

**1844.** \*qabʔ∇ 'to scoop (schöpfen), to draw water' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓χbʔ|h or \*<sup>o</sup>✓χbw > Ak OB/NB/A χabû v. 'draw (water)' ('[Wasser] schöpfen') ¶ Sd. 306 || K: G χap- v. 'scoop out liquid' (Flüssigkeit herausschöpfen'), χap-i 'gourd, a gourd scoop for scooping wine' ¶ Chx. 2299, DCh. 34 (amoxapva), 1722 (χap i) || U: FU \*<sup>o</sup>app∇ (att. in H only) > F appaa, Krl appa- v. 'lade, scoop; eat voraciously' ¶ pLp \*vōppō- > Lp: {N} vuop'pot -pp- v. 'gobble up, eat greedily', Lp Sw vuoppet, vuoppot v. 'fill up the mouth with berries', L vūāḡpātē v. 'poke (food) into one's mouth' ¶ SK 21, N III 816 || ? A: M \*\*a<sup>r</sup>β<sup>r</sup>u- 'scoop out, drain' > WrM aḡu- id., 'épuiser, vider en puisant', Mnr H {SM} ū'- 'scoop, draw (water) from a well, dig out (sth. that has been hidden in earth)' ¶ MED 15, Kow. 31, SM 462 || Gil: Gil A (gob) = ḡov- / qov- / gōv- v. 'scoop, lade' ¶¶ ST 73 ◇ S \*b goes back to N \*b, M and Gil point to a N \*b or \*p. K \*-p- is a reg. reflex of N \*-Pʔ-, in this case of \*-bʔ-. U \*-pp- < \*-p- < \*-bʔ-.

**1845.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \*qUbbʔ∇ (< \*qUḡ<sub>L</sub>∇<sub>L</sub>ʔ∇?) 'food maid of ground cereals', 'flour' (→ 'bread') > K \*qweza- 'loaf' > OG queza-y 'loaf of bread' (a word used to translate Gk ἄρτος 'loaf of wheat-bread' in I Sam. 25.18, Matt. 14.17, and Mark 6.38), G {KEGL} χvez-a 'round loaf of bread', {K} 'flat cake, lozenge' (according to Srj., Umlaut e < \*a), Mg χ0z0 'oblong small cooked bread', χ0z0-ḡvari 'ceremonial cone-formed bread baked at the first Monday of the Lent (with a wooden stick in it)' (Mg ḡvari is 'small loaf of bread, flat bread') ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 336, FS K 496-7 (\*qwez-), Srj. HK 84, FS E 564-5 (\*qwaz-), Ser. 224-5, KEGL VIII 1439, DCh. 1743, Q 254-5, Srj. UK'K 197-9 (Umlaut K \*a > G e) || HS: WS \*χubz- 'bread' > Ar χubz- 'bread', χubzat- 'un pain cuit dans les cendres', ✓χbz G (pf. χabaza, ip. -χbizu) v. 'bake bread', Jb E χḡz v. 'bake' (\*-b- > ∅ reg. ), Mh ✓χbz (pf. χḡbūz, sbjn. ḡḡχbēz), Hrs ✓χbz (pf. χḡbōz) id., Gz ✓χbz (js. ḡaχbāz) v. 'bake', χabz 'bread', χabast (pl. χabāwāz) 'bread' (but Mh, Hrs χabz, Jb E/C χḡbz- 'bread', singulative Jb E/C χab<sup>1</sup>zet, Hrs χḡb<sup>1</sup>zet 'a bread' may be loans from Arabic, as suggested by their phonetic shape) ¶ L G 257, Ln. 697, BK I 533, Hv. 155, Jo. M 437, Jo. J 297, ≠ Nld. NB 56-7 (unc. hyp. of Ethiopian origin of Ar χubz- under the false assumption that "das Brot ist für die Bewohner Arabiens ein seltner Luxus, für die Abessinier die Hauptnahrung"; Nold.'s hyp. was refuted by Landberg [Lb. 553-5]) || ?φ D \*opp∇t∇ 'grain as food' > Tm oppaḡi 'harvest', Tl obbiḡi 'threshing of corn' ¶¶ D #982 ◇ ≈ AD

NM #65 (adduces A \*o|up'a 'flour', which in fact belongs to N \*?opa '≈ powder').

**1846.** ?σ<sub>2</sub> \*qEc∇ 'wear out, be weakened' > HS: S \*°-χī̄s|š- > Ar ✓χys G (pf. χāsa / ip. -χī̄s-) 'be spoiled' (food), 'stink' ('exhaler une odeur fétide'), {Hv.} 'be altered' (meat, walnut); S \*°✓χs? (or \*°✓χš?) > Ar ✓χs? G (pf. χasaʔa / ip. -χsaʔu) 'be weakened' (sight) ¶ BK I 571, 654, Hv. 167, 191 || ?φ Eg fMK x̄z(ϣ) ({EG} h̄s j) 'be weak, feeble', Eg fLMK x̄zϣ 'weakness'; z for the expected s is still unexplained ¶ EG III 398-9, Fk. 204 || K \*qeč-/\*qč- v. 'wear out' > Mg χič-ua 'wear out', Sv {TK} -qč-/qič-, {Top., TK} msd. li-qč-e id., Sv UB {GP} -qč- v. 'wear (sth.) away, digest (sth.)' ¶¶ FS K 498, K<sup>2</sup> 336 (refers the above words to \*qeč-/\*qč- 'tear to pieces, torture' > OG mqec-, G mχec- 'wild animal'), TK 487, Top. Sh III 266, GP 190.

**1847.** <sub>2</sub> \*qič∇ 'shadow, shade' > HS: EC: Sml hōs (pl. hōsas), Sml N {Abr.} hōs 'shade', Rn òsím 'shadow, shade' ¶ Abr. S 110, AD SF 90, PG 242 || S \*°✓χsw|ʔ|h > Ak StB χasû v. 'darken', χasû 'dark, cloudy' ¶ CAD VI 143, 145 || U: FU {UEW} \*iče ~ \*íše 'shadow, shadow soul' > ObU {Ht.} \*īs 'Schattengestalt' > pVg \*īs id. > (within cds.) Vg MK/P/Ss is; pOs \*is 'Schattenseele' > Os: K/O is, Nz/Kz is | ?σ Hg Δ ísz ɖ isz ɖ iz 'Brand (Krankheit); cancer' || ?? FP \*iče 'oneself' > F itse, Es ise 'oneself', Vp ičhine 'epilepsy' | pLp {Lr.} \*yēćz 'oneself' (himself', etc.) > Lp: N ieš ~ jieš, L ietj, U jiihtja, Kld ičč id. | Er эсь eś, Δ {Ps.} äś, Mk эсь eś id. | Chr: H {Ep.} ышкэ ашке, L шке ške, Uf (ə)ške, M iške, B ške id. | Prm {LG} ač-/\*aś- id. > Z, Vt ač-: Z ачым ač-+m, Vt ачим ačim 'myself, Z ачид ač-+d, Vt ачид ačid 'yourself', Z асьным aśn+, Vt асьмеос aśmeos 'ourselves', etc., Z асьтö aśtз 'you yourself (du \ dich selbst)' || Y: K {Jc.} eizi ({Rd.} eiz̄i) 'shaman's spirit, Teufel', {Krn.} eđul 'life, alive', T {Jc.} izie ({Rd.} iz̄ie) 'self', {Jc.} e-z̄i ('ezi) 'animated, living', {Krn.} eđil 'life; to live' ¶ Ht. 66, UEW 79, Rd. UJ 45 [#60] (Y ← U), Lr #264, Lgc. #1601, Ker. II 38-9, MRS 710, Ep. 169, Ang. 53-4, 64, 81, Krn. JJ 280, 284.

**1848.** \*q'o'ć∇<sub>1</sub>?∇<sub>1</sub> 'to remove' > HS: S \*°✓χs|š? > Ar ✓χs? (pf. χasaʔa, ip. -χsaʔ-) 'drive away (a dog)', χāsiʔ- 'chassé, éloigné avec mépris (p. ex. chiens, cochons); éloigné, écarté et inhabité (pays, endroit)' ¶ BK I 571, Hv. 167 || K: GZ \*qoc- v. 'remove, clear from, destroy, exterminate', {K<sup>2</sup>} 'sweep, wipe' > OG qoc-: m0-qoc-a (3s aor.) {DCh.} 'exterminate, wipe off', çar-qoc-a {Ser.} v. 'wipe (one's feet)'

(Luc. 7.38, Joh. 11.2), OG a(ψ)-qoc-a v. 'exterminate, destroy' (Luc. 9.54, Joh. 11.48), v. 'remove' (Luc. 1.25), qoc- 'wipe', G aψ-χoc-a (3s aor.) 'mit Stumpf und Stiel ausrotten', amoχoca 'umbringen, töten, vernichten', gamo-χoc- '(jemandem etwas) ausputzen\saubermachen', {K} χoc- 'wipe up, rub; sweep', Lz χos-: o-χos-u v. 'peel fruit', b-χos-um 'I peel fruit' ¶ FS K 499, K<sup>2</sup> 340, Chx. 2382-3, Ser. 13, 209 || A: Tg \*ōs- vi. 'retreat, move aside (from), vacate (a place)' > Ewk, Lm ōs- id., Neg ōs- vi. 'move aside from; clear (a road)', Ul, Nn os- 'remove, clear (a place in the woods)', Ork ōss- 'retreat, vacate (a place)', Orc osu- 'have the ice broken up' (of a river) ¶ STM II 25-6 || pJ {S} \*us- 'lose, get lost, disappear' > OJ úsá-, úsí-náp-, J: T usé-, ùsína-, K ùsè-, úsíná-, Kg usé-, úsíná- ¶ S QJ #978, Mr. 780 ¶¶ DQA #676 (A \*iũć'u 'become free, retire, disappear' > Tg, J + unc. T \*Iç-kIn- 'let fall\disappear', see N \*q'ê'ĉ<sub>L</sub>∇,∇ 'sink').

**1849.** <sub>2</sub> \*qičE 'see' > HS: S \*-χī'θ' > Ak Λ.inf. χīāšu 'see, find'; ? BHb -ħūš- 'aufmerken' [ψ 141.1] (× Hb -ħūš- 'feel pain' < S \*ħūš- 'feel') ¶ CAD VI 14, KB 266 || A: Tg \*içe- 'see' > Ul, Nn Nh/KU ičz-, Nn B icz-, Orc ičz-, Ud isz- 'see (увидеть)', Ewk ičz-, Lm it/ç- id., 'notice', Sln is(s)z- 'look (посмотреть), try' ¶ STM I 334-5 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #588 (A \*ič'∇ 'hope, see' > Tg + M \*iča- 'hope' [see N ≈ \*ψay'e'ĉ∇ 'seek, look for']).

**1850.** \*q'ê'ĉ<sub>L</sub>∇,∇ 'sink' > HS: S \*°✓χšf > Ar ✓χšf 'baisser, abaisser' ¶ BK I 576 || U \*ećć∇ v. 'sink, fall' (× N \*H<sub>2</sub>eć'U' 'to sink, to dip' [q.v. ffd.]) || IE: ?? AdS of IE \*pēs- v. 'be seated' (< N \*pis∇ (or \*piʔs∇?) 'to sit', 'seat' [q.v.]) > NaIE \*ēs- (md.) 'be seated' > OI ās-tē, Av āste, Gk A ἦσται 'is seated' ¶¶ But N \*q'ê'ĉ<sub>L</sub>∇,∇ is not connected with Ht es-, as- v. 'sit, remain (seated), reside' (see N \*pis∇ '↑') ¶¶ P 342-3, M KI 84, Ch. 411-2, FI 633-4, Pv. I-II 291-300, Ts. E I 110-1, Oett. IGS 112 || ?σ K \*°q|χweç|ç- > G χveç- 'herunterrutschen (z. B. Socke)' ¶ Chx. 2353 ¶ K \*w points to a N rounded vw. of the first syll.; the emphatization of the affricate is probably due to \*f (something like \*-ĉf- > \*-ĉʔ- > \*-ĉ- > K \*-ç- > G -ç-) || A: ?σ M \*iče- v. 'retire into hibernation' (× N \*H<sub>2</sub>eć'U' '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) || NaT \*Iç-ψ|qIn- v. 'let fall', 'let slip, allow to disappear' > OT ičψIn- id., 'let (sth.) slip' (uzun-tonluψ köznüsin kolke ičψInmiš 'a woman let her mirror fall in a lake'), XwT XIV ičqIn- 'release, let go, lose', MQp XIV [CC] XIV ičqIn-, MQp XV išqIn- 'escape', Chg XV ičqIn- 'let (sth.) slip (from

one's hand)', VTt ЫЧКЫН ЪЏҚЫН-, Bsh ЪСҚЫН- 'fall (from one's hands)', Alt ІЏҚЫН- 'drop (sth. from one's hands), let slip', Xk ЫСЖЫН- ІСХЫН- v. 'fall, fall out; drop, let fall', Yk ЫСЫГЫН- ІСИГЫН- v. 'let fall\slip, Tv ЫШКЫН- ІЏҚЫН- v. 'let fall, drop'; NaT \*ІҫҮ|ҚЫН- v. 'let slip, allow to disappear' is probably a sd. (broadening of meaning) from v. 'let fall'. But if 'allow to disappear' is the original meaning, the word is not valid as a cognate. The derivational prehistory of the stem is obscure (according to Cl., "a reflexive form [-н], but with no known basic form"); the underived hapax legomenon Іҫ- (the Namangan codex of Qutadgu Bilig, p. 120, l. 10), interpreted in DTS as 'скрываются, исчезать', is not confirmed by Cl. ¶ Cl. 23, DTS 216-7, ET Gl 672-3, BT 188, BIG 332, TvR 601, Pek. III 3835-6.

**1851.** (₂?) \*qV'ĉ'V (= \*qa'ĉ' i?) (or \*qV'ĉ' ʕV?) ≈ conceive, give birth' > HS: ?σ SC: Irq {E} χaĉ i, {MQK} χāĉ i(?) 'afterbirth of animals', ?φ Asa {E} har- to give birth' ¶ MQK 118, E SC 370 (adduces Asa har- and reconstructs SC \*χaĉ- or \*χanĉ- > pRt \*χaĉ- v. 'give birth' (of animals) || IE \*Xe|ps- > Ht has(s)-/hans- 'beget, procreate, give birth', HrLw has(a)- 'beget', has-mi- 'progeny, issue', Lc esedenneve < Lw \*hassatanna- 'progeny' (unless from \*hams- 'procreate', reconstructed in Pv. III 217-8 on the basis of comparison with Ht hammasa- 'grandchild'; if we reject the adduction of hammasa-, -n- in hansa- may represent a reg. IE \*-n-infix, as in the NaIE present tense) ¶ Pv. III 212-8, Frd. HW 61, Ts. EI 191-2 || A: Tg \*aji- 'conceive, give birth; child' > WrMc азиган 'child, boy', азигала- v. 'conceive (зарождают, начинатъ)', азиге, Mc Sb аҗиге 'small', WrMc ази 'first-born', Lm ājɪn 'first-born' ¶ STM I 16-7, Z 51-2 ¶¶ SDM95 (s.v. ? \*āǰi ? v. 'conceive, give birth') reconstructs a long vw. \*ā both in the pTg and the pA words, which is unj. because the length of the vw. in Lm may be (as it often is) secondary ◇ The voiced \*j in Tg still needs explaining. It may point to a N etymon \*qV'ĉ' ʕV (with \*ʕ that caused voicing of the affricate in Tg and was lost in SC and IE).

**1852.** ₂ \*qadV 'to hurry, to run' > HS: S \*°√χdw|y > Ar √χdy G (pf. حدى χadā, ip. -χdī) v. 'go at a quick pace' (of a horse) ({Fr.} 'celeriter incessit') ¶ Fr. I 468, BK I 548, Hv. 159 || Eg fP χdy 'travel downstream' ¶ EG III 354-5, Fk. 199 || C: Ag: Bln {R} haded- v. 'run', 'hurry', 'gallop' (of a horse) ¶ R WB 187 ¶¶ ≈ Coh. #144 (S, Eg + unc. Shl əddu go') || A: M \*adaga- (unless it is \*ʕadaga-) 'hurry' (< \*'run, walk quickly') > WrM adaga-, HIM адга- v. 'hurry, speed, strive', WrO адаҗа- 'be in a

hurry, hasten', Kl adϑa- id. ¶ MED 9, KW 1, Krg. 20 ◇ ≈ IS MS 338 s.v. 'двигать(ся)' \*q<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup>d<sup>h</sup>, IS SS ##3.11 and 8.3 (both: M, D, K, HS).

**1853.** (₂?) \*q<sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>d<sup>∇</sup> 'belly' > K: Sv {Ni., GP} qād 'belly' ¶ GP 311, Ni. s.v. животъ || HS: SC: Irq {E} χiri 'waist', {MQK} χiri(:)η<sup>ω</sup> 'lower back' (according to E, Irq -r- < SC \*-t<sup>y</sup>- → \*-t<sup>z</sup>-) ¶ ESC 258, MQK 118 || Eg fP ḫ.t (Eg) ḫ.t 'belly, body' > Cpt: Sd ḫh hē, A ḫεh ḫ<sub>2</sub>eī 'belly, stomach', ḫHT- hēt-, B ḫHT- ḫēt- id. ¶ EG III 356-8, Fk. 200, Vc. 285 ¶¶ The Irq and Eg words belong here only if their \*-t- goes back to \*-d-t (with the formative \*-t of fem. gender) || ? D \*at<sup>z</sup>- 'flesh' (← \*'body' ← \*'belly') > Kn adḡaḡu, adḡabala 'flesh, meat', Mlt aḡaḡe 'curry made of meat, fish, or vegetable' ¶¶ D #60.

**1854.** ₂ \*qe|id<sup>∇</sup> (→ \*g-) 'speak' > HS: S \*o-χīd- > Ak Λ χādu ḡ χīādu 'speak, make an utterance', χittu 'utterance' ¶ CAD VI 28, 208 || D \*e|iṭ-, {ḡGS} \*e|iḡ- 'speak, tell, let know' > Klm iḡḡ- 'tell, show', Nkr iḡḡ- 'say', iḡip- 'show', Nk iḡuk- id., Krx eṛ- (p. eḡḡas) 'call, summon, invite\command to come\assemble, rouse from sleep', Mlt eṛye 'speak with fluence' ¶¶ D #786, ≠ Pf. 80 [#507].

**1855.** \*q<sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>d<sub>z</sub>ḡ<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup> 'to step, to walk' > HS: S \*o-χṭw > Ar ✓χṭw G (ip. \*-χṭū) v. 'step, make steps', χuṭw-at- (pl. <sup>خطى</sup>χuṭā), χaṭw-at- 'a step' ¶ BK I 597, Hv. 176 || Eg NE ḡtyw - a verb of going, ?σEg fP ḡty.ω 'Terrasse mit Treppe' ¶ EG III 348, Tk. I 86, 232 ¶¶ Tk. l.c. (Eg, S) || C: EC (× N \*ṡ<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup>dU 'go'): EC: Sa {Wlm.} -ad/-ed- 'go', Sml N {Abr.} ád- 'go to', ?φ Sd {Mrn.} haḡ- 'andare', {Hd.} haṛr-, {Gs.} haṛa 'go'; ? Arr pcv. -iṛit- pf. / -eṛet- ip. / ṛīṭ imv. m. 'go' ¶ AD SF 242, Abr. S 4, Mrn. S 220, Hd. 369, Gs. 147, Hw. A 451-9 || SOM: Ari {Fl.} ada 'go', Male {Fl.} ad- 'come'?) (× N \*ṡ<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup>dU 'go') || AdS of B \*o-wdH 'go' and SC (Asa adi 'go') < N \*ṡ<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup>dU ¶¶ Contamination with N \*ṛat<sub>z</sub>ḡ<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup> 'come' in C and SOM? || IE: NaIE \*a|e|ot- 'go, walk' (× N \*ṛat<sub>z</sub>ḡ<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup> '↑' [q.v.]) > OI 'atati 'goes, walks' ¶ ≈ P 69, M KI 26, M EI 56, EI 228 || K \*qed-/\*qid-/\*qd- 'go, come', ? 'move, bring' > Lz χt- ~ χṭ- 'come, appear', Mg rt- 'go', Sv qad- (qed-, qid-) / qd- (inf. li-qed) 'come'; possibly also with caus. meaning: OG qad/qd-, G χad-/χd- 'take, take out', Sv qad- (qed-, qid-) / qd- (inf. li-qde) 'bring, take\draw out' ¶ K 263, K<sup>2</sup> 335, FS K 491 and FS E 557-8, Chx. 2311-4, Chik. 426, Marr 234, Top. SE 75, GP 190 || A: M \*od<sub>z</sub>ḡ<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup> 'go' (× N \*ṡ<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup>dU 'go', q.v. ffd. × N \*w<sup>∇</sup>d<sub>z</sub>ḡ<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup> 'walk, go'?) || T \*āt- v. 'step' → M \*adam 'pace, step' (× N \*ṛat<sub>z</sub>ḡ<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup> '↑')

[q.v. ffd.]) 𐌿𐌿 S AJ 280 [#142] (pA \*ā̄t̄∇); SDM97 (pA \*ā̄|ē̄t̄∇), ≠ DQA #1756 (A \*p'ē̄ta- v. 'step, walk': equates T and M \*adam with Tg \*pete-'jump') || ? D \*ā̄t̄- vi. 'move' (× N \*ʔat̄, ∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The discrepancy between the apparent reflexes of N \*-t̄- (IE \*-t-, S \*-t̄-, Mg -t̄-), those of N \*-t- (Eg -t-), and those of N \*-d- (in K) are due to the N Ir. \*ʔ (\*-dʔ- > \*-t̄- and probably \*-t-). The Ir. may be also responsible for the long vw. in T (< pA?) and D. The vw. \*o in M \*od̄u- belongs to the heritage of N \*ʔo'dU ◇ IS MS 343 s.v. 'идти' \*q'ā't̄∇ (IE, S, Eg) and IS SS 1.38 ('go') (both: IE, S, Eg); ≈ IS MS 338 s.v. 'двигать(ся)' \*q'o'd∇, IS SS ##3.11 and 8.3 ('move') (both: A, D, K, HS, incl. err. S \*✓χd̄y 'go to a quick pace', cp. N \*qad∇ 'to hurry, to run').

**1856. \*qaḡ, a** 'to fear' > HS: CS \*✓χḡʔ v. 'fear, be confused' > BHb 𐌶𐌿𐌶 𐌸𐌶𐌶𐌶 {GB} 'fear' (h.l. Is. 19.17, LXX: φόβητρον 'terror'), Ar ✓χḡʔ G (pf. χaḡiʔa) 'be ashamed' 𐌿 GB 213; ≠ KB 278 (interprets the word 𐌶𐌿𐌶 𐌸𐌶𐌶𐌶 as 'Beschämung' on the basis of comparison with Ar), ≠ KBR 290 (𐌶𐌿𐌶 'shame, confusion'), Fr. I 463, BK I 542, Hv. 157 || IE: NaIE \*aḡh- v. 'fear', 'sorrow', \*āḡh- 'dread, horror' > AS é̄z̄e n. 'fear', ON agi 'fear, horror', Gt agis id., og 'is afraid' || OIr ad-ág- v. 'fear' || ?σOI a'gha-h, Av aḡō 'bad', aḡa- 'evil', OI a'gha-m n. 'evil' (infl. of N \*ʔāka 'be evil') || ?σGk ἄχος (gen. ἄχεος) ntr. 'mental pain, distress', ἄχομαι, ἄχνομαι 'be grieved, distressed' || OIr ad-ágor 'I fear' 𐌿 P 7-8, Mn. 2-3, Vn. A 23, Vr. 3, Ho. 89, Fs. 14, 580, M K I 1, F I 202-3, EI 198 and 247 (\*h̄eḡh- 'be afraid \ downcast', 'be afflicted; grieve') || D \*ak- v. 'fear, tremble' (× N ?σ \*ʔayka '≈ move [quickly], jump', q.v. ffd.) 𐌿𐌿 A possible prehistory of D \*-k-: N \*-gʔ- > \*k̄ > D \*-k-.

**1857. \*q'a'li** 'extend one's hand, seize, take, hold' > HS: S \*o✓χll > OAk, Ak OB p. -χlul, inf. χalēlu v. 'hold'; ??? S \*o✓χlf > Ar ✓χlf G {Ln., Hv.} 'pull off, take off (garment, shoes)', {BK} 'retirer\ôter une chose de dessus une autre' 𐌿 CAD VI 34, Ln. 780-1, BK I 616, Hv. 181 || C: EC: Sam {Hn.} \*hel- 'get, obtain' > Sml hel-, Rn hel- ~ el-, Bn hel-id. || Dhl hēl- {EEN} 'seize, catch hold of' 𐌿 E SC 307, EEN 15, Hn. S 63, Ss. PEC 40, PG 145 || Ch: CCh: Gzg {Lk.} hal- 'nehmen (Hirse, Erdnüsse)' || WCh: Ang {Fik.} ēl ~ el 'seize, catch', {J} ʔel 'ergreifen, schnappen' 𐌿 Lk. G 123 𐌿𐌿 According to AD WIL, EC \*h- corresponds to S \*χ-, sc. goes back to N \*q- 𐌿𐌿 Hardly here Eg MK h̄z̄y {EG} 'angreifen, (den Gegner) annehmen', {Fk.} 'charge down upon (enemy)', because Eg h̄ is not cognate with S \*χ, and the semantic connection is not reliable (⇔ Tk

SCA 98 [#28.3], Tk I 146) || **A:** T \*a<sub>l</sub>(I)-, {Md.} \*a<sub>l</sub>- 'take' > OT {Cl.} a<sub>l</sub>- 'take, seize, receive', MQp [CC] a<sub>l</sub>- 'take, receive', Tk a<sub>l</sub>-, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, Alt, Tv, Tf, Xk a<sub>l</sub>-, Yk il-, Uz al-, Chv il- 'take' ¶ Cl. 124-5, DTS 32, Rs. W 14-5, ET Gl 127-9, TL 335-7, 699-700, Ra. 152, Md. 100, 159, Jeg. 68, Fed. I 163-4 ¶ According to Md. 98, pT \*a goes back to A \*a influenced by the vw. \*I (sc. originally \*i) of the second syll. || Tg \*a<sub>l</sub>i- v. 'take, receive, extend one's hand' > Ewk PT a<sub>l</sub>-id., Ewk Y a<sub>l</sub>i- id., v. 'hold one's hand for sth.' ('подставить руку'), Sln a<sub>l</sub>i- v. 'accept (принимать)', Neg a<sub>l</sub>- 'extend\hold one's hand for sth.', Lm a<sub>l</sub>i- id., 'hold one's vessel for sth.', 'shield oneself with the hand\shield', Orc a<sub>l</sub>i- v. 'shield\cover oneself with the hand', Ud a<sub>l</sub>i- id., 'extend the hand to receive sth.', Ul a<sub>l</sub>u- v. 'extend the hand, defend oneself', Nn Nh/B a<sub>l</sub>u- v. 'hold one's hand\stick in order to defend oneself', Ork d. a<sub>l</sub>u- 'pass (sth. to so.), give (подавать, вручать)', WrMc a<sub>l</sub>i-, Mc Sb a<sub>l</sub>i- v. 'receive, take'; Tg б→ Dg a<sub>l</sub>i- v. 'take, receive' (hardly a genetic cognate of T and Tg, because its meaning suggests that it is isolated within M) ¶ STM I 26-7, T DgJ 120 || ?σ M \*a<sub>l</sub>i (unless it is \*φa<sub>l</sub>i?) 'give me!', (?) 'take for me!' inv. > WrM a<sub>l</sub>i, HIM, Kl аль a<sub>l</sub>i id., Kl {Rm.} a<sub>l</sub>, a<sub>l</sub> 'gib her, nimm!', Ord {Ms.} a<sub>l</sub>i 'donne-moi, passe-moi', Brt алээ a<sub>l</sub>ē 'give!' ¶ MED 31, KRS 38, Ms. O 16, KW 6, Chr. 42-3 || ??φ pJ {S} \*á- 'receive' > OJ ú, J: T/K/Kg é id. ¶ S QJ #754, Mr, 681 ¶¶ KW 6, SDM97 s.v. \*a<sub>l</sub>a, DQA #20 (A \*á<sub>l</sub>a) || **D:** [1] \*a<sub>l</sub>]- v. 'take up in the hollow of the hand' > Tm a<sub>l</sub>!u, Ml a<sub>l</sub>!uka id., Tm a<sub>l</sub> 'handful, anything contained in the hollow of the hand' || [2] \*ā]- v. 'get, own' (→ v. 'rule') > Ka ā]- v. 'get, possess, rule', Tu ā]-u<sub>l</sub>i v. 'govern, reign', Td ō]- v. 'own (buffaloes), rule', Tm ā]- v. 'rule, reign', Ml ā]-uka v. 'possess' (a comparison proposed in Km. 313 [#191]) ¶¶ On the origin of D \*ē]- v. 'receive, take' see my comments to N \*qæī∇ 'hand' ¶¶ D ##290, GS 257-8 [#392a], Km. 313 [#191] (ties in Tl ē]u v. 'rule, govern' within the first D √ [Ka ā]-, etc.] and reconstructs pSD \*yā]-, but in my opinion, Tl ē]u v. 'rule, govern' may well be a sd. of Tl ē]u v. 'take' < D \*ē]- v. 'receive, take' < N \*qæī∇).

**1858. \*qal∇** 'bottom, down' > IE: Ht halluwa- 'deep': hallūwas witas kat<sup>r</sup>tan<sup>1</sup> 'in deep water' (unless from halluwa- {Pv.} 'hollow, pit'), but haliya- v. 'kneel, genuflect' is more likely to belong to IE \*Xol- 'elbow, knee' < N \*rUL∇ 'knee, elbow' ¶ Pv. III 28-9 (s.v. haliya-), 47-9 (s.v. halluwa- 'hollow, deep'), EI 96 (Ht < IE \*h<sub>2</sub>elwō-

s ~ \*h<sub>2</sub>eulǵs 'elongated cavity, hollow') || HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓χly > Sq {L} ✓ħly v. 'throw down, sit under sth.', di-'ħale 'under', 'ħele 'deep', Mh {Jo.} 3ηχāli 'under, underneath', ? Jb C a'ḡah' 'down, downwards' ¶ L IS 175, Jo. M 3O8, Jo. J 2 || U \*ala 'bottom, place under sth.' > F, Es ala- (first part of cds.) 'under, lower', F al-la, Es all 'under', F, Es ala 'territory' | pLp {Lr.} \*vōlē n. 'down, lower part' > Lp: S {Hs.} vuoīie, L {LLO} vuoīlē, N {N} vuoīle id., 'the space\part under sh.', vuoī'dě ~ vuoīd ~ vuoī postp. 'under', Kld вўлленъ vūll-eń 'below, under' | Er/Mk ал al 'lower (das untere, unter befindliche)', Er alo, Mk ala 'below, under' | Chr L ұлан ü'-an, ұлнө 'ül-nö, Uf/B ü-l-nö, H ü-l-nə 'below', L ü'ləl 'bottom, lower', B/H ü-l-, Uf ü'lö-, ü-l- 'lower' | Prm {LG} \*ul 'bottom, place under sth.' > Z ұв, Z Δ, Vt ul id. || ObU: pOs \*+l 'lower, down' > Os: V +l, D it, O il id., pOs \*+l-ən loc. 'below' > Os: V +lən id., D itən id., 'on the ground floor', O ilən 'on the floor'; pVg \*yāl-ən loc. 'below' > Vg: T ya'lən, LK yōln, P yałən, Ss yolən id., pVg \*yāl-∇k 'the lower' > Vg: T ya'lēk, LK yałk, P yałk, Ss yolīk; according to UEW, Vg \*y- is prosthetic; the corr. Os \*+ ÷ Vg \*yā may be due to the presence of \*y- | OHg al 'lower, underneath, lower part', Hg al- (in cds.) 'lower', alá, alatt 'below, underneath, under' || pSm {Jn.} \*+l'ь 'ground, bottom (Boden, das Untere)', \*+l'ь-η 'down, under' > Ne: T dat. һыл' η+l'ĩ, T O {Lh.} η+l'ĩ, F {Lh.} η+r id., T һылăд 'bottom (дно, низ)'; Ng {Mik.} ηil'ya 'down, under'; En {Ter.} ir'ĩ 'under' (direction), iron 'under' (place); Slq Tz +l 'under'; Kms {KD} jil' 'lower part', jil'gən 'below', jil'dě 'untenhin' || pY {IN} \*al 'bottom' > YK/T al postp. 'under', K al-bə 'foot of a hill\mountain' (-bə is a sx. of nomina loci) ¶¶ Coll. 2, UEW 6, Sm. 536 (U, FU \*+l'ă, FP \*ēla, Ugr \*+l'a 'under'), Lr. #1432, N III 8O2-13, Hs. 1457, SaR 56, MRS 642, LG 295, EWU 19-2O, Jn. 24, Ter. 4O8-9, Ter. EJ 454, KKIИ 195, KD 183, IN 214-5, ≈ Rd. UJ 34 [#1] (Y ← U) || A {DQA} \*ale 'lower, below' > T: [1] \*alt 'base, bottom' > OT {Cl.} alt (i) 'bottom, lower surface of sth.', Tk alt 'base, bottom', Az, Ggz, CrTt alt, Tk Δ āłt id., Qrg, Alt, Tv ald(i), SY, Xk altı, Tlt, Brb alt 'under', [2] ? NaT \*al 'below, bottom' > Alt/Tlt/QK/Shor {Rl.} alIn 'Unterteil, Stelle unter einem Gegenstande', Yk alIn 'bottom, lower part'; the ✓ \*al 'below' coexists with the homonymous ✓ \*al 'front'; the meaning of al in OT is qu.: Gbn., DTS, Rs. find here two meanings: 'front' and 'below', while Cl. recognized the meaning 'front, in front' only ¶ Rl. I 373-6, 4O0-2, DTS 32. Gbn. ATG 293, Rs. W 14, Cl. 121, 13O, ET Gl 124-5,



140, JkR 39 || pKo {S} \*àráj > MKo àráj, NKo arä 'below, lower side' ¶ S QK #652, Nam 336, MLC 1069 || pJ {S} \*žrž- > OJ òru v. 'lower, go down', J: T orí-, K/Kg òrì- ¶ S QJ #590, Mr. 742 || ?? Tg: WrMc aligan 'Untersatz, Untergestell, Postament, Sockel' ¶ Z 34, Hr. 36 ¶¶ DQA #25 (T, Ko, J), Rm. SKE 6, ≈ Pp. VG 75 ◇ IS MS 351 s.v. 'нижний' qalᵛ (with further literature) and IS SS 336 [#8.1.] (in both: HS, U, A, IE + \*÷ Ht haliya-) ◇ Gr. II #406 (\*ala 'under') (IE, U, Y, A, Ko, J, ES + unc. Ai).

**1859. \*qæī∇** 'hand' > **K** \*qeł- 'hand' (a short \*e) > OG qeł-, G xeł- 'hand', Mg, Lz xe id., Mg xu handful', Sv UB {GP} qäl 'arm', Sv {FS} qäl (pl. qalär) 'length of two outstretched arms' ¶ FS K 495-6, FS E 562-3, ≈ K 264 and K<sup>2</sup> 334-5 (GZ \*qe-), Chik. 58, GP 311; on Mg/Lz xe < \*qeł- with the loss of K \*l and Umlaut see GM S 93 and 160; on the correspondence of G eł with Mg/Lz u see Schm. 25-6 || **A:** T \*äl(ig), {Adb.} \*älg 'hand' > OT, MU älig, MU [KB], Chg eł ~ elik 'hand', MQP XIII elig 'hand', XIV [CC] eł, Osm XIV äl 'hand', Tk eł, Ggz jēl, Az, Uz XwOg äl, Tkm, Slr eł, CrTt eł, Xlj ä·l 'hand', Yk älī → ilī 'hand, arm' || Chv ał, ałb id., 'foreleg' ¶ Cl. 140-1, DTS 169-70, Rs. W 39, ET Gl 140-1, TL 251, Adb. SR 199-215, Md. 34, 164 (\*ä·l(ig)), DT 109 || ? Tg \*elge- v. 'lead by the hand' (in some descendant lgs.: → 'lead [an animal] by holding the rein') > Orc žggž-, Ork žídž- 'lead by the hand', Nn, Ewk, Neg žlgž-, Lm žlgə- id., 'lead by holding the rein', Ul žžž- 'lead by the hand (an old\sick\blind person)', Sln žlgž- v. 'lead', WrMc elgi- ~ elge- 'lead by holding the rein' ¶ STM II 446, Vas. 553, Bz. 969, Adb. SR-D 449 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 57, Adb. SR-D 455-6, S AJ 17, 47, 282, DQA #1527 (A \*ḡāli 'hand' > T + Tg \*ḡāla 'hand') || **HS:** CCh: MfM {Brr.} χάλáy ({{Brr.} χάλáy) 'arm', pMM {Ro.} \*ahał > Mada {BrrB} a-hál 'hand, arm', Mkt {Ro.} áhàł, Myn/Zlg {Ro.} àhár 'hand' ¶ Brr. CM 42, BrrB 125, Ro. 266 [#343] || ?σ **D** \*ēł- v. 'receive, take' > Tm ēł id., Ml ēłkka v. 'receive, take in charge, admit', Kt e·ł- v. 'catch in sth. held up', Tl ēłu v. 'accept, admit, take'; the connection is valid only if the D √ in question is different from \*ēł- v. 'happen; suit' ([GS] \*ēł-) or if the latter is a sd. of \*ēł- 'receive, take'; the vw. \*ē suggests that this D root belongs here rather than to N \*q'a'li 'to extend one's hand' (q.v.), which is the source of D \*a'li- 'take up in the hollow of the hand' and D \*āł- v. 'get, own' (q.v.); for phonetic reasons I prefer this etymology in spite of better semantic connection of D \*ēł- with N \*q'a'li ¶¶ D #905,

Km. 313 [#191] (ties in Tl  $\bar{e}l\upsilon$  v. 'rule, govern' within the first D  $\sqrt{[Ka \bar{a}l-}$ , etc.] and reconstructs pSD  $*y\bar{a}l-$ , but in my opinion Tl  $\bar{e}l\upsilon$  v. 'rule, govern' may well be a sd. of Tl  $\bar{e}l\upsilon$  v. 'take')  $\diamond$  It is hard to say if Tg  $*\eta\bar{a}la$  'hand' belongs here. It depends on the investigation of the problem of Tg (and N?)  $*\eta-$ . For a possible solution see N  $? \phi \approx *g\bar{o}\eta^H\bar{a}l\triangledown$  'forearm'  $\diamond$  IS SS #8.7, IS MS 362 ( $*qel\Delta$ ).

**1860.**  $*q\hat{o}l\triangledown$  (=  $*qu\bar{l}\triangledown?$ ) '≈ lizard, snake' > K: GZ  $*(m-)\chi|qu|$ - 'lizard' > OG  $m\chi uli\omega-$ , Mg  $\chi o\lambda ar-$ ,  $\chi v\bar{i}lar-$ ,  $\chi v\bar{e}lar-$ , Lz  $mt\chi o\lambda ar-$ ,  $\chi o\lambda ura-$  id.; G  $\chi v\bar{l}i\kappa-$  id. (× GZ  $*\psi w\bar{l}e\kappa-$ / $*\psi w\bar{l}i\kappa-$  'be crooked, curved?')  $\S$   $*m-$  is probably a px.  $\S$  K 144, K<sup>2</sup> 134, 228, FS K 232, FS E 255-6  $\S$  OG  $\chi$  may go back both to K  $*\chi$  and to  $*q$  (because in one of the dialects of OG the pK cns.  $*q$  is represented by  $\chi$ ) || **HS:** S  $*\chi u\bar{l}_j ma\bar{t}-$  '≈ lizard, snake' > Sr  $\text{ܠܗܘܠܡܐܬܐ}$   $\bar{h}ulm\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  'large lizard', Hb  $\text{ܠܗܘܠܡܐܬܐ}$  'homεt̄ 'ε reptile', Ak  $\chi ulmittu \sim \chi ulmi\bar{t}\bar{t}u$  'ε snake or lizard', ? Ar  $\bar{h}im\bar{t}\bar{a}t-$  {Fr.} 'animalculum in herbis vivens',  $\bar{h}ama\bar{t}\bar{i}t-$  {Fr.} 'serpens; vermis, qui in oleribus tempore veris est', {BK} 'serpent; espèce d'insectes qui naît dans les légumes' (loans from a lge. having  $\bar{h}$  from S  $*\chi$ )  $\S$  Br. 235, KB 314, Sd. 354, CAD VI 230, Fr. I 427, BK I 493 || Eg RT/G  $\chi r r . t$  'snake in the underworld; reptiles, vermin (Gewürm)'  $\S$  EG III 150 || ? EC (mt.): pSam  $*mul\bar{f}-$  'lizard' (cp. OG  $m\chi uli\omega-$  id.) > Sml  $mula\bar{f}$ , Sml N {Abr.}  $m\acute{u}la\bar{f}$  'ε lizard', Rn {PG}  $m\acute{u}l\acute{u}h$  'ε small gray lizard'  $\S$  Hn. S 69, Abr. S 182, DSI 445, PG 228 || **A:** Tg  $*olga(-ma)$  'snake' > Neg  $olgon$ ,  $olgoma$  id., Orc  $ugguma$  id., 'grass-snake', Ud  $ugum\bar{z}$  'a red poisonous snake', Nn KU  $olgoma \check{z}abd\bar{a}$ , Nn B  $olgoma \check{z}abda(n-)$  'big snake, boa, python', Nn Nh  $olgoma muyki$  'ε snake'  $\S$  STM II 13 || T: Qq, Kr Cr  $ulu\omega$ , Qzq  $\bar{u}l\bar{u}\omega$ , Alt, Tv  $ulu$ , SY  $ulu \sim o\bar{u}$  'dragon' (unless a loan from Chn  $lu$  id.)  $\S$  ET Gl 591 || **D** (in SD)  $*u\bar{o}$  'wood-worm' or sim. > Tm, Ml  $u\bar{l}u$  id., Kn G  $u\bar{l}\eta gu$  'a nit'  $\S$  D #700  $\diamond \neq$  Fn. KD #106 (K +  $*\div$  D  $*ka(\bar{v})u$ ]- 'lizard'). If the T cognate is valid, the lateral in pN rec. is  $*-l-$ , otherwise it is either  $*-l̄-$  or  $*-l̄-$ .

**1861.**  $*q\bar{v}L\bar{v}_j\bar{v}$  'knee; to kneel' > **HS:** S  $*\check{\chi}l\bar{v}$  > Ar  $\check{\chi}l\bar{v}$  G {BK} 's'agenouiller et ne vouloir pas bouger ni se relever (par obstinance, les chameaux)', {Hv.} 'kneel without moving' (camel)  $\S$  BK I 609, Hv. 179 || **K:** GZ (d.?)  $*muq\bar{l}-$  'knee, corner' > OG  $muq\bar{l}-$ , K  $m\bar{u}\chi l-$  'knee', Mg  $m\bar{u}\chi ur-$  'corner, edge'  $\S$  K 138, K<sup>2</sup> 127, FS K 224, FS E 246.

**1862.**  $*q\bar{a}l\bar{i}y\bar{v}$  (=  $*q\bar{a}'l\bar{i}y\bar{v}?$ ) 'melt, dissolve, be wet\moist' > **HS:** S  $*-\chi\bar{u}l-$   $\sim * \check{\chi}l\bar{l}$  > Ak  $\check{\chi}w\bar{l}$  (inf.  $\chi\bar{a}l\upsilon$ , p.  $-\chi\bar{u}l-$ ) 'become liquid,

dissolve; exude (a liquid)', Mh {Jo.} ✓χλλ (pf. χλλ̄) 'be penetrated by rain, let in rain' (of a roof), 'penetrate, come through' (of rain, water)', Jb C {Jo.} χελλ- id., χαλλ̄un 'wet', ✓χλλ Sh (pf. αχ'λελ) 'let in rain' (of roof), Jb E {Jo.} ✓χλλ G (pf. 'χλελ, sbjn. 'υεχχε) 'let in rain' (of a roof) ¶ CAD VI 54-5, Jo. J 299, Jo. M 439 || ?? B: Ah əlyəm vi. 'dissolve' ¶ Fc. 1020 || U: FU \*e'∇ 'moist, wet' > Chr: B ile ~ i'le, M/P i'le, Chr L иле id. | Prm {LG} \*E' > Z цль u' id., Vt ыль +í 'raw (not baked enough), wet' || Vg: N i' 'wet', P i', N il 'juice' || Sm \*зль 'melting\soft snow' ({Jn.} 'melting snow') > Ne: Т њэл" ηε]η 'weich, locker' (of snow)', Т О {Lh.} ηε]η + ci'rε̄ 'soft melting snow', F {Lh.} ηε]η at χ+rrε 'rather thin soft snow'; Kms {KD} ε'λεε̄ 'damp soft snow in spring-time' ¶ Jn. 21, Ter. 42O, KD 19 || YT a'la- v. 'melt' (of snow, ice), 'be warmed', 'dissolve' ¶ Ku. 24-5 || D (in SD) \*a'li- v. 'melt, dissolve' > Ml aliуuka vi. 'dissolve (as salt)', alikka, aliуikka vi. 'melt', aliccā, aliуu 'melting, compassion', Kdg ali- vi., vt. 'dissolve', Tu aliуuni vi. 'to dissolve, to decay' ¶ D #250 || ? D \*a'ak- ≈ liquid, fluid' > Tm a'akam 'water', Kn a'aka, a'aka 'neither thick nor thin' (as applied to liquids), ? Tl anuku 'semiliquid, semifluid' ¶ ¶ D #298 ◇ The N vw. is controversial: S points to a N rounded vw. (but in the framework of the S morphology this \*u/\*ū may be secondary), D suggests N \*a or \*ä, while FU points to N \*e. There is also conflicting ev. about the N lateral cns.: FU \*e'∇ and D \*a'ak- suggest \*-í-, while SD \*a'li- points to a N plain \*-l-. A possible solution is N \*qäliу∇; the group \*-liу- contracted to \*-ly- > FU \*-í-, D \*-l-; FU \*e for N \*ä may be due to the palatalizing influence of N \*-i-).

**1863.** ?φ<sub>2</sub> \*q∇LC∇ 'to tear, to be torn' > K: GZ \*qleč-/qlič-/q'č- 'tear off, be torn off\apart' > G χleč-/χlič- 'tear off, be torn off (zerreißen, zerfetzen)', G M {Kavt.} na-qleč- 'scrape, fragment', ?φ G X {Ghl.} na-qeč 'fragment of tree', Mg χarck-/χorck-/χirck- 'tear off, burst', Lz χreck-/χ(r)ock-, χroçq-, χrosq- 'burst', 'die' (of animals) ¶ K 266 (\*qleč-), K<sup>2</sup> 339, FS E 487-8, and FS E 553 (\*χleč-/χlič-), Kavt. M 294, Ghl. 419 || HS: CS (or pS) \*✓χlç- 'be broken, tear out' > Ar حاص ✓χlç (pf. χaliçā / ip. -χlaç-) 'be broken in the flesh' (a bone), BHb ✓ħlç פ'ח G 'withdraw, pull off', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓ħlç G 'take off, undress; withdraw', JEA ✓ħlç G 'bare the shoulder (as a sign of mourning)', SmA ✓ħlç v. 'extract', ה'ח ה'ח n. act. 'plundering',

OYmn {Slw.} ✓χλς G, Ar Y✓χλς G 'draw out (ausziehen)', ? Ak ✓χλς (inf. χαλαῖς) 'clean by combing'; but hardly here Ak ✓χλς (inf. χαλαῖς) 'press, squeeze out' and Ug ✓χλς 'squeeze out' ¶ KB 308-9, GB 233, Js. 472-3, Lv. T I 262-3, Sl. 466, Tal 275, CAD VI 40, Sd. 311, BK I 613-4, Ln. 785-6, Slw. 77, OLS 192-3 ◇ The discrepancy between the K ev. for N \*č and the S ev. for N \*č or \*č still needs investigating.

**1864. \*q∇L∇, Kæ** 'blister, pimple' > IE: NaIE \*eḷkōs- 'sore, ulcer' > OI arśah / arśas- ntr. 'hemorrhoids', Sgd ῥρςχ, ῥρςῥνχ id., KhS āsī, āsī 'itch' ||| Gk ἔλκος (gen. ἔλκεος) ntr. 'sore, ulcer, wound, ' ({F}: h- due to the infl. of ἔλκω 'draw, drag') ||| L ulcus / gen. ulceris 'sore, ulcer' ¶ WP I 160, P 310, M K I 53, M E I 122-3, Bai. 28, F I 496-7, WH II 811, EI 523 (\*h<sub>1</sub>eḷkes ≈ ulcer) || **HS:** S \*°χ∇lκ- > Mh χεωκᾶt- (pl. χεωκᾶt), Hrs χεωκᾶt, Jb E 'χεωκᾶt 'mole, pimple' ¶ Jo. M 441, Jo. H 140 || C: pAg {AD} \*lak-an / pl. \*lakk-an 'wound' > Bln {R} la'gān (pl. la'kān), Xm {R} le'gan, Aw {R} la'gan, Q {R} na'gan id. ¶ AD SF 261, R WB 251 || **A:** M \*oḷliqay 'blister' (or \*φ-?) > WrM {MED} oliqay 'blisters on animals', {Gl.} uliqay 'water blisters on skin (an illness of animals)', {Kow.} oliqay id. (among the Buryats) (the word has not been found in modern dictionaries of Brt]), Kl {Rm.} ulχā 'Blase, Beule (im Fleisch oder Gehirn)' ¶ Since the word has not been detected in MM and in the ḥ/φ-preserving lgs., one cannot know if there was an initial \*φ- in the word. It belongs here if there was no pM \*φ- ¶ MED 609, Gl. I 244, Kow. 402, KW 448.

**1865. \*qäí∇** 'strike, pierce' > K \*qal-/°q1- {K<sup>2</sup>} 'drive in, push' > OG qal-/q1- 'drive in, aufschlagen', G χαλ-/χ1- 'beat, push', Sv qal-/q1- 'drive in, fill with' (at-qal-e 'du hast hineingebohrt', čwat-qal-e 'er bohrte, stieß hinein', χε-q1-i 'es wird ihm hineingebohrt') ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 333, FS K 491-2, FS E 558 || **HS:** CS \*✓χll 'pierce' > Ar ✓χll (pf. حَلَّ ḫalla) {BK} 'percer, forer, trouer', {Hv.} 'pierce; pin the skirts', {Hv.} 'pierce; pin the skirts', BHb ✓ḥll (pf. حَلَّ ḫā'la) 'be pierced', prtc. pl. مَحَلَّيْم māḥal<sup>a</sup>līm 'pierced through', MHb حَلَّ ḫā'lāl 'hollow, cavity', Sr ḥalī'l-ā ~ ḥalē'l-ā 'cave', ✓ḥlḥl (pf. حَلَّ ḥal'ḥel) 'pierce' ¶ BK I 606, Hv. 178, GB 234, Klein 219, Br. 232 || **A:** T \*ä1- v. 'dig, penetrate (the soil)', 'row' (← 'dig water') > Osm XVII äš- 'dig', Tk eš- 'dig', {Rh.} 'dig up slightly, scratch the soil', Ggz yeš- 'dig with a foot', Az eš- 'dig', Tv eš- (inf. эжер ež-er) v. 'shovel up (as snow); row', Tf éš'- 'shovel (разгребать), row', Xk ис- is- 'draw (water), row', Uz, ET, Qrg, Alt

eš-, VTt, Bsh iš-, Qzq, Qq, Nog es- v. 'row' || Chv {Ash.} al- v. 'plough virgin soil with a wooden plough', Chv alt- 'dig' ¶ Cl. 255-6, ET Gl 315-6, Rh. 124, TvR 607, Ra. 183, BIG 64, Ash. I 104, ≈ Md. 34, 164 ¶ Hardly here T \*üí- 'pierce' (Cl. 256-7, Rs. W 523) because of the unexpected labialized vw. \*ü.

**1866. \*qoí|ǰ|ǰ** 'fur, mane' ([in HS] → 'wool') > **HS**: S: Ar χulí-at- {BK} 'vêtement', χilí-at- {Ln} 'any garment which one pulls\takes off from himself; garment which is bestowed upon a man (robe of honour)', {BK, Hv.} 'robe of honour' ¶ Ln. 791, BK I 617, Hv. 181 || Eg: [1] Eg MK χξω.† {EG} 'hide of wolf', {Fk.} 'hide of animal', Eg OK {EG} χξω 'Haut und sonstiger Abfall von Kleinvieh' ] ?? [2] DEg χίτυ 'a garment' > Cpt: Sd ζοειτε hoeite, A ζαειτε χ₂αειτε, P ροιτε χ₃οιτε id.; ?? Eg fP {EG} ħξτυ 'Hülle, Kleid' ¶ EG III 35, 225, Fk. 184, Vc. 293, 315, Vc. VLE I 30-1 (on the phonological value of Cpt P 9), Crn. 299 || ?φ K: G χvirtli 'Winterhaar, Winterpelz (der Tiere)' ¶ Chx. 2355 || A: Tg: Ewk Bnt olmin 'mane' ¶ STM II 15 || ?φ M: WrM oíl, HIM ойл 'tuft of hair' (unless with \*φ-) ¶ MED 604 || D (in McTm) \*o|u]- 'mane, hair of head' > Tm ulāī id., Ml ulā 'mane (of horse\lion), man's hair' ¶ D #701; in Tm and Ml before the vw. \*a of a derivative the opposition \*o ↔ \*u is neutralized (Zv. 65-7).

**1867. \*qAm** 'cry, make noise' > **K**: GZ \*qama/\*qma 'voice', \*qam-/\*qm- v. 'call' > OG qma, Mg χuma ≍ χзма ≍ χома 'voice', Mg χumini 'noise', OG qma-ωqaw 'I cried', mo-qm-ob-a 'herbeirufen', Mg χum-ap-a 'call, call up' ('rufen, locken') ¶ FS K 492 and FS E 559 (\*qam-/\*qm-), K 266 and K² 339 (\*qma-), Q 405 || **HS**: S \*o✓χmm (× N \*qum 'prey, ask') > Ar ✓χmm v. G 'wail, weep violently', χamma θιυābi 'praised (so.)'; χamm- n. 'pleurs violents\amers' ¶ Ln. 806-7, BK I 628-9, Hv. 184 || D (in SD) \*ama(-)]- 'tumult, uproar' > Tm amaī id., amaī 'noise, din', Ml amaī 'tumult, affray, cry, wail', Kn amakkaīa 'tumult' ¶ D ##166, 1055.

**1868. \*qAm** 'grasp, seize' > **IE**: NaIE \*em-/\*om- 'take, acquire, have' (× N \*?em 'seize, hold' [q.v. ffd.] × N \*HEñom 'take hold of' [q.v.]) ¶ WP I 207, P 310-1, WH I 400-2, Frn. 184-5, En. 184 || **HS** ✓\*χm 'grasp' > Eg fP χmς 'seize, grasp' ¶ EG III 231, 281-2, Fk. 191 || S \*o✓χmm > Ak ✓χmm G (inf. χamāmu) 'pluck and gather (barley) (a primitive technique of harvesting without the use of a sickle)', 'gather to oneself', D (inf. χummu) 'collect, pick up'; but Gz

✓χmy v. 'chain, tie, bind, shackle' (adduced in IS III) hardly belongs here (≠σ) ¶ CAD VI 58-9, Sd. 315, L G 262-3 || SOm: Hm {Bnd.} hΛm- 'hold, keep' ¶¶ Cal. 76, Ember ESS 36, ≈ Tk. I 123-4 || | D (in SD) \*am(-ar-) 'seize firmly' > Kn amar id., 'embrace', Tu amaruni 'seize, hold', amāruni 'embrace, hold' (and in contamination with \*am(-uŋk)-/\*am(-ukk)- 'press down': Kn amuku, amiku 'press\hold firmly', amucu id., 'embrace', Tu amepuni 'press, hold in the arms'); but D \*am(-uŋk)-/\*am(-ukk)- ({GS} \*am-) 'press down' (D #169, GS 108 [#282]) hardly belongs here, it may rather be equated with S: Hrs ✓ħmz 'press (smb.'s hand)' (Jo. H 60) ¶ D #169, Km. 282 ◇ ≈ IS III 128-30 (\*qamΛ 'grasp': HS \*χm-, D \*am- 'press, squeeze' + \*÷ IE \*am- in names of vessels and handles [unc. semantic rec. as 'grasp'] and \*÷ IE \*mē- 'grasp').

**1869.** <sub>2</sub> \*qE|am▽ 'to dry' > K: GZ \*qem-/\*qm- vi. 'dry, wither' > OG qem-/qm-, G χm- id., OG ganm-qm-ar-i adj. 'dry', Mg χom- ~ χum- (inf. χom-ap-a ~ χum-ap-a), Lz χom- id.; ⇨ GZ \*qm-el- adj. 'dry, dry land' > OG qmel- id., G χmel-, Mg χumla-, χomyla, χomila, Lz χom(b)ula- 'dry' ¶ K 263, 266, K<sup>2</sup> 335-6, 339, FS K 492-3, FS E 559-60 || | HS: Eg Md χm 'become too dry' (of liniment) ¶ EG III 277 || S \*°✓χmr > Ak fOB ✓χmr (inf. χamāru) vi. 'dry up' ¶ Sd. 315.

**1870.** \*qum▽ 'prey, ask' (← \*exercise magic in order to fulfill one's wish) > HS: S \*°✓χmm (× N \*qAm▽ 'cry, make noise') > Ar ✓χmm G (pf. χamma) {Ln.} 'eulogize, speak well of', {BK} 'louer, combler d'éloges', {Hv.} 'praise so.', χamm- {BK} 'éloges excessifs' ¶ Ln. 807, BK I 828-9, Hv. 184 || Eg fP χm 'heilige Stätte, Kultstätte eines Gottes' > Eg fXVIII χm 'shrine, temple' ¶ EG III 280, Fk. 191 || | K \*qwam- v. 'pray, thank' > Lz χom-: 0-χom-al-a 'religious feast, angel's day; prayerhouse', Sv qwam-: la-qwam 'prayerhouse', ma-qwam v. 'thank' ¶¶ FS K 496 || | A: NaT \*um- v. 'ask for, covet' (× N \*Xum▽ 'to wish, to covet', q.v. ffd.) || | ?σ D (in TmM) \*°ō|ūma| 'rumour' > Tm, Ml ōma| id. ¶ D #1055.

**1871.** \*qum?▽ 'to drink; beverage' > HS: S \*χim?-at- '≈ coagulated milk, butter' > Ug χm?t 'butter, curd', Hb הַחֶמֶץ ḥem'ṣā 'thick curdled milk, sour cream', {GB} id., 'butter' (translated in LXX as βούτυρον), MHb הַחֶמֶץ ḥem'ṣā 'butter', JA [Trg.] חֶמֶץ חֵמֶץ ḥem'ṣā<sup>a</sup>t-ā 'cream, butter', Sb χm?t 'coagulated milk, butter, ghee', Sq {L} ḥami 'butter', Ak χimētū, Ak A χimātu 'ghee' ¶ KB 312, BDB #2529, GB 238, OLS 193, Js. 475, A #1040, BGMR 61, LLS 179, Sd. 346, CAD VI 189-90 ||

**K** \*<sup>o</sup>q|χm- > G χmev-/χmi- v. 'taste, drink' ('kosten, trinken, zu sich nehmen') ¶ Chx. 2375 || **A** \*um∇- 'drink' > Tg \*um(i)- v. 'drink' > Ewk um-, Sln, Orc imi-, Neg om-, Ud umi-, Ork umi- / umu-, Ul umi- / umu-, Nn omi-, WrMc omi-, Mc Sb omi-, Jrc {Md.} umi-r|la, {Kiy.} omi-ra id. ¶ STM II 266, Kiy. 126 [#534], Md. ChF 134 || **M** \*umda- v. 'drink', derivatives: [1] \*umdala- > MM [S] {H} undala- 'den Durst löschen', WrM umdala-, HIM ундла-х v. 'drink, quench one's thirst', [2] **M** \*umdayan 'a drink' > WrM umdagan, HIM ундаа(н), унда, MM [S] undan id., [MA] unda'ān [unda,ān], MMgl undān 'ayran (sour buttermilk)', Mgl {Rm.} undo 'drink, beverage', {Lg.} undān 'babeurre, petit lait', Kl {Rm.} undān 'beverage', undḡ, unda, {KRS} ундн undḡn, Kl D {Rm.} umdḡ 'id., 'thirst', [3] **M** \*umdayas- 'be thirsty' > MM [MA] unda'ās-, [S] umda,as- ~ unda,as-, [IM] undus-, WrM umdagas-, HIM ундааса-х, ундааса-х, Kl {Rm.} undās-, {KRS} ундас- undas-, Dx undasu- id. ¶ MED 874, Pp. MA 364, 449, Iw. 140, H 164, KRS 533, KW 449 || ? pKo {S} \*mā- v. 'drink' > MKo mā-sí-, NKo masi- ¶ S QK #20, Nam 193, MLC 563 ¶¶ SDM97 (A \*öme), DQA #642 (A \*u|om∇ 'drink'), Pp. VG 69, S AJ 45, 285, 290, T DnJ 137, Rs. UAW 41, KW 457, IS I 248 ◇ Cf. AD LRC (Eg, U, T) and IS I 248 (\*H<sup>1</sup>E<sup>1</sup>mi 'suck' > U, A [T, M]).

**1872.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \*qam|ñb∇ 'other, different, else, more (than)' > **IE:** NaIE \*ambhō(ḡ) du. 'both' > Gk ἄμφω id. || L ambō m., ntr., ambae f. id. | NaIE loc. \*amb<sup>h</sup>i / \*mḡb<sup>h</sup>i 'from both sides, around' > Gk ἄμφι- 'around', ἄμφι-ς 'on both sides' || L amb-, am-, an- pv. 'around' (amb-īō 'go around'), Osc am- 'amb-' (amfret 'they go around'), ampt 'around', Um AM-, AMBR- pv. 'around', amprehto 'ambito' | NaIE \*mḡb<sup>h</sup>i 'from both sides, around' > OI abhi-taḡ 'on both sides', Av aiwito 'ringsher', OI abhi- 'around' || Clt: Gl ambi- (Ἄμβι-δραυοί 'those living on both sides of the river Dravos'), W am(-), Crn, OBr, Br am-, em-, OIr imb-, imm- 'around' || ON umb, OHG, OSx umbi, NHG um, AS ymb, ymbe 'around' | with absence or loss of \*m: ?? OI ubhāḡ, Av uwa- 'both' || ? BSl: Lt abū, Ltv abi, Pru abbai id. | Sl \*oba id. (m., ntr.), \*obě (f.) > OCS **ОБА** oba / f. **обѣ** obě, R, Blg 'оба / обе, SCr òba / òbje, Slv obā / obē, Cz oba / obě, Slk oba / obe, P oba / obie ¶ The loss of the labial cns. in IIr and BSl is not yet explained ¶ P 34-5, Bk. G 312, 327-8, FI 100, WH I 37-8, Bc. G 327, Flr. 60, YGM-1 12-4, M K 41-2, 107, Frn. 1, Glh. 446, Vr. 633, Ho. 412, Ho. S 80, Kb. 1064, Schz. 294, KM 802, ≠ EI 400 (\*b<sup>h</sup>ōḡ 'both') || ?σ **HS:** S \*✓χnb >

Ar  $\chi an\bar{a}b-$ ,  $\chi inn\bar{a}b-$  {BK} 'long, grand, haut', {Hv.} 'tall, long', Ak  $\checkmark \chi nb$  (inf.  $\chi an\bar{a}bu$ , p. i- $\chi nu$ ) 'grow abundantly' ¶ BK I 636, Hv. 186, CAD VI 75-6 || U: [1] FV \*ompa 'other, other (further) side' > Er ombō ombō, Mk ombā 'omba, {Ker.} ombā, {Ps.} ombā 'other, that of the opposite side', Δ {Jh.} omā id. || Chr: B umpal 'the other side', Chr {Szil.} umpake 'hinüber', L ум'бале, умба'лан 'far away' ('палан 'far away') || [2] U \*-mp∇ 'more', sx. of cmpr. > F -mpī / -mpa- (uudempi / uudempa- 'newer'), Es -m / gen. -ma (nooree-m 'younger') || Lp N -b / -b'bo (odđâsâb / odđâsâb'bo- 'newer'), Lp S {Hs.} -be (nuore-be 'younger') || Hg -bb (újabb 'newer') || Sm: Ne -мбой 'rather' (Һарка-мбой 'rather big' ← Һарка 'big') ¶¶ UEW 332, Coll. CG 260-1, Hs. 109-10, Ker. 100, Jh. 107, Ter. 385-6 ¶¶ The vw. \*o- (for \*a-) in \*omp∇ may be due to the labializing infl. of \*m.

**1873.**  $_2 *q\Delta m_L \Delta_L \Delta$  (=  $*qAm_L \Delta_L \Delta$ ?) 'fur, fell' > HS: S  $^{\circ}\checkmark \chi ml$  > Ar  $\chi aml-$  'tapis à haute laine; plumage de l'autruche; cils',  $\chi aml-at-$  'tapis à haute laine; garni d'un effilé \ de franges' ¶ BK I 634 || B: Ah elām 'skin; hair of animal', Sll īlēm, BSn, Ntf ilām, Izn aylām ∂ ilām, Rf ilām, Zng {TC} iyām 'peau', pl. ellammūn; ?ϕ (B \*g < N \*q??): Ah aġlim (pl. iġliman) 'peau ouverte, tannée', Kb aġwlim (pl. iġwalmān), Wrg aġlim, CM {NZ} aġwlim ∂ aġlim ∂ awlim, Nf uglim, Awj glim 'skin' ¶ Fc. 1075-6, Dl. 257, Ds. 215, Dlh. Ou 96, TC D 5, TC Z 317, NZ 780-1 || K \*qaml- 'skin (of legs) of sheep\goats' > OG qaml- 'footgear', G  $\chi aml-$  'ε soft shoes', Sv qamr-, qemār- 'skin (of legs) of sheep\goat\calf' ¶ K 263, K<sup>2</sup> 333, FS K 493.

**1874.**  $_2 *qEn|nK\Delta$  'strangle, kill' > IE  $*\hat{x}enk|k-$  '≈ wage war, kill' > Ht henkan-, hinkan- 'death, deadly disease' || ? NaIE  $*enk|k-$  'pursue the enemy; death' (x  $**\hat{n}k-$  < N  $*\hat{n}æKæ$  'pursue [the enemy], wage war, kill', q.v.) > Gmc  $*anhtō$  ({EI} <  $*onk\text{teh}_\rho-$ ) > OHG āhta 'hostile persecution', AS  $\bar{o}ht$  id., 'oppression', NHG Aht 'outlawry, ostracism' || OIr éc, Nlr eag, MW angheu, W angau, Cm ancow, Br ankou 'death' (< NaIE  $*\hat{n}k(t)u-$ ), OIr écht 'Totschlag' ({P} <  $*e|anktu-$  →  $*\hat{n}ktu-$ ) ¶ Pv. III 296-301, P 45, EI 150, OsS 7, KM 6, Kb. 11, EWA I 118-20, Schz. 83, Ho. 241, LP § 8.1, Thr. § 31, YGM-1 9 || HS: S  $^{\circ}\checkmark \chi nk$  v. 'strangle' > Hb  $\checkmark \hat{h}nk$ , Sr  $\checkmark \hat{h}nk$ , Mh, Hrs, Jb. E/C  $\checkmark \chi nk$ , Sq {L}  $\checkmark \hat{h}nk$ , Gz  $\checkmark \chi nk$ , Ak  $\chi an\bar{a}k\text{u}$  id., Ar  $\checkmark \chi nq$  G id., 'throttle' ¶ KB 322, Br. 244, Ln. 818, Hv. 187, BK I 642, Sd. 320, CAD VI 77, L G 263, Jo. M 44, Jo. H



141 ◇ Cf. IS MS 357 s.v. \*r<sup>1</sup>äḱ<sup>1</sup>ḥ 'pursue (the enemy)' (equates IE \*Henk̄- with M, Tg neke-, S \*√nḱm, and B \*√nḡH, see N \*n̄æḱæ 'ḥ').

**1875. \*qañt̄∇** 'forehead, front' > HS: S \*√χnt̄ 'front' > Jb C χan<sup>1</sup>t̄i 'front, front part of anything', Mh χ3n<sup>1</sup>t̄ay 'front udder of a camel', Hrs χ3n<sup>1</sup>t̄ī 'one of the four fore-teats of the camel' ¶ Jo. J 303, Jo. M 445, Jo. H 141 || Eg fP χnt̄ 'face, the front part of the head' (t̄ < \*-t̄-t, where \*-t̄ is a HS sx. of singularity) ⇨ Eg fP χnt̄ω, χnt̄y 'in front, in front of' ¶ EG III 302-3, Fk. 194 ¶ ≠ Cal. 184-5, Coh. 107, and Pilshch. HChS 124; all of them connect Eg χnt̄ with Hs hanč̄i 'nose', which is untenable in the light of Chadic etl. studies (Stl. ZCh 185 [#364], OS #441); Ember PAOE § 6.2 and OS #1340 (Eg χnt̄ \*÷ Hb ḥoṭ̄em and Ar χaṭ̄m- 'nose, beak' [a comparison rejected in Cal. 184-5]) || IE \*xant- (Pv.) \*A<sub>1</sub>ent-) 'forehead, front' > Ht hant- 'forehead, front(age)', (originally nom.-accus. sg. ntr.) hanza 'in front') || NaIE \*ant- > Gk ἄντι prep. (fossilized loc.) 'opposite, against', ἄντα (fossilized accus.) 'face to face', ἄντάω v. 'face, meet' || OI 'anti 'before, near', 'anta- 'end, limit' || L ante 'in front of', antēs 'front rows', antiae 'forelock' || OIr étan 'forehead' (< \*anton-) || Gt anda- 'opposite, against', and 'entlang, über ... hin', OHG endi, ON erni 'forehead' || Lt añtis 'bosom, breast', añt on, upon; towards' || pTc \*ānte > Tc: A ānt, B ānte 'surface, forehead' ¶ Pv. III 89-96, Ts. E I 149-53, P 48-50, EI 209 (\*h<sub>2</sub>ent- 'forehead'), 60 (\*h<sub>2</sub>enti 'in front'), WH I 53-4, M K I 36, F I 113-4, Fs. 46, Vr. 103, Kb. 199, EWA II 1068-9, Frn. 11-2, Wn. 163, Ad. 43 || A \*ant<sup>1</sup>∇ 'the foreside, sunny side' > Tg \*ant∇ > WrMc antu 'the foreside, the sunny\southern side of a mountain', Ud anta 'the southern slope of the mountain' ¶ Z 15, STM I 44 || pJ {S} antuma 'east' > OJ aduma id. ¶ S QJ #105, Mr. 389 || ?? Ko: according to Rm., Ko ant<sup>h</sup>ä, ant<sup>h</sup>e 'for, fore, before, in the presence of' (locative) ¶ Rm. SKE 11, Rm. KG 150 || ⇨ A {SDM97} \*ant<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>∇ 'slope, hill' (if < \*'front slope') > Tg \*antaga 'southern slope of the mountain' > Ewk antaxa id., Ewk, Neg antaxa 'place in the full blaze of the sun', Neg antaxaigdā, āntaxudā, antayudā) 'southern slope\side', Lm antax 'southern woody slope of the mountain', Nn Nh antax<sup>1</sup>ta 'sunny side' ¶ STM I 44 || ?σ pKo {S} \*ant<sub>1</sub>k<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub> 'hill' > MKo ant<sup>h</sup>ak, NKo ant<sup>h</sup>ak ¶ S QK #220, Nam 366 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 11, SDM97 (A \*anta<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>a 'hill, slope'), DQA #38 (A \*ant<sup>1</sup>a id.) ◇ IS MS 354 s.v. 'πεπεδ' qant̄ḥ and IS SS 336 [#8.4]; in both sources IE is compared with A (Tg and Ko) and with HS (Eg and Hs

hančī). The S facts (Jb, etc.) were unknown to IS, because in 1960's most SES lgs. were not yet described. The discovery of the word χan<sup>1</sup>ti 'front, front part' in Jb was a brilliant confirmation of IS's hypothesis in S historical phonology and of his rec. of the etymon \*qan<sup>1</sup>ṭ, comparable with the discovery of lrs. in Ht (confirming Saussure's hyp. of "sonantic coefficients"). Both are linguistic paramounts of Leverrier's prediction of the existence of Neptune long before it was actually discovered ◊ ≈ Gr. II #35 (\*hant 'before').

**1876.** (₂?) \*qap∇ 'to stream, to flow' → 'watercourse' > HS: Eg MK {Fk.} χfχf v. 'flood', Eg G χfχf v. 'pour, let stream (a stream)' (of gods), Eg fP χfχf.t 'streaming out' n. act. (metaphorically of fire) ] An alt. cognate: Eg fP ḥ<sup>ε</sup>p<sup>υ</sup> 'stream (the Nile), flood' ¶ EG III 42-3, 273, Fk. 164, 190 || IE \*xap- ({M} h<sub>2</sub>ep-) ~ \*xab- ({Pv.} \*A<sub>1</sub>eb-) 'river, (stream of) water' > Ht hapa-, Pal hāpnas, Lw hāpa/ī- 'river', hapa/i- v. 'irrigate, water' || NaIE \*ab- ~ \*a(:)p- 'river' (× N \*?'a' bH∇ 'water, watercourse' [q.v.]): \*ab- > OIr ab (gen. abae) ~ aub ~ ob 'river', Brtt {RE} \*abonā id. > W afon, OCrn auon, Crn avon, MBr aupn, auen, Br aven 'river'; OBrtt Abona (name of a river), Ἄβος 'the Humber (river)' (in Ptolemy's *Geography*) || L amnis '( < \*abnis) 'stream of water, river' || NaIE \*a(:)p- > OI ap-/āp-, Av ap- (nom. sg. af-š), OPrs ap- 'water' || Pru ape 'creek, small river'; ??σ Lt ùpè, Ltv upe 'river, stream' (u- is irreg., see Tp. P A-D 97-8) || Tc A/B āp- 'water, river, stream' ¶ Pv. III 114-5, Frd. HW EH II 11, Ts. E I 159-60, Mlc. CL 54, P 1, 51-2, EI 486 (\*h<sub>2</sub>eb<sup>(h)</sup>- 'river'), 636 (\*h<sub>2</sub>ēp- ~ \*h<sub>2</sub>ep- 'living water, river'), WH I 40, M K I 74-5, M E I 81-2, Vn. A 4-5, RE 122, Hm. 55, Frn. 1169, En. 142-3, Tp. P A-D 97-8, Wn. 166 || ζ A: T \*°ab- (× N \*χaw∇ 'to rain, to spurt', q.v. ffd.) > OT U ζ h.l. ab- v. 'spurt out' (Cl. considers it to be a misreading of aq- in the Uyguric script) ¶ U2 27 (line 22), Cl. 4, DTS 1.

**1877.** \*qup∇ (or \*qūp∇?) 'to cover, to close; a lid, a cover' > K \*°q|χup- 'a lid, a cover' > G χup- 'lid (of a vessel)'; χup- 'provide (sth.) with a lid\cover, to cover' ¶ Chx. 2411, DCh. 1760 || HS: WS \*✓χp<sup>w</sup>|y v. 'cover' > BHb ✓ḥp<sup>w</sup>|y (pf. Ḥḫḥ ḥā<sup>1</sup>pā) v. G 'cover, veil', JEA ✓ḥp<sup>w</sup> (pf. Ḥḫḥ ḥ<sup>a</sup>pā) 'cover, provide with a roof', Sr |Ḥḥ ✓ḥp<sup>w</sup> v. G 'cover', Ar ✓χfy (pf. χafīya, ip. -χfay-) vt. G 'conceal', Amh ʕffīya 'lid (of box), cover (of pan)' ¶ KB 325, Br. 249, Lv. II 93, BK I 604-5, Hv. 178, L CAD 155 || EC: Or {Th., Brl.} uffāč<sup>u</sup> 'cover oneself, wear clothes', {Grg.} uffīsa vi. 'clothe', ufaḏḏa- 'be dressed, wear', {Grg., Brl.}

uffata 'clothes' (but Or *uwwisa* ~ *uyyisa* vi. 'clothe', Or Wt {Sr.} *ūwisa* vt. 'cover' belong to N \***q'ûy**∇ ~ \***q'æw**∇ 'to wrap, to cover', q.v.) | HEC {Hd.} \***if-** 'be covered' (× N \***yabE** ~ \***yapE** 'to cover, to fence, to protect', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Th. 305, Brl. 407, Grg. 392, Sr. 399 || **D** (in SD) \***uppa** > Kn *ubbar̄a* 'wooden beam for locking a door; a club', Kdg *ubba* 'poles in slots forming a gate' ¶ DED #544, ≈ D #683 (\*÷ the √ of Tm *ur̄alay* 'horizontal bar') || **A**: pJ {S} \***ʒp-** 'put on clothes (on the upper body), cover' > OJ *op-*, *òpòp-*, J: T ò, K/Kg ò- ¶ S QJ #1047, Mr. 742-3 ||| A d. ≈ \***up-si** > Tg \***upsi** 'clothes' > Neg *upsi* 'clothes, skirt (of shamans)', Ul *upsi* 'shaman's clothes', Nn B *ufsi* 'belt (made of badger's skin)' ¶ STM II 281 || pKo {S} \***psí-** 'put on (a hat)' > MKo *psí-*, *sí-*, NKo *ssi-* ¶ S QK #900, Nam 317, 319, MLC 1024 ¶¶ DQA #644 (pA \***jòpe-** v. 'cover, wear'; incl. J, Ko, Tg).

**1878.** (₂?) \***q'a'p'ʔ'**∇ 'bank, shore' > HS: Eg WP/L/G *χfʒʒ.t* 'bank(s) of waterway' ¶ EG III 271, Fk. 190 || CS \***χāp-** (~ \***χayp-**?) 'bank, shore' > BHb *ḥḥp* (pl. MHb *ḥḥp̄im*), Ug *χp* 'shore/bank', Aram \***hāp-** (↳ MHb {Js.} *ḥḥp̄* 'border, shore' [to rely on Js.'s vocalization] and Ar *ḥāf-at-*, Ar SL *ḥāffat-* 'margin, border, side'), Ar *خيف* *χayf-* {BK} 'pente rapide d'une montagne; plage, étendue de pays', {Hv.} 'declivity of a mountain, side' ⇔ √ *χyf* (pf. *χayafa*) v. 'come down and settle in a plain'; S ↳ Eg (EgSSc) {Alb., Hlk., SivCR} *χa-pu* 'shore'; Ug (AkSc) pl. *χuppātu* (pl. of Ug *χupp(at)u*?) does not necessarily mean 'shore' and belong here, it may be a pl. of Ak *χuppu* 'depression, hole'. Alternatively, the S word may be reconstructed as \***χawipu**, which will account both for Hb *ḥḥp-* and for Ar *χayf-*, as well as for Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} *χuppātu* if it is read as *χōpātu* ¶ KB 286, A #1064, OLS 195, Fr. I 399-400, 444, Hv. 131, 150, 192, Ln. 672, 832-3, BK I 655-6, Hnr. 139, Alb. ARI 220, SivCR 10, 84, Hlk. #518, Js. 490 || **K**: G I *χabo* 'bank of a river\stream' (↳ Zan?), Mg *χabo* 'ravine' ¶ Chx. 2289, Gh1. 735, K<sup>2</sup> 335 || ??φ **IE**: Arm *ափն* *ap<sup>h</sup>n* 'bank, shore' of uncertain etymological history (unless it can be traced to IE \***āper-o-** 'shore, mainland' < N \***ʔP∇r**∇ '(river-)bank', q.v.) ¶ Ach. I 365, H 515 ◇ Ach. l.c. (connection between Arm *ap<sup>h</sup>n* 'shore' and the S √) ◇ K \***-b-** (for the expected \***-p-**) still needs explaining.

**1879.** **ι** \***q'æ'pʔ**∇ (more plausible than \***q'æ'pɣ**∇) 'seize, hold' > HS: Eg fP *χf<sup>ς</sup>* 'grasp, make captures in war', *χf<sup>ς</sup>* 'fist' ¶ EG III 272-3, Fk.

190 || C: SC: Irq {Wh.} -húw- v. 'take' || ? ı Dhl {EEN} hap 'snatch quickly' ¶ Wh. SI s.v., EEN 26, AD SF 228 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ OS) Ak χapûm 'verpacken' (Sd. 322), which goes back to S \*√χpy 'cover' ¶¶ Cal. 76 (Eg χfϑ \*÷ Ar √χfϑ 'être saisi de vertige ... et tomber par terre; porter a qn. un coup de sabre'), ≠ OS #2032 (Eg, \*÷ Ak χapû, \*÷ WCh: Bd gaf, Ngz gafau† 'seize', etc.), ≈ Tk. I 118 || IE: NaIE \*ap-/\*ēp- '≈ touch, grasp' (× N \*ʔa'P∇ 'take, seize') > OI āp-: āp'nōti 'reaches, overtakes', Av apaye'ti 'reaches (erreicht)' || OL ap-ō, apiō 'I attack', L apīscor 'I grasp, reach', cō-ēp-ī (later coepī) 'I began' || Gk Hm ἅψω ~ ἅψω 'I touch', ? Gk A ἅπτω 'I fasten' (ft. ἅψω, aor. ἥψα), ἅψή 'a touching, a grasp (Berühren, Griff)'; P (← Krtm.) unconvincingly explains Gk h- by the infl. of the verb ἔπ- 'be about, be busy with' || ?? AS æfna, éfnan v. 'hold, sustain, endure' (unless from éfnan 'ausführen, vollbringen') ¶¶ P 50-1, EI 563, Mn. 29-30, 246, Dv. #333, MK I 76, ME I 167, WH I 57-8, FI 126, Ho. 8 || A {DQA} \*ap'∇- v. 'take, hold' (× N \*ʔa'P∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS SS 345 [#10.10] (Eg, Ar √χfϑ, IE, A \*ap'-) ◇ Qu., because both supposed cognates of HS (NaIE \*ap-/\*ēp- and A \*ap'-) have an alt. et.

**1880. \*qapUR∇ - \*qapU-(R∇)** 'to protect, to help' > HS: S \*°√χpr, prm. \*-χpur- > Ar √χfr (ip. -χfur-) 'protect, guard from injury' ¶ Ln. 772, BK I 600-1, Hv. 176-7 || A: M \*abura- v. 'save, rescue, help' > MM abura- [S] id., [HI] 'rescue, save', WrM abura-, HIM авра-х id., 'help', WrO abura- 'save, rescue, deliver', Kl авр-, {Rm.} awr̥-, Brt aḅap-, Dg {T} awra- id., 'protect', Ord awu'ra- v. 'save' ¶ H 2, Ms. H 33, MED 6, Ms. O 38, Chr. 21, KRS 22, KW 20, Krg. 13, T DgJ 118 || U: FU (att. in BF) \*°ap∇ 'help' > F apu n. 'help, aid', Krl A/Ld, Vp abu, Es abi, Lv a'b\_ id. ¶ SK 22, SSA I 80 ◇ The element \*R∇ may be either an integral part of the N word (lost in FU) or an optional component (second element of a cd.).

**1881. \*qer∇** '(wild) ox' > K: GZ \*qar- 'bull, ox' > OG qar-, G χar-, Mg, Lz χož- ¶ FS K 294, FS E 561, K<sup>2</sup> 334 || D: [1] SD \*ēṛ 'bull' (× N \*he,ʔ|y,r'E' 'male', q.v. ffd.) || [2] \*eru- - \*erō 'buffalo, bull, cow', used with sxs. denoting sex (× N \*ʔerq'i' 'ε ruminant', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ D ##815-6, 917, GS 209 [##529, 530] || HS: EC: Rn hêr 'ox', Brj {Hw.} harʔay 'plough ox, bull' ¶ PG 139, Ss. B 92 || ? Eg fOK χry.t 'Schlachtvieh' (× χry.t 'butchery') ¶ EG III 322-3, Fk. 196.

**1882. \*qUR'E'** 'bend, incline' > **K**: MG, G  $\chi r$ - vi. 'bend' ¶ Chx. 2385-6, DCh. 1754, Kl. 261-2 || **HS**: Eg G  $\chi \exists$  'bend one's back in respect' ¶ EG III 223, ≠ Tk. SCC 93 [23.4] || **A**: Tg \* $\dot{u}r$ - vt. 'bend' > Lm A/O  $uru$ -, Ork  $urru$ -,  $uru$ -, Nn Nh  $urili$ -,  $urizw\exists n$ -, Nn KU  $ur\exists ri$ - vt. 'bend', Ewk  $urik\exists n$ -, Neg  $uyix\exists n$ -, Ul  $ur\bar{i}n$ -, Nn Nh  $uriz$ -, Nn KU  $ur\acute{\exists}$ - vi. 'bend, bend down', WrMc  $ur\chi u$  'crooked',  $ur\chi u$ - vi. 'bow, bend, incline' ¶ STM II 285.

**1883. \*qur∇** 'to strike, to chop' > **HS**: S \* $\checkmark\chi rr$ , \* $^\circ\text{-}\chi urr$ - > Ar  $\checkmark\chi rr$  G (ip.  $-\chi urru$ ) 'fendre, couper', Sh (pf.  $\text{?}\alpha\chi arra$ ) 'cut down', Ak  $\wedge\chi ar\bar{a}ru$  'to grind', Ak NB  $\chi arru$  adj. (describing flour ground in some special way) ¶ BK I 551, Hv. 160, CAD VI 91-2, 114 || ? Ch ({JS} \* $\checkmark wr$ ): WCh: Dr {Nw.}  $w\acute{a}r\grave{e}$  v. 'beat (so.)', Fyer {J}  $wur\hat{i}$  'schlagen' ||| ECh: Jg {J}  $\text{?}or$  id. ¶ Nw. KL 134, J R 90, J J 116 || **A**: NaT \* $ur$ - > OT {DTS}  $ur$ -, {Cl.}  $or$ - v. 'strike (so. or sth.)', MT, XwT, Chg, MQp [CC], Osm  $ur$ -, MQp {TAG}  $wur$ - ~  $\bar{u}r$ -, Tk  $vur$ -, Az, CrTt  $vur$ -, Tkm, Ggz, Kr, Qmq, QBlq, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, Ln, Tv  $ur$ -, Qzq  $\check{u}r$ -, VTt, Bsh  $\check{b}r$ -, Chv  $\Delta v\bar{b}r$ - v. 'strike' ¶ DTS 614, Cl. 194-5, ET Gl 599-601, Jeg. 48-9, Fed. I 107-8 || **D** \* $ur$ - v. 'strike against, butt, gore' > Kui  $ubga$ - (< \* $ug\text{-}ba$ -) id., Ku  $ur$ - v. 'butt, gore', Prj  $ud$ - v. 'crush (nits, lice)', Knd  $ur$ -, Png  $uz$ -, Mnd  $uy$ - v. id., 'butt, gore (with horns)' ¶¶ D #706.

**1884. \*q'u'r∇** 'pierce, make a hole; hole, pit' > **HS**: S \* $\chi urr$ - 'hole, aperture; pit' > Sr  $\text{;}\overset{\circ}{\text{a}}\overset{\circ}{\text{u}}\overset{\circ}{\text{r}}$   $\check{h}ur\bar{a}$  'hole, aperture', Ug  $\chi r$  'cave, pit, grave' (OLS: 'caverna, fosa, tumba'),  $\chi r\ddot{t}$  'cave, grave' ('caverna, sepultura'), Ar  $\chi urr$ - 'mouth of a mill, the place of a mill into which the wheat is thrown', {BK} 'trou de la meule dans lequel on jette le grain pour être moulu', Hb  $\text{r}\check{h} \sim \text{r}\check{h}\check{h}$   $\check{h}\bar{o}r$ , Ak  $v\chi urru$ , Eb  $\chi ur$ - 'hole'; Gz  $\checkmark\chi rw$  v. 'pierce, perforate, make a hole'; Ak fOB  $\chi ar\bar{a}ru$  'to dig, to groove',  $\chi arru$  adj. 'dug up' ¶ Br. 253, JPS 134, OLS 196, 199-200, Ln. 715, BK I 551, Sd. 359, CAD VI 91-2, 114, 252-3, LG 265 || **K**: GZ {K} \* $qwer$ -/\* $qwr$ -, {FS} \* $qur$ - 'make holes, pierce' > Mg  $r\chi u$ -,  $r\chi v$ -,  $\chi ur$ -,  $\chi vir$ - (msd.  $r\chi uala$ ) 'make a hole, pierce', Lz  $\chi v$ -,  $\chi$ - (msd.  $o\text{-}\chi\text{-}u$ ) id., Sv  $qw\bar{i}r$ -/ $qwr$ - id.,  $la\text{-}qwr\text{-}a$  'window';  $\leftrightarrow$  GZ {K} \* $qwr\bar{e}l$ - 'slit, hole' > OG  $qur\bar{e}l$ - 'animal's hole', G  $\chi v\bar{r}el$ - id., 'cave, hole', eMg \* $quru$  > Mg  $\chi uru$  (in the place-name  $tunti\check{s}\chi uru$  'Bärenhöhle, Bärenschlucht'), Sv  $quru$  ( $\leftarrow$  eMg) 'hole, hollow in a tree, cave' ¶¶ K 265-6, K<sup>2</sup> 337-8, FS K 500-1, FS E 569, DCh. 1746, Chx. 2356, Dn s.v.  $qw\bar{i}r$ -, GP 312 || **A**: T \* $or$ - v. 'dig' > Xk  $or$ - id., Chv  $\Delta var$ - id., Chv  $var$ - 'bury (sth. in the ground),

bury sth. in the mud\ground by trampling it down'; T \*or 'ditch' > Tk or, Tkm, Qmq, Qzq or 'ditch, trench', Nog or id., 'storage pit that is dug in the ground', CrTt, Qrg, Qq or, Bsh ur 'ditch', Chv var 'narrow gully (ложбина)' ⇨ NaT \*oru ~ \*ora 'pit' > OT {CL}, Qp XIV {CL} orū 'a storage pit dug in the ground', Sg {RL} orI, Chg, ET, Xk, Shor ora 'grain pit'; T ⇨ Klm {Rm.} ur ~ ūr 'pit, depression' ¶ Cl. 197, ET Gl 466-8, Serg. 14, Jeg. 47, KW 450 || M \*örüm 'borer' > WrM örüm {Kow.} 'perçoir, alésoir, vrille, tarière, foret', {MED} 'borer, auger, gimlet', HIM өрөм, Brt үрэм, Mnr E/H {MYC} urəm 'borer, drill, auger', Ord ü'rü'm 'tarière, vrille, vilebrequin, foret', Klm өрм örm 'Bohrer (kleiner als бурү)' ¶ Kow. 584, MED 644, Ms. O 764, KW 300, Chr. 514, MYC 549 || Tg \*urī- v. 'scoop, dig out' > Ewk urī-, Neg oyl- 'draw out, dig out', Ork uri- 'take out, draw out meat from a cauldron', urikku 'hook for drawing out meat from a cauldron', Ewk urīwun id., 'stick for digging edible tubers', Lm uri- 'draw out meat\fish from a cauldron', Sln orū- 'pull out', Ud ui-, (?) WrMc var-a- v. 'scoop, ladle, pour out food from a cauldron into a dish', Nn Nh/B orl 'a scoop', Nn B orl- 'pour in', Nn Nh orlčl- v. 'scoop, dig out' ¶ STM II 23, 284 ¶¶ DQA #2532 (A \*örile 'to dig': T, M, Tg) || D \*ur∇ 'pierce' > Tm uru∇u 'pierce through, penetrate (as an arrow, needle)', Ml uru∇uka id., Kn urcu, uccu 'enter into and go out on the other side, penetrate', Tu urumbuni v. 'bore', Krx hur-, huř- 'strike at and penetrate, goad, thrust' ¶¶ D #663 ¶¶ The unexpected \*-r- (instead of \*-r̥-) is still puzzling ◇ IS MS 357 (\*qur), IS SS #8.2.

**1885.** \*qe<sub>l</sub>?<sub>l</sub>r∇ or \*qer<sub>l</sub>?<sub>l</sub>∇ 'brook, stream' > HS: EC \*har- 'pond, brook' > Sa ar-a 'river, brook', Sml har-o 'lake, pond', Rn {PG} hár 'hollow where water collects in the rainy season; (dry) pond', Arr {Ss.} har-u 'river' (not mentioned in Hw. A), Or har-ō 'swamp, artificial pond', {Th.} hārō 'swamp', {Brl.} har-ó (nom. haron) 'palude, stagno, lago', Or E {Hw.} har-ō (nom. har-i) 'lake', Gdl har-tot 'reservoir', Kns hār-ta id., 'artificial pond', ?? Brj har- v. 'flow' ¶ Ss. B 91, ZMO 183, PG 136, Th. 191, Brl. 203 || S \*χarr- > Ak χarru 'watercourse' ¶ CAD VI 114 || D: SD \*ēri 'lake, reservoir for irrigation' > Tm ēri id., 'large tank', Ml ēri 'stakes to support banking work, bank', Kn ēri 'tank, bank of a tank, raised bank', Kdg e'ri 'parapet of well, bund of tank (in paddy-fields)', Tu ēri 'a bed for planting vegetables' ¶ D #901 || K \*oq|χ∇r|č- > Mg χzrč-i 'brook, stream' ¶ Q

410 ◇ D \*-r- is a reg. reflex of N \*r-clusters rather than of an intervocalic \*-r-, which suggests that N \*r was either preceded or followed by another cns., most probably by \*ʔ or \*h (that are lost in Ak) ◇ Blz. LNA #21 (suggested to add Ak and D + unc.: the FU and IE reflexes of N \*gar<sup>r</sup>i<sup>r</sup> 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave', q.v.).

**1886. \*qaRP<sub>∇</sub>** 'to pluck and gather' ([in descendant language] → 'to harvest', [in A] → 'cereal') > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓χrp v. 'pluck, harvest' > Ar **خرف** ✓χrf G (χarafa / χrufu) v. 'pluck and gather (fruit)' ({Fr.} 'decerpit collegitque de arbore [fructus], collegit fructus humi jacentes'), OYmn ✓χrp TD {Slw.} 'Traubenlese halten'; S \*<sup>l</sup>χurup-, \*χarp- 'autumn and winter' (← \*'harvest-time') > Ak χarpū 'early autumn', BHb **חָרֵף** ḥorep 'winter', Ug {OLS} χrpnt 'autumn', Ar **خُرُف** χuruf- 'tempus quo ad autumnum exeunt', 'saison voisine de l'automne', χarīf- 'autumn', OSA χrf 'autumn, autumn crops' ¶ KBR 356, Fr. I 478, BK I 562, Hv. 163-4, Slw. 76, OLS 198 || IE \*xa|orP- > Ht harpas, harpiyas {Ts.} 'feast of harvest' ('Erntefeste') (unless ir means {Pv.} 'feast of winter and summer') ¶ Ts. EI 181, Pv. III 183-4 || **Ⓐ**: NaT \*arpa 'barley' > OT arpa ({Cl.} arpā), MQp, MOg, XwT, Chg arpa, Tk arpa, Tkm, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Uz, Xlj, Qrg arpa, ET a(r)pa, Alt, Xk arba, Ln арга, Slr arfa ~ arpa, Chv urpa id. ¶ Cl. 198, ET Gl 176-7, TL 460-1 || M \*arbay (← T?) 'barley' > MM [MA] arbay, WrM arbay, HIM арвай, Brt арбай id., WrO arbai id., arba id., 'oats', Mnr H {SM} šb<sub>ē</sub>, {T} spē 'spelt' ('épeautre'), Kl D {KRS} арва, {Rm.} arwā 'oats', Kl Ö/T {Rm.} arwā 'barley'; MMgl arpa 'barley' is certainly a loan from T; M ⇨ Tv arbay ¶ PMA 104, MED 49, SM 370, Iw. 87, T 358, KRS 47, KW 15, Chr. 55, Krg. 53 || Tg: WrMc arfa 'oats, barley' ¶ STM 52 ¶ S CNM believes that arfa is a loan from M, but f suggests that it is not || pJ {Vv., S} \*ápá 'millet' > OJ ápá, J: T áwa, K àwá, Kg awá ¶ S QJ #76, Mr. 388 ¶ Pp. VG I 87, DQA #51 (A \*àrp'á 'barley, millet') ◇ AD NM #15, Vv. AEN 3, ≈ S CNM 12.

**1887. (₂?) \*qoR<sub>∇</sub>ṽ<sub>ṽ</sub>ṽ** 'cut into, incise, make a hole' > K: GZ {K<sup>2</sup>} \*qwreṽ-/\*qwriṽ- 'make holes, pierce' > OG qur iṽ- [qwriṽ-], G χvreṽ-/χvriṽ-, Mg χviraṽ-/χviriṽ- id., χviraṽe 'hole' ¶ K 265-6, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 338 (\*qwreṽ- is \*qwer- +ext.), FS K 500-1, FS E 569 || HS: CS \*✓χ|hrṽ 'cut into, incise' > MHb ✓hrṽ v. 'chisel, engrave', Sr ✓hrṽ [Psh.] 'cut into' ('incidit' - Lv. 21.5, Dt. 14.12), {JPS} 'scrape, scratch', BHb **חֶרֶף** ḥereṽ

'graving tool', Pun ḥrṭṭṭ {Ldz.} 'sculpture, engraving, engraved object' (?), {HJ} n. of unknown meaning, derived from √ḥrṭ 'engrave' ¶ GB 259, KB 338-9, Js. 501, Br. 256, JPS 157, HJ 404, Ldz. I 21 || ?σ A: NaT \*orṭu 'animal's hole' > OT {Cl.} ordū 'hole of a rodent'; (×T \*orta 'middle'): Qzq/Brb {RI.} orda, Tlt {RI.} ordo 'hole of an animal', Qq orda id., 'lair', Žilanniḡ ordasi 'snake's hole' ¶ Cl. 203, RI. I 1072, KrkR 498, ET Gl 474-6 ¶ The NaT lax \*ṭ (for the expected tense \*t'), if correct, has not yet been explained (positional change in a cluster?).

**1888. \*qAṣiṭ** (or \*qAṣiṭiṭ) 'filth, dirt, faeces' > HS: WS \*√χrṭ 'defecate' > Hb מִלְאָרָה ḥārāḥ-īm pl. 'dung', Ug √χrṭ v. 'defecate', χrṭu 'faeces, excrement', Sr √ḥry v. G 'mute (as birds)', 𐤇𐤓𐤁 ḥer'y-ā, JEA {SI.} מִלְאָרָה ḥary-? (unk. voc.) 'excrement', Ar √χrṭ G (pf. χariṭa, ip. -χraṭ-) 'relieve one's bowels', χurṭ- 'excrement', Ar SL χarāḥ- id., Tgy √ḥrṭ G (pf. ܚܪܝܬ ḥarṭe), Tgr √ḥrṣ (pf. ܚܪܫ ḥarṣa) (with a secondary ṣ for ṭ) 'defecate', Tgr ܚܪܫ ḥarṣi, Sq {L} ḥar'yomoh 'excrement' ¶ KB 335, OLS 197, Ln. 715, BK I 552, Hv. 160, Dlm. 151 (JEA מִלְאָרָה ḥar'y-ā), Sl. 482, Br. 253, JPS 155-7, LH 70, LLS 191, MiK I #1.136 || Eg {Cm.} ḥry.t, ḥry(.t) 'faeces, dung', DEg ḥr.t, ḥṣyr.t 'filth, faeces' > Cpt: Sd زوئيرε hoεire, B زوئيرε hoiri 'faeces, dung' ¶ Vc. 292, Er. 325, Crn. 291 || EC: Af {PH} ḥāra, Sa {R} ha'rā 'faeces', Sml {ZMO, DSI} ḥār, Sml N {Abr.} ḥār 'faeces, excrement', Sml ḥār- v. 'defecate', Bn ḥār 'diarrhoea', Rn {PG} ḥār id., 'faeces, dung', ? Or M {AD} ḥōrī 'tartar (on teeth)', ? HEC: Hd hara-, Kmb haro- 'mud' || SC: Irq {Wh.} hūrōnda 'sediment (of wine)', {MQK} horondá 'solid left-overs of beer after straining' ¶ AD SF 158-9, PH 123, ≈ Hn. S 62 (pSam \*hār 'diarrhoea'), PG 133, MQK 52 ¶¶ AD SF 158-9, OS #1334, ≈ #1336 || K \*oq|χr- > G χr-il-i 'dirt on a grinding-stone' ¶ DCh. 1755 || D (in SD) \*aṛukk- 'dirt, filth' > Tm aṛukku id., 'excrement, stain', Ml aṛukku 'dirt, filth', Td öšk 'dirty', Tu aḏ(a)ka 'an unclean place' ¶ D #283 || ? IE: Ht harra- 'verunreinigen, beflecken' (Frd. HW EH 4) or 'verunreinigen' (Ts. W 16, Ts. EI 169-70) ¶ Valid unless this verb (or this semantic variant of the verb) is interpreted as 'spoil' and identified with har(r)a- 'crush, pound, ruin, destroy' (Pv. III 135-7) ◇ DEg ḥṣyr.t and Cpt زوئيرε 𐤇 𐤓𐤁 suggest the presence of a N word-medial \*-ṣiṭ-, which can also explain the unexpected consonant ḥ- (for or besides the reg. h- < HS \*χ- < N \*q-) in Sml and Af (HS \*χṣ > [as.] \*ḥṣ > \*ḥ). The absence of \*ṣ in K suggests



that the word-medial N lr. cannot be N \*ɹ̥, but only \*ɹ. If the N etymon is \*qAɹVɹi?V, the absence of \*ɹ in Eg ħry.t, ħry(.t) and in WS \*✓χɹ? can be explained by syntagmatic merger \*ħɹ > ħ and \*χɹ > \*χ.

**1889.** \*q<sup>ɹ̥</sup>ä'sV 'remember, have in mind' > HS: S \*°✓χ<sup>ɹ̥</sup>šš<sup>ɹ̥</sup> > Ak χasāsū 'remember, recall'; but hardly here Gz ✓χšš v. 'seek, look for' (which would have pointed to a pS \*✓χšš) ¶ Sd. 329-30, LG 266 || EC: Sa {R} ħensū 'thought, remembrance', ħensū-s- vt. 'remind' ¶ R S II 190, 410, 418 || K: GZ {K} \*qš-0(w)- v. 'remember' > OG ga-qsoš 'you do not remember' (Mt. 16.9), msd. qsošna, G χsoV- v. 'remember', Mg šš- ~ šu-, Lz šu- id.; ⇨ GZ \*qš-en- v. 'remind' > OG moiqsena '(he) remembered', G χsen- v. 'remind, recollect; inform', Mg, Lz šin- v. 'remind so., remember' ¶ K 267, K<sup>2</sup> 341-2, FS K 500 (\*qš-) || A: T \*<sup>ɹ̥</sup>ä's 'memory' > CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, Alt, Uz, Ln es, ET, Uz Δ äs, VTt bš, Bsh bθ 'memory, mind', Chv as 'memory', Tkm Δ äθ-t- v. 'remember'; to be distinguished from T \*us > OT us 'intelligence, the power of discrimination' ¶ Chv a- points to a pT ä-, while VTt and Bsh b- suggest NaT \*e- ¶ ET Gl 306, NogR 439-40, KrkR 199, BN 50, Cl. 240, Jeg. 33, Fed. I 60-1, Md. 35, 164 (pT \*e-s- v. 'remember') || M \*asara- 'take care of (so.), have concern' > MM asara- [S] {H}, [MA] {Pp.} 'take care of' ('besorgen, in Obhut nehmen'), [IM] 'keep, guard (хранить)', [HI] {Lew.} 'protéger, aider', {Ms.} 'élever', WrM, WrO asara-, HIM аспа-, Kl асп- асп- 'take care of, be compassionate', Ord asra- 'take care of'; d.: M \*asaral 'care, protection; concern' > WrO asaral id., WrM asaral, HIM аспал id., 'compassion', Ord, MMgl {Iw.} asaral 'protection, soins dévoués' ¶ H 9, P MA 107, 433, Ms. H 37, Lew. II 11, MED 56, Iw. 87, Krg. 15-6, Ma. O 32-3, KRS 5, KW 16 ¶ M \*a- < \*ä- due to vw. harmony || ?σ NrTg \*eske- 'praise, glorify' > Ewk 3sk3-, Lm 3sk3- id. ¶ STM II 468 || pKo {S} \*às-kàb- 'be regrettable\pitiful; be precious\valuable' > MKo às-kàp/w-, NKo aḱap/w- id., pKo \*às-kí- v. 'spare, grudge; value, esteem' > MKo às-kí-, NKo aḱi- id. ¶ S QK #629, Nam 349, MLC 1067 || ??σ pJ {S} \*ìsàm- 'encourage, admonish' > OJ ìsàm-, J: T/Kg isamé-, K ísámé- ¶ S QJ #1076, Mr. 699 ¶¶ DQA #468 (A \*èš<sup>ɹ̥</sup>i 'take care of') ¶¶ Ch and M point to pA \*ä-, while VTt and Bsh b- (apparently suggesting NaT \*e- < A \*e-) is still to be explained.

**1890.** <sub>2</sub> \*qatV '€ corn' > HS: Eg G χtyw 'corn, cereals (?)' ¶ EG III 349 || IE: NaIE \*ades- / \*ados- '€ corn' > L ador (gen. adoris) '€

grain, spelt' || Gt atisk '(?) Saat', OHG ez̄zisk, MHG ez̄zisch 'seed', NGr Δ Esch, NGr Sw Δ Aesch 'Feldflur eines Dorfes' || Tc A {JGH} āti 'grass' || Ht hat(t)ar ∈ 'cereal' ('eine Getreideart') (× IE \*Het(e)n- < N \*Xän̄t̄ 'grain, kernel', q.v.) ¶ WP I 45, P 3, Fs. 61, Schz. 127, Kb. 214, EWA II 1191-4, OsS 33, Lx. 52, WH I 14, JGH 221, Ts. EI 220, ≠ Pv. III 247 (Ht hat(t)ar ←d hat- 'dry up').

**1891.** (₂?) \*q'it̄ 'appear, become visible' > K: Sv {Ni.} -qed-/qwd- v. 'appear' (× Sv qad-/qd- 'come' < N \*q'A'd̄, 'to step, to walk?') ¶ Ni. s.v. появиться || U: FU \*it̄ v. 'appear, become visible' > Fit̄ v. 'germinate, sprout, shoot', it̄ n. 'shoot, sprout', it̄ 'east, morning' (← \*'sunrise'), Es ida, ide (gen. ideme), idu, ite (gen. itte, itme) 'sprout, shoot', ida 'east' || pOs \*et- ({Hl.} \*āt-) > Os: V et- 'become visible' (of moon), D et- 'sich erheben, hervorkommen, herausspringen, wachsen', O et- v. 'stand up, appear (from behind sth.)', 'rise' (of the sun) || Sm {Hl.} \*bt̄- 'be seen\visible (sichtbar sein)' > Ng 1s aor. (obj. conj.) ḡad̄ema id., Ne T ḡad̄ā- v. 'be seen', Mt {Hl.} \*ad̄-, \*ad̄am- 'be seen, sichtbar sein' (Mt K {Pl.} emḡȳàd̄ise 'брежу' [lit.: 'a dream was seen'; emḡȳ- is 'a dream'], Mt M {Sp.} 3s адымга 'it seems') || pY {IN} \*yeḡd̄- > K/T {IN} yed- 'appear' (Y T -d- suggesting \*-nd-); \*÷ (⇔ IN) OY {Bil.} iend̄u, {Merk} ient̄u, {Lind.} jénd̄yl 'thunder' ¶ UEW 85-6 (FU only), Jn. 16 (Sm \*bt̄- v. 'see'), Hl. M ##7-8, IN 252, ≈ Rd. UJ 45 [#61] (Y ←b U) || HS: ?σ Eg BD/G χt̄ 'sehen, erblicken' ¶ EG III 348.

**1892.** (₂?) \*q̄t̄ (or \*q̄p̄, 'tail, hinder part' (probably 'e tail of some animal') > IE: NaIE oīād̄(e)ḡ, 'tail' (or 'stalk') > Lt uodegà 'tail', Ltv odega 'tail, mane' || ? OI adga [AthV] {MW} 'a cane, stalk (?)' ¶ WP I 175, P 773, Frn. 164-5, MW 19, M K I 29 ¶ A valid cognate unless its primary meaning is 'stalk'; in the latter case it belongs to N ≈ \*HU, 'stalk, [?] haft' (F\_N ≈ \*HU, (t̄k|ḡ)) || HS: Ch: ECh: Smr {J} wúdíń 'tail' || WCh: Hs wúçíyà id. ¶ JI II 316-7, Ba. 1095 || (× N \*q̄æt̄' 'to turn back', 'to return' [intr.]) Eg RT/XIX χt̄ω 'those behind so.', Eg fP m χt̄ 'behind' (unless ← χt̄ 'through') ¶ EG III 344-7, Fk. 198 ] An alt. cognate is Eg fP χp̄d̄ 'back part of a body, tail (of a fish)', Eg MK χp̄d̄ω 'buttocks' (unless with mt. to N \*'p̄oq̄Ež̄ ~ \*'p̄ož̄q̄ 'thigh, haunch' [q.v.]) ¶ EG III 470, Fk. 190 || ??σ K: G χeḡar-i 'Holzgriff, Stiel' (-ḡ- < \*-p̄ḡ- < \*-p̄t̄-??) ¶ Chx. 2343 ◇ Highly doubtful.

**1893.** ?<sub>2</sub> \*q'a't̥ ▽ 'ε tree, stick' > HS: S \*χa't̥- 'stem, stick' > Ug χ't̥ 'staff, scepter, stem', Ak χa't̥- id., 'branch, twig', Ar χa't̥- 'line, streak, stripe', {BK} 'ligne, raie, strie' ¶ CAD VI 153, Sd. 337, A #1016, OLS 202-3, Ln. 759-60, BK I 590 || Eg fP χ't̥ 'tree, stick, wood (Holz), forest', {Vc.} \*χit > DEg χ't̥ 'wood (Holz)' > Cpt: Sd/B ѱε šε, A ɹε χ<sub>2</sub>ε id., 'tree' ¶ EG III 339-41, Er. 370, Vc. 254 ¶ Eg t̥ (rather than d̥, the usual reflex of HS \*t̥ and N \*t̥) suggests a phonetic rule: N \*q...t̥ > Eg χ't̥ (cp. Eg fMK χ't̥y 'retire, retreat' < N \*qæ't̥'i' 'to turn back' [q.v.]) || C: EC: Af {PH} ḥaḍá 'tree', ḥáḍḍa 'stick', and Sa {Wlm.} ḥaḍa, {R} ḥā'īā 'tree, wood (Holz), stick' (unexpected ḥ) || ?? SC: Irq {E} χuray 'palm tree' (E: < pSC \*χit̥-); SC ḫ → Mb {Mnh.} m-χatō ~ m-χatu ~ mú-χātu 'tree' ¶ PH 124, R S II 185, E SC 260, Mnh. Mbg 313, 315 || ? Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} χòḍḍà 'tree, wood (Holz)', Gmrg {Gr. ← ?} xatta 'tree' || ECh: Mb {Lk.} áḍùwó, {J} àḍúwó, Mjl {DB} ṛáḍèò 'tree', as well as possibly Ll {Grgs.} ḥidà, EDng {Fd.} ètò, Mgm {J} ṛéttú, Jg {J} ṛétó, Bdy ṛíto 'tree' ¶ ChC, Blz. EChWL #90, Lk. L 103, Gr. LA 63 ¶¶ Tk. I 231-2, 308, Gr. LA 63 || A: Tg \*açia-kta (\*çi < \*ti?) 'ε tree' > Ewk açakta 'maple, rowan-tree', Neg açakta 'maple', Nn Nh/B ač̣laqta, Nn KU ač̣aqa 'filbert nuts', Nn Nh ač̣lanqora 'nut-tree' ¶ STM I 59 ¶ \*çi < \*ti ◊ Qu., because the meaning 'ε tree' is too broad, and here the probability of chance resemblance between S \*χa't̥- and Tg \*aç- is too high.

**1894.** (2?) \*qæ't̥'i' 'to turn back', 'to return' (intr.) ([in IE] → 'again?') > HS: B \*✓HḍH vi. 'return' > Sll {Ds.} aḍu (pf. yuḍa), Tz {Stm.} aḍu id. ¶ Ds. 249, Stm. 158, La. S 289 ¶ The traces of the root-final Ir. \*H suggest a possible contamination with the reflex of N \*ṛḍḍ ▽ 'back (dos)' (q.v.) || (× N \*qḍt̥ ▽ [or \*qḍṛ.ḍ.ṛt̥ ▽] 'tail, hinder part') Eg fMK χ't̥y 'retire, retreat' ('zurückweichen'), Eg fP χ't̥χ't̥ vi. 'turn back', Eg L/G χ't̥y r, Eg G χ't̥χ't̥ vt. 'zurücktreiben', Eg RT/G χ't̥ω, χ't̥yω 'those behind so.', Eg fP m χ't̥ prep. 'behind', Eg fXXII r χ't̥ 'be behind so. ¶ EG III 342-7, 353-4, Fk. 198-9, Crn. 256 ¶ Eg t̥ (rather than d̥, the usual reflex of HS \*t̥ < N \*t̥) suggests a phonetic rule: N \*q...t̥ > Eg χ't̥ (cp. Eg fP χ't̥ 'tree, stick' < N ? \*q'a't̥ ▽ 'ε tree, stick' [q.v.]); Eg t̥ may be also explained as inherited from N \*qḍt̥ ▽ || A: Tg \*e't̥e- 'look back, glance back, turn back to look' > Ewk ɜt̥ɜn-, Ewk Brg ɜṣɜn-, Ewk Nr/Ucr ɜç̣ɜn-, Ewk PT ɜt̥ɜsin- id., Ewk ɜt̥ɜt̥-, ɜt̥ɜlu- id. (iter.), Lm ɜṣɜlu- id., Ud ɜt̥ɜŋi- 'look back' ¶ STM II 470-1 || ?σ IE: NaIE \*eti / \*oti 'again' (× N \*qæ't̥U 'to cross', 'over\through' [direction], q.v. ffd.) > L

eþ 'and', Pæl, Um ET id. ||| Gl ETI {Billy} 'et', {P} 'also, further', Clt {Vn.} \*ati|e- pv. 'again, re-' > OIr aith-, W ate-, ati-, OBr {Flr.} at-, Br ad- 're-' (OIr aith-gén, W adwaen 'I recognize', OIr aithirriuch, Br adarre 'again'), OIr a(i)th- 'very' (ath-chian 'very far') ||| Gt ip 'δέ, καί', {Fs.} 'aber, wenn', AS, OSx ed- 're-, again' (AS ed-nīwian 'to renew', ed-byrdan 'to regenerate'), ON ið- 're-, again', 'more than' (ið-gnógr 'über-genug', ið-jagrœnn 'erneut grün') ||| Pru et- 're-, again' (et-kūmps 'again', et-skīsnan 'resurrection'), 'de-' (etwēre 'to open') ||| Phr ετ- 'again' | Perhaps an *AdS* of Gk ἔτι 'yet, further' and OI 'ati' 'beyond, over' (< NaIE \*eti 'over' < N \*qæʦU '↑', q.v.) ¶ ≈ WP I 43, ≈ P 344, Mn. 254, M K I 27, M E I 57, F I 582, WH I 421-2, Bc. G 334, Billy 73, Vn. A 53, Flr. 76, F I 582, Ch. 382, Fs. 297, Sw. 49, Vr. 283, En. 173, Tp. P E-H 100-20, EI 215 (\*h<sub>1</sub>eti 'and, in addition').

**1895.** \*qæʦU (= \*qæʦü?) 'to cross', 'over\through' (direction) > HS: Eg fOK χτ 'through' ('durch [ein Land] hin', etc.), 'throughout' ¶ EG III 343, Fk. 198 ||| IE: NaIE \*eti 'over' (direction) ('darüber hinaus') (× N \*qæʦ'i' 'to turn back', 'to return' [intr.] [q.v. ffd.]) > OI 'ati' 'beyond, very', Av aiti- (YAv aiti-bar- v. 'carry over'), OPrs atiy- ('atiy-āiš- 'er zog, begab sich'), KhS ata, atä 'excessively' ||| Phr ετ- in ετ-τετλκμενος 'cursed' ||| Gk ἔτι 'yet, still; more (noch), further' ¶ The final \*-i in NaIE \*eti 'over' is accounted for by the infl. of N \*qæʦ'i' ¶ P 344, M K I 27, F I 582, ≈ EI 215 (\*h<sub>1</sub>eti 'and, in addition') | On NaIE \*eti 'again' see N \*qæʦ'i' ||| A: T \*öt- (= \*öt'-) 'pass through \ over \ by' > OT öt- 'pass through\over', Tkm, Az öt-, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq öt-, VTt, Bsh, Ln üt-, ET, Ln, Slr, Qrg, Alt, Tv, Yk öt-, Uz wt-, SY yüt- 'pass by\through\over', Chv vit- id., penetrate'; Tk Δ et-en 'past, passed away' ¶ Cl. 39, Rs. W 376, ET Gl 554-5, Jeg. 55 ◇ T \*ö- (explained by the ass. infl. of the rounded vw. in the second syll.) points to a N final \*-U.

**1896.** \*qo<sub>1</sub>ha<sub>1</sub>ʦâ 'to burn' (trans., intr.), 'to kindle', 'fire, glowing coals' > HS: WS \*✓χtω, prm. \*-χtuω- 'be kindled, kindle, burn' > Gz ✓χtω G (pf. χatawa, js. yə-χtū) 'be kindled, burn, be alight, shine', BHb ✓htw|y G {JB} vt. 'kindle' (kī gēhā'īīm ʔat'tā hō'tē ʔal-rō'sō 'so you will kindle coals on his head' (Prov. 25.22)), MHb {Js.} ✓htw|y G 'take out coals with a pan', D 'stir embers', JA {Lv., Js.} htw|w G (pf. ʔṯḥ ḥ<sup>a</sup>tī ~ ḥ<sup>a</sup>tā) 'take out coals from the hearth', JEA {Sl.}

✓hty *D* 'stir\rake coals' ¶ KB 349, LG 268, JB W 24, Lv. T I 289, Js. 512, Sl. 489 || Eg CT hwt 'fire, embers', Eg MK hwt 'be burnt', Eg L hwt vt. 'burn (verbrennen)' ¶ EG II 485, Fk. 158 ¶ The irregular Eg reflex h- of N \*q- may be connected with the N word-medial \*-h- (N \*q...h > Eg h?) || Om: NrOm: Kf {C} at- 'set on fire, kindle (accendere)', {Bnd.} ?att-, Mch {L} ?at̥ta(yé) 'burn, be set on fire', Mao {Bnd.} (= Anf?) ac, Wlt {C} ett- (not registered in LmS), Chara {C} ec-, Bdt {C} ēc-, Drz {Fl.} eç-, Male {Fl.} et- 'burn', Gdc {Fl.} 3ç- 'kindle' || Dzd: Mj at-/ac- 'burn' || SOm: Ari {Bnd.} (?)ác-, Dm {Fl.} aç-, Hm B {Fl.} aç-, Hm {Fl.} at- id. ¶ Bnd. PO 145 (NrOm \*at- 'burn'), Bnd. AL #12, Fl. OO 317, Fl. OWL, C SE IV 407, L DM 20 || WCh: Hs wútā 'fire' || SBc: Kir/Buli {Sh.} wut, Tala {Sh.} wudi, Gj {Sh.} wutu, {IL} wútú, Tule {Sh.} wuti, Zar {Sh.} wut 'fire' ¶ JI II 138, ChC, Abr. H 936, Stl. ZCh 238 [#846] ¶ OS #1187, Tk. I 147 || IE: NaIE \*āt-, \*(w)āt-r- 'hearth' > Av ātarš (āθrō), Phl āθur, ātur, NPrs ūzār (spelled اذر āθar), Oss art 'fire' || Clt {Vn.} \*āti- > OIr áith 'oven, kiln, stove', W odyrn 'kiln' || L atrium 'a hall or entrance room in a Roman house' (← \*'a room with a hearth', cp. [Serv.] 'ibi et culina erat, unde atrium dictum est') || Arm ալրեմ ayrem vt. 'I burn' || Al: T vater, G votēr 'hearth, fireplace' || Sl \*vātra '(bon)fire' > SCr vātra, Uk 'ватра 'bonfire, hearth', P watra 'fire', watzysko 'fire-place, hearth', Slk vatra 'bonfire', R d. ватрышка 'curd tart, cheese-cake'; Sl d. \*vatralb 'poker' > P watal, Slk vatal', Blg ватрал ¶ P 69, Ab. I 69-70, Vl. I 22, Horn 4, Sl. 365-6, Vn. A 54, YGM-1 347, EM 54 (L atrium: 'ce serait un souvenir de l'ancienne maison où la fumée du foyer s'échappait par un ouverture ménagée dans le toit'), WH I 76-7 (no et. for atrium), ≈ O 495-6 (suggests that the Al word is a loan from Irn, which fails to explain Al v-), Vs. I 279, ≈ Glh. 663-4 (Sl \*ātra without explaining \*v-), Ma. CS 557, Brü. 604, ≈ EI 202 (\*HeHtr̥ 'fire') || A {DQA} \*ōt'a (¬ \*-t-) 'fire; hot, warm' > T \*ōt 'fire' > OT, Tkm, SY ōt, Tk ot, Az od, ET, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Qb, LN, Tv ot, Tf ot, Uz ʊt wt, VTt, Bsh, SY ut, Yk ūōt, Chv L БУТ vut id. ¶ Cl. 34, Rs. W 34, ET Gl 483-4, S AJ 187 [#117], Md 40, 132, 172, Ra. 213 || Tg: Ewk otū 'hearth, bonfire' | NrTg \*utin̥e 'forest-fire, subsoil fire' > Ewk utin̥z id., utin̥ə- vi. 'burn, smoulder (in forests, under the soil)', Lm utōn̥ō 'smell of a subsoil forest-fire' ¶ Vas. 329, STM II 294 || ?σ M \*oçin (← \*\*otin?) (unless it is \*φoçin) 'spark' > WrM, WrO ocin, HIM

оч, Ord oč'í, Kl очн, {Rm.} očň, Brt ошo(н) id. ¶ The word is not attested (⇔ S AJ 240) either in the available sources of MM or in the h/φ-preserving peripheral M lgs., neither do we find it among the WrMc Mongolisms, so that the absence or presence of pM \*φ- cannot be checked ¶ MED 599, Ms. O 523, Krg. 116, KRS 407, KW 291, Chr. 366 || pJ {S} \*àtù- 'hot' > OJ atu-, J: T/Kg acú-, K ácù- id.; pJ {S} \*àtà- > d.: OJ atatake-, ItOJ [RJ] àtàtáka, J: T/Kg atataká-, K átátáka- 'warm' ¶ S AJ 268 [#85], S QJ #85, Mr. 387, 826 || ? pKo {S} \*tʌ- > d.: MKo tʌ-sʌ-, NKo tāīit-ha- (spelled tāīis) 'warm, hot' ¶ S QK #96, Nam 136, MLC 381 ¶¶ DQA #1609, S AJ 102, 268 [#85] (T, M, Tg, J, Ko), Pp. VG I 49 ◇ The length of the vw. in NaIE and A and its quality (\*ā) in NaIE may be accounted for by the presence of a N word-medial lr. followed by \*aÆThe N lr. was most probably \*-h-, which is easily lost in S and is responsible for the initial h- (rather than χ-) in Eg (as.). The labial sonant \*w- in the NaIE variant stem \*wāī-r- may go back to the N initial \*qo- ◇ IS MS 352 s.v. oγoнb \*H'σ'tʌ, IS SS #1.34, AD GD 8 (all of them: IE, A) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #154 (\*t'a 'fire') (IE, A, J + err. Ko, Gil).

**1897. \*qû,hE,tʌ** 'entrails; sinew, thread; to tie' > HS: WS \*χūī- 'sinew, thin flexible bough, thread', \*\*'χawīī- (> \*χ∇wīī- ~ \*χ∇yīī-) 'thread' > BHb ʔiʔ hūī 'thread, cord', IA h̄wīī 'string', JA [Trg.], JEA ʔiʔ h̄ūī-t̄-ā 'thread', Sr h̄ūī-t̄-ā 'thread, string', Md hauīa 'thread, sewing', Ar χūī- 'green bough, young flexible twig', χayīī- 'thread, string', Mh {Jo.} 'χīī'tayt (pl. ʔχīī'eī) 'thread', Jb E {Jo.} 'χeī'tʔt, Jb C {Jo.} 'χīī'eī (pl. 'χeī) 'thin thread made of fibre'; WS \*-χīī- v. 'sew, sew together' > IA ✓ h̄w|yīī G, BA ✓ h̄yīī G or Sh (3pm ip. ʔiʔ h̄īī) 'repair' or 'join together'(?), JPA {Dlm., Lv.} ✓ h̄wīī G 'sew', D {Dlm.} 'sew together, plait', {Lv.} 'sew, plait', JEA {Sl.} ✓ h̄wīī ~ ✓ h̄yīī G 'sew', Md -h̄īī- G 'sew, stitch up' (ni h̄īītia ltagia 'he shall sew up to the crown', F DM 135), Sr ✓ h̄wīī (ip. -h̄ūī-) G id., 'patch, mend', Ar ✓ χyīī (ip. -χīī-) 'sew up (a garment)', Mh ✓ χīīw G (pf. χʔt, 3m sbjn. yʔχīīā), Hrs {Jo.} ✓ χyīī (pf. χʔyīī, 3m sbjn. yʔχīīā), Sq {Jo.} h̄ʔyāī 'sew', Jb E {Jo.} pf. 'χaī'e, Jb C {Jo.} ✓ χyīī Sh (pf. aχīī'eī) 'sew, stitch' ¶ KB 282-4, 1705-6, KBR 296-7, BDB 296, 1092, HJ 353, Dlm. 131, Lv. II 21, Sl. 436, JPS 130-1, DM 117, 135, Ln. 831-2, BK I 647, 655, Hv. 189, 192, Jo. M 454, 458, Jo. H 145, Jo. J 312 || Eg ∇ mʔtʔ 'entrails, guts' > DEg mʔtʔ 'entrails' > Cpt: Sd MAʔT maht, B MAʔT maht, L MEʔTE mehte 'entrails, umbilical cord' ¶ EG II 135, Er. 177, Vc. 132 ||

EC \*h<sub>1</sub>id- v. 'tie' > Af h<sub>1</sub>id- 'attach camels in Indian file', -idh<sub>1</sub>id- v. 'sew', Or {Bl., Grg.}, Kns, Gdl, Arr {Hw.} h<sub>1</sub>id-, Dsn {To.} h<sub>1</sub>ít, Bs {HL} hi? v. 'tie', pSam {Hn.} \*h<sub>1</sub>id- 'close, shut, tie' > Sml h<sub>1</sub>id- 'tie together, fasten, shut, close', Rn h<sub>1</sub>id-, pBn \*hir- > Bn Bi/J/Ba/K hir- 'tie, shut, close'; Ya hed- 'tie'; Brj h<sub>1</sub>id- id.; d.: \*h<sub>1</sub>id-tū > Brj hittō 'belt made of cotton', Bs d. hītu 'girdle (worn by women)' ¶ Bl. 195, 201, 260, 304, Ss. PEC 36, 59, Ss. B 95-6, Hn. S 64, PG 140, Sim 11-2, Hn. BD 127, ZMO 428, Grg. 206-7, Hw. A 367, Hd. 198-9, HL 102-3, To. DL 507 ¶¶ The corr. EC \*h- ÷ S \*χ- is still to be investigated (*see* Tk. I 300-1, AD WIL #43) || D (in TmM) \*ōt(-) 'ε thread' > Tm ūtū, ūtūai 'woof, thread woven across the warp', Ml ūtūa 'woof, cross thread' ¶ D #738 || A: ?σ Tg \*ute- 'ε woman's robe' > Ewk utəmɜ 'woman's long tunic of reindeer hides', Ul utɜsu, Ork uttɜuri, Nn Nh utesū 'woman's robe (χαλατ) of fish skin' ¶ STM II 295 || J: ?σ OJ itū ({Mr.} = itwɔ) 'thread, string' > J: T ítò, Ak ítô, K/Kg ító, Ty/Sz ítò, Ns ítò, Sh ítú, Is ítù, Ht ítù id. ¶ Mr. 426, TS 32, 63 || ?φ IE: NaIE \*ēt(e)r-/\*ōt(e)r- 'entrails', [?] 'ε thread' (× N \*XEtVRV or \*XiLtVRV 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew, root') > Gk Hm ήτορ 'heart', Gk ήτρον 'abdomen, part below the navel', as well as [?] Gk ήτριον, Gk D άτριον 'the warp in a web of cloth', Gk ήτρια βύβλων 'leaves made of strips of papyrus' || ON æðr 'blood vessel, vein', NNr åder, Sw åder, Dn åre id., AS ædre, æder, OFrs e<sub>1</sub>dre, OSx -āthiri, OHG ādra, NHG Ader id., MLG, MDt ader 'entrails' || OIr {P} inathar id. (< \*en-ōtro-) ¶ P 344, F I 645, ≈ Vr. 680 (ON æðr < pScn \*āðī + unc.: Ic æð, NNr æd 'small creek', interpreted by Vr. as 'Wasserader'), Ho. 9, Ho. S 4, Kb. 5, , EWA I 54-7, OsS 3, ≈ KM 7, ≈ EI 359 (\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>tr- '≈ lung, internal organ') ◇ The long vw. in NaIE and D point to a N lr. (most probably \*h in view of its loss in HS and its deglottalizing effect in pre-D, whence D \*-t- [< ppD \*-t- < \*-ht- < N \*-hEt-] rather than D \*-t- [regularly from N \*t]). The absence of the glide \*u in IE \*ēt(e)r-/\*ōt(e)r- suggests that the IE cognate lost the initial syllable of the N word.

**1898.** \*qow<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> (or possibly \*qo<sup>ʔ</sup>aw<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> or \*qa<sup>ʔ</sup>ow<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>) 'orifice, hole; to make a hole' > K: GZ \*qew- 'ravine, deep river-bed between mountains' > OG qev-i 'deep river-bed between mountains' (the word used to translate χειμάρρους 'torrents' [III Kings 17.7 of the Septuaginta]), qevnebi 'ravine (φάραγξ)' (Luc. 3.5), G qev-i {KEGL} 'deep river-bed, small river between mountains', {Chx.} 'Schlucht, Bergbach', {DCh.} 'балка, оврагъ', Mg χabo 'ravine' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 335, Fn. KW-

1 38 [#97], FS K 495, Chx. 2322, DCh. 1730, KEGL VIII 1367 || **HS:** SS \*χ∇ω- (~ \*χ∇ωh-?) 'door, gate, orifice' > OSA {CR} χω 'ianua, porta, foramen in pariete', Qtb {Rk.} χω 'door, gate', Mh {Jo.} χā, (contextual form?) χαh (pl. χōtɜn) 'mouth, entrance, opening', {Jahn} χó id., Hrs {Jo.} χαh (pl. 'χɜwɜh) id., Jb C/E χɜh (pl. 'χétɜ) 'mouth', Jb C χē 'interstice, space, hole' (× Jb ✓χωυ 'be empty?'), Sq {Jo.} ḥɛh (pl. ḥɜhɜtɜn), {L} ḥe (dim. ḥauḥa) 'interstice, hole'; WS \*'χawaχ(-at)- 'orifice' > Hb ׀׀׀׀׀׀ ḥ<sup>a</sup>wāḥ-īm ~ ׀׀׀׀׀׀ ḥōḥ-īm 'holes, crevices', Ar χawaχ-at- {BK} 'lucarne dans un mur; petite fenêtre\ouverture pratiquée dans la porte; ouverture, communication sans porte entre deux maisons; anus', {Ln.} 'an aperture in a wall, admitting the light to a house; anus', Sb {BGMR} χχ 'passageway, corridor', Gz χōχāt (pl. χōχāt) 'door, doorway, goat' ¶ KB 284, KBR 296, BK I 644, Ln. 820, BGMR 64, CR CAME 154, Rk. 71, L LS 158, L G 260, Jo. H 144, Jo. M 454, 456, Jo. J 310-1 || Eg fP χχ 'throat, neck' > DEg χχ 'neck' (+ppas.) > Cpt: B ḥaḥ χaχ, Sd ḥaḥ ḥaḥ 'neck, nape' ¶ EG III 331, Fk. 197, Vc. 283, 320, Crn. CED 268, Er. 396 || NrOm: Zrgl {Bnd.} ḥāḥe 'mouth' || WCh: NrBe: P' {MSk.} ḥwā (pl. ḥwā́), Sir {Sk.} ḥwūlí 'door(way)' ¶ MSk. 182, Sk. NB 18, ChC s.v. 'door(way)' || **U** \*owe 'door' > F ov i, Krl ov i 'door' || Chr: YO/U/B op'sa, M oφ'sa id., as well as possibly ? StChr L omca om'sa, StChr H amaca amasa, Chr Y a'masa 'door'; -sa ~ -śa is probably a sx.; the origin of -m- is not clear (either contamination with another word or borrowing from another lge.?) || ObU {Hl.} \*f̄w∇ 'door' ({Ht.} \*ūɣɜ = \*ūɣ∇) > pVg {Ht.} \*f̄w∇ > OVg: S ChusO âúve, S SSs auwe, E TM äau, N Sog áui, N Chd ави 'door'; Vg: T äyīw ∫ ayəw, LK āw, UK/P/SV/LL f̄w, Ss āw i; pOs {Ht.} \*ɔɔ 'door' > Os (partially within cds.): V/Vy ɔɔ, Ty oɔ<sup>w</sup> ~ oɔ, Y oω, D/K aω, Nz/Kz ɔω, O uω ~ ōw ~ äw id. || Sm {Jn.} \*ö (= \*ö<sub>ḡ</sub>?) 'door' > Ne T HĚ 'door, entrance of the tent', Ne O {Lh.} ḥō', Ne F {Lh.} ḥō ~ ḥō<sup>w</sup>, Ng {Cs.} ~ ôa, {Ter.} ḥua, En X {Cs.} ~ ia, En B {Cs.} no, nu 'door', Slq Tz {KKIH} -a in mōta 'door of a tent' (mōt means 'tent'), Kms {KD} d. āj<sub>ḡ</sub>e ~ āj<sub>ḡ</sub>a, Koyb {Sp.} d. an, Mt {Hl.} \*ḥ̄|o 'door' (Mt: K {Mil.} njɔ, M {Mil.} no, {Sp.} no id., T {Mil.} njódca 'his door') ¶ UEW 344, Coll. 45, SK 446, Ht. 124 [#10], Hl. rHt 73, Hl. M #765, Stn. WV 188, Stn. OV 123, Jn. 29, KKI 132, KD 4, Ter. SILSJ 288, Ter. 307, KP 145 || **A:** NaT \*ōy 'hole, cavity' and \*ōy- v. 'hollow out' (× N \*P̄oΓi 'cavity, valley; to hollow out', q.v. ffd.) || **D** \*āv-, \*āv-∇-l/]- v. 'gape, yawn' > Tm āvi v.



'gape, yawn, open the mouth so as to express loudly', MI  $\bar{a}vi\ i\check{t}$ -, Td  $o\cdot p\ddot{u}ly$ -, Kdg  $a\cdot va\check{i}\check{c}$ -, Tu  $\bar{a}v\cdot i\check{c}$ -, Krg  $\bar{a}va\check{s}u$ , Prj  $\bar{a}v$ -, Krx  $aula\bar{a}na$ , Mlt  $\bar{a}wole$  v. 'yawn', Gnd  $\bar{a}vi$ , Kt  $a\cdot va\check{z}$ , Tu  $\bar{a}val\bar{b}$ , Tl  $\bar{a}vulinta$  'a yawn', Tl  $\bar{a}valincu$ ,  $\bar{a}vulincu$  v. 'yawn, gape' ¶¶ D #392, Pf. 86 ◇ The discrepancy between the U and T rounded vw. and D  $*\bar{a}$  (for the expected  $*\bar{o}$  or  $*o$ ) still needs investigating. Three solutions can be envisaged: (1) the pN vw. was  $*a$ , the U vw.  $*o$  is due to the assimilative infl. of  $*w$ , while the main source of NaT  $*\bar{o}y$  is N  $*P_o\Gamma i$ ; (2) the N vw. was  $*o$ , while D  $*\bar{a}$  is due to an unknown phonetic law (something like  $*ow\text{-} > D\ *\bar{a}v\text{-}$ ), and (3) the N etymon was  $*qo\bar{p}aw'i'$  or  $*qa\bar{p}ow'i'$  with loss of the lr. in S. This third solution has an advantage: it explains the long vw. in T ◇ IS III 130-1 [#377] ( $*qow\bar{e}$  'orifice'  $>$  HS [S, Pa'a], U, D), Blz. KM 118 [#16] (added K, Eg, and Om to the N et. of IS).

**1899.  $*q\bar{a}w'h'$  ▽** 'lack, be empty\incomplete'  $>$  HS: WS  $\checkmark\chi w\bar{y}w$ , prm.  $*-\chi w\bar{i}y\text{-}$  'become empty \ devoid'  $>$  Ar  $\checkmark\chi w\bar{y}$  G (pf.  $\chi aw\bar{a}$ , 3m ip.  $y\bar{a}\text{-}\chi w\bar{i}$ ) id., Sb  $\checkmark\chi w\bar{y}$  v. 'make void', Mh {Jo.}  $\checkmark\chi w\bar{\emptyset}$  (pf.  $\chi\bar{z}w\bar{u}$ ) 'have a space left uncovered' (of a door, etc.), 'have one's limbs uncovered', Jb C  $\checkmark\chi w\bar{y}$  (pf.  $\chi\bar{e}$ ) 'be empty' ¶ Ln. 827-8, BK I 651, Jo. M 456, Jo. J 311 ¶ BK I 644, BGMR 64, Jo. M 454, 456, Jo. J 310-1 ||| K: GZ  $*q\bar{w}\text{-}$  'remove, throw away, deprive of'  $>$  OG  $q\bar{w}\text{-}$  'remove, deprive of', Lz  $\chi v\text{-}$  /  $\chi\text{-}$  'throw away' ¶ FS K 496, FS E 563-4 ||| IE: NaIE  $*e\bar{u}\bar{a}\text{-}$  'be empty, be wanting'  $\rightarrow *e\bar{u}\bar{a}\text{-}n\text{-}$  'empty, wanting'  $>$  OI  $\bar{u}'na\text{-}h$ , Av  $\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{o}$  'defective, wanting', NPrs  $\bar{w}\bar{a}\bar{ng}$  'empty, poor' ||| Arm  $n\bar{u}\bar{w}\bar{j}\bar{u}$   $una\bar{y}\bar{n}$  'empty' ||| Gk  $\epsilon\bar{u}\bar{v}\bar{e}\bar{s}$  'reft of, bereaved of' ||| L  $v\bar{a}\bar{n}us$ , ?  $v\bar{a}\bar{c}uus$  'empty, void', ?  $v\bar{a}\bar{c}\text{-}\bar{o}$  /  $\text{-}\bar{a}\bar{r}e$  'be empty\void' ( $\bar{a} < *a$ ), ? Um  $anterv\bar{a}kaze$ , ANDERVACOSE 'intervacatio\_ \ intermissio\_ sit' ||| Gt  $w\bar{a}ns$ , ON  $v\bar{a}nr$ , OHG, OSx, AS  $w\bar{a}n$  adj. 'lacking, missing'; ON ntr.  $v\bar{a}n\text{-}t$  n. 'absence, want',  $v\bar{a}nta\text{-}$  'be lacking'  $\rightarrow$  ME  $w\bar{a}nt\text{-}$  'be deficient',  $w\bar{a}nte$  'deficient'  $>$  NE  $w\bar{a}nt$  v., n. ||| Ltv  $v\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{c}kars$ ,  $\Delta$   $v\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{s}\text{-}kars$  {ME} 'barren egg', {Turk.} 'addle egg', Lt  $v\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{s}\text{-}kariai$  'unhatched eggs' ¶ WP I 108, P 345, EI 179 ( $*h_1e\bar{u}(h_R)\text{-}$  'empty, wanting'), M K I 115, Vl. II 1433, Hü. 484, F I 589, WH II 723, 731-2, Bc. G 328, Fs. 550, Vr. 644, Kb. 1140, Bj. 225, Ho. 382, HDEL 1443, Slt. 233-4, ME IV 462, Frn. 1196 ¶ The absence of traces of  $*a$  in Gk is puzzling ||| ? Gil: Gil A  $q'\bar{a}u\text{-}$  'be absent, not to be' ¶¶ ST 148 ◇ NaIE  $*a$  points to a N lr., which was most probably  $*h$  (the only one easily lost in S, but yielding  $*a$  in NaIE).

**1900.** \*qaw<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>y∇ ⇨ \*qawi 'to protect, to defend, to help' > **HS:** Eg fP χωϣ vt. 'protect (schützen, behüten)', Eg fXVIII χω, Eg fOK χω.τ 'protection' (× N \*<sup>ʀ</sup>q'ûy∇ [⇨ \*<sup>ʀ</sup>q'æw∇?] 'to wrap, to cover') ¶ EG III 244-5, Fk. 196 || C: Bj {R} ✓ <sup>ʀ</sup>ωϣ (1s: p. a-<sup>ʀ</sup>away, prs. a-t-<sup>ʀ</sup>awī), {Rop.} 1s p. <sup>ʀ</sup>awi, 2m p. t<sup>ʀ</sup>awaiya, 1s prs. at<sup>ʀ</sup>awi 'help, assist', caus. {R} -s-<sup>ʀ</sup>aw (p. a-s-<sup>ʀ</sup>aw) 'zu Hilfe senden' ¶ R WBd 36-7, Rop. 157 || **IE:** NaIE \*aw- 'help, take care' (× NaIE \*aw-, \*awēj- 'gern haben' < N \*haw∇ 'to desire, to love' [q.v.]) > Av avaiti 'takes care, helps', avah- n. 'help', OI ō-'mā / ō-man- 'help, protection', 'ō-man- 'helper, protector', Av aoman- adj. 'helping, assisting' || OIr con-ó i 'il protège, défend' ¶ P 77-8, M K I 57, 133, Vn. C 197 || **A:** Tg \*ay- v. 'help', \*ay n. 'help, cure, repair' > Ewk ay id., ay- 'help, save (retten), cure', Lm ay- ~ ayi- id., Orc aiçi- v. 'repair, cure, help', Ud {STM} aisigi-<sup>ḍ</sup> āsigi- v. 'repair, cure', {Krm.} ayasifi ~ āsigi- vi. 'recover', Ork ayu- 'help so. out of trouble', ayuḡutčl- 'repair' ¶ STM I 17-8, Vas. 20, Krm. 205 || ? M \*abura- v. 'protect, save' (× N \*qapUR∇ 'to protect, to help', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 342 s.v. защищать \*qaw<sub>1</sub> (IE, U, HS).

**1901.** \*<sup>ʀ</sup>q'ûy∇ (or \*<sup>ʀ</sup>q'æw∇?) 'to wrap, to cover' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to drape', 'to cloth'), 'to tie\bind to' > **HS:** EC \*hǫlūw- v. 'drape (so., oneself) in a garment' > Sml {ZMO, DSI} huwi- 'cover with a cloth, drape', {ZMO} huwo/huwad- 'wrap (a cloth) round oneself, cover oneself with cloth\blanket', Sml N {Abr.} huwwi- vt. 'dress in a cloth', huwwan- 'drape oneself in a garment', Or {Grg.} uwwisa- vi. 'clothe', Or S {Sr.} ūwisa- ~ ūyisa- vt. 'cover', uyifadḡa v. 'dress oneself' (cp. Or uffisa- 'clothe', etc. < N \*qup∇ [or \*qūp∇?] 'to cover', q.v.) ¶ ZMO 197, DFSI 320, Abr. S 113, Grg. 392, Sr. 399 || *AdS* of Eg fP χωϣ vt. 'protect' (< N \*qaw<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>y∇ ⇨ \*qawi 'to protect, to defend, to help' [q.v. ffd.]) || **K** \*<sup>o</sup>qχw- > Mg χv- 'wrap', Lz χw- v. 'bury, cover with sth.' ¶ Chik. 423 || **IE:** NaIE \*ey-/\*oy- vt. 'dress, put on (clothes)' (← 'tie [around], wrap') > Arm ազանիմ aganim (1s aor. ազայ agay) v. 'clothe, dress oneself, put on' || Lind-u-ō / -ēre 'get dressed in, put on (a garment)', ex-u-ō / -ēre 'divest oneself (of)', induviae 'clothes', Um ANOVHIMU 3s inv. {Pln.} 'induiminō' (< \*an-oyyō) || Lt aũ-ti (1s prs. aunù), Ltv àu-t 'put on (footwear)', Lt avéti (1s prs. avìù) 'wear (footwear)' || Sl \*-úti (1s prs. \*-ujq) with pxs.: [1] \*ob-ú-ti

'to put on (footwear)' > OCS, OR **ОБОУТИ** *obuti*, R *обуть*, Uk *обути*, SCr *òbuti*, Slv *obúti*, Cz *obouti*, Slk *obut'*, P *obuć* id., Blg *обуя* 'put on (footwear)'; ↗ RChS **ОБОУВЬ** *obuvь*, R *обувь*, Cz, Slk *obuv*, P *obuw* / *obuwie* 'footwear'; [2] \*jъz-ú-ti 'to take off (footwear)' > OR **ИЗОУТИ** *izuti*, SCr *ìzuti*, Slv *izúti*, Cz *zouti* se, Slk *zut'*, P *zzuć* id.; [3] \*roz-ú-ti id. > OR **РОЗОУТИ** *rozuti*, R *разуть*, P *rozzuć* ] ↗ NaIE \*oṷ-tlā- 'bandage, sth. tied around, wrapping' > Av *aθra-* 'footwear' || L *sub-ūcula* 'a man\woman's underwear, shirt' || Lt *aũklė* 'bast-shoe string\lace, foot-cloth', Ltv *āukla* 'string, cord', Pru *auclo* 'Halfter' 'halter' ] NaIE d. \*oṷ-to-s '≈ wrapped around, clothed' > Lt *aũtas* 'foot-cloth', Ltv {ME} *āuts* 'Tuch, Binde' | Sl \*ob-utъ (pp. of \*ob-ú-ti) 'wearing footwear' > R *обутый*, etc. || Lex-ūtus (pp. of *exuo* [see above]) ¶ The ancient NaIE meaning 'tie, tie around, wrap' is preserved in some derivatives in BIt (Lt *auklė*, *auklis*, Ltv *āukla*, *āuts*, Pru *auclo*, etc.) ¶ WP I 109-10, P 346, EI 109 (\*h<sub>1</sub>eṷ- 'put on clothes'), WH I 434-6, 695-6, II 620, Bc. G 328, Pln. II 251, 310, 726, Hü. 411, Slr. 237-8, 442-3, Tr. 21-2, Frn. 27-8, En. 147, Tp. P A-D 156, Vs. II 124, III 109, 435, Glh. 447-8, Brtl. 42 || ? A \*oṷy∇ {AD} 'attach, wrap' > Tg \*uyi- v. 'attach, wrap' > Sln *uyi-* 'attach, wrap', Ewk *uy-* & *uyi-*, Lm, Neg, Ork *uy-*, Orc *uyi-*, Ul, Nn *ui-* v. 'attach' ¶ STM II 250-1 || ??? T \*o<sub>ṷ</sub>ṷ<sup>1</sup>a > Tk *oya* 'embroidery', Osm {RI} *oya* 'Fransen, Stickerei' (unless from \*oṷa and derived from *oy-* 'carve, cut out') ¶ RI. I 1033 ¶ ≈ SDM97 (A \*uy∇ 'bind, sew') and DQA #2542 (pA \*ōy∇ 'sew, pierce', incl. Tg, T) ◇ EC \*h- goes back to HS \*χ- < N \*q-. If the A √ belongs here, the N rec. is \*q<sup>1</sup>ūy∇, otherwise it may also be \*q<sup>1</sup>æw∇.

**1902.** \*q∇, pc. of collectivity ([in descendant lgs.] → a marker of plurality) > K \*°-qe, marker of plurality of the indirect object of the 2nd and the 3rd person > MG, G F/X/P/Lch/LI -qe, G In -q id. (MG *ge-u-bn-ebi-qe* 'I tell you [pl.]' ↔ *ge-u-bn-ebi* 'I tell thee') ¶ Dt. 60-1, Dt. AKS II 40-1, Chik. Q 32-62 || ? IE: NaIE \*°-ko > Gmc \*-xa / \*-xa, sx. of collectivity > Gt *brōþra-ha-ns* coll. 'brothers', OSw (RunSc) *fapr-ka-r*, ON *feðgar* 'father and son', OSw (RunSc) *muþr-ku*, ON *mæðgur* 'mother and daughter, ?? Yid *קצ* -ax pl. in l-diminutives (*קצ* 'mejd-el-ax 'girls' ↔ sg. 'mejdele) || ??φ Arm pl. ending -p -k<sup>h</sup> ¶ Fs. 107, ≈ Vr. 114 and 400 (believes that the Gmc sx. is originally adjectival); Kron. VLFH 126 and IS OS II 105 (both adduce Arm -k<sup>h</sup>) ||

**U:** [1] FU \*-kk∇, sx. of collectivity > F -kkO / -kkö id. (koivikko 'birch forest', männikkö 'pine forest') || Hg -k, pl. suffix of nouns | [2] FU \*-k as marker of pl. in pers. endings of 1p and 2p (×N \*kU, particle of plurality [used mainly with pronouns], q.v. ffd.) || **D** \*-k(k)∇, pl. suffix of nouns > Kdg -ga / -ya (< \*-ka) (āṅ-ga 'men', aṣṣi-ya 'grandmothers'), Knd -ku, -gu, -k (gālu-k 'daughters' ↔ sg. gālu, ilku 'houses', mēmar-gu 'husbands'), Gnd -k, -∇k (pāl-k 'teeth', ḍuvvaḷ-īk 'tigers'), Koya -k, -ku (mar-k 'sons', manasūr-ku 'men'), Nk -k|gu, -g, -k (pāl-gu ~ pāl-ku 'teeth', pām-ku 'snakes', elli-g 'rats', ūtu-k 'ropes'), Ku -ka (himborka 'clothes' ↔ sg. himbori), Kui -ka / -ga (kor-ka 'buffaloes', kaṅ-ga 'eyes'), Brh -k, -āk (xal-k 'stones' ↔ sg. xal, lōtāk 'sacks' ↔ sg. lōt) ¶ An. SG 177-8, D #3986, Shanm. DN 52-103 || ? **HS:** C: Ag {Hz.} \*-k∇, plural suffix of nouns > Aw -ka (gsén-ka 'dogs'), Km -ák, -kák, Kw -ki (yir-ki 'men'), -k {Zab.} (gílu-k 'men', gíru-k 'hens'), -ke (gír-ke 'days' ↔ sg. griy-à); according to Ap., Km -ák, -kák is related to the Km suffix -ak, -ki 'all' (added to pronouns and numerals: nay-ak 'all of them', ni-ki all of it', andíw-ak 'all of us', liṅay-ak 'both') || Dhl {Zab.} -uka, -uke, -eka, -eki, pl. suffixes of nouns (ṛēn-uka 'tongues' ↔ sg. ṛēna; kʷánaṇ-ùkà 'scorpions' ↔ sg. kʷánaṇa; wáràw-úke 'hyenas' ↔ sg. wárawa [{To.} wárāba]; munteka 'fields' ↔ sg. munta; ṣóṣòṇ-éki 'jackals' ↔ sg. ṣóṣòṇ) ¶ Hz. AL 16, Zab. MNPC 209, 259-61, 298, Ap. K 322, To. D 162 ◇ IS II 105-6 [#345] (N ? \*qʷ).

**1903. \*qAb∇** 'jaw, cheek' > **K** {K} \*qba-, {FS} \*qab- 'jaw' > OG, G qba- 'jaw', Mg ṽviba- 'man with a stupid face', Sv (h)aqba-, qab(w)- 'cheek' ¶ K 209, K DE 358, K<sup>2</sup> 238, FS K 360 and FS E 404 (adducing Sv qab 'beard' < K \*qab-) || **HS:** S \*oḳapḳap- > Ar qafqaf- 'camel's cheek' ¶ Fr. III 481, BK II 791 || Ch (×N \*keḗH<sub>2</sub>∇ 'jaw, chin'): [1] DfB {J} kápâk (pl. kapák) 'cheek' | [2] ??ϕ Ch {Stl.} \*gobi ({AD} \*gobi ~ \*gob̥i?) 'chin, cheek' > WCh: Hs háḅā 'chin' | P' {MSk.} gábà-čangá 'chin, lower jaw' | Gj {ChL} gús-gíḅà 'chin' || CCh {Stl.} \*ḡyobi > Cb {ChL} ḡgubæ 'cheek' | HgF {ChL} yub̥i 'chin' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gàbi 'cheek' ¶ J R 216, Stl. IF 113 || **D** \*kaṽu- 'cheek, jaw' (×N \*gab∇(-|í∇) 'head' [ > 'top', 'skull']?) > Tm kaṽu- 'cheek, temple or jaw of elephant', MI kaṽi-, Tu kau-ḷu, ? Kui külu 'cheek', Prj gāvla, galva 'jaw'; D → OI kapō'la-ḥ 'cheek' ¶¶ D #1337, Tu. #4324, M KI 158 (kapōlah "vermutlich austroasiatisch"), M E I 303 (mentions the D and Austroasiatic parallels with scepticism).

**1904.** \*q'æb∇ 'belly, stomach' > HS: WS (or S) \*q'ib-at- id. > BHb הַבֶּה קֶבֶבָה 'belly; fourth stomach of ruminants', JA [Trg.] קֶבֶבָה 'belly', JPA Bz קֶבֶבָה 'belly', JEA {Sl.} קֶבֶבָה 'stomach of a ruminant', Ar قَبَّة qibb-at- {BK} 'ventricule', Tgr ቀበት qəbət 'midst; lower part', qəbbət 'a stuffed goat's stomach', ?σ,φ Tgy қобо 'hernia', ?? Ak kukkubātū, kukkubānu, қуққубātū, қуққубānu 'part of the animal stomach' ¶ KB 992, BDB 866-7, Dlm. 360, Lv. T II 339, Js. 1307, 1313, Sl. 982, Sl. P 489, BK II 657, Ln. 2478, LH 249-50, Bsn. 262, L ESAC 46, CAD VIII 499 || K \*oϣip- > G ϣipi 'paunch' ¶ Mte.: ϣ...p < N \*q...b ¶ Chx. 1623, DCh. 1362 || A: M \*kebeli > WrM kebeli, HIM хэвлий 'belly, stomach; paunch; womb', Ord {Ms.} k'eweli 'womb (matrice, sein)', WrO kebeli 'belly, stomach; womb', Kl кевлэ 'belly, womb', {Rm.} kew] 'belly'; M \*keṣeli 'womb, belly' > MM [HI] keṣeli 'ventre', [L] keṣli 'belly', MM [IM] كهل keh[e]l[i], [IsV, MA] kehli, WrM keḡeli, HIM хеел 'womb, belly', Mnr H {SM} k'ēlīē, {T} kelīē 'belly, paunch' ¶ MED 438, 442, Ms. O 419, Ms. H 70, Pp. L III 69, Pp. MA 439, SM 198, T 338, Lg. VMI 48, Krg. 715, KRS 287, KW 229 || Tg \*kepeṣ- 'belly' > Lm kēbāl 'stomach (Magen) of a squirrel\calf with its contents', WrMc xefali ~ xefeli 'belly, entrails', Jrc {Kiy.} hefuli 'abdomen' ¶ STM I 387-8, Kiy. 125 [#508] || NaT \*k'āṣep- 'be swollen' (of a belly), 'be pregnant' > Tkm gābe 'swollen' (qarni gābe 'with a swollen belly'), MQp XIV [AH], Chg {PC} گبه gebe, Tk gebe, Ggz, CrTt gebe 'pregnant'; NaT \*k'āṣep- (with an unexplained \*k'-) 'be swollen' (of a belly) > Tv xewer-, Tki {Zn.}, MQp XIV [AH] كبرم kebermek, Chg {PC} گبرم geber-mek 'to swell, be swollen' (of a belly)' ¶ ET VGD 36, PC 455, Zn. II 735 ¶¶ DQA #789 (A \*kép'∇ 'belly') ◇ The de-emphatization N \*q- > A \*k- and the unexpected length of the vw. in NaT are still to be investigated and explained.

**1905.** \*qUbr'E' 'basket' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'vessel') > K: G {Chx.} qvibarō 'ε basket for millet', G qvibari, G Im qvibiri 'ε small vessel for wine (dug into earth)', G LIm qvibira 'ε small wine-jug', G {DCh.} qvibari 'pot used for storing cheese' ¶ Chx. 1686, DCh 1378 || HS: S \*qubbaṣ-, (?) \*qubṣ- 'basket, vessel' > Ug qḫḫṣ 'ε drinking-vessel', {OLS} 'cáliz', BHb cs. קֶבֶבָה qub,baṣat 'cup', Ph qḫḫ 'cup, goblet', IA qḫḫ 'small jar', Ak {CAD} qurpu 'ε wicker basket or

wooden chest; cage; box for silver and precious objects' (× N \***ḲuP̄** 'box, basket'), as well as Sr W {Br., PS} **קֻבְּבָא** **ḳub̄bā** 'calix (of a flower)', 'Blumenkelch' and Ar **qub̄ʕat-** {Fr.} 'calix, folliculus florum', {BK} 'calice ou enveloppe de la fleur'. The Sr and Ar cognates are qu.: Br. and KB connect the Sr word with Hb **קֻבְּבָא** **ḳub̄baʕat** 'cup' (KB: 'Becher, Pokal') and interpret it as a μφ from 'cup' (as in L **calix** and in NHG **Blumenkelch**), while JPS interprets this Sr word as 'covering\sheath of a flower\fruit' and connects it with the homographic **קֻבְּבָא** **ḳub̄bā** 'hood' (÷ JA [Trg.] **קֻבְּבָא** 'turban', Hb **קֻבְּבָא** **ḳub̄bā** 'helmet'); if JPS is right, the same interpretation must be preferred for Ar **qub̄ʕat-** as well ¶ KBR 1062, 1081, BDB 867 [#6907], 875 [#6959], OLS 361, HSI 983, Br. 644, PS 3480, JPS 492, Fr. III 392, BK II 664, AD XIII 307-10, Sd. 890, ≠ KB 994 (the word of the S lgs. \* ← Eg: unc. for lack of arguments for the loan hyp., while there are arguments against it: if it had been a loan, we would not have expected a uniform rendering of Eg ḥ as ʕ in all WS lgs. and would have expected ḫ (= ḥ) in Ak - which is the usual Ak rendering of foreign ḥ) || Eg XVIII **ḳub̄ḥw** 'libation-vase' ¶ EG V 27, Fk. 278 || C: [1] EC: Af {PH} **kaʕaʕ** 'large palm-leaf basket' || Ag: Xm {R} **qefā** 'cylindrical box, beehive'; C (Ag?) → Amh **ḳəʕfo** 'wicker basket used as a beehive' → Sa/Af {R} **ḳafo** 'beehive'; [2] EC: Sa {R} **qāʕaʕbō** ~ **qāʕeʕbō** (pl. 'qāʕeʕbōb) 'ein großer irdener Krug' ¶ PH 142, R S II 230 || ?? Ch: WCh {Stl.} \***kaḅ** 'basket' (× N \***ḲabʕEʔ** 'wickerwork, bag, vessel' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ OS 307 [#1407] (HS \***kaḅ-** 'gourd, calabash vessel' > Eg **kb**, DhI, Hs), 332 [#1526] (> \***ḳab-** > Ak, Ron, Eg **ḳbṯ**) || ?φ IE: NaIE \***kap-** 'vessel, box' (× N \***ḲabʕEʔ** '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) || ?σ U: FU \***koppʕa** 'vessel' > F **koppa** 'Korb, Schale', Es **kopp** (gen. **kopa**) 'Schale, kleines Gefäß' × ← Sw **kopp** 'cup') ¶ Coll. 93, ≈ UEW 181-2 ¶ F **koppa** 'front part of the skull, forehead, box, vessel' goes back to two N words (this one and N \***ḳʕaʕw̄l̄ōp̄E** → \***ḳʕaʕw̄l̄ōp̄E** 'skull') || A \***kʕpʕE** > NaT \***kʕ̄p̄** (× N \***ḲuP̄** 'box, basket') > OT **kūp̄** 'large earthenware jar\jug', Az, Gg, Kr, Qzq Δ **küp** id., Tk **küp** (+ppa.: **küp-ü**) 'large earthenware narrow-necked jar'; \***kʕpʕä** 'earthenware jug' > Tk Δ **küpe**, Az **güpä**, Uz **kuwa** ¶ Cl. 687, DTS 328, TkR 581, Hüs. 176, GRM 30, ET KQ 143-4 || M: [1] M \***qobdu** 'case, long and narrow box; quiver' (× N \***ḲuP̄** '↑', q.v. ffd.) || [2] M \***köbke** > WrM **köbke**, HIM **xəb̄x** 'box, chest; basket', WrO **köbkeq** 'cage, basket' ¶ Pp. MA 299, MED 476, 949, Krg. 271,

736, KRS 591, KW 171, Ms. O 347 ◇ In some cases the resemblance is due to borrowing. Coalescence with N \***ḲuP** ▽ '↑' may be supposed for many descending lgs.

**1906. \*ḡac** ▽ 'gray' (esp. of hair), 'white' > **K**: GZ \*mqč-(e) 'gray hair' > OG mqce, G (m)χce 'gray hair', Mg (r)č-: če- 'white', tuta-rčela 'white moon', gaarčielu vt. 'whitened', Lz χče-~(k)če- 'gray-haired'; ⇨ GZ \*mqč-oan- 'hoary with age' > OG mqcovani, G mχcovani id., Mg rčinu 'old man, old woman', Lz χčin- ~ kčin- 'old woman' ¶ \*m- is likely to go back to a px.; as. \*\*ḡc > \*qc ¶ K 267, K<sup>2</sup> 135, Chik. 40, 343, Abul. 316 || **HS**: ? CS \*✓ḡšš v. 'be old' (of a person), \*ḡašš- 'old man' (×N \***ḲUŠE** 'grown-up man, old (person)', q.v. ffd.) || C: Dhl {To.} kīzō 'village elder' (pl. 'kīzōma), {EEN} kīzō (pl. 'kīzōma) 'elder, old man', {E} kīzō 'old man' || ?? SC: Asa {E} kižumo, pl. kižumaku 'male impala' ¶ E SC 244 (adduces the Dhl word and Mb mzíme 'old man' and reconstructs SC \*kīz- 'old man'), EEN 11, To. D 140 || **IE**: NaIE \*kas-, \*kas-no- (or \*k̄as-, \*k̄as-no-) 'gray, white' > L cānus (< \*kas-no-s) 'white-haired, gray-haired, hoary', Osc, Pæl CASNAR 'old man' || OHG hasan {Kb.} 'gray, polished, smooth', {P} 'grau glänzend', ON hqss 'gray' (< \*kas-wō-), AS hasu 'dark, gray, ash-coloured', MHG heswe 'blass, matt' ¶ P 533, Mn. 602, WH I 156, Pln. II 688, 717, Vr. 282, Ho. 149, Kb. 439, OsS 375, Lx. 88, EI 240 (\*k̄as- 'gray') ¶ The stem is usually reconstructed as \*k̄as-, which is based on a highly qu. adduction of the stem \*k̄o|as- 'hare' (> OI śa'śa-, Pru sasins, OHG haso, AS hara 'hare'). But there is no proof that the two stems are etymologically identical, so that the hyp. of an initial \*k̄- remains unfounded || **A**: NaT \*k'acš- 'gray (hair), white' > Tv k'azarar- v. 'grow gray' (hair), 'be seen as white', Tf qāh<sup>u</sup>-ar- id., Xk xaz-ar- xaz-ar- id., Tlt {Rl.} kajai 'weiß, grau werden (von Haaren), in der Ferne weiß erscheinen', Brb {Rl.} qašqaj- 'grow gray' (of hair) ¶ Rl. II 395-9, Ra. 217.

**1907. \*ḡûd<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>** 'hut' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'house') > **K**: GZ \*ḡud-e 'house' > Mg řud-e 'house', G cd. kva-ḡud-e 'stone house', d. sa-ḡud-el- 'cloister, refuge', ?? OG sa-ḡud-ar-ni pl. '{?} Wohnsitze' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 245-6; ≈ FS K 367-8 and FS E 412 (\*ḡwed- + unc.: Sv ḡwedi 'ruhig, gemütlich', the OG/G words with the ✓ ḡud- 'be quiet') || ? **HS**: Ch: Ngz {Sch.} kúdîmdîm 'square room\house with flat roof' ¶ Sch. DN 97 || **IE**: NaIE \***ḡkud<sup>h</sup>yā** ({KM} \*kud<sup>h</sup>yā) > Gmc \*xudjōn- 'hut' > OHG hutta, MHG hütte, NHG Hütte id.; MHG hütte ⇨ OFr hutte (> Fr hutte

'hut')  $\rightarrow$  NE  $h\ddot{u}t$   $\S$  Hardly here NaIE  $*ket-/k\ddot{u}t-$  'room in a house'  $\leftarrow$  'Wohngrube' (P 586-7) both because of its original meaning and because IE  $*k-$  points to the following N  $*a$  rather than to the expected  $*o|u$   $\S$  Schz. 172, Kb. 494, OsS 435, Lx. 97, KM 323, HDEL 644 || **D**  $*ku\ddot{t}i$  ( $\{\ddot{t}GS\}$   $*ku\ddot{t}i \sim *gu\ddot{t}i$ ) 'house, hut'  $>$  Tm  $ku\ddot{t}i$  'house, home, family, town', Ml  $ku\ddot{t}i$  'house, hut, family, tribe', Kt  $ku\ddot{r}\ddot{z}l$  'shed, bathroom', Td  $ku\ddot{s}$  'room (in dairy or house)',  $ku\ddot{s}\ddot{s}$  'outer room of dairy', Kn  $gu\ddot{t}i$  'house, temple', Kdg  $ku\ddot{t}i$  'family of servants living in one hut', Tu  $gu\ddot{t}i$  'small pagoda\shrine', Tu  $gu\ddot{t}i$  'temple',  $ko\ddot{t}ika$  'hamlet', Gnd  $ku\ddot{r}ma$  'hut, outhouse',  $gu\ddot{t}(d)i \ddot{d} gu\ddot{r}i$  'temple', Klm  $gu\ddot{t}i$ , Gdb  $gu\ddot{t}i$  id., Prj  $gu\ddot{t}i$  id., 'village resthouse', Kui  $gu\ddot{t}i$  'central room in house, living room'; D  $\rightarrow$  OI  $ku\ddot{t}a-$ ,  $k\ddot{u}t\ddot{a}-$ ,  $ku\ddot{t}i-$  'hut'  $\S\S$  D ##1655, Tu. ##3232-3, 3493.

**1908. \*qUyigŋU** (or **\*gigŋU**) 'cold'  $>$  K  $*q_i g_n-$  'freeze, feel cold'  $>$  OG, G  $qin-$  id., Mg  $\ddot{r}in-$ , Lz  $qin-$   $\sim in-$ , Sv  $qg\ddot{a}_n-/q\ddot{a}_gn-$  id.  $\S$  K 212, K<sup>2</sup> 243, Chik. 190, FS K 371, FS E 416-7 || **U**  $*k\ddot{v}'n'\ddot{v}$  '≈ be cold, freeze'  $>$  Sm {Jn.}  $*k\ddot{b}n(t\ddot{v})-$ , Ne T  $\times\ddot{a}n\ddot{y} h\ddot{a}n\ddot{y}$  'kalt werden', Slq Tz {Hl.}  $q\ddot{h}'n+$  'frost', Kms  $k'\ddot{a}n-$  'frieren'  $\S$   $*-n' < *-yŋ-$  ||  $??\phi$  Ykan-: T {Krn.}  $q\ddot{a}n\ddot{e}ŋ$ , {IN}  $q\ddot{a}n\ddot{z}\ddot{a}$  'cold, winter' ( $*q\ddot{a}n-y\ddot{a}; -y\ddot{a}$  is a sx.)  $\S\S$  UEW 176-7, KKIИ 164, Cs. 224, KD 26, Krn. JJ 273,  $\neq$  Jn. 53 ( $*k\ddot{b}nt\ddot{a}j\ddot{a}$  'frieren, erfrieren'), IN 245,  $\neq$  Rd. UJ 38 [#23] (Y  $\leftarrow$  U; unc. adduction of F  $ko\ddot{r}t\ddot{t}a$  'Starrheit, Starre') || **A**: Tg  $*x\ddot{i}ŋ\ddot{u}$  'cold'  $>$  Ewk, Neg  $iŋin$  'cold, frost', Nn KU  $iŋni$  n. 'cold', WrMc  $s\ddot{i}ŋgi\ddot{y}a$  'severe cold, hard frost', Ewk  $iŋi$  'hoarfrost',  $iŋin-$ , Lm  $iŋi-$ , Neg  $ini-$   $\sim iŋi-$  'be cold', Ork  $s\ddot{i}ŋg\ddot{u}$  v. 'freeze', Orc  $iŋ\ddot{z}ni$ , Ud  $iŋin\ddot{z}hi$ , Ul  $s\ddot{i}ŋgu(n-)$  adj. 'cold', Nn  $s\ddot{i}ŋm\ddot{u}$  'cool'  $\S$  In the words with s- there may have been coalescence with N **\*šünigo** 'snow'  $\S$  STM I 321 ||  $??\phi$  M  $*k\ddot{u}yi-ten$  'cold'  $>$  MM [MA, LM]  $k\ddot{u}yten$ , [HI] {Ms.}  $k\ddot{u}yiten$ , [S] {H}  $ko\ddot{y}iten$ , WrM  $k\ddot{u}iten$ , HIM  $\times\ddot{y}t\ddot{a}n$ , Kl {Rm.}  $k\ddot{i}t\ddot{e}$ , Ord  $k'\ddot{u}t'\ddot{ö}n$ , Dx  $k\ddot{u}i\check{c}jen$ , Dg {Mr.}  $k\ddot{u}yten$ , Mnr H {SM}  $k'\ddot{u}i\ddot{d}j\ddot{a}n$ , {T}  $ku\ddot{i}ten$ , Ba  $kitaŋ$  id.  $\S$  Ms. H 73, Pp. MA 226, Pp. L II 69, H 105, MED 498, SM 210, T 341, T BJ 141, T DnJ 124, Mr. D 31 ||  $??\sigma$  T  $*Ku|oyan$  'rheumatism'  $>$  Tkm  $qoyan$ , ET  $\Delta$ , Tv  $quyan$  id., Qzq {Rl.}  $quyan$ , Qq, Qrg {Jud.}  $quyan$  {Jud.} 'ischias', Tf  $huyan$  'rheumatism of the back'  $\S$  T  $*-a-$  (for  $*-i-$  in the expected  $**Ku|oyiŋ$ ) may be due to the infl. of T  $*Kuyan$  '≈ pelvis' ( $>$  Qrg  $quyan$  'pelvic cap', ET {Rl.} 'Sehnen in der Seite')  $\S$  ET Q 30-1, Rl. II 902-3, 52, Jud. 457 || pKo {S}  $*k\ddot{j}\ddot{a}'n\ddot{i}r$  'winter'  $>$  MKo  $k\ddot{j}\ddot{a}'n\ddot{i}r \sim k\ddot{j}\ddot{a}'n\ddot{a}r \sim k\ddot{j}\ddot{a}'ar$ , NKo  $k\ddot{j}\ddot{a}ul$   $\S$  S QK #210, Nam 42, MLC 112



¶ pKo \*k- (for \*k'-) is not yet clear || pJ: [1] pJ {S} \*kʷnkʷ(r)- 'freeze' > OJ kogo- 'freezing', kogor- 'freeze', J: T kogor-, kōgoe-, kogoé-, K kógóé-, Kg kògòè- 'freeze' ¶ S QJ #1195, Mr. 711 || [2] ? pJ {S} \*kʷyu- > OJ k<sub>1</sub>u<sub>2</sub>oyu- vi. 'freeze' ¶ S QJ #1194, Mr. 711 ¶¶ S AJ 53-4, 290 (Tg, M), DQA #1054 (pA \*k'jójjə 'cold' > Tg, M, T, Ko, J \*kʷyu-; questionable phonetically [absence of traces of \*ŋ in M] and semantically [in T]) || D \*kiŋh- ({{ŋGS}} \*k-) 'cold' > Klm kinani, kinām 'cold', Gnd kinan id. ¶¶ D #1601 || Gil: Gil A kʷŋ- v. 'freeze' ¶¶ ST 126 ◇ IS MS 371 (\*qī'ri'ʷ 'cold'), IS SS #7.5, Blz. LB #26a, Gr. II #354 (\*kōn 'snow') (Sm, M, Tg, J kogor-, Ai, Gil, CK, EA) ◇ If the pA rec. of DQA and the M, T, Ko, and J cognates are valid, the N rec. is \*qUyigŋU. Otherwise it is \*qigŋU.

**1909.** \*qûʷka|æ (or \*qûʷka|æ) 'to squat' > K \*quq- id. > G K/Ms quq- id. ('sich kauern, sich [auf den Boden] hocken'), Sv quq- 'squat' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 247, Chx. 1742-3, Ghl. 618 || HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓kʷy v. 'squat' > Ar ✓qʷy Sh (pf. ʔaqʷā) 'être assis le derrière sur le sol' (of dogs and other carnivorous animals), 'être assis, accroupi de manière à avoir le fondement sur le sol, le dos appuyé contre qch. et les jambes dressées', 's'asseoir de manière que le fondement porte sur les talons ou sur le sol' ¶ BK II 785 ¶¶ A possible phonetic prehistory of S: N \*qûʷka|æ > (ass. uvularization of \*k) \*quʷqa > (as.) \*quʷsa > S \*✓kʷy || IE: NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>k[̥]eug[̥]g- v. 'squat' > ON húka 'to squat (kauern)', MHG hūchen id., NHG hocken 'to crouch, to squat' ¶ P 589, Vr. 265-6, Lx. 94 || D \*kukk- ({{ŋGS}} \*k-) v. 'sit, squat' > Tm kukku id., Kt kuki'r- 'sit down', Kn kukkarisu v. 'squat', Tl kukunɔɔ v. 'sit', Kui kopka (< \*kok-p∇) / p. kōkt- v. 'sit, sit down', Ku kug- v. 'sit' ¶¶ D #1628.

**1910.** \*qal∇ 'neck' > HS: C: Ag: Xm {Ap.} qáľma (pl. q+ľm), Xm T {CR} qəľmā 'neck'; hardly here Ag {AD} \*<sup>o</sup>✓kʷm throat, nape' (see N \*kôri'h'û 'throat, neck') || EC: Kns {BISO} xolm-ā, Msl {Bl.} xolma 'neck' (x- < EC \*k- with a puzzling deglottalization \*k̥- > \*k-), Sa, Af kalma, Ya kilimi? 'uvula' || SC: Kz kolima 'nape' ¶ BISO 215, E K 13, Blz. CWL #58, Blz. CL 179, R WB 227, PH 143 || K \*qel- 'neck' > OG qel-i id., G qel-i 'throat, neck of a vessel', Mg ʃāl- 'neck, neck of a vessel' (-ð 0-ʃāl-eš- 'collar'), Lz (q)āl- ɖ ʃāl- 'neck', Sv d. mə<sub>1</sub>-q<sub>1</sub>-a 'neck, throat' ¶¶ K 209, K<sup>2</sup> 238, FS K 365-6, FS E 410 || IE: NaIE \*kōl-sō- 'neck' > OL collus, L collum id. || Gt, ON, NNr, Sw, OFrs, OSx, OHG hals, NHG Hals, AS heals id. ] Lt kãklas 'neck', Ltv kakls id., 'throat' ({{Ndr.}}: < NaIE \*k<sup>ω</sup>ol-tlo-) ¶ EI 392 (\*'kōlso-s), Vr. 206, Fs. 241-2, Ho. 151, Kb. 427,

Schz. 158, KM 285, WH I 245, Frn. 205; ≈ WP I 514-5 and P 639 (unc. \*k<sup>w</sup>ol-sō- < \*k<sup>w</sup>el- 'drehen').

**1911. \*gola** 'to kill' > **K** \*<sup>o</sup>g<sup>w</sup>∇l- v. 'kill' > Mg ɣvil- ɖ ɣviy-, Lz qvil- ~ ɣvil- ~ ɣil- ~ ɣil- ~ ɣil- ~ -il- v. 'kill' ¶ Chik. 353, Schm. 119, Q 418 || **HS**: C \*k<sup>ɣ</sup>∇l- > EC \*k<sup>ɣ</sup>al- v. 'slaughter' (× N \*k<sup>ɣ</sup>alɣa 'cut, hew, chop, stab', q.v. ffd.; lack of the expected labialization [\*k<sup>ɣ</sup>-] is due to this contamination) || **D** \*kol(l)- ({}GS} \*k-) v. 'kill' > Tm kol, Ml kolluka, Kn kol, kolu, kollu v. 'kill\murder', Kt kol 'act of killing', Td kwaly 'murder', Kdg koll-, Krg koru, Tl kolli v. 'kill'; the heritage of this N word may have also influenced D \*kol-, {}GS} \*gōl- v. 'strike, hit', whence Tm kōl 'killing, murder' (see N \*kōl|ía 'beat, strike') ¶¶ D #2132 ◇ IS MS 370 (\*qo(H)l<sup>o</sup> 'kill' > K, D + \*÷ IE \*g<sup>w</sup>e<sub>t</sub>H<sub>1</sub>- v. 'torture, die' and U \*kōla- v. 'die'), ≠ Cald. 593 (D ÷ R κολυ 'I stab' and NE kill, quell), 618 (D, U: F kuole, etc.). Cf. N \*kolpa 'to die; end' ◇ Sl \*kōl-ti 'to slaughter' hardly belongs here because its acute intonation indicates an IE √ with a lr. It is probably a sd. from Sl \*kōl-ti 'to stab\prick' (< IE \*kelə- < N \*k<sup>ɣ</sup>alɣa '↑', q.v.).

**1912. \*g'U1U'** 'boy, child' > **K**: Sv L qlaw- 'child, boy' (× N \*'ɣ'ogU1∇ [or \*H<sub>2</sub>ogU1∇] 'offspring, child'??) ¶ Dn. s.v. qlaw-, ≠ K<sup>2</sup> 243-4 (unc.: Sv \*q̄l- < K \*q̄le- 'penis') || **HS**: Ch {Stl.} \*χolu 'young man, slave' > WCh: Diri galu, Cg gālun, P' h<sup>w</sup>alin-čiki, Wrj galū-zə'z-na, Kry, My galu-zəhə 'slave' || CCh: FIJ mu-gula 'slave', Mf {BLB} g<sup>w</sup>ala, Mada {BrrB} gawla ~ guwla 'young man', MfG gúwla id. (with connotation of sexual power), Lgn ɣule-mazé 'slave', ɣuke-g<sup>w</sup>aši 'girl', Glv {Rp.} ɣúla 'bride' ¶ Stl. IF 107, 289, BLB 158, BrrB 118, Brr. MG II 121 || ? S: Ar ɣall-at- 'one-year-old young of a camel' ¶ BK I 608 ¶¶ HS deglottalization: N \*q̄- > \*\*q̄- > Ch \*χ- || **A** {S} \*kūl∇ 'servant, slave' (× N \*ku1∇ 'to work' × N \*Kūl'ā 'clan, village' → 'everybody') > NaT \*kūl 'slave' (ffd. see N \*ku1∇ '↑') || **D** \*kūli ({}GS} \*k-) 'working for wages' (× N \*ku1∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Doubtful, because the supposed Sv, A, and D cognates have alt. etymologies, while the Ch rec. is rather shaky. N \*l and \*U (of the first syll.) are valid reconstructions unless the labialized vw. and \*l in NaT \*kūl and D \*kūli belong to the heritage of \*ku1∇ 'to work'.

**1913. \*gU<sub>1</sub>?<sub>1</sub>∇** 'speak, call' > **HS**: WS \*-kūl- v. 'speak' > Amr {G} ✓k<sup>w</sup>l v. 'speak', Ar ✓q<sup>w</sup>l G (ip. ya-qūl-u) v. 'say', qawl- 'saying' (n.act.), 'word', Mh qawl 'speech, qəwōl 'improviser of poetry, singer'; ?? S \*qāl- 'voice' > Ph, OA q̄l, BA, Gz qāl, Sr qāl-ā, Md qala id., Ug q̄l

'voice, cry, thunder', Hb כִּוִּן קוֹל 'voice, noise, noise made by animals', Ar qāl- n. act. 'saying', 'speech', Gz qāl 'voice, speech, word', Tgr, Tgy qāl 'word' ¶ Br. 651, G A 29, Fr. III 516, BK II 836-7, Hv. 634, Jo. M 246, KB 1013-5, KBR 1084-5, 1774, OLS 365-6, L G 426 || ??φ Eg ḡrω 'crier', Eg fO ḡr 'says he, says N', Eg NK ḡrt.ω 'utterance (of a god, a king), oracle' (χ < HS \*q, deglottalized \*q) (× N \*gor▽ 'cry, speak') ¶ AnC-1 10 || C: EC: Sa {R} -qāl- ~ -kal- v. 'say, think (sagen, meinen)' (p. 'əqələ ~ 'əqelə, prs. 'aḡālə ~ 'əqələ ~ 'əqelə); HEC \*kul- v. 'tell' (deglottalization \*q- > \*k- due to contamination with N \*k'a'IX'o' 'call [appeler], shout'?) > Sd, Kmb, Ged kul-, Hd kur- 'tell' ¶ SC: Kz ḡʷaʔalikō 'voice' ¶ R S II 232, Hd. 150, C SE II 209 (Sd kul-, Hd kur- 'dire, raccontare'), E SC 268 || Ch.: ? ECh: Kbl {Cp.} kuwɜlɜ́, L {Grgs.} kóló, Smr {J} ḡʷalé 'word', Ke {Eb.} kél 'Worte', whence Kbl yɜ́ kuwɜlɜ́, L yǎ́ kóló, Ke wáté kél v. 'talk' ('say words') ¶ ChC s.v. 'word' and 'talk', Eb. 64, Lk. ZSS 147-9 || K: [1] Sv UB † li-qle 'to say sth.', prs. qə́le, ipf. qə́la, narrative prs. lə́-m-qə́lwēn (the dictionary GP mentions the ip. ft. form iqwlewēni, but it fails to indicate whether it belongs together with the masdar li-qle 'to crow' [of cocks] or with li-qle 'to say sth.'), Sv LB (verbal noun of result) naqə́l 'called' ¶ GP 120, 177, 204, 231, 271 || [2] \*qūl- v. 'cry, shout' > Sv {Ni.} qul- id., Sv UB {GP} qūl- v. 'moo', G G {Ghl.} rdp. qurqul-i 'howling of wolves\dogs' (× K \*qur- howl' < N \*gur'h'▽ 'to bark, to howl; to cry\shout'); but G qvir- 'cry' is likely to belong to N \*gur'h'▽ only ¶ ≈ K 211 (adduces G qvir- v. 'cry' and reconstructs K \*qwir-), ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 246 (\*qur-), Ghl. 617, Chx. 599, IS MS 345 (K \*qwil- / qw(i)r-) || D (in SD) \*k'u'lar- ({{GGS} \*k-) v. 'cry out' > Tm kuḷarṽ v. 'howl, yell', Kn kilir, kilirṽ v. 'sound, neigh', keḷar v. 'cry out, roar'; \*÷ Tm kuḷarṽ, Ml kuḷarṽuka v. 'stammer' ¶ D #1831 || E {HK} ku-la 'das Rufen, Bittflehen', ku-la-a 'das Anrufen, Bittflehen', ḡú-lu 'bittflehend' ¶¶ HK 509-11, 560-2 || A: NaT \*k'ṽol- v. 'ask for' (× N \*goI▽ 'look, look for, wish') > OT, MQp, Chg, Kr qol-, SY qol- ~ q'ol- 'ask for', ds.: Qrg qoluqtu, ET qulašliq 'bride' (← \*'asked in marriage'); it is not clear if NaT \*kolt- 'ask' (> Kr qoltqa ~ qoltχa 'a request', Tv koldan- v. 'ask') belongs here ¶ Cl. 616-7, ET Q 36-7, Rs. W 277, KRPS 369, TvR 246 || ? pKo {S} \*kàró- 'say' (× N \*ḲAyLa 'shout, call' and N \*Ḳ'er|hi'lê 'tongue', q.v. ffd.) || U: pY {IN} \*qol- (× N \*ḲeHu'h'lüHê 'hear') > Y K {IN} qol-il 'sound (sonus)', {Krn.}

χολίλ 'sound of a knock (cτυκ)', {Jc. → Ang.} χολίλ 'Geräusch, Laut, Klopfen, Läuten' (-l is a nominal sx.) ¶ IN 246 (equates it with FU \*kūle 'hear; ear'), Krn. JJ 284, Ang. 256, Rd. UJ 38 [#24] (Y ← U \*kūle) ◇ IS SS #7.8 and IS MS 345 (\*qul in HS and K), Blz. LB #100c (suggested to add Glf). A N Ir. \*? can explain -?- in Kz and the vowel length in K \*qūl-.

**1914. \*qawI∇ (or \*qawE1∇) 'leg, bone of a limb' > HS:** NrOm: Anf {Gt.} kelli 'bone' ¶ Gt. 354 || Ch: CCh: ? Glf {Röd.} kel 'foot', {AF} kalé 'feet', ?? Afd {Stz.} kullám 'Hüfte' || ? ECh: McSmr: Tmk {Cp.} dègžíl 'foot, leg', Nd D {J} dágžíl 'leg', Smr {Nc.} dígel-an 'my leg', {AF} degel-ám 'thy leg' ¶ Blz. DA #39 analyzes the ECh forms as having a px. \*d∇- ¶ Lk. ZSS 77, 147-8, Sö. 261, Cp. 117, JI II 221 || ?σ B \*yīl-/\*yall- 'arm' (if \*y < HS \*y+χ) (×N ?φ ≈ \*goŋ'H'ä1∇ [~ mt.: N \*go1'H'∇ñ∇] 'forearm', q.v. ffd.) > Ah, BSn ayil (pl. iyallan), BMn yil, Izn ayil, Gd āyil (pl. yallan) 'arm', Zng {TC} iy 'avant-bras' ¶ Fc. 1719, Lf. II #1219, TC D 4, TC Z 310 || ? C: ? EC: Dsn gíl 'hand' ¶ To. DL 500, Blz. DL s.v. 'hand' || **K:** GZ {K} \*qawliw-, {FS} \*qwil- 'ε bone' (×N \*'q'uíU [or \*'q'ulYU] '[hollow] stalk, reed, hollow [tubular] bone') > G {DCh., Chik.} qvliw- 'shoulder bone (humerus)', G I/R qvliw- 'large bone, shin', Mg řvil-, řvil-e 'bone, arm', Lz qvil-i ř vil-i ř il-i 'bone' ¶ K 211-2, K<sup>2</sup> 242, FS K 370, FS E 415, Ghl. 609, Chik. 71, DCh. 1379 || **IE:** [1] NaIE \*kaul-/\*ku1- 'hollow bone', (?) 'leg' (×N \*'q'uíU or \*'q'ulYU '↑'), → μφ. 'stalk' > Lt káulas, Ltv kaũls, Pru caulan 'bone' || Gk καυλόσ 'stem (of a plant), spear-shaft, tubular structures in animals (e.g., quill part of a feather), hilt (of a sword)' || L caulis, caulus 'stalk of a plant (esp. that of cabbage-plant), quill of a feather' || OIr cúaille 'poteau' (< d. \*kaulīnyo-) | NaIE zero-grade: OI Λ kulyam 'bone' (M K has doubts about the real existence of this word), OI [MBh] kulyam 'a receptacle for bones left from a burnt corpse' (if = \*kul'ya- 'place for bones' ← \*'kulya- 'bone'), Vd mahā-ku'la- 'eine große Höhlung habend (?) || Gmc \*xol- > ?σ ON holr, OHG, AS hol, NHG hohl 'hollow', NE hollow; Gt us-hulōn, ON hola, AS (ā)-holian, OHD holōn 'to hollow out' (unless it belongs to IE \*k|kew- 'hollow') || [2] NaIE \*k<sub>l</sub>ω<sub>1</sub>e1- 'limb' > Sl \*čelnb 'limb, joint of a limb' > ChS YΛANЪ članb 'limb' ('articulus') ř YΛBNЪ člěnb id., 'part of body', OR čelonb, McdS член, Cz člen id., P człon id., 'part', Slv

člĕn 'joint, limb'; in ChS and in the modern Sl lgs. there is a secondary meaning 'member' || Gk κῶλον 'limb, leg' ¶ ME II 175-6, M KI 242-3, M E I 377, WH I 188-9, F I 802-3 and II 60-1, Vr. 248, Ho. 168, Kb. 475-6, Schz. 168, KM 314, Fs. 533, P 537, ≠ 639-40, ≈ Vn. C 260-1 (OIr cúaille <+ cúal 'fagot' ÷ Gk καυλός, L caulis), Frn. 230, En. 191, Tp. P I-K 273-8, Bern. I 139, Mikl. L 1119, SPS II 125-6, Bern. 139-40, ESSJ IV 44-5, Me. SC § 81, Srz. III 1536, Vs. IV 369-70, ≠ EI 542 (Blt < \*kau<sup>h</sup>lo-s 'stalk') ¶ The meaning 'joint of a limb' in Sl may go back to an ancient association with Sl \*kolĕno 'knee' (akin to Lt kelũs, Ltv celis 'knee') || **A** ({DQA} \*k'ōyli {AD} 'limb' [[leg, arm]]): T \*k'ol 'arm' > OT qol ({Cl.} qōl), Chg, MQp, OOsm qol, Tk kol, Az, Tkm, Slr qol 'arm', Qzq, ET qol, Yk χol 'hand, arm, foreleg', Ggz kul, ET, Qq, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Alt, Shor qol, Bsh qul, Tf qol 'hand, arm', VTt qul 'arm, foreleg', Xk χol id., 'arm', Nog, Blq qol 'arm, hand', Uz qωl, Xlj {DT} qol, Chv L xυπ xul, {Ash.} xulb 'arm, shoulder', T χol 'arm, foreleg' ¶ IS AG 340 (on pT fortis \*k'- evidenced by Tv χ- and the variation q-~g- in Og), Cl. 614-5, ET Q 37-43, ADb. SR 146-53, 199-215, Ra. 220, Sht. 265, Jeg. 303, Fed. I 353, Ash. XVI 149 || M \*kōl 'leg, foot' > MM [MA, IsV] kōl, WrM, MMgl kōl, HIM xθλ, Kl, Mgl {Rm.} kōl, Mnr H {SM} k'ūōr, {T} kol, Mnr M {T} koř, Dg {T} kŭli, Ba kul id. ¶ Pp. MA 221, Lg. VMI 51, Iw. 113, Rm. M 30, MED 483-4, SM 214, T 340, T BJ 141, T DgJ 31 || Tg \*xoldan 'thigh, side (of body)' > Ewk Y oldōn 'thigh', Ewk oldōn, Sln oldō, Lm oldān, Neg oldon, Orc ogdo(n), Ul, Ork, Nn B xoldo(n), Nn Nh xoldō 'side of body, side' ]? Tg d. \*xyl-kse 'sleeve' > Nn Nh xūksɜ, Orc uksɜ, Ud {Krm.} ukihe, Ul wɜskɜ ~ ūksɜ, Ork wɜskɜ, Ewk, Neg ūksɜ, Sln utçil ~ uçil, Lm ôs, WrMc ulxi, Mc Sb {Y} vilixi id. ¶ STM II 13, 254, Ci. EApk 96-7, Y #228, Krm. 300, Bz. 977 (\*xō-ksä 'sleeve' without taking into account Mc -l-) || pKo {S} \*kūi-mà,rí 'ankle' (lit. 'leg-head') > MKo\*kūi-mà,rí ¶ S QK #332, Nam 65 || pJ {S} \*kuru-n-pusi 'ankle' > OJ kurubusi, J: T kurúbuśi, K kúrúbúśí, Kg kurubuśí id. ¶¶ S AJ 286, S QJ #798, Mr. 465 ¶¶ {SDM97} \*k'oli, DQA #1112 (A \*k'ōyli 'limb, extremity') || **D** {tr., GS} \*kāl- '≈ leg, foot' > Tm, Ml kāl, Kt ka·l, Td ko·l, Kdg ka·li, Tu kārъ, Tl kāl̄u, Klm kāl, Kui kādu 'leg, foot', Kn kāl 'foot, leg down to the knee', Prj kēl, Gnd, Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku kāl 'leg' ¶¶ D #1479, GS 31 [#32] ◇ The meaning 'arm' (attested in B and T) is secondary: 'limb, leg (of an animal)' → 'arm' ◇ An alt. N rec. with an internal \*E (N \*qawE1∇) is suggested by K \*qwil- and B \*yīl- ◇ N \*-aw- is suggested by NaIE

\*kau̯l- and D \*kāl-, but the origin of T \*-o- (here supposedly from \*-aw-) is still to be demonstrated ◊ Blz. DA 156 [#40] (D, HS [without B], IE, K, M, Tg).

**1915.** \*qA|íAb|p▽ (? \*'to cover' →) 'to hide, to conceal' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to steal', 'to lie, to deceive') > K: G qalb- v. 'cheat, deceive, lie', qalb-i 'false, fake' ¶ Chx. 1663-4, DCh. 1372 || HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓χlb > Ar ✓χlb G (pf. χalaba, ip. -χlub-) {BK} 'tromper par des paroles caressantes', {Ln.} 'endeavour to deceive\beguile with blandishing speech', D (pf. χallaba) 'deceive', L (pf. χālaba) id.; Ar CA χelbāti 'liar' ⇨ EDng {Fd.} kàlbàtìnàw 'a lie' and kàlbātìnè 'liar'; S \*χ < \*q (de-emphatization of N \*q) ¶ BK I 609, Ln. 782, Hv. 179, Fd. 276 || ?? Eg fXIX kəp v. 'hide oneself' (× N \*K̄ER▽p▽ 'to cover' [→ 'roof']) > DEg k̄p 'verbergen, sich verstecken' > Cpt Sd κωπ kōp, Cpt B xωπ k<sup>h</sup>ōp vi. 'hide, be hidden', vt. 'hide'. The initial k may be explained by dis. \*k̄▽? > kə (or to HS de-emphatization?) ¶ EG V 103-4, Fk. 28, Er. 53, Crum 113-4, Vc. 84 || IE: NaIE \*klep- v. 'hide, conceal' → 'steal' > Gk κλέπτω 'I steal' (< \*κλέπι̯ω), pfc. κέκλωσα; κλέπος 'theft' || L clep-ō, -ēre / clepsi / cleptum v. 'conceal oneself, steal' || Gt hlifan v. 'steal' || OIr clúain (< \*klopni-) 'ruse, tromperie, flatterie' || Pru auklipts (< \*-kloptós) v. 'conceal' || Tc B kälyp- v. 'steal', klepe '≈ theft' ¶ WP I 497, P 604 (unjustified rec. of \*k̄-), ≈σ EI 595 (\*klep- '≈ lay hand to'), Dv. #547, WH I 232-3, F I 870-1, Vn. C 126, Fs. 263, En. 147, Tp. P A-D 149-50, Wn. 203, Ad. 175-6, Ad. H 16, 34-6, 42 || D \*ka|av-, \*ka|l- ({ǵGS} \*k-) v. 'steal, deceive' > Tm ka|l- v. 'rob, steal, deceive', Ml ka|avυ 'theft, lie, cheat', ka|kukka v. 'steal', Kt ka|v-, Td ko|l-, Ka ka|l-, Kdg ka|l-, Mnd ka|l- 'steal', Tu ka|lυ 'false, untrue, fraud, cheating, lie', ka|avυ 'theft, robbery', Tl kalla 'falsehood, lie, deceit', Krx xal-nā v. 'steal', xalb 'theft', Krx xalbas 'theft', xalbas 'thief', Mlt qale v. 'steal', qalwi 'theft', qalwe 'thief' ¶¶ D #1372 ¶¶ The variant \*ka|av- is likely to be primary.

**1916.** o? \*q'o'Lûp'?'ü 'to gulp, to swallow' > K \*q|ap- / \*q|p- v. 'swallow' > G q|ap-, Mg řulip-, Sv qə|p- v. id. ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 243 || HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓k|p<sub>l</sub>? ~ \*<sup>o</sup>✓k|p<sub>h</sub> id. > Ar ✓q|f<sub>h</sub> v. 'avalier tout', Gz ✓k|p G 'devour, swallow, catch with the mouth sth. that has been thrown'; EthS ⇨ Sa {R} qυ'lūb pp. 'verschlungen, verschluckt mit Hast' ¶ BK II 805, L G 429, R S II 232-3 || ?? Eg RT χəf '≈ essen von etw.', Eg fP χəff '≈ ∈ food', Eg P/BD/G χfə.t 'meal-time, meal', {Fk.} 'food' ¶ These words may

belong here if  $\chi$ - goes back to  $*q$ - resulting from pHS deglottalization of  $*q$ -  $\S$  EG III 230-1, 271, Fk. 190 || IE: NaIE  $*ogh_1leub-$  > Gmc  $*gleup-$  > Dn *gylpe*, *gulpe*, Frs E, MDt *gulpen* 'to swallow eagerly' (> Dt *gulpen*)  $\rightarrow$  ME *gulpen* > NE *gulp*; Sw *glupande*, Dn *glubende* 'voracious'  $\S$  Hlq. I 288, Vr. NEW 226 || A: M  $*kölbü-$  > WrM *kölbü-* 'swallow without chewing, gulp',  $\phi$  Brt *xüld* (ideophone for gulping)  $\S$  MED 484, Brt 617  $\diamond$  IE  $*b$ , M  $*b$ , and Eg *f* point to a N  $*p$ . G and Gz  $\rho$  are likely to go back to the N cluster  $*p?$ , but  $h$  in Ar  $\checkmark qlf$ h remains puzzling (an ext.?). IE  $*ogh_1h-$  still remains unexplained. K  $*-a-$  may be interpreted as suggesting a pN  $*q'o'l'a'p'?'ü$  with an IE metathesis explaining the its root-internal  $*-eu-$  < N  $*û$ .

**1917.** ( $_2$ ?)  $*qULp\triangledown$  'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot stones' > K  $*qwelp-$  'hot ashes' > OG  $\gamma uelp-$ , G  $\gamma velp-$ , Mg  $\gamma valp-$  id., Sv  $qwelp$  'ashes'  $\S\S$  GZ  $*\psi-$  (for the expected  $*q-$ ) is puzzling; K<sup>2</sup> 240 suggests a possible ppK  $*q-$  (presumably yielding GZ  $*\psi-$  and Sv  $q-$ ), but it is at variance with the external comparative ev.  $\S\S$  K KE 21, K<sup>2</sup> 240, FS K 368, FS E 413, Abul. 464 || ? HS: S  $*\checkmark qlb$  > Ar  $\checkmark qlb$  *Sh* (pf.  $\checkmark aqlaba$ ) 'be baked from one side' (of bread),  $\checkmark qlb$  G 'become red' (of ripening dates) ( $\leftarrow$   $*'get$  singed by the sun'),  $\checkmark qlb$ -at- 'couleur rouge intense'  $\S$  BK II 796-7, Hv. 622-3 || Eg ( $\times$  HS  $\checkmark \checkmark rp$  [ $>$  S  $*\checkmark \checkmark rp$  'burn'] and N  $*qoRb\triangledown$  'hearth, stove; to roast, to burn' [q.v.]): Eg fN  $\checkmark \checkmark f$  vt. 'burn' (e.g. 'burn meat\myrrh as sacrifice, burn houses, ships, enemies'), Eg Md  $\checkmark \checkmark f$  v. 'heat\boil swine blood', {DW}  $\checkmark \checkmark f$  'burnt (or overroasted) meat', DE  $\checkmark f$ , Cpt Sd/B  $\checkmark o\checkmark \checkmark \checkmark \checkmark f$ ,  $\checkmark w \checkmark \checkmark \checkmark \checkmark f$  vt. 'burn'  $\S$  EG V 522, DW 995, Er. 677, Vc. 333, Tk. I 60 || A: T  $*k'ül$  'ashes, cinders' ( $\times$  N  $*kûl\triangledown$  'glowing coals; to heat\roast\fry\cook', q.v. ffd.).

**1918.**  $*q'uíU$  (or  $*q'uLyU$ ) '(hollow) stalk, reed, hollow (tubular) bone' > K: GZ {K}  $*qwliw-$ , {FS}  $*qwil-$  'é bone' ( $\times$  N  $*qawI\triangledown$   $\rightarrow$   $*qawE1\triangledown$  'leg, bone of a limb', q.v.) > G {DCh., Chik.}  $qvliv-$  'shoulder bone (humerus)', G I/R  $qvliv-$  'large bone, shin', Mg  $\checkmark vil-$ ,  $\checkmark vil-e$  'bone, arm', Lz  $qvil-i$   $\checkmark \checkmark il-i$   $\checkmark \checkmark il-i$  'bone'  $\S$  K 211-2, K<sup>2</sup> 242, FS K 370, FS E 415, Ghl. 609, Chik. 71, DCh. 1379 || HS: B  $*\checkmark \checkmark ll$  ( $*\checkmark \checkmark alal$ ?) > Ah  $e-\checkmark \checkmark alal$  (pl.  $i-\checkmark \checkmark alal-an$ ) 'tige (de mil, de maïs)', Gd  $\checkmark \checkmark alal-$  id.  $\S$  Fc. 1729, Lf. II #1222 || IE: NaIE  $*kaul-$ / $*kul-$  'hollow stalk, tubular bone' ( $\times$  N  $*qawI\triangledown$   $\rightarrow$   $*qawE1\triangledown$  'ú', q. v. ffd.) || A  $*k'uí\triangledown$ - (gun) > M  $*qulu-sun$  'reed, rush' > MM [MA, IM, IsV] *qulusun* id., WrM *qulusun*, HIM

хулс, Mnr H {SM} χυλυζ id., 'bamboo', Kl {KRS} χυλсн χυлсън 'rush, reed', {Rm.} χυлѣсн ~ χυлсн 'Schilfrohr' ¶ MED 985, Pp. MA 309, 445, Lg. VMI 46, KRS 608, KW 196, SM 182 || Tg \*xυlgu, \*xυlgu-kta 'reed' > Ewk ulgukta, Neg ougokto, Orc ugukta, Ul, Nn Nh/B χολgaqta, Nn KU οlgoqta, Ork xυlδuqta, WrMc υλχο ~ υλχυ id. ¶ STM II 258-9 || T \*<sup>o</sup>k<sub>L</sub>âi-gūn (most probably \*<sup>o</sup>k'uí-gūn) > OT [MhK] قشغون qâš-gūn 'tender cane used as fodder' ({DK} qušgūn id., {DTS} qušγun id., {CL} qâš-gūn 'fresh reeds which are eaten by cattle') ||| A further possible cognate (more qu. for semantic reasons): T \*<sup>o</sup>k<sub>L</sub>ulga 'sprout, rod' > Xk χυλφα 'sprouts', VTt колга qβlφα 'pole (шесть, жердь)', Chv L хулă хулъ 'twig, rod (прут)' ¶ MKD 149, DTS 471, Cl. 672 (OT qīšgūn without justification for the rec. of I in an unvocalized text), Rs. W 298, BIG 292, TatR 270, Ash. XVI 149 || pKo {S} \*kōr 'reed, rush' > MKo kōr, NKo kōl-p<sup>h</sup>ul ¶ S QK #680, Rm. SKE 121, Nam 51, MLC 160 || pJ {S} \*kɜrɜ > OJ korɔ 'ε reed' ¶ S QJ #1050 ¶¶ STM II 259 (Tg, M, OT qušγun), ADb. KL4 (M, Tg), Rm. SKE 121 (Ko, Tg, M), DQA #1138 (A \*<sup>o</sup>k'ul(g)ɔ 'reed, rush' > M, Tg, Ko, J, Tk \*Kulga) || D \*ku]l- ({θGS} \*k-) 'stalk of leaf, stem, shaft' > Prj ku]uη 'stalk of leaf, handle of spoon', Kui klūzū 'handle, haft, stem, shaft' ¶¶ D #1807 ◇ If the K root belongs here (in spite of its ambiguity), the N initial consonant is \*q-, otherwise it may be either \*q- or \*k-.

**1918a.** \*qU'í]í'E 'penis, ? vulva' > K {K, K<sup>2</sup>} \*qle-, {FS} \*qal- 'penis' > G qle-, Mg ɔole-, Lz qole ɔ ole- ɔ kōle 'penis', ?? (× N \*<sup>o</sup>ɣ'ogU1∇ - \*<sup>o</sup>h<sub>2</sub>o qU1∇ 'offspring, child') Sv qlaw- 'male baby' ¶¶ K 212, K<sup>2</sup> 243-4, FS K 362 || HS: NrOm: Anf {Gt.} qalla'čɔ 'corona con phallus (portata dal re)'; Bdt {C} qolobō 'membro virile', {Hw.} qo'loppo 'testicles' (× N \*<sup>o</sup>qEHUy1'ü' 'testicles', q.v.) ¶ C SO 63, Hw. NKL 215, Gt. 358 || CCh: BM {ChL}: Bu k<sup>ω</sup>á]l, Cb k<sup>ω</sup>alæ, WMrg k<sup>ω</sup>á]l, k<sup>ω</sup>z]l, Klb k<sup>ω</sup>ǎ]l, Hld k<sup>ω</sup>à]u, Mrg, Wmd k<sup>ω</sup>á]l, Ngx k<sup>ω</sup>z]l 'penis' | Higi {ChL}: HgNk, Kps, HgG, FlG k<sup>ω</sup>ala, HgB k<sup>ω</sup>á]l(1)à, HgF, FlK k<sup>ω</sup>z]la id. | BB: Mln {ChL} k<sup>ω</sup>ǎ]lò, Nz k<sup>ω</sup>z]rɜ id. ¶ ChL || U \*kULE 'penis' > F ku]li, Vo ku]li, ku]í]i id. | Vt {SK} ku]í]i (≈ ku]í]i) id. || Sm: Ne Kn {Bd.} h]ile (≈ h]le), Kms {KD} k'í] 'penis' ¶¶ SK 234, KD 30, Cs. 182; ≠ Set. FUS 55 and UEW 175 (both equate this Sm √ with FU \*ko]e 'testicle(s)' - / s.v. N \*<sup>o</sup>qEHUy1'ü' id.) || ?σ D (in SD) ({θGS} \*k-) \*ko]e 'anus (of males)' > Ka go]le 'anus of males', Kdg go]le 'anus' ¶ D #2159 ◇ Connected with N \*<sup>o</sup>qal<sub>L</sub>∇, ɣ∇) 'urinate'?



**1919.** \*qAí|l̥v̥ 'to break, to tear, to pluck' > HS: WS \*✓k̥l̥v̥ 'pluck, pull out, root out, tear' > Ar ✓ql̥f v. G 'pluck, snatch off; root out (a tree), extract (stones)', Gz ✓k̥l̥f G vi. 'be torn, tear', Jb C {Jo.} ɔk̥z̥'tɔl̥af 'pull up by the roots', š̥k̥z̥'l̥af 'be able to be pulled out' ¶ BK II 802-4, Hv. 624, L G 426, Jo. J 144 || K: Sv {Ni.} (χwa-)ql̥aw̥i 'I break' ¶ Ni. s.v. ломать || IE: NaIE \*k̥k̥l̥ə- 'break, cut' > Gk κλάω (ft. κλάωσ, aor. ἔκλαω) v. 'break, break off' || (× N \*kaL̥sa 'to cut, to hew, to chop, to stab', q.v. ffd.) > Lt k̥ál-ti 'to forge, to mint, to coin', Sl \*k̥ól-ti (prs. \*k̥óř-ŏ) 'to prick/stab, to slaughter' ¶ F I 866-7, ≈ P 545, F I 866 || D {tr., GS} \*ka]- v. 'pluck, uproot' (× N \*ka|l̥v̥ 'to bark [a tree], to remove vegetation') > Tm ka| v. 'weed, pluck', ka|ai v. 'weed, pluck out', Ml ka|a n. 'weed, tares', ka|ayuka 'get rid of, abolish', Kt k̥á|v- 'take/scoop out', Kn ka|e v. 'pull off', n. 'weed', Tu kalepi-, kalepu- 'strip off, remove', Kdg ka|e, Tl kalupu 'weeds', Tl kalvačam 'act of weeding', Krg ka|e ~ kale 'remove', Brh xallij v. 'uproot' ¶¶ D #1373, GS 167 [#420] ◇ Because of the coalescence of N \*q and \*k̥ in most descendant lgs. (outside K) a homonymic merger with N \*kaL̥sa '↑' (q.v.) is possible.

**1920.** ₂ \*qaí|v̥, l̥v̥ 'urinate' > HS: Eg Md χ̥z̥v̥ (EG} l̥z̥v̥) v. 'urinate' (unless it is a sd. of Eg fP χ̥z̥v̥ v. 'throw') ¶ EG III 229 || A: T \*k̥l̥'aíla- 'urinate' > OT {Cl.} qašā-n- rf. v. 'urinate' (esp. of horses), Chg, XwT, MQp qašan-, Az qašan- v. 'urinate', Tk kašan-, Nog qasan- id. (of animals); MU qašan '(?) urine', Tk kašan n. act. 'urinating' ¶ Cl. 673-4, ET KQ 348, Hüs. 77, DTS 431 ◇ Connected with N \*qU'í|l̥'E 'penis, ? vulva'?

**1921.** \*qaí'ü'Pv̥ 'to bark (a tree), to skin, to cut off; bark, peel' > HS: S: [1] S \*✓k̥lp̥ (\*-k̥lup- ~ \*-k̥lip-) v. 'bark (a tree)' > MHb {Js., Lv.} ✓k̥lp̥ G (pf. q̥k̥l̥p̥ q̥ā'l̥ap̥, ip. -k̥lop̥) 'peel, pare, scrape off, bark', JA [Trg.] {Js.}, JPA {Js.} ✓k̥lp̥ G (pf. q̥k̥l̥p̥ q̥al̥ap̥) id., JEA {Sl.} ✓k̥lp̥ G 'peel, scrape off', Sr ✓k̥lp̥ G (pf. q̥al̥ap̥, 3m ip. n̥ek̥lup̥) id., Ar ✓ql̥f G (pf. qalafa, ip. -qlif-) 'bark (a tree)', Mh ✓k̥lf̥ G (pf. k̥z̥l̥ōf), Jb C ✓k̥lf̥ G (pf. 'k̥j'nf) 'peel (dry sardines), bark (a tree)', Gz ✓k̥w̥lf̥ G (pf. k̥w̥alafa, js. -k̥w̥laf) 'peel, decorticate', Ak ✓k̥lp̥ G (p. -k̥lip̥) vt. 'peel, peel off, skin'; S \*'k̥ilap- n. 'bark' > MHb {Js., Dlm.} q̥k̥l̥p̥ q̥ā'l̥āp̥ (← Aram) or {Js.} q̥k̥l̥p̥ 'q̥el̥ep̥' 'ε parchment', JA {Trg.} q̥il'p̥-ā ~ q̥al'p̥-ā id., pl. 'scales', JEA {Sl.} q̥il'p̥' (unk. voc.) 'scale', q̥il'p̥ā 'parchment', Sr q̥al'p̥-ā 'sheet of

parchment, leaf',  $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}ā\text{p}-ā$ ,  $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}ā\text{p}'_{\text{ə}}\text{t}-ā$  'bark, rind; husk, peel; scale', Ar  $\text{q}ilf-$  n. 'bark', Ak  $\text{ḳ}ilpu$  'skin\peel (of a fruit), peeled off skin'; S \* $\text{ḳ}ulip_{\text{p}}\text{-at-}$  > Ak  $\text{ḳ}uliptu$  'scale, scaly skin (of a snake\fish); husk, rind, bark, peel', MHb {Lv., Js., Dlm.}  $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}ī\text{p}ā$  or {Esh}  $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}ip'pā$  'skin\peel (of a fruit, plant)', JEA  $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}ippə'tā$  'peel, shell', Ar  $\text{q}ulf\text{-at-}$ , Gz  $\text{ḳ}ʷalfat$  'foreskin', Grg Z  $\text{ḳ}ʷalfi$  'bark of a tree', Mh  $\text{ḳ}ʷalfūt$ , Jb EJo.}  $\text{ḳ}i\hat{z}'fot$  'bark of a tree', Jb C {Jo.}  $\text{ḳ}i\hat{z}'fot$  (pl.  $\text{ḳ}i\hat{z}'fot$ ) 'fried bark', Sq {Jo.}  $\text{ḳ}alifoḥ$  'bark of a tree, skin', Hrs  $\text{ḳ}ʷalfēt$  'ε bark of certain trees'; [2] ?? CS \* $\text{ḳ}ulb-\sim^{\circ}\text{ḳ}ulp$  (or loans from some lge.\d. with  $\text{ḳ}- < *ḳ-?$ ) > Ar  $\text{ḳ}ulb-$  'dépouille, peau ôtée',  $\text{ḳ}ulb\text{-at-}$  'skin formed on a healing wound', 'peau mince qui couvre la plaie en voie de guérison', Ar  $\text{ḳ}ulf$  (ip.  $-\text{ḳ}ulif-$ ) vt. 'bark',  $\text{ḳ}ulūf-$  'water-skin', ?? JA  $\text{ḳ}ulb-īn$  pl. {Js.} 'scales' (unless one accepts Lv.'s interpretation of the word as 'Kerben, notches' [in fact probably borrowed from Gk  $\text{ḳ}ulūf$  'notched end of the arrow'??]) ¶ Lv. IV 318-9, Js. 243, 1381, Dlm. 363, Lv. IV 318-9, Lv. T I 139 and II 366, Sl. 1013, 1019, 1021, ESh. III 1197-8, Br. 670, 679-80, JPS 507, Fr. I 291, 296, III 490-1, BK I 310, 317, II 805, Hv. 94, 96, 625, Sd. 893-4, CAD XIII 58-9, 251, 296-7, Jo. M 230, Jo. H 75, Jo. J 145, LG 427, L EDG III 476, MiK I #1.77 (S \* $\text{ḳ}ulb\text{-}$  '[piece of] skin') and I #1.162 (\* $\text{ḳ}ulb\text{-}$  'scale, shell, [hard] skin', foreskin ?, bark) || EC {Ss.} \* $\text{ḳ}ulb-$  n. 'bark' > Sml  $\text{q}olof$ , Kns  $\text{q}olf-ā$ , Gwd  $\text{ḳ}ofolto$  id., Or  $\text{ḳ}olofa$  'foreskin' | ?φ EC \* $\text{ḳ}alb-$  > Af {PH}  $\text{ḳ}albo$  'hide, skin (of cattle)', Bs {Lm.}  $\text{ḳ}alba$  'leather', Sml  $\text{ḳ}ibil$  'skin' || Bj {Rop.}  $\text{ḳ}ale$  id. ¶ Rop. 185 | pBn {Hn.} \* $\text{k}úbùl$  'skin' > Bn: Ba  $\text{k}úbùl$ , Bi  $\text{k}ûl$ , J/Kj  $\text{k}ûl$ , Sa  $\text{k}ùl$  ¶ Ss. PEC 48, ≠ 22, Bl. 144, 293, R A II 850, PH 109, Hn. BD 128, Blz. CL 180 || ?φ NrOm: Cha {C}  $\text{ḳ}albā$  'skin (pelle)', Wlt/Dwr/Gm  $\text{ḳ}alba$  'skin', Dc  $\text{ḳ}alba$  'human skin' ¶ C SE III 168, LmS 368 ¶ OS #1585, MiK I #1.77 || K \* $\text{ḳ}wlep-$  / \* $\text{ḳ}wlip-$  / \* $\text{ḳ}wlp-$  'strip\scratch off, fade' > G  $\text{ḳ}wlep-$  /  $\text{ḳ}wlip-$  v. 'bark, skin, strip off, pluck', Sv  $\text{ḳ}wep-$  /  $\text{ḳ}wlp-$  'fade' ¶ GM S 201 (on the loss of \* $\text{l}$  in Sv), ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 242 (\* $\text{ḳ}w(l)ep-$  with a "parasitic"  $\text{l}$  in G), ≈ Fn. KW-4 42, ≈ FS E 413 (\* $\text{ḳ}wel-p-$  / \* $\text{ḳ}wl-ep-$  'abnehmen, abziehen, entfernen'), Chx. 1689-90, DCh. 1379 ¶ K \* $\text{ḳ}wlep-$  / \* $\text{ḳ}wlip-$  < ppK \* $\text{ḳ}lwep-$  / \* $\text{ḳ}lwip-$  (a morphophonemic rule: in a labialized cns. clusters the labialization is ascribed to the obstruent rather than to the sonorant cns.) || IE: NaIE \* $\text{ḳ}leubh-$  / \* $\text{ḳ}lubh-$  'peel, take off the bark, strip, cut off' > L  $\text{ḳ}lūb-ō$  /  $-\text{ēre}$  'peel, take off the bark' || Pru

gleuptene 'Streichbrett am Pfluge, das die aufgerissene Erde umwendet' || Gk γλύφω 'carve, cut out with a knife' || ??σ Gmc ('split' ← \*'split off, cut out?'): ON kljúfa, NNr kluva, klyva, Sw klyva, OHG klioban ≅ chlioban, NHG klieben, OSx klioan, MDt clueven, Dt kluiwen, AS cleōfan 'to split, to cleave', NE cleave.; NNr Δ kluva, OHG klūbōn, NHG klauben 'to split'; d.: ON klauf 'cleft of foot', Sw klöν 'cloven foot', OHG, Dt kluft, NHG Kluft 'cleft, fissure', NE cleft ¶ WP I 661, P 401-2, Mn. 276, 282, WH 610-1, F I 315, Vr. 315, 317, Ho. 51, Ho. S 42, Kb. 548, OsS 498, KM 374, 377, En. 179, Tr. APS 34, Tr. PE-H 263, EI 143 (\*gleub<sup>h</sup>- 'cut off/out') ¶ \*g- for the expected \*k- due to the IĒ incompatibility of vl. and asp. vd. cnss. within the same √ || U: FU \*kaíep∇ '≈ film' > Prm: Z कोलिप koíip, Z Ud koízβ 'thin ice' (sc. "ice bark of a river/lake") || BF (×N \*Ḳaí'ū|u' 'skin, film, bark') > F kalvο 'film, membrane', Es Δ kale, kalu, Lv kaíġ 'cataract (of eye)' || ObU {Ht.} \*kǎ́lap > pVg \*kǎ́lap > Vg: Ss {Kn.} xaíap., {BV, Mu.} xaíp, Yk {BV} xaíp 'the outer white film of birch-bark'; pOs {Ht.} \*kǎ́lap-, {ǾHL.} \*kǎ́lap id., 'dandruff' > Os: Vy kǎ́wa, Ty/Y kǎ́ap, O χǎ́ap- id. || Hg hályog, Δ hajag, halɣag, hálog 'cataract (of eye)' ¶ LG 130, Ht. #265, KrT 382, Hl. rHt 71-2, BV 133, Tv. FUI 66, MF 256-7, Coll. 85, Coll. CG 405, UEW 121, Db. OS xxxi ◇ Hardly here Tg \*xalu- v. 'bark' and \*xalu(-kta) 'film, pellicle' (see N \*Ḳaí'ū|u' ↑). N \*Ḳaí'ū|u' and N \*ǵaí'ū'P∇ may be etymologically connected.

1922. \*ǵom'i' (or \*ǵiʔom'i'?) 'be hungry/thirsty' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'wish') > K \*ǵem-/ \*ǵm- 'be thirsty' or 'be hungry' > OG si-ǵm-il-, da-ǵm-oba- n. 'hunger', da-ǵm-eda- v. 'fast', Mg ɣum-en-, Lz o-(ǵ)om-in-u 'be thirsty', Sv ǵm- (msd. li-ǵnm-e) v. 'choke' ¶¶ K 212 (\*ǵm- 'be hungry'), FS K 362-3 and FS E 406-7 (\*ǵam-/ǵm- id.), K<sup>2</sup> 238-9 (\*ǵem-/ \*ǵm- 'be thirsty'), Abul. 129, Chik. 355 || HS: WS \*√'χ'w̄m (prm. \*-√'χ'ūm-) > Hrs √'χ'w̄m (3m sbjn. ɣɜχōm) v. 'want', Hbt √'χ'w̄m id., Mh √'ħ'w̄m (3m sbjn. ɣɜħōm) v. 'want, like, wish'; ?φ Ar √'ɣ'ym (ip. -ɣīm-) 'be affected with a burning thirst', {BK} 'avoir soif, éprouver un feu dans les entrailles', {BK, Hv.} ɣaym- 'thirst' ¶ Mh ħ-ɣ̄ (for χ-) suggests that Mh √'ħ'w̄m is a loan from a related lge. with \*χ > ħ (like Sq). S \*χ- < \*q- < \*ǵ- (HS deglottalization) ¶ Jo. H 145, Jo. M 194-5, BK II 526, Hv. 542 || A \*k'omi- > NaT \*k'omi- 'long for (sth.)' > OT qomi- id., XwT qoman- (rf.?) id. ¶ Cl. 626 || Tg \*xomi- 'be hungry' > Ewk omī̄t-/ç-, Lm

om̄t-/ç-, Ud omisi-, UI χomčl-/υ-, Nn Nh xoml̄çl̄çl̄- Nn KU omči-, WrMc omiχolo-, Mc Sb omiχulu- v. 'hunger'; Ewk omīkin, Neg om̄ x̄h, Nn KU omk̄, WrMc omiχon, Mc Sb omixun 'hungry'; Nn B χom̄, WrMc om̄in n. 'hunger' ¶ STM II 17 ◇ The variant pN rec. **\*giʔom'i'** accounts for Ar -ʔīm- (as going back to \*gīm- < \*giʔom-), while \*q- (and its reflexes in K and A) may go back to a cluster \*qʔ-.

**1923. \*qa'h'ñ** ▽ 'to dig' > IE \*kHen<sub>l</sub>H<sub>1</sub>- > NaIE \*k<sup>h</sup>en̄-/ \*k<sup>h</sup>ñ̄- ~ \*ken<sub>l</sub>a<sub>1</sub>- '≈ dig' > OI 'khanati 'digs' (inf. 'khanitum, pp. khā'ta-), kha'na-, kha'ni- 'digging, rooting up (wühlend)', OPrs kan-, Sgd qn- 'dig', MPrs kan-dan, NPrs كندن kân-dân 'to dig', YAv us-kar̄-ti 'digs out', ni-kair̄-ti 'digs in', KhS kar̄āre 'they dig out' || Lt kinis 'lair of swines and other animals' (WP: 'eingewühltes Schweinelager'), k̄inis id., ?σ Ltv cinis 'mound, hillock' ¶ WPI 399, M KI 301, M EI 445-6, MW 336, Bai. 51, ≠ P 634 (rejects the hyp. of \*k<sup>h</sup>- and suggests that the OI stem belongs to \*ken̄- 'scrape'), Frn. 254-5 (prefers to connect Lt kinis to L caenum 'dirt, mud') || K \*qan-/ \*qn- v. 'plough' > OG qn-, G χun-/χan-, Mg, Lz χon-, Sv qan-/qn- ¶ K 262, FS K 593-4, FS E 560-1 ¶ N **\*q-** was deglottalized in K by the adjacent **\*h** (\*\*qh- > K \*q-) || HS: ?σ S \*<sup>o</sup>✓kny > Ar ✓qny L (pf. قَانَى qānā) 'mix' ¶ BK II 827, Hv. 631 || U **\*kañ** ▽ v. 'dig, shovel, (?) sling' > Prm: OPrm kund- 'bury (a corpse)', Z kundī-nī 'bury (a thing, a corpse)', Δ v. 'earth up (potato plants)', Yz kun'di- v. 'strew' || ObU \*kūñ- ~ \*k̄ñ- 'dig, take\ladle out of the kettle' > Vg \*kūñ- 'spoon out' (Stn.: 'mit dem Löffel schöpfen') > T kōn-, LK/Ss xūn-, UK/P/NV/SV/LL kūn-; pOs \*k+ñ- ~ \*kañ- 'dig, dig out, shovel (snow)' > V/Vy/Ty q+ñ-, Y q+n-, D/K χen- id., Kz χᵛñ-, O χan- id., 'ladle\take out of the kettle to a bowl (soup, meat, fish)', Ty qāñ]a- v. 'dig' (mom.: 'κοπνυτῆ') || ?σ OHg hány- 'throw one after the other' ('werfen, schleudern', 'dobál, hajigál'), 'throw out', ?σ Hg hány- 'throw, cast, fling, vomit, puke' ¶ UEW 125 (suggests that the FU word is a loan from Ir), LG 146, Ht. #280, Stn. WV 208, Stn. D 508, KrT 315, 318, EWU 525, MTE II 49 ◇ The N lr. **\*h** is conjectured on the ev. of IE, S, and K: **\*h** is the only N lr. that is easily lost in S and regularly in K, but is able to produce a voiceless aspirate in IE and to affect an adjacent stop in K (causing its deglottalization).

**1924. \*q'o'ñt** ▽ 'fall, descend, plunge' > HS: NrOm \*k<sup>l</sup>u<sup>l</sup>nd- 'fall, descend' > Gf {Mrn.}, Zs {C}, Zl {L, Lm.}, Hrr {CR}, Gamu/Gf/Kcm {Lm.} kund-, WI/Dc {Lm.} künd-, Wl {C} kund-, Dwr {L, Lm.} kunda-, Ym {C}

gàndò ~ gándó v. 'fall', Kf {C, Lm.}, Mch {Lm.} kind- v. 'descend', 'hinuntersteigen, untergehen', {L} kīndi id., Shn {Lm.} kínd- v. 'enter, go in' ('eintreten, hineingehen') ¶ C SE III 75 and IV 462, Lm. Sh 327 || **K** {K} \*q̄wint-, {FS} \*q̄went-/ \*q̄wint- v. 'sink\plunge (into water)' > MG, G qunt- v. 'dive, plunge into water', G q̄vint- id., v. 'plunge into drowsiness (погружаться в дремоту)', Mg ṡvint- v. 'plunge into water; doze', Sv q̄wēnt-/qunt- v. 'plunge' ¶ Chx. 1687, 1737, K 211, FS K 368-9, FS E 413-4 || **U** \*ku|on|ñt̄ > pSm {Jn.} \*kontā-, {Hl.} \*konta- v. 'drop off to sleep (einschlafen)', {Jn.} \*kontъ-, {Hl.} \*kontō- v. 'sleep' > Ne: T хона-сь, {Lh.} xōn'a-, F {Lh.} kōn'ā-ś v. 'drop off to sleep', T хонē-сь, {Lh.} xōn'ō v. 'sleep', F {Lh.} kōn'ō-ś id.; Ng {Cs.} kun'da'am (1s aor.) 'go to sleep', kunduatum (1s aor.) v. 'sleep', {Mik.} kuntúda v. 'fall asleep (elaludni)'; En X kodduaro' {Cs.} and En B {Cs.} kodduado (both 1s aor.) v. 'sleep', En {Ter.} кода-сь id., kodida (prtc.) 'sleeping'; Slq Tz {KKIH} qont̄- v. 'sleep', Slq Tm {KD} (1s aor.) q'onda-g\_ id.; Kms {KD} kunṓlam 'I am asleep', Koyb {Sp.} конолдамъ 'I am dozing (дремлю)', конолламъ 'I am asleep', Mt {Hl.} \*kondə- 'sleep' (Mt M/K/T {Mll.} chónda, T {Adl.} chonda v. 'sleep', M {Sp.} хондаштамъ, {Mll.} chondäschtam 'I am asleep') || pY {IN} \*kontə- 'lie (liegen)' > OY {Mll.} kondāk, {Merk} kontok id.; Y: K/T qodō- id., kudē- v. 'lay', T kudorə- id. ¶ Jn. 73, Cs. 50, KKIH 162, Hl. MTKV 24, Hl. M #543, IN 229, 320 || **A**: NaT \*k'on- 'settle' (of a bird), 'stop for the night on a journey' > OT {Cl.} qōn- id. (length supposed by Cl. only on the ev. of the Ar plene spelling), Tk kor-, Tkm gon-, Ggz kon-, Qmq, Qrg, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Ln, Alt qon-, Uz qwn-, VTt, Bsh qun-, Xk, Tv xon-, Tf qon- 'alight, settle' (of birds, insects), OOSm XIV qon- 'stop for the night on a journey', Tf qon- 'stay for the night in taiga', Tk kor-, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg qon-, VTt, Bsh qun- 'pass the night', MQp XIII, Chg XV, Qmq, Qrg, Qq, Alt qon-, Tkm gon-, Uz qwn-, Xk, Yk xon- 'settle down, take up residence in a house' ¶ Cl. 632, ET Q 55-6, Ra. 220 || **D** (in SD) \*kant- ( {ṡGS} \*k-) v. 'sink' > Kn kantu v. 'set' (of the sun), Tu kantu v. 'sink; set' (of the sun), Krg kontappa 'prostrate' ¶ D #1211 ◊ D \*a (for the expected labialized vw.) needs explining ◊ IN 229 (U, A).

**1925.** <sub>2</sub> \*quḡ́ǰ̄ > **K**: GZ \*qu(n)c-, {FS} \*quc- v. 'squat, sit on the hind legs' > G {Chx.} qunc-i 'hockende\kauernde Stellung (des Tieres)', qunc-deba '(ein Tier) setzt sich auf die

Hinterbeine, kauert sich nieder', {SSO, DCh.} ḡunc- v. 'squat' (said of dogs), {Chx} ḡuncul- 'mit kleinen Schritten gehen, trippeln', 'hopsen' (von Vögeln), G Lc ḡunc- v. 'fidget (sitting)', Mg ḡuc- v. 'squat' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 246, Q 422, FS K 375 (postulated the change \*ḡuc- > G ḡunc- without explaining it), DCh. 1387, Chx. 1737-8 || U: FU {Coll.} \*kućć∇-, {Ber.} \*kuć∇- v. 'climb (klettern), ? crawl' > pMr {Ker.} \*kūžā-/ \*kūćā- > Er күзе- kuže-, Mk күце- kuća- 'klettern' | pChr {Ber.} \*kućъ- > Chr: L {MRS} кү'з-аш 'climb (klettern)', {Ü} күзэ- id., E {Ps.}, U/M küže-, H {Ep., Rm.} kuza- v. 'climb (a tree, etc.)', {Ü} күзэ- v. 'climb (ascend)' || Hg kúsz-ik v. 'climb, crawl' ¶ Coll. 97, Ker. II 73, Ber. 28, KC 114, PI 137, MRS 257, Ep. 48, Ü 83, 89, Ps OT 57, Bá. 181, EWU 854 ||| Hardly here FP {UEW} \*kočē- 'langsam gehen, kriechen' (> Lp L {LLO} куоһтса- v. 'run [on four feet], crawl', Vt ḡ+ž [an interjection of slow walking and training on the earth], possibly Chr L {Ü} күчэ- v. 'climb, climb in [влезать]', and Chr B {Ps.} kuče- 'steigen, klettern' [F UEW 667]). ¶ The front-vowel variant küze- in Chr and the irreg. k- in Hg kúsz- (reg. in a front-vowel word, but not expected before a back vw., F Lakó PFUH 49) find no satisfactory explanation so far. They are likely to suggest the presence of a front-vowel variant of the FU √.

**1926. \*ḡoḡa(-P∇)** (or \*ḡoḡaḡa(-P∇)?) 'nose' > 𐎠 (S AJ, SDM95) \*k'ḡaḡa, {SDM97} \*k'öḡa, {DQA} \*k'jüḡa 'nose'): Tg \*xoḡo- 'nose, prow' > Neg oḡo-kto 'nose', Ewk, Neg oḡo, Nn xōḡo, Ul xoḡo 'prow (of a boat)', Nn xondaxa 'nose bridge'; a variant with initial \*k-: Neg koḡ-towk̄, koḡ topk̄ 'nose (of a deer, elk, bear)', Nn qontoro '(wild bore's) nose' ¶ STM II 22, I 413, 470, SDM95 s.v. \*k'ḡaḡa || M: the √ \*qaḡ- ~ \*qoḡ- is represented in derived (or compound?) stems: [1] \*qaḡbar 'nose' > WrM qabar ~ qamar, MM qabar ([ArSc] قَابَار qabar, [ChSc] qa-bar), HIM, Ord, Brt xamar, Kl, Dg xamḡ, Shrn xabar, Mgl (Rm.) qabar, Mnr H {SM} xawar, Dx qawa 'nose'; ↗ Tlt qamar 'Nasenscheide'; [2] \*qaḡsiyar 'nose bridge' > WrM qaḡsiyar, HIM, Brt xansār id., ↗ StAlt qoḡžōr 'nose bridge', Yk xansār 'nose, nasal septum'; [3] \*qoḡsiyar > WrM qoḡsiyar, HIM, Ord xonšōr 'nose, muzzle, snout', Kl xonšār 'muzzle, snout, beak' ¶ MED 895, 929, H 54, Ms. H 85, Pp MA 284, Rm. M 31, KW 164, 186, T DnJ 124, Mr. D 156, SM 165, Klz. MJ 33, Klz. D I 137, Pek. 3313-4, RAIS 474, S AJ 236 [#66], Rs. W 232 || NaT \*k'aḡa]y > Tf ḡāy, Tv xāy 'nose, beak, muzzle', Yk xañinay 'snuffle'; in other lgs. there are derived words (\*kaḡír/r- ~ \*k'āñír/r- a. o.): Tlt qoḡir, qaḡiriq,

Yk  $\chi\alpha\eta\upsilon\rho\bar{u}$ ,  $\chi\alpha\eta\iota\rho\bar{i}$ ,  $k\grave{a}\eta\grave{a}\rho\bar{i}$  'bridge of nose', SY  $q\alpha\eta\iota\rho\iota q$  'nose', Bsh  $\Delta q\alpha\eta\upsilon\beta\rho\beta q$  'hard palate', Qrg  $q\alpha\eta\iota\rho\iota q$  'parched nose' ( $q\alpha\eta\iota\rho\iota\upsilon\iota$   $t\ddot{u}t\ddot{o}p$   $k\epsilon\tau\tau\iota$  'his nose is parched,  $\gamma$   $\eta\epsilon\rho\sigma$   $\beta$   $\eta\omicron\varsigma\upsilon$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\omicron\chi\lambda\omicron$ '), Tkm  $q\alpha\eta\upsilon\rho\theta\alpha$  'reek', Tk  $g\epsilon\eta\iota z$  'nose cavity', Az  $\acute{g}\grave{a}\eta\iota z$ ,  $\acute{g}\grave{a}\eta\iota z\acute{i}k$  'back part of the palate, nasopharynx', Tkm d.  $g\epsilon\eta\iota z\text{-}e\omega\text{-}$  'speak through one's nose', StAlt  $q\alpha\eta\iota q\alpha q$  'hook-nosed' ¶ TL 215-6, Ra. 187, Rl. II 82, 521, Jud. 342, Pek. 3317, TvR 458, S AJ 189 [#135], BT 87 ¶ In some lgs. there is a merger with Mongolisms (ffd. *see* Tl 216, fn.1) || Ko  $*k\acute{o}h$  'nose' > MKo  $k\acute{o}$  /  $k\acute{o}h\text{-}$ , NKo  $k^h\omicron$  ¶ S QK #61, Nam 45, MLC 1673 ¶ S AJ 253 [#61] || pJ  $*kan\text{-}k\text{-}$  v. 'smell (sth.)' > OJ  $k\acute{a}g\text{-}$ , J: T/K  $k\grave{a}g\text{-}$ , Kg  $k\acute{a}g\text{-}$  ¶ S AJ 271 [#181], S QJ #181. Mr. 701 ¶¶ S AJ 43-4, 286 [#246], StrM AOJ 36-8, SDM95 s.v.  $*k^{\prime}u\grave{a}\eta\eta$ , SDM97 s.v.  $*k^{\prime}\ddot{o}\eta\eta$ , DQA #1057 || HS: S  $*\circ\chi^{\prime}u^{\prime}nn\text{-}$  'nose' > Ar  $\chi unn\text{-}$ ,  $\chi unn\text{-}at\text{-}$  'nasal voice, voix nasillarde',  $ma\text{-}\chi ann\text{-}at\text{-}$  'nose, tip of the nose' ¶ BK I 635-6, Hv. 186 || C  $*k^{\prime}\omega^{\prime}\nabla n\nabla p\text{-}$  'nose' > pAg  $*k^{\prime}\omega^{\prime}z\eta\text{-}\nabla\text{-}p\text{-}$  'nose' ({Ap.}  $*q^{\omega}\grave{a}mb\text{-}/\text{-}q\grave{a}mb\text{-}$  'nose, mouth') > Bln {R}  $k^{\omega}\grave{a}nb\bar{a} \sim k^{\omega}\grave{a}mb\bar{a}$ , pl.  $k^{\omega}\grave{a}nfef$ , Q {Ap.}  $\chi umba \sim \chi^{\omega}zmba$ , {Beke}  $kumb\bar{a}$ , {R}  $humb\bar{a}$ ,  $komb\bar{a}$ , Km {Ap.}  $\chi^{\omega}zmb\bar{a}$ , {CR}  $\chi umb\bar{a}$  'nose', ?? Aw {Ap.}  $\upsilon zmb^{\prime}bi$  'mouth' || ? Bj {R}  $g\epsilon n\ddot{u}f$  'nose, beak' ¶ Ap. AV 17, Ap. WLQ 14, E PC #379; Ehret's assumption that Bj  $g\epsilon n\ddot{u}f$  goes back to C  $*ganf\text{-}/g\grave{i}nf\text{-}$  'face' (> Bln  $g\grave{a}nb\bar{a}r$  'forehead' and pRt  $*ganf\text{-}$  'chin') is hardly tenable for semantic reasons || B  $*\upsilon nb$  'face',  $*\upsilon nb\ddot{u}b$ , 'beak' ( $\times N$   $*\text{K}\acute{o}m\nabla\text{-}bA$  '≈ forehead, front part', cf. s.v.  $*\text{K}\acute{o}m\nabla\text{-}(bA)$ ) > Tmz Iz  $a\upsilon\grave{a}nbu \sim a\upsilon\grave{e}nbub$ , Izd pl.  $i\upsilon\grave{a}nba \sim i\upsilon\grave{u}nba$ , Wrg, Mz  $a\upsilon\grave{a}mbu$  (pl.  $i\upsilon\grave{a}mba$ ), Mz  $a\upsilon\grave{a}nbu$  (pl.  $i\upsilon\grave{a}nba$ ) 'beak', Izn  $a\text{-}\upsilon\grave{a}nbub$  'visage', Rf Tz  $a\text{-}\upsilon\grave{a}nbu$  'visage, figure' ¶ Rn. 364, 383, MT 194-5, Dlh. Ou 240, Dlh. M 152, Mrc. 33 || K: OG, G  $gn\omicron s\text{-}$  v. 'smell (sth.)' ¶ DCh. 1381, Chx. 1699-1700;  $-\omicron s\text{-}$  is likely to go back to a sx. || ?σ IE: NaIE  $*\circ k^{\omega}e^{\prime}n^{\prime}\text{-}$ , {Ped.}  $*\circ k^{\omega}e\eta\eta\omicron\text{-}$  'head' ( $\leftarrow$   $*\text{'muzzle, snout'}$   $\leftarrow$   $*\text{'animal's head'}$ ) > Clt {Vn.}  $*k^{\omega}enno\text{-}$  > OIr  $c\epsilon rn$  'head', Brtt {RE}  $*pennon$  id. > MW, OBr  $pen$ ,  $pen$ , W, OCrn, Crn  $pen$ , Br  $pen$  id. ¶ Ped. VG I 457, Vn. C 65-6, RE 103 || ?σ D  $*kum\text{-}$  'knob, hump' > Tm  $kum\grave{i}r$  'knob (as of a wooden sandal), stud, pommel, hump of an ox', Ml  $kum\grave{i}r$  'knob, pommel', Png  $g\omicron m\omicron\grave{n}$  'hump of ox' ¶ D #1743 ◇ The initial N cns. is  $*g\text{-}$  provided that the K cognate is valid. Otherwise the N rec. will be  $*\text{K}\acute{o}\eta\eta$  or  $*\text{K}\acute{o}\rho\eta\eta$  (where  $*\text{K}\acute{=} *g|k$ ). Cf. AD NM 54. The pN element  $*P\nabla$  (preserved in B, C, and M) may be identical with N  $*bA$  (pc. for names of quality bearers) (q.v. ffd.) or go back to the second component  $*P\nabla R\nabla$  of a N

cd. (as suggested by M \*qanbar 'nose' and possibly Bln ganbär 'forehead') (= N \*per∇ [= \*per'o<sup>1</sup>?] 'lip, edge' [q.v.] in the sense of 'edge?') ◇ The rec. \*qoŋa(-P∇) is acceptable if \*a of the initial syll. in M qan- and in NaT \*k'a<sup>1</sup>ŋa<sup>1</sup>y is explained by regr. as. (\*-o...a- > \*-a...a-). Otherwise we have to suggest a pN etymon \*qoʔaŋa(-P∇) with \*-ʔa- lost in all descendant lgs. except T and M.

**1927.** (₂?) \*qup∇ 'to divide; a part' > K: G qop- v. divide' ¶ DCh. 1384 || A: M \*qubi n. 'part, share' > MM [S, MA, IM] qubi, WrM qubi, HIM хувь, Ord χu'wi, Brt хуби id., WrO хуби, хубии, Dg хоби 'part, portion, lot', WrM qubiya-, HIM хуваа- vt. 'divide, share', WrO хубā- 'divide up', Kl хуба-, {Rm.} χuwā- & χowā-, Brt хубаа-, Dg хобō-, Ba хua- 'divide', MM [HI] qubiyaqda- 'être partagé', MMgl {Iw.} qubā 'portion' ¶ H 69, Pp. MA 306, 445, Ms. H 91, Ms. O 374-5, MED 976-7, Iw. 128, Krg. 289, KRS 605, KW 191, Chr. 595-6, T DgJ 176, T BJ 150 || ? U \*kupsa- 'deprive so. of his share' or 'be deprived of one's share' (< d.?) > Lp N {N} gqk'se- / -vɛ- 'do so. an injustice by taking the lion's share' || Sm: Ne T {Lh.} χadō-, Ne F {Lh.} kaŋo- 'ohne etw. bleiben, ohne Anteil bleiben' ¶ Coll. 13, UEW 214.

**1928.** \*qār∇ 'smell' > HS: C: Ag {AD} \*qar-/\*qir- ({Ap.} \*qar-/\*qir-) vi. 'smell' > Bln {R} qīrā n. 'smell', eḡār- vi. 'smell', Xm {R} qar- vi. 'smell', Xm T {CR} qar- id., Q {Ap.} qera, Km {Ap.} qera ~ qera n. 'smell', Aw {Hz.} gar- v. 'smell' || SC: Irq {Wh.} χâraŋ<sup>w</sup>, {MQK} χarāŋ<sup>w</sup> (pl. χarēri) n. 'smell' ¶ Ap. AV 16, Ap. WLQ 17, AD SF 89, 202 (C \*✓qir), MQK 117 || K: GZ \*qar-/\*qr- v. 'stink' > OG, G qar-/qr- v. 'stink, reek', Mg d. ɣor-ad-/ɣor-id-/ɣor-d- vi., vt. 'rot', vi. 'stink' ¶ K 209, K<sup>2</sup> 237, Vogt SVG 75, FS K 364, FS E 409 || ?σ IE: NaIE \*krem-us- / \*kerm-us- '(plant) having strong smell' > Gk κρόμμυον, κρόμμυον, [Hs.] κρέμμυον 'onion' || OIr crem ~ crim 'wild garlic', NIr creamh, MBr cram, MW, W † craf 'garlic' || AS hramsa (pl. hramsan) 'Allium ursinum', {Ho.} hramesa, hramse id., 'onion', NNr, Sw, Dn rams, MDt ramese 'leek', OHG ramusia 'Bärenlauch', NGr B rams 'broad-leaved garlic, Allium ursinum', NE ramsons || Lt kermùšė, Ltv sēr mukslis 'wild garlic' || Sl: [1] (NaIE \*kerm-us- >) Sl \*čermbxa > OR үερεмъха čeremъha 'bird cherry (tree), Prunus padus', R Δ че'рёмха, bf. че'рёма, Blr ча'ромха, R Δ, Uk че'ремха, SCr црёмжа (× Sl \*čermbša), Slv črēmha, OCz třēmcha, Cz střēmcha, P trzemcha id., Slk čremcha 'Padus racemosa'; [2]



(NaIE \*kerm-ous- >) R че<sup>1</sup>рѣмуха 'bird cherry (tree)', Cz čermucha id., P trzemucha id., Allium ursinum', SCr Δ crìjemušā 'Allium ursinum'; [3] \*čermъša, \*čermъšb > Slv čěmž ~ srēmša 'bird cherry', čěmaž & črēmōž, R черем<sup>1</sup>ша 'Allium ursinum' ¶ WP I 426-7, P 580-1, EI 620 (\*'kremHu-s / gen. \*krmō<sup>1</sup>Hoу-s '[wild] garlic'), F II 23-4, Sw. 93, Ho. 172, Kb. 770, LP § 50, Vn. C 229, YGM-1 101, Flr. 121, Frn. 243, ESSJ IV 66-8, Vs. IV 339, Tls. 658 ¶ In the IE preconson. position N \*g|k + front vw. yields IE \*k-*reg.* (IE \*krem-), whence by analogy \*kerm- || U: FP \*kār∇ '(unappropriate) smell, taste' > F kārϣ, kārty, Es Δ kārde-hais '(smoky)burnt) smell', Vp kard & kardēh id., 'smell of sth. burning' | Prm \*kōr 'smack, unappropriate smell' > Z kōp kār id., Yz kōra 'tasty', Vt копел 'tasty, saltish' ¶ FP \*ä (for \*a) may be due to vw. harmony ¶ LP 141, ≈ SK 262 (the FP word is ϣ), ZM 164, 180 || D (in SD) \*ka:ϣr- ({}GS} \*k-) 'be rancid, stale' > Tm kārϣ v. 'taste bitter \ musty \ rancid' (of stale food), MI kārϣka 'grow stale \ rancid', Kn karal 'saltishness, brackishness' ¶ D #1504 ◇ IS MS 354 s.v. пахнуть \*qar ∆ and IS SS #3.6 (IE, C, K).

**1929.** \*qoRû (or \*quR∇?) 'to copulate' > K: Sv qur-/qwir- (msd. li-l-qwir) 'copulate' ¶ ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 239-40 || HS: B: Ah aϣar 'copulate' (of a man) (× aϣar 'ride') ¶ Fc. 1760 || IE: NaIE \*kouṛu<sub>1</sub>- '≈ fornicate' > Sl \*kurī (gen. \*kurъv-e) 'meretrix, whore' > ChS коуръва куръва ~ коуръва куръва 'meretrix', OR коурва курва<sup>1</sup>Blg, R 'курва, SCr kūrva, Slv kūrba, kūrva, Cz, Slk kurva, P kurwa 'whore, libertine woman' || ?φ Gmc \*xōr-az m. 'adulterer', \*xōr-ō 'whore' (× IE \*kār- 'beloved', cp. L cār-us / -a; the merger accounts for the long vw. and for the loss of both medial \*u and stem-final \*-u) > Gt hōr-s, ON hōr-r 'fornicator, lover, adulterer', ON hōra, OHG huora, NHG Hure, MLG, AS hōre 'whore', NE whore ¶ ESSJ XIII 132-3, Glh. 362, Ho. 170, Vr. 249, and Fs. E 199 (all of them deny any connection between Gmc and Sl words), Schz. 172, Kb. 490, KM 322, Mikl. E 149, Bern. I 651, cp. EI 214 (Gmc < IE \*keh<sub>1</sub>ro-s ~ \*kh<sub>1</sub>ro<sub>s</sub> 'friendly') || A: Tg: Ork χορϣ- 'copulate' (of deer) ¶ STM I 471 ◇ IE \*kouṛ- may go back either to N \*quR∇ (which is at variance with the Tg ev.) or to N \*qoRû (\*-u|ü supported by the Sl reflex). The influence of \*-u on the N vw. \*o in IE (N \*o1u > pre-IE \*u1u) is discussed in AD NGIE 17 (rule 4) and 28. Connected with N \*quy∇r∇ 'love, covet'??

**1930. \*qoR∇** (or \*qôR∇?) 'frog, toad' ([in decendant lgs.] → 'tortoise') > **K:** OG, eNG m̄q̄uar-i 'βάτραχος, frog', G m̄q̄vari 'toad' ¶ Abul. 537, SSO I 537, DCh. 916 || **HS:** Eg N/L k̄rr 'frog' (> (AkSc) p.n. Pākrur̄u), DEg k̄rr, Cpt: Sd κροϋρ krur, B κροϋρ k<sup>h</sup>ur id. ¶ EG V 61, Er. 544, Vc. 86 || S \*<sup>o</sup>k̄<sup>r</sup>ur- > Ar qurr-, qurr-at- ~ qirr-at- 'frog' ¶ BK II 700 || B: o†Izn {Rn.} qarqriw, Rf A {Rn.} aqarqur, Mtm {Ds.} umg<sup>w</sup>arg<sup>w</sup>ar 'toad', SrSn {Rn.} aqarqur, BMnc {Ds.} amqarqūr 'frog' ¶ Rn. 371, Ds. B 83, 158 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*kur∇ 'tortoise', {AD} 'tortoise, frog' > pAG {Hf.} \*k̄ur 'tortoise' > Gmy k̄ur, Kfr {Hf.} (da)kur, Su {J} (dā)kūr, Ang (ka)kur id., Mpn {Frz.} dākūr 'turtle' || Zar L / Plc / Buli / Wnd {ChL} kúrbi, Zar {ChL} kúrvi id., Zar K {Sh.} kù-kurbi 'tortoise', ? Wrij {ChL} kúrsi 'frog' || Bd {Mch.} karenakau 'frog' || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} k̄pórōwé 'tortoise' || Kib {ChL} k<sup>w</sup>à-kúrùm, Hld {ChL} k<sup>w</sup>à-kúrùmú, HK {ChL} k<sup>w</sup>è-kúrùm, Bu {ChL} k<sup>w</sup>ù-kürmú 'turtle' || ? Gv {ChL} kírè, Dgh {Frk.} kr̄ndá 'frog' || Db {Lnh.} kùrìn, {ChL} kèrrín id. || Skr {Nc.} kór̄iṅgē, Mu {J} kírēni (pl. kèrèn) 'frog' ¶ Stl. ZCh 210 [#602], Hf. AG #206, J S 62, 71, Nt. 6, Frz. DM 11, ChC, ChL, Lk. ZSS 35 ¶¶ OS #1547 (HS \*k̄ir- 'frog') || **IE:** NaIE {WP} \*g<sup>w</sup>red<sup>h</sup>- 'frog, toad' > MLG krēde, krode, OHG krēta, chreta, c(h)rota, MHG krēte, krote 'toad, frog', NHG Kröte 'toad', NHG Schildkröte 'tortoise, turtle' || Gk βάτραχος, Gk I βρόταχος, βάθρακος 'frog' || ? VL {ML} \*brūscus 'toad' ({Ert.}: ← OscU < \*g<sup>w</sup>rot-skos) > MdL [γ] bruscus 'ε frog (ranae genus)', Rm broască 'toad', McdRm broască, Olt Ml broscă 'tortoise', → Al breshkë 'small turtle' (of course, VL/MdL bruscus is not [↔ WH] borrowed from Frosch) ¶ ML #1329, Ert. ED 128, WP I 698-9, Kb. 562, OsS 516, Lx. 117, KM 408, ≠ WH I 117, FI 226-7, Ch. 169-70, O 36, Ç II 314-5 ¶ \*g<sup>w</sup>red<sup>h</sup>- for \*\*k<sup>w</sup>red<sup>h</sup>- is due to the incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same √ || **A:** Tg \*xere 'frog' > Nn Nh/B, Ork x̄r̄z̄, Ul x̄r̄z̄; d. \*xere-kī > Orc x̄r̄z̄kī (← Nn), Ud x̄x̄ī, Orc ēki, Neg z̄ȳz̄x̄ī, Lm z̄rikī, Ewk z̄r̄z̄kī id. ¶ STM II 466-7 || ?μ NaT \*k<sup>l</sup>ur-bāKa 'ε frog\toad' (\*kur-'? + \*baka 'frog') > OT qurbaqa, MQp qurbaqa id., Tk kurbağā 'frog, toad', Tkm qurbāqa, Az qurbaqa, Qzq qūrbaqa, Qq, Uz qurbaqa 'frog', Qmq, Nog qir-baqa, Qrg qurbaqa 'toad', VTt q̄r̄ baqas̄ 'grass frog', Chg (Rl.) qurbaqa 'tortoise' ¶ Cl. 646-7, ET Q 160-1, Rl. II 918 || ?σ,μ pKo {S} \*kòr'oàn'í 'snail' > MKo kòr'oàn'í ¶ S QK #1136, Nam 51 ¶¶ Tg \*e of the first syll. remains puzzling (regr. as.?) ¶¶ DQA #1136 (pA \*k<sup>l</sup>er<sup>o</sup> 'frog,

toad') ◇ If NaT \*k<sub>l</sub>'ur-baKa belongs here, the N etymon may be reconstructed as \*qô<sub>r</sub>∇.

**1931.** \*qUr∇ (or \*qihUr∇ ⇐ \*qUhir∇?) 'reach, enter', (→) 'happen' > HS: CS \*✓kry|w 'happen; meet, encounter' (× N \*qaR'iwu' 'come in contact [meet, come across, touch]', q.v. ffd.) || K: Sv L {Dn.} ma-qer, me-qar 'it happen to me', li-qre 'to happen', li-qer 'to take place' ¶ Dn. s.v. ma-qer, me-qar- || D (in NED) \*°kor|r- 'enter, go in' > Krx kōr-, Mlt kore id. ¶ D #2236 || A: M \*kür<sub>l</sub>ü- 'reach, touch' > MM [MA, IM] kür-, [IsV] küri- 'reach (дойти, достичь)', WrM kür-, HIM хүрэ-, Dx kuru-, Ba kur- id., Ord k'ür- 'toucher à, atteindre, arriver', Mnr H {SM} k'uru- 'arriver, parvenir, atteindre, toucher', {T} kuri- 'reach; suffice' ¶ Pp. MA 229, 441, Lg. VMI 52, MED 936, Ms. O 538, SM 216, T 341, T DnJ 124, T BJ 141 ¶ An alt. M cognate is \*qargu- 'meet'; if it is justified, M \*qargu goes back to N \*qUr∇ × N \*qaR'iwu' '↑' (q.v.) || T \*k'i:r- 'enter' > OT kir-, Tk gir-, Tkm gi:r-, Az, Ggz, Qmq gir-, CrTt, Kr, Qrg, Nog, Qrq, Uz, ET, Tv. Tf kir-, Qz kîr-, VTt, Bsh k̄r-, Chv k̄ar- id. ¶ Cl. 735-6, ET VGD 47-9 ◇ The D and M qu. cognates suggest a N rounded vw. in the first syll. (\*qUr∇), which seems to be at variance with the Sv data (q- is not followed by w), but the expected K \*w may have been lost in Sv; see also the optional N rec. \*qihUr∇ ↓ ◇ The T cognate is phonetically deviant: T lax \*k'- is not the regular reflex of N \*q-, and the length of the vw. is not expected. This deviant T cognate may be explained if we suppose a N etymon with an internal \*h (N \*qihUr∇ ⇐ \*qUhir∇) that can de-emphasize the initial cns. and produce vw. length.

**1932.** \*qô<sub>w</sub>l<sub>r</sub>∇ 'blind, one-eyed' > K \*°q<sub>w</sub>'a<sub>r</sub>- 'blind' > Mg fvere id. ¶ Q 418 || HS: S \*°qa'wir- 'one-eyed' > Ar qawira 'was one-eyed' ({Fr.} 'uno oculo privatus fuit') (pf. 3m of the verb ✓qwr G 'be one-eyed') ¶ Fr. III 513, BK II 833 || Ch: Mgm {JA} kōr'iwò inf. '(s')aveugler' (pf. kōr'iwé, ip. kōr'iwá), kōr 'blind man', kōr'á 'blind woman' ¶ JA LM 100 || D \*kuruṭ- 'blindness' > Tm, Ml kuruṭu, Kt kurḍ ~ ku·r̄, Kn kuruḍu, kuraḍu, Tl gruḍḍu id., Kdg kurıḍ, Tu kur(u)ḍu, Nkr, Gnd guḍḍi 'blind', Tl g(r)uḍḍi 'blind(ness)', Klm guḍḍi 'blindness'; Tm, Ml kuruṭan, Kt kurḍh̄, Kn kuruḍa, kuraḍa, Kdg kurıḍa<sub>1</sub>, Tu kuruḍe 'blind man', Mlt qoṭri 'blind person'; Tm, Ml kuruṭi, Kt kurḍy ~ ku·r̄y, Kn kuruḍi, kuraḍi, Kdg kurıḍi 'blind woman'; Mlt qoṭre v. 'become blind' ¶¶ D #1787 || ?σ A: M \*qoruṣun > WrM {Kow.,

Gl., MED} qoruu ~ {MED} qorqu, HIM xypyy 'cataract\spot in the eye', Wro xoruu 'cataract\cast in the eye', Kl xopħħ 'cataract in the eye, wall-eye', {Rm.} xoryã 'Star, weißer Flecken am Auge', Br xoprho 'wall-eye' ¶ MED 965, 970, Gl. II 187, Kow. 962, Krg. 284, KRS 598, KW 187, CI 45 ◇ Tk kör 'blind' and кeр 'blind' in Az, Tkm and Qrg do not belong here, because these words have been borrowed from Persian.

**1933.** <sub>2</sub> \*q<sup>1</sup>o<sub>1</sub>w|p<sup>1</sup>v<sub>1</sub>r<sup>1</sup>v 'tooth, large\canine tooth, tusk' > HS: C: Bj {R} kũre (= k<sup>w</sup>3re), {Rop.} kwire 'tooth' ¶ R WBd 145, Rop. 209 || EC: Elm {Hn.} kárris 'molar, cheek', Arr karis-ó pl. 'molar(s)', Or {Grg.} qarrifā 'canine tooth' ¶ Grg. 31, Hw. A 372 || SOm: Ari J {Bnd.} qari 'tusk, tooth of hippo or elephant' || Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*ħa-qori or \*ħa-qawri 'teeth' > Hs háqórí, Klr {J} pag<sup>w</sup>ér, Sha {J} pagaha (-ħ- < \*-r-), Fy {J} hágor, Bks {J} pagúr id. ¶ \*ħa- is a px. of names of body parts ¶ Stl. IF 112 ¶¶ OS #2070 (HS \*qor- 'tooth'), Blz. DA #10. But SnSr {Rn.} aqarruš 'tooth' cannot be a genuine B word (⇔ Blz.), but rather a loan from an Ar source (possibly ✓ qraqš 'gnaw hard [bread]', identical to the source of Mz ✓ qraqš 'crisser sous la dent, grincer' and Kb ✓ qřš 'grincer les dents') (see Rn. 370, Dl. 674-5, Dlh. M 259, Hv. 601) || D \*kōr<sup>v</sup> ({†GS} \*k-) 'tusk, fang' > Kn kōre id., Kdg kō're 'tusk of elephant\boar', Tl kōr<sup>a</sup> 'tusk, fang, tooth', Gnd kōru 'tusk' ¶ ≈ D #2257 ◇ If WCh {Stl.} (and pHS?) \*q reflects N \*q, the N rec. must have an initial \*q-, otherwise it is an unspecified \*K<sub>1</sub>-. The long \*ō in D suggests the presence of an additional cns. in N (\*w, \*p, \*h?), while D \*-r<sub>1</sub>- (< N \*-r- outside cns. clusters) suggests a N vw. between this \*w|p|h and \*-r- ◇ Blz. DA 153 [#11] (D, HS).

**1934.** \*quy<sup>v</sup>r<sup>v</sup> 'to love, to covet' (→ 'to prefer') > K: GZ (or pK?) \*qwar- 'love' > OG qwar-, G qvar-, Mg ɣor-, Lz (q)or- id., ??σ Sv qur-/qwir- (msd. li-l-qwir) 'copulate' ¶ K 210, K<sup>2</sup> 239-40, FS K 366-7, FS E 411-2 || HS: ?φ WS \*'χayar 'goodness' > Ar χayr- id. (gen. χayr-i following a noun means 'good'), 'good, better, the best' (e.g. χayru-n-nāsi 'the best of man', 'the best man') (→ Sq {L} ħayr adj. 'meilleur', adv. 'mieux', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} χayr 'good, health', Jb C {Jo.} 'χer 'best interest'), Mh χār 'better', Mh χ3y0r, Hrs {Jo.} χ3yōr 'best', Jb E/C {Jo.} 'χar 'well-being, good', Sb {BGMR} χyr 'nobleman, noble' (pl. pχyr), Qt pχyr pl. {Rk.} 'élite', {MA} 'noblemen', Gz χēr 'good, excellent, good thing'; S \*✓ χyr (\*-χīr-) 'prefer, choose; be(come) good' > Ar ✓ χyr G

(ip. -χῖρ-) 'be propitious to; prefer, select', Gz ✓χῦρ G (pf. χायारा ~ χῑρα), Mn {MA} ✓χῦρ 'choose, authorize', Ak ✓χῦρ G (inf. χῑārum ~ χῑaru, 3m p. i-χῖρ) {Sd.} 'choose, select', {CAD} 'pick and take as mate' ¶ Ln. 828-31, BK I 653, Hv. 191, LLS 173, LG 270, Sd. 342-3, Jo. M 457, Jo. H 145, Jo. J 311, BGMR 64, MA 45, Rk. 72-3, CAD VI 119-20 ¶ S \*χ- goes back to \*q-, resulting from pHS deglotatization of of N \*q-. Ar -ay- and Gz \*-ē- reflect pS \*-'aya- (AD PSH §§ 9-10) || A \*k'ur- 'desire, love' > M \*qurīca- 'desire, love passionately, lust after' > □WrM qurīca-, HIM хурьца- id., WrO χurīca-, Kl хурц-, Brt хуриса- v. 'desire, lust after', Ord χu'rač'īlč'i- 'copulate' ¶ MED 989, Kow. 956-8, Gl. II 185, Krg. 298, KRS 613, Chr. 602, Ms. O 371 || Tg: [1] WrMc uru-, Mc Sb uru- 'feel\get hungry'; [2] ?σ Tg \*xur- 'be jealous, envy' > Nn B χορο(η-) n. 'envy', Nn Nh/B, Ul χοραισι-, Ork χοραλι-, Neg ογαλι-, Lm οριλι-, ? Ewk orgolī- & orgalī- 'be jealous', Lm οριλιq 'jealous', Ewk urīn 'rival (in love), second wife', Orc xora, Nn Nh χοριῶ 'co-wife (in respect to another one)' ¶ STM II 985, 987 ¶¶ But hardly here (⇔ SDM97 s.v. A \*k'ōr'ā 'covet, be irritated' and IS III 131-4 [\*qurE 'to love]) the T root of Qrg qoZu- 'be irritated', Tkm qoδya- 'move', etc., because OT qoZi- does not mean 'have appetite' (as in IS) or 'be hungry' (as in SDM), but 'be dry', and the primary meaning of the T root \*qor- is 'move' (see Cl. 681, MKD 148-50, ESTJ Q 21-2) || D \*kūr- ({ǰGS} \*k-) 'covet, love' > Tm kūr v. 'covet, hanker after', Ml kūr, kūr u n. 'love', kūr uka v. 'love, mind', Kn kūr id., 'be attached to', Tl kūr(i)mi 'friendship, love, affection', kūr(u)cu 'be lovable\coveted' ¶¶ D #1897 ◇ IS III 131-4 (\*qurE 'to love' > K, D, A + unt. T \*kōr-) ◇ The D long vw. suggests that in the pN etymon there was an additional element, which in view of S \*-y- is likely to have been \*-y-. But D \*-r- suggests a N intervocalic \*-r- (rather than a cluster \*-ry- or \*-yr-). The most plausible conjecture is to reconstruct N \*quy∇r∇.

1935. \*q∇'yo'R∇ 'heap of stones, bank (rampart), stone wall, walled settlement' > K \*qōr- > G qore 'heap of stones (forming a boundary), rampart, stone wall', ay-qor-va {DCh.} 'загромождать', {FS} 'Steinmauer errichten, verschließen, versperren', OG qore '?' (contextual meanings: 'street, corner'), Mg ɣor-ua 'to erect a stone wall', ɣor-an-s '(he) builds', Sv UB qōr 'door' ¶ FS K 372-3, FS E 418, Chx. 1713, GP 271, Abul. 470 || HS: [1] CS \*'kīy∇r- > BHb קִיר kīr 'wall

(Wand, Mauer)', Ug  $\text{ḳr}$  'wall (muro, pared)', MHb  $\text{ḳīr}$  {Lv.} 'Umzäunung, Mauer', Yd  $\text{ḳyrh}$  (pl.  $\text{ḳyrt}$ ) 'town' (in the early Ph-Yd script there were no *matres lectionis*, hence  $\text{y}$  denotes a *cns.* [y], so that Yd  $\text{ḳyrh}$  is not connected with WS \* $\text{ḳar-at-}$  'town, settlement'); [2] WS \* $\text{ḳar-(at-)}$  'town, settlement' > BHb  $\text{ḳēret}$  'city', Ug  $\text{ḳrt}$  'city, the City (= Ugarit)', JA {Trg.}, JPA  $\text{ḳar't-ā}$  'city', Jb C {Jo.}  $\text{ḡīrēt}$  'town, collection of houses', Sb  $\text{ḳr}$  'town (outside South Arabian culture area)'; d.: CS \* $\text{ḳariy-at-}$  / (in pl. forms) \* $\text{ḳar'a'y-}$  'town' > Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.}  $\text{ḳarītu}$  'town', BHb  $\text{ḳir'yā}$  'settlement, town, city', JA {Lv.}  $\text{ḳeryā't-ā}$ , {KB} (originally pl.)  $\text{ḳiry-ā't-ā}$  'settlement (Ortschaft), town, village', JEA  $\text{ḳiry-ā't-ā}$  'town, village', Sr  $\text{ḳar'ē}$ , s.e.  $\text{ḳarī'tā}$  (cs.  $\text{ḳeryat}$ , pl.  $\text{ḳer'yān}$ ,  $\text{ḳeryā't-ā}$ ) 'town, village, district', Ar  $\text{qaryat-}$  ~  $\text{qiryat-}$  (pl.  $\text{qurā}$ ) 'borough, village' ¶ KB 1027, 1065-7, 1072, KBR 1142-3, 1149, A ##2443, 2462, OLS 370, 373-4, Lv. IV 302, Lv. T II 388, Js. 1428, Sl. 1043, HJ 1009, Jo. J 150, Hnr. 175, Br. 695, JPS 517, Lv. IV 379, BK II 731, Hv. 603, BGMR 107 || U: FU \* $\text{k'a'r}$  'town, fortified place' > Prm \* $\text{kar}$  'settlement, fortified settlement' > Z  $\text{kar}$  'town', '(ancient) settlement' (e.g.  $\text{ćud kar}$  'settlement of ancient Chudians'), 'nest' ( $\text{kozuvkot kar}$  'ant-hill'), Vt  $\text{kar}$  'nest', 'ancient settlement', 'town' ¶ LG 116-7 ◇ Alternatively, one may suppose here two pN etyma, e.g. N \* $\text{ḳ'yoR}$  and N ≈ \* $\text{ḳ'a'R}$  ◇ ≠ Fn. KD #72 (equates K with D \* $\text{gōr-}$  'Mauer', which is un fact \* $\text{kōt-}$ , see D #2207b).

**1936.** \* $\text{ḳoR}$  'gourd' > HS: CS \* $\text{ḳar'}$  'gourd' > Ar  $\text{qarī-at-}$  (coll.  $\text{qarī-}$ ) 'pumpkin', {BK} 'courage', Sr  $\text{ḳar'ā}$  (abs.  $\text{ḳar'a}$ ) 'pumpkin',  $\text{ḳar'ā}$  'gourd' ¶ Nld. (p.c. to Löw): the variant  $\text{ḳar'ā}$  is typical of Sr W; it is not necessarily an Arabism (⇔ JPS, Löw); the change  $\text{r} > \text{r}'$  occurs in some dialects of Sr ¶ BK II 718, Hv. 600, JPS 517, 520, Löw A 351 || IE (< cds.?): [1] NaIE \* $\text{k'erk}$  > OI  $\text{karkaṭī}$  'gourd' || AS  $\text{hwerhwētte}$  'cucumber' || [2] ? NaIE \* $\text{k'erb'eto}$  'gourd' > OI  $\text{carbhaṭaḥ}$  'Cucumis utilissimus',  $\text{cirbhaṭī}$ ,  $\text{cirbhaṭam}$  'gourd' || L  $\text{cucurbita}$  'gourd' (rdp. under the infl. of  $\text{cucumis}$  'cucumber'?) (unless a WW of Munda origin, as suggested by M K I 378 on the ev. of the element  $\text{bhaṭā}$  in OI) ¶ WPI 426, WH I 300, M K I 169, 378, Ho. 181 || K (< cd.?) {K} \* $\text{haqar-}$ , {K<sup>2</sup>} \* $\text{aqare-}$  'gourd' > Mg  $\text{ḡoḡore-}$ , Lz  $\text{ḡoḡore-}$ , oyore-, ore-, Sv (h)  $\text{aqar}$ ,  $\text{aqār}$  'gourd',

?φ G aqiro- 'gourd *Lagenaria vulgaris*' ¶ K 46, K<sup>2</sup> 5, Chik. 148, Chx. 47, DCh. 76.

**1937. \*qArûh<sub>2</sub>∇ (= \*qArûh∇?)** 'to keep (sth.) out of sight, to hide' > IE \*<sup>o</sup>krūH-/\*<sup>o</sup>krōuH- > NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>krū-/\*<sup>o</sup>krōwə- v. 'cover, hide' > Sl \*krǐ-ti 'to cover, to hide' > OCS крѣти krǐti id., Blg 'крія vt. 'cover, conceal, hide', SCr krǐti 'to hide, to conceal, to keep', Δ 'to roof', Slv kríti 'to conceal, to hide, to roof', Cz krýtí, Slk kryt', P kryć 'to hide, to conceal, to cover', R крѣть 'to cover'; ⇨ \*krōvъ > OCS кровъ krovъ 'roof, roof over one's head (place to live); secret place', OR кровъ id., 'dwelling; protection', R кров 'roof over one's head, shelter', SCr krōv, Cz krov 'roof, roof over one's head; refuge, shelter', Slk krov 'roof', Slv kròv 'roof, lid' | Lt kráuju / kráuti (p. króviau) v. 'pile, heap up, load; build (a nest)', Ltv kŗaũnu (~ kŗaũju) / kŗaũt id. || Clt (× IE \*<sup>h</sup>krōpō- 'roof' < N \***QER∇p∇** 'to cover' [→ 'roof'] [q.v.?): OIr crou 'stall, pigsty, wooden partition', MW creu 'stall, pigsty, enclosure', W crau 'pigsty', Crn crow 'hut, pigsty', Br kraou 'étable' ¶ Tr. 139-40, ESSJ XIII 20-1, 71-2, Glh. 349, 352, Frn. 291, ≈ WPI 477, P 616-7, Vn. C 240-1, YGM-1 102, SB 96 ¶ The accentuation of the Lt verb points to an NaIE \*ə (\*krōwə-, as reconstructed in ESSJ XIII 72) || HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓krw|y > Mh k̄zrū (1s pf. k̄ōrək, ps. k̄z'ray) v. 'hide', Jb C ✓kr̄y (pf. 'k̄e're, sbjn. 'y3'k̄zr) 'hide, be hidden' ¶ Jo. M 237, Jo. J 150 || C: EC: Sml qari- vt. 'hide, conceal' || SC: Kz {E} k̄ulum- vi. 'hide' (according to E SC 34, Kz -l- is from \*-r-, and the SC stem is \*k̄ūr-) (× N \***QoHri** 'to cover, to protect, to guard') ¶ DSI 491, ZMO 325, Abr. S 201, EK 14, E SC 254 [#42] || WCh: Hs k̄āřè v. 'protect, guard; interpose (sth.) to screen from view', k̄āřiyà 'protection; interposing an object to prevent (sth.) from being seen\hit; screening off a place' (× N \***QoHri** '↑') ¶ Ba. 567, 570 || K: G gr- 'in die Erde vergraben (Weingefäß), pflanzen (Reben, Obstbäume)' ¶ Chx. 1721 || D \*kar- ({{<sup>g</sup>GS} \*k-) vt. 'hide' (→ 'steal') > Tm kara vt. 'conceal, steal', vi. 'hide, lie hidden, keep oneself out of sight', Ml karappu 'covering, hiding, concealing', Kt o'garv- 'listen without speaking, be silent when called' (\*ōk- 'hear' [D #1032] + \*kar-), Td kar- vt. 'steal, hide', Kn karè vt., vi. 'hide', ?? Tl karat̄i 'deceiver, cheat'; D ⇨ OI kharpara- 'thief' ¶¶ D #1258 ◇ The N lr. (reconstructed on the IE ev.) was most probably \*h, because this is the lr. that tends to be lost in the intervoc. position in S.

**1938. \*g<sub>ur</sub>'h'∇** 'to bark, to howl' (of canines), 'to cry, to shout' > **K:** GZ \*g<sub>ur</sub>- 'howl' (of wolves, dogs), 'cry' > G G rdp. g<sub>ur</sub>g<sub>ul</sub>-i 'howling of wolves\dogs' (× K \*g<sub>ū</sub>l- v. 'cry' < N \*g<sub>U</sub>l'∇ 'speak, call'?), Mg f<sub>ur</sub>- 'howling of wolves\dogs', Lz (g)ur-, g<sub>u</sub>(r)- v. 'cry; be angry'; ? G g<sub>vir</sub>- 'cry, be angry' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 246, ≈ K 211 (K \*g<sub>wir</sub>- 'shout'), FS E 420, Chik. 359 || **U:** FU (att. in ObU) \*kur∇- > ObU \*k<sub>ōr</sub>(at) v. 'bark' (of dogs) > pVg \*k<sub>ōrt</sub>- id. > Vg: T/NV/ML kort-, Ss xort- id., d.: P kortant-, NV kortant- id.; pOs {Ht.} \*k<sub>ōr</sub>ayt-, {ϑHl.} \*k<sub>ūr</sub>ayt- > Os: D/K/Nz/Kz/O χ<sub>ōr</sub>at- 'aufbellen', V/Vy k<sub>ōr</sub>aytəyəl-, Ty k<sub>ōr</sub>aytəyəf- 'wütend anbellen' ¶ Ht. #329 || **D** \*kur- ({ϑGS} \*k-) v. 'bark' (of dogs), shout, groan' (× N \*kuRh∇ 'shout, cry') > Tm kuraj v. 'bark, shout', kuraj n. 'noise, roar, shout', Ml kurə 'disagreeable sound, barking', kurekka v. 'bark', Kt kerv-, Td kwarf-, Kdg korə- v. 'bark', Tu korapu-, korepi-, korepu- id., 'roar', Prj k<sub>ūr</sub>- v. 'groan', Gnd {Tr.} kuhascānā 'to bark, to growl, to groan' ¶¶ D #1796 || ?σ **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>✓krh > Ar ✓qrh (+ falā) Gt (pf. ʔiqtarāha) 'ask sth. importunately from', ʔiqtarāh- msd. 'extemporate speaking', Ar SL ✓qrh G 'incite so. to' ¶ BK II 707, Hv. 597 || ?σ **IE:** NaIE \*k<sup>ω</sup>er-, \*k<sup>ω</sup>r- 'cry, shout' > L quirito / -āre 'utter a cry of distress, shriek, scream, cry out' ||| Sl \*krikъ n. 'cry, shout' > OCS крнкъ krikъ 'clamor', SCr krīk, Cz křik, P krzyk, R крик 'cry, shout'; \*kričati 'to cry, to shout' > OCS крнѣти kričati 'clamare', SCr kričati, Cz křičeti, P krzycieć, R кричатъ 'to cry, to shout' ¶ ≈ WH II 409 (no convincing et. of quirito), ≠ ESSJ XII 149-50, 154-6 (Sl \*krik/č- is of onomatopoeic origin) ◇ D \*-r- suggests the presence of a N cns. cluster (\*r + lr.?).

**1939. \*g<sub>UR</sub>l<sub>w</sub>∇** (= \*g<sub>UR</sub>l<sub>w</sub>∇?) 'ear' > **K** \*g<sub>ūr</sub>- 'ear, edge' > OG, G g<sub>ur</sub>- id., Mg f<sub>u</sub>ž-, Lz (g)už- ɖ f<sub>u</sub>ž- ɖ yuž- 'ear', ? Sv g<sub>ūr</sub>- 'door, yard' (← 'edge?'); ɖ→ GZ \*g<sub>ur</sub>-u 'deaf' (lit. 'ear-less') > OG g<sub>ru</sub>-y, G g<sub>ru</sub>, Mg f<sub>ur</sub>-u 'deaf' ¶¶ K 213-4, K<sup>2</sup> 246-7, FS K 374-5, FS E 420 || **A** \*k<sup>o</sup>'ur- > Tg \*xurum 'internal ear, ear-wax' > Ewk urumḡā id., Lm urumrɔ, Neg oyomḡa, Ud uḡä, Ul, Nn Nh xoromsa, Nn KU oromsa, Ork xoropsa 'ear-wax' ¶ STM II 288 || **U:** FU \*korw∇ 'ear, leaf' (× N ? \*ko'f'∇ 'external ear' [q.v.]) > F korva, Es k<sub>ōr</sub>v 'ear' || Lp N {N} bællje-goar've 'ear-hole' (bællje is 'ear') || pPrm \*kwor ({fLG \*kwor} 'leaf' > Z kor / kory-, Z US k<sub>or</sub>-, Yz 'kur, Vt kwar 'leaf' ||| OHg, Hg harap 'dry



leaves\grass' ¶ UEW 187, MF 266-7, It. #97, LG 133, EWU 528 || ? D \*kuř- ({{ǵGS}} \*k-) 'ear-ring, ear' (× N ? \*ko'ř'w,∇ '↑' and N \*goRHæ 'to track [game], to smell, to hear; ear') > Tm kuřai, Ml kuřa 'ear-ring, ear', Kn B kođige, Tu kođaŋgæ, Klm kuđka, Gnd kuřka 'ear-ring', Tu kuđka, kuđki 'female's ear ornament' ¶¶ D #1823 || HS: Ag: Xm {Ap.} qāriz, Xm {R} qa'rus ~ qe'rūs, Xm T {CR} qarəs, Xm Wg {Beke} kérez 'ear' || ? EC: Or {Th.} qārru 'ear-hole' (unless ← qārru 'entrance, hole', cp. Or {Th.} qārru 'buco, vuoto dei denti [carie]' and Or {Brl.} karru 'spazio tra i denti incisivi; orificio delle orecchie; entrata') ¶ R Ch. II 67, Blz CWL, Th. 272, Brl. 228 || ? S \*oχurr- > Ar χurr- 'base of the ear' ¶ BK I 551, Hv. 160 ¶ \*χ- < \*q- from de-emphasized N \*q- ◇ ≠ Blz. DA #13 (D \*kuř- ÷ HS \*gur(y)- 'ear, to hear', see N \*goRHæ 'to track game, to smell, to hear; ear').

1940. \*goRb∇ 'hearth, stove; to roast, to burn' > K: GZ \*qwerb- (~ \*qwerp- ?) 'hearth' > OG qwerb-, G qverb-, G P/X qwerp-, Mg qebur- ~ řebur- ≍ qebur- id., Lz d. p-qrebul-e ~ o-rqeb1-e 'place around the hearth' ¶ K 211 and K<sup>2</sup> 241 (\*qwerb-); ≈ FS K 367 and FS E 412 (\*qwebr-); Chx. 1686 || HS Ch: WCh \*qa'w,r- ({{Stl.}} \*qaru-) vt. 'fry, roast; burn' > Hs qáwřāřā 'fry without oil or grease', qáwří 'smell of burning rags\hair\flesh\etc.' || BT: Krk {Lk.} kār- vt. 'burn' || Cg {Sk.} qřr- id. || AG {Hf.} \*quřur {AD} 'burn', 'burning coal' > Gmy qūr v. 'burn', Mnt kugur, Krf {Nt.} kùgur 'burning coal', Su/Ang {Hf.} kūr || Bks {J} řařōř 'verbrannte Reste am Gefäßboden' ¶ Stl. IF 111 (WCh \*qaru- > \*qawar-), Stl. ZCh 222 [#715] (WCh \*qa'w,r-), Ba. 589, Hf. #209, Nt. 21, J R 129, ChL, ChC || Eg fMd řřf vt. 'boil\heat (pig blood), burn' (× HS řřř [ > S \*řřř 'burn'] and N \*qULp∇ 'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot stones' [q.v.]) || IE: NaIE \*o[k]arb<sub>l</sub><sup>h</sup>- (unless it is \*o[k]ard<sup>h</sup>-) > L carbō (gen. carbōnis) 'charcoal' ¶ EM 99, ≈ WH I 165-6 || U \*korpe- 'burn, be scorched, prepare (food) on fire, singe' > F korventa-, korpea- (inf. korveta) 'singe, scorch', Es kōrbe- 'burn, be burnt, singe, be singed', kōrb (gen. kōrve) 'Versengen, Anbrennen' || pLp \*kōrpε- 'be burnt\scorched, be devastated by fire' > Lp: S {Hs.} guorbesje adj. 'devastated by forest fire', L {LLO} kuor'pa- 'be devastated by forest fire', 'remain with half-burnt pieces of wood' (of an extinguished fire), N {N} guor'bâ / -rb- 'be scorched' || Er кирва- kirva-, Δ {Ps.} kurva- v. 'flame, blaze', Mk

кръвясте- *kǎrvǎštǎ-*, {Ps.} *kǎr'véštǎ-*, Er кирвясте- *kirvašte-*, Δ {Ps.} *kurvašte-* 'set fire to, set on fire', Mk кръвязе- *kǎrvǎžǎ-* 'catch fire' || ?σ OHg xv *heruad-* ~ *hiruad-* 'bleich werden, welken', Hg *hǣrvad-*, Δ *hirvad-* v. 'fade, wither, dry up' (× N *\*korvwa* 'fade, rot, decay' [q.v.]) || Sm: Slq {Cs.}: NP *kûrra-*, UO *kûra-* 'singe (wood)' ¶¶ Coll. CG 401-2, UEW 186, Lr. #535 (pLp *\*kōrpz* 'palomaa, пожора, waste land after a forest fire'), Lgc. #2919, Hs. 691, ERV 264, PI 132, ≈ Ker. II 62, Ps. M 87, MF 282-3, EWU 552, Cs. 125.

**1941. \*gæRgUm** 'weasel, ermine' > IE: NaIE *\*kormen* id. > VL {ML} *\*karmo* / obl. *\*karmōn-* (unc.: {ML} ← Gl) > RhR Srs *carmun* [*kar'mun*] 'weasel' ({EI}: ← Vnt or Ilr) || Ltv *sermulis*, Lt *šarmuonỹs* 'ermine', Lt *šarmuõ* ~ *šermuõ* id., 'weasel' || OSx *harmono* 'ermine', OHG *harmono* id., 'weasel', MHG *harm(e)* 'ermine', AS *hearma* 'shrew (Spitzmaus), weasel'; ← (dim.): OHG *harmilī* 'weasel' (← MdL *hermelinus*, It *ermellino*, OFr (h)ermine [× L *mūs Armenia* 'Armenian rat'] > Fr *hermine* 'weasel' ← NE *ermine*) > MHG *hermelin* > NHG *Hermelin* 'ermine' ¶ P 573-4, EI 638 (*\*kormon-* 'weasel, ermine\soat [*Mustela erminea*]'), ≈ ML #1700, Vied 99, Frn. 965, Ho. 152, Ho. S 31, Kb. 436, OsS 273, Lx. 82, 87, KM 305, Daus. 388, HDEL 444-5 || K: MG [VTq.] *garqum-i* 'ermine' ¶ DCh. 1373, DCh. RGS 73 || A: T: Osm {Rh.} *قاقم* *qaqim*, Tk *kakim*, Az {Ax.} *qaqum*, {Dr.} *gagum* 'ermine'; cp. NPrs *قاقم* *qāqum* 'ermine (fell)'; this is certainly a Wanderwort, but the directions of borrowing are not clear (Dr. TM does not mention it among the Turkic loans in NPrs) ¶ Rh. 1419, Shch. Zh. 142, Vl. II 707 ◇ The N word-medial cns. *\*g* mas lost in IE within a cns. cluster (N *\*-RgUm-* > pre-IE *\*-rkm-* > IE *\*-rm-*) ◇ Cf. N *\*kūn* (í) 'small carnivore (marten, polecat, wild cat, or sim.)'.

**1942. \*gVRVśV** (= *\*gVRUśV*?) to be(come) silent\dumb' > K: GZ *\*gurs-* 'become dumb, be silent' > G P/X *qurs-* 'become dumb', Mg *ṣurs-* id., 'be silent' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 246, FS K 375, FS E 420-1, K<sup>2</sup> 246, Chx. 1741 || HS: CS *\*✓χrš* 'be deaf\dumb' > BHb *חַרְשׁ חֵרֵשׁ* *ḥē'rēš* 'deaf', *✓hrš* G (3m ip. *חַרְשׁ יְיָ* *yē-ḥēraš*) 'be deaf', MHb *✓hrš* D 'deafen, make deaf', *✓hrš* Sh (pf. *חַרְשׁוּ* *ḥēḥē'rīš*) id., 'be silent' (*Sh* with inchoative meaning), *חַרְשׁ* *ḥēreš* 'silence', *חַרְשׁ חֵרֵשׁ* *ḥē'rēš* 'deaf, dumb, deaf and dumb', Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} *χa<sub>1</sub>r<sub>1</sub>rašū* 'deaf', DA *ḥršn* pl. 'deaf; deaf and dumb', IA *ḥrš* 'deaf', JA [Trg.] {Js.} *חַרְשׁוּ* *ḥer'sīn*, em. *חַרְשׁוּ* *ḥaršay'yā* pl. 'deaf (persons)', JEA *חַרְשׁוּ* *ḥar'sā* 'deaf person', Sr *✓hrš* G (pf.

عرج ħə'raǝ) 'be dumb\silent, be deaf', SmA שררן ħrǝ 'deaf', Ar  
 ✓χrs G (pf. χarisa) 'be dumb' ¶ N \*q > (HS de-emphatization) \*q > S  
 \*χ ¶ KB 343-4, HJ 409, Hnr. 130, Js. 507, Sl. 485, Tal 297, Dlm. 153,  
 Br. 259, BK I 557, Hv. 162, MiK I #2.32 || IE: Ht karus(siya)-  
 'be\fall silent; keep quiet (about)' ¶ Pv. IV 116-7, Ts. E I 529-30.

1943. \*qah<sub>2</sub>r̥∇ 'hard, firm' > HS: B \*√:γHr 'be hard, harden' > Ah  
 iγar (3m pf. γəqqur) id. (Fcj. 86 = Pcj. II B 4), ETwl/Ty iγar (3m pf. Ty  
 γəqqur, ETwl iqqur) 'be hard (dur)', Gh adj. iqqor, f. təqqorət, Izn/Rf  
 {Rn.} i-qqur 'is hard', BSn qūr 'be hard', Sll {Ds.} qor (pf. qqūr) 'be  
 hard', Gd {CM} iqqor 'dur' ¶ Fc. 1751, 2007, Pr. H #348, Pr. M VI-VII  
 155, GhA 71, 251, CM 118, Ds. 100, Rn. 361 ¶ pB \*: ({Pr.}: = \*w-) goes  
 back to a prefix of verbs of state || C: ? Bj {R} ✓?kr pcv. 'be strong,  
 hard' (1s: p. aʔa'kir, prs. aʔan'kīr), 'ākr i 'strong (mächtig)' || EC:  
 (?) Sml qaraḥ 'dryness, dry' || SC: Irq {MQK} qoroʔōt v. 'dry' ¶ R WBd  
 13, DSI 489, MQK 87, Blz. SCL s.v. 'dry'<sub>3</sub> || K: GZ \*mqar- 'solid, firm,  
 strong' > OG mqar- 'solid, strong', G mqar- id., 'firm', Lz pēž- id. ¶ K<sup>2</sup>  
 127, DCh. 916 || IE: NaIE \*k<sup>h</sup>ar- 'hard' (× N \*Ka<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>r̥∇ 'sharp' × N  
 \*ć<sub>or</sub>∇ 'tip, top, edge' [q.v.], whence the meaning 'sharp' in NaIE \*k<sup>h</sup>ar-)  
 > OI kharā- 'hard, rough, sharp', NPrs خارā χārā 'very hard stone,  
 flint, rock' || ? Tc A {Wn.} tsär 'hard' ¶ WP I 355, M K I 302, Vl. I 634-  
 5, Sg. 487, Horn 102, Wn. LE 146, Wn. 528 ¶¶ NaIE \*k<sup>h</sup>ar- < pIE \*kHar- <  
 (mt.) N \*qah<sub>2</sub>r̥∇ ¶¶ NaIE \*k<sup>h</sup>ers- 'hard' does not belong here, but  
 rather to N \*k<sup>h</sup>u'R∇ć<sub>or</sub>∇ 'hard (q.v. ffd.), as suggested by the lack of  
 traces of the N Ir. and by the final sibilant || D (in SD) \*kār- ({{GS} \*k-)  
 'hard, firm' > Tm kār 'become hard\mature, become firm\strong in  
 mind', Kn kār ime 'obstinacy, haughtiness', ? Td kōšēf 'be envious' ¶ D  
 #1491.

1944. o†\*quṛ<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>sê (or \*quh<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>sê?) 'to vomit, to cough' > HS: Eg  
 Md/G qys ~ qēs v. 'vomit' (× HS \*\*q<sub>1</sub>ls > Ar ✓qls 'vomit, spit') ¶ EG V  
 17, Vc. 247, Tk. I 66 (Eg, Ar), BK II 800-1 || ? Ch: Ke kisi v., n. 'cough'  
 ¶ Eb. 72 || K \*oquw∇š- > Sv {Ni.} qwāš n. 'cough' || IE \*k<sup>w</sup>ehs- > NaIE  
 \*k<sup>w</sup>ās- v. 'cough' > Vd kās- n. 'cough', OI kāsātē 'coughs' || Lt kos-  
 mi 'I cough', kósēti v. 'cough', kosulỹs n. 'cough', Ltv kāsēt v.  
 'cough' | pSl \*kāš(ь)ь n. 'cough' > OR кашель kašel, R, Uk  
 'кашель (gen. 'кашля), SCr kăšalj (gen. kăšlja), Slv kăšelj (gen.  
 kašlja), Cz kašel (gen. kašle), Slk kašel, P kaszel (gen.

kaszlu) 'cough' n. ||| OBr pas 'catarrhus', Br paz n. 'cough', pasaat 'to cough', W pās 'whooping-cough', peswch 'cough', pesychafiv. 'cough', Crn pāz, OIr {LP} casachtach 'cough' ||| OHG huosto, huosta, AS hwōsta, NE Δ whoost, MDt hōste n. 'cough, coughing', OHG huostōn ≈ huastōn, NHG husten, AS hwōsan\* (att. 3s hwēst 'coughs, is coughing'), MDt hoesten, ON hōsta 'to cough' ||| pAl {O} \*kās-lā (< IE \*k<sup>h</sup>ās-lā) > Al kollē 'cough' ¶ Here N \*ḡu- yields pre-IE \*k<sub>u</sub> > IE \*k<sup>h</sup> (cf. AD NGIE § 6) ¶ Dv. #224, DImr. 265, P 649, EI 133 (\*k<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>as</sub>-), M EI 346-7, LP § 25.5, Flr. 281, YGM-1 354, Hm. 620-2, Frn. 283-4, Vr. 250, Ho. 182, Kb. 491-2, Schz. 172, OsS 433, ESSJ IX 160-1, Vs. II 214-5, Srzn. I 1201, Glh. 313, O 189, Huld 81 ||| U: FU \*kuse- v. 'cough' > pLp {Lr.} \*kosə- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} ḡusse-, L {LLO} kāsā-, N {N} ḡossā- / -s-, K {Gn.} kōsse- id. | Er, Mk κοζ kōz n. 'cough', Er κοζο- kōzo-, Mk kōzə- v. 'cough' | Prm \*kūz- > Z, Vt кыз- kīz-, Yz k<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>- id. ||| ObU: pOs \*kōφ n. 'cough' > Os: V kol, D χut-, O χol id.; d.: D χutes-, O χutətli- v. 'cough', V kolīm- v. mom. 'give a cough' ||| Sm {Jn.} \*kōt n. 'cough' > Ne: T χο' χo? / χοδ- χod-, Ne T O {Lh.} χō?, Ne F NI {Lh.} kōt, Ng {Cs.} ku? (gen. ku<sup>h</sup>ar), En X {Cs.} kū? (gen. ku<sup>h</sup>o?), En B {Cs.} ko? (gen. ko<sup>h</sup>o) id., Slq Nr {Cs.} kōt n. 'cough', Kms {Cs.} ku<sup>h</sup>d, ku<sup>h</sup>d id.; Sm {Jn.} \*kōt- v. 'cough' > Ne T d. χοδομḃā-, Ne T O {Lh.} χōδομḃa-, Ng {Mik.} kutəḃsa id., {Cs.} kutā<sup>h</sup>dandum 'I am coughing', En X {Cs.} koru<sup>h</sup>aro?, En B {Cs.} kodu<sup>h</sup>ado?, Slq Ch {KD} qōn<sup>h</sup>ar, Kms {KD} k'ū<sup>h</sup>lām id.; Sm d. {HL} \*kōt-or-, {Jn.} \*kōt-<sup>h</sup>yr- v. 'cough' > Ne T χοδορ-, Ne F {Lh.} koto<sup>h</sup>or-, En {Cs.} 1s prs. koru<sup>h</sup>aro? ≈ fodu<sup>h</sup>ado, Slq Tz {KKIH} qotar-, Mt {HL} \*kodor- id. (Mt M {Sp.} κοδορгомъ n. 'cough') ¶ UEW 223, Coll. 13, Sm. 537 (U \*kos<sup>h</sup>(-), FP \*kusi-, Ugr \*kū<sup>h</sup>ī), It. 217, Lr. #461, Lgc. #2577, LG 150, Ker. II 66, Lt. KY 130, Jn. 74, Cs. 120, 182, 237, KKIH 163, KD 33-4, Hl. M #517 ||| A: T \*k<sub>l</sub>'us- v. 'vomit' (× N ? \*ḡ<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>ḡ<sup>h</sup>ḡa ~ \*ḡ<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>ḡ<sup>h</sup>ḡ<sup>h</sup> 'belch, vomit?') > OT qus- 'vomit', Tk kus-, Tkm quθ-, Az qus-, Ggz kus-, Uz, ET, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, SY qus-, Qzq qūs-, VTt q<sup>h</sup>s-, Bsh q<sup>h</sup>θ-, Xk χus-, Chv хăс- хъs/z- id. ¶ Cl. 666, Rs. W 301, ETQ 174-5 || Tg \*xüse- v. 'feel nauseated, vomit' > Ul, Ork, Nn xusə-, Orc isə- ~ isisḡi- ~ isḡi-, Lm is-, Neg isə-, Sol iš<sup>h</sup>irī- id., Nn Nh xusə-, Ewk isə, Lm isə<sup>h</sup>n 'nausea, vomiting' ¶ STM I 332 ¶¶ DQA #1095 (A \*k<sup>h</sup>'i<sup>h</sup>usə 'to vomit') ◇ Tg \*ü (< \*u) is probably due to regr. as. (caused by \*-e) ◇ If Eg ə belongs to the heritage of HS \*\*k<sup>h</sup>ls, we have to

reconstruct a less specified N **\*qun<sub>1</sub>asê** (with **\*H<sub>1</sub> = \*ʔ|ʕ|h**, because these three laryngeals yield zero in K).

**1945. \*qūʔit** ▽ 'bright; to shine' > K **\*°qwit-** 'yellow' > G qvita 'yellow dye\paint', qvit-el-i 'yellow', MG [Visr.], G qvitl- 'become yellow' ¶ Chx. 1686-7, DCh. 1378, ≠ K<sup>2</sup> 424 || **HS: C: Bj** {R} ket- scv. 'be bright\clean (klar\rein\hell sein)', 'kēta 'bright' ¶ R WBd 150 || Ch ≈ \*kuḏ- > CCh: Mtkm {Sb.} kúḏkúḏèʔè 'white' | Msy {Mch.} kóḏek<sup>1</sup>kóḏek id. | Gv {ChL} k<sup>w</sup>uḏer(iya) id. | ? Lame {ChL} káu<sup>tú</sup> 'cleanness' ¶ JI II 345, ChL III 126, 200 || **IE: [1]** NaIE **\*k̄wejd-/\*k̄wid-** v. 'shine, be white' > OI 3s pres. évindatē 'is bright\white' || Gk Πίνδος, name of a mountain (lit. 'the white one') || Gmc: (NaIE **\*k̄wejd-** >) Gt heits, ON hvíttr, Dn hvid, Sw vit, OHG (h)wiz, NHG weiß, OSx, OFrs, AS hwi<sup>t</sup> 'white', NE white; (NaIE **\*k̄wid-no-** >) MLG, MDt, Dt wit id. || Lt šviedrūs 'shining, bright'; **[2]** NaIE **\*k̄wejd-t-** > **\*k̄wejt-** 'white, bright, shining' > OI évē'ta-, Av spaēta- 'white, bright', OI évēt-ya- id. || BSl: Lt šviēsti (1s pres. šviečiū) 'to shine, to hold a light to', Pru swāigstan · "Schein" accus., Lt švīsti (prs. švint-) 'to dawn', švitrus 'bright, shining'; (with \*k- < NaIE \*k-, precons. depalatalization of \*k̄-) Ltv † {ME} kvitēt (1s pres. kvitu) 'glänzen, flimmern' | Sl **\*svěť** n. 'light, world' > OCS, OR **свѣтъ** svěť, R свет id., Blg свет (df. све'т-ът), SCr свѣт & svijēt, Slv svēt, Cz svěť, Slk svet, P świat, Uk світ 'world', ds.: Blg светли'на, SCr свѣтло & svijětlo, Cz světlo, Slk svetlo, P światło, Uk 'світло n. 'light'; Sl {Glh.} **\*svítati** 'to dawn' > OCS, OR **свнтати**, R светать, Uk сві'тати, SCr svītati, Slv svitati, Cz svítati, Slk svitat', P światac id.; (with precons. depalatalization **\*k̄- > \*k-**): **\*kvěť** 'flower' > OCS, OR **цвѣтъ** cvěť, Blg цвят, SCr цвѣт & svijēt, Slv cvet, Cz květ, Slk kvet, P kwiat id., Uk цвіт 'flowers', R цвет 'colour', †, Δ 'flower', R цветы pl. 'flowers' ¶ WP I 469-70, P 628-9, EI 641 (**\*k̄weito-s** ~ **\*k̄wiro-s** 'white'), M K III 404-6, Vr. 273-4, Vr. N 843, Fs. 284-5, Ho. 182, Kb. 1218-9, OsS 440, Schz. 387, Tr. 373f., Frn. 1043-6, En. 259, ME II 355, Vs. III 575-6 and IV 292-3, Chrn. II 145-6, 362-3, StSS 595-6, 771, Glh. 169, 599-600 || **D** (in SD) **\*kiṭi** ({ʕGS} \*k-) 'spark' > Td kiṭy, Kn, Tu kiḏi, Δ кеḏi, Kdg kēḏi, čēḏi ¶ D #1528, Sakth. 285 ◇ The cns. **\*ḏ** in Ch ≈ **\*kuḏ-** and the vw. **\*i** of the initial syll. in D **\*kiṭi** point to N

**\*gūʔit** ▽ rather than **\*güyt** ▽. IE **\*k̑weid-/k̑wid-** goes back to pre-IE **\*\*k̑üyt** ▽ < **\*gūʔit** ▽.

**1946. \*gew** ▽ 'bark, crust, shell' > **HS**: SC: Irq qaway {E} 'strip of hide', {MQK} 'leather strip, leather whip' ||| Dhl qawe 'eggshell' ¶ E SC 252, MQK 86, EEN 19, To. D 138 || **K**: Sv quwa 'bark, crust' ¶ Ni. s.v. коpa and корка || **A** {SDM97} \*k'eba|o 'husk, shell' > T \*k'ebäk ~ \*k'epäk > OT {Cl.} kápäk 'bran, scurf, dandruff', MQp [CC] xiv kebek 'bran', Tk кепек, Az kápäk, ET kápäk ~ кепäk 'bran, dandruff', Tkm, Ggz, Ln кепек, Uz кепäk, Qz, Qq kebek, Qmq gebek, Tv хевек 'bran', Qrg kebek 'bran, husk of millet\barley', Nog kebek 'husk of millet', SY kevek, VTt kibäk 'chaff (мякина)', Bsh kábäk id., 'bran', käwäk 'dandruff', Xk kibek 'eggshell, nutshell', Chv кипек kib\_ек 'husk'; T б→ M: WrM кебег, кеbig, HIM хэбэг 'husk, peel, chaff; bran', Ord k'ewek 'bale des céréales' ¶ Cl. 688, ET KQ 47-8, Dr. TM III #1615, Jeg. 113, MED 438, ≈ SM 197 ¶ Acc. to SDM97, the variant \*k'epек (in T) is secondary (due to as. or to the infl. of T \*k'āruk 'bark, shell' < A \*k'āp'a 'bark, skin', see N **\*Қон<sub>2</sub>ар'У'** 'bark') || ? pKo {S} \*kǰá<sub>1</sub> > MKo kǰá<sub>1</sub> 'rice husks' ¶ SDM97 s.v. A \*k'eba || pJ {S} \*kàpì 'shell, egg' > OJ kàpì id., J: T kái, K kái, Kg kaí 'shell', OJ kàpììgyò, Ht ké, Ns kùgá, Y káíñù 'egg' ¶ S QJ #149, Mr. 433 ¶¶ SDM97 (A \*k'eba ~ \*-o 'husk, shell': T, Ko + J \*ka(m)pí 'rice ear'), DQA #1008 (A \*k'ép|bà 'husk, shell': T, M, J \*kàpì).

**1947. o†\*gūw'í'í'** ▽ 'shout, cry, utter sounds' (*inter alia* of an animal) > **K**: GZ \*gíw- 'crow' (of a rooster) > OG, G gíw-, Mg íi-, Lz gí- ~ kǰi- v. 'crow' (a rooster) ||| ? K {K, K<sup>2</sup>} \*qu-, {Srij.} \*qu<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>- v. 'cry, howl' > OG/G gíw-, G P qu- / quíl- / \*quv<sub>1</sub>- 'cry', 'howl' (a beast) (qu-0-da 'he cried, howled', aʔ-i-quv-i-a 'er schrie auf'), Sv qū- (li-qū-li 'schreien, heulen', qū-l-i 'er schreit', mu-qū-li 'schreiend') ¶ FS K 370-1 and FS E 415-6 (\*gíw- 'shout, crow'), Srij. KE 25 [#42] (K \*quw-), K 212, K<sup>2</sup> 242-3 (GZ \*gí-w- v. 'crow'), 245 (K \*qu- 'howl'), Chx. 1735, 1737 || **HS**: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓k̑wɪ > Ar qawwāɪ- 'qui hurle (loup)' ¶ BK II 835 || B \*<sup>o</sup>✓y̑wH > ETwl/Ty {GhA} ɔy̑wu (3m pf. ETwl yə-y̑wa, Ty i-y̑wa) v. (Pcj. I A 7) 'miauler, bêler', Ah y̑awih-ət v. 'cry' (of a camel); Rf SnSr AA y̑uy 'call (appeler)', Izn/Rf {Rn.} s-y̑uy 'shout', Rf s-y̑uy 'shout', 'howl' (a dog); ?? Ah səqqəy-ət v. 'call' ¶ Fc. 1710, 1745, Rn. 358-9, GhA 74, 246-7 || ? Eg fP ɔwɪ v. 'call (rufen), call upon' (× N **\*gäwɪ** ▽ [or **\*gäwɪ** ▽?])

'to call', q.v. × HS \* $\checkmark$  ɕ w y > S \* $\checkmark$  ɕ w y v. 'command') ¶ EG V 550-1, Fk. 321 || D \*kūv- ({{ǧGS}} \*k-) 'cry aloud, call' > Tm kūvυ v. 'crow', 'scream' (peacock), 'cry' (birds), call out', kūval 'crying aloud, bawling, crowing', MI kūval, kūvυ, kūppυ 'a cry', Td kūb- 'shout, bawl out', kū- 'shout to a distance', Kn kūv i 'cry out', Kdg ku· / ku·v- v. 'crow', Tl kūyυ v. 'cry out, shout', Klm kuγ- 'crow' (cock), Prj kūy-, Gdb kūy-, ḡūy- v. 'cry, call' ¶¶ ≈ D #1868.

**1948. \*ḡewy∇** 'stay, lie, rest motionless' > K \*ḡaw-/\*ḡw- 'be, be in so.'s possession' > G ḡv-/ḡav- 'be', i-ḡo (< \*i-ḡw-a) 'he was\became', v-i-ḡav 'I was', m-ḡav-s 'mihi est', Mg ɣv- / ɣu- / ɣ-: ɣ-un-s 'ei est, he has', ɣ-un-d-u 'ei erat, he had', Lz ḡov-/ḡv-/ḡ-: u-ḡo(v)-u-n 'he has', u-ḡ-on-u-t·-u 'he had', iḡu 'it happened, became', ? Sv ḡa-/ḡw-/ḡ-: m-a-ḡa 'mihi est' (contamination with other K roots) ¶ K 208-9, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 236 (\*ḡaw-/\*ḡw- 'lead, have'), FS K 360-2, FS E 404-6, Chik. 351-3, Q O97-O101, 420-1 || HS: S \* $\checkmark$  ɕ w y ≈ remain, wait' > Sr 𐤀𐤂𐤁  $\checkmark$  ɕ w y D (pf. ɕawwī) 'remain, wait', BHb 𐤀𐤁𐤁  $\checkmark$  ɕ w y D (pf. 𐤀𐤁𐤁 ɕi w'wā) 'wait, lie in wait', G prtc. pl. cs. 𐤀𐤁𐤁 ɕō wē 'waiting for, looking forward to, hoping', Amh ɕʷeyyē ~ ɕoyyē 'wait, await, last, be late', Ak ɕuʔū 'to wait, to trust in so.' ¶ GB 706, KB 1011-2, L CAD 79, CAD XIII 328-32 || C: Ag {Ap.} \*ki- 'spend the night' > Bln/Q/Dmb {R} ki-, Q {Ap.} kaw-, Xm {R} či-, Km {CR} kē- ~ kī-, Aw {Plm.} č3- id. ||| Bj A {AD} pcv. -ki-/kay-/kē- 'be', Bj {R} -kay 'become, be' (1s: p. a-'kāy ~ 'a-ke, pppf. 'ī-kata ~ 'ī-kte, prs. a-ka'tī ~ 'a-katī 'become, be') ({R}: refl. vb.) ||| EC {Ss.} \*ki- 'be' > Sa, Af ki- (copula), Ya ke id., Kns, Gdl ki- 'be, exist'; Brj -ḡa (uninflected positive affirmative copula); LEC {Bl.} \*kāy- 'put down' > Kns xāy-, Gdl hāy-, Or B kā- id. ¶ AD SF 221, Ap. AV 13, Ap. WLQ 14, R WBd 153, Ss. B 120, Bl. 192 || NrOm: Mch {L} ɕe'yī 'sleep, spend the night', Kf {C} ɕē / ɕēy- id., 'lie down to sleep', Shn {Lm.} ɕey- 'lie, sleep' ¶ AD SF 221, C SE IV 481-2, L M 49, ≈ Lm. Sh 347 || ? Ch: Lgn {Lk.} -ki 'remain' in ndo ūki yah3 'ich bleibe zurück' (ndo 'I', yah3 'nach, zurück') ¶ Lk. L 101 || IE \*kēj- 'lie (liegen)' > OI 'śē-tē, 'śay-ē, Av saēte 'lies', OI śayatē, śayati 'lies, rests, reposes' ||| Gk κεύ-ταυ 'lies' || Ht ki- 'lie; be laid\set, be in place', Pal ki-i-ta-ar 3s prs. 'goes with' (of food), Lw ziy-ar i v. 'lie' ¶¶ WP I 358-60, P 539-40, EI 352, M K III 303-4, F I 809-10, WH II 406, Pv. IV 169-73, Ivn. SA 133 ||| A {DQA} \*keybe 'lie (liegen)' > M \*kebte- 'lie down, recline' > MM [L] kebte- 'lie, sleep', [S, MA] kebte- 'lie', WrM kebte-, HIM хэвтэ- 'lie

down, recline', WrO *keβte-* id., 'die', Kl *кевт-* 'lie', Brt *хэбтэ-* 'lie, lie down'; M → Ud *кэртэ-* 'lie' (animal, person); ? M \**kebeli-* > MM [HI] {Ms.} *kebeli-* 'incliner vers' ¶ H 96, Pp. L III 66, Pp. MA 212-3, MED 439, Krg. 716, KRS 288, Chr. 638-9, Ms. H 69, STM I 452, ≈ T 339 (does not distinguish between M \**keβte-* and \**keβe-* 'liegen' [< N \**Кεула,t* 'to fall', q.v.]) || Tg \**keb(i)-* > Ud *кэртэ-* 'lie' (of humans \ animals), Ul *кэбилэ-* 'bend down to the ground (пригнуться, припасть к земле), hide, lie down, lie prone' ¶ STM I 442, 452 || pKo {S} \**kībúr-* 'bow down, be sloping, decline' > MKo *kì'úr-* id., NKo *kiul-* 'be slanted \ sinking \ declining' ¶ S QK #986, Nam 79, MLC 272 || pJ {S} \**kэуэ-* > OJ *kou(о)-* 'lie' ¶ S AJ 272 [#221], S QJ #221, Mr. 711 ¶¶ S AJ 294 [#499] ¶¶ DQA #A 750 ¶¶ De-emphatization \**q-* > A \**k-* is still to be explained || D \**kē-* ( {ǵGS} \**k-*) 'lie (liegen)' > Tm *сē* 'dwell, lie, remain, sleep', Ml *сē(k)кика* v. 'roost', Kn *kē* 'lie down, repose, copulate with', Tu *ketonū, katonū* 'lie down', *kedonūni* id., v. 'rest', Klm *ke-p* 'to make (child) to sleep', Krx *kīd-, kīdʔa-* 'allow \ invite one to lay down for rest \ sleep, put to bed, lay in the grave', Mlt {Drs.} *kíde* 'lay down' ¶¶ D #1990 ◇ An alt. solution is to adduce here IE \**kʷeǵh-* 'behaglich ruhen', U \**kuǵ* 'lie, repose', and Ar *qāh-* 'commode, aisé' (see N \**Қуғh* 'to rest (from work, etc.), to repose, to be comfortable') and to reconstruct something like N \**gewih*, but then one has to explain both the vw. \**u* in U and the lack of lr. in S \**✓kʷu* and IE \**kēǵ-* ◇ ≈ IS I 357-8 (\**Қоуа* 'покоиться [ruhen]' > HS, IE, D, ? A), IS MS 355 (\**к'уа* 'покоиться'), AD GD #135.

1949. 2 \**qou* 'make', (?) 'pile up, build' > K: GZ \**qaw-/qaw-* 'make' > OG *qav-* (msd. *qopa*), G *qav-/qav-*, Mg *ɣv-*, Lz *q(v)-, ɣv-, y(v)n-* id. ¶ K 209, K<sup>2</sup> 236-7, FS K 360-2, FS E 404-6 || IE: NaIE \**kʷoǵ-/kʷeǵ-/kʷi-* 'pile up, gather, build, make', {E} *kʷeǵ-* 'pile up, build' > OI *ci'nōti, 'caṃati* 'gathers, piles up', *ci'tā* 'layer', ? Av *čayēti* 'chooses. selects', NPrs *چیدن* *čīdān* 'to gather, to arrange, to put in order' || Gk *ποιέω* 'I make, produce, create; do', 'compose' (of poets) || Sl \**čīnъ* 'order' > OCS *чннъ* *čīnъ* id. (τὰξιν), R *чин*, Slv *čīn* 'rank', Blg *чин* id., 'class', SCr *čīn* 'kind, form', Cz *čīn* 'deed, exploit', P *czyn* id., 'act'; → Sl \**čīniti* 'to arrange' > OCS *чннннннн* *čīniti* 'to arrange, formare', OR *чннннннн* *čīniti* 'to arrange', R *чинить* 'to repair', SCr *čīniti*, Slv *ciníti* 'to make', Cz *čīniti*, Slk *čīnit'*, P *czynić*, Uk



чи<sup>1</sup>нити id., 'to act' ¶ P 637-8, EI 87, M K I 388, F II 570-2, ESSJ IV 112-5, Vs. IV 362-3 || ? **н:** *AdS* of M \*kī- 'do, act' < N \*kefi 'make, do', q.v. ffd.??) ¶¶ IS I 309 adduces T \*kīl- 'do' (actually \*kīl- with \*k' evidenced by Tv/Tf qīl- 'do') and Yk kīn- 'do', which is hardly convincing || ? *AdS* of D {tr., GS} \*кеу- 'do, make' (< N \*kefi '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The adduction of M and D is valid if M \*-ī- and D \*-ey- may go back to \*-oy- (ass. palatalization of the vw.?), otherwise they belong to N \*kefi only ◇ IS I 309 [#182] (\*кеуа 'делатъ' in D and A [T M]).

**1950. \*qaywE(-L∇)** 'alone', 'entire' > IE: NaIE \*ka<sub>1</sub>w-(e)lō- 'alone, entire, whole' > OI kēvala- {MW} 'alone, one, isolated', 'entire, whole, all' ||| L caelebs (gen. caelibis) 'unmarried, single' (of men) (< \*ka<sub>1</sub>welo-lib<sub>1</sub><sup>h</sup>-s 'alone living') | \*ka<sub>1</sub>lō- 'entire, whole' (reduces variant of \*ka<sub>1</sub>welo-), d. \*ka<sub>1</sub>l-u- > Gmc: Gt hails, ON heill, OHG heil 'healthy, whole', NHG heil 'unhurt, sage and sound, whole', AS hāl & hǣl 'whole, uninjured, healthy', NE whole ||| Pru kailūstiskun accus. 'health', kails! - pats kails! 'Heil! - selbst Heil!' (drinking one other's health); Ltv kaīls 'naked, bare', Δ {ME} 'unarmed; childless' | SI \*cělъ(jь) 'whole, entire' > OCS ЦѢЛЪ cělъ, Blg цял, SCr сѣо & сѣо, сѣјѣл, Slv cěl, Cz, Slk celý, P cały, R цел pradj. / 'целый' aadj., Uk 'цілий' id.; SI \*celi (\*celъve) 'health' (< \*ka<sub>1</sub>l-u-) > OCS ЦѢЛЫ cělī / ЦѢЛЪВѢ cělъve ||| NaIE \*ka<sub>1</sub>-ko- 'one-eyed' > OI kēkara- 'squint-eyed' ||| L caecus 'blind' ||| OIr caech 'one-eyed, blind', W coeg-dfall id., Ocm [ʃ] cuic 'luscus et monophthalmus' ||| Gt haihs 'one-eyed' ¶ WP I 326, 328, P 519-20, EI 12 (\*ka<sub>1</sub>-welo-s 'alone'), M K I 264, 267, MW 309-10, WH I 129-30, Vn. C 6, Fs. 232-3, Kb. 444-5, Schz. 161, Ho. 148, ME II 133, En. 187, Tr. P I-K 142-3, Kar. I 367, Glh. 163, ESSJ III 179-81, Vs. IV 297 ||| **к** \*qowE1- 'all, one' > OG qovel-i 'all, whole', qowl-ad 'completely, wholly', MG [VT] qovl-i 'all', G qovel-i / qovl- 'every, all', Mg, Lz ir- 'every', Sv qwil 'one (of a pair)' ¶ K 213 (GZ \*qowel-), K<sup>2</sup> 244 (GZ \*qowl-), ≈ FS K 372 and FS E 418 (GZ \*qowl-) (all of them do not take account for the Sv cognate), Chx. 1700-1, Dn. s.v. qwil, GP 270 ||| **HS:** EC \*ka<sub>1</sub>w(w)- 'alone' > Sml, Bn kow, Rn {PG} kōw, kō, {Hn.} kow 'one', Kns xaww-ā, Gdl haww- 'alone, separate', Or ko-ēsa (f. ko-ēti), {Th.} koesa (f. koetti) 'alone', ko-om 'lonely', caus. kof-sīs- 'make lonely', ? {Grg.} koʔ-ōma 'be overly busy/lonely' ¶ Ss. PEC 44, Hn. S 66,

PG 200, 202, Th. 73, Grg. 248 ¶ Not here S \*kull- 'all, whole' (see N \*ka1w∇ 'together, whole') || A: M \*qayī-dag 'lone, single' > WrM qaidag, HIM хайдаг id., WrO хайдаг 'alone, isolated, solitary', Kl {Rm.} х̄ādaḡ 'immer nur derselbe\einer, allein (ohne Kameraden)', Brt хайдаг 'milked without a calf' (a cow), Ord {Ms.} х̄ādū' 'bestiaux qu'on trait et dont les jeunes sont morts' ¶ MED 912, Krg. 256, KW 179, Chr. 533, Ms. O 345 ◇ K \*o (which is not the regular reflex of N \*a) is due to the infl. of the adjacent \*w ◇ In view of the OI and K data the apparently distant meanings 'alone' and 'entire' can hardly be etymologically separated ◇ Bm TPN (S, IE), AD rTPN (S, IE, K, M), ≠ IS SS 349 [#13.12] (K ÷ HS \*k(ω)l 'all' [Coh. #115], see N \*ka1w∇ '↑').

1951. (2?) \*qE'z'û 'to shape (an object) by chopping, beating, etc.' > K \*o<sup>r</sup>q<sup>1</sup>ez- > Lz qaz- (z̄ yaz-, xaz-, az-) v. 'trim, plane (wood)' ¶ Marr 202 || ? U: FU: [1] {UEW} \*kesk∇- ~ \*keks∇- v. 'whet, sharpen' > Prm \*kes- > Z kesli-, Yz 'kesli- 'whet', Vt kisk- 'sharpen on a lathe' || Vg: T küwt-, LK/P kiwt- 'sharpen' || [2] (att. in Ugr) \*kEś∇- 'whet, sharpen, polish' > Vg T {Mu.} kēsīḡ ku 'whetstone' (ku is 'stone') | Hg köszörül- 'whet, sharpen', 'grind (schleifen)' ¶ The variation \*-s- ~ \*-ś- needs investigating ¶ UEW 151, 862, LG 123, Lt. Y 125 || IE \*kexu- /\*kxu- > NaIE \*kāu- /\*kaū- v. 'shape an object by chopping\hammering' (× NaIE \*kəw- /\*kāw- /\*kū- v. 'strike, hew' < N \*kaχū - \*kaχyU 'strike\push') > OHG houwan / hīo (> NHG hauen) 'hew, cut down', AS héawan / héow (> NE hew), ON hōggva / hiō v. 'chop' | Lt káuju (pret. kóviau, † kavau, inf. káuṭi) 'to beat, to fight, to kill', Ltv kaūt 'to strike, to forge', Lt kūjis 'smith's hammer', Pru cugis 'hammer' | pSl \*kova- (inf.) / \*kuj-ǫ (pres.) v. 'forge' (ffd. see N \*kaχū - \*kaχyU) || pTc \*kaū- > Tc: A ko-, B kaū- 'strike down, kill, destroy' ¶ WP I 330, P 535, EI 549 (\*keh<sub>h</sub>u- 'strike, hew'), Vr. 280, Ho. 153, Kb. 483, Schz. 170, ESSJ XII 10-1, XIII 257-8, Frn. 232, En. 198, Tp. P K-L 238-41, Vs. II 231, Ad. 208 ¶¶ The velar \*k- (for the expected palatalized \*k̄-) may be explained by the impact of N \*kaχū - \*kaχyU and by generalization of the pre-lr. \*k- in \*kxu- > kaū- (because in precons. position the palatalization of \*k is sometimes lost) || ? HS: S \*o<sup>r</sup>q<sup>1</sup>zω > Ar qzω G 'frapper la terre avec un bâton et y laisser une trace du coup' ¶ BK II 734 ◇ K \*o<sup>r</sup>q<sup>1</sup>ez- and FU \*kEś∇- point to a pN \*-z̄-, while FU \*s in \*kesk∇- ~ \*keks∇- is still puzzling (a special

treatment of N \***ž** in a consonant cluster?). The velar cns. \*k- and the vw. \*ā in NaIE \*kāu-/kəu- belong to the heritage of N \***kaχü** ~ \***kaχyU**.

**1952.** \***quz** ▽ 'entrails, pluck' > K {K, K<sup>2</sup>} \*qwiž]-, {FS} \*qwiž- 'liver' > OG  $\varphi$ wižl-, G  $\varphi$ vižl-, G Δ  $\varphi$ virzl-, Mg \*qvižil-  $\rightarrow$  Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} qwiže, Sv {K} qwiže ~ quže 'liver', Mg i-qvižin-an-s 'has unhealthy yellow complexion', ?σ G qvižil- 'black-violet' ¶¶ K 211, K<sup>2</sup> 242, FS K 369-70, FS E 415, TK 808 || **IE:** NaIE \*keus-/ku(:)s- '≈ entrails, abdomen' > OI kōs̄t̄ha- 'abdomen', 'kiš̄t̄hiká 'Inhalt der Gedärme' || Gk κύστις, -εως 'bladder' || W cwt̄hr 'anus, rectum' (< kUSD̄ro-) || SI \*kiš̄-ьka 'gut' > OR **кнш(ь)ка** kiš̄(ь)ka, R киш'ка, Uk 'кишка, P kiszka, Cz kyška 'gut'; without sx.: Plb k<sup>o</sup>jsa 'kidney' ¶ P 953, Bern. I 629, ESSJ XIII 278-9, M KI 247, 273, M EI 404-5, F II 56, YGM-1 117 || **A:** Tg \***ḷ**ḷja > NrTg \*ḷja- > Lm O ḷja- v. 'disembowel (a bear)', Lm OI ḷjīmçln 'pluck of a bear', Lm O ḷjamçln, Neg ḷddo-nln id.; Tg \*xḷjik 'bladder' > Ewk ujik (accus. ujik-w3), Lm ujik  $\mathfrak{d}$  ujōkōn, Neg ujix, Ork xudu ~ xudušū, UI xužu, Nn NH/KU xužū id., Sln ujixi 'anus' ¶ STM II 249-50, ≠ Vv. AEN 11 (qualifies pTg \*x- in \***ḷ**ḷja as "spurious"; in fact it is uncertain, because the NrTg lgs. do not distinguish between pTg zero and \*x-, which is duely denoted by \***ḷ**ḷ-; for such cases no presumption of zero is legitimate) || ?σ M \***qužirqay**i > Ord χu'ž̄irχā 'la partie charnue de la panse des ruminants', HIM хужирхай 'thick part of the border of a scar (from a healed wound)' ¶ Ms. O 364, Luw. 561 ¶¶ DQA #1154 (A \*k'uz̄ ▽ 'part of stomach, bladder') || ?φ **D** \*kuḷ- ({**ḷ**GS} \*k-) 'entrails' (× N \***gud** ▽ or \***gut** ▽ 'belly, middle', q.v.) > Tm kuḷar, kuḷal 'bowels, intestines, entrails', Ml kuḷar, kuḷal 'bowels', Kt koḷn̄, Td kωiḷ 'small intestine', Gnd kuḷdālī 'a stomach of ruminants' ¶¶ D #1652 ◊ AD NM #67, S CNM 7 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn).

**1953.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \***r** ▽ (< \***ʔ** ▽ **r**<sup>1</sup> ▽ ?), theme-focalizing (topicalizing) particle > **A** [1] \*t'e-r<sup>1</sup>a id. (marked topicalizing case, sg. of \*t'e- 'der, das' [dem. prn. that is neutral in the deictic distance opposition *hic* ↔ *iste* ↔ *ille* ]) > M \*te-re (theme-focalizing case ↔ stem of obl. cases \*te-gün) 'that' (used also as 'he') > MM tere, WrM tere, HIM, Kl terə, Brt, Ord tere, Dg t3r3 ↔ stem of obl. cases: M \*teḷün > MM teḷün, WrM teḷün, HIM/BrT {Pp.} tū:n, Klm tū:n ¶ Pp. IM 225-8, Iw. 136, Rm. M 40, SM 416, T 364, T BJ 148, Rkh. 379, Chr. 459 || Tg \*tere ~ \*tar ▽ 'that, he', distance-deictically neutral dem. prn. (< \*\*te-r<sup>1</sup>a due to vowel harmony) > WrMc tere (pl. tese) 'that, he', Mc Sb [terə] [t3r] 'that,

he\it', [tesə] [tɜs] 'they' (↔ [erə] [ɜr] 'this', [esə] [ɜs] 'these'), [tērə] [tɜr] 'that', Ewk tar, tare, tari, Neg tay 'that, this, he\it', Sln taya, tari 'that' ¶ In Tg the pronouns \*tere 'that, it' and \*ere 'this' lost their former meaning of the nom. case and were generalized throughout the case paradigm ¶ Mc tere cannot be a loan from M (as some scholars believe), because it has an irreg. form of plural (tese) with an ancient et. and without parallels in M ¶ STM II 165-7, Y ##2878-83, Hrl. 42-3 ¶¶ [2] Tg \*e-r∇ 'this' > Ewk PT ɜr, ɜrē, ɜri 'this', Sln ɜr ~ ɜri 'this', Lm ɜr 'voilà, voici (B0T, B0H)', Lm A ɜr, Neg ɜy ~ ɜyɜ this', Ork ɜr ~ ɜri 'this, voici (B0T), WrMc ere (↔ pl. ese) 'this' ¶ STM II 460-2 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. \*t'a (\*t'e) 'that', S AJ 52, 289 [#311], Gr. I 101 ("substantivizer RE" in M, Tg, as well as {Gr.← Sns.} OJ -re in itu-re 'which?', na-re 'thou', etc.), Sns. 74-5 ¶ IE: nom.-accus. ending \*-r in heteroclitic nouns: nom.-accus. sg. \*wodo(:)r 'water' (> Ht watar, Gk ὕδωρ, AS wæter, OHG wazzar, etc.) ↔ gen. sg. \*wed-n-os ~ \*ud-n-os (> Ht wetas, Gt watins, Gk ὕδατος [< ≈ \*udntos], etc.), nom.-accus. sg. \*yek<sup>ω</sup>-r 'liver' (> L iecur, OI 'yacr<sup>τ</sup>, Gk ἥπαρ) ↔ gen. sg. \*yek<sup>ω</sup>-n-os (> L iecinoris [< earlier \*yekin<sup>is</sup>], OI yak'naḥ, Gk ἥπατος [α < \*η]), etc. ¶ Bks. 187, Bks. ONI 3-6, Szem. IEL 173-4 ¶ HS: Eg ír 'as for' (topicalizing pc., preceding the topic word), ír (emphasizing pc., used esp. with optative, inv., and in questions) ¶ EG I 103, Lpr. 151, 188 ¶¶ The N pc. \*r∇ may be the source of the nominal \*-r-extensions in descendant lgs., such as \*-∇r- in IE \*kaṷs-∇r- '(long) hair' (see N \*ḲayCä 'hair'), M \*kiçir 'ends of a bow' (see N \*Ḳeç'a' 'tip, end [extremity]'), WS \*√ḳêr 'scales' (< N \*ḳa'ç'U 'scratch, scrape off scales'), WS \*ḳ∇d∇r- 'earthen pot' (< N \*ḳad∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork; wattle' [→ 'build, make pottery']), NaIE \*klā-r0- 'piece of wood, board' (← \*kelā-/ \*klā- v. 'hew, chop' < N \*ḳalɜa 'cut, hew, chop', q.v.) ◇ The Eg cognate (if valid) suggests an earlier var. \*?∇r∇ of the N pc. in question ◇ There is no direct proof that the internal cns. in \*?∇r'∇ is \*r rather than \*r', but in the pN word-initial position there is no \*r', hence it is easier to suppose that in the Inlaut the cns. was \*r.

**1953a.** ??? \*r'i', a particle of plurality \ collectivity, an alternative reconstruction of the grammatical marker of plurality that is otherwise (and probably better) reconstructed as N \*r∇ yE (= \*r∇ y'i'?) (see s.v.).

**1954. \*rûʔ∇** 'go', (?) 'run' > **HS:** Eg OK rωϣ 'go away, leave' ¶ EG II 406-7 || C: EC: Ya {To.} reʔ-, {Hn.} -reʔe 'run away' || Dhl r0ʔ- {EEN, To.} 'go', {E} 'go\pass by' || C (SC?) ⇨ Mb -r0 'leave' ¶ EEN 40, To. D 146, E SC 220, Hn. Y II 132, BlzT D 3 || WCh: AG: Mpn {Frz.} rú 'disappear suddenly', ?σ Su {J} rù 'untertauchen' ¶ Frz. DM 52, J S 81 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 101 [31.3] || **K** \*or- > MG [VTq.] r- 'go, walk', G r- v. id., 'ride, travel' ¶ Chx. 1043, DCh. 1035 || ? **IE:** NaIE \*reǵ-/ \*erw-/ \*ru-/ \*r- 'move' (vi.), 'hasten' (× [?] N \*rAϣ<sub>1</sub>i<sub>1</sub>ʔ∇ 'follow, accompany' × NaIE \*or-/r̥- 'arise' < N \*h<sub>1</sub>erU 'ascend, rise') > OI r̥<sub>0</sub>-r̥<sub>0</sub>-ti 'arises, moves', 'arvan-hurrying (eilend)', Av ar<sup>a</sup>nao<sup>i</sup>ti 'moves', aurva, aurbant-'schnell, tapfer' || Lru-ō / ru-ēre / rui / rūtum 'rush, hasten' || AS earu 'bereit, flink', OSx aru 'bereit, fertig', ON qrr {Bae.} 'quick (rasch, schnell [zufahrend])', Ic ör 'quick (быстрый, резвый)' ¶ WP I 141, P 331, ≈ EI 506 (\*h<sub>1</sub>er- 'set in motion'), M KI 122, WH II 453, Ho. 86, Ho. S 4, Vr. 683, 688, Bae. 811-2, Bv. 922.

**1955. ?σ<sub>2</sub> \*r∇ʔi** 'see' > **HS:** WS \*✓rʔy (prm. \*-rʔay) 'see' > BHb ✓rʔy (ip. הַרְאֵה יִי-rʔē, pf. הַרְאֵה rāʔā) id., M'b 1s ip. ʔrʔ, DA imp. 2pm rʔω, Ar ✓rʔy (ip. يَرَى yarā, pf. رَأَى raʔā), Sb ✓rʔy, Gz ✓rʔy (js. yarʔay, pf. raʔya) id., Mh d. {Jo.} rāy, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'riʔ' 'opinion' ¶ KB 1079-80, HJ 1041-2, Br. AG § 44b, BGMR 112-3, BK I 796, L G 458-9, Jo. M 311, Jo. J 201 || ?φ C: Bj {Rop.} reh- ~ erh- 'see' || HEC: Sd laʔ- {Hd.} 'see', {Gs.} 'look at' (unless < HEC \*laḳ- 'know') ¶ Rop. 228, Hd. 130 ¶¶ OS #447 (S, Bj) || **IE:** NaIE \*rē-/ \*rā-, \*rī-/ \*rēj- 'think, reckon, count', {Mn.} 'be mindful, think' (× NaIE \*ar-, are- 'arrange' > Lt {Prs.} réju / réti 'lege in Ordnung \ schichtenweise') > Lreor / ratus sum / rēri 'reckon, think, be of opinion, suppose', ra-tio 'reckoning, account, computation', rī-tu-s '(religious) custom, usage, ceremony' || Gt pp. ga-rapana 'counted', rapjō 'number, account', OSx réthia 'account', OHG redia, reda 'speech, word, mind, opinion', NHG Rede 'speech', OSx réthiōn, OHG red(i)ōn 'to talk, to speak', NHG reden 'to talk'; OHG rīm 'row, number, calculation', NHG Reim 'rhyme' (× ← OFr rime 'rhyme, poetry' ← OLF \*rīm ÷ OHG rīm; × ← Gk ῥυθμός 'rhythm'), AS rīm 'number, counting', OSx un-rīm 'Unzahl', ON rīm 'Berechnung, Kalender' || OIr rīm 'number', do-rím 'I count', Brtt {RE} \*rīmā 'number' > W rhyf, OBr rim id., Cmn pl. ryvow 'numbers', MW riuaω, W rhifo 'to count' ¶ ≈ WP 73-5, ≈ P 59-62, Mn. 1068-9, Prs. WF 635, 741, 858, WH II 429, RE

87, Fs. 394, Vr. 446, Ho. 26O, Ho. S 6O, 81, Kb. 775-6, 793, OsS 697, 716, KM 589, 593, GH 516, Vn. R 3O-1, ≠ EI 472 (L < \*reh<sub>1</sub>- 'put in order') ¶ This IE root suggests that in some conditions (postvoc. position at the end of a stem or before a final \*i?) N \*ʔ yields an IE l<sub>r</sub> that underlies a NaIE \*a and a vowel lengthening ◊ Qu., because the meaning of the IE root ({Mn.} 'be mindful, think') is controversial ◊ BmK #479 (IE, S + err. Eg ĩrϣ 'see' [in fact <ϣ ĩr 'eye']).

**1956. \*raϣ** ▽ 'remain, stay' > HS: C: EC: Af {PH} rāϣe scv. 'remain over \ behind', Sa {R} rāϣ- scv. id. ('bleiben, verweilen, zurückbleiben hinter' ||| Dhl {EEN} raϣ- 'stay' ||| SC: Asa {E} raʔ- 'stay, remain' ¶ PH 179, R S II 204, E SC 219, EEN 41 ||| K \*r- 'be' > OG, G r- 'be' (v-a-r 'I am', a-r-s 'is'), Mg r- 'be' (r-e 'is', r-in-a ~ r-in-i 'to be'), Lz r- 'be' (r-en 'is'), Sv UB/LB/Ln/L r- 'be' (m-i-r-i 'mihi est, I have', χ-0-r-i 'ei est, has'); K \*a-r- 'be' (< \*r- with the former version px. \*a-) > OG ar- 'be' (ars 'is'), G ar-, Mg, Lz or- 'be' (Mg v-or-ek, Lz b-or-e 'I am', Mg or-d-as, Lz or-ṭ-as 'let him be'), Sv χω-är-i, 'I am', χ-är-i 'thou art' ¶ K 154-5, K<sup>2</sup> 3, 153, FS K 250, FS E 275-6, Chik. 3O7, TK 653 ||| A: Tg \*-ra / \*-re, verbal sx. of aorist ({Sun.} = prs.-ft.) > Ewk -ra / -rɜ / -ro id. (dukū-ra-n 'il vient d'écriture', dukū-ja-ra-n 'he is writing'), Neg -ya / -yɜ (used in analytical negative forms: conjugated negative verb ɜ- + -ya/-yɜ-forms), Lm -rɔ / -rə / -r (aorist of active verbs), Nn -ran / -rɜn id., WrMc -ra / -re / -ro, sx. of prtcs. ¶ Bz. 1O71-2, Mng. TTra ∇, Mng. TS 38, 8O, YTsM ∇, Sun. G 33-57, 152-7, Sun. V 62, Vas. 785, Avr. GNJ II 1O2-3, 286, Ci. N 24, Nov. EJ 97.

**1957. <sub>2</sub> \*rab** ▽ 'much, big' > HS: S \*<sup>1</sup>rab<sub>1</sub>i<sub>1</sub>y- '≈ big, much' > Akk rabi<sub>1</sub>u, Eb ra-bu 'big', ? Ar ribw-at- (pl. ribawāt-) 'myriad, 10000 drachmas' (↳ Gz rabbawāt 'myriads'), JPA {Sl.} רבו רבω (pl. רבוון רבωון) 'myriad, 10000', JA [Trg.] {Js.} רבו רב<sub>1</sub>ū, em. רבותא רב<sub>1</sub>ū'ṭā, Sr E {Sl.} רב<sub>1</sub>ū'ṭā 'greatness', JEA {Sl.} רבותא רב<sub>1</sub>ū'ṭā id., 'superiority, exceptional thing', WS (or CS) \*rabb- 'numerous, many, much, great' > BHb, BA, JA [Trg.] rab<sub>1</sub>, rabb- id., JEA rab<sub>1</sub> (f. rabbə'ṭī) 'great, large', rab<sub>1</sub>bā 'master, teacher', M<sup>1</sup>b, Amm rb-m pl. 'many', d. Ar {Ln.} rubb- 'many', Pun rb 'big', JA rab<sub>1</sub>b-ā 'big, eldest', Sr רב<sub>1</sub>; rabbā 'magnus, senex', Ug rb 'big'; → S \*rabb- ~ \*rab- > BHb rab<sub>1</sub>, Ph., Pun, Ug, IA, Plm rb, Ak rab ~ rabi (cs. of rabû, in cds.), CS \*rabb- designing of persons of high position: BHb rab<sub>1</sub>bē'ṭō 'Palastbeamter', Ug rb ḳrt 'governor of a city', MHb rab<sub>1</sub> 'teacher, rabbi', Ar rabb- 'lord

(maître, seigneur); God'; CS \*✓rbb v. > Hb, JA, Md ✓rbb 'be(come) numerous, big', Sr ✓rbb 'become big'; S \*✓rb<sup>l</sup>y|w<sup>l</sup> G 'be big\large' > Ak inf. G rabā<sup>?</sup>u(m), rabû(m) id., Ar ✓rbw G 'increase (wealth); grow up', MHb {Js.} ✓rby G (pf. הַרְבֵּהּ rā'ḥā ~ הַרְבֵּהּ rā'ḥē) 'be much\many, grow' ¶ KB 1092-4, 1777, KBR 1170-3, Br. 706-7, OLS 383-4, HJ 1045-51, Sl. 1052-6, Sl. P 513, Js. 1438-41, Lv. T II 397-9, BK I 798-800, 813-4, Ln. 1002-7, 1023-4, Hv. 235, 239, Sd. 933, 936-40, L G 462 || ??φ EC {Ss.} \*la|eb- 'big, many' (HEC {Hd.} \*loba) (× N \*LayP<sub>∇</sub> 'good, beautiful', q.v.) > Brj la'b-0, - 0 'many, much', labad- 'be abundant', Sd lo w 0 'big, many, much', lopp- v. 'grow', Hd lob 'big', lob-akata 'many, much', loppo 'majority', Ged noppp- v. 'grow (up)', as well as probably words for 'male': Ged labba, Elm lεp, Dsn yáb ¶ Ss. PEC 22, Ss. B 131, Hd. 27, 209, 252, 257, 291-2, 383, To. DL 532 || ¶ {DQA} \*lābò 'more, better' (× N \*LayP<sub>∇</sub> '↑') > Tg \*labdu 'much' > Nn labdo, WrMc labdu id. ¶ STM I 485 || ??σ M \*lab > WrM, WrO lab, HIM лав, Brt лав, Ord lab\_ 'sure(ly), definite(ly), authentic(ly)', Kl {Rm.} lab\_ id., {KRS} лав id., 'fast' (лав цѣ- 'bind fast'), ? WrO la ~ lā 'indeed'; WrM, WrO labта, HIM лавт, Kl лавта 'exactly, precisely; indubitably', Brt лавтай 'for sure, certain(ly)', Ord lab\_d\_ūn 'indubitably, vraiment; certain', Kl {Rm.} la w χ ā n 'ganz, gewiß' ¶ MED 513-4, SM 442, Krg. 582, KRS 333, KW 250-1, Chr. 285 | ?φ M \*nay 'very' > MM [S] {H}, [HI] {Ms.} nai, [HI] {Lew.} naj 'very', ?σ Kl нә nä 'okay!, agreed!' ('падно') ¶ H 113, Ms. H 77, Lew. II 62, KRS 370 || p J \*nāpз 'better, more' > OJ nāpó, J: T/Kg ná0, K náo ¶ S QJ #677, Mr. 493 || ?σ pKo \*nāboj 'again, better' > MKo nā'oj ¶ S QK #771, Nam 93 ¶ DQA #1166 (A \*lābò 'more, better'), S AJ 68 (M, Ko, J).

**1958. \*'rib<sub>∇</sub>** 'to cover' > HS: CS \*✓rbd v. 'cover' > BHb ✓rbd {BDB} v. 'prepare a couch, make up a bed', Ug {OLS} ✓rbd G 'cover a bed with blankets', Ar ✓rbd TD 'become cloudy (sky)' ¶ KB 1097, KBR 1176, Grd. UT #2300, DLS KTU I 92, 132, OLS 384-5, BDB ##7234-5, BK I 803, Hv. 236 || IE: NaIE \*'reb<sup>h</sup>- 'cover with a roof' > Gk ἐρέφω v. 'cover with a roof, cover with a crown, crown', ὀροφή 'roof of a house, ceiling of a room' || OHG hirni-rēba 'skull' (lit. 'brain-cover'), {OsS} 'Hirnschale, Gehirn', ? ON ráf, ráfr 'ε roof' ({Vr.} 'Sparrendach') | P adduces here also the Gmc and Sl words for 'rib' by interpreting 'rib' as 'cover of the chest cavity' ("die Rippen bedecken die Brusthöhle, wie das Dach das Haus"): OHG rippa, rippi, OSx ribbi, AS ribb, ON r if, Sl \*rebro ¶ P 85, EI 488 (\*h<sub>1</sub>reb<sup>h</sup>-), ≈ Vr. 431, FI 556, Kb. 470, OsS

402 || **U:** FU ?σ {LG} \*riwitä 'ice crust' > F riite 'thin ice crust', Δ {Lnr.} riive 'frozen snow-crust' ('наст') || Prm \*rE > Z rī 'unfrozen patch of water in the midst of an icebound river' ('полынья') || ? OHg rétt 'Sumpfland, Ried, Moor', Hg rétt 'meadow' (< \*'land covered with water'?) ¶ LG 246, SK 793, EWH 1258 || **A:** Tg \*lipk- v. 'stop up, shut up' > Ewk lipkī-, Lm nipkə- 𐌆 īik- 𐌆 līpkə- 𐌆 nipkă-, Neg lipku-, Ork likpi- ~ lipki- v. 'stop up' ('заткнутъ'), Orc lippi-, Ud likpi- v. 'stop up, shut, cover', Ul likpiči- v. 'shut, close', Nn Nh likpi- ~ lipki- v. 'bar\stop so.'s way' ¶ STM I 499, Krm. 256 ◇ On N and pIE \*'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

**1959. \*r∇'b'∇** (or \*r∇bh∇?) '≈ move, shake (sich bewegen, schwanken)' > **HS:** WS \*✓rpp > BHb ✓rpp (3pm ip. paus. 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿 yārō''pāpū) vi. 'shake (schwanken)', MHb ✓rpp G (pf. 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿 rā'pāp) 'be loose, vibrate, vacillate', Sr ✓rpp G (pf. 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿 rap) vi. 'move', JA [Trg.] ✓rpp {Lv.} G or {Js.} D 'shake', Ar ✓rff G (pf. 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿 raffa, ip. -riff-) 'twinkle' (an eye), Ar SL ✓rff G 'flutter' (a bird)', Mh {Jo.} ✓rfrf 'flap in the breeze (as a flag)' ¶ KB 1192-3, BDB 552, Lv. T II 434, Js. 1491, Br. 740, Hv. 260, Jo. M 316 || **IE:** NaIE \*reb<sup>h</sup>- vi. 'move' > NPrs 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿 rāf-tān 'to walk, to go, to depart' (prs. -𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿 rōw-) || Gmc \*reb- > 𐌶 MHG reben {P} vi. 'move' (not registered in Lx!), {OsS} 'von eimen starken übeln Geruche ... in Bewegung sein' (unless misinterpretation of MHG reben 'to dream' ← Fr rêver), eNHG sich reben 'to move' (intr.), NGr B {OsS} rebisch, rebig 'beweglich, rührig, munter', Nr Δ raVa 'hin und her taumeln' ¶ WP II 370, P 853, BM 247, Vl. II 44-5, 60, Sg. 581, ≠ Horn 137-8 (NPrs rāf-tān ÷ L repo 'crawl'), OsS 704 || **U:** FU (att. in ObU) \*r'e'w∇ (× N \*r∇'h'w∇ 'mix, (?) shake, (??) 'turn round') > ObU {ǵHl.} \*rōw- vt. 'shake, swing' > pVg {Ht.} \*rāw- vt. 'swing' > Vg: T rāw-, MK/UK rāw-, P/SV rōw-, NV \*rōw- id.; pOs {Ht.} \*rōψ- > Os: K rewāy-, Nz rewīy- vt. 'swing', V/Vy rōxim, Kz rewemə- vt. 'shake', Y rāwis∇- id. ¶ Ht. #555 (ObU \*rōψ-) and Hl. rHt 73-4 (on ObU \*-w- and \*-ψ-) ◇ The devoicing N \*b > S \*p is hard to explain, unless it is supposed that the N etymon was \*r∇bh∇ with loss of prevocalic voiceless \*h in S, IE, and FU.

**1960. \*r'a'hb∇** 'tremble' ([in descendant lgs.] → [1] 'be disquiet, fear', [2] 'rage against so.' → 'attack') > **HS:** S \*✓rhb 'tremble, be disquiet \ furious, attack' > Ak fOB ✓r'p G (inf. ra'ābu) vi.



'tremble, be angry with', BHb ✓rhb *Sh* (pf. **הִרְהִיב** hir'hīḇ) vt. 'trouble, confuse', *G* (imv. **רַהֲב** rā'hāḇ, 3pm ip. **יִרְהַבּוּ** yi-rh<sup>a</sup>ḇū) 'assail, importune, attack', Sr ✓rhb *Sh* (pf. **פָּרַחְתִּי** p̄ar'hεḇ) vt. 'trouble, disquiet; inspire awe\terror; hasten, make hasten', **פָּרַחְתִּי**; rā'hīḇ adj. 'disquieted, agitated; hasty, hurried', predicative prtc. 'hastes', Ar ✓rhb *G* (pf. rahiba, ip. -rhab-) 'fear' ¶ Sd. 932, GB 747, KB 1112-3, JPS 530-1, BK I 935-6, Hv. 273 || ?? WCh: Hs řáwǎ 'be shaky, dance', řawar duniya 'earthquake', řawar žiki 'shivering from cold, trembling from fear or intense pleasure' | Ron: Bks {J} rō (ip. r wā) 'tremble; shake; hasten', DfB {J} řo (ip. ř wǎh) 'schnell sein, sich bewegen' ¶ J R 145, 220, Ba. 847 || IE: NaIE \*ra|eb<sup>h</sup>-/r<sub>o</sub>b<sup>h</sup>- 'rage' > L rabiēs 'rage, fury, madness', rabiō / rabēre 'be mad' || OI 'rabhas- ntr. 'violence, impetuosity', rabha'sa- 'impetuous, violent, fierce' || amb OIr recht 'sudden attack, rage' (unless akin to L rāpio 'seize, snatch, tear away' < NaIE \*rep-) || Tc A rapurnē {Wn.} 'désir, cupidité', {JGH} 'passion' ¶ WP II 341, P 852, EI 22 (? \*rab<sup>h</sup>- '≈ ferocity'), M K III 43, ≈ M E II 435, WH II 413, Vn. R 12, Wn. 401, JGH 179, 181 || A: NTg \*lab- > Ewk lawkān- 𐌵 lapkān- vt. 'attack' (of a dog), Neg lawtt- 'bark and fight' (of a dog) (× Tg \*lab- 'bark' [of a dog]), Lm nawtt- 'cry, shout' (of a shaman) ¶ STM I 486, 576 ◇ The loss of the lr. in IE is not yet explained ◇ AD GD 4 (S, IE), IS MS 334 (\*r<sup>h</sup>(h)ba 'волнение [душевное]'; S, IE).

**1961.** <sub>2</sub> \*ric<sup>1</sup> ▽ 'small pieces; to crush' > HS: S \*✓rss > BHb **רִסִּים** rāsī's-īm pl. 'fragments', MHb **רִסִּים** rā'sīs, JA [Trg.] **רִסִּים** rā'sīs 'broken piece', MHb **רִסִּים** rāsī's-īn 'groats of lentils', MHb ✓rss *D* (pf. **רִסַּס** ris'ses), JA [Trg.] ✓rss {Lv.} *G* or {Js.} *D* 'crush, break into small peces', Md ✓rss *G* 'break into pieces', Ak YB rissu, (?) rīsu 'Zerschlagung', ? OAk ra<sup>a</sup>āsu ~ ra<sup>a</sup>āšu 'to smite', Ak fOB ✓r<sup>1</sup>ū's (inf. r<sup>a</sup>āsu ~ r<sup>e</sup>su ~ ra<sup>a</sup>āsu) 'erschlagen, zerschlagen' ¶ KB 1164-5, Js. 1484-5, Lv. T II 429, DM 436, G OA 233, Sd. 959, 989 || WCh (pWCh {Tk.} \*rus- 'destroy'): Hs rúšè 'demolish, cause to collapse' | Klr {J} ryās ti 'break into pieces' | Bl {Lk.} rúš- 'zerstören' | Ngz {Sch.} rāsú v. 'act an object with force \ violently' (nature of object determines type of action) ¶ Abr. H 746, J R 354, Lk. PVB II 137, Sch. DN 137) || Eg fOK **ωῤῥῥ** ({Tk.} \*wrsy) 'be ruined\decayed, verfallen sein' ¶ Fk. 55, EG I 260-1 ¶¶ Tk. I 396 (Eg, WCh) || A: M \*oniča > WrM nica, HIM няц њац 'asunder, into small pieces', WrM nicala- ~ nicula-, HIM

няцлаж v. 'break into pieces' ¶ MED 577 ◇ Ch \*-u- and Eg ω- suggest a labial element in the N word (\*ricʰU or \*rʰiwʰcʰ∇?); N \*rūcʰ∇ is ruled out by the M cognate ◇ On an alt. et. (N \*rācʰ∇ and \*riĉa) see s.v. N \*rāĉʰ∇ 'break into pieces'.

1962. \*r∇g∇cʰ∇ (= \*rEgaĉʰ∇?) '≈ to add' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓rʷs|š > Ar رَغَسْ raʷs- {Ln.} 'increase, abundance' ({BK} 'accroissement; surcroît, abondance; avantage, profit'), ✓rʷs G (ip. -rʷas-) vt. 'make sth. increase and multiply; multiply to so. his property' (of God) ¶ Ln. 1113, BK I 889, Hv. 259-60 || K \*racχ- v. 'count' > OG racχ- id., OG ricχw-, G ricχv- n. 'number', Mg ḵo-rocχ- v. 'count' (ḵo- [< \*oḵo-] is a sx. of reciprocity), Lz ḵo-(r)ocχ-, ḵo-recχ- v. 'count', ?ϕ Sv {K} li-cχ-e 'to count, to suppose' ¶ K 155, K<sup>2</sup> 154, FS K 252-3, FS E 278-9, Marr OT 2, Chik. 297 || A: ? Tg \*lEas 'much, 'very' > Nn KU ías 'very (much)', Nn Nh lras 'constantly, incessingly', Ud {STM} læsi 𐌺 læsi 'very (much)', Ork, Ul les ~ les-s 'much', Neg les, les-s 'much, very (much)' ¶ STM I 496 ¶ Qu. because of the sibilant \*s for the expected \*ç ◇ If Tg \*lEas belongs here, the N rec. may be specified as \*rEgaĉʰ∇.

1963. \*recʰ∇ga 'to tie, to plait' > K: G rĉq- 'set a trap (for an animal)', ? rĉq- vi. 'unite' ¶ Chx. 1091, DCh. 2048 || IE: NaIE \*resg- '≈ weave; rope' > OI 'rajjuḥ f. 'rope, cord' | Ydg rōzʷ 'woman's cloak', Prs رَغْزِه rāʷze 'ε woolen cloth', Sgd rʷzy 'ε (woolen) cloth' || L restis 'rope, cord' (< \*resg-ti-s) || Lt rēkstis = rēzgtis 'netzartiges Heusack, Heutrage, Korb' (← \*'plaited'), rēgz-ti (prs. rezgū) 'to knit, to do network', rezgamas 'knitting', rezgējas 'knitter', Ltv režģīt 'to tangle', režģis 'grating, lattice, grid' || Gmc: NNr rusk, ruskje 'Schmiele (hair-grass)', MLG risch 'rush (as a plant used in plaiting)', MHG rusch(e) ~ rosche, MDt rusch, Dt rus, AS risĉ(e), rusc(e) 'rush', NE rush ¶ WP II 374, P 874, EI 571 (\*resg- '≈ plait, wattle'), M K III 35, M E II 427, Bai. 371, Sg. 580, WH II 431, Frn. 713, Sw. 142, Skeat 529, Ho. 261, Vr. N 597-8 || D {Pf.} \*neĉ-/\*ney-, {Km.} \*neĉ-/\*eĉ- > \*ne(:)y-, [ǵGS] \*neʳsʰ- v. 'weave, plait' > Tm ney- v. 'weave (as clothes); to string, link together', necavu 'act of weaving', Ml neyka-, Kt neĉ-, Kn ne(:)y-, Td nes-, Tl nēyu, Gnd nēĉĉ- v. 'weave', Td niĉ- v. 'darn', Kdg neʷy- v. 'spin (thread)', Tu neyuni v. 'weave (as a spider)', neyupini, nēyuni v. 'weave, plait, braid', Kn ney- v. 'weave, thatch the roof with leaves', Knd ney- 'weave or thatch

the roof with leaves', Kui nehpa (p. neht-) v. 'build a fence', Ku {Slz.} neh'nai v. 'interweave', Krx ess- v. 'weave, entwine into a fabric', Mlt ese v. 'plait, do mat-work' ¶¶ D #3745, Pf. 125 [#1051], Km. 420-1 [#765], GS 59 [#170] ¶¶ GS 59 reconstructs here D \*ney-, probably supposing that -c- in the descendant lgs. belongs to a sx., but external comparison suggests that the pD √ was (in GS's notation) ≈ \*nes- || HS: S \*✓rks v. 'tie' (×N \*riḡû'z'∇ 'to tie; loop' [q.v. ffd.] with mt.) ◇ In all branches other than K the N cns. \*ḡ merged with \*ḡ, sc. N \*rec'∇ga changed into \*rec|ćḡ∇, whence by as. \*rec|ćka yielding S (mt.) \*✓rks and IE resg-. This is valid as long as we accept the K cognate. Otherwise the N rec. must be \*rec'∇,ka.

1964. 2 \*rač'∇ 'dirt' > HS: CS or pS \*✓rθθ (\*raθθ-?) 'mud; dirty, shabby' > Ug rθ 'Schmutz, Kot', {OLS} 'mud (lodo, barro)', Ar raθθ- {BK} 'vieux, usé, sale', {Hv.} 'old clothes; rags', ✓rθθ (pf. raθθa) {Hv.} 'be threadbare' (garment), ?σ Ak fOB ruššû 'red' (if ← 'colour of mud'); (+ext.) Ak YB rušum|ntu, rušurndu 'Schlamm' ¶ A #2556, OLS 395, BK I 819, Hv. 240, Sd. 996-7 || U: FU (att. in FL only) \*°račka > F rāhka 'foam of sweat or of dregs; yeast', Es rāhk (gen. rāha) 'mould, (purulent) matter' || Lp N {N} ræk'ce / rævce 'coating of mildew (on milk, etc.) ¶ Coll. 110, Coll CG 413.

1965. 2 \*rUč'∇ 'to run' > HS: S \*-rūθ- (\*✓rWθ) v. 'run' > BHb רון ✓rWç (ip. רון, yā-'rūç) id., Ug ✓rWθ (juss. urθ) v. 'run', TD trθθ v. 'hurry', OA \*✓rWθ v. 'run' (1s pf. רצת rθt 'I have run'), SmA Sh טרית רית 'he made run' (Targum of Ex. 15.4), Gz ✓rWš (js. -rūš, pf. rōša) v. 'run', Ak p. -rūš (inf. rāšu) 'zur Hilfe laufen'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ra-wa-cí 'run'. In Aram there is a (secondary?) var. of the √ with a medial h: IA, Md ✓rhḡ v. 'run, hasten oneself', JA [Trg.] ✓rhḡ G 'run, be swift', JEA {Sl.} ✓rhḡ G 'run, act in haste', Sr ✓rhḡ G v. 'run' ¶ KB 1126-7, KBR 1207-8, HJ 1061-2, 1064, OLS 396, Lv. IV 430, Lv. T II 410, Js. 1454, Sl. 1060-1, DM 426, GB 752, Sd. 960, Hlk. 149, SivCR 83 || IE: NaIE \*ret<sup>h</sup>- v. 'run' > OIr rethid, W rhed 'runs' || Lt ritù / rìsti 'rollen' (< \*r<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>-) | ⇨ NaIE \*'rot<sup>h</sup>-o-s 'a running, a course', \*ro<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>-o-s 'a runner', \*rot<sup>h</sup>-ā 'a set of runners' > Av raθa- 'chariot, wagon', Vd 'ratha-h id., 'two-wheeled war-chariot' || L rota 'wheel' || OIr roth id., W rhod 'course, wheel' || OSx rath, Mdt rat, Dt, OHG rad, NHG Rad 'wheel' || Lt rātas 'wheel', pl. rataĩ 'wagon' ¶¶ Rsm. has shown that IE \*t<sup>h</sup> cannot go back to pIE \*t<sup>h</sup>,

because a *lr.* would have been preserved as a *vw.* between \**t* and \**s* in OIr *s*-formations, which is not the case in OIr 3s *sbjn. p.* *-ressed* < \**reth*-*se-to* and in similar cases ¶¶ P 866, Rsm. SAT 87, ≈φEI 491 (\**reth*<sub>2</sub>- 'run' ⇨ \**roth*<sub>2</sub>*eh*<sub>π</sub>- ~ \**roth*<sub>2</sub>*o-s* 'wheel'), M K III 38-9, M E II 429-30, WH II 443-4, Vn. R 23, 45-6, Frn. 703, ≈ 730, Ho. S 59, Kb. 767, OsS 696-7, KM 577, Vr. N 557-8 ◇ ≠ IS MS 330 (\**ru*<sup>ʿ</sup><sub>ʿ</sub> 'run') and AD NGIE 27 [#116]; both authors equate S \**✓r*ωθ with IE \**rews*- *v.* 'move quickly' (P 992). In the light of recent research it has become clear that N \*-*č*- regularly yields IE \*-*t*<sup>h</sup>- and never \*-*s*-, hence our former etl. hyp. has been rejected.

**1966. \*raĉê** 'to spread, to stretch' > HS: S \**✓r*ŝŝ > Jb *✓r*ŝŝ (pf. *reŝŝ*) *v.* 'spread out' ¶ Jo. J 215-6 || K \**reĉ*-/\**rĉ*- *v.* 'spread' > OG, G *rec*- *id.*, 'make a bed', Mg *rĉ*-, Lz (*r*)ĉ- *id.*, Sv *rš*-/*raš*- *id.* (Sv UB/L *msd.* *li-rš-i* 'to spread') ¶¶ K 159, K<sup>2</sup> 157, FS K 253, FS E 279-80, GP 166, Dn. *s.v.* *rš*- || U: FV {UEW} \**raĉe*- *v.* {AD} 'spread, stretch' > Lp N {N} *raĉ'ĉâ*-/*rāĉĉ*- *v.* 'stretch (a skin which has been removed whole in one piece)', Lp L {LLO} *rahtttja* 'den Balg eines Pelztieres mit dem Balgspanner (aus)spannen' † Er {ERV} *рацяня* *adj.* 'spreading, branchy, развесистый, раскидистый' (of a tree/shrub), *рацякадо*- 'get many branches, разветвиться' (of a tree), {Ps.} *raĉa-kado*-, Mk {Ps.} *raĉa-kado*- 'sich verbreiten' ¶ UEW 743 (its semantic rec. 'ausspannen [z. B. den Balg eines Pelztieres]' is based on Lp only and does not take in consideration the meaning of the Mr cognate), LLO 838, ERV 540.

**1967. \*răĉ∇** 'to break into pieces; piece, part' > HS: CS \**raŝŝ*- 'piece' > BHb *רַץ*\* *raç*\* 'piece' (רַץ רַץ 'רַץ רַץ *raç, çē* 'pieces of silver'), Ar *رَض* *raĉĉ*- 'dattes dont on a ôté les noyaux et qu'on macère dans du lait'; CS \**✓r*ŝŝ *v.* 'break into pieces', ? BHb *✓r*çç *v.* G 'mistreat, oppress', *✓r*çç *v.* D 'smite, strike down, shatter, smash', JA [Trg.] *✓r*çç G 'shatter, break', JEA {Sl.} *✓r*çç *Sh* 'break', Sr *✓r*çç G *v.* 'bruise, bray, crush', SmA *✓r*çç T (Itpə'el) 'destroy', Ar *رَض* *✓r*ĉĉ *vt.* 'break coarsely' ¶ KB 193-4, 1199, KBR 1285-6, BDB ##7518, 7533, BK I 872, Hv. 255, Lv. IV 460-1, Lv. T II 432-3, Js. 1488, Sl. 1090-1, Br. 737, Tal 845 || B \**✓r*çç *v.* 'break' ('casser, romper') > Ah *arç*, Izn, Rf, SrSn *✓r*çç *id.*, Zng {TC} *arçç* ' (se) casser, (se) briser' ({TC Z}: pf. *yaçça* 'il a cassé' / aor. int. *yirçça*) ¶ Fc. 1676, Rn. 331, DCTC 294, TC Z 316-7 || U: FU {UEW} \**raĉ*∇ 'piece, bit' > Chr H *резык* 'резьк, Chr L *рызык* 'ръзык, Chr E {Ü} *рѣзык* 'part, share', *рѣза* 'share' † Prm: Z *роч рѣ*

'piece', Z Ud *ńań-r3ć* 'piece of bread' || Vg: P/Ss *-riś*, N {Mk.} *-riś ~ -rěś* (= *-rās?*) ~ *-räs*, sx. of diminutives: Ss *piř-riś* 'Jüngelchen', N {Mk.} *ătěr-riś-ěm* 'mein Fürstenheldchen' || Hg *rész* 'part, piece; share' ¶ UEW 420-1, Ü 185, MRS 502, 501 || D \**nač-*, {ǾGS} \**nažž-* v. 'be crushed, cut up into small bits' > Tl *najju* id., *najju* 'a bit, fragment', Tm *naci* (p. -v-) v. 'be crushed', Kn *najugu* v. 'squash, crush', Kui *nasa* v. 'crush' ¶¶ D #3574, ≠ Km. 406-7 [#690] (equates Tl *najju* with Kn *naggu* v. 'become bruised', Tm *ńeri* v. 'break, be crushed', etc.) ¶¶ It is highly probable that this D √ results from coalescence of several N words, including one (or more than one) that meant 'to press, to squeeze' (whence this meaning in the D root in question: Kiu *nasa* v. 'press', Δ *načć-* id., Tm *naci* v. 'bruise'). This probability of coalescence is increased due to the sincretism of the initial sonorants in D: N \**n-*, \**ń-*, \**l-*, \**ł-*, and \**r-* coalesced in D \**n-* ◇ The position of FU \**răc̣*∇ and D \**nač-* is ambiguous: they may be alternatively equated with S \**√ṛss* 'break into pieces' and allow the rec. of a N etymon \**răc̣*∇. On the other hand, S \**√ṛšš* may be equated with M \**nič̣a* 'asunder, into small pieces', which will lead to a N \**rič̣a*. This ambiguity is due to the instability of vowels in S verbs and to the neutralization of oppositions between several affricates in U and D. See N \**rič̣*∇ 'small pieces; to crush'.

**1968.** (2?) \**r<sup>e</sup>ĉ*∇ '≈ to please, to be pleased; pleasant, acceptable' > HS: WS \**√ṛšy|w* 'be pleased' > BHb *√ṛçy|w* v. 'take pleasure in, be favourable (to so.), accept with pleasure, become friends with', JA [Trg.] *√ṛçy|w* G (רַחַץ רַחַץ ~ רַחַץ רַחַץ) 'desire, take delight in, welcome', JEA *√ṛçy* G, SmA *√ṛçy* G (3s pf. רַחַץ רַחַץ) 'desire', Sr *√ṛçy* v. D 'please', Ar *√ṛçy* (pf. رَضِيَ رَضِيَ, ip. -رَضِيَ-) 'be pleased with, consent to', Sb *√ṛçw|y* v. 'please, satisfy; 'content', Mh *√ṛçy* (pf. رَضِيَ, sbjn. يَرْضَى) 'be acceptable, agreeable', Hrs *arçō* v. *Sh* 'console, charm', Jb E *rēṣ̌i*, Jb C *erṣ̌e* vt. 'accept', *erṣ̌i* ps. v. 'be acceptable, agreeable', Sq {Jo.} *'riṣ̌i* 'find acceptable' ¶ BDB #7621, BGMR 115, Lv. T II 430-1, Lv. IV 459, Js. 1486, Tal 842, Sl. 1090, Br. 738, JPS 545, BK I 875-6, Hv. 256, Jo. M 336-7, Jo. J 220, Jo. H 108 || ?σκ \**reç|ç-* > G *reç-* 'erwerben, verdienen' ¶ Chx. 1060, DCh. 1036 || U: FU \**reč̣*∇ 'beautiful, good' > pChr {Ber.} \**riž* > Chr H {Ep.} *рыж раж* 'comeliness (пригожесть)', {Wc.} *raž, ǣraž* 'Zierlichkeit, Schmuckheit; Nettheit, tadelloses Äußere; Zierde, Verzierung', {MRS} L *рыжле 'ržle, Н рѣжлы 'ražly* 'beautiful, of pleasant appearance' (красивый,

благовидный, пригожий'), {Rm.} ražlā 'schön, gut, vortrefflich' || Vt  
 эеч эеџ 'good, firm', Vt {W}: S эеџ, K эеџ 'gut, schön', G эеџ id., 'happy,  
 happiness' ¶ UEW 744, Ber. 57, MRS 511, Ep. 104, U3S 159-60 || ?φ A:  
 Tg \*o|naçik- > WrMc naciça- v. 'console' ¶ STM I 587 ◇ Mc а (Tg \*a)  
 is still to be explained.

**1969.** \*r∇ĉ<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>χ∇ (or \*r∇χ<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ĉ∇?) 'to wash' > K \*reçχ-/\*rçχ- v.  
 'wash' > OG rçχ- id., NG reçχ- v. 'wash, launder', Lz čχ- 'wash', Mg rčχ-  
 v. 'launder', Sv ✓rčχ- 'rinse' (msd. li-rčχ-a<sub>1</sub>ne; läy-ra<sub>1</sub>čχ-n-e 'er spülte  
 im Wasser') ¶ K 159, K<sup>2</sup> 158, FS K 258, FS E 285-6, Q 312, Chik. 310,  
 380 || HS: S \*✓rĥĥ v. 'wash' > BHb ✓rĥç, Ug rĥĥ, IA ✓rĥ<sup>ç</sup> G, SmA  
 ✓r<sup>çç</sup> G, ✓Ar ✓rĥĥ G, Sb ✓rĥĥ, Sq ✓rĥĥ v. 'wash', Gz ✓rĥĥ G v.  
 'sweat, perspire, wash, soak', Jb, Mh ✓rĥĥ v. 'bathe, wash', Ak ✓rĥç v.  
 'rinse' ¶ GB 756, KBR 1220-1, HJ 1075, Tal 845-6, OLS 389, LG 466, L  
 LS 398, JH 278, HJ 1072, BGMR 116, Jo. M 322, Jo. J 210, Sd. 942-3 ||  
 ?φ B \*✓(y)rHd > Gd äräd (3m pf. yäräd) 'be washed', Ah {Fk.} iv. irrad  
 id., caus. siräd 'wash', Gh aräd 'be washed', siräd 'wash', Izd, Wrg, Mz  
 irid 'be washed', Izd ssird, Wrg, Mz ssiräd 'wash', BSn irīd iv. 'wash,  
 be washed' (3m pf. i-yrīd), Izn, Zkara irīd iv. 'be washed', Izn, Rif, SrS,  
 Hlm, Assh caus. sired 'wash', Wrs, Nfs sired id. (long ī points to a lr.,  
 denoted as \*H), Zng {TC} pf. yæreḏ / aor. yerəḏ '(se) laver' ¶ Fc. 1566,  
 Lnf. II #1335, Ds. B 194, Rn. 290, Bs. ZOu 95, Mrc. 153, Dlh. Ou 269,  
 Dlh. M 169, DCTC 285 || ? Eg fMK rχt v. 'wash (clothes)' > Cpt: Sd  
 pωzε rōhe, B pωḥi rōχi, A pωzε rōχ<sub>2</sub>e id.; the cns. t is preserved  
 in Cpt Sd pαzT raht, B pαḥT raχt 'washer (blanchisseur)' (< Eg  
 rχt.γ id.) ¶ EG II 448, Fk. 152, Vc. 180 ¶¶ Vc. l.c., Tk. I 309 ¶¶ The de-  
 empatization of the affricate \*ĉ in Eg and B is still puzzling (as. caused  
 by the adjacent lr.?) || A: ? M: WrM nisqa-, HM нясга- v. 'wash a  
 corpse' ¶ MED 586 || D \*noṭ- 'wash' (× N \*ńoĉ∇<sub>l</sub>q∇<sub>l</sub> 'to moisten, to be  
 moistened; to sprinkle', q.v.) > Tm nuṭ akku 'wash, wipe off moisture,  
 dissolve', Tu neḏi, niḏiyuni, niḏipini, Bel noḏi, Prj noḏ-, Gdb nor-  
 id., Gnd nor-, norr-, Knd noṛ-, Png noz-, nuz-, Kui nobga (< \*nog-b-), Ku  
 nor-, Mlt nóṛe if. ¶¶ D #3783 ¶¶ The pD vw. \*o is likely to belong to  
 the heritage of N \*ńoĉ∇<sub>l</sub>q∇<sub>l</sub> ◇ N \*-ĉχ- > K \*-çχ- (deglottalized \*ç  
 due to as.) ◇ The K and M cognates suggests a metathesis (\*-ĉ<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>χ- >  
 \*-χ<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ĉ- ) in the prehistory of HS.

**1970.** \*r'o'dE 'seek, wish' > HS: S \*o-rūd- > Ar ✓rwd, -rūd- {BK}  
 'chercher, demander (de la nourriture, du fourage)', {Hv.} 'ask (sth.),  
 search for food\foodder', {BK} L 'vouloir, demander', {BK, Hv.} Sh

'vouloir' ¶ BK I 949-50, Hv. 277 || C: EC: Sa {R} ✓rdy (pf. 'i-rđiy-θ) 'bestärken eine Meinung, beistimmen, einverstanden sein', Af {PH} -irđiyē pcv. 'accept, be willing', Sml {ZMO} rādi- scv. 'search\look for, seek'; C ⇨ Tgr ✓rdy G (pf. rēda) v. 'agree, be willing, take pleasure, dare' ¶ R S II 298, PH 137, , ZMO 391, LH 162 || IE: NaIE \*red<sup>h</sup>-/\*rod<sup>h</sup>- (or \*rad<sup>h</sup>-?) v. 'seek, find, get; care for' > AS rēdian 'to reach, to find, to effect; to make ready', Gt ga-rēdan 'προνοεῖσθαι, Vorsorge treffen', und-rēdan 'to provide for' || OI rādh-'nō-ti 'achieves, prepares, makes ready', Av rād- 'zum guten Ende führen, zustande kommen', rāda-, rāđa- 'Fürsorger' || ? OIr rad- 'fournir' (imv. rad 'fournis' (unless a secondary variant of OIr rat- 'donner, livrer') || SI \*radīti > OCS, OR ρΑΔΗΤΗ radīti, OR ΡΟΔΗΤΗ rodīti, R радеть, Slv róditi 'to care for', SCr rāditi 'to be busied with, to work (upon), to perform', OCz neroditi (with the negative px. ne-) 'not to seek\want', Hls rodzić, Lls rožeś 'to wish, to strive for' | Lt inf. rāsti, prs. randū, p. radaũ v. 'find', Ltv rast (prs. rōdu) 'to find, to discover' ¶ Mn. 1062, EI 472, M K IV 54, Ho. 252, 256, Fs. 199, Vn. R 3, 7, Trt. 235, Frn. 700-1, StSS 565, Vs. III 430, Glh. 515-6, ≠ EI 472 (OI, Av, SI < \*reh<sub>1</sub>- 'put in order') || A: M \*nōžid (< \*\*nōdid) > WrM nōžid 'lust, sensual desire, degrading passion' ¶ MED 594 || D \*nāṭo, {ḡGS} \*nāḡ- v. 'wish, look for, match' (× N \*nāṭh<sub>1</sub>∇ 'to seek, to seek help' × N \*TewdA 'to look for, to find') > Tm nāṭu 'seek, inquire, desire, know, understand', MI nāṭuka 'follow with the eyes', Tu nāḡuni 'search, seek', Gnd M nār- 'see, look at', {Ph.} nāḡ- 'gaze' ¶¶ D ##3637 ¶¶ D \*ā belongs to the heritage of N \*nāṭh<sub>1</sub>∇.

**1971. \*rayd∇** 'foot, track; to walk' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to journey, to ride, fahren') > HS: S (or CS) \*✓rdy > Sr ✓rdy|w (pf. ṛ; rā'ḡā ) {Br.} 'ambulavit, cucurrit, vectus est', {JPS} v. 'journey, go forward', rā'ḡā bāʔur'hā 'he went on the road, travelled', Md ✓rḡʔ v. 'travel on, journey, move on, flow, pursue a way', Ar G ✓rdy v. 'fouler le sol de ses sabots' (a horse), Ar مرادى mrʔdy (unk. voc.) 'feet (of camels and elephants)', ?σ Ak {Sd.} ✓rdy, inf. rēḡū, Ak A inf. radāʔu 'begleiten, (mit sich) führen; gehen'; hardly here BHb ḡḡḡ ✓rdy v. 'tread (the wine-press)', which is better explained as a transformation of \*✓rdd v. 'trample' ¶ GB 746, KB 1110-1, KBR 1190, Br. 714, JPS 529-30, BK I 849-51, Hv. 248, Lb. 1231, Sd. 965-8, DM 425

|| Eg fP r d 'foot' > DEg r t id. (> Cpt: Sd/B pAT rat, A pET ret, F AET le t 'foot, leg') ⇨ Eg fP r d.ω 'Treppe' (← 'Tritte, Stufen') ¶ EG II 461-2, Fk. 154, Vc. 178-9 || C: EC: Sml N rād 'footprint', Sml {ZMO} rād 'footprint, trail', rādi- v. 'track' (the latter: ×N \*r'o'dE 'to seek, to wish'), ? Arr r0(:)t- 'travel on foot' || SC ⇨ Mb irirá 'tracks of an animal' ({E}: < \*rēd-) ¶ E SC 329, AD SF 241, Abr. S 207-8, ZMO 337, Hw. A 391 || Om \*r∇d|t- > SOm: Hm B {Fl.} roti / rū / rro, Hm K rro 'foot, leg' ¶ Bnd. AL 150 ¶¶ Vc. 178 (Eg, S), OS ##2083-4, Tk. I 242-3, Tk. SCC 101 [#31.6] || IE: NaE \*rejdʰ- v. 'travel, move (fahren, in Bewegung sein)' > OIr r í adaim v. 'ride, drive, travel', n. act. ríad; W ebrwydd 'quick, swift' ({P}: < NaE \*epo-rēdi-), W † cd. go-rŵydd 'steed' ÷ Gl \*wo-rēdos 'horse' (\*wo- 'under, at' + \*rēda 'Reisewagen') ⇨ L verēdus 'post-horse' ⇨ cd. para-verēdus 'extra post-horse' ⇨ OHG pfarifrit 'e horse' > NHG Pferd || Gmc \*ridjan > OHG rītan 'to drive, to ride', MHG rīten, NHG reiten, ON ríða, OSx, AS rīdan 'to ride', NE ride || Lt riedėti 'to trundle, to roll', Ltv raidīt 'to send, to direct', {Frn.} 'eilig senden' ¶ WP I 75 and II 348, P 861, Mn. 1067, EI 485 (? \*rejdʰ- 'ride'), Vn. R 26, Thr. 377, YGM-1 206, Bc. 168, Ho. 259, Ho. S 60, Kb. 758, OsS 718-9, 799, Lx. 170, KM 543, 594-5, Frn. 729 || A: NaT \*jaða- v. 'walk', \*jaða-k (jaða-g) 'on foot, pedestrian' (×N \*yād'a' or \*yadä 'go' [q.v. ffd.]) || Tg: Nn KU nada- v. 'walk' ¶ STM I 576 ¶¶ ET J 69 || D {Km.} \*naṭ-a-, {GS} \*náṭ- v. 'walk, go, pass' (×N \*žā'Ki'd∇ 'move, go'?) > Tm naṭa 'walk, go, pass', Ml naṭakka, Kt naṭv-, Td naṭ-, Kdg naṭa, Tu naṭapuni, Klm aṭg- (p. adakt-), Nk, Nkr aṭg-, Knd naṭi v. 'walk', Tl naṭa 'walking' (n.), naṭacu v. 'walk, pass' ¶¶ D #3582, Km. 407-8 [#696], GS 140-1 [incl. #355] (on the reflexes of pD \*ń).

**1972.** \*r∇g<sub>L</sub>∇<sub>J</sub>∇ 'to quake, to move in agitation' > HS: CS \*√rgɣ (~ \*√rgɣ) > BHb √rgɣ G 'stir up', {BDB} 'disturb', {GB} 'in unruhige Bewegung versetzen, aufschrecken', MHb √rgɣ Sh 'move to and fro', Ar mt. √rgɣ G (pf. رَجَجَ raṣaḡa, ip. -rṣaḡ-) vt. 'disquiet', {BK} 'agiter, ne pas laisser tranquille' ¶ GB 745, HAOT 255, BDB 920-1 [#7280], KB 1108-9, BK I 880, Hv. 257 || IE \*h<sub>1</sub>ergʰ<sub>L</sub>H<sub>X</sub>- (×N \*žā'Rga 'to strike, to trample, to break' [q.v.]) > NaE \*ergʰ- '≈ tremble, leap, fidget' > OI r<sub>o</sub>ghā'yati 'trembles, rages' || Gk {LS} ὀρχέομαι 'I dance, leap, bound', ὀρχέω 'make to dance\leap' || Sl: R Δ ep'ra 'a fidget', R 'ēpzaet 'fidgets, moves restlessly' (the palatalization \*g > R ʒ is still to be



explained) || Ht {Pv.} *argatiya-* 'stoop to rage, come to violence' ¶¶ WP I 147-8, P 339, M K I 119, M E I 249, F II 433, Ch. 830, LS 1258, Vs. II 22, 24, Pv. I-II 147-8, ≠σ EI 508 (\**h<sup>4</sup>orǵ<sup>h</sup>ej* ~ \**h<sup>4</sup>r<sup>ǵ</sup>hor* 'mounts, covers') || K \**req-/rq-* 'oscillate, shake' (× N \**riqalæ* 'shake' (intr.), 'be shaky', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ K \*-q- may have resulted from \*-gɣ- (glottalization caused by \*ɣ) < \*-gɣ- (uvularization of \*g by as. to the pharyngeal ɣ) ◇ S \*ɣ and the absence of lrs. in Ht and K suggest a pN \*ɣ ◇ IS MS 339 (\**r ʌ ɣ ʌ* [?] 'двигаться' > IE, S).

1973. \**riḡh'a* (or \**riḡsa?*) 'a scratch, line' > HS: S \**o<sup>o</sup> rǵɣ* > Ar رَجَعْ raǧǧ- 'ligne\trait (tracé par le peintre ou l'ornemaniste)' ¶ BK I 827 || IE \**reikH-* > NaIE \**reik(h)-* 'line, row; scratch' > OI *rē'khā* ~ *lē'khā* 'a stripe, line, scratch', *ri'khati* 'scratches' || Gmc: Nnr *reig* 'row, line (in a book, etc.)', OHG *riga* 'line', NHG *Riege* 'section'; Gmc {Vr.} \**rīho* > MHG *rīhe* 'line', NHG *Reihe*, MDt *rie*, Dt *rij* 'row'; OHG d. *rīhan* 'auf einen Faden ziehen' || ? Lt *riēkti*, Ltv *riēkt* 'to plough up virgin soil' (× Lt *riēkti*, Ltv *riēkt* 'to slice [bread]') ¶ P 858, EI 354 (\**reik-*), ≈ M K III 58, M E II 457, Kb. 790, OsS 713-4, Lx. 168, KM 592, 599, Vr. N 575-6, Frn.729 || K \**rig-* (\**o<sup>o</sup>rig-*?) > G v. *rig-* 'arrange', {Chx.} '(ordentlich) aufstellen, ordnen', G *rig-i* 'row, sequence, order, Sv {Ni.}, Sv UB/A {TK} *rig* 'row' (← G?) (× N \**r'i'kæ* ≈ straight, row?) ¶ Chx. 1065-6, DCh. 1037-8, TK 689 || ?? A: Tg \**ḡiḡb∇-* 'a scratch' > Lm *ḡiḡbā-kv* 'a scratch (on the skin)', Ud {Krm.} *ḡiḡbḡḡ-*, *ḡiḡbḡli-* v. 'scratch oneself, hurt one's skin, get slightly wounded', ¶ STM I 637, Krm. 271 ◇ The K ev. rules out N \**χ* and \**ϕ*. NaIE \*-k<sup>h</sup>- suggests a N voiceless lr. \**h* (N \*-g- is devoiced by the adjacent vl. \**h*), hence one must suppose an as. N \**ḡh* > \**gɣ* in S.

1974. (<sub>2</sub>?) \**r∇ḡ<sub>L</sub>∇<sub>L</sub>∇* (or \**∇ḡ<sub>L</sub>∇<sub>L</sub>∇*) 'foot, paw' > HS: WS \**rig<sub>L</sub>a<sub>L</sub>-* 'foot' > BHb (TV) רַגְלִי *regel* 'foot, leg' (+ppa.: רַגְלִי רַגְלִי-ī 'my foot\leg', רַגְלִי רַגְלִי-ō 'his foot\leg'), (BbV) רַגְלִי *rägäl* (+ppa.: רַגְלִי רַגְלִי-ī 'my foot\leg'), SmHb {BH} *rēgäl* (pl./du. *rē'gālam*) 'foot, leg', Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} *riglu* 'foot, (?) leg', Yd mt. *lgru* du. cs. 'feet', IA, Plm *rgl* 'foot', BA (TV) du. רַגְלִי רַגְלִי-īn 'feet', (BbV) רַגְלִי רַגְלִי id., JA [Tgr.] רַגְלִי *regel*, em. רַגְלִי *rig'l-ā*, JEA רַגְלִי *rig'lā* 'foot, leg', Sr رَجْلٌ *reg'l-ā* 'foot, hoof', Md mt. *ligrā*, dis. *nigla* 'foot, leg', Ar رَجْلٌ *riǧl-* {Hv.} 'foot; hind leg (of animals)', {BK} *pied, jambe (depuis la naissance du fémur jusqu'à l'endroit où commence le pied); pied de*

derrière', Sb r gl 'foot', Mn r gl 'foot, leg' ¶ KB 1105-7, 1779, Yv. I 832, HJ 1060, Hnr. 176, Lv. IV 424-5, Lv. T II 405-6, Js. 1449, Sl. 1073-4, BK I 830, Hv. 241, DM 235, Ln. 1044-5, MA 77, MiK I #1.228 || C {AD} \*rṽgṽd- (dis. < \*\*rṽgṽl-?) > Bj {R} ra'gad (pl. 'ragada) 'leg, foot', {Rop.} ragad ~ lagad 'foot', Bj A {AD} ra'gad 'leg' ||| EC: Sa {R} ri'gid 'foot', ✓rgd (p. -irgid-) pcv. 'stoßen mit dem Fuß auf die Erde, hüpfen, trampeln, tanzen', Af {R} -irgid- 'dance', {PH} -irgid- pcv. 'dance in line' ||| ??φ mt. SC: Irq {MQK} digir 'footprint, step', Brn dagara 'footprint' ¶ AD SF 170, Blz. EDB I 23, R WBd 190, R S II 299-300, R A II 100, PH 137, E SC 324, MQK 30 ¶¶ Coh. EC #419, AD SF 170, OS #448 || ??φ mt. ECh: Nd dáǵǵl 'leg', Tmk dèǵǵl 'leg, foot', Smr {J} dǵǵláy 'foot' ¶ ChC, Cp. 52, Blz. EChWL #31 ||| u: FU (in Ugr only) \*o|âx|ṽ (or \*o|âk|ṽ, \*|â|ṽ|k|ṽ) 'foot, paw' > ObU \*|ṽ|ṽ|ṽ > pVg \*|ṽ|ṽ|ṽ / \*|ṽ|ṽ|ṽ- 'foot' > OVg SoG lagl, OVg TM ljále, OVg S Vt/Kg лалъ, Vg: T la'yəl, LK lāl (pl. lāy|ət), MK/UK lāl (pl. lāy|ət), P/LL lāl (+ppa.: lay|əm 'my foot'), Ss lāxəl 'foot'; pOs \*|aṽə| 'paw (Pfote)' > V/Vy |aṽə|, Ty |āṽə|, Y lāṽə|, D laχəl id. | OHg lollya 'ham', Hg Δ lol|, lolu, lolya, lolva id., 'ε Schweinebraten' || ? Y: T {IN} laqil, {Ku.} лажил 'buttocks, hind part; tail; back side (of garments)' (× N \*LaḶa 'leg') ¶¶ UEW 865 (Ugr \*lâlkṽ 'irgendein Glied [Fuß, Hand, Pfote, Tatze]'), Ht. #357, Stn. Wv 196, MF 407-8, EWU 906 ||| ?σ IE: OIr ({LP} Mlr) lurga 'shin-bone' (× N ? \*Lṽ'r'kṽ 'branch of a tree, stick, club' [q.v.]) ◇ Cf. also P's IE \*r̥ksā 'fetlock, pastern (of hoofed animals)' > OI r̥k'salā, r̥'ccharā 'the part of the animal's leg between the fetlock joint and the hoof' (MW 224-5), which P and M K equate with Lt \*r'éša 'Kötengelenk' (P 875, M K I 118, but not M E I 248). The trouble is that in fact the Lt word is r'ieša(ς) 'wrist, tarsus, pastern-joint of a horse', which can hardly be drawn back to \*r̥ksā. Frn. 730-1 compares it with MDt wrīghe, Dt wreeg 'Fußbiege', MHG rihe 'Rist des Fußes', and other related Gmc forms and derives it from IE wreikō-/ā- 'der sich Drehende, der Gekrümmte' ◇ The original N etymon was either \*rṽgṽl|ṽ (whence as. bringing about FU \*o|âṽ|ṽ) or \*|ṽgṽl|ṽ (whence dis. S \*|rigṽl|ṽ).

1975. ?σ \*rogU '≈ incline, incline\turn towards' > HS: S \*o-rūṽ- > Ar ✓rwṽ (ip. -rūṽ-) 'se pencher, se tourner vers qn. ou qch.; se détourner de la droite ligne' ¶ BK I 954, Hv. 278-9 ||| u: FU \*o-roṽ|wṽ > ObU {Ht.} \*rōṽ- ({Hl.} \*roṽ|w-) 'approach' > Vg \*rāw- / \*rōṽ-

'heranschleichen lassen (vom Wild)' > Vg: T raw-, LK/UK/NV row-, MK/UL rōw-, P rōw- / row-, LL row- / raʁ-, Ss rōw- (unless this Vg word belongs to FU \*rak-/rakk- 'near', whence Vg MK rākās- 'zu jemandem kommen') and pOs \*rāy- ({{JHl.}} \*rīy-) v. 'approach' > Os: Km/Nz/Kz/O rāχ- v. 'approach', V rāyam, Ty/Y rāyam, K/Nz/Kz rāχam 'Verwandte' ¶ Ht. #553 || K \*rʷw- 'collapse' > G rʷv- 'fall in, collapse', Sv rʷw-/reʷw- 'collapse, fall down', {Ni.} 'валиться', Sv UB {GP} reʷw- (msd. li-reʷw): a- + reʷw- 'collapse', es- + reʷw- 'fall down', Sv L {Dn.} li-reʷw- 'to fall, to descend', 1s prs. χwa-rʷw-eni 'I fall\descend', 3s aor. es-raʷw 'he fell, fell down (упал, свалился)' (× K \*rʷw- 'destroy' < N \*rAwgʷU' 'to destroy, to tear', q.v. ffd.).

**1976. \*rAwgʷU'** 'to destroy, to tear' > HS: S \*°-rūy- > Ar ✓rʷy (ip. -rūy-): rāya ʕal... bi... 'rushed on (so.) with (blows)', TL : تراوَّغوا tarāwayū 'they struggled together' ¶ BK I 954, Hv. 278 || K \*rʷw- 'destroy' (× K \*rʷw- 'throw' and K \*rʷw- 'collapse' < N ?σ \*rogʷU ≈ 'incline, incline towards') > OG rʷw- 'destroy', Sv UB rʷw- 'destroy', msd. li-rʷw-e 'to destroy sth.' ¶ ≈ K 158, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 156, FS K 257, FS E 283-4, Ni. s.v. 'валиться', GP 165-6, Dn. s.v. reʷv- || ?? A \*lA:b- (× N \*repʷ 'tear off, break', q.v. ffd.) > Tg \*lēb- ~ \*lab- 'tear, wear out' || M \*labtara- ~ \*nabtara- 'torn clothes' || IE \*reṷH- > NaIE \*rewə-/rū- 'tear to pieces, tear out' (× N \*rowʷ [or \*rowHʷ?] 'dig, scratch, carve', q.v.) > OI raw- / ru- 'break\dash to pieces' (Vd prtc. ru-'ta- 'broken to pieces') || Lt ráuti (prs. ráuju) 'to tear out, to root up', Ltv Δ raūt 'to jerk, to pull' || Sl \*rǔvǎ-ti (prs. \*rǔvǔ) 'to tear' > SrChS рѣвати rǔvati / рѣвѣ rǔvǔ, Slv rváti / rújem, Blg 'рѣвам, OR рѣвати rǔvati / рѣвоу rǔvu, R рвать / рву, Uk (i)'рвати / (i)'рву, Cz rváti / rvu, Pr wac / wę v. 'tear', SCr řvati / řvēm 'strain oneself', řvati se 'to fight' || ON rýja 'to pluck out sheep's wool' || pTc \*ruwā- > Tc A ruwā-, B ru-, ruwā- 'pull out (from under the surface)' ¶ The intonation in Blt suggests the presence of a pIE lr.; the absence of the expected traces of the lr. in OI is likely to be due to contamination with N \*rowʷ '↑' (q.v.) ¶ WP II 351-2, P 868, Mn. 1095-6, 1099-1100, 1104, ≈σ EI 570 (\*reṷ(H)- 'pull out [from under the surface]', M K III 63, M E II 440, MW 881, WH II 453-4, Frn. 798-9, Vs. III 452, Glh. 528-9, Vr. 455, Ad. 537.

**1977. \*rAyl̥i,ʔʷ** 'follow, accompany' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'drive [a herd], graze') > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} \*rāy- 'follow' > Sml rāy-, Sml J

raʔ-/rah- 'follow', pBn \*rāʔ- id. (> Bn: Bi/Sa/J/Kj rāʔ-) 'follow, accompany', Rn rāḥ- 'go\travel in procession with, follow' ¶ Ehret adduces here Bj {R} rām- 'join, follow after, accompany', which is hardly tenable for phonetic reasons ¶ ZMO 337, PG 245, Hn. S 72, Hn. BD 107, E PC #508, R WBd 191-2 || S \*✓rɣy > BHb ✓rɣy|w G 'associate with', Ak rāʔu 'Genossen werden'; S \*riɣ- > BHb רִיחַ 'rēʔɣ 'fellow, companion, friend', Ug rɣ id., Amr {G} riɣum id., IA rɣ {HJ} 'friend, colleague, neighbour', Ak rūʔu Gefährte, Freund', ? Ebl {Krb} raʔum ≈ id., ? Sb rɣyn 'guidance, assistance' | ? S \*✓rɣy vt. 'graze' (← 'drive cattle') > BHb רִיחַ ✓rɣy|w, Ar ✓rɣy G, Ak reʔû id., Ph/IA/Plm {HJ} ✓rɣy G vt. 'pasture, graze', JA [Trg.], Sr ✓rɣw|y G (JA pf. רִיחַ rəʔɣ̄ ~ רִיחַ rəʔɣ̄, Sr. pf. רִיחַ; rəʔɣ̄) 'feed, graze', JEA ✓rɣy G 'graze', Ug d. rɣy 'herdsman' ¶ GB 767, KB 1169-70, 1174-7, BDB 945-6, Br. 737-8, HJ 1178-80, A #2521, OLS 382, G A 30, Js. 1486, Sl. 1090, JPS 545, BGMR 113, Sd. 954, 998, Krb. PE 104, BK I 885-7, Ln. 1109-10 || A: M \*nayi 'friendship, accord' > WrM nai, HIM най 'friendship', Ord nā 'marque d'amitié', Kl ни id., 'accord', {Rm.} nā 'friendship, friend'; WrM nair ~ HIM найр, Ord nār 'accord, harmony, friendliness', MM [HI] {Ms.} nairaqui 'justice, bienséance', WrM naira-, Ord nāra-, Brt найрамда- 'be in harmony, agreement', Kl {Rm.} nār- 'agree' ¶ MED 55-9, KRS 376, KW 273-4, Ms. H 77, Ms. O 485-6, Chr. 319 || K \*reḡ- 'drive a herd' > G reḡ- id. (-ḡ- due to contamination with \*reḡ- 'knock, strike?'), Mg raɣ-, Sv reḡ- 'drive a herd' ¶ K 155; FS E 282 and FS K 155-6 (FS reject the G cognate) || ?σ IE: NaIE \*rey-/erw-/ru-/r- 'move, hasten' (× N \*rūʔʔ 'go, [?] run', q.v. ffd. × NaIE \*or-/r̥- 'arise' < N \*H<sub>1</sub>erU 'ascend, rise') ◇ K \*ḡ < \*ʔʔ.

**1978.** (₂?) \*r∇H₂i (= \*r∇h|ɣ|h̄i?) 'thing' > IE \*reḡy- > NaIE \*rēj- (/rej-) 'thing' > OI rāy- /rai- in ra'yih (accus. sg. ra'yim, instr. sg. rā'ya, gen. sg. ra'yaḥ) 'goods, wealth, property', Av accus. sg. raēm, instr. sg. raya, OAv gen. sg. rāi iō id. || L rē-s (gen. sg. reī) 'thing', Um dat./abl. sg. ri id., RE-PER 'pro re' ¶ WP II 243, P 860, EI 637-8 (\*reḡi-s / gen. \*reḡi-0s 'possessions'), Bur. SL 178, 245, Kur. EIE 35ff., M K III 45-6, M E II 438-9, WH II 430-1, Bc. G 132-3, 344 || HS: C: HEC {Hd.} \*r- 'thing' > Sd ra id., Sd r-iččo, Kmb ir-ičču id., 'nameless thing' (with the sglt. sx. -iččo, -ičču), Hd l-uččo 'thing' (l < LEC \*r) || ?μ Rn rē m 'thing' ¶ Hd. 152, 292, 324, 389, 419, PG 246-7 || ? K \*°ra- > OG ra- 'what?' (nom. ra-y, dat. ra-s, ra-sa, adv.c. ra-d), raoden

'when?', OG, G romel- 'which?', rel. prn. 'which' ¶ For the semantic change 'thing' → 'what?' cp. It cosa ¶ Fn. GAS 71-5, Shan. G 52-4, Ser. 131 ◇ If G ra- belongs here, the N lr. must have been \*h, \*r, or \*h.

**1979.** ? \*r'i'kæ ≈ straight, row', (?) '≈ to arrange' > IE: NaIE \*reġ- '≈ straight; to stretch, to stretch out', \*reġī- 'direction, line' > Vd 'raji- {P} 'Linie, Reihe' (?), ra'ji- {P} '(?) sich aufrichtend, gerade', r'juḥ 'straight, upright, right', 'r'jyati 'stretches, stretches out', rāṣṭi 'rules', Av arəzuš 'gerade, richtig', rāzayeiti 'richtet', KhS rrays- v. 'direct' ||| Gk ῥέγω v. 'reach, stretch' ||| L reg-ō / -ēre v / 'guide, direct' ||| OIr reg- 'tendre, diriger', reraig 'direxit', NIr righim 'I reach, attain', {Ped.} 'ich strecke aus' ||| Gt uf-rakjan 'ἐκτείνω, to stretch out', OHG rekken id., 'to rack', NHG recken, ON rekja 'to stretch, to extend', AS recćan id., 'to stretch out' ||| Lt réž-ti 'straffen, recken', rf. réž-ti-s 'to exert, to strain oneself', int. ražýti-s 'to stretch oneself, to stretch one's limbs', Ltv riēzt 'emporstrecken', rōzīt (o = [ū]) 'strecken, recken' ||| pTc {Ad.} \*rāk- > Tc: A, B rāk- 'extend (over), cover' ||| ? NaIE \*reġ- > OHG, NHG reichen 'reach, attain', AS rāccan id., 'extend', NE reach ||| Lt réižti 'stretch, tighten', {Frn.} 'reken, straffen' ¶ WP II 362-5, P 854-7, 862, EI 187 (\*reġ- 'extend, stretch out [a body part]'), 329-30 (\*h<sub>3</sub>reġ- 'stretch out the arm', \*h<sub>3</sub>reġ- [3s prs. \*h<sub>3</sub>rēġ-ti, 3p prs. \*h<sub>3</sub>reġ-nti] 'direct, guide, rule'), M K I 121 and III 35, M E II 425, Bai. 358-9, F II 412-3, WH II 426-7, Vn. R 13-4, Bur. SL 178, Ped. VGKS II 593, Dnn. 570-1, Fs. 513, Ho. 256, Kb. 785, OsS 710-1, KM 589, 592, Vr. 440, Frn. 711, 715, 726, Wn. LE 106, Wn. 402, SSS 461, Ad. 529-30 || ? HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓rkk > Ar {Ln.} ✓rkk G 'put one part of the thing upon another', {BK} 'jeter une chose sur une autre' ¶ Ln. 1141, BK I 913 || ? K \*rig- (\*<sup>o</sup>rig-?) > G v. rig- 'arrange', {Chx.} '(ordentlich) aufstellen, ordnen', G rig-i 'row, sequence, order, Sv {Ni.}, Sv UB/A {TK} rig 'row' (← G?) (< N \*rig'h'a [or \*rigsa?] 'a scratch, line') ¶ Chx. 1065-6, DCh. 1037-8, TK 689 ◇ On N and pIE \*'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

**1980.** (₂?) \*r∇kE (or \*r∇kü?∇??) 'moist', 'contain\conduct water' > IE: NaIE \*reġ- 'moist; pour\conduct water' > L rigā- v. (prs. rigō, inf. rigāre) 'lead\conduct water; wet, moisten, bedew', ir-rigā- v. 'conduct water; water, irrigate' ||| pAl {O} \*reza > Al rrjedh- / aor. rrodha v. 'flow, flow by; leak; pour in\out, stream' ||| ON raki, Nr Δ rake 'moisture, wetness', Ic raker 'moist' ¶ WP II 365-6, P 857, EI 639

(\*reġ- 'moist, make wet'), WH II 435, O 387, Pis. SLS 130, Vr. 432 ||  
**HS:** [1] WS ≈ \*'rakuʔ- or (for Ar only) S \*<sup>o</sup>✓rkʷ|y' > Ar {Ln.} رَكْوَة rakw-  
 at- 'small drinking-vessel', markuww- 'a large watering-trough or tank',  
 رِكْيَة rikayy-at- 'a well containing water' (× Ar ✓rkʷ 'dig'), ? Gz ✓rkʔ  
 (pf. rakʔa) 'be satisfied (with a drink)', Amh rækka 'be sated (from  
 drinking or [a plant] from being watered), be satisfied'; [2] S \*<sup>o</sup>✓rgy  
 'be moist' or 'moisten' (with an unexpected voiced \*g) > Sr ✓rgw|y G  
 (pf. رَء; rə'gā, ip. رَء; nε-r'gē) 'moisten', D رَء; rag'gī id. ¶ Ln.  
 1149-50, Fr. II 189, Hv. 268, L G 469, Br. 711-2, JPS 527-8 || ?σ K: G Kx  
 r0k-i 'dregs, wine-yeast', {Chx.} 'Bodensatz, (Wein-)Hefe' ¶ Chx. 1074.

**1981.** \*r∇k<sub>L</sub>Uʔ<sub>L</sub>∇ (or \*r∇wk<sub>L</sub>∇ʔ<sub>L</sub>∇?) 'ε horn' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>ra<sub>L</sub>∇<sub>L</sub>k<sub>L</sub>- >  
 Ar رَوْق raʷq- 'sheep's horn' ¶ Fr. II 212, BK I 955 || **IE:** NaIE (att. in  
 BSl) \*<sup>o</sup>rog<sub>L</sub>ʰ<sub>L</sub>- or \*<sup>o</sup>rog<sub>L</sub>ʰ<sub>L</sub>- 'horn' > Lt rāgas, Ltv rags, Pru ragis id.  
 || Sl \*rògъ (gen. \*rò'ga) 'horn' > OCS рогъ roġъ, Blg, R, Blr рог, SCr  
 rōg, Slv rōg, Cz, Slk roh, P róg, Uk pi r id. ¶ Frn. 684, En. 237, Vs. III  
 489, Glh. 530 || **K:** GZ \*rka- 'horn' > OG, G rka-, Mg ka-, (× \*kra- < N  
 \*kæR∇ 'horn' [q.v.]) Lz kra-, kia- 'horn'; d. GZ \*rk-in- v. 'butt (with  
 horns)' > OG, G rkin-/rken- id., ? Mg rč- v. 'butt, damage'; Lz nkin-,  
 nkir- butt (with horns)' ¶ K 157-8, Ser. 134 ◇ The Ar emphatic q  
 suggests the presence of an ancient glottal stop (N \*-k∇ʔ- > \*-kʔ- > S \*-  
 k<sub>L</sub>- > Ar -q-) ◇ IS MS 361 s.v. рог \*r0k0 (IE, K).

**1982.** \*r∇k∇ʔ0 'speak, shout, say' > **IE:** NaIE \*rek<sub>L</sub>ʷ<sub>L</sub>- / \*rēk<sub>L</sub>ʷ<sub>L</sub>- id. >  
 Sl inf. \*rek-ti / prs. \*rek-q 'say' > OCS inf. рещи rešti (prs. рекъ  
 rekq, inv. рьци рьси) 'say, tell', OR inf. речь reči / prs. рекоу  
 reku id., Blg prs. ре'ка, SCr inf. rěci / prs. rěčēm, Slv réči /  
 réčem, Cz říci / řku, P rzeć / rzekę id.; d. Sl \*rěčъ (< \*rēk-i-)  
 'speech, word' > OCS, OR рѣчь rěčъ id., R речь 'speech', Uk piч id.,  
 'word, thing', Cz řeč, Slk řeč 'speech', Blg реч 'speech, word', SCr  
 рѣч њ rīječ 'word', Slv rěč, P rzecz 'thing' | Lt rēkti (prs.  
 rėkiũ) 'to cry, to shout', Ltv rēkt 'to roar, to howl' || Tc: A rake, B  
 reki 'word, command' ¶ ≈ P 863, EI 535 (\*rek- 'speak'), Vs. 465-6,  
 478, ≈ Glh. 522 (derives the Sl √ from IE \*wrek-), Tls. 518, Frn. 617-8,  
 ME III 519, Wn. 400, Tr. 243, Ad. 539 ¶ The labial element of the  
 expected \*-kʷ- was probably lost on the morpheme boundary in Tc ||  
**HS:** Ch: WCh \*r∇k<sub>L</sub>ʷ<sub>L</sub>- 'ask (for)' > Hs r0ká 'request, ask for' || NrBc  
 {Sk.}: Cg r0k-, Mbr r0ki, Jmb rūka, (?) Wrj ráw-, Kry r0, My rawa- 'ask

for' || CCh: MfG'-r3k- 'beg, cadge' ('mendier, quémander') | ZmB rák 'se vanter' || ECh: Bdy {J} lók-lòk 'implorer', Mgm {JA} lóllikò 'demander avec beaucoup d'insistance' ¶ Stl. IF 206, ChC, Ba. 861, Brr. MG II 224, ≈ Sk. HCD 220 || K \*rekw-/\*rkw- 'say' > OG rkw-/rku-, G rkV-/rk- 'tell, say, speak', Sv UB rēk- / rāk<sup>ω</sup>- 'say, speak' (rāk<sup>ω</sup> 'he said', r<sup>ω</sup>ēk-ar 'I said', rēk-a 'speak!') ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 156, FS K 256, FS E 283, Ser. 134, Chx. 107, GP 255, TK 688, 808 ◇ K \*k (rather than \*k̥) suggests a vw. between N \*k and \*ʔ; this vw. was probably lost (syncopized) in the prehistory of IE and WCh, producing a cluster \*kʔ > \*k̥.

**1983. \*r'a'kâ** 'time, term' > IE: NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>rok<sub>L</sub><sup>ω</sup>- > Sl \*rokъ 'time appointed beforehand' > OCS роkъ роkъ id. ('προθεσμια'), SCr rōk, Slv rōk id., 'time', OR роkъ роkъ id., 'year, age, fate', R роk 'fate', Uk pīk, Cz, Slk, P роk 'year' ¶ Tr. 243, Vs. III 450-1, 496-7, ≈ Glh. 522 || HS: Eg fOK r k 'time', m r k.f 'at the time of (so.)' ([unless ← Eg m r k.f 'neben [jemandem], um [jemandem]']) (see N \*{AKU} 'circle') ¶ EG II 457-8 || K: G rak̥i {DCh., NCh.} 'as soon as, when', {Chx.} 'da, weil; sobald, wenn, als' ¶ Chx. 1044, DCh. 1032, NCh. 334 || A: Tg \*-raki / \*-reki 'when' (sx. of the temporal-conditional gerund): Ewk -rak(i) / -r3k(i) / -rok(i) id.: 3m3-r3ki-w 'when I came' (← \*my [-w] time [-r3ki-] of coming [amə-]), dukū-rak-wun 'when we wrote', Lm -r3q / -rak 'when': 3m-r3q-u 'when I came' ¶ Vas. 786, Nov. EJ 102.

**1984. \*r'o'kô** 'shelled animal (e.g., tortoise, crayfish)', 'shell (of an animal)' > HS: S \*rak̥k- 'tortoise' > Ak rak̥k̥u(m) '(small) tortoise', Sr راک̥; rak̥k̥-ā, Md riḳa 'tortoise', Ar راقق- {Ln.} 'tortoise, great tortoise, crocodile, ∈ an aquatic reptile', {BK} 'grande tortue' ¶ Br. 743, JPS 549, Sd. 958, DM 433-4, Ln. 1130, BK I 903 || IE: NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>rōāk<sub>L</sub><sup>ω</sup>- > Sl \*rākъ 'crayfish' > Blg, McdS, R рак, SCr rāk, Slv rāk, Cz, Slk, P rak id.; Sl ⇨ Sw rāka 'prawn', NNr ræke id.; Sl \*rak̥ (gen. \*rak̥ve) 'shell (of an animal)' > R d. 'раков-ина 'shell (of a shellfish)', Cz rakv-ice id., (× eSl \*raka 'coffin' [OCS, OR рака raka id., etc.] ← Gt arka 'Arche, Kasten' and L arca 'box') > Cz rakev, Slk rakva, Slv rakev rākav 'coffin' ¶ Brü. 453, ZVSZ 358, Vs. III 437-8, Ma. CS 413, Hlq. 867, ≈ Chrn. II 96-7, ≈ Glh. 517, P 531 (denies any connection between Sl \*rak̥ and IE \*erk- [found in insect names of Blt, Arm, and Al]) || K \*rku- 'tortoise, turtle' > OG kuw- 'turtle', G ku / kuv- id., 'tortoise', G Δ rku-, Mg ku id., Sv {Ni.} ku (gen. k<sup>ω</sup>-iš) 'tortoise' ¶ K 157 (GZ \*rku-), ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 103 (GZ \*ku-), Chx. 635, 1072, DCh. 1040, Q 262, Ni.

s.v. черепаша || ? **A:** Tg \*<sup>o</sup>lok∇ > Neg loka 'fetal membrane' ¶ STM I 501.

**1985. \*r∇k∇** 'to skip, to hop, to dance' > **HS:** S: [1] S (+ext.) \*✓rḳd (ip. -rḳod) v. 'skip, hop, dance' > BHb ✓rḳd G 'jump, skip', G 'skip, dance', Ug d. mrḳd-m {A, Grd.} 'dancers', {OLS} 'musical instruments for dancing (castañuelas?)', JA {Trg.} ✓rḳd D, JEA ✓rḳd G, D 'dance', Md ✓rḳd G 'dance, waggle, rock to and fro, move rhythmically', Sr ✓rḳd D, G 'dance', Ar raqadān- {BK} 'bonds, sauts des agneaux et des chevreaux quand ils folâtaient', {Hv.} 'leap\bound of a lamb', Jb C {Jo.} ✓rḳd (pf. ʕrḳad, 'rḳtḳad) v. 'dance', Sq {L} 'ʔerḳid 'se précipiter', Ak OB ✓rḳd Gtn 'herhüpfen, springen', Ak NA/YB ✓rḳd G (inf. raḳādu) 'dance, skip'; [2] WS +ext. \*✓rḳç > Ar ✓rḳç G 'sauter, sautiller; danser', Mh ✓rḳç (pf. rḳḳawç, sbjn. ʔrḳāç) 'jog up and down', Hrs ✓rḳç (pg. rḳḳōç, sbjn. ʔrḳāç) v. 'dance' (usually of camels); [3] SES \*✓rḳḫ > Hrs ✓rḳḫ Gt (pf. 'ratḳeḫ) 'dance with hopping steps', Mh ✓rḳḫ (pf. arḳḳḫ, sbjn. ʔarḳḳḫ) 'do a hopping dance', Jb E ✓rḳḫ (pf. rḳḳḫ) id. ¶ KB 1201-2, A #2540, Grd. UT #2351, OAS 291, Lv. T II 435-6, Js. 1486, Sl. 1093, DM 437, BK I 906-7, Hv. 265, Jo. M 325-6, Sd. 957 || B \*✓rḳd > Ah, Gh ʕrkād v. 'dance', Tmz {MT} rkād 'danser (en tapant du pied)', Kb ʕrkād 'piétiner, fouler', ḫḫḫḫḫḫ (pl. ḫḫḫḫḫḫḫ) 'marque de pas', Gd ʕrkād 'stimuler une monture, galoper' ¶ Fc. 1626-7, MT 579-80, ≈ Dl. 721 (unc.: Kb. ← Ar), Lf. II 312-3 [#1359] || **K:** G rḳ - v. 'dance' ¶ Chx. 1073 || **U:** FU \*r'i'kke- ({LG} \*rEkEntE) 'run quickly, skip' > Prm \*rEd- > Z rḳdt+- v. 'trot' || BF: F riehtää, Δ rikentää v. 'hurry, hasten, speed', Vp řigeta v. 'hurry', rigo n. 'hurry', F Δ {UEW} rikevää, rikeä 'in a hurry, quickly' || Os Vy rüḫ- 'run with big strides' ('бежать, делая широкие шаги', 'große Schritten machen'), V {Trj. VD, Stn.} rüḫ-, {Trj. S} rüḫ- v. 'skip, jump' ('springen, hüpfen') ¶ LG 243, SK 777-8, SSA III 71, ZM 470, Stn. D 1268, Trj. VD 185, Trj. S 408, UEW 423.

**1986. \*ræ,w,ḳæ** 'sinew' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'cord, rope'), 'to tie' > **HS:** Eg fP rḳḳ 'cord, bowstring', (pl.) 'sinews' (× ?? N \*ḫarḳ'u' 'sinew' × ?? N \*ḫ'o'ḫḳa 'to bend', [in descendant lgs.] → 'a bow') ¶ EG II 410, Fk. 148 || Ch ≈ \*r∇nK ~ \*1∇nK 'shooting bow' (× N \*ḫ'o'ḫḳa '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Gr. LA 53, Tk. I 249-50 || **A:** M \*neke- 'weave, knit' (× N \*næḳ∇ 'to plait, to tie', q.v. ffd.) || **IE:** NaIE \*reḱ- 'rope, strap' > OI rasāna 'rope, cord, bridle, girth', NPrs رَسَن rāsān 'rope, string, cord,



thread', Xwr ršyn 'rope, cord (Strick, Seil)', Oss rätän 'ε thick rope'; OI raśmiḥ 'string, rope, cord, bridle'; OPrs or Med ⇨ BHb רֶסֶן 'resen 'rein, bridle', (?) 'halter', JA [Trg.] רִסְנָא 'ris'n-ā 'bridle' || Gmc \*ra|ekk- '≈ strap' and \*rekend- 'fetter, chain' (×N \*riqû'z'∇ 'to tie; loop', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP II 347, 362, P 863, M K III 47, Horn 132, Sg. 576, Ab. II 382-3, ≈ Bai. 214-5, KB 1165, Vr. 432, 440, Ho. 251, GWNT 1618, KB 1165, BDB 943, Js. 1484 || E: AchEl rák-qa 'geknüpft' ¶¶ HK 1026 ◇ Ch {Stl.} \*-q- suggests that pN \*K may be interpreted as \*q (provided that Stl.'s tentative pCh rec. of \*q proves to be certain and Ch \*q is a reg. reflex of N \*q).

**1987. \*raḶaX∇ (= \*raḶaḥU?)** 'arrange, put in order' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓rḶḥ > Ar ✓rḶḥ D 'order \ arrange, put (sth.) into good \ right \ proper state, manage (sth.) well' ¶ Ln. 1134, Hv. 264 || CCh: Msg {Rlf.} raga ~ rga ~ rgaḥ ~ rgi 'make (pots, mats, etc.), build (houses)', Msg P {Trn.} sg. r3ga, pl./inf. rigi v. 'build', (here?) v. 'tie', Gdr {Mch.} rka v. 'build' ¶ ChC, Trn. LM 112, Lk. DQM 73 || IE: NaIE \*rek- ~ \*rēk- {P} '(an)ordnen' > OI racana- {M} 'Einrichtung, Ordnung', {MW} 'act of making \ forming \ arranging', racayati {M} 'produces, forms', NPrs {Sg.} رَجَهْ rāḷe 'row, cloth-line', {VI.} 'series, ordo', {BM} رَجْ rāḷ 'row, order' || Gt rahnjan 'to reckon', ragin 'Rat, Beschluß (γνώμη)'; \*rēk- > Gt ga-rehsns 'προθεσμία, time appointed beforehand; determination, plan' || ?σ SI \*račiti > OCS РАУИТН račiti, SCr, Slv ráčiti 'to wish, to want', Cz račiti 'to deign', P raczyć 'to deign, to condescend, to be pleased', R † 'рачить 'to take care \ pains, to be zealous', Blg 'рача 'I want' ¶ WP II 362, P 863, M K III 23, BM 242, Horn 136, VI. II 23, Sg. 570, Fs. 199, 392, Tr. 243, Vs. III 450-1, ≈ Glh. 522 ¶¶ The IE reflex of the Ir. was lost in the stem-final position || U: FU ≈ \*rakk∇ 'prepare, put, put in order' > F rakenta- 'prepare, build, erect, establish', Es rakenda- v. 'harness, put to' || Hg rak-, Δ rok- v. 'lay, put, set, place; stack, superpose' ¶ Coll. 110, UEW 419, MF 524 || ?σ K: G rḶve(∇)- / rḶvi- / rḶv- 'distinguish clearly, make clear' ¶ Chx. 1071-2 ◇ If the G verbs belongs here, the rec. of the N etymon \*raḶaX∇ may be specified as \*raḶaḥU ◇ IS MS 368 s.v. СТРОИТЬ \*ra[Ḷ]a (IE, U, Ch), Ps. FI 27 (IE, U).

**1988. \*<sup>l</sup>Ḷrôm∇** 'quiet; to rest' > HS: WS \*<sup>o</sup>✓rmm 'be silent, quiet' > Gz ✓rmm Sh (pf. Ḷarmama) 'keep silence, be tranquil \ quiet, be at rest', Ar ✓rmm Sh (pf. Ḷamma) 'be \ become silent' ¶ L G 471, BK I

919-20, Ln. 1150 || IE: NaIE \*<sub>1</sub>rem(ə)- 'rest, be calm, quiet' > OI 'ramatē 'calms, stops, rests, abides', Av rāman- 'Ruhe', rāmōiδwam 'verweilet!', rāmaye'ti 'bringt zur Ruhe', NPrs رام rām 'quiet; tame, domestic; obedient', آرام ārām n. 'rest, tranquility, quiet', آرامیدن ārāmi-dān 'to rest, to repose' || Gk ἡρέμα 'stilly, quietly, gently, softly; slowly' || OIr fo-rim- v. 'set, put', W araf 'quiet, calm, gentle' || Gt rimis ἡσυχία (stillness, rest)' || Lt rem̃ti (prs. remi ū) 'to support, to back up', ramūs adj. 'calm, quiet', {Nsl.} rāmas 'Ruhe', Ltv rāms 'quiet, calm', Lt rīm̃ti (prs. rīm̃stu) 'to be quiet\calm', Ltv rīm̃t 'to calm down, to quiet down, to stop, to cease' ¶ P 864, ≈ Mn. 1070-1, M K III 43-4, M E II 435-6, Horn 5, 134, Sg. 32, 564, F I 642-3, Vn. R 31, Fs. 398, TF 339, Frn. 695-6, 718, Nsl. 441, ≈ EI 474 (\*h<sub>1</sub>erh<sub>1</sub>-m- 'to rest, to support' -> \*h<sub>1</sub>erh<sub>1</sub>- 'quiet, at rest') || A: Tg: WrMc lumbu {Hr.} 'plötzlich ruhig fließend, beruhigt', {Z} 'peaceful stream', lumbu muke {Hr.} 'ruhig fließendes Wasser', lumbur 'floß plötzlich ruhig, war beruhigt' ¶ STM I 510, Z 860, Hr. 630 || M \*nomu- -> \*nomuyi > WrM nomui, HIM номой 'inert, lifeless, slow', Brt номой 'quiet'; M \*nomu-qan ~ \*nomu-qan > MM [MA] nomuqan, nomuqan 'quiet, tame (смирный)', [HI] {Ms.} nomuqan 'doux', {Lew.} 'vertueux, doux, avantageux', WrM nomuqan, HIM номхон, Brt номгон ~ номхон 'peaceful, calm', Ord nomoxon 'doux de caractère, doux et docile', Brt номгон, Kl номһн номуън 'quiet, calm (смирный, спокойный, тихий, кроткий)', Kl {Rm.} nomxan, nomuqan 'friedlich, zahm'; M \*nomuq|qara > WrM nomu-qara- ~ -qara-, HIM номгоро- ~ номхро- 'be peaceful \ calm; calm down', Brt номгор- 'become quiet\tame', Ord nomoxoro- 'devenir doux de caractère, devenir traitable, devenir doux et docile', Kl номһар adv. 'quietly'; MM [HI] {Ms.} nomuqat- 'rendre doux, apprivoiser' ¶ Pp. MA 259, MED 591, Ms. O 496, Ms. H 79, Lew. II 65, KRS 381, ≈ KW 279, Chr. 330 || ? D: GnD \*r<sup>1</sup>ōm<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>- > Gnd rom- v. 'rest', rōm- v. 'rest after labour', Knd rōmb- v. 'rest, take rest', Png ʒōm- v. 'stop, rest, cease', Kui ʒāmb(a)- v. 'rest, cease, subside', Ku ʒōm- v. 'rest', ? rēmb- id. ¶ D #5178.

**1989. \*rûm∇** (or \*rûm∇ñ∇) '≈ vein, muscle, strap' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'string, rope') > IE: [1] NaIE \*reum̃-/ \*roum̃- > Gmc \*reuman- '≈ leather strap, thong' > OHG rīomo 'strap', {OsS} 'Band, Gürtel,

Riemen', OSx riomo, NHG Riemen 'leather strap, thong', Dt riem id., AS réoma 'skin, ligament' ({Ho.} 'Haut, Band') || Lt raumuõ (gen. raumens) 'muscle' | [2] NaIE \*remŋ- > Sl \*rem+ / gen. \*remene 'leather strap' > OCS рѣмень remenъ id. ('ἰμάς'), Blg 'ремен, SCr rēmēn, Slv rémen, Cz řemen, Slk remeň, Przemeń, R ремень, Uk 'ремінь' 'strap' ¶ Mn. 1075, ≈ WP II 360, ≈ P 873, OsS 719, KM 509, Vr. N 574-5, Ho. S 61, Ho. 257, Sw. 140, Kb. 796, ≈ Frn. 707, Vs. III 468, Glh. 524 ¶ Acc. to AD NVIE, both \*reumŋ and \*remŋ (< \*ruemŋ) are reg. reflexes of N \*rûm∇n̄∇ || HS: \*r∇m∇m- (\*<sup>o</sup>rumam-?) > S: Ar rumm-at- (pl. rumam-) 'remains of a rope after it has become ragged; piece of an old rope', {BK} rumm-at- ~ rimm-at- 'morceau de corde vieille et usée' ('pars funis vetusti ac triti') ¶ Ln. 1151, Hv. 269, BK I 920, Fr. II 189 || EC \*r∇m∇d- 'vein, artery, root' > Af {PH} ramad ~ ramid id., Sa {Wlm.} rimid (pl. rimīda), {R} ri'mid (pl. ri'midda) 'root', bī'lī ri'midda 'vein, blood vessel' (bi'lō 'blood'), HEC {Hd.} \*rumud 'root' > Sd rumuššo (< \*rumud-čō) 'root', pl. rumudda, Sd Hb {C} rumišo id. ¶ PH 180, R S II 304, Hd. 126, 390, Gs. 280, AD SF 172 ¶ The semantic connection between 'root' and 'vein, sinew' is based on the functional similarity of roots and sinews, because both served as ropes and strings || A \*lujūm∇ > M \*lumun 'bow (weapon)' (← \*'bowstring' ← 'sinew') > Mnr H {SM} lumu, {T} lumu ~ numu, Mnr M {Pot.} lumu, MM [L, MA, HI, IsV] numun, [S] numu(n), [IM] numu, Dg {T} nem, Dg HI {Pp.} nzm, Ord nu'mu', Brt номо, Kl нумн numъn, Kl Ö {Rm.} numŋ 'bow (weapon)', WrM numun, HIM нум(ан) id., 'arch' ¶ SM 227, T 353, T DgJ 157, Pp. L III 73, Pp. MA 261, 443, Pp. D 87, Ms. H 80, Ms. O 501, Lg. VMI 59, H 120, MED 595, Chr. 330, KRS 386, KW 281 || ?φ Tg: NTg: Ewk nēm̄kī 'bow (weapon)', d.: NrTg \*nemk∇- > Ewk nēm̄kī-, Neg nēmku-, Lm nēm̄kə-, nēm̄kə- 'shoot arrows'; Tg \*lajm∇- 'string of bows and similar kinds of weapon' > Lm nām 'string of bows, string of self-shooting hunting bows', Ewk Sm † lēman 'loop of a bowstring', Ork lajmatçl 'strap for tying together parts of harpoon' ¶ STM I 496, 620-1 ¶ The vowels of the Tg words are still to be elucidated || T \*ojūm- > Sg {RL} čümä, Xk {BIG} čüme 'arrow (children's toy)' ¶ RL III 2203, BIG 325 ¶¶ DQA #1214 \*lijòmù 'bow (weapon)' || pJ {S} \*dùmì 'bow' > OJ yùmì, J: T yumi, K yúmì, Kg yùmí ¶ S QJ #266, Mr. 579 || E: NEI {Bork} ri-mu 'Riemen' ¶¶ Bork Z 18, HK 1039 ◇ NaIE \*reumŋ/\*remŋ-, S \*<sup>o</sup>rumam- (as. from \*\*ruman-), EC \*r∇m∇d- (as. from

**\*\*r̥m̥n-**), and M \*lumun may go back either to N \*rûm̥n̥ or to N \*rûm̥ + the N genitive pc. \*nu.

**1989a.** <sub>2</sub> \*r'ü'm̥ 'ant(s), vermin' > HS: S \*rimm- > Ak rimmat-um 'maggot (?)', BHb רִמָּמָה rim'mā 'maggot', DA r̥mh 'vermin', Sr رَمَمَة; r̥emmə't̥-ā 'worm(s)' ({Br.} 'situs et vermes in rebus putridis'), Md rima 'worms, maggots', Ar rimm-at- 'winged ant' ¶ Sd. 986, HJ 1077, KB 1157, JPS 544, Br. 732, BK I 920, Hv. 269, DM 433 || EC: Sa {R} 'rimme 'worm, termite', Or {Grg.} rimma 'termite, ε small ant', rāmō 'worm; germ, parasite', Rn rīrīm 'termite(s), white ant(s)', Arr ririnḅ 'termite' ¶ R S II 305, Grg. 339, 344, PG 348, Hw. A 391 || Ch: CCh: ZmB {Sa.} rūmūs 'ant' || ? Bdy r̥ir̥:rimo 'insect', r̥ir̥:r̥iḅ 'petit termite qui sert le jour' ¶ ChC, AIJ 82 ¶¶ OS #2119 (HS \*rim-'insect') || D: SD \*erump- 'ant' > Tm erumpu, erumpi, irumpi, Ml erumpu, irumpu, urumpu, Kt irb, Td irb, Kn irumpu, irumpe, Kdg urupī 'ant' ¶ D #864 ◇ One of the examples suggesting a D vowel prothesis preceding N \*r- (N \*r- > D \*r̥-). Cp. N \*r- > Tm r̥r- in N \*r̥yam̥ 'ε (big) fish' (q.v.) ◇ Blz. DA 159 [#71].

**1990.** \*r'ü'Hm̥ (= \*r'ü'gm̥?) 'dark' > HS: WCh \*rim- 'dark(ness)' > pBT {Stl.} \*rim̥ 'darkness' > Tng r̥im, Dr rim id. | pNrBc {Stl.} \*rim- in 'black' > Wrj r̥nna, Kry r̥im̥ina, My r̥inni id. || ECh: Mu {J} rām v. 'darken, become black' ¶ Stl. ZCh 247 [#51], 260 [#175], ChL, ChC || ? S \*r̥r̥m̥ > Ar r̥r̥m̥ Sh (pf. \*r̥ar̥ama) 'rendre qn. noir de visage' ¶ BK I 890 || K: GZ \*rum- v. 'get dark' > OG d. m-rum-e 'dark', G rum- 'get\grow dark', Mg rum- id. ¶ K 157, K<sup>2</sup> 160, FS K 260-1, FS E 288, Abul. 295, Q 310 || IE: NaIE \*rēmō- 'dark' > OI rā'ma- 'dark, black', rā'ma- ntr. 'darkness' || OHG rām̥ag 'dark, black, dirty', AS rōmiz 'dirty, sooty', MHG rām 'dusty dirt, soot' ¶ P 85, EI 160 (\*rēmō-s or \*reh̥imō-s 'dirty; dirt, soot'), M K III 54-5, M E II 449 (IE \*Hrēmō-), Ho. 263, Kb. 769, OsS 699, Lx. 163 || U: FU \*r'ü'm̥ 'dusk, dark' > Lp L {LLO} ram'ko 'closed' (only of the eyes), Lp S {Hs.} tramke- 'shut (one's eyes), get dusk, get dark' | Chr L r̥im̥balge, Chr H r̥im̥algь r̥'malgь 'twilight' ('сумерки') | pPrm \*rōmit n. 'twilight, dusk' > Z r̥omyd r̥m̥id id. ('сумерки, сумрак'), Vt жомыт žom̥t id., 'semi-darkness, darkness' ('сумерки, сумрак, полумрак, потёмки') || Os: V/Vy rimək, Ty rimki, Km rimxə, Nz/Kz. riməx, O rāməx 'Dämmerung' (acc. to Steinitz: Os ? ← Z) ¶ Coll. 110, LLO 824, UEW 747 (rejects the

Lp cognate because of the cns. cluster \*-mkk- and [unconvincingly] because of the semantic distance), Stn. D 1272, LG 244 || ? **A**: Tg: Ewk Skh lumrī 'evening', lumrī- v. 'get dark (in the evening)' ('вечереть, смеркаться, темнеть') ¶ STM 511 ◇ The long vw. in IE suggests the presence of a N lr. If Ar ✓ rym belongs here, the lr. is likely to be \*g (which is at var. with the K evidence) ◇ Cf. AD LRC #31 (IE, FU, K).

**1991. \*rāwm** ▽ 'chew' > **HS**: WCh: NrBc \*rum- 'eat (hard food), chew' (← 'chew the cud') > Wrj/Cg/Kry/My/Diri {Sk.} r3m-, P' {MSk.} r+mà, Sir {Sk.} r3mù-, Mbr {Sk.} r3m-~rem- 'eat (hard food), chew' || pAG {Hf.} \*r3m > Gm {Hf.} rem, Kfr/Anf {Hf.} rəm 'eat (powdery food)', Su {J} rùm 'eat (flour, dry food)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 260 [#176], Sk. NB 19, Hf. AG #115, J S 81, ChC, ChL || S \*°✓rmm > Ar ✓rmm (ip. -rimm-~-rumm-) 'dévorer, avaler; enlever avec le bout des lèvres des bourgeons des arbres ou des plantes', {Hv.} 'browse, graze' (cattle) ¶ BK I 919, Hv. 268 || **IE**: NaIE \*reūmen-/\*roumen- 'rumen; ruminate' (× N \*raXûm ▽ 'womb, belly, stomach of ruminating animals') > L rūmen 'rumen, first compartment of the stomach of ruminant animals', rūminā- v. 'chew the cud, ruminate' || OI rōmantha-ḥ, Wx ramöt 'rumination' ¶ ≈ Mn. 1075, ≈ WP II 360, ≈ P 873, ≈ WH II 450, M K III 79-80, M E II 470 || **U**: FP (in Prm only) \*°rām ▽ > Prm {LG} \*rōmÉćś- > Z рөмидз r3miž 'cud', r3mižt+n+ 'to chew the cud', Vt žomest+n+ id. (× N \*raXûm ▽ '↑) ¶ LG 244 || ? **D** \*nam'u'- 'chew' > Kn namalu 'chew, masticate, chew the cud', Tu nauntuni, naumpuni 'chew', nauntu 'chewing', Tl namalu 'chew, masticate', namaru 'rumination, chewing the cud', Gnd K {Sbr.} nalm- v. 'chew' ({D}: ←-Tl), Knd namli- 'munch with noise, ruminate' ¶¶ D #3595.

**1992. \*raXûm** ▽ 'womb, belly, stomach of ruminating animals' > **HS**: S \*'raḥim- 'womb' > BHb ʀḥem, SmHb rēm, DA rḥm, JA [Trg.] ʀḥm̄ raḥ<sup>a</sup>m-ā, Sr ʀḥmā, Ar ʀḥim- (~ riḥm-), Mh, Jb E/C raḥm id., Tgr r3ḥ3m 'womb, descent', Ak fOB rēm-um 'womb', Eb reḥm-um, riḥm-um (r í-eχ-mu) 'womb (?)', Ug rḥm {A} 'womb', {OLS} 'vientre; muchacha núbil, doncella' ¶ AD PSH 93, AD EHL 160, KB 1136, HJ 1070, A #2503, OLS 388, Lv. T II 417, Js. O56, Br. 724, Jo. M 321, Jo. J 210, LH 146, Sd. 970, Krb. EG 14, BK I 838, MiK I #1.231 || C {1467, Br. 724, Ln. 1AD} \*riḥm- 'uterus' > EC {Ss.} \*rim- 'uterus' > Sml {Ss.} rim-ay, {ZMO} rimmay id., {Ss.} rim-an, {ZMO} rimman 'pregnant' (of animals), Rn {PG} rim- 'become pregnant, conceive', Or BI {Sr.} rīm-

'be pregnant', Or {Grg.} *rīm-ā* 'pregnant' (of animals), Brj {Ss.} *rī'm-ā*, {Hw.} *ri'm-a* 'entrails', {Hw.} *rimay kaf-* 'become pregnant' (of cattle) ¶ AD SF 50, PG 248, Ss. B 160, ZMO 343, Grg. 343, Sr. 381 || IE: NaE *\*reymen-/\*roumen-* 'rumen, belly' (× N *\*rāwm̃* 'chew') > Clt: W *rhumen* {YGM} 'belly', {P} 'belly, udder' || L *rūmen* 'rumen, first compartment of the stomach of ruminant animals' ⇨ *rūminā-* v. 'chew the cud, ruminate' || OI *rōmantha-h-*, Wx *ramöt*, Blc *rōmast* 'rumination' ¶ EI 2 (*re|oumn-* 'rumen'), ≈ Mn. 1075, ≈ WP II 360, ≈ P 873, ≈ WH II 450, M K III 79-80, M E II 470, YGM-1 382 ¶¶ NaE *\*reymen-/\*roumen-* is likely to go back to IE *\*reHumen-/\*roHumen-* || A: NaT [1] *\*jamír* 'groin' > OT *jamiz* id., Tkm *jamı̇* 'groin (depression between animals haunches)', Nog *jamız*, SbTt Tb {Rl., Bu.} *jamuz*, QrB *žamız*, Yk *simis* 'groin', ? Az *janbız* 'костреч (leg of beef)' |[2] T *\*°jamdu* > OT {DTS} *jamdu* 'lower part of the belly, groin', cp. also ? OT *jāmdü* 'pubic hair' ¶ Cl. 935, 940, DTS 143, ET J 110-1 ¶ T *\*-r̄* may go back to a marker of dual.

**1993. \*r̄yam̃** 'ε (big) fish' > HS: Eg fOK *rm* 'fish' (= {Vc.} *\*rīmey*, pl. *\*rimy-ū*) > DEg *rm* ~ *rym* id. > Cpt Sd **ṛame**, **ṛame**, Cpt B **ṛami** 'perche de Nil' (called in Ar Eg {El.} **بَلَطِي** 'Tilapia nilotica') ¶ EG II 416, Er. 246, 421, Vc. 172, El. 74 ¶¶ ≠ Vc. 172 (connecting Eg *rm* with S verbs for 'flow, stream'), ≠ Tk. AAEF and AEF (equating Eg *rm* to S *\*✓rmm* 'rot, worm') || A: Tg *\*ljamba* 'salmon' or 'fish' > Ewk *lēm̃ba* 'salmon', Nn B/KU *lmaḫa* 'fish', Nn Nh/KU *ńimo* 'ленок (ε fish)', Ul *ńimo|u* id., WrMc *nimaḫa* 'fish', Jrc {Kiy.} *liwaḫa* or *limaḫa*, {SDM} *limwaḫa* id. ¶ STM 496, Kiy. 106 [#163], ≠ Pp. VG 61, 140 (Mc *nimaḫa* < *\*žirmagaḫ*) || pJ {S} *nàmà(n)tù* 'sheat-fish' > OJ *nàmàdù* > J T *nàmazu*, K *námazù*, Kg *namažú* id. ¶ S QJ #341, Mr. 492 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *\*ljamba*, DQA #1207 (A *\*ljàmba|o*) || D *\*l̄rām-* 'ε fish' > Tm *irāma-murīyan* 'silvery seafish, *Triacanthus strigilifer*', Tl *rām̃alu* (pl.) 'ε fish' ¶¶ D #5166 ¶¶ One of the examples suggesting a D vowel prothesis preceding N *\*r-* (N *\*r-* > D *\*∇r-*) ◇ Blz. 159 [#68] (Eg, D).

**1994. \*riḫ̄ĉ** '(tuft of) hair' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'eyebrow\eyelash, beard', 'stalk of grass') > HS: CS *\*rīš-* 'eyebrow', 'tuft of hair' > MHb **רִישׁ** *rīs*, JA [Trg.] {Lv.} **רִישׁ** *rīsā* 'eyebrow', Ar **ريش** *rīš-* 'feathers', **ريشة** *rīš-at-* 'feather' ¶ Lv. IV 447 (**רִישׁ** *rīs* 'eyebrow'), 487 ({Flsch.} **רִישׁ** *rīs* 'eyelid or 'eyelash'), Lv. IV 447, Lv. T II 422, Js.

1475, BK I 961-2 || ? EC \*rīz- 'beard' > Sa rīd, Alb rīza 'beard', Af {PH} radid (< \*radīd) ~ ridid (pl. radīd-a) 'full beard, barbe abondante', Ya {Hn.} ris-in-i (pl. rīs-ín) 'hair'; EC ↷ Amh riz. The phonetically similar EC root \*√ʔrz (~ \*°√hrz) 'beard, hair' (> Or arēda 𐤀 harēda 'beard, chin', Bs adar 'beard', Brj orda 'hair', Alb, Qbn, Kmb orz-ata 'hair of body') is hard to explain because of the unexpected \*ʔ- ¶ Ss. WOKS 138, PH 180, Hn. Y II 127, L Z 120, 128, L EDG III 86, Hd. 25, 75 ¶ EC \*-z- is voiced probably under the ass. infl. of \*-n- (= \*riñĉ∇ > rins- > \*rinz- > \*rīz-) || IE: NaIE \*°rens- (or \*°renk̄-) '≈ eyelash, fringe' > SI \*rē'sa (accus. \*rēsŋ) 'eyelash' > ChS раса rēsa, McdS реса, Cz řasa, Slk riasa, P rześa 'eyelash', Blg pe'ca, R † рѣса ~ рѣса 'tasseled fringe of clothing (бахрома)', SCr résa (gen. rēsē) id., 'catkin (of a tree)', Slv rēsa 'fringe, tassel, awn, beard'; ↷ SI \*rēs-ьна, \*rēs-ьн-ica 'eyelash' > ChS рясница rēsniца, OR рясница rjasniца, R, Blg рѣсница, Uk рясниця, Cz řasnice ¶ Glh. 525, ≈ Vs. III 473-4, 538 ¶ The IE √ belongs here only if it is \*rens- rather than \*renk̄- || U: FU (att. in FP) \*ri'č'∇ 'stalk of grass, (?) twig' > Prm: Z EV riž 'stalk of grass', ? Vt жыжы ž+ž+ 'stubble' | ? Chr E rež 'twig with leaves' ¶ ≈ LG 241 (\*÷ Frisū 'lopped off branch, dead branch', which is a loan from OSw riiss ~ riiss 'twig', see SK 814).

**1995. \*°rep∇** 'tear off, break' > HS: S \*°√rpp > Ar √rff G (pf. raffa) 'break', +ext.: Ar √rft G 'be broken\crushed, break in pieces', √rfš {BK} 'casser', {Hv.} v. 'pound', √rfĉ TD {Hv.} 'be broken', رفص rafĉ {Ln.} 'act of breaking (a thing)', rufāĉ- {Hv.} 'fragments' ¶ BK I 892, 893, 895, Ln. 1118, 1120, Hv. 261-2 || ? B: Kb {Dl.} arfi 'être écrasé' ¶ Dl. 712 ¶ But Ah {Fc.} ruffat 'casser menu, briser en tout petits morceaux' (Fc. 1584) is a loan from Ar || IE: NaIE \*°rep- '≈ seize by plucking, tearing off, etc.' > Gk ἐρέπτω v. 'pluck', ἐρέπτομαι v. 'feed on' ({F} ← \*'abrupfen, an sich raffen') || pAl {O} \*repa- > Al rjep- ~ rrjep- 'remove the outer layer (to peel off, to skin, to pluck [fowl]), to gouge, to gouge out' || L rapīō / rapēre 'seize, snatch, tear away', rapax 'seizing, snatching, greedy' || Lt rép-ti (prs. rēpiu) ~ rēp-ti (prs. rēpiù) 'snatch much, clasp much' ({DLKZ} 'daug griebti, daug apimti', {Frn.} '[zusammen]raffen, umfassen, umschliessen'), ap-rēp-ti 'embrace', replēs 'tongs, pincers, crayfish's\crab's claws', Pru raples · "Zange" 'tongs, pincers' ¶ P 865, EI 564 (\*h₁rep- 'snatch, pluck'), F I 552-3, AlbED 754, O 372, WH II 417-8, DLKZ 669, Frn. 721-

2, En. 238 || **U:** FU \*repp∇- 'tear, burst, split' (vi.?) > F repi- vt. 'tear, rend', repäise- id., 'tear out', Es rebi- 'tear, rend' || pLp {Lr.} \*r3p3- vt. 'take the cover off, open' > Lp: N {N} r âppâ- -b- ~ -v- id., L rahpa- vt. 'open', S {Hs.} d. r'ippesidh, r'ippelgidh vi. 'open' || Vg: MK ript- vi. 'be reduced \ destroyed, disappear', vt. 'bruise (zermalmen), wound', P yal-rēpat- 'kill' || OHg reped- 'burst, split, be torn', Hg reped- 'tear, slit', 'crack, burst, split' || pY {IN} \*lepe- > YT {IN} lepegay- vi. break off' ¶¶ UEW 427, SK 768-9, Lr. #1009, Lgc. #5491, Hs. 1075-6, LG 240, 242, MF 529, EWU 1253, IN 247 || **A** \*leb- ~ \*lab- (× N \*rAwg'U' 'to destroy, to tear' [q.v.]) > Tg \*lēb- ~ \*lab- 'tear, wear out' > Ewk l3wgi- 'wear out (clothes)', l3p- 'be worn out' (of clothes), Lm n3bdā- 'tear out, jerk out, tear off', ? Nn l3b3r 'rags, worn out clothes'; Ewk lap- 'be torn, worn out' (of clothes), Lm nabdbъ 'torn' (of a hide, clothes), Neg lap- 'be torn to tatters' ¶ STM I 493, 518 || M \*labtara- ~ \*nabtara- > WrM nabtara- ~ {STM} labtara-, HIM навтра-х, Brt набтар-ха 'wear out, tear, become shabby\tattered', Kī лавтра-lawtra- id., WrM {Kow.} labtar sabtar 'des morceaux déchirés, lambeaux, haillons'; \*nabtarqayī > MM [S] nabtarqaj 'torn \ tattered clothes', WrM nabtarqai, HIM навтархай 'worn out, shabby, torn, tattered', Ord nab\_t'arχā 'vêtements tout en lambeaux' ¶ H 112, MED 555, STM I 493, Chr. 317, KRS 333, Ms. O 479, Kow. 1960 ¶¶ The pA (or the Tg and M) variant \*lab- is due to regr. as. or belongs to the heritage of \*rAwg'U' ◇ AD NGIE 24 [#71] (IE, FU, Tg) ◇ On N and pIE \*'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

**1996. \*r'e'p̃f∇** 'make one's way with effort, climb, crawl' > **HS:** WS \*✓rpf v. G 'climb; raise' > Jb E/C ✓rf̃f̃ (pf. 'refaf̃, subj. 'y3rfaf̃), Mh ✓rf̃f̃ (pf. rūfa, subj. y3rfā), Hrs ✓rf̃f̃ (pf. rōfa) id., Ar ✓rf̃f̃ G (pf. rafaṣa, ip. -rfaṣ-) {Ln.} 'raise, elevate, uplift', ✓rf̃f̃ G (pf. rafuṣa, ip. -rfuṣ-) 'be \ become high \ elevated, exalted \ of high or exalted rank' ¶ Jo. M 316, Jo. J 204-5, Jo. H 102, Ln. 1121-4, BK I 897-9, Hv. 262 || **IE** \*reĥp- (mt. from \*\*r∇pH-?) > NaIE \*rēp- 'creep, crawl' > L rēp-ō / -ĕre id. || Gmc {Hlq.} \*riβō(n) > OHG rēba 'creeping shoot, vine', MHG rēbe 'shoot of a creeper (Schlingschößling)', NHG Rebe 'vine tendril', MLG wīn-rāve, Sw vin-ref id., reva 'sprout of plants' || Lt rēplióti, rēplinti 'to crawl, to creep', rop(l)óti 'to creep, to crawl', Δ ropu eiti 'kriechend gehen', ropu stovēti 'to be in a creeping position', Ltv rāpāt id., rāp-tiē-s id., 'to scramble; to climb



\ clamber up' ¶ WP II 370, P 865-6, EI 141 (\*rēp- 'crawl'), ≈ Mn. 1072, WH II 430, Kb. 774, OsS 704, Lx. 164, KM 588, Hlq. 832, Frn. 720 || U: FU \*r<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>pp<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>- > Z US rob- 'drag oneself (брести) through snow\mud\mire\water' | ??φ,σ BF: F rype-ä, Δ rype-tä 'to wallow (in mire, filth), to welter', eF rypöä, Krl A rüpie, Es rübel(e)da id. | ??φ,σ Lp Sw {LÖ} rippem 'place where birds bathe' ¶ LG 241, Lt. 95, SK 899, SSA II 118 ◇ The N rec. is \*r<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>p<sup>1</sup>ϑ rather than \*r<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>p<sup>1</sup>ϑ because N \*-p<sup>1</sup>ϑ- is likely to undergo assimilation (N \*-p<sup>1</sup>ϑ- > \*-b<sup>1</sup>ϑ- or \*-p<sup>1</sup>χ-).

**1997. \*riqalæ** 'shake' (intr.), 'be shaky' (= 'wackeln, wackelig sein') > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>-rīk- > Ar ✓ riq (ip. -rīq-) {Ln.} 'be agitated, moved to and fro', {Fr.} 'agitata fuit huc illuc in superficie (terrae aqua)' ¶ Ln. 1202-3, Fr. II 217, ≈ BK I 963-4 || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) \*<sup>o</sup>reik<sup>1</sup>k- vi. 'shake' ('wackeln') > ON riga / -aða vt. 'move to and fro, make waver (zum Wanken bringen)', NGr Sw rigelen 'schwanken', NNr rigga 'to shake violently (erschüttern)', NNr rig(l)a 'schwanken', Nr, Sw Δ rikka 'schütteln, wackeln', Frs E rikke(l)n vi. 'to move to and fro, to shake' ¶ ≈ WP II 346-7, ≈ P 962, Vr. 445 || K \*req-/\*rḡ- 'shake, oscillate' (× N \*r<sup>1</sup>ḡ<sup>1</sup>ḡ<sup>1</sup>ϑ 'to quake, to move in agitation') > OG req-/rḡ- 'shake, oscillate', G req-/rḡ- id., swing, stir, make shaky' ({Chx.} 'rütteln, schütteln, lose \ wackelig machen', {DCh.} 'трясти, качать, шевелить, поколебать; колебаться'), Mg raḡ- 'shake' (of nut trees), Sv {FS} req-/raḡ-/rḡ-: li-rḡ-əḡni 'to shake (schütteln), to tremble', ad-raḡ-n-e 'er schüttelte, ließ schwanken' ¶¶ K<sup>2</sup> 156-7, Schm. 130, FS K 257-8, FS E 285, Chx. 1082, DCh. 1045.

**1998. \*riqū<sup>1</sup>z<sup>1</sup>ϑ** (= \*riqū<sup>1</sup>z<sup>1</sup>ϑ?) 'to tie; loop' ([in descendant lgs.] → to tie [an animal] with a strap)' > HS: S \*✓rks v. 'tie, bind' (× N \*rec<sup>1</sup>ḡa 'to tie, to plait') > BHb ✓rks G 'tie on, bind', Ug ✓rks {OLS} 'bind, belt', {A, Grd.} 'bind', Ak ✓rks 'tie, bind; SmA G 𐤓𐤓𐤓 rks 'wrap, cover', Ar ✓rks G 'tie (a camel)', rikās- 'rope fastening a camel's head to his feet' ¶ Fr. II 187, BK I 916, Hv. 267, BKG II 324, KB 1154-5, KBR 1237-8, GB 760, A #2513, Grd. UT #2332, OLS 390, Tal 836, Hv. 267, Sd. 945-7 ¶ S \*-k- < \*-k̄- (< N \*-ḡ-) (reg. HS de-emphatization and/or the infl. of \*-k-s- < N \*-c̄-ḡ- in N \*rec<sup>1</sup>ḡa?) || K: G {SSO, DCh., Chx.} ma-rquž-i {DCh.} 'loop', {Chx.} 'Schlinge, Schleife, Schlaufe', {NCh.} marquž-i 'loop', {Chx.} marquž- ~ marquš- v. 'eine Schlinge um etw. liegen, einem Tier eine Schlinge um den Hals legen' ¶

Chx. 721-2, DCh. 674, NCh. 269, SSO I 443 || IE: [1] IE \*reǵǵ<sub>l</sub>H<sub>1</sub>- > NaIE \*reǵǵ<sub>l</sub>- 'tie, bind' > Clt: OIr *reg-*/*rig-* v. 'tie, bind' in cds.: *ad-riug* 'alligō', *con-riug* 'colligō', *fo-riug* 'sistō'; OIr *cenn-rach* 'halter (Halfter)', W *pen-rhe* 'head-band'; (\**ad-riǵǵo-* >) OIr *árach*, Br *ere* 'fetter'; (\**kom-riǵǵom* >) OIr *cuimrech* 'fait d'attacher, attache, lien', Br *keore* id., W *cyfre* 'leash'; OW *ruimmein* 'vincula', W *cyfrwy* (< \**kom-reǵǵ-*) 'saddle', OBr *anre* 'bandage', Br *kevre* 'bond'; Brtt {RE} \**reǵǵ-*/*\*rig-* v. 'tie' > W *rhwym* (< \**reǵǵ<sub>l</sub>s<sub>1</sub>m-*), Br *eren* (< \**en-rig-*) 'to tie'; W *rhwym* (< \**reǵǵǵ-smǵ*) 'fetter' || L *corrigia* 'shoe-string, boot-lace; strap, thong' (÷ OIr *cuimrech*) || MHG *ric* (gen. *rickes*) 'band, fetter, knot', *ricken* 'anbinden' || [2] IE \*\**reǵǵ<sub>l</sub>H<sub>1</sub>-* (× N \**ræ<sub>l</sub>w<sub>1</sub>kæ* 'sinew', [→ 'cord, rope'], 'to tie' > NaIE (att. in Gmc) \**reǵǵ<sub>l</sub>-* '≈ a tie' > AS *racca* 'cord forming part of rigging of ship', Dt *rak* id., ON *rakki* id. ({Vr.} 'Stropp um die Rahe mit dem Mast zu verbinden'), OSw *raka* 'Band'; ON *rekendi* ntr., *rekendr* f. pl. 'Kette, Fessel', AS *racente*, OHG *rahhenza* 'neckchain, fetter', ? Dt *reeks* 'row, chain' ¶ WP II 347, P 861-3, WH I 278-9, EM 258, Vr. 432, 440, Vr. N 567, Sw. 138, Ho. 251, Kb. 768, Lx. 167, LP §§ 33.5, 603, Vn. C 13-5, 272, RE 139, Ern. 68 ¶¶ IE \**-ǵǵ-* rather than \**-k̑k-* (regularly from N \**-ǵ-*) is due to ass. de-emphatization: N \**-ǵ<sub>l</sub>ǵ<sub>1</sub>'z'* > \*\**-ǵz-* > pre-IE \*\**-kH-* (whence regularly IE \**-ǵǵH-*) || A: Tg \**laks-* ~ \**lusk-* 'trace (of a harness) (× N \**lukuǵǵ* 'twig, strap, lash, whip', q.v. ffd.)

◇ The G irreg. sibilant (-ǵ- ~ -š-) suggests borrowing from Zan (N \**z* > K \**z̑* > Zan *ž*). The vl. \**s* in S and Tg is due to the ass. infl. of \**k*. IE \**H* < N \**z* *reg.* The N rec. \**riǵü'z'* is preferable to \**riǵu'z'*, because in the case of \**riǵü'z'* the absence of labialized glide in IE can be better explained in the framework of regular sound changes.

**1999.** \**räs̑* 'to sprinkle'; (→ ?) 'dew, moisture' > HS: S (or WS) \**✓râš* > Sr *✓rss G* v. 'besprinkle', JA [Trg.] *✓rss G* 'besprengen, träufeln', JEA {Sl.} *✓rss Sh* 'sprinkle', Late BHb *✓rss G* 'splash, splay' (Ez. 46.14), Ar *✓ršš G* {BK} 'arroser, asperger', {Hv.} 'sprinkle a fine rain' (sky), *rašš-* 'sprinkling rain, pluie légère', Hrs *râš* (*✓râš*) v. 'sprinkle', ?*σ,φ,μ* Ak *r u s s ũ* inf. '(durch Wasser) aufweichen' ¶ GB 764, KB 1165, KBR 1249-50, Lv. T II 429, Sl. 1089, Br. 429, Fr. II 151, BK I 864, Hv. 252, Jo. H 106, Jo. M 329-30, Sd. 996 || IE: NaIE \**r0(:)s-*, \**r0s-ā* 'moisture, dew' > OI *rasā* 'moisture', *rasas-* (nom. 'rasaḥ) 'sap, juice, liquid, essence' || Lr *ōs*, gen. *rōr-is* 'dew, moisture' || Sl



shovel' || OIr ruam 'spade (pelle, bêche)', rómair, ruamor n. act. 'digging' || Sl \*rǝ-ti (prs. \*rǝjǝ ~ \*rǝjǝ) 'to dig' > SrChS рѣти rǝti / рѣи rǝjǝ, SCr rǝti / rǝjǝm, Slv rǝti / rǝjǝm, OR рѣти rǝti / рѣю rǝju, R 'рыть' / рою, Blr 'рыць' / 'рыю, Uk 'рити' / 'рию, Cz rǝti / rǝji, Slk ryt' / rǝjǝ ~ rǝjǝm, P rǝc' / rǝjǝ 'dig' ¶ On OI rav- / ru- 'break\dash to pieces', Lt ráuti 'to tear out', and Sl \*rǝvǝ-ti 'to tear' see N \*rAwg'U' ¶ The short u in OI ru'ta- points to the absence of lrs., while the reflex of a long \*ū in Sl \*rǝ-ti and L rǝtus may be due to contamination with N \*rAwg'U' ¶ WP II 351-2, P 868, Mn. 1095-6, 1099-1100, 1104, WH II 453-4, Vn. R 48-9, Vs. III 531-2, Glh. 528-9, Ma. CS ≈σEI 570 (\*rǝu(H)- 'pull out (from under the surface)') || U: FU \*rǝwǝ (or \*rǝwǝkǝ) 'cut, score, trim' > pChr {Ber.} \*ruǝ- > 'hew, chop' > Chr H rǝe- (inf. роаш 'rǝ-aš'), L rue- (inf. руаш ru-'aš'), Uf/N rue- id. || pOs \*rǝwǝ- ({JHl.} \*rǝwǝ-) > Os: V {Trj.} rǝwǝm- 'cut out, cut through', O {KrT} rǝwǝt- 'ein Stückchen abschneiden' || OHg rǝwǝ- 'score, incise ([ein]kerben, [ein]schneiden)', Hg rǝwǝ- / rǝwǝ- 'cut, score', OHg rǝwǝt 'Einkerbung, Aufzeichnung' ¶ Coll. 111, UEW 425, Ber. 57 [#300], Ep. 103, MRS 505, 508, Trj. VD 183, KrT 799, Hl. rHt 73-4 (on the Os reflexes of FU \*-wǝ- and \*-wǝ-), MF 553-4, EWU 1273, 1285 || A: Tg \*rǝwǝ- > Ewk rǝwǝ- 'look (for sth.) by rummaging' ¶ STM I 500 || HS: Ch: CCh: Tr {Nw.} ra 'dig' || FLM {ChL} ri, Bcm {ChL} rǝ, Gude {Hsk.} ra, Gudu {ChL} rǝ id. || Mtk {ChL} ra id., Hrz {Ro.} ra id., 'bury' ¶ ChC, ChL, Nw. WLT 48, Hsk. 263, Ro. ##101, 195 || ? Eg Am rǝwǝ.ty 'lion's cave' (if it is a cd. of rǝwǝ 'lion' and \*rǝwǝ 'cave' < N \*rǝwǝ 'dig?') ¶ EG II 409 ◊ IS MS 362 (\*rǝwǝ 'рыть': IE, U).

**2002.** \*rǝwǝ 'water, stream of water; to drink (one's fill)' > HS: WS \*rǝwǝ (prm. \*-rǝwǝ-) 'drink one's fill' > BHb rǝwǝ rǝwǝ G (3pm ip. rǝwǝ rǝwǝ yǝ-rǝwǝ-y-ūn, 3f pf. rǝwǝ rǝwǝ id., JA [Trg.] rǝwǝ G (pf. rǝwǝ rǝwǝ ~ rǝwǝ rǝwǝ), Md rǝwǝ G 'be filled with wine, be drunken', JEA rǝwǝ G 'become intoxicated', Sr rǝwǝ G (pf. rǝwǝ rǝwǝ ~ rǝwǝ rǝwǝ, ip. rǝwǝ rǝwǝ) 'become drunken', Ar rǝwǝ G (pf. rǝwǝ rǝwǝ, ip. -rǝwǝ-) 'be well watered' (of cattle, land)', Ar rǝwǝ G (pf. rǝwǝ rǝwǝ) 'abreuer qn., lui donner à boire', Ar rǝwǝ rǝwǝ- 'pays arrosé', OYmn {Slw.} d. rǝwǝ rǝwǝ ({Slw.} marwǝ) 'Bewässerungsanlage', Gz rǝwǝ G (pf. rǝwǝ rǝwǝ ~ rǝwǝ rǝwǝ, js. yǝrǝwǝ), Jb C {Jo} rǝwǝ G (pf. 'rǝ

~ 're?) 'have had enough to drink', *Sh* (pf. er<sup>1</sup>be, sbjn. 'yεrbe) 'give (so.) a drink', *Mh* ✓rwy (pf. 'raywi, sbjn. y3r<sup>1</sup>wē) 'have one's thirst slaked, drink to repletion', *Hrs* {Jo.} ✓rwy (pf. r3wō ~ rēwi, sbjn. yArwī) 'have had enough water', *Sq* pf. *G* {Jo.} 're, {L} re v. 'drink'; *WS* ≈ \*'riway- '(abundant) water' > *Ar* روي riwā 'abundant water', *BHb* רי רי {NPet.} 'Wassermenge', {GB} 'Bewässerung, Wasserfülle' or {KB LVT} 'moisture' ('Naß, Feuchtigkeit') (h.l.: Job 37.11), *MHb* [Sir. 31.28] רי r<sup>2</sup>y ≈ id., *Sq* {Jo.} rihoh, {Nak.} 'rīho, {L} rihoh 'water'; *Ar* SL ري rayy- 'rain'; *Ar* d. ✓rwy *G* (pf. روي rawā) 'carry \ draw water', *Sb* {BGMR} ✓rwy *Sh* (yhrwy) 'provide a water-supply', *Qt* {Rk.} d. mrw(-hw) '(his) irrigation system' ¶ *KB* 114-5, 1141, *KB LVT* I 888, *GB* 757, *NPet.* *BJ* 421, *Js.* 1459, *Lv.* IV 433, *Sl.* 164, *JPS* 532, *DM* 427, *Hv.* 279-80, *BK* I 957-8, *Slw.* 100-1, *L G* 478, *LLS* 395-6, *Nak.* ##166, 765, *Jo.* J 218, *Jo.* M 333-4, *Jo.* H 106-7, *BGMR* 119, *Rk.* 153 || ? *Eg* fMK rwy 'water', *Eg* fP rwy.t 'water, flood'; hardly here *Eg* r3 'Rand eines Gewässers, Wasserlinie' (probably a sd. of r3 'mouth') and *Eg* wrrw 'pit with water, tank' (both adduced by Blz) ¶ *EG* I 334, II 221, 392 || *Ch:* *WCh* {Stl.} \*ruwa<sub>ly</sub> > *Hs* řúwā 'water', *Glm* {Sch.} rwā 'river' ||| *CCh:* *Kps* {Srp.} r o'ā 'brook, river' ¶ *ChC*, *ChL*, *Ba*, 871-2, *Sch.* *BTL* 88 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ *Blz* *KM* I #17) *Ah* tārait 'the level of water-line in a vessel' (actually {Fc.} 'ligne laissé par un liquide sur le paroi intérieure d'un vase dont il a été versé' ← tārait 'escarpement rocheux formant un anneau sur tout le partour d'une montagne' [see *Fc.* 1619]) ¶¶ *OS* #2140 (*HS* \*rüw 'water': *S*, *Eg*, *WCh*), ≈ *Sk.* *HCD* 222 (*WCh*, *S*, *Eg* + err. comparison with some other *Ch* lgs. and different lgs. of Africa) ||| **K:** *G* ru 'irrigation ditch\channel, brook' ¶ *Fn.* *KW*-2 43 [#22], *Chx.* 1077 ||| **E:** *AchEl* ra-hi-um 'Trankspende' ¶¶ *HK* 1124 ||| **A:** *Cl.* 872 mentions an *OT* *Og* [*MhK*] word jābā 'moist, moisture'; the word is read in *DTS* as jāba and in *MKD* as jāba; if it goes back to *T* \*jibi 'moist', it belongs to *N* \*Libh∇ (= \*Īibh∇?) 'wet', rather than here ¶ *Cl.* 872, *MKD* 224, *DTS* 221 ◇ *Blz* *KM* 118-9 [#17] (*K*, *HS* [*S*, *Ch*, unc. *B* *Ah* tārait, *Eg* r3 'water-line' and wrrw 'pit with water, tank'])).

**2003.** (₂?) \*r∇<sub>h</sub>w∇ 'mix, (?) shake, (??) 'turn round' > **HS:** *B* \*✓rwy > *Ah* arwi (hab. raggay) 'mélanger', *Kb* arwi 'remuer, mêler', *Tmz* rway id., 'mélanger', *Wrg* d. arway 'brouet, farine diluée dans l'eau et bouillie' ¶ *Fc.* 1651, *DI.* 741, *MT* 595, *Dlh.* *Ou* 281 || ?σ *S* \*o✓rhw > *Ar* ✓rhw *G* {BK} 'tourner un moulin à bras; se rouler en

spiral' (un serpent), {Hv.} 'turn (an arm-mill)', 'coil' (serpent), {Hv.} raḥā 'hand-mill' ¶ Hv. 245, BK I 839 ¶ The S cognate is valid if the meaning 'turn' is primary ||| K \*<sup>o</sup>rew- > MG, G rev- / re- / ri- 'mix' ¶ Chx. 1054-7, DCh. 1035 ||| ? U: FU (att. in ObU) \*r<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>w∇ v. 'shake' (× N \*r∇<sup>r</sup>b<sup>1</sup>∇ ≈ move, shake [vi.] [q.v. ffd.]).

**2004.** <sub>2</sub> \*r∇wX∇ 'broad' > HS: WS \*<sup>r</sup>rwḥ (prm. \*-rwaḥ-) 'be broad' > BHb <sup>r</sup>rwḥ G (pf. r̄r̄r̄ā<sup>1</sup>waḥ, ip. -rwaḥ) 'become spacious, easy', JA <sup>r</sup>rwḥ G (pf. r̄ā<sup>1</sup>waḥ, ip. -rwaḥ) 'be wide, extend', Sr <sup>r</sup>rwḥ G (pf. r̄ā<sup>1</sup>waḥ, ip. -rwaḥ) 'be enlarged, relieved, expand', Ar <sup>r</sup>rwḥ G (pf. r̄w̄<sup>1</sup>waḥ, ip. -rwaḥ-) 'be large, wide', rawḥ- n. act. 'being large\wide', 'rest, joy', Gz rawīḥ ~ rawḥ 'affable, kindhearted', Sb <sup>r</sup>rwḥ Sh (pf. hr̄wḥ) 'increase, extend, enlarge'; CS \*<sup>r</sup>rawaḥ- 'space, interstice' > BHb r̄r̄r̄ r̄εwaḥ 'space, interval', JA r̄r̄r̄ r̄ā<sup>1</sup>waḥ, em. r̄r̄r̄ r̄w̄<sup>1</sup>waḥ 'open space, room', Sr <sup>r</sup>raw̄<sup>1</sup>waḥ 'a space, interstice', r̄ā<sup>1</sup>waḥ<sup>t</sup>-ā {Br.} 'spatium', {JPS} 'open space, spaciousness', Ar rawaḥ- 'width between the feet' ¶ KB 1115-7, GB 748, Js. 1457, Br. 719, JPS 533-4, BK I 946-8, Hv. 276, LG 477, BGMR 119 ¶¶ unc.: ÷ Eg MK w̄āḥ 'live long, endure, dauern' (↔ Tk. I 396, based on the controversial Belova's law - see Blv. SKES, Blv. VAA) ||| IE \*<sup>r</sup>reuH- / \*<sup>r</sup>ruH- > NaIE \*<sup>r</sup>reuā- / \*<sup>r</sup>rū- 'spacious, broad', d. \*<sup>r</sup>ewes- 'space; wide' > Av rawaḥ- 'open space, free space', rawas-čarāt- 'living in the open spaces' (of wild animals), KhS rrain 'plain' ||| L rūs (gen. rūr-īs) 'country-side' (↔ 'town') ||| OIr r̄óe, r̄óí 'field, 'open land' ({Vn.} 'terrain découvert, champ'), r̄é 'espace (surtout de temps)' ||| Gmc \*<sup>r</sup>rūma- > Gt rūm-s 'spacious, wide', ON r̄úm, OFrs, AS rūm, MHG rūm 'roomy, spacious', ON r̄úm-r 'spacious', Gt rūm\* (gen. rūm-īs), ON r̄úm 'room, space, place', OHG rūm 'space', NHG Raum, OSx, AS rūm 'room, space', NE room ||| Sl \*<sup>o</sup>rv-ьнъ, \*<sup>o</sup>rv-ьнъ-ьъ 'even, flat' > OCS равьнъ равьнъ, OR ровьнъ ровьнъ, Uk 'рівний, Blg 'равен, SCr rávan, Cz, Slk rovný, P równy id., 'equal', R 'ровный, Slv raven rávan 'even, flat'; Sl \*<sup>o</sup>rv-es- > R ровес-ник, Cz rovesník 'person of the same age', P rowieśny 'of the same age' || ?? Lt † {Ju.} arvas 'free', Pru arwis - "wahr, gewiss" (← \*<sup>o</sup>equal' ← 'even') ||| Tc A, B ru- vt. 'open' ¶ WP II 356, P 874, EI 534 (\*<sup>r</sup>reuHes- 'open space' ← \*<sup>r</sup>reuH- '[be] open'), Brl. 1512-3, Bai. 368-9, WH II 454, Vn R 10, 38-9, Vs. 400-1, Vr. 453, Ho. 264, Ho. S 61, Kb. 809, OsS 728, KM 587, Tr. 14, Vs. III 488-9, Glh. 519, En.

144, Tp. P A-D 111-2, LKZ I 323, ≠ Frn. 15-6, Ad. 536-7 ◇ AD GD #30, IS MS 373 (\*r<sup>h</sup>ω<sup>h</sup> 'broad': S, IE).

**2005. \*rV yE** (= \*rV y<sup>i</sup>?), a compound prn. of plurality \ collectivity > IE \*-ēr/\*-r̥, 3p ending of the non-active paradigm of the verb (> Ht hi-paradigm, NaIE perfect) > OI -'ur, Av -arə, Tc {KT}: 3p (past I) B -āre, A -ar, 3p (past III) A -ar, B -är, Tc B {Bks.} -āre, L -ēre, -e(:)runt, Phr -aren (both latter forms from \*-ēr + \*-nt, generalized ending of 3p), OIr -at-ar (3p preterit), e.g. NaIE \*wid-r̥ ~ \*wid-ēr 'they have seen' > OI vī'dur, Av vīđare id., L vidēre 'they saw'; Tc B kautāre 'they split' (p.), Phr dakar(en) 'they have made', OIr -gádatar 'they prayed' || Ht -ir (3p p.): er-ir 'they arrived' ¶¶ Bks. 238-9, Szem. IEL 243-5, Thr. 432-3, Wtk. GIV § 21, KT 269-70 || **K:** Sv -ār 𐬀 -är 𐬀 -ar, -īr, -ēr, -äre, sx. of nominal pl.: Sv UB qanār, f qanāre 'oxen' (↔ sg. qān 'ox'), gezlīr 'sons' (↔ sg. gezal 'son') ¶ Top. SJ 81, GP US 50-1 || ?? **HS:** HEC: Sd {Mrn.} -ri, -re, pl. of adjectives and pronouns: lowōri 'big' pl. (↔ sg. lowo), duč'čuri all' pl. (↔ sg. 'dučču 'all'), kore, korēre, 'kururi 'these' (↔ 'konne, 'kunni 'this') ¶ Mrn. S 26, Zab. MNPC 242ff. || **A:** Tg: WrMc -ri, pl. sx. of nouns: mafa-ri 'grandfathers, ancestors' (↔ sg. mafa), mama-ri 'grandmothers, female ancestors' (↔ sg. mama) || Nn мэрэ-ри accus. pl. of the refl. pr. 'sich, себя' (↔ accus. sg. мэри), as well as pl. in all other oblique cases: dat. pl. мэндүэ-ри (↔ dat. sg. мэндүи), instr. pl. мэндиз-ри (↔ instr. sg. мэндии), etc.; Ul -r(л)/-r(i), marker of pl. possessoris in the nominal forms of reflexive possession ('one's own, свой'): pl. possessoris -ba-r(л)/-bэ-r(i)/-wa-r(л)/wэ-r(i) ↔ sg. possessoris -bl/-bi/-l/-i, e.g. kučzmbэр(i) 'knife of several people' (↔ kučzmbi 'one's [sg.] knife'), gldawar(л) 'spear of several people' (↔ gldat 'one's [sg.] spear') | Ewk, Lm -r, pl. sx. of n-nouns: Ewk, Lm orо-r 'reindeers' (↔ sg. oron), Ewk muri-r 'horses' (↔ sg. murin), Lm hэрка-r 'knives' (↔ sg. hэркан) ¶ Ci. 254-5, Bz. 1024-6, Hrl. 33, Z 872, 874-5, Avr. GNJ I 256-8, Sun. UJ 33-5 || T \*-r̥, marker of pl. in pers. pronouns: \*m̥i-r̥ 'we' (OT, Az, Qmq, Nog, Uz, ET, Qrg biz, Tk biz, Tkm биз biδ, Qzq, Qq b̄iz, VTt без б̄эз, Bsh б̄б̄δ, Alt, Tv bis, Tf b̄i'z, Xk п̄ис p̄is, Shor pis, Yk bihigi, Chv эпир e-b̄ir), \*si-r̥ 'ye, vos' (OT {Cl} s̄iz, Tk s̄iz, Az, Qmq, Nog, Qrg, Uz, ET siz, Tkm сиз θiδ, Qzq, Qq s̄iz, VTt сез с̄эз, Bsh һ̄б̄δ, Yk ehigi, Chv эсир e-z̄ir); this morpheme is also present in the endings of 1p and 2p of verbs and in the

possessive\predicative markers of 1p (MT XIII *biz olmiz* 'it is we') and of 2p of nomina (ffd. *see* Sev. KS 18-21, Sev. KPr ∇, Dmt. KP 25-32) ¶ Cl. 388, 860, Rs. W 77, 424, Isx. M 208-35, Ra. 163 || pKo \*-ri in {S} \*ú-rí 'we' > MKo úrí, NKo uri ¶ S AJ 255 [#98], S QK #98, Nam 389, MLC 1238 || ?? J -ra, sx. of pronouns and nouns (denoting human beings) with the meaning of plural and associative plural ('and those connected with ...': *kimi-ra* 'you and the others', *kore-ra* 'those people and others') || ?? U: FU \*°-r∇, sx. of collectivity: Chr H/Y {Wc.} *lülper* 'alder-grove, alder-forest' (← *lülpa* 'alder'), Chr H *pister*, Chr T *pišter* 'grove\forest of lime-trees' (← *pista* 'lime-tree'), Chr H *tumer* 'oak-forest' (← *tumъ* 'oak') ¶ Lh. PUAS 184, Wc. TNB 15-6 || ?? Y: OY O {Mat.} *миръ* 'we' ¶ IN 310 ¶ This form resembles very much T \*mi-í 'we' and pKo \*ú-rí id. || D: [1] D \*-l∇lr, sx. of nominal pl. (mainly of animate nouns) > Tm -r, -ir, Ml, OKn, Klm, Nk, Prj, Gdb, Gnd, Knd, Png, Krx, Mlt -r, e.g. OTm *makaḷ-ir* 'girls, women', *peṛṭ-ir* 'women', *kēlir* 'relatives', Tm *arasa-r* 'kings' (↔ sg. *arasaṇ*), Ml {An.} *taččar* 'carpenters' (↔ sg. *taččañ*), OKn *kaḷḷar* 'thieves' (↔ sg. *kaḷḷañ*), Tl *alluṇḍ-ru* ~ *allu-ru* 'sons-in-law', *dēvaru* 'gods', Klm *kōlavar* 'persons of the Kolami tribe' (↔ sg. *kōlavān*), Klm *mās-ur* 'men', *budiaker* 'old men', Prj *muttaker*, Gdb *muttakor* id., Prj *kummaler* 'potters', *toler* 'brothers' (↔ sg. *tolen*), Nk *tōler* 'brothers' (↔ sg. *tōlen*), Gdb *iler* 'bridegrooms' (↔ sg. *ileṇḍ*), Gnd A *kandīr* 'boys' (↔ sg. *kandī*), Gnd K *aṇer* 'sons-in-law' (↔ sg. *aṇe*), Knd *ṭōṇḍar* 'friends' (↔ sg. *ṭōṇḍə*), Png *kaṛder* 'boys' (↔ sg. *kaṛde*), Kui *āba-ru* 'fathers', *āporu* 'sons', Krx *kukkor* 'boys' (↔ sg. *kukkos*), *ālar* 'men', *mukkar* 'women', Mlt *maqer* 'sons' (↔ sg. *maqeh*), *maler* 'men', *peler* 'women' || [2] D \*-(∇)r, pl. ending of the personal gender in dem. pronouns and nouns, e.g. \*ava-r (pl. of \*avaṇ 'that man') > Tm *avar* 'those people', Ml *avar* 'those persons', Kt *aṽr*, Kn *aṽar*, Tu *ārā* id., Klm, Nkr *aṽr*, Prj, Gdb *ōr* 'those men', cp. Tl *vārū* 'those persons', Knd *vār* 'those men', Kui *āru* id., Krx, Mlt *ār* 'those persons' || [3] D \*-r in 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 ¶¶ An. SG 173-7, Zv. CDM I 15-6, Bloch S 8-9, Zv. DL 36 ◇ T \*-í regularly goes back to N \*í and \*ry (< N \*r<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>y). D \*r is a reg. reflex of a N \*r-cluster. It leads us to a \*ry-cluster'. But cns. clusters are never found in the word-initial position, which suggests N \*r∇y∇. We suppose that this marker of plurality goes back to a N



compound: theme-focalizing N **\*r**∇ (q.v.) + N plural marker ? **\*yE** (= **y<sup>r</sup>i<sup>r</sup>?**) 'these, they' (q.v.) ◇ Sin. UAP 116-8 (U, A), ≈ Gr. I 110-4 ("plural R(I)" in IE, CK, A, err. Gil [-r in mer 'we' incl., while in fact -r goes back to \*-t]).