v. 'slip', Jb: E 'daħaħ, C 'mudħaħ 'slippery place' ¶ Jo. M 4O8, LG 128, LLS 125, BK I 675, Goit. 38 || D {Pf.} *tuč-^hV- v. 'slip, slide' > Tl ڏusuku v. 'slip, slide (as a tied knot, sth. hold in hand, foot in clay, etc.), ڏusiki(l)lu v. 'slip, slide', Krx tuš(ə)g- v. 'loosed threads that are knit' ¶ D #3288, Pf. 74 [#454], Km. 4O3 [#667].

2330. ≈ *t̥äwədV 'be full' > U: FU *t̥äwðe 'full', v. 'fill' > F täysi (gen. täyden) 'full, filled, whole', Es täis (gen. täie) 'full, filled' | pL {Lr.} *t̥v^ht̥e v. 'fill' > Lp N {N} dæw'ðe-/wd-, Lp S {Hs.} dievtedh, Lp Vfs {Lgc.} d̥ʒw]t̥ʒ-, Lp L {LLO} teu:t̥et id., Lp Kld t̥jev:ðeð id., t̥ivt, t̥ivt 'full' | StChr L тиү, Chr U/B/M tić 'full' | Prm: Vt дол-дол, долак 'everybody, everything, (as a) whole', Prmk dōl'all, everybody, everything', Z Δ dʒla 'very, completely' (Z Δ {Glv.} dʒla kuš 'stark naked' [kuš is 'naked'], dʒla bi 'very hot' [bi is 'fire, heat'] → Z dʒla bi-зә 'blazing') || ObU *t̥eyəl 'full' > pVg *t̥äyəl > Vg: T täwl, LK töylə, MK/UK täylə, P taylə, NV tāwla, LL tayl, UL/Ss täyl id.; pOs *tel ({ʃHl.} *t̥äl) > Os: Vy/O tel, Ty t̥äf, K/Nz tit, Kz tef id. | Hg tele, teli 'full, filled' ¶ UEW 518, Coll. 119, Sm. 55O-1 (FU *t̥äwdä, FP *t̥ävdä, Ugr *t̥ägdä 'fill'), ≈ Lr. #1249 (Lp ← F), SZ 113, ≈ TmK 2O9, MF 626-7, Ht. #622, Lr. #1249 (Lp ← F), Lgc. #4821, Hs. 435 || A (*t̥'odV?): T *t̥'oð-, {ADb.} *t̥oð- v. 'be full, be sated' > OT t̥oð- id. ({Cl.} t̥oð- without proof of the length), Tk doy-, Tkm, Az, XT doy- 'be(come) sated', SY toz-, Qzq, Qrg, Qq, Nog toy-, VTt, Uz tuy-, Tv тод-ар t̥'od-ar, {ADb.} t̥'ot-, Tf {Ra.} d̥ɔt-, {ADb.} d̥ɔt- id., Yk tot 'full (sated)', tot- 'be full (sated)'; T {Md.} *t̥oð-gun- > OT [MhK] төðүүн-, Tkm doyan-, Chv L търан-, Chv H търан- 'eat one's fill' ¶ Cl. 451, Rs. W 483, TrR 244, Jeg. 238, Md. 43, 179, Ra. 147, ADb. Ttd 52 [#17], Fed. II 195-6 ¶ Acc. to A. Dybo's theory (ADb. Ttd 5O-2), in roots with intervoc. voiced obstruent the opposition *t̥ ↔ *t̥'- is neutralized || M *t̥odsun (ADb.: < **t̥'od-sun) n. 'fat (as food), butter' (< *'sating') > Mnr H {SM} t̥'oʒʒ 'butter', MM tosun [S, MA, IM] 'butter', [HI] 'fat, oil', [IsV] 'fat (graisse)', WrM

tosun, HlM τος 'fat, butter, oil, tallow', Kl τοση 'fat, oil', MMgl tusun 'oil, grease', Mgl {Rm.} tusun 'Fett, Speck' || MED 828, KW 403, Rm. M 40, H 152, Pp. MA 351, 448, Ms. H 102, SM 422, T 365, Iw. 139, Lg. VMI 69 || KW 403, ADb. Ttd 52 || K {K} *t̥ten- (< **t̥d-en- < **t̥wd-en-) v. 'fill, stuff, pack (tight) with' > OG, G t̥en- id., Mg t̥it̥in- v. 'stuff tight', Sv: {K} t̥ta₁n-/t̥a₁t̥a₁n- 'fill to the brim', L {Dn.} t̥a₁t̥a₁n- (msd. li-t̥a₁n-e, 1s aor. ox-t̥a₁t̥a₁n) id.; L li-t̥a₁n̥t̥e₁le msd. 'to fill' || K 183, K² 186 (*t̥en-), FS 292-3, FS E 325-6 (*t̥en-), Dn. s.v. t̥at̥ən-and t̥ant̥əl- || D (in SD) *t̥av- ({θGS} *t-) 'much' > Tm t̥ava 'much, intensely', Kn t̥ave 'abundantly, wholly, completely', Td t̥of t̥n- v. 'be perfect' || D #3106 || The D cognate is valid only if the pre-D cluster **-wd- (< N *-wod-) yields D *-v- || ?σ IE *teyt- 'the whole, everybody, people' (> L t̥ot̥us 'the whole, entire', etc.) (× N *t̥ut̥E 'clan\tribe, everybody, all' [q.v. ffd.]) || Gil: Gil A тата- d_ad_a- 'all, whole, full' || ST 344-5 ◇ BmK 289 (U, D + erroneously IE {P} t̥ew-/t̥ewə- v. 'swell' and Eg t̥wə.t 'swellings'); ≠ Resh. NNE #11 (phonetically unj. comparison of FU *t̥awðe 'full' with A {DQA} *t̥áí, see N *d̥alqa|U 'wave') ◇ In IE the consonants *t...t- instead of the expected *t...d̥- are a contribution of N *t̥ut̥E.

2331. *t̥ogæ 'dust, earth' > HS: C: Dhl {To.} t̥uggʷa, {EEN} t̥uggʷa, {E} t̥oggʷa 'smoke' || Ag: Xm {BSW} 'tiya 'smoke' || E 228 compares the Dhl word (believing that Dhl belongs to SC) with Kz selemuko 'smoke' (< earlier {E} *sogʷalem) and reconstructs SC *t̥yogʷa 'smoke' || E SC 228 (SC *t̥yogʷa 'smoke'), EEN 17 (believing that the SC word is a loan from Khoisan), To. D 148, Blz. CL 180, BSW KhWL 77 || S: Ar دِجُور daygūr- 'earth, dust' || Fr. II 8, BK I 671, ≠ Ln. 853 (supposes that Ar daygūr- 'earth, dust' is a sd. from daygūr- 'darkness') || Ar d- for the expected t̥- is due to the incompatibility of initial *t̥- and medial *-g- in S roots (similar to the known IE incompatibility law) || ?? Ch (× N *t̥ukâ 'earth [substance], mud, dust'): WCh: Hs t̥ökā 'ashes' || Tng d̥uka id., 'potash, salt' || Abr. H 868, J T 81, ~ Sk. HCD 258 || IE *d̥heg̥hōm / *d̥ghem- 'earth' > NaIE: OI kṣam- (nom. kṣāḥ, accus. kṣām, gen./abl. gmaḥ ~ jmaḥ, instr. jmā), Av zām- (nom. zā, gen. zām-ō, accus. zām) id., NPrs زَمْنَ زَمِنَ zāmīn id., 'ground' || Gk χθών 'earth', χαμάζ 'on the earth' || pAl {O} *zō 'earth, land' > MAI G {FB} {ee} [δē], StAl T/G d̥he, Al {Huld}: D/P δē, Be/Ç/Ba/F δe || L humus 'earth'

(soil)' ||| OIr **dú** (gen. **dón**) 'place, spot' ||| Pru **s̥emme** ~ **same** ({En.}: [zemē]) 'earth'), Lt **ž̥emé**, Ltv **z̥eme** 'earth, land' | Sl ***zemja** 'earth, land' > OCS **ζεμλιѧ** **zemlja**, Blg **з̥емя**, SCr **z̥emljа**, Slv **z̥emljа**, Cz **země**, Slk **zem**, P **ziemia**, R, Uk **земля** id. ||| Phr **Gdan Ma** 'Mother Earth' ||| pTc {Ad.} ***tken** > Tc: A **tkam̄**, B **kem̄** 'earth, ground' ||| AnIE (x N ***tuKâ** '↑' [q.v.]) Ht **tekan** / gen. **taknas** 'earth', loc. **tagan** (= {GI} [tkan]), abl. **tagnaza**, Lw **tiyam(m)i-** 'earth', HrLw {Ts.} **takmi** 'earth, land' (dat. **takami** 'to the earth') ¶ ≠ P 414-6 (***g̥h̥dem-**), H 174 (***dh̥eg̥h̥ō-m** 'earth'), M K I 288, 448, M E I 424-5, Bai. 346, F I 1O98-9, WH I 664, LP § 28, Frn. 1299, En. 245-6, Glh. 695, Vs. II 93, Wn. 5O6-7, Ad. H 35, 42, Ad. 192, Huld 57-8 (pAl ***δē**; refers Al to IE ***d̥hoyg̥hā** 'that which is molded, daub'), O 8O-1; Ivn. OPA 25-35 and GI 149-15O (analysis of phonetic changes); ABIV. II 133-7, Mlc. CL 23O-1, Ivn. SA 153, Ts. E III 292-3OO ¶ ***d̥h-** (for the expected ***t-**) is due to regr. as. and to the incompatibility law that rules out roots with voiceless stops + voiced aspirates ||| A ***t̥og̥** **▽** 'dust, clay' > NaT {ֆADb.} ***tog-** 'dust' > OT **toy** ({Cl.} **tōy**), Chg {VZ, Rl. → Rs.} تۇغ **toy** 'dust', ET Δ {Nj.} **toy** 'dust', {Jr.} **toy** 'dirt which as the result of a dust-storm gathers on leaves' ¶ Rs. W 483, Cl. 463, Nj. 316, Jr. 3O9, Rl. III 1158 ¶ Acc. to A. Dybo's theory, in stems with intervocalic voiced obstruents the opposition ***t̥-** ↔ ***t̥-** is neutralized ||| M ***toγ̥u-sun** 'dust' > MM [S, H] **toγ̥sun**, WrM **togusun**, HlM **tooc**, Brt **tōhon**, Kl **tōsŋ** 'dust', Dg {Pp.} **tōs**, {Mrm.} **toc** id., {Mr.} **tuāse** 'dust, dirt' ¶ MED 818, H 151, Ms. H 1O1, KW 4O5, Klz. D II 138, Mr. D 226 ||| Tg ≈ ***toaksa** 'clay' (with a sx. *-ksa for uncountable nouns) > Ewk, Neg **tāksa**, Lm **tās**, Ud **takeä**, Ul **toaqla** ~ **tuaqsa**, Ork **tōqso**, Nn Nh/KU **toaqsa** id. ¶ STM II 154]?σ Tg ***tug-** 'cloud' > WrMc **tugi**, Jrc, Ewk A/Tkm **tuγu**, Lm **tōγ̥ri**, Ud **tokō** 'cloud'; ≈ ***tug** **▽**-kse id. > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh **t3w3ks3**, Nn B **tusks3**, Ewk **tūksu**, Sln **tukcu** id., Ork **t3w3w3wu** 'cloudy' ¶ STM II 2O8 ¶ STM II 154 (Tg, M).

2332. (2?) ***tog** **▽** 'straight' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'true') > **HS:** EC ***đug-** 'true' > Or {Grg., Sr.} **đugā** 'true, right', Arr {Hw.} **đúggā**, Dsn **đū**, Kns **đuk-āta**, Gdl, Gln **đuka** 'truth', Brj **đuh-a-kka/-tta** 'certain' ¶ Ss. PEC 26, Ss. B 66, Bl. 217, Hw. A 357, Grg. 13O, Sr. 299, AMS 198, To. DL 495 ||| A ***t̥og̥** **▽** > NaT {ֆADb.} ***tog-** (***t̥-** = neutralized archiphoneme ***t̥-/t̥-**) > OT **toy-** v. 'go straight for (sth.)', **toyur-** v. 'be upright, straight', **toyuru** 'straight', Tk **doğru**, Tkm **doyru** id., Az **doyru** 'true',

Chg *toγri* 'opposite', Cmn *toγru* 'straight', *tuvra* 'even', Qzq *tūra* 'straight', VTt *turъ* id., 'true' ¶ Cl. 465, 472-3, Rs. W 484, Hüs. 111, DHST 305, Grøn. 247, 258 || ?? Tg **tondo* (or **tonno*) 'straight' > Neg *tonno*, Sln *tondōxō*, {Iv.} **тoндo**, Ork, Nn Nh *tondo*, Nn KU *tonno*, WrMc *tondo* 'straight; just, honourable', Ewk *tonno* id., 'faithful, loyal', Orc *tonno(n-)*, Ud X/B {STM} *tōndo* 'straight', Ud B {Shn., Krm.} *tondo* 'a hit' (of hitting the target), Jrc {Kiy.} *tondo* 'loyal' ¶ STM II 197-8, Krm. 296, Kiy. 119 [#407] ¶ If the pTg form is **tonno*, it may go back to ***tog-no* || ? IE: NaIE **deks-* 'fortunate; right (dexter)' (< ***degh-s-*? × ↳ IE **dek-* v. 'suit, be fit' < N ***tAKæ** 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit', q.v. ffd.) ◇ In IE **deks-* the cons. **d-* is accounted for by **t-* in N ***tAKæ** and by the incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same √ (whence IE ***d...g h* is for **t...g h*).

2333. *tægw 'swell, be(come) thick\large\strong', ? 'fat; become fat' > HS: CS *√ *tyt̥y*, *√ *tyw* v. 'swell' > Sr {Br.} √ *tići* id. ('tumere'), Ar √ *tyw G* ~ √ *tyy G* 'dépasser la mesure, être trop grand, très haut', 'déborder' (se dit d'un torrent, d'une fleuve); ?σ S *^o-*ti'v'* > Gz √ *tyi G* (pf. *tēia*) 'besmear, anoint' [< *'besmear with fat'?] (× N ***teq** 'to smear, to rub') ¶ Br. 283, Fr. III 58, BK II 86, ≈ LG 600 || ? Ch (× N ***teq** 'to smear, to rub', [in HS: → 'fat, marrow'] [q.v.]?): ECh: Kwn {JI} *da:wé* 'fat' (n.) || WCh: ? Buli {Sh.} *đugl* id. ¶ JI II 131, ChC || IE **teHw-/*twoH-/*tH̥y-* > NaIE **tēw-/*tau-/*twō-/*tū-* '≈ big, strong' > OI *tavī-ti* 'is strong, has authority' (pfc. *tūtava*), *tavas-* 'strong, powerful; strength', Av *tav-* 'be capable of' (pfc. *tūtava*), *tavah-* 'strength, power', OPrs *atāvayam* 'ich vermochte', *u-tava-* 'strong' || Arm **թիւ** *thiw* 'number' || Gk [Hs.] *ταῦς* · μέγας, πολύς ('big, numerous') || L **tovē-* v. 'stuff' ↳ *tōmentum* 'stuffing (of a pillow, mattress)' || Sl: RChS **ТЫТИ** *ti-ti* (1s prs. **ТЫЮ** *ti-j-u*) 'to be fat', SCr *tōv* n. 'fattening' ↳ Sl **tovīti* > SCr *tōviti* 'to fatten' ¶ P 490-1, ≈σ EI 560-1 (**teuh₂* - 'swell [with power], grow fat'), M K I 490-1, M E I 638-9, F II 861, WH II 689, Glh. 634, Jah. OSK 30, 111 || A: M **tebeže-* ↳ **tebeže-re* > WrM *tebegere*, HlM *тэвээр* 'fatness, plumpness', WrM *tebegere-*, HlM *тэвээрэ-* v. 'become vigorous, regain one's health\strength, become plentiful\abundant', Kl *tewēr-* 'stark, kräftig werden', Brt *тэбээр-* 'become well-fed, fat' (of cattle), Ord *t'ewēre-* 'redevenir vigoureux'; Brt W *тэбээрл tebel* 'fatness (of cattle)' ¶ MED 790, KW 395, Chr. 451, Ms. O 662 || ? T {§ADb.}

*^otobu,r- v. 'be large\big' > OT [MhK] **tovur** 'large', **tovra-** v. 'become big', Tk d. **dobur-cuk** 'rain with large drops' ¶ Cl. 444, TL 26, THDS IV 1534 ◇ If T *^otobu,r- belongs here, its vw. *^o is due to ass. infl. of *^b and possibly of *^u of the next syll. ◇ ≠ BmK 289 (an attempt to equate the IE √ and Eg **tw̥ȝ.t** 'Schwellung' with FU ***täwðe** 'full' and D ***tav-** 'much', see N ≈ ***ṭäwod** 'be full').

2334. ***ṭeyw** 'ask (for), beg' > **HS:** EC ***ḍā-** v. 'ask for' > Af {PH} **ḍāē** v. 'plead, prey, supplicate, beg', Sa {R} **ḍā-** ~ **de-** 'rufen, nennen; bitten, beten, die Gottheit anrufen' (unless ← **da-** 'rufen, nennen'), Rn **ḍāḥ-** v. 'ask for', Arr {Hw.} **ḍaw(i)ṛ-** 'beg' ¶ PH 88, PG 88, R S II 96-7, Hw. A 354 || ?? S *^o-**ṭū-** > Ar **-ṭū-** v. 'obéir; prononcer\répéter qc. à qn.' ¶ BK II 119, Hv. 441 || K: pGZ {K} ***txo-**, {K²} ***txo(w)-**, {FS} **txow-** v. 'ask for, beg' > G **txov-** v. 'ask for, marry (a woman)', Mg **txv-** 'ask for; marry (so. to so.)', Lz **txv-/tx-** 'ask for, marry' ¶ K 99, K² 79, FS K 160-1, FS E 174, Q 245-6 || D ***tev(v)-** v. 'beg' (× N ***tæb̥i** [= ***ṭab̥i**?] 'follow, run, chase' [→ 'demand']?) > Tm **tevvu** v. 'beg hard, importune', Ml **tēra** 'beggar', Tl **dēvurincu** v. 'beg humbly, importune', Krx **temb-nā** v. 'beg for alms', **tembārus** 'mendicant, beggar' ¶ D #3431A.

2335. ***ṭaka|æ** (or ***ṭoka**?) 'to touch' > **HS:** C: EC: Af {PH} **ḍage** v. 'touch', Sa {R} **ḍag-** ~ **ḍag-** 'berühren, anrühren' || Ag: Xm {R} **ḍağ-** [**daɣ-**] 'berühren, antasten' ¶ PH 89, R S II 102, R Ch II 38 || WCh: NrBc: Mbr, My, Jmb **ṭəkən** v. 'touch' ¶ ChC, Sk. NB 45 || IE: NaIE ***tag**[-g]- v. 'touch' > Gk **τεταγών** (aor. II prtc.) 'having seized' || L **tangō/-ēre/tetīgi/tactum** v. 'touch', Vls **atahus** (ft. II) 'attigerit' || AS **ðaccian** 'to touch, to stroke (a horse)', ME **thakken** 'to stroke', OLG **thakolōn** 'streichen' ¶ P 1054-5, EI 595, F II 684, WH II 647-8, Pln. I 442, Ho. 359, Skeat 645 || A: NaT *^o**t_uoku-** v. 'touch' > Az **toxun-**, Tk **dokun-**, Ggz **dokun-** id., Chg {Rl.} طوقنون **toqun-** 'sich an etwas stoßen, anstoßen', ET {Nj.} **toqun-** 'touch, catch on, collide (задевать, зацепляться; сталкиваться)' ¶ Hüs. 296, GRM 151, Rl. III 1150, Nj. 319 || AmTg ***tugde** v. 'reach, touch (langen bis ...)' > Orc **tugdž-**, U1 **tugdi-** ¶ STM II 203-4 ¶ DQA #2199 (A ***tjok'ē** 'touch, reach') || D ***tak-** ({GS} ***t-**, ***-g-**) v. 'touch' (× N ***tek̥i** 'to touch', q.v.) > Kn **tagalu**, **tagilu**, **tagulu** 'come in contact with, touch, hit', Tu **tagaruni** 'to draw near', Tl **tagulu**, **tavulu** v. 'touch, come in

contact with, strike against', Knd tagli v. 'touch, hit', Krx taknā 'to rub\graze in passing, to give a very slight knock', Mlt take v. 'touch, hurt (as a sore)' §§ D #3004 ◇ If the N etymon is *ṭak^ṇ, NaT *o in *^ot^₁oku- and Tg *u in *tugde must be explained by the infl. of an Altaic labialized vw. of the second syll. But if the N *ṭoka is preferred, D *a in *tak- may be attributed to regr. as. (*o...a > *a...a), but IE *a has no explanation ◇ EC *taḱ- v. 'push, strike' and Or tuḱa v. 'touch' can be better explained as going back to N *teḱ^ṇ '↑' and N *ṭ^₁ū'Ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push' (q.v.) ◇ IS SS #5.19, IS MS 369 (*täkn̥ 'to touch': IE, A, D) → BmK 283-4 (IE, D + Sum tag v. 'touch' + *÷ EC *taḱ- v. 'push, strike' + *÷ SC: Alg tinq- v. 'squeeze out').

2336. *ṭak^ṇ (or *ṭaḱ^ṇ?) 'to attack' > K *^oṭaḱ- > G {Chx.} (da-)ṭak- 'an-\zusammen-stoßen, zusammenprallen, angreifen' § Chx. 1316 || HS: Eg MKL tkk 'attack; violate (a frontier)', tkk.w 'attackers', Eg XIX/G tktk v. 'angreifen', tkk 'der Angreifer' (HS de-emphatization *t- < *ṭ-) § EG V 336, Fk. 302 §§ Hardly here (⇒ Tk. I 221) S *✓tkk ~ *tktk 'tread on (with feet), step on, oppress' (GB 788) and Hs tākā 'disobey, break the law' || A: NaT {§ADb.} *ṭag- v. 'attack' (× T *ṭag- v. 'reach, touch') > OT {Cl.} täg- v. 'attack', ? Tkm deg- v. 'hit (the target)', Qq, Qz1 tiy- 'attack' § Cl. 476, TkR 251, TL 572 || D *tākk- ({§GS} *t-) v. 'attack, assault' > Tm tākku v. 'attack, strike', tākkam (n.) 'attack, assault, hit', ? Ml tākkuka v. 'hit', Kn tāku v. 'attack', ? Tu tākuni~tāguni v. 'hit', Tl tāku v. 'attack' §§ In some D lgs. the ✓ coalesced with the homonymous verb *tak- 'touch' (< N *ṭaka|æ [or *ṭoka?] 'to touch'), which may account for the unexpected long vw. §§ D #3150, ≠ Km. 380 [#554] (does not distinguish between several roots and reconstructs *tāy-nk-/ -kk-) ◇ K and D seem to suggest N *-k-, but their evidence is not decisive (since as. is possible), while T *ṭag- provides decisive ev. for a N *-k-.

2337. *ṭ^₁e^₁kE 'to build, to shape, to make, to do' > HS *✓ṭ^₁nk- > Ch {JS} *✓dik v. 'build, make earthenware' > WCh {Stl.} *d^₁nk id. (× N *ṭo^₁g^₁a 'to plait, to bend'?) > pAG {Hf.} *jik v. 'build, make pottery (from clay)' > Su {J}, Gmy {Hf.}, Chip dik, Kfr M {Hf.} jik, Ang {Hf.} jiák v. 'build, make pottery', {ChL} jik v. 'build'; BT: Pr {Frz.} dígu v. 'build', Krkr {Lk.} dàkò, {ChL} dʒku v. 'build, make earthenware', Dr dì v. 'build' || ECh: ? Mu {J} dìyá v. 'build' § JS 56, ChC s.v. 'build', Stl. ZCh 174

[#263], ChL, ChC, Hf. AGG, Frz. P 29 || ? Eg N *d̥g̥* 'Steine verlegen, Säule aufstellen, Gewölbe bauen; pflanzen' (x N ≈ **teʰh'akaṛē* 'to put, to set' [q.v. ffd.]) || IE {P} **teḱp-*, {ABIV.} **teks-*, {EI} **teḱs-* 'fabricate', {Mn.} **teḱs-* v. 'fashion, carpenter, create, cut (behauen)' > OI 'takṣ- id., Av taš-t 'has built', taša- 'axe', MPrs tašīdān v. 'cut, shape', NPrs تَشْ täš 'hatchet, axe'; Irn → Arm *տաշեմ* tašem v. 'rough-hew, roughen down, plane' || Gk τέκτων 'carpenter, worker in wood; craftsman', τέχνη 'craft in work, art, skill' (< *teks-nā) || L *tex-* (*tex-ō*, -ēre, -ui, -tum) v. 'plait, weave' (x NaIE *tek- id. < N **ṭo'g'a* 'to plait, to bend') || OIr tál 'adze, paring-knife (doloire), carpenter's axe' (< *tōks-lo-) || OHG *dehsa* 'axe', *dehsala* 'axe, adze', ON þexla 'Queraxt' || Sl **tesati* (1s prs. **tešq*) 'to shape by hewing' ('behauen, тесать') > OCS **тесати** tesati / **тешъ** tešq, R тесать / тешу, SCr *t̄esati* / *t̄ešēm*, Sln *t̄esati* / *t̄ešēm* v. 'hew, trim (as log)', Cz *tesati*, Slk *tesat'* 'to hew, to hack, to chisel', P ciosać / cioszę ~ ciesać / 'cieszę v. 'hew, square' | Lt tašyti / 1s prs. tašau 'rough-hew, trim', Ltv tēst / tēšu 'cut (wood), hew, trim' || AnIE {ABIV.} *tak-s-/t- > Ht takṣ- {Ts.} 'bereiten (Wohnung)', 'fügen (Kriegszug)', {ABIV.} 'make, fashion (делать, мастерить)', Ld tašo '≈ befehlen, anordnen'; ABIV. II 146-8 tie in Ld taqtula- {ABIV.} interpreted as 'conclude a treaty, tie (two entities) by a treaty', but Ts. does not accept the connection for morphological reasons and because of the obscure meaning of the Ld word ¶ Mn. 1374, P 1O59-1O6O (**teḱp-* 'flechten, das Holzwerk des geflochtenen Hauses zusammenfügen'), M K I 468, M EI 612-4, Horn 87, FII 867-8, 889-9O, WH II 678-9, Vn. T 21, Kb. 147, OsS 98, EWA II 564-8, Vr. 6O9, Frn. 1O65, Vs. IV 5O-1, Sls. I 1O5, Glh. 623-4, Ts. E III 4O-4, 46-9, ABIV. II 146-8, Gsm. SL 296, Gsm. LW 2O9, 211, EI 139 (IE **teḱs-(t)or/n-* 'one who fabricates [cloth, wool, etc.]' ↔ **teḱs-* 'fabricate'), 38 (IE ? **teḱso/eh₂R-* ~ **teḱsleh₂R-* 'axe, adze') ¶ IE **ḱ* (for the expected **ǵ*) is accounted for by as. *-ǵs- > *-ḱs- (or *-ǵp- > *-ḱp-) || U: FU **teke-* v. 'do, make' > F *teke-*, Es *tege-* id. | pLp **tṣkṣ-* > Lp: N {N} dākkā-/g-, S {Hs.} *dakkedh*, L {LLO} *tahka-*, Kld *tṣkkā-/tṣṣṛā-* id. | pMr {Ker.} **terə-* > Er *təe-* /eyə-, Mk *tiə-* /iyə- v. 'do, make' || Hg *tēv-/tē-* /tēsz- id.; at the pFU level the √ merged with FU **teke-* v. 'put, place' (F N ≈ **teʰh'akaṛē* 'to put, to set') ¶ UEW 519, Sm. 55O (FU, FP **teki-*, Ugr **teki-* 'do'), Lr. #121O, Lgc. #7631, Hs. 413, TI 581, Ker. II 165-6

|| A: [1] A {DQA} *t'āk'ù {AD} 'make, repair' (x N *tAKæ 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit') > Tg *taku- 'repair' > Ewk taku-, Lm taq-, Ul taqu-, taqunač-, Ork tautçl- ~ tāwçl-, Nn KU taqo-, Nn Nh/B tago- ~ taogo-id. ¶ STM II 155 || pJ {S} *tükür- 'make' > OJ tükür-, J: T cukúr-, K cükür-, Kg cùkùr- id.; OJ tükürsp-, J: T cukuro-, K cükúrō-, Kg cùkùrō- 'repair' ¶ S QJ #1O11, Mr. 774 || T *t_l'agira- > Xk {BIG} tayıra- 'repair, mend (footwear, clothes)', Sg {RI} tayıra- 'ausbessern, zunähen (einen Riß)', Qzl {Jk.} tayıra- 'stopfen, flicken, nähen (alte Kleider)'; but not here (↔ Rs.) Tv t'är- 'cut\clip (hair, plants)' (↔ M *tayıri- 'cut short, cut off', cf. MED 765) ¶ Rs. W 454, BIG 212, RI. III 8OO, TvR 4O1 ¶ DQA #2291 || [2] amb M *°tege- > WrM tege- v. 'do so, thus, or that way', HlM тэгэ- id. (x d. from the M *te- 'that', see Pp. IM 228) ¶ MED 792 ◇ An alt. pN rec. (based on IE and Tg) is *K in *t'e'KE, but it fails to account for the cognates in FU, T, and M ◇ Cf. BmK 277 (IE, FU) ◇ ≠ Gr. II 1O3 (*tek 'do') (U, CK + err. IE *d^hē-).

2338. *tikø 'horror, fear' ([in A] 'abhor, hate') > IE: NaIE *tyegʷ- {P} 'scheu vor etwas zurücktreten oder auffahren', {E} 'give way, pull oneself back (in awe)' > OI 'tyaj-ati 'leaves, abandons, quits', {E} 'stands back from sth.', OI 'tyajah 'abandonment', Av iθii aյah-(iθyaյah-), iθii eյah- (iθyeյah-) id. || Gk Hm σέβομαι v. 'feel awe or fear (before gods), feel religious awe, feel shame', Gk σέβω v. 'worship, honour', σέβας 'reverential awe', σοβέω 'frighten off' ¶ P 1O86, EI 65O, M K I 529-53O, M E I 673-4, F II 686-7 || D *tikʷl-, {GS} *digʷl- 'fear, fright' > Tm tikil, tikir 'fright, terror', Kt digi·l in- v. 'be thunderstuck, be astounded because found out in wrongdoing', Kn digil(u), digalu 'consternation, horror, fear', Tu digilə, Tl digulu 'fear, alarm', Knd tiyel 'fear', tiyel- v. 'be afraid' ¶ D #32O2 || A: NaT *t_l'iksın- > Osm tiksin- 'abhor', Tk tiksın- 'be disgusted, loathe', Az diksin- 'start, be frightened', Qq tiksin- 'be squeamish', ?φ Tv českin- id.; T → M: WrM ȝigsi-, HlM жигши- 'abhor, hate' ¶ RI. III 1351, Hü. 1O7, KrkR 64O, MED 1O52, TvR 529 || Tg *tikun-, *tikul- 'be(come) angry' > Ewk tikun, Lm tıqun- 'be angry', Ewk tikul-, Sln {Iv.} tegul- ~ tuyul, Lm tıqul- 'become angry' ¶ STM II 179 ¶ ≈ DQA #2369 (*t'ik'ʷl- 'fear, hate') (incl. T, Tg) ◇ Tg *-k- (for the expected *-g-) still needs explaining ◇ IS MS 37O s.v. ужас *tikū, IS SS #1.28.

2339. (2?) ***þoku** 'large, thick' > IE: NaIE *teg̃gu- 'thick' > Gmc {Vr.} *þikkw- 'thick' > ON þykkr, þjokkr, þjukkr, NNr tjukk, Sw tjock, Dn tyk, OHG dicki, NHG dick, OSx thikki, AS ȝicce 'thick', NE thick || Clt: OIr tiug 'thick', Brtt {RE} *tegus > OW, MBr teu, W, Crn tew id., Br tev id., 'fat' ¶ WP I 718, P 1057, EI 547 (*tegu-s 'thick, fat'), Vr. 63O, OsS 102, EWA II 624-6, Ho. 364, KM 131, Vn. T 76, RE 138, Hm. 788 || HS: ?φ C: Bj {R} deg- 'be heavy', 'dēga 'heavy' ¶ R WBd 62 || A: M: WrM togumag 'rather large\fat', toglui-, HlM тоглой-х 'be large \ robust \ corpulent', ? Brt tugzi- 'be stout \ corpulent' ¶ MED 814, 817, Chr. 434.

2339a. ***þok** ∇ '≈ (palm of) hand (with fingers)' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'span of hand') > K: GZ *m-þkaw-el- 'span (the distance between the end of the thumb and the end of the little finger of a spread hand)' > OG mþkawel-, G mþkavel-, Mg þku-, þkū-, þkou-, Lz mþko-, mþku-, (m)þu- id. ¶ K 138 and K² 126-7 (*mþkawel-); FS K 223-4 and FS E 426 (*mþkaw-) || HS: EC *ta_L:kk- 'span of hand' > Sml {ZMO} tāko 'hand-span measurement (based on the distance between the thumb and the tip of the middle finger)', Sml N {Abr.} tāko 'span', Or T takku 'palm of hand (with fingers)', Or {Grg.} tākkū 'span (distance between thumb and forefinger)', Sd {Gs.} tākko id., Ged {Hd.} tāko, Hd {Hd.} tākko?o, Kmb tāčču-t ({Hd.}: < *tāk-ču-t), Qbn {L} taččuta 'span of hand', Ya {Gr.} tēgei 'hand', {Hn.} tēké (pl. tēhkéí) 'arm' ¶ AD SF 262, ZMO 381, Grg. 371, Gs. 31O, Hd. 139, 261, 299, 339, Hn. Y II 12O || NOM: Hrr {Ls.} tākā-ðu, ? Gm {Hw.} taðáko 'span', ? Mc {L} tāčči- v. 'measure' ¶ Ls. M 53, Hw. EG || A: M *tōr'e 'span of hand' > WrM töge, HlM təθ 'span, the space from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index or middle finger when extended', Kl {KRS} təθ 'span (distance between the thumb and the forth finger)', {Rm.} tō 'span (distance between the thumb and the middle finger)', Brt təθ id., Dg {MYC} tuʒ, MnR E {MYC} tū 'span' ¶ MED 832, KRS 511, KW 408, Chr. 433, MYC 643 || Tg *togar 'span of hand' > Ewk toɣor 'span (distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index)', Neg toɣoy, Orc, Ud tō, WrMc to ~ too 'span (distance between the thumb and the middle finger)', Lm toɣyr, U1 tawali, Nn Nh tawar, Nn B tawara, Nn KU tor 'span' ¶ STM II 190-1 || ?σ pKo {S} *tói 'measure of capacity (1/10 mal)' > MKo tói, NKo twe ¶ QK #117O, Nam 161, MLC 496 ¶ DQA #2418 (pA *t'ògi 'span') ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 137 [#18] (incl. K, EC, Om, M, Tg; does not distinguish this N word from N *täyK ∇ 'finger').

2340. ≈ ***te'h'aka?**̄ē 'put, set' > **HS:** Eg N d̄ḡz 'Steine verlegen, Säule aufstellen, Gewölbe bauen; (Bäume) pflanzen; (etw.) ankleben' (d̄ < HS *t̄) (× N ***t̄e'kE** 'to build, to shape, to make, to do' [q.v.]), Cpt: Sd **тѡшб€ тōоce** ~ ({Vc.}): aberrant form) **тѡк€ тōke, B тѡхι тōзi** 'ajouter, appliquer, joindre, planter' ¶ EG V 499, Vc. 227 ¶ Eg g (for k) needs explaining (possibly the infl. of N *h could produce a lenis cns. [Eg "voiced" obstruent consonants are very likely to have been lenes]) || ?? S *°v̄ tk̄l > Gz v̄ tk̄l v. G 'plant, implant, set up, establish' (→ Bln {R} takal, Xm {R} tikel v. 'plant', Sa {R} takal 'stechen') ¶ LG 573 || **U:** FU *teke- v. 'put, place' (× N ***t̄e'kE** '↑' [q.v.]) > Lp: N {N} d̄akkâ-/-g- v. 'place, dispose of', ?σL {LLO} tāhkāt 'hervorbringen, schaffen; tun, machen' | Er ūye- v. 'place (somewhere) ('деть, девать')' || Hg tēv-/tē-/tēsz- 'put, place, lay' ¶ UEW 519, ERV 652, LLO 1O64 || **A:** [1] A {DQA} *t̄égej̄o- 'sit' > Tg *tege- 'sit down' > Sln {Iv.} t̄z̄k̄z-, t̄z̄i- id., Ewk t̄z̄z- √ t̄z-, Lm t̄z̄-, WrMc t̄e-, Mc Sb t̄z- √ t̄z̄z- id., Neg t̄z̄z-, Orc, Ud, Ork, Nn Nh/B t̄z- 'stand\sit up (from lying in bed)' ¶ STM II 226-8 || ?σ pKo {S} *thā- 'ride' > MKo t̄hā- ¶ S QK #51O, Nam 456, MLC 1684 || ??σ pJ {S} *t̄z̄k̄z 'bed' (if ← 'sit') > OJ, J K tókó, J: T tòkó, Kg tókó ¶ S QJ #211, Mr. 548 ¶ DQA #2333 || [2] A *t̄ik'v̄- v. 'place into, stuff into' ({SDM97}) *t̄ik'u- v. 'stuff into, press into', {DQA} *t̄ik'i- v. 'plant vertically' (× N ***t̄ü'k̄a** 'to thrust, to stab, to push', q.v. ffd.) || **IE:** NaIE *tāg- v. 'put (sth.) to its right place, arrange' > Gk (prs.) τάσσω, Gk A (prs.) τάττω (aor. ἐτάγην, prtc. τακτός) v. 'place in a certain order; arrange, put in order', τάγμα 'ordinance, command', Gk Th τάγος 'leader, commander' || Lt pa-togūs 'convenient, comfortable' (cp. Gk εὐτακτος 'well ordered'), Ltv Δ {ME} patāgs 'handlich, bequem', Lt {Ju.} su-tógti 'sich trauen lassen, sich verbinden, sich verheiraten', {El} 'ally oneself with, get married' (← *'arrange oneself with') || Irn: Prt tgmdr '≈ commander' (< *tagma-dāra- 'command-giver') || ? Tc: A tāss̄i pl. 'commanders', B tās̄ '≈ commander' ¶ P 1O55, EI 472 (*tāg- or *tehāg- 'set in place, arrange'), Ch.1O95-6 (has doubts about *ā), F II 845-6, 859-6O, ≠ Mn. 1365, F II 859-6O, Frn. 551, ME III 119, Wn. 49, Ad. 387-8 ◇ A N lr. that produced vw. lengthening in IE, but disappeared in both Eg and S (and did not cause glottalization of any adjacent cns.) is most probably *h. The *ā-colouring laryngeal in PIE is likely to go back to N *-ha- ◇

≠ Gr. II 1O3 (**tek* 'do') (U **teke-* 'do', CK: Chk, Kor *teyk* id. + err. IE *d^hē- 'put').

2341. **tok* *?* *tok* ~ **to'h'æk* *tok* 'to burn; fire' > HS: Eg fXVIII *tk̥* vi. 'burn, illumine' > DEg *tk̥* 'verbrennen, anzünden' > Cpt: Sd **TW&K** *tok*, B **Θ&W&K** *t^hōk* 'allumer, chauffer'; Eg fP *tk̥.w* ({Vc.} *tk̥*) (= {Os.} **ti.k?w*, {Vc.} **taki?*) {EG} 'Flamme, Licht, Fackel, Kerze', {Fk.} n. 'torch-lighting' > DEg *t^hyk* 'spark' > Cpt: Sd **TI&K** *tik*, B **Θ&I&K** *t^hik* id. ¶ EG V 331-3, Fk. 3O1-2, Er. 659, Vc. 212, Os. I 79 and II 46O ¶ Vc. 212 distinguishes between Eg fP *tk̥* 'flamme' and Eg M *tk̥.w*, while EG V 331-3 mentions only Eg fP *tk̥.w* 'Flamme, Fackel, Kerze' || ? C: Bj {R} ✓ *tk̥w̥y* (1s: p. 'at^hk̥w̥i, prs. atan'k̥w̥i) vt. 'cook' (× N **d'A'k'o'* 'to burn' [trans.], q.v.?) ¶ R WBd 225 || K [1] pGZ **tutk-* v. 'scald, burn on the surface' > G *tutk-* 'scald, scald oneself', {Chx.} (ga-) *tutk-* '(an-, ab-)brühen', (da-) *tutk-* 'verbrühen, verbrennen', Mg *tkutk-* {Fn.}, Lz *tutk-* v. 'burn' ¶ K 74 (**tutk-*), Chx. 5O3, DCh. 57O, Fn. KW-2 48 #2 ¶ [2] K (+ext.) **t̥k̥rec̥c̥-* > G *t̥k̥rec̥-* 'an der Oberfläche verbrennen' ¶ Chx. 1354 || IE **teH̥g̥g-* > NaIE *t̥eg̥g-*/**t̥eg̥g-* v. 'burn' > Gk *τήγανον* ~ mt. *τάγηνον* 'frying-pan, saucepan' || OHG *dachazzen* ~ *dahhezzan* 'to flame (lodern), to blaze', AS *ðeććan* vi. {Ho.} 'verbrennen'; *ðæćelle* 'torch, a light' (infl. of *fæcele* 'torch' ↔ L *facula*) ¶ WP I 717-8, P 1O57, F II 815, Kb. 141, OsS 95, EWA II 488-9, Ho. 359, 361 || A {DQA} **t'oge|i* 'fire' > NaT {ADb.} **tögen* 'brand' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} *tögün*, Chg xv *tögen* id., Osm {Rh.} *dögün* 'tattoo mark', Yk *tūōn* 'moxa, tinder used for cauterization'; T → WrM *tögene*, HIM *төөнө* 'cauterization, moxa', WrM *tögene-*, HIM *төөнө-* v. 'cauterize, apply a poultice or a high compress' ¶ Cl. 484, Pek. 29O2, MED 832, Rh. 926 || M **türe|i-(deg)* > WrM *tügüdeg*, HIM *түүдэг* 'campfire', → ? **tü'γ'i-mer* > WrM *tüimer*, HIM *түймэр* 'forest or steppe fire, wildfire', Dg {T} *tuijmer*, {Mr.} *tuimere*, Brt *түймэр*, Ord *t'üjmer* 'fire (incendie)', WrO {Krg.} *tüimer* 'fire, blaze', Kl *түүмр* *tūmər* 'fire (incendie)', {Rm.} *tūmr* 'Feuersbrunst' ¶ MED 85O-1, T DgJ 169, Mr. D 227, Chr 443, Krg. 53O, KRS 525, KW 418, Ms. O 684 || Tg **toga* 'fire' > Ewk *tɔsə* ↗ *towə* ↗ *togo* 'fire, campfire', Sln *togo* 'fire', Lm *tɔsə* ↗ *tow* 'fire', Neg *tō* ~ *tɔsə*, Orc, Ud *tō* 'fire, campfire', Ul *tawa* 'fire', *tawu*-/-l- v. 'light (a candle, etc.)', Ork *tawa* ~ *tāwa* 'fire, hearth', Nn *tawa* ↗ *ta(w)u* ↗ *tō* 'fire, campfire, hearth', Nn Nh *tāō(wō)-*, Nn B *ta(w)u-* v. 'ignite', Lm *tuwə*, Mc Sb *tua*, Jrc {SDM} *towī* 'fire', Mc Sb *tabu-* v. 'ignite' ¶ STM II 19O, Krm. 295 ¶¶

DQA #2417, S AJ 157 (adduces pJ *ták- v. 'burn, set fire' > OJ tak-, [RJ] ták-ù, J T ták-, cf. S QJ #649, Mr. 762) || ? Gil: Gil A tuṣr 'fire' §§ ST 384-5 ◇ Cf. Blz. KM 121-2 [#26]: K *tkutk- (sc. *tutk-), HS *✓ tkʷ, and A *toka v. 'burn' (Tg *toga + *÷ pJ *tak-) equated with Ugr *tūṣə-t (sc. U *tew^W-t^W) 'fire' (which, to my mind, does not belong here, but goes back to N *t'ē'yaw'a' 'fire') and with an alleged D *tikk-/*tukk- 'hearth, fireplace' (actually *tikkel-/*tunkel-), which is too doubtful.

2342. *tUk̥E (→ ? *tUlk̥E) (or *tUk̥íE) 'wolf, jackal, fox' > **HS**: C {AD} *✓ tkʷl 'Lycaon pictus, jackal', {E} *takʷl- 'wild dog' > pAg {AD} *takʷlā > Bil {R} tāg'lā, Q {R} taxʷelā 'wolf'; Ag → Gz тиңә takʷlā, Tgy, Amh тиңә тekʷla 'wolf, Canis famelicus (?)', Tgr {LH} тиңә тэклә, {Mz.} токла 'Lycaon pictus' (or 'Canis lupaster'); Ag or EthS → Bj {R} тåkla 'Lycaon pictus', Sa {R} тåkla ~ тåx̥lā id. || SC: WRt {E} *takʷer- 'jackal' ({E}): > Irg {MQK} pl. tawér 'wild dogs', sg. tawér(a)mō 'wild dog', {Mgw.} tawér-mō 'fox, jackal', Grw {Fl.} tuer 'wild dog' [Ehret postulates a change SC *-l- > WRt *-r-] ¶ EPC #412, R WBd 226, R WB 334, R S II 352, LG 573, LH 316, MQK 100, Mgw. 108 || NrOm: Gnj {Si.} 'tirku, Gcm {Si.} tɔr'ko, Bdt {Hw.} 'tolko, Krt {Si.} tolkɔ, Zs/Zrg {Si.} 'tolko, HzMa {SWW} dullí, Sz {SWW} dūlī & dūlɛ 'hyena' ¶ Hw. NKL 219, Blz. KV s.v. tolko, Si. ACh 16, SiW BA 14 §§ It is tempting to include here the word for 'jackal' in some WCh lgs.: Stl. reconstructs WCh *dila 'jackal' > Hs dílā, Gw dila || BT: Krkr dílā || Ron: Sha {J} fatʒ-njel || Ngz {Sch.} dílá (Stl. ZCh 173 [#256]), but the word (except that of Sha) is obviously a loan from Kanuri dʒlā 'jackal' (Lk. KL 194, Sch. DN 34) || A ({DQA} *t'ulke, {AD} *t'ulk̥E or *t'ulk̥W 'wolf' or 'fox'): T *t'ulkü ~ *t'ilkü 'fox' ({ADb.} *tilkü, {Md.} ppT *t'üjk'i) > OT [QB] {DTS} tilkü ~ tulkü, {Cl.} tülki, [MhK] {Cl., DTS} tilkü ~ tilki, MU, XwT tilkü, Cmn, Chg tulkü, MQp tulkü ~ tilkü, OOsm dilkü, Tk tilki, Ggz, Tkm tilki, Az tulkü, Slr A tüligü ~ tülügü(r) ~ tülugü, Slr U t'uligur ~ t'ulugu ~ t'ulugo, VTt төлкө төлкө, Bsh төлкө төлкө, Qry tulkü ~ tilki, Qzq, Qqm Nog tulkü, Qmq, Qrg, StAlt tulkü, Xk tülgü, Uz tulkü, Uz XwrOg tilki ~ tulkü, ET {Nj.} tulkä, Tv дилги d_ilgi, Tf d_ilgi 'fox' || Chv тиле tilb, {Fed.} til id. ¶ Cl. 498-9, DTS 596, Shch. Zh 135, TL 161, 643, BT 161, Tn. SJ 526, Ra. 173, Nj. 338, Jeg. 251, Fed. II 229, Md. 66, 181 || Tg: Sln түлгэ 'wolf' ¶ STM II 210 || ? pJ {S} *tuárá 'tiger' > OJ tuórá, OJ tuórá, ltOJ [RJ] tórá > J: T tòra, :to!ra!, Kg tóra ¶ S QJ #273, Mr. 550 §§ DQA #2460 || D *tōl- ({GS} *t-) 'wolf' >

Kn *tōla*, Tu *tōla* ~ *tōle* 'wolf', Brh *tōla* 'jackal', as well as possibly Tm *tōntān* and Tl *tōdēlu* 'wolf' (where -nt- and ~d < *-l + t-) §§ D #3548 ◇ The rec. of N *-kl- is preferable to *-lk- because it is more natural to explain the length of the vw. in D by compensatory lengthening caused by the loss of the first component of the N cluster *-kl-: *-νkl- > *-ν:l-. In precons. position T *l may go back both to N *l and to *í, hence N *í is not ruled out.

2343. *täkt ∇ 'louse' > HS: C: Bj {R, Rop.} tāt (pl. tat) 'louse' § R WBd 232, Rop. 245 || Ch *t ∇ t- 'louse' > WCh: Ron: Fy {Sch.} té \dot{t} , Klr {L} t $\dot{h}\acute{d}$ id. | BT: Krkr tōdā, Gerum {Sch.} tōdōj id. || CCh: BtG {Mch.} tétiye, Mtk {ChC} téčé, Mkt {Ro.} átač, Md ité \dot{t} id. § ChL, ChC, Ro. 286 || U: FU *täkt ∇ m ∇ > ObU *tēkt ∇ m ∇ 'louse' > pVg {Ht.} *tākm ∇ id. > OVg: W P, S Vt тахма, N SoO такмъ, W Sol тахмъ; Vg: T täkəm, LK/MK/UK tōχəm, P/NV/LL taχəm, SV tāχəm, UL/Ss tākəm 'louse', LK/MK tāχəmy-, UK tāχmay- v. 'delouse'; pOs {Ht.} *töytəm 'louse' > Os: V/Vy töytəm, Ty tāχw \dot{t} əm, Y tāχw \dot{t} əm, D/K/Nz/Kz/O tewtəm id. § Ht. #634 || A: Tg *tikte 'louse' > UI tikt \dot{z} , Ork tikt \dot{z} ~ cikt \dot{z} , Nn Nh čikt \dot{z} , WrMc cixi ~ cixə 'louse'; the unexpected vw. *i may be due to coalescence with Tg *tī- that is found in the Tg vb. *tī-le- 'look for lice' (ffd. see N *täy ∇ 'louse'), so that *tikte may be interpreted as *tī- + nominal sx. *-kte § STD II 179 §§ Rm. SKE 165 (on the Tg sx.).

2344. *t'a'Kæ 'be\keep quiet, be silent' > HS: Ch: WCh: pAG *dok v. 'be\keep quiet' > Gmy, Kfr, Kfr M, Ang dok, Su {J} dōk | pNrBc {Stl.} *tiki 'silence' > Kry tíki, My tíkitíki, Sir tṣki § Hf. AGG #79, Stl. Ang #60, Stl. ZCh 25O [#37], Nt. 1O, J S 65, ChC s.v. 'silent, silence' || IE: NaIE *tak \bar{k} - v. 'be silent' > L tace-ō / tacē-re / tacui / tacitum v. 'keep silence', Um taçez TASES 'tacitus', TASETUR nom. pl. 'taciti' || ? W gosteg 'silence' || Gt þahan, ON þegja, OSx thagōn, OHG dagēn v. 'be silent', ON þagall, þögull 'schweigsam, still' § WH II 641-2, ~ EI 518 (*tak-), Bc. G 348, Pln. II 758, Fs. 487-8, Vr. 6O5, 6O7, OsS 94, EWA II 488-9O, Ho. S 76 || A: NaT *t'ä \dot{e} k > OT, QT täk 'silent, silently', täk tur- v. 'be silent, stand silent', Chg tek~dek 'silent', OOg XI täk tur- v. 'stand silent', Tk tek dur- v. 'stand silent\quiet', Tkm dek 'quiet', dek dur 'stand quiet!', Qq, Qrg, Uz tek 'quietly (смирно, спокойно)', tek tur 'stand quiet!', Nog tek oltır 'sit quiet!' § Cl. 475, TrR 841, TkR 252, KrkR 633, Jud. 719, UzR 422, NogR 343 § The initial t- ~ d- in the Og lgs. provides ev. of pt *t'- (F IS AD 38-45) ◇ The IE vw.

*ā points to a N *a. The vw. *ä|e in T (< A *^oā?) is likely to be due to vowel harmony (suggesting a front vw. of the second syll. in the N etymon).

2345. *t̥iKā 'be straight' > HS: S *✓t̥kn v. 'be straight, in good condition' (×N *tAKe 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit', q.v.) > BHb ✓t̥kn v. G 'be straight' (inf. לִתְקֹן li-t̥kōn) v. 'be straight', D תַּקְנָה (pf. t̥ik'ken) 'he made (it) straight', Sr ✓t̥kn G (pf. תַּקְנֵה tə'kən) 'be established, firm', Ar ✓t̥qn Sh (pf. ɬatqana) vt. {Ln.} 'make\render (sth.) firm \ stable \ solid', {BK} 'construire \ bâtir avec art, habilement et solidement', {Hv.} 'improve', Ak ✓t̥kn G 'geordnet, gesichert sein\werden', ?ϕ Tgy ✓t̥kn D v. 'stabilize' ¶ GB 888, Sd. 1323-4, Br. 831-2, KB 1642-4, Ln. 3O9, BK I 2O2, Hv. 6O, L ESAC 55 || IE: NaIE *teijk- / (with a nasal infix) *tink- v. 'be fit; trust' > Lt t̥iktī (prs. t̥inkū) 'to be fit\suited', Ltv t̥ikt (prs. t̥iku) 'to like, to enjoy'; Lt t̥ikēti (prs. t̥ikiū), Ltv t̥icēt 'to trust, to believe' || OHG dingen 'to hope, to strive to', MHG dingen 'hoffen, glauben, Zuversicht haben' ¶ WP I 7O5, Frn. 1O9O-2, Kar. II 4O2-3, Jg. VB 91-1O3, Kb. 155, OsS 1O3, EWA II 653-5, Lx. 31 || A *t̥'ik'▽ 'straight' > T *t̥'ik- v. 'insert vertically' (×N *t̥'ū'Kā 'to thrust, to stab, to push', q.v. ffd. ×N ≈ *te'h'aκa?ē 'to put, to set'), *t̥'ik 'straight, vertical, precipitous' > OT tik- v. 'insert vertically', tik 'straight, vertical, upright, precipitous', OT [MhK] dik tur- v. 'be vertical', Chg tik 'vertical', Tk dik, Ggz dik id., 'precipitous', Tkm dik 'straight; precipitous, steep', Az dik, ET tik 'straight, vertical', Tk dik-, Tkm, Ggz dik- v. 'install\insert vertically', Az tik- v. 'build', ET tik- v. 'install, plant', Tv t̥'ik-/t̥'ig- 'put (a cauldron) on fire, set up a yurta (tent)', Xk тік-/-г- тік-/-г- 'put food on fire (to cook it)', Chv {Ash.} чике čig_e 'precipitous, upright' ('крутой, отвесный') ¶ Chv či- < *t̥i- (palatalizing infl. of *i?) ¶ Cl. 475-7, Ash. XV 196, Md. 8O, 179, IS AD 41 [#11] (equates Tk tik- with T *t̥iq-), TvR 413, BIG 227 ¶ Tense pT t̥- is suggested by Az tik- and Tv t̥'ik- || M *čike 'straight' > WrM сike, HlM цэх, Brt сэхэ 'straight', WrO сiki id., 'direct', Kl чик čikə 'straight' ¶ MED 18O, Kow. 2175, Krg. 636, KRS 649, KW 439, Chr. 4O5 || ? Tg *-t̥iki 'towards' (directive case ending, {Ci.} allative ending) > Ewk -t̥iki ~ -tki (e.g. oron-tiki 'towards a\the deer', bira-tki 'towards a\the river'), Neg -t̥ixi ~ -tki, Sln -t̥ixi ~ -txi, Lm -takī ~ -tki, Ork -taki ~ -tai, Orc -ti(ki), Ud -tigi, Ul -ti, Nn -či ~ -tki ~ -ki ¶ This ending belongs here unless it is a cd. *-

ti + *-k̄i (as supposed by Bz.) ¶ Vas. 791, 793, Bz. 85-7, Ci. 256, Sun. S 161 ¶ ≠ SDM97 (A *t̄ik̄i v. 'plant vertically' > T, M + unc. Tg *d̄ik̄e v. 'hide'), KW 439 (M, T, Tg, Ko čik 'Richtung, gerade, aufrichtig') ◇ ≠ BmK 29O (a semantically unwarranted attempt to equate S *✓ t̄k̄n v. 'be straight' with IE *tegu- 'thick' and M c̄igirag 'strong').

2346. *t̄o'k̄o 'run away, run, stream' > HS: S *°✓ t̄kw > Ar t̄qw G (pf. t̄āqa, msd. t̄aqw-un) {Fr.} 'celeriter incessit', {BK} 'marcher avec rapidité' ¶ Fr. III 12, BK III 112 || EC: HEC *t̄ok̄- v. 'flee' > Sd {Hd.} t̄ōkk̄-, {C, Mrn.} t̄ok̄- id., Brj t̄okk̄- id., Hd {Ss.} tok̄- v. 'flee, leak' ¶ AD SF 276, Ss. B 182, Hd. 223, 397 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *taķ- v. 'go, run' > Hs Kc tūkā v. 'go away, go to a journey', Hs tākā 'pace' | GIm {Sch.} tāg-(ālā) v. 'run' | DFB {J} tōk / hab. twāk id. || ? CCh: Hw {ChL} tāk̄wā v. 'follow' ¶ Stl. ZCh 163 [#168], Ba. 977, 1050-1, Sch. BTL 89, J R 222, ChL ¶ ≠ OS #2418 (*tuķ- 'go, run') || K: pGZ *t̄ik̄wñ- v. 'skip (away), run quickly' > G Δ (ga-)t̄ik̄n- 'skip, skip away (скакать, ускакать)', Mg t̄i(r)k̄on- v. 'run as fast as one can' ('бежать без оглядки') ¶ K 181, Q 328 || IE *tek̄w- v. 'run, flow' (EI 'run, flow swiftly') > OI 'tak-ti 'hurries, rushes along', Av tāčaiti 'runs', KhS ttays- v. 'run, stream', NPrs تازد tāz-äd 'walks fast, runs', تاختن tāx tān 'to hasten, to walk fast, to run' || pAl {O} *en-teka 'chase, pursue, follow' (< {Huld} *en-tek̄w-ō) > MAI G {FB} ndiecune > Al T/G ndjek / ndoqa, Al Δ: SG {Huld} ndjek / ndokja, D njeku / noća id. || OIr tech- 'flee', MW {Vn.} go-deb 'refuge, retraite, abri', {P} tēbet 'Flucht', W tēbed 'retreat', Br tec'h- v. 'flee' || Lt tekéti (1s prs. tēku) 'to run, to stream', Ltv tecēt (prs. tēku) 'to run, to flow' | Sl *tek- (1s prs. *te'k-q, inf. tek-'ti) > OCS prs. текъ tek-q, inf. тешн tešti v. 'flow, run', SCr tēčem / tēči, Slv tēčem / tēči, R тe'ку / тeчъ, Cz tēku / tēči v. 'stream, flow', Pciekē / cieć 'run, teak', Blg тека 'flow', d.: Uk тікати 'to run' || ? Pal tekanza {ABIV.} 'flowing' (but {Carr.}: acp. '?'); Mn. adduces here Ht {Ts.} wā-tku- v. 'jump, flee', which is unc. ¶ P 1059-60, EI 491, ABIV. II 163-4, Carr. P 74, Ts. W 104, M K I 466, M E I 610-1, Bai. 121, Sg. 273, Horn 82, Mn. 1372, Ch. 1113, Vn. T 40, YGM-1 406, Hm. 780, Frn. 1074-5, Vs. IV 37, Glh. 622, StSS 694, O 286, Huld 97 (ppAl *ndek- / ndok-j- > pAl *ndjek / *ndoşa) || A: [1] T *tōk- 'pour out (a liquid)' > OT, OOp XIII, XwT XIV, Chg XV tōk- id., Tk tōk-, Az, Tkm dōk-, Uz twk-, VTt, Bsh tük-, Qzq, Qrg, ET, Yk tōk-, Tv tōk / dōk- 'pour, pour out', Tf tōk- 'pour out' ¶ Cl. 477, Ra. 235 ¶

The front vw. still defies explanation (trace of an *E-sx. or of a pN *t'ɔ¹kEHo??) | [2] A {AD} *t'oks¹v v. 'run' > M *toqsi- v. 'flee' (of animals) > WrM toqsi-, HlM тօгши- {MED} v. 'flee in fright', {Gl.} 'flee, escape (from a human)' (of animals), {Luv.} 'flee by leaps, bound a way off' (of animals, e.g. antelope), Ord d_og_ši- 'flee in fright' ¶ MED 815, Luv. 4O3, Gl. III 212, Ms. O 148 || Tg *tuksa- v. 'run, skip' > Ewk tuksa-, Ewk Δ toha-, tukša-, tuha-, Neg toksa-, Ud {STM} tukseä-, {Krm.} tukä- v. 'run', Sln tukçān- v. 'skip, jump', Lm tūs- 'run in a slow trot', Lm Al tūh- v. 'skip' ('сқакатъ'), Ork tuqsa- v. 'compete in reindeer-sledge race' ¶ STM II 3O8 ||| [2a] A d. *t'oksa-kī 'hare': Tg *tuksa-kī > Ewk tuksakī, Ewk Δ tohakī, tukšakī, tūhakī, Sln turçaxi ~ tutçaxi, Neg toksakī, Orc tuksa(n), Ud {STM}, Ud B/Sm {Krm.} tuksa, Ud X {Krm.} tukća, Ork tuqsa, Nn Nh/B toqsa ¶ STM II 2O8, Krm. 297 || pKo *thoskī 'hare' > MKo thoskī, NKo thōkī ¶ S QK #282, Nam 459, MLC 17O5 ¶ DQA #2419 (A *t'ogsu 'run; hare'), Rm. SKE 283 ('hare': Tg, Ko) ◇ AD GD #123 (IE, K, Tg) ◇ Gr. II #3O2 (*tekʷ 'pour') (IE, T, qu. Ko, J, EA).

2347. *tuKā 'earth (substance), mud, dust' > HS *°✓t_kʷ > C: pAg *da_kʷ-/*dəda_kʷ- ({Ap.} *daqʷ-/*dädaqʷ-) 'mud' > Q daxʷa, Bln {R} dəraqʷa, Xm {R} rəqʷa || LEC *dō;_{kk}- > Sml {DSI, ZMO} dōqo 'mud (fango, melma)', Sml N {Abr.} dōqo 'turbid water', Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} dōkē 'mud, dung', Or Gj {LLC} dōkē, Or {Th.}, Or M {LLC} dōke, Kns dōqqe-ta 'mud', Gdl dōk_k-itot 'quicksand', Gwd {AMS}, Gln {AMS}, Grs {AMS} dōqqolo 'mud' (to be distinguished from LEC *čō;_{kk}- > Gdl čōkka, Gwd {Ss.} čōkka 'mud', and [borrowed from LEC] Amh čz̥ka 'mud') ¶ Ap. AV 8, Ss. PEC 3O, 5O, DSI 178, ZMO 123, Abr. S 66, Grg. 129, AMS 198, 265, Bl. 218 ¶ Ss. PEC mentions Or dōk_k- with a long ī, which is at variance with lexicographical sources (Grg., Sr., Th., LLC), hence his rec. of EC *dōk_k- is less accurate than Bl.'s *dō;_{kk}- || ?? B *d¹ŋ²qq-~*t¹ŋ²qq- 'clay' > Rf Wr/B/Am, SrSn i-daqqi 'clay', Tmz {MT} idaqqi ~ itaqqi 'argile, terre à potier, terrain argileux', Sll {Ds.} idaqqi 'argile à potier', Chl {NZ} idaqqi ~ itaqqi 'terre à poterie', Ty idaqqan pl. 'morceaux d'argile séchés et durcis; terre cuite' ¶ Rn. 3O9, MT 7O, Ds. 2O, NZ 366 || ?? WCh (× N *t_og_a 'dust, earth [substance]', q.v.): Hs tōkā 'ashes' | Tng d_uka id., 'potash, salt' || A: Tg *tuka 'earth, clay, sand' > Ewk tuka 'sand', tukala 'earth, soil, clay', Ewk Ald/Uc/K tukala 'soil, ashes', Ewk Brg/NB tukala 'mud', Sln toko¹la 'earth', Lm tūq₁ ~ toqla ~ tuqal 'litter, dirt', Neg toxola ~ tokola id., 'dust, earth, soil', Orc tuala, Ud

tukeä, Ul tuaqsa 'clay', Nn Nh/B toxala, Nn KU toxala ~ toqala 'earth, soil, clay' || D *tuk-/tūk- 'dust, earth' > Tm tukal 'dust, particle of dust', Tl dūgaræ 'dust, dirt, soot', Klm tu·k 'dust, earth, clay', Nkr, Prj tūk, Gdb tūkuṛ 'earth, clay' || D #3283 || AdS of IE *t'ek-/t'k- 'earth' (< N *t̥ogæ '↑', q.v.); the absence of *eu or *u (the expected reflex of N *u in *tuKâ) suggests that the main source of the IE root is N *t̥ogæ || Ivn. OPA 25-35 and GI 149-15O (analysis of phonetic changes), ABIV. II 133-7, Ts. E III 292-300.

2348. *tuK^Δ 'offspring', 'young (of an animal)' > HS: S *°tawk- > Sr {Br.} tawk-ā 'young pigeon, chicken' ('pullus columbae sive gallinae') || Br. 272 || IE: NaIE *teuk- 'offspring' (× N *t̥owKâ 'germ', q.v.) > OI tō'kam 'posterity, children', Vd dat. sg. tu'c-ē 'to the children \ offspring' || MHG diehter ~ tiehter, NGr Δ Tichter 'grandchild' (infl. of MHG tohter, NHG Tochter 'daughter' < IE *d̥hugH-ter?) || P 1085, M K I 508, 527, M E I 651, 670 (rejects the MHG-NGr cognate, preferring to connect it with *d̥hugH-ter 'daughter'), VI. I 426-7, Sg. 288-9, Horn 84, Lx. 30 || The Netymology of IE *d̥hugH-ter (P 277, WP I 868) is still to be investigated; it is worth paying attention to Ar ✓ d̥q 'mettre bas, enfanter' (BK I 674-5) (unless it is a sd. of Ar ✓ d̥q 'chasser, éloigner') and to T *yegen 'grandchild, nephew' (TL 293) || A *t'uk^Δ 'young artiodactyl' > Tg *tuk- id. > Ewk tukuçan ↗ tukuçān ↗ tukuçān 'young elk', Sln tuxsā 'Kalb bis zu einem Jahr', Lm tuṣu- ~ tū- v. 'fawn, whelp', WrMc tuqšān {Hr., Z} 'calf' (→ Sln tuxšān id.); some Tg lge. → Yk tugut ~ tubut 'young reindeer' || STM II 210, Klz. S II 48-9, Z 405, Hr. III 925 || M *tugul 'calf' > MM [S, HI, ZhY] tugul (tu-qu-lun, tu-qu-l, tu-qun), [MA, IM] tuṣul 'calf', WrM tuqul, HlM, Brt түгәл 'calf less than a year old', Kl {KRS} түгл tuγ'l 'calf; suckling (artiodactyl)', {Rm.} tuγ'l 'calf, young animal', MMgl [Z], Mgl {Rm.} tuγul, MnR H {T} tugul, {SM} t'ug_ur, Dx tugunča, Ba tolček 'calf' || MED 838, KW 409, KRS 516, Ms. H 103, H 153, Iw. 139, T 366, SM 429, Pp. MA 354, 448 || NaT *t'oklī 'a very young lamb (of the first or second year)' > OT {Cl.} toqlı 'a lamb a few months old', MT XIV [IM] toxlı, MQp toqlı, Tk toklu, Ggz toqlu, Tkm toqlı, Qq toqlu ~ toqlı ~ toqtı 'yearling lamb', Az Δ toqlu ↗ toqlı ↗ toxlu 'sheep of the second year', Qzq toqtı 'a lamb older than 6 months', Qrg toqtu 'young ewe', Qrg S toqtu 'two-year-old wether', Nog toqlı 'two-year-old ram', toqlu 'two-year-old sheep', S toqtı, Tv t'oydu 'yearling lamb'] ?φ NaT {ADb.}

**toług* > Tkm *doy* 'one-year-old goat up to the first kidding'] ?σ,φ NaT
 tug-* ({ADb.} **tug-*) v. 'be born, give birth to' > OT *tuγ-* v. 'be born', XwT, Chg *tuγ-*, Cmn *toγ-* ~ *tov-* ~ *tuν-*, OOsm *doy-*, Tk *doğ-*, Tkm *doy-*, Uz *tuw-* v. 'be born', Az *doy-* v. 'bear; appear, be born' ¶ The T verb is a very qu. cognate both because of its meaning and because of the initial lax **t'*; the noun **t'oklɪ* is a qu. cognate because of the unexpected vw. **o* ¶ Cl. 465-6, 469, Shch. Zh 115, TL 433-4, 698 (toγ-* 'be born'), GRM 472, Jud. 147, 744 ¶ KW 409, 414, DQA #2458 (A **t'uk* 'calf, lamb' > Tg, M, T **t'oklɪ*) ◇ NaT **o* (for the expected **u*) in **t'oklɪ* still needs explaining ◇ Cf. N **ṭowKâ* 'germ, seed', although the connection between descendants of these two N words (like in Irn [OPrs *taumā* 'family, clan', Av *taoxman* 'seed, germ']) is hardly ancient.

2349. **t'ü'Ka* 'to thrust, to stab, to push' > **HS:** EC {Ss.} **tak-* v. 'push, strike' > Rn *tax-*, Dsn *tá?* v. 'push', ? Af -*ötök-* v. 'strike (sth. inanimate)' (× N **tek* 'to touch'?) ¶ Ss. PEC 48, PH 177, Sim 4, PG 274, To. DL 529 || ?? S **°✓takl* (× N ≈ **te'h'aka?* 'to put, to set') > Gz ✓ *tkl G* v. 'plant, implant, set up, establish' (→ Bln {R} *takal*, Xm {R} *tikel* v. 'plant', Sa {R} *takal* 'stechen'). One may tentatively adduce here SES: Mh, Jb ✓ *tkk* (Mh pf. *tzk*, Jb C pf. *tekk*, sbjn. *'yɔt̚tzk*, Jb E pf. *'tek*) v. 'knock, bang, pound', Hrs ✓ *tkk* (pf. *tzk*, sbjn. *yɔt̚t̚kāk*) v. 'knock', resulting from contamination of different paronymous roots + ideophonic factor (or onomatopoeia) ¶ Jo. J 276, Jo. M 409, Jo. H 129, L G 573 || **IE:** NaIE **tuk-* v. 'thrust, stab, prick' > VL **tūkkāre* 'to touch' > It *toccare*, OFr *tochier*, Fr *toucher*, Sp, Prt, Ctl *tocar* id. || Clt ({SB, Vn.}: < **tuk-slo-*): OIr *toll* 'pierced, perforated; hole', Crn *toll*, tol, MW {Flr.} *tull*, {SEv., Vn.} *twll* id., W {YGM} *twll* 'hole', OBr {Flr.} *tull* 'foramen = hole', MBr *toull* 'hole', Br *toull* 'pierced, hollow; hole'; ?: OIr *túag* 'axe', NIr *tuagh* 'axe, hatchet', OIr *túagaid* v. 'chops with an axe' || Gk *τύκος* 'instrument for working stones, a masons' hammer\pick', *τυκίζω* v. 'work stones' || Sl **tъk-* > OCS **тъкнѫти** *tъknǫti* (1s prs. **тъкнѫ** *tъknǫ*) 'πηγνύναι, figere' (*тъknǫti* vъ rebra'to poke into ribs'), R *ткнуть* 'to poke into, to stick into, to prode', Cz *tknouti* mom. 'to poke, to prick' ('*ткнуть*, *кольнуть*'), P *tkać* / *tkam* v. 'thrust, stick, stuff'; ip. stem **t̚k/č-* > OCS **тъкнѫти** *tъknati* (1s prs. **тъкнѫ** *tъknǫ*) 'to prick' ('pungere'), R 'тъкнать (ip. of *ткнуть*) 'to poke, to jab', Blg 'тикам' I thrust, stick into' ¶ Mn. 1452, ≈ P 1032-4, ≈ ML #8767, ≈ Kö. #9802 (Rom ← Gmc

*tukkōn 'zucken'), GH 561, F II 941-2, SB 134, Vn. T 1O3, 158, Dnn. 76O, SEv. 36, YGM-1 423, Flr. 325, Hm. 798, Dnn. 76O, Mikl. L 1O17, Mikl. E 367-8, Vs. IV 64, 13O, ≠ P 1O32 || U:[1] FU *t^ük^ŋ v. 'push, thrust' > F t^üontä- 'push, shove' || Prm *töy- or *toy- 'push, thrust, prick' (× FU *t^üí^ŋ v. 'push' < N *dA|oí^ŋ₁²₃⁴ 'push', q.v. ffd.) || ObU *tök-/tēk- 'stopfen' > pVg *tā^ŋ- 'stopfen, stechen, drängen' > Vg: T täw-, MK tā^ŋ-, UK tā^ŋ- ~ tā^ŋ-, P täw- ~ täw-, Ss ta^ŋ- id.; pOs *tök- ({ʃl.} *tōk-) 'stopfen' > Os: V/Vy töki-, Ty/Y tāk^wi- id., V/Vy tökən-, Ty/Y tāk^wən-, Kz/Nz tekən-, O tokən- 'sich füllen', V/Vy tö^wəl-, Nz tewət-, Kz tewət-, O tewəl- 'verstopfen' || Hg † bē-töv- 'tief eindringen', Hg tūz- v. 'pin, stitch, stick' ({UEW} 'anstecken, aufstecken') ¶ UEW 52O (FU *tek^ŋ-, but why are the reflexes in the descendant lgs. so different from those of FU {UEW} *teke- 'tun, machen' [where there is no labial element]? [see UEW 519]), LG 281, Ht. 187 [#619] ¶ ?? [2] FV *tokka 'pierce, hit, touch' > F tokkaə- 'pierce, peck' | Er тока- toka- v. 'touch; hit (the goal)', Mk тока- toka- v. 'touch, hurt (by striking\bumping)' ('Тронуть, ушибить') ¶ If FV *tokka belongs here, its vw. *ə (rather than *ü) is puzzling (may it be due to regr. as.?) ¶ UEW 796-7, ERV 665, PI 272 || A *t'ik^ŋ v. 'place into, stuff into' ({SDM97} *t'ik^ŋu v. 'stuff into, press into') (× N ≈ *te'h'akarē 'to put, to set') > Tg: [1] AmTg *tiki- v. 'be placed into, fit' > Orc tiki- 'be able to contain (вмешатъ)', Ul tiki-, Nn Nh čiqli-, Nn KU tūqkl- 'go in (a container)' ('помещаться'), Ud {STM} tixi- ~ tiki^wi- id., 'have enough room for (вмешатъ)', Ud Sm {Krm.} tixi- id., v. 'fit, be large enough, налезать' (of clothes, footwear) | [2] Tg *çiki- v. 'put, insert, stuff' (× N ≈ *te'h'akarē '↑') > Nn B čiqo- 'put, insert, stuff', Ewk çikiw- 'insert, stuff', çikça- 'stuff tight', Sln šikçz- ~ šitçi- 'stuff\cram into, poke', Neg çimjət- 'pick one's teeth', Ul čigžiči- ~ čirgžiči- 'stop up tightly, drive a wad into the rifle', WrMc ciki- 'be the right size for, fit to the hole' (of a handle, axe-handle), 'be a tight fit, go in' ¶ STM II 178, 391, Krm. 295; the forms meaning v. 'stuff into' or sim. may be loans from M (see ⇒) || M *čiki- v. 'stuff into, press into' (× N ≈ *te'h'akarē '↑') > WrM ciki- v. 'jam, stuff, press, shove', HlM čixe-, Brt šzixz- id., Kl čik- id., 'squeeze into', Mnr H {SM} č'ig_i-, {T} čigi-, Dx čiqi- v. 'stuff into, press into' ¶ MED 181, STM II 391, KRS 65O, SM 448, T 379, T DnJ 141 || T: [1] *t_l'ik(a)- v. 'stuff into, press in' (× N ≈ *te'h'akarē '↑') > OT U tīq- 'stuff into, press in', Tk tīka-

vt. 'plug, stop up', Ggz **tiqa-** 'stop up', Az **tixa-**, Tkm **dıq-**, Δ **tiq-**, Qzq **tiq-** v. 'stick into, thrust into', Tv **dıyi-** vi. 'stuff (with), thrust' ('плотно набивать, просовывать'), Chv **чыж-** **чиж-** vt. 'stuff (with), fill' ¶ Chv **č-** < *t'- (palatalizing infl. of *ü?) ¶ Cl. 476-7, IS AD 41 [#11], Rs. W 477-8, 479-80, TkR 268, 297, Sht. 208-9, TvR 413, Md. 75, Jeg. 329, Fed. II 428-9 | [2] NaT *t^čik- v. 'put, place, insert' (× N ≈ *te'h'akaře '↑') > OT **tik-** v. 'insert', Tk **dik-** 'erect, set up, plant', Tkm **dik-** 'insert, build, dig in, plant', Qzq **tič-** **tič-** v. 'put, place, insert into the ground', Tv **t'ik-** (inf. тигер) 'put (a cauldron) on fire, put, set up (a tent), establish' ¶ Cl. 476-7, Rs. W 479, TvR 413 || pKo {S} *tik- v. 'dip down, imprint' > MKo **tič-**, NKo č:ik- ¶ S QK #497, Nam 181, MLC 154O || pJ {S} *tuk- v. 'poke, trust' > OJ **tuk-**, J: T **cuk-**, K/Kg **cuk-** ¶ S QJ #475, Mr. 773 ¶ ≈ SDM97 (A*t'ik'u- v. 'stuff into, press into'), DQA #2249 (A *t^čik'i 'to plant vertically' > T *t'ik-, M), ADb. KL s.v. *t'ik'i- 'всовывать' || D *tukk- v. 'push, shove' > Kn Δ **dūku**, **dūki** v. 'push', Krx **tukk-nā** v. 'give a push, shove', Mlt **tuke** 'push, remove' ¶ D #3286 ◇ In descendant lgs. the reflexes of this N word contaminated with those of several paronymous words sharing the basic meaning v. 'knock, strike', whence probably K: G **tutk-** v. 'push, strike' ◇ ≠ BmK 316-8 (an attempt of undiscriminated comparison of different [possibly ideophonic] Gmc, K, S, C, FU, D, A, and Sum roots with meanings such as 'knock, strike', 'crack', 'break\crush', 'tread down', etc. and sharing an initial t/t and a second cns. *k/g/č, partially with different stem-final cnss.: G **čkac-** v. 'strike', Sag **tuyula** 'strike with the feet', etc.); ≠ IS II 28-9 (NED *tukk- < N {IS} čuk'na 'pierce, thrust').

2349a. (2?) *tükN (or *tükN?) 'hair' > HS: C: EC {Bl.} *dogor 'hair' (× N *šäyoyi, R^N 'hair'?) > Af {PH} dágör, Sa {Bl.} dagar, Bs. ogor-ro 'hair', Sml {DSI} dögör 'animal's coat, wool', Sml N {Abr.} dögör 'animal's coat', ? Dsn {To.} δūr 'hair' ¶ Bl. 217, PH 89-90, Abr. S 65, To. DL 496, DSI 177 || Ch: WCh: Cg {Sk.} ták 'hair' ¶ ChC, ChL || A: T *t'ük 'body hair, animal's coat' > OT U, Chg **tük**, MU, XwT **tüg** 'body hair', MQp **tüg** 'feathers', XwT **tüy** 'fur', Tk **tüy**, Ggz **tüy**, Az **tüg** 'hair, down, feather', Xlj **tik** 'body hair', Tkm **tüy** id., 'hair of animals', Blq, Xk **tük** 'hair, hair of animals, feather', Qmq, Qzq **tük**, Uz **tuk** 'body hair', Bsh **tök**, ET **tük** id., 'hair of animals', VTt **tök**, Alt **tük** id., 'small feathers', Qq **tük** 'hair of animals, down', Nog **tük** id., 'body hair', Qrg 'body hair of humans, short hair of animals', Tv **dük**, Tf **dük** 'hair', Chv **tæk** feathers, body hair' ¶ ≈ ET 198 and ≈ Cl. 433 (in both: unj. φ adduction of OT **tü**

'hair of the body'), DT 2O4, Ra. 177 || Tg *t̥ik̥i-kta 'hair' > Neg t̥ukt̥a, Orc tikta 'hair (on the hide)', Ewk Tmt tikikta ~ tekikta, Ewk Ur tikikta 'a hair near its root' ¶ ≈ STM II 178 ¶ DQA #24O8 (T, M, Tg + unc. σ: WrMc t̥uk̥u 'cover of a fur-coat', WrM toqum 'saddle fender'), ≈ S AJ 282 || ?φ D: Krmb {Zv.} ?φ takare 'hair' ¶ The vw. a in the first syll. may be explained by regr. as. ¶ Zv. BNTL 655-6 ◇ Tg *-k- suggests a N *-K-, while EC *-g- may be due to dis. (deglottalization due to the presence of another glottalized cns.) ◇ Blz. DA 152-3 [#4] (adduced D and unconvincingly words for 'head' and 'neck' in different HS lgs.).

2350. ≈ *t̥op̥äk̥w̥A 'goat, sheep' > HS: Ch: CCh: Glv {Rp.} t̥yw̥à 'sheep, lamb', Dgh {IL} thúywéyè, {Frk.} twíyè 'sheep' | Lmn {Lk.} túwáká id. | MfG {Brr.} d̥ók̥w̥ id. || ECh: Nd D {J} d̥ágâ id. ¶ Ch *w suggests a N *w following *K ¶ JI II 291, RpB 95 || A: T *t̥äkä ({ADb.} *t̥ek̥e) 'he-goat, male wild goat' > OT täkä, Tk teke, Az täkä, Tkm teke, Ggz, Qzq tekä, XT {ADb.} teke, Tv d̥éye id., Chv таκа tag_a 'ram' ¶ Rs. W 47O, ADb. Ttd 55 [#11], TL 154, 428, 647, Jeg. 228, Fed. II 163-4 || M *teke > WrM {MED} teke 'wild goat, ibex [Capra siberica]'), {Kow.} 'uncastrated he-goat', KI tek id., HIM тəx 'wild goat, ibex', Brt texe → WrMc texe, Sln texe 'he-goat'; acc. to Rs. W 47O and SDM95, M ← T ¶ MED 797, KRS 49O, Chr. 458, STM II 2 || Tg *t̥ok̥i 'elk' > Ewk t̥ok̥i, Sln t̥oxi, Neg t̥ok̥t̥, Ork t̥o ~ t̥oyo, Ul, Nn Nh t̥o, Nn KU t̥ok̥l 'elk', Lm t̥ok̥l 'male elk', WrMc toxo 'grown-up elk'; Tg → Gil t̥ox 'elk' ¶ STM II 191-23O ¶ Attention shoud be payed to words for wild horse and wils ass: M: WrM taki 'wild horse (Equus Przewalski), wild ass', HIM таκь id., and probably NaT *tagı 'female of the wild ass' > OT XI [QB], MU таγи id. (Cl. 466); it is not clear whether they belong here ¶ ≈ SDM95 s.v. *t̥yak̥ 'a horned animal' (T, Tg + qu. M *taki 'wild horse'), DQA #2385 (A *t̥ják̥ 'a horned animal' > T, Tg), Rs. W 47O, Cl. 466, Kow. 1656 || D *takar, {GS} *tagar- 'ram' > Tm takar 'sheep, ram, goat, male animal', Kn tagar, tagaru, tagara, tegaru 'ram', Tu tagaru, tagara, Tl tagaramu, tagaru id. ¶ D #3000, GS 223 [#546] ◇ The N emphatic *t̥- is evidenced by A *t̥- (> T *t̥-, M *t̥-) and possibly by MfG d̥-.

2351. *tag₁, N, K'a' 'to stick \ be stuck to sth.', 'to fix\attach (sth. to sth.)' > HS: SES *√tyk̥ > Mh √tyk̥: G pf. t̥yak̥ v. 'be stuck, attached to', Sh pf. h̥at̥yawk̥ v. 'stick sth. to sth.', Jb C √tyk̥: pf. G ta'yak̥,

sbjn. **յԵՒՅՈՒԿ** v. 'be stuck, attached to', Jb E **տՎԱԿ** id., Jb C Sh (pf. **եՒՅԵԿ**, sbjn. **'յԵՒՅՅՈՒԿ**) vt. 'stick, attach to' § Jo. M 4O7, Jo. J 275 || ? Ch: Dgh {Frk.} **տակմա**, ? **տիկա** v. 'stick' § ChC s.v. 'stick' || **Ա** *takk[▽] ({UEW} *takka) 'hang, cling to, stick to sth.' > FU *takk[▽] > F **takkala** 'adhesive state of the snow, so that it sticks to the skis', F Δ **takki** 'feuchter Schnee, Pappschnee', **takalta-**, **takista-** 'befestigen, anheften, kleben', Es **takista-** 'befestigen, andrücken; stecken bleiben, stocken, anhaften, hängen bleiben', F **takerta-**, **takelta-** v. 'stick to sth.' (of snow, etc.), **takertu-**, **takeltu-**, **takistu-** v. 'get stuck, stick, fasten' || Os: V **տարատա** 'andrücken, D **տաքարտ** 'haftten machen, anheften', O **տաքարտ** 'hängen (an einen Nagel, das Zugnetz auf Strangen)', **տաքարլա** 'sich anheften, hängen bleiben' || Sm: Slq: Nr {Cs.} **տուատպա**, UO {Cs.} **տուատպա** 'es blieb hängen\haftten' ({UEW} 'es blieb stecken, haftete eng'), Tz {KKIH} **տօղգի** 'stick' ('застрять'), **տօղգալ** 'dress so.; put on (clothes), haft (e.g., an axe on an axe-handle)' §§ UEW 5O7-8, Coll. 61, SK 12O7-9, KKIH 184, Cs. 148, 231 || **Թ** ***տ’ալկա**- > NaT ***տ’ակ**- > OT **taq-** v. 'fix\attach (sth. to sth.)', OOG, Chg, Cmn **taq-**, XwT **daq-/day-** v. 'fasten', Osm {Rh.} **taq-** v. 'affix, attach, append', Tk **tak-**, Az **tax-**, ET **taq-** 'fasten, attach, hang on, put on, wear', Tkm **daq-** 'sew (to\on), fasten (to)', Qzq, VTt **taγ-**, Qq **taq-** id., 'attach, bind to' § Cl. 464, Rh. 1225, TrR 822, TkR 243, Hüs. 284, MM 339, KrkR 611, Nj. 278-9 § Initial ***t-~d-** in the Og lgs. provides ev. of pT ***t’-** || Tg ***տալցա**- v. 'stick (fast), get caught' > Ewk **տարա**- id., **տարավ**- id., 'get caught (somewhere)', Neg **տա-**, **taxa-**, Orc **տա-** id., Ud **ta-**, Nn **տա-** 'stick fast, get entangled (in a net)', Ul **տա-**, **տախա**- ~ **taoxa-** 'get caught, run aground', WrMc **տա-** 'get caught on, be trapped', Sln **տաշԱ**- 'hook sth., get hold of' § STM II 149-15O, Krm. 292.

2352. *լուակա 'germ', 'seed' > HS: eB ***լակ** > B *-**դաչ** / *-**դազ** - 'grain, seed' (×N ***դիկ**[▽] 'edible cereals\fruit'??) > Ah **ta-daq** (pl. **ti-dāχ-īn**) 'grain, semence', Ttq {Msq.} **taðaq** (pl. **tidayin**) 'grain (de blé, d'orge)', Gh **ta-dȝaq** (pl. **či-dȝay-**in) 'grain (de céréale)' § Fc. 289-29O, Msq. 141, Nh. 163, ≠ NZ 478 (the B root ← *d[▽]γ 'stone, caillou') || **ԱԵ**: NaIE (in IIrn) ***օտեսկա**- 'seed, germ' > OI 'tōk-man- 'junger Sproß von Getreide', Av **taoxman** 'seed, germ', OPrs **taumā** 'family, clan' (×NaIE ***teuk-** 'offspring' < N ***լուկ**[▽] 'offspring'?), MPrs **tōhmag**, **tōm**, NPrs تَخْمٌ **tox̥m** 'seed', تَخْمَةٌ **tox̥me** 'seed (semen plantarum);

origin', Psh *tōma* 'seed' ¶ M K I 527 || **U:** FU *towk^Δ 'germing', → 'season of germing, spring' ({UEW} 'spring') > F *touko* 'sowing, crop, season of germing, season of sowing', *toukokuu* 'May', Es *tōug* 'sring sowing' | pMr {Ker.} *tūχə-ndə > *tundə > Er *tundo*, Mk *tunda* 'in spring, spring' || pObU {Ht.} *t̄χy(-) 'spring' > pOs *toχ, *toχ+ ({ʃHl.} *t̄χ, *t̄χ+) > Os: V/Vy *toχ*, Ty *t̄χw*, Y *t̄χw*, K *t̄χw*, Nz/Kz *t̄χw*; pVg *tūχā > Vg: HK/MK/LK *tūχa*, P/UL/Ss *tūχa*, SV *tūχ* ¶ UEW 532-3, Coll. 119, 132, Coll. CG 414, Ker. II 172, MF 62O-1, Ht. 187 [#621].

2353. *t̄eL^Δ 'shout, call', (?) 'utter ritual\magical incantations' > **HS:** Ch: WCh {Stl.} *t̄χl- v. 'ask, shout' > pAG {Hf.} *tal v. 'ask' > Gmy, Kfr, Su *tal* v. 'ask', Ang {Flk.} *talme* v. 'ask (a question) | BT: Pr {Frz.} *télo* id. | ??σ Hs {Ba.} *tíllà* v. 'call\speak loudly to so. for him to hear (unless ← *tíllà* v. 'pierce a hole') || ECh: Ke *túlúl* 'Alarmgeschrei' ¶ Stl. ZCh [#196], Hf. AGG 19, Ba. 1O14, Frz. P 5O, Eb. 1OO || ?? S *°✓t̄χw (×N ***tu1^Δ** '≈ to tell [a story], to utter ritual incantations') > Ar ✓t̄χw v. *G* 'read (from a book), recite' (unless from ✓t̄χw 'follow'); but hardly here Ak *tēlu* 'to pronounce exactly', which for phonetic reasons must go back to S *°✓t̄χl > ¶ BK I 2O5, Bel. 57, Hv. 62, Sd. 1345 ¶ OS #2362 || **K:** Sv {TK}: UB/L *li-t̄χli*, LB/Ln *li-t̄χli* 'to call (so.), to say', UB {GP}, L {Dn.} *li-t̄χli* id., 'to yell', Sv {Ni.} *t̄χli* v. 'shout' ¶ TK 449, GP 17O, Dn. s.v. *t̄χli*, Ni. s.v. *кричать* ¶ The origin of Sv *ū* is unknown || ?σ **IE** *tel- 'utter ritual incantations, pray' > AnIE (×N ***tu1^Δ** '↑' [q.v.]): Ht *talliya-* v. 'invoke (gods)', Lc M {Krl.} *tali* 'priest' || NaIE: ON *pylja* {EI} 'recite a poem', {Vr.} 'aufsagen', *pula* 'string of words', {Ho.} 'song', *pulr* 'Kultredner, Dichter', AS *ðyle* 'orator, speaker; jester' ¶ ≈ EI 45O (*telH- '≈ pray'), Ts. E III 58-6O, KrlSh. XLJ 86, Vr. 626, 63O, Ho. 374 || **A:** Tg **tēluŋu* 'narrating, folk tale' > Lm *t̄ləŋ*, Neg *t̄lunj*, Orc *t̄lumu* ~ *t̄lunju*, Ud *t̄lunju*, Ul *t̄lunju*, Ork *t̄lunj(g)u*, Nn *t̄lunju* id.; cp. Gil *t̄lgu* 'legend' (← Tg?) ¶ Bz. 985, STM II 233, Krm. 298 ¶ Blz. KM #27 equates Tg **tēluŋu* with words belonging to N ***tu1^Δ** '↑', but it is hardly acceptable (≠∅) || **D** (in SCD) *teʃ]- ({θGS} *t-) > OTl, TI *telucu* v. 'praise, worship, request, beg', Gnd *talehk-* v. 'beg\ask for sth.\so., esp. a bride', Δ *talk-*, *talp-* v. 'ask, beg' (hardly from D *teʃ]- v. 'become clear', as suggested by Km.) ¶ D #3427, Km. 39O-1 ◇ ≈ Blz. 13O (equates the D root with the reflexes of N ***tu1^Δ** 'to tell [a story]', q.v.).

2354. (2?) *^rtil¹ŋ²ν(-Ko) (¬ *t-?) 'tongue, organs of speech' > A *tilk¹ν 'tongue, voice' > pT {TL} *tilk > NaT *til/*til 'tongue' > OT til ~ til, MU til, XwT XIV, MQp/Cmn XIV, Chg ≥XV til, MT XIV [IM], OOsm dil, Tk dil, Az, Tkm, Ggz, XT dil, SY dil, Uz, ET, CrTt, Qry, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Ln, Tb til, Qzq, Xk til, VTt tyl, Tv, Tf d_il, Yk til 'tongue' ||| Chv чёлхе čelx_e (< *tilχaq) 'tongue', чёлех čelx 'vocal cords' ¶ Chv či- < *t'i- (palatalizing infl. of *i?). Acc. to Mudrak's rule (Md. DKCh 22O-1), pT *-lK regularly yields NaT *-l, while in Ch it remains as -lχ|k- (in Auslaut -lχχ|k / -lχχ|k) ¶ Cl. 489, IS AD 39 [#3], ET VGD 228-3O, ADb. SR 36 (*diljlk = *tiljk), S AJ 171 [#28], 183-4 [#84], Ra. 179, TL 227-8, Md. 72 (ppT *tilk > T *til), 179, ADb. Ttd 62 [#16] (*til < *tilg), Ash. XV 28O, Fed. II 411 || Tg *dilga-n 'voice' > Ewk dilgan, Sln dilgā, Lm dulgən, Neg dulgən, Orc digga(n-), Ul dulža(n-) ~ žulža(n-), Ork žulda(n-), Nn Nh/KU žulgā, Nn B *žulga(n-), WrMc žilgan, Mc Sb žulgan 'voice', Ud digan-a- v. 'say, cry', Ewk dilg-ūrā, Lm dulg-ur 'loud-voiced' ¶ STM I 2O6, Krm. 227, S AJ 21O ¶ ≈ DQA #2242 (A *tilν 'tongue; voice', including T, Tg), ADb. SR 47 (A *tilg¹ν), S AJ 284 || D (in KK) *t¹ŋ²lēk- ({θGS} *t-?) v. 'put out the tongue' > Kui tlēpka (< *tlēk-p-)/tlēkt- id., Ku tek^h- (in vendōri tek^hmū 'put out your tongue') ¶ D #343O || ?σ t K: pGZ *tlek-/*t¹ŋ²k- 'lick, lick oneself' (of animals) (× N *daH¹ŋ²ν ~ *daH¹H²ν 'lick'?) > G tlek-, Mg *tirk- 'lick, lick oneself' (of animals), ? Lz nt̪kval- id. ¶ K 182, K² 1OO-1, Fn. KW-1 36 ¶ Possible infl. of N o *tak¹'U² 'to lick, to lap' || ?σ IE: NalE *tolkʷ- 'speak', '≈ declare' > L loquor / inf. loqui / pfc. locutus est 'speak' || OIr ad-tluch v. 'thank', to-tluch- v. 'ask (bitten)', do-tluchethar 'prays' || Sl *tъlkъ > OCS тълкъ tъlkъ 'έρμενεύς, interpretation', OR тълкъ tъlkъ id., R толк 'sense', † 'explanation', Blg тъл'кувам 'I interpret, explain' || ?? OI tar'kayati 'guesses, reasons about, considers as' ¶ P 1O88, EI 535, WH I 821, EM 652, Vn. T 79-8O, Vs. IV 71, qu.: M K I 484-5 and M E I 633 (?σ: OI tar'kayati ← tark- 'drehen') || ?σ HS: B *√dly, *√dls 'lip' > Ah a-daloy (pl. i-dlay), ETwl ьдъльу, Ty tadъloyt, Tnsl {NZ} adalay, Gh a-dlu (pl. i-dlayən) id., with an ext.: Mz {La.} a-dłas, Gd a-dalis (pl. dalsān), Skn a-tłus (pl. i-tłas), Skn adłus 'lip', Nf adilsan 'both lips' ¶ Fc. 273, Lf. II #O345, La. MChB 113 (fn. 5), La. S 253, Ds. IVB 276, Wlf. EAW 45, NZ 465, 467-8 ◇ The IE, K, and B roots (if they belong here) suggest an

initial N *t̥-, while the Altaic cognate points to a N non-emphatic *t̥-. This discrepancy still remains unexplained.

2354a. *t̥ūlāv 'fire; kindle (a fire)' > **A** ({DQA} *t̥ułāv 'kindle a fire'): M *tūle- 'kindle a fire, set on fire, burn' > WrM tūle-, HIM түлэ- id. ¶ MED 852 || Tg: WrMc tolo- 'kindle a torch, set fire' (←b-M?) ¶ Z 741 ¶ QDA #2461 || **U** *tułāv 'fire' (× N *dułi 'fire; to heat', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ **Gil:** Gil A t̥ulf 'summer' ¶ ST 386 || **HS:** S *t̥ulāv > Ar t̥ulāv-at- 'éclat de l'aurore', {Hv.} 'brightness\gleam of dawn' ¶ BK II 104, Hv. 437 || WCh (× N *dułi '↑'): Ang {ChL} tal vt. 'burn' || Tng {J} t̥elē v. 'fry, put in\on fire, roast' || Ch: HgB t̥elindō, FIK t̥eluntiku vt. 'burn' ¶ ChC, ChL ◇ IS MS 341 (A ÷ K *t̥wr- > Sv t̥wr- 'kindle a candle') ◇ Gr. II #152 (*t̥ul 'fire') (U, A, CK, Gil, Ai).

2355. *t̥äx̥ta ~ *t̥äx̥xa or *t̥ax̥tE ~ *t̥ax̥xE 'spleen' > **HS:** CS *t̥ihāl- id. > MHb תְּהָלֵב t̥ə'hōl, Ug t̥hl, JEA, Sr t̥əhā'l-ā, Md t̥ahala id., Ar t̥ihāl- id., d. coll. t̥uhl- id.; S *t̥ulhīm- 'spleen' > Ak OB/LB t̥ulīmu, Mh, Hrs t̥əl'haym, Jb E/C t̥əl'him id. ¶ OLS 48O, Br. 272, Js. 528, Sl. 499, DM 173, BK II 61, Sd. 1394, Jo. M 41O, Jo. J 277, Jo. H 13, L A 223, L EDH 152, L EDG III 616, MiK I #1.278 || **A** *t̥älālāv > NaT *t̥älāl 'spleen' > OT U tal ({Cl.} t̥äl), ET tal, Yk t̥äl id.; NaT d. *t̥äl-ak (~ *t̥äläk) id. > OT QU, MQp, Chg talaq, Tk dalak, Ggz dalak, Az dalag, Az Tbr {Foy} däläꝝ, Tkm dälak, Qry, QRB, Qmq, Qzq, Nog, VTt, Bsh talaq, Uz talaq ¶ IS AD 47, Cl. 495, Rs. W 457, TL 279 (T *t̥(j)äl-ak), ET VGD 137-8, Nj. 281, Rl. III 88O, ADb. Ttd 61 [#6] || M *deli-ꝝün (~ *deli-kün?) 'spleen' > WrM deligün ~ deligüü, MM [L] delgün, [HI] deliꝝün, [MA, IsV] delün, HIM дэлүү(н), Brt дэлюү(н), Kl {KRS} дэлүүн, {Rm.} delün, MnR H {SM} diliū, Dg {T} delkin, Dg Cc {T} delig id.; AncM *deli-kün → WrMc deliqun ~ deliyaxun, Ewk dəlkin, SIn dəlkī id.; MM *deligün > Ud {Shn., Krm.} dəligi, Ud Sm {Krm.} dəlugz id. ¶ IS AD 47, Gomb. LAS 21, MED 25O, Gl. III 114-5, Kow. 1719, SM 55, Ms. H 5O, Lg. VMI 27, Pp. L III 56, KW 86, STM I 233, Krm. 23O, ADb. Ttd 1.c. || pKo *t̥čira > NKo čira 'spleen' ¶ S QK #888, MLC 1529 || pJ *t̥dži ~ *t̥dži- 'gall bladder' > OJ i ¶ S QJ #1644, Mr. 42O ¶ ~ DQA #2285 (A *t̥jōle 'spleen', including T, M, Ko, J), S CNM 11 (A *t̥jälē id.) (in both sources T, M, Ko + *÷ Tg *dilba 'diaphragm'), S AJ 14 ¶ A *t̥- (for the expected *t̥-) may be due to the infl. of *x || **K:** pGZ *t̥qirp- 'spleen' > G t̥qirp-, Mg t̥qip- id. ¶ K 184, K² 193 ¶ The K root is likely to go back to N ?φ *o*t̥äx̥ta bñ - *o*t̥äx̥xa bñ (sc.

*^täx̥la ~ *^tälx̥a + N *bA [adjectival pc., q.v. ffd.]); N *t...x > **tx- > K *tq- (ass. glottalization of *χ); K *r from N *l̥ due to some unknown phonetic rule? ◇ Altaic *t- for the expected *t' defies explanation so far ◇ ≠ IS MS 364 s.v. 'селеzenка' ('spleen'). Not here (↔ IS) Lp N {N} daðvə and Lp S {Hs.} háb'diə 'spleen'. On the ev. of the cognates in U (incl. other dialects of Lp) this Lp word for 'spleen' goes back to U *läppV (F UEW 242) < N *l'æ'pA 'spleen' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ AD NM #1O3, S CNM 11 (÷÷ NrCs), Vv. AEN 6.

2356. *tałińV ~ *tařińV '≈ shoot, sprout, twig' > HS: S *°✓ t̥liń > Ar tałi- 'spathe du palmier; fruit, quand il commence à se nouer; fruits', ✓ t̥liń G 'être en fleur', 'produire la spathe' (un plamier) ¶ BK II 96-8 || B *✓ d̥luH, *-d̥luH > Ah ađlu (Fcj. 14) 'être vert et pousser rigoureusement', ?σ Tmz d̥lu / dli 'être en grande quantité, abonder', ? SrSn tađla (pl. tađliwın) 'gerbe' | ?φ B *✓ d̥l̥H 'branch' > Ah tedale 'a thick trunk, a thick branch' ¶ Fc. 192, 271, MT 89, Rn. 3O9, NZ 328, 463 || K: ?σ *m-čil- 'greens, vegetables' > OG, G mčili 'kitchen-garden, garden', Mg d. o-rčwin-, o-rčil-, Lz (der.) o-nčul-e 'kitchen-garden' (↔ Mg *rč(w)in-, -rčil- and Lz *nčul- 'vegetables'); ??φ Sv: UB/L/Ln {TK} larčam, UB {GP} larčäm, LB (h)arčam, Sv {K} (l)arčam, lerčäm 'kitchen-garden' ¶ Doubtful as a cognate because of the unexpected vw. *i ¶ K 138, K² 126, Chik. 147, TK 367, GP 136 || ?φ G tela 'elm (вяз)', teladuma 'Ulmus campestris (карагач)', telamuši 'Ulmus scabra & elliptica' ¶ DCh. 556, Chx. 471 ¶ The unexpected initial *t- may suggest that G tela, etc. are loans from another lge. (T?) || IE: NaIE *tāl- 'shoot' ('junger Trieb') > Gk τῆλις (gen. -εως ~ -τος) 'fenugreek', τηλεθάω (mostly in present prtc.) 'be luxuriant-growing \ blooming' || L tālea 'short stake\bar; a cutting, slip for planting', tālia ~ talla 'hull of onion' ([Fest.] talla 'folliculum cepae') ¶ Not here Oss tala 'young tree, sprout' (↔ T), as well as Lt atólas 'after-grass, aftermath' (↔ P), Ltv atāls 'after-grass, aftermath, second crop', and Pru attolis 'Grummet' (cognate of Gt alan 'to grow') ¶ WP I 7O5, P 1O55, F II 892-3, WH II 644, Ert. ED 235, Ab. III 224-5 (Oss ↔ T), Frn. 22 || A: NaT *t'āl {AD} 'willow' > OT QU tal ~ dal ({Cl.} tāl) 'willow', [MhK] 'a green branch ('arraṭbu-l-qadi:bī)', MU XIV tał:₁ 'willow', Chg dal 'tree, willow', tal 'willow', Osm, Tk dāl, Ggz, CrTt, Qry Cr, Qmq dal, Qrb, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Alt, ET, Xk, Shor tal, Tkm {TDS, TkR} tal (but {Rs.} tāl) 'willow (ива, тальник, верба, ветла)', MQp XIII لَطْ tał:₁,

VTt, Bsh *tal* id., Qrg *tal* 'willow, withe, twig', Tv *t'ål* id., Yk d. (\leftarrow dim.) *tal-aχ* 'willow' ¶ Cl. 489, ADb. Ttd 62 [#4] (proves that the initial cns. in pT is $*t'$ -), Dm. NRTAJ 156, 188, 205, Rs. W 457, TL 125-6, ET VGD 130-1, TkR 615, TDS 632 ¶ Tkm *tal* (with a vl. *t*- instead of $*d$ -) is probably a loan from a Qp lge. (where *t*- is reg.). The pT vw. $*a$ is not long (\Leftrightarrow Cl.) on the ev. of Tkm and Yk (acc. to the available dictionaries), the letter 'alif in the Ar transcription of OT and MU is not a reliable ev. for a long *ā* || Tg {ADb.} **talgik* 'fallen trees, twigs, and branches' ('валежник') > Ewk *talgiς*, Lm *tālgiς*, Neg *talgiς* id., cp. (here ???) Nn Nh *datałā* даталан ' \in willow (a species)' ¶ Pt. 43, STM I 201 || D **tal-* ({§GS} **t*-?) v. 'shoot forth, sprout' > Tm *talir* id., *talir* 'sprout, tender shoot', Ml *talir* 'bud, new leaf, shoot', Ka *talal*, *talir* v. 'bud, sprout, shoot', Tu *talirə* 'sprout, bud', Tl *talaru* v. 'bloom', *taliru* 'sprout, shoot', Ku dāl- v. 'blossom' ¶ D #3131 ◇ In NaIE and D (where the lr. was lost) there was a partial merger of the reflexes of this N word with those of N **tał*₁E₂y₃'o¹ 'to give birth to; progeny' ◇ Cf. **t*∇1∇ 'rod' ('πρυτ') in Daghestanian lgs. The de-emphatization in B (*d for $*d$) is still to be explained ◇ IS MS 359 **tał*₁Δ'растi' and IS SS #1.4.

2357. **tał*₁Δ(-k∇) or **tał*₁Δ∇(-k∇) 'head, top, upper end, tip' > HS: Ch: CCh: pDb {Blz.} **talaŋ* 'head' > Db {Lnh.} *tàlāŋ*, Db K {Sb.} *tálāŋ*, Msy {Mch.} *táłā* 'head' ¶ JI II 183, ChC || WS **√tał* ~ (?) **°√tał* > Ar *√tał* G 'gravir une montagne, s'élever sur une hauteur', *tał*- 'lieu élevé d'où l'on peut voir les alentours'; 'bord, marge'; Jb E/C *√tał* (C pf. *'tałas'*), Mh *√tał* G (pf. *'taława*, sbjn. *узtałε*) v. 'rise, get up'; ??? (xN **tuł*₁∇ 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit') Ar *tał-*, *tałfat-* 'hauteur, élévation, monticule' ¶ BK I 204 and II 96-98, Ln. 312, Jo. M 409, Jo. J 277 || A **t'ol*∇₁k∇ ({SDM97} **t'oluk* '∇) 'head' > M **tolugay* 'head' > WrM *tolugai* 'head, top, tip', HlM толгой id., WrO *tologui* 'head', *tologoi* id., 'top', Kl {Rm.} *tolγā* ~ *tolγā* 'Kopf, oberes Ende', MnR {T} *tolguē*, MnR H {SM} *t'orguē*, {Pot.} толгой, MnR M {Pot.} толгай, {Rkh.} *torgé* 'head' ¶ KW 392, MED 822, Krg. 504, T 366, SM 424, Pot. 412, Rkh. 378 || pKo {S} **tłj̥kòr* > MKo *tłj̥kòr*, NKo *täguri* 'forehead' ¶ S QK #306, Nam 147 || ?σ AmTg: Ork *tolpomu* ~ *torpomu* (from a compound or derived word?), Nn *dulkumi* 'sinciput' ¶ STM I 217, 223; the voiced d- is irreg. || ?σ T **t'uluŋ* 'temple (Schläfe), hair on the temples' > OT {Cl.}, Cmn *tulum*, MQp *tulum* ~ *tuluŋ*, Chg

{Vm.} *tuluγum* (inaccurate record?) 'temple', XwT {Faz.} *tuluŋ* 'hair on the temples', OOsm ≥XIV *dulun* ~ *tuluŋ*, Osm {Rh.} *tolun* ~ *toluŋ*, Tk *tulun*, Δ *dulun* & *dulum*, Qmq Δ *tulum* 'temple', VTt **тoльим** тълъм, Bsh **тoлом** тълъм, Nog, Qq, Qzq *tulim*, Qrg *tulum*, Alt *tuluŋ*, Shor *tulun* 'plait of hair', Xk *tuluŋ* 'two plaits of hair', Chv **тaлaм** тълъм 'lock of hair, curl' ¶ The T cognate is valid only if one can find proper contexts (and/or typological parallels) for the semantic change 'head, top, upper end' → 'temple' ¶ Cl. 5O1, Rs. W 498, TL 2O3-4, Faz. II 411, Rh. 1261-2, Jeg. 235, Fed. II 188-9, Vm. 266 ¶ DQA #2426 (A **t̥olū* 'head') || | D {tr., GS} **tal-* 'head, top' > Tm *talai*, Ml *tala* 'head, top, end', Kt *tal* 'head, top', Tu *taræ*, Tl *tala* id., 'hair of head', Td *tal* 'head, end, edge', Kn *tale*, *tala* 'head, being uppermost', Kdg *tale* 'end', Klm, Nkr, Nk, Gdb *tal*, Prj *tel*, Gnd *talla* & *talā*, Knd *tala*, Kui *tlaу*, Ku *t̥rāyū* & *trāyu* & *tala* 'head', Mlt *tali* 'hair of head' ¶ D #31O3, GS 18O [#456] || ?σ IE: NaIE *°*t̥Vl-* > Clt: W *tal* 'forehead', Br *tal*, Crn *tāl* 'forehead, front', OIr *tel* ~ *taul* ~ *tul* and *tul cind* 'forehead' (*cind* 'of the head'), unless (acc. to WP I 74O and P 1O61) the Clt √ goes back to NaIE **tel-* 'flat' (→ 'surface' → 'surface of the head, forehead') ¶ Bc. 218, Vn. T 18O-2 ◇ The A cognate points to a N ***θ** in the first syll., while the D root suggests ***a** or ***ä**. This discrepancy is still to be explained. One of possible solutions: the N etymon is ***tolisA(-kN)**, and the unexpected pD vw. ***a** of the first syll. may be due to the ass. infl. of the N vw. ***A** of the next syll. ◇ Hardly here (because of the vw.) FU **tužka* 'point, upper end' (⇒ FP **tužka-mN*), which probably belongs to N ***tułiN** 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit' (q.v.) ◇ BmK 294 (Clt, D), ≠ BmK 3O9-11 (an attempt to connect S **v̥tolis* v. 'rise' with some C, IE, U, D, and A roots meaning 'forward', 'to come', 'old', 'to touch', etc.), Blz. DA #3 (D, CCh, Clt).

2358. **tułiśi, i, i, ē* 'come, enter' > HS: S **v̥tolis* > Ar **tolis* G 'venir dans un pays, se rendre dans un pays; survenir, se présenter chez quelqu'un' ¶ BK II 97 || Ch: WCh: AG **v̥tolis* 'go in' > Su {J} *deli*, Chip *deli*, Mnt *deli* id. || ? SBC: Gj, Plc *deli* 'go out'; ?? Gj *tuluwì* {ChL} v. 'come' || ECh: Jg {J} *dul*, *dol* v. 'come' ¶ Stl. ZCh 174 [#272] || u **tułiſe-* v. 'come' > F, Es *tule-* id. | Lp T {TI} *tolle-* id. | Chr KB/U/B *tola-* id. || ??σ Hg *talál-* v. 'find, discover' || Sm {Jn.} **toy-* ~ *tuy-* v. 'come' > Ne T *to-sъ*, T O {Lh.} *tōš*, Ne F *tō-š*, imv. *tu?*, En B {Ter.} *to-sъ*, {Cs.} 1s aor. *to?ado*, En X {Cs.} 1s aor. *to?aro*, Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. *tū?am*, {Ter.} *туй-ся*, Slq Tz {KKIH} *tü-qo* v. 'come', *tułiſt-qo* id., Slq {KD} Tm *tūa-* '(an)kommen',

Mt {Hl.} *toj- 'come' (Mt K {Pl.} dèlymdoč 'come here' [dèlym 'here'], M {Sp.} той 'сюда'), ? Kms {KD} 1s prs. šōlām 'I come' ¶ Coll. 63, UEW 535, TI 605-6, Sm. 54O (U *tol̥-, FU, FP *tuli-, Ugr ? *tūl̥-, Sm *tɔj-), MF 609-1O, It. #206, Jn. 164, KKIH 189, Hl. M #1047 || A: M: Brt π {Rm.} tūlgū- 'eintreten, to arrive\enter' (ene χολο δαιδαρι irehen tūlgūhen χοινολο 'after your arrival and entering this distant continent' - Zhamtsarano, *Alamzhi mergen*, line 4537) ¶ Rm. SKE 266-7, Rm. EAS I 11O || pKo *tír- 'enter' > MKo tír-, NKo til- v. 'enter' ¶ S QK #677, Nam 174, MLC 534, Rm. SKE 266-7 || ? T *t̥ǘl- 'settle (somewhere)' > OT {Cl.} tūš- id., Tlt {Rl.} tūš- 'irgendwo hinkommen, sich wohin begeben', Tv d_ūž- 'stop at (a place)', ET čūš-~tūš- 'stop at (someone's house, inn)', Qzq tūs- 'stop (at someone's house)' ¶ The T verb is a valid cognate unless it is a sd. of T *tū́l- 'fall, descend' (ET VGD 330-3) ¶ IS AD 4O, TvR 186, MM 368, Nj. 398-9, Rl. III 1587-8, BT 163 ¶ Rm. EAS I 11O ("tū. tūš- 'hineintreten', tūšüm 'Einkommen': mo. burj. tulgu- 'eintreten', kor. t̥il- 'hineintreten') ¶ The adduction of the A √ is qu. because the meaning 'come, settle down' is not demonstrably primary in T and because the M word is based only on Rm.'s interpretation of one epic text ◇ If the T cognate is valid, the A lateral cns. is *-l̥-, accounted for by a contraction: N *t̥uł̥i, i, ē > *t̥uł̥i, ē > *t̥uł̥iy, ē (with *-y- appearing in hiatus) > *t̥uł̥iy, ē > A *t̥uł̥i, ē. The M cognate (if valid) suggests an Altaic fortis *t̥'-, while Tv d_- seems to suggest a pT lenis *t̥'-, but this is a phonetic problem that is still to be investigated ◇ ≠ BmhK 309-11 (an attempt to connect the above U √ with some S, C, IE, D, and A roots meaning 'rise', 'forward', 'old', 'to touch', etc.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #72 (*tul 'come') (U, Ko, CK, EA + err. T and M).

2359. 2 *t̥oLH∇ 'to cross (a river, a mountain range, etc.)' > IE *t̥oH- 'to- 'ford, passage' > Lt tiltas, Ltv tilts 'bridge' || Vd t̥ir'tham 'ford, passage' (x ↔ OI 'tarati 'crosses over') ¶ IS IA 74, M K I 507; ≠ P 1061 and Frn. 1094 (both do not distinguish between this stem and homonymic stems: *telə, - 'flat' and *tel- 'board') || A {SDM95} *t̥oł̥i, ē ∇ v. 'cross (a stream\river, a mountain ridge)' > Tg *tul- v. 'cross (a mountain ridge, a stream)' > Ewk tuldun- v. 'cross (a mountain ridge)', Ork tolo- v. 'cross a stream (on a tree trunk put across it)' ¶ STM II 195, 21O || pKo {S} *t̥arì 'bridge' > MKo tarì, NKo tarì ¶ S QK #379, Nam 13, MLC 383 ¶ DQA #2427 (A *t̥oł̥i, ē 'bridge, river crossing').

2360. ***taLh** ∇ 'flat' > HS: CS * $\check{t}lh$ 'be flat' > Sr **taLih-ā** 'flat', Ar **taLh-īy-at-** {BK, Hv.} 'sheet of paper', Ar **taLh-** {Ln.} 'spadix\spatha of a palm-tree', {Fr.} 'spatha palmae' ¶ Br. 276, Ln. 1865, Fr. III 363, BK I 94-5, Hv. 435 || NrOm: Kf {C} **telō** 'a plain', Mch {L} **'tällo** 'meadow, plain' ¶ C SE IV 51O, L M 55 || ?σ K: pGZ ***t'a'l-** / ?***tl-** > G R {Brd.} **talā** 'layer (пласт)'; ?φ G {DCh.} **tlu** 'single (одиночный)', 'naked tree without branches'; Mg **toli** 'equal', (Mg \rightarrow ?) G **tol-i** 'equal, person of the same age', (G \rightarrow ?) Sv {TK}: UB/LB/Ln **twel**, LB **tuwel**, **tel id.** ¶ DCh. 1224-5, Brd. IR 4O, Chx. 1359, TK 72O || IE ***telH**- 'flat, flat ground' > OI **talā-m** 'flat surface, level, palm (of hand)' || L **telūs**, gen. -ūris 'earth' (< ***telnos**), meditullium 'inland' || OIr **talam** 'earth, land' (< ***tolə-mo-**) > NIr **talamh** 'a farm of land'; MW {TLw.} **tal** 'plot of land' || Arm **թալ** 'quarter, ward, district; neighbourhood' || Pru **talus** 'floor' | Sl ***tylo** 'ground, soil, floor' > SCr **tlō**, Slv **tlā** (gen. pl. **tal**) id., OR, RChS **тьло** **тыло** 'Boden', P **tlō** 'floor; the ground of a picture\stuff', Uk **тло** 'ground of a picture\stuff', r 'field' || ON **þel** 'ground', **þeli** 'frozen ground' ¶ In BSl: × NaIE ***telə**- 'wooden board, plank, (?) tree' < N ***tA1X** ∇ or ***tA1X** ∇ 'stem, (=?) tree' ¶ WP I 74O, P 1061, Mn. 1375, ≈σ EI 247 (IE ***telH-om** ~ ? ***tl-H-om** 'floor [of planks]'), WH II 655-6, Vn. T 22-3, Dnn. 713, Flr. 31O, TLw. 27O-1, Vr. 608, 61O, Frn. 1093 (does not distinguish between ***telə**- 'flat' and ***tel-** 'board'), En. 262, Glh. 631, Srz. III 1078-9, Mikl. E 37O, Brü. 571 || A ***t'aL** ∇ > M: [1] M ***talā** 'plain, steppe' > WrM **talā**, HlM **тал**, Brt **тала** 'plain, level space, steppe', Dg {Mrm} **tał**, **tałā** 'plain, field'; \rightarrow T: Qrg **talā**, Chg **tala** id., Tk **dala** id., Tk **Δ tala** 'flat country', Az **tala** 'glade', Yk **tāla** 'steppe (чистое поле), plain'; some T lge. \rightarrow Kl **тала** 'open place, field, plain'; M ***talabəur** 'flat surface' > MM [HI] **talabar** 'plat, assiette', WrM **talabur**, HlM **талбар** 'field, plain'; [2] M ***tal(a)** > WrM **tal**, **talā**, HlM **тал** 'half, one of a pair', Kl **talъ** 'half' (\leftarrow *'equal'), ? 'side' ('half' \leftarrow 'equal' \leftarrow 'even' \leftarrow 'flat'; unless related to Ko **tal** in **im-dal** 'shady side' and thus belonging to a different A \vee [Rm. SKE 252]); [3] WrM {Rm.} **talbagu**, Kl **talwū** 'flat, even' ('flach, eben') ¶ MED 771, Chr. 411, Klz. D II 135, Ms. H 99, KRS 473, KW 375-7, Rs. W 458 || Tg ***tal-** v. 'be flat' \rightarrow [1] Ewk Y/Skh/Urm **tallaɣā-**, Ewk Np **tallakā-** v. 'flatten (the ground)', Ewk Y/Np/Skh/Urm **tallama**, Ewk Z **tallakān** 'plain, flat land'; [2] ***talugan** 'plain surface (of land or body of water)' > WrMc **talgan** 'flat surface, flat surface of water, surface

of an object', {Hr.} 'surface of a flat object', Ewk *talgin* 'flat surface of a body of water (гладь)', 'backwater (заводь, затон)', Nn B/KU *talga* 'bay, lake (connected with the main body of water)'; Tg → Yk *tolōn* (< **taluyan*) 'valley' ¶ STM II 157-8, Z 709, Hr. 884 || Ko {MLC} *tīl* 'a plain, an uncultivated field', {Gale} *til* 'flats, prarie, a wilderness', {Und.} *nəlbīn-təl* 'savannah' (literally 'broad plain') ¶ Plv. KA 1202, Rm. SKE 262, 266, MLC 533, Und. 515, Gale 270 ¶ DQA #2322 (A **tāle* 'open place, open sea' > M **tala* 'plain, steppe', **tal-b-*, Tg **tālgi-*, sc. **talugan* 'plain surface') ◇ IS ms. **tal'h'a* 'плоский' (IE, Om, K, T, M, Tg, Ko, but not S).

2361. *ṭalay, 'o' 'young of an animal, child; to give birth to' > **HS:** WS **ṭalay-* (~ **ṭalay-*?) 'young of an animal, child' > BHb טָלֵה *ṭālē* 'lamb', JA [Trg.], JEA טָלִי אֶתְלִיא / *ṭal'y-ā* 'young man, lamb', Sr *ṭal'y-ā* id., Plm *ṭly* 'young, boy', Ar طَلْعَةٌ *ṭala-n* 'young of a gazelle, young of artiodactyls', Sb *ṭly* 'yearling lamb', Gz *ṭalī* 'goat, kid' ¶ GB 276, KB 359, KBR 375, Lv. T I 302-3. ~ Js. 536-7, Sl. 504, Br. 276, BK II 103, Fr. III 68, BGMR 153, Ls CDG 590 || EC {Ss.} **ḍal-* v. 'give birth, beget' > Sa, Af, Sml *ḍal-*, Rn *ḍel-*, Bn *ḍel-*, Elm *ḍal-*, Arr, Kns, Gdl, Dl *ḍal-* id., Bs {HL} *al-* 'give birth', Dsn *ḍal-* id., 'generate'; Sa {Wlm.} *ḍaylo* 'young of an animal' ¶ Bl. 103, 195, Ss. PEC 21, 30, Ss. B 62, 129, AD SF 57-8, ZMO 108, PH 90, Sim 11, 13, 25, PG 93, HL 65, Hw. A 353, To. DL 493 || ECh: Mu {Lk.} *ḍāl-*, Mgm {JA} *ḍōlō* v. 'lay (eggs)' ¶ Lk. ZSS 181, JA 81 || **U:** BF: F Δ *tallo* 'yearling pig, young pig', Es *tałł* (gen. -e), Vo *tału*, *talikka* 'lamb' ¶ SK 1213-4 || ?Φ **K:** G *tel-i* 'sucking-pig' ¶ Chx. 556 ¶ G *t-* (for the expected *ṭ-*) is puzzling. A possible solution is suggesting that G *tel-i* is a loan from some Turkic lge. (see below on T **ṭl'ēl* 'young animal [calf, etc.] that is suckled not by its own mother' [Rs. W 471] and on T **ṭ'ōl* 'progeny') || **IΕ:** NaIE **te(:)l-* 'young of an animal, child' > Lt *tēlias*, Ltv *tel's* 'calf' | Sl **te'l-e* (gen. **telēte*) 'calf' > SrChS **τελλα** *telę*, OR *telja*, R pl. *телята* (sg. d. *телёнок*), Uk *теля* (gen. *теляти*), Blf *теле*, SCr *tēle* (pl. *tēleta*) 'calf', Slv *tel'e*, Cz *tele*, Slk *tel'a*, P *cielę* id.; Sl d. **tel'cь* (< **tel-ьkь*) > OCS **τελ्यць** *tel'cь* 'young ox' (< 'calf')] **o*-grade of apophony: OLt *talokas* 'grown-up daughter', Lt *talōkas* 'grown-up man'] with an unexplained vw. ḥ: Gk Ae τᾶλις (gen. -ιδος) 'marriageable maiden, bride' ¶ Mn. 1375, F II 850, Frn. 1056, 1077-8, Kar. II 388-9, Glh. 622, Vs. IV 38, Sl. I 99 || **A:** NaT **ṭ'ōl* 'progeny, descendants' > OT

Qp töл id., MU, MQp, MOg XIV, Chg töл, Tkm döл 'sperm, breed, progeny', Tk döл, Az döл 'offspring', Qq, Qzq, Qrg töл 'breed', VTt, Bsh түл 'foetus', Tv т‘öl 'child, young of an animal'; T → WrM töл, HlM τεπ 'newborn animal', Kl {Rm.} töл 'jährlicher Zuwachs des Viehs' ¶ Cl. 49O, Rs. W 493, TL 322, MM 375, TkR 282, KW 406 ¶ Cl. reconstructs a long *ö for OT and OOg, but Tkm provides ev. for a short pT *ö ¶ DQA #2258 (A*tóle - -jо-, -ja- "descendance" [sc. 'progeny]; including T) ¶ Hardly here T *t̥éл 'young animal (calf, etc.) that is suckled not by its own mother' (Rs. W 471) and M *telege '(an offspring) that nurses from two mothers' (unc. rec. *t̥éлν 'young lamb, calf' {DQA #2359}), because the specific (hence the original) semantic component here is not 'offspring', but 'suckled not by one's own mother', which may be related to S *°✓ t̥ll (Ar ✓ t̥ll G 'léser quelqu'un de ses droit, le priver de ce qui lui est dû', BK II 91) and to IE(OIr tlenaim 'I steal') || D (in SD) *tal- ({§GS} *t-) 'breed' > Kt tay] 'breed of cattle', Ka tali 'race, family, stock, breed' ¶ D #3131 ◇ The quality of T *ö may be explained by regr. as. (infl. of N *-Eyə?). The length of T *ö still needs explaining ◇ Cf. IS MS 359 *t̥älə 'растя' and IS SS #1.4 (does not distinguish between the etymon in question and N *t̥alɪν ~ *t̥arɪν 'shoot, sprout, twig' and quotes S *talay-, IE, T, M, D, but not C, U, and K).

2362. *t̥aluya 'skin, fell' > HS: Ch: pNrBc {Stl.} *tala 'skin' > Kry {Sk.}, P' {Sk.} tala, Cg tal 'skin' ¶ Sk. NB 40, JI II 296, Stl. ZCh 251 [#43] || u *taluya 'skin, fell' > F talja id. | pLp {Lr.} *tōlyē 'fell' > Lp: N {N} duol'lje, S {Hs.} duöliję, U {Schl.} düell'jee, L {LLO} tuol'jē, Kld tūl' | Sm {Jn.} *t̥çålyñb (most probably *tålyb) 'skin of the forehead' > Ne T тай 'skin of the forehead; forehead', Ne O тай 'skin of the face', Ne F {Cs.} tai, {Lh.} tāyɔk:u id., Ng {Cs.} tuaja 'skin of the forehead', En X {Cs.} tâjo, En B {Cs.} taijo 'skin of the head', Kms d. {KD} t‘uyu-šbк'tu' 'Schlafstätte aus Renntier- oder Elentierhaut', Mt K {Pl.} dáihase 'bald patch on the head (плешь)' ¶ UEW 508-9, Lr. #1294, N I 593, Lgc. #8082, Hs. 467, Jn. 150, Hl. M #939 || A: Tg *talu 'birch bark' > Ewk talu, Sln tala ~ talu, Neg, Ul, Ork talu, Orc talu, Ud taluga, Nn talo ~ talu, WrMc tolxon ¶ STM II 158 || NaT: [1] *t̥ul-gak ~ *t̥ul-kuk 'bared skin; leather sack' > OT Trf {BG} tolquq 'a hide filled with air and used as a float', Osm {Rh.} طولقون dolquq (× طولقون dolquq 'filled') (Rh.'s ل d = [t]), MT [IM] {Battal} tolkuk, [other]

sources] тулук 'tulum (skin used as a receptacle for liquids)', MT XIV {AH} дөлкүү id., OOsm XV, Tk Δ тула 'raw hide', Bsh тулаq id., Qzq {Bu.}, Qq тувлаq 'dry hide (of a cow\horse) used to felt wool on', Alt/Tel {Rl.} тулаq 'kahles, abreriebenes Fell; ein Fell, das auf dem Boden ausgebreitet ist, auf dem man sitzt; ein trockenes hartes Leder, auf dem man die Filzdecken schlägt', тулаq ton 'ein kahler Pelz, Ledermantel', Az түлүг тулуг 'a hide taken off as a whole, wine-skin', Tk тулук / тулук-, Osm {Rh.} дөлүү a skin or hide used as a receptacle or a float', Qrc {Rs.} тулук 'wine-skin', SY {Ml.} тулук соопа 'corn grains with husks'] [2] T *t'ulum > Osm {Rl.} тулум 'gegerbtes Fell von Tieren, ein Lederschlauch', {Rh.} طولوق тولوم 'a skin or hide taken off whole (used as a receptacle), bagpipe', Tk {Thms.} тулум 'bag or bottle made from the skin of animals for holding cheese, liquids, water, wine; = bagpipe made from the same material', SY {Ml.} тулум 'leather sack for milk and milk products', Yk тулум 'useless piece of leather', ET, Uz Δ тулум 'leather receptacle for liquids', as well as Qry/Alt {Rs.} тулуп 'leather coat' (→ R түлүп 'sheepskin coat'), VTt толоп төлөр 'sheepskin'; T → M: MM [IM] тулун, WrM, MMgl тулум, HIM, Brt тулам, Ord т'улум, Kl тулм тулм, MnR H {SM} тулун, {T} тулум, MnR M {T} тулун 'whole skin used as a vessel for liquids'; M → Tg: SIn tolō id., tol'ma 'bucket', Ewk d. тулум-кān 'whole skin of a calf used as a vessel for grain, flour, dried curds', WrMc тулума, турме 'leather sack filled with air (for crossing rivers)'; the M word is a loan rather than a genetic cognate, as suggested by the absence of final vw; T → (through some M and/or Tg lge.) NKO turumaki 'overcoat' (see Lee CSMK 118)] [3] T: StAlt {BT} тулус 'leather sack from a whole skin of an animal' ¶ T *u of the first syll. may be due to as. (A *a...u > T *u...u) ¶ BG AI 47, Rs. W 497-8, TL 187-8, RI. III 1467-71, 1721, Bu. I 751, KrkR 658, Hüs. 207, Äz. 344, BT 158, Ml. ZhU 124, Rh. 1261-2, Thms. 495, Dr. TM II ##931, Pek. 28O, Pp. MA 448, MED 841-2, SM 431, T 367, Iw. 139, KRS 517, KW 41O, Chr. 434, STM II 212, Hr. 927 ¶ ≠ DQA #2731 (*t'ulu|o "torn and scraped skin", sc. 'bared and tanned skin' > T + err. M and Tg words for 'leather sack' and Ko turumaki [treated as genetic cognates]), S CNM 8 || D *tol / *tolı ({GS} *t-) 'skin, hide' > Tm, Ml tol 'skin, hide', Tm tol id., 'husk', Ml tolı 'skin, bark, peel, rind', Kt tol, Td twi·s, Kn tol(u), Kdg tolı, Tl tolı, Ku tolı, tolı 'skin, hide', Tu tolıkæ, Prj, Gdb tol

'skin, bark', Nkr, Nk, Prj *tōl* 'skin', Gnd *tōl* 'skin, hide' & *tōla* 'skin, bark of tree' & *tōlu* 'skin', Knd *tōl*, *tōlu* 'skin (of animals)'; forms with word-internal -k-, -g-, -v- (Ml *tukal* 'skin of a fruit', Kn *togal* ~ *todal* id., 'skin, hide', Tu *tugala* 'skin, bark') either do not belong here or go back to a contraction of cds., like Kt *to·krl* < *to·l karl* 'peg used in pegging down hide to dry' (literally 'hide wood', F D #1389); on the contraction hypothesis F Zv. 66-7 ¶ D #3559, Zv. 64 (rec. of *ō) ◇ The rounded vw. of the first syll. in T and D may be due to regr. as. (infl. of N *U of the second syll.). An alt. N rec. is *tōlV, but it does not explain the vw. *a in U and Tg ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE I 242 [#6] (U, D) ◇ AD NM #96, S CNM 8 (÷ ST *^rt'ałH 'membrane, pellicle').

2363. *tālkā 'strike, push' > HS: WS *✓t̪lk v. 'throw, let run, release' > JA [Trg.], JPA ✓t̪lk G v. cast, throw', ? Sr ✓t̪lk v. G 'be abandoned, disappear', Ar ✓t̪lq (ip. -t̪liq-) G 'lâcher qch., laisser passer de ses mains en les ouvrant', Jb ✓t̪lk (pf. et'lek, sbjn. 'yεt̪lək) v. 'release, let run, shoot', Mh, Hrs ✓t̪lk Sh v. 'let run' ¶ BK II 100-1, Fr. III 66, Js. 538, Lv. T I 306, Br. 278, Jo. H 130, Jo. J 277-8, Jo. M 410, Lv. II 162 ¶ The S ✓ (adduced to this etl. comparison by IS) remains qu. as a cognate because its primary meaning may have been 'let go, release'. If it does belong here, the underlying semantic prehistory may be: 'let go, release' ← 'push' || ? WCh *°✓d̪l > Bg {Sh.} d̪al v. 'beat' ¶ ChC || K: G I t̪kvleç-/t̪kvliç- 'zerbrechen, zerschlagen' ¶ Chx. 1353 ¶ This is a case of a typical K mt. (lrs., uvulars, and velars are attracted to the position after the initial or nearest dental, sibilant or labial stop\affricate) bringing about "harmonic clusters" || IE: NaIE *telk-/*tolk-/*t̪lk- v. 'strike, push, crash' > Clt: OI {Vn.} tolgaid 'il attaque', tolg 'force, énergie', NIr tolg 'strength, effort', tulca 'a sudden charge with the horns', talc(a) 'force, vigour', W talch 'fragment, grist', OCrn [ɣ] talch · "furfures" || BSl: Ltv {Vs.} no-tālcīt 'beat (поколотить)', su-tełkti 'konzentrieren' | Sl *tełkti (prs. *t̪yłk-ə) > OCS та́льши tlěšti / та́лькъ tlъk-ə 'schlagen, prügeln; klopfen, pochen' ({Mn.} v. 'clash, crush'), RChS та́льши tlěšti / та́лькъ tlъk-ə v. 'push', та́лоши tlōšti / та́лькъ tlъkə id., 'knock', OR тълын tъlči 'to beat, to strike, to crush', R то'лочь / тол'ку v. 'crush', Slv inf. tleči 'to flog', tlouci (prs. tluk-ə) 'to knock, to beat', P tļuc 'to grind, to pound'; d.: R тол'катъ 'to push'; R {SSRLJ} то'лока n. act. 'grazing cattle on fallow'; Sl *tolkъ > Cz tlak 'pressure', Slv tlák 'paving, floor', {Frn.} 'festgestampfter Boden,

Druck', P **tłok** 'Gedränge', R Δ τολοκ 'Stampfer, Handramme'; P **tłokno**, R τολοκ'но 'oat floor' | pBSI *talkā 'collective voluntary work' > R Δ τολο'κα, Ltv t̄alkā f., Lt talkā 'voluntary collective work for a member of the village community', {Mn.} 'rally', {Frn.} 'zusammengebetene Arbeitsgemeinschaft', → Lt telkiū {Mn.} v. 'mass, rally', {Frn.} 'Arbeitsgemeinschaft zusammenbitten, sammeln' | Mn. 1376, 1402, 1410, WP I 741 (*teleq- 'stoßen, zerstoßen, schlagen'), P 1062 (*telek- id.), EI 471 **telk- 'push, thrust'), Vn. T 102, LP § 54, Dnn. 713, 743, 766, YGM-1 403, 411, SJSS XLIII 461, Srz. III 966, 1048, Frn. 1053-4, 1078, Tr. 321-2, Vs. IV 73-4, SSRLJ XV 559, ME IV 127-8 || A: NaT *t_l'alk(i)- v. *'strike, beat' (→ [1] 'crush', cf. *t_l'alk'an 'crushed grain', [2] 'injure, harm', [3] 'soften [leather] by beating it') > OT {Cl.} talq- (gerund talqar) v. 'injure, harm', Alt/Tlt/Shor {Rl.} talqi-, Tv d_{al}q*i*- 'soften (hides in order to manufacture leather)', VTt, Bsh talk̄-, StAlt talqu-la- id., 'brake (flax)'; NaT *t'alkan (< *t'alk-gan) 'parched crushed grain' ('τολοκνό') > OT {Cl.} talqan, Chg, StAlt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, ET talqan, Xk talqan, Uz talqan id., Tf t̄alhan id., 'fried flour', Tkm talqan 'sweet parched crushed grain', Tv d_{al}qan 'flour'; T → MM [MA] talqan, Kl talqā, {Rm.} talqān 'parched crushed grain', WrM talqā 'powder, flour', HlM talq(an) 'bread, flour', Oyr talqan 'wheat flour', Brt talqā(n) 'flour'; R τολοκνό and P **tłokno** 'parched oat flour' may result from coalescence of a Sl derived word (cp. R τολούχъ, P tluc '↑') with a loan from T | Cl. 495, DTS 519, Rs. W 458, TL 382, Rl. III 890, Ra. 169, BT 140, MED 773, Pp. MA 339, ADb. Ttd 65 [#7], KW 376, Vs. IV 73-4 | Tkm t- suggests pT *t'- (F IS AD), F ADb. Ttd 1.c. || D *tal]- ({θGS} *t-) v. 'push' (x N *dA|oí, ▽, ▽ 'to push', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 369 (*t_lnk̄n > IE, S, D) ◇ The corr. between T *-l- and D *-]- suggests a N *-l- (because T *-l- rules out N *-ʃ-, while D *-]- rules out N *-ʃ-).

2364. *taLPV (= *taLbV?) 'vast; room' > HS: S *°✓ t̄lb '≈ far' > Ar ✓ t̄lb (pf. t̄liba) 'se trouver loin; être éloigné', t̄lb-at- 'voyage lointain' | BK II 93 || IE: NaIE *telp- v. 'have room', *tolpā 'space' > OI 'talpah' 'Lager, Ruhesitz, Bett' || OIr -tella 'have room for sth.' || Lt tilpti / prs. telpū, Ltv tilpt / prs. telpu 'fit in, find room (Raum wohin haben)', Lt talpā 'capacity, ausreichender Raum', Ltv t̄elpa, tilpa, tilpe 'space, Raum', Lt t̄ulpinti, Ltv tilpināt 'to give place' | ??σ Sl *t̄lpa > OCS тλъпa тъла, Blg тълпа, R тол'па 'crowd', Cz tlupa 'band, gang', Slk {SBR} tlupa id., 'crowd' || pTc

{Ad.} tälp- > Tc B tälp- 'be emptied' ¶ P 1O62, EI 536, M K I 489, M E I 637-8, Thr. §§ 83, 153, Frn. 1O54, 1O94, 1138, Kar. II 385-6, SJSS XLIII 46O, Vs. IV 74, Ma. CS 53O, SBR 887, Ad. 297 || A: M *talbi-yun > WrM talbigun, HlM талбиу {MED} 'broad, wide, vast', {Rnc.} id. ('широкий, просторный'), Kl талвн n. 'square' (Ленина талвн 'Lenin square'), 'field' (спортын талвн 'play-ground'); M *talb^ri'gu > WrO talbuu 'sloping', Kl talwū 'flach, eben', Ord t'ālbū g_až_ar 'terrain qui est en pente douce' ¶ MED 773, KRS 474, KW 377, Rinch. 195, Kow. 1638, Gl. III 58, Krg. 476, Ms. O 642 ◇ If the N etymon is *ṭaLb^rṇ, IE *p (for *b^h) is due to the IE morphophonology that rules out co-occurrence of vl. consonants and cd. aspirates.

2365. ² *ṭūlE (or *ṭæwūlE?) 'extend, stretch, be(come) long' > HS: WS *-ṭūl- 'long, far' > Ar ✓ ṭwl (pf. ṭāla, ip. -ṭūl-) 'être long, s'étendre en longueur', ṭawl- 'length', ṭawīl- 'long, tall', BHb Sh ps. pf. הָטַל (ip. עָטַל) {GB} 'hingestreckt werden, der Länge nach hinstürzen', Sh hē'ṭīl v. 'throw far', Sb ip. עַטְלִין v. 'extend', ṭl 'length', Gz, Tgr ✓ ṭwl D 'extend', Mh ṭōl, Hrs ṭawl, ṭṣl, Jb E ṭεbl, Jb C 'ṭol 'length', Mh, Hrs ṭṣwayl 'long' ¶ GB 274-5, KB 357, KBR 373, BK II 123-5, Hv. 442, BGMR 154, Jo. M 413 || EC: Sa {R} dēl, dəl 'long, high, far' ¶ R S II 125 || WCh: Su {J} dul 'pull, ziehen', Mpn {Frz.} dūl 'pull' ¶ J S 63, Frz. DM 12 || ? Eg fP dwn vt. 'stretch out, stretch (bows), straighten (knees)', vi. 'be stretched out' (× N *ṭañṇ 'draw, stretch, extend'), if HS *-l- may regularly yield Eg n ¶ EG V 431-2, Fk. 311 ¶ Tk. I 1O3 || A: T *töle- (< **t'öle-?) > NaT {IS} *töše- v. 'spread out (a mattress, etc.) > OT {Cl.} töše- id., Tk döše-, Ggz, Tkm döše-, Tkm NY tüše-, Az döšä-, MT [IM] döšä- ~ töšä-, Chg, MQp töše-, Tv d_œze- v. 'spread out', ET Tr töšä- 'als Lager ausbreiten', Qq töse-, Qzq tösel- v. 'spread out, make up (a bed)'; → *ṭ_l'öšek 'mattress' > Tk döšek, Az döšäk, Ggz döšek, XT {ADb.} döšek, Tf {ADb.} d_öžek id., Tv d_öžek id., 'bed' ¶ A. Dybo (ADb. Ttd 57-8) has found that in *C^rVš-roots the opposition *t'- ↔ *ṭ'- is neutralized ¶ Cl. 561, IS AD 42 [#22], Rs. W 495, MM 276, KrkR 652, ADb. Ttd 58 [#1O] || M *tele- > WrM tele-, HlM тэлэ- v. 'stretch (as hide or bow), smooth by stretching (as textiles)', Ord {Ms.} t'ele- 'étirer, distendre, étendre', Kl төлх tel-xə v. 'stretch out, extend' ¶ MED 797, SM 418, Ms. O 656, KRS 491, KW 39O || Tg *tele- v. 'extend' > Ewk, Neg, Orc, Nn tṣlз- , Lm tṣlgъ- ~ tъlgъ- v. 'stretch (a hide on a frame)' ('растянуть'), Ul tṣlu- v. 'stretch (fish

skin)', WrMc **tele**- v. 'extend, stretch, smooth by stretching' ¶ STM II 232 ◇ One of possible N reconstructions is ***ṭū̄īE**, that presupposed that M and Tg *e of the first syll. is due to regr. as. (*o...e > *e...e). If Eg **d̄w̄n** belongs here, the Eg, M, and T cognates suggest to prefer the rec. ***ṭæwū̄īE** ◇ ≠ BmK 3O6-7 (they equate the S √ with IE ***de1-**, ***de1ēgʰ-**, ***d̄olagʰo-** 'long').

2366. ***ṭUÍN** (= ***ṭū̄īN?**) 'to drip; drops of water, dew' > **HS:** WS ***ṭall-** 'dew; to drizzle' > BHb **ṭal**, **ṭall-**, Ar **ṭall-** 'dew, light rain', Ug **ṭl**, JA [Trg.] **ṭal** / **ṭal'l-ā**, Sr **ṭall-ā**, Gz **ṭall**, Tgr, Amh **ṭell**, Tgy **ṭelli**, Mh {Jo.} **ṭal**, Hrs {Jo.} **ṭl**, Jb E {Jo.} **ṭehl**, Jb C {Jo.} **ṭel** 'dew', Gz **ṭall** 'dew, moisture', Ug ✓ **ṭll** v. 'fall (dew)', Ar ✓ **ṭll** v. *G* 'moisten slightly the soil' (dew), 'être humide, légèrement humecté par la pluie ou par la rosée', Gz ✓ **ṭll G** (pf. **ṭalla**) 'be moist\humid\wet, be covered with dew' ¶ KB 358-9, KBR 374-5, BDB #2919, Js. 535, Lv. T I 3O2, LG 591, Br. 275, LH 6O6, A #1118, OLS 48O-1, BK II 91, Hv. 134, Jo. M 4O9, Jo. J 277, Jo. H xv, 129 || IE: NaIE *(s)tel- v. 'drip' > Gk σταλάσσω v. 'let drop (e.g. tears)', vt. 'drop', σταλάσσω φόνον v. 'drop blood', στάλαγμα n. 'drop', σταλαγμός 'a dropping, dripping', {P} 'das Tröpfeln, Tropfen' || ME **stalen**, NE **stale**, MLG, NHG **stallen** v. 'urinate', NE **stale** 'urine', MLG **stal** 'urine of horses' || ?σ Lt **tułžti** v. 'become humid' ¶ P 1O18, F II 776, KM 737, HDEL 1255 ¶ Acc. to IS's hypothesis, IE *(s)- is an indirect reflex of the N word-medial palatality || ? **A** ***°t_l'UÍN** > [1] (here?) T ***°t_l'ǖl** > OT [MhK] **tüš** 'nocturnal emission (spermatorrhoea)' (MKD 125) ¶ DTS 6OO, Cl. 559 (interprets it as a private case of **tüš** 'dream') || [2] ?σ T ***tṓl** 'ice' > NaT ***tōš** > OT {DTS} **toš** 'glacier in the mountains', StAlt, Tb **toš**, Tv **d_ōš**, Tf **d_ōš** 'ice', Qmn **toš**, Xk **tos**, VTt **tuš** 'water over the ice of rivers\lakes (наледь)', Yk **tohō-** v. 'break ice in a river' ¶ DTS 578, Cl. 557 (interprets OT **toš** as 'pool'), Ra. 174, BT 154, B DChT 157, B DK 255, BIG 233, TatR 559, JkR 392, ≠ DQA #244 (T***tṓl** 'ice' < A ***čjòlu** [sc. ***čjòlu**] 'ice, hail'; the etymology is based on the highly controversial hyp. of T ***t-** going back to A ***č-**), Vv. AEN 8 (justified criticism of the latter etymology, which I accepted in NM) ¶ The lax ***t̄-** and the vw. ***o** (for the expected ***u**) still need explaining || pJ {S} ***tùrárá** > OJ **turara**, J: T **cùrara**, K **cùràrá**, Kg **curará** 'icicle' ¶ S QJ #154O ¶ ≠ DQA #244 || **D** {Km.} ***tu]-** ({**g**GS} ***t-**) > Tm **tulli** 'a drop', **tullam** 'little drop of water', **tułi** v. 'drip', Ml **tułi**, **tulli** 'a drop', Kt **tolg-** v. 'wash one's hands with tears', Td **tüky** 'a drop', **toqy-** vi., vt. 'sprinkle', Kn **tułaku** v. 'be scattered in drops',

tułukı v. 'sprinkle', Kdg **tulı** 'a drop', OTl {Km.} **toläku** v. 'spill, scatter (as water); overflow', Tl {BE} **tolukı** v. 'rain', Prj **tolk-**, Knd **torłk-** vi. 'spill' §§ D #3361, Km. 395 [#632] ◇ ≠ BmK 3O2-3 (equates S and D with IE *d^{el}- [> OIr **delt** 'dew', Br **delt** 'moist', Arm **տեղ** **teł** 'heavy rain', etc.], which in my opinion belongs to N ***tä1UH₂A** ~ ***ta1UH₂ä** '≈ cold season, rain', q.v.).

2367. ≈ ₂ ***tUÍE\xN** 'breast, female breast' > **HS:** S ***t^ulN̥-** id. > OAk **tuli?um** ~ **tula?um** 'breast', Ak B/NA **tulū**, **tejlū** 'breast, nipple', Gz **+nø** **talā** [talla] 'breast', Mh **tʒlöt** (\checkmark t₁l) 'nipple' § G OA 297, Sd. 1369, L G 574, Jo. M 4O1, MiK I #1.276 || **A** ≈ ***t₁Eöíi** (= ***t₁ööíi?**) ({DQA} ***t'öíi**) 'breast' > T ***t₁jöí** 'breast' > Chv **čülbk** 'hame-strap' ('супонь') (< ***tjöí-lík** 'breast-collar' ['нагрудник'], ср. Az **döšlük**, Bsh **tüšlök** id., VTt **tüšlök** 'подгрудник' ['lower breast-collar'?]) || NaT ***t₁öš** > OT U **töš** 'breast', OT [MhK] {MKD} **töš** 'sternum' or 'breast-bone', MU **döš** ~ **töš**, XwT **töš** ~ **taš**, MT XIV [IM], Cmn, Chg **töš**, MQp, OOsm **döš** 'breast', Tk **döş**, Az, XT {ADb.} **döš**, Tkm **döš**, Qry **töš** ~ **teš**, Qmq, Blq, Qrg, Alt, Tb, QK, ET **töš**, VTt, Bsh **tüš**, Nog, Qz1, Qq, Xk **tös**, Uz **twš**, Xlj **töš~döš**, SY **tös**, **tüs** id., Tv **төш** **t'öš**, Tv NE {ADb.} **döš** 'breast-bone', Tf **džöš**, Yk **tüös** 'chest, breast-bone' § Rs. W 495, TL 271-2, ADb. Ttd 58 [#18], MKD 198, Md. 119, 179, Jeg. 328, Fed. II 427, DHST 3O7, Pek. 29O8, ≈ DQA #2441 (T ***töí**) § Tv **t'**- points to pT ***t'**-, while Og, Tf, and Tv NE suggest pT ***t'**; acc. to DQA, the latter may be induced by merger with T ***töí** 'mountain slope' || Tg: WrMc **tulı** 'breast (of a horse)' § STM 211 §§ ADb. Ttd 58 [#18] §§ A. Dybo (ADb. SR-D 446 [#22] and ADb. Tts 58) adduces a Tg stem reconstructed by her as ***tuł-gen** 'breast of an animal' (> Ewk **tiŋz**, Sln, Nn KU **tiŋž**, Lm **tiŋžn**, Neg **tiŋən**, Ud **tiŋz(n-)**, Ul, Ork **tungz(n-)**, Nn Nh **tungž**, WrMc **tungen** - F STM II 184-5, Krm. 295), but since no ev. for ***l** in this \checkmark has been produced, this rec. is not reliable §§ DQA #2441 ◇ The Altaic root may have resulted from a mt.: N ≈ ***tUÍE\xN** > ≈ ***tU\xEíN** > A ≈ ***t₁Eöíi**.

2368. ***taíg\xN** 'be quiet\calm' > **HS:** S ***°√tly** > Ar \checkmark **tl̥y** G 'être faible\fatigué; faire qch. mollement, faute de force' § BK II 99 || **IE:** NaIE ***(s)tēl-** v. 'be quiet\still' > OIr **tu(i)lid**, **con-tu(i)li** 'is asleep' (iter. ***toleyō**), cotluđ n. 'sleep' (*kom-toli-tu-s) || Lt **tylēti** (prs. **tyliu**) 'to be\keep silent', **tilti** (prs. **tilu**) 'to grow quiet' | SCr **zà-tljati** (prs. **zà-tljäm**) 'to doze off'; caus. ChS **ΤΟΛΗΤΗ** **toliti**

'placare', Slv *tóliti* vt. 'to quiet', OCS **ѹтoлнти** *u-toli-ti* id., SCR *utólití* 'to become calm; to appease', R *у-тo'лить*, Blg *уто'лявам* v. 'appease, slake (thirst, hunger)' || ON *stillā* 'to still, to soothe', OHG, NHG *stillen* 'to still', OHG *stilli*, NHG *still* 'still, quiet', AS *stillan* 'to still', *stille* 'quiet', NE *still* ¶ P 1061-2, EI 475 (**(s)tel-*'be still, quiet'), Vn. *T* 170-1, Kb. 964, KM 750, Frn. 1095, Vs. IV 71, Tls. 146 || A (+ext.?) **t'aLp'ν* 'calm' > M **talbi-* → M *^o*talbiyun* > WrM *talbigun*, HlM талбиж 'gentle, calm'; M **talbira-* > WrM *talbira-*, HlM талбира- v. 'be relieved, calm down', Ord *t'a>wira-* 'se relâcher, diminuer d'intensité'; Kl талва- *talwā-* 'calm down' ¶ MED 773, KRS 473, Ms. O 651 || Tg **talpa* 'calm water; backwater (заводъ)' > Nn Nh *talbō* 'backwater, glassy surface of water, broad part of a lake', WrMc {Z} *talfā* 'backwater (заводъ, займище), calm water', *talfari* 'low' (speed of a ship in shallow water) ¶ STM II 157, Z 710 ◇ IE **(s)-* suggests the presence of a palatal element within the N word, hence it may be supposed that the N lateral cns. was *^l.

2369. **tuí, ν, g'ν* 'spread like a veil\net, cover with a veil\net, catch (fish, etc.) with a net' > HS: S *^o*√tlyf* > Gz {L} *pan-ṭoləfa* v. 'spread, stretch, spread like a veil, veil, cover with a veil', Tgr **հնողօ** *Pantoləfa* v. 'spread, stretch out' (Gz, Tgr ← C [an unk. C word]??) ¶ LG 590, LH 618 || K **tχewl-* v. 'fish with a net' > OG *tχewl-*, G *tχevl-* id., ? Sv: {K} *tχēl-* v. 'look for, hunt', UB/L {TK, GP} *li-tχēl-i*, LB/Ln *li-tχel-i* msd. 'to search for' (acc. to Dn., plrt. of *li-tχ-e* 'look for, find') ¶¶ K 98, TK 435, GP 154, Dn. s.v. *tχ-*, ≠ FS K 158-9 (reconstructs **tχe-* 'catch, look for' on the basis of Sv words and forms without *^l, e.g. *metχw-yäř* 'hunter', but there the loss of *^l is a reg. phonemic change) || U: FU **tulkν* 'seine, drag-net' > Z: Sk *tīv*, UV, US, P, MS *tīlid*. || ObU {Ht.} **tōləy* ~ **tōyəl* id. > pVg **tōləy* > Vg: ML *toli*, UL, Ss *toliy* id.; pOs **tōyəl* ({JHI.} **tūyəl*) > Os: Nz *tōχət*, Kz *tōχət* id. ¶ Coll. 120, UEW 536, LG 292, SZ 389, Ht. #636 || A **t'uīE-* > T **tuīla-* v. 'hobble (a horse, etc.)' > NaT **tuša-* > OT *tuša-*, Qzq *τύσα-* *tūsa-*, Qrg *tuša-*, Tv *dūža-* дүжсаар, Tf *d_uša-* id.; → T **tuīlāk* 'hobble' > OT *tušay* ({Cl.} *dušāy*), Tkm *dušāq*, Az Shm *tušaq*, VTt, Bsh *тышай* *tūšaw*, Qzq *τύσαу* *tūsaw*, StAlt *түжак* *tužaq*, Uz *түшов* *tušaw*, Tv {TvR} дүжак, {Ra.} дүйжаг *dūžaq*, Tf *d_ušaq* id., Qrg *tušō*, Xk *түзах* *tuzaq* id., 'fetters' ('оковы'), Yk *tuhax* 'loop, snare, chain, fetters' || Chv тǎлă *tūlă* 'hobble' ¶ Cl. 561, DTS 590, Rs. W 502-3, TvR 182-3, Jeg.

235, Fed. II 188, AzDDL 391, BT 157, Ra. 176, Md. 58, 18O (T **tūł-* [= **tu.í-*] 'hobble') ¶ Cl. considers OT *tuša-* to be a d. from OT {Cl.} *tūš* 'buckle' (Cl. 558), which is semantically qu. and phonetically untenable, because the short **u* is proved by the Tkm and Chv reflexes (provided that Cl. was right to suppose a long *u* in the word for buckle) ¶ A. Dybo (ADb. Ttd 57-8) has found that in **C* *▽* *š*-roots the opposition **t'*- ↔ **t-* is neutralized | Tg **tule-* v. 'cast (a fishing net), install (a self-shooting bow, a trap, a snare)' > WrMc *tule-* 'aufstellen (Fallen), auslegen (Netze)', 'cast (nets), set (a snare \ trap)', Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn, Ewk, Neg *tulʒ-*, Lm *tul-* id., Ork *tulʒgdʒ* 'fishing net', *tulʒči-* v. 'fish with a net'; Tg **tule-* has also a broader meaning: 'install' (in a broader sense), 'arrange' > Ewk, Neg *tulʒ-* 'put (on a stretching frame)', Lm *tul-* v. 'arrange', SIn *tulu-* 'hang up', Ork, Nn *tulʒ-* v. 'sew on (a button), WrMc *tule-* 'anstecken (Holzgriff an Hacken, Holzgestell an Mühlsteine, usw.)'. This broader meaning is likely to go back to a later semantic change. But of course we cannot rule out a possibility of casual homonymy or of a primary broader meaning with later semantic narrowing: 'install' → 'cast (a net), install (a snare, etc.)'; in this last case the Tg √ does not belong to the A and N etymon in question ¶ STM I 212, Krm. 297, Z 756, Hr. 925 ¶ The Tg data suggest a strong A **t'*-, while the T data are ambiguous in this respect || D *^o*tolk* 'net for trapping' > Tm *tolku* id., Ml *tolļa* 'snare, trap' ¶ D #3531 ◇ N **g* is tentatively reconstructed on the assumption that here FU **k* goes back to a postcons. **g*: FU **tulk* *▽* < **tulg* *▽* < N **tuí* *▽*, *[g]* *▽*; a similar origin may be supposed for **k* in D *^o*tolk*. If this assumption is wrong and **k* in FU and D is a sx., the N rec. will be **tuí* *▽*, *[g]* *▽* ◇ The D vw. **o* (for the expected **u*) needs investigating ◇ AD NM #3O, S CNM 4 (÷ ÷ ST), Vv. AEN 17 (unjustified doubts about the semantic change in T: 'catch with a net' → 'hobble'; misquotation: erroneous **tulj*, *[g]* *▽* instead of N **tuí*, *[g]* *▽* [so in AD NM for N **tuí*, *[g]* *▽*]), LCm. NLP 16 (unjustified doubts about U, A, and D).

2370. **taí'h'a* 'lift up, carry' > HS: S: [1] CS *^o*✓ t̥l'y* v. 'lift up' > JPA {Js.} imv. G *✓ t̥ə'lī* 'lift up', Md *✓ t̥l'y* T prtc. *u-mi t̥li a* 'and they shall be removed' ¶ Js. 536, DM 179-18O 1[2] S **✓ nt̥l* v. 'lift, carry' > BHb *✓ nt̥l* G (ip. -*ttol*) v. 'impose, lay upon, weigh', *✓ nt̥l* D 'lift up', BA *✓ nt̥l* G (pf. *nə'tal*), IA {HJ} *nt̥l* G v. 'lift', MHb {Js.} *✓ nt̥l* G 'move\carry off, take', JA [Trg.] *✓ nt̥l* G {Lv.} '(auf-/er-)heben', {Js.} vt. 'take, lift, move', JEA {Sl.} *✓ nt̥l* G 'take', Sr *✓ nt̥l* G 'sustulit', 'be

heavy, draw water', *naṭṭi'l-ā* 'heavy', ? Ak *✓nṭl* v. *G* 'see, look' (if ← 'lift up the eyes') ¶ KB 655, KBR 694, Js. 899-900, Lv. T II 104-5, Br. 425, JPS 337, Sl. 744-5, Sd. 766, CAD XI 121-2, JH 178, HJ 728-9 ¶ *n- is likely to go back to a HS verbal prefix || pCh {JS} *✓d̥l* v. 'carry, bring' > WCh: Jmb {Sk.} *dōluwī* v. 'bring' || ECh: Kwn {J} *dōlē* v. 'carry, bring', Smr {J} *d̥gāl* v. 'carry on head' ¶ ChC, JI II 62-3, JS 61, ChL s.v. 'carry' || ? C: Bj {R} *✓tl̥g* (1s: p. 'atlig, prs. *atan'līg*; prtc. 'tilga) v. 'lift up' || ? SC: ?σ,φ Kz *çal-* v. 'fly' ¶ R WBd 227, ESC 194 (pSC *tol- v. 'rise off the ground') || IE *telh-/*tleh- > NaIE *telə-/ *tlā- v. 'lift, carry, endure' > OI *tu'lā* f. 'balance, scale, weight', *tulayati* 'lifts up, weighs', MPrs *tl̥cwk* [tarāzūg], NPrs ترازو *tärāzū* 'balance, scale; the sign Libra' || Arm **թողում** *thołum* 'I let, permit, tolerate' || Gk τλῆ-ναι inf. (pp. τλητός), Gk D aor. ἔ-τλᾶ-ν (pp. τλᾶτά) v. 'bear; hold out, endure', Gk τελᾶ-μών 'a broad strap for bearing (anything)' || L toll-o, -ere v. 'lift up, take up and away' || OIr *tlen-* 'enlever, dérober', 'steal' (semantic change like in M (*see* ↓)) || Gt *pulan* 'to endure, to tolerate', ON *pola*, AS *þolian* 'to endure, OSx *tholōn*, OHG *dolēn* id., 'to suffer', NHG *dulden* 'to endure, to tolerate' || Ltv Δ {ME} *iz-tilt* 'aushalten' (unless from *iz-stilt) || pTc *täl- > Tc A/B *täl-* vt. 'uphold, keep raised' ¶ P 1060-1, EI 352 (*telh₂- / prs. *tl̥'neh₂-ti 'lift, raise'), M K I 516, M E I 658-9, VI. I 429, Sg. 291, F II 848-9, WP II 688-9, Fs. 504-5, Vr. 615, Ho. 366-7, Ho. S 78, OsS 107, EWA II 714-7, KM 146, Vn. T 78-9, ME IV 189, Wn. 500, Ad. 296-7 ¶ If there is any connection of this root with N ***t̥t̥N** 'hang', it may be only secondary || A *t̥'aí'a'- v. 'carry, carry away' > T *t̥l̥'aíu- ~ *t̥'aíi- v. 'carry, transport (sth. somewhere)' > OT *tašu-*, Tk *taſi-*, Ggz *taſi-*, Az *daſi-*, Qmq *taſi-*, Qzq *tasi-* (inf. *tasū*), Qq *tasi-*, Tv *d̥áži-* id., Slr *tāši-* ~ *tāši-*, Nog *tasi-* (inf. *tasu-β*) 'carry' ¶ Cl. 56, IS AD 42 [#21], Rs. W 466, Tn. SJ 504, NogR 339, RKumS 1003, KumRS 308, KrkR 626, MM 336 || M *tala- v. 'take away, plunder' (× ← T *t̥l̥'ala- 'bite' [of animals], 'damage, ruin' < N ***tahE1N**, *see* s.v. N ***t̥'a'lhN** ~ ***tahE1N** ≈ to hit, to damage') > WrM *tala-*, HlM *тала-* v. 'take away', MM [S, MA] *tala-* 'plunder, loot', WrO *talu-* v. 'rob, steal', Kl {KRS} *таллх* *tallaxə*, {Rm.} *talbxa* v. 'plunder', Ord *t̥'ala-* 'piller et casser les objets' ¶ MED 771, H 144, Pp. MA 338, Krg. 475, KRS 474, KW 376, Ms. O 641 || ? WrMc *tala-* v. 'confiscate' (← M?) ¶ Z 708 ¶ KW 376, ≈ DQA #2321 (A **t̥'ála-* v. 'plunder, seduce', including T, M) || D [1] **tā]-* ({GS} **t-*)

v. *'lift' (→ 'hold', 'bear, endure') > Tm **tālu** (p. **tāli-**) v. 'bear, suffer, tolerate', Kn **tāl**, **tālu** v. 'hold, take, undergo, experience, wait', Tu **tālunī**, Tl **tālu** v. 'bear, endure' || [2] ?ϕ (in NED) *t^[e]l]-> Mlt **téle** v. 'lift (as the corner of a curtain or hem of a dress)', Krx **telag-nā** v. 'tuck up (e.g. garment before sitting)' ¶ Krx/Mlt l is a reg. reflex of D *l, but the vw. e is deviant ¶ D #3188, 3428, Km. 381 [#561] (reconstructs pSD *tāl]- with an alleged variant *tāl- based on unc. adduction of Tm **tāl-** v. 'stay, rest, stop') ◇ IS (ms.): *tālhē 'carry' (S, IE, D), Tromb. CL (IE, D), BmK 281-3 (IE, A, D + unconvincingly S *v²tly ~ *v²tll 'to hang', *till- 'hill', C *tVl- 'hill' + Sum **tāl** v. 'be wide\broad'). The N lr. is reconstructed on the ev. of IE, it was most probably *h, because it is the only N lr. that meets three requirements: it is lost in S (only N *h and *? may be lost there), it yields NaIE *ə in syllabic position (Gk ᾱ in τελᾰ-μών, unless it is from *ŋ), and it has a-colouring effect on a preceding vw. (which N *? cannot have) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #383 (*tal 'take') (IE, A, Gil, CK + qu. Ko, J, Ai), ≠ Gr. II #196 (*tol 'hang') (an unc. attempt to connect the IE root with A, Ko, and J, as well as with Ai words for 'belt', 'hang', see N *t|t²VlV 'hang').

2371. *tAíX₂Δ or *tA₁X₂Δ 'stem', 'tree (=?)' > HS: S *°tālh- '(=) a big tree' > Ar **ṭalh-** (coll.) 'Acacia gummifera', **ṭalh-at-** 'an *Acacia gummifera* tree', '(tout) grand arbre dans un terrain sablonneux' ¶ BK II 94-5 || IE: NaIE *tel₂a- 'wooden board, plank, (?) tree' > OI **taruh** 'tree' (semantic infl. of **daru** 'tree'?) || Gk τηλία 'board\table with a raised edge, baker's table' || AS **ðille** 'floorboard', **ðel** 'plank, bed', **ðelu** ~ **ðele** 'plank', OHG **dil**, **dilo**, **dilla** 'board, plank, floor made of boards; bretterne Wandbekleidung des Zimmers', NHG **Diele** 'board, plank; floor', Yid **dil** 'floor', ON **pil** 'floor\wall of planks', **pili** 'wainscot, panelling', **pilja** 'plank' || Lt **tilēs** pl. 'Bodenbretter im Kahn, Bodenbelag' (Mn.: < *t²yə), Ltv **tilandis** 'Bretter, die Diele eines Bootes bilden', (×IE *tel₁H₂- < N *tālhΔ 'flat') Pru **talus** 'floor' ¶ ≈ Mn. 1375, IS IA 74; ≈ P 1O61 and Frn. 1O93-4 (both do not distinguish between *tel- 'board' and *tel₂a- 'flat'), En. 262, M K I 484, F II 892, OsS 1O2-3, KM 131-2, Ho. 362, 365, Vr. 61O, Kb. 154, EWA II 644-7, ≈ EI 247 (*telH-om ~ ? *t²H-om 'floor [of planks]') || D (in SD) *tāl ({θGS} *t-) 'stem, leg' > Tm **tāl** 'leg, stem, stalk', Ml **tāl** 'stalk, stem', Kt **ta:l** 'stem, trunk', Td **to·q** 'thigh of animal's hind leg, trunk of tree', Kn **tār** 'stem or stalk' ¶ D #3185 ¶ Either the meaning 'leg' is

secondary, or there are two homonymic pD roots, one for 'leg' and the other for 'stem'.

2372. **t'E'm* ∇ 'to feel by touch' > **HS:** Eg fP *dmy* vt. 'touch, feel by touch', vi. 'be joined' > Cpt: Sd **тшшмε тōōмε**, В **тшмι тōмi** 'unir, toucher' ¶ EG V 453-5, Fk. 313, Vc. 215 || **U** **tumte* v. 'feel, touch, feel by touch' > F *tunte-* v. 'feel, recognize, sense, taste, smell, know', Es *tunde-* to feel, sense, experience' || pLp {Lr.} **tomtз-* v. 'feel, know (kennen)' > Lp: N {N} *dow'dåt* v. 'know, perceive, sense', S {Hs.} *dåbde-* ~ *dåmde-*, U {Schl.} *dåb'dat*, L {LLO} *tåb'tåt* id., Kld {Lr. ← Gn.} *tom:deδ*, {SaR} **тommтэ** 'learn (erfahren)' || ppPrm {LG} **tüd-* > pPrm **tjåd-* v. 'know, learn (erfahren), remember' > Vt **тодыны** id., Z **тōдны** v. 'know, recognize, guess', Vt, Z **тод** 'memory', Yz **тэд-** *töd-* v. 'know' || Hg *tud-* v. 'know, be able' || Sm {Jn.} **tumtъ* (or **č-*, **mč-*) v. 'know' ('kennen, wissen') > Ne T 'тумдась 'learn (erfahren), notice', Nn T O {Lh.} *tumtā*, Ng {Cs.} aor. s./obcj. 1s *tumtu?áma* 'erraten', En {Cs.} 1s aor. s./obcj. *tuddabo* 'erfahren, erraten', {Ter.} d. **тумтэрү** 'learn (erfahren)', Kms {KD} *t'ämneñ* 'wissen, verstehen', {Cs.} *thümnäm* 'wissen, sich erinnern', Koyb {Sp.} **абыттымнемъ** 'не знаю' ('I do not know'), Koyb {Sp.} **тымнелеймамъ**, Mt **tumda-* v. 'notice' (Mt M {Sp.} **тумдуджугурамъ** 'примечаю') ¶ Coll. 63-4, UEW 536-7, Db. OS xxxii, Sm. 541 (U **tumti-* 'know' > FU, R^P **tumti-*, Ugr **tumtī-*), Lr. #1268, Lgc. #7617, Hs. 408-9, SaR 357, Lt. 127, LG 283, Lt. J 186, Jn. 167, Cs. 63, 89, 187, KD 70, Hl. M #1091 || **A** **t'eäm* ∇ v. 'feel by touch' > Tg **tem'i-* v. 'feel by touch' ('щупать') > Ewk *t̥mi-* ~ *t̥mī-*, Lm *t̥mi-* ~ *t̥mī-*, Neg *t̥mi-ktz-*, U1 *t̥muru-*, Ork, Nn Nh *t̥miri-*, Nn KU *t̥mirz-* id.; Tg → Dg *t̥milz-* 'feel (betasten), touch' ¶ STM II 233-4, T DgJ 167 || M **temte-li-* / -*ri-* > WrM **temtel-**, **temteri-**, HlM **тэмтрэ-** v. 'groping, search by feeling, touch with the hands', Ord {Ms.} *t'empt'ere-* 'tâter, tâtonner', Brt **тэмтэр-хэ** 'to grope one's way' ('брести наощупь'), Kl **тэмтрх** *temtr-xə* id., {Rm.} 'im Dunkeln herumtappen, mit den Händen zu betasten suchen', MnR H {SM} *t'jänd_uli-* 'tâter, toucher avec la main' ¶ MED 800, Chr. 453, KRS 492, KW 391, SM 415 ¶ DQA #2343 (A **t'em* ∇ 'groping, search) || **D [1]** (in SD) **tim* ∇ *r-* v. 'smear, rub (the skin, etc.)' > Tm *timir* v. 'smear as sandal paste, rub, apply to (as a flower to the skin)', Kn *timir* v. 'rub and smear the skin' || **[2]** (in SD) **tiñt-* ({θGS} **t-*) > Tm *tiñtū* v. 'touch, feel', Ml *tiñtuka* v.

'touch', Kt *ti·ṇḍ-* v. 'be polluted by illegal sexual intercourse', Kt, Td *ti·ṭ-* 'pollution', Kn *tīḍu* v. 'touch (as air or wind), touch (as with fingers)', Kdg *tīṇḍ-* v. 'touch' ¶ D ##3234, 3268 ◇ The puzzling U vw. *u may ne explained by as. (infl. of *m) ◇ IS MS 353 s.v. ощупывать *ṭ'e'ma (TM, D).

2373. *ṭōm^Δ 'to cut (off)' > HS: S *°√ṭmm > Ar √ṭmm v. G (ip. -ṭumm-) 'se raser la tête à tel ou tel endroit', 'shave' ¶ Fr. III 69, BK II 105 || IE: NaIE *tem- v. 'cut', *tomo-s 'a cut, slice (Abschnitt)' > Gk Hm τέμει 'he cuts', Gk A τέμνω, Gk Hm/I/D τάμνω 'I cut', Gk τόμος 'a cut, slice; part' || L aestumā- v. 'estimate (the price of a thing)' (denom. from *ais-tomos 'der das Erz zerschneidet') || OIr tamnaid '(he) cuts off', tamun 'tronc d'arbre, bille de bois' || BSl *tīnō / *tinti (< *tōmnō ÷ Gk τάμνω) > Lt tinti (prs. tinū) 'to whet (by hammering)', {Frn.} '(die Sense) durch Klopfen mittels eines Hammers schärfen, dengeln', Lt {Frn.} tynimas 'Schlagen, Geißeln, Dengeln' | Sl *tēti (prs. *tēn-q) > Slv téti / prs. tnēm, OCz tieti / tnu, Cz títi / tnu 'hew', OR тати téti / тънъ тъни 'kill\stab (with a sabre, etc.)', R Δ тнутъ / тнц 'stab (with a knife, etc.)', Р сіа́с / tnę 'hew, smite, strike' ¶ WP I 719, P 1063, Mn. 1378, 1411, F II 874-6, WH I 2O-1, Vn. T 25, Frn. 1099, Ju. I 651, Srz. III 1106, Sl. I 98 || A: NaT *t'omur- v. 'cut' (Cl.: caus. [σ?] from **t'om-) > OT {Cl.} tōumur- v. 'cut in a rounded shape', Blq {Rs.} tomur- 'aushauen, fällen', VTt {ðRl.} tumyr- 'abhauen, absägen (den Teil eines Balkens)', SbTt Tv/Tr {Tm.} tumyr- v. 'hew, trim, rough-hew', SbTt Tb tumyr- {Rl.} id., 'behauen', {Tm.} 'chop off', VTt {Rl.} tumra- 'hauen, abhauen, durchhauen', SbTt Tb {Gig.} tumra- 'saw up (firewood)', VTt түмран tumran 'block of wood, log, stump (колода, чурбан, обрубок)', SbTt Tb/Tr {Tm.} tumram 'stump, stub (пень, обрубок)', Tlt tomir- v. 'cut through (a log)', Osm {Rs.} tumruq 'Stamm, Klotz', {Rh.} tomruq 'a heavy log from the main trunk of a tree', Tk tomruk 'log, block of wood' ¶ Cl. 509, Rl. III 1238, 1521-3, Rs. W 487, Tm. 218, Rh. 1263, TrR 865 || ??φ M: WrM tobī-, HIM тови- v. 'engrave (gold, silver), beat out a pattern; incrust, inlay' {Gl.} id., 'carve' ¶ MED 811, Gl. III 177; the denasalization *-m- > *-b- is still to be explained || D *tum- v. 'be cut (off)' > Tm tumi (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) v. 'be cut off', tumi (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'cut off', Tl tumuru 'a small piece or bit' ¶ D #3325 ◇ T and M point to a N *o, D *u suggests N *u (or *ü), while the IE cognate can go back to etymons with any vw.

2374. ***ṭoyam** ∇ 'to bite, to taste' > **HS:** S * \checkmark **ṭ̥im** v. 'taste' > BHb **مُنْتَهِيَّا** \checkmark **ṭ̥im** *G*, IA \checkmark **ṭ̥im**, JA [Trg.], JEA, Sr \checkmark **ṭ̥im** *G* 'taste, eat a bit', Ar **طَعْمٌ** \checkmark **ṭ̥im** v. *G* 'taste, eat', Gz \checkmark **ṭ̥im** v. *G* 'taste, be tasty', Mh \checkmark **ṭ̥im** (pf. **ṭām**, sbjn. **غَذَّةً**, verbal noun **طَعْمًا**), Jb, Sq \checkmark **ṭ̥im** (pf.: Jb C 'ṭ̥am', Jb E **تَأْسَام**, Sq **تَأْسَام**) v. 'taste, eat, try (food)', Ak (inf.) **ṭēmu** v. 'taste', BHb **مُنْتَهِيَّا** 'ṭ̥am' n. 'taste, feeling' ¶ KB 361, KBR 377, Lv. T I 312, Js. 543, Sl. 510, Br. 283, BK II 83, Hv. 432 || C: EC ***ḍam-ḍam-** ~ ***ḍaddam-** v. 'taste', 'tasty' > Or {Grg.} **ḍamḍamā** 'delicate, flavored, savory', {Brl.} **ḍandama** n. 'taste', **ḍandamā** 'tasty', Sml **ḍaddam-** vi. 'taste', Bn **ḍiddim-** id., Brj **ḍedḍēm-ā** 'good-tasting', as well as probably LEC ***ḍam-** 'food, consume' > Sml **ḍam-** v. 'drink milk\blood', Rn {PG} **ḍam-** v. 'drink (food drinks)', Bs {HL} **ḍam-** v. 'drink', Or **ḍama** 'whey', Kns, Gdl **ḍam-** v. 'eat', Dsn **ḍan-** {Bl.} v. 'bite', {To.} 'tear off, tear to pieces'; a more archaic LEC \checkmark variant ***ḍafm-** is present in Sml {R} **ḍaṣan**, pl. **ḍaṣmo** 'taste, juice, sauce', Af {PH} **ḍafame** 'take a sample of food, taste', and Sa {HL} **ḍafame** v. 'taste' || Dhl {To.} **tem-** v. 'try, taste', {EEN} **ṭem-** 'try, look at' ¶ AD SF 317-8, AD PSH § 5.2 [#6], Ss. B 62-3, Bl. 100, Hn. S 57, PG 91, PH 88-9, Grg. 120, Brl. 98, HL 92, ENN 8, To. D 148, To. DL 493, Blz. CL 178 || WCh (?) ***ḍa'Him'** - > Gmy **tiyəm** v. 'taste', My a **ḍahín** id., Hs **ḍandanā** v. 'taste', Bl **dand-** id. || CCh * \checkmark **dm:** HgNk **ḍamata** v. 'taste', Bdm **ḍəm**, ? Msg {Trn.} **t̥m'** id. ¶ AD PSH § 5.2 [#6], § 6.3 [#73], OS #2454, ~ Sk. HCD 55 || **U:** FU * $^{\circ}$ **toṣ|wm** ∇ (or * $^{\circ}$ **tokm** ∇) > pObU ***tōyəm-** or ***tōwəm-** v. 'bite' > pVg ***tăṣəm-** or ?***tāwəm-** id. > Vg: LK/MK **təwm-**, UL **tōwəm-**, Ss **tōwm**; pOs ***toyəm-** ({JHI.} ***tăṣəm-**) id. > Os: Ty **tăṣwəm-**, Y **tăwəm-**, D/K/O **toxəm-**, Nz **tuxəm-**, Kz {Stn.} **tɔxəm-**, {KrT} **tōyəm-/tɔxəm-** ¶ Ht. 187 [#625], KrT 977-8, Stn. D 1414-5 || **A:** Tg ***tam-** v. 'champ, taste (food)' > WrM **tamiša-** id., Ewk **tam-** v. 'champ' ¶ STM II 158 || NaT(?) ***t'aṣəm-** n. 'taste' > Alt {BT} **tam**, Tlt/QK/Shor {Rl.} **tām** id. (for these lgs. of non-Muslim peoples the Persian-Arabic origin of the word is less likely than for Uz **там** ~ **таъм** 'taste' and ET **taam** 'food', which are obviously loans); ?σ T ***t'am-gāk** ({ADB.} ***t'anṣak**) 'soft palate and throat' > OT {TL} **tamṣaq**, {Cl.} **tamṣāq**, MU, MQp, XwT **tamaq**, MOg **tamaq** ~ **tamaṣ** id., Chg **tamaṣ** ~ **tamaq**, Tk **ḍamak**, Ggz **damak**, Az **damag** 'palate', Tkm **damaq**, Uz **tamaq**, Qry, QRB, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, ET, Alt/Qmn {Rl.}, StAlt **tamaq**, Xk, Shor **tamaṣ** 'throat', Tv **t'aṣmaq** 'gills',

Yk tamax 'throat, pharynx' ¶ Cl. 5O5, Rs. W 46O, TL 229-3O, Rl. III 993-4, 1649, BT 14O, MM 33O, BT 14O ¶ Tv t'- provides ev. for pT *t'- in the noun, while d- of the Og lgs. is ambiguous (F IS AD and ADb. Ttd 62-5) || M *tamsiya- > ? WrM tamsiya-, HlM тамшаа- v. 'champ, click the tongue, taste food', Ord t'amšā- v. 'champ', WrO tamšā- id., 'smack the lips', Kl тамша- tamšā- id., 'cling the tongue (as a sign of pleasure)', Brt тамшаа- id., v. 'savour (смаковать)'; M *tamsugq 'tasty' > Ord t'amsu'q id., WrO tamšiq 'delicate', ? WrM таңсуг, HlM тансаг id. (infl. of *tañsu 'tenderness' and/or *tañsi- 'champ'?); M *tamsinj > WrO tamšinj 'savory', Kl {KRS, Rm.} тамшн tamšn 'gourmand, fastidious (wählerisch) in food', {Rm.} tamsaq ~ tañsaq id., 'Süssigkeiten'; M → Qzq tamsanu-, Qq tamsan- 'smack the lips', Qrg tamšan- id., 'click the tongue (a sign of pleasure)' ¶ MED 775, 778, Ms. O 643, Krg. 477-8, KRS 475, KW 377, 379, Chr. 413, Jud. 7OO || pJ {S} *tāmjas- 'try' > OJ tamjies-, J: T tamés-, K támes-, Kg tāmēs- ¶ S QJ #1O12, Mr. 763 ¶ DQA #23O1 (A *t'ama- 'to taste, to munch' > M, Tg, J) || ?σ,φ Δ: Tm tīm 'sweet', tēm 'sweetness' (unless from *tī's-) ¶ D #3274, ≈ GS 2O2 [#512] (pD *tyī- 'sweet'). If Tm tīm- belongs here, the N rec. may be *t̄olayim ▷ ≠ Gr. II #120 (*tamp 'eat') (A *t'ama 'taste' and EA ≈ *tam- 'lick, chew' erroneously equated with IE *daph- 'feast, sacrifice' [a loan from S *δabh- 'sacrifice'], as well as with Vg *tāp 'food', etc.).

2375. *tæqm̥N (or *tæqUm̥N?) 'sinciput, crown of the head, top, tip' > HS: S *°✓txm > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} ḥatxam- 'anterioris pars nasi (in homini et iumento)' ¶ Fr. III 44 || C: Ag **d̥m̥m̥Nh > Aw {L} dūmī 'top', Ag → Gz dəmāh [dəmah] 'head, crown of the head, summit' (unless from S *dimāy- [> Ar dimāy- 'brain'], acc. to W. Müller) || ? EC: Or dumā (nom. dum-ti) 'end' ({Brl.} 'estremità, fine') ¶ LG 134, Grg. 131, Th. 116, Brl. 128 || K *°t̄q'em- (or *°t̄q'ēm-) > OG txem-i 'top of the head' (Deut. 28.35), 'top of the hill' (Ex. 17.9, Mt. 27.33), G txem-i 'Scheitel, Gipfel' ¶ Chx. 5O9, Abul. 186, DCh. 574, Ser. 74 || IE *°teHm̥n > NaIE *°tēm̥n > Sl *tēmę / tēmen- 'crown of the head' > SrChS, OR **ТЕМА** temę / gen. **ТЕМЕН-Е** temen-e id., 'skull', R 'төмя, Uk tīm'я, P ciemię, SCR тēme & tjēme 'crown of the head', Cz témě, temeno id., 'summit' ¶ Srz. III 1O93-4, Vs. IV 41, Ma. CS 525, Sl. I 1OO || A *t'ēmN ~ *t'UmN > Tg *temN ~ *tumN ({DQA} *tumnu)

'crown of the head, occiput' > Ewk I тэмүлкән ~ тимүлкән 'crown of the head', 'skull', Slн tumulkī, Ud тэмүгз, Orc {PSchm.} түмәхә, Mc Sb туңун 'crown of the head, sinciput' § STM II 217 || ? NaT *тумак 'fur-cap' > Chg {PC} тумақ 'in cap', {Vm.} тумау 'fur cap of the Qazaqs', ET {BN, Nj., RI.} тумақ, Bsh Δ төмәя 'winter fur cap with large ear-flaps', SbTt Tö томақ төмәқ, Qrg тумақ, QK {RI.} тубақ, Tkm Δ тумоқ id., Uz түмөк тумақ id., 'cap', Qzq {Sht., MM} тұмак тұмақ 'winter cap, fur cap with ear-flaps and back flap (τρεύχ)', ET Δ, Ln тумақ 'in cap'; T → Kl томоу 'Mütze, Kappe' § TL 483, BN 157, Nj. 339, RI. III 1514, 1517-8, UzR 451, Jud. 765, Sht. 211, KrkR 654, Tm. 212, KW 399 || M *tomi n./adj. 'chief' > WrM томи, Ord {Ms.} т'оми 'chef, primipare', т'оми-la-'être à la tête de' § MED 800, 822, SM 431. Ms. O 666 || pJ *tum- 'top, head' > OJ {S, Vv.} туму-ri (~ {S} tuburi) 'head, top' > ItOJ {Vv.} tuburi, eNJ tuburi ~ tumuri, J: T/Kg cumurí, K cùmúrí id., Sh čibúrú 'head' § S QJ #114, Mr. 556, Vv. AEN 6-7 §§ S CNM 8 suggested to adduce T and OJ, as well as M томи-la- 'chief' and tumur-liy 'hat' ◇ The labialized vw. in the Altaic lgs. may be due to the labializing effect of *m or go back to the labialized vw., if the etymon was *тæqUm. In the latter case the vw. *U must have been lost in the pre-history of IE: *тæqUm > *тæqm > IE *temHn § DQA #2464 (A *tūmu 'head, top of the head') ◇ AD NM #105, S CNM 8, Vv. AEN 6-7.

2376. *тум, q 'dark' > HS: S *°√tmχ > Ak tamχ-ū(m) 'evening', tamχ-ītu id. § Sd. 1314 || C *t'u'm, - 'dark' > Ag *tem- > Xm {R} tema 'darkness', tim (pl.) 'dark nights', Q {R} tem- v. 'be dark', tema 'darkness', Km {CR} tem- v. 'be dark', tem 'darkness' || ? HEC *tuns- (or *tuns-??) > Hd {PB} tunso, {Hd.} tunso 'darkness', Sd {Gs.} tunsa- v. 'grow dark', Sd {Hd.}, Kmb {Hd.} tuns- v. 'become dark', Sd {Gs., Hd.} 'darkness', Hd {PB} tuns-, {Hd., Gs.} tuns- v. 'grow dark' § AD SF 53-4, Hd. 47, PB 177, Gs. 319 || Om: NrOm: Kf {C} tum- v. 'be dark', tumō 'darkness, evening, night', Shn {Abb.} tumā 'night', Bnc {Wdk.} tumám 'at night' || SOm: Dm {Fl.} tum 'darkness' § C SE IV 510, Wdk. BY 112, Fl. OO 317 || ? Ch: ECh: it is tempting to adduce Mu {Lk., J} dèdém, Mjl deddem and Mkl diddó 'night', but the morphemic structure of the word and the origin of the initial de-, di- are not clear; cp. also Kbl {Cp.} dàmā 'night' § JI II 257, Blz. EChWL #61 §§ AD l.c., C SE II 221-2 (C, Om) || IE *temH- > NaIE *tem(a)- 'dark' (and ds.: *temes- ntr. 'darkness', *temasrā 'darkness', *temsro- 'dark') > OI

'tamah̄ (tamas) ntr., Av təmah- 'darkness', OI 'tamisrāh̄ (pl.) id., MPrs tom 'finster' || L temerā- v. 'darken', temere 'blindly', tenebrae 'darkness' (probably dis. from *temafrā < *temasrā + OI 'tamisrāh̄) || OIr tem, later teim, temen 'dark, gray', OIr teime 'darkness', te(i)mel id., 'shade' || OHG dēmar, dēmerunga 'twilight', NHG†Dämmer 'weak faint light', Dämmerung 'twilight, dusk', Ic {KM ← ?} þám 'dunkle Luft', þámaðr 'dark', Far {JM} tám 'haze'; OSx thimm 'dark', (*tem-sro/ā >) MDt, Dt † deemster, OHG dinstar 'dark, dusty' || Lt tém-ti, Ltv tim-t 'to grow\get dark', Lt teméti 'to be dark (finster)', Lt témsta 'it is getting dark, the day is closing in', Lt temà, Ltv tima, timsa, tumsa, Lt tamsà, Lt E tumsà 'darkness', Lt temsas, Ltv tūmss ~ tumss 'dark (finster)' | Sl *tъ'ma (accus. *tъ'mq ~ *tъ'mq) 'darkness' > OCS, OR тъма, R тъма, P čma id., SCr tám'a 'darkness, dusk'; Sl d. adj. *tъmъnъ 'dark' ('dunkel, dinster') > OCS тъмънъ, R 'тёмный', Blg 'тъмен, SCr tâman ~ tâman, Cz temný, Pciemny ¶ P 1O63-4, Dv. #319 (*temos 'tenebra'), EI 147 (*'tomHes- 'dark'), M K I 478, M E I 626, WH II 656-7, 664, EM 1O27-8, Vn. T 48, Kb. 157, OsS 99, 1O4, EWA II 573-5, 66O-2, KM 12O, Ho. S 77, Vr. N 1O8, JM 438, Frn. 1O55-6, 1O8O, 1139, Kar. II 44O-1, Vs. IV 4O, 133-4, Glh. 619-2O || U: R *tum[m] 'dark' > F tumma id., tummentaa v. 'darken, make dark', Krl tumma 'dark-coloured', Es tõmmu 'dark', Lv tumà 'undurchsichtig, nebelig (Wetter)', F Δ tumea 'dusky (hämarä)', Es tumē 'dark' | Prm {LG} *tūm- > Z LV t̄m- vt. 'darken, shield from the light' ¶ SK 1395-7, Kt. 439, LG 293 || A *t'um- > NaT *t[um]n[um], *t[um] > Slr tum-, tumu-, tumi- vi. 'darken' (of the sky)', 'cover with darkness (окутывать мглой)', SbTt t̄mas 'cloudy, overcast with clouds', Tk Δ думсак 'cloudy weather', VTt Δ t̄mъzъq 'cloudy' (cp. also VTt t̄ma 'closed from all sides'), ? OT {Cl.} tum 'uniform' (of dark colour): tum qara at 'a uniformly black horse', tum toriy at 'a uniformly dark bay horse'; T *t'uman 'mist, fog, (?) darkness' > OT tuman 'fog, mist', 'darkness' ({DTS} 'мгла, мрак'), Chg {Bu.} tuman 'mist, fog, darkness', tumanlu 'foggy, dark', Tkm duman, Tv t'uman ~ duman, Tf duman, Qzq tūman, Qq duman ~ tuman, Slr, Qmq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, ET, Uz tuman, VTt, Bsh t̄man, Xk tuban 'mist, fog', Brb tuman 'darkness (мгла)', Tk duman, Ggz, Az duman, Yk tuman id., 'mist, fog'; pT **t[um] (with rdp.) > Chv t̄ttym 'dark', 'darkness' ¶ Cl. 5O3, DTS 585, IS AD 175, Rs.

W 498, TL 33-4, ET VGD 295-6, Bu. I 753, RI. III 1518, Tn. SJ 522-3, TatR 544-5, BR 531, BT 158, Dm. JBT 191, Ash. XV 1O3-4, Jeg. 249, Fed. II 224-5 || Tg *°tum- > WrMc tumin 'dark' (of colour) (× WrMc tumin 'thick, dense'), unless tumin 'dark' is a sd. from tumin 'thick'; ?φ Tg *tamna 'fog, mist' > Nn tamna ~ tamna id., Ork, Ul tamna 'haze, mist, fog' ('мгла, туман'), Ud {Shn.} tamnзHä, {Krm.} tamnзhä 'mist', Ewk tamna-ksa id., tamna- v. 'get misty (weather)' ('туманиться, идти пару'), Lm tamnarl 'fog, haze' ('Nebel, Nebel-, Staubschleier'), tanmu- v. 'get misty (weather)' ('neblig werden'), WrMc talman 'mist, steam', Jrc t̄h-mà-kîh 'mist, fog' ¶ STM II 159, 213, Krm. 293, LamW 942 ¶ The vw. *a (for the expected *u) in Tg *tamna is still to be explained (infl. of the nearly synonymous A *da_Lm- 'dust' < N *dAm ∇ 'steam, mist, dust'? [q.v. s.v.]?) ¶ It is not clear if the meaning 'mist, fog' (in T and Tg) goes back to 'darkness' or there is coalescence with a different A root ◇ IS SS #1.29, IS MS 368 s.v. 'темный' *tum ∇ (IE, C [with Om], BF), AD rTPN (IE, HS, BF, A) → BmK 284-5 (IE, C + *÷ Eg tms v. 'hide'). IE and Tg suggest N *t-, while in S, C, and T there is de-emphatization of the initial cns. ◇ ≈ Gr. II #89 (*tum 'dark') (IE, U, A, CK, EA + err. Ko).

2377. ₂ *t ∇ m_L ∇ ,ka|æ 'to wet, to dip' > **HS:** S *°√tm̄k > Gz √tm̄k: v. Sh (pf. Paṭmaṇa) 'dip, immerse', ṭəmūk 'dipped, baptized', ṭəm̄kat 'immersion' ¶ L G 593 ¶ Glottalized k for the expected k is probably due to as. || **IE:** NaIE *teng \bar{g} - v. 'wet, moisten' (× N *tAŋñ ∇ 'moisture') > Gk τέγγω v. 'moisten, soak, dye' || L ting-ō, -ěre v. 'dip, dye, wash, sprinkle, paint' || OHG dunktōn, NHG tunken 'to dip', NGr Sw tink 'moist' || ? OIr tummaid '(he) dips, immerses' ¶ WP I 726, P 1O67, H 639 (*teng- 'moisten, soak'), F II 863, WH II 684, OsS 115, EWA II 855, KM 797, Vn. T 183, Mn. 726?

2378. _(2?) *tümK ∇ ~ *tün_LK ∇ 'leather sack' > **U:** FU (in Ugr) *tün_L ∇ ,tE (or *täŋ_Lü,tE?) 'quiver' > Hg tegēz ~ tēgēz 'quiver' | ObU *tūwət id. > pVg *tāwət id. > Vg: LK/MK täwət ~ täwt, P täwt, Ss tawt; pOs *tūrət id. > Os: V/Vy tūrət, Ty tiꝝwət, Y/D/K tiwət, Nz tīrət, Kz tīwət || Ne T {PT} тенъть' / -н- тэнт̄ 'quiver' ¶ UEW 894 (Ugr *täŋ ∇ -t ∇), MF 624, Ht. #632, Hl. rHt, PT RNS 115, Mu. USz 9O, Hal. USz I 262 || **A:** T *°t_L,iŋdi or *°t_L,iŋdi > Chg {Bu.} tīŋdi or tīŋdi 'ein Sack aus Leder oder aus Pilz' (≈ {RI.} تیکدی tīŋgdi) ¶ Bu. I 439, RI. III 1355 || ?φ M *°cünke > WrM сүңке, HlM цүңх 'bag, pouch' ¶

MED 209 || ?^o HS: Eg fMK *t m̥* 'sack for grain and other fruit' > Cpt: Sd **TWWMε** *tōōmē*, A **TWMΕC** *tōmēs* 'bourse, sac' (× Eg fMK *t m̥* 'mat' < N ***tDNmDN** 'hair' [q.v.]?) ¶ EG V 307, Fk. 299, Vc. 215.

2379. ²**t'i'm₁DNn₂DN* 'be quiet, be calm' > HS: S *^o✓ *tm̥n* > Ar *ṭamn-* {BK} 'tranquilité, repos', {Hv.} 'quiet, enjoying rest', pf. *ṭa?mana* ~ *ṭam?ana* {BK} 'coucher son dos sur qc. pour reposer; se reposer de qc.' ¶ BK II 110, Hv. 439 || A: Tg **tDNm₁n₂ā* 'calm' > Lm *tumṛtūn* 'lull, calm weather (before a storm)', ? Ud *ton* v. 'calm down (the wind)' ¶ STM II 182 || T **t₁im* 'silence' > Tkm *dīm-* 'fall silent', Alt *timi-* 'be silent', Qq, Qrg *timpiy-* id., Qzq *tim-tiris* '(deathlike) silence', Qrg *timizin* 'quietly, in silence', Tlt/Qmn {Rl.} *tim* 'silence, silently', Xk *tim* n. 'quiet, silence', *timix*, Alt *timiq* 'silence', Qzq *timiq*, Bsh *təməq*, VTt *təməzəq* 'calm' ¶ Rs. W 47, TkR 298, MM 354, KrkR 656, Jud. 791, TatR 561, BT 163-, Rl. III 134, BIG 244 ¶ ≠ DQA #2271 (A **tjūm(k)u* 'silent, calm', including T) ◇ ≠ BmK 307-8: a comparison between Ar ✓ *ṭ?mn* ~ ✓ *ṭm̥n* and IE **domH-* v. 'subdue, conquer, tame', which is unc. on both phonetic and semantic grounds (the basic meaning of the IE ✓ is v. 'subdue, conquer, overpower' [cp. Gk δομάζω v. 'overpower', the meaning 'tame' being secondary], while the S ✓ means 'tranquility; to rest').

2380. **tañDN* (= **tañû??*) 'draw, stretch, extend' > IE: NaIE **ten-*, (?) **tenu-* v. 'draw, stretch, extend' (× IE **ten-* v. 'strain' < N **ti'ñE* 'strong; to strain'??) > OI *ta'nōti* 'expands, extends, spreads', *ut-tāna* 'ausgestreckt', Av *uṣtāna* id., KhS *astan-*, *astān-* v. 'stretch (a musical instrument)', *ttanv-* 'to stretch' || Gk Hm/I *τανύω* (Gk Hm 3s md. *τάνυται*) v. 'stretch, stretch out, strain' || L *tend-ō* / -*ere* 'stretch, stretch out, extent, spread' || Clt: MW, W {YGM} *tynnu*, Crn {ECCE} *tenna* 'to pull', MBr {Ern.} *tennaff* 'tirer', Br {Hm.} *tennañ* id., 'retirer, ôter'; ? OIr *tan* 'time' (< 'duration, time extension'?), 'moment' || pAl {O} **en-tenya* > Al: T *ndej* ~ *ndēnj*, G *ndēj* v. 'stretch, spread' || Gt *uf-þanjan* 'to stretch out', ON *þenja* 'ausspannen, ausstrecken', AS *ðēnnan* 'to stretch, to extend', OSx *thēnnian* 'to stretch (dehnen, ausspreiten)', OHG *dennen* 'to extend, to tense, to pull', NHG *dehnen*, *aus-dehnen* 'to stretch, to extend' || Sl: OCS **ΤΕΝΕΤΟ**, **ΤΟΝΟΤΟ**, Cz *tenata*, R *te'ñētō* 'snare, Fangnetz' | Lt *tiñklas* 'net, fishing net', Ltv *tiñklis* id.] d. pp. **tŋ-'to-* > OI *ta'ta-* 'extended', Gk **τατός* (⇒ *τατικός* 'extensible'), L *tentus*

'stretched, stretched out, extended, spread' || P 1O65-6, EI 187 (*ten-'stretch'), 574, Mn. 1379-14O5, Hamp AIEW 149, O 283, M K I 471, 475, M E I 618-9, Bai. 12-3, 122-3, F II 853, WH II 663-4, 666, Vn. T 25-6, Ern. 687, Hm. 782, YGM-1 425, ECCE 298-9, Fs. 513-4, Vr. 6O9, Ho. 362, Ho. S 77, Kb. 15O, EWA II 582-5, KM 125, SJSS XLII 447, Vs. IV 42, 139-4O, Frn. 1O98-9 || A *t'an^V- > Tg *tān- v. 'draw' > Ewk tān- 'pull\take out, stretch' ('вытащить, вы-, по-, при-, на-. обтянуть'), Sln tan-, Orc, Ud tān-a-, Ul tān-, Ork tān-, Nn tān- 'draw, pull' ('тянуть, тащить'), Lm tān- 'draw\pull out' || STM II 16O In Tg the vw. was lengthened in an open syll. || ? M *°tan^V- > Kl тан-х 'twist\plait together', {Rm.} tan-χa 'aus Fäden oder Schnüren einen Knopf zusammendrehen; knoten, knüpfen, flechten' || KRS 476, KW 378 (but WrM tānu-, mentioned by Rm., is not registered in the available dictionaries of WrM) || D *tañt- ({θGS} *t-) v. 'pull' > Prj tānd- id., Gdb tīnd- v. 'pull, pull a cart', Gnd tānd- ~ tend- v. 'take out\off, remove' ~ tānd- v. 'take out\off, draw (water)' ~ tāndānā 'to extract (oil)' ~ tāndānā 'to pull off' || HS: Eg fP dwn vt. 'stretch out, stretch (bows), straighten (knees)', vi. 'be stretched out' (x N *tūÍE [or *tæwūÍE?] 'extend, stretch, become long', if HS *-l- may regularly yield Eg n) || EG V 431-2, Fk. 311 || CCh (x N *tāngalo 'draw, stretch', q.v.?): Azm {Pc.} tāndá v. 'drag, pull' || ECh: Jg {J} teñ- v. 'draw', EDng {Fd.} tēñè 'tirer (la corde, etc.)' || Pc. 367, J J 117, Fd. 158 || Tk. I 1O3 (Eg dwn ÷ S *✓ tān 'be long, stretch out', EC {Ss.} *dāl- 'exceed', and AG du:l 'pull', see N *tūÍE (or *tæwūÍE?); BmK 29O-2 proposes to adduce S *✓ ntn 'give', which deserves consideration if we can explain the initial *n- ◇ Eg tān (mt. from *✓ tnw?), IE *tenu- and the controversial WrM {Rm.} tānu- may be interpreted as tentatively suggesting N *tāñū ◇ IS MS 37O s.v. тянутъ tānə (IE, A- D), IS SS #1.1O, ≠ BmK 29O-2 (an unc. attempt to equate IE *ten- v. 'stretch, draw' not only with S *✓ ntn v. 'give', but also with some other S roots [like *✓ wtn v. 'endure'], with D *tan- v. 'abound' and with M tāni- v. 'know', cp. N *tāñV 'feel, know').

2381. (2?) *tāñV 'feel, know' > HS: EC: ?φ Sa {R} ✓ tāñtān v. 'think (meinen, dafür halten)': imv. etin'tin, p. 3s i-tintina, inf. a-tāntān || RS II 361 || A *t'anⁱ- v. 'know' > NaT *t'ani- v. 'know, be acquainted with' > OT tāni- v. 'be acquainted with', Tk tāni-, Az, Ggz, Qmq, Qq, Bsh tānъ-, VTt tānъ- (inf. tanu), Qzq, Nog tāni- (inf. tanuw), Uz tāni-, Tf t'anⁱ- 'be acquainted with, recognize', Slr tāni- ~ tāni-,

StAlt, Xk *tani-*, Tv *t'ani-*, ET *tonu-* v. 'recognize (у-/при-знавать)', SY *t'ani-* (< M?) ~ *tani-* v. 'recognize, distinguish', Tkm *tanimal* 'known, famous', *taniš* id., 'an acquaintance'; → T **t'anuk* ~ **t'anik* 'witness' > OT, Chg *tanuq*, Osm *daniq*, Tk *tanik*, VTt *tanъq*, Qrg *taniq*, ET *tonuq* id. || Chv *tinъ, tin* 'witness' ¶ Cl. 516-9, Tn. SJ 500-1, BT 141, Ra. 232-3, Rs. W 461, Jeg. 268, Md. 100, 178, Fed. II 267, IS AD 42, ADb. Ttd 63 [#5] || M **tani-* v. 'know, be familiar with; recognize (so.\sth. previously known)' > MM [S, HI, MA] *tani-*, WrM *tani-*, HIM *тани-* id., Kl *tań-(χъ)*, Ord *t'ani-*, Dx, Ba *tani-*, Mgl *tāni-na* v. 'know (connaître), recognize', MnR H {SM} *t'ani-* 'connaître, reconnaître, pouvoir déchiffrer', MMgl [Z] *tanixči* 'an acquaintance' ¶ H 145, Pp. MA 340, Ms. H 99, KW 387, MED 778, KRS 477, SM 408, T 363, Iw. 136 || U **tonjhñv-* v. 'get accustomed, learn' (× N **ṭonjñv* 'learn (erfahren), inform', q.v. ffd.; the merger accounts for U *-o-) ◇ AD GD 14, IS SS #1.6, IS MS 343 s.v. **ṭanə* 'знатъ' (IE, U, A).

2382. **ṭi'ñE* 'strong', 'to strain' (= 'violence directed to oneself') > HS: B *^o✓*đny* > Kb ✓*đny*: *əđni* 'être gros, corpulent', Shl {NZ} *đni* / *idni* 'être gros\solide\épais' ¶ Dl. 178, NZ 476 || WS *✓*w̥ytn* 'flow continuously, be durable' (× N **‘wetē* '(flowing) water') > BHb נִתְּרֵתָן 'constant, continual; always filled with running water', Ar ✓*wtn*: G (pf. *watana*) v. {Hv.} 'flow continuously', {BK} 'être inépuisable\perpetuel' (de l'eau qui jaillit sans cesse d'une source), L 'persevere in', Sb *wtn* 'continuous (rain)', *wātin-* {BK} 'qui coule, courant (eau)' ¶ KB 43, KBR 45-6, BK II 1482, Hv. 849, BGMR 165, DRS 652 || A *^ot'inejä- > M **cinegen* > WrM *cinegen*, HIM *чинээ*, Brt *шэнээ(н)* 'strength, power', Kl {KRS} *чинэн*, {Rm.} *činēn* 'Stärke, Vermögen, Kraft', {KRS} *чинатэ* *činätä* 'strong' ¶ MED 188, KRS 651, KW 441, Chr. 748 || ??r ClKo *tin* *tin* *hada* 'be solid\strong, be substantial', Ko {MLC} *tin* *tin* *hada* ~ *tin* *tin* *hada* 'be strong, robust, healthy; be hard, substantial' ¶ Rm. SKE 267, MLC 530 ¶ Rm. l.c.; ≠ DQA #237 || Gil: Gil A č'ṭη / s+η 'strong' (↔ M?) ¶ ST 458 || D **tiñ-* ({θGS} **t-*) 'strong', **tiñdi-* {Pf.} 'strength, violence directed to oneself' > Tm *tin* 'strong, hard, firm', *tinm*, *tinñam* 'certainty, vigour, strength', Ml *tin* 'firm, strong, solid', *tinñam* 'strength', Kn *tinña* 'thickness, stoutness, greatness', *tinuku*, *tinaku* v. 'use pressure or strain as in childbirth or in easing nature', Tu *dinđə* 'stout, strong', *diñña* 'heaviness, heavy', Tl *tinuku* v. 'strain', Kui *tingi* 'tight, fast,

taut', Krx ṭindī 'strength', tinx-nā v. 'strain', Mlt tinqe v. 'strain (as at stool)' §§ D #3222, Pf. 83 [#527] || IE: NaIE *ten- v. 'stretch (to the uttermost), strain' (× IE *ten- v. 'stretch' < N *ṭañv 'draw, stretch, extend') > OI ta'nōti 'spannt, zieht aus', 'expands, extends, spreads' || Gk τεῖνω 'stretch (by main force), stretch to the uttermost, spannen', τετανός ~ τέτανος 'straightened, smooth', ? τένων (gen. τένοντος) 'sinew, tendon', ἀ-τενής 'stretched, strained', {P} 'sehr gespannt, straff' (ἀ- < *sm̥-), τόνος 'that by which a thing is stretched', n. act. 'stretching, tightening, straining' || pAl {O} *en-tenja > Al: T ndej ~ ndēn, G ndēj v. 'strain' || ON þenja 'ausspannen, ausstrecken' || OIr téit, W tant (both from *tñtā) 'string (Saite)' § P 1065-6, M K I 475, Hamp AIEW 149, O 283, F II 853, 863-5, Vr. 609, Vn. T 55, EI 187 (*ten- 'stretch') ◇ IS MS 364 s.v. СИЛЬНЫЙ *ṭinə (A, D), IS SS #1.20. If the IE stem belongs here, we reconstruct N *-ñ- (as the only common source of IE *-n- and D *-ñ-), otherwise it is either N *-ñ- or *-ń-.

2383. *ṭi'h'ūñv 'mud, silt, dirt' > HS: WS *ṭin- 'mud, clay' > Ar ḫin- 'mud, clay', Sr ṭi'n-ā 'lутum', Mh ṭayn 'clay, soil', Hrs ṭayn, Jb E/C ṭun 'clay' § Br. 274, BK II 131, Hv. 444, Jo. M 414, Jo. J 282, Jo. H 131 || CCh: Lgn {Bou.} tṣṇ 'earth' § JI II 117 || ?? Eg {Vc.} dnmm 'salé' (unless n = [l], as suggested by comparison with Cpt Sd τώλεμ tōlem 'salir, être salé'); not here Eg G tñm 'dirt' > Cpt τώλητ tōlem § EG V 312 (Eg G tñm), Vc. 214 §§ OS #2472 (HS *ṭin 'earth, dirt') || IE *tiHn- > NaIE *ṭin- > Sl *tīnā 'mud, slime' > OCS тīnā tina 'βόρβορος (mud, mire)', OR тīnā tina 'id., 'slime, swamp', R 'тина, Blg 'тиня 'slime, mud', OCz tina 'Kot, Morast' || ?σ AS ḫīnan 'become moist' || Tc B tīn- 'be dirty' § EI 160 (*tiHn- '[be] dirty'), SJSS XLIII 456, Vs. IV 59, Srz. III 959, Chuk. 1080, ≠ Tr. 323 (connects the Sl word with BSl *tīmen- 'swamp'), ≈ Ho. 365 (with unt. etl. parallels), Ad. 297-8 || K: pGZ *otx'u'n- v. 'soil' > G txun- 'be-, ver-schmieren, schmutzig machen, beschmutzen'; reduplicated stem K *ttx, itx wñ- v. 'soil, soil oneself' > G titxñ-, Mg tx itxon- § Chx. 490, 513, K 94 (*titxwñ-), FS K 150 (*titx-) || ?σ U: FU *otüñk, v. 'moss' > ObU *tüñk 'moss' > pVg *tüñk id. > Vg: T tüñ, LK täñwkʷ, P täñk, UL/Ss tanwkʷ; pOs *töñk ({ʃl.} *tüñk) id. > Os: V töñk, Ty/Y töñk, K töñk, Kz töñk, O tuñk § Ht #641 ◇ N *h is the only lr. that can both disappear in S and yield *x in K clusters (here *tx).

2384. *ṭañXü ~ *ṭäñXu (or *ṭanXü?) 'thin, short' > HS: S mt. *o✓ ḫñ > Ar ḫuhan- 'petit, courtaud, de petite taille' (of a person) § BK

II 62 || IE *ten_Hu- > NaIE *tenu- ~ *t_onu- 'thin' > OI та'ну-̄ 'thin, small, slender', MPrs тнwk tanuk 'thin, shallow', NPrs تونك tonok 'thin, light, weak' || Gk τανυ- in cds.: Gk Hm τανύ-φλοιος 'thin-barked, with thin bark', τανύ-φυλλος 'with narrow leaves', τανυ-ήκης 'with a thin point\edge', Gk [Hs.] τανύ-σφυρος 'mit schlanken Fußknöcheln'; Gk τανα(F)ός {LS} 'outstretched, tall, taper', {F} 'dünn, schmal, langgestreckt, lang' || L tenuis 'thin' (based on the fem. form *tenu-ī-, cf. OI f. tanvī 'thin') || Clt *tanawo- > OIr tana, tanae 'mince, fin, étroit', Brtt [RE] *tanawo-s 'thin' > MW teneu, W tenau 'thin, rare', Crn tanow 'thin', MBr {Ern.} tan(n)au 'mince', Br tanav (old spelling tanao) 'mince, fluide, clairsemé' || OHG dünni, NHG dünn, OSx thunni, ON þunrr 'thin', AS ȝunnē id., 'lean', NE thin || Lt tévas 'thin, slim', Ltv tiēvs 'thin' (object), 'lean' (person) || Sl *тъпъкъ ~ *тѣпъкъ 'thin' > OCS ТЪНЪКЪ, (rare) ТѢНЪКЪ, SCr танак, SIn tənāk, Blg 'тънък, OR ТЪНЪКЪ, R (pradj.) 'тонок, (aadj.) 'тонкий, P cienki, Cz, Slk tənký; cmpr. Sl *тѣпнѣји > OCS ТЪНѢНЈ P 1069, EI 574 (*'tenu-s / **t_onou-s 'thin, long'), M K I 474, M E I 620-1, McK 82, BM 135, F II 851-3, WH II 666, Vn. T 26, RE 138, YGM-1 408, Ern. 676, Hm. 773, Vr. 627, Ho. 374, Ho. S 79, OsS 115, EWA II 855-9, KM 148, Frn. 1086, SJSS XLIV 534, Glh. 62O, Vs. IV 76-7, Sl. I 100, Tr. 319 || A *t[‘]aŋ^ü- > Tg *^otaŋ[‘]a[’] > Ewk Y/Sm/Urm таңа 'lean, skinny', таңа-, Ewk Skh таңна- v. 'get lean, skinny' ¶ STM II 162, Vas. 386 || M *taŋ_Lg_Ki 'delicate, tender' > MM [S] taŋgi 'schwach, Schwächling', WrM таңки, НIM танхъ 'delicate, tender', Kl танъг taŋ^g 'weak', Brt тангил 'delicate, tender, beloved, verweichlicht' (изнеженный, нежный, возлюбленный)] M *tanu- v. 'reduce in size, cut off, shorten' > WrM тану-, НIM тана- id., Kl tan- 'shorten', amb 'reduce', Brt тана- id. (× Brt тана- 'reduce by cutting, cut off, об-/от-резать') ÷ Kl таңп- id.) ¶ H 145, MED 777, 779, KRS 476-7, Chr. 413 ◇ Altaic *-ŋ- may go back to N *-ñχ- (or *-ñħ-?). If M *tanu does not belong here, A *ŋ may be original and go back to N *ŋ. In NaIE the lr. is lost in prevoc. position (f. *tenwī is a NaIE form derived from *tenu- after the loss of the lr.) ◇ Trnt. NE (IE, A).

2385. *tAŋŋñV 'moisture' > K: G тен-i 'humidity, Feuchtigkeit, сырость' ¶ Chx. 1335, DCh. 121, GL 49O || HS: ECh: Ke téŋé 'befeuften, nässen' ¶ Eb. 96, ChC || IE: NaIE *teng^g- v. 'wet, moisten' (× N *t[‘]ñm_Lñka|æ 'to wet, to dip', q.v. ffd.) || D *taŋ- 'wet' > Kn

tađi 'wet, damp, moistness', ? Kn Hv čeñđi 'wet', Tu tanaśa, tanaśa 'wetness, dampness, water', ? canđi 'wetness; wet, moist, humid', ? cammi 'dampness, moisture', Tl tađi 'moisture, dampness, wetness; damp, moist, wet'; D → Prkr taññāya- 'damp'; D *taññī(r) 'cold water' (semantic infl. of the isophonic √ *tañ- 'cold') > Tm taññīr, taññi 'cold water, water', Ml taññīr, taññi 'cold water, drinking water', Kt tañi'r, Kn, Tu taññīr 'cold water' ¶ D #3045 (does not distinguish between this √ and *tañ- 'cold'), Tu. #13676 (2).

2385a. ₂ *tēñ[U] 'large body of water' > HS: S *°timm- > Ar ḫimm- 'mass of water; sea' ¶ BK II 105, Hv. 438 || WCh: Tng {Kr.} tēñgūl 'lake' (not found in J T) ¶ ChL I 121 || A *t'ēñE 'large body of water' > T *°t[u]eñ> OT [MhK] t[u]vñ 'lake' or 'marsh' (unvocalized Arabic script) ¶ Cl. 512, DTS 551 | T *tēñiř 'large body of water' (→ 'sea') > OT täñiz (or teñiz) 'large body of water, sea', Tk dəniž 'sea', Az dəniž, Ggz deniz, Tkm deñið, Chg täleñiz ~ deñiz, XwT täñiz, CrTt, Qmq, Qrg, ET deñiz, MQp, QRB, Nog, Qq, Qzq teñiz, VTt diñgbz, Bsh diñgbð, Uz dengiz, Xk tiñls 'sea', StAlt teñis 'sea, ocean' || Blgh *täleñir → OHg, Hg tener 'sea' ¶ Cl. 526, DTS 552, Rs. W 474, ET VGD 194-5, TL 89, Dr. TM III #1192, Grøn. 241, Faz. II 380, BT 147, ADb. Ttd 64 ¶ The irreg. initial d- (for t-) in some Qarluq and Qypchaq lgs. (Qmq, Uz, ET) and in Qrg must be explained by inter-Turkic borrowings (quite natural for a word denoting an object not familiar to speakers of many T lgs.). Acc. to ADb. Ttd 64, in the *CEñ-roots the opposition *t'- ↔ *t̄- is neutralized. The origin of the sx. *-iř is not yet known || Tg: WrMc tengin 'large lake' ({Z} 'large deep lake, of which the banks cannot be seen) ¶ STM II 236, Z 720 ◇ The N emphatic *t̄- is reconstructed on the ev. of S *t̄- and Tg *t̄-. N *U is suggested by S *m (< N *-ŋ- near a labialized vw. [reg.]) ◇ Hardly here the U √ that was reconstructed by Coll. as *toñe 'lake' (Coll. 62). In the light of the extant data, this U √ is to be reconstructed as *towvñ (so in UEW 533) < N *tubvñ 'lake' (q.v.).

2385b. ₂ *tiñvñ 'hear, listen' > HS: ECh: Ll {Grgs.} dēñli, Nd D {J} dūlā 'hear', EDng {Fd.} dēñgē 'ear' ¶ JI II 115, 185, ChC || A: T *t[u]iñ > OT tiñ 'listening' (Cl. 512 has doubts about the meaning), Qzq tiñ 'eavesdrop, overhearing', Qq tiñ tiñla- v. 'eavesdrop'; → T *tiñla- > NaT *tiñla- ~ *tiñlä- 'listen' > OT tiñla-, XwT XIII diñlä-, XIV tiñla- id., Chg fxv tiñla- 'hear', Tk dirlə-, Tkm, CrTt diñle-, Az diñlä-, Uz, ET tiñla-, Nog, Qq,

Ln тіңла-, Qzq, Alt тіңда-, VTt, Bsh тъңла-, Tv діңна-, SY тінна- ~ тинна- 'listen', Xk тіңна- 'lend an ear to' || Chv тәңла- тъңла- 'listen' ¶ Cl. 522, DTS 568, ET VD 236-7, Rs. W 478, MaM 357, KrkR 668 || M *čiŋla- v. 'listen, eavesdrop' (↔ T?) > WrM сіңла- ~ сіңна-, HlM чагна-, Kl чиңи- чіңнә- id., {Rm.} чіңнә-'lauschen, belauschen', Ord {Ms.} чіңна-, MnR H {T} чіңла- 'hear, listen', MnR Nr č'iŋla- 'écoutier, préter l'oreille' ¶ MED 19O, KRS 652, T 38O, SM 462, KW 441.

2386. UA ? ₂*t_əŋE (or *t_əŋŋV?) 'butt, lower end of the trunk' > U: FU *tūŋe id. > F tūvi 'lower part of the trunk, larger end, bottom, base', Es tūvī 'stem, trunk', {W} 'unteres dickeres Ende (eines Stammes oder Stengels), tūtū 'butt end, stump, stub, stubble' | Chr: H тѣнг тѣнг, L түң тѣң 'butt, lower end of the trunk, base', U/B tūŋ 'Stammende, dickes Ende eines Baumes' | Prm *dīŋ 'butt, lower end of the trunk (комель)' > Vt дінъ diń, Vt Kz/Sr diŋ ~ diń, Vt G dīń, Z дін diń, Prmk dīń id. || Hg tō (accus. tövet) 'stem; base, lower part' ¶ Coll. 12O, UEW 523-4, LG 94, It. #42O || A: NaT *t'öŋ'gä(k)¹ > Tkm töŋe, Uz түңгак тәңгак, түңка тәңка 'stump, stub; block of wood' ('пенъ, чурбан'), Brb {Rl.} töŋök, Alt/Tlt {Rl.}, StAlt töŋös, Shor {Rl.} töŋäš 'tree stump' ¶ Rs. W 493, Jeg. 257-8, Rl. III 1247, BT 156 ¶ In some lgs. partial contamination with words for 'hummock, tussock' (VTt tümgäk, Tkm tümmek, Chv L tumxax, tumxa) || pKo *tuŋ- > NKO tuŋčhi 'base of a tree trunk', Ko {Rm.} tuŋkʰə,gi 'root' ¶ S QK #921, MLC 511, Rm. SKE 277 ¶ ≈ DQA #2462 (A *t'umgię 'base of tree trunk or grass stalk' > Ko); Rm. SKE l.c. equates Ko tuŋkʰə,gi with M tüŋke (interpreted by him as 'the down-part, the base of a tree', which meaning is not confirmed by other sources [including KW]) ◇ NaT *t'öŋ'gä(k)¹ points to a N etymon *t_əŋE, while FU *tūŋe (and pKo *tuŋ-) may go back either to N *t_əŋE or to *t_əŋŋV ◇ IS MS 344 s.v. комель *t_ənunga, IS SS #1.18 ◇ Gr. II #400 (*tunke 'trunk (tree)') (U, A, Ko, CK).

2387. *t_əŋŋV 'learn (erfahren), inform' > HS: Ch *✓ dñ > WCh: Bks {J} dīŋ̩i v. 'see' || CCh: Ms {J} dūnà id. ¶ ChC, J R 141 || IE: NaIE *teng- / *tong- v. 'think, feel', {Mn.} v. 'remind, draw attention to; reflect upon, long for', *tongā 'sentiment' > L [En.] tongē- v. 'know' ('nosse, scire'), L Prn tongitiō 'notio', Osc TANGINOM 'sententiam', abl. tanginúd 'sententia_' || Gt þagkjan / 3s p. þāhta v. 'think, reflect upon', ON þekkja 'to notice, to realize', OHG, NHG denken, OSx thénkian, AS

ðencan 'to think', NE think; Gt þugkian (3s p. þūhta), AS ðýnčan, OSx thunkian 'to seem, to look like', OHG dünken 'to think (aestimare, putare)', NHG dünnen 'to seem, to look, to imagine', ON þykkia 'dünken, scheinen, gefallen'; ON þokkr, þokki 'opinion, favour (Gefallen)', OHG danc 'thanks, favour', dancōn 'to thank, to gratify, to bless', NHG danken 'to thank'; OSx thank 'Dank, Gnade', AS ðanc 'thought, sentiment, thanks', NE thank || pTc *tānkw > Tc: A tun̄k, B tānkw n. 'love' ¶ P 1O88, EI 575 (*teng-) Mn. 1411-2, WH II 69O, Bc. G 325, Fs. 487, 5O4, Vr. 6O7, 615, Ho. 36O, 362, 374, Ho. S 77, 79, Kb. 143, 172, OsS 95-6, 115, EWA II 527, 579-81, 853-4, KM 121, 127, 148, Wn. 518, Ad. 277 || u *tonjñāv- v. 'get accustomed, learn' (x N *tañāv 'feel, know'; the merger accounts for *-ñ- [*-ñjñ-] instead of the expected *-ŋ-) > pMr {Ker.} *tъna- → Er tonado-, Mk tonadə- 'get accustomed, learn', Er tonavto-, Mk tonafte- v. 'teach, accustom so.' | Chr: L түнә'ма-ш 'to learn, to study, to get accustomed', U/B tunema- 'lernen, sich üben, sich gewöhnen', B tunakte- v. 'teach', mt.: Chr H ты'меня-ш, KB тъменä-, тъмeyä- v. 'learn, get accustomed' || Prm *tun > Z tun 'soothsayer, medicine-man', Vt tuno 'female soothsayer', Z tunav-n̄ / tunal-, Z Δ tunal-, Vt tun-a-n̄ v. 'predict, vaticinate' || Hg tanul- v. 'learn, study', tanit- v. 'teach' ¶ F tunte- ~ tunne- v. 'know, recognize' and Es tund-ma 'to feel' do not belong here, but rather go back to FU *tumte- (F N *t'E'māv 'to feel by touch') || Sm {Jn.} *tъntå- (or *č-, *-nč-) v. 'teach', *tъntъ- (or *č-, *-nč-) v. 'learn' > Ne T тāнара- 'punish, teach a good lesson', Ne T O {Lh.} tan·arā 'durch Strafen abrichten, belehren', Ne F L {Lh.} tannärāmm̄ 'ist durch Strafen belehrt', Slq Tz {KKIH} tēn̄ 'intelligence', tēn̄im̄- v. 'know, understand' ('знатъ, уметъ, пониматъ'), tēn̄irpt̄- v. 'think' ¶ UEW 537 (*tuna-), Sm. 55O (FU, FP *toni-, Ugr *tonř- 'get used to'), Ker. II 169-7O, LG 286, MRS 597-8, Jn. 147, Ter. 625, KKIH 18O-1 ¶ Prm *u provides ev. for FU *o, while the vowels of other lgs. are ambiguous (may go back either to *o or to *u), therefore I prefer to reconstruct pU *tonjñā- rather than *tuna- (as in UEW) || a *t'ūn'a- 'inform' > T *t'ūn'a > Chv тān tъn 'mind, intellect; memory' (but not here Tv t'üñ 'sum, total' [← Chn t'úñ 'together'] and other words of T lgs. adduced in DQA #2751) ¶ ~ Jeg. 237, Fed. II 192-3 || M *tunga- {DQA} tuñ- > MM [HI] tūnqa- tunga- {Ms.} 'promulquer', {Lew.} 'proclamer, afficher', WrM ↑ tūnqa(ga)-, HlM ↑ түнгaa-, Ord ↑

t'ū^ŋgā- 'know, think, judge', WrO tūngā-, Kl tūn̥ha- tūŋyā- 'think, reflect'; WrM tūngag ~ tūnqag, HlM tūnχag, WrO tūngaq 'declaration', Ord t'ūŋgaq 'notification officielle', Kl {Rm.} tūngāg ~ tūngāg_ 'Bekanntmachung, announcement' ¶ Ms. H 103, Lew. II 81, MED 842, Ms. O 681, Krg. 519, KRS 518, KW 410-1 || Tg *tuŋɔŋ- > WrMc tōŋgi- 'tell\narrate (erzählen) in detail, expand', Ewk NB tūŋz- 'know', Ewk I/Sm tūŋtī- v. 'warn' ¶ STM II 197, 216 || pJ: [1] pJ {S} *tūnanap- 'proclaim, narrate' > OJ tūónáp, J: T/Kg tonáé-, K tónáé- || [2] ? pJ túnká- 'let know, inform' > OJ túga-, J: T cùge-, K cùgé-, Kg cugé- ¶ S QJ ##645, 1014, Mr. 770, 772 ¶ ~ DQA #2751 (A *t'ūŋe 'inform', includong J *tūnanap-, M, Tg) || D *tōŋꝝ- ({An.} *tōŋd-) 'be visible, appear, come to mind' (× N *t'ō^ŋNΔ 'appear', [in descenfant lgs.: → 'to seem'], q.v. ffd.) ◇ U and D point to a N *o, while T and M *u still needs explaining.

2388. *tUŋ'q'Δ 'swell, swell up' > ? HS: S *°✓ tñx v. 'eat to excess' > Ar ✓ tñx G {Hv.} id., {BK} 'être gras', 'se charger l'estomac de mets gras, et en avoir une indigestion' (semantic infl. of other roots of the tñ-kernel: ✓ tñh 'avoir une indigestion', ✓ tñθr 'avoir mangé de la graisse au point d'avoir une indigestion') ¶ BK II 112, Hv. 439 || U: FU *tōŋΔ v. 'swell' ('[auf-, an]-schwellen') > Z dun 'swollen, inflated', Z dundt-, Prmk {UEW} tundt- vi. 'swell' (body, bellow due to an illness), Yz {UEW} dun'di- v. 'swell' (stomach) || Hg dágad- v. 'swell' ¶ UEW 530-1, MF 132, LG 98 || A: M *°tüŋke 'swelling' > WrM türŋke 'overgrowth of feather grass'; → *tüŋkeyi-: WrM türŋkei-, HlM түнхий-(x) v. 'swell up, become bloated or inflated', Ord t'ūŋ"xi- 'être gros (p. ex., un ventre, un paquet)', ? t'ūŋgi- 'avoir une forme ronde et massive, être gros\grand', ?? Kl čin-xə 'aufschwellen' ¶ MED 853, Ms. O 687, KW 441 ¶ M *t- provides ev. for pA *t'- || D *tēŋk-/ *tēkk- ({gGS} *t-) > Tm tēŋku- v. 'fill, become full, be crowded', tēkku v. 'drink to the fill, be full, replete', Kn tēŋki 'mass, multitude', Tu tēkæ 'brimful', Krx tēkl tēxr- v. 'have an overfilled stomach', tēx tēxr- v. 'suffer from a heavy dinner, feel puffed up' ¶ D #3453 ◇ D *ē still needs explaining (regr. as. from N *U...E?).

2389. *tēŋqΔ '(=) tree, (=) forest' > HS: Ch *°tŋŋ (or °tŋŋ?) tree' > WCh: pAG {Hf.} *tʒŋ 'tree' > Gmy {Hf.} təŋ, Kfr {Nt.} tʒŋ, Su {J} tíŋ, Ang {Hf.} tʉŋ (= {Flk.} təwŋ) 'tree', Mpn {Frz.} tʒŋ 'tree, wood'] It is not clear whether one may adduce here Ch *tŋ₁wŋ 'mahogany' (with a vw.

different from that of Ch *^ot^Δŋ 'tree', to judge from the reflexes in Su and Ang) > Su {J} tén, Ang {Flk.} tan or tən 'mahogany', Glm {Stl.} tán, Gera {Stl.} čání id. || CCh {ChL}: Hw tìñ, G'nd {ChL} tînda, Gbn {ChL} tíyìn-dá 'mahogany tree' ¶ Hf. AGG 19 [#66], Nt. 4O, Frz. M 83, J S 84-5, Flk. s.v. tan (or tən), tewṇ, ChL II 15, 25, 34 ¶ OS #2392 (misquotes the Gbn word ascribing it to Gabri [sc. Smr G within ECh]), ≠ Stl. ZCh 165 [#182] (*tani/*tawni 'tree [baobab, mahogany]') ¶ ≠ OS #3297 (*ti?in- 'tree' *÷ S *ti?in- [sc. *t^Δ?in-] 'fig, fig tree', which in fact goes back to N ~ *to^{r?}i 'fig' [q.v.]) || K *tqe(n)- 'forest, wood' > OG, G tqe- 'forest', Mg tqə- n. 'wood, weed', Lz (m)tka- 'grass, dog rose (Rosa canina)', Sv UB/LB/L {TK} tqen 'stick, cudgel' ¶ K 184, K²193, FS K 3O2-3, FS E 336-7, Chx. 1374, Abul. 414, Chik. 24, TK 721 ¶ K *tqe(n)- is probably based on mt. (typical K displacement of lrs. and uvulars to a position immediately following the preceding [esp. initial] stop or affricate) and subsequent assimilative glottalization: *tEnq- > *tqEn- > *tqe(n)- || A *^ot^{üŋ}n^Δ > M *tünŋ 'woods, forest' > MM [S] tūn, WrM tün~tūn id. ¶ MED 853, H 154 || D *teŋ, *teŋk, ? *^oteŋku ({θGS} *t-) 'coconut tree' > Tm tən, tennai, teŋku, teŋkam, MI teŋnu, Kt ten ka·y, Kn teŋu, teŋu 'coconut tree', Td tö(g) go·y 'coconut', Kdg teŋt mara 'coconut tree', teŋe 'coconut', Tu teŋə 'coconut tree', Tl tē-mrānu, tē:-zət̄tu 'coconut tree, teŋkāya, teŋkāya 'coconut' ¶ D #3408 ◇ The vw. *ü in M may be explained by regr. as., if we suppose that the pN word was *teŋqU. K *tq- < **tq- by as.

2390. *təŋga|o 'draw, stretch' > IE: NaIE *teng^h- or *teng^wh- 'draw, pull, stretch, strain' ({P} 'ziehen, dehnen, spannen') > Av Bang- 'ziehen, Bogen spannen', KhS thamj- 'draw, stretch' || Sl *tęg- > ChS **растягж** ras-tęg-q / **растяшн** ras-tęšti 'distrahere', OR **тягати** tęgati, R Δ тя'гать, R тя'нутъ 'to pull, to draw', Blg тегна vi. 'weigh, weigh upon'; Slv tēg 'drawing force, drought' ('тяга'), SCr tēg id., 'weight'; SCr na-tęgnuti (prs. nätēgnēm) vt. 'to stretch, to draw tight', Slv tęgniti vi. 'to stretch', Cz tahati, táhnouti, Slk tiahnut', P ciągnąć 'to pull' || ? L temō ({E} < *teng^hg^wh-s-mon-) 'cariot pole' ¶ P 1O66, Mn. 1379-14O5, Bai. 148, SJSS XLII 447, Vs. IV 139-4O, Sl. I 98, EI 187 (*teng^h-, 'pull') || A *t^{aŋ}g^Δ- > Tg *taŋgi- v. 'draw' > Lm taŋqu ~ taŋqaqu 'implement for pulling the bowstring on the bow' ('станок для натягивания тетивы

на лук'), WrMc *tang-i-me-liyan* 'nach hinten gekrüummt, ausgewölbt' ¶ STM II 160, Z 698, Hr. 887 || pKo {S} *tʌŋ-kʌj- 'stretch, pull' > MKo *tʌŋkʌj-*, NKo *tang-i*- id., Ko N {Rm.} *tangä-d* 'pull, draw' ¶ Rm. SKE 256, S QK #856, Nam 145, MLC 414 || HS: Ch (x N *tən̥N 'draw, stretch, extend', q.v.): Azm {Pc.} *tāndá* v. 'drag, pull', Jg {J} *teñ-* v. 'draw', EDng {Fd.} *téñè* 'tirer (la corde, etc.)' || ?? CCh: Lgn M {Bou.} *dà?ám-* v. 'draw' ¶ ChL, Pc. 367, J J 117, Fd. 158 ◇ IS MS 37O s.v. ТЯНУТЬ *tangə* (IE, A). This etymon is likely to be connected with (derived from?) N *tən̥N '↑'.

2391. *tæŋka 'firm, dense' > HS: B *°v̥dng (< **v̥tn̥K) > Ah *tungat* (= *t-*dun̥gat*) (pf. *jæt̥tungat*) 'être fort' (une saveur, une odeur, un aliment, une chose parfumée) ¶ Fc. 278-9, NZ 475-6 || IE: NaIE *tenk- v. 'be strong, solid, dense' > Av *taxma-* 'tapfer, tüchtig, energisch, heldenhaft', Psh *tat* (< **taxta-*) 'dense, thick' || OIr {Vn.} *técht* 'solide, épais; coagulé' || Gmc: [1] *θiŋhan 'to grow (wachsen), to thrive' > AS *ðīon* (p. *ðunȝor*, pp. *ȝeðunȝen*) id., 'to flourish', OHG *dīhan* 'to grow (wachsen), to thrive, to prosper, to succeed', OSx *thīhan*, NHG *gedeihen*, Gt *þeihen* 'to grow, to thrive, to flourish' | [1a] pp: OSx *gi-thigan* 'gediegen, erwachsen', OHG *gi-digan* {Kb.} 'strict, severe, advanced, reliable', MHG *gedigen* 'grown up, firm', NHG *gediegen* 'solid' | [1b] AS *ðingan*, OFrs *thigia* 'to thrive', OSx *a-théngian* 'ausführen' | [2] d.: ON *péttr*, Sw *tät*, Dn *tæt*, NNr *tett*, MHG *dīhtē*, NHG *dicht*, ME, NEΔ *thight* 'dense', AS *ðīht* (in cds.: *maga-ðīht* 'magenstark', *mæte-ðīht* 'thick from eating') || Lt *tānkus* 'thick (dicht), dense' ¶ P 1068 (does not distinguish this √ from IE *tenk- 'sich zusammenziehen'), Brtl. 626-7, Mrg. 84, Vn. T 40-1, Fs. 493-4, Vr. 609, Ho. 365-6, Ho. S 77, Kb. 153, 339, OsS 102, 240, EWA II 634-7, KM 131, 238-9 || A *t'æŋkN- > M *tenkejü- > WrM *tenke-*, HIM *тэнхэ-* v. 'endure, recover strength or health', Brt *тэнхэ-*, Ord *t'εŋ"xū-* 'recover (after illness), recover strength'; *tenkegen > WrM *tenke*, *tenkege*, HIM *тэнхээ*, Brt *тэнхээ(н)*, Ord *t'εŋ"xē* 'power, force, strength' ¶ MED 802-3, Chr. 455, Ms. O 658 || ?l Tg *tjan̥k, or *tEŋk, 'firmly, densely' (secondary ideophonization?) > Ork *tēŋ*, Orc *tæn-tæn*, Ud *teæk-teæk*, Ud Sm {Krm.} *täk-täk* id. ('крепко, плотно, тяго'), Neg *tēŋ-tēŋ*, *tēŋ-tīŋ*, U1 *tēŋ-tēŋ*, Nn Nh *tāq-tāq* '(very) firmly (крепко, крепко-накрепко)' ¶ STM II 173, Krm. 294.

2392. ***tuŋk** 'to press, to force oneself, to be too narrow, to be tight' > **IE:** NaIE **twenk-* v. 'press' > Gmc {P} **θuŋxian* (> **θūxjan*) 'to press, to press down, to oppress ([nieder-]drücken, bedrängen)' > OHG *dūhen* 'to press, to urge', OLF *bethūwen* 'to press down', Dt *duwen* 'to push', AS *ðywan*, *ðeon*, {Sw.} *þywan*, *þien* 'to press' || Lt *tvankus* 'stuffy, close', {Frn.} 'schwül, drückend' ¶ It is not yet clear what connection there is with IE **twengh-* 'bedrängen' > Av *θwaz̥zaiti* 'falls into distress', ON *þwinga* 'to force, to torment', OSx *thwingan*, OHG *dwingan* 'to force, to compel', ON *þwinga* 'zwingen, belästigen' ¶ P 1O99-11OO, ≠ EI 451 (**twengh-* with unj. **g^h* based on controversial comparison with Gmc [ON *þwinga*, etc.]), Kb. 171, OsS 114, EWA II 842-4, 922-4, KM 897, Ho. 375, Sw. 182, Frn. 1149 || **U:** FU **tuŋke-* v. 'press, squeeze into, thrust into' > F *tunke-* 'press, squeeze, thrust, push, force, force one's way through', Es *tungi-* v. 'force oneself, press, crowd' | pMr {Ker.} **tuŋgъ-* > Er *tongo-* ТОНГО-МС, Mk *toŋgə-* ТОНГО-МС 'hineinstecken', 'to shove\stick (into), to thread a needle' || Vg {Mu., MK}: T/P *tokr-*, LK/Ss *toxr-* 'zerknüllen, drücken, stecken', {UEW} 'stopfen' | Hg *dug-* v. 'stick\put\thrust into' ¶ UEW 537-8, Coll. 120, Sm. 550 (FU, RP **tuŋki-*, Ugr **tuŋki-* 'cram'), MF 135, Slv. 407, Ker. II 170, ERV 669, MK 650 || **HS** **tuŋk-* > C: HEC {Hd.} **tuŋk-* v. 'be narrow' > Kmb, Hd *tuŋk-* v. 'be narrow', *tuŋka* 'narrow' || SC: Alg {E} *tinq-* v. 'squeeze out' ¶ EPC #73 (pC **taŋ-* / **tiŋ-* / **tuŋ-* v. 'press'), Ll.c., Hd. 1O4, 3O1, 341, 413 || S *^o-*tuŋk-*, *^o✓ *twŋy* > Gz ✓ *twŋ* G (pf. *tuŋka*, js. *yə-tuŋk*) v. 'be in dire straits, be oppressed\afflicted; compress, constrain', ✓ *twŋy* (pf. *twŋaya*) v. 'be narrow, be under stress, be painful', Tgy *taŋwaŋka* v. 'press, pressure' ¶ L G 599 ◇ IS MS 338 s.v. давить **tuŋk* (IE, U), IS SS #1.26.

2393. ***ta[ŋ]E** 'squeeze, press' > **HS:** C: Dhl {EEN} *taŋβ-*, {To.} **taŋb-* v. 'squeeze', {EEN} *taŋbit'*- v. 'milk' || ?? SC {E} > ?? σ Alg *çobopot* v. 'melt' (after E, probably caus. from a v. for 'drip'), SC → Mb -*sib*v. 'wring' (× N ? σ ***ta**h**a** or ***ta**h**E** 'to trample, to kick, to crumple, to press?'); Ehret equates Alg, Mb, and Dhl and reconstructs SC **taŋb-* v. 'squeeze out' ¶ To. D 148, EEN 17, E SC 176 || B *^o✓ *tbb* (× N ? σ ***ta**h**a** or ***ta**h**E** '↑') > Ah *atbab* 'se serrer dans ses vêtements, être serré dans ses vêtements' ¶ Fc. 1882 || S: +ext. **r*: *^o✓ *tp̥r* > Ak ✓ *tp̥r* G ≈ 'sich herandrängen an' ¶ Sd. 138O || **IE:** NaIE **tap-* v. 'press (down,

together), 'squeeze' > Gk ταπεινός 'brought down, humbled' (← *'pressed down, depressed') || ON þefja 'to stamp (stampfen)', þóf 'Gedränge', þófi 'felt', OHG bidebbēn ~ bideppen 'to suppress (unterdrücken), to soothe' ¶ P 1O56, F II 854, Vr. 6O6-7, Kb. 151, EWA II 55O-1 || **U:** FU *^otælepp^Δ v. 'press tightly' (× N *daP^Δ(K^Δ) 'to stick [adhere], to glue' [q.v.]) > Prm {Lt.} *tɔp- 'press tightly' > Z topzð-, Z US tɔpəd- vt. 'press' ('жать, при-/за-/жать'), ? Vt тупат-ыны 'fix, attach' ¶ Lt. 98, LG 282, Wc. StWU 51 || **A:** T: [1] T *t'ap- 'press' (influenced by N *dap₁Δ, y₂Δ ~ *dayop^Δ 'to push', q.v. ffd.) | [2] ?σ T *t'āp- 'trample' (× N ? u *täbHa or *tabHE 'to trample, to kick, to crumple, to press', q.v. ffd.) || AdS of M *dabta- 'hammer, forge, beat' (< N *dap₁Δ, y₂Δ ~ *dayop^Δ '↑', q.v. ffd. × N *daXw^Δ [~ *dawX^Δ?] 'to press, to push') ¶ DQA #2221 (A *tāp^Δ- 'to stamp, to press').

2394. u *t̥a'p¹Δ 'hit (the target)' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'succeed, find, find an answer, identify, recognize') > **HS:** WS *√t̥bb 'know, be wise' > Sr √t̥bb (pf. t̥ab) v. 'make inquiry, inform oneself, be informed', Ar t̥abb- 'habile, savant, versé dans une science; circonspect', √t̥bb: pf. (< adj. of state) t̥abba 'était habile, savant', Sq {L} t̥eb 'croire, savoir', Gz √t̥bb v. G 'be wise, prudent, sage', Sb d. t̥bb v. 'teach, proclaim' ¶ BK II 5O-2, JPS 165, Br. 265, L G 585, L LS 198, BGMR 152 || **IE:** NaIE *top- 'wohin gelangen, auf etwas treffen; Ort, wo man hingelangt oder hin will' > Gk τόπος 'place', τοπάζω v. 'aim at, guess' || AS ðafian 'to consent to, to permit, to tolerate; to endure, to suffer' (Hofm.: ← *'Platz machen, Raum geben') || Lt t̥ap-ti, Ltv t̥apt 'to become (werden, entstehen)', Ltv pa-t̥apt 'to reach (a place), to be able to arrive', Lt pri-t̥ap-ti 'to take up with' ¶ P 1O88, F II 911, Hofm. 369, Ho. 36O, Sw. 179, Frn. 1O57-8, Kar. II 375, Bc. 636 || **U:** FP *tap(p)^Δ- v. 'find, succeed, fit' > F tapaan / tavata v. 'find, meet, come across' | Vt tupa- 'come to an understanding; fit, be the right size', dun šartš tupa- 'come to an agreement about the price' ¶ Wc. StWU 51 (F, Vt; other scholars did not find this etl. connection between F and Vt because they equated the above words with the isophonic FU verbs meaning 'to strike', 'to stick', etc.), U3S 249 || **A:** *t'ap^Δ v. 'hit the target, find' > T *t'ap- v. 'find, hit the target, guess' > OT {Cl.} tap-, MT [IM] dap- v. 'find, learn', Yk tap- v. 'hit the target', Tkm, Qmq tap-, Tk Δ {SDD} tap- v. 'find', Az tap- v. 'find, guess' (not dap-, as in IS AD 41), Slr tap- ~ tap̄- ~ ta'p- ~ ta?-, ET tap- id., Qrb tab-, VTt, Bsh, Qzq,

Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk *tap-* (prevoc. *tab-*), Uz топ- *tap-*, SY *tap-* & *ta'p* & *ta?-*, Tv *t'ip-* (prevoc. *t'iv-*) v. 'find', Chv L түп- *tup/b_-* v. 'find, detect', түпә *tub_ь* 'solution of a riddle' ¶ Cl. 435, IS AD 41 [#7], Rs. W 462, TL 699, Hüs. 283, Äz. 326, SDD III 1313, BT 142, Tn. SJ 502, Tn. SJ 211, Cs. KKS 107, Jeg. 258, Fed. II 248 || (? ppM **ta'β'a-* >) M **taya-* v. 'guess' > MM *ta,a-* [MA] v. 'guess', [HI] 'deviner', WrM *taga-*, HIM, Brt *taa-*, Dx *taya-*, Ba *tā-* v. 'guess, solve a riddle', Kl *taa-* *tā-* v. 'tell the fortune, suppose', {Rm.} 'erraten; annehmen, mutmassen', Ord, MnR H {SM} *t'ā-* 'deviner, conjecturer'; M → Ewk *tāy-*, Lm *tā-* v. 'recognize \ identify (so.), guess', Sln {Iv.} *tayi-* 'know', Neg *tak-*, Ul, Nn *taqō-* v. 'recognize\identify', Orc *takki-* v. 'recognize (so. seen before)', WrMc *taga-* '(er)kennen, können', Mc Sb *taqəmə* v. 'identify' ¶ MED 763, KRS 469-70, KW 386, Pp. MA 338, Ms. H 98, SM 404, T 362, T DnJ 135, T BJ 147, STM II 149, Z 700, Hr. 881, Y#1859 ¶ Pp. VG 13, 122, 139, 157-8, IS AD 48-9 ¶ Pp. (l.c.) considers Ewk and Lm forms to be genetic cognates of M rather than loans and postulates their prehistory as **tapa-* > **tawā-gi-* > Ewk *tāg-*, Lm *tā-*; Pp.'s hyp. is hardly convincing because no traces of Tg *-w- have been discovered || □ (in SD) **tāpp-* 'appointed time, proper time' > Tm *tāppi* 'expected moment, appointed time, convenience', Ml *tāppi* 'proper time, opportunity', Td *tōp* 'time, chance' ¶ D #3161 ◇ If the N etymon is **tap*∇, WS *b (for the expected *p) needs investigating. A possible solution: the N etymon is **tab*∇, while *-p- and *-pp- in IE, U, Tk, and D are due to as. (N **t...b* > ***t...p*) ◇ IS MS 356 s.v. попадать (в цель) **tap'ə* (IE, A, U, D + *÷ Eg and Ch [the Eg and Ang forms mentioned by IS are not acceptable on semantic grounds]), AD NM #34, S CNM 4 (÷÷ ST, Yn), Vv. AEN 3 ("the root may be onomatopoeic").

2395. **t'a'p*∇ (or **t'a'P?*∇, **tōp*∇, **tōP?*∇?) 'to wade, to cross, to go through, to pass' > HS: C: Bj (R) -dif v. 'wade a river' (1s p. a- 'dif), n. act. 'dāf' 'ford' || ?σ EC: Sml dāf- {DSI} 'pass by; release, let go', {ZMO} id., 'leave, omit', Sml N dāf- v. 'pass by' ¶ R WBd 60-1, ZMO 104, DSI 146, Abr. S 42 || K *°*tōp*-> G *tōp-* v. 'wade' ¶ Chx. 1359-60 || □: NaT **t'ōp-* id. > Qzl {Jk.} *tōp-*, Xk {BIG} *tobır-*; **topul-*> OT {Pp.} *topul-* 'durchgehen', {Cl.} *t'u'pul-* 'pierce', Yk *tobul-* id. ¶ Rs. W 489, BIG 229, Pp. VG 47, Cl. 440, Pek. 2694 || M **tayul-* 'pass, go through' > WrM *tagul-*, HIM түүла- id., 'penetrate', Ord *t'ūl-* id., 'cross (franchir)', WrO *tuuли-* 'penetrate, come through', Kl {Rm.} *tūl-* 'durchgehen, durch-\\ hinüber-kommen' ¶ MED 766, VI. 211, Ms. O 678, Krg. 51, KW

413 || Tg *tap adv. 'through (насквозь)' > Neg, Ul, Ork, Nn tap, Ewk top, tapamnak & topomnak id., ? Sln tawaakki- v. 'prick' ¶ STM II 164 || pJ {S} *t̥p̥r̥- {Mr.} 'pass by\through' > OJ t̥p̥r̥-, J: T/Kg t̥r̥-, K t̥r̥- ¶ S QJ #1O15, Mr. 77O ¶ DQA #2311 (A *t̥āp̥ē 'to go through'), Vld. 211 (M, T) ◇ If the N etymon is *t̥ap̥V or *t̥aP̥?V, the vw. *ō in K and NaT may be due to the infl. of the labial cns. (K *p̥, NaT *p̥). If the ancient N vw. was *ō, the Tg vw. *a remains without explanation.

2396. 2 *t̥ap̥V (= *t̥ap̥i?) 'to put' > A: NrTg *t̥ep̥b̥- v. 'put (stellen), set, install' > Ewk t̥w̥-, Ewk Brg t̥f̥- v. 'put (stellen), plant (a plant)', Lm t̥w̥- id., Lm A/O t̥w̥- v. 'build' ¶ STM II 225 || M *tabi- 'place, put' > WrM, WrO tabi-, HlM тави-, Ord t̥aw̥i- ~ t̥awi-, Brt таби- id. ¶ MED 772, Ms. O 65O-1, Krg. 469, Chr, 4O8 || ?? pKo {S} *t̥u- 'put, place' (× N *t̥æb̥i'U' 'to fill?') > OKo tú-, NKo tu- ¶ S QK #872, Nam 163, MLC 5O2 ¶ DQA #2355 (A *t̥ēybo '[to] put, [to] set' > Tg *t̥eb̥-, M *tabi- + unc. pKo *t̥abi- 'become') || D (in CD) *tapp- ({θGS} *t-) v. 'put' > Nkr, Gdb P tap- v. 'put', Klm tap- v. 'put (spell on buffalo)', Nk tap- v. 'make lie down; put on (shirt)', Prj tapp- v. 'put, plant (seeds)' ¶ D #3O73 ◇ IS MS 344 класть *t̥äp̥n (A, D). The long vw. in Tg is reg. in N open syllables (a gravis sign in pA rec. denotes a tone in long vowels yielding short vowels in T and length in Tg). Cf. the Tg short *e from a vw. in a N closed syllable: Tg *tebu- v. 'load' < N *t̥æb̥i'U' '↑'. The quality of NrTg *ē is probably due to regr. as. (*ē... from N *a...i).

2397. *t̥ap̥V(-L̥V) 'to feel\touch with one's fingers, to smear' > HS: S *✓ t̥pl v. 'smear' (→ v. 'soil') > BHb טְפַל ✓ t̥pl v. G 'smear\plaster over, coat, cover', JEA ✓ t̥pl G 'apply a paste', JA [Trg.] ✓ t̥pl G μφ 'anheften, ankleben, zufügen', Sr pp. t̥ə'p̥il 'defiled, corrupt' (< *'soiled, made dirty'), t̥ə'p̥el 'sordidus', Ar ✓ t̥fl v. G (pf. ṣafila) 'be soiled by dust' (plant), ṣafīl 'turbid water', Ak ✓ t̥pl G 'schmähen, verdächtigen' ¶ KB 362, KBR 379, GB 278, BDB #295O, Lv. T I 315-6, Js. 547-8, Sl. 513, Br. 285, Sd. 1379, BK II 89-9O, Hv. 434 || IE: NaIE {Mn.} *°tep- v. 'smear' > Lt t̥epti / prs. t̥ep̥ū, Ltv tept / prs. t̥ep̥ju v. 'annoint, smear', Ltv t̥ep̥ēt / prs. t̥ep̥ēju v. 'smear', tepe 'putty'] NaIE *tep(o)l- 'smear; lubricant' > Lt tepliōti 'to smear', t̥epalas 'lubricant, ointment', {Krsch.} teplénti / prs. teplenū 'mit Schmiere\Salbe mehrfach ordentlich schmieren' || Clt: W tail 'dung, manure' ¶ ~ Mn. 1383, Frn. 1O8, Kar. II 392, Vn. T 47, YGM-1 4O3 ¶ This stem should be kept apart from NaIE *tap- v. 'dip in' (↔ WP I 7O5),

that goes back to N *t^ha¹p²ṇ³∇ 'plunge, immerse' (q.v.) || U: t FU *tapp∇ v. 'feel, finger, touch' > OHg XVI tapat- 'tasten', Hg tapogat- v. 'feel, finger', tapint- id., 'touch', ? tapasz 'plaster' || F tapailla 'to grope, to grope about' ¶ Bá. 300-1, EWU 1481, MTE III 842-6, Wc. SW 51, UEW 521 (Hg tapogat- < FU *toppa- 'fassen, greifen, halten' [refers to an etymological entry that I have not found in UEW]) || D (in SD) *tapp- ({θGS} *t-) v. 'grope, feel by touching' > Tm tappu v. 'grope, feel about', Ml tappuka id., tappal 'groping', Tu tabbuni v. 'feel, grope' ¶ D #3072 ◇ IS MS 353 ощупывать *tap^h₂ (IE [*ter- v. 'smear, dip in'], ?A, U, D).

2398. *tæ^hp²ṇ³∇ 'to warm, to be warm' > IE *tep- > NaIE tep- v. 'be warm' > OI 'tapati' 'makes warm, heats', tap'ta- 'heated, hot', 'tapas- n. 'warmth, heat', Vd {MW} 'taru- 'burning hot', Av tāpa^h₂ti 'is warm', tafsən 'es soll ihnen heiß werden', MPrs tab- NPrs تَبَّ tāb 'fever', NPrs تَافِتَن tāf-tān 'to set on fire, to burn; to be hot; to shine, to sparkle', Oss: I tav-ən, D tavun v. 'heat, warm', I tävd, D tävdä 'hot' || L tepē- 'be lukewarm', tepidus 'lukewarm', tepor 'lukewarmness, moderate heat', tepidus 'lukewarm' || OIr té 'hot' (pl. téit < *tepent- ÷ OI prtc. tapant-), ten(e) 'fire', gen. -ed (< *tepnet-), NIr teine id., Brtt {RE} *tēmmos 'warm, hot' > W twym, Crn tom, MBr toem, Brtomm id., OCrn toim · "calidam" 'warm' (f. accus.); ? Brtt {RE} *tanos > W tān, OCrn tān 'fire', OBr tan 'lare, foyer', Br tan 'fire' || NNr teva 'vor Hitze keuchen', ?σ AS ȝefian 'to pant' || Sl *tep̥ly-jъ dadj. 'warm' > SCr Δ tēplī, Cz, Slk teplý, P cieplý, R 'тёплый, d.: OCS тєплость teploſtъ 'warmth' ¶ Sl *top̥ly 'warm' > OCS топлъ top̥ly, Blg топль, SCr тòpao, Slv topel tópəł ¶ Sl *top̥i-ti vt. 'to heat' > SCr tōpiti, Slv topíti, Cz topiti, R то'питъ id. || Ht {Ts.} tapassa-, HrLw tapassa-s 'fever, heat' ('Fieber, Hitze') ¶ P 1069-70, EI 263-4 (*tep- 'hot'), Frd. HW 211, Ts. W 85, Ts. E III 121-3, M K I 477, M E I 623-5, MW 437, Horn 85, BM 105-6, Ab. III 237-8, 283, WH II 667-8, Vn. T 38, 49-50, Dnn. 730-1, RE 95, 143, Flr. 310, Ho. 362, Vs. IV 44, Glh. 633 || K *tep̥b- / *tp̥b- ({FS, K²} *tep- / tp̥-, {K} *(tab-)/ *tp̥b-, {θTest.} t̥ap̥b-) v. 'warm\heat, be warmed\heated' > OG tp̥-, G tp̥-, Mg t̥ib-, t̥ib-, Lz t̥ub-, t̥ib- id.; → K *tp̥il- (~*t̥b-il-?) 'warm' > OG t̥gil-, G t̥bil-, Mg t̥ibu-, t̥ibu-, Lz t̥ibu-, t̥ibu-; → K *°t̥eb-id- > Sv {TK}: UB/LB/L t̥ebdi, Ln t̥ebedi 'warm' (unless ← Oss tävd & tävdä 'hot') ¶ K *ä is reconstructed in the framework

of Test.'s theory of vowels, assuming the existence of a vw. *ä (> G a, Zan *z [= {GM} *q], Sv e) ¶ K 179-180, K 186, 192, FS K 293-4, GM SAKS 56-7, Test. KV 69, TK 716, GP 260, Ab. III 283 || | u: FU (att. in Ugr) *tew^W-t^W 'fire' (x N *t'e¹yaw'a¹ 'fire' [q.v. ffd.]) || | a {DQA} *t'ep^W 'warm, burn' > Tg *tepe v. 'burn' > Nn Nh t^Wp^W- vi. 'flame up, burn' (of fire), Nn B t^Wf^W- id., 'stoke (a stove)', WrMc t^We¹e vi. 'burn down' (of firewood)', ? Mc Sb {Y} t^Wev^Wm, t^Wev^Wim (t^Wav^Wma, t^Wav^Wma) vt. 'burn, set fire, light' (representing an A variant *t'eb^W, as supposed by SDM95?) ¶ STM II 238, Y #482 || pKo *t^Wa¹b- v. 'be warm' > MKo t^Wa¹p- /t^Wa¹w-, NKo t^Wa¹p- /t^Wa¹w- id. ¶ S QK #468, Nam 153, MLC 451 ¶ DQA #2331 (A *t'ep^W 'warm; to burn') || HS: [1] *t^Wp- > WCh: ? Ngz {Sch.} d^Waf^W 'perspiration', ??σ,φ Hs t^Waf^Ws¹ vi. 'boiled' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} n^Wd^Wuf^W 'hot' ¶ ChC, Abr. H 836 || S (+ ext.): Ar t^Wabix-at- {BK} 'chaleur excessive et brillante du midi', {Hv.} 'the hottest hour of the day', but Ar ✓t^Wb^Wx v. 'cook' hardly belongs here (it goes back to pS *✓t^Wb^Wx v. 'slaughter' < N *t^Wab^W ¹ 'hit, strike' ([in descendant lgs.: → 'kill'], q.v. ffd.); ? EthS: Gz ✓t^Wbs G (js. y^Wa-t^Wb^Ws) v. 'roast, parch, broil', Tgr, Tgy, Amh ✓t^Wbs G v. 'fry' (cp. Hs t^Waf^Ws¹ 'boiled'?)) ¶ LG 586, BK II 52, Hv. 425 ||| [2] ?? HS *✓dp (dis. *-tp- > *-dp-?) > S *°✓dp? > Ar {Fr.} ✓df? G (ip. -dfa?-) 'caluit, calidus fuit; calefecit, fovit (vestis)', 'être chaud, contenir de la chaleur; chauffer, échauffer (un vêtement chaud)' ¶ Fr. II 40, BK I 711 || ?φ EC: Sa {R} da'bē 'live coals', pSam *dab > Sml dab, Rn {PG} dáb, {Oo.} dab, {Hn.} dab 'fire'; ? Af {PH} dube 'paste dough inside an oven', Sa {R} dūb- 'braten' ¶ Bl. 243, ZMO 76, PG 99, Oo. 67, RS II 98-9, Hn. S 55, PH 86 ◇ IS MS 338 s.v. греть(ся) *t[ä]p^W and IS SS #11.8 (both: IE, HS [partially err.], Ko, K) → BmK 214-5 (K, S + Sum tab v. 'burn'), 277-8 (IE, Hs + Eg *tp v. 'burn', n. fire, flame' [quoted from Budge II 832, which is an unreliable source]).

2399. o *t^Wup^W 'to spit, to drip' > HS: WS *tup-, *✓tpp ~ *✓tp? ~ *✓tpy 'spit' > BHb תְּפַת 'topet' {BDB} 'act of spitting', {KB} 'Speichel, Auswurf', JEA נִזְתָּר t^Wtp or נִזְתָּר tōp {Lv.} 'spit out!' [imv.], {Js.} 'spittle' (both based on different interpretations of BT Keth. 61b: kl my^W d^Wdy lk twp šd^Wy twp šd^Wy, that Lv. interprets: 'alle Flüssigkeit, die dich quält, speie aus und wirf den Speichel fort, speie aus und wirf ihn fort'), {Lv.} ✓tpp (pf. *נִזְתָּר tap, D *נִזְתָּר tap^Wpī) v. 'spit', {Js.} *נִזְתָּר ta'^Wpē id. (Lv.'s and Js's recs. based on BT Nid. 42a: kwlkw brw^Wk? hd? tp^Wytw 'you all spit with the same spittle'), Ar SL {Bel., Hv.} ✓tff v. G

(pf. **ṭaffā**) 'spit (blood)', Ar Eg {Hv.} ✓ tff v. 'spit', Gz ✓ tf? G (pf. **taf?ā**) v. 'spit, spit out', ?? Ar tuff- 'dirt under the nails'] WS *-tūb-, *°✓ tbb v. '≈ spit, vomit' > JA [Trg.] **תֹּבֶת** **תְּיֻבָּה**, təyū'b-ā n. 'vomit', Sr ✓ ty|wb v. Sh (pf. ?at̄ib) 'vomit', təyō'b-ā, təyōb't-ā n. 'vomit', Sq {L} 'tebib' 'spittle'] +ext. *-l-: WS *✓ tpl v. 'spit' > Ar ✓ tf1 G 'cracher (une salive fine)', tafl- ~ tufl- ~ tufal- 'crachat de salive fine', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} ✓ tf1 G v. 'spit', Mh təfyōl, Hrs təfēl, Jb E tfyōl, Jb C tfol 'spit, saliva' ¶ GB 888, BDB #1O64, KB 1638, LG 57O-1, Lv. IV 658, Lv. T II 532, 535, Js. 1655, 1685, Br. 818, JPS 6O6, BK I 2OO-1, Bel. 55, Hv. 6O, BK I 2O1, Jo. M 4OO, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 269-7O, L LS 438, MiK I #2.72-4 || Eg P tf v. 'spit', tf 'saliva' > Cpt: Sd **ΤΑΨ** taf ~ **ΤΗΨ** tēf, B **ΘΑΨ** thaf ~ **ΘΗΨ** thēf id. ¶ EG V 297, Vc. 225 || B *✓ wtf: Ty, ETwl {GhA} uttaf 'être craché', s-utaf v. 'spit', Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.}, Gh {Nh.} s-utaf id. ¶ Fc. 1885, Nh. 146, GhA 188, Msq. 7O || C: Ag: t Xm {R} titif, tiftif, tiftaf 'saliva', t Bln/Xm {R} tif y-, t Km {CR} tiff y- 'spit' (v.) || EC *tuf- > Bn {Hn.}, Sml, Rn, Or {Grg.}, Kns {Bl.}, Af {PH}, Arr {Hw.}, Gwd {Bl.}, Brj/Ged/Hd/Kmb {Hd.} tuf-, Hr {Bl.} a-čúf-iy, Gdl {Bl.} šuh- v. 'spit', Sa {R} tufənā 'Speichel' || t Bj {R} tiffō 'saliva' ¶ R WB 347, Abr. S 24O, PG 281, Hn. S 44, Grg. 378, Bl. 166, 184, Ss. PEC 1O, Ss. B 179, Hw. A 397, PH 2OO, Hd. 222, 262, 299, 339, 396, AD GDS 77 [#7.7] || t Ch: WCh: Hs tōfā v. 'spit' | Fy {J} tūf, DfB {J} tūf id. | Krkr {J} təf-, Bl {Lk.} tuf- id. | Ngz {Sch.} t̄pkú id. || ECh: Kwn {Lens.} ádšbé, Ke {Eb.} túfí id. | Mu {Lk.} tuffa, Brg {J} čífi id. || CCh: Glv {Rp.} taf-, Gdf {IL} t̄fdúž, Dgh {Frk.} tfā, Ngs {IL} tf̄d̄e id. | Db {Lnh.} tif id. | pMM {Ro.} *təf > Myn t̄f-, Mofu {Ro.} táf, Zlg təfdá, Gzg {Ro.} táftàžáy id. | Bcm {Sk.} tūfø, Gudu {IL in ChL} tevra id. | Lgn {Lk.} tufu id. | Ms {J} tūfnā, ZmB {J} tūfó mé?, {Sa.} tūf mè?e, ZmD {KNC} tūp (mé?) id.] and +ext. *-l-: Mkt tfālā, Hrz tifilà v. 'spit' ¶ JS 249, ChC, Stl. ZCh 162 [#157], Nw. #121 (pCh *təfə/*tufə), Eb. 99, Ro. 333 [#68O], Lens. 1O2, KNC 27 ¶ AD GDS 77 (C, S, Eg, Ch), Cal. 44 (Eg, S), OS #2413 (*tuf- 'spit': S, Eg, Ch, C), 51O [#2433] (*t̄fāl-/ *t̄fāl- 'spit': S, CCh: Mkt), ≈ Sk. HCD 258 ¶ On the possible origin of the ext. *-l- (in S and CCh) see N *1A, pc. of verbal constructions (noun + *1A = analytical verb) (→ sx. of denom. verbs) || K: Sv {Ni.} -t̄b-a₁ne, -t̄be, {FS} li-t̄b-a₁n-e (prs. 3s aṭba₁ne), Sv UB {GP}, Sv L {Dn.} li-t̄ba₁n-e v. 'spit', Sv: {Ni.} na-ṭibw, UB {TK, GP} na-ṭba₁nw, LB/Ln naṭba₁n 'spittle' ¶ FS K 3O1-2 (connects the Sv ✓ with the G onomatopoeic interj. ṭpu 'τεψύ!' ['pah!, imitating a spittle], which is hardly a reliable etl. cognate), TK 614, GP

169, 229, Ni. s.v. **пле вать**, плевокъ, Dn. s.v. **tbən-** || IE: Lw **tappa-** {Mlc.} v. 'spit (on)' § Mlc. CL 2O6, Lar. 9O || ?? o Irn: NPrs **تَفَ** tof, Tjk түф tuf, Krd Sr **تَفَ** tif 'spittle (salivæ electio, sputum)', Wx tuf 'saliva, spittle' § Ab. III 3O8-9 (on NPrs tof as o), Sg. 312, Horn 87, VI. I 449, GrSK VaxJ 476, RTdS 437, KrdJ 142 || A: NaT *t'üp^k'ür- v. 'spit' > Cmn tüpkür-, XwT **تُفْكُرْ** {Faz.} tüfkür-, Chg {Rl.} **تُوفِكُورْ**- tüfkür-, Tv дүпкүр- d_üpkür-, Az tüpür-, Uz tupur-, Uz NmA {Nal.} tüpür-, ET tüpür- ~ tükür, Ggz, Qmq, QRB, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, QK, Shor, Xk tükür-, Tf {ADb.} t'ükkür-, Qzq tükir-, VTt төкөр-, Bsh төкөр-, Tk түкүр-, Tkm tüykür- id.; ? NaT *t'üp^k'ü 'a spit, spittle' > Tv дүкпү d_ük^p'ü (or a bf.?) § Rs. W 5O4, Rl. III 1596, 16OO, Faz. II 426, Grøn. 26O, BT 161, B DLT 211, Nal. RSS 183, ADb. Ttd 57 [#8], TvR 187 || Tg *tupin 'spittle' > Ork tupi / tupin-, Ul tipe / tipeun- 'spittle', Nn B tofi, Nn Nh topū id., 'saliva', Ewk tumin ↗ tomin ↗ tomin id., Sln tomī, Lm tumnin 'spittle'; Tg *tupi-n₁a- v. 'spit' > Orc tupina-, Ork tupin-, Ul {PSchm.} tifu-, Nn Nh topin-, Nn KU tofina-, Ewk tumin- ↗ tumun-, Ewk {Cs.} tūmina-, Sln {Iv.} tomon- ~ tumun-, Lm tumni- ↗ tomoni- id., Ud tumiŋi- v. 'spit out'; AmTg *tupi-ç∇- v. 'spit' > Orc tupiči-, Ul tipeči- § STM II 213 || pJ {S} tūm₁pàk- v. 'spit' > OJ tupak- id., tūpaki, J T cubaki 'spittle' § S QJ #1O27, Mr. 552 §§ DQA #2469 (A *t'üp'i 'spit, spittle') || D {tr.} *tupp-, {GS} *tup- v. 'spit' > Tm tuppri-, Ml tuppuka-, Td tuf in-, Kn tūpri-, Kdg, Krx tupp-, Mlt tupe v. 'spit'; *tuppal- 'saliva, spittle' > Tm, Ml tuppal, Krx tuppalkō, ? Mlt tupgle id. §§ D #3323, GS 53 [#14O] ◇ IS MS s.v. **пле вать** *tūrə (HS, K, D + *÷ IE *pt₁y₁eW- v. 'spit'). In HS there is de-emphatization *t- > *t-. We cannot draw any conclusions about the age of the forms with an *l-extension (S, CCh, D) before a grammatical analysis of these forms in CCh and D is accomplished ◇ Gr. II #361 (*tup 'spit') (A, J, Ai, EA + unc. Ko).

2400. *tähipē 'high place, top, hill' > HS: S *°✓t̥hp > Ar ḫahāf- 'élevé, qui est bien haut dans les aires' (nuage) § BK II 115 || ??? Eg N d̥b.t 'head' ({EG}: "wohl fehlerhaft"), Eg L/G d̥bn 'head' (unless var. of tb̥n id.) | AdS of Eg fP t̥p, Eg N tb̥n 'head' (< N *t̥p̥'æ 'head, top' [q.v.]) § EG V 261, 263, 272, 434, 437, Fk. 296 || U: FP *täwe 'hill, island' (× N *d̥b̥v̥ 'hill') > Lp N {N} dievva / -v- '(roundish) hill', Lp L {Wk.} tievva-, tjevva-, {LLO} tievvā 'hill' | Z di di, Yz di 'island, small island', Z Lu di 'island, peninsula, hill' § UEW 794, Wk. LLW 144,

LG 94, Lt. J 11O, SZ 1O8, TmK 198 || A: NaT *t'äpe ({ADb.} *t'ep'e) 'top of the head, summit, hill' > MT XIV [IM] täpä 'hill', Tk tepe 'hill; peak, summit; head', Ggz tepä, Az täpä, Tkm depe, Uz tepe, Tv t'ey (ADb.: < *dēpey) 'hill, crown of head', Yk täbä 'summit, top of the head' ¶ In the T lgs. we may suppose mutual infl. of the paronymic pT roots *t'äpe and *t'öpöju 'hill, top' (on the latter see N *tōp'æ 'head, top'). 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'e {Md.}) are unc. and superfluous ¶ Cl. 436, IS AD 42 [#23], TkR 258, GRM 466, Hüs. 289, ≈ DQA #2346 (T *t'epöju × A [DQA #400] *tújpe 'hill, top') || Tg *tep|b- > Ewk Nr {Cs.} tepe 'arrow-head (made of stone)', ? Neg tsws3 'high wooded hill' ¶ STM II 225, 238 || ? M *tebeg > WrM təbeg, HlM тэвэг 'shuttlecock, top-knot of hair', Kl {Rm.} tewag_ 'Flechte, lange Haare im Nacken (der Mädchen) oder zwischen den Ohren (der Pferde)' ¶ Hardly here WrM tab, HlM таb 'part of a scalp on which a braid\pigtail grows; head of a nail' (the phonetic shape of the word suggests that it is a loan) ¶ MED 76O, 789, KW 373, 395 ¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *top'E 'hill, top'), KW 395 (M, T), ≈ DQA #2346 (A *t'ëp'á 'tuft [of hair]' ← 'top of head', including T, M + qu. Tg: Sln tabxa 'tail on shaman's belt', Ewk tswduk3 'rags') || D *tipp-/tiw- ({GS} *dibb-?) 'hill, heap' (× N *dibbV 'hill') > Tm tippai 'mound, elevated ground', Kt tip 'rubbish heap', Kn tippe 'heap, hillock, dunghill', dibba, dibbu, tevar(u) 'hillock', Tu hippæ 'heap, hill', Tl tippa id., 'mountain', dibba 'hillock, heap', Prj qippa 'heap', qibba 'mound', Gdb dibbe id., 'hillock', Gnd dibe 'heap', dippa 'highland for cultivation', Kui depa 'rising ground, high land', Ku debbe, dibba 'hill', Krx qippā 'mound, hillock', Mlt tube 'rubbish heap' ¶ D #3229 ◇ FU *-w- (< *-b-) is likely to represent N *-p-.

2401. *t'a'p'ñV 'plunge, immerse' > HS: S *✓ t̥bñ v. 'sink, sink down' (× N *tübñA 'deep') > BHb טבּנַה ✓ t̥bñ G 'sink down', Sr ✓ t̥bñ G v. 'sink, be sunk', MHb, JA [Trg.], JEA G ✓ t̥bñ v. 'sink, drown', Ak t̥ebū(m), Ak A t̥abā?u(m) 'untertauchen, untergehen' ¶ BDB #2883, KB 353, KBR 369-7O, JPS 1O6-7, Js. 518, Lv. II 137-8, Sl. 494, Br. 267, Sd. 1382 || (mt.): Eg fMd t̥xb 'immerse, irrigate', Cpt Sd тшгв тóhb 'tremper, plonger, mouiller' ¶ EG V 326, Fk. 3O1, Vc. 226, T I 3O8 (Eg, S) || IE: NaIE *tapə- v. 'plunge, immerse, soak' > Arm թարաւեմ thathawem 'I plunge, immerse' || Sl *topi-ti > OCS топити topi-ti

'immergere', R топи-ть vt. 'to drown, to sink (a vessel)', Blg топя 'dip in', Cz топи-ти 'to dip in', P топи-ć vt. 'to drown', SCr топи-ти 'to flood, to inundate'; Sl *то-но-ти (< *топно-ти) vi. 'to drown, to sink (in water)' > ChS ТОНЯТЬ tonqti, SCr тонути, Slv тонити, R тонуть, P тонеć, Cz tonouti, Slk tonút' id., Blg тъна 'I sink (in water)' || P 1056, Vs. IV 78-80, Slt. 445 || ?σ K: G тбор- '(Fluss, Regen) setzt (etwas) unter Wasser' (× N ?φ *твбнлн 'dip in, immerse') || Chx. 1332, 1359-60 || D (in SD) *туv- ({§GS} *т-) v. 'dip in, soak' (× N *тубиA 'deep'?) > Tm тувай 'dip in, soak', Ml тувекка v. 'steep, soak in water', Tu тува 'overflowing, running over' || D #3355 ◇ Assimilation N *т'a'рfн 'dirt' > *т'a'bri- > K *тb-, D *туv-, S and pre-Eg *✓тbri-. Eg тхb may be explained by prehistoric deglottalization *т- > т-, metathesis of the lr. and a puzzling transformation N *f > x (acc. to Tk I 308, due to incompatibility of **tř in Eg). NaIE *-p- < *-p- < N *-př-. D *-u- is likely to belong to the heritage of N *тубиA.

2402. *т'a'рfн 'dirt, mud' > HS: WS *✓тbri 'dirt, mud' > Ar ✓тbri (pf. табиа, ip. -тбасу) 'être sale, sali d'ordures (homme); être sale, couvert de rouille (un sabre)', табас- 'saleté, crasse, rouille', таби- 'sale, crasseux', Grg En тäба, Grg Ed тäwä 'mud' || BK II 53-4, L EDG III 608 || pCh {Nw.} *tabн 'mud' > WCh: Hs табо (→ Ngz {Sch.} табо), Gw {Mts.} тобо | Bl {Nw.} тебби, Ngm {ChL} ndèbi | Ngz табо | Cg {Sk.} ndabákъan, Kry {Sk.} табаку, Sir {Sk.} тэбэхí, Mbr {Sk.} ndabákу, Dir {Sk.} атубаку | Kir {ChL} ndòp or ńdòp, Plc {ChL} nduwəp or ńduwəp, Dw {ChL} ndwəp, sc. ńdώp or ńdώp id. || CCh: Tr: Pdl {ChL} тэбди, Hw {ChL} табурà, G'nd {ChL} тэрта, Gbn {ChL} тэртà, Boka тэртз | McHigi: FIM дùбù | Ktk {Nw.} ndabe id. || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} dùbó, Nd D {J} дэбыа id. || Nw. #89, Stl. ZCh 161 [#154], Sch. DN 154, Cp. 55, Abr. H 835, ChC, Mts. G 115, ChL || ≈ Sk. HCD 248 || K: G тхар- 'beschmutzen, besudeln', G P тхип- 'schmutzig machen, beschmutzen, beschmieren' || Chx. 508, 510 || A *т'ap'н (× N *тапн 'to feel\touch with one's fingers, to smear') > Tg *тапн > Ewk Uch тапарá- v. 'be soiled' ('пачкаться'), Ewk Np тапка- vt. 'soil' ('запачкать'), Ork тапти 'clay' || STM II 164 || NaT *т'ап'ар- > OT kir tapča (couple of synonyms) 'dirt', VTt, Bsh, Nog тап 'stain', VTt, Bsh тапла- vt. 'soil', Chg, QrB {Rs.} тап 'Fleck, Narbe' (but in Chg {Rl.} and QrB {RKB} the meaning of таб is 'scar' only) || DTS 308, TatR 515-6, BR 506-7, Rs. W 462, Rl. III 945-6, 954, RKB 716, NogR 334 | ?? T *т'оп'рак 'earth' (× ← *т'оп'ра- v.

'become dry') > OT *toprāq*, MQp XIII, XwT/Cmn XIV *topraq*, Chg ≥XV *topray* ~ *topraq*, Tk *toprak* 'earth, soil, dust', Qzq *topyraq* 'land, soil', Tkm, ET *topraq*, Uz *tupraq*, VTt *tufraq*, Bsh *tupraq*, Qrg *topuraq*. Alt *tobraq*, Xk *tobraz* 'earth, soil', Tf *tōp'raq* 'dust, soil', Tv *довурак* *d_оburaq* id., 'earth', Yk *toburaz* 'dust, sool', Chv L *тăпра тъпра*, Chv H *тъпра* 'earth, soil, dust (прах)'; (T → ?) WrM *tob(a)rag*, HIM *төврөг* 'earth, dust', Brt *төбөрөг* 'dust (пыль, прах)', Kl *төврөг* *towrъg* {KRS} 'speck of dust', {Rm.} 'Staub, Erde, Sand'; (T → ?) WrM *tob(a)rag*, HIM *төврөг* 'earth, dust', Brt *төбөрөг* 'dust (пыль, прах)', Kl *төврөг* *towrъg* {KRS} 'speck of dust', {Rm.} 'Staub, Erde, Sand' ¶ Cl. 443-4, Rs. W 489, Jeg. 237-8, Md. 43, 18O, Ra. 234, MED 81O || M **toγurag* 'earth, dust' > MM [S] *toγorag*, WrM *togurag*, HIM *тоорөг* 'particles of matter suspended in a liquid', Brt *тоорөг* 'dust, specks of dust, motes', Kl *тоорм* *tōrъm* 'whirlwind dust, haze of dust', Dx *tura* 'earth; dust (прах)', Dg *tuγral* 'dust, specks of dust' ¶ MED 81O, 817, T DgJ 169, Chr. 423, 429, KRS 499, 5O6, KW 4O4, S AJ 239 [#127] ¶ = DQA #2313 (A **t'ap'o(r)N* 'earth, dust'), Vld. 21O (M, T) ◇ **o* in M **toγurag* and in T **t'op'γrak* may be due to regr. as. (*-*ap-* > *-*op-*).

2403. ≈ **ṭaP̥hN* 'flat' > HS: EC: Sd {Gs.} *ṭawo* 'plain, flat plain', {Mrn.} *ṭabo* 'plain, foot of a mountain' ¶ Gs. 324, Hd. 397, AD SF 227 || S **✓ ṭph* v. 'be flat, wide' > Tgr *✓ ṭfh* v. G 'be level, flat, wide', Tgy *ṭefhe* 'flache Kuchen machen', OAk *✓ ṭp?* (inf. *ṭapā?um*), Ak B *ṭepū* 'hinbreiten', BHb *הַפְלִבָּה* *✓ ṭph* D 'spread out', *הַפְלִבָּה* 'ṭepah', *הַפְלִבָּה* 'hand-breadth, span', JA *חַפְלָבָה* *ṭapū'ḥ-ā* 'Fußlänge' ({Lv.}: 'Handbreite' → 'Fußbreite'), Ar Df {Rhod.} طفج *ṭofh* 'der Rücken, die stumpfe Seite der einseitigen Schwertklinge', Amh *ṭeffi* 'palm of one hand', ?σ Sq {SSL} *'ṭafah* 'bord (du pied, de la main)' ¶ LH 621, Sd. 1388, BDB ##2946-7, KB 362, KBR 378-9, Lv. T I 315, Lv. II 177, Rhod. D 36, Kane 2192, SSL LSP 147, MiK I #1.279 || K: Sv: LB {TK} *ṭap* 'woodland glade', UB *ṭap* {GP} *ṭap* 'horizont(al)', {TK} 'wide gently sloping ground', {GP} *ṭapēl* 'flatcake', ?μ Sv {TK}: UB/L *ṭapšw*, U *ṭapšw* 'flat' || ? G {Chx.} *ṭap-i* 'Talbecken', *ṭapobi* 'Waldwiese, Wiesengrund' ¶ GP 26O, TK 715-6, Ni. s.v. *плоскій* (Sv *tapšw*), Chx. 133O || A: **°t'aP̥N* > M **tabqaγ-* > WrM *tabqaγ-*, HIM *тавхай-* v. 'be flat, low', Brt *табхай-* v. 'be flat'; **tabsay-* > WrM *tabsay-*, HIM *тавсай-* v. 'have a flat surface or top' ¶ MED 781-2, Chr. 409.

2404. * $\text{t} \nabla \text{P} \text{R} \nabla \sim *\text{t} \nabla \text{R} \text{P} \nabla$ 'in part of the foot', 'foot' > **HS:** B [1] * $\sqrt{\text{tfr}}$ 'front part of the foot' ($\times N$ * $\check{\text{ç}} \text{Up} \nabla (\text{R} \nabla)$ 'fingernail, claw'??) > Ah a-tfær (pl. i-tarfān), Ty/ETwl e-täfär (pl. i-täfran) 'front part of the foot (including the toes)' ¶ Fc. 1885, GhA 188] [2] * $\sqrt{\text{dfr}}$ (< * $\sqrt{\text{tf}}$) v. 'follow the tracks\footprints of' > Gd {Lf.} $\sqrt{\text{tfr}}$ (etfar), Izd {Mrc.} $\sqrt{\text{tfr}}$ (tfur , pf. i tfar), Skn {La.}, BSn/BMn {Bs.}, Sll {Ds.} $\sqrt{\text{dfr}}$, Izn {Rn.}, Kb {Dl.} $\sqrt{\text{ðfr}}$ id., ZAS $\sqrt{\text{tf}}$ ({Loub.}) $\check{\text{t}} \text{f} \check{\text{l}}$ < * $\sqrt{\text{tf}}$ 'suivre, marcher sur les traces de'; but Ah {Fc.} and Gh {Nh.} ðaffar 'behind, after, the hind side' belong rather to the B stem * $\sqrt{\text{d} \nabla \text{ff} \nabla \text{r}}$ 'behind, hind side' (> ETwl/Ty {GhA}, Wrg {Dlh.} ðaffar , Kb {Dl.} ðaffir) influenced by * $\sqrt{\text{dfr}}$ v. 'follow the tracks of' ¶ Fc. 261, 1885, GhA 188, Loub. 464, Rn. 311, La. S 298, Dl. 172, Dlh. Ou 47, Nh. 150 ¶ Does the uvularized f in ETwl/Ty et $\text{b}\text{f}\text{b}\text{r}$ suggest mte. ** $\sqrt{\text{tfr}}$ > $\sqrt{\text{tfr}}$? || ?? S * $^o\text{tarap-}$ > Ar **الْطَرْفَانُ** $\text{rat-} \text{tarf-} \text{ān-}$ 'feet', $\text{rat-} \text{ratrāf-}$ 'feet and hands', 'the parts, sides' ¶ BK II 72-3 || K * $^o\text{terp-}$ > G terpi 'sole of the foot, heel' ¶ Chx. 1336 || A: T: OT torpi 'who follows' ('a calf following its mother') (semantic change: '*follows the heels' → 'follows [someone]') ¶ Cl. 533 || ? M * $\text{tu}^r \beta^r \text{ur}$ ($\times N$ * $\text{t} \text{U} \text{b} \text{f} \nabla$ 'hoof, (finger-\toe-)nail, sole of the foot, heel') > WrM {Rm.} tugur , Kl {Rm.} tūr 'der untere harte Rand des Pferdehufs', HIM түүр , {Rm.} $\text{t}^r \bar{\text{u}} \text{r}$ 'hoof', MMgl {Mlr.} tūr 'Pferdehuf'; pM * $\text{tu}^r \beta^r \text{urayi}$ 'hoof' > WrM tugura , tugurai , {Gl.} tugurai , HIM түүрәй 'hoof'; {Gl.} tugurun id. ¶ MED 839, Kow. 1812, Gl. III 172, 175, KW 413, Klz. D II 138, Lg. VMI 70 (WrM tuguray * \div MM turū(n) , which in fact corresponds to WrM turugun 'hoof' [KW 411]).

2405. * $\text{teq} \nabla$ 'to smear, to rub' ([in HS] → 'fat, marrow') > **HS:** WS (or CS?) *- $\text{t} \bar{\text{i}} \text{x}-$ 'smear, overlay' > BHb - $\text{t} \bar{\text{i}} \text{h}-$ or - $\text{t} \bar{\text{u}} \text{h}-$ v. G (3m pf. **תְּבַטֵּחַ**) 'overlay', {KB} 'darüberstreichen, verputzen', Ug {A} $\sqrt{\text{tyw} \text{x}}$ G '(über)tünchen' (not mentioned in OLS), Ar - $\text{t} \bar{\text{i}} \text{x}-$ v. G 'être sali', 'defile', ($\times N$ * $\text{tægw} \nabla$ 'swell, become thick\large\strong')? Gz $\sqrt{\text{tyw}}$ G (pf. $\text{t} \bar{\text{e}} \text{w} \text{a}$) 'besmear, anoint' ¶ KB 357, A #1117, BK II 128, Hv. 443, LG 600 || Eg G tx 'fett, gemästet' (of oxen) ({Tk.}: < * $\text{d} \text{x}$) ¶ EG V 251, 325 || C: Bj {R} qāh n. 'fat', - qāh v. (1s: p. $\text{a}' \text{qāh}$, prs. $\text{an}' \text{qāh}$) 'be fat' || LEC {Bl.} * $\text{du} \text{t} \text{h}-$ 'marrow' > {Bl.}: Af duhū , Sml dūh , Sml N {Abr.} dūh , Rn {PG} dūh , Kns dóh-ota , Or B dúha , ? Or WI {Brl.} dūka id. ¶ R WBd 73, Bl. 108, Abr. S 68, PG 99, Vnt. 46 (Or B duhā , nom. - ni 'midollo, polpa'), Brl. 12, LLC 123 || ? Ch ($\times N$ * $\text{tægw} \nabla$ 'swell, become

thick\large\strong', ? 'become fat'): ECh: Kwn {JI} **đàwé** 'fat' (n.) ||| WCh: ? Buli {Sh.} **đugl** id. ¶ JI II 131, ChC ¶ Tk. I 17O (S, Eg, C, Ch) ||| K: G **tχun-** 'be-\ver-schmieren, schmutzig machen, beschmutzen' (x N ***ṭi'h'ūñ** 'mud, silt, dirt', q.v. ffd.) ||| D ***tēy-** ({fGS} *t-) 'rub (away\off), smear' > Tm **tēy** 'wear away by friction, be rubbed', Ml **tēyukā** 'be rubbed off', Kt **te'y-** 'become worn down', vt. 'rub, wear down', Kn **tē**, **tēy(u)** 'grind, triturate\macerate in water on a slab', Kdg **tēy-** vi. 'wear off', vt. wear off, smear', Tu **tēpuni** v. 'rub, polish', Krg **tēdi** 'rub', Tl **tēyu** 'be worn; wear by use, handling, or rubbing', Ku **dē-** v. 'wipe' ¶ D #3458, Zv. 45.

2406. ***ṭū'q'i** ~ ***ṭū'q'y** 'hit, strike' > HS: ?σ S (or CS) *✓ **ṭxx** ~ *✓ **ṭxy** ~ *°✓ **ṭwx** v. 'throw, shoot' > Ar ✓ **ṭxx** G 'jecit, removit', 'jeter, rejeter, ôter', BHb **תְחַנֵּת** ✓ **ṭhy**/w D v. 'shoot' (in the set phrase **ki-mṭah^awē** 'κεσετ' 'distance of a bowshoot'), MHb **טִיחָה** **ṭə'wāḥ** 'Schuß, Schleuderung', 'Schußweite' ¶ Fr. III 44, BK II 63, KB 357, KBR 379, Lv. II 149 || EC ***đaw-** v. 'hit, strike' > Or **đa-e** 'he hit', Kns, Gdl **đaw-é** id., Arr {Hw.} **đaw-** 'hit', {Ss.} **đa-y-iy-** (pf.), Elm **đa-** v. 'hit, strike', Brj **đaw-** id., Dsn **đok** / **đo-** 'hit, beat' ¶ Bl. 212, Ss. PEC 43, Hw. A 423, To. DL 495 || K *°**ṭe'q'-/***°**ṭq-d-** v. 'break' > OG **ṭex-** vt. 'break', **ṭq-d-** vi. 'break', G ***ṭex-/****ṭq-** id. (trans. **ṭex-** v. 'break', ps. [inf.] **ṭq-d-oma**, a-**ṭqd-eba** 'bricht aus, [Emailschicht] springt ab', **ga-ṭqd-eb-a** '[zer]bricht, geht kaputt') ¶ Abul. 412, 49, Chx. 13339-1341, DCh. 1219, 123O || IE: NaIE ***twe(:)j-/*twōj-** v. 'hit, strike' ({P} 'schlagen') > AS **ðwītan** 'to cut, to shave off', ON **pveitr** 'Schlag, Querbieb, Einschnitt', **pveita** 'to strike, to chop, to push', Sw Δ **tveta**, NNr **tveita** 'hauen, schlagen' (ON **eɪ** < pScn ***aj** < IE ***oy**) || Lt **tvó-ti** (prs. **tvój-u**) 'to strike, to lash, to whip' (o < ***uō** [after **v**] < IE ***ō**) ¶ WP I 747-8, P 1099, Vr. 628, Frn. 1155-6, Ho. 374; Ptrs. VSW 33f., Bg. RR I 29O (both think of a ✓ ***tu-**) || A: Tg ***tuyŋke** v. 'push, knock, move' > Lm Ol/B **tuŋkə-** v. 'knock (silently)', Lm Sk/T **tuŋkə-** v. 'push (slightly)', Neg **tumku-**, **tuŋku-** vi. 'move', 'beat' heart, Ul **tuynčulbu-**, **tunču-** vt. 'move, stir', Nn Nh **tuyŋku-** vi. 'move, stir', 'start beating' (heart) ¶ STM II 216 ◇ ≠ BmhK 311-2 (an unc. attempt to equate EC ***đaw-** v. 'hit, strike' and Sum **đu** v. 'butt' with IE ***dwer-** 'hand, fist', {Mn.} ***dewsaŋ-** 'evil, harm' and IE {Wt.} ***dew-** v. 'burn, hurt').

2407. (2?) ***ṭUq** 'near; be close to, approach' > HS: S *°✓ **ṭy'** > Ak **ṭēřixu** '(unmittelbare) Nähe', **ṭexū**, Ak OA ✓ **ṭx?** G (inf. **ṭaxā?**)

'ganz nah herankommen\gehen\treten', 'reach, approach' § Sd. 1384 || EC *d^hvw^w- > Arr {Hw.} d^hewwí 'near', d^hewwahad- 'approach', Sml d^haw adj. 'near, soon, close', {ZMO} d^how, Sml N {Abr.} d^hów adv. 'near, nearby, close', Rn {PG} d^how id., d^howwáða v. 'approach, come close to'; ? (x N *t^hiyA 'be narrow') Sa {R} d^hay- v. 'be close\narrow', 'nahe\schmaleng sein' § ZMO 113, 123, Abr. S 66, PG 97-8, Hw. A 355, R S II 121, 408, 448, 462 || IE: NaIE *°tuw-/?*tou- 'near' > Ltv tuv-s adj. 'near', tuvu, Δ tuvi adv. 'near (by), close (by)', 'sogleich, 'sofort', Pru tawischas 'Nächster' | Sl *tu, *tu-to 'here' (x N *tä, dem. prn. of non-active [inanimate] objects) > OCS, OR τού tu 'here' (= OCS, OR τού tu 'there' < N *tä ↑), OR τούτο tu-to 'here;;, R, Uk тут, Blr тута, Blg ту-ка, SCr тү, Slv тù, Cz tu, tuto, P tu, tutu, tutaj, HLs LLs tu 'here', Slk tu, tu-na 'voici, here' § The N et. in question is responsible for the Sl vw. *u (< IE *ou) and for the hic-deixis of one of the variants of the Sl word § Frn. 1147, En. 263, Vs. IV 126, StSS 707-8, Brü. 583 || ?σ δ (att. in McTm) *tōy > Tm tōy 'come in contact with, reach', MI тōyuka v. 'unite' § D #3556.

2408. ² *t^hvx^a 'melt, get spoiled' > HS: S *°✓txx > Ar ✓txx v. G (pf. taxxa) 'become sour, transform into leaven' (paste), S rdp. *°✓tx tx > Ar SL {Hv.} ✓tx tx v. 'be rotten, worm-eaten' § BK I 193, Hv. 57 || IE *teh- > NaIE *tā-/*tə- (+exts.: *tāw-, *tāy-) v. 'melt, dissolve' > Oss I tayzn / pp. tad, Oss D tayun / pp. tad id., 'be digested' || MW {SEv.} tawd 'melts', MBr teuzyff 'liqueficit', teuziff, Br teuziñ, MW, W toddi v. 'to melt', W tawdd, Br teuz 'molten', OBr todiat 'fondeur' || NaIE *tāy- > Gmc *θaw- > ON þeyja, Dn tø, Sw töa, Dt doojen, OHG douwen & dewen 'to thaw', MHG tōwen (↔ MHG U, where the opposition d-↔t- was lost?), NHG tauen, AS ðawjan 'to thaw', NE thaw; NHG verdauen 'to digest'; NaIE *tə-y- > *tī- > Gmc: ON þīðr (< *tī-'to-s) 'melted' || Sl *tāj-ati 'to melt, to dissolve' > OCS ταιατη taja-ti / ταικ taj-q, SCr tājati, Slv tájati, Cz tátí, P tajać, R 'таять, Uk таяти id., Blg тая v. 'melt, dissolve'; Sl *ta-lъ(-jъ) > OR ταλын talī, R 'талый, Uk 'талий, P tał adj. 'thawed'; caus.: Cz taviti, Slk tavit' vt. 'to melt, to cast' || Arm թանամ thanam (aor. vt. թացի thac̚i, aor. vi. թացայ thac̚ay) v. 'wet\dip\moisten' || ?? with a *b^h-ext.: L tabē- (prs. tabēscō, pfc. tabui) 'melt' § P 1053-4, EI 378 (*teh_A- 'melt'), AHDI 69, Ab. III 222-3, SEv. 117, 166, YGM-1 406, 411, Flr. 314, Hm. 787, WH II 639-40, Vr.

609-10, Vr. N 127, OsS 97, EWA II 619-22, ≈ KM 773 (NHG *t-* due to the infl. of *Təu* 'dew'), KM 812, Vs. IV 30-1, StSS 690, Glh. 617-8, Srz. III 922, Brü. 563, Chrn. II 230, Slt. 377 ◇ The regressive direction of *as.* in S (**t...x* > **t...x*) may be due to prosodic factors ◇ ≈ BmK 295-7 (S, IE + semantically unwarranted comparison with D **tēy-* v. 'rub, be worn out', K *tχe-* v. 'pour out', and Eg *tħs* v. 'grind').

2409. **tAqU* 'lie (tell a lie), deceive' > **HS:** S *°✓ *tkl* > Gz ✓ *tkl* G v. (pf. *taqala*, js. *yə-tkəl*) 'lie, slander', Amh ✓ *tkl* G (pf. *takkəla*) v. 'lie' ¶ L G 596 || **K:** pGZ **tqu-* > OG *tqu-* 'lügen', G *tqu-* / *tquv-* / *tquil-* ~ *tqvil-*: da-/mo-*tqu-* 'anlügen, täuschen', Mg *tqu-* (pres. *tqu-ap-a* ~ *tqu-r-ap-a*) v. 'lie to so., deceive' ¶ Chx. 1378, FS K 305, FS E 340 || **D** **takk-* ({⁹GS}) **t-* v. 'deceive' > Tm *takkaṭi* id., Ml *takkiti* 'cheating in weighing', Tu *takkadı-dāye* 'one who cheats in weighing', Tl *takkari* 'rogue', *takkali* 'theft, deceit, trick'; D **takk-* → InA **tʰagg-* ~ **tʰakk-* v. 'deceive, steal' > Mrt *tʰak* 'thief', *tʰaknē* v. 'be deceived', Oriya *tʰakibā* v. 'deceive' ¶ D 512 [app. #42], Tu. #5489 ¶ InA **tʰ-* suggests that that the initial cns. in D was probably fortis (**t'*- or **tʰ-* as a reflex of N **t-*?).

2410. **tɔ'g'a* 'to plait, to bend', ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to build', 'to make earthenware', 'to weave'), ? (↔) 'to twist' > **HS:** Ch: WCh: P {MSk.} *tákʷidū* v. 'plait' | Bg {Sh.} *tuk*, Kir {ChL} *tokkame* id. | another possible cognate is Ch {JS} *✓ *dk* v. 'build, make earthenware' (> WCh {StL.} **dŋk* id. > pAG {Hf.} **jik*, BT **dŋk-* build, make earthenware' || ECh: ? Mu {J} *dìyá* v. 'build'), but the vw. and the pBT cns. *-k- suggest that this Ch ✓ belongs to N **t'ekE* 'to build, to shape, to make' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ JS 56, ChC s.v. 'build', StL. ZCh 174 [#263], ChL, Hf. AGG, Frz. P 29 || ? **K:** Sv: {Ni.} -*tqpe* v. 'bosseln' ('лѣпитъ'), *li-tīqpe* 'Bosseln' ('лѣпка'), UB/LB {TK} -*aṭqube*, L/Ln -*aṭqwbe* 'unite, add', UB {GP} *li-tqwbe* msd. 'to unite' ¶ TK 65, GP 170, Ni. s.v. лѣпитъ || **IE:** NaIE **tek-* v. 'plait, weave' > Arm **թերեմ** *thekhem* 'I twist, warp' || Gmc **θēx-*, **θēy-* > OHG *dāht* ~ *tāct* 'wick, Docht', NHG *Docht*, MLG *dacht*, *decht*, NGr Sw *dægel*, dohe, NGr B *dāhen*, NGr Als *Dōche* 'wick', ON {Vr.} *páttir* 'Draht, Faden, Docht', Sw *tåt*, Nr *tått* 'rope' || Oss I tag (< **tāka-*), D *tagä* 'thread', ? Oss I *taxun*, Oss D *taxt* v. 'adorn' || ? pSl **tъk-ǎti* v. 'weave' (if from the IE zero-grade **t_ok-*) > OCS **тъкати** *tъka-ti* / 1s prs. **тъкж** *tъk-q*, R *ткать* / *тку*, P *tkać* / *tkę*, OCz

tkáti / tku, Cz tkáti, Blg тъкъ, SCr tkäti, Slv tkáti || ? L tex- (tex-ō, -ěre, -ui, -tum) v. 'plait, weave' (< IE *teks- 'fabricate' < N *t'ēkE '↑') ¶ WP I 716, Mikl. E 367-8 (distinguishes Sl *tъk- v. 'weave' from the homonymic *tъk- v. 'poke\stick into'), Vs. IV 64 (does not distinguish between these two Sl roots), Ma. CS 529, HIK 385, Ab. III 22O-1, 242-3, P 1O58, WH II 678-9, Kb. 1O11, OsS 921, KM 136, Vr. 6O6, Slt. 378 ¶ Arm t'ekhem 'drehe' and Oss fäldäxən v. 'turn over' suggest that in NaIE the verb meant also '≈ twist, drehen' || A {SDM97} *t'ok'v- v. 'plait, weave', {DQA} t'ök'v 'curved', {ADb.} *tok'u v. 'spin, plait' > NaT *t'oku- v. 'plait, weave' > OT QU toqi- v. 'weave (a fabric)', XwT XIV toqu- ~ toqi-, Cmn XIV, Chg ≥XV, MT [IM] toqu-, MQp toqi-, MOg doqi- ~ doqu-, Tkm doqa-, Ggz doku-, VTt, Bsh tuqъ-, Qzq toqi-, Qrg toqu-, Ln toqo- toqi-, SY toqo- toqi- 'weave', Tk dоку- id., v. 'plait (a mat)', Az toxu-, Nog, ET toqu-, Qq toqi-, ET toqu-, Uz твqi- id., 'knit', Qrg toqu- v. 'weave', Qzq toqu- v. 'weave, knit' ¶ Cl. 467, TL 395-6, TkR 276, Hüs. 296, GRM 151, MM 352, ET VGD 253-5, Nj. 318-9, Jud. 744, UzR 468, Rs. W 484-5 (does not distinguish this √ from *t'ok'- v. 'strike'), Rl. III 1145-51 || Tg *tok- vi. 'bend, turn\go round' > Ud tokčigu 'crooked', Ewk tokor-, Neg toxoy- 'turn\go round', Ewk tokoriw- 'be bent' ¶ STM II 192 || M *toki...- > Brt токин- toxī- 'be bent'; M *tokir 'bent' > Brt токир 'bent, crooked', WrM tokir, HlM токир 'bent, crippled', Kl Ö {Rm.} tokř ~ takř, Kl D {Rm.} täkř 'krüppelig, verrenkt', ?φ Ord d_a"xiř 'unable to use his arm\hand', M → Yk tokur 'bent, bowed' ¶ Chr. 431-2, MED 82O, Ms. O 114, KW 395, 398, STM II 192 ¶ DQA #2424 || D (in SD) *tukv1- ({§AD} *dukv1-) 'woven cloth' > Kn дукула, dugula, дукūла 'woven silk, very fine cloth or raiment', Tm tukil, tuyil 'fine cloth, rich attire', Ml tukil, tuyil 'cloth, dress'; D → OI LSk/EpSk [MBh., etc.] дукūlam 'feines Zeug, das aus dem Bast der Dukula-Pflanze hergestellt wird', OI Sk дукūла 'a kind of plant', Pali дукула, дукāla, Prkr dugulla, dualla, дуала id. ¶ D #3285, Tu. #6389, M K II 48 ◇ The IE and T cognates provide ev. for N *t-, while Tg *d- suggests N *t-. The variation may be accounted for by some sort of as., dis., or a conditioned loss of tenseness in some A lgs. The rec. of N *-q- is valid only if the Sv cognate is acceptable. Otherwise the N rec. must be *toķa ~ *toķa ◇ T, M, Tg, and IE point to a N *o, while SD *u may be due to neutralization of the opposition *u ↔ *o in some environments in SD.

2411. ***ṭo'?**^{ū'}**ga** 'hide, skin' > K: pGZ ***ṭgaw-** id. > OG **ṭgaw-** 'leather, skin, hide', G **ṭgav-** id., 'fur (for a fur-coat)', Mg **ṭgeb-** 'skin', **ṭqabar-** vt. 'skin', Lz **ṭgeb-** ~ **ṭeb-** 'skin, hide' ¶ K 183, Abul. 414, Ser. 155, Q 330-1, Marr 190, DCh. 1229, Chx. 1373-4 || HS: Ch: [1] {JI} Ch ***✓ d̥k** 'skin': WCh: Bl {Ib.} **d̥iší** id. || CCh: Ms {J} **d̥ig̊nā**, {Mch.} **d̥ik** 'skin', Zm {J} **d̥igé** 'skin (of humans)', ZmD {KNC} **d̥ig̊e**, {Sa.} **d̥iké** ~ **d̥iké**, Lame {ChL} **dikietú**, LamP **diketu** 'skin' | [2] Ch {JI} ***✓ tk** (AD: maybe ***✓ t̥k** ~ ***✓ tk**) 'skin, body' > ECh: Mgm {J} **túkkú**, Jg {J} **tok**, Mu {J} **tògò** 'skin', {Lk.} **tógò** 'hide', Bdy {AlJ} **tókò**, Kjk **taúw̥j** 'skin' || WCh: Ywm {J} **tak** 'body' | Wrj {Sk.} **ṭ̥w̥āj**, Cg {Sk.} **čuké**, Kry {Sk.} **tí**, My {Sk.} **túw̥atú**, Mbr {Sk.} **ṭ̥w̥ó**, Jmb {Sk.} **tuwá** 'body' | Ngz {Sch.} **t̥kà** 'body' (unless from Knr **tig̊s** 'body') || ?? CCh: Ms {Mch.} **tw̥a**, {J} **t̥u:ná**, ZmB {J, Sa.} **tú** 'body' ¶ JI I 16, 152 and II 34-5, 296-7, AlJ 121, Blz. EChWL #74 || ? S ***✓ t̥k** > Ar **✓ t̥q** G 'être rempli' (outre) ¶ BK I 188, Hv. 55 || IE {E} ***'twek-** / ***tw̥.****k-** 'skin, hide' > OI **tvak-** id., **tvacasya-** 'in der Haut befindlich' | ? OPrs **taka-** 'shield' (< *'made of leather') (in **takabarā** adj. pl. 'carrying shields') || Gk **σάκος** 'shield', **ψερε-σασκής** m. 'shield-bearing, Schildträger' (**σ-**< ***tw-**, **-σσ-** < ***-tw-**) || Ht **tuekka-** 'body, person, self', Lc **tukedri-** 'statue' ¶ WP I 747, P 1099, EI 522 (***twek-s** / ***tw̥.****k-os** 'skin'), M K I 537, M E I 684, Hinz 128, F II 672, Frd. HW 226, Frd. HW EH III 33, Ts. E III 401-5 || U: FU ***to'k'** ∇ (or ***-y-**, ***-w-**) > ObU ***tāy-** 'skin, leather' > pVg ***tāwə́l** id. > Vg: T/SV/LL **taw̥í**, K/P/NV **tow̥í**, Vg N (= Vg LL/Ss) **tow̥l** id.; pOs ***tāyta** ({ʃHl.} ***t̥y̥ta**) 'reindeer hide' > Os: Ty/Y **tay̥ta**, D/K **tāχət**, Nz **tāχtə**, Kz **tāχt̥i**, O **tāχti** ¶ Ht. #618, KrT 983 || A: ? ϕ Tg ***tüki(-kta)** 'skin, hide (from animal's head)' > Ew **tiki-kta** 'skin', Lm **tīkən** 'hide (from animal's head)', Neg **tikta**, Orc **tikta** 'animal's hair', WrMc **tuku** 'fur-coat cover' ¶ STM II 178 || NaT ***t̥'ük** ({ʃAdb.} ***tük**) 'fur, body hair, down' > OT {Cl.} **tū** / **tük-** 'body hair', MU XIV {Rl.} **tük**, Chg XV **tük** ~ **tüy**, MQp XV **tüg** id., Tk **tüy**, Tk **tüy** 'down, hair, fur', VTt, Bsh **t̥k**, Qzq, Qrg, ET **tük**, Uz **tuk** 'hair, fur', Xk **tük**, Yk **tū** id., Tv **դյր** **d̥üy** 'hair of the head, fur', Tf **d̥ük** 'hair, fur' ¶ ≈ Cl. 433, TL 197-8, ≈ Rs. W 503, Rl. III 1530, Ra. 177 ¶ Adb. (TL 197-8) explains the loss of -k in some lgs. as a reg. phonetic change. The Og forms suggest the expected ***t̥'-**, while Tv and Tf point to an unexpected lax ***t̥'-**; the solution of the problem has not yet been found (as far as I know) || S CNM 3 suggests to adduce

here M *toqum 'saddle fender made of felt\leather' (> WrM **toqum**, HlM **тoхом** id., Ord {Ms.} **d_oχom** 'chabraise sur laquelle se repose la selle', MM [ZhY] **toqum** 'feutre ou tapis qu'on met sous la selle immédiatement sur le poil', MnR H {SM} **t'ugun** id.), but it is more plausible that this noun is derived from the M verb *toqu- 'put on\over' (> WrM **toqu-**, HlM **тoхo-** 'put on\over', MM [HI] **toqu-** {Ms.} v. 'saddle', {Lew.} v. 'harness, saddle', MnR H {SM} **t'ugu-** v. 'saddle'). Only if the primary meaning of the M verb *toqu- was 'put on a saddle, saddle' (v.), then both *toqu- and *toqum may belong here ¶ MED 829-30, Ms. H 1O2, Lew. II 79, SM 428-9, Ms. O 149 ¶ S CNM 3 || D *tokk^o ({θGS} *t-) 'skin, bark, rind' > Tm **tokku**, Tl **tokka** id., Ml **tokku** 'skin, peel' || d. *toka^ł 'bark, peel' > Kn **toga^łtu**, **togate**, **tōte** 'bark, rind, peel, pod', Tm, Ml **tōtu** 'shell of a fruit', Gnd **tōtā** 'outer skin of the mahua fruit', Gnd K **tōtē** v. 'peel' || ? d. *tuk(k)-al- 'skin, hide' > Ml **tukal** 'skin as of a fruit', Kn **togal**, **toval** 'skin, hide, leather, skin of fruit', Tu **tugalə** 'skin, bark, rind' ¶ D ##3544, 3559, Zv. 66, 9O,12O ◇ The meaning 'body' (in Ht and WCh) is secondary (σε 'skin' → 'body') ◇ ≠ BmK 315 (an attempt to equate the K word with IE *(s)teg- v. 'cover' and S *t^čk-roots meaning 'dark, black'), AD NM #95.

2412. *tar^ṇ '∈ vermin, noxious insects' > HS: SC {E} *ter|d- 'cockroach' > Kz **talangayo** id., SC → Mb **tére** id. ¶ ESC 17O || IE: NaIE *ter- '(ε) vermin, noxious insects' ({P} 'mal mendes oder bohrendes Insekt') > L **tarmes** (gen. **tarmitis**) ~ **termes** 'wood-worm' || Clt (< *kon-trōno-): W **cynrhon-yn** (pl. **cynrhon**, {SB} **cynrhawn**) 'maggot, grub', Crn **contronen** 'maggot', {SB} 'bug (Cimex)', MBr **controunenn**, Br singlt. **kontronenn** / coll. **kontron** 'ver de viande'; Clt (*tōr-āko-) > W **torogen** ~ **trogen** (pl. **trogod**) 'tick', OBr {Flr.} **toroc** 'curculio, charançon', Br {Flr.} **teureug**, **teurg** 'tiques', {Hm.} **teurk** 'maladie de la peau des moutons' || ? Gk **τερηδών** 'wood-worm' (→ L **terēdo** id.) (x ↔ ✓ **τερ-** 'bore', cp. **τέρετρον** 'a borer') ¶ P 1O76, F II 879 (**τερηδών** ÷ **τέρετρον** 'a borer'), Ch. 11O6, WH II 649, SB 123 (Clt *kon-trōno- ↔ *trā- v. 'bore'), YGM-1 149, 418, Flr. 317, Hm. 475, 787, ECCE 224 || A *[°]t_čara- > NaT *t'ara-kan 'cockroach' > ET **تاراقان** taraqan, VTt, MsTt, Bsh, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qmn/QK {B} taraqan, SbTt Tb {Rl.} taraqan, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} taraqqan, Tv t'araq'an id.; T → OR **თარაკანъ** ~ **тороканъ**, R, Uk тара'кан,

Ук тор'ган, Blg тар'кан id. ¶ Rs. W 463, Nj. 271, TatR 517, Bu. I 721, TTDS 398-9, Rl. III 839, B DK 251, B DLT 2O2, BR 5O8, NogR 335, MM 333, KrkR 622, RKB 619, TvR 4O8, Vs. IV 2O-1, Chrn. II 228, Lok. 159 [#2O27]; on the T sx. of nominal derivation *-kan see Rs. MTS 1O2, B OGOJ 247 ¶ In some of the T lgs. of the former USSR (but not in ET) the word тарақан may be a loan from R тарақан (which is obvious for Qmq/Az tarakan and Yk tarakān with -k- for the expected -q-, -χ-, and -y-), but in the final account the origin of the word is Turkic rather than Slavic (↔ Bu., Lok., Vs., and Chrn.) || D (in Gnd) *ta_L:r̥r̥ 'ant' > Png тār ~ dār, Mnd tār 'ant', Kui tāru 'small black ant', ? Gnd tārō 'the queen white ant' ¶ D #3166.

2413. *ṭaR ∇ , *ṭaR ∇ -H ∇ g ∇ , *ṭaR ∇ -ṭ ∇ 'to drag, to pull' > **HS:** WS *✓ ṭrr ~ *✓ trr > Ar ✓ ṭrr G 'enlever, emporter, arracher; pousser devant soi', Mh ✓ trr (pf. tṣr) 'drag, lead away' ¶ BK II 64, Jo. M 4O3 || Eg fP dr 'entfernen (vertreiben, wegnehmen)' (× N *der?^ri¹ 'thrust back, drive away?') ¶ EG V 473-4 ¶ ≠ OS #2486 || K: [1] G {Chx.} ṭar- v. 'carry, bring, lead (führen)' ¶ Chx. 1325-8 || ?? [2] a variant with a deglottalized cns.: K {K} *tr-, {K²} *ter-/*tr-, {FS} *tar-/*tr- v. 'drag, pull' > OG ter-, eNG {SSO} G ter-/tr-, Mg (n)tṣr-/(n)tir-, Lz tir-, tor-, tur- id., Sv: tr-/tir- id., U/OB/Ln {TK, GP} li-trine 'to drag'; acc. to FS, the variant *tar- is attested in eNG Δ {SSO} ga-tar-va 'gewaltsam heraus-bringen\zerren', G Mx/Mt/P/Im/Aj {FS} sa-tar-i 'Gerät zum Herab-schleifen\zerren\schleppen das Heu von den Bergen' ¶ K 95, K² 68-9, FS K 143-4, FS E 156, TK 434, GP 154 || IE: NaIE {Mn.} *trg^h- (or *tragh-) v. 'draw, pull' > L trah-ō, -ēre id. || ? OIr traigim v. 'ebb, run out' (× ↔ tráig 'rivage'), NIr tráighaim v. 'drain', W treio 'to ebb' || Sl *tērga-ti 'to pull, to draw' > OR **ТРЪГАТИ** 'vellere', SCr tr̥gati, Slv tr̥gati 'to tear\pull\pluck out', Ук тօргати 'to pull, to tug, to tear', P targac id. (targac za wlosy\suknią 'to pull [so.] by the hair\coat'), Cz (u)trhati 'to pick, to pluck', OCS **ИСТРЪГНЯТЬ** is-tr̥g-nq-ti 'έξαρπάζειν, to pull\tear\throw out, to extract', R рас-тօрг-нүть 'to dissolve\annul (agreement, marriage)' ¶ Mn. 1445, P 1O89 (adduces many semantically remote forms and reconstructs IE *trag^h- / *tro(:)g^h- / *tre(:)g^h-), WH II 698-9, Vn. T 123 (traigim ↔ tráig), Ma. CS 535, Vs. IV 83, StSS 372, Glh. 638 || U: FU *°tarka- > Er 'targa- 'take out, draw\pull out', Mk targac 'take out, pull' ¶ ≈ UEW 511-2 (*tartt ∇ - 'steckenbleiben, klebenbleiben') ¶ Cf. FU *tartt ∇ v. 'hold, seize' < N

***dar**, **dh₂H₂N** 'hold, hold fast, fasten' (q.v.) || **A:** NaT *t'art- v. 'pull, drag' > OT tart- id., Tk tart-, Az dart- v. 'pull', Tkm, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Yk tart-, ET ta(r)t- v. 'pull, drag', Uz tart-, Tv t'irt-, Tf t'frt'- v. 'pull, drag out' ¶ Cl. 534-5, Rs. W 265, Ra. 236 || ?Φ M *tata- v. 'draw, pull, drag' > WrM tata-, HlM, Brt тата-, Kl tatъ- id. ◇ Rs. UAW 465 (U, A), BmK 297-8 (IE, K *tr- + a questionable D ideophone: Kn *dara* *dara* - noise of dragging anyth. on the ground, etc.).

2414. 2 *tæRN '≈ else, more, other' > **IE:** NaIE *-tero-, a sx. of pronouns and adjectives with the meanings of comparison and choice between two objects\persons ('more than the other', 'between two'): *kʷo-tero- ~ *kʷutero- 'which of the two?' (> OI kata'rāh, Av katāra-, Gk πότερος, Gt һаրар, L utes, Lt katras id., Osc púterei-píd 'in utroque', Um PODRUHPEI 'utroque', Sl *koterъ(-jь) ~ *kotorъ(-jь) ~ *кътеръ-јь ~ *къторъ-јь 'which one, which of them?' > OCS котеръ koterъ ~ **которъ** kotorъ, **которыи** koterыи ~ **которыи** kotorыи, Blg 'котрый, -ра, -ро, Slv kotéri, Slk kot(e)ryú, kotorý, R ко'торый, Ukr ко'торий, P ktorу, Cz kterу), *i-tero- 'another' (> OI 'i'tarah id., L iterum 'for the second time'), *an-tero- 'the other of the two' (> OI 'antarah, Oss ändär, Gt anpar, ON annarr, OHG ander, AS āper, Lt antras, Pru antars ~ anters 'other'), the sx. in L alter 'the other of the two', Osc alttram 'alteram', OCS въторъ vъtorъ, R вто'рой 'the second', the sx. of the cmpr. *-tero- (> OI ā'ma-tara-h 'rawer', Gk ὡμότερος id., παλαιτέρος 'older') ¶ Brg. KVG 321, Hirt IG III 2O9-13 [§ 129], P 37, F II 586, WH I 32-5, 723-4, and II 845, Bc. G 342, Fs. 53, 283, Ho. 243, EWA I 241-2, En. 142, Tp. P A-D 94-5, ESSJ XI 2O1-3 and XIII 247 || **A:** [1] ? Tg: Ewk -tar/-tзr/-tor ō-, a verbal form of additional continuation ('more'): үзнэтзr ōjam 'well, I shall come again' ('Ну, еще приду'), haval-tar ōčā 'he went on working more' ('он еще поработал') (with the verb ō- 'werden') ¶ Vas. 791 | [2] Tg *tēri 'pair, both, one of the couple' > Ewk t̄zrī 'pair', t̄zrīn 'one of the pair', 'one opposed to the other of the pair', Lm t̄zri 'pair', t̄zrin 'pair, both', Neg t̄zū id., Orc t̄zū, Ud {Shn.} t̄z, Ud Sm {Krm.} t̄ē 'pair', Nn KU t̄zini 'in the same way (одинаково)' ¶ STM II 239, Krm. 294 || pJ {S} *t̄at̄zr- 'compare, liken to' > OJ t̄at̄or(a)-, J: T tatoé-, K tatoé-, Kg t̄at̄oè- ¶ S QJ #1475, Mr. 765, Kenk. 1929 ¶ ≈ DQA #2363 (A *t̄ēra 'pair; to compare' > Tg *t̄eri, J) || ??? **HS:** One could consider the possibility of

tying in S: BHb בְּרֵם 'ṭerem 'not yet, before', 'noch nicht', 'even before'. But there is a grammatical argument against this hyp.: the Hb word 'ṭerem has some syntactical features of a noun, e.g. its usage with a prepositional prefix bə- 'in': bə'ṭerem 'before'; in addition, this usage suggest a meaning 'early, before' as the original meaning of the word, that probably belongs to N *ṭor?Ν 'fresh, new' (q.v.) § KB 363, KBR 379-80, HJ 430 (b̄ṭr m 'before' in EpHb).

2415. ₂ *ṭera 'to heat, to roast, to fry' > **A:** Tg *ṭiar- vt. 'melt., roast' > Lm tār-, Lm Al tiar-, Lm Sk tūær- v. 'melt (fat, suet)', Neg tēy- (< *tēr-) v. 'melt (fat), fry', Orc tiru- v. 'fry, bake, heat', Ork ç̄lru- v. 'cook fat', Nn ç̄lro- v. 'melt fat, roast', WrMc c̄aru- v. 'fry' § STM II 173 || **D** {tr.} *ṭer-, {§GS} *ṭed- v. 'heat (intensely), scorch' (of fire, sun's heat) > Tm ṭeru v. 'burn, scorch', Nkr tirup 'sun's ray', Prj ted- ~ ṭed- v. 'be fierce' (of sun's heat), Knd ṭer- id., Gnd ter- id., tarītānā v. 'be hot' (of sun), tarīstānā v. 'heat bread over a flame' §§ D #344O, GS 63-4 [#194] ◇ Tg *ja < N *E...a (acc. to AD AVD, see above Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ But hardly here SC: Iqr {E} c̄irīh- v. 'glow' (E SC 175) because of the initial cns. (see N *c̄'i'LhΝ '[char]coal, soot').

2416. *ṭeRΝ 'to contain (aufnehmen können)' > **K:** pGZ *ṭi,r,- > OG, G ṭe-/ṭi- v. 'contain' (OG romeli šemzlebul ars datēwnad, daiṭeien 'qui potest capere capiat' - Mt. 19:12), Mg (n)ṭi(r)- / ṭr-, Lz (n)ṭi(r)- ~ (n)ṭi(n)- / (n)ṭr- 'contain (вмешатъ)' § K 18O, Chik. 326, Q 328 § The loss of *-r- in OG remains unexplained || **U:** FU *terΝ 'have\find enough room for itself (Raum oder Platz haben oder finden, hineingehen)' > Prm *ṭer- id. > Z tṣr-, Vt teri- id. || OHg XVI téर- 'Raum haben', Hg Δ téर- 'Raum\Platz haben\finden, hineingehen', Hg téř 'space, room' § UEW 522, Sm. 55O (FU, FP *tirä-, Ugr *tirä- 'fit'), MF 628-9, EWU 15O5, LG 284 || **A** (?) *ooṭ'e'RΝ > Tg: Lm Ol tṣriꝝ 'spacious, able to contain much' § STM II 239 ◇ Cf. IS MS 333 s.v. вмешатъ *ṭarΔ (K, U + *÷ S *✓?ṭr [that in fact does not mean 'contain']).

2417. *ṭor'ü' ~ *ṭor'yü' 'bring\come into existence (create, make, give birth, be born)' > **IE:** NaIE *twer- v. 'create, produce by plaiting, lay (a rope)' (x N *ṭuryΝ ~ *ṭuryE or *ṭürΝ ~ *ṭurE 'row, line; to string', q.v.) > Gk σορός 'vessel for holding anything, cinerary urn', σαργάνη 'a plait, braid; basket', Gk I [Hs.] ταργάναι · πλοκαῖ, συνδέσεις, πέδαι 'sth. twisted\bound together, fetters' ({LS} 'plaited work'), Gk ? τάρπη 'large wicker basket' (if there was dis. *tw...p > *t...p) || Sl

*tvor-íti 'to create, to make, to form' > OCS **творити** tvoriti, R тво'ритъ, SCr tvoriti, Cz tvoriti, P tworzyć 'to create', Blg тво'ря v. 'create'; ChS **творъ** tvorъ 'form', OR **творъ** 'appearance, look, P twór, Uk твір, Cz tvor 'creation, sth. created' || Lt tvérti / prs. tveriu, su-tvérty / su-tveriu v. 'form, create', tvérimas n. act. 'forming, creating' (x tvérti / tveriu 'seize, fence, enclose', tvérimas n. act. 'seizing, enclosing'), sutvérimas, {Krsch.} sutvérimas 'creating, creature', tveréjas, {Frn.} tveréjas 'Schöpfer, Gründer, Erbauer', tvérinys 'creature, creating' ¶ In Gk there is coalescence with *twer- v. 'twist, turn, close in' < N *tūlūri 'turn round, surround, enclose' (q.v.) ¶ P 1101 (reconstructs *twer- 'fassen, einfassen, einzäunen', does not distinguish the √ in question from *twer- v. 'twist, turn, close in'), F II 677, 687, 856, LS 1758-9, Frn. 1152, Vs. III 33-4, Glh. 646-7, ≠ EI 564 (Sl < IE *twer- 'take, hold') || A *t'ör'ü v. 'give birth to; be born, come into existence, be created' > NaT *t'örü- ~ *t'ore- id. > OT {Cl.} törü- v. 'come into existence, be created', Chg {Cl.} töre- ~ törü- v. 'come into existence, be born', OOsm {Cl.} dörü-, Tk türə-, Az töre-, Tkm döre-, ET {Nj.} töri- id., 'be born', töräl- 'originate, come into existence', ET Δ {Jr.} törel-, Cmn {Cl.} töre- 'be born', Tk Δ töre- 'meydana gelmek, çoğalmak' (v. 'come into being, multiply'), Qrg törö- 'give birth to', Tv t'örü- id., 'be born', Xk töpi- törü-, Tf d_örü- 'be born', Ln töyö-t- 'give birth to, create', Yk törö- 'be born', 'bring forth' (of animals) ¶ Cl. 533, Ra. 175, Rs. W 495, Nj. 313-4, Jr. 314, Pek. 2779-80, SDD 1393 || M *töre- v. 'be born; bear' > MM [MA] töre- v. 'be born', [IM] törü- v. 'bear', WrM törü- v. 'be born, come into being', HlM törö-, Kl tör-, Ord {Ms.} t'örö-, Dg {Pp.} t'ür- v. 'be born, bear', MnR H {SM} t'uro- 'enfanter, accoucher, naître', MMgl {Iw.} töre v. 'be born', Mgl {Rm.} t'urānā 'wird geboren', Δ {Lg.} t'urana v. 'be born' ¶ Pp. IM 49, Pp. MA 353, 448, T 367, KW 407, Rm. M 41, MED 836, SM 435, Iw. 139 ¶ S QJ #1679 ¶ KW 407, ≠ Cl. 533 (unc.: M ← T) ¶ ≈ DQA #2436 (A *t'ori 'be born, copulate', including T, M) || D *törl- ({§GS} *t-) v. 'work' > Tm töril 'act, action, work', törili 'working woman', Ml töril 'business, occupation', Kn türil 'work, servitude', törtü 'servant' (esp. 'female servant'), Tu tolilə 'trade, business', Tl tottu 'female servant' ¶ D #3524 || ??? HS: it is tempting to adduce here HS *v̥tr v. 'plait, sew' > Ch (x N ≈ *'t'arν, Pν, ~ *'t'νPνrν 'to tie together?'):

WCh: Ron: Bks, DfB {J} *tōr* (hab. Bks *twār*, DfB *twār*) 'nähen, stechen, durchbohren' | Ngz {Sch.} *t̄rmú* v. 'plait three strands together to make rope' | Kry {Sk.} *t̄r-*, My {Sk.} *t̄r-* v. 'sew' || CCh: Db {Lnh.} *t̄r* v. 'plait', {Mch.} *t̄r* 'tordre', MfG -*t̄rd-* v. 'plait' ('tresser [cheveux, natte]'), Mf {BLB} *t̄rd-* 'tordre en spirale' ¶ JI II 288-9, ChC s.v. 'plait' and 'sew', J R 147, 222, Stl. ZCh 165 [#186] (WCh **t̄/t̄Ar-* v. 'sew, plait'), Mch. D 153, Brr. MG II 244, BLB 350, Sk. NB 39, Sch. DN 253 ¶ The words of Ron and CCh lgs. are valid cognates only if the original meaning is v. 'sew, plait' rather than v. 'twist' and v. 'pierce' || *AdS* of EC: Sa/Af {R} ✓ *trtr* pcv. 'sew' (probably < N ≈ **t̄tarṇ_Pṇ* ~ **t̄ṇPṇrṇ* '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ OS #2406 ◇ IS MS 361 *рождатъ т̄рн* (BS1, A) ◇ The contradiction between the T ev. (T *-r- suggesting N *r) and that of D (D *-ṛ- suggests N *ṛ) may be solved if we admit that the N vibrant was followed by *y (or by *-ü?) and that N *-ry- (or *-r- followed by *ü?) yields A *-r- and D *-ṛ-. IE *we is a reg. reflex of N *o before *-u|ü.

2418. (2?) **t̄URE* 'start, set in motion, begin' > HS: C *✓ *tr* v. 'start' > Ag *°*t̄er*- v. 'begin, start' > Bln {R} *t̄er* y- 'sich auf den Weg machen; anfangen, beginnen', *t̄er-s-* 'beginnen, anfangen' || ??σ EC: Arr *t̄r-* v. 'climb, ride' || SC {E} **tir-* v. 'set in motion' > Kz *tilim-* id. || Dhl {To.} *tirid-*, {E} *t̄irið-*, {EEN} **t̄itið-* v. 'move restlessly' ¶ E PC #75 (pC **tar-*/*tir-* v. 'start up'), EEN 8, To. D 148, R WB 842, Hw. A 397, E SC 170 [#23] || ?μ CCh {ChL}: G'nd *t̄rtikānan*, Gbn *t̄rtukənə*, Boka *t̄urtikagtn* v. 'begin' || ?σ IE: NaIE **twer-* v. 'move quickly, stir up' > OI 'tvaratē, tu'rati 'hurries', tu'ra 'rasch', Av θwāša- (< IIr **tvarata-*) 'eilig, rasch' || Gk ὅ-τρυ-ν-ω v. 'stir up, rouse' || Gmc (× N **t̄ü|urí* 'turn round, surround, enclose' [q.v.]) Sw *tvära* 'stir, agitate', AS ȝwēran id., 'churn', OHG dwēran 'stir up, mix', dwiril 'twirling-stick', ?? ON þyrja 'laufen, sausen' ||| NaIE **t̄(o)rū-* (with mt.) ({Fick} < ***turū-*) (× N **t̄ü|urí* '↑' [q.v.]): Gk τορύνω ~ τορῦνάω 'stir up, about', τορύνη 'stirrer, ladle for stirring things while boiling' || ?σL *trua* 'scoop, ladle' ¶ P 11OO, EI 607 (**twer-* 'stir, agitate'), M K I 514, 539, M E I 684-5, F II 440-1, Ho. 373, Kb. 178-9, OsS 121, EWA II 915-9, 925-6, Vr. 630, F II 914-5, WH II 708-9 || A: T *°*t̄,örçi-* > OT {Cl.} *törçi-* v. 'begin, start' ¶ Cl. 534 || ?σ M: WrM *tür̄i-* 'push' ({Gl.} 'push', {MED} 'drag, push forward'), *tür̄igde-* 'be pushed', HlM *tyþə-x* 'drag, push forward' ¶ Gl. III 259, MED 855.

2418a. *t̄ūR ∇ 'hold' > IE: NaIE *twer-/*tur- 'grip, hold' > Lt tver̄ti (1s prs. tveriū) 'seize, snatch, grab', Ltv tver̄t (1s prs. tveriū) 'seize, hold', Lt turéti (1s prs. turiū), Ltv turêt 'possess, own', Prs turit 'have, have to' | ? Sl *za-tvor̄ti 'to shut' (unless *t on the analogy of *ot-vor̄ti 'to open') > OCS затворити zatvoriti, R затворить, SCr zatvɔriti, Slv zatvɔriti, Cz † zatvořiti, Slk zatvárat' 'to shut', Blg затварям 'I shut', Sl *zatvorb 'bolt (shutting a gate\door), seclusion' > OCS затворъ zatvorъ, R † затвор, SCr zátvor, Slv zatvòr, Slk zátvor, P zatwór id., Blg затвор 'prison, gate' (× IE *tworos 'Einfassung' > N *t̄ū|ur̄i 'turn round, surround, enclose', q.v.) || ?σ Gk σειρά, Gk I σειρή, Gk D σηρά 'cord, rope' (< *twer-yā) ¶ WP I 75O-1, P 11O1, Mn. 1466, Vs. II 82, BER I 612, Glh. 646, Frn. 1152, F II 687 (doubts about the origin of Gk σειρά) || K: G Gr ṭor-i 'amount held in two hands ("double handful")' ¶ Ghl. 515 || HS: WS *✓ try (~ S *°✓ tr̄r) > Ar ✓ tr̄r G 'rassembler, réunir en un seul lieu', Gz ✓ try Sh (pf. ḡatraya) 'possess, take possession', ṭarīt 'possessions', ??σ JEA {Lv.} ✓ try ~ ✓ tr̄w G 'give' (esp. šēkal wə-ṭarā 'negotiate', lit. 'take and give') (unless Sl.'s interpretation of the JEA verb as 'throw' is valid) ¶ BK II 64, LG 597-8, Lv. II 189-90, Sl. 517 || A {DQA} *t̄ūr̄fe 'hold, lift, take' > Tg *tūri- > Ewk tūriñ-, Lm tor- 'hold back (удерживать, сдерживать)', Ewk Skh turuw- 'detain (prevent from running)', Orc turu- 'slow down (the draught-reindeer)', Ul turuwñ-, Nn Nh turū- id., 'stop' (vt.) ¶ STM II 22O || pKo *t̄r- 'hold, lift' > MKo t̄r-, NKo t̄l- ¶ S QK #134, HMC 336, MLC 535 || pJ *t̄r- (or *tuar-) 'take' > OJ t̄w̄or-, J: T tóर-, K, Kg tòर- ¶ S QJ #118, Mr. 771 ¶ S AJ 279 [#11O] (A *t̄ür̄ ∇), DQA #2445, Mr. KJ 233 (Ko, J) ◇ In Tg (and hence A) there is lengthening of the vw. in an originally open syllable (a reg. change).

2419. UA ₂ *t̄ūR ∇ 'hard roe' > U *°t̄ūr̄ ∇ > Sm {Jn.} *tirämä ~ *türämä, {Hl.} tireme ~ *türeme 'hard roe' > Ne T тиребя, Ne F {Lh.} ти́риме́, Ng {Cs.} t̄i'r̄imi, {Mik.} čirimi, En X {Cs.} t̄ikē, En B {Cs.} t̄irē, {Ter.} čire, čiri, Slq Tz {KKIH} t̄r, Slq Tm {KD} t̄e're'b_, Kms {Cs.} thürümä, {KD} t̄ür·me, Koyb {Sp.} түрмә, Mt {Hl.} *türmä (Mt: T {Mll.} türmjä, M {Sp.} түрмә, {Mll.} türmä, K {Mll.} dürmjä) ¶ Jn. 163-4, Cs. 146, 264, KKIH 189, Hl. MTKV 2O, 94, Hl. M #11O1 || A *t̄ür̄i 'hard roe' > M *tūri-sün > WrM tūri-sün, HlM түрс, Kl {Rm.} türsŋ, Brt түрьхэ(н) id. ¶ KW 416, MED 855 || Tg *t̄iure-kse id.

> Ewk *tirə̤-ksə* & *tirə̤kšə* & *tirə̤hə*, Sln, UI *tursə*, ? WrMc *cərguwə* ~ *cerhuwe* ¶ Vas. 415, STM II 189, Hr. 143, Z 93O ¶ KW 416, Pp. VG 112, DQA #2407 (A **t’juri* - **t’joro* 'fish-roe') ◇ IS MS 343 s.v. *икра тұра*, IS SS #1.17, Rm. 1.c., Sauv. 68, AD NM #77, Vv. AEN 4 (adds WrMc *turi* 'peas', which is doubtful).

2420. **tehr* **clean, pure** > **HS:** WS *✓ *thr* v. 'be clean\pure' > BHb ✓ *thr* (ip. -*thar*) v. 'be clean', *ṭā’ḥōr* 'clean', ✓ *thr* *D* 'cleanse, purify', Pun *ṭhr* 'pure', *ṭhrt* 'purity', JEA ✓ *thr* *G* v. 'be clean, cleared away', Ar ✓ *thr* *G* (pf. *ṭahara*, ip. -*thar-*) v. 'be pure, clean', Gz ✓ *thr* *G* (js. -*thar*) v. 'be pure', Tgr ✓ *thr* *G* v. 'be clean', Mh, Hrs, Jb ✓ *thr* v. *G* 'be ritually clean, pure', Mh *ṭə̤hayr*, Hrs *ṭə̤her*, Jb C/E 'ṭhīr' 'ritually clean, pure', Sq {L} *ṭahīr* 'clean'; EthS → Sa {R} *ṭi’rā* 'rein' ¶ KB 354, KBR 369-70, BK II 114, Hv. 440, LG 589, Jo. M 408, Jo. J 275, HJ 420, Js. 520 || □ {Km.} **tēr-* ({§GS} **t-*) v. 'be(come) clean\clear' > Tm *tēru* v. 'be made clear as water, be clarified, be accepted as true', Ml *tēral* 'clearness', Kt *te·r-* v. 'become clear' (with subject *na·r* 'country'), sc. v. 'dawn', *te·r-č-* v. 'make (day) dawn', Kn *tēṭa*, *tēṭe* 'clearness, purity (as that of water, etc.)', Tu *tēṭa* 'pure, clear', OTI *tēru*, TI *tēru*, *tēr u* v. 'become clear or free from suspended matter', Gdb *tēr-sap-* v. 'clear (as a liquid)', Gnd *tēr-s-* v. 'filter' ¶ D #3471, Km. 392 [#614] || K (?) **tetr-* 'white' > OG, G *tetr-*, ? Sv: UB {GP} *twetne*, {TK} *twetwne* ~ *tetwne*, LB {TK} *tetne*, L {TK, Dn.} *twetwne*, Ln {TK} *twetwene* 'white' ¶ K 91, TK 262, GP 106, Dn. s.v. *ṭvetvne* || ?σ, φ IE: NaIE *°*terb_L*-> pSl **terbi*"-ti 'to clean, to stub' > ChS **требити** *trěbiti*, Slv *trébiti* id., OR **теребити** *terebiti*, Blr *церебіць*, P *trzebić* 'to grub up (a wood), to clear (a forest\wood) of trees', R Δ *теребить* id., 'to clean', Uk *теребити* 'to clean, to shell', SCr *трéбити* & *trijébiti* 'to clean', Cz *tržíbiti* 'to sift out, to winnow, to refine', Blg 'требя' I clean, stub' ¶ P 1071, Mikl. E 354, Glh. 638, Vs. IV 45-6 || ?φ A: M **türći*-> WrM *türçi*- {Kow.} 'nettoyer, essuyer, frotter', HIM *түрчи-* v. 'clean, wipe, rub', Ord *dürč'i-* in *arč'ixu* *dürč'i-xū* 'wipe (essuyer)' ¶ MED 854, Kow. 1953, Ms. O 172 ¶ If this rather questionable cognate belongs here, the vw. *ü needs explaining.

2421. **tu|o|w,r'ū'* 'grow, grow densely, sprout forth, become bushy, thrive; thicket, thick bush\grass' > **HS:** S *°✓ *ṭrr*, *°*ṭurr-* > Ar ✓ *ṭrr* *G* 'pousser, germer, pulluler' (of plants, hair, beard, etc.), *ṭurr-* 'chevelure

longue et qu'on laisse pendre' § BK II 64-5 || ??? C **^oetur- > Ag **duł- 'thicket' → Gz dūr 'forest', dōr 'wilderness', Amh dur 'wood, forest', Tgy dur {YGE} id., 'thicket, bush', {Bsn.} 'bosco, selva' § LG 141 (hyp.: Gz dūr, dor ← Amh dur < OEth dabr 'mountain'), YGE 691, Bsn. 76O || K {Fn.} *tewr- {AD} 'thicket; be dense' > G tēvr-i 'dichter, dunkler Wald', Sv {Ni.} täwre- 'get denser, thicken' §§ Chx. 1334, Ni. s.v. густъть || IE: NaIE *tre(:)u-, *treus- 'flourish, thrive, ripen' > Av tuθrušā adj. 'zur Vollreife gelangen', prs. stem Brāoš- 'zur Reife \ Vollkommenheit gelangen \ bringen' || OHG triunit (OHG Al t- for þ-) 'excellet, pollet, floret', OHG drowen ~ drouwen & trouuen (< *θraujan) 'to grow up (pubescere)', MHG ūf-gedrouwen prtc. 'erwachsen', ON þróast (from *θrōwōn) 'wachsen, gedeihen', þroski 'Reife' § WP I 754, P 1095, Brtl. 655, Kb. 169, OsS 96O, EWA II 806, Lx. 242, Vr. 623 || A: ?σ M *torni- > WrM torni- ~ tarni-, HlM торни-, Ord t'orni- v. 'grow, grow up' (of children and young animals), 'reach manhood', Brt торни- 'grow up, reach manhood' (of children), WrM tornigun, HlM торниүн 'of tall stature, well grown, corpulent; healthy', Ord t'orniūn 'qui est devenu grand et gros pour son âge' (children, young animals) § MED 827, Luv. 411, Chr. 431, Ms. O 671 || D *tūr(-) ({θGS} *t-?) 'bushes, bushy, thicket' (×N *d'ūr[?] ∇ 'woods, bush[es]') > Tm tūr[?]u 'bushes, shrubberry, thick underwood, low jungle', tūr- v. 'become bushy, sprout forth', Kt tu'r 'bushy bunch of leaves of tree', Td tu'r / tu:t- 'branch with leaves; bushes', Knd tōru 'thicket' §§ D #3401 ◇ Fn. KD 342 [#98] (K, D).

2422. *tɔx|qUry∇ or *tUx|qř∇ 'dirt; be dirty' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} *d^our- v. 'be dirty' (×N *č'řu'R∇ 'to soil, to stain; dirty?') > Or {Grg., Sr.} turī 'dirt, filth', Or H {Ow.} túri 'dirty', Or {Ss.} tur-, {Grg.} turāwā, Arr tur-aw- id., turé 'dirty thing', Sd, Hd tur- v. 'be dirty' || Ag: ?? Bln {R} deraqʷā 'clay' § Ss. PEC 29, 31, AD SF 56-7, E PC #76, Grg. 386, Sr. 396, Ow. 272, Hw. A 398 || B *-đir- > Ah edir 'gros excrément', EWlm/Ty eder 'human faeces', Tnsl eder 'gros excrément (d'hommes, des quadrupèdes carnassiers)' § Fc. 283, GhA 33, NZ 483 || ?? Ch: WCh: My {Sk.} tīri, Kry {Sk.} túrkù 'dirt' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} tárwá, Ll (Grgs.) tirwé, ? Kwn {J} dórúwó 'dust' § ChC, ChL, Eb. 98 § Acc. to the sound corrs. within Ch that are postulated in JI I xix-xxx, this Ch √ is easier to explain as belonging to N *d'ūr[?]r₂∇ 'dirt' || K *^otχwr- > G txvr-/txvar- v. 'be dirty, make dirty' § Chx. 509 || A {DQA} *t'ōře 'soil,

dust' > T *t[‘]ōr̥ 'dust' > OT {Cl., IS} tōz, XwT XIII tōz, MQp XIII dōz, Cmn XIV, Chg ≥XV tōz, Tk tōz, Tkm tōδ, Az, Ggz, Qrg tōz id. ¶ Rs. W 492, Cl. 57O-1, DTS 578-9, TL 99-1OO, S AJ 195 [#229], Hüs. 295, TkR 637, Tz. UIS 1O2, ADb. Ttd 59 || Tg *tūr ({ADb. Ttd} *tore) 'earth' > Ewk tur, Lm tō:r, Lm Al/B tūr, Lm M tuer, Neg tūy 'earth', Nn Nh turqa 'clod of earth', Nn KU turu nān̥l 'subterranean world' ¶ STM II 217-8, S AJ 2O9 [#33] || Ko *tā,r- '(become) dirty' > MKo tā,r-m- id.; MKo tā,rā,p-, NKo tā,rā,p- 'be dirty, filthy, soiled' ¶ S AJ 255 [#113], S QK #113, Nam 153, MLC 442 || pJ *tūtì 'earth' > OJ tūtì, J: T cućí, K cućí, Kg čuј ¶ S AJ 265 [#19], S QJ #19, Mr. 557 || ? ppM *toβu'rag > M *toγurag 'earth, dust' (× N *t[‘]a'p₁ŋ₁ŋ₂, y₁ŋ₂ 'dirt, mud', q.v. ffd.) ¶ S AJ 91, 274 [#18], {SDM95} (A *t[‘]owŋ₁ŋ₂ 'earth, dust, dirt') DQA #2444 (A *t[‘]ōre 'soil, dust') || D *tur- ({θGS} *t-) 'rubbish' (× N *t₁Ur₁ŋ₁y₁ŋ₂ 'litter, dirt, dust', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ IE: NaIE {WH} *tēr-os / *ter-łā 'earth' > OIr tír 'earth, ground; land, country', Brtt {RE} *tīros 'earth' > OW, MW, W, OCrn tir, Crn tīr, OBr, MBr tir 'earth', Br tir 'land, country' || OL tera, L terra 'earth', Osc teer'úm', terúm 'terra, territorium', teras 'terrae'; any connection with IE *ters- 'dry' (mentioned by WH, EM, EI) may be secondary (folk et.) ¶ WH II 673-4, EM 687-8, Vn. T 74-5, RE 9O, Flr. 314, Hm. 79O, YGM-1 41O, EI 17O ◇ M and D suggest the rec. N *tōx|qUryŋ, but if the M and D cognates are rejected (as having alt. etymologies), the N rec. may be *t₁Ux|qřŋ. Some of the abovementioned words may result from a merger with N *t₁Ur₁ŋ₁y₁ŋ₂ '↑'.

2423. *tōr?ŋ 'fresh, new, young, young animal, child' > HS: WS *✓tr? > Ar ḫari?- 'recent, fresh', ✓tr? (pf. ḫaru?a, ip. ya-tru?-u) v. 'be fresh, juicy', Mh ṭε'rāy? 'wet, damp, fresh', Hrs tṣrī? 'fresh', Jb C/E 'ṭe'rī? 'fresh (food)'; with the loss of root-final *?: Ar ✓trw/y (pf. ḫaruwa ~ ḫariya) v. 'be quite fresh, freshly plucked', ḫariy- 'fresh, recent', BHb *ṭā'rī (attested: f. בְּרִיה ṭərī'yā), MHb בְּרִי ṭā'rī 'fresh', Ug ṭry 'fresh food', Sr ṭarrūn-ā 'recens', Gz ṭərāy 'raw, crude'; ? BHb בְּרֵם 'ṭerem 'not yet', 'noch nicht' (< *'earlier', cp. EpHb bṭrm 'before') ¶ HJ 43O, KB 363, KBR 379, BDB #2961, A #1125, OLS 481, Fr. III 45, 54, BK II 65, 8O, Ln. 1852, Hv. 428, 432, Br. 289, LG 598, Jo. M 411, Jo. J 279, Jo. H 13O || ? B *✓trr 'new' > Si {La.} a-trär (pl. trär-ən, f. ta-trär-t), Skn {Sarn.} trīr (pl. trīr-ət), Nf {CM} a-trar (pl. ta-trar-ət), Awj {Par.} aträr (pl. trär-ən) 'new' ¶ La. S 163, 266, Sarn.

22, Prd. 17O || **K:** OG ṭarig-i 'lamb' (Joh. 1.36), G ṭarig-i 'yearling lamb, sacrifice lamb' ¶ Ser. 153, Chx. 1329 || **I^E:** NaIE *torno- 'young man, young animal', *t^eru-no- 'young', *torm-/ *t^gm- id. (× NaIE *ter-, teru- 'delicate, weak' < N *ṭar₁ṇ₂H^ū 'delicate, thin', q.v.) > OI 'taruna- 'young, delicate, fresh', Av tauruna- 'young, boy', Oss I tärən ~ tərən, Oss D tärna 'boy'; OI tarṇa-, tarṇaka- 'calf, young animal' || Lt tařnas 'servant' (< *'young man') || Arm բննն թօՐՆ (gen. բննին թօՐԻՆ) 'grandson', բարս թարմ 'young, fresh, green' || pAl {O} *trima > Al trim 'grown man; brave\valorous man, hero', † 'warrior' || Gt þarihs (= ῥγραφος) 'ungewalkt, neu (vom Tuch)' (P: < 'fresh') ¶ M E I 632, M K I 483-6, P 1070-1, Ab. III 280, Frn. 1060-1, O 464, Slt. 304-5, Fs. 490 || **U:** FU (att. in BF) *^otōre 'fresh, raw' > F tuore? 'fresh', Es toores 'raw, crude; unripe, green', Lv tuorbz_ 'green, raw' ¶ SK 1409-10, Kt. 441 || **A** {DQA} *t^or₂ν 'young animal, child' > T [1] NaT *t^oru|i 'young', չ*t^orl 'calf' > Tk Δ {SDD} toru 'young' (of a man, tree), Slr tori 'foal', Chg {Rl.} tor 'calf' լ [2] NaT *t^orum 'young camel' > OT torum id., MT [IM] torum 'suckling young camel', Tk torun '2-year-old camel', Tk Δ {SDD} torum 'young camel', Tkm tōrum, Tv d_orum 'camel in its 2nd year'; T → M: WrM torum, HlM тօրօմ 'young camel in its 2nd year', WrO {Krg.} тօրօմ, torom, Kl {KRS} torəm 'a two-year-old camel' լ [3] NaT *t^oruṇ 'grandchild' > Osm {Rh.}, Tk torun, Kr torun ~ torin 'grandchild', VTt turun 'great-great-grandchild' լ [4] NaT *t^oruṇrpak 'calf in its 2nd year' > Chg [MA] torpaq {Pp.} 'three-year-old calf', {Shch.} չ 'calf in its 2nd year', Qzq torpaq 'yearling calf', Qrg torpoq, StAlt torboq, Xk torbaχ 'calf in its 2nd year', ET to(r)paq 'heifer in its 2nd year'; ds. (?): Brb torboγiš 'big calf', Yk torbos 'calf', ? Qrg toropoy 'young pig' լ [5] NaT *t^oruṇray 'child, young pig' > Qmq toray 'child', Tf t^oray 'yearling bear', and possibly Qrg toray 'young wild pig', Qzq, Qq, Nog toray 'young pig' (Qzq/Qq/Nog/Qrg toray are likely to be influenced by or borrowed from M) ¶ SDD III 1345-6, Cl. 549, DTS 578, IS AD 42 [#29], Rs. W 491, Shch. Zh 102, 106-7, 125-6, Rl. III 1179-80, 1183, 1189-90, Rh. 607, TvR 174, Pp. MA 126, BT 154, BIG 233, KRPS 539, MM 350, KrkR 649, NogR 358, Tn. SJ 517, Pek. 2736, Ra. 235, MED 827, Krg. 509, KRS 508 || M *toruyi 'young pig' > WrM torui 'suckling pig', HlM тօրօй id., 'young yak', Oyr, Brt toroy 'young pig', Kl {Rm.} torä 'young wild pig' ¶ KW 401, MED 827, Ra. 235 || ?σ NrTg *toro-kīū 'boar' > Ewk

Urm/Ucr/Z **torokī**, Neg **torokī**; Tg → Yk {Pek.} **toroku** ~ **toroxu** 'boar'. An alt. possibility is that the source lge. is Yk → Ewk, Neg, but this is less plausible for two reasons: [1] Neg and Ewk Urm are spoken in regions outside any contact with Yk (namely, on the Middle and Low Amur and on the Amgun), while Yk has a strong Tg substratum, [2] Ewk, Neg **torokī**~**-kī** are explainable within Tg as ds. with the sx. of animal names **-kī** (Ewk **tuksakī**, Neg **toksakī** 'hare') ¶ Vas. 761, Pek. 2741 ¶ Shch. Zh 125-6, Pek. 2741 ¶ DQA #2446 (A ***t'ōr**Δ 'young animal') ¶ The pA vw. length with an acute (> vw. length in T and shortness of the vw. in Tg) goes back to a compensatory lengthening caused by an additional element after the vw. or the following cns. within the N word || **D** *^o**tar-** child' > Kn **taruvali** 'boy, girl', **tarale** 'girl'; the D word may have been influenced by OI **tarunā** 'young, fresh, tender' ¶ cp. D #2817; ↗ also M K I 483 ◇ D *^a**a** still needs explaining ◇ The length of the vw. in T and FU is explained by complementary lengthening connected with the loss of N *[?]. It is possible that the pN reconstructions ***tar**Δ_A**H'** 'delicate, thin' and ***tar**Δ 'fresh, new, young, young animal, child' represent the same pN etymon (if the difference between vowels of the first syll. can be explained away) ◇ Blz. SNE I 243 [#1O] (equates S and FU with IE ***ter-**).

2424. ***tar**Δ_A**h'a** 'to pass over; through' > IE: [1] IE ***terx-/*trex-** (= ***trex_A-** with an a-coloured lr.) v. 'pass over, cross' > NaIE ***terə-/*trā-** > OI 'tarati, tirati 'crosses\passes over, overcomes, surpasses' (pp. **tīr'nah**, **tūr'tah**), Av **tar-**, **taurv-** 'overcome', OPrs **vīy-a-tarayam** 'ich überquerte', Blc **tarag** 'umwenden', KhS **bi-tar-** v. 'cross' || L **trāns** 'through' (originally an active prtc. of the verb ***trā-** v. 'cross, pass over', cp. **in-trā-** 'enter'), Um TRAF, TRAHAF, tra 'through', TRAHVORFI 'transverse_...' || ? OHG **derh** 'pertusus, perforated' (× N ***tūrHä** 'to bore, to drill'); AnIE: Ht **tarh-, tarhu-** 'siegen, mächtig sein, können', (with the pc. -za) 'besiegen, bezwingen, überwinden'] [2] NaIE ***terə-/*trā-** 'hindurch, über ... weg' > OI {MW} **ti'rah** adv. 'across, beyond, over', Av **tarā**, **tarō** adv. seitwärts', OI **tiras** prep. 'through', Av **tarō** id., OPrs **ta_{ra}**, Phl **tar** 'across, through' || OIr **tar** 'über ... hinaus', W trim-uceint '3O' ('a decade over 2O'); NaIE {P} *^o**trey** > OIr (a proclitic with phonetic shortening) tri, tre, OW **trui**, MW **trwy**, drwy, OBr **trei**, tre, MBr, Br, Crn **dre** 'through', W **tra** 'extremely, very, over' ¶ But IE ***term-** 'boundary-mark, end' (> Gk τέρμα, -ατος 'end, boundary', L **termen**,

termō [gen. **termōnis**], **terminus** 'boundary-mark, limit, boundary' || MHG **drum** 'Endstück, Ende', Ht **tarma-** 'Nagel, Pflock, Stift', Lw {Lar.} **tarmi-** 'clou') is unlikely to belong here, as suggested by the absence of the lr. (present in IE *terx- > Ht **tarh-**) §§ P 1074-6, EI 229 (*terh₂- 'bring across, overcome'), Hamp AIEW 150, M K I 480, 503, M EI 629-32, 646-7, Bai. 128, 282, MW 447, WH II 671-2, 700, Bc. G 349, Vn. T 28-9, YGM-1 412, 420, Flr. 319, Fs. 488, Kb. 151, OsS 100, 119, EWA II 604-5, 879-82, Lx. 33, Ho. 364, Ho. S 79, Frd. HW 213, Ts. E III 157-70, 185-9 || ?σ amb K *°tar- > G {Chx.} **tar-** 'etwas durchführen', v-i-**tar-eb** (ft. ga-v-i-**tar-e**) 'sich mit etw. durchbohren', **ga-tar-** 'carry \ lead \ transport through (some place)' ¶ Chx. 1327-8, DCh. 272, 1215 ¶ The G √ (if a valid cognate) is likely to go back to a coalescence of several ancient roots, whence the other meanings of **tar-**: 'führen, bringen, tragen' (× N ***taR**Ν 'to drag, to pull'), 'fahren, reiten' || **U:** FV ***tora(-ks**Ν) 'across (quer)' > pLp {Lr.} ***tɔrēs** id., 'transversal (querliegend)' > Lp: N {N} **doares**, S {Hs.} **doåres**, L {LLO} **tårēs**, Kld {SaR} түэресь түрөш 'across' ('querüber') || pMr {Ker.} ***tūrъ-ks** > Er **troks**, turks, Mk **tɔrks** 'through, across' || Chr: L **төрөш тө'reš**, H {Ep.} **торэш** 'across', H {Rm.} 'toreš 'die Breite; quer über' ¶ UEW 799, Lr. #1281, Lgc. #7973, Hs. 445, SaR 363, Ker. II 171, Rm. BT 148, MRS 582, Ü 207, Ep. 119 || **D** ***tūr-** ({‡GS} ***t-**) v. 'enter, penetrate (a hole)' (× N ***duri** 'go, walk??') > Tm NA **tūr** v. 'enter', Kn **tūru** v. 'enter, enter a hole as a mouse, go through a hole or eye as a thread, penetrate, pierce', Tl **tūru** ~ **dūru** to enter, penetrate', Gnd **turrv-** v. 'thrust into', **dorrānā** v. 'penetrate', Ku **dūh-** v. 'pierce, go right through', Krx **turd-** v. 'pass through a narrow aperture, fall through a hole, ooze out', Mlt **tuθr-kate** v. 'pass through a place, pass through (as an arrow)' §§ D #3399(a) || **HS:** AdS of Dhl {EEN} **tar-** v. 'pierce, spear' (< N ***tūR**Ν or ***tuRE** 'pierce') ¶ E SC 169 [#7], EEN 8 ◇ IS MS 357 (***tur**Ν 'протыкать'), IS SS 321 (in both papers A is equated with D) ◇ The N lrs.\uvulars yielding Ht h are ***h**, ***x**, ***y**, ***g**, and ***q**. If both the K and the Ht cognates are valid, the only possible N lr. is ***h** (that yields zero in K), and subsequently D *-**z-** (the reg. reflex of the N intervocalic *-**r-**) points to the presence of a N vw. after *-**r-** ◇ Cf. also N ***tURK**Ν 'pierce through; through' (any etymological connection?) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #124 (***teru** 'edge') (IE {WP, P} ***ter-mn** 'Grenzpfahl' [obviously derived

from *ter- 'hinübergelangen', cf. P 1074-5] \div err. FU *terä 'cutting edge' and A *t'erpo 'big cutting instrument' \div J and Gil).

2425. *tar^riH¹Δ 'open, bald' > **U:** FU *tarΔ(-) 'open' ('öffnen, offen') > Chr: H tara-š {Ep.} vt. 'move apart', {Rm.} taraš 'ausbreiten, auseinander sperren', {MRS} 'tara-š id., vt. 'to separate, to move away', L то'раш id., то'ра 'far away', 'far' adj., E {Ps.} tora 'weit, fern' || Prm *tar- > Z Le {SZ} taral- 'open wide (one's eyes), stare' || Hg † tár 'open', tár- v. 'open' ¶ UEW 51O, SZ 365, LG 278, MF 614-5, MRS 563, 581-2, Ep. 115, Rm. BTS 142, PsS 143 || **A** *t'ařΔ 'bald', 'not covered with vegetation' > T *t'ař- 'bald', 'not covered with hair\vegetation' > OT taz ({Cl.} tāz) 'bald', Chg, MQp taz, OOsM XIV daz id., Tk daz 'bald, balding', 'not covered with vegetation' (land), 'arid argillaceous land without vegetation (такыр)', Az daz, Kr taz, StAlt, Xk tas 'bald, balding; bald spot', Tv t'as 'bald, balding, not covered with vegetation', {TvR} дазыр d_azir, {IS} d_ázir 'land without vegetation, VTt, Nog, Qq, ET taz, Bsh tað, Uz taz 'tetter, scabby', Qzq id., 'bald', Slr taz 'bald-headed man'; T \rightarrow Kl {Rm.} tar 'glatzig, kahl, schlecht behaart' ¶ IS AD 41 [#5], Cl. 57O ¶ IS AD 5O, Rs. W 467, TL 671-2, TrR 212, TvR 143, 4O8, Hü. 95, BT 144, BIG 22O, TatR 5O8, MM 327, Nj. 274, UzR 44O, Tn. SJ 5O6, KW 38O, ADb. Ttd 58 [#1] (assumes that there may be a neutralization of *t' \leftrightarrow *t in *CΔz-roots) || M *taraqay 'bald' > MM [HI] {Lew.} taraxaj, {Ms.} taraqaj 'bald', [IM] {Pp.} taryay, 'balding, bald', [MA] {Pp.} tarayaj 'tetter, scab', WrM {Kow., Gl.} taraqai 'galeux, mangy (шелудивый)'; M \rightarrow Yk taraqay 'bald, balding' \rightarrow Ewk tarayay id. ¶ KW 38O, Lew. II 77, Ms. H 99, Pp. MA 341, 447, Kow. 1663, Gl. III 75, STM II 164 || pKo {S} *t̥aj- > NKo tä-məri 'a bald head' ¶ S QK #848, MLC 426 ¶ ~ DQA #2352 (A *t'erø 'bald', including T, M, Ko) || **D** (in SD) *tar- ({§GS} *t-) 'bald' > Tm tarai v. 'be(come) bald', Kt tarv- '(head) becomes bald', Td tar- v. 'become bald', tar mað 'bald head', Kn tarata, tarata, taratu 'baldness; bald'; D \rightarrow Mrt tarṭe 'baldness' ¶ D #3145 ◇ D *-r- points to a N intervoc. *-r-. T *-r- is probably from *-ry- < N *-riH- ◇ IS MS 347 лысый ṭarə, IS SS 318 [#1.19] (A [T, M], D), ≠ BmK 298-3OO (an unc. attempt to equate FU tara- v. 'open' with roots of other lgs., such as IE *st_ler- v. 'spread', S ✓ wtr v. 'stretch', Tm tarr- v. 'winnow', M tara-, and Sum tar v. 'disperse'; cp. N *tar^rXΔ 'throw, disperse, scatter').

2426. *tar₁Δ₁H¹Δ 'delicate, thin' > **IE:** NaIE *ter-, *teru- 'delicate, weak' > Gk τέρην 'smooth, soft, delicate', Gk [Hs.] τέρυν άσθενές, λεπτόν

({F} 'zart, schwach') || Sbn **terenum** ntr. 'soft' and possibly L **tener** 'tender, delicate, soft' (mt. induced by **tenuis** 'thin') § P 1070-1, F II 879, 883, WH II 665, Pln. II 80, 593, 724, ≠ EI 490 || A: NaT *t_lär 'narrow (eng, schmal)' (← 'thin') > OT {Cl.} tār 'narrow, constricted, confined', Tk dār, Tkm dār, Δ tār 'narrow', Az, Ggz, XT dar, ET ta(r), Uz tōp tar, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk tar, Yk tār, tuōr, Xlj {DT} tār, Tv tār, Tf d_ar 'narrow (eng, schmal)' § IS AD 41 [#13], Cl. 528, Rs. W 463, Rl. III 835-6, Ra. 169, DT 197, ADb. Ttd 61 || D *tār- ({§GS} *t-) v. 'be thin\lean' > Ml tāruka v. 'become thin, droop', Kt targ aṛ- v. 'become lean' (aṛ- v. is 'happen'), Td tox- v. 'become lean\slender', Kn {Km.} tāru v. 'wither, become emaciated', Tu targodæ 'leanness', ? taruntu v. 'shriveled', OTl {Km.} tāru v. 'diminish, be reduced', Tl {BE} tāru ~ tāru v. 'fall away in flesh, become lean' §§ D #3192, Km. 388 [#592] ◇ The long vw. in T suggests the presence of some additional element in the N word. It was most probably a lr. The loss of the lr. in the NaIE cognate is due to its prevocalic position. D *-r- (from the N intervoc. *-r-) points to a vw. between N *r and *H. It is quite possible that the N words *tɔr?ν 'fresh, new, young, young animal, child' and *tar₁ν, H^ū are etymologically connected (if the difference between vowels of the first syll. can be explained away) ◇ Blz. SNE 243 [#10] (equates IE *ter- with the S and FU representatives of N *tɔr?ν '↑'), ≠ BmK 280 (IE *ter-, Eg {Budge} *tr v. 'be weak' [actually tr 'sth. bad, polluted' and tryt 'Schlechtes, Böses', F EG V 317]).

2427. ₂*tūrHä 'to bore, to drill' > IE *terH- / *treH- id. > NaIE *terə- / *trē- id. > Gk τέτρημι, τιτράω, τετραίνω 'bore through, perforate', ft. τρήσω; τρητός 'perforated, with a hole in it', τρῆμα 'hole', τερέω (aor. έτορε) 'bore through, pierce', τόρμος 'hole' || +exts.: [1] *truH-p- > Gk τρύπα 'bore, pierce through', τρύπη 'hole'; [2] ? pGmc *θr-el- > MLG, MHG, NHG drilien 'bohren' § P 1071-4, F II 885, 937, EWA II 604-5, KM 143 || D: *tura ({§GS} *t-) v. 'bore, drill' > Tm tura v. 'tunnel, bore', turuvu v. 'bore, drill', Kn turi, turuvu v. 'hollow, bore, drill', Tu turipini, turipuni, turupuni v. 'bore, perforate', Kui trupka (< *truk-p-) v. 'bore, pierce', Krx tūr- v. 'pierce through, perforate' §§ D #3339 ◇ In the light of the D cognate it can be supposed that IE *terH- goes back probably to pre-IE **teyrH- (see Introduction, 2.4, AD NGIE, and AD NVIE). IE *truH-p- is likely to go back to pre-IE **turH-p- (mt.) ◇ Qu., because it is hard to be

distinguished from para- and homonymic words or roots with rather similar meanings (such as N ***tüRΝ** or ***tuRE** 'pierce'). An alt. tentative comparison: OHG **derh** (< IE ^o*t[̄]rk̄k?) ÷ S: Ar **ṭarq** 'coup', ✓ **ṭrq G** 'frapper' (BK II 75-7).

2427a. ***ṭōrXΝ** 'long, large, far' > **HS** **S** *°✓ **ṭrh** > Ar **ṭarah-** 'remote place, lieu éloigné', adj. **ṭarah-** 'éloigné', **ṭirh-** 'endroit éloigné', **mitrah-** 'long' (of a spear, bois de la lance) ¶ BK II 67-8, Hv. 428-9 || LEC {Bl.} ***der-** ~ ***đer-** 'long, tall' > Af **der-**, Sml **đér**, Or **đér-a?**, Kns, Gdl **đer-**, Rn **đér**, Arr **đér-á** (f. **đér-í**) id., Kns **đér-a** 'tall person', Sml. **đer-ād-** 'become long\tall', **đer-er-** 'length', Elm **đér-ida**, Dsn **đer** 'long, tall, deep' ¶ Bl. 109, 314, To. DL 494, PG 93, Hw. A 354 || **A:** M ***turug** > MM [S] {H} **turuh** 'far', WrM **turug**, HlM **tyraғ** 'size, breadth, height', 'big, huge' (of animals) ¶ H 155, MED 844 || T {Cl.} ****tur-** → [1] T ***turk** 'the length (of sth.)' > OT {Cl.} **turq** id., Qz **türqi** 'length', Qrg **turq** 'length (of sth.)', Tv **durgu** 'the whole' (of time) (e.g. **ertem durgu** 'the whole evening'), Tf **durhu** 'the whole' (of time), 'distance (equal to ...)', Chv **tъrъkъ** 'environs, along', 'piece of linen at full length (холст во всю длину)'] [2] Tv **durt** 'length' ¶ Cl. 537, Ra. 176, Jud. 769, TvR 184 || **D:** ***tōra** > Kn **tōra** 'bigness, largeness', **tōritu** 'that which is big', **tōrida** 'a big man', Tl **tōramu** 'thick, stout, large', Tu **tōra** id.; stoutness, thickness', Kui **trōžav** v. 'grow in body' ¶ D #3557.

2428. ***tar₁Ν, y i** 'to rub' > **HS**: S *°✓ **ṭrr** ~ (?) *°✓ **ṭry** > Ar ✓ **ṭrr** vt. G 'whet (a knife)'; ? Ak **ṭerū** 'einreiben, massieren; tief eindringen'; this Ak verb belongs here only if the primary meaning is 'rub in' rather than 'tief eindringen' ¶ Sd. 1388, BK II 64, Hv. 428 || **IE:** NaIE ***teri-/*trej-** ~ ***ter-** v. 'rub' > Gk **τείρω** v. 'rub hard', **τρέψω** v. 'rub' || L **terō**, -**ěre** (pfc. **trīvi**, sup. **trītum**) 'rub, wear away' || Clt: Brtt {RE} ***terāwīmi** 'rub' > OBr **toreusit** (3s p. of ***toraу** 'to rub'), Br **taravat** 'to rub (trotter)', ?σ MW **tereu** (3s **tery**), W **taro** 'to hit' || Sl ***ter-ti** / 1s prs. ***ṭbr-q** v. 'rub' > ChS **тρѣти** **trě-ti** / **търж** **ṭbr-q**, R **тѣреть** / **тру**, P **trzeć** / **trę**, OCz **tr̄ieti**, Cz **tr̄iti** / **tru** ~ **tr̄u**, SCr **tr̄ti** / **trēm** ~ **tärēm** id. | Lt **trinti** / **trinu**, Ltv **trīt** / **trinu** ~ **trinu** v. 'rub' ||| NaIE ***treu₁H**- 'rub' > Gk **τρύω** 'rub out, wear out' || ChS {Mikl., Srz.} **трытн** **tr̄ti** 'τρύειν, to rub' ¶ P 1071-2 (does not distinguish this ✓ from IE ***terə-** v. 'bour, drill' < N ***ṭurHä** 'to bore, to drill'), EI 490 (***ter(i)-** 'rub, turn', ***treu₁H-** 'rub away, wear away'), F II 865, WH II 472-3, RE 124, Frn. 1124-5, Vs. IV 47, Glh.

641, Mikl. L 1OO8, Srz. III 1O15 || A **t'ar*▽- v. 'scratch' > T **t_L'ara-* v. 'comb, rake' > OT {Cl.} *tara-* v. 'comb (the hair, etc.)', Osm {Rh.} طرافق *tara-(maq)* v. 'comb, hackle, rake, harrow', Tk *tara-* vt. 'comb, hackle, card, rake', Ggz, Qrg, QK *tara-*, Az, XT *dara-* v. 'comb, rake', Tkm *dara-*, VTt, Bsh, Qmq, Nog, Qq *tara-*, Tv, Tf {AdB.} *d_Lira-*, Chv L түра- *tura-* v. 'comb, hackle', Qzq, Kr, StAlt, Uz, Xk *tara-*, Slr X {Tn.} *t'arā-*, ET *tari-*, Yk *tarā-* v. 'comb', Slr Ul *tari-* vt. 'rake (убирать граблями)'; ⇨ **t_L'argak* 'a comb, a hackle' (Cl.: ← 'constantly combing') > OT/MQp {Cl.} *taraq*, Chg {Cl.} *taray* ~ *taraq*, MT XIV [IM] *taraq* ~ *daraq*, OXwT *taryaq*, ET *taryaq* ~ *taq*, StAlt *taraq*, Yk *tarāx* 'a comb', Osm {Rh.} طرافق *taraq* 'a comb, a rake, a hackle', Tk *tarak* 'a comb, a rake', Ggz *tarak*, Az *дараг* *daraq*, Tkm *daraq*, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qq, QK *taraq*, Kr *taraq* ↗ *tarax* ↗ *tarak*, Chv L түра *tura* 'a comb, a hackle', Qmq *taraq* id., 'harrow', ?σ Az Nx *tarax*, Slr A *tarax* 'wooden comb', Qzq *taraq*, Qmn *taraq* ~ *daraq*, Uz *taraq*, Xk *taryax*, Tv, Tf *d_Liryaq* 'a comb', Qrg *taraq* 'weitzähniger Kamm', at *taraq* 'horse-comb', Yk *tarāx* n. 'comb, harrow'; (× T **t'irmaq* 'harrow'): ET *tarmaq* n. 'harrow' (× *tarmaq* 'twig'), Xk *tarbas-ta-* v. 'harrow; rake (hay)' ¶ The vw. *-I- in Tv and Tf is due to the infl. of the reflexes of T **tirjaq* 'fingernail, claw' (> Tv, Tf *d_Liryaq* id.) ¶ In some lgs. there may have been mutual infl. of this root and pT **t_L'ara-* v. 'seed, till (the soil)' ¶ IS AD 41 [#19], Cl. 532, 539, TL 465-8, Rl. III 837, Rh. 1235, TrR 827-8, GRM 459, Hüs. 98, AzDDL 372, TkR 246, Tn. SJ 5O2, Ra. 179, TvR 194-5, TatR 517-8, BR 5O7-8, KumRS 3O5, KRPS 514, MM 333, NogR 335, Jud. 7O6, BT 122, B DLT 2O2, B DK 251, UzR 4O7-9, BIG 218, Nj. 273-4, 278, Pek. 2564-8, Jeg. 259, Fed. II 25O-1, AdB. Ttd 63 [#19] (believes that t- in Tk *tara-* is due to the infl. of *tarak* and reconstructs the verb as **t'ara-*) || M **tarmu-* d. v. 'rake, (←) to scratch' > WrM *tarmu-* {Kow.} 'entasser le foin en râtelant', {MED} v. 'rake (as hay)', HlM, Brt тарма- id., Kl Ö {Rm.} *tarma-* 'kratzen, zusammenraffen' ¶ MED 781, KW 381, Gl. III 87, Chr. 415, Kow. 1681 || D: [1] D **tar-* {§GS} **t-* v. 'rub two pieces of wood for fire, (→) churn (as buttermilk)' > OTl *tar(u)cu*, traccu 'rub two pieces of wood for fire, churn', Tl *tari-* adj. 'pertaining to churning', Prj *terib-* / *terit-* v. 'churn' ¶ D #3O95, Km. 378 [#541] | [2] (in SD) **taṛ-* {§GS} **t-* v. 'rub, abrade, wear away' > Ml *tarayukā*, Kn *tałe* v. 'be worn out, rubbed (as a rope)', Ml *tarękkā* v. 'rub down, grind (as sandal)', Tu

tarepuni v. 'grind, rub', **tareyuni**, **tarevuni** v. 'be rubbed off, abrade, wear away', Δ **ta]epuña** v. 'rub' ¶ D #3114 ¶ The origin of *-ṛ- of the latter D √ and the relation between both D roots are still to be investigated. It may be supposed that here D *-ṛ- goes back to **-ṛy- < N *-ṛ₁Ν₂y-, while in another (accentual?) context N *-ṛ₁Ν₂y- gave rise to D *-r- ◇ IS MS 368 (***tarə** 'rub' > IE, A [M, T], D, S) → BmK 279 (IE, D + *÷ Sum **tar** v. 'be distressed, troubled') and 300 (D- A).

2429. ***ṭir₁y₂Ν** 'to turn, to bend, to twist' (trans.) > **HS:** B *✓**đrn** (×N ***ṭü|urí** 'to turn round, to surround, to enclose') > Ah, ETwl, Ty **əđrən** '(se) tourner, changer de direction; tordre', Fgg **đrən** 'renverser', Gd **ɛđrən** id., 'retourner', Wrg **əđrən** 'retourner, se retourner sens dessus dessous; virer, renverser, Mz **əđrən** '(se) tourner, changer de direction', Izd **mđərṛa** 'se retourner' ¶ Fc. 285, GhA 33, Lf. II #O357, Dlh. Ou 67, Dlh. M 41, NZ 487-9 || ?σ S: Ar ✓**ṭryṇ** (pf. **ṭaryana**) 'être mêlé, brouillé, être en confusion; être troublé' ¶ BK II 80 || ? C: Ag: Bln {R} **terir-** 'sich drehen' || ? ECh (partially ×N ***ṭü|urí** '↑'): EDng {Fd.} **türkù** 'palissade en paille tressée (entourant l'enclos familial)', Jg {J} **tork** 'Zaun' / pl. **torage** (=σ: R **плетенъ** 'wattle-fence' ↔ **плести** 'plait, wattle'), Mgm {JA} **tórókó** 'clôture de la case', as well as possibly Bdy {AlJ} **tírpò** (pl. **tíráp**) 'ē palissade' and Mgm {JA} **tírpò** (pl. **térrèppì**) 'clôture, haie' ¶ J J 117, J LM 188, JA 130, Fd. 172, AlJ 120 || **K:** G {Chx.} **ṭrial-** 'sich (im Kreis) drehen', **ṭrial-i** 'Drehung, Umdrehung' ¶ Chx. 1362-6, DCh. 1226 || **IE** ***ter-**, ***ter-kʷ-** 'turn (round)': [1] NaIE ***ter-** > Gk **κυκλο-τερῆς** 'made round by turning', **τόρνος** 'carpenter's tool for drawing a circle' (→ L **tornus** id. → L **tornā-** 'turn in a lathe, make round' > LtL **tornā-** v. 'turn') || L **teres**, -**etis** 'rounded, well-turned, {WH} 'länglichrund, glattrund' (× IE ***ter-** 'reiben' through the semantic interpretation of the word as 'glattgerieben'? - F P 1071) || OSx **thrāian**, OHG **drāen**, NHG **drehen**, MDt **draeyen**, Dt **draaien** 'to turn, to rotate', AS **đrāwan** 'to twist' || Clt: W, Crn, Br **tro n.** 'turn', → : W **troi**, OBr **tro(u)-im**, MBr **treiff**, **troeff**, Br **treiñ** 'to turn'] [2] IE ***ter-kʷ-** > L **torquē-** vt. 'twist, wind, wrench' || Gk **ἄτρακτος** 'spindle' || OI **tar'kuh̄** id., **nīš-ṭar'kyā-** 'aufdrehbar' (✓ **tar k-** 'drehen') || AS **đræstan** 'turn, twist, writhe' || Pru **tarkue** 'Riemen zum Binden am Pferdegeschirr' | Sl ***torkъ** > OR **торокъ** **torokъ**, R, Uk **торок** 'strap behind the saddle for fastening load', SCr, Sln **trāk** 'strip, ribbon, strap', Blg † **трак**, Cz †, Slk **trak** 'strap',

P troki 'straps' ||| pAl {O} *terka > Al tjerr (aor. 'torra), Al {Kf.} tierr ~ tier ~ tir (aor. tora) v. 'spin' ||| Tc B tärk- 'twist around' || ?σ Ht tarku- v. 'dance' (if from vi. 'turn, se tourner', as suggested by Bn., rather than akin to Gk τρέχω 'run', as supposed by Lar.) ¶ P 1071-2, EI 572 (*terk(ʷ)- 'twist'), FI 18O and II 44, 913-4, WH II 67O, 692-4, RE 141 (Brīt *trogimī 'turn'), Kb. 164, EWA II 747-5O, Ho. 368, Ho. S 78, Vr. N 131, M K I 485, M EI 633, Tr. 314, En. 263, Vs. IV 85, Srz. III 982, Glh. 635, Ma. CS 533, O 457, Kf. 355, Ç II 184-5, 47O, Wn. 503, Ad. 294-5, Ts. E III 178-8O, Bn. HI 125 ||| D {Pf.} *tīr- / *tir-▽ ({θGS} *t-) > Tm tiri v. 'turn, revolve, be twisted', Ml tiri 'a turn, twist, wick', tiriγukā v. 'turn round', Kt tiry- v. 'change in nature for the worst', tīrg- vi. 'turn, return', Td tīry- vt. 'twist', tīrx- vi. 'turn', Kn tiri v. 'turn round', Kdg tīr- id., Tu tīrhguni v. 'turn, revert, revolve', Tl tiri 'a twist, turn', Klm, Nkr tīrg- vi. 'turn, wander', Png tīrk- v. 'writhe', Gnd tiri- v. 'revolve', Knd tiri- v. 'be twisted', Ku tīrvali v. 'turn round', Krx tīr- v. 'turn on one's heels', teram- v. 'roll up' ¶ D #3246, Pf. 32 [#153] ¶ D *-r- (rather than *-r-) points to a N cns. cluster, e.g. *-ry- (as suggested by Ar √tryn and G trial-) || ?σ A *t'ir... 'elbow' > T {Md.} *t'irs(g)ek ~ (× *tīr 'knee') tīrse 'elbow' > NaT *t'irsgä;k 'elbow' > OT {Cl.} tīrsgäk ↗ {ADb.} tīrsäk, MQp tīrsäk ~ dīrsäk, XwT, Chg tīrsäk, Tkm tīrθek, Nog, Qq, Qmq tīrsek, ET Δ tīrsäk, Uz tīrsak, VTb tīrsäk, Bsh tīrhäk, Tk dīrsek, Ggz dīrsek, XT dīrsek, Xlj {DT} tīrsäk, Az dīrsäk 'elbow', Az Qb dīrsäk 'camel's hump', Slr tūssäk ~ tūssix 'elbow, knee', Qzq tīpcēk tīrsek {MM} 'shin', {IL} 'knee, inner side of the knee', Kü tīrsäk 'Kniekehle', Qrg tīrsek 'achilles tendon (tendo calcaneus)', Xk tīrsek 'knee of the hind leg'; (× NaT *tīz < *tūr 'knee' < N *tūs▽r▽ '[part of] leg' ['calf of leg', 'thigh', 'knee'?]): Tv dīskek, Tf {Md.} tīskek 'knee' ||| Chv čavsa ↗ čavsavay ↗ časa 'elbow' ({Md.} < T *tīrse) (on the phonetic pre-history of čavsa see ADb. SR 166; it may be connected with pT ascending diphthongs, see above Introduction, § 2.4.1) ¶ T {Md.} *t'irs(g)ek with *r (rather than *r̄ because of the precons. position [Hl.'s rule]) ¶ Cl. 553, Rs. W 481, TL 247-9, ADb. SR 47, 165-9, 198-9, Sht. 21O, Hüs. 11O, AzDDL 192, MM 362, Jud. 738, DT 205, Tn. SJ 527, KumRS 317, Rl. III 1377, Ash. XV 125, 16O, Md. 77, 83, 179, ≈ Jeg. 362 || Tg: [1] acc. to ADb., Tg *tījaki 'muscles of the forearm (antebrachium) and shin' > Ewk tījaki ↗ čījaki 'calf (sura), muscle of the calf', Lm tījūql 'muscle, biceps; calf

(sura)', Orc *tižaki* 'calves of the legs', Ud *težä?i*, Ul *čiža-pan*, Nn Nh *čižakči* 'calf (sura)' ¶ STM II 176] [2] ? Tg *°çirak (< **tirak) 'span' > Ewk çirak id. ('пядь') ¶ STM II 399 ¶ ADb. SR 311 ◇ D *-r- (rather than *-r-) points to a N cns. cluster, e.g. *-ry- (as suggested by Ar ✓tryn and G trial-).

2430. *tUr₁ṇ₂yṇ 'litter, dirt, dust' > HS: S *°✓trym 'spoiled water' > Ar ✓trym D 'être gâtée, puante (eau)' ¶ BK II 80 || Ch: WCh: pNrBc {Stl.} *t^rṇ₁ṇ₂r- 'dirt' > My {Sk.} tīrī, Kry {Sk.} túrkù || ECh: Ke {Eb.} tárwá, Ll {Grgs.} tirwé id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 253 [#71], Sk. NB 18, Eb. 98 || SC: Irq {MQK} tēri, {E} teri 'dust', SC → Mb itéri 'dust' ¶ E SC 17O, MQK 1OO || K *m-twer- 'dust' > OG m̄tuer- 'dust, ashes', G m̄tver- 'dust, whirlwind of dust', Mg tver- 'dust', Lz m̄tver- 'dust, ashes', ? Sv {K ← ?} t̄wi- 'earth' ¶ K² 126, FS 223, E 244-5, ≈ K 138 || A: Tg: WrMc toron {Z} 'dust (raised by the wind, or by walking people, animals, vehicles)', {Hr.} 'aufgewirbelter Staub' ¶ Z 743, Hr. 918 || IE: NaIE *(s)ter- 'filth, filthy liquid', v. stain, dacay' ('unreine Flüssigkeit; besudeln; verwesen') (× N *č^ri^ru^rRṇ 'to soil, to stain; dirty' [q.v. ffd.] and possibly N *č^ri^rRkṇ 'pus, rotten\filthy liquid' [q.v.]) || D *tur-, *tur-k- ({GS} *t-) 'rubbish, bits of straw' (× N *t̄ox|qūryṇ or *t̄Ux|q̄rṇ 'dirt; be dirty') > Tm turumpu 'bits of straw, refuse stalks as of sugar-cane', turāl 'rubbish of dry leaves', Ml turumpu 'straw, awn', Tu turumbu 'chaff, {BhK} 'chaff and waste', Tl tukku, tukkuđu, Prj turri, Knd turj 'rubbish', Gdb tur 'weed, grass', Gnd tog 'dust, rubbish', Kui turki 'refuse heap, manure', Ku truki ↗ turki 'refuse' ¶ D #3346 ◇ K² 126 equates GZ *m̄twer- 'dust, whirlwind of dust' with IE *twer-/ *tur- 'turn, whirl' (P 11OO).

2431. *tūryṇ ~ *tūryE or *tūrṇ ~ *tūrE 'row, line; to string' > HS: [1] S *tūr- ~ *turr- ~ *tawr- 'row, (?) band' > BHb טוֹר tūr 'row (of building-stones, of jewels, etc.)', Ak tūrru 'Band, Knoten', ? Ar tawr- 'a time (vicis, fois)' (tawran baṣda tawrin 'une fois après l'autre'), ? Mh/Hrs tawr 'a time, once', ? Mh mən tawr 'sometimes', BHb טוֹרִים tūr-īm 'course, row' (× N *tūluři 'turn round, surround' [q.v.]) || [2] with de-emphatization: S *turr- 'a string; turn, order' > BHb תּוֹר ~ tōr (pl. tōrīm, pl. cs. tōrē) 'string (of pearls, of pieces of gold\silver)', 'row', MHb tōr 'rope' ({Dlm.} 'Schnur, Seil)', 'turn, order', Ug tr {KB ← DL} 'Band' (tr ḡars w šmm 'Band

der Erde und des Himmels'), {OLS} 'timón, tiro (de carro)', JA [Trg.] תְּרָא tō'r-ā 'rope', {Lv.} 'geflochtenes Seil', JEA תְּרָא tō'r-ā 'line, row', Ak турру 'Band, Knoten'; BHb *ṭī'rā (attested cs. בִּירָת ṭī'rat) 'encampment protected by a stone wall, row of stones (along the wall); wall coping, battlement' ¶ KB 357-8, 1575, KBR 373-4, GB 275, 874, A #28OO, DLS KTU 16 III 2, OLS 47O-1, Dlm. 44O, Js. 1656, Lv. T II 533, Sl. 1199, BDB #2905, BK II 118, Jo. M 413, Jo. H 131, Sd. 1397 (hyp.: Ak турру ~ турру ← Sum, but the opposite direction of the borrowing is more plausible) || IE: [1] NaIE *°tweryā > Gk σειρά, Gk Ep/I σειρή, Gk D σηρά 'cord, rope, string, band' (? × IE *twer- v. 'create, produce by plaiting, lay [a rope]' < N *ṭor'ū ~ *ṭor'yū 'bring\come into existence [create, make]' [q.v.])] [2] NaIE *°ster- 'stripe' (→ 'ray') > Ltv Δ {ME} stars 'schmaler Streifen; quer ausstehender Ast', Ltv star-s '(sun)ray, ray of light', bīkšu stara 'trouser-leg', Δ {ME} stara 'Strich, Strecke; Ast, Zinke' || Pokorny adduces Sl *strěla 'arrow' and other (mainly Gmc) words representing IE *strēl-, *strēm-, *streyb-, etc. and meaning 'arrow, 'ray', 'stripe', which is highly qu. ¶ F II 687, ≠ P 11O1, P 1O28-9, ME III 1O45, 1O47, Kar. II 286-7 (does not indicate any plausible cognates of Ltv stars, stara within IE) || A *°tūr̥Δ ~ *°tuřE > T *tūr-~*tīr- vt. 'string (aufreihen, нанизывать), thread (a needle)' > OT tiz- v. 'string (beads), arrange in a row', Chg ≥xv tiz- ~ tüz- id., MQp xv tiz- نظم (arrange in order?), Tk düz- 'arrange', dīz- vt. 'string', Az düz-, CrTt, Qry, Nog tīz-, Qzq тіз- тīz-, Alt tīs-, Xk tīs- ~ čīs-, Ln tez- ~ tüz-, Tv дис- dīs-, Tf dīs- v. 'string', Tkm düz- id., 'fix (meat) upon a spit', Yk tīs- v. 'thread a needle', Chv tīr- id., v. 'string', Qmq tüz- 'arrange in a row', VTt тез- тьз-, Bsh тъδ-, ET, Uz tīz- id., v. 'string' ¶ Cl. 572, DTS 564, IS AD 39, ET VGD 218-2O, Ra. 173, Jeg. 252, Rs. W 482, Ash. XIV 62-3, Jeg. 252, Fed. II 235, BIG 319, ADb. Ttd 59 [#6] ¶ All proposed inter-Altaic comparisons of this T root (with MKo čīri-tá 'go the direct way' [S AJ 13, DQA #247], M *čīr- 'straight' [DQA #247], and M *dürü- 'put\stick into, insert' [IS AD 47]) are semantically unreliable. The loss of tenseness in the T initial cns. (*t̥- for the expected *t̄-) is still puzzling (infl. of some other T root or N word [e.g. N *tūRΔ or *tuRE 'to pierce, stick into', whence 'to thread a needle']?) ◇ Qu., because the T √ is ambiguous and both IE recs. are based on one attested lge. each.

2431a. ₂ *t̥N R₁ N₂ b₃ 'inside of the body, belly' > HS: CS *✓trb > Ar tarīb- 'chest', tarīb-(at-) {Ln.} 'part of the breast which is the place of

the collar\necklace', tarība-t- {Hv.} 'uppermost part of the human breast; ribs', Aram (x S *θ̥r̥b- > Ar {BK} θ̥arb- 'saindoux, axonge', {Hv.} θ̥irb- 'fat of the intestines'): JA {Trg.} תְּרִיבָה tə'rab ~ tə'rēb / תְּרַבָּה tar'bā, JEA תְּרַבָּה tar'bā, Sr תְּרַבָּה tar'bā 'abdominal fat' ¶ Ln. 3O1, 334, BK I 195, 221, Hv. 58, 68, Js. 1694, Lv. T II 557, Sl. 123O-1, Br. 833-4 || IE: NaIE *°terb^h- > Sl *terb-/*tr̥b- > Uk тereб, Scr tr̥ba 'belly', SCr tr̥bonja 'a pot-bellied person'; (with the sx. *-uxъ ~ *-uxa): Sl *tr̥buxъ 'entrails (esp. as food)' > RChS τρεπούχъ trebuxъ, Blg търбух, Sln tr̥buх, Cz terboch, P trybuch, terbuch, R требуха, Uk трибух id., SCr tr̥buх id., 'belly', R Δ τρεβυχ 'glutton' ¶ Vs. IV 96, Glh. 637.

2432. *t̥iRga 'force, strength, effort' > HS: S *°✓tr̥g (de-emphatization *t̥ > *t) > Ar تَرِيج̥ tariğ- 'violent, fort' (wind), 'fort, robuste' (person) ¶ Fr. I 188, BK I 195 || IE: NaIE *treg- v. 'be strong, apply force\violence' (for **treg^h- due to the pre-IE incompatibility law ruling out emph. + vd. cns. in the same ✓) > OIr tracht 'force, Stärke', trén (< *treg-s-no-) 'strong', W trech 'stronger', Br trec'h 'winner' || ON {Vr.} þrekr, þrek 'Kraft, Stärke, Ausdauer', þreka 'drängen, drücken', AS {Ho.} ȝrēce 'violence', ȝracu 'pressure, force, violence', OSx wāpan-thrēki {Ho.} 'Kraft', {P} Waffentüchtigkeit || Ltv {ME} treksne 'Schlag, Stoß' ¶ WP I 755, P 1O9O, Vn. T 121, 235-6, Vr. 62O, ME IV 23O, Ho. 367-9, Sw. 183, Ho. S 78-9, 83 || U: FU (att. in ObU) *°ti;₁r^Δ > pObU {Ht.} *t̥ir '≈ force, violence' > pVg *t̥ir > Vg: N {Ht. after Mu.} tērēn 'erős (strong), kraftig', tērp id., P {MK} tēriŋ, K {MK} tērēn 'flink, schnell, wild' (Vg K tērēn vuot 'ein heftiger Wind', tērēn lū 'ein flinkes Pferd'), LK/MK {Ht. after Kn.} tērnæŋ̥ ēri 'Kriegslied', MK {WVD} teřer ({Kn.} tērēr) 'spirit' (esp. 'spirit of illness'); pOs *tärən 'evil spirit' > Os: V/Vy tärən, Ty/D/K/O tārən, Nz/Kz tarən id. ¶ The loss of N *g is still to be elucidated ¶ Ht. 189 [#643], MK 642, WVD VII 38O || A *°t̥igir^Δ (mt. from N *t̥iRga?) 'strong, firm' > M *čiširag 'strong, firm' > WrM cigirag ~ cigireg, HlM чийрэг, Brt шиираг 'strong, robust, powerful', Ord {Ms.} čīraq 'solide de corps', MnR H {T} čirag 'strong, firm', {SM} čīraq 'serré, qui ne lâche pas, sévère' ¶ MED 179, T 38O, SM 456.

2433. ₂ *t̥oRga 'hold, prop up' > IE: NaIE *derg^h- 'hold', {El} 'grasp' > YAv dr̥ag- (prs. dražaite, inf. drājanhe) v. 'hold, lead', KhS dr̥js-

'hold' || Gk δράσσομαι (ft. δράξομαι, pfc. δέδραγμαι), G A δράττομαι 'grasp, lay hold of' || Sl *dъržati 'to hold' > OCS Δρъжати drъžati, SCr držati, Sln držati, Cz držeti, Slk držat', P † dzierżec, R держать id., Blg държа I hold' || Arm տրցակ trčak 'bundle (of brushwood, etc.)' (< *dorgʰ-so-) ¶ EI 564 (? *dergʰ-), Brtl. 771, Bai. 164, ≈ FI 415, Bern. 258, ≈ P 254, ≈ ESSJ V 23O-1, ≈ Glh. 207, Xud. II 456 || A: Tg *torga- 'prop up, stretch; a prop' > Ewk turga-, Neg toyga-, Ork tu(d)da- vt. 'prop up', Nn toyga- id., 'draw a hunting cross-bow', Lm turgъ- vt. 'stretch (sth.), stretch a hide for drying', Ewk turga, Neg, Nn Nh toyga, Ul d. tužaqv 'a prop', Ud tuga, Nn Nh toyga 'hunting cross-bow' ¶ STM II 218-9 ¶ Cf. N *ter^{DN}K^{DN} '(=) tree, stick' ¶ ≠ DQA #2392 (Tg *turga- [i.e. *torga] < A *t'jor(g)e 'beam, support') ◇ IE *d...gʰ for *t...gʰ by the pre-IE incompatibility law (ruling out emph. cns. + vd. in one root) ◇ ≠ S NSShS #4 (Tg *turga- equated with K *dwire 'log, beam' and IE *derw- 'tree') ◇ Doubtful.

2434. *ter^{DN}K^{DN} '(=) tree, stick' > HS mt.: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} tákárwá 'long bamboo pole' ¶ Sch. DN 155 ¶ OS #2361 || U: FU {UEW} *tErkk^{DN} 'pine-tree' (= ?), {Coll.} tejirk^{DN} 'young fir-tree, pine-tree' > Chr: L тырке 'young pine-tree', B търке 'Fichte' || ObU *tērəy / *tēyər 'pine-tree' > pVg *tārəy > Vg: T tärəw, LK/UK täri (pl. täryət), P täriș, NV/SV/LL/ML täri, UL/Ss tarış id.; pOs *teyər ({ʃHl.} *tăyər) > Os: K/Kr/Sg texər id. ¶ UEW 54O, Coll. 119, Sm. 55O (FU, FP *tirkä, Ugr *tirkä 'fir'), Ht. #648, MRS 617, Ü 221 || A *t'er^{DN}k^{DN}- '≈ tree' > NaT *t'eräk 'poplar, tree' > OT {Cl.} teräk 'poplar', Tkm derek, Qq, Alt terek, VTt tiräk, Uz terak, ET teräk, Shor, Tv t'erek, Xk, Chv tirek id., Qzq, Qrg terek id., 'tree', Bsh tiräk 'black poplar', CrTt, QrB, Qmq, Nog terek, Qry térák & terak & terek 'tree', Tk direk, Ggz direk, Az diräk 'pole, post, pillar', Yk tiräx ~ täräx 'poplar', Δ tiräx 'aspen; fir (Abies)' ¶ Cl. 543, Rs. W 475, ET VGD 205-7, TL 105, 134, S AJ 194 [#203], KumRS 312, NogR 346, KrkR 636, Sht. 199, Nj. 343, UzR 425, BR 528, BT 148, Ml. ZhU 118, Pek. 2679, Jeg. 252-3, Fed. II 235, TvR 412 || Tg: WrMc terki(n) {Z} 'dais, platform, porch', {Hr.} 'Plattform, auf der die Halle steht; Freitreppe' (× ↛ terki '[hin]über-/[hin]auf-springen'); Mc ↛ Dg {T} terkin, {Pp.} terkiŋ 'dais, platform, stage' ¶ Z 73O, Hr. 9O4, T DgJ 167 ¶ Tg *turga- v. 'support, stretch', n. 'a prop' hardly belongs here (↔ DQA) for phonetic reasons and because its primary meaning is likely to be verbal (otherwise one cannot account for the meanings like Lm turgъ- vt. 'stretch, stretch hide for drying', Nn toyga-

v. 'support, draw a hunting cross-bow', etc., see N ***ṭoRga** 'hold, prop up') §§ ≈ DQA #2392 *t'jor(g)e 'support. beam', SDM97 (A *t'ör(g)e id. and *ter ∇ 'poplar, tree') ◇ ≈ S AJ 289 [#312] (A, IE).

2434a. $_2^2$ ***ṭURK ∇** 'pierce through; through' > **IE:** NaIE * $^{\circ}$ terk $_L^W_e$ -/*trk $_L^W_e$ - 'pierce through; through' > Gt þaírh, OHG durh, MHG, NHG durch, OSx thurh ~ thuru, AS ðurh ~ ðerh 'through', NE through; OHG ðerh 'pertusus, perforated' § P 1076, KM 148-9 || **A:** Tg: Ewk turkst 'through (durch und durch, *насквозь*)' § STM II 221.

2435. ($_2?$) ≈ *'**t'ar ∇ P ∇** , ~ *'**t'N ∇ P ∇ r ∇** 'to tie together' > **HS:** CS *✓tpr v. 'sew together' > BHb ✓tpr G id., JEA, JPA ✓tpr G 'sew' § KB 1637, Js. 1689, Sl. 1226, Sl. P 588 || WCh: Ngz t̄xfú v. 'hobble, fetter' § Sch. DN 153] ?? Ch ✓tr 'plait, sew' (× N ***ṭor'ü** - ***ṭor'yü** 'to bring\come into existence [create, make]', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ EC: Af {R} ✓trtr v. 'sew', Sa {R} ✓trtr v. 'sew, sew together' (Sa, Af: p. 3m i-'tirtire, prs. Sa a-'tirtire, imv. etir'tir, sbjn. Sa a-tar'tarō, Af a-tar'tarū) (× N ***ṭor'ü** - ***ṭor'yü** '↑?') § R S II 358, R A III 118, Clz. 134 || **IE:** Ht {Ts.} tarupp- 'sammeln, versammeln, zusammenflechten' § Frd. HW 217, Ts. E III 240-4 || ?φ, σ **D** *ta'r $^{\circ}$ ∇ - (§GS) *t-, *-d-) > Tl trādu 'cord, rope, thread', Klm ta·d 'rope', Nkr ta·r id. §§ D #3256 (connects it with Tm caratū 'twisted thread', Ml caratū 'cord', and Kt čard 'flat neckband') || ?φ **A** * $^{\circ}$ t'ara- > Tg *tarav. 'tie together' > Ewk tarā- 'tie together (pieces of cloth, *поскуты*)', U1 taragu- id., taraču- 'tie\stitch together' § STM II 167.

2436. ***ṭe'R ∇** 'devour, eat, be sated' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'enjoy') > **HS:** S: [1] CS *✓trp v. 'devour' (× S *✓trp 'tear, strike' [> Sr, JA, Md ✓trp id.]) > BHb ✓trp G (pf. ṭā'rap, ip. -ṭrop) v. 'devour', 'tear (its prey)' (of wild beasts), JPA ✓trp G id., BHb ✓trp Sh (pf. הטריף hit'rīp) v. 'make enjoy', Ar ✓trf G (pf. ḥarifa) 'dévorer les bords\les extrémités' (of a camel) (× d. from ḥarf- ~ ḥaraf- 'bord, extrémité') § KB 363-4, Js. 555-6, BK II 72, DM 182, Br. 290, JPS 172] [2] with de-emphatization: S * $^{\circ}$ ✓trp > Ar ✓trf G 'jouir du bien-être, vivre au sein de l'aisance et des délices' § BK I 197 || **K** * $^{\circ}$ trp- > G ṭrp-(oba) {DCh.} v. 'admire, be glad', {Chx., NCh.} v. 'love' § DCh. 1227, Chx. 1368, NCh. 380 || **IE:** NaIE *terp-/*trp-/*trep- v. 'be sated, rejoice', {El} id., 'take (to oneself)' > OI tarp-: 'trpyati 'satisfies himself, becomes sated, is pleased with', Av þrafs(a)ða 'befriedigt\ausreichend versehen', þrafs 'Zufriedenheit', ??σ: OI paśu-'trp- 'cattle-stealing', Av

trəfay- ~ *tarəp-* 'steal' || Gk τέρπομαι v. 'have full enjoyment of a thing, have enough of it; enjoy', τέρπω v. 'satisfy' || ? Blt: Pru {En.} *en-terpo* 'nützt', *en-terpon* 'useful', Lt *tar̄pti* 'to thrive', {Frn.} 'gedeihen, gesund werden', Ltv *tārpa*, *tērpa* 'Kraft' || Tc A, B *tsārw-* 'be confident, rejoice' ¶ P 1077-8, EI 500, Mn. 1387, M K I 524, M EI 634-5, MW 453, F II 881-2, Frn. 1062-3, En. 169, Ad. 731-2 || ?φ U: FP *ter ∇ v. 'feed' > Er/Mk *ṭra-*, *ṭíra-*, Er *ṭíra-* 'ernähren' | Prm *ter- > Z LL *t̄r̄st̄t̄-* v. 'eat' ¶ UEW 795, LG 284 ¶ The FU √ belongs here if the change from N *-RP- to F -r- is reg. ◇ AD GD 15, IS SS #1.13, IS MS 370 (*ṭ̄nṛp̄n̄ 'pleasure' > IE, S, K), ≠ BmK 302 (equates the K and S roots with IE *drep-/ *drop- v. 'scratch, pluck, tear') and 278-9 (the IE √ is equated with S *√ trp v. 'remain, be left' [with a later sd. in Ar √ trf 'live in opulence']).

2436a. (2?) *ṭ̄o'R'R ∇ 'to need, to suffer, to be moved (with sadness, [?] joy)' > HS: S *°√ ṭrb G > Ar √ ṭrb 'be sad, be moved (with sadness or joy)' ¶ BK II 65-6, Hv. 429 || ? C: Bj -terām pcv. (p. a-'trām, prs. atta'rīm) 'sich fretten, mit Not und Mühe sich das Leben erkämpfen', am-terām 'mitleiden', {Rop.} tar'mūma 'long-suffering, forgiveness' (× N *t ∇ r ∇ 'suffer, endure') ¶ R WBd 231-2, Rop. 245 || IE: NaIE *terp- 'suffer' > Gmc: ON þarf, OSx tharf, AS ðearf n. 'need, want (Mangel)', Gt þarba id. ('ניסיונם, נסירונם'), OHG dārba n. 'deficiency, lack; fasting, starving', ON þarfa 'nötig sein', þarfr 'necessary, needed' || Sl *trp̄eti 'to suffer, to endure suffering' > OCS тъпѣти trp̄eti 'to endure (suffering), to be patient', Slv trp̄eti, Slk trpiet', P cierpieć 'to suffer', Cz trp̄eti, R тेरпеть 'to suffer, to endure', Blg тъпна, търпя v. 'suffer' ¶ Vr. 606, 631-2, Ho. 361, Ho. S 77, Kb. 145, EWA II 536-40, Fs. 490, StSS 705 || ?σ A: T *t_l‘orp- > OT {Cl.} torpūn 'seeking', torpla- 'try to find out' ¶ Cl. 533-4.

2437. *ṭ̄ūRq ∇ 'firm, dense, strong' > HS: WS *√ ṭrk '≈ be\make strong, dense' > Ar √ ṭrq G 'densae una alteram tegente fuerunt (plumae avis)', 'être épais, bien fourni' (of bird's plumage), Gz √ ṭrk G v. 'fortify\strengthen, make tight', Amh ṭerrekē v. 'fasten with nails, reinforce with metal' ¶ Fr. III 51-2, BK II 75, L G 597 || K: G K/Kx *ṭrog-i 'sehr dick, groß und plump' ¶ Chx. 1367 || A: NaT *t'ürk {Dr.} 'strong', {Cl.} 'in the culminating point of maturity' > OT {Cl.} türk 'just fully ripe' (of a fruit), 'in the prime of life, young, vigorous' (of a

person), Qrg türk 'fat, in prime condition' (of a sheep), Chg {Rs.} türk 'tapfer und roh', MT XIII türk 'in the prime of life', Osm türk {Rh.} 'a beautiful\beloved, but cruel one', Xlj türk 'mighty, flourishing', Ggz {ADb.} türk, Az {ADb.} türkä 'a commoner' ¶ Cl. 542-3, Dr. TM II 888, Rs. W 506, Jud. 783, Rh. 536, DHST 307, ADb. Ttd 65.

2438. (2?) *t^ūR₃|z|^ū 'dry, dried up, hard' > IE *ters- > NaIE *ters- v. 'be dry, dry up (trocknen, verdorren), be thirsty', *t̥su-, *t̥so- 'dry' > OI 't̥syati 'thirsts', tr̥'ṣṭah̥ 'rough, harsh', tr̥'ṣuh̥ 'greedy, desirous', tr̥ṣā 'thirst', YAv taršu- 'dry', Av taršna- 'thirst', Psh. 't̥z̥aj̥ 'thirsty' || Gk τέρσομαι 'I become dry, dry up' || L torrē- v. 'burn\parch\dry up with heat\thirst' || Arm բառամ t̥ařam, բառշամ t̥ařšam 'fade, withered', բառամիմ t̥ařamim, բառշամիմ t̥ařšamim v. 'fade, wither' || pAl {O} *tarsya > Al ter vt. 'dry' || Gt gapaírsan, gapaúrsnan, ON þorna, OSx thorron, OHG dorrēn vi. 'to dry, to wither'; ON þorsti, OHG durst, NHG Durst, AS ðurst 'thirst', NE thurst; Gmc *θarzjan > Gt gapaírsan 'verdorren, ON þerra, AS āðierran vt. 'dry', OHG derren id., 'roast' || Ht tar̥s- vt. 'dry (trocknen, dörren), roast' ¶ P 1078-9, EI 170, M K I 524-5, M EI 635-6, Bai. 636, Mrg. 85, F II 882-3, WH II 694-5, Fs. 206, Vr. 609, 617-8, Ho. 365, 372, Kb. 151, 163, EWA II 605-7, 734-6, 877-9, KM 149, Slt. 154-5, O 452, Ts. E III 219-20 || HS: CS *✓trz > Ar ✓trz G (pf. tariza, ip. yatrizu ~ pf. tariza, ip. yatrazu) v. 'be hard' (flesh, meat), 'be dry\arid', JA [Trg.] תַּרְזָא tə'raz 'hard wood, wild oak' ¶ Fr. I 189, BK I 196, Hv. 58, Js. 1697, Lv. T II 559 || ?φ U: FV *turta- 'stiff, rigid (steif, starr)' > F turta (gen. turran) 'numb, benumbed', turtu- v. 'become numb, be benumbed, become stiff', Es turd 'half-dry (wood)', turdu- v. 'become half-dry' | Chr Uf/B turta-, H turta-ŋyā- v. 'harden, stiffen', {MRS} id., 'get stronger (крепнуть)' ¶ UEW 801, Ep. 122, MRS 602 ¶ The fate of N *ž and *ž in U is still to be investigated ◇ BmK 283 (IE, S + *÷ S and C words for 'dust', which belong to N *t̥lur̥, t̥yur̥ 'litter, dirt, dust' [q.v.]).

2439. *t̥Ar̥ 'entrails, liver' > HS: C ≈ *tir- 'liver' > EC *tir- id. > Sa {R} tiraw, Af tiro, Sml T tarāw, Sml J turuw, Bs toto, Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} tirū, Kns {BISO} tīrā, Arr {Hw.} tirá, Dsn číra, Hd/Kmb {C} tirō, Gln tīre ~ číre, Hr/Dbs {AMS} čīre, Cm {Hw.} tīr-e, Ged {Lm.} tiro ~ tīđo 'liver'; C → Mb {E} i-tirao id. ¶ AD SF 54, 203, Ss. PEC 11, Bl. 104, PH 199, Ss. B 104, Hw. A 397, Grg. 376, Sr. 393, Th. 319, BISO

s.v. *tírā*, AMS 255, To. DL 49O, Blz. CL 18O || Om: NrOm: Wl {LmS} *tiriya*, Malo {LmS} *tire*, Gm {Hw.} *tíre*, Dc *tire* 'liver' || SOm: Ari turi id. | ??? possibly NrOm words for 'chest': Wl {LmS} *tira*, Zs *tire*, Zi/Dwr/Gf {LmS} *tira*, Gm {Hw.} *tirá*, Dc {LmS} *tira* 'chest' ¶ LmS 523-4, Hw. EG s.v. 'chest' and 'liver', AD SF 54, 2O3 || WCh: SBc {Sh.} (cds.?): Plc *wà-tèra?*è, Kir K *f^wok-totok*, Kir L *h^wòk-turòk*, Kir Mn *f^wák-turák*, Ds Bn *f^zk-t^zr^zk*, Ds B *f^wák-tír^zk* 'liver' | ? P' {MSk.} *tirkwasa* 'kidney' ¶ ChC, ChL, StL. ZCh. 166 [#188], Sh. SB 26 || □ (+ext.) *taṛṇj- ~ *taṛakṇj- ({GS} *t-) 'liver, (?) internal organs' > Tu *taṇka* 'lungs, liver', Klm *tarṇguq*, Nkr *tarṇguṛ*, Nk *taŋ*, Prj *taṛung*, Gdb *taṛin* ~ *yaṇaŋil*, Gnd *taṛki* ~ *tanaki*, Knd *taṛki* ~ *taṇāki*, Png *trākiŋ*, Mnd *trāken*, Kui *trāda* ~ *tlāda* ~ *trādāŋga*, Ku *th̥rā?na* ~ *traŋna* 'liver' ¶ D #312O || □ A: T: Tlt {Rl.} *törööm* 'Schafdärme, die mit gehackten Herzen, Leber, Lunge und Fett gefüllt sind' ¶ Rl. III 1257, Rs. W 494 || ?σ IE: Clt: OIr *tarr*, Brtt {RE} *to|arr- 'belly' > W, MCrn *tor* 'belly', OCrn [Y] *tor* 'ventre', OBr *tar*, torn, MBr *torr* id., Br *tor* ~ *teur* 'ventre, bedaine, panse' ¶ The adduction of Uk *τερεῖ* 'belly' and Sl *tr̥bux- 'entrails' (suggested in Blz. LB #1O3 and Blz. DA) is too qu. (because of the unexplained *-b-, *-bux-) and less plausible than an equation of the Sl words with Ar *tarib-* 'chest' (see N *t^zVR, V, bV 'inside of the body, belly') ¶ Vn. T 33, RE 81, YGM-1 411, Hm. 787, 795 ◇ The vw. ö of the first syll. in Tlt *törööm* is accounted for by regr. as. ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#19] (D, HS + unc. Sl).

2440. ~ *t^zU¹ri 'heavenly light in the night (moon, star)' > HS: B *-tr̥i or *-tr̥y 'star' > Ah, Gh *atri* (pl. *itran*), ETwl *aṭri* (pl. *eṭran*), Ty *aṭri* (pl. *aṭran*), Izn, SrSn, Rf *iṭri*, Nf, Snd *itri* (pl. *itran*), Kb, Izd *iṭri* (pl. *iṭran*), ? Si, Skn, Gd *iri* (pl. *iran*) ¶ Fc. 1912, Di. 827-8, La. MChB 388, GhA 191, Mrc. 1O8, Lf. II #13O9 || C: Bj {R} *terig~-k* (pl. *tirg*) 'moon', Bj Am {AD} tu 'pētūrīg, 'pō tūrīg, pl. pū 'tūrga id. ¶ AD SF 48-9, 254-5 || Ch {Nw.} *t^zVr-, {StL.} *tariy-/ *tiray-/ *tayir- 'moon' > WCh {StL.} *tārya ~ *tāyra 'moon' > AG {StL.} *tary- > Su {J} *tár*, Ang {Hf.}, Ywm {Sh.} *tár*, Gmy {Hf.} *ṭár*, Chp {ChL} *ṭer*, Mpn {Frz.} *tár* | DFB {J} *túré*, Bks {J} *tùré* | Tng {J} *tére*, Dr {J} *téře*, Krkr {J} *taré*, Grm {Gw.} *terre*, Krf {Sch.} *téré*, Bole {Mk., IL} *térε*, Maha *tarya*, Gera *térá*, Glm číra 'moon' | Kry {Sk.}, My {Sk.} *tír*, Wrj {Sk.} čírānā, P' {MSk.} číra, Sir {Sk.} *tərī*, Jmb {Sk.} *tírā* id. | Grn {Jgr.} *tárā*, Wnd {Sh.} čár id. | Ngz {Sch.} *tírá*, Bd {IL} *təra* id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} *tera*, Hw *ndürá* id. | HgNk {ChL} *tírε*,

{Mk.} *turre*, FlK {Mk.} *turri* | Lmn {Mk.} *turri*, {Lk.} *trí* id. | Mdr {Eg.} *tré*, {ChL} *t̄re*, Dgh {ChL} *t̄lē* id. | Msy {Mch.} *trä*, Db {Lnh.} *t̄rā*, Kola {Sb.} *trá* | Zm {ChL} *ter*, ZmB {J} *tér*, Lame {LJ} *čéř* (= *čéř?*), LmP {Vnb.} *če*, Ms {ChL} *tila*, Bnn {}ChL *t̄iyelá*, BnnM {ChL} *tilna*, Azm {Pc.} *t̄ilā* id. || ECh: Kwn {J} *kì-dir*, Ke {Eb.} *kí-tír* | Kbl {Cp.} *k̄-d̄r̄*, Li {Grgs.} *gi-d̄irè* id. | Smr {J} *dúrù*, Nd D {J} *d̄r̄*, Tmk {Cp.} *d̄r̄* | Mkl {J} *tére* id. || Jg {J} *térē*, Brg {J} *tére*, Mu {Lk., J} *tírī*, Mjl {DB} *tírī*, Kjk {DB} *tiri*, Kjr {DB} *tiré* id. ¶ ChC, ChL, JI II 238-9, Stl. IF 53-4, JT 53, JS 84, Pc. 387, DB || ?μ S **ḥaθtar-(at)-*, name of the goddess Astarta\Ishtar, personification of the planet Venus (morning star) (belongs here only if it goes back to a cd.) > Ph *ḥṣtrt* (↔ Gk Ἀστάρη), BHb **תְּהִלָּתְשׁוּןָה** *ḥaš'toreṭ* 'Astarta', Ug *ḥθtr*, (AkSc) {Hnr.} *ḥaθtaru*, DA *ḥṣtr*, OSA *ḥθtr*, Ak *ištar*, Eb *daš-dar* id., ? Sr *ḥat,tīr* *nulpā'nā* and *ḥat,tīr* *nuh'rā* (names of stars); S ↔ IE **xest(e)r* ~ **xster-* ({Pv.} **A₁est(e)r-* ~ **A₁st(e)r-*) 'star' > Ht *xaster-* (nom. sg. *xasterza* [xaster-s]), NaIE: Gk ἀστήρ, gen. ἀστέρος 'star', ἄστρα (coll.) 'stars', Arm **աստղ** *astł* 'star', OI 'str̄bhiḥ instr. pl. 'with\by stars', (gen. pl.) *str̄nām* ~ *str̄nām* 'of stars', Av *star-* 'star' (nom. pl. *stārō*), KhS *stāraa-*, MPrs *stār*, *stārak*, NPrs **ستار** *setāre*, Psh *stōrai*, L *stēlla* (< **stēr-lā*), Brtt {RE} snglt. **sterinnā* (> OBr, Br *sterenn*, MBr *steren* [pl. *stir*, *stiret*], OCrn [VC], Crn *steren* [coll. *stēr*], OW *sserenn*, W *seren* snglt. [pl. *sēr*]), OIr *ser* ({RE}: ↔ Brtt?), Gl *sirona*, Gt *staírnō*, OHG *sterno*, *stern*, ON *stjarna*, Tc: B *ściryę* 'star', A *śre-rí* pl. 'stars' ¶ The broadening of meaning (S 'the morning star Venus' → IE 'star') during or after the borrowing is not an obstacle for the et. (↔ Dk. OH → EI 341), because such broadening is widespread in the history of language contacts: cf. the origin of NE **trousers** (↔ ScGl *triubhas* ↔ OFr *trebus* 'breeches'), R **газета** 'newspaper' (← Fr ← It *gazzetta* ← It Vn *gazeta*, name of a Venetian periodical that sold for one gazet), Uk **гроши** 'money' (↔ NHG *Groschen*, name of certain coins ↔ L *denarii grossi*) ¶ KB 850-1, OLS 94, Hnr. 164, Br. 554; Krb. EG 31, Shf. A √, AfD I, Gese RAS 222, Hfn. VRA 244, IS DIES 6-7, AD IEH 15, AD CCIE 6, P 1O27-8, Pv. III 238-9, M K III 512, M E II 755-6, Bai. 433, Horn 157-8, VI. II 22O, Fs. 448, Vr. 549, Kb. 962, Slt. 123-5, Me. EAC 151, Vn. S 9O, RE 135, YGM-1 391, Flr. 307, Ern. 653, Wn. 489, Ad. 64O ¶ Grn. LA 59, Blz. 'AthAA √, ≈ EI 543 (IE **h₂stēr*, -(e)r- 'star'; no distinction of inherited words [<

NaIE *ter- 'star') from Semitisms; unj. rejection of the obvious Semitic origin of the IE word], Wt. S ∀, Prv. ∀ || IE: NaIE *ter- 'star' > Vd nom. pl. 'tārah̄ 'stars' || Gk τέρας, pl. Gk Ep τέρας 'signe du ciel, étoile; signe envoyé par les dieux' ¶ M K I 497, 524, M E II 755, Ch. 1105-6, F II 878 (semantic doubts about the OI-Gk connection) || A: [1] Ko {S} *tár 'moon' > MKo tár, NKo tal ¶ S AJ 253 [#54], S QK #54, Nam 140 || ?φ pJ {S} *tukūj 'moon' > OJ tukjí, J: T cukí, K cükí ¶ S AJ 94, 268 [#97], S QJ #97, Mr. 554 ¶ ~ DQA #2394 (A *t'jorgu 'moon', including Ko, J), ~ S AJ 278 | [2] ?? T *jul-tuř ({Md.} žuldur = ju-ltuř) 'star' (a cd., possibly N *žuſT̄ 'to be bright'; blaze; flame' + N *t'U'r̄i, ffd. see N *žuſL̄ '↑') | [3] the same T element *-tuř may be present in T *k'untuř 'noon' (see N *Küñ̄ 'sun, day') ◇ HS *t- (from N *t̄) is due to HS de-emphatization.

2441. *tū|r̄i 'turn round, surround, enclose' > HS: CS *-tūr- v. 'go round', *tūr- 'surrounding wall', ? *tawr- 'surrounded place' > Ar ✓ t̄wr G: ip. ya-tūru ḥawla-hū 'goes around about' (pf. tāra) (ḥawla-hū means 'around him'), Ar SL {Bel.} tār-, tāra-t- 'hoop (cerceau)', Ar tawr- 'one time (Mal, vicis)', Sr taw'r-ā 'space (in time or distance)', MHb טוֹר tūr 'protecting wall', Nbt t̄wr 'Mauer (?)': ds.: OSA m̄t̄wr 'enclosing wall', Ar tawār- {Bel.} 'superficie, aire', {Hv.} 'area, yard of a house'; (x N *tūrȳ 'row, line'): BHb טוֹרִים ~ טוֹרִים ~ tū'r-īm 'course, row' ¶ KB 357-8, KBR 373, Ln. 189O, BK II 118, Bel. 36O, Hv. 441, Br. 272 || B *✓ d̄wr v. 'turn round' > Sll {Ds.} d̄wer 'tourner', Tmz t̄dur 'tourner, virer, tournoyer, faire volte-face', d̄awwar 'faire tourner', ? Izd {Mrc.} mdərḡa 'se retourner'; (?) +ext. *-n-: B *✓ d̄rn '(se) tourner, changer de direction; tordre' (x N *tirȳ 'to turn, to bend, to twist', q.v. ffd.); B *✓ d̄r > Awj uṭar 'envelopper, enlacer, entortiller' ¶ Ds. 281, Fc. 285, GhA 33, MT 96, Lf. II #O357, Mrc. 224, NZ 483 || ? ECh *✓ trk, *✓ trp 'palissade, haie' > EDng tūrkù 'palissade (entourant l'enclos familial)', etc. (x N *tirȳ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *t̄wer- v. 'twist, turn, close in', *t̄wɔros 'Einfassung' (x N *t̄URE 'start, set in motion, begin', q.v.) > OHG d̄wēran 'to stir up, aufwöhlen, rühren', AS d̄weran 'to stir, to churn' || Lt tvérti / tvériū 'seize, fence, enclose', tvérimas n. act. 'seizing, enclosing', āp-tvaras 'fence (Gehege)', Lt tvorā, Ltz tvare 'fence (Zaun)' || Gk σορός 'urn' (< *t̄wɔros) | (?) +ext.: L turbo 'a movement in a circle, an eddy, a whirling round' ¶ WP I 749, P 1100-1, ≈σ EI 564 (*t̄wer-

'take, hold'), Mn. 1466, F II 754, WH II 718, Ho. 37, Kb. 178, OsS 121, EWA II 915-8, Frn. 1152, 1155 || A *t_lǖR'i' v. 'turn round, surround' > M: WrM {Gl.} tūri- v. 'surround, close in (окружать)', tūri-gde- {Rm.} v. 'be closed in', {Gl.} 'be surrounded', {Bb.} tūritke- v. 'barricade, put a limit to, put up a fence', {Rm.} tūri-megei 'the closing or meeting the flanks of the hunters, the incircling of the game' ¶ Rm. SKE 278, Gl. III 259, Bb. 1O37-8 ¶ WrM tūri- means also 'push' ({Gl.} 'push', {MED} 'push forward'), and tūrigde- means also 'be pushed'; as to tūri-megei (with the meaning reported by Rm.), it has not been confirmed by dictionaries of WrM available to me. WrM tūri- 'push' does not belong here, it is likely to go back to N *tūRE 'start, set in motion' (q.v.) || NKo turi- {MLC} 'put around, surround, encircle; turn round', {Rm.} turu-, turi- v. 'surround, circle about, turn round, whirl about' ¶ MLC 5O4-5, Rm. SKE 278 ¶ Rm. SKE 278 (Ko, M + *- Tg: Ewk turku-lđi- does not have the meaning 'surround' [ascribed to this word by Rm.] [F Vas. 4O3]). The M cognate (if real) suggests pA *t'- ¶ But T *tūr^Δ v. 'roll up' hardly belongs here; for both semantic and phonetic reasons it is more likely to go back to N ?σ *tūwr^Δ ~ *tuwrE 'to (re)turn, to roll (up), to turn round' (q.v.) || D *tor(-) ({GS} *t-) 'cattle-stall, corral, pen for cattle' (× N *dur^Δ 'hole, hollow'?) > Tm toru 'cattle-stall, manger, pound', tōr(əm) 'cattle-stall', MI toru 'stable', toruttu 'stable, sheepfold, pen to goats', Kt to'y 'buffalo pen', Td twt 'corral, pen', Prj -tol in čakur-tol 'cattle shed' (čakur goes back to a word for 'cattle, bull') ¶ D #3526 ◇ The D vw. *o (for the expected *u) has to be explained (cp. N *tūR^Δ or *tuRE 'pierce, stick into; hole' > D *tora- ~ *tora- 'hole') ◇ IS MS 333 s.v. вертеть(ся) *tūrnə (HS, IE, A), IS SS #1.12 ◇ The nearly homonymic N words *tūlūr'i and [?σ] *tūwr^Δ ~ *tuwrE 'to (re)turn, to roll (up), to turn round' inevitably coalesced in those lgs. that have lost the pN distinctions *t- ↔ *t- and *-r- ↔ *-r- ◇ □D *o (for the expected *u) still needs explaining ◇ Gr. II *4O1 (*tur 'turn') (IE + err. A *tolu, Ai + qu. Ko, J).

2442. *tūs^Δr^Δ 'part of leg' ('calf of leg', 'thigh', 'knee'?) > HS: C: EC: Af {PH} dīsāre 'thigh (cuisse)', {R} tēsā'rī 'Oberschenkel (?)' || Dhl {EEN} tāhara 'calf of leg', {To.} tāhara 'heel' ¶ Blz. EDB 28, E PC #372 (*tahr- or *tarh- 'calf of leg'), PH 91, EEN 8, To. D 148, R A II 115 || B *-dār- (< **tār) > Ah adār (pl. idārən), Gh, Shl, Gd adar, Awj aṭar, Fgg ḍar, Shw, Mz, Wrg ḍar, Kb aṭar, Tmz adar ≈ aṭar, Snd ṭar 'foot, leg', Ntf,

Zng adar, Izn, SrSn ḫar, Nfs, Si ḫar 'foot', Rif ḫar & adar 'foot, paw' ¶ Fc. 281-2, Dl. 18O, NZ 479-8O || ???φ Eg G t̥w̥ə.t 'leg (as a relique)' (unless ← φ Eg fP t̥w̥ə vt. 'support, sustain', vi. 'lean') ¶ EG V 25O, Fk. 294 || K: G ṭor-i 'paw (Pfote, Tatze, Pranke)' ¶ Chx. 136O || A *t̥ūr'i, {SDM97} *t̥ūri, {DQA} *t̥jūre 'knee', ? 'leg' > T *t̥ür ({AdB.} *t̥l̥üy̥r, {DQA} *t̥ir̥) 'knee' ({gπAD}: < **t̥Eür < **t̥ü:r̥) > OT {Cl., Tz.} t̥iz, Tk d̥iz, Tkm d̥iδ, SEXT ChS, NEXT G/J/M, NrXT Sh d̥iz, NrXT Dg/Q, SWXT PK d̥üz, SWXT QB d̥uzin, SWXT SA d̥i:š, NrXT DG1 d̥iz, NrXT DG2 düz, SWXT H d̥iδ, Az, Ggz d̥iz, ET, Nog t̥iz, VTt t̥bz, Bsh t̥b̥, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt tize 'knee', Tv d̥is 'knees' (in the expression d̥is kırıŋga olurar 'kneel'), Chv čb̥r 'knee', Yk t̥is 'fell from an animal's leg (лапка)'; ? Xk t̥zek, ? Tv d̥iskek 'knee' (the forms of Xk and Tv may result from contamination with T *t̥irsgä:k 'elbow', / N *t̥ir,y,▽ 'to turn, to bend') ¶ AdB. (Ttd 59) reconstructs NaT *t̥l̥üy̥z and believes that here the opposition between *t̥- and *t̥- has been neutralized (as in the *C▽z-roots) ¶ Md. 77, S AJ 95, 252, IS AD 39, Cl. 57O, Rs. W 482, BT 149, Jeg. 323, Fed. II 413, Ash. XV 284-5, DH Cht 71, 81, 93, 116, 138, 151, 191, 202, 213, 225, 247, 28O, AdB. Ttd 59, BIG 227 || pKo *t̥arı 'leg' > MKo t̥arı, NKo tari ¶ S QK #145, Nam 129, MLC 383 || M *tureyin > WrM t̥urei, HlM түрий, Brt түриң, WrO t̥urē, Kl түрә t̥urā 'bootleg, boot-top', Ord t̥urī 'tige de botte', Mnr H {SM} t̥urī 'tige de bas\botte, canon d'une culotte'; M → T: Sg töräj 'Stiefelschaft' ¶ KW 415, MED 854, KRS 523, Krg. 53O, Chr. 446, Ms. O 688, SM 434, RI. III 1251 || Tg *ture, *ture-kse 'boot-leg, boot-top' > WrMc t̥ure, Ewk [Cs.] t̥urei, Ewk t̥ir̥-ksz & t̥ir̥-ktz & t̥ir̥-kšz & t̥ir̥-h̥z, Neg tiy̥ksz, Orc ti(y)zksz, Ud {STM} t̥iʒH̥z, Ud X/B/Sm {Krm.} t̥eh̥z, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/B tur̥ksz, Nn KU t̥iriksz ¶ STM II 188, Krm. 294 ¶ DQA #241O (A *t̥jūre 'leg, knee'); it is not clear if we should include here T *t̥l̥irsgä:k 'elbow', because its meaning is hardly derivable from 'knee', from typology of semantic changes we learn that the meaning 'elbow' does not usually go back to 'knee', but rather to 'bend'. T *t̥irsgä:k 'elbow' (together with Tg *t̥irak [> *čirak] 'span') is to be connected with N *t̥ir,y,▽ '↑' (q.v.) ◇ In the light of Af and K the most likely N lr. is *t̥ ◇ Blz. LB #10Of (suggested to add B and K), ≈ Blz. LNA #54 (pN *tarwi ~ *t̥awri 'leg' > B, K, A + unc. D *t̥ar- 'stem' ~ *t̥a]- 'leg, stem' [see N *tarū 'tree, log' and N *t̥AÍX,▽ 'stem', ∈? 'tree']).

2443. *tar̥X^N 'throw, disperse, scatter' > HS: WS *✓tr̥h v. 'throw' > Ar ✓tr̥h G v. 'fling, cast away', {Fr.} 'con-\pro-\ab-\re-\in-iecit', Sq ✓tr̥h: {L} p̥etrāh 'jeter, jeter l'ancre, rester', {Jo.} (in Jo. J) z̥trāh v. 'throw, put down', Mh {Jo.} ✓tr̥h (pf. 'tawr̥zh, sbjn. үзт̥рāh) v. 'leave, allow, let', Jb E✓tr̥h (pf. 'terz̥h) id., Hrs {Jo.} ✓tr̥h (pf. 'tawr̥zh, sbjn. үзт̥р̥zh) 'leave, desert, leave alone', Jb C {Jo.} ✓tr̥h (pf. 'terz̥h, sbjn. үзт̥р̥zh) v. 'allow small calves to suck their mother's milk' ¶ Fr. III 46, Hv. 429, L LS 2O9, Jo. M 412, Jo. H 13O, Jo. J 28O || CCh: McHigi: HgNk t̥r̥xe, HgG t̥r̥re, HgF túri, FlK t̥r̥u?, FlH t̥r̥iyi v. 'fall' ¶ ChL ¶ OS #2484 || IE: NaIE *°sterH-/*°streH- > NaIE *sterə-/°strā- ~*strō- ~*ster- ~ strew- v. 'spread, scatter' (× N *čAr̥h¹r̥u 'to spread, to scatter' [q.v. ffd.]): the variant with a lr. is represented by Vd st̥r̥'nā- (prtc.) 'spread, scattered', OI 'st̥r̥imān- 'act of spreading-out; bed, couch', Gk στρωτός 'spread, laid, covered', στρῶμα 'anything spread or laid out for lying or sitting upon, a mattress, bed', L strātus pp. 'spread, stretched out', strāmen 'straw, litter' ¶ The variant *ster-without reflexes of the lr. (e.g. in forms with *-n^N-sx.: OI str̥'nā-ti 'spreads, scatters', L sternō 'I spread', Gk στόρ-νυ-μι 'I spread') goes back to N *čAr̥h¹r̥u 'to spread, to scatter' ¶ P 1O29-31, EI 57 (*ster(h₃)- 'strew' → ?*sterh₃mŋ 'strewn place, bed'), M K III 517-8, M E II 756-7, F II 8O2-3, WH II 59O-1, Cowg. EG 155ff., Vn. S 93-5, Flr. 3O9, Ern. 662, Hm. 76O, KM 757-8, Vr. 552, O 442, AlbED 844, Frn. 9O9-1O, 917, Vs. III 379 || A *°t̥'aR̥i > M *tari v. 'sow' > MM [MA, IM] tari- v. 'sow', WrM tari-, HIM тары- v. 'sow, plant', Dx tarb-, Ba tare-, MnR H {SM} t̥ari- v. 'sow'] a related (derived?) stem: M *tara- v. 'disperse, scatter' > WrM tara-, HIM, Brt тара- id. (Brt манан тара-бә 'the mist has cleared', lit. 'dispersed', һиндэн тараба 'the birds flew away [in different directions])', Kl тар- 'scatter, disperse' (Үүлн тарж одв 'the clouds dispersed') ¶ Pp. MA 411, 447, MED 779, 781, Chr. 414, KRS 479, SM 411, T 363, T DnJ 135, T BJ 148 ¶ DQA #2315 (A *t̥'áyri 'scatter, disperse') ◇ IE *s- reflects the palatality within the N word. It is tempting to adduce here Tm t̥ar̥ru v. 'sift, winnow'. It belongs here only if Tm t̥ar̥ru is from *t̥ar̥-t-, but Tl tal(u)su v. 'winnow small grains from floor' suggests that the underlying form of Tm is *t̥al-ř- ¶ D #3195, Km. 381 [#564] ◇ BmK 298-3OO (IE, M tara-, Sum tar v. 'disperse' + Tm t̥ar̥ru, FU *tara- v. 'open', and S ✓wtr v. 'stretch out').

2444. *tErgE 'to run' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'running place' → 'road') > HS: B *✓drg v. 'flee' > Ty, ETwl ✓drg (d̥ərr̥b̥g) 's'évader, s'enfuir, déserter', Ah dəraǵǵəǵ 'fuire à toute vitesse', Tdq dərrəǵ 'flee' § GhA 33, Fc. 283, NZ 486 || S *°✓trk 'way, road' (as. from **✓trg?) > Ar ǵurq-at- (pl. ǵuraq-) {BK} 'marche', 'chemin, voie', ǵariq- 'chemin, route' (→ Gw {Mts.} túrik⁹i 'road'), ǵariq-at- 'sentier, voie, tracé d'une route', Ar O {Jo.} ǵirīgah 'way', Tgr {Ams.} ǵarek-ət 'way' (← Ar?) § BK II 77-8, Hv. 431, Ams. 55, L G 597, Jo. H 130 || ? ECh: Ke {Eb.} t̥rá n. act. 'run (Lauf)', fé t̥rá 'run away' § Eb. 97 || IE: NaIE *tregh|g̥h- or {Mn.} *trg̥h- (actually *trg̥h|g̥h-) v. 'run' > Gk τρέχω 'I run' || Clt: ? W t̥raw m. 'progress, lead', Gl uer-tragos, οὐέρτραγος {Dtn.} 'swift-footed dog', {Vn.} chien courant' (→ L vertragus 'greyhound'), Clt {Vn.} *traget-s / gen. *tragetos 'foot' > OIr traig (gen. traiged) id., Brtt {RE} *troget-s id. > MW troet, W troed, OCrn truit, Crn trō id., OBr treit 'feet' (sg. *trojt), MBr troat, Br troad 'foot' || Gt þragjan, AS ȝræȝan 'to run' § P 1089, Mn. 142, EI 491 (*tregh-'run'), F II 927-9, Fs. 500-1, Ho. 368, Vn. T 122-3, RE 97, Dtn. 293, 298, Billy 156 § It is not clear if this ✓ is identical or only isophonic with *trg̥h- v. 'draw' (cf. N *taR᷑ ~ *taR᷑-H᷑g᷑ 'to drag, to pull'); NaIE *tregh|g̥h- is an interesting case of the usually avoided root-structure "tenuis + media aspirata"; it remains to found out conditions for this kind of exception || A: T *t̥äř ({DQA} *t̥erř-) > OT täz v. 'run away, flee', Az Δ täz-, Tkm teδ-, Xk tis-/z-, ET täz-, Tv d̥ez-, Tf d̥es'- v. 'run away, flee', ET täz- v. 'leave one's nest\home', Chv tar- v. 'run, flee' § Cl. 672, Ra. 172, IS 41 [#6], Rs. W 477, S AJ 198 [#281], BIG 226, Fed. II 175 || M *tergi-le- v. 'run, flee' > WrM {Gl.} tergilē- id., Kl {Rm.} terg]-xə, Brt тэргэл-хə 'to run away, to flee'; M *°tergE-d̥e'- > Brt тэргэдэ- id.; M *tergen 'vehicle (carriage, wagon, chariot)' > MM [MA, HI, S] tergen id., [PP] t̥erged (pl.) 'carriages, wagons', WrM terge(n) 'carriage, wagon', {Kow.} id., 'chariot', HlM тэрэг, тэргэн, Brt тэргэ, WrO tergen, Kl {Rm.} tergŋ, MnR H {SM} t̥ierg_e, Dg t̥rgz 'carriage, wagon'; M d. *terge-yr 'wide road, highway' > MM [HI] terge_yr 'grande route', WrM tergegür {MED} 'wide road, highway', {Gl.} '(wide) road, wide street', {Kow.} 'rue large, grand chemin', WrO tergegür 'highway, road, street', Dg t̥rgūl 'road, way' § MED 805, Kow. 1775-7, Gl. III 145-6, T 365, T DgJ 167, SM 417, Pp. MA 349, Pp. PP 131, Ms. H 101, H 149, Krg. 496, Chr. 456, S AJ 239 [#135] || Tg: Ewk tirgi- v. 'walk', ?? WrMc cir seme

'quickly' (*seme* 'by saying') ¶ STM II 187, 400, Z 940-1 || pKo {S} *t̄r̄í (x N *dæR'h'∇ga ~ *dæR'h'∇k∇ 'to walk, to run; way, path', q.v.) > MKo t̄r̄í {S} 'ride quickly', NKo talli {MLC} v. 'run (canter, gallop)' (of a horse), 'run, rush, hurry' (unless an iter. from *t̄d-'run') ¶ S QK #511, Nam 141, MLC 405 ¶ S AJ 295 [#535] (A *t̄är̄∇ 'run, run away'), SDM97 (A *t̄árga 'run, flee'), DQA #2412 (A *t̄írgē id. > T, M, Tg), KW 393.

2445. *t̄út∇ '(fore)arm' > K *t̄ot̄- 'arm, branch' > G P/X t̄ot̄-i 'hand', G P t̄ot̄-i 'limb of a horse', MG [VTq] t̄ot̄-i 'limb (of an animal)' (t̄ot̄i lomisa 'lion's paw'), G t̄ot̄-i 'twig, branch, arm of a river', Šarvlis t̄ot̄i 'trouser-leg', Mg t̄ot̄-i, t̄vatv̄-i 'paw, hand', Lz t̄ot̄-i 'branch', Sv: UB/LB t̄wet / t̄ot̄-, LB t̄et̄, L t̄ot̄, Ln t̄wet̄ 'arm, hand' ¶ K 182, Chx. 1361, Chik. 135 (G, Lz), Q 330, DCh. 1225, NCh. 379, GTK KD I 594, Ghl. 515, TK 720, GP 260, Dn. s.v. t̄ot̄, Ni s.v. рука (Sv t̄wet̄) || HS: C: IEC *du(n)dum- 'forearm' > Sml N {Abr.} dūdun (pl. dūdummó) 'forearm (from elbow to fingertips)', Sml {DSI} dūdun / pl. dūdummo 'forearm, ell', Or {Th.} dūnduma id., {Grg.} dūnduma, Or M {AD} 'dūnduma 'ell', {LLC} dūnduma 'lower arm', dūnduma 'ell', Or H {Ow.} dūndumá 'forearm, arm's length, half a meter', Or B {Vnt.} dūnduma 'pugno', {LLC} dūndummo 'lower arm', Kns {BISO} dūnduma 'cubit (from elbow to fingers)' ¶ AD SF 251, Abr. S 67, DSI 179, Th. 117, Grg. 131, Ow. 259, Vnt. 47, LVCZ 10, 64, BISO 26 || ??σ,φ Eg BD сүсү {Fk.} 'trot', {EG} a word for legs ¶ EG V 357, Fk. 304 || Gil: Gil A t̄ot̄ 'forearm' ('предплечье') ¶ ST 360 || D *tūt̄- 'thigh' > Tm tūtai, tōtai, Ml tūta, Td twār̄, Kn tōde, Tl tōda 'thigh', Tu tūdæ id., 'shank', Klm dūt̄ 'hip', ? Kui dōndo 'thigh, ? Ku tuntu 'hip' ¶ D #3302 ◇ D *-t̄- suggests N *-t̄-, while the K and C glottalized consonant in the Inlaut is due to assimilation.

2446. *t̄ut̄E 'clan\tribe, everybody, all' > IE *teut-(ā) 'people (Volk), tribe' ({Dv.} 'tutto, popolo', {P} 'Menge Volkes', {McC} 'Stamm', {Bn.} 'plénitude, peuple, nation, civitas') > Osc τοῦτο, TOUTO 'community (civitas)', Um accus. TOTAM, gen. TOTAR 'citizenry (civitas)', TOTAPER, TUTAPER 'pro civitate'; ? L t̄otus 'whole' (unless from *towatos 'vollgestopft') || OIr tuath 'tribe, people', Crn t̄üs 'folk, people, relatives', MBr tut ~ tuð 'people' ('gens'), pl. tuðou 'nationes', Br tuð 'people' (pl. of dən 'man, person'), MW tut 'people, country, land', W † tuð id. || Gt þiuda, OHG diot, AS ðeod, ON þjóð 'Volk, Leute'; ds.: NHG deutsch 'German', deutlich

'clear', deutēn 'explain' || Ltv tāuta 'people (Volk), nation', OLT, Lt tautā id., Lt tautā 'Oberland, Germany', Pru tauto 'Land' || ? Irn {Mrg.} *tauta-ka- > NPrs {BM} توده tūde 'mass of people, people' ('масса людей, народ') (as well as ClNPrs توده {Sg.} tōda, NPrs توده tūde 'heap', Sgd twð?k 'Masse, Erdhaufen?') || ? AnIE {ABIV.} *tuti- 'army (Heer)' > Ht tuzzi- 'Heer, Heerlager, Truppenmacht', Lc tutā/i 'army' ¶ P 1084-5, EI 417 (*teu¹teh_A- 'the people [? under arms]'), Frd. HW 232, Ts. E III 499-504, ABIV. II 172-3, Dv. #449, WH II 695-6, Bc. G 325-6, 349, GM 137, BM 137, VI. I 478 (توده 'acervus, cumulus'), Fs. 496, Kb. 158-9, EWA II 684-8, KM 129, Vn. T 164, YGM-1 422, Frn. 1069, En. 263, GI II 749, Zm. IGSS 326, 328-9 [notes 47-53], McC 112-6, Vr. 613 ¶ Bn. and Neu reject the connection between AnIE *tuti and IE *tewtā (F Bn. VIIE I 366 and Neu HB 105) ¶ Mul. 490, EM 1050, and Szem. favour the connection of L tōtus with the IE √ in question, while Walde and Hofmann (WH II 695-6) reject it and prefer to interpret the IE word as *towə-tos- 'vollgestopft'. McCone HWK 116 rejects the *towatos-etymology as phonetically untenable (lack of lr. in IE *tewt-) and prefers a semantically unreliable et.: *tewt- ← *tew- 'aufmerken, dienen, schützen'. Ernout and Meillet (EM 1050) suppose a dialectal development *e^w > L ō. The IE √ may go back to a coalescence of the N word in question and N ≈ *täwodν 'be full' (q.v.) || A *t'Uti > NaT *t'öt'ü 'everybody, everything' > Tv төдү t'ödü, Tf t'ödö id. ¶ Ra. 235 || M *°tuži (< *°tudi) > WrM tuži, HIM түж 'throughout, always', WrM eðür tuži 'all day long' (eðür means 'day'), M → OT tüzü 'all' (suggesting that M *tuži originally meant 'all') ¶ MED 848, Luv. 421, Cl. 573 || HS: WCh: Pr {Frz.} dōe, Dr {Nw.} dái 'all' | ??φ Gw {Mts.} dúdú 'all', Hs dú, dükä 'all' ¶ Ba. 272, Frz. P 29, Nw. KL 123, ≈ Sk. HCD 50 || ?σ S: Ar tūt-, tāt- 'long, grand, long' ¶ BK II 119 ◇ There is no satisfactory explanation for the reflex *-ž- (rather than *-č-) in M. An alt. rec. is *tutE, supposing as. (N *t...t > *t...t) in S, IE, and T. Hardly here U: Sm {Hl.} *tük- 'all' (> Ne T тюкү", {Prk.} tukut, tukutip 'alle(s)', Mt {Hl.} *tüğüy 'everywhere' [Mt M {Sp.} түгүй]), unless *-k- is a sx. and the U etymon is **tüt-kν (F Jn. 168 [Sm *tūčs|k|t-], Cs. 28, 90, KP #1601, Ter. SILSJ 98, Hl. M ##1069, 1078, 1087).

2446a. *tüt¹a' 'dust, ashes' (→ [in descendant lgs.] 'smoke') > K *tuža- 'ashes' > G XVIII {SSO} tuž-i, G {DCh.} tuž-i 'lye', {Chx.} tuža 'lye (Aschenlauge)', tuž-e 'alkali', G I tuža, Mg tuža-, Lz m̄tuža-, USv, Sv Ln

†^t³†, Sv UB, Sv Ld³† 'ashes' ॥ K 183, K² 192, FS 335, DCh. 1228, Chx. 137O, Ghl. 518, BU 295, TK 722-3, Ch. 16O-1 (G, Mg, Lz) || A: ?σ T *t^üt^ä- v. 'smoke (emit smoke)' > OT {Cl.} tütä-, {Gb., DTS, Rs., TL} tüt-, XwT {Faz.} tütä-, Tk Δ tüte-, Xlj {DT} titi-, Tkm, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq tüte-, VTt, Bsh t^btä-, Qrg tütö-, Qmn tüde-, Ln düdü-, SY tuti- ɬ tüt-, Xk, Shor tüde-, OOsm düt-, Tk tüt-, Ggz tüt- id.; → T *t^üt^{ün} n. 'smoke' > OT, Chg Xw, MQp tütün, OOsm XIV dütün, Nog, Qq tütin, Qzq τύτιν tütin, Qrg, ET tütün, Alt, Xk, Shor tüdün, Chv tätäm 'smoke', Tk tütü, Az, Tkm tütün 'tobacco' ॥ Cl. 432 (the original stem is tütä-), 457-8, TL 364-5, DTS Rs. 506, Faz. II 426, DT 206, ET 329 || pKo *t̥itk̥ir ~ *t̥ith̥ir 'dust' > MKo t̥itk̥ir ~ t̥ith̥ir id. ॥ DQA #2472, SDM97 (*t̥út̥i [or *-t̥-] 'smoke') || HS: Ch: WCh: Dr {J} duduá 'ashes' (unless from N *dAr̥s̥N 'ashes') | Klr {J} atotô 'ashes' ॥ JI II 4-5, J R 350 || C: Ag: Awn t̥strí 'dust'; ?φ pAg *tiza 'smoke' > Bln {R} te'dā (pl. t̥id), Km {Ap.} tiza, Xm tiya id., Ag → Gz -t̥is- (3m sbjn. yat̥is, 3m pf. t̥esa) v. 'smoke' || ? SC {E} *ted̥ri > Irq {MQK} tēri 'dust, cloud of dust', SC → Mb itéri 'dust'; the SC word belongs here only if it is *tedi || ? EC: Sml {ZMO} qedo 'mist' ॥ Hz. NSA 137, R WB 334, Ap. IV 47, LG 601, E SC 170, MQK 100, ZMO 114 ◇ The semantic change 'ashes' → 'smoke' (or viceversa) is not confirmed typologically (as far as I know); a possible filiation is: 'dust' → [1] 'smoke', [2] 'ashes' ◇ Cp. also D: Tm t̥āt̥u 'powder, dust', Td t̥oθ 'powdery' (D #3159); this D √ (as well as SC, EC, and Ag roots with a front unrounded vw.) may belong here only if the discrepancy of vowels is explained away (e.g. by reconstructing the N etymon as *t̥uHA|ETN or *t̥A|EHuTN) ◇ The etl. connection between K and A was proposed by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #4f) and in 1992 (Bl. KM 14O-1 [#28]); ≈ Blz. LNA #56 (N *t̥uti 'ashes, smoke' > Ch, K, Ko + ɬ M [in fact T] *tütün, *tüt-süg).

2447. ?σ₂ *t̥oHt̥N 'to run, to stream' > A *t̥Ut̥N (DQA *t̥otá) > Tg *t̥ute- ({ʃBz.} *t̥ötä-) v. 'run' > Sln tut̥-, Ewk tut-, Orc, Ud tutu-, Nn tutu-, Ul tutu-, Ork tutu- v. 'run'; the lower series of vowel harmony in Ul and Ork is probably a late development ॥ STM II 223-4 || pKo {S} *t̥ad̥- 'run' > MKo t̥at̥/r-, NKo tat̥/r- ॥ S QK #855, Nam 139, MLC 401 || ?φ pJ {S} *tanta-yuap- {S} v. 'float, ramble', {Mr.} 'drift' > OJ t̥adá-yuap-, J: T tadayó-, K t̥adáyó-, Kg t̥adáyò- {Kenk.} v. 'float, swim, drift' ॥ S QJ #731, Mr. 761, Kenk. 1864 ॥ DQA #2439 || D *t̥ot̥ ({gGS} *t̥od̥-) 'a stream' > MI t̥ot̥u, Kn t̥od̥u 'water-course', Kdg t̥oθ̥t̥ 'small

stream', Tu **tōd̥u** 'drain, sewer, brook', Krg **tōda** 'stream', Gnd **d̥ōða(:)** **~ dōða** **~ dōða** 'river', Δ **dora** 'running brook' §§ D #3543 ◇ D *-t (*-d) < N *-Ht- (de-emphasizing effect of the Ir.?), while otherwise the intervocalic N *-t- would have yielded D *t. An alt. hypothetical rec.: N *tət ∇ with Tg as. **t...d > *t...t.

2448. *täwħ ∇ 'abandon, leave' > **K:** *^otew- v. 'leave, abandon' > OG **tew-** v. 'abandon', G **ṭov-** v. 'leave\abandon'; acc. to Klimov, also Mg, Lz **ṭal-** v. 'be mixed' § K 18O || **HS:** WS *-tūħ- (or *-t \wedge ħ ∇ -?) 'go away, leave (partir)' > Ar ✓ **ṭwħ** (pf. **ṭāħa**, ip. **ya-ṭūħ-u**) 'périr, être près de sa ruine; errer; s'en aller', {Hv.} 'perish; go away; wander', Jb C et^lbah (✓ **ṭwħ**) v. 'wander off' § BK II 117, Ln. 1888-9, Hv. 440-1, Jo. J 281 || **A** (*t^ræ¹b ∇): M *tebči- v. 'leave' > MM **tebči-** [S] 'werfen, verlassen, verraten', [HI] 'abandonner, sacrifier', WrM **tebči-** ~ **tebsi-**, HlM **тэвчи-**, Brt **тэбшэ-** v. 'abandon, leave', Kl {Rm.} **tepč-** 'beiseite lassen, verlassen, sein lassen, dulden' § MED 789, H 147, Ms. H 100, KW 392, Chr. 451 || **D** (in SD) *tav ∇ r- ({§GS} *t-) > Tm **tavir-** v. 'abstain, cease, leave, separate from', Ml **taviruka** v. 'be put aside', Kn Hv **tavrū** v. 'drive away', Tu **tauruni** v. 'remove' § D #3113 ◇ ≈ BmK 319-20 (K, S, D + Sum **dū** v. 'go\leave' + unconvincingly **E** *dew(ə)-/*dwā-/*dū- v. 'move forward' and other stems without reliable semantic connections with the N word in question).

2449. *täy ∇ 'louse' > **HS:** NrOm: Ym {C} **tu?**ā, {Wdk.} **tù?**ā, {Lm.} **tu?**ā 'louse' § C SE III 85, Wdk. BY 137, 163, Lm. Y 378 || **U:** FU *täye 'louse' > F, Es **täi** id. | pLp {Lr.} *ti-kkē > Lp: N {N} **dik'ke**, S {Hs.} **dikkie**, L {LLO} **tihkee**, Kld **tik'k** id. | Chr: H **ти ti**, L **тий tiy**, Eti **~ tiy** id. | Prm *töy (= {LG} *töj) id. > Z **toy**, Z US **tøy**, Yz **'túy**, Vt **tøy** || ObU {Ht.} *tēk(t)əm ∇ ({Ht.}*tēk(t)əm ∇) id. > pVg **täkm ∇** > Vg: T **täkəm**, LK/MK/UK **tōxəm**, P/NV/LL **taxəm**, SV **tāxəm**, UL/Ss **täkəm**; pOs *töytəm ({JHl.} *töytəm) > Os: V/Vy **töxtəm**, Ty **tăχwtəm**, Y **tăwtəm**, D/K/Nz/Kz/O **tewtəm** | Hg **tetű** id. § UEW 515, It. #613, Coll. 119, Sm. 55O (FU, FP *täji, Ugr *täjī 'louse'), LG 25O, Lt. 65, MF 631-2, Lr. #1251, Lgc. #785O, Hs. 437, MRS 374, Ep. 117, Ht. 188 [#634]; on pObU {Ht.} *ē = ē cf. Hl. rHt 68-9 || **A** {DQA} *t'i \wedge y ∇ 'louse' > Tg: Orc **tīna-** v. 'look for lice, louse (so.)', Tg *tī-le- id. > Ewk, Neg **tīlə-**, Lm **tīl-**; Tg *tikte (< **tī-kte?) n. 'louse' (× N *täkt ∇ 'louse', q.v.) > Ul **tiktə**, Ork **tiktə** ~ **çiktə**, Nn Nh **čiktə**, WrMc **cixi** ~ **cixə** 'louse' § STM II 179, 181, 392 || T *^ot_l‘i- > OT U **ti-lär'** in insect' § Cl. 5O1 §§

The A cognate is acceptable if A *-i₁y- may go back to N *-äy- (assimilative palatalization *ä > *i) ◇ IS MS 335 (*täjñ 'louse') and IS SS #1.9 (in both: A, U, K *t₁il₁- 'louse'); K {K} *t₁il₁- 'louse' or {K²} *t₁il- id. (> G t₁il-, Mg t₁i(y)-, Lz m₁t₁i-, Sv t₁iš-; F K 181, K² 188, TK 718) may be accepted as cognate only if we can explain Sv -š- or K's *l₁- ◇ Gr. II #254 (*ta₁y 'louse') ([← IS]: L U, A + Ai).

2450. *t₁iyA 'to be narrow' > HS: EC (× N *t₁Uq₁Ν 'near; be close to, approach'): Af {PH} d_{ay}i v. 'be close\near', Sa {R} d_{ay}- v. 'be close\narrow', 'nahe\nschmal\eng sein' ¶ PH 91, R S II 121, 408, 448, 462 || U *tiyä 'narrow (eng, schmal)' > Er т_яя т_яя, {ERV} т_яине 'narrow', Mk т_яиня т_яуñä 'eng, schmal' || Sm {Jn.} *t₁iyå id. > En {Cs.} t₁jä, Ne T т_яя, Ne T O {Lh.} t₁iy·e id., Slq Tz {KKIH} t₁jé 'narrow passage, isthmus, neck of land', {Prk.} t₁či 'narrow passage (теснина)', Slq Ch/UO {Cs.} t₁etekä 'eng' ¶ Coll. 62, UEW 523, ERV 652, 661, PI 279, KKIH 183, Cs. 147 || A: Tg *t₁i'y'e 'narrow' > Ewk tiy₃ ~ tiy₃, Lm t₁iy₃kun, Lm KO t₁wakun ~ t₁'yakun, Lm A t₁iy₃kun 'narrow (eng, schmal)', Ork ç₁ηm₃u, Nn KU t₁ij₃ ~ -ü, Nn Nh/B č₁ij₃ ~ -ü 'narrow (eng)' ¶ STM II 176, Vas. 408, CiR 640, Pt. 155 ◇ IS MS 370 s.v. узкий *t₁i jä, IS SS 318 [#1.15], Coll. 146, Rs. UAW 36, Sauv. 71 (in all sources U, Tg).

2451. (2?) *t₁Uh₁y₁Ν 'eat, feed; food' > HS *✓ t₁r₁h₁y/w ~ ? *✓ t₁hy/w > S [1] *✓ t₁w/y 'eat' > Ak t₁a₁?₁ v. 'eat, graze', Mh {Jo.} ✓ twy v. G 'eat' (pf. t₁zw₁ ~ twuh, ip. y₃tayw, sbjn. y₃tē), Hrs {Jo.} t₁zw₁, Jb E/C {Jo.} pf. 'te, prs. 'yte, sbjn. 'yt, Sq {Jo.} 'te id.; ? [2] *°✓ t₁hy/w > Ar ✓ thw/y (pf. t₁ahā, ip. -thū ~ *-thaw-, n. act. t₁ahw-, *-tuhw-, *tuh₁y-) 'préparer à manger (cuire, rôtir, arranger les viandes\mets)', طاهيـن 'personne qui prépare à manger (cuisinier \ rotisseur \ boulanger); qui donne à manger' ¶ Sd. 1340, BK II 116, Ln. 1888, Jo. M 404 || Eg fP t 'bread' ¶ EG V 209, Fk. 292 || C: Bj {R} t₁yu 'Kost, Nahrung, Lebensunterhalt' ¶ R WBd 233 || ?? NrOm: Ym resp {C} t₁a₁?- v. 'eat', {Wdk.} t₁a₁?r₁ id. ¶ C SE III 85, Wdk. BY 135, Fl. OWL s.v. 'eat'; the adduction of this Ym word is qu. for three reasons: (1) there is no explanation for -r-, (2) the Ym word is isolated within Om (at least in the meaning 'eat'), (3) the social essence of the "respectful language (linguaggio di rispetto)" suggests that the original meaning of the word is not 'eat', but sth. else (possibly a μφ) || Ch {AD} *✓ thw₁y ~ ✓ tyw, {JI} *✓ twy v. 'eat (soft food)', {Nw.} *t₁i v. 'eat' > WCh *✓ thw₁y ~

*ty^w, {Stl.} *tih^w / *tah^w v. 'eat (soft food)': Hs čí | BT: Dr {J} twi / twa, {Nw.} túi, Krkr {Lk., J} t- / {J} tu-, Grm {Sh.} tiyá, Krf {Sch.} tī-wò, Bl {Lk.} ti- | Klr {J} či, {IL} t̥ix, DfB {J} čuh / čwāy, Bks {J} ču / čwāy, Tmbs {Sh.} či | NrBc: Sir {Gw.} twa, {Sk.} tū, Mbr {Sk.} ti / tā, Jmb {Sk.} tí / tā | SBc: Gj/Buli/Tule {Sh.} či | Ngz {Sch.} tá, Bd {IL} təgi / tədi || CCh: Ms {J} tīná ~ číná, ZmB {J, Sa.} tí || ECh: Mgm {J} tīy-, tīyáw, EDng {Fd.} tē, Bdy {AlJ} aor. tā / pfc. té / aor. pl. teyew | Skr {Sx.} té, Mw {J} tē | Mu {J} tī / túwā, {Lk.} túwā, inf. tiyá, Mjl {DB} tuk, Kjk {DB} tu, Kjr {DB} tuye, Brg {J} tāyā ¶ JI I 56 and II 12O-1, J M, Stl. ZCh 167 [#2O1] (*ti/ah^w), J R 213, J B, Nw. KL 133, DB, Blz. EChWL ¶ OS #2345 (HS *ta?- 'eat' > S, Eg, C, Ch), AD SF 53 (S, Eg, C, Om, Ch), ≈ Sk. HCD 34 || D (in SD) *tuy v. 'eat' > Tm tu v. 'eat' (generally used in negative forms), tu 'food', Kn tuuyal 'a dish of rice, milk, and sugar' ¶ DED #2685, D #3282 || ?σ **A** *t'Uy▽ {AD} 'offer food to so.' (×N *toH'ü' ~ *ta|æH'ü' 'bring, fetch, give'? > Tg *tuy- v. 'offer food to so. (e.g. a guest)' > Ewk, Ul tuyu-, Ewk Skh tuyz-, Lm tuy-, Lm Al tuy-, Neg, Orc, Ork toyo-, Nn Nh tuyu- id. ('угошать'), Ewk tuyun, Ewk Skh tuyz, Neg toyon, Orc, Ork toyo, toyon-, Ul tuyu, tuyun-, Nn Nh tuyü 'food offered to a guest' ¶ STM II 2O6 || NaT *tloy 'feast' (unless ← *tl'oy 'camp, community') > OT toy '(wedding) feast', XwT XIII, Cmn/MQp/OOsm XIV, Chg xv toy 'feast', Tkm toy 'wedding feast, wedding, feast', ET, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Xk toy, VTt, Bsh tuy, Tv doy id.; T → WrM toy 'feast' ¶ Rm. W 567, Jeg. 255 ¶ SDM97 s.v. *t'oye (T, Tg + *÷ M *tugeye- 'distribute') and DQA #2457 (pA *t'uya 'give, give a feast': T, Tg), ≠ Rm. SKE 26O-7O (+ untenable parallels for the Tg √) ¶ Tg *t- is a reg. reflex of N *t-, but the quality of the pT dental is not clear: Tkm t- suggests *t'-, while Tv d- points to T *t'- ◇ A *t'Uy▽ belongs here only if its etymologocal meaning is 'feed' and not only 'give' or 'feast'.

2451a. *tahy▽ 'go away, take away' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'conceal') > IE *teh(y)- 'take away, steal' > NaIE *tāy- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *tāyu-s-, *tāti-s 'thief' (×IE *steH- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal' and NaIE *(s)tāyu-s- 'thief, theft' < N *s̥at'ahí' ≈ to take away', q.v.) > OI tā'yū- 'thief', Av tāyu- id., tāya- 'theft' || Gk τητάομαι 'I am deprived\bereft of, in want of', τηύσιος, Gk D ταύσιος 'idle, vain, undertaken to no purpose' (if ← ≈ *'[self-]deceptive') || OIr tāid 'thief' || Sl *taj- 'steal, conceal': *tājiti (prs. *tajq) 'to conceal' >

OCS **τάντι** tajiti (prs. **τάντ** tajq), R та'итъ (prs. та'ю), SCr tájiti (prs. tājī), Slv tajiti 'to conceal'; *tajь 'secret' > OCS **τάн** taji adv. 'λάθρα, secretly', OR **τάн** 'secret', Slv tāj 'denial', Cz pod tajem 'secretly'; Sl *tatъ 'thief' > OCS **τάтъ** tatъ, R † татъ, SCr, Slv tāt 'thief, robber' || Tc B ене-стай 'in secret' || Ht, HrLw taya-'steal' ¶ P 1O1O, EI 543 (*s)teh⁴- 'steal, bring secretly, conceal'), M K I 496 and III 513-4, M E II 75, Vn. T 7, F II 895-6, Vs. IV 11, 28, Glh. 618, Ad. 84-5, Ts. E III 24-6 || **U:** Ugr *tay ∇ -tta- 'verbergen, verheimlichen' (\leftarrow Irn?) > Vg: T tuyt-, tōyt-, P tuyt- id., 'verstecken', MK tuyt-, Ss tūyt- vt. 'hide', LL tuytkāt- vi. 'sich verbergen' | Hg titok 'a secret', † adj. 'geheim, heimlich' ¶ UEW 892 || **A:** Tg *tey- or *tī- 'take away (sth. from so.) > Ewk, Ud, Ul $\overset{\wedge}{tī}$ -, Lm tē-, Sln tīn-, Nn Nh čī- id., Neg tūčayama 'thief' ¶ STM II 173-4 || **HS:** S * $^{\circ}\checkmark$ tħy ~ * $^{\circ}\checkmark$ tħħ > Ar \checkmark tħy G 'être loin, être éloigné', \checkmark tħħ (ip. -tīħ-) {BK} 'périr, se perdre, s'en aller; s'égarer et manquer le but', {Hv.} 'go astray, perish', \checkmark tħħ (ip. *-tūħ- ~ -tīħ-) G {BK} 'errer, rôder, aller ça et là; s'égarer et ne pas atteindre le but' ¶ BK II 62, 117, 128, Hv. 443 ◇ The Ugrian cognate suggests that here Tg *-ey- or *-ī- go back to *-ay-.