

NOSTRATIC ETYMOLOGIES

General remarks:

The alphabetical order of consonants is as follows: *ʔ (incl. *ʔ), *ɸ (incl. *ɸ), *b, *c (incl. *ć, *ċ, *ċ', *C), *ç (incl. *č, *ċ, *ċ', *C), *č, *č', *ĉ, *ĉ', *g, *g, *ɣ (incl. *Γ), *h, *H (incl. *H, *H₁, *H₂), *ħ, *k (incl. *K, *K), *k (incl. *K), *l (incl. *l, *L, *L), *í, *m, *n (incl. *ñ, *ñ, *ñ, *N, *N), *ń, *ń, *p (incl. *p, *P, *P), *q (incl. *Q), *q, *r (incl. *R), *r', *s (incl. *ś, *ś, *ś', *S), *š, *š, *t (incl. *T), *t, *w, *x (incl. *X), *y, *z (incl. *z, *z, *z), *ž, *ž, *ž (incl. *ž, *ž, *ž, *ž), *ž, *ž.

The letter *h precedes *H (incl. *H, *H₂) in the word-initial position only. In the word-internal position the letters h, H, H and H₂ occupy the same place in the order of entries.

Among the word-medial consonants we shall distinguish between "weak consonants" (laryngeal and epiglottal consonants, *g, *q, *w and *y) and "strong consonants" (all others).

The entries are arranged as follows:

[1] The basic arrangement: according to the initial consonants and the first word-medial strong consonants. If there are no strong Inlaut consonants, the weak consonants (according to their place in the alphabet) are taken into account instead.

[2] Within each group of entries with the same initial cns. and the same medial strong consonants the entries are arranged as follows:

- (a) those without any third consonant,
- (b) those without second strong Inlaut cns. that have a weak cns. before the word-medial strong one,
- (c) those without second strong Inlaut cns. that have a weak cns. after the word-medial strong one,
- (d) those with a second strong Inlaut cns.

If in a N etymon in the medial position (Inlaut) there are two weak consonants and no strong one, the priority of one weak consonant over the other (as criteria for alphabetical order) has been established according to the fate of these consonants in daughter-languages. For instance, in the N word *k.Aħw∇ 'seize, grasp, hold' the consonant *w has survived in Kartvelian and Dravidian, while the laryngeal was lost in those lges, therefore the entry was placed among the *k.-w-entries.

[3] Within each group of entries with identical consonants the entries are arranged according to the first vowel. The order of vowels: *a (incl. *A), *ä (incl. *æ), *e (incl. *E and *ê), *i, *o (incl. *ô), *u (incl. *U, *û, *â, *î), *ü, *∇.

The entries with consonants of doubtful identity (with brackets ' ') and of doubtful presence (with brackets ' ') are treated (concerning the

alphabetical order) like those with regular consonants. The optional second element of a Nostratic compound word (that within plain brackets ()) is not taken into account in the order of the entries. *See* Introduction, §§ 9–14.

As indicated in the Introduction (§ 2.4), if it is found that pN ***i** in the Auslaut regularly disappears in pIE, the word-final N ***æ** in our pN reconstructions (based on IE evidence) may be (or should be) replaced by a less specific ***E**.

If a N etymon is represented in two daughter-families only, this is denoted by a sign ₂ preceding the N reconstruction. The doubtful cognates are denoted by signs of query (? , ?ϕ or ?σ). The sign ?μ (indicating that the derivation is not clear) does not mean that the cognate is doubtful. If among the words (or roots) of daughter-families only two are certain as belonging to the N etymon in question (having no signs ? , ?ϕ or ?σ), this is denoted by a sign (₂?) preceding the N reconstruction, and if only one is certain, the sign is (₁?).

Two uncertainty signs:

⌈ ⌋ – uncertainty brackets: ⌈a⌋ = probably a,

⌊ ⌋ – uncertainty brackets: ⌊a⌋ = a or nothing.

The sign '↑' (= 'the same meaning as above') refers to the first appearance of the word or morpheme in the same entry.

The sign '÷' has two meanings: (1) before a quoted word\morpheme of a language it means "akin of", (2) with the name of a scholar it is used to indicate an etymological comparison proposed by that scholar (and not necessarily shared by the author of this dictionary).

The symbol ⌈ precedes bibliographical indication of a word or morpheme if the phonetic notation used by the scholar has been replaced by our own transcription or transliteration.

The position of Dahalo within Cushitic is still controversial (it belongs either to EC or to SC). In this dictionary the words of Dahalo are registered as belonging to a separate branch of Cushitic.

The verbs in Bj (especially the prefix-conjugated verbs) are quoted in their 1s forms. In Ar the usually quoted forms of verbs are those of 3m.

In generalized formulas of forms in HS languages the roots are indicated by figures (e.g. the formula of the active participle of the Ar triconsonantal qatala verb is: 1ā2i3-).

1. ***ʔa**, pc. of plurality: it is found in the N cds ***mī ʔa** 'we' (q.v. ffd.) (***mī** 'I' + ***ʔa** of plurality) and ***t̥'ü' ʔa ~ *s'ü' ʔa** 'ye (vos)' (q.v. ffd.) (N ***t̥'ü' ~ *s'ü'** 'thou' + ***ʔa**), as well as in **HS**: S nomina collectiva (→ plural forms) with the prefix ***ʔa-** (× N ***'h'a**, pc. of collectiveness, q.v. ffd.) > Ar رِجْلُ ʔa-rǧul-un 'feet' (← rīǧl-un 'foot'), ʔa-yūām-un 'days' (← yawm-un 'civil day [24 hours], сутки), ʔamṭār-un 'rains' (← maṭar-un 'rain'), OSA ʔbʕl 'owners' (← bʕl 'owner'), ʔhgr 'towns' (← hgr 'town'), Gz ʔa-znāb 'tails' (← zanab 'tail'), ʔadbār 'mountains' (← dabr 'mountain'), ʔaṣṭār 'enemies' (← ṣarr 'enemy'), ʔabyāt 'houses' (← bēt 'house'), ʔaḥḳūl 'fields' (← ḥaḳl 'field'); this patterns is used mostly (but not always) with inanimate nouns; if used with inanimate nouns, it is syntactically treated (in the predicate verb) as f. sg. | S ***-ā**, ending of pl. in the fem.-and-inanimate gender: pred. ***-ā**, nom. ***-ā-t-u(m)**, accus.-gen. ***-ā-t-a(m)**; pred. f. pl. ***-ā** > Ak **-ā** (marṣ-ā 'they [f.] are ill'); in WS the stative turned into a verbal form denoting state and later into a "new perfective", accordingly the form with ***-ā** became a form of f. pl. of this aspect of state and of the "new perfective": ***maʔit-ā** 'they (f.) are dead' → 'they (f.) died' (> Ar māṭ-ā 'they [f.] died'); nom. ***-ā-t-u(m)**, accus.-gen. ***-ā-t-a(m)** are S forms of f. pl.: ***ban-ā-t-um** nom. f. pl. df., ***ban-ā-t-im** accus.-gen. f. pl. df. 'daughters' (> Ar banātun nom., banātīn accus.-gen. 'daughters', BHb bā'n-ōt 'daughters' [without case distinctions]) ¶ Br. AG 98-9, Bst. 26, GBr. JJAP 56, Di. G 267-72, Jo. M 61, Sd. G 100-1, 8* || C: Bj ʔa, article of m. pl. (nom.-voc. case) ¶ AD KJ 106, Rop. 9 ◇ The initial lr. of the pc. (as suffix) is tentatively identified as N ***ʔ** because this is the only lr. that does not cause lengthening in NaIE (***mē-s** 'we' ather than ***mē-s**, the "secondary" ending of 2p ***-te** rather than ***-tē**). The original bisyllabic form of the prn. for 'we' has left traces in Tg ***büe** 'we' (excl.) and possibly in OHg **mī v** [mīü]. But the Krl Ld diphthong in **mūō** 'we' is likely to result from a secondary development (***mē** > ***mō** > ***mūō**).

2. ***ʔa** 'to become, to be' > **HS**: S ***-a** 'is', ending of the predicative case (m. sg.) > Ak zero ending of the predicative case ("stative" of nouns and adjectives, "permansive" of verbs), WS ***-a**, ending of the 3 m. sg. of the new perfect (developed from the predicative case of deverbal adjectives: pS ***maʔit-a** 'is dead' > WS ***maʔit-a** 'has died' > Ar māṭ-a, Hb מת met, Gz mōt-a 'died') ¶ Dk. JDPa 213, 241-6 || ? C: the final component of the EC, Bj and Aw sxs of person/number/gender of the suffix-conjugated verbs that go back to prefix-conjugated forms of an aux. verb (or verbs) (which may have been either ***-Ha-** [belonging to the N etymon in question] or ***-hay-**

'be' [akin to S * $\sqrt{\text{h y w}}$ 'be', F N ***how**^{'i'} 'become, appear'] or both): cf. the paradigms of suffixal conjugation: Bj (past) 2m -t-ā, 2f -t-ā-y, 3m -y-ā, 3f -t-ā, 1p -n-ā etc., Aw (past) 1s *-ʔa (> glottalization of the stem-final cns. + -a), 2s -ta, 3m -a, 3f -ta, 1p -na, (pres.-ft.) 1s *-ʔé (glottalization + -é), 2s -té, 3m -é, 3f -té, 1p -né, Sml (past) 1s -à yʔ, 2s -tā yʔ, 3m -à yʔ, 3f -tā yʔ, 1p -nā yʔ, Or S {Sr.} (pres.) 1s -a, 2s -ta, 3m -a, 3f -ti, 1p -na, Sa (pres.) 1s -a, 2s -ta, 3m -a, 3f -ta, 1p -na, Or S, Sa (pres.) 1s -e, 2s -te, 3m -e, 3f -te, 1p -ne ¶ AD KJ 119 (table 45), 126-9 (tables 56, 58, 62), 14O (table 76), Sr. 13O || ? B: Zng {TC} 3m aor. y iʔ, 3m pf. yaʔ 'be, exist' ¶ DCTC 293 || A: M *a_{1,2}- 'be' (× N ***ʔ**|**Γ a ʔ** ▽ [= ***ʔ**|**g**|**ʔ a ʔ** ▽] 'grow, become') > MM [S] a- 'dasein, sich aufhalten, wohnen, leben', [HI] a- 'être, demeurer, exister, passer ses jours de quelque façon', [PP] a- v. 'be', WrM a-, Brt a-, Dg ā- id. ¶ Pp. IM 74, MED 1, Chr. 65, H 4, Ms. H 33 || D {Km.} *ā- 'be, become' (× N ***ʔ**|**Γ a ʔ** ▽ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I 243 [no. 102] (D, A: M + unc. (with a query) Tg *-ō, which actually belongs to N ***how**^{'i'} 'become, appear' [q.v.]).

2a. (₂?) ***ʔ A**, a marker of the male sex (← '[young] man'??) > **HS**: C: Bj A {AD} -a, sx of masculine in verbal forms of the 2nd person: pret.: 2m ti-dir-a 'you (sg. m.) killed' (↔ 2f ti-dir-i. cp. 1st person a-dir, 3m i-dir, 3f ti-dir) ¶ AD KJ || S *-a in *ʔant-a 'thou' m. (↔ *ʔant-i 'thou' f., cp. C *anti 'thou' without gender distinction) (see s.v. N ***ṭü**^{'i'} 'thou') | Ar ʔa- in the nominal pattern ʔa-CCaCu for the masc. gender of adjectives (comparative, adjectives of colors etc.: ʔaṣṣaru 'smaller' m., ʔaṣṣaru 'yellow' m., ʔabyaḍu 'white' m.) ↔ fem. C ▽ CCāʔu (ṣaṣrāʔu 'smaller' f., ṣafrāʔu 'yellow' f., bayḍāʔu 'white' f.) || D *-an ([ʔ] ~ *-a), marker of masc. > Tm mak-an 'son', man-an 'king', kātal-an 'lover', iḷai-y-an 'young man', muti-ya-an 'old man', Ml mak-an 'son', tacc-an 'carpenter', taṭṭ-ān 'goldsmith', varan-ān 'washerman', Kt kurḍ-n 'blind man', kaḷḷn (< *kaḷ-n) 'male thief', Td koḷḷn (< *koḷ-n) id., toṭṭṭī-n 'goldsmith', konoddy-n 'Canarese man', Kdg kaḷḷ-ḡ 'male thief', obb-ḡ 'one man', kiṽḍ-ḡ 'dumb man', Kn O mag-an 'son', aras-an 'king', Kn Bd kaḷḷ-a(n) 'thief', aṇṇ-a(n) 'elder brother', Tl -an (marker of masc.), Knd -a (e.g. kaṇ-a 'blind man', danṛ-a 'young man', dokr-a 'old man'), Png -en, -an (ṭond-en 'brother', potl-en 'father-in-law', dūt-en 'old man', nāṭak-an 'villager', haruk-an 'a small man'), Klm -an / -en / -on (mar-an 'spouse's brother', mal-an 'man of the barber caste', koḷaṽ-an 'Kolam man', tōr-en 'younger brother', okk-on 'one man'), Nkr -en ~ -an (tōl-en 'brother', kīk-en 'son', kaym-an 'spouse's

younger brother'), Prj -ed / (before case sxs) -en- (tol-ed / tol-en- 'brother', bert-ed / bert-en- 'big man'), Gdb toṛ-on 'brother', Mlt -e (maq-e 'son', qad-e 'son') ¶¶ The final *-ŋ in the sx *-aŋ is due to the generalization in the paradigm of cases, where *-n- (from the N genitive pc. *nu) was originally present in obl. cases || IE: possibly one of the sources of NaIE *-o- / -e (nom. *-o-s, voc. *-e), sx of derived adjectives in the masc. gender (↔ *-ā fem.), e.g. *'deǵwō-s 'heavenly' (→ 'god') > OI de'vāh 'heavenly, divine; god', Av dāēva- 'demon, false deity', OL deivos, L deus 'god', OIr dia 'god', Germanic *teǵwaz > ON Týr 'war god', OHG Ziu, Zio 'Mars', Lt diẽwas 'god' (cp. *'deǵw-ā > L dea 'goddess', Osc deīvāí 'deae'), derived from NaIE noun *dyēus ~ diyēus 'heaven, sky, day' > OI 'dyāuh id., Gk Ζεύς 'Zeus', L gen. Iovis 'of Jupiter', Osc dat. Dīúveí, Διου/εΙ 'to Jupiter', OIr díe 'day', Arm unhi tiw 'day' ||| The autosemantic word underlying this marker of masc. may be tentatively discerned in Eg MK i'w 'Junge' ◇ The fact that in the Bj verbal conjugation the marker of masc. -a is separated from the 2nd person morpheme ti- suggests that the marker of masc. goes back to an address word: Bj ti-dir-a 'you (m. sg.) killed' goes back to N *t'ü' 'thou' + verb + the N address word *ʔA ('[?] man', marker of the male sex) (cp. the similar situation with the marker of fem. in HS, see s.v. N *ʔ'a'y ▽ 'mother').

3. *ʔæ 'not' > U *e- (~ ? FU *ä-) 'do(es) not', negative verb > F e- id. (1s en 'I do not', 2s et, 3s ei, 1p emme, 2p ette, 3p ei vāt), Vp e- id., Es ei 'do\does not' (negative pc.), Es S e-s~i-s 'did not' (negation in the past tense), Es Δ negative verb: 1s e-si-n, 2s e-si-d, Lv neg. copulative verb ä- (1s, 3s, 1p, 3p ä'b, 2s äd, 2p ät), Lp N i-/æ-/ē- id. (1s im~in, 2s ik~ih, 3s ī~ii, 1d æm~æm, 2d æp'pe, 3d æba~æbā, 1p æp~æp, 2p ēppit, 3p æi), Lp L i-/ī-/ä-/ā-/e-, Lp S {Hs.} eä-/i-/ie-, Er stem e- of the neg. verb in the past tense (1s e-žírí, 2s e-žírt, 3s e-ś etc.), Mk i- id. (past 1s i-žerí, 2s i-žet, 3s i-ž etc.), Chr L ы- ь- id. (past 3s ь-ś, 1p ь-ś-na, 2p ь-ś-δa, 3p ь-ś-t etc.), Chr H ə- (bi-) id. (past 3s, 3p əś, in other personal forms ə is reduced to zero: 1s šam, 2s šac etc.), Prm *e- (neg. verb in p.) > OPrm i-, Yz 'i- (1s 'i-g 'I did not', 2s 'i-n, 3s 'i-z etc.), Z e- (1s e-g, 2s e-n, 3s e-z), Vt 3- (1s öñ 3-y, 2s öd 3-d, 3s öz 3-z), Vt SW o' (= {LG} θ-) (o'-y, o'-n, o'-z), ? pPrm *en prohibitive > Z, Vt en, Yz 'in; as to the Chr neg. verbal stem of the present tense: Chr L o-, Chr H a-, it is most probably of different origin, since these vowels are not reg. reflexes of FU *e- || pVg *ā(-) > Vg: T ā, äk 'nein', K īt, ītī, P ītām, Ss ātī 'is not'; ? pOs

{Ht.} **antə* ({Hl.} **intə*) 'not' (negative pc. before the verb in indicative) > Os: V/Vy *antē* ~ *antə* before cnss, *ant* before vowels, Ty *antə*, *ant*, Y *antə*, D *antə*, *ant*, *an*, Nz *ānt*, *ānə*, Sh *ānt*, *ānə*, *ān*, Sn *āt*, O *ānə*, ? pOs **ant*∇*m* 'is not' > Os: V/Vy *antim*, etc., ?pOs {Ht.} **ant*^ʔ*ä* ({Hl.} **int*^ʔ*ä*) 'nein' > Os: D *antā*, Nz/Kz/Sh/Sn *ānta* || Sm {Jn.} **i*- ~ **e*- ~ *∇-, {Hl.} **i*-, neg. verb > Ng {Ter.} *ri*- (aor. 1s *ri*-*ndym*, p. 1s *ri*-*sə-mə*), proh. 2s {Prk.} *hi*?, {Cs.} *rie*?, En (aor. sg. 1) {Cs.} *i*-, {Ter.} *rie*-, (proh. 2s) {Cs.} *i*?, Ne T {Ter.} *hi*-, {Lh.} *hi*- (aor. 1s *hi*-*dm*', 2s *hi*-*h*, 3s *hi*, proh. 2s *hi*-*h* *hōn*), Ne F *hi*- (neg. verb), Kms {KD} *ε*- (neg. verb: pres. 1s *ε*-*m* ~ *ə-m*, p. *e*), *i*? ~ *i* ~ *ē* 'do not' (proh.), Mt {Hl.} **i*- 'do not' (neg. verb) (Nh, En, Nn *h*- is a reg. prosthetic cns. before **i*-) || Y {IN} **zy* > Y K *oy*-*í*z, Y T {Krn.} *e*ω-*í*e 'there is\are no, Y {Rd.} *oi*-, *ei*:- *oile* 'nicht dasein, nicht dagewesen sein; nein', Y {Schf.} *ei* 'not' ¶ IN H 155 ¶¶ UEW 68-70, SK 32-43 Hs. 145-6, LG 331, RMarS 366-7, Ht. 198 [no. 725], Stn. D 121-3, Hl. rHt 71, KD 164-5, Hl. M 172-3, no. 331, Jn. 26, Fkt, EJ-66 187, Kov. LV 231-3, Kov. GM 248-9, Ter. NJ 388-9, Ter. NgJ 431-2, Ter. EJ 452, IN H 155, ≈ Rd. UJ 35 [no. 7] (Y <- U) || A **æ* ({SDM95} **e*) 'not' > Tg **e*-, neg. aux. verb (like in FU) > Ewk, Sln, Lm, Neg, Orc, Ud, Ork 3- id. (Ewk 3-*si-m* *sār*z 'I do not know', 3-*sīn* *sār*z 'he does not know'); in Nn there are only relics of this verb: prtcs 3-*śi* and 3-*č*in following the main verb have become morphemes of negation of verbs ¶ Mng. TS 236-7, STM II 432-3, Bz. 124 || M **e-se*-, neg. verb > MM *ese*, preverbal negation ([S] *e-se*, [MA] *يسلا* and [IM] *يسلا* *ese* 'not' (acc. to Ligeti, this form preserves M *e* contrasting *e* [from **ä*]), WrM }MED} *ese*- (past *ese-be*, nomen futuri *ese-kū*, nomen perfecti *eseg-sen* etc.), HlM {MED. BMR} *эс*, Ord *ese*, Mnr H {SM} *s3* 'not'; the final element *-*se* was explained by Illich-Svitych (IS I 265) as going back to a desiderative sx ¶ Pp. IM 286-90, Pp. MA 165, 437, Lg. NVMI 119, SM 341, Ms. O 249 ¶¶ SDM 488, DQA no. 407, MED 333. BMR IV 438,. S AJ 44, 291, Pp. VG 65, KW 128, IS I 265 || HS: S **ʔi* (= **ʔiy*) ~ **ʔay* 'not' > Hb *ʔi*, Ph *ʔy* 'not', Ar *ʔa*-, Sq {L} *ʔē* 'not', Gz *ʔi*- 'not' (preverb, e.g. in *ʔi-nəkl* *ḥawīra* 'we cannot go'), Tgr *ʔi* 'not', -*əy* (as in *ʔandəy* 'while not' < *ʔando-ay*), Amh *y*- (< **ʔi*-) in *y-əllə-m* 'there is not' (cp. *allə* 'there is'), OAk {G} *ē* (before a cns.) / *ay* (before a vowel) (< **ay*-) 'do not!', 'may not' (prohibitive pc.), Ak *ay* ~ *ya* (written *a*-, *a-i*, *a-IA*, *IA*) (< **ʔayya*, intensified variant of **ʔay*) 'do not' (proh.), *ē* 'no' ('nein'), *ē... ē* 'not... lest' ¶ KB 37, JH 11, HJ 43-4, L LS 47-8, L G 1, G OA 1-2, CAD I/1 218-20 and IV 1 || ?? Eg fOK *ʔw.ʔ* 'welcher nicht' ¶ EG I 45 || ? EC: Brj -*ay*?, Hd -*y*y0, suffixes of negative

forms of verbs ¶ Hd. 266 || ???φ (*id.*)-WCh: AG: Ang {Flk.} *həi* 'no!' (a decisive negative), Mpn {Frz.} *háýí* 'no!' (may occur at the end of interr. sentences) ¶ Frz. GM 21, Flk. s.v. *həi* ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 14 (AG, S, Eg; err.: pHS *h-) || D *-ā (and *-ē?) negative affix (→ infix) of verbs > Klm -e- (*sī-e-n* 'I do not give, I shall not give'), Nk -e- (*āṛ-e-n* '[he] does not play'), Prj -a- (*ḥuṛ-a-ta* 'non vides, non videris'), Gdb -a- (*var-a-n* 'I do\did\shall not come'), Tl -3- (1s *ḥəpp-3-nu* 'I do\did\shall not say', 2s *ḥəpp-3-wu*, 3m *ḥəpp-3-ru*, 3f\3n *ḥəpp-3-du*), ClTm -ā- (3n) / -Ø (all other person-gender-number forms), Ml -ā- (*ṽār-ā-ríru* 'did not come'), -ā (*ṽān ceyy-ā* 'I am not doing, I shall not do'), Kdg -a (*ting-a* 'do\does not eat'), Kn -a- (3n) / -Ø- (negation in other person-gender-number forms) ¶¶ Subrahmanyam reconstructed a D negative sx of verbs *-a, while Bur. and An. prefer to see here a sx (*-ā) forming a pD negative gerund, that served later as the first component of negative tense forms ¶¶ Cald. 468-77; Subram. N 32-43; Sbr. DVM 370-4; Bloch S 51-2, Bur. rBloch 255, An. SG 400-19 ◇ D *ā and pVg *ā suggest that the pN etymon was *ǂā ◇ In grammatical morphemes pN *h- and pS *h- (just like *ǂ-) yield Ar and Gz ǂ-; hence a N *h- in this etymon cannot be ruled out. We reconstruct here N *ǂ- (= *ǂ|h-) ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 55 (S, U, A [M, Tg]), IS I 264-5 (HS [S, C], U, D, A [M, Tg]), Gr. I 214-17 ("negative E/ELE" in U, Y, A, ChK).

4. *ǂaǂ▽ 'female', (in descendant lges) → marker of feminine (sex or grammatical gender) > HS: S: Ar -āǂ-u, fem. ending of adjectives (mainly those of the ǂafǂalu form): *ṣafrāǂu* 'yellow' f. (↔ *ǂaṣfaru* id. m.), *ṣawrāǂu* 'one-eyed' f. (↔ *ǂaṣwaru* id. m.), *ḥasnāǂu* 'beautiful' f. (↔ *ḥasan-* id. m.) ¶ Br. AG 83, Br. G I 410 [§ 225.B.1] || SC: Irq -oǂo, {MQK} -oǂō (sx of fem. sg.): {Nb.} ḥ-oǂo, {MQK} ḥ-oǂō 'sister' (↔ ḥ-iyāǂ 'brother'), {Nb.} k^wal-oǂo, {MQK} k^waloǂō 'widow' (pl. k^waēli), {Nb.} wawut-oǂo, {MQK} wāwitoǂō 'queen' (↔ wāwita 'kings'), irq^wat-oǂo ({MQK} irq^watoǂō) 'Iraqw woman' (↔ irq^watu 'Iraqw man'), Alg {E} -oǂo (fem. gender sx), Brn {E} -it-oǂo id. (with a noun-particularizing sx -it-) ¶ Nb. 64, E SC 54, 60, MQK 50, 57, 64 || IE: NaIE *-ā (< IE {Bks} *-eH or < IE *-aH), ending of the fem. gender in adjectives, nouns and pronouns > OI, Av -ā, Gk D -ā, Gk A -η / -ā, L -a, Lt -a, pSl *-a, e.g. [a] *new-ā ~ *now-ā 'new' f. > OI 'naṽā, Gk νέᾱ, L novā, pSl *novā > OCS **ноба**, [b] NaIE *ekw-ā 'mare' (← *ekw-o-s 'horse') > OI 'asṽā, Av aspā-, L equa, Olt ašvā ~ ešva (not necessarily a pNaIE d., it may well have been derived in the separate history of each branch of NaIE), [c] NaIE *wed^how-ā 'widow' > OI vi'dhāvā, Av

vidavā-, L vidua, Ir fedb, Gt wīduwō, OHG wītūwa, Pru widdewū, OCS ВѢДОВА vьdova, [d] NaIE *s-ā (f. of *sō-), distance-deictically neutral dem. prn. > OI 'sā, Gt sō id., Gk ἡ (df. art. f. sg.), OL sā-psa 'ipsa' ¶ NaIE *-ā coalesced with a suffix (or suffixes) of different origin, with different meaning (not denoting females) and with a different lr. (or lrs), which is suggested by the K word *wenaq- 'vine' (> OG wenaq-, G venax-, Mg bineχ-, Sv wenäq-), which is a loan from IE *wojn-aH- id. (> NaIE *wojnā > Gk οἴνη 'vine') <- IE *wojnō-m 'wine'. The Kartvelian cns. *q rendering the IE lr. shows that the latter was different from *ʔ (I reconstruct it as *-x, but it may have been phonetically identical with [x] or even [q]) ¶ Brg. KVG 354-60, 373-401, BD II/1 161-2, Bur. S 83, Bks 182-3, Bks ONI 20-8, K 83, AD IEH 21 || D *ā, *ān 'female (animal)' > Tm ā, ān 'female of ox\sambur\buffalo', Ml ā, ān, Kt a·v, Kn ā, Tlg ā v u, Krx ō y 'cow', Mlt ó y u 'cow, ox'; D *-a_l·, marker of feminine (?) > Kdg obb-a 'one woman' (↔ obb-ā 'one man'), mōv-a 'daughter' (↔ mōv-ā 'son'), Gnd dīyy-ā 'young woman', ? Gnd K kūt-ō 'lame woman' ¶¶ D no. 334, Shanm. DN 51, 66, 69 ¶¶ *-n in *ān is from forms of obl. cases, sc. goes back to N *nu 'from'.

5. ? Ll. *ʔaba ~ *ʔapa 'daddy, father' > HS: S *ʔa¹b- 'father' (nom. *ʔa¹b-u, -um, accus. *ʔa¹b-a, -am, gen. *ʔa¹b-i, -im) > BHb 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 'ʔāb', cs. ʔā¹bī, +ppa. ʔā¹bī-/ʔā¹bī- (e.g. ʔā¹bī-kā 'thy father', ʔā¹bī-kəm 'your [pl.] father'), Ph ʔb, cs. ʔabī (as reflected in Ak and Gk transcriptions of proper names, F FrdR § 240), Ug ʔb, Amr {G} ʔabum, BA 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 * 'ʔab', st. pron.: ʔābūk 'thy father', JPA ʔab¹bā, Sr ʔab¹bā, Ar ʔab-, cs. ʔabū / ʔabā / ʔabī, st. pron. ʔabū- / ʔabā- / ʔabī-, Sb ʔb, Mh df. 'ḥayb, indf. 'ʔīb, pl. df. 'ḥawb, Hrs ḥayb, pl. ḥōb, Jb C ʔiy, Sq {Jo.} ʔiyf-, Ak abu(m), +ppa.: abū-, abī- ¶ DRS 1, KB 1-2, GB 1-2, 823, OLS 1-2, G A 13, Jo. M 2, Jo. J 1, Jo. H 1, Jo. DA, L G 2, Sd. 7-8; on the pS oxytonic stress and its infl. (the lengthening of the vw. in the case ending in cs. and st. pron.) see AD PhSS 1, 3-4, 7-8, AD PSH 101-3 || EC *ʔābb-/ *abb- 'father' > Af abba, Sml ābbe, Rn {PG} ābba, Bs ābo, Or {AD, Bl.}, Arr ábba?, {Grg.} abbā, Kns āppa, Gdl áppā, Gwd áppa; this etymon may be the source of EC *ʔab-(-uyy-, -iyy-) 'maternal uncle' (derived from the word for 'father', like in L patrūus?) > Af abo, abu, Sml ab-tí, Or abuyya, Kns abuyyāta, Gdl apa, apuyy, Dbs, Hr, Gwd ʔapúyya, Gln ʔapíyya, Brj abuy'yā 'maternal uncle' ¶ Bl. 100, 112, 174, Ss. PEC 15, Ss. B 21, Hn. S 51, PG 58, Grg. 4, Brl. 2-3, Hw. A 336, Oo. 67, HL 59, AMS 31 (Dl apúyya 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 apíyya 'avunculus' interpreted as 'weiblicher Vater', sc. 'representative of one's mother's clan'), 148, 194, 258 || Ch ≈ *ʔ▽b- (~ *ʔap-) 'father' > WCh

*ʔ∇b/p- 'father' ({Stl.} pHAB *ʔab∇ʔŋgʰ-) > WCh: Hs ùbǎ | Cg {Sk.} òbǎn, P' {MSk.} ábatì, ábanáni, Jmb, Dir àbá | Jm {Gw.} abawá, Gj {ChL} ábà, ? Bg pàn | Ngz {Sch.} àfǎk, Bd {ChL} àfǎŋ || CCh: ? Nz {ChC} ābá (independent creation as a Ll.?), Bdm {Lk.} abú, {Cfr} àpá, àpǎ, Lgn {Bou.} ʔàbà, Msg P {Trn.} àpí, Msg {Mch.} ap, ZmB {J} ʔǎbá 'father' || ECh: Smr {J} ʔàb, Tmk {Cp.} ǎwǎ, ? Bar {Lk.} ābā id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'father', ChL, Ba. 1067, Abr. H 908, Sk. HCD 277, Lk. B 89 || **A** *aP_a 'father' > T *aPa 'father, ancestor' (→ 'bear, ursus') > OT apa id., Tkm Δ, Az Δ, ET Ili aba, Tk Δ aba, appa 'father', Qrg aba 'uncle, elder brother', StAlt aba 'elder relative (of ego's clan), wife's elder brother; bear', Chv упа ub_a ≈ ob_a 'bear' ¶ Cl. 5, ET Gl 54–58, DTS 1, Rs. W 1, Ash. III 248–52, Fed. II 281–2, Jeg. 274, Jud. 17, BT 11 || M *abʰu 'father' > WrM abu {MED} 'father, grandfather', esp. applied to an old father (endeavouring), HIM ав, авв {MED} id., {BMR} 'father' (endeavouring), Brt абa 'father', WrO ābā 'father, daddy', Kl {KRS} авв āwǎ, {Rm.} āw_a id., Mnr H {SM} āb_a ~ āw_a, Dx aba, Ba ābe 'father', Ord awā id.; M {ADb.} *aba-gay 'father's younger brother' > MM [S, MA, HI] abaxa 'father's brother', WrM {MED} abaga, HIM {MED, BMR} авга, Brt авга, WrO abaxa, Kl {KRS} авh awǎ, {Rm.} awǎ id., Ord awaga 'father's brother'; Mnr H awu 'elder brother', Ord āwū 'grandfather, father' ¶ MED 2–3, 5, BMR I 2, 12, 23, Krg. 11, Chr. 18–19, 23–4, KRS 17, 21, KW 19, 21, T 313, T BJ 132, T DnJ 110, SM 1 and 16, H 1, Pp. MA 402, Ms. H 32, Ms. O 36–7 || Tg: Neg apa 'grandfather; father's\mother's elder brother' ¶ Ci. N 193, STM I 47 || pKo *àpí > MKo àpí 'father' (< *apa-i with a diminutive *-i), apà:-nim 'father', NKo abəǝi, vlg, abi id. ¶ S QK no. 706, Vv. AEN 7, Nam 338, MLC 1074 ¶¶ SDM 310 (pA *áp'a 'father' > M, T, Ko, Tg 'grandfather, uncle' [Neg + unc.. Nn papa ~ ʔaʔa]), DQA no. 80, SDM97 s.v. *āpa 'father, grandfather', Rm. EAS I 140, Ci. EATR 32–7 || **D** *appa 'father' ({GS} *ap-) > Tm appan, appu 'father', Ml appan, Kn appa, Kdg appə 'father', Tu appa, appə (affix of respect added to proper names of men), Tl appa 'father', Gnd āpōrā|āl 'father', ? maipo 'my father', ? mi-apo 'thy father', Knd aposi 'father' (with reference to the 3rd person) ¶¶ D no. 156 (a), Zv. 88 [no. 70], GS 37 [no. 64] ◇ The common origin of the HS, A and D stems is qu., since each of them may be an independent Lallwort creation. The Ll. origin may be responsible for the variability *-b- ~ *-p- ◇ AD NM no. 118, S CNM 5 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST).

6. *ʔoh|ʔb∇ 'clan' > **HS**: Eg fOK ɛb.t 'family' ({EG} 'Familie, die Angehörigen') ¶ EG I 7, Fk. 2 || **IE**: NaIE *ēpi- 'friend', {EI} IE *Hépi-s

'confederate' > OI $\bar{a}p\bar{i}h$ 'ally, friend, acquaintance', $\bar{a}pyam$ 'confederation, alliance, friendship' || ?σ Gk ἡπιος 'gentle, mild, kind; favorable' (⇔ Ch. 415) ¶ WP I 121-2, P 325, EI 116, M K I 75, F I 641 ¶¶ Acc. to Froehde PN 330 and Hirt E 228, Gk η is not from $*\bar{a}$, because the Greek tragic authors never used $\bar{a}$ instead. But if this argument is disregarded, the IE stem may be reconstructed as $*\bar{a}|\bar{e}pi$ || **A** $*\bar{o}Pa$ > NaT $*\bar{o}ba$ 'clan, extended family, dwelling place of such a unit, small encampment or large tent' (× N $*\bar{?}o'm\nabla$ 'kin, clan, everybody', q.v.) > OT $o\bar{b}a$ (Cl.: $o\bar{b}\bar{a}$) 'small social unit, clan', Chg $o\bar{o}b\bar{a}$ 'small tents which nomads pitch and in which they reside', Osm $\geq XIV$ $o\bar{b}a$ 'a small encampment; family living in one tent', Tk $o\bar{b}a$ 'large tent, nomadic family', Δ 'clan', Tkm $\bar{o}ba$, ET {ML.} opa , Uz Δ owa 'tent', ET opa {ML.} id., {Nj.} 'shepherd's cabin', Az oba 'nomadic extended family (кочевье)', 'separated farm (отселок, хутор)', 'tent (of nomads)' ¶ SDM 1059 (pT $*\bar{o}pa$ with unj. $*-p-$), Cl. 5-6, ET Gl 400-1, Rl. I 1157, Äz. 270, Bu. I 107 || M $*o\bar{b}ug$ 'clan' > MM [S] $o\bar{b}o\bar{h}$ 'family', WrM $o\bar{b}u\bar{x}$ {MED} 'clan, tribe, family, surname', HlM $o\bar{b}o\bar{r}$ {MED} id., {BMR} 'clan, tribe, family, family name', Brt $o\bar{b}o\bar{r}$ 'clan, tribe, family name'; M $*o\bar{m}ug$ 'clan' (× N $*\bar{?}o'm\nabla$ '↑') > WrM $o\bar{m}u\bar{x}$ {MED} 'clan, tribe, family, surname', HlM $o\bar{m}o\bar{r}$ {MED} id., {BMR} 'clan, tribe, family', WrO $o\bar{m}o\bar{q}$ 'family', Mnr H {SM} $o\bar{m}o\bar{g}$ 'nom de clan, nom de famille'. Ord $o\bar{m}o\bar{q}$ 'clan, nom de clan' ¶ H 120, Krg. 115, MED 598, 611, BMR II 454, 475, Chr. 348, SM 298, Ms. O 511 ¶¶ SDM 1059 (pA $*\bar{o}p'\nabla$ 'clan, family' [with unj. $*-p'-$] > M $*o\bar{b}ug$, T $*\bar{o}pa$ 'village, clan'), DQA no. 1603 (id.) ◇ A N lr. preceding $*b$ is suggested by the length of the vowels in T and IE. IE $*-p-$ (rather than $*-b^h-$ from N $*b$) may be accounted for by the infl. of a lr. This N lr. could hardly have been $*h$ (which would have survived in Eg). It is most likely to have been $*h$ or $*?$.

7. $*\bar{?}a'bH\nabla$ 'water, watercourse' > **HS**: Eg G $\bar{i}b\acute{x}$ ({EG} $\bar{i}b\bar{h}$) ≈ 'water' ¶ EG I 64 || C: Bj {R} aba 'river, brook' || EC: Or B {Tut.} $ab\bar{a}$ (nom. $abofni$) 'river', Or {Brl.} 'valle stretta con pochi guadi', {Th., Brl.} $ab\bar{b}ai$ 'the Blue Nile' ¶ R WBd 3, Th. 4, Tut. s.v. $ab\bar{a}$, Brl. 3 || **IE**: NaIE $*ab-$ ~ $*a(:)p-$ 'river' (× N $*qap\nabla$ 'to stream, to flow' → 'watercourse'): $*ab-$ > Clt {Matas.} $*abon-$ 'river' > Ir ab (gen. $abae$) ~ aub ~ ob 'river', Brtt {RE} $*abon\bar{a}$ id. > W $afon$, OCm $auon$, Cm $avon$, MBr $aupn$, $auen$, Br $aven$ 'river'; OBrtt $Abona$ (name of a river), Ἰ Αβος 'the Humber (river)' (in Ptolemy's *Geography*) || L $amnis$ (< $*abnis$) 'stream of water, river' || NaIE $*a(:)p-$ > OI $ap-$ / $\bar{a}p-$, Av $ap-$ (nom. sg. $af-\acute{s}$), OPrs $ap-$ 'water' || Pru ape 'creek,

small river'; ??σ Lt $\bar{u}p\acute{e}$, Ltv $up\acute{e}$ 'river, stream' ($u-$ is irreg., see Tp. P A-D 97-8) || Tc A/B $\bar{a}p-$ 'water, river, stream' ¶ Pv. III 114-15, Frd. HW EH II 11, Ts. E I 159-60, Mlc. CL 54, P 1, 51-2, EI 486 ($*h_2eb(^h)-$ 'river') and 636 ($*h_2\bar{e}p-$ ~ $*h_2ep-$ '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. I 166 (× N $*qap\triangledown$ 'to stream, to flow' → 'watercourse' [q.v. ffd.]), Matas. E 23-4 ◇ Hardly here FU $*\bar{o}'wa$ ~ $*uwa$ 'stream; to stream', more plausibly belonging to N $*ho_lw_{\downarrow}za$ (or $*ho_{\downarrow}wa$) 'to flow, to stream; a stream' (q.v.).

8. $_2$ $*\bar{p}ib_{\downarrow}\triangledown_rE$ 'fig tree' > HS: S $*\bar{o}'ibar-$ > Ar $\bar{p}ibr-at-$ 'sycamore tree' (pl. $\bar{p}ibar-$); hardly ← $\bar{p}ibr-at-$ 'needle' ¶ BK I 3, Gass. 808, DRS 5 || C: Or {Brl.} abr_u 'fig tree', {Th.} abr_u 'sycamore tree, wild fig tree', ? (mt.) Or M {LLC} $harbu$ 'fig tree, wild fig tree' ¶ Brl. 5, Th. 6, LLC 75 || Ch: Gzg {Lk.} $\bar{p}urof \sim \bar{p}3rof$ 'sycamore tree' || ? Hs $\bar{b}a_{\downarrow}u_{\downarrow}r\acute{e}$ {Abr.} 'fig tree', {Ba.} rough-leaved fig tree' (< $*\bar{b}abre$), with $\bar{b} > *?b$ || ? Mgm $\bar{b}ârá$ (pl. $\bar{b}ârri$) 'figuier (rouge)' ¶ Ba. 96-7, Abr. H 91, JA LM 68 || D (in SD) $*ir \sim i_{\downarrow}$ 'fig (tree)' > Tm $iratt_i$ 'joined ovate-leaved fig', 'subserrate rhomboid-leaved fig, *Ficus gibbosa tuberculata*', $iratakam$ 'joined ovate-leaved fig', $i_{\downarrow}ali$ 'white fig', $i_{\downarrow}i$ 'tailed ovate-leaved fig', itt_i 'white fig, *Ficus infectoria*', 'stone fig, *Ficus talboti*', Ml itt_i 'waved leaved fig tree, *Ficus venosa*', Kdg itt_i '*Ficus (gibbosa?)*' (< $-tt-*$ -rt-) ¶ D no. 460 ¶ N $*b$ was lost in D due to the D morphophonemics ruling out cns. clusters (other than nasal + stop) which presupposes simplifying the post-N clusters (⇔ Zv. DP 363) || ?σ IE: NaIE $*eb^h\triangledown ro-$ '≈ tree' ('yew?') ({Matas.} $*eb^hro-$ 'yew') > Alb G {P} $ber-sh-e$ 'yew' ({P} from $*ebur-isyo-$) || Clt {Matas.} $*eburo-$ 'yew' > OIr $\bar{i}bar$ 'yew', MW $efwr \sim ewr$ 'cow parsnip, bog weed', MBr $heuor \sim euor$, Br $evor$ 'elebore' || MHG $eber-boum$, NHG $Eberesche$ 'rowan tree' ¶ Matas. 112-13, Lx. 35, Hm. 268 ◇ AD NM no. 1.

9. $_2$ $*\bar{p}\triangledown\check{c}|\check{c}\triangledown h\triangledown$ 'back (dorsum)' > HS: EC $*\bar{p}a\check{d}a\check{h}-$ 'spine, back (dorsum)' > Af {PH} $\acute{a}\check{d}ha$ 'back, backbone, spinal column', Sml {ZMO} $a\check{d}a\check{h}$, Sml N {Abr.} $\acute{a}\check{d}a\check{h}$, df. $a\check{d}a\check{h}-di$ 'spine, backbone', Rn $\bar{p}a\check{d}a\check{h}$ 'back' ¶ PH 32, Abr. S 4, ZMO 7, PG 60 || K $*\bar{o}a\check{c}\triangledown$ > Mg $o\check{c}i\check{s}i$ 'back (dorsum)' (here $-i\check{s}-$ may go back to the ending of gen.) ¶ Q 295.

10. $*\bar{p}a\check{c}P\triangledown$ 'leaf-bearing tree' ('aspen' or the like) > IE: NaIE $*a|osp-$ ~ $*a|ops-$ 'aspen' ({EI} IE $*h_2|h_3osp-$ id., 'poplar') > ON qsp , OHG, OSx $aspa$, NHG $Espe$, AS $\acute{a}spe$ 'aspen', NE asp , $aspen$ || Pru $abse$, Ltv $apse$ id., Lt $\bar{a}pu\check{s}\acute{e} \sim \bar{e}pu\check{s}\acute{e}$ id. (dim.), Lt $\Delta apu\check{s}i\check{s}$ id. ({Bg.}: Lt u is due to the infl. of $pu\check{s}i\check{s}$ 'spruce') || pSl $*osa$ (< $*opsa$) 'aspen' > P, Cz Δosa , LLs $wosa$

id., ⇨ Sl *osīna id. > OR **осина** osīna, R осина, Cz Δ, P osina; ⇨ Sl *osīka ~ *asīka id. > Blg **осика** ~ **ясика**, Slk osika, SCr jàsíka, Slov jasíka || Arm **նփի** op^hi 'poplar' (< *a|opsiyā- = {EI} IE *h₂|h₃opsiyolēh_a-) ¶ P 55, EI 33, 599-600, Frdr. PIT 15, Frdr. PITA 49-53, HDEL 77-8, Frn. 14, En. 136-7, Bg. KS 226, Vs. III 159, Glh. 290-1, EWA I 370-1 || **A**: T: NaT *a₁:bsak (~ *a₁:s^hp^hak) 'aspen' > Alt aspaq ~ {BT, Rl.} Tlt/QK {Rl.}, Qmn {B} apsaq, Shor {Rl.}, Qmn {B, Rl.} aspaq, TbTt {Rl.} awsaq, VTt usaq, Bsh uθaq, Xk os, Chv L **ăвăс**, Chv Δ.γс id, ¶ BT 22, Rl. I 82, 554, 618, TatR 594, BR 581, B DK 203. ET Gl 607-8, Ash. III 215 and IV 36, Fed. I 80-81, Jeg. 39 || **HS** (rdp.?) CS *čapč₁p- 'willow' > BHb, MHb **چاقچاق** čapčā^hpā, Ar ʕafʕāf- (snglt. ʕafʕāfat-) 'willow' ¶ KB 983, Löw III 325ff., Js. 1298, BK I 134 ¶ Semantic infl. of N ?φ ***звц|џв** '≈ willow' (q.v.)? ◇ The aspen is known in Europe, Anatolia, Transcaucasia and the northern part of the Near East. The aspen and the willow belong to the same family of plants.

11. *ʔaĉ̌∇ 'low place, depression, wadi, pond' > HS: S *ʔaĉ̌- > Ar ʔaĉ̌ā (t-un) 'étang, mare d'eau stagnante', ʔaĉ̌āʔ(un) 'terrain bas rempli de cailloux' ¶ BK I 38, DRS 31 || U: FU *aĉ̌a '(brook) meadow, valley' > Es aas (gen. aasu ~ aasa) '(gute) Wiese, Bachwiese' || Prm *aĉ̌ 'meadow, floodlands' > Z adz aĉ̌ 'floodlands of a river', Z LL aĉ̌ 'river valley', Z Lu aĉ̌ 'meadow', Vt aĉ̌-dor 'woodless land' (dor means 'country') || OHg aszó 'river, brook', Hg Δ aszó 'valley (with a stream during the rainy and snow-melting seasons)' ¶ UEW 3, LG 30 || D *aĉ̌- (+ sxs) 'mud, mire' > Tm acaru id., ayam id., acumpu 'soft mud, miry place', Ml ayam, Tl asalu 'mud, mire' ¶¶ D no. 41.

12. $_{2} *ʔA'd' \nabla$ (= $*ʕA'd' \nabla$?) 'foot' (and 'leg?') > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} $*áddim$ 'leg' > Sml addin, Sml N {Abr.} áddin (pl. áddímmó), pBn {Hn.} $*ídt̪̥$ (pl. $*ídt̪̥m-3̥$) > Bn {Hn.}: Bi $idd̪̥$, J/Kj $idd̪̥$, K $ítt̪̥$ 'leg' || $ʔσ$ SC: Irq {MQK} $ʔadah-$ v. 'tread on, step' (unless akin to Bj $-ʔat$ pcv. 'step, tread' < N $*ʔat_{L}ʔ_{J} \nabla$ 'come', [$ʔ$] 'walk') ¶ Abr. S 5, Hn. S 51 (pSam $*addin$), Hn. BD 115 (pSam $*áddim$), MQK 9 || **D** $*at-$, {ʕGS} $*ad-$ 'foot' > Tm $at̪̥i$ 'foot, footprint', Ml $at̪̥i$ 'sole of foot, footstep', Td $or̪̥y$ 'foot', Kt $ar̪̥y$ 'foot (measure)', Kn $ad̪̥i$ id., 'foot, step', Kdg $ad̪̥i$ 'place below, down', Tu $ad̪̥i$ 'bottom, base', Tl $ad̪̥uɣu$ 'foot, footstep', Gnd $ad̪̥i$ 'beneath', Knd $ad̪̥gi$ 'below, underneath' ¶¶ D no. 72 ◇ The initial N cns. is most probably $*ʔ-$ (= $*ʔ-$ or $*h-$), but N $*ʕ-$ cannot be ruled out either (because N $*ʕ-$ is sometimes lost in Sam) ◇ Blz. DA 156 [no. 41] and Blz. NDA no. 40 (in

both: C, D) ◇ The N cns. ***d** is reconstructed with a query, because Sml dd, Bn d and D *-t- may go back both to ***d** and to ***t**.

13. *ʔûHd∇ (R∇) 'breast' > IE: NaIE *ōu^hd^h-/*ū^hd^h- 'female breast, mamilla' in two derived stems: **[1]** *ōu^hd^h(e)r-/*ēu^hd^h(e)r-/*ū^hd^her- 'udder, female breast' with a heteroclitic stem variety *ū^hd^h(e)n- in obl. cases (= {EI} *^hh₁ou^hHd^hr_o / gen. *^hh₁u^hHd^hn-os) > OI 'ūdh^har / ūdh^hn-a^h 'udder' || Gk οὔθηρ / οὔθηρ-ος id. || L ūber, -eris 'udder, mamilla, female breast' || Gmc {Vr.} *eu^hδura > ON jú(g)r, OHG ūtar(o), ūtir, MHG ūter, i^uter, NHG E^uter, OSx, AS ūder 'udder', NE udder || Lt E inf. ūdró-ti 'to be pregnant' (of a sow) || **[2]** *ōū^hd^h-men- > pSl *vǫmę (gen. *vǫmene) 'udder' > OR ВѢМА vyme, Blg виме, SCr vime (gen. vimena), Slv víme, Cz výmě, Slk vemä, P wymie, R 'ВЫМЯ (gen. ВЫМЕНИ) ¶ P 347, EI 82, Dv. no. 251, M K I 115, F I 442-3, WH II 738-9, Ho. 375, Vr. 294, KM 177, Kb. 1125-6, Vs. I 358-9, Glh. 671 || **HS:** Eg LL ídr 'heart' (× N *dūr∇ or *dUrE 'entrails, heart' [q.v.]?) ¶ EG I 155 || Ch *ʔuḏ- ~ *wḏ- 'female breast, milk' ({Nw.} *wæḏi 'breast, milk', {JS} *✓wḏ 'female breast') > Ech: Mkl {J} ʔuḏú 'milk', ʔuḏì-só ~ ʔuḏù-só (pl. ʔuḏìyàgí) 'female breast' | Skr {Nc.} wāt- 'breast' || WCh: BT: Bl wḏi, Krf {Sch.} wḏí, Dr {J} wóḏi, Krkr {J} ʔeḏí 'female breast', Pr {Frz.} wḏi 'breast', Tng wḏi 'breast, udder' | Ywm {Sh.} wḏi id. | SBc: Jmb {Sk.} ífa á wḏîr id. ¶ JI I 20 and II 46-7, J LM 189, J T 161, Frz. P 53, Sch. BTL 141, ChL, WeibP 18 ¶¶ In 1977 Stolbova (Stl. SF) reconstructed pHAB *wäḏ₁∇ 'female breast', but in 1987 (Stl. ZCh 239 [no. 857]) she interpreted the WCh ✓ as *w'urdi 'breast, milk' (unj., since -rd- is not attested in any descendant lge, while pWCh *-ḏ- accounts for the observed facts rather well) || **D** *uḏ-(al-, -amp-), {GS} *oḏal- 'body, chest of body, belly' > Tm uḏal, uḏalam, uḏar, uḏampu 'body', Ml uḏal(am) 'body, trunk', uḏampu 'body, anus', Td wíḏḏ 'chest of body', Kt oḏl 'belly, trunk of body', Kn oḏal 'body, belly', oḏambi, oḏambe 'body', Tu uḏālā, uḏalā, oḏālā, Tl oḏalu, oḏlu, Knd oḏol 'belly' ¶¶ D no. 586, GS 78-9 [no. 249] ◇ The N element ***R∇** (found in IE and Eg) may be a second component of a cd (→ sx).

13a. (2?) *ʔū'χ|ʔ'ḏ∇ (or *ʔuḏd∇?) 'one' > HS: S *✓ʔḏ ~ *✓wḏ 'one' > **[1]** *✓ʔḏ 'one' > Ak ēḏu 'individual, solitary, single', BHb ṭḥḏ ʔeḥāḏ (< *ʔaḥḥāḏ), Ph ʔḥḏ, Ug ʔḥḏ, (AkSc) ʔaḥadu, BA ṭḥḥāḏ, Sr ḥāḏ, ḥāḏā, Ar ʔaḥad- 'one', Gz ʔaḥad-ū 'one'; **[2]** *✓wḏ 'one, alone' > BHb ṭḥḏ 'yaḥāḏ 'together', ṭḥḏ 'yāḥīḏ 'alone, the only', Pun (LSc) YAD 'together', Ug yḥḏ 'alone, unique, isolated', Amr {G} yaḥadu 'one, alone', Ar waḥad- 'alone,

unique', $\omega\bar{a}h\bar{i}d$ - 'one', $\omega a h \bar{i} d$ - 'lonely, apart', OSA $\omega h d$ 'together, in unison', Gz $\omega\bar{a}h\bar{a}d$ 'unique, only, one', Ak (ω) $\bar{e} d u$ 'only, alone' ¶ CAD IV 36-7, Sd. 1495, KB 29-30, 387-8, 1704, BL H 219, OLS 16, 524-5, G A 22, Br. 215, Ln. 27, Hv. 4, 855, BK I 15 and II 1497-9, BGMR 159, L G 12, 612 || C: EC: Ya {Hn.} $\omega e h e(t)$, $\omega e h e t u$ 'one' || Dhl {EEN} $\omega a t t \acute{u} k^{\omega} e$ 'one', {To.} $\omega a t t \acute{u} k^{\omega} e$ 'one' m., $\omega a t t \acute{e} k^{\omega} e$ 'one' f. || ?σ SC: Asa $\omega a t a k a$ 'all' ¶ Hn. Y I 40, To. D 150, EEN 43, E SC 384, Blz. CL 180 || ?φ U: FU $*\ddot{u}kte \sim *ikte$ 'one' > F $\ddot{y}ksi$ (gen. $\ddot{y}hden$), Es $\ddot{u}ks$ (gen. $\ddot{u}he$) | pLp {Lr.} $*\ddot{z}kt\ddot{z}$ 'one' > Lp: S $akte$, L $akta$, N $qk\acute{t}\hat{a} \sim \hat{a}k\acute{t}\hat{a}$, Kld {SaR} $\bar{e}hht \sim eft$ 'one' | Er $\vee eyke$, Δ $\veij_k\ddot{a}$, Mk (i) $fk\ddot{a}$ id. | pChr {Ber.} $*ikt\ddot{a}$ > Chr: L $ikte$, adj. ik , H $ikt\ddot{a}$, adj. ik 'one' | Prm $*\ddot{o}tik$ > Z $\ddot{o}тик \ddot{z}\acute{i}k / \ddot{o}ти \ddot{z}\acute{i}$, Prmk $\ddot{z}tik$, Yz $\ddot{o}tik$, Vt $\odot\ddot{u}r$ $\odot dig$, or $\odot g$ id. || Vg: T $\ddot{u}k$, LK $\ddot{a}k^{\omega}$, P $\ddot{a}k$, Ss $ak^{\omega}a$ 'one' ¶ UEW 81 (FU $*ikte$ [$*\ddot{u}kte$]), Lr. no. 7, Lgc. no. 35, SaR 425-6, Ber. 9, MRS 128-9, Ep. 21, LG 212 || ?φ K $*ode$ 'hardly, just, while' (← $**\text{'only'}$?) > OG $\odot den$ conj. 'while', es- $\odot den$ 'so much', G - $\odot de$ 'only' ($\odot ri-\odot de$ 'only two', $sami\odot de$ 'only three'), Sv $\omega\odot de$ 'hardly, while' ¶¶ K 150, K 2 145 || D $*ut$ - 'a match, an equal' > Tl $\ddot{u}d\ddot{d}i$ id., 'a rival', Tu $\ddot{u}dri$ 'a match, pair', Tm $\ddot{u}tti$ 'a player on the opposite side, corresponding to one on one's own side' ¶¶ D no. 623 || ? A: Tg: Nn Nh $sx -ragda \sim -r\ddot{z}gd\ddot{z}$ 'only' ($\odot gdadiragda$ 'only in\by boats'), ?σ Ewk - $ragda \sim -r\ddot{z}gd\ddot{z}$ 'in one place' ($\acute{i}laragda$ 'three objects in one place') ¶ On. RN 234, Vas. 785 ¶ - r - may be connected with the Tg collective $sx *-r$ - || ?φ IE: NaIE $*\acute{o}ed_{\text{L}}h_{\text{L}}$ - in Sl $*ed(\text{ь})-va$ 'kaum, hardly' (> OCS $\text{ѣд}(\text{ь})\text{ва}$ $j\acute{e}d(\text{ь})va$ 'kaum, едва, насилиу', SCr, Slv $j\acute{e}dva$, Cz $j\acute{e}dva$, OR $\odot d(\text{ь})va$, R $\acute{e}d'va$, R Δ $\odot dva$ 'kaum') and Sl $*ed-in\text{ь} \sim *ed-\text{ь}n\text{ь}$ 'one' (> OCS $\text{ѣд}n\text{ь}$ $j\acute{e}d\acute{i}n\text{ь}$, $\text{ѣд}ьn\text{ь}$ $j\acute{e}d\text{ь}n\text{ь}$, R $\odot дин$, P $j\acute{e}den$ etc. with the $sx *-in\text{ь} < IE *e\acute{i}n$ - 'one'); Pedersen (Ped. PD 231) supposed that this morpheme ({Ped.} $*j\acute{e}d$ -) originally meant 'only' ¶ ESSJ VI 11-13 and 16, StSS 799-800 ◇ AD SShS 300-1 ◇ The FU, K and Tg cognates are valid if N $*\chi|\text{y}$ may be lost in the K clusters and if N $*-\text{y}d$ - (or $*-\chi d$ -) may yield U $*-kt$ - and Tg $*-gd$ -. If the FU and Tg cognates are rejected, the N rec. must be something like $*\text{?u}h d \nabla$.

14. (${}_2$?) $*\text{?}ediN \nabla$ 'pater familias', (?) 'owner, lord' > HS: S $*\text{?}ad\bar{a}n$ - 'lord, pater familias' > Hb $\text{?}ā'd\bar{o}n$ 'lord, master', Ph $\text{?}d\bar{r}n \text{?}ad\bar{o}n$ 'lord' ($\rightarrow$ Gk $\text{?}A\delta\omega\nu-\iota\varsigma$), Pun $\text{?}d\bar{r}n$ id., (GkSc) $\lambda\alpha\delta\omega\nu\nu$ (with λ - 'to') 'to the lord', Ug $\text{?}d\bar{r}n$, (AkSc) $ad\bar{a}rnu$ 'father', d.: S $*\text{?}ad\bar{a}n-atu$ > Eb {Co.} $a-da-na-du \text{?}ad\bar{a}ntu(m)$ 'signoria, padronanza', Ph, Plm $\text{?}d\bar{t}$ (< $*\text{?}adattu$) 'lady' ¶ KB 12-13, KBR 12-13, HJ 15-17, A no. 86, OLS 9, Hnr. 104, Alb. rGUH 388-9, Co. SQF 74, DRS

CrTt, Kr, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, ET аҧа, Uz оҧа оҧа 'elder brother', Tkm āҧа, Qzq аҧа id., 'elder relative', Osm {Rh.} аҧа 'eldest paternal uncle; lord, master' and a title of respect, Tk ағҭа 'chief, patron', GGz, VTt, Qmq, Nog, Qq аҧа, Bsh аҧау 'elder brother' and a respectful address word for an elder man, Az аҧа 'mister' (word of address), 'landlord', Xk аҧа 'grandfather', ?σ Yk аҧа 'father', adj. 'elder' (unless an independent onomatopoea?); → MM [LM] {Pp.} اڭا аҧа brother', [IM] {Pp.} اڭا аҧа 'elder brother, lord' ¶ ET Gl 70-1, TL 291-2, TkR 19, Bu. I 60-1, Rh. 146, Pp. L II 1256, Pp. MA 432 || M *ага 'elder relative; lady, dame' > WrM ага {MED} 'lady, dame', HlM агаа {BMR} id., 'старший, старейшина', Ord аq_ā 'frère aîné'; M *агаууi 'paternal uncle' > MMgl {Iw.} аҧāi id., Ord аq_ā 'oncle paternelle' ¶ MED 12, BMR I 35-6, Iw. 84, Ms. O 6 ¶¶ The unexpected pT (or only Tkm?) long vw. *ā- still needs explanation (onomatopoeic factor?) ¶¶ SDM 281-2 (pA *ā́k'a 'elder brother' [without distinguishing between A *ā́k'a and *ag|k'a, cf. N *ṛaḳa 'elder relative, grandfather']), S AJ 280 [no. 380] || E: Oel i gi 'brother' ¶¶ HK 743 ◇ Blz. E no. 20 (E, HS).

15a. 2 *ṛægṛṛṛ '≈ bone of the leg/foot' > HS: S ṛigṛṛr- > Ar SL {MS} ṛižar, {Bart.} ṛažar, Ar D ṛiğr, Gz ṛagr 'foot' ¶ DRS 7, MiK I 9 [no. 1.7], Lb. 63 || A: M *°eṣerčeg (unless it is *ṣeṣerčeg) > WrM egerceg {MED} 'femoral bone; hip joint', HlM ээрцэг {MED} id., {BMR} 'Hüftgeleimk' ¶ MED 298, BMR IV 444..

16. ?σ *ṛaḥ'a 'thing(s)', collective pc. of inanimate ('≈ de ça') > HS *mi ṛaha 'what thing?' (with *mi 'what?' < N *mi id.) > CS *mah 'what?' > Ug mṛh ~ mṛ, Hb ma +gmc. 'what?', Ph mṛ (< *mā < CS *mah), OA, Nb, Plm mḥ, JA, Sr E mā (< CS *mah), Ar mah ~ mā 'what?', OAk, Ak fOB/OA mā 'what?, why?' (expressing doubt \ disbelief) ¶ KB 522-3, BL H 263, OLS 266, HJ 599ff., Sl. 643-4, DM 234, Ln. 3016, L G 323, Sd. 570, CAD X/1 1-4, Br. G I 326-7 [§ 110] || B *mah ({Pr.} *mā) 'what?' > Tw, Gh, Shl ma, Tmz ma, may, mayd id., Wrg ma id. (used in special syntactic constructions: ma i argaz i tazriḡ 'was ist der Mann, den du gesehen hast?', lit. 'quoi ce l'homme ce tu a vu?) ¶ Pr. M I-III 216-18, Fc. 1141, Nh. 19, Ds. 237, MT 393, Dlh. Ou 181 || EC {AD} *mah_a, {Ss.} *ma? 'what?' (either from HS *mi ṛaha or a new cd, like Sml maḥā 'what' < ma waḥā) > Arr méh, me, HEC {Hd.} *maha > Kmb maṛa ~ maha, Hd maha, Sd mā, ma, Alb ma 'what?' ¶ Ss. B 146, Hw. A 233, 384, Hd. 167 || ? Ch: WCh: Sha mā, mā 'what?' || CCh: Msg má 'what?' || ECh: Ke má in má mó 'what?' (where mó is a general marker of question, that is used in all interr. sentences), EDng mā, Jg mē, Bdy má, Mkl

$m\hat{o} \sim m\hat{o}$, Mgm $m\hat{e} \sim m\hat{e}$ 'what?' ¶ J LM 141, J J 115, J R 259, JA LM 161, Eb. 78, Fd. 108, AlJ 96 ¶ The Ch word belongs here unless its form (its vw.) is explainable as going back to N $*mi$ 'what?' without additions ||| S $*-\bar{a}$, ending of f. pl. of adjectives (predicative case) > Ak stative 3f pl. $-\bar{a}$ (Sd. G § 73b), e.g. $\text{ṣ} \text{e} \chi \chi \text{e} \text{r} - \bar{a}$ 'sont petites'; in the nom., accus. and gen. (substantive cases) the pl. form of fem. and of many inanimate nouns have an ending $*-\bar{a}-t-u(m)$ (nom.) and $*-\bar{a}-t-i(m)$ (accus., gen.) (e.g. BHb לִילוֹת $l\acute{e}l\bar{o}t$ 'nights', Ak $l\bar{i}l\bar{a}t\bar{u}m$ nom. / $l\bar{i}l\bar{a}t\bar{i}m$ accus./gen.) ($*-\bar{a}$ + substantivizing morpheme $*-t-$ + case endings $*-u$ and $*-i$ + [in st. det. → later st. abs.] a determiner ending [of sg.!] $*-m$); this form has the case ending and the determiner of sg. and is treated as sg. in the sentence (the verbal predicate in Ar is f. sg.), suggesting that it was not an etymological pl., but rather a form of collectiveness ||| here also (?) S: px $*\text{ʔa-}$ in nomina collectiva (→ pl.) (× N $*h'a$, particle of collective-ness, q.v. ffd.; the short vw. $*a$ suggests that the main source is N $*h'a$) > the Ar patterns $\text{ʔa}12\bar{a}3$ - ($\text{ʔa}q\bar{d}\bar{a}m$ - 'footsteps' < sg. $qadam$ -, $\text{ʔasm}\bar{a}ʔ$ - 'names' < ʔism - 'name', $\text{ʔab}\bar{w}\bar{a}b$ - 'doors' < $b\bar{a}b$ - 'door'), as well as $\text{ʔa}12u3$ - ($\text{ʔan}fus$ - 'souls' < $nafs$ - 'soul' and $\text{ʔa}\bar{w}\check{g}uh$ - 'faces' < $\bar{w}a\check{g}h$ - 'face') (both patterns form mostly pl. of inanimate nouns, treated as syntactical singular, sc. requiring a sg. f. form of the verbal predicate), Gz patterns $\text{ʔa}12\bar{a}3$ ($\text{ʔazn}\bar{a}b$ 'tails' < $zanab$ 'tail', $\text{ʔadb}\bar{a}r$ 'mountains' < $dabr$ 'mountain'), $\text{ʔa}12\bar{u}3$ ($\text{ʔahg}\bar{u}r$ 'cities, towns' < $hagar$ 'city, town', $\text{ʔah}\check{k}\bar{u}l$ 'fields' < $\check{h}uk\bar{l}$ 'field'), $\text{ʔa}12\bar{a}3$ ($\text{ʔa}\check{s}\bar{h}\bar{a}l$ 'cups' < $\text{ṣ}\bar{a}\check{h}\bar{l}$ [$\check{s}a\check{h}l$] 'cup', $\text{ʔab}\check{k}\bar{a}l$ 'mules' < $ba\check{k}l$ 'mule'), OSA pattern $\text{ʔ}123$ (ʔhgr 'cities' < hgr 'city') ¶ Wright 209–11, Grande V 410, GBr. JJAP 56 || IE $*-h_2$ > NaIE $*-a$, ending of pl. ntr. (nom./accus.) (× N $*h'a$, particle of collectiveness, q.v. ffd.) > OI $-i$ ($as\bar{t}i$ 'bones'), Av $-i$ ($n\bar{a}m\bar{e}ni$ 'names'), Gk $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\alpha\rho-\alpha$ 'four' (pl. ntr.), OI $ca't\bar{v}\bar{a}r-i$ id.; in the paradigm of thematic nouns IE $*-eh$ (the stem-final vw. $*-e$ + pl. ntr. ending $*-h$) yields: NaIE $*-\bar{a}$, e.g. $*y\bar{u}g\bar{a}$ pl. ntr. (nom./accus.) 'yokes' > Vd $y\bar{u}'g\bar{a}$, Gk $\zeta\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}$, L $i\bar{u}ga$, Gt (accus. pl.) $j\bar{u}ka$, OCS $h\bar{r}\bar{a}iga$ ¶ Brg. KVG 393, Fs. 304 || AnIE $*-a$, ending of pl. ntr. (nom./accus.) > Ht, Lw, Lc, Ld $-a$ ¶¶ Mer. SGA 275, 284–5 || U: FU $*ma$ 'what?' (< N $*mi$ $\text{ʔa}h'a$ 'what thing[s]?') (with $*\text{ʔa}h'a$ 'thing[s]', collective pc. of inanimate) > Chr: L $m\bar{o}m\bar{o}$, Uf/B $m\bar{o}$, H ma 'what?' | Prm: Vt $ma\bar{m}a$ 'what?' (see N $*mi$ 'what?') || $\text{ʔa}^{\circ}ma$ (< N $*mi$ $\text{ʔa}h'a$ '↑') > Chv ma 'why?', 'what for?', 'what (do you want to say)?' (see N $*mi$ 'what?') ¶ Ash. VIII 151 || D $*-a$, inanimate pl. ending in pronouns of the 3rd person > Ml $i\bar{v}-a$ 'they', ClTm $-e-$ (from $*-a$) in $av-e-y$, $uv-e-y$,

i v-e-υ 'they' (inanim. pl. of pronouns); acc. to An. SG 265, Tm avey goes back to *a v-a with an additional -υ (due to hypercorrection) ¶ An. SG 262-3, 265 ◇ The comparison is dubious ◇ If S *-ā, S *ʔa- and NaIE *-a ~ -ā (with zero reflex of the lr. in AnIE) do not belong here (but rather to N *^hʔa '↑'), we may suggest to compare the second element of FU *ma 'what' and Chv ма 'what' (both from N *mi ʔa^hʔa) with Eg fOK ἰχ.τ 'thing', Eg MK/NK, DEg ἰχ 'what?' (see below s.v. N *ʔ∇q∇ 'thing[s]') > Cpt {Vc.} *ōχe > Cpt: Sd/B αυ αῖ, F ευ εῖ, A εῖ εἰχ₂ 'what?' (EG I 123-4, Fk. 29, Er. 41, Vc. 20). The resulting N reconstruction will be *ʔaq∇ 'thing'. In this case N *mi ʔaq∇ (underlying the FU and Chv pronouns) must have meant 'what thing?'. If this alt. hyp. is right, the IE ending *-h₂ (> NaIE *-a, AnIE *-a) does not belong to N *ʔaq∇ and may be compared with HS abd D only. B *maH 'what?' and EC *mah₂a₂ 'what?' may represent a contamination of both N words or belong to either of them.

17. ₂ *ʔ^akê 'to chase, to drive away, to take away' (ΓΗΑΤΥ, ΥΓΗΑΤΥ, ЗАБРАТЬ) > IE: NaIE *ag̃- ({EI} IE *h₂eḡ-) 'drive' ('treiben, führen, in Bewegung setzen') > OI 'ajati 'drives (treibt)', Av azaiti 'treibt, führt weg' || Arm 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 ac-em 'I carry, I fetch, I bring' ({EI} 'I lead') || Gk ἄγω 'I lead' || L ag-o / ag-ěre 'drive' (vt.), 'do, act', 'behave', Osc ACVM 'agere', ACTVD 'agito' || Clt {Matas.} *ag-o- v. 'drive' > OW agit 'goes', W, Crn, OBr, MBr a (*aget) 'goes' || pTc {Ad.} *āk- > Tc A/B {Ad.} āk- 'lead, guide, drive' ¶ P 4-5, EI 170, M K I 23, F I 18, WH I 23-4, Bc. G 311, Slt. 75-6, Flr. 50, Wn. I 158, Ad. 36, Ad. H 18, Matas. E 27 || HS: S *^o✓ʔkk > Ar ✓ʔkk (ip. -ʔukk-) 'propulit, pressit', 'éloigner, chasser qn; presser' ¶ Fr. I 45, BK I 42.

18. *ʔäka 'be evil, hate' > HS: WS *✓ʔkk ~ *✓ʔky v. 'hate, be evil' > Sr ʔakk-əṭ-ā 'wrath, anger', Ar ʔakk-at- 'hatred', Gz ✓ʔky G (js. yəʔkay) 'be evil\bad\wicked'; EthS ⇨ Bln {R} ekay 'evil' ¶ L G 17, Br. 16, BK I 42, DRS 18 || C: amb Bj {R} aka 'Unheil, Verderben, Widerwärtiges' (unless ⇨ Ar äḫḫä 'hatred') ¶ R WBd. 12 || IE *Ho|ag-, *Ho|agos 'pain, ache', (?) 'guilt' > OI 'āgas- 'guilt, sin' || NLG inf. āken, AS inf. acan 'to ache', ece 'pain, ache', NE ache || ???φ Gk ἄγος ~ ἄγος {LS} 'any matter of religious awe' (incl. 'curse', 'pollution, expiation'), {Ch.} 'consécration', {EI} 'guilt, pollution' (× the IE source of Gk ἅγιος 'saint, consacré', related to OI 'yajati 'worship through sacrifice'); Gk α and the spiritus asper belong to the heritage of the IE root of ἄγος ¶ P 8, EI 509 (IE *^h₂ēgos / gen. *^h₂eges-os > Gk ἄγος ~ ἄγος), M K I 70, F I 14, WP I 115, Ch. 13 (believing that Gk

ἁγος ~ ἁγιος 'consécration' is connected with ἁγιος 'saint'), 25-6, LS 14, Ho. 2, 87 || **U:** FU (in BF only) *ä_kka|ä > F äkä 'anger, wrath, malice', Krl äkä id. ¶ SK 1871, SSA III 497 || **Π** *ek'∇ 'bad' > Tg *eke 'bad' > WrMc {Z} эхэ, Mc Sb зэх 'evil (зло, порок)', 'bad (злой, худой)', WrMc {Z} экчу-, эхэчурэ-, Mc Sb зэзэңі 'slander', Jrc {Md.} ехе-be accus. 'bad', Nn Nh/KU зхзлз 'bad (плохой, худой)', зхзэңу- vt. 'slander, defame (so.)', Nn Nh {On.} зхзлз 'bad; stupid person'; ?σ,φ: Ork зккэ, Ul зкзэі(н), Nn Nh зкзэі 'weak' ¶ STM II 444, On. 539, Z 67-8, Kiy. 116, [no. 341], Md. ChF 133 || **M** *egel > WrM egeł, 'low, ignoble, ordinary', HIM эгэл {MED} id., {BMR} 'ordinary; низший', Brt эгээлэй 'ordinary', Kl {KRS} 'эгл 'gemein, ordinary', {Rm.} egł 'gemein, niedrig (von Geburt), ungebildet', Ord egeł, egēn 'très stupide' ¶ MED 297, Luv. 666, BMR IV 397, Chr. 754, KRS 691, KW 117, Ms. O 231 || **T** ({SDM} *ek-) > OT egil {SDM} 'low class, common, ordinary'; NaT *eksik > Osm {Rh.} eksik 'deficient, less,; defective', Tk eksik 'deficient, incomplete; lacking', Az äksik, äskik 'dishonorable (непорядочный, недостойный); lacking', Tkm egθik 'bad, not full'; NaT *eksü- > OT egśü-, MT eksü-, öksü-, Tk eksü-, Tkm egüθ-, Qrg, ET Δ öksü- {SDM} 'be insufficient, decrease'; T *eksil|ül- > MT öksül-, Tk eksil- 'v. 'decrease, lessen', Ggz yisil-, Tkm egθil-, Kr eksil- v. 'decrease, be insufficient', Chv иксел- vi. decrease' ¶ ET Gl 257-8, AzRL II 269, 301-2, Tkr 776, Rh. 173, Cl. 106, 117, TrR 265, Akd. 524, Md. OJ 199, Ash. III 97. Fed. I 163, Jeg. 77, ChVS 52 || ?σ pJ *äk- > OJ ak-, MJ äk- {SDM} 'be bored, be satiated with (langweilig\ überdrüssig werden)', J T akí-, J K/Kg àkì- {Kenk.} 'grow tired of, become weary of, be satiated with' ¶ Mr. 675, Kenk. 21 || Blz. SNE I (← Kpl. ES) adduced Ko ak^hata 'böse sein', which is valid unless it is from OChn âk 'evil' ¶¶ SDM 498-9 (pA *ēka|o 'bad, weak' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 420 (id.), ADb. SR 12 ¶¶ The meaning 'weak' hardly belongs to pA, because it is represented in a few modern STg lges only ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE I no. 9 (IE, U, Ko).

19. *ʔ'o'kE (= *ʔ'o'kü?) 'self' (→ 'myself') > **HS: [1]** HS *-a_Lku 'I' (postnom. subject marker of 1s) > S *-āku id. > Ak -āku id. (gašr-āku 'I am strong'), WS *-ku (sx of 1s in the new pf. of the verb ← predicative deverbial adj.) > Gz -kü, OSA -k (sx of 1s in the new pf.), Mh, Jb, Sq -k id. (Mh kə'təbk, Jb, Sq kə'təbk 'I wrote'), Hrs -ək id. (kə'təbək 'I wrote'), Ar NY K -ku 𐤊 -k^w 𐤊 -k id. ¶ Sd. G § 75, Jo. MSA 16, Bns. NJ I 114-17 (maps 65, 66) || Eg -k^w ~ -kū 'I' in stative (= old perfective) (îr x.k^w ~ îr x.kū 'I know') ¶ Lpr. 65-6 || LbB: B {Pr.} *-a_L, verbal ending of 1s > Tw {Pr.} -ä_L, Kb -ə_L, Gd -ε_L || Gnc -EC [*-ek] id. ¶ Pr. M VII-VIII 9-16, Lf. I 292-305, AiM

176, 221 ||| **[2]** HS *ʔan-a₁ku 'I' (autonomous [emphatic] prn. of 1s) > S *ʔanāku 'I' > Ak anāku, Amr {G} *ʔanāku, Ug ʔnk, (AkSc) a-na-ku ({Hnr.} [ʔanāku₁]), OCn [EA] a-nu-ki, BHb ʔānō'kī, Ph/Pun ʔnk, ʔnky, Pun [Plt.] ANECH, ANEC, M'b ʔnk, Yd ʔnk, ʔnky 'I' ¶ In SCn (> OCn [EA], Hb, Ph) and possibly in Yd this prn. has a final -ī on the analogy of other morphological markers of 1s ¶ KB 69-70, FrdR § 110, Hnr. 293, HJ 82, OLS 39, G A 13, 50, Rai. EAT 63 || Eg ʔnk 'I' > Cpt: Sd/B **ANOK** anak, A/F **ANAK** anak 'I' ¶ EG I 101, Vc. 12 || B {Pr.} *anakk^ω 'I' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} nək (nāk) / nəkku, Ah {Fc.} nək, Gh {Nh.} nək / nəkunan, Kb nəщщ (nāk) / nəщщini, Tmz nək / nəkint / nəkkin ʔ nəč / nəčin, Wrg nəš / nəššin, Mz nəš / nəšši / nəššin, Gd nəšš / nəššan ¶ Pr. M I-III 179, AiM 215, Dl. 562, Fc. 1364, Nh. 26, MT 485, 874, Dlh. Ou 226, Dlh. M 140-1, Lf. I 349 || **IE** *ʔeǵh[∇]-m / *ʔeǵoh 'I' nom. > NaIE *eǵō ~ *eǵ^ho(m) > OI a'ham, Av azəm (~ GAv h.l. azə), OPrs adam 'I' || Gk ἐγώ, ἐγών 'I' || L ego 'I' || Vnt eχo 'I' || Gmc *ik ~ *īk 'I'; *ik > Gt ik, OHG ih (> NHG ich), OSx ic, ON ek; Gmc *īk > AS īc (> NE [aɪ]) || Arm **tuēs** 'I' || Olt eš, Lt aš, Ltv es, Pru as 'I' | pSl *jazь (< {Fort.} *jězь or {Brg.} *ězь) ~ (> ?) *azь 'I' (< IE *ēǵ₁Hom) > OCS **azь** azь, h.l. [Mar.] **ѣзь** ѣзь, RChS, OR **azь** azь ~ **jazь** jazь ~ **ja** ja, Blg az, Δ 'jaze, ja, McdS jas, SCr jâ, SCr Δ, Slv jâz, OCz, OP jaz, Cz já, Slk, HLs, LLs, P ja, R, Blr, Ukr я || Ht uk, u g g a 'I' (u due to the infl. of ammuk accus. 'me') ¶¶ P 291, Bks 207-8 (IE *h₁eǵHom ~ *h₁eǵe|oH), EI 454 (*h₁eǵ, *h₁e'ǵom), F I 441, WH I 395-6, Frn. 18, BD GVG¹ II 801, Fort. L 224ff., StSS 67, Bern. I 35, ESSJ I 100-3 (argues for the antiquity of Sl *azь), ESlSJ-SGZ II 73-4, StSS 67, Ts. W 95, Mer. SGA 316, Rsk. 66 ¶¶ IE *ʔeǵh[∇]-/*ʔeǵoh is likely to go back to N (?) *ʔ'o'kE H₂oy[∇] 'myself' (*ʔ'o'kE 'self' + *H₂oy[∇] [= *hoy[∇]?] 'my'); NAIE *-m in *ʔeǵh[∇]-m may reflect either N *mī 'I' or N *mA (pc. of accus.), cp. NaIE *twe(:)-m 'thee' (see s.v. N *t'ü' 'thou') || **A**: T *ok ~ *ök 'oneself, just X' > OT oq (if attached to back-vowel words) / ök (with front-vw. words), enclitic pc. with pronouns and nouns, which means 'X ('I', 'he' etc.) and no other else' (bān ök 'I and no one else', özüm ök'I myself', ol oq öt terri: 'that same Fire God'), OT U, XwT XIV -oq / -ök, Yk {Rm.} -oχ 'eben, selbst', Chg ≥xv oq 'exactly', Qrg {Jud.} oq (pc. of delimitation: özum oq 'I myself, I and nobody else'), Nog oq, VTt, Bsh uq, Xk oχ (pc. of delimitation), StAlt oq 'же' (ol oq 'он же', anayip oq aytti 'он сказал так же'), Chv {Rs.} -x, -ax, -bx, -xa, -xb (pc. of delimitation) ¶ Cl. 76, Rs. W 359, Rs. MTS 30-40, 248, ET Gl 438-9, Jud. 564, BT 115 || ? M

*kü / *gü 'precisely, just (this\that)' (pc. of delimitation of the preceding word) (× N *K'ü' [dem. prn.] × probably N *ko [adversative-thematic and reminding pc. 'whereas, but, also; doch', 'же, ведь']) > MM [HI] gü (Ms.: "particle corroborative") (e.g. {Lew.} neyide-gü 'justement ensemble', teriri-gü 'le Ciel', sc. '≈ the Heaven (God) himself', inu-gü 'his', sc. {AD} 'justement de lui'), [S] ku ~ gu = kü, gü 'precisely, just (this\that)' (mun ku tede 'eben jene', lit. 'he-precisely those'), WrM {MED} kü 'particle emphasizing the preceding word', HIM xyy (MED} id., {BMR} {reinforcing particle used with a verb", WrM {MED} tere kü 'the same' (tere means 'that'), HIM эҺэxyy 'the same, БОТ ЭТОТ', WrO {Krg.} kü 'precisely, just this', Ord -k'ü (particle corroborative) ¶ The variation *kü / *gü is likely to have been positional (intervoc. N *-k- > M *-g-) ¶ H 105, Ms. H 57, Lew. II 37-8, MED 494, BMR IV 195, Krg. 745, Ms. O 433 || E: MEI -k 'I' (apposition, subject of a subordinate predicate): sunki-k 'I the king', huttan-k 'faciens ego' → 'me faciente', hutta-k 'I made' ¶¶ Rnr EL 77, 84-5, 94-5, 99-105, Dk. JDPa 100-5 ◇ Blz. IELA 5 [no. 2], AD PP 65-71, 82-3, notes 1, 8, 38 (IE, HS, El, ChK) ◇ The HS reflexes admit either N *ʔ- or *h-, while the lack of preservation of the N vowel quality in IE suggests an IE *ʔ- (a zero lr.) and hence a N *ʔ- ◇ In IE, HS and El the N "corroborative pc." was confined to 1s (IE *eǵHō < N ? *ʔ'o'kE H₂oy ▽ 'myself'), while in A it joined different words (pronouns, nouns, adverbs) ◇ This etymon may be identical with N *ʔ'o'kU 'head' (q.v.). If it is so, we may reconstruct N *ʔ'o'kü 'head' → 'self' (≡σ: G ta v- 'head' → '[one]self', Hs kâj 'head' → 'self' [nī dā kâj-na 'I myself'], Gz rəʔ(ə)s 'head' → [+ppa.] 'self', Q {R} aχwē, aωē 'head' → 'oneself') ◇ The original final vw. *ü (suggested by HS and M) is at variance with the IE evidence (suggesting *ā or *e) ◇ ≈ Gr. I 77-81 ("pronoun base GE" in IE, CK + err. in Hg).

20. ₂ *ʔ'o'k'âL ▽ 'ε to eat' > HS: S *✓ʔkɪ (G prm. *-ʔkuɪ ~ *-ʔkaɪ) v. 'eat' > OCn ✓ʔkɪ, Hb ✓ʔkɪ G, ip. 3m אכּל yō'kaɪ (< *ya-ʔkaɪ-u), Ph, Ug ✓ʔkɪ, BA ✓ʔkɪ G, ip. 3m אכּל yē'kuɪ (< *yi-ʔkuɪu), Sr ✓ʔkɪ G (ip. 3m nε'ʔkūɪ אכל, Sr W ne'kuɪ), Ar ✓ʔkɪ G (ip. 3m ya-ʔkuɪ-u, inv. kuɪ), Ak akālu G inf. 'eat', p. 3m īkuɪ (< *yi-ʔkuɪ); d. *ʔukɪ ▽ɪ- 'food' > Hb 'ʔokɛɪ, Ar ʔukɪ- id., Gz ʔakəl 'food, bread, corn', Sb ʔkɪ 'grain crops, corn', 'meal', Ak ukɪu 'Verpflegung'; d. *ʔak ▽ɪ- > Ar ʔakɪ- 'eating' (or ʔakuɪ- 'food'), Ak ak(a)ɪ- 'bread'; Eb {Krb.} ʔakalum 'to eat', 'food' (or 'bread') ¶ KB 44-45, KBR 46-7, OLS 21, Sd. 26-7, 1406, BK I 43, Fr. I 46-7, L G 15, BGMR 4, DRS 18, Krb. EG 4, 6 || A: Tg: Lm oqɪɪ- v. 'eat (berries)' ¶ STM II 9.

21. Ll. *ʔaʔa (or *ʔaʔʔka) 'elder relative, grandfather' > HS: Eg BD ʔɜk 'alt, bejahrt' ({Tk.}: is to be read ʔk) ¶ EG I 34, Tk. SCC 97 || C: [1] EC {Ss.} *ʔākk- 'grandfather, grandmother' > Kns ākk-a, Gdl ahh-ayya, Gwd, Gln ʔakk-aʷo, Brj ākk-i, akk-ē'hano 'grandfather', Bs akk-o, Or {Bl.}, Or B/O {Sr.} akk-ō, Gdl ahh-ot, Brj ák'k-ō 'grandmother', Hd ākk-o 'mother's father', ākk-ē 'mother's mother', Gln ʔajj-aye 'great-grandmother', Brj ākk-inga lubb-ō 'grandparents' (lit. 'grandparent's soul') || SC: Irq/Grw {E} āko 'old man', {MQK} ʔākō id., 'grandfather', Asa akuya 'grandparent' (in address) | [2] EC *ʔakāk- 'grandfather' > Or {Bl.}, Or S {Sr.} akākū, Or {Grg.} akākayyū id., Kns akāko 'old man', ? Bj ahāhačč'i 'mother's father' ¶ Ss. B 21, Bl. 112, Hd. 72, E SC 377, MQK 10, Fl. AA 11, Ap. AV 1, Grg. 13, Brl. 13, Sr. 261-3 ¶¶ Tk. I 83, Tk. SCC 97 [no. 27.7] || A *ak'a (~ *āk'a?) 'elder brother' > M *aqa 'elder brother, elder person' > MM [HI] {Ms.}, [S] {H} aqa 'elder brother', [LM] {Pp.} ʔaqa id. inaqqa dū: 'brother(s)' (lit. 'elder brother [and] younger sibling') (dū: < *diyü 'younger sibling'), WrM {MED} aqa 'elder brother; elder, senior, older', HIM {MED. BMR} ax id., Brt axa, WrO axa, Dg {T} ak'ā ~ aga, ShY aga, Mnr H {SM} aqa ~ āqa 'elder brother', {T} āga 'father's younger brother', Kl {KRS} ax axb 'elder brother; elder', {Rm.} axa id., 'uncle', Ord axa 'elder brother'; ⇨ WrM {Kow.} aqai, WrO axai 'father, daddy, papa', axāi 'elder, elder brother', Brt axaŋ 'elder brother', Kl {Rm.} axā 'Bruder' (address), Brt axaŋ, Ba {T} age 'elder brother'; M *aqa_ui 'father's sister' (cd with the reflex of N *ʔ'a'y▽ 'mother') > M M [HI] {Ms.} aqai 'father's sister', WrM {MED} aqai 'madam' (respectful term used to address a married woman), HIM {MED, BMT} axaŋ id., Brt Δ axaŋ 'elder sister', Δ axaŋ 'brother's wife', Ord axā ([ε] a title of respect for women) ¶ Ms. H 36, Pp. L II 1256 and III 57, MED 59-60, BMR I 175-6, Kow. 22, Chr. 65, KRS 56-7, KW 3, Ms. O 8-9, Krg. 8, SM 2, T 313, T DgJ 118-19, T BJ 133 || NaT *āka 'elder brother, elder relative' > OT, MT, ET Δ aqa 'elder brother', Ln aqa, Tv aqi 'elder brother', Tkm āga id., 'elder relative', StAlt aqa 'elder brither, father's father's brother', Qrg ake and Qq āke 'father', ET, Ln aqa (a respectful address word for an elder man), SY aqa, Tv aqi id., 'elder brother', Shor aqqa 'father's father' ¶ ET Gl 121-2, Jud. 38, TkR 18, TvR 51, BT 15 || Tg *āka, *akay 'elder brother, father's\mother's younger brother' > Ewk akā, akāy, akī, Lm aqa, Neg aga, axa, axay, axi:, axi:y id., Sln axī 'elder brother', Nn Nh/Bk/KU aga id., āq- ~ āq- ~ āq- (+ppa.), aga (form of address), Nn Nh {On.} aga id., WrMc {Z} aīy, Mc Sb aku 'elder brother', Orc aka, āki, Ud {Kom.} aga?, Ul, Ork ag- ~

aq- ~ aŋ- (+ ppa.) id., 'father's younger brother' ¶ STM I 23-4, Krm. 203, On. 25, Z 22 ¶¶ The long ā in Tkm (and hence in pT) and in several Tg lges is may be connected with N *ʔaʔka. Tg *akay suggests a pA short *a- ¶¶ SDM 281-2 (pA *ǎk'a > Tg *ak-, N, T + unc. Tg *kak- 'man'), S AJ 290 [no. 380], Rm. EAS I 91, KW 3, Vld. 324, Pp. VG 55, Ci. EATR 40-5 || D: *akka > Prj akka, Gnd B {ChenT} akkō, Gnd ChM {BE ← LuS} akko, Png ako 'mother's father', Kui ake, Ku akku 'grandfather' ¶¶ D no. 24.

22. *ʔäla, pc. of prohibition and categorical negation > HS: WS *ʔal 'do not!', prohib. and emphatic negation > BHb 𐤒𐤔 ʔal 'do not!', 'nicht doch!' (ʔal bə'nī ʔal-'nā nē'lek ku'lānū 'Nay, my son, let us not all now go' [II Sm 13.25]), Ph, Yd, OA, IA ʔl, BA 𐤒𐤔 ʔal, Ug 𐤒𐤔 'do not' (prohib.), Sb ʔl negation (ʔl ǎ..., ʔl m, 'there is no, Һеуеrо', ʔl mɾ 'there is nobody who...') and prohib. pc., Gz ʔal-bə- 'il n'y a pas dans\chez...': ʔalbəya bēta 'non est mihi (in me) domus', Tgr, Tgy 𐌁𐌁𐌆 ʔaləbu 'there is not', Amh, Gft, Har, Grg al- 'not' (negation of the verb in pf.), DA ʔl 'no, kein' ({HJ} 'absence of'), Amh, Grg, Gft alə 'without', Sq {Jo.} ʔɔl, {L} ʔal 'not' (negation with nouns and verbs), {L} ǎl... wǎl 'neither... nor', Mh {Jo.} ʔɔl (usually ʔɔl... lā) 'not', 'do not' (neg. and prohib.), Hrs ʌl 'not', ʌl... w-ʌl 'neither... nor', Jb ʔɔ(ɔ) 'do not!', ʔɔl...lɔʔ 'not' || it is not clear whether Ak ɯla > ɯl (OAK, Ak A ɯla, B ɯl 'not') (neg., but not prohibitive) has any connection with pWS *ʔal or should be explained (as in Sd. 1406-7) as going back to *wa lā 'and not' ¶ KB 46-7, JH 13, HJ 55, GB 36, 894, A no. 180, OLS 22-3, Bst. 47, L G 17-18, L LS 60, Jo. M 4-5, Jo. H 2, Jo. J 2, Sd. 1406-7, DRS 19 || C: Af {PH} alēy 'no' (= 'nein'), Sa {R} ʔallō 'Nichtigkeit', allō ɖah 'verneinen, nein sagen' ¶ PH 38, R S II 29 || ? NrOm: Kf/Anf {C} allo, Shn {C} āli 'non esserci' ¶ C SE IV 398 || U *äla > *älä/*ala ~ *elä 'do not!' (prohib.) (the variant *elä may be due to the infl. of the negative verb *e- 'do\does not') > BF *älä/*ala ~ *elä, 2s imv. of the neg. v. ('do not') > F äla, äl-, Δ elä, Krl K elä, el-, Krl A älä, äl-, Krl L eʔa ~ älä ~ aʔa, Vp aʔa, Vo elä, Es ära, Δ äla ɖala, Lv ala ~ äla id. || Lp: S {Hs.} aalie- (imv. of the neg. v.), N {N} alě ~ älě (2s imv. of the neg. v.), L ēlē id. || Er ílá ~ ílak id. (2p ílá-do) || pObU *āl (~ **w-∇l) 'do not!' (prohib.) > Vg: 1) pVg *āl > Vg T āl id., 2) ɿ pVg **w∇l > Vg: K wíl, P (w)ul, N ul id. (the origin of *w- still needs elucidating); pOs *āl id. > Os: V/Vy äł, Ty/Y áʔ, D áʔ ɖ ot, Nz at, Kz aʔ, O áł ¶ IS I 264 adduced the pPrm verb *ôlə- (> Vt alî- v. 'forbid', Z ɔl- v. 'calm, quiet, soothe', Yz ôl- v. 'forbid, calm'; Prm *ô < FU *ä), suggesting that a lexical verb developed (or was derived?) from a negation (cp. NHG

verneinen <+ nein) || Sm: Kms εl- neg. v. (3s sbcj. εl 'is not') || pY {IN} *ɜl, neg. pc. > Y T {Krn.} eÍ 'does not', 'do not!' (negative and prohibitive pc.), Y K {Krn.} eÍ, eÍ, oÍ id., eÍe 'not' ¶¶ Coll. 4-5, UEW 68-70, SK 33, Hs. 146, Ht. 198 [no. 728], Stn. D 55-6, MK 692, KD 164, IN H 155-6, IN UJ 218, Krn. JJ 280, 284, AD YN || D *all-, neg. v. > Tm all- id. (1s allēn ~ allen 'I am not', 2s allay, 3m allan, 3f allal, 3n anru, 3pn alla etc.), Ml alla 'is not that, not thus', Kn alla, Kt alā neg. v. (for all persons), Td aloşy 'except' (lit. 'not being'), Gnd hal(lē) ~ haillē, Mlt -l- neg. morpheme, Brh all- neg. v. (in past tenses), ala, ala√ā 'certainly not, not a bit of it' ¶¶ IS assumed that the latter form may represent a trace of the former meaning of "categoric negation" ¶¶ D no. 234, Stv. IDL 24 ◇ Cf. IS I 263-4 (S, C, Ch, U, D + unc.: G ar(a) 'no, not', S *✓l? (sc. *lā) 'not' (actually from N *la, y, y or *lay, y, y 'not; to disappear', q.v. ffd.) and M *üli 'not'). It is tempting to unite M *üli (Pp. IM 288-91), Ak ul(a) 'not' and pVg **w√l 'do not!' (> Vg: N ul, P (w)ul, etc.) as going back to a combination of some (conjunctive?) *w-element (cognate with S *wa 'and?') with the N negation *äla or *la, y, y or *lay, y, y; see also Gr. I 214-17 ("negative E/ELE", "ELE" being supposed by him in U, M, ChK, EA, Ht).

23. *?el√ 'clan, tribe' (→ 'all', prn. of plurality) > HS: S *?āl- 'clan, family' > Nbt ?l 'family, clan, tribe', Ar ?āl- 'family, relatives', Ak āl- u(m) 'village, city' ¶ JH 13, HJ 55, Fr. I 70-1, CAD I/2 379-88] W S *?il(l)ay 'these' (and possibly *°?ul(l)... 'those') (× N *lA analytical [→ synthetical] marker of collectivity, q.v. [or N *?ElA, dem. prn. of collectivity] × N sequences *'h'i|'e' lA and *'h'u lA [with the deictic particles *'h'i or *'h'e' and *'h'u, q.v.]) > BHb, BA אלה 'ellē ~ אל 'el, BHb (GkSc) ελλε, ελη, Ph ?l, Pun [Pœn.] ILY, OA ?l, ?lñ, BA ?illēn 'these', ?illēk 'those', IA ?lh 'these', Ar Δ ?ilā id., Sb m. pl. ?lñ, f. pl. ?lt, Sq {L} əlhə, əl'hena 'these', əl'həgən 'those'; WS *?ill-ū m. pl., *?ill-ā f. pl. (with the endings *-ū m. pl. and *-ā f. pl.) > Ph ?lω, MHb [BS] אלו 'ellū 'these', Gz ?əll-ū 'these' m. pl., ?əll-ā f. pl.; Ar {Br.} أولى ?wly ?ulā 'ii' (dem. prn. with neutral deixis), Ar hā-?ulā?i 'these', ?ulā?i-ka 'those', that may have the vw. u due to the infl. of S *?ulli- 'that' (> Ak ullû(m) 'that' m. sg. / ullī t u(m) f. sg., ullû t u(m) 'those' m. pl. / ulli ā t u(m) f. pl.) ¶ KB 48, 50, 1666-7, BL H 261, Deg. 59, HJ 61, FrdR § 113a, Br. AG 8, 29, Fi. DB 102-3, 107, BK I 70 and II 1459, BGMR 37, GBr. JJAP 91, L G 17-18, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2], DRS 19, Cer. ArJ 220 || C: ? Sa {R} a'lē (pl. 'ālēl) 'clan, family, tribe', Or {Th.} āli (subj. case āli-n)

'concittadino, compatriota, conterraneo', ? Arr ʔollah 'village, neighbors' ¶ R S II 26, Th. 16, Hw. A 343 ¶ Alternatively, Sa a'lē may be from Ar ʔāl-, and Or āli may be from Ar ʔahl- 'family' || IE *H₂ol- > NaIE *ol-yo-, *ol-no- (*'everybody' →) 'whole, all, each' (× N *wAla 'big, large; multitude' [q.v. ffd.] > Ag: Aw wullá, Dmt wullā 'all' and SOM: Hm (w)ul(l), wūl 'all') > Gt alls (·πᾶς, ἅπας, ὅλος) 'all, jeder, ganz', ON allr, OHG al / all-, NHG, OSx all, AS eall 'all, each', NE all || ? Clt {Matas.} *olyo-, {SB, Loth} *olyo-s > OIr, NIr uile, MW oll ~ holl, W, Crn oll 'all', OW ell, ʔll 'each, every', Gl {Matas.} ollo-, {Dtn} olio- (in proper names); but RE 78 prefers pBrtt *sollos 'all' (> OW hol, MW holl, oll, Crn, OBr, Br holl) (< NaIE *sol-no-) to pBrtt *ollos 'all' from IE *ol-no- || Osc {Mul.} ALLO (FAMELO) (?) 'das ganze (Vermögen)' (not confirmed by Pln. and Bc.) || Lt aliái {Frn.} 'all, jeder, ganz, völlig' (aliái vianas, alvianas 'each, everyone' [vianas 'one'], aliái mētai 'every year', aliai rytas 'every morning') ¶ ≈ EI 64 (identifying this IE stem with {EI} *h₂elnos 'beyond', see N *'h'al₁iʔ, E 'on the other side'), SB 52, Fs. 40, Flr. 213, Loth WKS I 441 and II 354, EWA I 129-30, Dtn 276, Matas. E 298. ≈ Mn. 873 (wrongly adducing Oss I al(l)3, Oss D al(l)i 'all kind of', see N *s₁alû 'intact' and Ab. I 48), Mul. 19, Fs. 40, Vr. 7, Ho. 84, KM 13-14, ≈ Frn. 7 (denying the Lt-Gmc connection) || A: T *æ̌l 'tribe, people, political unit' > OT ēl {Cl.} 'a political unit organized and ruled by an independent ruler', {DTS} 'tribal league, tribe, people', MT ʔel 'Herrschaft, Reich', Chg, OOsm el 'country, state, people', Tk el, Tkm īl 'people (Volk), tribe', Tk il 'country (Land), province', VTt, Bsh il 'country, state (Land, Staat)', Nog, Qq el id., 'people (Volk)', Az el, ET il 'people (Volk)', Kr el id., 'people (Leute)', Qzq el 'people (Volk), inhabitants', Uz, Qrg, StAlt el 'tribe, clan, people', Qmq el 'village', CrTt el, Chv ял 'village, people' (я- is one of the reg. reflexes of T *e- [acc. to Lvt. IF]), ? Yk īal 'family; neighbor'; T ʔ → Chr ʔel 'country; village' ¶ The etl. doublets in Tk (el, il) must be due to inter-Turkic loans ¶ Rs. W 39, Cl. 121-3, DTS 168-9, ET Gl 339-43, TL 494, Ash. IV 173, Fed. II 497-8, Jeg. 352 || D *ell- (*'everybody' →) 'whole, all' > Tm ellām 'whole, all' (personal as well as impersonal), ellavarum, ellārum 'all persons', Ml ellām, ellāvum, Kt, Td el, elm 'all', Kn ella 'all, everything, the whole', ellarum 'all persons', Kdg ellā, Tu -la (= -lā ?) 'all', Tl ella 'all, whole', ellaru 'all persons, all men', Klm ittarel 'both', Ku eleʔe 'whole' ¶¶ D no. 844 ◇ The long vw. *æ̌ in T needs explanation ◇ K (MG xvii el-i 'country', G el-i 'Nomaden- \ Hirten-volk', G T el-i id. [Chx. 38,

DCh. 490, Qub. II 434]) is a questionable cognate, since it may be a loan from Tk (which is highly plausible in the light of its meaning). According to IS I 268 (with a query) OG *er-* 'people, army' (> G *er-* 'people') goes back to N **ʔelA* (sc. **ʔelV* 'clan, tribe'), which is untenable since G *-r-* is not a reg. reflex of N **-l-* ◇ Blz. LNA no. 22 (equation of IE **ol-* 'all' with U and A, see U and A in N **wAla* 'big, large; multitude') ◇ Hardly here (⇔ Čop IU I-1974 19 [no. 2]) U **ulV* (-*yV*) 'viel, groß' ◇ IS I 267-8 included S **ʔāl-*, T **ēl-*, and the dubious K **er-*, **el-* into the etl. entry **ʔelA* 'to live' (untenable, because U **elä-* v. 'live' [justifying IS's semantic rec.] does not belong together with the above-mentioned S and T roots, but goes back to N **χelA* 'dwell, live' [q.v.]).

24. **ʔElA*, dem. prn. of collectivity (connected with N **ʔelA* 'clan, tribe' [q.v.]?), an alternative reconstruction instead of 1249 (N **lA*, an analytical marker of collectivity).

25. **ʔêlV* 'deer' (and 'mountain goat'??) > HS: S **ʔayl-* 'ram' > BHb אֵיִל *ʔayil* (pl. אֵיִלִּים *ʔēlīm*), Ug אֵיל (= **ʔēl-u*) 'ram', ? Ak (y)ā-l-u id., JA {Lv.} אֵילִּים *ʔayl-ā* 'Schafbock'; the ancient meaning 'deer' is preserved in the S d. noun **ʔayyal-* 'deer, mountain goat' > BHb אֵילִּים *ʔayyāl* 'fallow deer' (*Cervus dama*), Ug אֵיל, Amr {G} *ʔayyalum*, JA {Lv.} אֵילִּים *ʔēl-ā*, JEA {Sl.} אֵילִּים *ʔayyā-l-ā*, Sr W/E *ʔayal-ā* 'deer', Md *aiala*, pl. *ailia*, f. *ailata* 'deer, hart', Ar *ʔayyil-*, *ʔiyyal-~ʔuyyal-* 'mountain goat, stag' ({Fr.} '*Caper montanus*, *Cervus*'), Gz *hayyal* 'ibex, mountain goat' (the origin of *h-* is not yet clear), Ak *ayyal-u* 'deer'; Cn → Eg NK *īyr* 'deer' or 'ram' (= **ʔayyāli* ~ **ʔayyōli* gen., acc. to Vc.), (EgSSc) {Hlk} *ʔe-yu-l* 'deer' > Cpt: Sd/B εἰεοϣλ *eieul*, εἰοϣλ *ieul* 'deer', Sd οειλε *oeile*, B ωιλι *ōili* 'ram' ¶ KB 38-9, KBR 40, A no-s 165 and 185, OLS 25 (אֵיל 'carnero'), G A 13, Lv. I 64, Sl. 113, Br. 15, DM 14-15, Fr. I 76, L G 221, Sd. 24, DRS 17, EG I 38, Vc. 62, Hlk no. 1, SivCR 77 || IE {Blz.} **ʔel₁ye₁-n-* 'deer' ({EI} **h₁el^hh₁ēn* / gen. **h₁el^hh₁nos*) > AnIE: Ht *aliyan* 'roe(buck)' || NaIE: Gk ἐλλός (-λλ- < *-ln-) 'young deer'; (with the sx *-b^ho-), Gk ἑλαφος 'deer' (< **el-ḡ-b^ho-s*) | Arm եղն *ełn* (gen. եղին *ełin*) 'female deer' || Clt {Matas.} **elan₁t₁i* 'doe, hind' > MW {Matas.} id., OIr *elit* ~ *ailit* {Vn.} 'chamois', W *elain* 'female deer' || OLt *ellenis* 'deer', Lt *ėlnis*, *ėlnias* 'deer', *ėlnė* 'female deer', Ltv *alnis* 'elk', Pru [EL.] *alne* 'Hindin' 'hind' and 'Tyer' 'beast' | Sl **elenb* 'deer' > OCS *ѣленъ* *jelenb* ἑλαφος, Blg *елен*, SCr *jèlen*, Slv *jélen*, R, Uk *о'лень*, P *jelerí*, Cz *jelen*, Slk *jelerň* id.; OCS *алѣнь* *alъnji* 'ἑλαφος, лань', ChS *лани* *lanji* f., *лани* *lanb*, R, Uk *лань*

'hind, roe, dear', OCz *laní*, Cz *laň* 'hind, female deer, fallow deer', P *łarí*, *łani*, *łania* 'hind' || pTc {Ad.} **yäl* > Tc: A *yal*, B *yal* 'gazelle' ¶ IE **h₂el-n-* is likely to go back to the oblique form (with *-n-) of a heteroclitic stem ||| NaIE **ʔelk̥-/ *j̥k̥-* (most probably from a N cd **ʔêl̥n̥ ʔE*) > OI 'r̥óśyah̥ 'male antelope', KhS {Bai.} *rūś* 'Ovis *Poli* (Marco Polo's sheep), wild sheep', Wx *rūš* 'wild mountain sheep' ||| Gmc **algi-z* 'elk' > OHG *elah*, *elahō*, NHG *Elch*, AS *eolh*, NE *elk*, ON *elgr* ||| Sl **olsb* > OR *лосъ* *losb*, R, Uk *лосъ*, P *łos*, Cz *los* 'elk' ¶ P 303-4, EI 154, F I 483-4, Vr. 100, Ho. 92, EWA II 1030-1, Frn. 120, StSS 69, En. 140, Tp. P A-D 77-8, Vs. II 458, 522 and III 134-5, M K I 124-5, M E I 260, Bai. 367, Ma. CS 175, 257, 275, Glh. 296, Slt. 146-7, Wn. I 591, Ad. 485-6, Pv. III 131 ||| U: Y: Y Tile 'domestic reindeer' ¶ IN H 171, Ku. 57 ||| A **El̥i(-k'∇)* 'deer' ({SDM} **ēl̥∇(-k'∇)* id.) > NaT **ælik* 'roebuck, female wild goat' > OT {Cl.} *älik* id., MQp XIII *elik* 'male gazelle', MU {ADb.}, OOsM *älik*, Tk Δ *elik* 'roe', Shor, Qrg, Qq *elik* 'roebuck', Tv *elik*, Tf *elik* 'female roe', Xk *ilk*, StAlt *elik* 'roebuck, female wild goat', Az *älik*, Qzq, StAlt *elik* 'roe', Bsh *ilbk* 'female wild goat', Yk *älik* 'mottled (чубарый) reindeer' ¶ ET Gl 265-6, Cl. 142, TL 153 (**älik*), BT 191, Ra. 180, DTS 171 ||| M **ili* > WrM *ili* {MED} 'fawn, young deer (оленок)', HlM ил {MED} id., {BMR} 'Hirschkalb (оленок), newborn deer', Brt эли 'calf of Manchurian deer of the first six months of its life', Kl {KRS} ил *ilə* 'Hirschkalb', {Rm.} *ilə* 'neugeborenes Hirschkalb', ?σ MM {H} *ele'ut* 'ε camel' ¶ MED 407, BMR II 268, Chr. 761, KW 206, KRS 267 ||| NrTg **elkēn* (unless it is **ʔelkēn*) 'deer' > Ewk *ɜlkɜn* 'wild reindeer', Lm: Ol *j̥ēlkɜn*, Lm Okh *ɜlkɜn* 'domesticated reindeer (leader in herd)' ¶ STM II 448 ¶¶ SDM 501 (pA **ēl̥∇(-k'∇)* 'deer' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 425, KW 207, TL 153, 389 ||| D **il(ar)∇-* 'ε deer' > Mlt *ilaru* 'mouse deer' ||| Tl *ir̥ri* (< **il-r̥∇*) 'antelope', ? Tl *lēṭi ~ lēḍi* id. ¶¶ Not here (⇔ IS I) SD **iral̥-* (> Tm *iralay* 'stag', Kn *eraḷe ~ erale*, Tu *eraḷe* 'antelope, deer', OTl *iri* 'stag') ¶¶ D no. 476 ||| K: USv, Sv L {TK} *ilw*, Sv LB {Kald.} *il ~ hil* 'roe, косуля', Sv L {Dn.} *ilw* 'chamois, серна' ¶ TK 284, Dn. s.v. *ilw*, Marr SR 38, Kld. L 187, GM SAKS 85 ◇ NaIE **ʔelk̥-/ *j̥k̥-*, NaT **elik* and NrTg **elkēn* suggest a Nostratic cd **ʔêl̥n̥ ʔE* ◇ Bl. IELA 6 [no. 9] (IE, HS) ◇ IS I 272-3 (HD, IE, D, A, K); IS also adduced words going back to D and K **ir-* 'deer' (actually belonging to the N etymon **ʔiR'i* '[male, young] big ungulate' [q.v.]) ◇ IS I 272-3, AD NM no. 37, S CNM 4 (÷÷ ST), Vv. AEN 3.

26. **ʔil^rA* 'stand still, stay; place to stay' > HS: CS [1] **ʔil-*, **ʔilay* 'towards' > Hb *לָקַח ʔel ~ לָקַח ʔelē-*, Ar *لِى ʔilā*, +ppas: CS **ʔilay ka*

'towards you' (m. sg.) > Hb אֶלַיְךָ $\bar{e}l\bar{e}-k\bar{a}$, Ar $\bar{e}l\bar{a}y-ka$ etc.; [2] ??σ S * $\check{o}\check{r}\check{p}l\check{w}$ > Ar $\check{r}\check{p}l\check{w}$ (pf. $\check{r}\check{p}l\check{a}$, ip. $\check{r}\check{p}l\check{u}$ ~ $\check{r}\check{p}l\check{u}$) v. 'be unable to do, neglect, be late in' ¶ Cf. also S * $\bar{l}a$ 'to' (see N * $\bar{l}A$, locative pc.) ¶ DRS 19, KB 48-9, BK I 48-50 || ??φ Eg $\bar{i}r-$ 'to, towards' (with pronominal suffixes: $\bar{i}r-k$ 'tibi' etc.) / $\bar{i}r \sim r$ 'to, towards' (with nouns); it is a qu. cognate, because both DEg r and most Cpt dialects (Sd/B $\epsilon\rho o-$ $e\rho o-$, P $\alpha\rho o-$ $ar o-$ 'to, towards, for') suggest the reading [r] rather than [l], but cf. Cpt F $\epsilon\lambda a-$ ela id. ¶ EG II 386-8, Er. 236-8, Vc. 37, Tk. I 141 || EC: Rn {PG} $\bar{i}l$ 'earth, ground; land, country' ¶ PG 151, Blz. RL 258 || IE * $\bar{H}el\bar{i}$ ~ ? * $\bar{H}_X^1\bar{i}l-$ > NaIE * $e\bar{l}\bar{i}$, * $e\bar{l}-$, * $\bar{i}l-$ v. 'rest, stillstehen' > Gk $\epsilon\lambda\bar{i}\nu\acute{\omega}$ 'I rest, I do not act' || ? OI $\bar{i}l\bar{a}yati$ 'stands still' || ?σ Lt $\bar{i}l\bar{s}t\bar{u}$, inf. $\bar{i}\bar{l}\bar{s}t\bar{i}$ v. 'get tired' ¶ P 304-5, F I 495, ≠ M K I 92, ≠ M E I 196, Frn. 184 ¶¶ Lt $\bar{i}l-$ (< NaIE * $\bar{l}$ - without NaIE * $\bar{a}-$ < IE * $\bar{H}-$) suggests IE * $\bar{r}-$ || U: FU * $\bar{l}a/ -\bar{l}\bar{a}$, sx of nomina loci (> ending of local cases [$\times$ N * $\bar{l}A$, locative pc., q.v. ffd.]) > F $\bar{t}aka-la$ 'a place behind (der hinter befindliche Platz)', $e\bar{t}e-l\bar{a}$ 'south' (lit. 'a place in front of sth.') || Lp S (Vfs?) {Sz.} $\bar{m}a\eta\eta\bar{e}-l-t$ 'hinten', $\bar{m}a\eta\eta\bar{e}-l-\bar{i}$ 'hinter', Lp S {Hs.} $\bar{m}i\eta\eta\bar{e}lde$ & $\bar{m}i\eta\eta\bar{e}alde$ 'nachher, hinterher' ($\bar{m}a\eta\eta\bar{e}-$, $\bar{m}i\eta\eta\bar{e}-$ 'das Hintere') || Er $\bar{v}asolo$ '(place) in the distance' ($\bar{v}asov$ 'far away' [direction]), Chr $\bar{u}l\bar{a}l$ 'situated below' ($\bar{u}l-$ 'das Untere') || Vt, Z $-la$, ending with locative meaning: Vt, Z $\bar{k}u\acute{z}ala$ 'lengthwise' (Vt, Z $\bar{k}u\acute{z}$ 'long') || Hg $\bar{f}\bar{o}l$, $\bar{f}\bar{o}l-$ 'das Obere' ($\bar{f}\bar{o}$ 'head, top') ¶ Sz. 63-4, Hs. 932-4, LG 144, U3S 226-7 || A: Tg * $\bar{l}\bar{a} / \bar{l}\bar{e}$ (locative case ending) ($\times$ N * $\bar{l}A$ ' $\bar{l}$ ') > Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm $\bar{l}\bar{a} / \bar{l}\bar{e}$, Nn, Orc, Ul, Ork, Ud $-la / -l\bar{e}$, e.g. * $\bar{m}\bar{o}-\bar{l}\bar{a}$ 'in a/the tree' (> {Ci.} Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm $\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{a}$, Nn Nh, Orc, Ul, Ud $\bar{m}\bar{o}la$), * $\bar{d}\bar{o}-\bar{l}\bar{a}$ 'within' (from * $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ 'Inneres') (> {Bz.} Ewk $\bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{o}$, Sln, Neg, Lm $\bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{a}$, Nn Nh $\bar{d}\bar{o}la$, Orc, Ud $\bar{d}\bar{o}lo$, WrMc {Z} $\bar{d}\bar{o}lo$), Tg * $\bar{d}'u_i-\bar{l}\bar{e}$ ({Bz.} * $\bar{d}\bar{u}i-\bar{l}\bar{a}$) 'oben am Hang' (> Ewk $\bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{e}$, Lm $\bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{e} \sim \bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{a}$, Nn $\bar{d}uyl\bar{e}$, Ork $\bar{d}ila$ id., WrMc {Z} $\bar{d}\bar{e}l\bar{e}$ 'oben', Ud $\bar{d}il\bar{e}$ 'abseits') ¶ Ci. 257-67, Bz. 84, 96-8, On. 158, 545, Z 805, 821 || D: SD * $\bar{i}ll\bar{o}$ 'house, home, place' ($\times$ N * $\bar{x}elA$ 'dwell, live', q.v.) > Tm $\bar{i}l$ 'house, home, place', $\bar{i}llam$ 'house, home', Ml $\bar{i}l$ 'house, place', Kdg $\bar{i}lla-\bar{v}an$ 'man who is a relative' (lit. "house-man", with * $\bar{v}an$ 'man', see Tm $\bar{i}-\bar{v}an$ 'this man', $\bar{a}-\bar{v}an$ 'iste vir'), Tl $\bar{i}ll\bar{u}$ 'house, dwelling', Tu $\bar{i}ll\bar{u}$ id., 'family', Klm, Nkr $\bar{e}lla$, Gnd, Png, Mnd $\bar{i}l$, Knd $\bar{i}lu$, Ku $\bar{i}ll\bar{u} \sim \bar{i}ll\bar{u}$ 'house', Kui $\bar{i}du$ 'house, dwelling' ¶¶ D no. 494 || D (att. in SD) * $\bar{i}l$, marker of a locative function of the noun > Tm $(-\bar{i}l) / -\bar{i}l$, Irl $-(\bar{i})li$, Ml $-\bar{i}l$, Kt $-l, -\bar{l}$, Td $-\bar{s}$ ({Em.} $-\bar{s}$), Kdg $-\bar{l}\bar{i}$ ¶ D no. 494, Zv. CDM 32 ¶ Zv. reconstructed here * $\bar{i}n / \bar{i}l$, but the

variant *-in (> Tm -i_n) is very likely to go back to the N genitive marker (> marker of oblique cases) *nu ¶¶ Not here the D loc. case ending *-u_l (< N *lA '↑' × D *u_l n. 'inside' < N *ʔuh_l∇, í∇ 'hut' [q.v.]).

27. *ʔiī∇ 'eye' > HS *ʔhīl- (it is represented in C, Ch, B and probably in Eg) > C *ʔill- 'one eye' > Ag *ʔill- 'eye' > Xm, Km ʒl, Aw ʒll, Bln ʒl (the unexpected ʒ- is possibly due to the infl. of Tgr ʒin 'eye' or to the ancient morphological infl. of the old Cushitic pl. form *ʒinT∇ 'eyes') (f Ap. AV 3) || EC *ʔil- '(one) eye' > Sml, Rn íl, Or B íl-a, Kns, Gdl íl-, Bs, Elm il, Dsn ʔil, Arr ʔul, Sd, Ged, Kmb il-l-e, Hd il-l-i, Brj 'il-a, Ya il || Dhl {EEN} ʔíla, {To.} ʔila 'eye' || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔila, Brn/Alg {E} ila, Kz ilito, Asa ʔilat; SC → Mb iʔilá 'eye' || Bj {R} 'lile ~ 'lili, {Rop.} līlī 'eye' ¶ Bl. 105, Sr. 332, Ss. PEC 5, 22, Ss. B 104-5, Hd. 60, PG 151, Hw. A 340-1, HL 66, AD SF 144-5, MQK 54, E PC no. 326, EEN 21, To. D 128, To. DL 482, R WBd 158, Rop. 212, Blz. EDB 18-19 ¶ In EC the word refers to one eye, while the correspondent plural *ʒinT- is based on N *ʒôyUn∇ 'see, look; eye' (q.v.) || Ch *ʔi'īl∇ 'eye' > CCh: Lmn {Lk.} ílí, Lmn Hd {Wl.} ílí, Lmn Vz {Wl.} ili, iri, Lmn A {Wl.} il-yia id. | Bdm {Lk.} yîl, {Cfr} yèl, Glf {Lk.} ɛl 'eye' || ECh: Mkl {J} ele 'eye' ¶ JI I 60 and II 126-7, Wl. G 65, ChC s.v. 'eye' || B {Pr.} *✓Hll (< *✓ʔhll) 'eyes' > Kb allən, SrSn AA, Izd allən, Sll {Ds.} ällən 'eyes', as well as possibly Ah ihāll (imparfait intensif) 'pleurer bruyamment' (vb. n. tāhala), TnsI, Ty əlh id. (Pr.'s B root *✓h₂lh₁); forms like Gd awəll 'eye', pl. wallən, SrSn iwažən 'eyes' might appear at first glance as suggesting that the form allən~wallən belongs to the root *✓w_l'see' (> Ah aul 'avoir l'œil sur', Izd wala 'voir, apercevoir'), but in my opinion the form of pl. abs. wallən~iwažən (as in Gd and SrSn) goes back to a generalization of the status annexus w-allən 'eyes' (f in Izd [abs. allən, ann. w-allən] or in Sll [abs. ällən, ann. ũw-ällən, e.g. snät ũwällən 'two eyes']), and Gd awəll 'eye' is a bf. from pl. wallən ¶ Pr. H no. 487, Fc. 1493, Dl. 440, Rn. 286, Ds. 203, Mrc. 180, 292, ABs. EGLK 29-31 || ? Eg fOK ʔr.t 'eye' [= (GkSc) ʔp_l], ʔr 'das Sehen' (personification), ʔr v. 'see' (att. in the imv. form in the set phrase ʔr t_w 'pay attention!') (see EG I 106-8, Vc. 60); the comparison with Eg is questionable, because it presupposes that the Eg character r represents [l], which is at variance both with the Greek transcription ʔp_l and with the Cpt reflex (p_r rather than A l) in the nomen actionis i e i r e (preserved in the compound noun b a n i e i r e 'qui a le mauvais œil', see Vc. 60) ||| The HS ✓ is used not only in nouns, but in verbs as well: C *ʔilāl- v. 'look' > EC *ʔilāl- v. 'look, watch' > Sa {R} ilal- v. 'look, wait

for', Or *ilāla-* v. 'watch, look', Kns *ilāl-* v. 'follow with the eyes' (said of an infant or a person with impaired vision), Ag: Bln {R} *ʕaləl-~ aləl-* v. 'look'. This verb is obviously derived from the C noun **ill-* '(one) eye'. Consequently, the HS $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ is probably nominal ¶ Bl. 107, Grg. 223 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 97 [no. 27.6], AD SF 144-5; an alt. hyp: OS no. 112 (HS **ʔir-* > Eg *ʔr*, Ch **ʔir-* 'eye') ¶¶ HS $\approx$ **ʔilima* 'tears' (< N cd **ʔilīṽ mûhi* or **ʔilīṽ mûhyi* 'eye water') > C: Dhl {EEN} *ʔilíma* 'tears' || SC **ʔilima* > Asa *ʔelelema*, $\rightarrow$ Mb *ʔilíma* id. | Ag {AD} **ʔɜɜɜṽ* 'tears' ({Ap. AV} **ʔɜɜɜṽ*, {Ap. VSA} **ʔɜɜɜṽ*) (Ag **ɜ* < C **m*) > Bln *ʔɜɜɜṽ*, Xm *ɜɜɜṽ*, Km (ʔ) *ereɛ* || EC **ʔilm-* > Sml *ilmo*, Bn *ilmi*, Rn *ilím*, Or {Bl.} *i(m)mimm-āni*, {Grg.} *immimān*, Or S *imimāni*, Kns *ilmāmā*, Gdl *ilmama*, Brj *'ilma*, *il'mā*, Yk *ilmamu* 'tears' ¶ E SC 292, Ap. AV 5, Ap. VSA 23, Ss. B 105, Bl. 221, PG 152, Sr. 333, Grg. 224, EEN 21 || SOm: Ari *ерма* 'tears' ¶ Lm. SKE 534 || ? Eg P *рму* 'weep' ¶ EG II 416-17 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 102 [no. 32.8], AD SCLC 199 [no. 37] (C, Eg), Lm. SKE 534 [no. 15] (EC, Ari) || ? IE: Clt: Brtt ($\times$ N **Pīlīṽ* 'a hair, tuft of hair'): OW {Flr.} *ail* 'eyebrow', W *ael* 'supercilium; ora', {YGM} 'brow; aisle', OBr *GUORAIL* 'supercilium' (Flr.: cd with *GUOR-* 'upper') ¶ Flr. 198, SB 3 ({SB} pClt **aili*), Bc. 220, YGM 6 || A **ilæ-* 'visible' > Tg **ile-* 'visible' > Orc *ilɜ-mu-* v. 'show', *ilɜ-kɜɜ-* v. 'appear, become visible', Nn Nh/KU *ilɜ* 'явь' ('sth. visible'), 'видное место' ('place easy to see'), Nn Nh *ilɜ* 'наш наземный мир', Sln *ilɜxɜ* 'явный', Lm *il'la* 'in (people's) sight', WrMc {Hr.} *iletu* 'sichtbar', {Z} *илэту* id., 'clear (klar), open, known' ¶ STM I 311-12, On. 192-3, Hr 492-3, Z 104 || M **ile-* 'clear, visible' > MM [S] *ile* 'visible', [MA] *ile* 'clear, manifest', WrM *ile* {MED} 'clear, visible, manifest', HlM *ил* {MED} id., {BMR} 'clear, obvious, evident, legal', Brt *эли* 'clear, obvious, evident', WrO {Krg.} *ile*, Kl {KRS} *ил ilə* 'clear, manifest (явный), evident', {Rm.} *ilä, ilə* 'offen, vor den Augen, bar; auf der Hand, klar, bereit, bekannt', MMgl [Z] *ilä* 'clear', Dg {MYC} *ilɜt*, Mnr E {MYC} *hele* (with a secondary h-?) 'open, clear, evident, obvious', Ord *ile* 'claire, manifeste; visible' ¶ H 81, Pp. MA 195, MED 404-5, BMR 267-8, Chr. 761, Krg. 94, KRS 267, KW 206, Ms. O 282, Iw. 107, MYC 407 || T: [1] StAlt adv. *иле* 'clearly, distinctly' ('ясно, понятно, отчетливо, разборчиво') | [2] NaT **i:,læɜ-* 'be visible' ({SDM} **iler-* 'be dimly visible') > OT [MhK] *ile|är-* v. 'be visible, strike one's eye', Tlt {Cl.} *iler-* 'be clearly visible' | ?σ [3] NaT **æ:,læstæ-* 'dimly visible object; silhouette' > Qq, Qrg *eles* id., 'ghost', StAlt *eles* id., Qzq *eles* 'ghost'; NaT **æ:,læstæ-* 'be dimly visible' > StAlt, Qzq *eleste-* id. ¶ DTS 207, Cl. 150, BT 64, MM 139 ¶¶

SDM 581-2 (pA *ila- 'evident, visible' > M, T + unc. Tg *il- 'body; figure, shape' and pJ *àràp-ar- v. 'come in sight, appear' [unc., because pJ *a- does not go back to pA *i-; this pJ verb may go back to N *ʔaR₁∇₁ka 'see, observe', q.v.. ffd.]), DQA no. 597, WNL NC || E: NEl, AchEl el 'eye', MEI el-ti 'eyes' ¶¶ HK 393, 396 || ʔφ D: Zv. finds a stem a·li 'eye' (mainly within cds) in the lges of the Nilgiri area: Irl {Zv.} √3||ena·li ʔ √3||eya·li, AIK 'b3||-a·li, PaK b3||e a·li 'the white of the eye' (√3||ena-, √3||eya-, b3||e means 'white'), JKr kariya·li 'the eyeball' (lit. 'black eye'), PaK kaññali·li and a·li 'iris of the eye' ¶ Zv. BNTL 658; on the vw. {Zv.} ẽ [3] / Zv. IL 11 ◇ Blz. BNED 3 (E, HS, D), Blz. DA no. 14, Blz. E no. 1 (E, HS); cf. WNL NC s.v. 'eye' ◇ I am grateful to V. Blažek for drawing my attention to the possible cognates in Celtic and the D lges of the Nilgiri area ◇ Blz. DA no. 13 (D [1], HS), Blz. NDA no. 11 (D, HS, E).

28. *ʔ¹o1∇ 'that (visible)' > HS: S *^oʔull- > Ak ullû m. 'that, remote' (< *ʔullīʔ-u), f. ullîtu(m), pl. m. ullûtu(m), pl. f. ulliātu(m) ¶ Sd. 141O, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2], Dk. AkJ 91 || EC *ʔ∇l-, deictic prn. (× N *ha1∇ 'this', q.v.) > Gdl ʔéle (nom. ʔélu) 'that' (remote from the speaker), Dsn -(a)l- 'this', Arr -ló 'this': faraw-ló 'this horse', ʔummo-ló 'these children' ¶ Hw. DP 13, Hw. A 191-200, To. DL 226-7 || IE: NaIE *^ool- 'that (remote)' > OL ollus 'that (remote)', L ōlim 'at that time', ulterā 'beyond, on the far side (of)', uls 'beyond, on the other side', ulterior 'on the other side', ultimus 'farthest, last', Osc ūlleis gen. 'of that' (m.), ulas gen. 'of that' (f.) (× IE *ʔal-, *ʔol- 'on\from the other side', {P} 'darüber hinaus' < N *^hal₁iʔ₁E 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WH II 206-7, 813 || ʔU: Slq Tz ʔl-na, ʔl-tam 'iste, que voilà, вон тот' ¶ KHG 293, KKIH 196 || A *ol 'that' (or 'this?') > T *ol 'that' (remote deictic prn.), 'he' > OT ol id., Tkm, Qzq, Qrg S, Xk, StAlt, Tv ol, Bsh ul, Chv L вӑл вӑл, Chv Δ вӑл ʔ ол ʔ y id., Yk ol 'that', VTt ul, SY ol 'he'; Qrg, Tb al 'that' is probably an unexplained phonetic variant of *ol rather than a prn. of different origin ¶ Cl. 123-4, ET Gl 444-6, Ash. III 33, 204 and V 298-9, Fed. I 106, Jeg.48, || NKO {MLC} ol 'this, the present', ol- in {Rm.} ol-t^ha~or-ha v. 'be such', or-hä ol-hay 'this year' and onal (< ol-nal) 'this day, today' ¶ Rm. SKE 176, MLC 1207-9 ¶¶ SDM 1040 (pA (*o 'this, that [deictic paericle] > T *ol + [not belonging here]: Tg *u- 'this, that', M *on- 'other, differen', T *o 'that' and pJ *ʔ- [a deictic root]), DQA no. 1556 (id.); ≠ SDM97 (A *o(1∇) 'this, that'), Rm. EAS I 75 [§ 41], Rm. SKE 176 ¶¶ SDM 1040 considered T *ol to be an extended var. of the deictic pc. *o.

29. *ʔoʼL∇ (or *ʔoy|ʔiĪ∇?) 'bough, hook' (→ 'hang on a hook') > **HS:** CS *ʔal_ll_l- 'stick' > MHb {Js., 'ASh.} לָאֵלָּא ʔal'lā 'lance, fork, sign pole', 'Spitzkeule, Pfahl, Gabel', {Lv.} לָאֵלָּא ʔē'lā ~ {Lv. T} לָאֵלָּא ʔal'lā 'Holzstange, Kolben, Stange' (the form לָאֵלָּא ʔē'lā, unless a mistake in one variant of the traditional pronunciation or in Levi's personal vocalization, may be due to contamination with לָאֵלָּא ʔē'lā 'terebinth tree'), Ug {OLS} ʔlt 'soporte, pilar', JA {Js.} לָאֵלָּא ʔal'lā 'club, bat', לָאֵלָּא ʔallā't-ā 'post, pole, doorpost', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} לָאֵלָּא ʔal'l-ā, לָאֵלָּא ʔallə't-ā 'Kolben, Stange', Ar ʔall-at- 'broad-headed spear' ¶ Js. 66, 73, 'ASh. I 86, Lv. T I 29, Lv. I 80, OLS 32, Fr. I 28, Hv. 11 || B: SrSn ala 'ramée, ∈ branchages', Ah ali vi. 'hang (être pendu\suspendu)', s-ili caus. v. 'hang' ¶ Fc. 1016, Rn. 336 || SC: Alg {E} elemi, Irq {MQK} halmi (pl. halēmō ~ halēmā), Brn {E} alema 'branch' ¶ E SC 336, Mgw. 103, MQK 44 || **A *oL∇** (or *oy|ʔiĪ∇?) 'hang (on) sth.; hang on hook' > Tg *ol- > Nn Nh olp_i, Ul ōrpun 'hook close to a stove (used to hang vessels and rags on)', Nn Nh {STM} olp_i {STM} id., {On.} olp_i 'a hook (made of a tree with lopped off boughs) for hanging coppers over the fire', Ud Sm {Krm.} olɔʔu, Ork olǰiʔa, Orc orjiʔa, Ewk oldon ɔ ollon ɔ olron, Neg olōn, Lm olrāwun 'hook over the fire (used to hang a kettle or a teapot)', ≈ Tg *ol-san- vt. 'hang (a kettle) on a hook over the fire' > Ewk ollon-, Lm olrān- ɔ oldān- ɔ ollān-, Neg olōn- 'hang (a kettle, a teapot) on a hook over the fire' ¶ STM II 14-15, Krm. 275, On. 310 || ʔφ NaT *īl- v. 'hook, hang on (sth.)' (unless it goes back to N *ʔæʔEkU 'thorn, hook') > OT lil- {Cl.} 'catch sth. (with the hand, with a hook etc.)', {DTS} id., vt. 'hook (под-, за-цеплять; ловить [крючьями])', Tkm īl- vi. 'hook to, fasten upon ('прицепляться, зацепляться)', Yk īl- 'hang on, load (smth. on an animal's back)', Qmq, Qrg, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, Tk Δ il-, Qzq il-, VTt, Bsh эл- ьl-, Xk il- ьl- v. 'hang on', StAlt il- vt. 'hook, hook on (за-, под-цепить)' ¶ DTS 207, Cl. 125, ET Gl 343-6, BT 63, BIG 67 || pKo {S} *ori > Nko ori 'a fishing hook with several barbs' ¶ S QK no. 792, Rm. SKE 178 ¶¶ SDM 604-5 (pA *iǰle > Tg, Ko, T + M *elgü- 'hang on', actually going back to N *ʔæʔEkU '↑'), DQA no. 648, Rm. EAS I 106, Rm. SKE 178, Pp. VG 76 (M ⇐ T) || **U: Y T welie-** {IN} vt. 'hang by, keep hung, {Krn,} 'hang, catch on', Y K {IN} el(i)tɔ v. 'hook', Y T {Kur.} walūōl- vi. 'hang, hang over, lean down (висеть, свешиваться)', welīe- vt. 'hold (sth.) hung' ('держатъ развешанным'), vi. 'hang (by) (повиснуть на)' ¶ Ku. 48, IN H 454 ◇ If T *īl- belongs here (rather than to N *ʔæʔEkU), the N rec. may be *ʔoy|ʔiĪ∇ (with T *ī- from *oy|ʔi-), otherwise the N etymon

is *ʔ'o' L ▽ ◇ Alternatively, there may have been two N words, one designating 'bough, hook' and the other meaning '(to) hang', with lexical interaction between them in some descendant lges.

30. ₂ *ʔuī ▽ 'soil, foundation, earth' > **HS:** Eg ∇ ī̄.ṭ {EG} 'Ort, Stätte', {Hng} id., '(bewohnter) Erdhügel' (× N *ʔar ▽ or *ʔaʔr ▽ 'earth, land, place') ¶ EG I 26, Hng 22 || C: EC *ʔuī_L a > Sa {R} 'ūla 'place', Bs {HL} ūl 'earth', HEC {Hd.} *ulla 'earth, land' > Hd {Hd.} ulla, Kmb ulla(-ta) id., Sd {Hd.} u_Llla 'earth', Hd {Hd.}, Sd {Gs.} ūlla, Alb {PB} ūl'lata ~ ūl'leta 'land' ¶ AD SF 195, Hd. 55, 88, 423, HL 66 || pOm {Blz.} *ʔ'yal~*yill- 'earth' > SOm: Dm {Bnd.} (y)īl 'earth, soil, ground', {Fl.} yīlu, yēle 'earth' || NrOm: Mj {Fl.} yēllu id. | Zs {Si.} ʔa'la, Hrr {Fl.} alláʔ id. ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'earth', Si. ACh s.v. 'earth' || Ch {JS} *yīl (= *jīl?) 'earth' > WCh: pAG {Stl.} *jīl, {Hf.} *yīl 'ground, earth, country' > Su {J} yīl id., Ang {Flk.} yīl 'earth, land, country', Tal {IL, Sh.} dīl 'earth' | Ron: DfB šin-jīl 'earth, ground, country' | BT: Tng {J} yīl 'earth, ground', Pr illíy 'ground', Glm {Sch.} yīl, Krf ilí 'earth (soil)', ? pBT {Stl.} *ʔōli 'earth (soil)' > Bl {Lk.} ʔōli, {SIL} wōli, Krkr {Lk.} ʔēlí id. ¶ JI II 116, ChC s.v. 'earth', ChL, JS 91, Stl. VZCh no. 245 (pHAB *yōl ▽), ≈ Stl. ZCh 240 [no. 863] (unc.: pZCh *ʔyās i 'earth'), Hf. AG no. 181 ¶¶ y- in Om and Ch is prosthetic (*ʔi- > *i- > yi-) ¶¶ Blz. OL (HS *yīl~*yul-) || **A** *ula 'sole, footwear' > NaT *ul 'foundation, basis' > OT ul or ūl id., {Gb.} ul 'Boden, Sohle', OT U x ul ({Cl.} ūl) 'sole of foot', Osm XIV ul 'foundation', ET Δ {Jr.} ul 'foundation, earth floor'; ⇨ NaT *ultan 'sole of footwear' > OT ultan ~ uldan, Tk oltan, Tkm, QrB oltan, VTt, Bsh олтан, ET, Qrg, StAlt ultan, Qmq, Nog, Qq ultan, Qzq ұлтан, Xk ultun, Tv ulduŋ, Yk ullun 'sole of footwear' ¶ Cl. 124 (OT ūl without sufficient ev. of a long vw.), ET Gl 449-61, DTS 608, Jr. 322, Rs. W 512, U3 no. 23/8 || M *ula_n > MM [S, HI] ula 'sole of foot', [MA] hula 'sole of footwear', WrM {MED} ula 'sole of foot\footwear, basis, foundation', HlM {MED} ul id., {BMR} ул(ан) id., 'Fußspur', Brt улa 'sole of foot\footwear', Kl {Rm.} ul' 'Sohle', Ord ula 'semelle, fond, fondement, partie extérieure', Mnr H {SM} ulā 'plante des pieds, semelle', Dg {T} wuāla id., MMgl {Z} ulā 'leather sole' ¶ H 162, Ms. H 105, Pp. MA 186, MED 868, BMR III 314-15, Chr. 465, KW 448, SM 469, Ms. O 728, T 368, Iw. 139-40 ¶ The M cognate is legitimate only if h- in MA is a secondary development (confirmed by the absence of h- in other MM texts [S, MI], in Mnr, Dg and MMgl) || Tg *olā-ṣi- 'unti (boots of reindeer leather)' > Ewk olōt 𐰽 olō(t)ṣu 𐰽 olōṣik, Lm olāṣuq, Neg olot, Ork ollōč i

'short unti', Orc $ol\bar{o}\zeta i$ 'unti', Ul $ol\check{z}\bar{u}ma$ 'footwear (made of elk's legs)' ¶ STM II 16 ¶¶ SDM 14923 (pA * $\check{u}la$ 'sole, footwear'). DQA no. 2723 (id.).

31. * $\check{r}\check{u}L\hat{u}d\bar{\nabla}$ 'to grow' > HS: S * $\check{r}ldd$ ($\times N_2$ * $\check{w}aLd\bar{\nabla}$ 'to give birth') > Ar $lad\bar{i}d-at-$ 'hortus florens' ¶ Fr. IV 97 ¶¶ Hardly here Eg fP $r\bar{d} vi.$ 'grow' > Cpt Sd/B/A $\check{p}\check{w}\check{T} r\bar{o}t$, Cpt F $\check{\Lambda}\check{w}\check{T} l\bar{o}t$ id., which may be better equated with WS * $\check{r}dy$ > Ar $\check{r}dy$ 'increase, augment', Sq {L} $\check{r}dy$ id., Gz $\check{r}dy$ 'pay interest' (see EG II 462-3, Fk. 154, Vc. 179, Tk. I 242 [Eg $r\bar{d} \div S$ * $\check{r}dy$]) || IE * $\check{r}leudh-$ / * $\check{r}loudh-$ / * $\check{r}ludh-$ ({EI} * $h_1leudh-$) 'grow' > NaIE * $\check{r}leudh-$ / * $\check{r}loudh-$ / * $\check{r}ludh-$ (and * $\check{r}leudh-$ after pxs) vi. 'grow, thrive, rise' > OI $r\bar{o}dhati \sim r\bar{o}hati$ 'grows', with lengthened vowels of pxs: Vd $\check{v}\bar{i}r\check{u}dh-$ 'a plant', an $\bar{u}$ ' $r\check{u}dh-$ 'nachwachsen', s $\check{v}\bar{a}r\check{u}dh-$ 'aus der eigenen Wurzel wachsen'; Av $rao\delta-$ 'grow', Prt $r\check{w}d-$, BdhSgd $r\check{w}\check{d}$ 'grow', KhS $r\check{v}\bar{i}tt\check{a}$ 'grows' (< * $raudati$), NPrs 3s pres. $\check{r}\bar{u}y-\check{a}d$ / inf. $\check{r}ost\check{a}n$ 'grow, come forth, appear', Vd $r\bar{o}h-$ (3s pres. $r\bar{o}hati$) 'grow' (Mayrhofer explains the change $-h- < -dh-$ by the infl. of the roots with $-h- < -*\check{z}h-$ and by the need to avoid homonymy with $r\check{u}h-$ 'check, restrain, keep back') || L L $\bar{i}ber$ (an old Italic god of growth and agriculture), Osc I $\check{u}v\check{e}i\check{s}$ L $\check{u}v\check{f}r\check{e}i\check{s}$ 'Iovis Liberi' (pl.) | Vn Louzera 'Liberia' || OIr {P} luss n. 'plant' (< * $ludh-stu-$), OCrn les, MCrn leys (pl. losow), W llys 'grass', pl. llysia $\bar{u} \sim llysau$ coll. 'vegetables, herbs', MBr snglt. lousouenn 'plant', Br louzou $\bar{e}$ coll. 'plants' (snglt. louzaouenn) || Gt inf. liudan ($\mu\eta\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\omega\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$), OSx inf. liodan, AS léodan 'to grow', OHG inf. liotan 'to sprout', ON loðinn 'zottig, grasreich', NLG inf. loden (< * $loudh-$) 'to grow, to sprout'; Gt laudi 'shape', MHG lōt 'formed, shaped', NLG Lode 'spring, shoot' ¶ P 684-5, EI 248, Mn. 683, 711, M K III 77-8, M E II 467-8 (IE * h_1leudh 'grow'), Bai. 367, Vl. II 32-3, 85, Sg. 575, WH I 792, LP §§ 181.5, 182.5, Ern. 377, Fs. 323, 332-3, Vr. 363, Ho. 199, Ho. S 47, Kb. 622, OsS 565 ¶¶ M E reconstructed IE * h_1leudh 'grow', * h_1 postulated on the basis of long vowels of the prefixes with Vd $r\bar{o}dh-$. This * h_1 is best interpreted as * $\check{r}$, because * $\check{r}$ is likely to be the only lr. lost in the word-initial preconsonantal position (rather than yielding * H_0- > * $\check{a}-$); this is confirmed by S (loss of the initial lr.) || A: M * $\check{o}l\check{z}i-$ (< * $\check{o}ldi-$) > WrM {MED} $\check{u}l\check{z}i-$ v. 'live, live on something, subsist' (unless it is pM * $\varphi\check{o}l\check{z}i-$, which cannot be determined for lack of ev. in MM, in the φ/h -preserving Mongolian lges or in loanwords in TM lges), HIM {BMR} $\check{e}l\check{z}i-$ 'питаться, кормиться, изыскивать пропитание, subsist', Brt $\check{y}l\check{z}\check{e}-$ 'едва существовать, жить впроголодь' ¶ MED 1007, BMR III 16, Chr. 500.

32. *ʔ¹EL₁i₁mA '€ tree' ('elm' or the like) > IE: NaIE *]mo- 'elm' ({EI} IE *h₁elem ~ *h₁(e)lmos 'mountain elm [*Ulmus montana*]') > L ulmus 'elm' (↳ Kb ulmu id. [coll.], tulmut 'elm', OHG ulmboum, NHG Ulm id.) || OHG elm, elmo, MHG ilme, ON almr, ME elm 'elm' > NE elm; a Gmc source (or pSl {Trb.} *jьльмъ '*Ulmus*' ?) underlies a word for 'elm' in the West and East Slavic lges: Cz jilm, OP ilem, P ilm, ilma, Plb jělm, jělmǎ, OR **ИЛЕМЪ** ilemъ '*Ulmus*', Р ильм, R W Δ илем, ильмина, Blr ильма 'elm' || Sl: Uk льом '*Ulmus montana*', R Δ лёмок 'young elm', Lls lom '*Ulmus*' ; Lls w'elm, welm '*Ulmus*' and R Δ вильма 'mountain elm' may go back to pSl *ьльмъ (or be somehow connected with L ulmus?) ||| NaIE *°limā > Clt {Matas.} 'elm' > Mir lem 'elm', MW pl. llwyf, sglt. llwyfen 'elm', W {YGM} llwyf-en (pl. llwyf) 'elm' ¶ WP I 152, EI 178, WH II 811-12, Vr. 7, EWA II 1056-60, Kb. 1063, Bern. I 424-5 (Sl ↳ Gmc), ESSJ VIII 222-3 (pSl *jьльмъ and *ьльмъ '*Ulmus*'), Vs. II 126-7, SRNG XII 186, Dal II 41, 92, YGM-1 315, Matas. E 237 || **A** *il∇m∇ > T *ilme (~ *ælme?) 'elm' > VTt elmä 'elm', Qmq elme 'English elm, *Ulmus campestris* (вяз, карагач)', Blq {Rm.} elme 'oak', Nog elmen, QrB elme 'asp', Chv L йёлме ылме, Chv Δ imle 'elm' ¶ TL 126, Jeg. 78, KumRS 374, TatR 683, NogR 434, Ash. III 121-2, Fed. I 194, ≈ Rs. W 41 (unc.: ↳ R ильм 'elm', Δ илем '*Ulmus campestris*' ; this R word is used mostly as a technical term or a name for a special species, but is not attested in most R dialects outside the western area [in R the normal words for this tree and its species are вяз and берест], hence R ильм, илем can hardly be the source of the alleged loan) || M *ilama 'mulberry tree' > WrM {MED} ilama ~ ilma, HlM {MED} ялма, {BMR} ялам мод id. (мод 'tree'), Brt ялма модон 'mulberry tree' (модон 'tree'), Kl {KRS} илм ilma 'mulberry tree' ¶ MED 402, BMR IV 459, KRS 268, Chr. 799 || **HS: [11]** ?φ S *ʔallān- ~ *°pillān- '€ tree, oak' > BHb אֵלָאן ʔal'lōn 'any big tree; oak, acorn', MHb אֵלָאן ʔal'lōn 'oak', JA אֵילָאן ~ אֵילָאן ʔilān [pillān], JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} em. אֵילָאן ʔilā'n-ā, Sr اَلْاَلْا ʔilā'nā (Sr W ʔillō'n-ج) 'tree', Ak fOAK allānu 'oak'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} ʔal-l₂-lú-na 'oak' ¶ KBR 52, Js. 49-50, Sl. 116, Sd. 36, Hlk no. 4, SivCR 77 || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} àlùwùŋ 'tree', Msg G {Trn.} luwun, luwunɣ id., Mbara {TrnSL} lúnɣ 'tree, wood' | Gdr {Mch.} wúlǎŋa, {Srp.} wulanga id. ||| WCh: DfB {J} lan 'Wildnis, Busch' ¶ J R 217, ChC s.v. 'bush' and 'tree', TrnSL 269, Trn. LM 102, Trn. LDM 17, Trn. EM s.v. luwun ||| **[2]** ?φ S *°ʔayl- '(big) tree' > BHb אֵילָאן ʔayil (pl. אֵילָאן ʔē'īl) {KB} 'mighty tree'; CS *ʔil-at- > MHb אֵילָאן ʔē'īl

'terebinth, (?) oak', Sr 𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤃 pāl't-ā 'small tree, forest'; S $^{\circ}\text{pāl'l-at-}$ 'e tree' > BHb 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 pāl'lā 'majestic tree', ? Ug {OLS} 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 'soporte, pilar' ¶¶ KB 39, 50-2, KBR 40, 54, OLS 32, Js. 49-50, 68-7, Br. 15, CAD I/1 354-5 ¶¶ OS no. 31 ¶¶ S $^{\circ}\text{pallān-}$, $^{\circ}\text{pillān-}$ and their Ch cognates belong here only if the N cs. $^{\circ}\text{m}$ in the HS word-final position changed into $^{\circ}\text{n}$ (due to reinterpretation of $^{\circ}\text{m}$ as a morphological ending [the S determiner $^{\circ}\text{-m?}$]); S $^{\circ}\text{palyl-}$, $^{\circ}\text{pāl'l-at-}$ and $^{\circ}\text{pī'l-at-}$ may have originated as cases of bf. for the same reason ◇ The NaIE zero reflex of the initial lr. (in $^{\circ}\text{lm0-}$) points to a N $^{\circ}\text{p-}$ (otherwise we should expect NaIE $^{\circ}\text{elmo-}$, $^{\circ}\text{elim0-}$).

33. $^{\circ}\text{pāl'ū}$ 'food' > HS: CS (or WS?) $^{\circ}\text{pāl'ū-at-}$ $\rightarrow$ $^{\circ}\text{paly-at-}$ 'fat tail of a sheep' > BHb 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 pāl'yā , JA [Trg.] {Sl.}, JEA {Sl.} 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 pālītā (pl. JEA 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 palyā't-ā), Sr 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 $\text{pālītā} \sim \text{𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃}$ pālītā , Sr E 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 pālītā 'fat tail', Ar 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 palyat- id., 'mollet, gras de la jambe; gras de la cuisse', 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 pālā 'qui a la queue grosse et grasse; qui a les fesses charnues' | ? EthS: Amh 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 'sheep's tail', Har {L} 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 id., Grg Sl 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 'meat of a sheep's tail' ¶ KB 53, KBR 55, Br. 23, Sl. 134-5, PS 208, BK I 49, DRS 20, L LH 101, L EDG III 374, MiK I no. 1.5 || C: EC: ??? Or 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 {Th.} 'carne pura', {Brl.} 'carne che si mangia cruda, carne monda per i musulmani', {IS $\leftarrow$ Vit. VLO} 'raw meat (as food), fat' (Th. supposed that the word is of Arabic origin) || ? SC: Kz {E} 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 'fat, oil' || Dhl {EEN} 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 'oil' ¶ The SC/Dhl word belongs here if $^{\circ}\text{-ḫ-}$ < $^{\circ}\text{-lh-}$ with a $^{\circ}\text{h-}$ of secondary (suffixal, hiatal?) origin ¶ Th. 15, IS I 259, Brl. 16, EEN 20, $\approx$ E SC 285 (s.v. $^{\circ}\text{pāṣi}$ 'fat, oil'); on SC $^{\circ}\text{-ḫ-}$ < $^{\circ}\text{-lh-}$ / AD SCLC || WCh: Krkr {J} 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 , {Al.} 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 'fat' ¶ JI II 132 || ?? B: IS I 259-60 adduced Ah 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 'corn' (presumably from pB $^{\circ}\text{Hlw}$, the final -n [originally marker of pl.] being re-interpreted as belonging to the √ , hence pl. 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 'kinds of corn') ¶ Fc. 1090 || IE $^{\circ}\text{Hal-}$ (or $^{\circ}\text{Hel-}$ > NaIE $^{\circ}\text{al-}$) v. 'feed, nourish' ($\rightarrow$ v. 'rear, breed', 'grow') ($\times$ IE $^{\circ}\text{Hel-}$ 'high' < N $^{\circ}\text{A1V}$ 'height, top') ({EI} $^{\circ}\text{h}_a\text{el-}$ 'grow') > Gk 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 'unsatiable' (lit. 'un-nourish-ed [enough]') || L 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃 , al-ēre 'nourish', d. altus 'high' ($\leftarrow$ $^{\circ}\text{fed}$) || OIr al- v. 'nourish', W alu , Br ala inf. 'to bring forth' || ON inf. ala , AS inf. alan 'to feed, to rear, to bring up', Gt alan 'wachsen' ($\leftarrow$ $^{\circ}\text{be fed}$); d.: Gt alpeis ($\leftarrow$ 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃), Gt Cr, OHG, NHG alt , OSx ald , Dt oud , AS eald 'old' ($\leftarrow$ $^{\circ}\text{grown up}$ < $^{\circ}\text{fed}$), NE old ¶ WP I 86, P 26, EI 248, F I 102, WH I 31-2, Vr. 4-5, Fs. 34, 40, EWA I 171-4, Vn. A 57, Mn. 16-17, Ho. 3, 83-4, KM 16-17 || $\text{𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃} \approx \text{𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤃}$ 'food' > T $^{\circ}\text{a1}$ 'food' > NaT $^{\circ}\text{aš}$ > OT aš , Tk aš , Tkm, ET, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, StAlt aš , Nog, Qzq, Qq, Xk as , Tv áš , Yk as id., Uz aš 'hot food', Az aš 'porridge, gruel'

(каша), pilau', Ggz aš ~ āš 'fodder' ¶ On the ev. of Tkm and Yk, the NaT vw. *a was short (⇔ Cl., Sev. [*ā], DT [half-long *a·]) ¶ ET Gl 210-12, Rs. W 29-30, DTS 61-2, Cl. 253, Rl. I 583-6, DHST 189, DT 82, Vl. I 38, Jeg. 38 || Ko a| 'seed, grain, corn' ¶ Rm. SKE 6-7 || Tg: [1] ?σ Ewk 3lū- v. 'hatch' ¶ STM II 448 || [2] ?φ Tg *ulī- 'feed' > Ewk ulī-, Lm, Nn Nh uli-, WrMc {Z} цлэбц- id. ¶ STM II 260, Z 158 || ? M *öl > WrM {MED} ö| 'food, provision; nutritiousness; nourishment', HlM Өл {MED} id., {BMR} 'nutritiousness (питательность)', Brt үл 'nutritiousness; light snack', Kl {KRS} Өл 'nutritiousness', {Rm.} ö| 'stärkende Speise', Mnr E {MYC} ö| 'nutritiousness, food', Ord ö| 'qualité d'être nourissant; qch. qui nourrit, nourriture' ¶ The pM origin of the word is questionable because of its strange phonetic shape (apparently a monosyllabic noun without final vw., not typical for pM) and its absence from MM sources; one of possible (but very questionable) sources is T *ō| 'fresh' (→ 'fresh\nutritious grass') ¶ MED 633, BMR III 14, Chr. 499, KRS 413, KW 29, Ms. O 530, MYC 541 ¶¶ Ewk 3-, Tg *u- (as well *ō- in the questionable M cognate) may be explained by regr. as. [infl. of pA *ü of the second syll.] ¶¶ SDM 605 (pA *jōle 'food' > T *jā| 'food' [with unj. *jā-], Tg *ulī- 'feed' and M *öl- 'nutritive, nutrition'), DQA no. 641 (id.), ≈ S AJ 186, 285, ≈ SDM97 (pA *e'lu 'seed, grain, food') ¶¶ Hardly here pA {SDM} *a'∇ 'fresh crops, germinated seeds', connecting the above-mentioned T *jā| 'food' with M *h'alir-su 'chaff, fewsh grass' (> Kl ālsu 'chaff', HlM алирс 'blueberry') and with Tg *alu- 'currants, моховка (a kind of berry)' || It is tempting to adduce (after IS I) D *a|(-av-) > Klm la·v 'fat', Tm a| 'strength', Gnd lāv, Kn a|a(vu/i) 'power, strength', Tl alavv, alavi id., lāvv 'strength, fatness', Knd alvi 'energy', lāvu 'much' (D no. 291). But the D stem belongs here only if the meaning 'fat' (as in Klm and Tl) is the original one, which is questionable ¶¶ D no. 291 ◇ Cf. IS I 259-60: HS (S, Or, B), IE, A (T, Ko), D ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 330 (*a| 'seed') (untenable).

34. *?uh₁∇₁Í∇ 'hut' > HS: S *?uh₁a₁|- 'tent, hut, family' (~ *?ah₁a₁|- ?) > Hb 'ʔohɛ| 'tent', pl. ʔʔhā'liṁ, Ug ʔ_hh| {A} 'Zelt, Wohnung', {OLS} 'tienda, mansión', Amr {G} ʔahlum 'tent, house', JA {Lv.} אֶהֱלָא ʔah^al-ā, {Js.} אֶהֱלָא ʔah^al-ā, JEA {Sl.} אֶהֱלָא ʔah^al-ā 'tent', Sr אֶהֱלָא i'hal, em. אֶהֱלָא yah^al-ā {Br.} 'gens, caterva (hominum)', {JPS} 'troop, band, cohort', Ar ʔahl-, pl. ʔahl-ūna 'people who live in the same tent' → 'family, household, people', Tmd ʔhl, ʔl 'tent, family, clan', Sf ʔl, Lh ʔhl id., Ak ālu (< *?ahlu) 'Ortschaft, Stadt'; S ⇨ Eg N i'hr, (EgSSc) {Hlk} ʔa-hi-l 'nomad's tent' ¶ DRS 10-11, KB 18-19, KBR 19, A no. 104, OLS 15, Sl. 86, G A 13, BK I 65-6,

Br. LS 299, JPS 189, Brn. ITh 511, Brn. TTPh 160, BGMR 3, EG I 119, Hlk 11, SivCR 78 ¶ The vw. a of the first syll. (in Ak, Ug, Ar and Sr) is probably due to the infl. of *h || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔiṣāṇ (pl. ʔiṣēri) 'watch hut in the field', {E} iṣāṇ 'outstructure, hut or shelter away from house', ? SC ʔ → Mb aṣaʔú 'calf hut' ¶ Irq, Mb ṣ < *h || E SC 285 (s.v. *ʔá|ṣṣa), MQK 58 || ? WCh: pAG *lu 'hut', {Hf.} 'compound' > Gmy {Hf.} lū 'compound', Su {J} lú 'Hütte, Raum', Mnt {J} lú, Ang lu, Cp {ChL} lṣ 'hut, house', Kfr {Nt.} lú 'house', Mpn {Frz.} lú 'house, hut, room' ¶ J S 73, ChL, Hf. AG 21 [no. 135] (pAG 'compound'), Nt. 25, Frz. DM 34 || E: MEI ul-ḥi 'Wohnstatt, Tempel-Cella', ul-ḥu 'Kammer' ¶ HK 1216-17 || D *u] 'house, in, inside' > Prj oḷe(k) 'house', Gdb uḷe, Gnd rōn ~ lōn id., Knd loʔo/i 'inside', Krx ulā 'inner room; in, inside', Mlt uḷe 'inside, within', Brh urā 'house, wife'; Tm ul, Ml ulḷu 'inside', Td uḷ 'the inside' ¶ D no. 698 || ?σ A *u] : ʔ > T *o|u|u] 'inside' > OT {Cl.} oṣ, {DTS} uṣ 'the heart\centre (qalb) of tree trunk, branch or horn', {MKD} öṣ 'core (of tree, branch, horn)' ¶ Cl. 255, DTS 617, MKD 49 || M *u] : lus 'tribe, population' > MM [S] ulus 'Volk, Stamm, Staat', WrM ulus {MED} 'people, nation; country, state; empire; dynasty', HlM ɣɫɐ {MED} id., {BMR} 'state (Staat), country(Land); people (Volk)', Brt ɣɫɐɐ 'people (Volk), country (Land), state (Staat);', Mnr H {SM} lus3 'peuple, état, contrée', Ord ulus 'nation, dynastie, gens' ¶ MED 873-4, BMR III 326-7, Chr. 468, H 163, Kow. 403, SM 228, Ms. O 731 ¶ The M stem may belong here only if the final element *-(u)s can be explained ◇ Blz. E no. 50 (E, HS).

35. *ʔ'ü|u]g,a 'cold (Kälte)' > IE: NaIE *algh- 'cold', *algh-e/os- n. 'cold, frost' ({EI} ? IE *h_ǵelgh- 'cold') > L alg-or 'frost, cold', alg-ē- v. 'freeze, feel cold', alg-idus adj. 'cold' || pGmc *algiz (< NaIE *algh-es-) > ON gen. sg. elgiar, Ic elgur 'Schneegestöber mit starkem Frost, halbgeschmolzener Schnee', 'snowdrift' ¶ P 32, EI 113, WH I 29, Vr. 100 || **HS:** ECh: Bdy {AIJ} ʔòlgà n. 'froid', ʔòl (pl. ʔòlòw) 'refroidir', EDng {Fd.} ʔlā 'froid', ʔlè 'rafraîchir', Jg {J} ʔólan 'cold' ¶ JI II 81, J J 116, AIJ 104, 145, Fd. 40, ChC s.v. 'cold' || ? S *o✓wlg > Sr W {Br.} ʔawleg 'frigidus \ jejunos evasit', but acc. to PS, the word means 'fatuus \ insipitus factus est' ¶ Br. 301, PS 65 || A *üíi- > T *üíi- v. 'be cold, freeze' > OT [MhK] uṣi- 'be very cold, shiver with cold', MQp uṣi- 'be cold', [CC] 'be frozen', Tk ʔṣṣ- v. 'suffer from cold', Az, QrB, Qrg, ET üšü-, Tkm üše-, Δ üši-, VTt ḥšb- id., Nog üsi- v. 'get frost-bitten', Qq, Qzq üs(i)- v. 'freeze, suffer from cold', StAlt, Tv üžü- v. 'freeze, become stiff with cold' ¶ Cl. 256-7, Rs. W 52, ET Gl

644, DTS 628, BT 171 || M **üli|ü- (not attested in the available M sources) $\rightarrow$ Yk ülüj- 'frieren' ¶ Rm. SKE 73, Klz. MJ 121, Rs. W 523 || Tg *ulān 'unfrozen patch of water in an icebound river' > Neg olan, Ul ula(n-), Nn Nh/KU {STM} olā, Nn Nh {On.} olā: id., Ewk ulān 'patch of water on ice, наледь; glade, полынья' ¶ STM II 258, On. 308 ¶¶ SDM 1496-7 (pA *ũí|e > Tg, T), DQA no. 2519 (id.), SDM97 (A *uí∇ v. 'freeze'), Rm. SKE 73 (adducing Ko ɪɪɪɪɪl-ṭɪ- v. 'tremble, shiver' [to be rejected as an independent ideophon]).

36. *ʔam∇ (= *ham∇?), dem. prn. ('iste?'), 'now' > HS: S *ʔ|ham- > Ak A ammiu 'that, jener' (f. ammītu m), amma 'voilà', OAr T/SA ʔam-, Ar D ʔam-, Ar NY ʔam-, m-, Ar NY T ʔam- ~ m- ʔim-, Hmr {Blv.} ʔam- df. art., ? IA hrn 'this' ¶ Sd. 43-4, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2], Br. G I 317 [§ 107e], Bns. NJ I 64 [map no. 24] and II 33, Blv. XJ 116-17, Kfl. I 74, HJ 287-8 || EC: Af {PH} ama 'istud' (= 'that [thing] close to you'), Sa {R} a'mā 'dieser, jener' (= 'iste?'), Or {Grg., Th.} amma, Or S a(m)ma 'now' ¶ PH 9, R S II 84, Grg. 16, Sr. 263, Th. 18 || **K** *ama- 'this' > G ama-/am- 'this', Mg amu-, Lz (h)amu- id., Sv ama-s dat. 'to that', ama-w 'here, so far' ¶¶ ≈ K 44, ≈ K² 2-3 (K considered the stem to be compound of *a- and *-ma-) || **A** *am∇ and *im∇ 'now' > NaT *am + -ti (> *amtI, *amdI, *ämdi) 'now' (< 'in this?'), ? *am 'now' > OT am-tI 'now', Tv, Tf amdI, ET ämdi, StAlt, Qrg emdi, Alt Δ {GAJ} amdI, Ln ämde ~ ämdi, Shor, Xk, Sg {Rl.}, Tv am, Tv Δ, Tf amdI 'now'; NaT *im + -ti ~ |*æm + -ti > OT {DTS} emdi, Tk imdi, ET emdi, Tkm, Az indi, VTt, Bsh indb, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Uz, ET Δ endi, ET ämdi, Ln ämde ~ emde 'now'; Qrg emi 'now' ¶ Rs. W 18, Cl. 157-8, DTS 42, 173, ET Gl 357-8, Rl. I 643, BT 191, TvR 56, Ra. 154, BT 191 || pJ *imá 'now' > OJ ima, MJ imá, J T íma, J K imá, J Kg imá ¶ Mr. 423, Kenk. 610 || pKo *ima- 'now' > NKo imi id., ima-ṣṣk 'lately, nowadays' (ṣṣk means 'time') ¶ MLC 1328-9 ¶¶ Cl. supposed that NaT *am is a contraction of *am-tI (Cl. 157-8) ¶¶ SDM 586 (pA > T, J, Ko + unc. Tg *ime- 'fresh, new' [cf. Tg *ime- 'fresh, new' < N *yum'a' 'day', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ A *im∇ may go back to a cd with N *'h' i 'iste' [or 'hic'] or be influenced by N *'h' i ¶¶ SDM 586 (pA *imé), DQA no. 599, STM I 314 || **E:** MEI, NEI, AchEI a-am, am 'now' ¶¶ HK 48 ◇ Blz. E no. 75 (E, HS) ◇ If IA hrn belongs here, the N initial cs. is *h-, otherwise it is *ʔ-, sc. N *ʔ|h- (*h- is not ruled out, since in grammatical morphemes pN and pS *h- may yield Ar ʔ-).

37. Ll. *ʔemA 'mother' > **HS:** S *ʔimm- id. (pl. *ʔimmā'h-ā-t-) > Hb 𐤌𐤍 'ʔem / -𐤌𐤍 ʔimm- (ʔim'm-ī 'my mother'), pl. ʔimmā'hōt, Ph ʔm, Ug ʔm *ʔumm-, pl. ʔumhāt, Amr {G} ʔumm-um ~ ʔimm-um, JA, Sr ʔim'm-ā, JEA {Sl.} 𐤌𐤍𐤌𐤍 ʔim'mā, Ar ʔumm-, OSA ʔm, pl. ʔmhāt, Gz ʔam, Mh h-ām, indf. ʔēm, Hrs h-ām, Jb C 'ʔem, Sq {L} ʔem- +ppas, Gz ʔamm, pl. ʔammāt, Ak ummu(m) ¶ KB 59, OLS 34, DRS 22-3, Sl. 116-17, G A 14, Jo. M 5, Jo. H 2, Jo. J 3, L G 22, L LS 62, Sd. 1416-17 ¶ The variant with u is due to the ass. infl. of mm || B ≈ *yimmā 'my mother' > Kb {Dl.} Snd {La.} yamma, BMn {Ds.} yemma, Jrb {Bs.}, Gd {Lf.} yamma ~ imma, Izn {Ds.} yemma ~ imma, Mtmt {Ds.} yimma id., BSn imma {Bs.} id., {Ds} 'mother', Rf {Bi.} imma id., SrSn/Grr {Bs.}, Kb Z {Bs.} imma 'my mother'; the form *yimmā may go back to *y- 'my' + *ʔimm∇ 'mother' ¶ Dl. 921, Ds. B 219, Bi. R 86, Lf. II no. O950 || C: ? (unless an independent Lallwort) HEC {Hd.} *ama > Brj a'ma ~ ā'ma 'mother, woman, wife', Ged/Sd/Alb {Hd.} ama, Hd {Hd.} ama, amoʔo 'mother', ama(ti) 'mater familias', Kmb {Hd.} amata, amayye voc. 'mother' || SC: Irq/Grw {Wh.} āma 'old woman', Irq {MQK} ʔāma id., 'grandmother, wife', ? Irq {Wh.} ámêni 'woman' ¶ Hd. 102, Ss. B 25-6, Wh. IC 26, MQK 13 || ? Ch (here unless an independent Ll.): CCh: Mrg ámà, Klb ama, Wmd umà 'mother' | ECh: Ke àmá 'mother' (address word) ¶ ChC, ChL, Eb. 26 ||] This N etymon is the most probable source of the fem. ending of pronouns in B, Eg and Ch: HS *k∇-m 'thee, thy' f. > B {Pr.} *kamm 'thou' f. > Tw k̄m id. (Ah {Fc.} kām, Ty/ETwl k̄mm 'thou' [autonomous prn.], k̄m [preverbal]), Kb ʔamm, Zng {Ai.} kum ~ kām, Shl kimi, Si šām, Tmz šām, kammīn 'thou' f.; B {Pr.} *-(ī-)k-am 'thee' f. > Tw {Pr.} *-k̄m ~ *-īm id., Ty/ETwl {GhA} -k̄m ~ -im, Kb, Shl -kām, Zng kām ~ -m, Si -im, Tmz -ikām, -šm, Wrg -šām; pB {Pr.} *-ām ~ *-ī-m 'thy' f. possessoris > Tw {Pr.} -ām ~ -im, Ty/ETwl {GhA} -(ā)m ~ -em, Kb, Zng, Shl, Si, Tmz, Wrg -m; B {Pr.} *hā-m 'to thee' (f.) > Ah {Pr.} hām id. (preverbal), -ām id. (postverbal), Ty, ETwl am, Kb, Wrg -(i)am, Shl, Si, Tmz -am id. ¶ Pr. M I-III 164-7, 173-9, Fc. 807, GhA 93, Dl. 404, AiM 215-17 || Eg: OEg enclitic marker of f. -m: cm 'thou' f. ↔ cω 'thou' m.; aut. pronouns: cm̄t 'thou' f. ↔ cω̄t 'thou' m. ¶ Ed. §§ 166-7, 172 || Ch *-m (marker of f.) in *k∇m 'thee' f. > Ngz {Sch.} k̄m, Bd ḡm, Bdm {Lk.} -ḡm id., Ch *°k∇m > Bdm {Lk.} -ḡ̄um 'thy' f. possessoris ¶¶ AD PP 71-3, 122 || **U** {UEW} *emä 'mother, female' > F emä 'female, mother, womb', emäntä 'Hausmutter, Wirtin', emäsika 'sow', Es ema 'mother, womb' | pLp {Lr.} *ēmē 'womb' > Lp S {Hs.} jiemie yîēmîē id., Lp N {N} *æbme, æm-: æmest 'von der Geburt an', æme-liike 'die Haut des neugeborenen

Kindes' || OHg *ernē* 'female (animal), Hg Δ *ernē* (accus. *erné t*) 'sow' || Sm {Jn.} **emä*, {Hl.} **eme* 'mother' > Ne T {Lh.} *ńēb_e*, StNe T *небя*, Ne F Ny *ńemē*, En X *ē*, (+ ppa. of 1s) *ēb_ō*, Ng {Cs.} *ńame* id. | Slq: Tz {Prk.} *эм†*, LTz {KD} *ämä*, Tur *эм†* 'mother' | Koyb {Pl.} *имадъ*, Mt {Hl.} **EmE* (poss. forms **ima|ä-*) 'mother' (Mt T {Mll.} *em̄è*, *emmè* id., Mt M {Pl.} *иммеда* 'his mother', *имамъ* 'my mother') || pY {IN} **eme-* 'mother' > OY: K {Bil.} *амеа*, {Kl.} *амей*, Ch {Mat.} *еме* 'mother', O {Mat.} *е момъ* '(my) mother'; Y K {IN} *емеу* 'mother', *emmē* 'mammy' (address), Y {IN} *emmuo* (affectional address to a girl or young woman) ¶¶ UEW 74, Sm. 536 (U, FU, Sm **emä*), Jn. 23, Lr. no. 228, Lgc. no. 1735, Hs. 781, Hl. M no. 64, IN 217, 299, IN H 158, ≈ Rd. UJ 35 [no. 8] (Y ← U) || A **ämä* or **æmæ* 'mother, woman, female' > T **ä:₁mä* or **æ:₁mæ* 'mother, female' (→ 'old woman') > Az Δ *ämä* 'grandmother', Qrg {Jud.} *eme*, StAlt *emegen* 'old woman', Qmd {Rl.} *emegen* 'old woman, wife', Tlt {Rl.} *ämäṣän* 'Mütterchen' (address to an old woman), Chv *ама ама* 'mother, female animal' (unless an independent Ll. creation) ¶ S AJ 196 [no. 246], Rs. W 42, ET Gl 22O-2, Ash. I 185-6, Fed. I 38-9, Jeg. 25, Rl. I 948-9 || M **eme* 'woman, female' > MM *еме*, *еме* *gü_ür* 'woman, wife; female (animal)', WrM {MED} *еме* id., HlM *эм MED* id., {BMR} 'woman', Brt *эмэ* id., WrO *еме* 'woman, female, lady', Dx *эмэ(kun)*, Dg {T} *emeg*, {Mr.} *emehe*, {Pp.} *eměg* 'wife', {T} *emgūn*, {Pp.} *emgūn*, Ba *эмэ(kuṇ)* 'woman', Ord *em* 'woman, wife; female', Mnr H {SM} *imu in ḫara imu* ('black woman'), ritual name given by a girl to herself in front of her parents the day of her marriage ¶ MED 311-12, BMR IV 408-9, S AJ 238 [no. 106], T BJ 152, T DnJ 144, T DgJ 139, SM 192, Ms. O 237, Klz. D I 129, H 43, Ms. H 54, Pp. MA 153-4 || Tg **em'e* 'mother, woman, female' > Ewk *эмugdэ* 'female elk', Sln {Iv.} *e'mo* 'mother', *emī'ge* 'wife', Nn KU *эмхэ* 'mother-in-law', WrMc {Z} *эмэ* 'mother', *емхе* 'wife's mother', *emeke* 'husband's mother', Mc Sb {Mrm.} *еме* 'mother', *эмэкэ* 'Schwieger-mutter', *эмхэ* 'wife's mother' ¶ S AJ 221 [no. 221], STM II 451-2, Klz. MS 157-8, Z 8O, 82 || MKo {S, Vv.} *ámí* 'mother', {Vv.} *émà-:nim* id.; less likely pKo {S, SDM} **ámh* 'woman, wife, female' > MKo *ám / ámh-*, NKo *am* id. ¶ Vv. AEN 372, S AJ 89, 256 [no. 135], SDM97, S QK no. 135 || ?φ OJ *omo* 'mother' (unless an independent Ll. creation) ¶ Vv. AEN 372, JdH 164 ¶¶ SDM 5O4 (pA **ěme* 'woman, female' > T, M, Tg, Ko **ámh* + unc. Ko **ámh* and J **mía* [> OJ *mye*, MJ *mé* 'woman', J T/Kg *me-sú*, J K *me-sù* 'a female']), DQA no. 428, S AJ 279 [no. 112] ¶¶ If Chv *ама* is not an independent Ll. creation (cf. below), the pT rec. must be **ä:₁mä* (< pA

*ämä) otherwise it is *æ₁mæ < pA *æmæ ◇ Words shaped as a(m)ma in individual IE lges (OHG amma 'nutrix, nurse', ON amma 'nun', Al G 'amē 'mother', *F* Dv. 470 [no. 423], Kf. 39, O 4, EWA I 205-6), in El (OEl/MEI/NEI/AchEl) am-ma 'mother' (HK 51-3), in D *amma, {GS} *am- 'mother' (> Tm ammā, Ml, Kn, Tl, Tu amma, Klm amma, Brh ammā 'mother', Knd ama 'grandmother', Png, Mnd, Kui ama 'father's sister', Ku amma 'aunt', *F* D no. 183, GS 108 = no. 280) and in OJ E {Vv. ← JdH} amō 'mother' (Vv. AEN 372, JdH 49) are unlikely to belong here, they are better explained as independent Ll. creations ◇ If the pT initial cns. is *ä- (for the expected *e- < N *e-), it may be explained by the Lallwort factor ◇ AD NM no. 116, S CNM 3 (÷÷ Yn and err. ÷ ST), Vv. AEN 7 ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 430 (*eme 'woman') (U, Y, A, Ko, Gil, CK + unc. OJ me 'woman').

38. *ʔem▽ 'seize, hold' (→ 'take') > **HS:** Eg fOK ʔmm v. 'seize, grasp' (EG: 'mit der Faust ergreifen'), ⇨ Eg fXVIII ʔmm.t 'Griff, Faust', {Fk.} n. 'grasp' ¶ EG I 10-11, Fk. 3 || B *°Hmīy > Sll ämī v. 'hold\contain' (of a recipient), 3s pf. jūmī (Pcj. I A 3) ¶ Ds. 74, Pr. M VI-VII 96 || Ch {Stl.} *ʔ▽m- 'catch, seize', {JS} *ʔam 'take' > CCh: Tr {Nw.} ōm 'catch', ZmB ʔám {J} 'take', {Sa.} 'steal', ?? Msg {Mch.} imǎ v. 'seize', {Lk.} imē, imē 'fangen, ergreifen, nehmen' ||| ECh: Ll {Cp., ChC} ōm v. {Cp.} 'hold', {ChC} 'hold, seize', Kbl {Cp.} ám 'catch', Mkl {J} ʔámhè v. 'take' ¶ Stl. IF 123, JS 261, ChC s.v. 'catch', 'hold' and 'seize' || ʔφ C: Bj {Rop., R} -ʔamīt (1s: p. a-ʔa'mīt, pres. {R} a-ʔam'mīt, {Rop.} 'ʔammīt) v. 'grip, grasp' (rf. {R} -ʔamāt 'an sich nehmen, nehmen': p. 1s a-ʔamāt, pres. 1s a-t-ʔa'mīt), {R} mʔamāt 'fist', {Rop.} maʔmat 'fistful' ||| HEC: Sd {Gs., Mrn., C} amad- v. 'catch, hold, seize, take', Hd {PB} amad- 'fassen, nehmen', Kmb {C} amad- v. 'take' ¶ R WBd 19, Rop. 150, Gs. 12, PB 135, C SE II 189, C S 656, Mrn. S s.v. amad- || ʔσ Om: SOm {Fl.}: Dm ʔm-, Hm, Ari B im- 'give' ||| NrOm: Kf {C} im- ~ em-, Mch {L} ʔimmi-, Wl {LmS} imm-, Zr/Cha {C} im-, Gm {Hw.} ʔímo-, Ym {Wdk.} ímá- id. ¶ Fl. OO 318, C SE IV 390, L M 16, LmS 286-7, Hw. EG s.v. 'give', Wdk. BY 126 ||| **IE** *ʔ¹em-/ *ʔ¹om-/ {Mn.} *mō- (< *ʔmō-) v. 'take, get' ({EI} *h₁em- 'take', ≠ 'distribute'), {Blz.} *ʔem- (× N *qA m▽ 'grasp, seize' × N *HEñom▽ 'take hold of') > L em- v. 'take' (only in cds), v. 'buy', pfc. ēmpsī (< *ēm-, cp. Lt ēmiaũ 'I bought'), Osc PERT-EMEST 'perimet', PER-EMUST 'perceperit', Um emantu(r) 'accipiantur' ||| Clt {Matas.} *em-o- 'take' > OIr em- in ar-fo-em- v. 'take, receive' ||| Lt im-ū / inf. im̃-ti v. 'take', Ltv jemu 'I take', Pru inf. īmt 'to take' | Sl pres. *(j)bm-q / inf. *je-ti 'take' (× NaIE *yem-/ *ymō- < N *ńamo' 'squeeze,

grasp') > OCS pres. **ИМѦ** im-ǫ, inf. **ИАТИ** jęti 'take' (*jbm- with prosthetic *j- [encouraged by the contamination with NaIE *yem-/ *ym̥-], the stem *bm- being preserved in cds, e.g. v5z6m0 **ѡЪЗ-ЪМ-Ъ** 'I [shall] take'), SCr Ch inf. jęti 'to take', Slv inf. jęti 'to begin', P inf. jǫć 'to grasp, to take, to catch'; ⇨ Sl inf. *jbmǎti > OCS inf. **ИМАТИ** imati 'λαμβάνειν, хватать, собирать' (pres. **ИМАМЬ** imamy 'apprehendo, colligo, accipio'), Blg **ИМАМ** 'I have', SCr inf. i`mati 'to have', Cz inf. jímati 'to take, to catch', Slk inf. mat', inf. jimat' 'to have', P inf. imać 'to take, to have', RΔ inf. имать 'to catch', Uk inf. мати 'to have'; Sl inf. *jbměti 'to have' > OCS, OR inf. **ИМѢТИ** iměti (1s pres. **ИМѢЯ** imějǫ), R inf. иметь, Slv inf. iměti, Cz inf. mítí, P inf. mieć id. || ?σ Arm **իման**- iman- v. 'understand' (Mn. connects it with IE *em-, while Solta hesitantly proposed a different et.) || ?φ Ht **ωemiυα-** ~ **υmiυα-** 'finden, treffen, antreffen' (so acc. to Ped. H and P) ¶¶ The zero grade *ʔ̥m̥- is probably represented by the pp. *ʔ̥m̥-to-s or *ʔ̥m̥-to-s (> L emptus, Um emps, Lt im̃tas, Pru imtā f., OCS **ИАТЬ** jęty). The fact that the initial IE lr. in precon. position (_C) has not yielded *ə, but rather a "schwa secundum" *_o or even a zero, suggests that this is IE *ʔ̥- ¶¶ P 310-11, WP I 207, ≈σ EI 564 ('distribute'), Mn. 240, WH I 400-2, Bc. G 333, Frn. 184-5, En. 184, Vs. II 128, ESSJ VI 71, StSS 259-60, 807-8, Glh. 276, Sl. 91-2, Ped. H 82, 135, Ts. W 104-5, Matas. E 115 || **K**: ?σ Lz {Marr} -m- (msd. m-o-m-ala) v. 'carry, bring' ¶ Marr 164 || **U**: FU (in Prm only) *_oe₁:₁m̥∇ > pPrm *em ({JLG} *_oem) 'there is' > Z эм em, Yz 'im 'there is, exists', Z em, emlun, embur 'goods, property' ¶ LG 332, Lt. 134, Lt. J 119 ¶ Contamination with FU *om̥∇ 'own' (UEW 717) is possible || **A**: M *emkü- '≈ seize with teeth; put into or hold in the mouth' > WrM {MED} emkü- 'put into or hold in the mouth', HIM {MED} **ҮНХЭ-** id., {BMR} **ҮМХЭ-** ~ **ҮНХЭ-** id., 'bite', Brt **ҮМХЭ-** 'seize with teeth, bite off (хватать зубами, откусывать)', Dg {T} enku- id., unku- 'seize with teeth', Kl {KRS} **ҮМК-** ümkə- 'bite off', {Rm.} ümkü- 'einen ganzen Mundvoll nehmen', Mnr {SM} **хәңг_у-** (with secondary **х**-?) 'mettre en bouche, jeter dans sa bouche', Ord **үңк_х_ү-** 'se mettre dans la bouche'; M *emkü n. 'bite, morsel, mouthful' > WrM {MED} emkü, HIM {MED} **ҮНХ** id., {BMR} **ҮМХ** 'morsel\mouthful of food', Brt **ҮМХЭ** 'кусочек, morsel (of food)', Kl {KRS} **ҮМК** ümkə 'piece (кусочек)', {Rm.} ümkü 'ein Mundvoll, ein Bißchen', Ord **үңк_х_ү** 'bouchée', Mnr {SM} **uṇkwā** id. ¶ H 124, MED 313-14, BMR 410-11, 415, Chr. 503, KRS 551, KW 457, T DgJ 140, 171, SM 157, Ms. O 759 ◇ Blz. IELA 5 [no. 3] (IE,

HS) ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 72 (IE, HS + * U), IS I 270 (HS, IE, K) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 381 (*amu 'take') (IE + err. U [< N *¹η¹amT∇ 'give'], A).

39. *¹ʔo¹m∇ 'kin, clan, everybody' > **HS**: S *¹ʔumm-(at-) 'kin, clan' > BHb 𐤒𐤓𐤕 ʔum¹m-ā 'tribe, small group of people', pl. ʔum¹m-ōt, ʔum¹m-īm, Ug 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤔, ʔummat- 'kin, clan (?)', Sr 𐤒𐤓𐤕(𐤓)𐤔𐤕𐤔 {JPS} 'race, nation, people; a class, genus', Ar ʔumm-at- (pl. ʔumam-) {Fr.} 'coetus, multitudo, gens, familia viri, populus', {BK} 'assemblée, foule; famille; peuple, nation', Ak ummān-um 'people, army', {Sd.} 'Menschenmenge, Heer, Arbeitsgruppe', ummat-um 'Hauptmasse' ¶ KB 60, KBR 62, Grd. UT 360 [no. 225], JPS 6, Hnr. 107, Fr. I 57, BK I 52, G OA 45, Sd. 1413-15, DRS 23 || C: EC: Af ummān 'all, every', ummat 'inhabitants, populace', Sa {R} um¹mān 'totalità, Gesamtheit' ¶ R S II 283, PH 204 ||] This N etymon may be the source of *-∇m-plural in several C lges: EC: Dsn -am ~ -ām, ending of pl. of nouns and adjectives (ḏamaḏ-ām pl. of ḏamaḏḏi 'thigh', ʔoḡor-ām pl. of oḡor 'black', alč-am pl. of ʔalčū 'fighting stick'); Arr -mé ~ -má, sx of "multiple reference plural" (daḡal-mé [pl. of daḡál 'cheek'], dēbi-má [pl. of dēbí 'cabbage']) || ??? SC: Irq -ēmō sx of pl. (dāḡgēmō 'twins' [pl. of dāḡgi 'twin']) ¶ For further details see Zab. MNPC ∇ ¶ To. DL 86-9, Hw. A 166-72, Mous 47, 58-9 || **IE** *H¹H^ωom- 'every' > L omnis id., Osc úmbn- 'omnis' || Arm ամեն amēn (gen. ամենի ameni) 'all' (× ÷ OI sa¹maḥ 'equal, like', Av hama- 'jeder beliebige', Gk ἄμό- in ἄμοῦ [Gk A ἄμοῦ] 'somewhere', Gt sumas (· τὸς), AS sum 'irgendeiner', NE some) ¶ Slt. 269-270, ≈ WH I 209-10 || Pv. II 373-81 convincingly rejected the adduction of Ht hūmant- 'every, each, all' ¶¶ Ped. H 165 ||] ? NaIE *-ōm, sx of genitivus pl. (e.g. with *-o-stems: Vd carāth-ām 'der beweglichen', Gk λύκ-ων, OHG wolf-o, Lt vilk-ũ, OCS вѣлкѣ vьlk-ъ 'of wolves', L deum 'of gods'; with *-n-stems and *-r-stems: OI sún-ām, Gk κυν-ῶν 'of dogs', L homin-um 'of men', Lt akmen-ũ, OCS каменѣ kamen-ъ 'of stones', Gt tuggōn-ō, OHG zungōn-o 'of tongues', L mātr-um, Gk μητέρ-ων, OCS матерѣ mater-ъ 'of mothers', GAv dug^adr-ām 'of daughters'); in several lges the ending *-ōm was lengthened due to metanalysis: OI -nām, L -ōrum (OI vr̥kānām, L lupōrum 'of wolves') ¶ Brg. KVG 394-5 (§§ 486-7) and the table "Übersichtstabelle zur nominalen Kasusbildung" after p. 398; Bks 113-17, 173, StSS 118-19, 281 || **U** *¹o¹ma > Sm: Slq Tz {Hl.} ōm† 'tous les autres, остальные', {KKIH} ōm† 'некоторый, остальной', ōm†ne 'a relative' ¶¶ PI 284, Hl. (p.c.), KKI 145 || ?σ Mk u¹ma 'pen, enclosure for cattle' || **A**: M *omug 'clan' > WrM omuḡ

{MED} 'clan, tribe, family, surname', HlM oMOr {MED} id., {BMR} 'clan, tribe, family', Brt oMOr 'family name', WrO oMoq 'family', Mnr H {SM} oMoq 'nom de clan, nom de famille', Kl {KRS} oMΓ oMъg 'племѣ', {Rm.} oMoq 'Geschlecht, Stamm', Ord oMoq 'clan, nom de clan' ¶ H 120, Krg. 115, MED 611, BMR II 475, Chr. 355, KRS 396, KW 285, Ms. O 511 || **D** (in SD) *-um 'all', a morpheme used as a final component of cds and frame constructions: Tm ellā-m 'everything, everybody', ellā- + case sxs + -um, ellā ... -um 'all, everybody' (e.g. ellā maṇitarkaḷukkum 'to all people'), cakala + case sx + -um 'all, tous' (e.g. accus. cakalatṭiyum, dat. cakalatṭukum) (An. TL 23, An. GTJ 96-8), interr. prn. + -um have the meaning of 'every-...': yāvum 'everything', yāvaiyum 'all, whole', yārum 'everybody', ēvatum 'everything', Ml -(u)m 'all, any' (e.g. eññum 'anywhere', cp. eññu 'where?'), Td -m 'all, any' (e.g. eṭm 'in any direction', cp. eṭ 'in which direction?'), Kn -m (e.g. eṭtam 'wheresoever', cp. eṭta 'where?') ¶ D no. 5151 ◇ This N etymon may be the origin of the HS marker of pl. m. *-um ~ *-im in personal pronouns and pronominal sxs of 2pm and 3pm (S *ʔantim ~ *antum 'you' pl. m., *-kum ~ *kim 'you' accus. pl. m., 'yours' pl. m., *šum ~ *šim 'they' pl. m., *-šum ~ *-šim 'them, their' pl. m., C: Ag: Bln {R} kūm 'you' accus. pl. m., Hs kum 'yours' pl. m.) and of the D marker of pl. *-m in pl. *nīm 'you' pl. (cp. *nī 'you' sg.), *nām 'we incl. and *yām 'we' excl. (Zv. CDM 36-44).

40. ₂ *ʔämP▽ '≈ wolf' > **HS**: EC *ʔa_lm_lP- > Sd {Gs.} ambōma, nom. ambōmi 'hyena' ¶ Gs. 14 || CCh: Nz {Mch.} yǎṇba, {ChL} y3ṇ(b)a 'dog' ¶ JI II 107, ChL, ChC s.v. 'dog' || **U** (att. in Ugr only) *ämp▽ 'dog' > OHg xvi ebek [äbek], Hg éb 'dog' | pObU *ämp▽ 'dog' > pVg *ämp▽ > Vg: T ämp, LK/MK/UK ǐmp, Ss ämp 'dog'; pOs *ämp > Os: V/Vy ämp, Nz/Kz amp, O ämp 'dog' ¶ UEW 836, MF 137, Ht. 126 [no. 33].

41. *ʔam_l▽_lR▽ (or *ʔam'o' (lR▽_l)?) 'morning, daylight' > **HS** *✓ʔmr 'morning, daylight' (× N *ʔ'Umr▽ 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', 'dawn', q.v. ffd.) > C {AD} *✓ʔmr 'morning, dawn' > Ag {E} *ʔamər- 'morning' > Bln {R} amərī, Q {R} amərē 'morning, tomorrow', Xm {R} amir, Xm T {CR} amər 'tomorrow', ⇨ Gz ʔamīr 'sun, day, time', Gft ayməra, Grg imir, yim3r 'sun' | SC: ʔσ Irq {Wh.} omár 'previously', ʔσ SC {E} *āma 'night' (acc. to E PC; the representation in individual lges is not indicated) ¶ AD SF 132-3, E PC no. 453, L G 26, Wh. SI || **IE** *H_xām(e)r / *H_xām-n- ({EI} *h₂eHmer) 'day' (× N *ʔ'Umr▽) > Gk: Hm ἡμᾶρ, gen. ἡμᾶτ-ος, D/AC ἡμᾶρ, -ατος id. ⇨ Gk A ἡμέρᾱ 'day' (initial h- on the analogy of ἑσπέρα 'evening') 'day' || Arm

awp awr 'day' (< *a_umr < *amur < *ā_mōr), gen. a_wur ¶ P 35, ≈ EI 149 (unjustified morphemic border: *h₂eH-mer), F I 634-5, Ch. 412, Slt. 409-411, Hamp AA || **U**: [1] FU *a¹m¹∇r∇ 'sun, heat' > F a_ur i_nk o 'sun', Lp Tn a_wr 3t 'flame', Lp T a_ur 'glowing embers', (× N *¹Umr∇ 'burn' [intr], 'shine', q.v.) Vt o_my p 'embers, heat (in a stove)', т_ыл o_my p 'flame' || [2] ? FU {IS} *^oamo > FP *¹a¹m∇/*oma 'morning, early' > ? F a_am u 3 a_hm u 'morning', eF [Agr.] a_mu ~ a_am u, Krl o_am u, u_am u id., Vp ā_mu 'long ago' (the length of the initial vw. and the dialectal h are innovations due to unknown factors) | Er u_mok 'long ago' ¶ Coll. 2, Coll. CG 405 (U *oma), IS I 261, UEW 337-8, ≠ UEW 804-5, SK 29, SSA I 46, 90, U3S 320 ◇ FP *¹a¹m∇/*oma may belong here if the syll. *-r∇ was lost (metanalysis?) or if *-R∇ did not belong to the N etymon (was an additional element, sx?) ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 73 (IE, HS [C and Gz], U); IS MS 370 and IS I 260-1 (both: HS, IE, U).

42. *¹Umr∇ 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', 'dawn' > **U**: FP *umr∇ 'fire, flame' > Chr u_mbr 'warm\calm' (of weather), Chr B u_mbr 'warm und ruhig', (× N *¹am₁∇, R∇ 'morning, daylight', q.v.) Prm *ū_mir- > Vt G o_mřr 'flame', StVt o_my p 'heat (from a stove)', StVt т_ыл o_my p, Vt Y t₁l-o_mir 'flame' (т_ыл t₁l 'fire'), Vt Uf t₁l o_mřre 'das Feuer lodert auf', Z †m₁ra_w-n†, †m₁rt-n†, Z UV †m₁ra₁- 'blaze (as a stove), emit heat (пыхать, вейть теплом)' ¶ UEW 804, LG 329, U3S 320 | Possibly a contribution to the meaning of FU *am∇r∇ 'sun, heat' > F a_ur i_nk o 'sun', Lp Tn a_wr 3t 'flame', Lp T a_ur 'glowing embers', Vt o_my p 'embers, heat (in a stove)', т_ыл o_my p 'flame' (× N *¹am₁∇, R∇, q.v.) || **A** *ū|ō_wr∇- 'be bright, shine' (× N *¹ū_wr∇ 'light [lux], fire' [q.v. ffd.] × N ??φ *χ¹a_w, a₁'rE [or *χ_awEr∇] 'bright, white') > NaT *ür_üη ({SDM} *ū|ör_üη) 'shining, bright, white' > OT {Cl.} ū_r ū_η 'white', Yk ü_rü_η 'white', 'shining, bright; clear weather', MU ū_r ū_n 'bright, clear', MQp XIII {Cl.} ū_r ū_n, {TL} ū_r ū_n 'milk', Tk Δ ü_rün 'milk, yoghurt', ? Qrg ü_rü_η bar_η 'morning twilight, dawn; sth. dimly seen in the dark' ¶ Cl. 233-4, TL 601, S AJ 193 [no. 190], SDM 1040 (pT *ū|ör_üη 'white', [unj.] 'dawn') || M *ö|ü_w, ∇, r∇ ({SDM} *ö_wr) 'dawn' > ShY oyir 'dawn', MM [MA] ū_r or ör 'aurore', WrM {MED} ū_r, {Gl.} ör, HIM {MED. BMR}, Brt γγp, Kl {KRS} 'dawn, daybreak', {Rm.} ör 'Morgendämmerung, das Tagen', WrO ör 'morning, dawn, daybreak', Mnr H {SM} ō_r 'aube du jour', Ord örö ~ ör 'aube, aurore' ¶ Pp. MA 382, MED 1010-12, BMR III 430, Krg. 147, Chr. 517, SM 298, KRS 422, KW 298, S AJ 243 [no. 216], Ms. O 537-8 || Tg *or¹u¹- > Ewk PT/I orumna- 'blaze up',

orumnaçā- adj. 'burnt', Ewk {Vas.} urum-mī 'shine, twinkle (сверкать, мерцать)', ? Lm O orakīn 'flash, appear for a moment (мелькать)' ¶ Vas. 327, 453, STM II 23, 25 ¶ The Tg root belongs here only if it is *or^ru^r rather than *xor^ru^r ¶¶ SDM 1040-1 (pA *obri|e 'dawn' > M, Tg, T), DQA no. 1580 (id.), S AJ 288 (pA *ör∇ 'white, light [hell], dawn'); KW 298, Rs. W 375, SDM97 s.v. *orE 'white, dawn' || HS *✓?mr (× N *?am_L∇, R∇ 'morning, daylight'): B *✓^rw^rmr > Ah ammar 'le soleil, le feu, tout corps en combustion qui chauffe à une distance; chaleur rayonnée', Ъsammār 'rayons du soleil chauffant doucement', Ty, ETwl asЪsamumār id., Rf summār 'ensoleiller, se mettre au soleil', Izd asammāṛ 'sunny side of a mountain', SrSn, Izn sammār id., θamiri 'moonlight' ¶ Fc. 1223, Rn. 385, GhA 131, Mrc. 237 || C {AD} *✓?mr 'morning, dawn' (× N *?am_L∇, R∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Other alleged cognates within HS (S *✓?mr v. 'see, be seen' etc., as well as some Ch, Eg and B words), adduced by IS (I 260-1), are semantically and/or phonetically unfit for comparison || IE *H₂ā_m(e)r / *?|H₂ā_m-n- ({EI} *h₂eḥmer) 'day' (× N *?am_L∇, R∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The absense of the expected *-m- in pA *ū|ör∇- belongs to the heritage of N *?û^wr∇ and *χ^ra^w_La^rE.

43. *?omśa 'flesh, meat' > U {Coll.} *omśa id. > pLp {Lr.} *ṛñcē 'flesh' > Lp S {Hs.} oāddjīe, Lp N {N} oāžīžē, Lp Kld {TI} ṽyūžñ:č, Lp T {TI} ṽžñ:čē id. || Sm {Jn.} *ḅmsā, {Hl.} *ḅmsa 'meat, flesh' > Ne T Һамза, Ne O {Lh.} ḡamcā, Ne F {Lh.} ḡams·āa, Ng {Mik.} ḡamsu, En X {Cs.} uďa, B {Ter.} ossa 'meat', Mt {Hl.} *amsa ~ *absa 'meat, body', {AD} 'flesh, meat' (Mt: T {Sp.} aṛca 'flesh\meat', K/M {Mll.} amsa 'caro'), Slq Tz {KKIH} aps+ 'food' ¶¶ Coll. 104, ≈ Sm. 542 (FU *onśā 'flesh; hind' > FP *onśa, Ugr *ānća), Lr. no. 835, TI 762, Jn. 15 (supposing that Sm *ḅmsā 'meat' is d. from *ḅm- 'eat'), KP 160, KKIH 100, Hl. M no. 36, ≠ UEW 133 (Lp from *oća ~ *oñća 'divide') || HS: ? S: Ar ?āmīṣ-, ?amīṣ- 'pickled raw meat; veal jelly' ¶ Fr. I 59, BK I 55 ¶ The emphaticity of the final cns. is still to be explained || Eg fXVIII s m s 'piece of beef' (IS: partial rdp. of *ṣm s?) ¶ EG IV 141 ¶¶ I do not adduce (⇔ IS) the NrOm word for 'cow' (Kf {C} mīnčō etc.) because the sibilant\affricate element probably belongs to a nominal sx (singulative?), cp. Kf {C} mīmō 'cow', / Lm. Sh 355. For similar morphological (and semantic) reasons I reject the alleged Or cognate {Th} ammeṣsa 'milch cow' 𐤀 Or B {Vnt.} amessa 'un animale che ha latte e che è dato in prestito a chi non ha cibo' (Vnt. 8, Th. 18) || IE: NaIE *mēm s- 'meat' (< **?mēm s- [reduplicated stem]), {EI} *mē(m) s (gen. *mem's-os) > OI mān'sa-, 'mās

'flesh, meat' || Arm **uḥu** *mis* id. || pAl ***miša** > Al *mišh* id. || Gt *mi m z* accus. (· κρέα) 'Fleisch' || Pru *mensā*, Lt Zh *meisa* (Frn.: < *mensā), Ltv *mīesa* 'flesh, meat' || Sl ***męso** id. > OCS **MACO** *męso*, SCr *mēso*, P *mięso*, R **мясо** id. || L *membrum* 'limb' (< *mēms-ro-) || Clt {Matas.} ***mīros** 'piece of meat, food' (< *mēms-ro-) > OIr *mír* 'morsel, piece of meat, food' || Tc B *mīsa* 'meat, flesh' ¶ P 725, EI 374-5, WH II 64-5, Fs. 361, StSS 341, Vn. *M* 54-5, Matas. E 272-3, Frn. 427, En. 210, O 267, Slt. 51-2, Ad. 464 ¶ The loss of the Ir. *ʔ in the initial clusters (*ʔ + cns.) is reg. (cp. *ʔs- > *s in *ʔes-ti 'est' - *s-onti 'sunt') ◇ IS I 252-3, AD NM no. 66, S CNM 3 (÷ ÷ NrCs, Yn, ST) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 161 (***mim** 'flesh') (IE, U + unc. Tg, Ko, J, Ai, EA).

44. *ʔin'ô 'place' ([in descendant lges] → 'in') > **HS:** S ***ʔina** 'in' > Ak: OAk, OB *ina* ~ *in* 'in', OA *ina* 'in'; Eb *in* 'in' || in WS traces of ***ʔina** have been preserved in Hb **אַתְמֹל** *ʔet'mōl* 'yesterday' < *ʔittāmōl < S ***ʔina** *timāli(m)* (lit. 'in [the day of] yesterday'; cp. Ak *ina timāli(m)*, Sd. 1360); *-tta- > *-t- *reg.*, *F* AD PSH 113 (rule 63c), BL H 193 (§ 12h'), in JEA/JPA **אַתְמֹל** *ʔit'māl* (*ʔit'māl* & *ʔit'māl*) and in Sr **أَتْمَلْ** *ʔet'māl* 'yesterday'; there is syntactic ev. (the adnominal [so-called genitive] case of nouns following ***ʔina**) suggesting that this prep. (like other S prepositions) goes back to a noun, hence the final *-a in S ***ʔina** is an ending of accus. (typical of adverbials of place) and provides no ev. as to the final vw. of the pN stem ¶ CAD VII 141-2, Penn. SPE 298, Lv. I 185, PS 4459 || B ***īn** 'to, into' > Nf *in* id.: 'ugur *in* *al'madrəsət* 'go to school', ugūrax *in* *ṭarābləs* 'I went to Tripoli', Si *i-* (pre-nominal) 'à, dans': *ikim i-ddəlu* 'il entra dans le seau', Gd *-i* (postnominal) 'dans': *allūn-i* 'dans un trou', as well as possibly Ntf {La.} -n, -ən (locative-delative pc.: *iaf-n* 'he found **here**', *ašk-ən* 'partir') ¶ Lf. II no. 1704, Beg. 130, La. S 128-9, La. N 186 || NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} -n, loc. ending in adverbs: *gaça-n* 'in the middle', *giddo-n* id., 'in between', *bolla-n* 'above', *garsa-n* 'under', *mata-n* 'near', *sinça-n* 'in front', *goye-n* 'behind', *awa-n* 'where?', Zs/Wl/Zl {C} -n (loc. sx: Zs *anā-n* 'where?') ¶ Mrn. O 61, C SE III 192 || C: HEC: Sd {C} -nne, (?) -ne, loc. (of time and place): *le'u bar'ti-nne* 'in six days', *alba-n'ne* 'anticamente' (lit. 'in avanti'), *gan'de* ({C}: mt. < *gad-ne) 'in war' ¶ C SE II 125 || **K** *-na, *-n 'in', surviving in adverbs (→ adjectives): OG *šī-na* 'inside', *çi-na* 'in front (of)', *ze-na* 'upper' (← 'above'), *uḫ(u)a-na* 'behind', *gušīn* 'yesterday', Lz *ṽoma(n)* id. (cp. G *ṽame* 'night'), Sv *ladeṽ-n* 'in the daytime' (cp. *ladäṽ* & *ladeṽ* 'day'), Sv {Marr}, Sv L {Dn.} *ṽošg-in* 'behind' (cp. *ṽošg* 'back

[direction], назад') ¶¶ Shlm. 27-30, Shan. G 158, DCh. 520-1, 1217, 1520-1, 1681, Marr SS 1203-4, Dn. s.v. $\chi\omicron\sigma\zeta\gamma$ || IE * $\text{?en}/\text{?n}_o$, * ?eni ({Blz.} * ?en-i , {EI} * $\text{h}_1\text{en}(i)$), * $\text{?en}\hat{o}$ 'inside'; in, into' > Gk $\epsilon\nu$, (π) $\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}$ adv. 'inside' (Gk Hm: $\epsilon\nu\delta\epsilon\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon\omicron\lambda\nu\omicron\iota\omicron$ 'she put inside also a skin of wine'), $\epsilon\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$, (π) $\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}$ prep. 'in' || Mcd $\acute{\iota}\nu$ 'in' || Msp $i\text{ }n$ 'in' || L $i\text{ }n$ 'in', Osc -EN id. || Clt {Matas.} * eni 'in' > OIr $i\text{ }n$ - 'in', $i\text{ }n$ - pv. 'in-', Brtt {RE} * $i\text{ }n$ 'in' > OW $i\text{ }n$, MW, W, OCrm, Crn yn , Obr $i\text{ }n$, en , MBr, Br $e\text{ }n$, e , Br V $i\text{ }n$ || Gt, OHG, OSx, AS $i\text{ }n$, ON $\acute{i}\text{ }in$ || Lt $\tilde{i}$ and $i\tilde{n}$, Pru en 'in' | pSl * $\text{v}\grave{\text{b}}$, * $\text{v}\grave{\text{b}}n$ - > OCS $\text{В}\text{Ъ}$ $\text{v}\text{Ъ}$, $\text{В}\text{Ъ}n$ - $\text{v}\text{Ъ}n$ -, Blg $\text{в}\text{Ъ}$, SCr u , Slv v , Cz v , ve , $v(n)$, Slk v , vo , P ωe , R в , bo , Uk в , y 'in, into' || Tc (px) A y -, yn -, B y -, $i\eta$ -, $en(e)$ - 'in' (in adverbs: A y - $kom\grave{m}$, B $i\eta$ - $kaum\grave{m}$ 'in the daytime', B ene - $\acute{s}tai$ 'in secret'); A $anne$, B $enem\grave{m}$ 'within, herein' || Ld $\acute{e}n$ (pv., postp.) 'in, in-' || IE * ?endo > OL $endo$, L $ind\acute{u}$ 'in' || Gk $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\omicron\nu$ 'within, at home' || ?σ OIr $i\text{ }nn\acute{e}$ 'entrails' || ? AnIE: Ht $anda$ 'in, darin' (adv. and postp.), Lw $and|ta$, HrLw $\grave{a}n\acute{t}\acute{a}$ id., Lc $\acute{r}\acute{i}te$ (pv. and postp.) id.; the AnIE cognates are qu., because they may well be explained otherwise, as akin to Gk $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\alpha$ 'there' and going back to a N prn. + locative pc. * da < N * $d_{o}y_a$ 'place (within, below), inside' ¶¶ P 311-12, EI 290, Mn. 241, F I 508-9, 511, WH I 687-8, 694, LP §§ 189, 431.17, RE 106, StSS 126-7, Frn. 181, En. 166-7, Tp. P E-H 34-9, Wn. I 124, 154-6, Ad. 83-4 (Tc < IE * h_1on -, * o -grade of * h_1en - = our * ?en -), Mer. SGA 366-8, KrlSh. XLJ 42, Glh. 648, Pv. I 76-7, Kron. EHS I 351-2, Matas. E 116 ¶¶ The zero grade * n_o - (rather than * $\text{?}n$ -) suggests N * ? - || IE {BD} *-en, ? {Joh.} *-ne, locative sx ([in some descendant lges] → sep. sx): Ht -an id. ($andan$ 'inside', $appan$ 'behind', $piran$ 'in front'), Vd 'kṣāṃ-an 'on earth, L $super$ -ne 'upwards, from above', $infer$ -ne 'below', OHG $\acute{u}fa-na$ 'from above', Gt $inna-na$ (· $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$) 'von innen' ¶¶ BD II 178, Joh. MS III 146ff., Ts. W 4, 64, Kb. 1062, Fs. 294 || U: [1] FU * $\text{?i}^n|n\text{ }n$ 'place' > pPrm * $i\text{ }n$ > OPrm $i\text{ }n$, Z $i\text{ }n$ 'place', Vt $инты$ $int\acute{i}$ 'place', in -az 'в пользу, впрок (of profit/benefit to)' (lit. 'to the place'), {Wc.} $i\text{ }n$, $i\acute{n}$ 'Ort, Stelle' || OHg, Hg Δeny 'geschützter Ort, wo der Mensch und das Tier vor Wind, Regen, Schnee, Sonnehitze gedeckt sind' ¶ UEW 592-3, MF 156-7, Wc. W 59 || [2] U *-na/*-nā (or * $\acute{n}a$ /* $\acute{n}\grave{a}$) locative case ending ('in') > F $koto-na$ 'at home', $\acute{t}\acute{a}-n\acute{a}$ $p\acute{a}i\text{ }v\acute{a}-n\acute{a}$ '(in) this day', eF $echt\text{ }na$, Vo $zhtogo-na$, Lv $\acute{z}:\acute{d}\text{Ъ}-n$, Lv W $i':\acute{d}\text{Ъ}-n\sim\acute{u}':\acute{d}\text{Ъ}-n$ 'in the evening', Vo $tal\text{ }v\text{ }z-na$, Er $тельня$ $\acute{t}\acute{e}l\acute{i}-\acute{n}a$, Z $t\acute{z}l-i\text{ }n$, Vg N {Mu.} $\acute{t}\acute{e}l\acute{i}\grave{a}-n$, Hg $\acute{t}\acute{e}le-n$ 'in winter', Lp N {N} $\acute{h}\acute{a}r\text{ }ve-n$ 'in (during) the rain'; in Sm lges it has survived in forms with pronominal stems: Ne $\acute{t}ay-na$ 'there', Ng {Ter.} $t\acute{z}-n\acute{i}$ 'here, at this moment', $\acute{t}\acute{a}m-nu$ 'there, on that side', En $kunne$ 'where?', Slq Tz $ku-n$

id., as well as in adverbs: Slq Tz ūtī-n 'in the evening', taŋī-n 'in summer'; it is found within the pSm ending of loc. {Hl.} *-kən (> pSlq *-qən, Kms -ʕən, Mt {Hl.} -gən/-kən) ~ *-kana ~ *-kāne (> Ne T -χāna, En {Ter.} -χone, Mt {Hl.} *-gana ~ *-gana ~ *-kana ~ *-kānā) ¶¶ Coll. CG 286-95, Majt. SM 247-250, It. LFL ∇, Ter. NgJ 282-9, Ter. EJ 453, KHG 270-8, Hl. M 139-40

|| ¶ *īn ∇ '≈ hollow' > T *īn 'hole/lair of an animal' > OT {Cl.} i:n id., Tkm hīn (with a secondary h-) id., VTt θη ῥn, Bsh ῥn id., Chv йѣнѣ jьнѣ id., 'sheath (of a knife)', Yk īn 'pit' ¶ The length of the pT vw. requires explanation ¶ Cl. 166, Rs. W 172, DTS 209, 261, Ash. V 125-6, Fed. I 195-6, Jeg. 79, Pek. 938 || ?φ Tg: WrMc {Z} цнѣ 'straw-littered bedding place in a pigsty' ¶ Z 139 ¶¶ The WrMc cognate (if accepted) suggests pN *īnU or *ūn ∇ ¶¶ ≠ SDM 620 (pA *iū|úna|e 'pit, ravine' > T *iyn 'hollow, pit, lair' + unc.: Tg *uńi 'small river, brook' and M *h,oni 'defile, gorge'), SDM95 s.v. *I:n ∇ 'hollow, pit' ||| pA *-na/*-nā, locative ending: M *-na/ *-ne: [1] M *qoyi-na adv. 'in the rear, back' > MM [MA, HI] qoyina, [S] χoyina, WrM {MED} qoina, HlM хойно, Ord {Ms.} χoğno, Mnr H {SM} χuē'no id., [2] M *dotu-na 'inside' > MM [S] dotona, WrM {MED} dotuna, HlM дотно, [3] M *gada-na adv. 'outside' > MM [S] {H} ḡadana (= g|ṽadana), WrM {MED} gadana, HlM гадна, Mgl {Rm.} ṽadana, Dx gadane, [4] M *doru-na 'in the east' > MM [S] dorona id., 'east', [HI] dorona, WrM {MED} doruna, HlM дорно 'east', [5] *ṽörü-ne 'west, western side' (← 'in the west') > MM [HI] höröne, WrM örü-ne, HlM өрнө 'west, western side' ¶ MED 263-4, 343, 644, 954, BMR I 337-8. II 56, 58, IV 95, Pp. MA 306, Ms. H 91, 61, H 37-8, 55, 69, SM 177, Rm. M 28, T DnJ 115 || T: [1] *-n within the compound locative sx *-t'in / *-t'in / *-t'ün / *-t'un / *-t'in / *-t'in / *-t'ün / *-t'un in adverbs (→ adjectives and locative nouns): > OT tašdīn 'outside', küntün 'in the south', kēdīn, Chg [MA] keyin 'behind' | [2] *-ni in OT qa-ni 'where?' ¶ Gbn ATG 89 [§ 183], Cl. XLII, 633, 705, Pp. MA 306 || ? J: OJ -ni, ending of loc.-dat. (umī-ni 'in the sea') ¶ Syr. AJL 89-90 || | D *-in, *-n ∇ 'in' (loc. case ending) > OTm -in 'in' ||| OTl -a(n), -ni: perumatān 'in the west', bāraṇasi-ni 'in Benares'; possibly here also Tl -na, -n: Tl oḡḡu-na 'on the bank', lōn(a) ({Shanm.}: < *u|a-na) 'inside', {Sank.} inṭan 'at home' ||| NED: Mlt -no ~ -eno ~ -ino, Krx -nu(:), -nō 'in' ||| CD: Nk -in/-un/ -en/-n, Gdb -in/-un/-n 'in' ||| Knd -an 'in' ¶¶ Zv. CDM 28-33, An. SG 220-1, Subb. 156, DzG 726, Ptrn. 81, Shanm. DN 315, Sank. TED 145 ◇ Blz. IELA 5 [no. 4] (HS, IE *ʔen-i) ◇ D *-n ∇ 'in' points to pN *-n ∇ ◇ The existinf ev. of the N final vw. is controversial: S *ina, K *-na, U *-na/*-nā and the pA locative

ending **-na/*-na* suggest N **-a*, IE **eni* seems to suggest N **-i*, while Sl **-vъ* and **-vъn-* point to N **-ô*. A possible tentative solution: cognates with etymological **a* go back to an accusative form (with accusative in the meaning of locative), while IE **eni* (< **enü*?) and Sl **-vъ* / **-vъn-* point to the N word-final **-*-ô* ◇ IS I 11, IS MsN (s.v. **-na* locative), Coll. UA 10 (on endings in U and A), Schrđ. DU 101 (on endings in D and U), Gr. I 150-2 (IE **-en*, **-ne*, U, A [T, M, J, qu. Ko and Tg], Gil, EA), ≈ Gr. II no. 221 (**ena* 'inside') (IE, U + unc. Ko, J, Ai, CK, EA), ≈ Heg. MÜ 71-3 (U, A, D, HS, IE).

45. *ʔan̄ 'self, the same' > HS **ʔan-* > Eg OK ʔn, a pc. introducing the focalized nominal subject in a cleft sentence ¶ Lpr. 64-5 ¶¶ The initial component of aut. pronouns of the 1 and 2 persons: **(1)** HS **ʔan-āku* 'I' (emphasized) > Eg OK ʔnk 'I' (> Cpt: B/Sd **ANOK** anok, A **ANAK** anak) || pS **ʔanāku* 'I' [> Ak anāku, Hb ʔn̄k̄, Ph ʔnk ~ ʔnky, Ug ʔnk, (AkSc) ʔanāku(:), Amr {G} ʔanāku, Yd ʔnk] (Dk. JDPa 222, G OA 51, GB 53) || pB **ʔanakk̄* 'I' > Tw nāk, Kb nāw, Zng nīk, Sll, Tmz nakk, ASgr nāč ~ nāšš, SrSn nāk, Si nīš, nāš, Mz, Wrg nāšš, Nf, Izn nāč (Pr. M I-III 179, AiM 215, Fc. 1364, Lf. II no. 1090, Dlh. M 140-1, Dlh. Ou 226, Dl. 502, La. S 108, MT 485); **(2)** HS **ʔan-ī* 'I' > pS **ʔanī* (> Hb ʔn̄k̄, Ar NY T ʔanī [Bns. NJ I 71, map no. 31]) ~ **ʔana(:)* (> JA ʔn̄k̄, Sr E {Sl.} ʔenā = ʔānā [Sl. 143], Ar ʔanā, Gz ʔana etc., a secondary variant [probably on the analogy of 2m **ʔanta* 'thou' m.] or representing a special form for 1m sg., as in some Ar Y dialects opposing ʔan-ā m. and ʔan-ī f.), pS enclitic object prn. **nī* 'me' (> Hb, Aram, Ar, Gz -nī, Ak -ri) (GB 54, Dk. JDPa 222) || C: Bj anī ~ ane 'I' || Ag: Bln ʔan, Aw án; EC: Sml ani-ga, ani-gī, Rn àní, Or àna, Sa a'nu (-u from the case inflection of nomina [nom.?]), Sd ane aut. prn. 'I' || Dhl ʔání 'I' || SC: Irq ʔán, ʔanī, Brn, Alg an, ana aut. prn. 'I', Asa -ana 'my', ↳ Mb ání (AD SF 133-4, AD PP 69, E SC 283 s.v. SC **ání* 'I', Mous 112) | a subject prn.: Sml ān, Or àní 'I' (F AD SF 210-11); **(3)** HS **ʔant̄i* 'thou' (aut. prn.) > C: Ag: Bln ʔntí, Aw ʔntí, EC: Sml adi-ga, adi-gī, Rn àtí, Or átí, Sa a'tu (-u from the nominal case inflection), Dhl ʔátt̄a 'thou'; C ↳ Mb ʔátt̄a 'thou' (F E SC 282, AD SF 133-4, PG 40) || S **ʔanta* 'thou' m. (> Ar ʔanta, Hb ʔat̄ā, Amr {G} ʔatta, Gz ʔanta, Ak at̄ta) and **ʔanti* 'thou' f. (> Ar ʔanti, Hb ʔatt̄a, Gz ʔantī, Ak at̄ti); in S the distinction between pronouns of m. and f. is either an innovation (probably due to the influence of **ka* 'thee, thy' m. and **ki* 'thee, thy' f.) or a HS archaism: **ʔanta* m. < **ʔant̄i*-a (with a HS masc. pc. **-a*, surviving in the 2m forms of the Bj verb,

as well as in Mb ʔǎ́t'a 'thou', possibly a former masc. form that lost its gender meaning (Dk. JDPa 222, G OA 54-5, GB 78) || Eg fOK ɪnt-k 'thou' m. and ɪnt-ɕ 'thou' f. (restructured by adding personal sxs: -k 2m, -ɕ 2f) (Lpr. 65, Ed. 79-80) ¶¶ AD PP 69 || U *on|he - *on|ha (= {Jn.} *oni and *onā) > pSm {Jn.} *ānъ 'self', used with ppas to form reflexive personal pronouns: Slq Tm on-āk 'myself', on-āntī 'thyself', on-tī 'himself, herself' etc., Ng ɲonəɲə 'myself', ɲonəntə 'thyself' etc. ¶ Jn. 18, KHG 290-3, Ter. NgJz 428 || A *onE 'self, same, only' > OT U onā 'precisely, exactly'; NaT *on > OT ʕn {Cl.} (= on?) 'desolate, uninhabited', OT [MQ] {DTS} on {DTS} 'right (dexter)', ET ončä 'одинокый, уединенный', SR 'richtig (верный, правильный)', Tkm on 'благополучный, удачный', CrT, Kr, QrB, Qzq, Nog. Qq, Qrg, ET, StAlt, Xk, Tv on, VTt, Bsh un, Yk unə 'right (dexter)' ¶ NaT *-n may go back to *n before an ancient velar cns. of a sx ¶ Cl. 170, TT5 32 (note B 80), Nj. 107, DT S 367, ET Gl 456-60, Tkr 489 || M ≈ *önü kü ({SDM} *önü-) 'that (very), the same' (× M *ene kü 'the same') > WrM {MED} ʕnū-ki id. (e.g. WrM ʕnūki kerəg 'that very matter'), HLM {MED, BMR} ʕnəəx, Brt ʔnəəxi 'the one in question, that very (thing or person)', Kl {Rm.} ünūkn 'gerade dieser, gerade hier, nur dies' ¶ MED 316, 639, BMR III 29, Chr. 507, KW 458 || pJ *znz 'self, the same' > OJ {S} ono, onore 'self', onaʒi 'the same', MJ ʔnərə, ʔnəʒí 'the same', J T ʔnore, J K ʔnóré, J Kg onoré 'self (myself, oneself, yourself)', J T ʔnaʒí, J K ʔnəʒí, J Kg onaʒí 'the same' ¶ Mr. 507, S QJ no. 1483, Syr. DJ 92-3, Kenk. 1445-6, 1448 ¶¶ OT ʕ|ʔn 'desert' (Cl. 168: 'desolate, uninhabited, desert', but in the text the only meaning is 'desert') hardly belongs here (for lack of reliable semantic connection) ¶¶ SDM 1056-7 (pA *onhe 'same, self, lonely' > T *on, M, J), DQA no. 42, Oz. NM 62-3 ◇ AD PP 91 ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 333 (*ana self') (Sm, J + qu. Hg).

46. *ʔäyṇā or ***ʔäyṇEṇā** 'nothing, there is no...' > **HS**: S (or WS) *ʔayn- ~ *ʔin- > BHb ʔayin 'non-existence; not, no', ʔēn 'there is no...', M'b ʔn, Ug ʔin [*ʔēnṽ] id., Ar ʔin 'there is no...', neg. pc.: ʔin ʔal-ḥukmu ʔillā-liḷḷāhi 'there is no judgement except for (belonging to) God', ? Ak ʔānu 'is not' (unless from ʔayyānu 'where?', 'where from?'), Gz ʔan- '(there is) not, do not', neg. element in: [1] 1s ʔanbī 'I am not in a position to...' (literally 'there is not in me'), 2m ʔanbāka 'you (m. sg.) are not in a position to...' etc., [2] ? ʔandāʔī 'I do not know' ¶ KB 40-1, KBR 41-2, OLS 37-8, L G 27-8, ≈ L NP ∇ (hyp.: Ar ʔayna ← ʔin 'verily, indeed'), ≠ Br. G II 500 [§ 253], 577 [§ 370o] (hyp.: the negative ʔayna ← ʔayin 'where?'),

Sd. 414 || Eg ĭn, adv. within the Eg N neg. construction bn ... ĭn, Cpt Sd/B **AN** an, Cpt A/L/F **EN** en, component of the neg. construction an ... an ~ en 'not' ¶ EG I 90, 456, Vc. 11 || **A** *äna 'not', neg. verb > T *ä_Ln ({SDM} *en) 'do not' (prohib.) > Chv aH id. ¶ Fed. I 43-5, Jeg. 27, Jeg. SChJ I 45, Fed. I 43-5 (all of them: Chv aH ← pPrm *en prohib. [> Z, Vt en]) || Tg *ana 'there is not, without' > Orc, Ul ana 'there is not', Lm āη 'not having, without', Ork ana, anā, anaʁa, Nn Nh/BK {STM} anā id., 'there is not', Nn {On.} anā 'not, without, there is not' ¶ STM I 41, On. 39 || pKo *àn- 'not' > MKo àn(í)-, NKo an(i)- '(is) not' ¶ S QK no. 62, Nam 334, MLC 1068 || J: [1] pJ *ina-m- ~ *ìnà-b- v. {S} 'deny, decline, refuse' ({S} *ìná 'nay, no' [disagreement]) > OJ inam- ~ ìnà-b- {S} id., J T inam- {Kenk.} 'refuse, decline'; [1a] ?φ J {SDM} *nà- (negation) (× N *ñi 'not') > OJ na 'lacking, non existant', J Kg na-ká, J Ns né-, J Sh nē- {S} id., J T náĭ, J Kt nàĭ 'there is no...'; J T ná-, J K/Kg nà- {SDM} 'lacking, non existant', StJ {Kenk.} nai 'there is no' ¶ S AJ 267 [no. 56], S QJ no. 56, Mr. 424, 697, Kenk. 614-5; 1308, [2] ? pJ *-(a)n- 'not' (verbal negation) (× N *ñi 'not', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 300-1 (pA *āni 'not', negative verb > Tg *a(n)- [for *ana], T, J, Ko). DQA no. 74, S AJ 95-6, 277 [no. 54], SDM95 s.v. "*ana 'not', neg. verb", Vv. JKT 3 || **U**: FU: pPrm *en prohib. > Z, Vt en, Yz 'in (unless it is a form of the Prm neg. verb *e- [{LG} *ē-] with an enigmatic *-n) ¶ LG 331 || **E**: MEL, NEL, AchEl in-ni, AchEl in, NEL, AchEl in-na 'not' ¶¶ HK 757-8 ◇ Blz. E no. 78 (E, HS) ◇ ITg *a- of the first syll. may be explained by regr. as. (especially if the N etymon is *ʔäyñā) ◇ The origin of S *-ay- still needs investigating.

47. *ʔANṢṢ (*ʔANṢṢ?) ≈ 'ē foot' > **HS**: Eg fOK ĭnṣ.t 'calf of leg, shank' ¶ EG I 99, Fk. 24 || ?σ S *°✓ʔnš > Ug ʔnš 'muscle, sinew' ('músculo, tendón') ¶ OLS 41 || B: Ah ti-nse 'foot (of animals), toe', Kb t̥i-nsa pl. 'sabots des bovidés; pattes cuites de bovidés' ¶ Fc. 1415, Dl. 576 || NrOm: Dz: Mj {All.} àšū, {All.} āšū, {Fl.} aššū, Na {AY} ʔāšū, {Fl.} ašo, Shk {Fl.} ašus 'foot' ¶ All. PhD 341, AY WShND, Fl. OWL || Ch ≈ *ʔaṣṣ (Nw.'s *asṣ) 'leg, foot' > CCh: MsgP {Mch.} azṣ, pl. àṣzī: 'leg' | Suk {IL} náṣ, {Mk} nās 'leg' || WCh: SBc: Tala asṣṣ, Zul ʔàsṣmè, Plc asṣm, Gj àsàṣ, Buli àsṣṣ, Tule ʔasṣṣ, Zar GL {Sh.} yàsàṣ, Zar L yāsṣṣ, Zar K sàṣ, Sy Z yàsṣṣ, Sy B yàsṣṣ, Sy Zk ṣāsṣṣ 'leg', Wnd ʔásṣṣ 'leg, foot' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} àsè, Mgm {J} ʔásín, ?? Mkl {J} zíná (pl. zón) 'foot, leg', Jg {J} ʔìsìntó, pl. ʔísán, Brg {J} ʔísìṣ 'leg', Mu sìn, pl. sàṣè 'leg, foot', Kjk sìn 'leg' ¶ JI II 220-1, Nw. 81, ChC s.v. 'leg' and 'foot', ChL, Sh. SB 25, Al. KTU 247 || **D** *anča 'foot, footprint' > Tl anca 'foot, footprint, step, stride', (× D *aṣṣa > N *ʔARČA 'trace'): Tl ajja 'foot,

footprint', Kt a₃ 'footprint', Td o₃ 'step', Tu a j æ 'footprint, track, trace' ¶¶ ≈ DED App. no. 6 (deriving the D root from InA p a d y ā 'footsteps', / Tu. no. 7778) || **A:** Tg (att. in NrTg) *asi- v. 'track (game)', *asi-lga 'footprint, track' (unless it is *xasi- and *χasi-lga) > Ewk asi-lga 𐤀 ašī-lga 'track (of an elk)', Lm asb-ʿ 𐤀 asb-lgb- 𐤀 asa-lga- v. 'find the tracks', asb-m- 𐤀 asa-m- id., Neg asī--lga 'track (of an animal)' ¶ STM I 56 ◇ Blz. L no. 100a (suggesting to add Dz).

48. *ʔaṇ, ∇, š ∇ '≈ friend(ly), favorable, useful' > **HS:** CS *✓ʔnš > Ar ʔns ʔns G (ʔanis-a / -ʔnasu) v. 'be polite\kind\social', ʔanisa bi- 'have an intimate connection with', ʔanisa ʔalā 'become acquainted and familiar with', ʔibnu ʔinsi-ka 'thy intimate friend', ? Ug {A} ✓ʔnš G v. 'be friendly', D 'freundlich hegen, besänftigen', ʔnšt 'Freundin' ¶ Fr. I 64, A no. 319, ⇔ OLS 41 (alt. interpretation of Ug ✓ʔnš as 'languidecer, ponerse enfermo; ponerse lívido\enfermo [de ira]') || **IE:** NaIE *ans- v. 'be favorable' ({P}: 'wohlgeneigt, günstig sein') > Gt a n s t s (- χάρης) 'Freude, Dank, Gnade, Gunst', OHG a n s t 'goodwill, grace, thanks', u n s t 'favor', AS æ s t 'Gunst, Gnade', ON á s t, ó s t 'favor (Gunst), love' || Gk ἀπ-ηνής (< *ἀπ-ανσής) 'unfriendly', προσ-ηνής (< *προς-ανσής) 'gentle, kindly, soft' ¶ WP I 68, P 47, EI 198 (? *h⁴ens- 'be gracious to, show favor'), F I 121, Fs. 53, Vr. 16, Kb. 33, 1104, EWA I 265–7, Ho. 244 || **A:** T *as 'advantage, use, benefit' > Yk as id., Chv ʔc us 𐤀 oc os 'use, benefit'; d. T *as-Iʔ 'advantage, profit, benefit' > OT asIʔ, Chg asIq, Tk as i, Uz Δ {Jr.} ass i, Tv ašIq id., Chv ʔc ā u z 𐤀 𐤀 z 𐤀 'use' ¶ Cl. 244–5, DTS 60, Rs. W 29, ET Gl 196–7, TL 344–5, Bu. I 48, Rh. 131, Ash. III 295, 300–1, Fed. II 290–1, Jeg. 277 ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 75: S, IE.

49. (2?) *ʔiṇ ∇ š ē 'person, man' > **HS:** S *ʔinaš- 'person, man' (pl. *ʔinaš- + pl. ending [bearing the stress]) > Hb ʔiṇ ʔiṇ 'man (vir), husband, human being' (< **ʔiṇš- < *ʔinš- < S *ʔinaš-), pl. ʔiṇāš-īm 'viri, homines' (< S accus./gen. pl. df. *ʔinaš-ī-ma), Ph ʔš, Pun ʔš, ʔʔš ([Plt.] ʔš), DA, Yd, IA ʔš 'man (vir)' Yd nš ʔ (pl. cs.), OA pl. nš n, Ug nš m, (AkSc) {Hnr.} naš-ūma 'men, people', Ug derived v. ✓ʔnš 'mannhaft sein, sich ermannen', Ar ʔns ʔns- 'hommes, genre humain' (coll.), 'ami', ʔnsān ʔns-ān- 'person' (-ān- is a sx of singulatives); d.: coll. WS *ʔunāš- 'homines' > BHb ʔiṇ ʔiṇ 'Menschen' (coll.), Ug ʔi nš 'people (gente)', JA ʔiṇ ʔiṇ ʔiṇāš id., Sr ʔiṇ ʔiṇāš, em. ʔiṇ ʔiṇāš-ā id., JEA {Sl.} ʔiṇāš ʔiṇāš 'man; people (gente)', SmA ʔnš ({Tal} = ēnāš) 'people, men', Ar ʔns ʔns

ʔunās- ~ ناس nās- id., Tgr 𐤎𐤍𐤔 ʔanas 'man'; another d.: Ak nīš-ū 'Menschen, Leute' ¶ KB 41-2, 68, KBR 43-4, 73, HJ 115-21, A no. 319, Hnr. 155, Sl. 120, OLS 41, Lv. I 115, Tal 52, Br. 31, LH 371-2, Sd. 796, DRS 26 || B: Ah {Fc.} ʔynās (pl. eynāsən) 'young man' ¶ Fc. 702 || C: Ag *n∇s-/ *nūs- 'man (vir)' > Bln {R} (derived adj.) nəs-āuχ 'männlich', ʔφ Xm {R} ās-aû ~ ās-ô id. || ʔφ EC {Ss.} *ʔis- 'self, oneself' (× N *yi 'he' or *h'i 'iste' [or 'hic'] + N *s|šEw∇ 'oneself, self', q.v. ffd.) ¶ R WB 285, R Ch. II 28, Ss. PEC 35, 54, Ss. B 107, Bl. 17 || NrOm: Anf {Gt.} rušē, GeMa/HzMa {Fl.} nūšē 'husband' ¶ Gt. 357, Fl. ML || WCh: Ron: DfB {J} nīs, Bks {J} nūs- 'brother' ¶ J R 145, 219, 388 || U: FU (in FV only) *in|nše 'person' > eF inhe-minen, inhi-minen, inih-minen, F ihmnen (genitive ihmisen), Δ inehmo, inehminen, inehmino id., Es inemine, inimine id. | Er inže, Mk inži 'guest' ¶ UEW 627-8 || A: ʔσ Tg: WrMc {Z} əwə 'husband's younger brother' ¶ WrMc ə- for the expected ɪ- is puzzling (infl. of the Lallwort factor?) ¶ Z 72 ◇ Blz. L no. 106a (suggesting to add cognates from Ah, NrOm and Ron), Blz LNA no. 1 (suggesting to add Ah and NrOm).

50. *ʔ∇nt∇ (or *ʔ∇nt∇?) 'he', relative 'he who, that which' (in descendant lges: → a sx of participles and derived nomina) > **HS:** B *ʔu|inta (? ~ *n∇tta) > Ah {Fc.} ʔnta aut. pron. 'he, she, it' (f. ʔnta-t 'she'), ETwl/Ty {GhA} ʔnta aut. pron. m. 'he, it', Kb, Wrg, Tmz, ASgr, Shl, Si natta id. (f. natta-t 'she') ¶ Fc. 1422, GhA 151, MT 503, Ds. 173, Ds. AS 235, La. S 254, Bs. E 98, D'āl. 579, Dlh. Ou 228 || S: Gz ʔanta rel. prn. f. 'who, that which' (reinterpreted as f. due to the cns. t), ʔ Tgr {L} ʔət ʔanta 'while she is', Har intē 'she is' ¶ L G 33 || C: Ag sx of n. ag. *-a'nt∇: Bln {R} -əntā (pl. -əntī), e. g. fə'd-əntā 'seaman', ʒi'b-əntā 'seller', ku'w-əntā 'murderer', Aw {Hz.} -tánti (f. -tánt-a), e.g. dibs-tánti 'talker' (← dibs- v. 'talk') ¶ R BilS 662, Hz. NSA ¶¶ ≈ JB PrB 109, L G 33 (Gz ÷ B) || **IE** *-ent-/ *-ont-, sx of participles: NaIE *-ent-/ *-nt-/ *-nt-, sx of active present participles, e.g. *bhero-nt- 'carrying' > OI bharant-, Gk m. φέρων (gen. -οντ-ος), L ferēns (gen. ferent-is), Gt baírand-s, OHG beranti, ChS БЕРЫ berī (gen. БЕРѦЩА berqšta), Tc: A -nt-, B -ńc-, sx of pres. act. participle (Tc A aśant-, Tc B aśerica 'transporting'); NaIE *s-ent-/ *s-nt- 'being' > OI 'sant-, Gk D'έντ-ες id. (Gk f. έντ), L prae-s-ens (gen. -ent-is) 'present' || Ht -ant-, sx of active prtcs of vi. and that of pp. of vt. ¶¶ The Gk forms of prtc. ntr. ὄν, m. ὦν (gen. ntr./m. ὄντ-ος), f. οὖσα 'being' are contractions from Gk Ep ntr. ἐόν, m. ἐών, f. ἐοῦσα (< IE *(e)s-ont- ← *es- 'be'), unless they represent IE **ont- (monomorphemic

stem of a prtc. without verbal $\sqrt{\text{V}}$) ¶¶ Mer. SGA 361-2, Brg. KVG 315, Bks 249-50, Kron. VLFH 210, Krs. T 44 || U: Sm {Jn.} *-ntä, sx of active prtc. and n. ag.: *ilä-ntä 'living, alive' (← *ilä- v. 'live') > En X {Cs.} iředde, En B {Cs.} jiredde, Slq MO/UO {Cs.} ilndi, ilnde, Slq NP {Cs.} ilandie, Ne Т иленя, илена, Ne Т Sy {Lh.} yil'e'ń'e, Ne {Cs.} jilene, jilena id., Mt {Hl.} *il3ndä id. ({Mll.}: Mt T/M ilinde, Mt K illende 'vivus') || FU nominal derivational sx *-nt√ > [1] deverbale: F etsintä n. act. 'searching' (← etsi- 'look for'), perintö 'heritage' (← peri- 'inherit'), syönti n. act. 'eating' (← syö- 'eat') | Lp N r â ġ â ċ 'season of mating (of reindeer)' (← r â k k â- v. 'mate') | Vt чыпет čipet 'dam, pond' (← čip- v. 'dam'), думет dumet, Z Δ домод dom3d 'bridle, rope' (← Vt dum-, Z US dōm- v. 'tie, bind'); Vt -t and Z -d < pPrm -d < FU *-nt√ | [2] denominative: Z cōhōd s3n3d 'sinewy, brawny' (of men, draught animals) (← s3n 'sinew'), F isäntä 'pater familias, head of the household' (← isä 'father'), Hg apród 'page (teen-ager)' (← apró 'little') ¶¶ Sz. 85, Coll. CG 269-70, U 92f., LG 291, Bd. UNA § 33 A, Jn. 27, Cs. 24, Ter. 142, Lh. 127, Hl. M 252-3 || A: T *-nt'i/*-nt'i, sx of participles (acc. to Shch.) or deverbale adjectives: OT aqindi 'flowing, running' (of water) (← aq- v. 'flow, run'), ũđrũ-ndi 'chosen, select' (← ũđrũ- 'choose'), Osm öründü ~ öründi 'chosen', OT ekindi tarıx 'sown millet', itindi neŋ 'ein weggestoßenes Ding', MT [IM] siqindi 'juice' (sc. 'sth. squeezed out'), StAlt salinti 'freedman'; the sx was metanalysed (by Cl.) as OT -n-di/i, sc. -n- of refl. verbs + di/i of deverbale n./adj. ¶ Shch. GTVT 121, Cl. xliii, 67, 70, 77, 88, Rh. 24 || D *-√ñt√, sx of gerund > Tu -ondu, Kdg {An.} -añđt, Mlt -ondu id., OTm {An.} seyxinđũ 'having done, while doing' (≠ An.: < seyxũ + inđũ ← seyx- 'do' and il- 'be [some-where]'), Mlt, Gdb {Bh.} -ondi (verbal adj.) ¶¶ An. SG 301, An PTS 145-50, Bh. O 46 ◇ IE *t suggests N *t, while D *t (apparently pointing to N *t) requires explanation; Gz ʔ- (in pronouns) may go back to N *ʔ- or *h-, but the absence of traces of N *h- in IE provides clear ev. for N *ʔ- ◇ Gr. I 182-6 ("participle NT" in IE, F [← Coll.] + qu.: Gil marker of predicate -đ and err. IE 3p *-nti).

51. (2?) *ʔaŋo 'ē snake' > IE: NaIE {WP, P} *ang^whi- ~ *ang^wi- 'snake' ({EI} IE *haeng^whis [gen. *haŋg^whejs] 'snake') > L anguis 'snake' || Lt angis, Pru angis id., Ltv ôdze 'adder, viper' | pSl *qžb > OR ѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ 'ē snake', R ѡѡ, Cz, Slv ѡžovka 'grass snake', P ѡăž, Slv vōž 'snake' || Arm ođ ôž (< aųž) 'snake' || OIr esc-ung 'eel' ('water snake': esc 'water',

ung < *ang^whō), W llys-yw-en 'eel' || OHG unco 'snake' ¶ The OHG and L forms go back to a variant *ang^wi- ¶ The NaIE stems *eġhi- and *e/oġ^whi- (> Gk ἔχιδας 'adder, viper', ὄφιδας 'snake', OHG egala 'hedgehog', Arm իժիճ 'snake, viper' [gen. iž'i], W eouđ 'sheep worms', OI ahih, Av ažiš 'snake') should be kept apart (⇔ Dv) ¶ WP I 63, P 43-5, EI 530, WH I 48, SB 15, LP § 310, YGM-1 319, 468, Frn. 10, Tp. P A-D 86-7, Vs. IV 150-1, Srz. III 1167, Chrn. II 285, Mikl. E 223, Kb. 1093, Slr. 134-5, 305-6, Dv. no. 843 (IE *(n)g^wh- 'snake, worm') || HS: Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl.} *ngwo 'snake' > Su {J} ṇwō, Ang ṇgwo, Cp nwo | ? Hs Skt/Z gānwo 'a coiled snake, coil of rope' || ?? CCh: Ms {Mch.} gwi, {J} gúyda || ECh: ? Ke hññí 'snake' ¶ Stl. VZCh A no. 183, ChC s.v. 'snake', ChL, J S 78, Ba. 354, Abr. H 293-4, 302, ≈ Stl. ZCh 218 [no. 681] || S: Ar ʔaym- 'serpens, viperae mas', {Fr.} ʔīm- 'a white thin snake' (or a general name for 'snake') ¶ Fr. I 76, DRS 1 || ?? K: eNG {SSO} anḱara 'small snake', NG {AxT, DCh.} anḱara 'grass snake (y*)', {Chx.} 'blind worm (Blindschleiche, *Anguis fragilis*)' (← ?) ¶ This NG word makes a phonetic impression of being a loanword. In any case, its cns. k and the final element -ara remain puzzling ¶ AxT 21, Chx. 28, DCh. 40, SSO I 57 ◇ N *-ṇ- is reconstructed on the ev. of IE *-ng^wh-, WCh *ngwo- and S *-m-.

52. *ʔayno 'marrow, brain, soft fat of animals' (→ 'to smear, to anoint'), a variant rec. of a N word instead of *Xayno (= *h|Xayno) id. (which is more plausible) (see below 2600).

53. *ʔäṇ|g▽ 'chin' > HS: Eg P ĩn, Eg Md ĩn.t 'chin' ¶ EG I 94 || Ch: WCh: SBC: Bg {Grgs} ṇa id. || CCh: Ngs ("Ghvoko") {Srp.} riēn id. | ZmD {Srp.} nyān id. ¶ JI II 76-7, ChC s.v. 'chin' || U {UEW} *äṇ▽ 'chin' (× N *Xāñ'ā'k▽ 'jaw, palate') > pPrm {LG} *aṇ- 'jaw' > Vt an 'jaw', aṇges, Δ aṇdes 'chin', Z an 'palate', Z Ud andlas, aṇlas 'gum' || Sm {Jn.} *äṇ, {Hl.} *äṇoy 'chin' > En X {Cs.} eu, StNe T нянцу ꞑаꞑу 'jaw', нянцу мал 'chin', Ne T O {Lh.} ꞑāꞑu, Ne F {Lh.} ꞑāꞑu 'chin', Slq MO {Cs.} d. aṇaj 'Hals', Slq Nr {Cs.} aoí 'Kinn, Hals', Kms {KD} o'ṇoṇ 'Kinnlade', Koyb oṇoṇ 'cheeks', Mt {Hl.} *öṇö|üy 'Kinn, Backe' (Mt: K {Mll.} öṇgoi, M {Mll.} óṇgui id.) ¶¶ Coll. 3, ≈ UEW 25-6 (U *äṇ▽; *÷ Os *äṇan 'chin', Vg K iṇan id. etc., sc. ObU *īṇna < FU *īke,ne, 'palate, gums, jaw'), Ht. no. 14, LG 32, Sm. LM 27 [no. 23] (*÷ Sm *äṇ 'mouth'), Jn. 20 (hyp.: Sm *aṇ 'chin' ← Sm *äṇ 'mouth'), Lh. 309, Cs. 231, Ter. 355, KD 49, Hl. M no. 813 (misprint öṇūj for öṇüj) || A: [1] NaT *æṇ 'cheek' ({SDM} *ēṇ, {DQA} *āṇ, {ADb.} *eṇ) > OT {Cl.} äṇ, {ADb.} eṇ 'cheek, face', MQp/XwT XIV {Cl.} äṇ, {ADb.} eṇ id.,

Chg {ADb.} еη 'cheek(s), appearance', Tkm āη, Az әнж äng 'jaw', {Rl.} 'sides of the lower jaw', ? Osm XIX {Rl.} еη, Tk ен 'complexion', Qmq еη id., 'cheek', Tk Δ енк 'place of juncture of jaw bones', VTt инлек in-l'ek 'румяна, rote Schminke', Yk iη 'cheek, high color of the cheeks', Qrg ен 'scrofula' || [2] pA *āηæk ▽ ≈ 'jaw, chin' (× N *Xäñ'â'k ▽ 'jaw, palate', q.v. ffd.) > T *äḷḷηæk 'chin, jaw' ({DQA} *äḷḷäk, {ADb.} *eḷek) (acc. to Cl. and Gbn it is T *æḷη with the dim.-restrictive sx *-äk, / Cl. xli, Gbn ATG § 57) > OT äḷeḷäk 'jaw, jawbone, chin', OOsM XIV, Chg XV {ADb.} eḷek 'chin', MQp {ADb.} eḷek ~ enek 'chin, jaw', XwT {ADb.} eyek 'chin', eḷek 'jaw', Tk ene ~ enek 'jaw', Slr enek, VTt iyäk, Brb inäk, Bsh ыүäk, Nog, Qzq, Qq iyek 'chin', Uz engak, Δ äḷäk 'chin, jaw', StAlt ээк ēk 'chin, lower lip', Qrg ээк ēk id., 'jaw', SY iḷek 'jaw', ET iḷäk 'chin, jaw', Nog, Qq iyek, VTt ияк iyäk, Qzq иек, Bsh ыүек, Chv аһа 'chin' ¶ Cl. 166, 183, DTS 174, Rl. I 714, ET Gl 284-5, TL 218-19, Tkr 790, TatR 170, ARL. 131, DTS 174, BT 195, Ash. I 241, Fed. I 45 || Tg: WrMc {Z} энгэ 'beak', ds: {Z} энгэлэ - 'высовывать нос\голову', энгэчи ~ энгичи 'за носом, за спиною' ¶ Z 65, STM II 457 ¶¶ ¶¶ SDM 310-11 (pA *ēḷa(k' ▽), DQA no. 434 || pJ {S} *ánk- 'jaw, chin; gills' > OJ agíí, agíitopíí, ItOJ [RJ] ágító {S} id., MJ ágí, ágító id., J T agito {Kenk.} 'gill (of a fish)', agó 'jaw, chin', J K àgô, J Kg ágo 'jaw, chin' ¶ S QJ no. 163, Kenk. 9 ¶¶ SDM 510-11 (pA *ēḷa(k' ▽) 'chin, jaw' > T *ēḷ [i.e. *æḷη] 'cheeks; jaw, chin', Tg, J).

54. *ḡanq'í '≈ breathe' > HS: S *✓ḡnχ > Ak ✓ḡnχ (inf. anāχu) v. 'sigh, sing an inχu 'song (song of sighs, moaning)', Ug ✓ḡnχ v. 'moan', {OLS} adj. ḡnχ 'quejumbroso', BHb ✓ḡnḥ N ḡḡḡḡ neḡ'naḥ 'he groaned', JA ✓ḡnḥ (pf. ḡḡḡ ḡ'naḥ) v. 'sigh', Sr ✓ḡnḥ v. 'moan'; in Ar ✓ḡnḥ نَجْ v. 'sigh' the irreg. ḥ (instead of χ) is due to the onomatopoeic associations of this root ¶ DRS 25, CAD I/2 105-6 and VII 148 s.v. inḥu, OLS 38, Sd. 49, KB 68, KBR 72, Sl. 144, Br. 28 || IE *H₂anH₂χ- (> NaIE *anə-) v. 'breathe' ({EI} IE *^h_Aeh₁-mi), d.: NaIE {P} *anə-mo-s 'breath, wind', {EI} IE *^h_Aenh₁-mos 'breath' > OI ani-ti '(he) breathes', 'anilah 'wind' || Gk ἄνεμος 'wind', ?? ἄνέω 'winnow (grain)' (unless < *Fav-, cp. ἄνω id.) || L animus 'spirit, soul' || Clt {Matas.} *anamón 'soul' > OIr anim id.; Clt {Matas.} *anatlā 'breath' > OIr anál, Brtt {RE} *anatl- > MW anadyl, anadl, W anadl, Cm anal, MBr alazn, azlan, Br anal, alan 'breath' n.; cd.: Clt {Matas.} *owxs-anatā n. 'sigh' > OIr osnad, MW uchenaid, uchenaeid(iau), MBr huanat, Br huanad id. || Gt uz-anan (ἐκπνεῖν) 'aushauchen' || pSl *(v)óna

~ *(v)onĭb 'odor' > OCS **ВОНЯ** vonja 'ὄσμή, fragrance, запах', OR **ВОНЯ** vonja 'odor', Cz **vonĕ** 'fragrance, pleasant odor', Slv **vonja**, SCr **vonj**, P **won** 'odor', Blg **воня**, R **вонь** 'stench', ⇨ pSl inf. *(v)onĭati vi. 'to smell, to emit odor' > OCS inf. **ВОНЯТИ** vonjati id., SCr inf. **vonjati**, Slv inf. **vonjati** 'to emit odor', Blg **воня** v. 'stink', R inf. **вонять** 'to stink (of)', Cz inf. **voněti** 'to be fragrant', P inf. **wonieć** id., 'to smell (emit odor)' || pAl {O} *anγ > Al: G **âj**, T {Kf.} **ěj** 'I inflate, I swell, I blow' ('πρήσκω, φουσκώνω'), {Ç} **âj**, T **enj** v. 'swell' || pTc {Ad.} *āñčlāme > Tc A {Ad.} **āñcām** (obl. **āñm-**) 'soul', Tc B {Ad.} **āñme** id., 'self, inner being' (< NaIE *anā-mo-s) ¶ WP I 56-8, P 38-9, EI 82, M K I 33-4, WH I 49-50, StSS 121, F I 41, 105, Vn. A 73, Fs. 538, My. 5, BFU 127, Kf. 38, 97, Ç I 171 and II 380, O 91, RE 84-5, Ad. H 33-4, Ad. 40-1, Glh. 67, Chrn. I 165, Matas. E 34-5, 302-3 || ?φ **K**: it is tempting to adduce Sv: L/UB **qan** 'smell, запах', UB/L/Ln {TK} **qan-** (msd.: UB/L **liqāne**, Ln **liqane**, LB **liqne**) v. 'smell (of sth.), smell (sth.)' (TK 485, 880, Dn. s.v. **qan**, GP 190), if this is a mt. from the expected K *anq- || **U**: FU (att. in FL) *aŋe- 'feel\smell', *aŋe spirit, ghost' (× N ***hAwŋ** 'sense, mind, soul', q.v.) > F **aave**, Δ **āvia**, **hāve**, **hoave** 'ghost; presage, omen', Δ **aavaita** v. 'feel\smell sth.', Es {W} **avistama** 'erkunden, erkennen' | Lp I **vũŋŋež** 'spirit (water spirit, wood spirit, incumbent, gnome etc.)' ¶ SK 3-4, W EDW 56 || **A** *aŋki- 'emit an odor' > M *aŋgi- ~ *aŋki- id. > Ord **aŋgi-** 'sentir, exhaler une odeur; puer', HLM {BMR} **анхим** 'fragrant'; M *aŋgi-l- ~ *aŋki-l- > WrM **aŋgil-** ~ **aŋkil-** {MED} v. 'emit an odor', HLM **анхила-** {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'emit a pleasant odor, Wohlgerüche ausströmen', Brt **анхил-** ~ **ангил-** v. 'emit an odor', Kl {Rm.} **aŋk]** ~ **āŋk]** v. 'stark riechen', d. Ord **aŋgilga** 'odeur' ⇨ Yk **aŋilγ-** v. 'spread' (of an odor) ¶ MED 44-5, BMR I 115-16, Chr. 52, 54, KW 12, Ms. O 25 || NaT *aŋkilā- v. 'emit an odor' > Tkm **aŋqa-** v. 'emit a bad smell', Nog **aŋqı**, Bsh **aŋq̣b-** v. 'be fragrant, emit an odor', VTt **aŋq(ɔ)-** v. 'be fragrant', Tbl **aŋq̣b-** 'einen starken, betäubenden Geruch haben', VTt **aŋq̣t-** id., Qzq **aŋq(ɪ)-**, Qq **aŋqɪ-** 'spread' (of odor), Qrg, ET **aŋqi-** v. 'be emitted' (of a pleasant odor); NaT *aŋkil- v. 'gasp for breath, moan' > Qzq **aŋqil-** {Rl.} id., **aŋqil** 'Gestöhn, Japsen', Qrg **aŋqilda-** v. 'whine' (of a dog) ¶ These T words or some of them may be Mongolisms (which is suggested by their absence in OT texts) ¶ Rl. I 186, Rs. W 21, Jud. 59, MM 61, Nj. 44, TkR 45, KrkR 44, NogR 43, TatR 50, BR 43 ◇ IS I 261 adduced Eg OK **ʕnħ** v. 'live' (← v. 'breathe', acc. to IS's conjecture), which is qu. for phonetic reasons (Eg **ʕ-** is not cognate with S *ʔ-), see N ***ʕiħ, ʕq** 'live'

◇ Blz. IELA 19 [no. 76] (S, IE + unk. Eg 𐤒𐤍𐤕 v. 'live') ◇ Cf. IS I 261: HS (S, Eg), IE, ? K ◇ Cf. Gr. II no. 49 (*ana 'breathe' > IE, EA).

55. *ʔaŋga 'to open', 'opening' (esp. 'mouth'), 'entrance' > **HS**: S *^o✓ʔŋg > Ar 𐤒𐤍𐤕𐤁 / 𐤒𐤍𐤕𐤁𐤁 G (ʔanağga / -ʔniğgu) 'enter' ¶ BK I 60, Fr. I 63, DRS 25 || ʔφ C: Ag {Ap.} *ʔʒnk- 'open, undo' (× N ʔσ *X∇Nk∇ (= *XANka?) 'to untie, to open' [q.v. ffd.]) × N *ñEko 'to open (?), to bare, to uncover?' || Ch: (1) ECh: Kbl {Cp.} hānğǝ́ v. 'open' | (2) ???φ Ch *w∇ŋ, {Stl.} *wan- v. 'open' > WCh: Su {J} wánŋ, Fy {J} wànŋ id. || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} wúnŋ, Gzg D {Lk.} won id. || ECh: Mu {J} wín, {Stl. ← ?} wen, ? Kwn {J} welé, Mkl ʔòʔiné id. ¶ JI II 264-5, ChC s.v. 'to open', ChL, J S 87, Stl. IF 229 (Ch *wan- possibly from *h∇wan- or *wan∇h-) || **IE**: NaIE *^oʔaŋg_Lh_L- > Lt angà 'opening, aperture, orifice', {Frn.} 'Tür-, Fensteröffnung' ¶ ≈ Frn. 10 || **U**: [1] U *aŋe- 'opening' (UEW: 'Öffnung, Einschnitt, Vertiefung') > pLp {Lr.} *vōŋʒs 'Maulkorb, muzzle' > Lp N {N} vuoŋâs / -gŋ- 'halter or band on the muzzle of a dog (to prevent it from biting reindeer)', Lp L {LLO} vuoŋastī- '(einen Hund) mit Maulkorb versehen' | pMr {Ker.} *oŋb- ⇨ *oŋb-ks- (~ *ovbks) > Er pl. oŋkśt, Δ oŋkśt ɖ oŋśt ɖ oykst, Mk oвoст, oвoстb ovaśt '(Gebiß am) Zaum' | Prm {LG} *ŋm 'mouth' > Vt +m, Vt Kz ɜm 'mouth, opening, mouth of a river', Z BOM vom id., Z US ŋm, Z Ud vɜm, Prmk ɜm, Yz ŋm, gen. 'ŋm-ñŋ 'mouth' || pOs {Ht.} *ōŋ ({Hl. *ũŋ}) 'mouth, opening' > Os: V ōŋ, D oŋ, O uŋ 'Mund, Mündung (einer Reuse, einer Flasche, eines Flusses u. a.)' | Hg Δ aŋ ɖ áŋ 'Kerbe; Tal, Schlucht', Hg aŋak 'lips', OHg fēl-aŋ-z- 'aufspreizen' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *ǣŋ 'mouth' > Ng ŋaŋ, En X {Cs.} êʔ (= ēʔ), En B {Cs.} naʔ (= naʔ), Ne T {Ter.} ня' náʔ [náʔ] / няҥо- náŋo-, Slq Tz {KKIH} ŋk, ŋŋ, {Prk.} ǎk, ǎŋ, Kms {KD} aŋ· 'mouth', Mt {Hl.} *ǣŋ 'mouth' (Mt: K {Mll.} ōŋg, M {Mll.} ǣŋg id., T {Mll., Adl.} ǣŋgde 'his mouth') || pY {IN} *aŋa 'mouth' > Y: K/T aŋa 'mouth', aŋ-í 'opening' || [2] FU *aŋa- v. 'untie, open' (UEW: 'lösen, öffnen, aufmachen') (× N ʔσ *X∇Nk∇ 'to untie, to open', q.v.) > F avaa- v. 'open' (UEW: 'öffnen, ausbreiten, erweitern'), Es avā- v. 'open' (W: 'öffnen, aufmachen') | pMr *aŋb-ćā- v. 'open an ice hole' > Er aŋkśe-, Mk aŋćā- id., Er aŋksema aŋkśema, Δ aŋkśima ɖ avśima, Mk aŋcema aŋćama, Δ aŋćima 'ice hole' || pObU *ūŋk- ~ *īŋk-, *ūŋkat- ~ *īŋkat- v. 'take off (clothes)' > pVg *īŋk^ω, *īk^ωt- > Vg: T ā'ŋk-, LK āŋ^ωx-, MK ɛŋk^ω-, P aŋk-, NV ɜŋk-, LL ɛŋk^ω-, ɜŋk-, Ss āŋx^ω- id., LK/P axt-, MK/UK/SV ɜx^ωt-, NV ɜx^ωt-, ɜxt-, LL ɜxt-, ML āxt-, UL āx^ωt- v. 'peel'; pOs *iŋk- ɖ *aŋk-, *aŋat- v. 'take off' > Os: D/Nz/Kz

eŋx-, K aŋx- id., V/Vy aŋət-, Ty iŋət-, Y ɤŋət- id. | OHg ód, Hg old- 'undo, untie, unbind, unfasten, loosen' ¶¶ UEW 11-12, Sm. 542 (FU *ǣŋi 'mouth' > FP *aŋi, Ugr *ǣŋĩ), LG 62, Lr. no. 1447, Lgc. no. 8789, Ker. II 34-5, 100-1, Lt. J 202, Jn. 20, Ht. 127-8 [no. 47], Hl. rHt 71, KKIH 144, Hl. M no. 76 (misprint: ǣŋ for *ǣŋ), IN H 106, IN UJ 215, ≈ Rd. UJ 34 [no. 3] (Y <- U) ¶ Acc. to Jn. 20, U *aŋe- (= {Jn.} *aŋ-i-) 'opening' possibly <- U *aŋa- v. 'untie, open' || A *aŋa- > NaT *a_lŋ-, *a_lŋ_lk_lay- 'be wide open' > OT Kr [MhK] aŋil ač_uq 'wide open', Qq, Qrg aŋqay-, Qzq aŋqiy-, Tv aŋyay-, Xk, Yk aŋay- 'be wide open'; ?σ Shor {Rl.} 'ein Riß im Flintenrohr' ¶ ET Gl 154-7, TkR 46, Rl. I 185 || M *aŋ 'crack, gape' (the absence of any Auslaut vw. still requires explanation) > WrM {MED} aŋ, HlM {MED, BMR} aŋ(ɣ) 'crack, chink, cleft, fissure, crevice; ravine', Kl {KRS} aŋ aŋ 'crack, chink, cleft', {Rm.} 'Loch, Riß, Ritze, Spalt', Ord aŋ 'crevasse', <- : Mnr E {MYC} aŋgī 'crack, cleft, chap, crevice'; M *aŋa-yi- v. 'be wide open' > WrM {MED} aŋgāi-, HlM {MED, BMR}, Brt aŋгай- v. 'open up, be wide open', Kl {KRS} aŋha- vt. 'open (wide), move apart', vi. 'gape' (рас-от-крывать, зиять; раздвигать), {Rm.} aŋgā- 'offen sein, eine Ritze haben; sich spalten; offen stehen, zu offen sein', Mnr H {SM} aŋg_e- 'être ouvert, se crevasser, se fendre, ouvrir', Dg {T} aŋgayi- vi. 'open (раскрываться открываться), gape', Dx aŋgzy- 'open one's mouth, gape', ShY aŋgi- id., Ord aŋgā- 's'ouvrir, être ouvert, ouvrir la bouche' ¶ MED 43, BMR I 106, 108-9, Chr. 52, KRS 44-5, KW 11, SM 9, MYC 111, T DgJ 121, Ms. O 25-6 ¶ Not here M {IS} *aŋ 'be thirsty' (actually M *haŋq|qa-), see N *hamga 'dry, thirst(y)' || Tg *aŋa- vt. 'open' > Ewk Ucr aŋa- 'open (a door)', Lm āŋa- vt. 'open', (× Tg *aŋa 'mouth [of animals], пасть'): Ewk, Neg aŋa- id.; Tg *aŋa 'mouth, mouth of an animal (пасть)' > Ewk Ald/Y/Ucr aŋa id., Neg aŋa id., Sln {Iv.} aŋgāi 'mouth', WrMc {Z} aŋга 'mouth, mouth of animals', Mc Sb aŋə 'mouth' ¶ STM I 38, 45, Z 16-17, Y no. 27, Md. ChF 124 || ? Ko aŋ- in aŋ-sjəl-p^hi- v. 'be wide apart, be separated/scattered' ¶ Rm. SKE 11-12 ¶¶ IS: *÷ M *ama(n) 'mouth', Tg {Bz.} *aŋma (sc. *am_la_lŋa) 'mouth' and T *am 'vulva'; for their et. see N *'g' am ▽ 'mouth' ¶¶ SDM 304 (pA *āŋa- 'hole, crack, gape' > Tg, M) || D *aŋk- v. 'open the mouth wide, gape' > Tm aŋkā v. 'open the mouth', Tu aŋgāv- v. 'yawn, gape, open the mouth', aŋgu- v. 'open the mouth, be seized with a fit of yawning', Klm aŋgasi, Nkr aŋgāśi 'a yawn', Gnd aŋl-/aŋl- & aŋg-/ aŋg-, Mnd aŋlā- v. 'open the mouth', Prj aŋalp- v. 'gape, open the mouth wide', Kui aŋali āva/giva id., aŋgalanga 'with mouth agape', Ku aŋgala'- v. 'gape, open', Krx aŋglnā,

apayeⁱti 'reaches (erreicht)' || OL ap-ō, apiō 'I attack', L apīscor 'I
 grasp, reach', cō-ēp-ī (later cōepī) 'I began' || Gk Hm ἅψάω ~ ἅψάω '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' || ?φ AS æfna, éfnan v. 'hold,
 sustain, endure' (unless from éfnan 'ausführen, vollbringen') ¶¶ Pv. I-II
 273-82, P 50-1, EI 563, Mn. 29-30, 246, Dv. no. 333, M K I 76, M E I
 167, WH I 57-8, F I 126, Ho. 88 || ?φ K: GZ *up- v. 'possess, own' > Mg p- v.
 'possess', 'be X to so.' (where 'X' is a kinship term), a-p-un 'he has
 him/her'; ds: OG up-a1- 'Lord', G s-up-e∇a 'Herrschaft, Reich', supe∇- v.
 'dominate, reign', GZ *me-up-e 'owning, owner' > OG meupe ~ mepe 'king',
 G meupe 'Lord' (of God), mepe 'king, ruler, tsar' (→ mep- v. 'reign,
 dominate'), Mg mapa- 'king', Lz n. l. mapa-çkari 'King-source' ¶ K 186, K²
 120, 196, FS K 310, FS E 346, Chx. 756-7, 1296, Q 278 || ¶ A *aP∇- v. 'take,
 hold' (× N *q'æ' p'∇ '↑') > M *ab- 'take' > MM [LM, MA, IM] {Pp.}, [IsV]
 {Lg.} ab- 'take', [S] {H} ab- 'für sich nehmen', [IM] {Mel.} app-, [HI] {Ms.,
 Lew.} ab-, WrM {MED} ab-, HIM {MED, BMR} ава- 'take, grasp, get hold
 of', MMgl ab- 'take, receive', Brt аба-, Kl, Dg {Pp.} aω-, Ba {Y} ab-, Mgl
 {Rm.} af- 'take', Mgl {Lg.} ab- ∂ af- 'enlever, obtenir', Mnr H {SM} aω-
 'prendre, ôter', {T} aωū- 'take', Mnr M abū- {T} id., Ord ab- 'prendre,
 enlever, ôter, acheter, recevoir, obtenir' ¶ Pp. MA 94, 432, Pp. L II 1254, H
 1, Ms. H 33, Lew. II 7, Lg. VMI 14, MED 1, BMR I 18-22, Chr. 21-3, Iw. 8, SM
 1, T 313, T BJ 132, KRS 23, KW 19, Ms. O 1 || Tg: [1] Tg *°ap∇- v. 'hold,
 possess' > Ork apuçī- v. 'hold, have the power (держать, иметь власть)'
 ¶ STM I 47 || [2] Tg *abgu- > Neg abgu-, Orc ābu- take off (a cauldron) from
 above the fire', Ud agbu- id., 'take out (from a river)', Ul agbumbu-, Nn Nh
 {On.} agbi-mbo-, Nn Nh/KU {STM} agbi-mbogo- 'take out (достать,
 вынуть)', Lm abgi-n-, Ul, Ork agbun-, Nn Nh agbiáčī- 'appear' ¶ STM I 3-4,
 On. 25 || T *abuç 'handful' > OT XI [QB], XwT XIV, OOSm ≥xiv авуц, MQp
 XIV аωуц, Tk авуц, Ggz avuč, Az, Tkm oωuč, CrTt aωuč, ET aωuš, Qzq,
 Qq, Nog uωis, VTt yч uć, Bsh us, Qrg ūć, StAlt ūš, Xk ōs id., Chv ывăç
 Iωbś, Chv Δ ывçă ∂ yçă ∂ yç id., {Ash., Fed.} 'hand (кисть руки)' ¶ ≈
 Cl. 44, ET Gl 409-10, ADb. SR 179-81, Ash. III 49-50 and 312-13, Fed. II
 469, Jeg. 342, ChVS 286 ¶¶ SDM 309-10 (pA *ap∇ 'take' > T, M, Tg *abgu-
), DQA no. 47 (T *abuç 'handful'), KW 19, Pp. VG 44 ◇ IS SS 345 [no.
 10.10] (IE, A + err. Eg χfς 'grasp' and ζ Ar ✓ χfς 'seize'). But Eg χfς

actually belongs to N $*q^{\text{r}}\text{æ}^{\text{p}}\text{f}\nabla$ 'seize, hold' (q.v.), and Ar $\check{\chi}\text{f}\text{f}$ does not mean 'seize' $\diamond \approx$ Gr. II no. 40 ($*e\text{p}$ 'bind', incl. IE, Gil $e\text{p}$ - 'hold').

58. *ʔêp̄∇ (= *ʔêp̄∇ʔ) 'mouth' (→ 'speak') > HS **ʔ∇p- > S *'p- 'mouth' (df. forms: nom. *'p-u-m, accus. *'p-a-m, gen. *'p-i-m; forms without determiner [→ cs.]: nom. *'p-u > *'pū, accus. *'p-a > *'pā, gen. *'p-i > *'pī) > Hb 𐤒𐤍 'pē (< gen.), cs. pī, st. pron. pī- (e.g. pī-kā 'your [m. sg.] mouth'), Ph, Pun st. pron. pū-, Pun cs. pū, Ug p, Amr pū, OA, IA p, p m, BA 𐤒𐤍 p u m, JA 𐤒𐤍 p ū m ā, Ar indf. fam-un (generalization of the pS form of accus. *'pam; more archaic forms were registered by an-Naḍr ibn-Shumayl: nom. fum-un, accus. fam-an, gen. fim-in, F Wright I 239), cs. nom. fū, accus. fā, gen. fī, Sb f, Ak pū m, cs. pī, st. pron. pī- ¶ KB 864-6, AD PhSS 1, 3-4, 7-8, AD PSH 20, 123, Sk. 889-90, Hff. 254, HJ 916, 1263, BGMR 43, Sd. G 84-86 [§ 65, esp. § 65i], ≈ MiK I no. 1.223 (*pay- 'mouth') || C {AD} *ʔap-/ʔapp- 'mouth' > Ag: Bln {R} ʔab 'mouth', pl. ʔafaf; Ag → Gz ʔaf 'mouth' || Bj {R} yāf, Bj A {AD} yaf 'mouth' || EC {Ss.} *ʔaf- id. > Sa, Af af, Rn āf, Bn {Hn.} āf, Sml af, Sml N {Abr.} āf, pl. āfāf, Or B {Anr.} āf-āni, Kns af-ā, Sd, Ged, Alb af-o id., Hd af-oʔo 'hole', Kmb {L} afo 'language', Brj af-ay 'mouth', Dsn ʔafu id., 'language' || Dhl 'ʔafu 'mouth' || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔafa (pl. afē), Alg/Brn {E} afa, Kz {E} afuko, Asa {E} ʔafok 'mouth', → Mb {E} aféta 'doorpost' ¶ AD SF 135-6, Ss. PEC 19, 51, Ss. B 23, Bl. 99, Abr. S 5, Hn. BD 118, PG 61, Oo. 70, PH 33, E SC 281 (SC *ʔáfò 'mouth'), MQK 9, To. DL 477, To. D 127 || Om: SOm {Blz.} *ap̄p̄- 'mouth' > Dm ʔappo, Ub afa, Hm ap, {Fl.} afu, Hm B āpo 'mouth' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 78 || Ch: WCh [1] *ʔap- > Hs áfà v. 'throw into one's mouth', [2] ? *ʔ∇p̄w∇ 'mouth' > AG: Su {J} p̄w̄, {ChL} p̄w̄, Ang p̄, Gmy {ChL} p̄, Cp {ChL} p̄ id. | Ron {J}: Fy fo, DfB fò(h), Bks fū id. || ? CCh: Lmn {Lk.} éwé 'mouth', Mdr {Mch.} uwe, bwe, {Eg.} wé, {ChL} we, Dgh {IL} úwè, {Frk} wúwè id. ¶ JI II 244-5, J S 79-80, ChL, ChC s.v. 'mouth' ¶¶ AD PSH 40, Sk. HCD 2 || A *iP∇ 'mouth; say' > pKo *íp 'mouth' > MKo íp, NKo, Ko Ph/Chs/Chj íp, Ko Hm i_p id.; MKo ìp̄h̄- v. 'recite' ¶ S QK no. 56, Nam 406-7, 409, MLC 1363 || pJ *íp- v. 'say, speak' > OJ {S} íp-, MJ íp-, JT yù- ~ {Kenk.} iu-, JK yú-, J Kg yú-, J Sh í- ¶ S AJ 267 [no. 64], S QJ no. 64, Mr. 700, Kenk. 659-61, 2235 || NrTg *ipk∇- > Ewk ipku-, ipkz- v. 'order, nötigen', Lm ipkən- v. 'aufhetzen (подстрекать), lure' ¶ STM I 322 ¶¶ SDM 589-90 (pA *ip̄h̄i|e 'mouth', 'say' > T, J, Ko), DQA no. 606, S AJ 111, 277 [no. 62], Mr. KJ 249 || ?σ D (att. in SD) *ēv- v. 'speak, say' (→ v. 'command') (N *ɿaw y∇ 'shout, speak?') > Tm ēv (ēv i-) v. 'command, speak', Ml ēkuka v. 'say,

command', $\bar{e}\bar{v}al$ 'command, work', $\bar{e}\bar{v}alan$ 'a servant', Kt $e\bar{v}$ 'matter, affair', $e\bar{v}ga\bar{r}n$ 'a servant' ¶ D no. 909 ◇ The N cns. $*-p-$ (rather than $*-p-$) is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of AG $*p$. The etymologically uncertain D supposed cognate with $*-v-$ does not prove the opposite (that the N cns. was $*-p-$). The A word points to a N $*i$, while D $\bar{e}-$, C and WCh $*\bar{v}a-$ suggest a more open vw.; this discrepancy still has to be explained (cp. N $*\check{c}ikU$ 'base of limbs (shoulder, hip)' [$\rightarrow$ 'thigh'] > D: Tm $cekil$ 'upper part of the shoulders', Kn $tegal$ 'shoulder').

59. ${}_2 *p_a \approx$ powder, dust, small pieces of dirt' > HS: S $*\bar{o}p-p-$ > Ar $\bar{p}uff-$ {Hv.} 'dirt of the ears\nails', {Ln.} 'dirt, filth, dirt of the nails; piece of stick\reed which one takes up from the ground' ¶ Ln. 67, Fr. I 42, BK I 39, Hv. 10 || Eg $\bar{p}p\bar{t}$ 'earth, clay for bricks' ¶ Mks I no. O243, Os. 723 [note 850] || WCh $*\bar{v}pt\bar{v}$ 'powder' > SBc {Stl.} $*\bar{v}pt_i$ 'powder' > {ChL} Bg $\bar{v}pt_i$, Gj $\bar{v}pt_i$, Sy $\bar{v}pt_u$. | Ngm $\bar{v}pt_i$, Krkr $\bar{v}pt_i$ | Bd $upt\hat{a}n$ id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 263 [no. 33] || A $*o_p a$ 'powder' > NaT $*o_{\bar{v}}pa$ id. > OT {Cl.} $op\bar{o}$ 'a white cosmetic or face powder', {DTS} ubu 'white lead, Bleiweiß', Shor {Rl.} oba 'chalk', Tlt {Rl.} obo 'chalk, white color (weiße Farbe)', Uz, ET, Qrg upa , Qzq, Qq opa 'face powder', Qq opa id., 'white paint (белила)', Qmq oba 'ceruse', ET Δ {Jr.} upa 'paint, face powder, a white powder\ paint for cosmetic purposes', {Mng.} opa 'weiße Gesichtsschminke' ¶ Cl. 6, DTS 603, Rs. W 363, ET Gl 465-6, Rl. I 1155-9, 1782, MM 261, Sht. 153, KrkR 496, KumRS 240, RKumS 48, Jr. 323, Mng. G 764 || M {Rm.} $*o\beta a$ (unless it is $\approx *p\beta a$?) 'powder, face powder' > WrM {Rm.} oo, oga, ogo 'Reispuder, Schminke', {MED} 'poeder (in general), face powder', HLM oo {MED} id. {BMR} 'Pulver, Puder, weiße Schminke', Kl {Rm.} $\bar{o}$ id., {KRS} $oo \bar{o}$ 'powder, face powder', WrM {MED} $ou \sim o \sim oua$, HLM {Luv.} id., HLM {Gl.} ou 'white lead', WrO {Krg.} $\bar{o}$ 'face powder, cosmetic', Ord $\bar{o}$ 'fard blanc' ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 90, MED 625, BMR II 383, Krg. 105, Luv. 303, KRS 399, KW 292, Gl. I 205, Ms. O 505 || Tg $*upa$ 'flour, (flat) bread' > Sln $u\bar{v}\bar{o}$ 'bread', Orc, Ork upa 'flour; flat bread (лепешка)', Ul upa , WrMc {Z} $u\bar{v}a$, Mc Sb $u\bar{v}a$, Jrc $u\bar{v}a$ 'flour' ¶ STM II 247, Z 175, Kiy. 126 [no. 531] ¶¶ SDM 1058 ($pA *op'a$ 'powder' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 1578 (id.), ADb. KL 14 (id.), Rm. EAS I 90, Vld. 210, Pp. VG 48, 123, 147.

60. ${}_2 WW? \approx *p\bar{v}p\bar{v}$ 'monkey' > IE: a word reconstructible as NaIE {P} $*ab\bar{o}(n)-$ 'monkey', but most probably spread by borrowing: Gmc: ON api 'monkey, fool', OSx apo , OHG $affo m., affa f.$, NHG $Affe$, MDt ape , Dt aap , AS apa 'ape (*Pongidæ*)', NE ape ; Gmc $\rightarrow$ OR $on\bar{v}a$ $opica$, OCz

οπίε 'monkey, ape' || Clt: Gl {P} *ἄββάνας 'long-tailed ape' (from Hs.'s gloss ἄβράνας [emendated by Schrader as *ἄββάνας] · Κελτοὶ τοῦ ε κερκοπιθήκους) ¶ P 2-3 [hyp.: *abō(n) is a loanword], EI 384, Vr. 11, Ho. S 3, Ho. 6, KM 8, EWA I 58-60 || **HS:** Ch {Stl.} *ṛī'pukī 'monkey' > WCh {Stl.} *ṛīpṽkī 'baboon' > Krkr {ChL} yifkī, Cg yipək-3n id. || CCh {Stl.} *ṛṽpukī 'monkey' > {ChL:} McTr: Bk fušī, G'nd fíčà, Gbn fíčè, Mrg pčū, Kps pšī, ? FIM vīžī, ? Lmn {Lk.} vžžī, Nkc vīkéy, Gv vīč-χadzya 'monkey' ¶ Stl. IF 34, ChC s.v. 'monkey' || ??? B: CM, Izd abaγus, Zng {TC} äbugär 'monkey' ¶ Mrc. 236, NZ 85, TC D 4.

61. *ṛäP'h'i 'bake, cook food on hot stones' > **HS:** S *ṛpy v. 'bake' > BHb ṛpy/ṽ (pf. ṛpā, ṛpā), OA ṛpy v. 'bake', IA, Ph ṛpy, Ug ṛpy/ṽ id., v. 'cook', JA ṛpy (pf. ṛpā ~ ṛpā) v. 'bake', Sr ṛp (pf. ṛp) ṛpā, Sr E ṛpā v. 'bake, cook', Ar d. mīfā-n 'Backofen', Sb ṛpy-m (a kind of foodstuff), Ak ṛpy/ṽ (inf. epū) v. 'bake' ¶ KB 75, KBR 78, HJ 94-5, A no. 350, OLS 45, Sk. 155, Br. 39, Lv. I 140, Js. 102, CAD IV 247-8, Sd. 231, BGMR 3, DRS 28 || ?φ,σ Eg ṛbχ {Mks} 'brûler, cuire' ¶ Mks I no. 0034, Os. II 814, note 1962 (ṛbχ vt. 'verbrennen'), Crn. 514 (ṛbχ 'verbrennen'), BnH (ṛbχ 'kochen') || Ch: WCh: Pr ápō v. 'bake' ¶ Frz. P 200 || **IE:** *χχ|χepH₂x- v. 'cook, bake' > Arm եփեմ ep'hem 'I cook' || Gk ἑψω id. (s0-present), pp. ἑψτός 'baked' (the Gk word belongs here unless Gk h- goes back here to IE *s-), ? ῥπτός 'roasted, baked' || ??σ.φ Ht happin(a) 'open flame' ¶¶ The semantical-ly dubious connection with Ht happin(a) cannot determine the identity of the pIE lr. ¶¶ IE *χχ|χ- remains perplexing ¶¶ WP I 124 and P 325 (both: reconstructing *epH- or *eps-), EI 88 (connecting Gk ῥπτός with Ht and reconstructing IE *h₃ep- 'roast'); F I 431 and Sl. 445 (both reconstructed IE *sepH-); Ch. 394, Hofm. 101, Mn. AIE 165 || **ṛ** *ṛPṽ (= *ṛPā?) 'bread, food' > NaT *ṛṽp- v. 'bake (?)' in OT [MhK] äp-māk ~ äpāk 'bread', Az әппәк äppäk, Δ äpmäk; ⇨ ≈*ṛṽpṽṽ > VTt ipī, Bsh. äpāy id. ¶ Cl. 8, 12, DTS 175, Rl. I 919, 925, TatR 172 || ?? M *aγaḡṽ (< **aβaḡṽ) > WrM aḡaḡ, {MED} aḡa 'bran of cereals', HLM aḡa {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'chaff', Brt aḡaḡa(ḡ) ~ aḡaḡa(ḡ) 'oat flour', Dg {T} āḡa, {MD} āhe 'bran', Ord āḡ 'les déchets de la décortication du millet; son' ¶ MED 12, BMR I 3, Chr. 16, 18, T DgJ 118, MYC 90, Kry. 175, Ms. O 6 || Tg *epe(-n) 'cake (Fladen)' > Ewk 3w3di, Ul 3p3(n-), Nn KU 3p3 id., Nn Nh 3p3 {STS} id., {On.} 'лепешка', Sln {Iv} o'ḡo ~ u'ḡon ~ u'on ~ 3'w3n 'bread', WrMc {Z} эфэнь '(baked) bread, pancake (блин)', Mc Sb {Y} ʔeʔan 'Manchu bread', {Mrm.} 'Brot, Gebäck' ¶ STM II

436 (pA *ep'ò), On. 533, Z 90, Y no. 364 || ??φ pKo *páp 'food' > MKo páp, NKo pap ¶ Yu 370, Rm. KED 734 || pJ {S} *зрз-мззз 'food' > OJ {S} op(ω)о-моно 'food' ¶ S QJ no. 1388, ≈ Mr. 509 ¶¶ SDM 514 (pA *ep 'ò 'bread, food' > T *epey [i.e. *æ̌:̌pæ̌:̌y], M, Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 441, S CNM 4 || **D** (in McTm) *av̌i- v. 'be boiled\cooked' > Tm av̌i id., av̌ai v. 'cook, boil', Ml av̌iyuka v. 'boil on fire, be digested' ¶ D no. 268 ◇ Cf. Bru. no. 35 (S, IE), Bm. TPN no. 209 (S, IE), AD rTPN 94 (S, IE, T, D). The Arm and Gk √ belongs here only if it goes back to IE **χ_x|χ̌ epH_oχ- (rather than to *sepH_oχ-) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 77 (*ep 'cook\food') (IE, A, CK, qu. J, err. Ko, U).

62. (₂?) *ʔ ∇ q ∇ 'thing(s)' and prn.\n. of plurality > **HS**: Eg fOK ǐχ.t 'thing, something', Eg MK/N, DEg ǐχ 'what?' (← *'(which) thing?', like It cosa 'what?' < che cosa 'which thing?' [< cosa 'thing']] > pCpt {Vc.} *ōχe > Cpt: Sd/B ащ ащ, F ещ ещ, Aεε̌ eχ₂ 'what?'; Eg ǐχ.t-nb.t 'all things, everything' ¶ EG I 123-4, Fk. 29, Er. 41, Vc. 20 || **E**: MEI -h-, marker of pl. in verbs: {Rnr} 3p [-h-š-] ↔ 3s [-š-], 2p [-h-t-] ↔ 2s [-t-], e.g. {Dk.} kuš i-h-t(ə) 'you (pl.) build' ↔ kuš i(a)t(i) 'you (sg.) build', kuš i-h-š(i) 'they build' ↔ kuš i-š i 'he builds' and probably also kuš i-h-h(u) 'we build' ↔ kuš i-hu 'I build' ¶¶ Dk. JDPa 101, Rnr EL 76 || ??φ **K**: Sv -χ-, marker of 3p (agens of vi. and patiens of vt.): q̌əle-χ 'they say' (↔ q̌əle 'he says'); marker of pl. in the 2nd and 3rd person of object: ž i-χ ał-χ 'you (pl.) know' (lit. 'to you it is known') (↔ ž i-χ ał 'thou knowst' [lit. 'to thee it is known']), χ o-χ ał-χ 'they know' (↔ χ o-χ ał 'he knows') ¶ Dt. 65-6 ◇ Sv -χ- for the expected -q- may be connected with the phenomenon of phonetic weakening of affixes (cp. the obligatory deglottalization of glottalized phonemes in affixes and pronouns in S).

63. (₂?) *ʔ ū|uʔ qʔ yé 'night, dark hours' > **HS**: ? Eg fMK ωχ 'night, evening', Eg NKL/Md ωχ v. 'be dark' (of a night, [μφ] of the condition of a sick person) ¶ EG III 352, Fk. 67 || B ✓ ʔhy ({Pr.} *✓ h₁h₂y) > Ah, Tnsł tihay, Twł tihay ~ šayyay, Ty tihay ~ tiyay, Gh čihay 'ténèbres' ¶ Fc. 544-5, Nh. 210, GhA 207, Pr. H 73 [no. 444] || Ch: {JS} *✓ ywn ~ *✓ wn ({JI} *✓ ywn) 'sleep' > Ngz yù wàn 'spending the night; period of 24 hours' etc. (× N *ǰawʔoyʔ ∇ 'spend the night, sleep', q.v. ffd.) || **IE** *°HeuȞ- / *ȞweȞ- / *ȞwoȞ- > NaIE *au- / *awē- / *awō- v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep' (× N *ǰawʔoyʔ ∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || **U**: FU *üye 'night' > F yö, Es öö id. | pLp {Lr.} *iyz > Lp: S {Hs.} jījje y+yye ɖ yiyye, U {Schl.} jījja, L {LLO} i dja, N {N} i ggjâ, Kld y+y y id. | Prm {G} *öy id. > Z воӢ voy, Z US oy 'night, 'north', Yz ū y (gen. 'ū y-ʌn), Vt yӢ uy, Vt SW ū y 'night' || ObU {Ht.}

*yīy 'night' > pVg *yī > Vg: T/NV yī, LK yī, yi, MK/UK yi, P yiɣ, SV/LL ī id.; pOs {Ht.} *yēy ({Hl. *yīy} > V yēy, Vy ēy {Trs.} id. | OHg éj (~ é ~ í), Hg éj id. ¶ Coll. 127, Coll. CG 415 (FU *üye), UEW 72 (*eye [*üye]), Db. OS xxx (*üye), Lr. no. 241, Lgc. no. 1555, Hs. 787-8, Schl. 73, LG 60, SZ 56, Lt. J 202, Ht. 140 [no. 172], Hl. rHt 71, Trs. S 91, MF 730.

64. *ʔar∇ (and *ʔaʔr∇; or both variants from *ʔaʔr∇) 'earth, land, place' > **HS: [1]** Eg fP ī3.t 'place, site (Ort, Stätte)' (× N *ʔuī∇ 'soil, foundation, earth') ¶ EG I 26 ||| **[2]** +ext.: HS **ʔar∇ĉ- 'earth, land': S *ʔaraĉ- id. > OAk arṣatu(m), Ak erṣetu 'earth, land', BHb ʔṛṣ 'ʔerεç id. (paus. ʔṛṣ 'ʔāreç, pl. ʔṛṣu 'ʔārā'çōt), Ph ʔrṣ, Ug ʔrṣ, (AkSc) ʔarṣu, OA abs.\cs. ʔarṣ 'ʔarṣ, em. ʔarṣ-ā, JA em. ʔarṣ-ā, Sr em. ʔarṣ-ā, abs.\cs. ʔarṣ, Ar ʔarṣ, pl. ʔarṣu-ūna id. ¶ KB 87-8, A no. 420, OLS 51-2, Sl. 170-1, PS 397, CAD IV 308-313, Hnr. 110, DRS 33-4; on the ev. of the posttonic *a / AD SNSE 76, AD PSH 92, 94; on OA ʔṛ / AD AR ∇, AD PSH 31-2 || Ch {Stl.} *ʔariĉ- 'earth' > WCh *ʔHriĉ∇ 'earth' {Stl.} > (1) NrBc {Stl.} *ʔHriĉ∇, {Tk.} *ʔriĉ- 'earth, ground' > Sir {Sk.} r3ĉú, {IL} ìrĉí, Mbr riĉi {Sk.}, rĉú {Sk. in ChC}, Cg hĉé {Sk.} id., P' {MSk.} rĉá 'earth, ground, country', (2) ?? SBc {Sh.}: Kir aĉ, Tala áĉi, Gj ʔaĉi, Buli ʔaĉ, Tule ʔaĉi, Dw ʔāĉ, Zar K/GL yāĉ, Zar L yāĉ, Sy B/Z yāč3, Sy Zk yāč3 'earth', (3) (??) Stl. ZCh 236 adduced (with a query) Su ɖĭgĭr 'land' (which she draws back to *ɖĭhĭr presumably mt. from *✓Hrĉ) ||| ECh {Stl.} *ʔiraĉa (mt. of vowels) > Bdy {J} ʔĭràɖà 'valley' ¶ JI II 116-17, J S 64, Stl. IF 199, Stl. ZCh 236 [no. 830], Sk. NB 19, Sh. SB 23, Tk. NB 178, ChC s.v. 'earth' ¶¶ The element *-ĉ- of the HS stem is likely to go back to a sx or to the second component of a cd ¶¶ OS no. 54 (HS *ʔariĉ-), Tk. PAA 20 (S, NrBc) || **IE: [1]** *Ĥer- ({EI} *hĭer-) 'earth' > NaIE *er- (*er-t-, *er-w-) id. > Gk ἔρᾱ* 'Erde' (att. ἔρᾱ-ἔε 'to earth, to the ground', Gk D ἔρᾱ-σδε id.) ||| pGmc *erō > OHG ero, AS éar 'earth'; pGmc *erθō (*erþō) > Gt aírþa ('ṣñ) 'Erde' ON jqrð, OHG erda, NHG Erde, AS eorðe 'earth', NE earth ¶ P 332, EI 174, F I 646-7, Ch. 363, Ho. 85, 93, Fs. 25-6, Vr. 295, KM 171, EWA II 1146-8 ||| **[2]** NaIE *ārō- 'open space' > L ārea 'an open or level space' || Lt óras 'outdoors; air, weather', {WP} id., 'freier Himmel', Ltv ârs 'outdoors, open air', âra 'outdoors', ārā 'out of doors' ¶ WP I 79 (*ārō- 'das Freie, Weite, Raum' [unsicher]), ≈ Frn. 518, WH I 65 || **U:** FP *ar∇ 'lowland, (?) low place, riverbed' > F arō 'vallis inter colles, locus demissior herbidus; Tal, Anger, Steppe; gras-bewachsenes Tiefland, kleines Tal', Es {W} aru 'fruchbares, trocken gelegenes Land, trockene Wiese' || ??

pPrm *^rq^r- > Vt N {UR} ur-kirēm 'ravine' (kir- 'break through, erode, wash away'), Z k3ž-3r3m 'old riverbed in the bend of a river' (k3ž 'bend of a river') || ? ObU: Os V ur†, Os D urə 'riverbed', pVg *wūr▽y- > Vg: T orāy, LK oray, P wuray, Ss ūray id. ¶ Coll. 72 (BF, Os), SK 24 (BF, Os), UEW 17 (BF, ObU), LG 207 (Prm, Os + some other less plausible comparisons), UR 310, Ht. 196 [no. 712] || **A** *a₁:r▽ 'open space' > NaT *āra 'locality; space\distance between two places' > OT bu āra-da 'in this locality', ara-miz-da 'among us'; in later T lges (Tkm āra etc.) it is used in the meaning 'space between two objects, interval, middle': Tkm āra 'distance, interval', Tk ara, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Tv, ET, SY ara, Uz ara id., Yk āra 'way between two points' ||] ?? T ds: T *a₁:ral 'island, a forest close to water' > Qzq, Nog, ET, Qrg aral, SY ayal 'island', Bsh aral 'small island', StAlt aral 'shrubs close to a river or lake; island; forest'; *arig > Sg/Qb/QK {Rl.} arıy 'island in a river', Shor {Rl.} arıı 'island', Yk arī 'island, wooded island, grove'; acc. to Pp. TLM 38, T *a₁:ral → M *aral 'island' > MM [MA, S] aral 'island', WrM {MED} aral id., 'peninsula; oasis', HlM арал {MED} id., {BMR} 'island', Brt арал, Ord, ShY aral, Kl {KRS} арл., {Rm.} arl, Mnr rāl 'island' ¶ Cl. 196, ET Gl 162-4, 167, Pek. 103, 126-7, TkR 47-8, Rl. I 272, 300, MED 48, BMR I 124, Pp. MA 104, Chr. 55, KRS 50, KW 14-15, Dr. TM I 119-20 || Tg *ara- (+ sxs) 'open country, flat ground' > Ewk PT arayan 'open ground on a mountain top', 'sunny place (солнцек)', Lm arēn ɖ arēyēn ɖ aragan ɖ arogon 'open woodless country', Orc arāču, Ul araču 'flat ground for the bear-killing ritual' ¶ STM I 48 ¶¶ Hardly related to MM arčī 'defender, protector', M *aračila- v. 'defend, protect' (Pp.: ← *'stand between') (see Pp. VG 97, KW 15) || M *armaq 'space' > Brt арма 'space, place', Ord armaq 'espace', armagla- 'espacer, séparer par un intervalle assez grand' ¶ Chr. 59, Ms. O 29 ¶¶ T *āra suggests a long pA *ā-, while Yk arī and Tg *ara- point to a pA short *a-. This discrepancy is still to be explained ¶¶ SDM 314 (A *ā^r▽ 'open space' > T, Tg, M *ar-), DQA no. 82 || **D**: [1] *a₁ra 'room' > Tm aral 'room, apartment, chamber', Ml arā 'room, partition', Tl arā, arā id., 'chamber', Tu aɖæ 'inner\small room', Gnd arra 'room' ¶¶ D no. 322 ||] [2] (in SD) ?σ *a₁al (*'earth' →) 'mud, clay' > Kn aril, aral, arulu, arla, arlu 'mud, clay', Tm, Ml aral 'black sand' ¶ ≈ D no. 312 ◇ U, D, Tg and IE *^rer- point to pN *^rar▽, but a long initial vw. in NaIE *ār0- and in NaT *āra suggest the existence of pN *^ra^r▽. A possible solution: pN *^ra^r▽ with loss of the precon. *^r in most descendant lges ◇ Cf. AD LRC

no. 69 (IE, S, FU) ◇ The meaning of words in F, Prm and ObU and the length of *a in pT suggest that the U and the T words go back to a merger: N *ʔar▽ or *ʔaʔr▽ 'earth, land, place' × N *gar^ri^r 'valley' ||| This may have been the origin of the N postposition *ʔ▽,r▽ 'towards' (→ 'in?') (q.v. ffd.).

65. *ʔaR▽ 'member of one's clan\family' > **HS:** S *ʔar_L▽,y- > Ug ʔar_y {A} 'Anverwandter, Sippenmitglied', {OLS} 'congénere, amigo, afín' ¶ A no. 391, OLS 54 || Eg fOK ír_y 'relating to; thereof, thereto; comrade', DEg ír_y 'comrade', Cpt: B **HP ēr** 'compagnon, ami', Sd/A **επιΥ eri u**, B **απιοΥ ariu**, **επιοΥ eri u** 'comrades' ¶ EG I 103-5, Fk. 25, Er. 38, Vc. 46, 53-4 || C: Bj {R} ʔaraω 'friend' | possibly also C {AD} *ʔar- (× N *hæ_Lʔ|y,r^rE^r 'male?') > HEC {Hd.} *aroʔo 'husband' > Ged, Hd aroʔo, Sd, Kmb arō id.; ? Rn árām 'man, husband, elder' ||| Ag: Aw {Hz.} ṇāra (< *ṇi-ara) 'her husband' ¶ AD SF 201, Hd. 82, Hw. A 336, Hw. B II 121, PG 68, Hz. NSA || Ch *ʔar▽ > WCh: Ron: Bks {J} ré (pl. ʔáryà), Fy {J} ra 'man' ||| ?σ Ech {Stl.} *ʔar▽ > Mkl {J} ʔéré 'woman'; ⇨ Ech *t▽-ʔ▽r- 'girl' (*t▽- f.) > Ke {Eb.} t3r 'girl', Smr {J} dur 'daughter' ¶ JI II 230, 346-7, J R 145, Stl. IF 50, Eb. 97, ChC s.v. 'man', 'woman' and 'girl' ¶¶ OLS 54 (S, Eg) ||| **IE** *ʔaro- ~ *ʔaryo- ({EI} IE *h₄e^ros ~ *h₄e^ryos) 'member of one's own ethnic group' (→ 'freeman') > NaIE *aryo- id. (≠ {P}: 'Herr, Gebieter') > Clt {Matas.} *aryo 'free man' > OIr aire 'homme libre' (→ 'chef, prince'), Gl (nomina propria): Ario-manus, Ario-vistus ||| OI 'aryaḥ 'master of the house', ar'yaḥ '(hospitable) lord', 'ārya-ḥ, Av a'ryō 'Aryan (person)', OPrs ariya- 'Median, Aryan (person)'; pIIr *arya- ⇨ FV *orya 'slave' > F orja 'slave', Es ori 'slave, bondsman', pMr {Ker.} *ūrā ~ *ūryā > Er ype uré, Mk ype urā 'slave, servant' || Ht {EI} arā- 'member of one's own ethnic group, peer, companion, friend' ¶¶ P 67, EI 213, Vn. A 42, M E I 174-5, ≈ M K I 52, 79, UEW 721, LG 52, Ker. II 76-7, Matas. E 43 ||| **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) {UEW} *ar▽ ~ *arwa 'relative belonging to one's mother's clan', 'mother's (younger) brother' > OHg ara 'brother', Hg (early XVIII) a r a 'Schwiegertochter', Hg ara 'bride' (att. from 1792; an innovation in the framework of the Hg "language renewal") | ObU: Os: Kz w3r-ti 'mother's younger brother, his male descendants, his son', Os O or-ti, {KrT} or-di 'mother's brother'; Vg: ML oār, N ā:r 'mother's relative', K ōr in yäxnor ōrnor 'parents' vexation, родительская досада (yāx 'father', nor 'revenge') ¶ UEW 832-3, EWU 44, KrT 244 ¶ Rédei's hyp. about the proto-Irn origin of the word (cp. Av, OPrs, KhS brātar, Sgd βr^rt, Blc brāt, Oss D ärvadä

'brother', Oss I ärvad 'kinsman', / Ab. III 437-9, Bai. 313) is hardly tenable (unless we suppose very late Oss origin of the pUgr word) || ??σφ E: *eri, *iri 'uncle' (attested words: OEl e-ri-ri, i-ri-ri 'Onkelchen [?]) ¶ HK 401, 774 ¶ An alternative (and phonetically more plausible) origin is N *hæ_Lʔ|y_Lr'E' 'male' (q.v.) ◇ A *ār_L 'man (vir), male animal' (> T *ār, M *ere 'man') (see N *hæ_Lʔ|y_Lr'E' 'male' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ AD NM no. 120, S CNM 9 (÷÷ NrCs, ST, Yn), Blz. E no. 17.

66. *ʔer_L 'to divide; one share, one, single' > HS: S *°✓ʔrm > Ar ʔaram- 'unus, ullus' = 'quelqu'un, certain', اَرْمَا and اَرْمَى ʔurmā 'ullus, aliquis', ʔarīm- 'unus, ullus' ¶ Fr. I 28 || K: GZ *ert- 'one' > G ert-, Mg art-, Lz ar(t)- ¶ K 79, K² 147, FS K 116, Chik. 212 || U: FU *era 'part, single, one' > F er ä 'share', erältään 'at a time', tellä erää 'this time', eräs 'one, a', Vp eraz 'other', Es {W} ära 'Besonderes, Getrenntes' | Lp N {N} ærre 'quantity of milk obtained at one milking from one female reindeer\cow' || Os: V/Vy är-əy 'getrennt, auseinander', Ty/Y árʏə, Nz/Kz ara, O árri id. ¶ SK 40, W EDW 80-1, N III 873, Stn. D 156, SSA I 107-8 (FL only), Ht. 129 [no. 58], ≈ UEW 75 ¶ Stn. rejected the connection between F and Os and supposed (like UEW) that the Os word is derived from Os V är and Os D ár 'much' (acc. to UEW, from U *erä 'much'), which is hardly tenable for semantic reasons; besides, Os makes a clear phonological distinction between the -əy-derivative from pOs *är- 'too much' and the word in question: Os V has ərəy ~ örəy 'überschüssig, zu viel' (< pOs *är- 'too much') and ärəy 'getrennt' ¶ Es ä- (for the expected e-) needs elucidating || D *ē_L- v. 'divide, separate' > Tl ē_L v. 'sift', Klm ers- id., ērānā v. 'be separated, be separate from', Knd ē_Lp- v. 'keep apart, keep separate', ē_L- v. 'be separated', Gnd ē_L- v. 'be separated from, eht- v. 'wead', Kui ē_Lā v. 'be separate from, detached', ēspa- v. 'separate', Ku ē_Llali- v. 'be separated' ¶ Km. 313 [no. 190], D no. 915.

67. *ʔaR_L (ka) (snd *yaR_L (ka)?) 'see, observe' > IE: NaIE *re(:)g- (< **ʔreg-) v. 'see, observe' > pAl {O} *rāg_L > Al: StAl T ruaj, T {Kf.} ruanj, G ruej 'guard, keep, observe' || Lt inf. regéti (1s pres. regiū), Ltv inf. redzēt 'to see', Lt rāgana 'witch' (cp. NHG böser Blick), régimas 'visible, apparent' || Gmc: ON inf. rækja, AS inf. rēcan, OHG inf. ruohhen, OSx inf. rōkian 'to care', OHG ruoh > MHG ruoch 'care' || Gk α-ρη_Lω 'I help, save' (< *sm_L-rēg- 'co-observe?'), αρω_Lή 'help, aid, protection', αρω_Lός adj. 'aiding' ¶ Mn. 1065, F I 137, Vr. 45, Ho. S 61, OsS 730-1, Kb. 813, Frn. 712-13, Ç II 82, 447, Kf. 299, O 374; WP II 366 and P 54 (Al and Blt only) || HS: [1] ECh: Smr {J} y_Lār 'see' ¶ ChLS II 285 || Om

ʔer-* 'wissen, kennen' > Omt {Mrn.} *er-* 'sapere, conoscere', Bsk {Cer.}, Zs {Cer.} *er-* 'sapere', Chara *ar-* id., Mch {Ls.} *ari(hä)-*, Anf *erri-*, Gmr *erri-*, era- 'know' ¶ Mrn. O 142, C SE III 113, 159, 197, L M s.v. *ari(hä)-*, O HSN 118 || **[2] C {AD} **ʔr^hK^h* > EC **ark-* v. 'see' > Sml *ark-*, inv. *árag*, Rn inv. *ʔágar*, pl. *ʔárga*, Bn inv. *ʔârk*, pl. *ʔárka*, Arr *ʔārg-*, Dsn *ʔárig*, Elm *amán-arg-e* 'see', pOr **arg-* id. > Or *arg-*, Kns, Gdl *akk-* (acc. to Ss., EC **ʔarg-*, but **g* is questio[n]abile), Dl: Hr/Dbs/Gln/Gwd {AMS}, Cm {Hbl.} *ʔar-* 'know' || *ʔ* SC: WRt **ʔar-* 'see' > Irq {Mgh.} *ʔar-*, {MQK} *ar-*, Grw/Alg {Wh.} *ar-*, Bm *arim-* id. ¶ MQK 15, Wh. IC 56, E SC 286 || Ag: Xm T {CR} *arek-*, {Bnd.} *arq^w* v. 'know', Xm {R} *ar(e)q-* 'learn (erfahren), understand, know', Bln {R} *ar^ʔ-* v. 'know' ¶ AD SF 201-2, Ss. B 26, Bl. 195, 250, Hn. S 52, PG 68, Sim 7, 9, 13, Hw. A 336, To. DL 322, 479, AMS 280, Blz. CL 180 || **A:** NaT **a₁rka-* > OT {Cl.} *arqā-* 'search, investigate', MU *arqa-* 'search, look for' ¶ Cl. 216, DTS 54 || *ʔ* pJ **àràp-ar-* v. 'come in sight, appear' > OJ *arap-ar-a*, MJ *àràpar-a* id., J T/Kg *arawaré-*, JK *aráwáré-* {Kenk.} 'appear, make one's appearance, present (show) oneself' ¶ Mr. 677, S QJ no. 589, Kenk. 40-1 || **D:** **[1]** D **ār-āy-* v. 'examine, search, look for' > Tm *ārāy* v. 'investigate, examine, seek', Ml *ārāyka* v. 'seek, examine', Kt *a^rryek* 'carefulness', Kn *ārāy(y)u* v. 'search, investigate, take care of', Tu *ārāy^su-* v. 'expect, look for, desire', Tl *ārāyu*, *arāyu* v. 'think, consider, search, examine, know, see, observe', Knd *rey* v. 'search for' || **[2]** D **ar₁i-* and **er₁∇-* ({GS} **y_{er}l₁-*) v. 'know, find out, search' > Tm *ar₁i*, Tl *er₁ūgu* v. 'know, understand, perceive', Ml *ar₁iyuka* v. 'know, understand', Kt *ayr*, Td *ar₁y-*, Kn *ar₁i* v. 'know', Kdg *ari-* v. 'find out', Tu *arupu*, *aruhu* 'knowledge', Krg *ade* v. 'search', Brh *harrifiŋ* v. 'inquire, ask' ¶¶ In D **ār-āy-* the D cns. *-*r-* < pre-D *-*Rk-* < N *-*R₁∇₁k-?* ¶¶ D no-s 314 and 377, ≠ Km. 289 [no. 64] (hyp.: cd **āra* 'fully' [cp. Tl *ār₁u-* v. 'become full'] + *-*āy-* v. 'select, choose, examine'), Zv. 95 (reconstructing **a₁t₁-*), GS 134 [no. 348] ◇ ≈ O HSN 118 (N **ʔarE* > D **ar₁i-*, HS **ʔar-/ir-*) ◇ N **ʔ-* is reconstructed on the ev. of IE (the IE reflex of N **ʔ* is the only IE lr. that is reduced to zero when not adjacent to a vw.) and C (EC **ʔ-* may go back to N **ʔ-*, **h-* or **y-*).

68. *ʔuRE or **ʔüR∇* 'drink, swallow' > **U** **ür∇-* 'drink; be drunken, intoxicated' (× N **l₁weX∇r∇* 'be mad, be dizzy, be intoxicated') > FV: Prm {LG} **ūr-* > Z *ырөш ðr3š*, Yz *ʌ¹rʌš* 'kvass (ε small beer)' | Er *иреде-iréde-*, Mk *иреде-irédə-* 'be drunken, get carbon monoxide poisoning (from burning firewood)' || Sm **3r-* v. 'drink' > Ne T inf. *нэр-ць* 'to drink', Ne F *η3r-*, Slq Ke {Cs.} *ira-*, Mt {Hl.} **3r-* v. 'drink' (Mt T/K/M {Mll.}

orсу 'bibere', K {Pl.} urſchim 'I drink', Mt M {Sp.} урнямъ id., урнамъ 'I eat [liquid food]', Slq Tm {KD} ōra- ~ 3ra- 'get drunk' ¶¶ Coll. 16, UEW 85, LG 329, Lt. J 160, Jn. 21-2, Hl. M no. 249 || **А:** M *örübki- v. 'swallow, gobble' > WrM örübki- {MED} id., HlM өрөвхий- {MED} id., {BMR} 'herunterschlucken, проглатывать целиком', Brt үрэбхи- 'herunterschlucken, проглатывать', WrO öröbki- v. 'inhale, draw in' ¶ MED 643, BMR III 41, Krg. 148, Chr. 514 ¶ Valid, unless it is *φörübki- (which cannot be ruled out, since the word is not attested in MM and in the *h-preserving M lges) || **HS:** Eg G ĩr v. 'eat', ĭ ({Vc.} "mot mal attesté") Cpt B ері ері 'bread' ¶ EG I 114, Vc. 46.

69. *ʔur∇ 'to gather' (→ 'everybody belonging to...', 'clan, relatives; multitude') > **HS:** EC: pSam *ūrūrī v. 'gather, collect' > Sml {ZMO} ururi vt. 'collect, gather, cause to assemble', urur vi. 'assemble, meet; gather', urur 'meeting, assembly, gathering', Sml N {Abr.} urur- v. 'become assembled', Bn erūrī id., Rn {PG} ùrùrà vi. 'gather together' ¶ Hn. S 97, PG 286, ZMO 401, DSI 595, Abr. S 244 || WS *✓ʔry v. 'collect, gather' > BHb הָרָא ✓ʔry (pf. 1s ʔā'rīṭī) v. 'pluck', Gz ✓ʔry (js. ʔə-ʔrī, pf. ʔaraya) v. 'gather, glean' (KB 82, KBR 85, L G 40, Di. 744); Gz ✓ʔrr (js. ʔə-ʔrar ~ ʔə-ʔrar, pf. ʔarara) v. 'reap, gather, harvest' ⇐ or ⇐ AfS lges: Sa {R} arar (p. 'irirə, inv. i'rār) 'sammeln, ernten' (Di. 741, L G 39, R S II 46-7); the existence of a corresponding Af verb *arar (mentioned in R S II 46-7 → other authors) is not confirmed by dictionaries of Af (PH, Clz.) || **IE:** NaIE *wer-/ *w̥r̥- 'multitude, group of people, troop' > OI v̥r̥n'dam 'group, troop, crowd' || OIr foirinn, foirenn 'factio, Gruppe, Schar', OW guerīn 'factio', W gwerīn 'viri, virorum multitudo, plebs', {YGM} 'ordinary folk, populace', OBr guerīn 'factiones', {Flr.} 'parti, ligue, troupe', MBr gūeryn 'people' || AS weorn, wearn 'troop, crowd' ¶ WP I 266, P 1150-1, EI 268 (connects the stem with IE *wr̥ētos 'flock, herd'), M K III 249-50, Flr. 189, YGM-1 264, Ho. 387 || **А** *ur∇, *urug|k 'clan, relatives', v. 'gather' > M *urug 'clan, relatives' > MM [MA] {Pp.}, [HI] {Ms.} uruq [uruʔ] 'a relative', [HI] {Lew.} uruχ, [S] {H} uruh 'relatives', WrM urug {MED} 'relatives, posterity, clan, a relative', HlM ұпар {MED} id., {BMR} 'a relative'; Brt 'ұпар id., 'ties of relationship', Mnr H {SM} urug 'parent par alliance, parent du côté maternel', Ord ұруқ 'parents par alliance'; M ⇐ Yk, Ewk, Lm urū 'relatives, родня' ¶ MED 885, BMR III 338-9, Chr. 472, H 167, SM 479, Ms. H 106, Ms. O 742, Pp. MA 367; Lew. II 83, Pek. 3068-9, STM II 287 || Tg *urug- v. 'gather, collect' > Ewk urūw-, Sln orw-, Neg ouww- id., Ork uru-

, *urugi-* v. 'arrange (разложить, расставить, уложить по порядку)' ¶ STM II 287 || pKo **ur* 'clan, relatives' > Nko *ul* id. ¶ S QK no. 1150, MLC 1246 || pJ **ú_ln_ltì* 'clan' > OJ, *udi*, MJ *udi*, [RJ] *útì* {S} 'clan', J T/Kg *úǵì*, J K *úǵì* {Kenk.} 'lineage' ¶ S QJ no. 1529, Mr. 566, Kenk. 2089-90 ¶¶ SDM 622 (pA **jú_lrù* v. 'gather, crowd' > Tg, Ko, J + unc. M **ir-* 'fill up; crowd, people' and T **irk-* v. 'gather'), DQA no. 673, Mr. KJ 228, Lee CSMK 25-6 || D **ur-* 'multitude; be numerous' > Tm *ur_lu* v. 'be numerous', *ur_lu* 'much, abundant', Ml *ur_lu* 'plenty, copious, much', Kn *ur_lal_i*, *ur_lube* 'a mass, multitude', *ur_le* 'abundantly, much', Δ *ur_lu* v. 'increase', Tu *ur(_l)bu*, *urbi* 'increase', *urdi* n. 'increase', Tl *urav_u~urav_u* 'abundance, much' ¶¶ D no. 711 ◇ This N word may have contributed to the development of the N compound marker of pl. **r_lyE* (= **r_ly'i*?) (q.v. ffd.).

70. **ʔUr_l* (ba) 'squirrel' > HS: S **ʔh_lrrab-* > Ak *arrabu* 'dormouse (?)', 'jerboa (?)' ¶ CAD I/2 302-3, Lds. FAM 107 || IE: NaIE **wer-* (and rdp.: **werwer-*, as well as post-IE variants in descendant lges: **wēwer-*, **waj_lwer-*, **wi_l_lwer-*) ≈ 'squirrel', {EI} **werwer-* 'squirrel' > NPrs *ورور* *vārvāre* id. || L *vīverra* 'polecat' || W *gwiwer*, Br *gwiber* 'squirrel', Ir *iora rua* id. (*rua* 'red') || Lt *vaiveris*, *vaivaras* 'male polecat', *vēveris*, *vaiveris*, *voveris*, *voverē*, Δ *vóveris* 'squirrel', Ltv *vāvere*, -is id., Pru *weware* id. || pSl **věver-ьka*, -ika 'squirrel' > ChS **ВѢВЕРИЦА**, P *wiewiórka*, Cz *veverka*, Uk *вивірка*, SCr **ВѢВЕРИЦА** *ѣ* (v) *jěverica* || pGmc **a_lk-werna* ~ **īk-werna* 'squirrel' (with **a_lk-* 'oak?') > AS *āc-weorna*, ON *íkorni*, OHG *eichurno*, *eichorno*, *eich(h)orn*, NHG *Eichhhorn* 'squirrel'; acc. to Schr. GW 134 and Schr. 165, pGmc **a_lk-/ *īk-* may go back to IE **a_lg-*, cp. OI *'ēj-atī* vi. 'stirs, moves' ¶ WP I 287-8, P 1266, EI 540, ZVSZ 475, Ma. CS 564-5, YGM-1 267, Frn. 1233-4, En. 273, Vr. 284, KM 154-5, EWA II 974-6, Ho. 2, 390, Vl. II 1421 || U **ora*, **ora-pa* 'squirrel' > Forava, Es *orav*, *oravas* id. || pLp {Lr.} **ṛrē_v* > Lp N {N} *oar're* / -rr-, Lp S {Hs.} *oār'ēve* *ōāreve* *āārūve*, Lp Kld {SaR} *вүэррев* id. || pMr {Ker.} **ūr_l* > Er/Mk *ur* id. || Chr *ur* id. || pPrm **ur* > Z *ur* id. || Sm: in a Samoyedic lge of the Sayan region (Pl.: "ejus stirpis monticolis sajanensibus") {Pl.} *орор* '*Sciurus striatus*' ¶¶ UEW 343, Sm. 552 (FP **ora* 'squirrel'), LG 297-8, Kecsk. IPZ, Lr. no. 847, Lgc. no. 4587, Lgc. SL no. 1497, Hs. 1035-6, SaR 63, Ker. II 176 || D **ur_lutt-* 'squirrel' > Tm *ur_luttay*, Tl *ur_luta* id. (if the connection with D **ur_lukk-* 'jump' is secondary or non-existent) ¶¶ D no. 713, Tyler DU 810 [no. 130]

|| **A** *UriK̲∇ ({S} *Ur_Li_L-k'∇) 'ground squirrel (*Citellus*)' > NaT *örke id. > StAlt {BT} örkö, Xk {BIG} örke ≍ öрге, Yk örgö, Tv {TvR} öрге id.; T ⇨ Hg üрге id., T ⇨ ? Brt E {Chr.} үрхэ id. ¶ Shch. Zh 148, BT 120, BIG 136-7, TvR 339, Pek. 1955, Chr. 513, EWU 1589 ¶ The presence of the word in Hg proves that the T word was not originally confined to Siberia (⇔ Shch. l.c.) || Tg {S} *urike > Ewk Brg/Nr urikэ 'ground squirrel, marmot' (⇐ T or Brt?), ?σ Orc urikэ, urkэ 'black seal (animal) with white stripes' ¶ STM II 285 ¶¶ S CNM 7 ◇ The original meaning of the word is likely to have been 'squirrel' (as in most descendant lges), while in some lges the name has been transferred to other fur-bearing mammals ◇ The comparison with D has been suggested by Blz. (p.c.) after Tyler l. c. The pA cognate has been suggested by Starostin (S CNM 7). The quality of the N rounded vw. of the first syll. is controversial: the IE and D data suggest *u (N *u > IE *we), while U suggests N *o. A plausible solution may be found if we assume that the N etymon is *ʔoRû (ba) with *o of the first syll. changing to *u under the ass. infl. of the second syll. (cp. the change N *o > pre-IE *u [> IE *we] in the presence of N *û of the second syll., as formulated in AD PIEG). The N vw. *û of the second syll. may be responsible for *w∇ of the second syll. in the IE reduplicated variants of the stem in question (*werwer- et al.) ◇ AD NM no. 51.

71. *ʔ∇'r'∇ (> *r∇?), theme-focalizing (topicalizing) pc. > **HS**: Eg ĩr 'as for' (topicalizing pc., preceding the topic word), ĩr (emphasizing pc., used esp. with optative, with inv. and in questions) ¶ EG I 103, Lpr. 151, 188 || **A** [1] *t'æ-r'a' theme-focalizing (topicalizing) particle || [2] Tg *e-r∇ 'this' ¶¶ Ffd. see N *r∇ (< *ʔ∇'r'∇?) [no. 1953] || **IE**: nom.-accus. ending *-r in heteroclitic nouns ¶¶ Ffd. see N *r∇ (< *ʔ∇'r'∇?).

72. *_Lʔ∇_Lr∇ 'towards' (→ 'in?') > **HS**: Eg ∇ r 'hin nach..., hin zu...; bis hin nach', conj. 'bis daß...', DEg r 'to, towards'; ? Eg O ĩr 'towards' > Cpt Sd/B ερο- ero-, ε- e-, Cpt F ελα- ela-, ε- e-, Cpt P αρο- aro- id. (× N *ʔil'A' 'stand still, stay; place to stay') ¶ EG II 386-8, Er. 236-8, Vc. 37 || **IE**: NaIE *-r (< IE *-_LH_Lr?), locative sx in adverbs: Lt ku-ř, Ltv kūr 'where?' (place and direction), Gt hvar, ON hvar, OSx hwar, OHG wār 'where?', AS hwar ~ hwær id. (> NE where), OL quōr, L cūr 'why?', Gk νύκτωρ 'by night', OI ka-r-hi 'when?', uṣa-r 'at dawn'; NaIE *to-r/*tē-r 'there' > Gt, ON þar, OSx thar, OHG dār, AS ðær (> NE there) 'there', OI tar-hi 'then' ¶ The long vw. (in quōr, νύκτωρ) suggests the presence of a lr. ¶ Bks 220, WH I 313, WP I 521, P 1087, Kb. 144, 1145, EWA II 533-5 || **U**: FU: Prm *kō-r ({LG} *kō_̂r) 'when' > Z kor, Z US k̄r, Prmk k̄r || ? Y T

tigira 'there' ¶¶ LG 126, IN H 43O, Krm. JJ 2O9 || A {Rm.} *-ru/*-rū, directive case ending > T *-ru/*-rū id. > OT äb-im-rū 'towards my house', bā-ru 'hither', a-ru 'there (dorthin)', soṅra 'nachher', tašra 'hinaus', MQp qa-ru 'whither?', OT bārū 'hierher', kārū ~ kirū 'zurück', as well as after the dative sx: jaṣI-qa-ru 'against the enemy', tāṅri-gā-rū 'against God', yōq-qa-ru 'nach oben', ič-gār-rū ~ ič-gā-ri 'nach innen', taš-qa-ri ~ taš-ṣa-ru 'nach aussen', as well as variants T *-r, *-ra/ä > OT qaṅar 'whither?', ič-ra 'innen', is-ra 'behind', bisrā 'hierher', soṅra 'nachher', tašra 'hinaus' ¶ Rm. VAJ 44-5, Br. OTG 157-8, Gbn ATG 28 || M {Rm.} *-ru, e.g. WrM {Pp.} ina-ru 'this side, prior to', {MED} 'before, until', cina-ru {Pp.} 'that direction, after', HlM {MED, BMR} янар 'before, until', HlM -руу/-луу (модо-руу 'towards the woods', гол(у)руу 'towards the river/middle', морилуу [dis. from *mori-rū] 'towards a/the horse'), Ord -rū/-lū (otog-rū 'in the direction of the Otog banner'), Brt -руу/-луу (уһа-руу 'towards the water', мори-луу 'towards the horse'), ? Kl {Rm.} χārṅ ~ χārαn ~ χā-r-ān (with a reflexive sx) 'wohin' ¶ Pp. IM 161, 2O5 (a qu. hyp.: M *-ru < *φuruṣu 'down'). MED 41O, BMR 464, KW 175 || ?σ Ko {Rm.} ro, Ko N -ru (-ri), -illi (-ili) 'by ... way', ċibi-ro, Ko N ċiburu 'home' (direction), NKo al-lo 'down' (direction) ¶ Rm. VAJ 44-6 ¶¶ Rm. l.c. ◇ Eg ĩ- and the vowel lengthening in NaIE (OL quōr, Gk νύκτωρ) suggest the presence of a N initial lr. The word may be etymologically identical with N *ʔar▽ or *ʔaʔr▽ 'earth, land, place' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ Gr. I 147-5O ("locative RU" in IE, U [Prm, Y], A [T, M, Tg, J, qu. Ko], Ai, unc. Gil [in fact -r- is from *-t-?], err. Hg sublativ 'onto' [not "dative"!] -ra/-re [on its origin see EWU 1224]).

73. *ʔi,ʔy,R'a' 'drag, pull, push' > HS: Eg fMK ɜr 'push aside' ('jem. verdrängen [von Habe, Grenze, Thron, usw.]'), {Fk.} 'drive away', Eg G ɜr 'jem-n bedrängen' ¶ EG I 11, Fk. 3 || A: Tg *ira- vt. 'drag' > Ewk ĵir- id., Sln iru-, Lm lr-, Neg ly-, Ork lra-~lrra- id. ('волочить, тащить'), Ul lra- v. 'drag, drag over' ('тащить, перетаскивать'), Nn Nh/Bk ĵra- v. 'carry, transport' ¶ STM I 323-4, On. 196 ¶¶ Hardly here (because of the meaning and the cns. *ř) A {SDM} *īřu 'trace, furrow' > Tk **īř ~ *īř id., M *iraṣa [unless it is *φiraṣa] 'ripples on the surface of water', Tg *iru-n 'furrow' and pKo *īráṅ id. (DQA no. 687) || D *īr- v. 'drag, draw, pull' > Tm īr- v. 'drag along, pull, attract', Ml īrukā v. 'saw', īrkkukā v. 'draw, drag', Td i·θ-, Gdb īr- v. 'pull, drag', Kn īr v. 'pull, draw', Prj īrp- v. 'pull' ¶¶ D no. 542 ◇ D *-r- usually goes back to a N *R-cluster rather than to an

intervoc. *R, which suggests a cluster in pN (*-ʔ|yR-ʔ) ◇ ≈ IS I 251 [no. 112] (*Hir̥a 'тащить, волочить': D, Tg + *÷ Tk *ir̥an 'furrow' and Ko ir̥an 'ridge of a furrow').

74. *ʔûwɾ∇ 'light (lux), fire' > HS ≈ *ʔur- > S *ʔurr- ~ *ʔawɾ- 'light (lux)' > Ak urru '(heller) Tag', BHb 𐤅𐤓𐤕 ʔōr 'daylight, light, dawn', ✓ ʔwɾ (pf. 𐤅𐤓𐤕 ʔōr) v. 'dawn', Ug ʔur {A} id., {OLS} 'heat; fire, burning (combustión)', ? Ug {OLS} ʔur ~ ʔir 'light (luz)', Amr {G} ʔūr-um id., ✓ ʔwɾ 'v. 'shine', Ar ʔawɾ- 'ardeur du feu, flamme', ʔawwara 'allumer', OSA {Jm., Av.} ʔwɾn 'la divinité patronale des flammes', Jb C ε'rɜt, df. ē'rɜt 'moon', Sq HS df. 'ɜʔɜrɜh, Sq {L} 'ere, Mh hā-rīt, Hrs hārēt id., Sq {L} 'erir 'allumer' ¶ KB 23-4, KBR 24-5, OLS 46-7, G A 14, Jo. M 7, Jo. J 4, Jo. H 4, L LS 72-5, Av. G II 68, DRS 13 || Eg G ĩr.t 'flame' (or sim.) ¶ EG I 114 || C: ʔσ Bj {R} 'ér̥a 'light (hell), white; white color', erā-m- 'get white' ¶ R WBd 27 || ʔσ CCh: Mofu {Brr.} -ūr- vt. 'burn', Gzg Mj {Lk.} wur id. ('[ver]brennen, rösten') ¶ JI II 55, Lk. G 138, ChC s.v. 'burn' tr. || A *ū|öwɾ∇- (× N *ʔûwɾ∇ 'light [lux], fire' [q.v. ffd.] 'be bright, shine' (× N *ʔ'Umr∇ 'burn' [intr.], 'shine, be bright', 'dawn' [q.v. ffd.] × N ??φ *χ'a_w_l_a'rE [or *χawEr∇] 'bright, white') > NaT *ürün 'shining, bright, white' > OT {Cl.} ürün 'white', Yk ürün 'white', 'shining, bright; clear weather', MU ürün 'bright, clear', MQp XIII {Cl.} ūrūn, {TL} ũr ũn 'milk', Tk Δ ürün 'milk, yoghurt', ? Qrg ürün baran 'morning twilight, dawn; sth. dimly seen in the dark' ¶ Cl. 233-4, TL 601, S AJ 193 [no. 190], SDM 1040 (pT *ū|örün 'white', [unj.] 'dawn') || M *ö|üw_l_r∇ ({SDM} *öwɾ) 'dawn' > ShY oyir 'dawn', MM [MA] ũr or ör 'aurore', WrM {MED} ũr, {Gl.} ör 'dawn, daybreak', HLM γγp {SDM} id., {BMR} 'dawn, aurore', Brt γγp id., Ord, Kl {KRS} ep 'dawn, daybreak', {Rm.} ör 'Morgendämmerung, das Tagen', WrO ör 'morning, dawn, daybreak', Mnr H {SM} ōr 'aube du jour', Ord örö ~ ör 'aube, aurore' ¶ Pp. MA 382, MED 1010, BMR III 430, Chr. 517, S AJ 243 [no. 216], Krg. 147, SM 298, KRS 422, KW 298, Ms. O 537-8, MYC 686 || Tg *or'u¹- > Ewk PT/I orumna- 'blaze up', orumnaçā- adj. 'burnt', Ewk {Vas.} urum-mī 'shine, twinkle (сверкать, мерцать)', ? Lm O orakun 'flash, appear for a moment (мелькать)' ¶ Vas. 327, 453, STM II 23, 25 ¶ The Tg root belongs here only if it is *or'u¹- rather than *xor'u¹- ¶¶ SDM 1040-1 (pA *obri|e 'dawn' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 1580 (id.), S AJ 288 (A *ör∇ 'white, light [hell], dawn'); KRS 433, KW 298 (T, M), Rs. W 375 (T, M), SDM97 s.v. *orE 'white, dawn' (T, M) || D {Km.} *ūr-/ *ur-∇- v. 'burn' > Tm uru v. 'burn', Kn uri v. 'burn, blaze, glow', Tu uri 'blaze, flame', uriyu- v.

'burn, blaze', Tl ur i y u , ural u vi. 'burn', Mnd rund- v. 'ignite' ¶¶ D no. 656, Km. 299 [no-s 113-14] ¶ The D $\sqrt{\quad}$ is ambiguous, it may be alternitatively cognate to C *hur- v. 'light' ◇ Cf. IS MS 337 (*ur a vi. 'burn') ◇ D $\text{*}-r-$ (reg. from N *r- clusters) suggests the presence of an additional N cns. (*w) in the Inlaut ◇ One cannot rule out the possibility that this N word is a phonetically reduced variant of N $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{Umr}\nabla$ (N $\text{*}-mr-$ > $\text{*}-wr-$ > $\text{*}-r-$).

75. $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{iR}_\text{L}\text{E}^{\text{r}}\text{u}$ 'entrails' > HS: S $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{i r i}^{\text{r}}\text{-at-}$ 'entrails, lung' (> reduced variants $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{i r- at-}$ and WS $\text{*r i}^{\text{r}}\text{-at-}$) > Ak i r t u 'lung, breast', Ug r i r t , (AkSc) {Hnr.} r i r a t u 'chest (?)', {OLS} 'pecho, repecho (de un monte)', MHb $\text{r ê}^{\text{r}}\text{ā}$ 'lungs', Sr $\text{r ā}^{\text{r}}\text{t ā}$, Ar $\text{r i}^{\text{r}}\text{-at-}$, Mh $\text{r 3 y ē}^{\text{r}}$, Hrs r 3 y ī (pl. r 3 y ō t), Jb E ē r ō t , Jb C r ō t (pl. 'r ō i) id. ¶ Sd. 386, CAD VII 183ff., OLS 53, A no. 430, Grd. UT no. 365, Hnr. 109, Js. 1472, Br. 705, Jo. M 554, Jo. H 101, Jo. J 201, MiK I no. 1.9 (S $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{i r (r)-at-}$ 'chest, breast') and 1.224 ($\text{*r i}^{\text{r}}\text{-at-}$ 'lung') || EC: Brj i r-a 'stomach', Ya i r a 'belly', ?? Sml ū r , ?? Rn ū r id. ¶ Ss. B 106, PG 287, Blz. RL 257 || B {Pr.} $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{H r H}$ 'lung(s)' ($\text{*H} = \text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{?}$) > Ah {Fc.} t ā r u t 'lung' ({Pr.} < *t-HaruH-t), ETwl/Ty {GhA}, Mz {Dlh.} t a r u t , Gh {Nh.} t u r (pl. t u r a w i n), Kb {DL.} t u r a t , Gd {Lf.} t ū r a (pl. t ū r a w ē n), Izd {Mrc.}, Tmz {MT} t u r t , Rf Wr {Rn.} t u r a , Rf B/A t a u r a , SrSn {Rn.} t u r-in (pl.), Izn t a r u t , Sll t u r a t , Wrg {Dlh.}, Nf {La.} t u r a , Skn {La.} t ū r a id. ¶ Fc. 1558, Pr. M IV-V 214-15, Rn. 327, GhA 155, Lf. II no. 1370, MT 559, Dlh. Ou 267, Dlh. M 168, Dl. 697, Mrc. 199 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 36 || ?σ Eg i r w 'piece of meat' ¶ Mks I no. O393 || IE: NaIE {P} *oreu- / *reue- 'gut' > Gk [Hs.] ὀρούα (ὀροδῆ) 'gut(s)', Gk [Epc.] ὀρούα 'sausage' (or 'guts') || L a r v ī r n a 'fat, lard' (esp. that between the skin and the entrails), "Sicilian" (= L Sc?) [γ] [Hs.] ᾠρβύνη (ᾠρέας) 'meat, flesh' ¶ WP I 182, P 782, F II 420, Ch. 828, WH I 71 || D (in SD) *īr- 'internal organ of the body (as liver or spleen)' > T m ī r a l , ī r u l id., Ml ī r a l , Irl i r a l u , i r v o , AlK i r u v u , Kt i r u v , Td ū r u f , Kn h ī r i 'liver' ¶ D no. 546 ◇ D $\text{*}-r-$ is a reg. reflex of N *R- clusters (rather than of the N intervoc. $\text{*}-R-$), hence it points to the presence of an additional element (lr.?) adjacent to N *R . Therefore I prefer to reconstruct pS $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{?r?}$ (≈ $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{i r i}^{\text{r}}\text{-at-}$) rather than a metathetic pair $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{i r-at-} \sim \text{*r i}^{\text{r}}\text{-at-}$ ◇ Blz. DA 154 [no. 18] (D, HS, IE), Blz NDA no. 17 (D, HS, IE).

76. $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{eRq}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{r}}$ '∈ ruminant' > HS: S $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{a r l}^{\text{r}}\text{χ-}$ 'cattle, cow' > Ug r a r χ (= $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{a r l}^{\text{r}}\text{χ-}$) {A} 'cattle', {OLS} 'vaca, novilla', Amr {G} r a r χ u m 'cow', Ar r a r χ 'young bull', Ak a r χ- 'cow', Tgy {Bsn.} r a r χ a 'bull', r a r χ-ī 'heifer (that never bore young)' ¶ A no. 389, OLS 49, G A 13, Sd. 67, CAD I/2 263,

Bsn. 493, DRS 33 || IE: NaIE *er- ~ *eri- '€ ruminant' (× N ***ʕiR'i** ' [male, young] big ungulate', q.v. ffd.) || D *eru- ~ *er- 'buffalo, bull, cow', used with sxs denoting sex (× N ***ʔeRq'i** '€ ruminant', q.v.): [1] ≈ *eru-t- ({GS} *erd-) 'male buffalo, bull' > Tm erutu 'bull, ox, steer', Ml erutu 'bullock, ox', Kt et, Td ešt 'bull', Kn erutu 'bull, ox' (and ettu, eddu 'ox, bullock' <- Tl?), Kdg etti 'bull, bullock', Tl eddu 'ox, bullock, bull', Klm ed, Nkr hedq 'bullock', Krx adqō 'ox, bullock', [2] ≈ *eru-may ({GS} *erm-) 'female buffalo' > Tm erumai, Ml eruma, erima, Kt im, Td ir, Kn emme, Kn Δ erme, Kdg emme, Tu erme, Tl enumu 'female buffalo', Gnd Δ ermi & hermi ~ arm ~ aṛmi 'buffalo', Gnd HMS ermī 'female buffalo' ¶¶ The stem-final vw. *-u(-) in Tm, Ml, Tu and Tl may go back to the pD non-phonemic word-final vocoid *-o. ¶¶ D no-s 815, 816 and 917, ≈ GS 209 [no-s 529-30].

77. ***ʔu|or▽q▽** (or ***ʔu|or▽q▽'ʔ'▽**?) 'path, way' > HS: S ***ʔuraχ**- id. > BHb **ḥṛāḥ** 'ṛoraḥ 'way', OA/IA/Plm **ṛrḥ**, BA **ḥṛāḥ** 'ṛraḥ, JEA **ḥṛāḥ** 'ṛraḥ-ā, ChrPA **ṛwrḥ** (em. **ṛwrḥʔ**), Sr W/E **ṛurḥ-ā** 'road, way', OAk, Ak **urχu** 'way, path, track' ('Weg, Pfad, Bahn') ¶ KB 83-4, 1673, HJ 106, Sl. 94, Sd. 1429 || EC: Sa/Af {R} **a'rāḥ** (pl. **āroḥ**) 'way, path' ('Weg, Pfad, Straße'), Af {PH} **araḥ** 'place, spot' } ? Ged {Hd.} **ora** 'road' ¶ R S II 45, PH 44, Hd. 258 ¶¶ OS no. 122 || U: FV {UEW} *ura 'way, path' > F **ura** id. | Mk {Ps.} u-r, ura-, urkška 'narrow footpath' ¶ UEW 804 || A: NaT *orôk, ? *orak 'path' > OT **orū|oq**, StAlt, QK **orūq** id., Brb **oraq**, Tlt {Rl.} **oroq**, Shor/Brb {Rl.} **oraq**, Xk **oraχ**, Yk **oroχ** 'animals' path' ('Wildpfad'), Bsh Δ **uraq** 'hare path, traces of a hare', Tv **oruq** 'road, way', Tf **oruq** 'road, path' ¶ Cl. 215, Rl. I 1050, 1054, TvR 327, Ra. 212, Tm. 163, ≈ TL 531-2 (unc.: *oroq <- T *or- 'dig') || ?φ D (att. in SD) *orūnk- (or *orunk-?) > Tm **orūnkai** 'lane, alley', Tu **orūnkū** ~ **orūnkū** 'lane, footpath' <- Kn **orūnkū** 'narrow path between two walls in a garden' ¶ The unexpected -ṛ- in Tm or in pSD requires explanation (infl. of SD ***vaṛi** 'way, road' [see N ***wAṛ▽** 'way, path']?) ¶ D no. 1014 ◇ ≈ Blz. NDA no. 112 (HS, FU, T + unt. D ***āṛu** 'way, road' [because of the unexpected vw. *ā and the cns. *ṛ]) ◇ T *-**u₁k** and SD *-**u₁ḥk**- are likely to go back to sxs, unless there was some glottalizing factor (N *-**ʔ▽** in ***ʔu|or▽q▽ʔ▽**?) that caused transformation of N ***q** into ***ḡ** (whence T and SD ***k**)***ḡ**, e.g. N ***ʔu|or▽q▽ʔ▽**. FV {UEW} *ura rules out the possibility of reconstructing N ***ʔu|or▽q▽** (with pre-HS deglottalization *-**q**- > *-**q**- > HS *-**χ**-).

78. *ʔaRba 'to lie in ambush, to scheme evil to so.', '(?) to use magic tools' > **HS:** CS *✓ʔrb 'lie in ambush, scheme evil' > BHb ארב ✓ʔrb G 'lie in ambush, lie in wait for so.', IA ארב ʔrb 'ambush', Ar ✓ʔrb(pf. أَرَبَ ʔaruba ~ أَرَبَ ʔariba) 'be cunning', Sf mʔrb 'intrigant, comploteur', Tmd ʔrb 'se mettre en embuscade' ¶ KB 80, KBR 83, JH 23, HJ 101, DRS 31 || **U:** FU *°arpa (att. in FL) ≈ magic, magic device' > F arpa (gen. arvan) 'lot, magic stick or any other magic tool for finding hidden things, soothsaying etc.', arpa-mies 'soothsayer' (mies 'man'), arpo- v. 'cast lots', Es arp 'lot, magic', Lv ar:bī 'witch' | pLp {Lr.} *vōrpē > Lp N {Fri.} vʔorbbe 'sors secunda, fortuna; anulus orichalci, in membranam tympani magici, quoties pulsabatur, imponendus', {N} vʔor'be 'a piece of wood, stones etc., used by persons who are going to cast lots about sth.; lot; destiny', Lp L {LLO} vʔor'pē 'Glück, Los, Geschick' ¶ UEW16, SK 24-5, MF 504-6, Lr. no. 1463, Lgc. no. 8812, Fri. 837 || **A:** T *arba- v. 'make magic, cast spells' > OT arva- (Cl.: arvā-), Chg, Qrg, Qq, Bsh, Xk arba-, ET arba- ʔ arva-, SY arva- id., Qzq arba- v. 'tempt, seduce, try to win so. over by deceit', Yk arbā- v. 'flatter, exaggerate', OT arviš 'a magic spell or charm' (→ Vt urveš, urbeć 'remedy for evil eye?'), Chg arviš-čī 'sorcerer' (a Turkic [most probably, Blgh] word is probably the source of Vt urveš, urbeć 'Waldgeist; a person inflicting illness by magic', Hg ορϋος, Δ όρος, όρϋας, όρϋος, urus 'physician', as well as of Blg врач 'sorcerer' and R врач 'physician') ¶ ET Gl 168-70, Rs. W 24, Cl. 199, ≠ EWU 1071-2 ◇ IS I 261-2 (S, FU, T), UEW 16 (FU, T); ≠ Lcm. NLP 20 (FU and A cognates "are almost certainly loans") ◇ AD NM no. 121 ◇ An alt. et.: N *ʔaRpaʔv 'make magic' > **U:** FU *°arpa id. || **A:** T *arba- id. || **HS:** S *✓rpʔ v. 'heal, soothe' > Ak ✓rpʔ G, Ph, Pun ✓rpʔ, BHb, Sr ✓rpʔ G, Gz ✓rfʔ G 'heal', Ar ✓rfʔ G 'allay the fear of, soothe', Cn → Eg (EgSSc) ha-r-fi v. 'heal' (KB 1188, Hlk no. 157, SivCR 83). This latter et. is qu., because the primary meaning of S *✓rpʔ is likely to be 'repair' (see Ar ✓rfʔ G 'mend [clothes]', Gz ✓rfʔ G 'sew, mend').

79. *ʔARčA (or *ʔAč,∇,RA) 'trace' (→ 'sign', 'choose') > **HS:** S *ʔaθar- 'trace, track, place' > Ar ʔaθar- 'vestigium, signum' (and, with a different vowel pattern, ʔiθr- 'vestigium'), Ug ʔθr, Pu, Yd, DA ʔšr, OA ʔšr [ʔaθar], IA ʔtr, ʔtrʔ, JA ʔa'tar, ʔa'tr-ā, SmA ʔtr, Sr ʔa'tar, ʔa'tr-ā 'place', Gz ʔaśar (etymologically erroneous spelling) ~ ʔasar 'path, trace, track', Amh asər 'footprint', Ak ašr-u 'place, site; region, country'; WS *✓ʔθr v. 'follow the traces, choose' > Gz ✓ʔśr G (erroneous spelling for ✓ʔsr) v.

'follow the traces', Tgr ✓*ʔsr* (pf. *ʔasrə*), Tgy ✓*ʔsr* (pf. *ʔassərə*) v. 'follow the traces', Ar ✓*ʔθr* (pf. *ʔaθara*) v. 'choose' ¶ JH 27-8, HJ 125-8, OLS 61-2, L G 45, Sl. 179, Lv. I 156, Tal 74, Fr. I 12-13, Br. 55-6, Sd. 82-3, CAD I/1 456-60, DRS 37 || **K**: G *arč-e*va 'Wahl, Erwählung, Auswahl' ¶ Chx. 36 || **D** **ačča* 'trace' (× D **anča* 'foot' < N **ʔANṣ* ∇ '≈ ∈ foot', q.v.) > Kt *ač* 'footprint', Tu *ajæ* 'footprint, track, trace', Tl *ajja* 'footprint' ¶ ≈ DED App. no. 6 (deriving the D root from InA *paḍyā* 'footsteps', *F* Tu. no. 7778).

80. (*₂*?) **ʔ¹aRH₂* ∇ *m* ∇ (*H₂* = **h*?) 'upper part of a limb' > **HS**: Eg *fp r m n* 'upper arm, shoulder' ¶ EG II 418, Fk. 149 || **IE**: NaIE **arāmo-* / **ṛmo-* ({EI} IE **h_ṛerHmos* ~ **h_ṛṛH'mos*) 'arm' > OI *īr'mah* 'arm', Av *ar^ṁmō* 'Arm', Oss *ärm* 'hohle Hand' || **L** *armus* 'the shoulder where it is fitted to the shoulder blade' || ? Gk *ἄρμός* 'shoulder joint; joint (in masonry)' (with a puzzling irreg. *h-*) || Pru *irmo* 'arm', Ltv *ērmī* 'part of a wagon to which the shaft is attached', Lt *armaĩ* {P} 'Vorderarm am Wagen', {Frn.} 'Teil des die Deichsel haltenden Wagenteils' | Sl {Glh.} **ōrmę* (gen. **ōrmene*, pl. **ōrmena*) ~ **ōrmo* 'shoulder' > OCS **РАМО** *ramo* 'ώμος, shoulder, плечо', OR **РАМА** *rame* (pl. *ramena*), R† *ramo* (pl. *рамена*), Uk *рам'я*, *рамено*, Blg *ramo*, SCr *rāme* (pl. *rāmena*), Slv *rāme*, Cz *ramě*, Slk *ramä*, P *ramię* 'shoulder' || Gt *arms*, ON *armr*, OHG *arm*, AS *earm*, NHG *Arm* 'arm', NE *arm* || Arm **արմուկն** *arm-ukn* 'elbow, forearm' ¶ P 58-9, EI 26, M K I 96, WH I 69, ≈ F I 144, Fs. 58, Vr. 14, Ho. 86, KM 30, EWA I 331-3, Jah. OSK 14, 49, ≈ Frn. 16 (hyp.: Lt *armaĩ* ← NGr OP *arme* '≈ part of a wagon', but why not NGr OP ← Lt?), En. 184, Tp. P I-K 68-70, ME I 575-6, Vs. III 440-1, Glh. 517-18, StSS 574 || ?*σ,φ* **U** **ónārmä* 'groin' > FP **ónārmä* (× N ?*σ,φ* **ńāgoR* ∇ 'groin, small abdominal organs [kidneys, pancreas and sim.]', q.v. [eU **ā* < ***ā* < *-*āgo-*]) > FP **ónārmä* > F *näärvä* 'Leiste, Weiche', Δ *näärän* (gen. *näärämen*) 'Leiste des Pferdes', Es *nääre* (gen. *näärmē*) 'Halsdrüse' | Lp T {Gn.} *ńāĩr mē* 'Schambug, Scham-leiste' || pObU {Ht.} **ńīrm* ∇ > pOs **ńāram* 'Leistengegend, Ende des Ober-schenkels' > Os Nz *ńōram*, Os O *ńārem* id.; pVg **ńīrām* 'Schulter, Hüfte' > OVg N SoO *нѡрмѣ*, Vg N {Mu.} *ńārēm* ≈ [ńāram] ¶ Coll. 101, UEW 312, Sm. 546 (FU **ńīrmā*, FP **ńērma*, Ugr **ńīrma* 'groin, hip'), TI 571, Ht. no. 475, Mu. V NyJ s.v. *ńārēm* ◇ The origin of the U initial **ń-* is not yet clear; it may go back (together with the length of the vowel of the 1st syllable) to an initial component of a N set phrase **ń* ∇ ... **ʔ¹aRH₂* ∇ *m* ∇.

81. *ʔorʕu 'antelope, deer, mountain goat' > **HS:** S *ʔarway- > Amr {G} ʔarwiyum 'gazelle', Ak arwium ~ arwûm 'gazelle (male)', Ar ^{أروية} ʔurwīyat- (pl. ^{أروى} ʔarwā) 'mountain goat' ({Fr.} 'capra montana, rupicapra'), Gz ^{አርዌ} ʔarwē 'beast, animal' | ?? Ak armu 'mountain ram', Sr ʔarn-ā 'mountain goat' ¶ Fr. IV 214, L G 40, KB 85, DRS 32, G A 13, Sd. 69-70, 73, CAD I/2 294, Br. 50, JPS 29 ¶ In MAk (after the phonologic merger of -w- and -m-) Ak arwû merged with Ak armû 'gazelle' (connected with Ak armu 'mountain ram') || C: ?? Bj {R} ra 'Ariel-Antilope' or 'Antilope Someringii' || Dhl {EEN} ʔārōle 'eland' ¶ R WBd 188, E SC 287, EEN 20 || **IE:** NaIE *er-, *eribʰo- > Gk ἔρραφος 'Böcklein, junge Ziege' (< *eri-bʰo-s) || Arm ^{որոջ} orōž 'lamb (agnus, agna)' || L ariēs (gen ariētis) 'ram' || Clt {Matas.} *erbā 'fellow deer (< *eri-bʰā) > OIr erp ~ eirp ~ erb 'dama, capra'; Clt *erb- > ScGlearb 'roedeer' || Lt éras 'Lamm', Ltv jērs id., OPr eristian id. ¶ P 326, Frn. 121, Matas. E 11 || **A** *oRʔŋgʔ 'deer, antelope' > M {SDM} *orŋgo > WrM oruŋgu {MED} 'e small dark antelope with long flat horns', HlM opoŋgo {MED} id., {BMR} 'e antelope', Brt opoŋgo id., Kl {KRS} opŋh, {Rm.} orŋga 'rhinoceros', Ord orŋgo 'e antelope'; M ⇨ WrMc {Hr} orŋgo 'schwarze Hirschziegenantilope', {Z} opoŋgo 'wild dark-colored ram, resembling a chamois', 'wild mountain ram (каменный баран)' ¶ MED 623, BMR II 493, Chr. 362, KW 289, KRS 403, Ms. O 521, Z 132 || Tg *oron ({SDM} *oran) 'reindeer' > Ewk oron, Lm orŋn, Neg oyon, Orc oro, Ud oro ~ olo, Ul oro(n-), Nn Nh/KU {STM} orō, Nn Nh {On.} orō: 'domestic reindeer', WrMc {Z} opoŋb byxy id. (byxy means 'female') ¶ STM II 24-5, On. 315, Z 132, Hr 741 || NaT *oꞤrga 'female or young maral (*Cervus elaphus*)' > SbTt orɣucaq, Qzl orɣa, orɣača, Shor orɣa id. ¶ Brgj. LORX 629 ¶¶ SDM 1063 (pA *orʔ), DQA no. 629 || **D** *UꞤ-ay- 'deer' > Tm uray, Tu uræ, ule, {BhK} ule 'deer', Prj urup 'spotted deer' ¶¶ D no. 694 ◇ Blz. IELA 5-6 [no. 6] (HS + err. **IE:** NaIE *ʔer(i)- 'goat, sheep, Widder, Färse' (going back to N *H'æ'Rʔ 'goat, sheep') ◇ AD NM no. 5, S CNM 5 (suggesting to add T *ar-kun 'crossbreed horse' and *ar-ga-mak 'stallion'), Vv. AEN 368.

82. *ʔurʕ or *ʔurE 'top' > **HS:** C: EC *ʔurr- 'top' > Dsn ʔúr-ru 'sky, high', Elm urr-u 'above', Brj urr-a 'mountain', Or urr-atta 'clouded mountain top', ? 'fog', ? Dl: Gln ʔurr-atte 'cloud', Hr, Dbs ʔurr-ačče 'cloud, fog'; EC *ʔirr- > Or irr-a 'on top of', Kns irr-ōta 'mountain', ?σ Sa, Af ir-o 'outside, away, abroad' ¶ Ss. B 184, To. DL 485 || B *wHu|ir (× N *H₁erU 'ascend, rise'

[q.v.]) > Ah {Fc.} ǎw̄r (pf. i w̄ar) (Fcj. 62 = Pcj. I A 6), Gh {Nh.} w̄ar (pf. i w̄ar) 'be on\above (sth.)', ETwl, Ty a w̄aɾ id., 'être levé (lune, soleil)' ¶ Fc. 1511, 2005, Pr. M VI-VII 106, Nh. 208, GhA 201 || **A** *ü|ör̄▽(-) 'rise', 'top; above' > T *ǘr- 'top' > SY yūz, Chv в и р 'top (верх)' (× N *p̄or'ä'▽ 'summit, top'???); ⇨ T *ǘr̄ä 'above, on high, on' > NaT *üzā̄ > OT üzā̄ 'above, on high', ET Δ {Jr.} ūzε, Ln üzä, SY üze 𐤌 üzi𐤌 yūze, Ln üzä, Yk ūōsā ~ ūsā 'top, upper part, upper surface', ET {Nj.} üzä 'superficial', {Nj.} üzrā, ET Δ {Jr.} ūzεrε 'on, upon'; NaT **üz-t > *üst > OT üst, Tk ūst, Tkm üθt, Az, Ggz, Qmq, Qzq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, Ln, ET {Nj.} üst, Uz ust 'top; upper part, surface' ¶ Cl. 242, 280-1, DTS 629, ET Gl 622-3, 638-9, Ml. ZhU 45-6, Nj. 124, 126, Jr. 328, Ash. V 238-9, Fed. I 124, Jeg. 54, ¶ The Tkm short *ü suggests that the initial vw. in pT was short, therefore Yk ū- is still to be explained || M *örgü- ~ *ergü- v. 'lift, raise' > MM ergu-, urgi-, WrM {MED} örgü- ~ ergü-, HlM {MED, BMR} ɐprə-, Brt ɣprə-, Ord ürgü-, Kl {KRS} ɐpr-, {Rm.} örgə-, Dg {T} erewe, Mnr {SM} urgu- id. ¶ MED 325, 641, BMR III 39, Chr. 511, KW 299, KRS 424, Ms. O 761 || pKo {S} *òr' - v. 'rise' (× N *h̄,erU 'ascend, rise', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 1065 (pA *ó'ri 'to rise, up' > M, T, Ko + unc. pJ *ura(i) 'end of a branch, top of a tree'), DQA no. 1607 (id.) || **IE**: AnIE: Ht aru- 'high' (× N *h̄,erU '↑' [q.v.]) || ?σ NaIE *wer- 'knob' ({EI} IE *w̄r̥hos 'pimple') > L v̄ār̥us 'rash\ pimples on the face', varulus 'sty (in the eye)' || Lt v̄īras, Lt E v̄ir̥ys '(pig's) measles' || AS wer-næʒl 'abscess' > NE warnel, Dt weer 'callosity', Nr Δ vere 'tumor under cow's skin' || Tc B yoro ≈ pustule, boil' ¶¶ Pv. I 177-8, P 1151, EI 523, WH II 734, Ad. 512.

83. (₂?) *ṛ'ü'í'▽w▽ 'big feline' > **HS**: CS *ṛar'y'ay- 'lion' or sim. > BHb 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏 ṛar'yē, 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏 ṛar'yē 'lion', Ph ṛarw, Ug ṛarw, BA 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏 ṛar'yē, pl. ṛar,yāwā'tā, JA 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏 ṛar'yā, SmA 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏 ṛar,yh, Sr ṛar'yā 'lion', as well as Gz ṛarwē 'wild beast' (× N *ṛor'ü' 'antelope, deer, mountain goat'); ? Cn ⇨ Eg N ṛr 'lion' ¶ KB 85, HJ 104, Sl. 166, Tal 61, A 13, DRS 32, EG I 106 || Eg fP, DEg r̄w 'lion' ¶ EG II 403, Er. 243 || Ch: ECh: Mu {J} ṛor'úwà, Mgm {J} ṛā'rum 'lion', Tmk {Cp.} ṛr̄w 'leopard' || CCh: ?? MsgP {Trn.} àhìráw, {Mch.} ahra w id. | Lmn {Lk.} ṛrvárè 'lion' | Mdr {ChL} ṛuruv̄w̄r̄i, {Mch.} ṛrvare, Glv {Rp.} ṛr̄v̄ara, {ChL} ṛrvàrà, Gv {ChL} ṛúrvarà, Dgh {Frk} rv̄irè, {ChL} àrv̄irè id. | Lgn {Lk.} r̄v̄ani id. ¶ JI II 223, 227, ChC s.v. 'lion' and 'leopard', ChL, Cp. 59 ¶ The cns. -h- in MsgP still needs explainig || **D** {ChenT, GS} *uṛuv- 'tiger' > Tm ur̄uv̄aṁ, Tl d̄uv̄v̄u, Klm duv, d̄ū, Gnd d̄ū, d̄ūal 'tiger', d̄uwāṁ, d̄uw̄wal 'panther' ¶¶ D no. 692, GS 224-5 [no. 551] ||

A: ?φ T *i_lrbil^ʔ or *i_lrbilç 'leopard' > OT irbič ~ irbiš id., OT U [TT] {BG} irpiž 'lynx (?)', Tv irbiš 'leopard'; ↳ WrM {MED} irbis, HIM {MED, BMR} 'иpвэс 'panther, leopard', Kl {KRS} иpвсг irvsag 'tiger', {Rm.} irvš 'Leopard' ¶ Cl. 199, ET Gl 346, TL 156-7, MED 413, BMR II 279, KRS 272, KW 210, ≠ Mng. G 730 → S CNM 9 (both suggested that ilbirs is a tabooistically corrupted form of *jolbars), ≠ Vv. AEN 10 (qualifying OT irbiš as a "ghost" word, but it is quoted in this form in Cl. 199; this š [if true] is from *lç) ◇ ≈ AD NM no. 3, S CNM 9 (÷÷ ST).

84. *ʔāśo 'stay, be' (IS: ← 'settle') > **HS** *ʔiš- v. 'be, exist': S *ʔiš- v. 'have', 'exist' > Ak (-)iš- (inf. išû) v. 'have', "prefixed stative" tīšû 'you (sg.) have', Ak MB stative 1s iš-ākû 'I have'; S 3m *y-išû 'he has', 'it has' → 'there is' (cp. Fr il y'a, Port tem 'there is') > Ak {CAD} išû, {Sd.} tīšû 'he has', BHb יֵשׁ yēš, SmHb yaš 'there is, it exists', SmA yš 'there is'; S adj. *ʔayš-(um) 'existing' (*lā ʔayš-(um) 'non existing' > Ak laššû(m) 'non existing', 'is not', 'there is not'), in the predicative case S *ʔayš-a 'there is' (> Ar ʔayša 'there is'), S *lā ʔayša 'there is not' > Ar layša, OA לֵישׁ lyš id., Ak laš (spelled la-aš) 'is not, there is not'. The semantic development of the word in HS and S is connected with the complicated syntactic history of these lges: in my opinion, at the ancient stage the prefix-conjugated verbs were dative-oriented (similar to the ergative syntactic orientation): *y-i-wdaʔ meant 'tibi notus est, tibi visus est' → later 'you know' (like in the history of pIE *woyd-a), hence *y(i)- meant 'to him', and *y-išû meant 'ei est, לוֹ יֵשׁ'. Later there was a syntactic revolution, namely a reinterpretation of dative-oriented sentences into nominative-oriented, so that the personal pxs (*ʔa- 'to me', *ti- 'to you', *yi- 'to him' etc.) were reinterpreted as markers of the nominative subject (*ʔa- 'I', *yi- 'he' etc.), whence, in line with the general development, *yišû 'ei est' was reinterpreted as 'he\it has' (a meaning preserved in Ak). But at the same time the S form *yišû had a fossilized WS semantic variant (not any more a conjugated verb form) that escaped the above-mentioned syntactic reinterpretation and preserved its original meaning 'il'y a' (on the "nominative syntactic revolution" in HS see AD PP, esp. p. 96). In addition, the same HS stem has a different S reflex, namely *ʔīθay 'there is' > BA אֵיתִי ʔītay, JEA אֵיתִי ʔītā, Sr אֵיתִי ʔīt, SmA ʔyṭ, Ug ʔiθ (= {Blau} *ʔiθē), BHb יֵשׁ ~ אֵישׁ ʔīš 'there is'. The enigmatic *θ of this form goes back to HS *č and is likely to be due to some sx (or infix) containing *t at the pre-S (HS?) level: *-t-š- → *-š-t- > *-č- > S *-θ- ¶ Blau MS II 58-62, KB 423, 1665, KBR 443-4, KB LVT 1049, OLS 60, BH IV 130, Tal 25, 363, G OA 72-

3, CAD VII 289–93, Sd. G §§ 78b, 106r, Sd. 402–3, 539, Fr. I 75 and IV 140, Br. 16 || ?σ B {?Pr.} *-h₁suH v. 'arrive' > Ah as id., ETwl/Ty asu (Pcj. I A 10 = *-HCU- structure), Gd ās, Gh, Nf, Kb, Mz as v. 'arrive, come', ?? Zng {TC} ešš i-ddeh 'come'; the pB lr., symbolized by Pr. as *h₁, regularly represents pHS *ʔ ¶ Fc. 1794–5, GhA 168, Pr. M VI–VII122, Nh. 213, Lf. II no. 1411, Dl. 752, Dlh. M 182, DCTC 286 || C: EC *ʔ∇š|s- (v. 'be\stay [somewhere]' →) v. 'spend the day' > Af {PH} as-e, Sa {R} as-, Sd {C, Mrn.}, Kmb {C, Mrn.}, Ged {Mrn.} os-, Hd {PB} oss- v. 'spend\pass the day'; the ancient meaning 'be\stay' is still present in Af {PH} as-e ...-k v. 'be absent from' (-k means 'from', the construction literally means 'be out of') ¶ C SE II 191, C S 656, PB 140, PH 46, R S II 48, Mrn. S s.v. os-, Mrn. ApCA s.v. os- || K: Sv l-äsω 'was' (ipf. of a copulative verb), -esω (conjunctive of the same verb, 3s l-esω) ¶ Top. SE 249, GP US 53–4 || IE *ʔes-/ʔs- ({EI} *h₁es-: 3s *h₁esti, 3p *h₁senti) > IE *ʔes-/ʔs- v. 'be' (pres. 1s *ʔes-mi 'I am', 3s *ʔes-ti 'is', 3p *ʔs-enti ~ *ʔs-onti); e.g. IE *ʔes-ti 'is' > Ht es-zi, NaIE *esti > OI asti, Gk ἐστί, L est, Osc íst, Gt ist, Lt ãesti, ãst, Sl *es-tb (> OCS ěctb jestb) etc.; IE 3p *ʔs-enti ~ *ʔs-onti 'sunt' > NaIE *s-enti ~ *s-onti > OI 'santi, Gk D'έντι (< *senti), L sunt, Um sent, Gt sind, OCS cѣtб sqтб etc.; Ht asa-nzi 'sunt' with its *0-grade for the expected zero grade is innovational (?). The pIE lr. *ʔ- is suggested by the fact that in the zero grade it did not become *ə, but was reduced to zero. In my opinion, there was an Early IE lr. *ʔ- (< N *ʔ-) that, unlike other lrs, was reduced to zero in unstressed positions (not adjacent to a vw.) where other lrs became *ə. It is not clear if IE *ʔēs- v. 'be seated' (> [pres. 3s] OI āstē, Av āstē, Gk ἵστα) is a Dehnstufe of the same IE √ or belongs to a different N etymon (see N *ʔis∇ 'to sit', 'seat') ¶ P 340–3, EI 53, BD II/3 595–642, Bks 228, M K I 67, F I 463–4, Fs. 292, Frn. 124, Bc. G 334, Pv. I–II 285–300, StSS 103–5, 829 || U *ʔä'ś'u|o¹- v. 'be somewhere, settle, dwell' > FP *äśe- (in Lp and Mr) ~ *äś∇- (in BF) > Vo asə- vi. 'settle': əlud asəb 'beer is settling', F asu- v. 'reside, inhabit', as-etta- (causative?) v. 'put, place', ase-ma 'place', F Δ as-e- (with a factitive sx?) v. 'prepare a sauna' (← v. 'put, set'), Es asu- vi. 'be, be found, lie, dwell, settle', ase, asu 'place' || pLp {Lr.} *āsə > Lp N {N} āssâ- / āsâ- 'live, dwell, settle, settle down', Lp L (h)assā- 'sich niederlassen, ansässig werden', Lp N {N} āssâ-m-sāggje 'place of residence' (the Lp forms are not necessarily loans from F, as assumed by Coll. [FUV], Rédei and Lr., but may well go back to FU *äśe- v. 'dwell, reside' and *äśe-mä 'place', esp. in view of the exact

sound corrs between Lp N $\bar{a}ss\hat{a}m$ and Mk $\ddot{a}ž\bar{a}m$) | Mk $\text{эзем } \ddot{a}ž\bar{a}m$, Δ $y\ddot{a}ž\bar{a}m$, Er $\text{эзем } ež\bar{e}m$ 'place' (< $*\ddot{a}še-m\ddot{a}$) || Sm $*\text{†}\acute{s}\bar{y}$ - {Jn., p.c.} > Ne T {Ter.} $\eta\epsilon s o$ - 'settle and build a tent (остановиться чумом)' (of nomads), T O {Lh.} $\eta\epsilon s o$ 'haltmachen und ein Zelt oder Zelte errichten' ¶¶ Coll. 4, SK 26, W EDW 64-5, Slv. 28-9, Lr. no. 62, Lgc. no. 261, Lh. 26, Ter. 422, ≈ Coll. CG 405, UEW 18-19, Ker. II 39 ¶¶ The rec. of vowels in this √ is problematic, since the vowels observed in the daughter-lges deviate from the known sound corrs Collinder (CG) and Rédei (UEW) reconstructed here {Coll.} $*a\acute{s}e$ - ($*a\acute{s}ə$ - of my notation) and {UEW} $*a\acute{s}e$ -; Rédei tried to explain the front vw. in Mr by the ass. infl. of $-\acute{s}$ - (which would have been irreg., since in many roots $*a$ remained unchanged before $\acute{s}$); their rec. gives no explanation to the Samoyed vowel. Jn. {p.c.} reconstructed U $*\text{†}\acute{s}\bar{y}$ -, since in his theory (Jn. UK) there is a reg. corr. between FP $*a---*e$ and Sm $*\text{†}---\bar{y}$, interpreted as pU $*\text{†}---\bar{y}$. But his theory (even if it is true) does not account for ϵ, e in Mr; IS and Dybo reconstruct here pre-harmonic U $*e...A$, which after harmonic levelling gave rise to $*a$ in BF and $*e$ in Mr. But in this case there is no explanation for Sm $*\text{†}$. I share the opinion of IS and Dybo assuming that the cause for irregularity lies in the interaction of Early U vowels of both syllables, but I suppose that the first vw. has been preserved without ass. changes in Mr and probably in Lp (U $*\ddot{a}$) and has changed into $*a$ in BF (due to vowel harmony) and into $*\text{†}$ (probably high back vw.) in Sm due to the infl. of the U high back $*-u$ (or mid back $*-o$). If the final vw. was $*-u$, F and Es $a\bar{s}u$ - v. 'dwell, reside' preserve the old vw., but reinterpret it as a sx of in-transitivity/passivity (infl. of other words with the sx $-u$) ◇ AD LRC no. 78 (IE, U, S), IS I 268-70 (HS: S, B, C, Ch [highly questionable]; IE, U, K), GP US 54 (K, S, IE). The rec. of the N final labialized vw. is based on the ev. of B and K, as well as on my preliminary rec. of the U stem. This labialized vw. could have been only N $*o$ rather than $*u$ or $*\ddot{u}$, since N $*u$ and $*\ddot{u}$ would have yielded $*w/u/o\bar{w}$ in IE, while N $*o$ yields no consonantal traces in IE (✓ AD NVIE) ◇ Blz.IELA 7 [no. 10] (IE, HS) ◇ IS l.c. supposed that the original meaning of the word was 'to settle' (of nomads), apparently suggested by U (Lp, Sm 'settle' etc.) and B ('arrive'). This is not certain because an opposite semantic change ('stay' → 'begin to stay' → 'settle, arrive') is possible too (cp. L $fuit$ pfc. 'was' > Sp fue 'went') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 28 ($*es$ 'be').

85. $*\text{†}is\bar{\nabla}$ (or $*\text{†}i\bar{\nabla}s\bar{\nabla}$?) 'to sit', 'seat (the part of the body that bears the weight in sitting)' (→ 'foundation, basis') > HS: S $*\text{†}i\check{s}\check{s}$ -~ $*\text{†}u\check{s}\check{s}$ - 'basis, foundation' > Ar $\text{†}uss$ -~ $\text{†}iss$ - id., BA $\text{†}o\check{s}$ * (att. forms: pl. em. $\text{†}u\check{s}\check{s}$ -

ay¹y-ā 'Grundfeste', יְהוֹשֻׁעַ 'seine Grundfeste'), OAk uśśum, Ak uśśu (mostly in pl.) 'Fundament' ¶ BK I 31, GB 896-7, Sd. 1442, DRS 35-6 || ? C: Bj {R} -sā? pcv. md. (1s p. a-'sā?, pres. 'ēstī? ~ est'tī?) 'sit, dwell' || EC: Elm a'siya, Arr {Hw.} siy?-/siḏi- 'sit down' ¶ R WBd 194, Hw. A 393, Hn. E 282, Blz. CL 18O || Ch: Ke {Eb.} 3s-, ísí 'sich niederlassen, (sich) ansiedeln', 's'asseoir, s'installer', ís žèí 'sit down' ¶ Eb. 58 || IE *ṛēs- v. 'be seated' ({EI} *h₁ēs- 'sit') > NaIE *ēs- (only md.) 'be seated' > OI 'ās-tē, Av āste id. || Gk A ἥσταλ 'he is seated' (h- from 'έλομαλ 'sit' < IE *sed-) || Ht es-, as- v. 'sit, remain (seated), reside', OHt es-, as- id., v. 'sit down, be seated', HrLw ás- v. 'sit, sit down', ása-s 'seat'; acc. to Pv., the apophony goes back to *ē/*E_o, alternation; Oettinger reconstructed here IE *E₁eE₁s- ¶¶ P 342-3, EI 522, M K I 84, F I 633-4, Ch. 411-12, Pv. I-II 291-300, Ts. E I 110-11, Oett. IGS 112, Mer. HHG 35 ¶¶ This IE √ may either belong here or be a variant (NaIE Dehnstufe?) of *ṛes- / *ṛs- v. 'be' (< N *ṛ'ā's'o' 'stay, be' [q.v.]). Both hypotheses have their drawbacks: in the former case it is still hard to explain IE *ē for the expected *e_j (F AD PIEG), while in the latter case we should not expect *a- as the zero grade (in Ht as-), but rather a zero vw. (< *E_o- < N *ṛ-). This *a is likely to suggest the presence of a postvoc. N lr. (N *ṛiṛsṽ > IE {Oett.} *E₁eE₁s-), possibly preserved (with mt.) in Bj. A possible solution for the enigmatic NaIE *ē is mt. in IE (N *ṛisṽ > Bj ✓ sṛ, IE {Oett.} *E₁eE₁s-) || U: FV *isṽ- v. 'sit, sit down' > F isṽ- v. 'sit', Es isṽ- v. 'sit, sit down' || Er/Mk 0za- 'sit down', Er ozado, Mk ozada 'in sitzender Stellung, in sitting position, сидя' ¶ UEW 629, ERV 432-3 || ? E: MEI uś-ta-na 'Sockel, Fundament' ¶¶ HK 1251.

86. *ṛisū or *ṛüsṽ 'fire' > HS: S *ṛišš-, *ṛišš₁-āt- 'fire' > BHb יְהוֹשֻׁעַ 'his fire', pl. [BS] יְהוֹשֻׁעַ *ṛišš₁-ōt, Ph ṛš, Ug ṛšṭ, (AkSc) i-š-i-tu, OA ṛš, BA em. יְהוֹשֻׁעַ ṛēšš₁-ā, IA יְהוֹשֻׁעַ ṛšh, em. יְהוֹשֻׁעַ ṛšṭ-ṛ, SmA ṛš ({Tal} = aš), ṛšh, JA יְהוֹשֻׁעַ ṛišš₁-ā, יְהוֹשֻׁעַ ṛišš₁-ā't-ā, Sr יְהוֹשֻׁעַ ṛēšš₁-ā't-ā, Gz יְהוֹשֻׁעַ ṛasāt, Tgr, Amh יְהוֹשֻׁעַ ṛasāt, Har ṛasāt, ṛisāt, OAk iśum, Ak iśātum(m), Eb {Krb.} ṛiśātum 'fire' ¶ KB 89, BH IV 34, GB 69, 897, Blau MS II 62-7 (hyp.: *ṛiš- with a short *š, Hb and Aram gemination is secondary), A no. 436, OLS 57-8, Hnr. 110, Sl. 126, Tal 67, JH 27, HJ 121, L G 44, CAD VII 227-33, Sd. 392-3, G OA 72, DRS 35-6 || WCh {Stl.} *wusi 'fire' > AG: Ang, Gmy, Su, Ywm wùs, Tal wùs | Ron: Klr wúš | BT: Gera {Sch.} wùsí, Krkr {Lk.} yèsí, εsi, {ChL} ṛèsî, Ngm yèsî, Krf {Sch.}, Glm {Sch.} wùsí, Bele {Sch.} uhi, Grm {Sch.} üsí, Pr {Frz.} wúžì, Bl wosì; SBc: Grn {Sh.} iśí, Grn Mb {Sh.} iśí ¶ JI II

138, Stl. ZCh 238 [no. 849], ChL, ChC s.v. 'firee', Frz. P 53, Sch. BTL 144, Sh. SB 24 || **U:** FU: [1] (att. in Ugr) *ūs▽- v. 'fire (a hearth etc.), kindle the fire, heat, be very hot' > pOs {Stn.} *ōđ- ({Hl. *ūđ-}) v. 'fire (oven etc.), kindle the fire' = 'heizen (den Ofen, Tschuval), Feuer anmachen' > Os: V/Vy ōl-, Lk ōθ-, Ty/Y ōđ-, I (D etc.) at-, Nz/Sh āt-, Kz āl-, O āl- id. | OHg izzad- 'sehr hitzig sein, sehr warm sein', Hg izzad- v. 'sweat' || [2] (att. in Prm) ?φ *°äsâ > Prm {LG} *εs- 'ignite' > Z 3zy+- 'catch fire', caus. 3zt+- 'ignite, kindle', Yz 'ōzt^+tn+ 'kindle fire \ a bonfire', Vt est- 'stoke', Vt Kz ezъl- 'auftauen, schmelzen' ¶ The shift *ü > *ä still requires explanation ¶ MF 334-5, Stn. D 64, Hl. rHt 71, ≈ UEW 27, LG 210, Lt. J 157 || **A:** M *isü_ln_l 'soot' (unless it is pM **φisü_ln_l) > WrM {MED} isü, HlM {MED, BMR} ис, Brt эҺэ(Һ) 'soot' ¶ MED 417, BMR II 282, Chr. 779 || AdS of T *hiS-su-/*hiS-sü- v. 'heat', *hiS-su-φ- / *hiS-sü-φ- 'hot' ({Md.} *i:ssig ~ *i:ssig) 'warm' (< N *pósí 'be hot/warm', q.v. ffd.) || **D** *'i'č- 'fire' > Mnd iske 'fire', Png iske žīpoli, iski-dipuli 'firefly', Klm isre 'glowworm' ¶¶ D no. 428 ◇ The S, M and D roots suggest N *ʔi- in the initial syll., while Ugr and WCh point to a labial vw. in the initial syll. of the N word ◇ This N word is to be distinguished from N *'h'aš'o' 'burn' (of fire) (q.v.). Cf. otherwise IS I 262-3 s.v. *ʔaSa 'fire' ◇ Cf. ≈ Blz. DA 162 [no. 101] (Blz. unconvincingly equated the above HS, D, FU and T roots with the IE and M reflexes of N *'h'aš'o' 'burn' [of fire]), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 106 (D, HS, U, M + unt. Tk iɤ, i 'funkeln, leuchten').

87. *ʔ'▽ś▽ 'they' > **K** *°-▽s: Mg -es / -is, Lz -es, 3p aor.: Mg čv-es vt. 'they burnt\baked', čar-es 'they wrote', ibir-es 'they sang', tkvi-is 'they said', Lz čar-es 'scripserunt'; Mg -d-es, Lz -t-es, 3p ipf.: Mg dvan-d-es 'mittebant', Lz čarum-t-es 'scribebant' ¶ Q O62-5, Marr 50-1, Kiz. ZJ 69-71 || **IE: [1]** *-es (< **-ʔes), nom. pl. m./f. of nominal parts of speech and participles > AnIE: Ht -es ~ -is, Pal -us id. || NaIE nom. pl. m./f. *-es (with consonantal stems) > OI -as, Gk -ες, Gt -s, L -es, Osc -s, ON -r, Lt -es, OCS -ε-e; with *-o-stems: *-ōs (< *-o-es) > OI -ās, Osc -úś, Gt -ōs, ON -ar; with *-ā-stems: *-ās (< -ā-es) > OI -ās, Osc -As, Gt -ōs, Lt -os || **[2]** *-n-s (< *-m accus. + *-s pl.), accus. pl. m./f. (of nominal parts of speech and participles) > AnIE: Ht -us, Lv -anza (whence nom. pl. -anzi), HrLw -aⁿzi (→ nom. pl. -aⁿzi) || NaIE *-ŋ-s accus. pl. m./f. of consonantal stems > Gt -ns, OI -as, Gk -ας, L -ēs (→ nom. pl. -ēs), Osc -s, Um -F, Lt -is; *-o-ns with *-o-stems > OI -ān, Gk -ονς (> Gk A -ους), L -ōs, Gt -ōs etc. ¶¶ The presence of *-e- in *-es and the vowel lengthening in *-ōs, *-ās

suggest a pre-IE initial *ʔ- (otherwise the pl. ending would have been *-s, like in nom. sg.), but the absence of vowels in the accus. pl. *-n-s is still to be explained ¶¶ Mer. SGA 275, 282-4, Brg. KVG 390-9, Bks 173, 191-2, Bc. G 113-30 || **A**: T: Chv † {Ash.} -əś ~ -əžə 'their', Chv -ěč -əś (3p ending of verbs in aor., ft. and conjunctive) ¶ Rs. MTS 201-3, Andr. ChJ 487, Ash. MI 305 ¶ The palatality of Chv -č -ś needs investigating || M *-s, pl. of nouns: MM [MA] üge-s 'words', [S] ere-s, WrM erē-s 'men', HIM {BMR} эрс id., {Pp.} ūlēs 'mountains', Kl zalū-s 'die Männer (im Gegensatz zu den Weibern)', Mgl tākā-z 'bucks', Ord emē-s 'women' ¶ Pp. IM 177-8, MED 323, BMR IV 429, KW 465 || ?σ Tg {Bz.} coll. *-sa / *-se, e.g.: Tg *ul-se 'meat' > Ul ulsə, Ud ulʒʰə, Ewk ullə, Lm ulrə and probably Sln uldi ~ uldʒ; Tg *xol-sa 'fish' (coll.) > Ud olo^Ho 'cooked fish' and possibly Nn Nh/KU, Ork xolto, Ul xolto(n-) 'fish'; the forms with -lt- and -ld- belong here only if they may be traced back to *-l-s- (as suggested by Bz.: "in sehr vielen Fällen ist das Suffix durch Assimilationserscheinungen verdeckt und nicht leicht zu erkennen" [Bz. 69]) ¶ Bz. 69, STM II 14, 262, On. 467 ¶¶ Rm. VAJ § 25, Pp. PSA || **U**: FU: Prm: Z -ʒś, pl. of adjective: žēñ+d-ʒś 'short' (pl.) | hardly here pPrm *-yōs▽ (pl. of nouns) (> Z -yas, Z Ud -yəs, Prmk -ez ~ -yez, Yz -yōz, Vt -yos, -os); Rd. believed that this sx goes back to pPrm {Rd.} *yōs▽, {LG} yōz- 'Glieder, Gelenk' (presumably akin to F jäsen 'joint of limbs, member'); in any case, Prm *-s- in *-yōs▽ does not correspond etymologically to K *-s- in *-▽s ¶ LtT 873, LG 112, Bat. KZJ 220, Rd. GPS 379-80 || **HS**: pCh (in WCh) {Kr.} *sun 'they', *su(n) 'their, them' (in some Ch lges postnominal, pre- and post-verbal) [1] *sun 'they' > Hs su | Fy {J} són, Bks {J} sín | Krkr du-su | Ngz ak-šì | Dw sun, Gj si, Sy yà-šâ | [2] *su(n) 'them' > Hs su | Bl, Krkr su, Ngm nsû | Ngz ak-šì | Sy šì, Gj sî, Dw -sun-nàk | [3] *su(n) 'their' > Hs su | Bl (s)su, Ngm ŋsu, Krkr su | Ngz -k-šì | Sy yà-sŋ, Dw gù-sun, Plc gə-səŋ, Gj gʷà-səŋ | Fy {J} -ùs, Bks {J} -is ¶ Kr. RChP ∇, J R ◇ IS MsN (*S in IE, T, Tg, Mg), Gr. I 116-17 ("plural S" in IE, A, Aleut, ? Prm).

88. ₂ *ʔi|üś'U'ʔ▽ 'to sweep, to rake' > **HS** *sūʔ- ({AD} *s₂ūʔ-) > WS *-šūʔ- (= *✓šwʔ) v. 'make raking\rowing\sweeping movements' > BHb -šūʔ- (✓šwʔ) v. 'row', MHb -šūʔ- (✓šwʔ G) 'row, fly, float, swim', MHb ✓šwʔ Po 'swim', EpJA ✓šwʔ Po (šwʔʔ) 'roam', JBA {Sl.} ✓šwʔ G 'fly', JA {Js.} ✓šwʔ D 'roam, fly, swim, row', Sr šuwaʔ-əʔ-ā 'weaver's comb\shuttle', CPA ✓šwʔ 'rove about, umherstreifen', Md ✓šwʔ G 'move hither and thither, fly, flow', Ar ✓swʔ (ip. ya-sūʔ-u) v. 'mix up', Gz ✓swʔ (pf. sōʔa,

js. $y\bar{a}$ - $s\bar{u}t$) 'mix, add' ¶ ≈ KB 1336-7, HJ 1116, Sl. 1116, Js. 1531, DM 454, BK 1164-5, L G 521 || Ch {JS} * $\sqrt{s_3d}$ v. 'sweep' > WCh: Hs {Ba.} $\check{s}\check{a}r\check{e}$ (p. {Abr.} $\check{s}\check{a}r\check{a}$ and $\check{s}\check{a}r\check{a}$), Klr $\check{s}\check{u}t$, Kir $s\check{a}d\acute{e}$, Zar sat id. || CCh: Mdr $\hat{s}a\check{d}$ -a v. 'sweep', Glv $\hat{s}^ye\check{d}\check{i}$ -, Dgh $\hat{s}a\check{d}$ -, pMM {Ro.} $\hat{s}a\check{d}$ - (> Mada $\hat{s}\acute{a}\check{d}$, Myn $\hat{s}\check{z}\acute{d}\acute{a}$, Mkt $\hat{s}\grave{a}\acute{d}\acute{a}y$), Db $\hat{z}\acute{a}\check{d}$ - id. ¶ JS 259, Ba. 929-30, Abr. H 801-2, ChC s.v. 'sweep', Ro. 339 [no. 710], ≠ Sk. HCD 242 ¶¶ On HS * s_2 see AD ChCS || U: FP * $i\acute{s}t\check{\nabla}$ - * $\ddot{u}\acute{s}t\check{\nabla}$ v. 'sweep' > Chr inf. $\ddot{u}\check{s}'ta\check{s}$ 'to sweep' | pPrm * $i\acute{s}$ 'broom' > Z $y\acute{i}\acute{s}$, Yz $i\acute{s}$ 'a broom with a long haft (made of birch tree)', Vt $i\acute{s}$ - $\acute{n}er$ 'broom' ($\acute{n}er$ < $\acute{n}3r$ 'twig') ¶ MRS 647-8, U 330, LG 112.

89. * $\sqrt{\nabla}\check{s}'\ddot{u}'H_2\check{\nabla}$ 'wild boar' > K: pGZ * $e\check{s}w$ - 'wild boar, swine' > OG $e\check{s}w$ - 'wild boar', 'fang', G $e\check{s}v$ - 'fang', Mg a-sk-u (< *o-askw-u) 'pigsty' (< *askw- 'swine'), ?σ Lz $\check{c}kva$ 'fang' ¶ K 81, K² 48, FS K 11, Abul. 152 || IE: NaIE * $s\bar{u}$ -s, * $su'w$ -os ({EI} * $s\bar{u}$ -s / gen. * $s(u)'w$ -os) '(wild or domesticated) pig' > Av $h\bar{u}$ 'swine' gen. sg. (< * $hu\check{v}\bar{o}$) || Gk $\hat{u}\check{\varsigma}$ (gen. $\acute{u}\acute{o}\check{\varsigma}$) 'wild swine; pig' || Gk (← Pls?) $\sigma\check{u}\check{\varsigma}$ id. || pAl {O} * $s\ddot{u}(s)$ > Al G/T $t\check{h}i$ {AlbED} 'boar' || L $s\bar{u}$ -s id., Um $s\bar{i}m$ accus. 'swine', $s\bar{i}f$ accus. pl. 'swines' || Clt {Matas.} * $sukko$ - 'pig' > OIr $soc(c)$ 'snout, plough-share', OW $huch$ ~ $su\check{h}$, MW $h\check{w}ch$ 'pig', OBr [ʃ] $hoch$ 'aper', Br $houc'h$ 'pig', OCrn [ʃ] $hoch$ 'porcus', Crn $hoch$ 'pig'; acc. to Matas., "the geminate *-kk- may be due to the analogical infl. of the other word for 'pig', pClt * $mokku$ -" || ON $s\check{y}-r$, OHG $s\bar{u}$, NHG Sau , AS $s\bar{u}$ 'sow', NE sow || Ltv $si\check{v}\acute{e}\check{n}s$, $su\check{v}\acute{e}\check{n}s$ 'small pig, sucking pig' || Tc B $s\bar{u}wo$ 'pig, hog' (< * $suw-on$ -) | d. IE * $suw-$ īno- 'belonging to pigs' > L $s\bar{u}īnus$ id. || pSl * $svinъ$ > OCS, OR $свинъ$ $svinъ$ id., dadj.: R $свиной$, Uk $свиний$ id. | Pru $seweynis$ 'pigsty' || Tc B $s\bar{w}\acute{a}r\acute{e}$ (in $s\bar{w}\acute{a}r\acute{a}na\ m\acute{i}sa$ 'pork') | sunstantivized adj.: Gt $s\bar{w}ein$ (· $\chi o\check{\rho}os$) 'Schwein', ON $svín$, OHG, AS $s\bar{w}\bar{i}n$, NHG $Schwein$ 'swine', NE $s\bar{w}ine$, d. from adj.: Sl * $svinъja$ 'swine' > OCS $свинья$ $svinija$, SCr $svinja$, Slv $svinja$, Cz $sviře$, Slk $sviňa$, P $świnia$, R $свинья$, Uk $свиня$ ¶ P 1038-9, EI 425, F II 824, 973-4, WH II 635-6, Bc. G 346, Matas. 359, O 477, Ç II 219-220, 478, Kf. 366, AlbED 891, Ho. 329, 337-8, Vr. 570, 574, KM 628, 691, Kb. 982, Fs. 465, Wn. I 446, Kar. II 189-90, En. 246, Vs. III 578-9, StSS 593, Glh. 599-600, Ad. 698 || A: Tg: Ud siu 'two-year-old boar' ¶ STM II 100 || HS: DEg $\check{i}\check{s}$ 'swine, sow', Eg fMK {EG} $\check{s}\check{z}\check{y}$, $\check{s}\check{z}$ 'swine', Eg L $\check{s}\check{z}\check{y}.t$ ({Vc.} * $[e\check{s}'\check{o}ye\check{t}]$) 'sow', Cpt: Sd $\check{y}\check{e}\check{z}\check{e}$ 'swine', Sd/B $\epsilon\check{y}\check{w}$ $e\check{s}\bar{o}$, B $\epsilon\check{y}\check{a}\check{y}$ $e\check{s}\check{a}\check{w}$ 'sow' ¶ EG IV 401, 405, Fk. 260, Er. 44, Vc. 49, 254 ¶ $\check{s}$ (for the expected s) is puzzling (something like ** $-s\check{i}$ - or ** $-s\check{u}$ - > Eg $\check{s}$?) || The Ak word $sa\check{x}\hat{u}$ - 'swine' is considered a loan from Sumerian

(Sd. 1133); is it a return loan of a (Hamito-)Semitic word? ◇ The initial ʔ in DEg ʔš and the initial zero cns. in pGZ *ešw- suggests a N initial *ʔ-; in most descendant lges the tentatively reconstructed N *ʔ∇- was lost.

90. *ʔʼat∇ 'female, woman' > HS *ʔ∇t- > C *ʔ∇t∇ 'elder sister' > EC: Sa {R} atē (pl. ātēt) 'elder sister', Ya {Hn.} ʔou (pl. 'ʔóúyo') 'sister' (ʔ- < *ʔ∇t-) ¶ AD SF 243 (C *ʔ∇tt∇), R S II 54, Hn. Y II 133 || NrOm: Ym {C} ētnā, {Lm.} ētā ~ ētì 'sister', {Wdk.} ētá 'my sister' (if t originally belonged to the stem and only later was reinterpreted as belonging to the ppa. -tā 'my', as analysed by Wdk., or as a marker of fem., as supposed by Lm.; cp. Ym {C} nē t-etnā 'you are my sister') ¶ C SE III 69, 90, Wdk. BY 121, Lm. Y 326 || HS marker of the fem. sex in nouns: S *-āt- in *ʔaχ-āt- 'sister' [> BHb ʔāʔh-ōt, Ph *ʔaʔut-, in proper names ʔʔt-, (AkSc) aχut-milki, lit. 'king's sister', Ug ʔaχātu = ʔaχt, (AkSc) aχātū, JA ʔʔʔʔ ʔʔāʔt-ā, Sr ʔāʔtā, SmA cs. ʔʔʔʔ ʔʔt, Ak aχātū], in S *ʔam-āt- 'husband's mother, mother-in-law' (> BHb ʔām-ōt, JA ʔʔʔʔ ʔāmāt-ā, Sr ʔāmātā, Gz ʔāmāt, Tgr, Tgy ʔʔʔʔ ʔamat, Ak emētū id., SmA ʔʔʔʔ ʔmʔt-h 'his mother-in-law'), as well as S *-at- in nouns for female beings, e.g. *ʔbin-at- 'daughter' > BHb ʔʔ bat, Ar bint- etc. ¶ KB 30-1, 314, KBR 327, Hnr. 105, FrdR § 94, Sl. 106, ≈ Tal 18-19, 279 (unjustified abs. *ʔʔʔʔ *ʔʔʔʔ, *ʔʔʔʔ *ʔʔʔʔ), L G 235, LH 62 || Eg -t (marker of the feminine gender in nouns denoting female beings [s t 'sister'], as well as in nouns belonging to the feminine gender as an agreement class) ¶ Gard. 34 || LbB *-t (marker of f.) in forms like B *t∇- funas-t 'cow', ONum ul-t 'daughter' ¶ Fv. LJ 418-20 || C: EC: Or H -tī, sx of f. (denoting the female sex): ʔār-tī 'wife' (↔ ʔār-sá 'husband'), obbolēttī 'sister' (↔ obbolesá 'brother'), ogēttī 'expert (woman)' (↔ og-esá 'expert'), adj.: hām-tū 'bad (female)' (↔ hām-ā 'bad') ¶ AD SF 243, Ow. 95 || Ch: [1] Ch {Sch.} *-t∇, f. sg. determiner of nouns: {Sch.} Hs gōdīyá-r **the** mare' (↔ gōdīyā 'mare') (-r < *-t), Bd šà-tīwú **that** cow' (↔ šà 'cow'), Mlw múní tí ná **this** woman' (↔ muni 'woman'), as well as with loss of gender distinction: Gude ráhá-tá **that** axe' (↔ ráhá 'axe'), as well as possibly (× N *tā, dem. prn. of non-active [inanimate] objects [q.v.]) the prefix of dem. pronouns in Kera: f. sg. táŋ, m. sg. tóŋ 'this', pl. téŋ 'these' ¶ Sch. ED 158-9 || [2] CCh: acc. to Mch. VCQP 65-6, "**Kotoko**: t s'infixe au singulier entre épouse et le suffixe possessif... **Masa**: suffixes masculin en na, féminin en ta (dialectal da). **Gidar**: affixes n au masculin, t au féminin. Exemple: vieux = mugalen, vieille = mugalta. **Bata**: suffixes

nominaux *wə*, *tiye*, où *ti* indiquerait le féminin... **Jeŋ** [= Njey]: suffixes nominaux... *č̣i* (féminin); *č̣i* se suffixe au nom et à l'adjectif: *maḍagalč̣i*¹ *maḍač̣i*² 'vieille¹ femme²' ¶¶ Gr. LA 46-7 ¶¶ This N word is probably one of the two sources (together with the N dem. prn. ***ṭä** of non-active objects) of the HS marker ***ṭ∇-/∇ṭ** of the so-called "feminine" gender (actually feminine-and-inanimate gender), namely [1] that of the verbal px ***ṭ∇-** of the 3d person "feminine" (= feminine-and-inanimate\ collective) > S ***ta-/ṭ-** (*F* Hz. VP), B ***ṭ∇-** id., EC ***ṭ(∇)-**, Bj, Aw **ṭ-** of 3f in prefix-conjugated verbs, ***ṭ-** as marker of 3f in many Ch lges, as well as the marker ***-ṭ-** of 3f within the person/number/gender sxs; [2] that of the pHS ending ***-∇ṭ-**, marker of both the female sex in nouns (*F* above) and of the fem.-and-inanimate gender (functioning as sx of singulative, collective and abstract nouns) in S, Eg, B, C and Ch, and [3] that of the HS prn. ***ṭ∇-** (prn. of the fem.[-and-inanimate] gender) > Bj **ṭ-**, fem. gender marker in the df. art.: Bj A {AD} sg. nom. *tū* ~ *tu*, accus. sg. *tō* ~ *tū*, pl. nom. *tā* ~ *ta*, pl. accus. *tē* ~ *ti*, Bj Hd {Rop.} sg. nom. *tū* ~ *ti*, accus. sg. *tō* ~ *ti*, pl. nom. *tā* ~ *ti*, nom. pl. *tē* ~ *ti*, Bj (dialect, recorded by Reinisch) nom. sg. *tū*, accus. sg. *tō*, nom. pl. *tā*, accus. pl. *tē*; Berber ***ṭ∇-**, px of fem. nouns, both sg. and pl. (from an article similar to that of Bj), e.g. Sll, Nf *ta-ḷɣəmt* 'she-camel', pl. *ti-ḷəɣmin*, *ti-ḷəɣmatin*, Kb *ta-funast*, Tmz *ta-funast* 'cow', Zwr *t-funast*, Zmr *t-funast* id., pl. *tifunasin*, *t-ṃɣart* 'old woman', Mz *t-ṃəɟtut* 'woman' etc. (*F* AiM 208-9); Sml **-ta**, **-tu**, **-tī**, fem. form of df. articles; Cushitic fem. gender marker ***ṭ-** in dem. pronouns: Bj {R} **ṭ-ūn** 'this' f. (accus. **ṭ-ōn**), **ṭ-ān** 'these' f. (accus. **ṭ-ēn**), Sa {R} **ṭ-ā**, **ṭ-ay** 'this' f., **ṭ-o**, **ṭ-oy** 'that' f., Sml **-t-aní** (accus. **-t-án**) 'this' f. (sx of a noun), **-t-ās i** (accus. **-t-ā**) 'that' f. (general deixis) etc., Or B **tunì(-nī)** 'this' f., accus. **t-ánā**, gen. **táná** etc., Sd **t-e**, **t-ene**, **t-ēne**, **t-in** 'this' f. etc. (*F* AD KJ 28, 46-8, 106, 116-17), as well as fem. gender marker in nominal ppa. in Bj (**-ṭ-**), Sml (**-ṭ-**: *ì'nán-ṭ-àɣ-d-u* 'my daughter', where **-ṭ-** is the marker of fem. in the suffixed possessive prn. *taɣdu*, *taɣday-* is a ppa. of 1s, and **-d-** is the marker of fem. of the postpositional article ↔ *ì'nàn-ḳ-àɣ-g-u* 'my son', where **-k-** and **-g-** are masc. gender markers), Rn **-ēt** marker of genitive in fem. nouns, Or **Δ -ṭ-** etc. (AD KJ 107-8, PG 26). In Ch this HS prn. ***ṭ∇** became a personal prn. of 3s fem. (actually, fem.-and-inanimate), which Blz. reconstructs as ***ta**. In WCh it functions (1) as a preverbal subject marker of 3f: Hs *tā* (with past), *ta* (with some other verbal forms), in BT lges (with neutral form, pf.: Bl, Gera *tì*, Krf, Glm, Grm *tà*, Tng *ta* etc.), in Ron lges

(with the main aspect of the verb: Fy, Bks, Klr tí); (2) within an aut. prn. of 3f (prefix + *ta, acc. to Kraft's rec.): Hs i-ta, Bl i-tà, Krkr d3-t3w, Tng η-ta, Fy, Bks yí-t, Ngz, Bd a-tù, as well as without prefix: Ngm tē, Zul ti; (3) as an object prn. of 3f (*t∇, acc. to Kraft): Hs, Bl ta, Krkr, Tng tà, Ngz atù, Bd tù; (4) as a possessive prn. of 3f (*ta, acc. to Kraft): Hs ta, Bl to, Krf tãa, Krkr (t3)-t3w, Tng tò, Pr tè, Ron: Fy -it, Bks -et. In CCh it. appears: (1) as a subject prn. of 3m: Msg G {MB} t3, Msg P {MB} te, Mbara, Mlw ti; (2) as a possessive marker of 3f: Gude -tà, Bcm -rò (where -r- < *-t-), Mln -(g3)-tò, FLM -tù, Mbara -tá; (3) as an object prn. of 3f: Bcm (na)-rò, Gudu ba-r (where -r- < *-t-), FLM (gà)-tá, Msg G/P {MB} -ti, Mbara -tá 'her'; (4) in some CCh lges it is one of the elements within aut. pers. pronouns of 3f (as in Mbara tíí 'she'). In ECh this morpheme functions as a pronominal subject morpheme of 3f (Mkl tí-/t-, Bdy -tí, -g-ít), as a pronominal object sx of verbs (Mkl -t, -tì 'her', Bdy -tá 'her', -tì 'to her', Tmk -d 'her', Mgm -tí, -tì 'to her') and as a ppa. of 3f (Mkl -tù, Bdy -t, -tì 'her') ¶ Cf. Kr. RChP, MB SMSM, J R, Sch. BTL, Sch. DN, Frz. GP, Blz. PPCh1, Blz. PPCh2, Trn. MVM 76, TrnSL 163-6, J LM 33-9, JA LM 39, Al. DB 196-206, Cp. 32 || **A**: Tg *at∇ 'female; elderly woman' > WrMc {Z} aτy 'female fish' (× N ***ζ**atU 'e fish'), Ud {Shn.} at'a buyi, at'a maṣa 'she-bear', {Krm.} atiga 'female animal', {Shn.} atiṣa id., 'woman, wife', Orc ataṣa 'mother-in-law, elder sister-in-law, grandmother', Ork atī 'mother-in-law', ataqa 'wife's elder sister, grandmother', Ewk atē ~ ati, Ewk NB ata 'old woman' (address word), Ewk atkī (ppa.) 'husband's mother', 'wife's mother', atirkān 'old woman, wife', Sln atikkā: 'old woman', {Iv.} атыркан 'wife', Lm ata 'grandmother, father's elder sister', atē 'grandmother' (address), Neg N atiyakkān 'old woman', atixān~atuxān id., atkī 'mother-in-law' ¶ STM I 58, Krm. 209, Z 29 || **B** *āt̥- 'woman' > Tm āt̥ti 'woman, wife', āt̥aval 'woman', Kn āḍaṅgi 'a female', Tu āḍe 'a coward', Tl āt̥adi, āḍadi, āḍuḍi 'woman', āḍu 'womanishness', Prj aḍey 'wife', Gdb āḍa payya 'female calf', Knd āḍu 'female', Knd N/W āṛu 'wife', Ku āḍi, Δ āṛu 'wife' ¶¶ D no. 400, An. SG 132 (*ān̥t̥-), ≈ GS 208 [no. 524] (D *aḷd-) ||| Derivational\grammatical affix for females: {Zv.} *oru-tti 'one female' > Tm, Ml oru-tti 'one female person' (oru- is 'one'), Tu or-ti, Mlt or-ti 'one woman'; unlike in HS, in pD there is no merger of the fem. gender (*oru-tti 'one female') and the inanimate gender (*on-t̥u 'one thing'). But in some D lges this merger did occur: Tl a-ḍi, Klm, Nkr a-d 'that woman, that thing' (D 4 [no. 1]) ¶¶ D no. 990, Zv. DL 21, GS 72 [no. 234] ◇ The vl. *-t-

in Tg (for the expected *-d-) is still to be explained. IS MsN included the HS marker of fem. *t into the etymon "**t neutr.":

91. *ʔitê 'eat' > **IE** *ʔed- ({EI} 1s *h₁ed-mi) v. 'eat' > Ht ed-/ad-/ezza-, pres. 1s ed-mi, 3p adanzi, Lw ad-, azza-, HrLw ad-, ar-, {Mer.} á-ta-, Pal ad- v. 'eat' || NaIE *ed- / *od- / *d- 'eat' > OI 1s pres. 'ad-mi, Av 3s sbjn. aδāiti || Arm 1s pres. **նւնեմ** utem (< *ōd-) || Gk Hm inf. ἔδ-μεναι, ft. ἔδ-ο-μαι 'eat, devour' || L ed-ō / edēre 'eat' || Gt (thematic) inf. itan, ON inf. eta, OHG inf. ēzzan, NHG inf. essen, OSx, AS inf. etan 'to eat', NE eat || BSL *ēd-(mi) > Olt 1s pres. é mi, Lt μ 1s pres. é d-u (inf. é sti) 'fressen', Ltv pres. ēmu ~ ēdu 'I eat' (inf. ēst), Pru īd- (inf. īst) 'eat', īstai 'food' || Sl *ěd- 'eat' (1s pres. *ě-mь [*< *ēd-mi*], 3s pres. *ěs-tь, 3p pres. *ěd-ętь, inf. *ěs-ti) > OCS 1s pres. **ѣмь** jamь, 3s pres. **ѣтъ** jasť, 3p pres. **ѣдѣтъ** jadętь, inf. **ѣсти** jasťi 'eat', Blg ям 'I eat', SCr 1s pres. jēm (~ jēdēm) id. / inf. jēsti 'to eat', Slv 1s pres. jém / inf. jésti, Cz jím / inf. jísti, Slk jem / inf. jest', P jem / inf. jeść, R ем / inf. етъ, Uk їм / inf. їсти 'eat' || Tc B yesti ({Ad.} < *h₁ēd^s-to) '≈ food, meal' || *→* IE *ʔodont-, *ʔdont-/ *ʔdnt- ({EI} *h₁dont-) 'tooth' (originally accp. 'eating one, edens'?) > OI 'dan (accus. dan'tam, gen. da'tah < *dnt-os), Av dantan- m., dātā f. || Arm **ատամն** atamn || Gk ὀδών (gen. ὀδόντος), ὀδούς, Ae Gk pl. ἔδοντες || L dens (gen. dentis) || Clt {Matas.} *danto- 'tooth' > OIr dé t, Brtt {RE} *dant > MW, W, OBr, Br dant, OCrn [ʧ], Crn dans || Gmc: Gt tunpus (· ὀδούς) 'Zahn' (bf. from the accus. tunpu ÷ L dentem), ON tqnn, OHG zand, NHG Zahn, AS tōð 'tooth', NE tooth || Lt dantis 'tooth' ¶¶ WP I 118, P 287-9, EI 175, 595, M K I 28, M E I 61-2, F I 444-5 and II 352, WH I 340-1, 392-3, Fs. 296-7, 483-4, Vr. 106, 604 (unc. doubts about *dnt- from *ed-), StSS 798, 829, Ho. 94, 351, EWA II 1184-7, Slr. 26-7, 103-4, Frn. 124-5, Matas. E 90, Hm. 140, En. 185, Tp. P I-K 88-90, Vs. II 18, Glh. 299, Pv. I-II 315-20, Mer. HHG 41, Ad. 507 || **HS**: EC *it- v. 'eat' > Or it-o 'food', Brj, Sd, Ged, Kmb, Alb, Hd it- v. 'eat' ¶ Ss. B 108, AD SF 136, 243 || Ch: WCh: Ron: Fy ʔet- v. 'eat' || BT: Tng {J} edi v. 'eat (rice, groundnuts, beans etc.)' (J R 241, J T 86, Nw. KL 120, ChC s.v. 'eat'); in the BT lges there is contamination with the reflex of N *ŋ¹i¹Hat¹a¹ 'ε sharp instrument, sharp tooth; to bite\cut' (q.v.), whence the meaning 'to bite hard food'; Stl. ascribed Fy ʔet- v. 'eat' to WCh *ʔaĉĉ-, but this is at variance with what we know (from her own papers) about WCh historical phonology: WCh *ĉ yields Ron *š rather than pRon or Fy t (WCh *q¹aĉ- v. 'cut, chop' > DfB gīg¹aš [Stl. ZCh 82], WCh *ĉ∇r- v.

'grow, be large, long' > Sha šoŋo 'long' [Stl. ZCh 51], while WCh *-t- does yield Fy -t, cp. WCh *f∇t∇ 'sun' > Fy vīvāt 'sun' [Stl. ZCh 159, no. 129]) || ? CS *✓ʔt̪m 'bite' > Ar ✓ʔt̪m G 'saisir avec ses dents et mordre', Ug {A} ʔt̪m 'bit (Bissen)' (not confirmed by OLS) ¶ BK I 38-9, A no. 158 ¶ If CS *✓ʔt̪m belongs here, it is likely to go back to a cd ≈ *ʔit- + *ʔ∇m (< N *ʔem∇ 'seize, hold', q.v.?), whence the secondary glottalization of *t || A *it̪æ > M *ide- v. 'eat' > MM, WrM {MED} ide-, HIM {MED, BMR} идэ-, Brt эди-, Kl {KRS} ид-, {Rm.} idə-, Dg idɛ-, Mnr H id̪je-, ShY ede-, Mgl ida-, Ord id̪ē- 'eat' ¶ Pp. IM 107, MED 398, BMR II 363-4, Chr. 757, KRS 264-5, KW 205, Iw. 107, MYC 407, Ms. O 377, SDM97 s.v. *it̪e, Dr. TM I 408 || ?σ T: [1] *æt̪ 'meat, flesh' (× N *paʔit̪∇ '∈ skin, bark', q.v.) > OT {DTS} et̪, {Cl., Dnk.} ät̪, MU, XwT, MQp (incl. CC), Tk et̪, Ggz ǵet̪, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Uz, SY, Ln, StAlt et̪, Az, ET, Xlj, Yk ät̪, VTt, Bsh, Xk it̪, Tv эѡт̪ é̄t̪, Tf é̄t̪ id. || Chv ǰт̪ üt̪ 'meat, flesh', 'body' ({TL}: Chv ǰ- is due to as. in Chv ǰт̪ п̪ 'body' (with п̪ 'body') < T *æt̪ boy id.) ¶ Cl. 33, MKD 28, DTS 186, ET Gl 311-12, TL 455, DT 111, TvR 121, Ra. 183, Ash IV 26-8, Fed. I 416 and II 302-3, Jeg. 170-1, 282, AD EHL ∇ [2] NaT *æt̪-mäk ~ *öt̪-mäk 'bread' > OT, XwT, MQp, Cmn ötmek ~ etmek, Kr T eímak, Kr G etmek, Qmn\CrTt\Osm {Rl.} ätmäk, SbTt Tb itmäk, Chg, OOsM ötmek, Alt\Tlt {Rl.} ötpök, QK {Rl., B} ütpök, Tkm Δ öpmek id. ¶ The variant vw. ö- remains puzzling ¶ Cl. 12, 60, Rs. W 376. Rl. I 847, 1275, 1868, B DLT 219, DHST 293, ET Gl 254-7 ¶¶ The T word-initial *æt̪- may be explained by regr. as. (pA *i...æ > T *æt̪-). An alt. etymological hyp. (N *ʔæt̪ê) does not explain the initial vw. *i- in M and therefore is not accepted ¶¶ SDM 594 (pA *it̪e > T *et̪-mek, M), DQA no. 612 (id.) ◇ Blz. IELA 6 [no. 7] (IE, HS *✓ʔty|w 'eat' + err. HS *✓t̪y|w 'eat') ◇ IS I 273-4 [no. 136] s.v. *ʔit̪ä (IE, C, M; no S; he adduced S *✓t̪ʔw v. 'eat', Eg t̪ 'bread', err. B *at̪š < *at̪k [in fact *✓Hkš, see N ?σ *ʔEK∇'ʔ'∇ '≈ to peck, to prick'], C *✓tyʔ and Ch *✓ty/w, which is in fact belong to N *t̪Uhy∇ 'eat, feed; food'), ≈ BmK no. 418 (*ʔit̪-/*ʔet̪- 'chew, bite, eat, consume'; IE, M, S; BmK ignored EC *it̪- 'eat' and Ch: Fy ʔet̪ 'eat' etc.).

92. *ʔat̪ʔ̪∇ 'come', ? 'walk' > HS: WS *✓ʔt̪w|y G v. 'come' > BHb אַתָּה ✓ʔty|w G, Amr {G} pf. ʔatā, Aram אַתָּה ~ אַתָּא ✓ʔt̪w|y, Sr 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕 ✓ʔt̪w|y id., Ar ✓ʔty G (pf. ٱتَى ʔatā), Ar NY T ✓ʔty G, Gz ✓ʔt̪w (js. 𐤕𐤁𐤕𐤕 id., Sb ✓ʔt̪w|y 'come, come back', Ug {OLS} ✓ʔt̪w 'come, go' ¶ DRS 36, KBR 102, OLS 59, G A 14, BGMR, Bns. NJ I 154 || C: Bj {Rop.} -ʔat̪ pcv. 'step, tread',

{R} -ʔat pcv. 'treten, stampfen, trampeln' (1s: p. a-ʔat, pqp. ʔat, pres. a-ʔanīt) || ʔσ SC: Irq {MQK} ʔadah- v. 'tread on, step' (unless < N *ʔAʔdʔ 'foot', q.v.) ¶ Rop. 156, R WBd 34-5, MQK 9 || Om (× N *ʔʔʔdU 'to go' × N *qAdʔʔʔ 'to step, to walk?'): NrOm: Gf {C} aʔ- 'passare', Male {Fl.} ad- v. 'come', {Fl.} ad-~aʔ- v. 'go', Gmr {Fl.} at- 'go' || SOm: Ari B {Fl.} ad, Hm U {Fl.}, Gll {Fl.} aʔ, Dm {Fl.} aʔ~aʔ v. 'come' ¶ Blz. OL no. 205, Fl. OO 317 ¶¶ Blz. OL no. 205 (Om *ad- 'go' ÷ WS *ʔʔʔdU 'go' and its B cognates, see N *ʔʔʔdU) || IE: NaIE *ʔa|e|ot- 'go, walk' ({EI} *Het- 'go') (× N *qAdʔʔʔ 'ʔ') > OI 'atati 'goes, walks' ¶ ≈ P 69 and M K I 26 (unc. identification with *at-no- 'year'), M E I 56, EI 228 || A *ʔā- v. 'step' > T *ā- > NaT: Tkm Δ āt-, Tkm āt-, Osm {Rl.} ad- v. 'step', Xk at-IX- v. 'jump, jump over', ? Chv (← some VTt dialect?) at- v. 'walk with dipped feet (on water, mud, deep snow)', VTt at-la- v. 'step', Slr aht-la- id., Yk atilla- id. || Chv L ʔt- ud- v. 'walk' | T d. *āʔ-im n. step' > Tkm Δ ādim, Tkm ādim, Tk, Az, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, CrTt adim, VTt adim, Bsh aḍim, Uz adim, Chv L ʔtām udim 'step'; T → M *adam 'pace, step' (SDM: 'hurried walking') > WrM {MED} adam, Hlm {MED} adam 'pace, step', Kl {Rm.} adim 'großer schneller Schritt' ¶ S AJ 192 [no. 171] and 241 [no. 172], ET Gl 88, TkR 799. Ash. II 129, Fed. I 66 and II 293-4, KW 1, MED 10, ≈ S AJ 280 (pA *āt- 'шагаты' [× N *qAdʔʔʔ 'ʔ' and *pʔʔta- v. 'step, walk' [< N *pEtʔ 'to pass, to go out'], SDM97 (pA *āt- ~ *ēʔ), SDM 1139 (T *āt- < A *pʔʔta- 'to step, to walk', q.v. s.v. N *pEtʔ 'to pass, to go out'), DQA no. 1756 (id.) || ʔσ D *āʔ- vi. 'move' (× N *qAdʔʔʔ) > Tm āʔu, Kt aʔ-, Tl āʔuri intr. 'move', Td ʔʔ- v. 'move violently, dance', Kn āʔu ~ āʔu v. 'be in motion, move about' ¶¶ D no. 347 ◇ The word-medial lr. in N *ʔatʔʔ is suggested by the long vw. in T and D (that may be also due to convergence with N *qAdʔʔʔ). The N word-medial lr. is likely to have been *ʔ or *h, because these are the only laryngeals that can disappear (in non-initial position) in S.

93. 2 *ʔEtûRʔ 'day, noon' > HS: EC: Sa {R} i'trā 'noon' ¶ R S II 54 || CCh: MfG {Brr.} ʔár 'day (24 hours)' ¶ ʔ- < *ʔ- < *ʔt- ¶ Brr. MG II 110, ChC s.v. 'day and night' || A: M *edür 'day' > MM [MA] ödür 'day, noon', [L] ödür ~ öder 'day', [IM, IsV] ödür 'day', ödür düli 'afternoon', [S, HI] {H} üdür 'day', üdür düli 'noon', [PP] {Pp.} üdürč 'in 'all day', WrM {MED} edür, Hlm {MED, BMR} edep 'day; in the daytime', Brt ʔdɛp id., Kl {KRS} edp, {Rm.} ödr 'day', Mnr H {SM} udur 'day', dūr 'noon', {T} dur 'day, noon', MMgl [ZM] ʔdūr, Mgl {Rm.} üdür, {Iw.} ödür, Dg {Pp.} üdür, {T} udur, {Mr.} udure 'day',

Ord üd_ür 'jour, date' ¶ Pp. M 273, 443, Pp. L II 1259, H 158, MED 295-6, BMR III 12-13, Chr. 494, KRS 412-13, SM 65-6, 464-5, Ms. H 107, Ms. O 748, T 331-2, T DgJ 170, T DnJ 136, Iw. 143, KRS 412-13, KW 293, Rm. M 41.

94. *ʔæt̪∇ 'make' (→ causativizing morpheme) > **ʔ** *^oæt̪'∇ (= *^oät̪'∇?) > T *æt̪- (= *ät̪-?) ({Md.} *ē̄t̪- [*ē̄t̪-]) v. 'make' > OT et̪-, {Cl.} ē̄t̪- v. 'make, create, perform, organize' (acc. to Cl., v. 'organize, put in order' is the primary meaning; but this impression may have resulted from the specific thematic limitations of the existing OT texts), Tk et̪-, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, ET, Ln, StAlt, Tv et̪-, SY yet̪- ~ it̪-, VTt, Bsh it̪-, Chv † aτ- at̪- v. 'make, perform', Chv MK ę̄t̪- v. 'make' ¶ Chv MK ę̄- suggests pT *e-, while Chv a- points to a T *ä- ¶ Cl. 36-7, DTS 186, ET Gl 312-13, TkR 795-6, Md. 91, 164, Ash. II 129, Fed. I 67 || **HS** (with de-emphatization) **✓ ʔt̪ > S *^o✓ ʔt̪y > Ar ✓ ʔt̪y (pf. أَتَى ʔatā) 'undertake (smth.), make (it)', ?σ S *^o✓ ʔt̪w > Ar ✓ ʔt̪w (pf. أَتَا ʔatā) 'produce (ground)' ¶ Fr. I 11, Hv. 2 || Ch {JS} *taʔ- v. 'make' > WCh: DfB/Bks {J} taʔ 'build' || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} ḍa, Bt {Mch.} ta 'make' || Msy {Mch.} ḍa, Db {LnG} ḍl̪yā, Kola {Sb.} ...ḍi... id. || ECh: Kwn {J} ḍē id. ¶ ḍ < *ʔt̪ ¶ JI II 29, JS s.v. Ch. *taʔ 'build', ChC s.v. 'make' and 'build', ChL, J R || The N word was grammaticalized in U, A and D, giving rise to a causativizing sx of verbs: **U** {Lh.} causativizing verbal sx *-tt̪- > F -tta-/-ttä-: istutta inf. 'setzen, pflanzen' (↔ istua 'to sit, to sit down'), elättä inf. 'ernähren, unterhalten' (↔ elää inf. 'to live'), Lp N -t̪-/-d̪-: goastât̪it 'to send' (↔ goasât̪it 'to reach'), ḍuṣṣât̪it 'to destroy' (↔ ḍuṣṣât̪it 'to deteriorate, to be destroyed'), ? Lp S {Hs.} -dh̪- (caus., e.g. baakkedidh vt. 'to warm' [← baakke 'warmth', baakkes adj. 'warm']), Er/Mk -t̪(∇)- (causativizing sx): Er kas-t-oms inf. 'to rear, to grow' (↔ kas-oms 'to grow'), inf. sim-d-ems 'to give to drink' (↔ sim-ems 'to drink'), Mk inf. эждемс 'ež-d̪-ams 'to heat, to warm' (↔ эжемс 'ež-ams 'to warm oneself'), Chr woltem 'I make descend' (↔ woltem 'I descend'), Z -t̪-: p̪rt̪-n̪ inf. 'to carry in, to bring in' (↔ p̪rt̪-n̪ 'to go in, to come in'), Os Shr {Gu.} qawar-t̪- v. 'cook' (↔ qawar- v. 'be cooked'), ayam-t̪- v. 'glue (sth.)' (← ayem n. 'glue'), Hg költ̪- v. 'rouse, wake up' (↔ kel̪- v. 'get up, rise') || Sm: Slq Tz {KHG} inf. ću-t̪i-qo 'to melt sth.' (↔ ću-qo vi. 'melt'), qal-t̪i-qo inf. 'to leave, verlassen' (↔ qal̪i-qo 'to remain'), Ng {Ter.} inf. ko-tu-ja 'to kill' (↔ kou-ja 'to die'), inf. ṇatum-t̪i-s̪i 'to show' (↔ ṇatum-s̪i 'to become visible'), inf. ṇal̪am-t̪i-s̪i 'to make glad\ happy' (↔ ṇal̪am-s̪i 'to be glad\happy'), StNe T xab(a)-da-cb 'to

Nbt 𐤎𐤍, IA 𐤎𐤍𐤏, Sr 𐤎𐤍𐤏, Ar 𐤎𐤍𐤏, Sb 𐤎𐤍𐤏, Gz 𐤎𐤍𐤏, Ak 𐤎 'or', ? SmA 𐤎𐤍𐤏 = 𐤎 'or'; EthS 𐤎𐤍 Sa {R} 𐤎 'or' ¶ KB 19, GB 14, A no. 3, OLS 1, HJ 21, BGMR 9, L G 47, Sd. 1308, DRS 11, Tal 22 || **IE:** NaIE *^oau 'or' > L au t 'or' (< *aw-ti), Osc au t AUT, AUTI, Um u te OTE 'or' || NaIE *we(:) / *u 'whether?', 'or' ({EI} *-wē 'or') > OI, Av, OPrs v ā || Gk ἥ-(F)έ, ἥ (ἥ) 'whether, or' || L -v ē 'or' || Gt -u 'whether?' (pc. of general question) || Clt: OIr nō 'ou bien', OBr nō u 'or' (if < *ne-we) || Tc B wa-t 'or; rather than' ¶ ≈ WP I 188-9, ≈ P 7, 73-5 (considering the stem *we(:) to be an apophonic grade of *aw- 'jener, andererseits'), Bks 223, EI 410, Fs. 508, M K I 180, F I 183, 619, WH I 87, Bc. G 340, Vn. N 17-18, Wn. I 349, Ad. 575-6 || **A:** M *^oū / *^oū̄ (distributed by the rules of vowel harmony), encl. pc. of general question > MM [HI] {Ms.}, [S] {H} -u (interr. pc.: bu su -u bu i? 'is not it?', u q a b a -u ci 'have you noticed?'), WrM {MED} u u ~ ũ ũ, HLM {MED, BMR} y y ~ y y - pc. of general question at the end of sentences, Brt y y id., Kl -u ~ -ū, Mnr H {SM, T} -u 𐤎 -ū (interr. pc.) ¶ Ms. H 104, H 157, MED 889, BMR III 362-3, 429, Chr. 516, SM G 88, 136-7, 197, Snz. GKJ 83, T 153 ◇ Cf. Bm. TPN 268 [no. 263] (S, IE). NaIE *a suggests N *a-.

97. *𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 'island, seashore' > **HS:** S *^o𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 > BHb 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 'coast, island', MHb 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 'island', Pun 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 'peninsula' ¶ KB 37, KBR 38, HJ 43, DRS 17 || Eg fOK 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 'island' ¶ EG I 47 || **IE:** NaIE *^ou(y)o- > Gmc *awja- 'island' > ON R au i u, ON ey, NNr øy, Dn ø, Sw ö, AS i e 𐌿, ME ē, ī, NE [aɪ] in i s-land, OFrs èi-land, OSx ði-land 'island'; Gmc 𐌳𐌰𐌶𐌰 in Scandinavia ¶ Ho. 186, Hlq. II 1451-2, Vr. 106 || **U:** Sm {Jn.} *w o 𐌶𐌰, {Hl.} *𐌳𐌰𐌶𐌰 'island' > Ng {Cs.} 𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰, En {Cs.} 𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰 (a phonetically inaccurate recording?), {Ter.} 𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰, Ne T 𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰, {Lh.} 𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰, Ne F {Lh.} 𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰 'island', Slq Nr {Cs.} ko, ku, cds kollaga 'small island', ol-ko 'island', Mt {Hl.} *𐌶𐌰 (or *o) id. (Mt K {Pl.} o) || ? FU: F Vuojanmaa 'Gotland' (lit. 'Isle-land' with F maa 'land'), unless the first part is a loan from NrGmc ¶ Jn. 177, Hl. M no. 793.

98. 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 'egg' (or 'white of egg') > **HS:** S *^o𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 > Ar SL 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 ~ 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 'white of egg' ¶ Bel. 16 || **IE:** NaIE *^ou(y)o- ({EI} IE *h₈ō(u)iom) 'egg' > Gk A/I ὀόν (< *ōu(y)-om), Gk Ae ὠλον, Gk D ὠεον 'egg' || Arm 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎴 (gen. 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎴) id. || L ōvum id. (𐌳𐌰 OAl v oe, Al T v e, Al G v o) || Clt: OW u i, W wy, OCrn uy, Crn oy, MBr uy, Br v i id. || Gmc {Vr.} *ajja-m id. > Gt Cr ada (< Gt pl. *addya?), OHG ei, NHG Ei, ON egg (𐌳𐌰 NE egg) || Sl *āje id., (dim.) *ajbce id. > SCr jáje, HLs jejo, wejo id., 'testicle', LLs

јајо, Plb јојі, P јаје, Uk Δ айо; OCS **АНЦЕ** ајъсе, Blg яй'це, Δ ай'це, P †, Δ јајсе, јајсо, OR **АНЦЕ** јаісе, SCr K jáјсе 'egg', Slv jáјсе, Cz чејсе, R яй'цо 'egg, testiculum' || ? OPrs хāуа 'egg', ? Av ар-āvауа- 'entmannet' (if < *ара-āvауа- 'without testicles') ¶ P 783-4, EI 176, WH II 230, RE 92, O 497, F II 1150, Fs. 2, Vr. 94-5, KM 153-4, EWA II 967-9, Slr. 177-8, ESSJ I 61-3, StSS 67, Glh. 285-6 ◇ AD NM no. 72, S CNM 13.

99. *ʔa'y 'say, speak, call' > **HS**: Eg BD іу 'Spruch (?)' ¶ EG I 36 || C: EC {Ss.} *-iy(y)- 'say' pcv. > Af -iy(y)- pcv., scv.: Sa, Af iy- 'say', ɿ Dsn {Fl.} y- (absent in To. DL), Sml {R} ī-, ? (h)ay- 'say', Dbs ʔiyanna 'he\she says; it means'; HEC *y- 'say' > Ged, Kmb, Alb, Hd y-, Sd i- / y-, Brj iy- || Ag {Ap.} *y3- 'say' > Bln, Xm, Q y3-, Aw 3- || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔō-, {Wh.} o-, (?) b→ Mb {E} -yo 'say' ¶ AD SF 184-5, Ap. AV 23, R WB 364, Ss. B 108, AMS 166, Hd. 128, MQK 79, Fl. p.c. || NrOm: Kf {C}, Drz {Bnd.} y-, Zs, Zrg {Bnd.} iya- 'say', Ym {Wdk.} ǐ- id. (the rising tone [low to high] pointing to a former bisyllabic √) ¶ C SE IV 517, AD SF 184-5, Wdk. BY 125, 78-9 (on Ym tones), Lm. Y 310 || Ch {Stl.} *yaʔ|w- 'call', {AD} 'call, say' (× N *ɿawu 'shout, speak', q.v. ffd.) > [1] Ech: Kbl {Cp.} yúwǝ́, Ll {WeibP} yǎ́ 'say' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} wá́, {Mch.} wa 'say' | [2] WCh: Pr yó v. 'call' || CCh: Gudu {ChL} ʔyâ, Msg {Mch.} yi, Ms {Mch.} ya, {J} yíná, {Stl.} ← ?) yu-mo, Bnn {Stl.} ya-mi, BnnM {Stl.} ya-mo id. || Ech: Gbr ye id. ¶ JI II 59, Frz. P 55, ChC s.v. 'call' and 'say', ChL, Stl. IF 143 ¶¶ OS no. 2564 || **A** *ay 'speak, cry', 'sound' (× N *ɿawu '↑?') > NaT *ay- 'speak, say' > OT ay- id., XwT XIV ay- 'say, recite', Az Δ, ET Δ {Jr.}, SY ay-, Tk Δ ey-, Yk iy- 'speak, say' ¶ Cl. 266, DTS 25, Rl. I 9, ET Gl 99-100, Jr. 16, Rs. W 10 || M *aya 'sound, pronunciation, noise' > WrM {MED} ауа, HlM {MED, BMR} ая 'sound, tune, melody; pronunciation', Brt ая 'sound, pronunciation, tune, melody', Mnr H {MYC} ауаη 'melody, tune'; M *ayi > WrM {BMR} ai, HlM {MED} ай 'sound, noise' (not registered in BMR), Kl {KRS} ә ē 'sound', {Rm.} ā 'Laut, Stimme, Ton', WrO aítai 'with noise'; ⇨ M *ay'íla- 'produce sounds' > WrM {MED} ауала- v. 'hum, chant', HlM аяла- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'hum, vorsingen (напевать, запевать)', Kl {Rm.} ā́l- 'tönen, schreien, rufen; schwatzen', Dg {T} aila- v. 'pronounce'. Ord ā́la- 'pousser un soupir; ⇨ M *ayilad- 'utter, say' > WrM aílād- {MED} 'say, know', HlM айлда- {MED} id., {BMR} 'utter (aussprechen, изрекать), pronounce; know', d. Ord ā́ld_xa- 'faire savoir, dire à qn'; ⇨ M *aylgu (= *ayilgu?) pronunciation, sound' > WrM ауалгу {MED} 'pronunciation, melody', HlM аялгу {MED} id., {BMR} 'sound, pronunciation, exclamation', Brt аялга 'sound, voice, tone,

pronunciation, tune', Dg {MYC} ailaγ 'melody, tune'; WrO ауаlγа(н), ауаlγи, ауаlγи 'sound, melody', Brt аялга 'tone, voice, pronunciation' ¶ Dg aila- points to the absence of initial *φ- in the pM word ¶ MED 19, 20, 22, BMR I 66, 193, 197-8, Chr. 69-70, Kow. 127-8, Krg. 41-2, KRS 61, KW 25, T DgJ 119, MYC 99. Ms. O 39 || ??σ: Tg *^oeyē > Ewk зyē n. 'request (Bitte)'; Tg *eyēt- 'ask (bitten), desire' > Ewk, Lm, Neg зyēt- id., Orc зyueçí- v. 'envy', Nn Nh зyueçí- {STM} id., 'tease (дразнить)', {On.} 'tease (дразнить) and provoke envy' ¶ STM II 442, On. 540 || pKo {S} *òj'ó- v. 'recite' (suggesting a pA final rounded vw.) > MKo òj'ó- id., NKo оуωи- weu- 'recite from memory, learn by heart' ¶ S QK no. 636, Nam 387, MLC 1223 ¶¶ SDM 497-8 (pA *ěyu|o 'speak, say, sound' > M *ayí- 'sound, voice', 'cry, speak, recite', 'melody, tune', Tg, T), DQA no. 419, S AJ 286, KW 4, 25, Vld. 282, Pp. VG 67 || IE: NaIE ≈ *aj- 'say, speak' > L āi-ō 'say, affirm', Um AIU 'oracula' || Gk ἦ ipf. 'he spoke' (pres. 1s ἦμι, 2s ἦσ, Gk D 2s ἦτε) (unless these forms go back resp. to *agjō and *ēg-t, as supposed by WH and F) ¶ ≈ WH I 24-5, ≈ F I 636, ≠ EI 535 (L and Gk < IE *h₁eǵ- 'say').

100. *^ʔa'y▽ 'mother' (originally a Lallwort) (→ 'female', a marker of fem. [sex or grammatical gender] in nouns, pronouns and [originally as vocative] in verbs): I. 'mother': > HS: C {AD} *^ʔay(y)- > EC {Ss.} *^ʔāyy- 'mother' > Sml āy-o 'stepmother', Sml Mt {Lm.} āyō id., 'uncle's wife, mother's sister', Sml My/Dgl {Lm.} āy- 'mother', Rn {PG} āyō, {Hn.} 'áy-o, {Oo.} a'yō 'mother' (call name), Bn ā'y-ô, Bs āy-o, Or āyy-ō, Kns āy-ā 'mother', Sa āy-a 'elder sister', Hd ayy-a 'sister', ay-minē 'mater familias', Kmb {C} ayā 'sister', Brj āy'y-ē 'mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife', Hr/Dbs/Grs/Gwd {AMS} yayye, Gln {AMS} yāye 'mother' || SC: Irq {MQK} ^ʔāyō, {E} ayō, Alg, Brn iyō 'mother' ¶ Ss. B 22, Hn. S 51, Oo. 70, PG 59, LmS 305, Hd. 102, HL 79, AMS 258, Wh. IC 24, E SC 317, MQK 18 || NrOm: Wl/Zl/Gf {C} ayē, Gf {Mrn.} aye ~ aye ~ ay, Wl {LmS} āyū, Malo ^ʔayō, Dwr ay-to, Gm/Dc {LmS} āyō 'mother'; ? Ym {Lm.} étà ~ étì 'sister', {Wdk.} étà 'my sister' (if -t▽ is a marker of fem. [acc. to Lm.] or a ppa. 'my' [acc. to Wdk.]; otherwise it belongs to N *^ʔat▽ 'female, woman', q.v.) ¶ C SE III 200, Lm. Y 326, LmS 305 || CCh: Zm {KNC} yá 'mother; female' ¶ KNC 30 || IE: pGmc *ajθī 'mother' (from a N or pre-IE nominal phrase: *^ʔa'y▽ + another word?) > Gt aipei, ON eiðā 'mother', OHG fuotar-eidī 'Nähmutter, wet nurse' (fuotar 'food'), MLG eide 'mother'; pGmc *ajθī → F äiti, Es eit (gen. eide), Lp L {LLO} eiti, Lp N Δ æi'de 'mother' ¶ Fs. E 20, Fs. 28, Vr. 95, Kb. 302, SK 1869 || U: ?φ Sm:

Kms {KD} i yā, yā, ya, {Cs.} i ja, ja, En {Cs.} ê?, {Dlx.} e?, {Ter.} ē 'mother' ¶
Cs. 54, 76, KD 22, KP 70-1 || **D** {Pf.} *āy 'mother' (→ 'woman') > Tm
āy, āyi, Kn āyi, Klm a₁y, Gdb āya ~ aya, Gnd aya₁, Knd, Png, Mnd aya, Kui
a₁a 'mother', Ku a(₁)ya 'woman', Krx ayō 'mother', Mlt ayya 'my mother' ¶
D no. 364, Pf. 20 [no. 82] ◇ It would be tempting to tie in Alt/Tlt/Shor
{Rl.} äyä 'aunt, elder sister' (Rl. I 720), but this form does not belong here,
because the intervocal cns. recorded by Rl. as -j- (sc. -y-) is actually -ǰ-
(voiced palatal affricate), most probably from pT *-j-, and the word
should be probably reconstructed as NaT *eje > StAlt, Tb, Qmn эдье eǰe
'aunt, elder sister' (BT 189, B DChT 169, B DK 273), Qrg eǰe 'sister, cousin',
Xk i ɬe ɬǰe 'mother', Tk ece 'queen', Tkm eǰe 'mother', Δ 'elder sister'
etc. (ffd. ET Gl 231-5) ◇ AD NM no. 117, S CNM 12 (÷÷ NrCs) ||| **II.**
marker of fem. (sex\gender): > **HS: a)** HS *-i, fem. in pronouns of the 2nd
person: [1] *k-i 'thee' f. (→ 'thou' f. [clitic]) > S *ki 'thee' in
postverbal position > Ak, Ar -ki, BHb -k, Gz -kī || WCh *ki 'thee, thou' f. >
Hs ki id. | BT: Ngm čí, Dr {Nw.} ží, Tng ži-gō 'thee' f. | Su yì id. | Ron *ki
'thou' f., used as a subject px > Klr kí, Sha čí, Fy, Bks, DfB ší || ? but Eg OK
cm, cn 'thee, thou' f. [enclitic] and cm t 'thou' f. [aut. prn.] do not
necessarily belong here (c- < *ki-), because the same c- is found in the
prn. of 2m cω [encl.] (cp. Eg OK kω id.), and the female gender marker
here is -m ||| [2] HS *k-i 'thy' f. possessoris (enclitic) > S *ki 'thy' f.
possessoris > Ak, Ar -ki, Hb -k, Gz -kī || Eg OK -c 'thy' f. possessoris
[-c ∇ < *-ki] || C *-ki 'thy' f. possessoris > Bj -ki ||| EC: Hr -āhi ¶ AMS 91 ||
WCh *ki 'thy' f. possessoris > Hs (-n)-ki, (-ɤ)-ki | BT: Krf čǐ, Bl (š)š i, Krkr
(tɜ)čǐ | Ron: Klr -m-ik^ɤ, Sha -m-ič, -m-a-ač, Fy -iš id. ||| [3] S *an-t-i
'thou' f., aut. prn. > Ak a t t i, Ar ʔanti, Hb ʔattə, Gz ʔantī | **b)** HS *-ī,
marker of the female gender in verbs of the 2nd person > S *-ī > Ak, Gz,
Hb -ī, Ar -ī(-na), Mh -i, e.g. BHb 'kūm-ī 'stand up!' inv. 2f., tā'kūm-ī 'you
(sg. f.) will stand up', Ar qūl-ī 'say!' 2f, taqūl-ī-na 'you (sg. f) say, will say',
Ak t a p r u s -ī 'you (sg. f) separated', Gz kūm-ī 'stand up!' (sg. f),
taḵawwam-ī 'you (sg. f) are standing', Mh tɜmayt-i 'du (f.) stirbst' || C: Bj
-i, e.g. ti-dir-i 'you (sg. f.) killed' | **c)** HS *-ī- ~ y∇, marker of f. in
pronouns of 3s > S *-ī- fem. in *š-ī-ʔa 'she' (> Ak šī, Ar hiya, Ug hy, BHb
ʕi hī, JA, Sr hī, Sb hyʔ) ↔ *š-ū-ʔa 'he' (> Ak šū, Ar huwa, Ug hω, BHb
ʕi hū, JA, Sr hū, Sb hω₁) || Eg O s y ({Lpr.}: *siy) 'she', 'her' (obj.),
enclitic prn. (↔ s ω 'he') || C: Or B ísi 'she' (↔ ìsǎ 'he'), Or T {Mrn.} -š i

~ -še 'her' (px) (↔ -sa 'his'), Sd {Mrn.} i se 'she' (↔ i so 'he') | **d** HS *^o-ay > S: Ar **ى**— -ay ([-ā], OWA [ay]), female gender marker in some adjectives and numerals: **صُفْرَى** suḡray [suḡrā] 'smaller' f. (↔ ʔaṣṡaru 'smaller' m.), **سُكْرَى** sakray [sakra] 'drunken' f. (↔ sakrānu 'drunken' m.), **حُبْلَى** ḥublay (traditional Ar [ḥublā]), **أُولَى** ʔūlay [ʔūlā] 'first' f. (↔ ʔawwalu 'first' m.), **أَحَدَى** ʔiḥday [ʔiḥdā] 'one' f. (↔ ʔaḥad-un 'one' m.). As indicated by Sibawayhi (II 349), the spelling **ى**— (-ay) in the form **حُبْلَى** ḥublay 'pregnant' was pronounced in OWA (Hijaz) as -ay (ḥublay). Chaim Rabin (Rb. AWA 115-19) has shown that the same is true of any final **ى**— -ay. But in the orthoepy of ClAr (based presumably on dialects other than OWA) **ى**— is pronounced [-ā]. ¶¶ MSUS 102-9, AD PP 69-73, AD IPCV, AD EPCChL, Nw. KL 19, Ed. 70-81, Kr. RChP 69, 74-80, 85, J R 371-4, J S 88, Ap. ANH 8 (HS female gender marker *^o-∇i > *-ay/ -ā), Lpr. 64-5 || **K**: traces of the fem. sx *-ay may be discerned in the OG form igi-a(y) 'she' (Naum 2.7) ↔ igi 'that, he' (without opposition of sexes) and possibly in G ḡabuḡ-a 'girl' ↔ ḡabuḡ-i 'boy' ¶ DCh. 578, 1701, Dirr G 11 (fn. 1) || **IE**: NaIE *-ī, *-ī-, a nominal sx of fem. (sex and gender): *w_lḡk^o-ī 'she-wolf' (> OI v_lḡkī, ON ylg_r < pGmc *wulḡ^o-ī) < *w_lḡk^o-s 'wolf' (> OI v_lḡka-h₂, Gk λύκος, Gt wulf-s, Lt vilka-s etc.), *nept-ī-s > OI nap't-ī-h₂, gen. nap't-iy-aḡ 'female descendant', L neptis, OHG nift 'niece'; *f* also OI 'janitr-ī 'genitrix', Gk γενέτειρα id. etc., as well as BSl *-i (< *-ī), marker of the female gender in active prtcs: OCS **мѣръши** mē_rš-i, Lt mī_ru_s-i 'dying' (act. prtc. nom. sg. f.) ¶ Brg. KVG 29-330, § 405, Me. SC § 403, StSS 334, 829 || **A**: M {Pel.} *-ay, marker of the fem. sex of nouns: WrM sutay 'empress' ↔ sutu 'emperor', qu_tuḡtay {Pp., MED} 'saint woman' ↔ {Pp., MED} qu_tuḡtu 'saint man'; MM {Pp., Dr., Oz.} -y / -i, fem. marker of verbs (-b-i as fem. of the praet. perfecti ↔ non-feminine -ba/-be; -ligi ~ -li₂i as fem. of the pres. perfecti; -kü-y sas fem. of ft. ↔ -kü m.); harmonic front vowels of words (possibly going back to a sx *-e) as a marker of the female sex: WrM eke 'elder female relative, mother' ↔ aqa 'elder male relative (elder brother, uncle)', {Vld.} ge_tülgeḡci 'liberatrix, salvatrix' (epithet of the goddess Tara) ↔ ga_tulgaḡci 'liberator (transporting across water)' ¶ Pp. IM 265-7, Pp. MM 101, Dr. SB 62-3, 68, Vld. SGR ∇, Vld. 133-4, Pel. VNS, BMR 992, KW 3, 118, Snz. SGR 73-4, Oz. GHMDG || ?ϕ Tg: *-e or a front (closed) harmonic vowels denoting the

female sex: WrMc {Z} дэхэмэ 'aunt' ↔ дэхэма 'uncle, aunt's husband', эмилэ 'female bird' ↔ амила 'male bird', хэхэ 'woman' ↔ хэхэ 'man', {Sun.} erselen 'lioness' ↔ arsalan 'lion', Nn Nh зnpз 'mother-in-law' ↔ аnpа 'father-in-law', згз 'elder sister' ↔ ага 'elder brother' (form of address) ¶ STM I 24, 35 and II 443, 452, Z 42, 80, 382, 404, On. 25, 42, 522, 530, Sun. M 171 ¶¶ The M pair ага ↔ еке and the Nn ага 'elder brother' ↔ згз 'elder sister' may be explained away as Lallwörter, but this is not the case in most other afore-mentioned M and Tg words.

101. *ʔäy∇ (= *ʔäya?) 'which?', 'what?' > HS *ʔay(y)- 'which?' > S *ʔayy- (~ *ʔiyy-) 'which?' > Ak nom. ay-y-(-m) / accus. ay-y-a(-m) / gen. ay-y-i(-m), Ar ʔayy- id., BHb יֵאֵי / יֵאֵי ʔayy- ~ יֵאֵי ʔay'yē 'where?' (הַבֵּי יֵאֵי 'heḇel 'where is Abel?', יֵאֵי ʔay'yekā 'where art thou?'), as well as in cds: הַיֵּאֵי-זֵאֵי ʔē-zē 'which?', הַיֵּאֵי-פֹה ʔē-pō 'where?', הַיֵּאֵי-כֵּ ~ הַיֵּאֵי-כֵּ 'how?' (with zē 'this', pō 'here', k(-), kā(-) 'as'), Ug ʔay 'whatsoever', ʔy 'where?', Amr {G} ʔayya ~ ʔiyya id., JA [Trg.] יֵאֵי id., Sr ʔaynā 'which?', Qt {Rk.} ʔy(y) 'whoever, what(so)ever', Mn ʔy (enclitic indf. pc.), Gz ʔay 'which?, what (kind of)?' ¶ Br. G I 327-8 [§§ 111-12], Lip. 328-9, Sd. G § 47, KB 36-8, 41, GB 28-32, A no-s 161 and 172, OLS 64-5, G A 13, Lv. T I 23, L G 49, Rk. 9-10, MA 8 || C: EC {Ss.} *ʔayy- / (precons. and pausal) *ʔay- 'who?, which?' > Sa ay, Sml N {Abr.} ayjó, Sml Db {AOM} ayjo 'who?', Rn áyyò, Bn {Hw.} ayjo (pl. ayjos) 'who?', {AOM} 'who is?', Bs {HL} ayjo 'who?', Or ē-(n)nu 'who?', ē-sa 'where?', Kns, Gdl ay-nu 'who?', Kns ay-ša 'where?', Sd/Hd {Ss.} ay ~ ayye, Ged ayye, Hd ay, ay-y-e, Brj {Ss.} áyye 'who?'; Dsn {To.} māyya 'who?' (< *mī ʔayy-a, with N *mī 'what?', q.v. ffd.) || Ag {Ap.} *ʔaw- 'who?' > Bln {Ap.} ʔaw, Q/Xm {Ap.} aw, Aw ay (Ap.: < *aw-i) || Bj {Rop.} āu, {R} nom. aw (< *ʔay-u), gen. ay (< *ʔay-i), nom. ā-b 'who?' ¶ Ss. PEC 46, Ss. B 30, Bl. 102, 214, 306, HL 79, Abr. S 20, PG 71, Hw. B II 110, AOM 6, Ap. AV 3, R WBd 35, Rop. 15, To. DL 516 || Om: SOm: Ari {Fl.} ayi 'who?' || NrOm: Cha {C} ay 'what?', Bsk {C} ay 'who?', ayba 'what?', Dwr/Gf {LmS} ay, Wl {LmS} ay-bā, Ym {Wdk.} áwú 'what?' ¶ Fl. OO 321, C SE III 113, 163, LmS 306, Wdk. BY 118 || ? Ch: ECh: Jg {J} ʔaywa 'where?' || WCh: Hs yāyà 'how?', ? Klr {J} ʔān 'which?', Fy {J} ʔā...ān 'where?', G'nd âyî, Gbn âyi, Bk aʔâyî 'which?' || CCh: Msg yà 'where?' ¶ ChC s.v. 'where?', 'which?' and 'how?', J J s.v. ʔaywa || **K** *may 'what?' (< N *mī 'what?' [q.v.] + N *ʔäy∇) > Sv: UB/LB māy ~ mā, L may, Ln ma; Mg, Lz mu-, ?? in the OG and G cd ro-me-l- 'which?', 'which' (rel. prn.) ¶¶ K 124, K² 112 (*ma-), TK 554-5 || **A**: Tg *ē 'what?', *ē (interr. verb ['quid facere?']) > Ewk ē, Sln ī 'what?', Ewk, Neg ē-, Lm ā- (interr. verb) ¶ × N *ya

'which?', 'what kind of?' (q.v.)? ¶ STM I 286-7 || ?φ M *ali (< *ay-li with ppM *ay- < [regr. as.] N *ʔäya 'which (one)?', 'what?') > MM [MA, IM, S] ali 'which one?', [IsV] ali 'where?', WrM ali(n) {MED} 'which?', 'which one?', 'what?', HlM аль {MED} id., {BMR} 'which?', 'which one?', 'where?', Brt али 'which?', Mnr H {SM} ali 'lequel'. 'quel?', Ord ali id., ? MMgl [Z] almad 'which' ¶ Pp. MA 98-9, 432, H 5, Lg. VMI 16, MED 31, BMR I 62, Chr. 43, Ms. O 16, T 314, T DnJ 133, SM 4, Iw. 85 || ?φ U: Sm *b- (= {Jn.} *â-) -> *b-m- 'what?' > Ne: T O {Lh.} ḡaw·ṣ 'what?, what kind of?', T {Ter.} ḡamḡṭ 'what?', 'what for?', T O {Lh.} ḡamḡṭ 'what?', 'why', gen. pl. ḡāwōṭ (< *bm-b-y-), FL {Lh.} ḡammṭ (< *bmbyb) 'what?'; En Δ {Cs.} aωuo, {Prk.} abbua, {Mik.} obū 'what?'; ? Kms {Cs.} ūmbi, {KD} ʔm·bi· ~ m·bi· 'what?' ¶ Jn. 15, Ter. 376, Lh. 4-5, KD 19, 38 ◇ N *ʔäy∇ 'which?', 'what?' may be somehow connected with N *ya 'which?' (q.v.). For instance, it may go back to a N cd *ha (deictic pc., q.v.) + *ya.

102. *ʔe'y∇ 'come, arrive' > HS: Eg fOK iṽ v. 'come' > DEg iṽ > Cpt: Sd ei, Bi id.; Vc. vocalized the inf. of this verb as *iṽi.t; Eg fOK iṽ v. 'come' > DEg iṽ id.; Cpt ei ei v. 'come' may go back to the Eg verbal noun iṽ.t; acc. to Vc., Cpt B/Sd TAOYO tauo v. 'send' goes back to DEg ty iṽ 'send' < Eg *dy.t iṽ-ā 'faire qu'(il) vienne'; acc. to Ed. and Vc., Eg iṽ and iṽ are two different, albeit akin, verbs ¶ EG I 37, 44, Er. 18, 20, Ed. §§ 456, 724, Vc. 59-60, 223 || B *✓ʔyω > ETwl byo~ayyo, Ty byo~iyō 'come!' (inv. 2s), inv. 2pm ETwl byowbt ~ byew(ω)bt ~ aygowbt, Ty byowat ~ (b)ybwat ~ yowbt; Mz ayya 'come' (inv. 2s), inv. 2pm ayyat; Iz inv. eo 'come!'; Pr. mentioned ETwl pf. intens. iḡay v. 'come' ¶ GhA 205, Dlh. M 241, Zl. KÄLV 120, Pr. H no. 441 || C: Bj ʔi-/ʔē- scv. 'come': Bj A {ADP} p. 3m 'ʔē-ya '(he) came', Bj {R} p. 3m 'ē-ya, 3f 'ē-ta, 3p 'ē-yān, {Rop.} p. 1s i-'an, 2m 'e-ta, 2f 'e-tāi, 3m 'ea, 3f 'e-ta, 1p 'e-na, gerund ʔi-a, pp. ʔi-'e (Roper often did not indicate the initial ʔ-, because "the hamzah is very elusive"), Bj B {Alm.} p. ʔī- || EC: Sd {C, Mrn., Gs.} eʔ- v. 'go in, enter'; ?φ Arr pcv. -iʔit- / -eʔet- (ipv. ʔīṭ) 'go' (× N *ʔ'o'dU 'go', q.v. ffd.) ¶ AD SF 184, R WBd 3, R BedS II 41-2, Rop. 79, ADP BFN, C SE II 184, Gs. 89, Hw. A 451-9 || Om: SOm: Hm {Fl.} y-, Ari Gll {Bnd.} ay- 'go' || NrOm: Wl {LmS} y-, Bdt/Zs/Cha/Zl {C, Mrn., LmS}, Hrr, Malo, Mj {Fl.} y- v. 'come', Ym {Wdk.} inf. yó / yò, 2s yé, Bdt {Fl.} yō, Oyda {Fl.} yiʔ/yi-, Male {Fl.} yéʔ, Bnc {Wdk.} 2s yéʔ- id. ¶ AD SF 184, Fl. OO 318, Fl. OWL, C SE IV 88, 208, C SO 36, 45, 51, 64, 69, Blz. OL no. 207 (Om *yi-/ʔi-), Wdk. BY 113, 139, Bnd. AL 151 [no. 33] || Ch {Stl.} *yaʔ-/ʔyaω- 'go', {AD} 'go, arrive' > WCh: Hs yá-kà 'come here!', ???

yǎ́wá 'wander through' | Ywm ya 'go' | Dr {Nw.} yàǎ 'arrive', Krf yow-, {Stl.} yéʔey 'go' | Ngz {Sch.} yá 'go' | Bg {Csp.} yùwéy 'run' | DfB {J} yû 'go' || CCh: Db {LnG} yā, Kola {Sb.} ...ya... v. 'come' | Ms {Mch.} ya v. 'come, go' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} yè 'run', Ll è-, Tbn {Cp.} yě 'walk' ¶ JI II 82-3, Stl. IF 143, ChL, Nw. 24 [no. 27] (Ch *ya 'come' inv.), Nw. KL 135, Abr. H 942, 952, Sch. DN 174, Csp. 64, J R 223, Blz. EChWL no. 92 || **IE** *ʔej-/ʔi- ({EI} *h₁ej-) v. 'go' > Ht i-, (i)y-, Lw, HrLw i- id. || NaIE *ej-/i- 'go' > OI ē-/i-/y- (pres. 3s ē-ti, 1p i-'mah, 3p 'y-anti) v. 'go', Av aēiti, OPrs aitiy 'goes' || Gk el-/l- v. 'go' (pres. 3s εἶσι, 1p ἵ-μεν) || L ī-/i- id. (pres. 2s ī-s, inv. ī, prtc. i-en-s) || Gt iddja 'I went' || Clt {Matas.} *ī- 'go' > OIr pp. etha || Pru ēisei 2s pres. 'geht', Lt ei- 'go', Ltv eĩ-mu & iê-mu 'I go', Ltv C/E iê-t, Ltv W iẽ-ti 'to go' | pSl inf. *jǝ-ti / pres. *jǝd-q 'go' > OCS inf. **ИТН** iti / pres. **ИДѦ** idq, SCr inf. ići / pres. iđēm, Cz inf. jiti / pres. jdu, P inf. iść / pres. iđę, R inf. и д ти / pres. и д у, Slv inf. íti, Blg pres. и да || pTc {Ad.} *i- 'go, travel' > Tc A i-, Tc B i-/yā- id.; & pTc {Ad.} rdp. *(y)iȳā- > Tc A {Wn.} yā- 'aller, rouler, voyager' (past prtc. yāyo), B {Wn., Ad.} (rdp.) *iȳā- 'go, travel' ¶¶ P 293-7, EI 227-8, Mn. 234, Pv. I-II 325-35, M K I 128, F I 462-3, Fs. 288-9, ME II 79, Frn. 119, StSS 275-6, En. 165, Tp. P E-H 20-2, Glh. 273, Wn. 589, Matas. E 170-1, Ad. 60-1, 66-7, Ad. H 54, 65 || **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) *yü|i-we- v. 'come' > OHg jō, Hg jō-n id. (jōvōk 'I come', jōttēm 'I came'), pObU *yüw∇ > *yiw∇ v. 'come' > pVg *yĩ-/ *yĩw-/ *yǎy- v. 'come' > Vg: T yi-/yüw- & yäw-/yǎy-, LK/MK/UK yi-/ yiw-/yǎy-, P yi-/ yiy-/yǎy-/yǎy-, SV yi-/ yǎy-/yǎy-, UL yi-/yay-, Ss yi-/ yuw-/yay-; pOs {Ht.} *yǝ-/ *yǝʔ- ({fHl.} *yũ-/ *yũʔ-) v. 'come' > Os: V/Vy yǝ-/yǝʔ-, Ty yǝ-/yǝʔ-/yěʔ-, Y yǝ-/ yěʔ-/yěw-, D yě-, K yě-/yěw-, Nz yĩ-/ yĩw-/yũw-, Kz yĩ-, yũw-, O yi- v. 'come' ¶ MF 340-1, UEW 109, Ht. 140 [no. 169], Hl. rHt 67-8, 72-4, ≈ IS I 267 (U *yē-ʔe, unt. in the light of new achievements in FU hist. phonology); ≈ MF 340-1 and UEW 109 (FU *yEŋ|ʔ∇ [{f} UEW] *jǝŋʔ, *jǝʔʔ) based on unc. adduction of F/Es jǎä- v. 'remain') ¶ IS supposed that the U stem is derived from the expected U *ey∇-, like IE *yeh- (sc. *ʔyeh-) v. 'walk, go' (> Ht (i)yā-(tta) id., OI yā-ti 'goes', Lt jō-ti 'to ride', Tc A yā- 'go, travel') < IE *ʔey- || **A** *ī- > Tg *ī- v. 'enter' > Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/BK, Ewk, Sln, Lm, Neg ī- id. ¶ STM I 293. On. 187 || M: ds: (1) *i-re- v. 'come' > MM, WrM {MED} ire-, HlM {MED, BMR} ирэ-, Brt epə-, Dx, Ord ire-, Kl, Dg ir-, Mnr H {SM}, Ba re-, Mgl irâ- & ira-, {Wr.} ir^~irε- id. ¶ Iw. 107, MED 413, BMR II 281-2, Chr. 222-3, KW 209, H 82-3, Rm. M 29, Wr. 168, Klz. D I 110, T 356, SM 313,

Ms. O 387]]] (2) M *i-le- v. 'go, go away' > MM [S, SMD] ile- id., ?σ,φ Ord īl- 's'enfuir de frayeur'; ⇨ M *ile-ge- v. 'send' > MM [S, MA] ilē-, [HI] ile-, WrM {MED} ilege-, HIM {MED, BMR} илгээ- id., Brt эльгээ- v. 'send', Kl {Rm.} ilgε- 'senden, schicken' ¶ Ms. H 62-3, 81, H SMD 53, MED 404, BMR II 269, Chr. 764, KW 207, Pp. MA 195-6, 438, Ms. O 381 ¶¶ SDM 590 (pA *ire- v. 'come, enter' > Tg *ī- v. 'enter', M *ire- v. 'come' + qu. T *ēr- v. 'reach, pass' and pJ *itár- 'reach'), ≈ SDM 582 (pA *ile- v. 'drive' > M *ilege- v. 'send' + [qu. as cognates going back to the the pA verb in question): Tg *ilbe- 'drive [ГНАТЬ]' and T *ilt- ~ *ilč- - 'bring, carry'), Pp. IAL 117, S AJ 293-4 [no. 482], KW 209 || D {Km.} *ey- v. 'arrive, reach' (→ v. 'obtain') (and d. {Km.} *ey-t-) > Knd ī-, Png ika-, Ku e-, Kdg etti, Klm end-, Prj ēdē ey-, Gdb ed- v. 'arrive', Gnd ev- ē av- ē aṵṵānā, Kui epa- / et- v. 'reach, arrive', OTl {Km.} eydu- ~ eyidu- ~ ēdu- v. 'reach, go to', 'obtain', Tl ētenɛu v. 'come, arrive, go', Tm eytu v. 'approach, reach, obtain', Ml eytuka v. 'obtain', ettal, ettu 'reaching', Td ic-, Tu etta, ekkə v. 'reach', Kn ay-du, eydu v. 'approach, reach' ¶¶ D no. 809, Em. DIL 104-10, Km. 308 [no. 168] ◇ Cf. AD LRC (HS, IE, A), IS I 265-7 (HS [Eg, B, C, Ch], IE, D, A [M, Tg], ? U) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 177 (*i ~ *ya 'go') (IE, U, A, Ko, J, EA + unc. Ko).

103. ₂ *ʔæʒEkU (= *ʔæʒikU?) 'thorn, hook' (→ 'tooth') > HS: S *šikk- 'thorn, pin, nail' (× N *čukʷ 'thorn, sharp edge [→ 'blade'], 'summit') > BHb שֶׁק *šek* (pl. שֶׁקִּים šik'kīm) 'thorn', JA סֶכָּא ~ סִכָּא sikk-ā, סֶכָּתָא ~ סִכָּתָא sikk-ə't-ā 'thorn, peg, nail of a tent', SmA skh 'thorn', Ar شَكَّة šikk-at- 'sharp weapon, edge', Ak šikk-at-u 'Spitze' (aphaeresis pS *šikk- < *ʔišikk-, like in pS *'p- 'mouth' < *ʔap-, cp. C *ʔap- 'mouth') ¶ GB 785, KB 1236, KBR 1326, Js. 988, 993, Tal 585, BK I 1256-7, Lv. III 521, L G 529, Sd. 1234 || C {AD} *ʔišikk- (E} *ʔišikʷ-) 'tooth' > SC: Kz išikkuko, pl. išikkʷa, Asa liga, ⇨ Mb iʔíke id. || EC {Ss.} *ʔilk- id. > Sa ik-o, Sml ilig, pl. ilk-o, Rn {Oo., PG} iláħ (pl. ilk-ó) 'tooth', Elm ilk-oʔ, Arr {Hw.} ʔilig (pl. ʔilk-ó), ilkwa id., Or ilk-āni 'teeth', Kns ilk-ittā, Gdl ilh-itt, ilh-a, Sd hink-o, Alb inḵ-u, Kmb ink-e, Hd inḵ-ē, Brj irḵ-ā, Hr/DbS {AMS} ʔilgakkó (pl. ílge) 'tooth', Gln {AMS} ʔílke, Gwd ʔílq-e, Bs {HL} ilk-ō 'teeth' || Ag {AD} *ʔɜrkʷ-, {Ap.} *ʔærkʷ- 'tooth' > Bln {Plm.} ʔɜrkʷi, Xm {R} erəkʷ, {Ap.} ɜrɜkʷ, Q {R} yerəkʷ, Km {Ap.} ɜrkʷɜ, Aw {Hz.} ɜrkʷí id. || Bj {R} ayəkʷ 'a front tooth' ¶ AD SCLC 203-4, AD SF 132, Ap. AV 5, Ss. PEC 12, 22, 40, Ss. B 106, Bl. 164, 190, Hw. A 341, HL 66, PG 151, Oo. 72, AMS 165, 205, 281, E PC no. 342, E SC 292 (s.v. SC *ʔišikʷa 'tooth') || A ≈ *ælgü 'hook' > Tg

*elgu 'hook', (← ?) 'bear's fang' > Orc зггу, Ul злžу, Ork злду, Nn Nh/KU злгу 'hook (for pulling fish out of a net)', Neg злгу/з id., 'bear's fang', Ewk злгу, Lm злгъ ~ ългъ 'fish spear' ¶ STM II 445-6, On. 526 || M *elgũ- v. 'hang on (sth.)' > WrM elgũ-, òlgũ- v. 'hang, hang on (a nail)', elgũ r qada- 'nail onto (as pictures to the wall)' (with qada- v. 'nail'), HlM олгө- {MED} 'hang. hang on, suspend', {BMR} id. ('вешать, подвешивать. привешивать'), Brt үлгэ-, Kl {KRS} олг- òlgə- id., {Rm.} òlgə- 'aufhängen', Mnr E {MYC} олго- 'hang, suspend', Ord ülgü- 'suspendre, accrocher; être suspendu, s'accrocher' ¶ MED 309, 633, Luv. 319, BMR III 15, Chr. 499, KRS 414, KW 291, MYC 543, Ms. O 755 || NaT *īl- v. 'hang on (sth.)' (× N *ʔo¹L∇ [or *ʔoyi¹∇?] 'bough, hook', q.v. ffd.) > OT il- {Cl.} 'catch sth. (with the hand, with a hook etc.)', {DTS} id., vt. 'hook' ('подцеплять, зацеплять; ловить (крючьями)', Tkm īl- vi. 'hook to, fasten upon (прицепляться, зацепляться)', Yk īl- vt. 'hang up, load (smth. on an animal's back)', Qmq, Qrg, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, Tk Δ il-, Qzq iл-, VTt, Bsh эл- ьл-, Xk iл- ьл- v. 'hang on', StAlt il- vt. 'hook, hook on' ('зацепить, подцепить') ¶ DTS 207, Cl. 125, ET Gl 343-6, BT 63, BIG 67 ¶¶ T *ī- may be explained by regr. as. (infl. of pA *-ü-) and/or by complementary lengthening (for the loss of pA *-g-) ¶¶ SDM 604-5 (pA *jōle 'hang on [smth.], hang on hook' > T, M + unc. Tg *ol- 'hook for hanging kettle; hang [smth.] over fire' and NKO ori 'a fishing hook with several barbs' [both going back to N *ʔo¹L∇ 'bough, hook', q.v.]), DQA no. 648 (id.), SDM95 (*ēlku v. 'hang on, hang on hook'), SDM95 (*ēlku id.), ≈ SDM97 (A*ōl(k)i id.) ◇ Tg and M *-g- (and hence pA *-g-) may go back to N *-k-. The absence of the expected cns. *g in pT *īl- may belong to the heritage of N *ʔoyi¹∇ (or be explained by as. from *i of a presumable N etymon *ʔæʒikU) ◇ AD NM no. 90, Vv. AEN 5-6, AD PNCPh no. 53.

104. *ʔü¹žʔ∇ (or *ʔü¹hžʔ∇?) 'throat; to swallow' > HS: S *o✓ʔzʔ > Ar ✓ʔzʔ G (pf. ʔazaʔa) 'rassassier (les moutons)' ¶ BK I 28, DRS 13 || ʔσ Eg Md ʔzω 'Schilfrohr', Eg G ʔz.t 'Luftrohr, Schlund' (if the meaning 'throat' is primary) ¶ EG I 127-8 || Om ≈ *ʔ|w₁uč|č v. 'drink' > SOm: Hm B {Fl.} w3č- ~ w4č-, Bako, Ub, Gll {Fl.} w3č- id. || NrOm: Cha {Fl., C}, Bdt, Bsk, Zs {C} uš-, Bdt {Fl.} uš-, Hrr {Gr.} wuš-, Ym {C, Fl.} uš-, {Wdk.} uša, Shn {C} uš-, Shn {Fl.} Anf {Fl.} ušš, {MYTY} uco, uc-, Kf {C} uɣ-/učč-, {Fl.} uč, Mch {L} ʔùssi-, Bnc {Wdk.} uš(k)- v. 'drink' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'drink', C SE IV 393, L M 20, MYTY 119, 122, Wdk. BY 112, 137, 150 || SC: Irq {MQK} isa (pl. is-ō)

'neck' (esp. 'back part of the neck'), Brn *isa*, Kz *isito*, Asa *isat* 'neck' ¶ E SC 283, MQK 57 || IE *ʔoʰhʷ(e)s- or *ʔowʰhʷ(e)s- ({Pv.} *ʰA₁ʷeE₁es- / *ʰA₁ʷeE₁s-, {EI} *ʰh₁h₄oh₁(e)s / gen. *ʰh₁h₄eh₁'s-os) 'mouth' > *ʔoᵛs- id. > Ht *ais*, gen. *iss-as* (s-stem), Lw *as(sa)*- 'mouth' (?) || NaIE *ōyus- / *əyus- 'mouth' > OI *āh* (= phonemic *ās*), *ās'yam*, Av *āh*- || L *ōs*, *ōris* || Clt {Matas.} *ās- > OIr *á* 'mouth' || AS *ōr* 'beginning, origin; forehead', ON *óss* 'mouth of a river'] ⇨ NaIE *əws-tā 'lip' > OI *ōṣṭha-h* 'lip', Av *aošta-*, *aoštra-* id. || L *ōstium* 'entrance' || Lt *uóstas*, *uostà* 'mouth of a river, Haff, harbour', Ltv *osts*, *ōsta* 'harbour', Pru *austo* 'mouth', *āustin* 'mouth of an animal' | pSl *us'ta pl. 'mouth' > OCS **оуѣта** *usta* (οστόμα, τὰ χέιλη, χεῖλος, λάρυγξ) 'mouth, lips', Blg, R **уѣта**, SCr, Slv *ústa*, Cz, Slk *ústa*, P *usta*, Uk **уѣта** pl. 'mouth' ¶¶ Pv. I-II 15-17, P 784, EI 387, M K I 84, 133, WH II 224-8, Vr. 421, Ho. 241, Frn. 1167, Tp. P A-D 172-4, En. 149, Glh. 656, Vs. IV 172, StSS 746, Vn. A 4, Ped. H § 41, Ts. E I 6-8, Kron. VLFH 42, Matas. E 44 ¶¶ NaIE *ōws- / *əws- suggests N *ʔ'ü' h₃ ▽ || A: T *iç- v. 'drink' > OT *ič*-, Tkm, Az, Qrg, Uz, ET, Tv *ič*-, Tk *iç*-, VTt *эч*- *еѣ*-, Bsh *ьс*-, Yk *is*- 'drink', Chv *ěç*- *ьс* / *з*- v. 'drink; drink hard (пьянствовать)' ¶ Cl. 195, Rs. W 168, DTS 201, ET Gl 391, Ash. IV 147-9, Fed. I 159, Jeg. 66, SDM95 s.v. (?) *ič' ▽ 'drink' ◇ The glottalized -č- in SOm, the vl. -č- in NrOm and *-ç- in T from the pA fortis *-č'- (for the expected voiced cnss) are likely to go back to the N cluster * - 3 | 3 ʔ - ◇ The delabialized *i from *ü in T (or in pA?) still needs investigating ◇ The semantic history of the etymon: 'throat' → (IE) 'mouth', 'swallow' → 'drink'.

105. ₂ *ʔūž ▽ 'hear', (→ ?) 'ear' > HS **ʔuž-(▽n)- > S *ʰuḏan- 'ear' > Ak *užn*-, Hb **יָזַע** *ʔozēn*, Ug *ʔuḏn* (= *ʔuḏn-), JA [Trg.] **יָזַע** *ʔuḏan*, JA [Trg.], JEA em. **יָזַע** *ʔuḏn-ā*, Sr **יָזַע** *ʔuḏn-ā*, SmA *ʔuḏn*, Ar **يَزَع** *ʔuḏn*-, OSA *ʔuḏn*, Gz **יָזַע** *ʔazn*, pl. **יָזַעִים** *ʔazan*, Jb C {Jo.} *ʔiḏēn*, Mh *ḥzyḏēn*, dim. *ʔiḏēnōt*, Hrs *ḥzyḏēn*, Sq {Jo.} *ʔiḏ(ə)han* 'ear' ¶ DRS 10, KB 27, A no. 89, OLS 9-10, Js. 22, Sl. 85, Tal 9-10, Lv. I 30, BGMR 2, L G 52, Jo. M 3, Jo. H 1, MiK I no. 1.4 || Eg *iḏn* 'ear' ([iḏn]... *szm xrw mḥ iḏn ggwy* 'I am he who hears a sound\voice like an attentive ear' [Coffin Texts 7.30k, from Vc. p.c.], *F* Gilula 'IE 251), *iḏn hier.* *'ear' ¶ EG I 154, Tk. I 83-4, 248, ≈ 37 || C: Ag *was- v. 'hear' > Bln *was*-, Xm *wäš*-, Km *was*- id. || ?? SC: Kz *wato* 'ear' (unless akin to Asa *yot*-, Dhl *ḥēet-it*- 'hear, Af *ayti* 'ear') ¶ Ap. AV 22, E K 15, Blz. CL 178 || Om {Blz.} **wayz- (= {AD} *wayž-) 'ear; hear' > NrOm: Male *wayz*-, Kf *wāy*- ({Lm.}: -y- < *-z-), Ym {Wdk.} *wē-sō* ~ *wēs-ō* v.

'hear', Mch $\omega\bar{a}\check{\check{z}}\check{\check{z}}i$ 'ears' (?) (in $\omega\bar{a}\check{\check{z}}\check{\check{z}}i$ 'ḳākkō 'earring'), ? $\omega\bar{a}$ -mo 'ear', Cha {C} $\omega\bar{a}y$, Zs, Zrg ωaye , Bsk ωyci , Doka ωyci , Bdt {C} $\omega\check{s}\bar{e}$ id., Shn {Lm.} $\omega\bar{a}za$ 'ear' ¶ Blz. OLBP 11 [no. 28], L M 56, Lm. Sh. 407, Lm. Y 473, C SE III 87, 177, Wdk. BY 138, Ap. AV 22 || IE *H_xous-/ *H_xus- ({EI} *h_hous-/ gen. *h_heus-s or *h_hu's-os) 'ear' > NaIE *ous-/ *ōus-/ *us- (/? **əus-) id. > Av $u\check{s}i$, OPrs $u\check{s}\bar{i}$ nom. du. 'both ears', KhS $u\bar{i}$ 'intelligence' || Gk: A $o\check{\upsilon}\varsigma$, D $\check{\omega}\varsigma$ 'ear' || Arm $n\check{u}n\check{u}n$ $u\check{n}k\check{n}$ 'ear' (-k $\check{n}$ on the analogy of $\omega\check{u}n$ $a\check{n}$ 'eye') || pAl {O} * $\omega a\check{u}si$, {Huld} * $\ve\check{e}\check{s}$ - 'ear' > MAI G [FB], ALT/G $\ve\check{e}sh$ || L *auris* 'ear' || OIr au (later $\acute{o}$) id. || Gt $aus\bar{o}$, ON $eyra$, AS $\acute{e}are$, NE *ear*, OHG $\bar{o}ra$, OSx $\acute{o}ra$, NHG $\acute{o}hr$ id. || Lt $ausis$, Ltv $\grave{a}uss$, Pru $ausins$ id. | pSl * $\hat{u}xo$ (du\pl. * $\hat{u}\check{s}i$) 'ear' > OCS $ou\check{x}o$ $u\check{x}o$ (du.\pl. $ou\check{x}h$ $u\check{s}i$), Blg $y\check{x}o$, SCr $\grave{u}ho$, Slv $u\check{h}\bar{o}$, R $'y\check{x}o$, Uk $by\check{x}o$, Cz, Slk, P $u\check{c}ho$ ¶ P 785, EI 173, Mn. 43, Bai. 35, Vn. A 99-100, WH I 85-6, F II 448-9, Fs. 69, StSS 754-5, Vr. 107-8, Ho. 85, Ho. S 57, OsS 666, Kb. 747, KM 521, Slt. 54-5, SchmB EV 37, Hamp EAlb 138, O 501, Huld 127, Frn. 26, En. 149, Vs. IV 179, Glh. 651 ¶ In L and Ir $a\omega$ - is either a special development of * $o\omega$ - with a non-apophonic * o (cp. Hirt IG II 30, BD I/1 153, 193 [* $\acute{a}us$ - = * ous with non-apophonic * o]), some kind of delabializing dis. (F Mart. EChPh 229) or reflex of ** $\acute{a}u$ - (in a zero grade ** $\acute{a}us$ -?), Szem. SM I 45 (hyp.: * $\acute{a}us$ - is original, while * o - in * ous - [> Gk $o\check{\upsilon}\varsigma$] is due to the infl. of * ok^{ω} - 'eye') ◇ ≠ Blz. EIAL 15 [no. 56] (IE *H_xue $\check{i}$ s- 'hear' + unc. S * $\check{\chi}\omega\varsigma$ ~ * $\check{\chi}h\omega\varsigma$ [Ar $\check{\chi}\omega\varsigma$ 'consider, examine', Gz $h\acute{a}\omega\omega\acute{a}\varsigma a$ 'look on\after, peep, visit, watch, observe'] [instead of HS ** $\check{\upsilon}\check{z}$ -(∇n)- >'ear; hear']).

106. * $\check{r}|\Gamma a\check{\nabla}$ (= * $\check{r}|\check{g}|\check{y}a\check{\nabla}$) 'grow, become' (→ 'be') > HS: Eg $\forall \check{\epsilon}\check{z}$ v. 'grow, become great\much' → 'be great\much' (Vc. interprets the verb as a triradical $\check{\chi}\check{r}\check{y}|\omega$ on the ev. of Cpt) > DEg $\check{\epsilon}\check{z}$ id. > Cpt Sd/B $\acute{a}i\acute{a}i\acute{a}i\acute{a}i$, F $\acute{a}i\acute{e}i\acute{a}i\acute{e}i$ 'grandir, avancer dans l'âge, être honoré', qualificative OCpt $o\check{i}o\check{i}$, $\acute{a}e\acute{i}a\acute{e}i$, Cpt A $\acute{a}i\acute{e}y\acute{i}e\omega$, $\acute{a}e\acute{i}a\acute{e}i$, Cpt Sd/B $o\check{i}o\check{i}$ 'large, big'; ⇨ Eg $\check{\epsilon}\check{z}$ ~ $\check{\epsilon}\check{z}y$ (prtc.) 'great, much' (on the spelling $\check{\epsilon}\check{z}y$ see Ed. § 337) > Cpt Sd/B m. $o\check{o}$, f. $\omega\bar{o}$; the Eg set phrase pr- $\check{\epsilon}\check{z}$ 'big house' (→ 'palace' → 'king') has been preserved in Cpt Sd/A/L $p\check{p}o\check{r}r\check{o}$ ~ $\epsilon\check{p}o\check{e}r\check{o}$, Cpt B $o\check{y}p\check{o}u\check{r}o$ 'king', Ak $p\check{i}r\check{\epsilon}u$, Gk [Hdt.] $\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$, AnchBb פרעה * $par\acute{a}'\check{\epsilon}\bar{o}$ 'Pharaoh' > BHb [Mas.] פרעה $par'\check{\epsilon}\bar{o}$ and Gk [LXX] $\phi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$, [JF] $\phi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega\theta\eta\varsigma$ id. ¶ EG I 161-3, 516, Fk. 37, Er. 53, Vc. 5-6, 154, 177, GB 660-1, KB 913-14 ¶¶ The Eg root belongs here unless it is akin to S * $\check{\chi}\check{r}|\check{y}$ v. 'rise', as suggested by Vc. (Vc. 5-6) || B * $\check{\chi}h\check{r}\check{r}$ (= Pr.'s $\check{\chi}h_2h_1h_1$) v. 'be in' > Ah $\acute{a}h$, pf. int. $i\check{h}a$, Tnsl, Ty, ETwl, Gh pf. int. $i\check{h}a$ id. ¶ Pr. H no. 119, Fc. 495-8, GhA 77 || A: M * $a_{\check{r}}\check{r}$ - v. 'be' (× N

***ʔa** 'become, be', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Not here Tg ***ō-** v. 'become, happen' (< N ***how^ri** 'become, appear' [q.v. ffd.]) || **D** {Km.} ***ā-** v. 'become, be' (× N ***ʔa** id.?) > Tm **ā**, Kn **āgu** 'come into existence, happen, be', Ml **ākuḱa** 'be(come) that; be what it ought to be', Kt **a·-**, Kdg **aḡ-** / **a-**, ? Td **o·x-** / **o-** 'become', Tu **āpini** (2n p. **āṛḏḏ**) 'be, become, happen', Tl **agu**, **avv**, Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku **ā-**, Kui **āva-** 'be, become', Klm **an-** 'be (in a place), be (so-and-so)', Nkr **and-**, Nk **an-**, Gnd **ā-**, Brh **aan-/ar-/ as-** / **a-** 'be' ¶¶ D no. 333, Km. 277 [no. 2], Cald. 355-6 ¶¶ Not here Kn, Tl **āgu** v. 'be, become' (probably from D ***āk-** < N ***hak** ▽ 'stand, stop, stay, be' [q.v.]). In D both roots have formed one suppletive paradigm ◇ Cf. IS I 243: D, A. IS reconstructed N ***ʔa** 'become, be' and assumed that there is a connection between monosyllabicity of the stem and its function as an aux. word (a copula?). To my mind, this connection does exist, but it is not original, but rather a result of later development. There is a universal tendency of shortening syntactic words (cp. IE ***esti** 'is' > Rm **jē**, NArm **jē**; in New G the verbum substantivum **ar(i)s** has been shortened to **-ā** when used as a copula). But in our case there was no need in special extra-normal shortening, since in D and A the lrs were lost (resulting in lengthening of the vw. in D and possibly in A) ◇ This etymological equation is uncertain, because the Eg root has an alt. etymology (connection with S ***✓fily**), while the M and D roots may go back to N ***ʔa** 'become, be'.

107. *ʔæ**^rbU** 'female breast, breast, bosom (Busen)' > **HS** ***ʔi**^rb- > CS ***ʔubb-** 'bosom' (or sim.) > JA [Trg.] **𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁** **ʔub-b-ā** {Lv.} 'Schoß, Inneres, Brust, Busen', {Js.} 'bosom, lap', JEA **ʔub-b-ā** 'bosom', JPA Bz **ʔub-b-ā** 'breast', Sr **𐤁𐤁𐤁** {Br} **ʔub-b-ā** 'bosom, lap, womb', Ar **عَبْ** **ʔubb-** 'neck of a sleeve' ({Fr.} 'manicae inferior pars eiusque radix'), {Bel.} 'base de la manche', Ar SL **عَبْ** **ʔubb** {Hv.} 'armpit, breast', {Bel.} 'sein' ¶ Lv. T II 195, Js. 1046, Sl. 84, Sl. P 397, Br. 503-4, JPS 403, Fr. III 95, BK II 148, Bel. 468, Hv. 449, ≈ MiK I no. 1.104 (reconstructing S ***ʔa/ub(ab)-** 'bosom, chest, dewlap' and adducing Ar **ʔabab-** 'chaire pendante sous le menton; gorge', / BK II 429) || ? B **-bb ▽- (< {ʔPr.} *-yb ▽- - *-wb ▽-) 'female breast' > Sll **ti-bbī-t**, pl. **ti-bbāt-in**, Tgn {La.} (not Gh, as erroneously mentioned in IS I 275 and AD SF 146!) **a-bbuḱ**, pl. **i-bbuin** (unless developed from Lallwörter independently in Sll and Tgn) ¶ Ds. 258, La. MChB 115-16 || EC: Sml {R} **i b** ~ **ʔi b**, Sml B {AD}, new StSml (based on Sml B) {DSI} **ib**, **ibbo** 'nipple' (here, unless borrowed from Ar **ʔubb-**, as suggested by Illich-Svitych) ¶ AD SF 146, DSI 321, R SS II 7, IS I 275 || Ch: CCh ***w|ʔub** 'female breast': Lmn

{Mch.} wu^ɛwa, wu^ɛba, {Lk.} ūḅa id. | McMdr: Mdr {ChL} ʔuḅa, Glv {Rp.} ūḅà, {ChL} ʔúḅà, Gv {ChL} wúḅà, {IL} úḅà, Dgh {Frk} w'ḅà, Nkc {Blg.} wuḅa | BM: BuP {ChC} uʔwa, Bu/Cb {ChL} ʔúwà, Mrg {IL in ChC} ʔwʔwa, Ngx, Wmd ʔuwà id. | McHigi: FlK {ChL} ʔùʔwa, HgNk ʔuwà id. | ? Ktk: Lgn {Lk.} íwayē id. | Suk {Mk} waɣ, {IL} wâ id. ¶ JI II 46–7, JS 53 (Ch *✓wḅ), ChC s.v. 'female breast', ChL ¶ Ch *ḅ < **ʔḅ < *ɣ...b (mte.) ¶¶ Coh. no. 56 (S, C), AD SF 146 (C, S, Ch, B) || K: pGZ {K} *ube- ~ *uba- {AD} 'bosom, lap, female breast' > OG, G ube- 'bosom, lap, hem (of clothes)', Mg (l)uba-, lɜba- 'bosom', Lz uba-, oba- 'female breast, bosom' ¶ K 185, K² 195, Abul. 416–17, DCh.1236, Chx. 1385, Q 274, Marr 192 || A: (1) M *ebü-r 'breast, bosom' > MM [S] ebur 'breast, bosom, front', WrM ebür ~ öbür {MED} 'breast, bosom (Busen), front, lap', HlM eβep {MED} id., {BMR} 'Brust, Busen', Brt γβερ 'Busen, Brust', Kl {KRS} eβp id., {Rm.} öwɾ 'Busen, Brust; Vorderseite (des Menschenkörpers, des Berges); Schoß', ? Mnr H {SM} yer 'sein, espace entre le vêtement et la poitrine, quantité que cet espace peut contenir', Ord öwör 'poitrine, sein, giron' ¶ IS assumed that M *ebü-r goes back to a plural form, with *-r being an ancient A plural marker; (2) M *eb-č̣i-ɣün > MM [HI] eḅč̣e-ün 'breast' ({Ms., Lew.} 'poitrine'), [S] {H} eḅce-ɣ(n) 'Brust', WrM eḅciɣü(n) {MED} 'sternum, chest', HlM eβč̣ɣɣ(ɛ) {MED} id., {BMR} 'sternum; Bruststück (грудинка', Brt γβcɣɣ(ɛ) 'breast, breastbone', Kl {KRS} eβcɣɛ öwɛün 'sternum', Ord öḅč̣'ü 'poitrine', Shrn išču id., Mnr H {SM} ṣ̌č̣ü 'poitrine, poitrail' ¶ MED 285. 291, 628, BMR III 3, 7, Chr. 486–9, H 40–1, H SMG I 28, KRS 409–10, KW 303, SM 492, Ms. H 51, Lew. II 12, Ms. O 526, 544 ◇ C and M suggest a front vw. in the first syll. (most probably N *æ). In S, Ch and K the vw. *u is due to the ass. infl. of the labial cs. (< N *b) (as well as possibly of the labialized vw. of the second syll.). S *ɣ- and the K initial zero suggest a pN *ɣ- (rather than N *ɣ- yielding S *ɣ- and K *ɣ-). Cf. AD LRC no. 56 (HS [S, C], K, M); IS I 275 (HS [S, B, Ch], K, M). In some lges (e.g. Ch and B) the word got a Ll. connotation, but I do not share IS's opinion that this etymon is of onomatopoeic origin.

108. ≈ *ɣ̣Cü_lʔḅ_lPḅ (or *ɣ̣Cɣü_lʔḅ_lPḅ) 'salt' > HS: C: EC: pSam {Hn.} *ɣusuʔubo 'salt' > Sml ɣusbo, pBn *ùsùʔúbə 'salt' > Bn: Bi usuʔúbə, J/Kj usúbə id.; Or {Grg.} aššabō 'salt', {Brl.} ašabó 'salsedine, sale marino sciolto' (→ Anf aša'bo 'salt'); ?ϕ Rn čímbi 'salt' || Ag *čəw ({Ap.} *čəw) 'salt' > {Ap.}: Bln, Q šəwa, Xm čəwa, Awn číwí id.; Ag → Gz ɣəw 'salt, salty land', Tgy, Amh čəw, Tgr čəwa 'salt' ¶ Hn. S 78 (pSam *ɣusūbo), Hn. BD 125 (pSam *ɣusuʔubo), Grg. 20, Brl. 29, Ap. AV 20–1, L G 565 || NOM:

Mch {L} 'hič'iwo, Kf {Cc.} ič'ewo ~ ič'ebo 'salt' ¶ R K 255, L M 34 ¶¶ Blz. SAA || A: OJ {Mr.} sipuo 'salt' > StJ śio id.; OJ ⇨ Ainu sippo ¶ Mr. 525, Kenk. 1699 || D *čupp- ({ǵGS} *s-) 'salt' > Tm, Ml, Kn, Tu, Tl uppu, Kt, Td up, Kdg uppi, Klm, Nk sup, Nkr supp, Prj čup, Gdb sup ǵ čuppu 'salt' ¶¶ D no. 2674 ◇ Or *-š(š)- is a reg. reflex of *-sy- (Bl. 281), suggesting pN *ǵVCyû, P. An alt. explanation (N *-Cü- > EC *-si- > Or [prevocalic] -š(š)-) is less plausible in view of pSam *ǵusu?ubo that rules out EC *-Ci-. A hyp. of an EC *-sü- > LEC -su- and pre-Or *-si- > Or -š(š)- is too dubious, because it is the only supposed EC root with the vw. *ü ◇ The equation between HS, J and D has been proposed by Blažek (Blz. DA 163 [no. 112]) ◇ Blz. NDA no. 12O (D, HS, J).

109. *ǵAč'U' (= *ǵAč'U'??) 'to blow, to yawn' > HS: S *°✓ǵčp > Ar عصف ✓ǵšf G v. 'blow hard' (of wind) ¶ BK II 272 || U: FU *oćć∇- ~ *aćć∇- v. 'yawn' > Chr uštem 'I yawn' | Z oć-saw- id., oćest- 'yawn' mom. ('зевнуть') || Hg áśít- v. 'yawn' | pObU {Ht.} *wūs- id. > 1) pVg *ūsant- > Vg: T ōsant-, LK ūsant-, UL/Ss ūsint-, P ūsantōl- id., 2) pOs *wus- > Os: O us- id., ⇨ a) Os: V/Vy us+ǵ-, Ty/Y us+ǵ-, Nz us+ǵt-, Kz wōsbǵa- id.; b) Os: D wāses-, K uses- id. ¶ UEW 591, LG 209, Ht. no. 72O || A: NaT *æś- v. 'blow' (→ v. 'yawn') > OT äś- v. 'blow (gently)', Chg äś- 'wehen, blasen', Tk es-, CrTt, Kr, Nog, Qq, Uz, Ln es-, Az äś-, VTt is-, Bsh iθ-, Tkm öθ- v. 'blow' (of wind), Qzq es- v. 'blow hard' (of wind); ⇨ NaT *°æśin > OT äśin 'breeze, gentle wind', ⇨ NaT *æśinæ- > OT äśnä- 'blow gently, yawn', MQp [CC] esne-, Chg esnä-, Tk esne-, Δ ösne-, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB esne-, Az äśnä-, Uz esna-, ET äśni-, Δ εśne-, VTt isnä-, Qzq, Qq, Nog esine- id., Qrg, StAlt este- 'yawn (from time to time, позевывать)' ¶ Bang TB VII 195, Cl. 24O-1, 248-9, Rs. W 49, 5O, ET Gl 3O4, 31O-11, 553, Äz. 157, TkR 5O7, MM 147, Jud. 966 ◇ The vw. *o- in FU *oćć∇- and the vw. ö- in Tk Δ ösne- and Tkm öθ- are puzzling (regr. as. from *ǵAč'U'?).

110. 2 *ǵ∇c∇L∇ 'guts' > HS: S *°✓ǵčl > Ar ǵiǵl-, ǵaǵal- 'guts' ('intestins') ¶ BK II 272 || K: *čel- 'guts, entrails' (× N *č'í'ǵl∇, P 'side of body' [q.v.]) > G pl. čel-eb-i 'guts', Mg čǵ-, čǵi-, Lz (m)čǵu-, ? Sv UB/L {TK, GP} rdp. činčil 'gut, intestine' ¶¶ K 249, K² 3O8, FS K 46O, FS E 521 (K *čel- 'gut'), Chx. 1973, 2135-6, DCh. 1671, NCh. 448, Chik. 69-7O, Q 396, GP 28O, TK 862.

111. *ǵawč∇ (or *ǵačw∇) 'light of the sun below/on the horizon' > HS: S *°ǵaš'w' > Ar ǵašiy- 'dernière partie du jour', ǵašwat- 'obscurité de la nuit depuis qu'il s'est fait nuit jusqu'au quart de la nuit' ¶ BK II 265 || ? EC:

Sml {ZMO} řašo 'day, full day', Sml N řášo 'day' | Elm áote, Arr řawaté f. 'sun'; cp. EC and Dhl words for 'sun, daylight' s.v. N *řašŋ 'white, bright' ¶ AD SF 300-1, ZMO 53, 62, Abr. S 16, Ss. SPhG, Grg. 9, Hw. A 337, To. DL 476, To. D 127, Blz. DL s.v. 'sun' || ? ECh: Brg {J} řústàŋ 'morning' ¶ ChC s.v. 'morning' || IE: NaIE *aũs-/*us- (/ *wes-?) 'shine (leuchten)' ({EI} IE *h₁eu_s-skēti 'it lights up, dawns') (as well as NaIE *aũs-ōs- 'dawn, morning twilight' [{EI} IE *h₁eu_sōs, {Mn.} *aũsā, *aũsorā 'dawn'] and NaIE *aws-tero 'eastern') > OI ušās-/ušas- (nom. u'šāh, accus. u'šās-am, gen. u'šas-aḥ), Av ušā (accus. ušāŋham, gen. ušarhō) 'dawn light', OI uš'rā 'dawn light' || Gk Hm ἠώς (< *aws-ōs), gen. ἠοῦς (ἠόος), Gk A ἔως, Gk D ἔως id. || L aurōra 'dawn', auster 'southern wind' || Lt aušrà 'dawn, dawn light', aũšta 'dawn is coming', Ltv àust id., àustra 'morning twilight' | Sl *ustro 'morning' > OP justrozenka 'dawn light', justrzejszy 'of tomorrow', nazajustrz 'to the following day', OCS **завѣтра** zaustra 'in the morning', Blg 'завтра, McdS 'zashtra 'morning, tomorrow' || Gmc: AS ēarendel 'morning star'; NaIE *awstrō- in AS ēastre 'goddess of the spring', ēastron 'Easter', NE Easter; NaIE *aws-t(e)ro- in OHG ōstar 'östlich', 'to the east', ON austr 'east' || NaIE *wos-er- / *wōs-er-: Vd vasaŋ- 'in the dawn' (in the cd vasaŋ-'hā 'striking \ [?] meeting \ [?] coming in the dawn'), vāsa'raḥ adj. 'matutinus' || OIr fáir 'sunrise', W gwawr 'dawn', Br gwere-laouen 'morning star, Venus' (NaIE *-sr- [after a long vw.] > Clt *r-) ¶ P 86-7, EI 148, Mn. 43, M K I 113 and III 172, M E I 23, II 532, MW 930, Kb. 749, F I 605-6, WH I 86, LP § 26.3, SB 278, YGM-1 259, Hm. 357, Frn. 27, ≈ ESSJ VIII 201-2 (rejecting pSl *ustro), StSS 233, BER I 611, Sls. I 594-5 || U: FP *ačŋ 'early' > pChr {Ber.} *oš-nb > Chr: L 'ожно 'earlier', H ажны ажно 'earlier, long ago' | pPrm *wōš (= {LG} *wōšŋ) 'early' > OPrm wōš, Z vōš, Yz 'uš, Vt вазь, Δ waz ¶ UEW 605, LG 60, Ber. 47, MRS 371, Ep. 1 || ?φ D (att. in KK) *ōč- > Kui ōspa / ōst- v. 'be bright, give light', ōsteri 'light', Ku ōš'i 'beautiful', ōš'u 'beauty' ¶ D no. 1037 ◇ D *ō < N *aw?? Or shall we reconstruct N *řawočŋ and suppose a syncope *řawo- > D *ō-?

112. *řäčŋ 'bush, shrubs, forest' > HS: S *řišŋ- (~ *řišŋŋ-?) 'tree' > BHb řū řēč (pl. řū řēč īm), Pun řš, Ug řš {A} 'tree', IA řū řš (etymological spelling for OA *řaχ), em. řū řš < *řaχā, IA (Akkadianized) (AkSc) řū řš, BA řū řš 'wood' (em. řū řš řā řā), Nbt řū řš id., JA {Js.} řū řš, řū řš 'tree', JEA {Sl.} řū řš, SmA řū řš 'wood (Holz)', Ar D řā řā 'tree', Ar řū řš řū řš {Ln.} 'small thorny tree', {BK} 'several kinds of coniferous trees and

shrubs', ? Ar **عُضَاه** ʕiḏḏāh- {Ln.} 'any great trees having thorns', {BK} 'une famille d'arbres à épines', {Hv.} **عُضَاه** ʕiḏḏāh- 'coniferous tree', 'une acacia tree', OSA ʕḏ 'building materials (wood?)', Gz ʕḏ 'tree, shrubs', Ak iḏ-u, iḏḏ-u 'tree' ¶ L G 57, KB 817-18, KBR 863-4, HJ 879-80, BDB 1982, Js. 99, Sl. 152, Tal 55, Ln. 2070, 2076, BK II 277, 282, OLS 91; on OA 𐤀𐤃𐤅: AD AR ʕ and AD PSH 31-2 || ?φ Eg Md/BD 𐤅𐤃𐤅 'branch\bough of a tree' (mt. from *ʕḏḏ?) ¶ EG V 535 || K *ʕeḏ|ḏeḏr- > G I/Gr eḏer-i 'mit Riedgras, Gebüsch, Gesträuch usw. bewachsene Niederung', G † eḏer-i 'Hain, Gehölz, Gebüsch' ¶ Chx. 356 || D (in SD) *aḏar- > Kn ajara-nīli, ajura-nīli 'low undershrub', ? Tu ajara 'une mousse' ¶ D no. 44 || E: MEI hu-sa-a 'Hain, Baumstämme', NEI, AchEI hu-sa 'Baum, Wald, Hain, Holz', OEI, MEI hu-sa-me 'Hain' ¶¶ HK 702-3 ◇ Blz. E no. 65 (E, HS) ◇ K and D *-r- may point to a second component of a N word group.

113. *ʕuḏE or *ʕüḏḏ 'exchange, compensate; compensation' (→ 'trade' 'revenge') > HS: S *ʕ-ʕüḏ- > Ar ʕḏ G (ʕḏḏa /-ʕüḏu) 'remplacer une chose à qn, lui donner une chose en échange de...' ¶ BK II 408 || IE *ʕḏwes-/ʕḏwos-, {EI} *wes- 'buy', {EI} *wes-no- 'purchase' > Ht was-, wasiya- v. 'buy', usnyazi 'sells' || NaIE *wes-/wos- v. 'trade, deal' > OI was 'na-m 'price, value' || Ir → FU *wos- 'exchange, trade' (ffd. see Jk. 298-9, UEW 585) || Arm qhñ gi n (gen. qñnj gnou) 'price, value' || Gk Mc o-no- 'price', Gk ὠνος 'venum, purchase money, a price', ὠνή, Gk L ὀννῆ (< *wos-nā) 'buying (Kauf)' || L vēno- (nom. vēnos, accus. vēnum, dat. vēnō) 'sail', {EI} 'that which is sold' ¶¶ P 1173, WP I 311-12, EI 185, M K III 177, WH II 753-4, F II 1149, Sl. 295-6, Ts. W 103 || A: T *ōḏ 'revenge, vengeance' > OT {Cl.} ὀč id., 'malice', Tk ὀḏ, Az ὀž, ET, QrB, Qrg ὀč, StAlt ὀč, CrTt ὀč, Uz ὀč, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Tv ὀš, Xk ὀs, VTt ʕḏ üš, Bsh üs, Chv бѣчѣ vḅžḅ, Chv Δ бѣччѣ 'revenge, vengeance, злоба', Tkm ὀč, Qmq, Ln ὀč id., 'hostility', Kr ὀč id., 'punishment' ¶ Some T lge > WrM {MED} ὀs, HIM {MED} ὀc, {BMR} ὀc, ὀw, Brt (< d.?) ʕḏḏ(ḏ) 'hatred, revenge', Kl Ö {Rm.} ὀs 'Feindschaft, Haß, Rache', Ord 'haine, vengeance'; HIM → Yk ὀs 'revenge', злоба, hate (Haß), evil' ¶ The cns. s in the M words proves that they are borrowed from some T lge (cp. Xk ὀs) ¶ The short ὀ in Yk suggests that the Yk word is a loan from a M lge ¶ Cl. 18, ET Gl 558-9, MED 645, BMR III 45, 49, Chr. 519, KW 301, Ms. O 540, JRS 290. Pek. 1973, Ash. V 387-9, Fed. I 121, Jeg. 53 || ?σ D (att. in SD) *oḏ(ḏ)- > Ml oḏukkuka v. 'pay taxes', Kn oḏḏaja 'tribute' ¶ D no. 952.

114. *ʕad∇ 'limit, edge'? → 'up to, until, towards' > **HS:** S: [1] S *ʕad_lay_l- > Ar عَدَى ʕaday ʕadā 'bord\rivage d'un fleuve' ⇨ ʕidwat- ~ ʕudwat- id., 'extrémité, bord'; [2] S *ʕad-ay, *ʕad-u/i 'up to, towards' > OAk ad-um, Ak adi, adu, ad 'up to, towards', Hb ʕadē, ʕad 'until', Ph, Ug, OSA ʕd 'up to, till', Aram ʕad 'up to', Jb 'ʔed, d 'to, up to', ʔed 'till, until' ¶ Sd. 12, CAD I/I 115-21, KB 743-4, KBR 786-7, BK II 194-7, OLS 71-2, BGMR 12, Jo. J 1 || ? EC: Sa {R} -d, marker of accus./dat. ¶ R S II 95 || **K** *o-d > Sv -d 'up to, till' (lupxw-d 'till the springtime'), homonymous with -d 'as' (transformative case) and therefore reinterpreted as one of the meanings of this transformative case ¶ Ni. s.v. 'dō', GP US 41-2 || **IE** *haT ({EI} *h_hed) 'at, to' > NaIE *aT 'towards' (where *T is an archiphoneme resulting from neutralization of the opposition *-d^h ↔ *-d ↔ *-t in word-final position) > L ad 'towards', ad- pv. of approaching, Um AR, ARS prep., -aŕ postp., 'towards', Osc adpūd 'quoad' || OIr, Gl ad- pv. of approaching, W add- id. || Gmc *at- pv. 'towards, near' (pv. of approaching) > Gt, ON, OSx at 'towards, near', OHG az id., AS æt, NE at etc. || Phr αδ-δακετ 'af-fecit', αβ-βερετ 'ad-ferebat' || HrLw à-ta 'towards' ¶¶ P 3, EI 590, WH I 11-12, Bc. G 329, Pln. II 675, 727-8, EWA I 405-6, Vn. A 13, Vr. 16, Fs. 60-1, Ho. 13, Schz. 92, Mer. HHG 40-1 || **A:** ? Tg *-dʿU_la_l/*-dʿU_le_l 'to, in', case sx of dative-locative ({Bz.} *-dua / *-dūā) (× N *d_loy_la 'place [within, below], inside' [→ locative pc, 'in'.]) > WrMc {Z} -dā (e.g. amā-dā 'to the father'), Nn Nh -do ~ -du 'to' (dative), with ppa. -doa (amen-doa-si 'to his father'), Lm -du (aman-du 'to the father'), Ud -du, -di- (xoton-du 'zur Stadt', amin-du 'to the father', amin-di-hi 'to his father'), Ul, Sln -du/-du, Orc -du, Ewk -du (amīn-du 'to the father', amīn-du-s 'to his father') ~ -tu (devoicing due to progressive as.), Neg -du~-tu ¶ Bz. 83, Ci. 256, Sun. S 212-23, On. 547, Z 40 ◇ The rec. of N *ʕ- is based on S *ʕ- and on the K initial *Ø-. The AnIE reflex is qu., because HrLw à-ta may be also connected with Ht andā 'towards' ◇ In the descendant lges the word is used mostly in auxiliary functions (pre-\ post-positions, prefixes, preverbs), but the S prep. *ʕad-ay, *ʕad-u/i governs the gen. case, hence it must go back to a noun (probably preserved in Ar ʕaday [ʕadā] 'bord\rivage d'un fleuve'). OAk ad-um still has the form of a noun (nom. case).

115. *ʕʾoʾdU 'go' > **K:** GZ *wed-/ *wid- 'go, walk' (× N *w∇d_l∇_lʕ∇ or *w∇ʕd∇ 'walk, go', q.v. ffd.) || **HS:** WS *✓ʕdω 'go, step\pass over' > BHb ✓ʕdω: pf. עָלָה עָלָה ʕālā ... 'step over', Ug {OLS} ✓ʕdy D 'make go\disappear' ('hacer pasar\desaparecer'), JA (incl. BA) ✓ʕdy ~ ✓ʕdω G

lʔ ʔd 'not yet' (lʔ 'not'), Ar عَادَ ʔād- 'in 'while', Sb ʔd 'again', Gz ʔādī 'still, still more, again, once more', Tgr ʔadu 'yet', Mh, Hrs ʔād 'still, yet, again', Jb C d-ʔdd 'still', Ak fOAK adī 'as long as, while' (× Ak adī 'up to' < N *ʔad∇ 'limit, edge'[?] → 'up to, until' [q.v.]) ¶ KB 752, 1756, OLS 72, Ln. 2188-92, JH 203, HJ 831-2, L G 55-6, BGMR 22, Jo. M 35-6, Jo. H 12, Jo. J 19, CAD I/1 112-15 || A *ud∇- 'follow' (→ 'delay') > NaT *uδ- v. 'follow' > OT uδ- v. 'follow', Tk uɣ- v. 'follow, suit, fit', Az uy- 'fit, correspond', Tkm uy- v. 'obey implicitly', {ET} 'follow', Uz Δ uy- 'follow', Yk utā 'following' ¶ Cl 38 (OT ūδ- with unc. length of the vw. based on the letter ʔ in the Arabic spelling), DTS 605-6, ET Gl 573-4 || M *uda- follow, delay' > MM [S] uɖa, adu 'following, second (son)', [S, MA] uɖa- 'be late', WrM {MED} uɖa-, HlM uɖa- {MED} v. 'delay', {BMR} 'linger, loiter (медлить, мешкать, задерживаться)', Brt uɖa- id., Mnr H {SM} ud_a- 'persister longtemps dans le même état; tarder', Kl Ö {Rm.} uɖa- '(ein Tier) erfolgen, nachjagen', Ord uɖ_a- 'durer longtemps', 'devenir vieux' (objet), ⇨ Ord uɖ_ā- 'soumettre à un retard, différer longtemps (de faire qch.)' ¶ H 158, Pp. MA 361, MED 860-1, BMR 308-9, Chr. 463, Kow. 380, SM 462-3, KW 446, T 368, Ms. O 721-2 ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ SDM) T *īδ- 'send (sth.)' (more likely from N *wedhA 'to cause to go [to drive, to lead]', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 611-12 (pA *jūdu v. 'lead, direct' > M + unc. T *īδ- 'send'), DQA no. 678 (id.), Rm. EAS I 143 (pA *ud∇ 'follow' > M, T).

117. *ʔ'æ'go 'to drink' > HS: C *✓ ʔg, {E} *ʔag- v. 'drink' > EC *-ʔag-/ *-ʔig-/ *-ʔug- pcv. 'drink' > Bn pcv. -aʔak- / iʔik-, Arr ʔig-, Dsn ʔík, Elm ʔik-, Kns ik-, Ya {Hn.} -e'q-; HEC *ag- v. 'drink' > Sd {Gs., Mrn., C}, Kmb {C}, Hd {PB} ag- v. 'drink'; (× N *yugê 'to drink') Gdl uk-, Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} ʔuk-, Cm {Hbl.} ʔug- id., (× N *H'i'Kæ 'eat?'): Yk εk- 'eat', éktó 'food' ||| Dhl {EEN} ʔag- 'eat', {Ss.} ʔàga 'food' ||| SC: Brn {Wh.} ag-, Irq {MQK} ʔāy-, Grw {Wh.} ʔay-, ?φ Alg {Wh.} gag- v. 'eat' ¶ E PC no. 483, Ss. PEC 17, Wh. IC 56, MQK 18, Bl. 108, BlSO s.v. ik-, Gs. 6, AMS 274, Hn. Y II 124-5, Hw. A 340, To. DL 482, EEN 13, Ss. PEC 17, Blz. CL 178, Blz. CP s.v. 'eat' || S (d.?) *✓ ʔg w v. 'suckle, give to drink' > Ar لَعَجَ ✓ ʔġw G 'put out (a child) to nurse', ? (mt.) Gz ✓ w g f G 'feed with milk', Amh/Arg/Grg {L} w e g g a v. 'force to drink' ¶ Fr. III 117, BK II 186, Hv. 456-7, L G 607-8 ||| **IE** *h₂eg^hw- ({EI} 1s pres. *h₂ēg^wh-mi) 'drink' > Ht ek₂u-/ak₂u- (3s pres. ek₂uzi = {Pv.} ek^w-ci), Lw ak₂u-, Pal ax₂u- v. 'drink' || NaIE *eg^hw-/ *ēg^hw- > Tc: A, B yok- id. ||| L ēbrius 'drunk' (← 'having drunk one's fill': qom t u

satura atque ebria eris 'when you have had enough to eat and drink' [Terence, Hecyra 5.2.3]) ¶ Not akin to IE **ak^ω* - 'water' (⇔ Hrozný et al.) (see Pv. I-II 261-8); not akin to IE **ek̑* - v. 'eat' (⇔ Mn.), because Ht -k^u- and L -b- indicate a pIE labiovelar cns. ¶¶ Pv. I-II 261-8, EI 175-6, ≠ Mn. 235, 237, Wn. I 601-2, Ad. 509-10, Ad. H 22, JGH 147-9, ≠ WH II 387-8 || A: M **a^uu* ~ **u^uu* - v. 'drink' > MM [S] *u^uu* -, [MA] *u^uu* -, WrM {MED} *agu* - ~ *uu* - ~ *ugu* -, HLM {MED, BMR}, Brt, Kl {KRS} *u^uu* - *u* - v. 'drink', {Rm.} *u* - 'trinken, saugen, eimschlürgen', Ord *u* -, Mnr H {SM} *u* - v. 'drink' ¶ H 160, Pp. MA 371, MED 15, 864, 889, BMR III 371-2, Chr. 721, KRS 542, KW 452, SM 462, Ms. O 721 ¶¶ SDM95 (s.v. ? **ug^u* ? 'drink'): (?) pA **ug^u*, but SDM VC envisages a possibility of A **e* in the first syll (A **e* - u > M **u* - u).

118. **E^ua^ug^u* 'fat' > HS: S (+ exts) **^o✓^ug^ur*, **^o✓^ug^un* 'be stout/fat': [1] **^o✓^ug^ur* > Ar *عجر* ✓^ug^ur (ip. -*g^uar^u*) 'crassus\obesus\ventrosus fuit', *عَجْر* *g^uar^u* - 'crassus, pinguis, ventrosus' (vir); [2] **^o✓^ug^un* > Ar ✓^ug^un 'pinguis fuit' (de camela), *g^uin* - 'compacto corpore et pinguis' (camelus) ¶ Fr. III 110-11, 116 || Eg OK *g^un* 'fat' ¶ EG I 239, ≠ Tk. SCC 94 [no. 24.1] || A **yāg^u* (= **yāg^uü*?) 'fat' n. > M **e^uü-kün* ({SDM} **e^uükü*, **ü^uekü*) id. > MM [S] *e^uüküⁿ* ~ *ö^uüküⁿ*, WrM {MED} *ögekü(n)*, HLM {MED} *θθx*, {BMR} *θθx(θH)*, Brt *θθxə(H)* 'fat, lard, grease', Kl {KRS} *θθKH* *ōkən* 'fat, animal fat (сало)', {Rm.} *ōk^u* 'Fett (im Fleische)', Mnr H {SM} *ōk^ue* 'graisse, suif', Ord *ōk^uxö* 'graisse', Dg *зугу*, Dx *φугун* (Hl., Md.: a secondary *φ*-), ShY *ūkōn* n. 'fat' ¶ H 47, MED 631, BMR III 36, Chr. 369, SM 296, KRS 420, KW 304, Ms. O 530, St AJ 235 [no. 29] || T **jāg* 'fat' n. (× N ≈ **L|žagU^ug^u*, 'fat meat', q.v.) > OT *jāg* 'grease, fat, oil' (incl. OT Og XI [MhK] *jāg* 'suet'), Tk *yāg*, Tkm *jā^u* 'oil, butter, grease', Az *jā^u* 'fat, butter', Uz *ē^u jā^u*, ET *jā^u*, Δ *jāq* 'grease, animal fat, butter', {Jr.} *jā^u*, Δ {Ml.} *jāq* 'grease, oil, animal fat', Ln *jā^u* ~ *jāq* 'grease, suet, fat', Slr *jā^u* 'suet, fat, oil', Xlj *jā^u*, Uz *jā^u*, Qmq *jā^u* 'oil, butter, fat', Qrg S *жов žov* 'fat, butter', StAlt *д^uу^u* *žū* 'suet', *д^uу^u* *žū* 'animal fat', Qmn {B} *žū* id., 'butter', Tb {B} *žū* 'fat', QK {B} *žā^u*, Tv *čā^u*, Tf *čā^u* 'hard animal fat (сало)', Xk *čā^u*, Yk *sīā* 'fat', Chv *ç^u* *śū* *čā^u* *ś^u* n. 'butter, сало, fat' ¶ Cl. 895, Rs. W 177, ET J 58-9, TL 453, DT 218, Ra. 193, BT 57-8, BN 67, B DChT 11, B DK 213, B DLT 144, Ash. XII 124-6, Fed. II 127, Jeg. 215, Md. 27, 160 || Tg **^oyagjakta* (= **^oyag-jā-kta*?) 'fat of a bear' > Ul *yagžakta* id. ¶ STM I 337 ¶ The word belongs here if Tg **-jā-* goes back to a *sx* (extension) ¶¶ SDM 597 (pA **jāgi* 'fat' n.

> Tg, M, T), DQA no. 632, SDM97 s.v. *āgi 'fat', S AJ 282, STM I 337 (Tg, T).

119. *ʿogU1∇ (or *H₂oqU1∇) 'offspring, child, young (of an animal)', 'to beget, to bear a child' > **HS:** ? WS *ʿigul- 'calf' > BHb בִּנְיָן 'yegeel 'young bull\ox', Pun, Ug, OA ʿgl, JA בִּנְיָן 'yegeel, JEA em. אֶבְיָן 'igʿl-ā, Sr ٱبْنٌ 'egʿl-ā, Ar عَجَلٌ 'igʿl-, Gz ʔagʷal ~ ʿagʷal 'calf' ¶ KB 741, KBR 784-5, A no. 1995, OLS 75, HJ 824, Lv. III 618, Sl. 851, Br. 509-10, L G 11 || C ≈ *✓ʔkʷl (or *✓ʔkʷl) 'give birth, child' > Ag {AD} *kʷ3r-/ *ʔ3kʷ3r- ({Ap.} *qʷ3r-/ *ʔ3qʷ3r-) v. 'beget, child' (< Early Ag **✓ʔkʷl?) > Bln ʔ3xʷra 'boy', f. ʔ3qʷra 'daughter', pl. qʷ3r 'children', Xm (3)xʷ3r 'child', pl. 3qʷ3r, Km xʷ3ra 'child', Bln ʔxʷär-, Xm 3xʷ3r- v. 'bear, beget'; Early Ag **✓ʔkʷl ⇨ Tgy kʷelʿa 'child' || HEC *kaʿl- v. 'give birth' > Sd, Kmb kaʿl-, Hd {Hd.} kaʿr-, {Ss.} kār- v. 'give birth' (of animals), Brj kaʿl- v. 'give birth', kála 'child' ¶ Ap. AV 17, R WB 23, Hd. 70, Ss. B 123, ≠ AD SF 200 || **K:** Sv L qław- 'child, boy' (× N *qʷlʷl 'boy, child') ¶ Dn. s.v. qław-, ≠ K² 243-4 (unc.: Sv *qʷl- < K *qʷle- 'penis') || **A:** T *ogul (pT {Md.} *ogul) 'offspring, child' (→ 'male child') > OT oʕul 'offspring, child', Chg oʕul 'son', Tkm, Az, ET, SY, Ln, Xlj oʕul, Tk oʕul, Qzl oʕil, Uz wʕil, Qrg, StAlt ūl, Qq ul, Qzq ʔл, VTt, Bsh ul, Tv ōl, Tf ʔl, Yk ūl, Blgh ٱول ∇wal, Chv L ывăл ivăl, Chv Δ ивăл ivăl ≈ ăvăл ьvăl 'male child, son', Chv ывăл uvăl and Chv MK ұл 'son', Xk Sg/Kc ōl 'young man, son', Qzl oʕil id. ¶ Cl. 83-4, ET Gl 414-16, Rs. W 358, TL 313-14, DHST 299, DT 168, Ra. 213, BT 168, Md. 45, Md. OJ 133, 228, IsxP 57, BIG 123, 127, Ash. III 194 and 204. Fed. II 468, Jeg. 341 || ?σ M: WrM {MED} uɣulʒa ~ uɣalʒa, HIM {MED, BMR} ɣгалз 'male wild mountain sheep (argali, архар, *Ovis ammon*)', Kl {Rm.} uʕʷlʒa 'wilder Schafbock' ¶ MED 863-4, BMR III 302, KW 447 || **Gil:** Gil: A oʕla 'son, child', ES {Krn.} eʕlŋ ~ eʕlaŋ 'child', A oʕlagu, ES eʕlgun 'children' ¶ ST 241, ST RN 127, 369, 416, Krn. N 494 || **D** (in SD) {tr.} *okkal-, {GS} *okal- 'relations, kinsfolk' > Tm okkal id., Ml okkaliyan 'a cultivating class', Kt okl 'family', Td wikiʿl 'family within clan', Kn okkal 'residing, residence, home', okkala 'husbandman, farmer', Kdg okka 'patrilineal joint family', Tu okkelʷ 'a tenant'; D ⇨ Prkr okkia- 'a dwelling, residence' ¶ D no. 925, GS 82 [no. 255] ◇ If WS *ʿigul- belongs here, we must reconstruct *ʿ- for pN and suppose that the glottalized stop and its reflexes in C, K and D have developed from a cluster *ʿg (> C *k, Sv q-, SD *-kk-, {GS} *-k-). WS *-i- in *ʿigul- (for the expected *-u-) still requires explanation ◇ Starostin (S CNM 9 and S SN 154) equated T with M uɣalʒa

(which I accept) and with MKo àh'í 'child' and reconstructed pA *uka(1∇) 'child, son' (not convincing because the element *1∇ has a proto-N age). In S CNM 9 and S SN 154 he suggested to equate Sv ḡlaw- 'child, boy' with A *kū1∇ 'slave, servant' and with D *kuli 'hired labourer', sc. to transfer it either to N *Ḳu1'ā' 'clan, village' → 'everybody') and to N *ḡ'U'1'U' 'boy, child' (→ A 'servant, slave') or to N *ku1∇ 'to work' ◇ AD NM no. 119, S CNM 9 (÷÷ NrCs, ST).

120. ₂ *ḡok∇ (or *ḡoḲ∇?) 'listen' or 'ear' > HS: EC: Sa {R} ḡkkā, Sa I {CR} ḡokḡā 'ear', Af {PH} ḡókka 'earwax', ? Brj {Ss.} akkab- v. 'hear' ¶ R S II 23, PH 61, AD SF 264 || D (in SD) *ḡok- v. 'listen' > Td o·x 'hear', Kt ḡgarv- 'listen without speaking' (BE: *ḡok- + *karv- 'lie hidden') ¶ D no. 1032 ◇ Connected with N *ḡuḲa 'see', 'eye' (q.v.)? The et. is qu., because the cognates are isolated in both HS and D.

121. ?σ *ḡayka '≈ move (quickly), jump' > IE: NaIE *aḡg- {P} '(sich) heftig bewegen, schwingen, vibrieren' ({EI} ? IE *h₁eḡg- 'move') > OI ējati 'stirs, moves' || ON eikinn 'wütend, rasend, gewaltsam', NNr eikjen 'streitsüchtig' || Gk αἰγίς 'rushing storm, hurricane', ?σ Gk [Hs.] αἰγες 'waves' || pSl *jbggrati (se) 'to amuse oneself, to dance, to play', ? 'to jump' > RChS, OR HΓΡΑΤΗ 'to amuse oneself, to jump', OCS HΓΡΑΤΗ iḡgrati 'παίζειν, ludere', {StSS} 'развлекаться, играть', Blg иг'раja, McdS игра v. 'play, dance', SCr iḡgrati, OP igrać 'to play, to dance', SCr Ch jìgrati, Slv iḡgrati, P grać, R иг'рать, Uk 'грати 'to play', R Δ иг'рать 'to dance', Cz hráti 'to play, to amuse oneself'; pSl *jbggrá 'amusement, play, dance' > OCS HΓΡΑ igra 'lusus', RChS, OR HΓΡΑ igra 'παίγνιον, παιδιά, ludus', Blg, R иг'ра, Cz, Slk hra 'play, amusement', SCr iḡra, SCr Ch jìgra 'play, dance', Slv ígra, Δ iḡrā, Hls jhra ~ hra, OP igra, P gra, Uk гра 'play' ¶ WP I 11, P 13-14, EI 388, M K I 126, ≈ F I 32, Vr. 96, ESSJ VIII 208-11, StSS 246, Glh. 274-5, LS 40 || HS: S *ḡyḡ > Ar ḡyḡ G (ḡāka / -ḡīku) 'marcher en remuant les épaules' ¶ Fr. III 251, BK II 422 || B *ḡHky (*-Hkuḡ-) v. 'tremble, jump' > Sll {Ds.} akḡi (3s pf. yuḡi) v. 'trembler, sautiller; sauter en se laissant tomber', Tz {Stm.} ākḡ (= ākḡi?) v. 'jump' ¶ Ds. 256, 284, Stm. 162 || D *ak- v. 'tremble, fear' (× N *qagḡa 'to fear') > Kn agi v. 'tremble, fear', Tu aguruni v. 'totter, stagger', Tl agurvu 'fear, terror' ¶¶ D no. 12.

122. *ḡaḲo 'water' > HS *ḡa'ḡ- > C *ḡaḡ- > Ag *ḡaḡ- 'water' > Bln {Plm., R} ḡaḡ [ḡaḡḡ], Xm {R} aḡ, Xm T {CR} aḡ, aḡi, {Bnd.} āq, Q {R} aḡū, Km {CR} aḡ, {Bnd.} āḡ, Aw {Bnd.} agu 'water' || EC: ?ḡ Gdl

{Bnd.} *hakā* 'water' ¶ AD SF 273-4, R WB 62, ≈ Ap. AV 2 (Ag **ʔakʷ-*) || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} *àkà* 'river, water', {C} *ak*, {Bnd.} *āka* 'water' ¶ Wdk. BY 116, C SE III 66., ≈ AD SF 273-4 || S **✓f̥k̥k̥* > ? SS **✓f̥k̥w̥~✓f̥w̥k̥* ('≈ water surface', 'lake' or the like) > Jb E {Jo.} 'f̥ɔ'k̥ɔt, Mh *ʔá'k̥awt*, pl. *ʔīwēk̥* 'mountain pool', Hrs *ʔa'k̥awt*, pl. *ʔawēk̥* id., ?? Sb *ʔw̥k̥* (h.l., translated in BGMR as '[?] bank, embankment', 'berge, talus') | Ar *✓f̥qq* *G* (pf. *فقق* *ʔaqqā*) 'in pluviam dissolvit (ventus nubem)' (× Ar *✓f̥qq* *G* 'split, rend') ¶ Fr. III 188, Jo. M 36, Jo. H 12, BGMR 23 || IE **Hekʷ-* (or **Hakʷ-*) ({EI} **h₂ekʷeh₂-*) 'water' > NaIE **akʷ-ā* id. > L *aqua* 'water' || Gmc {Vr.} **ahwō* > Gt *ahwa*, ON *ó, á* (~ *ǫ́*) 'river', Dn *ǣ* 'small river', AS *ēa*, OSx, OHG *aħa* 'water, stream, river' || BSl: R *Oka* n. l. (river) ({Trb.}: *←* Blt), ? Slk *Oka* (a lake in the Tatra mountains) ¶ P 23, EI 636, Mn. 31, WH I 60, Vr. 1, Fs. 18, Ho. 82, Ho. S 1, EWA I 100-3, Kb. 10, Vs. III 127 || **¶** T **ak-* v. 'stream, flow' (× T **jağ-* v. 'pour down, pour rain' < N **yak* ▽ '≈ pour, be covered with water') > OT *aq-* v. 'flow', Tk *ak-*, Tkm, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, ET, Ln, StAlt, Tv *aq-* id. | ? Chv L *юx- yux-*, Chv *Δ-ěx-* 'flow, swim' ¶ SDM 598 (pT **iak-* with **i-* based on the Chv cognate), Cl. 77, ET Gl 118-20, Ash. V 18-22, Fed. II 495-6, Jeg. 352, ChVS 294 ◇ Not identical with N **ʔ'æ'gō* 'drink' (q.v.). Cf. AD LRC no. 54 (IE, C), IS I 275-6 (HS [S, C], IE, D + *÷ EC **ʔ'g-* v. 'drink' and Ht *ekū-* id.), WNL NC s.v. 'water' (HS-IE-T, as well as Esk *uq-ʔ3ʃ-n3ʃ* 'a drop' and Gil *ʔʃi-* v. 'stream' [of a river]) ◇ Blz. IELA 9 [no. 24] (HS, IE) ◇ ≠ Gr. I no. 414 (**akwa* 'water') (IE + qu. CK, Ai + err. U, A [**jak'a/jaka*], Ko, J, Gil).

123. **ʔ'ok̥i* 'sharp point\edge' > IE **H^wek̥-* (~ **H_xek̥-*?) / **H^wek̥-* ({EI} **h₂ek̥-*) 'sharp, pointed' > NaIE **ok̥-* / **ak̥-* id. > OI *'asr̥i-h̥* 'corner, angle, edge' || Gk *ῥακρυς* 'hilltop, mountain peak', *ῥακή* 'point', *ῥακίς* (gen. *ῥακίδος*) 'a point, barb of an arrow\hook', *ῥακρος* 'spitz' || pAl {O} **ac-eta* ({JO} **atseta*) > Al *athēt* adj. 'bitter, harsh, unpleasantly sour' || L *acu-s* (gen. *acūs*) 'needle', *acies* 'edge (of a sharp instrument)', *ācer* 'sharp', Osc *akrid* 'acriter' || OIr *ochair* 'angle, edge', W *ochr* {Vn.} id., {YGM} 'side', *hogi* 'to sharpen, to whet' || Gmc {Vr.} **agjō* > ON *egg* 'blade, edge', Sw *egg* 'blade', OSx *eggia* id., 'edge', OHG *egga* ~ *ecka* 'sharp point, edge, corner, Schneide', MHG *ag* ~ *egle* 'perch', NHG *Ecke* 'edge, corner', *Eck* 'angle', AS *écz* 'edge, blade, sword', NE *edge* || Lt *ašmuō* (pl. *āšmens*), *ašmenys* 'sharp point, blade', Ltv *asmens* 'blade, edge' | Sl **ostrb* 'sharp' > OCS, OR *острѣ* *ostrb*, Blg *остѣр*, SCr *ōštâr*, Slv

óster, Cz, Slk ostrý, Postry, R 'острый, Uk '(г)острий id. || Arm
 աստղն asełn (gen. ասղան asłan) 'needle' || pTc {Ad.} *āke > Tc: A
 {Wn.} āk 'bout, fin, pointe, sommet', B {Ad.} āke 'end', B akessu 'at the
 end, last' ¶¶ The adduction of Ht aku- (nom. aku-s) 'stone', Lt akmuo
 and Ltv akmenis 'stone' (see Ph. I-II 24 and Frn. 5) is questionable for
 semantic reasons. These words may belong to another N etymon
 (reconstructible as *^ohaKŮ 'stone', cp. Tgy haḳ^wḳ^wḳ^w 'essayer une pierre
 comme meule') ¶¶ P 18-22, EI 509, M K I 61, F I 52, ≈ 59, WH I 7, 11, Vn. O
 6, YGM-1 287, 347, Schz. 119, KM 151, Ho. S 14, Ho 87, EWA II 955-6, Kb.
 196, O 12, Frn. 19, Vs. III 166-7, StSS 421, Glh. 460, Sl. 123, Wn. I 157,
 Ad. 37, Ad. H 131, DRS 446 || K: G eḳ-al-i 'thorn', G Ms heḳ-al-i id.; (×
 N *^hako|aR∇ '≈ top part, tip, extremity') Sv: USv {TK} hoḳer, LSv {TK}
 woḳer 'the very bottom, end (ფსკერი, ძირი, ბოლო, дно, конец)', UB
 {GP} hoḳer 'at the very bottom, below' ¶¶ Chx. 335, TK 897, GP 316, IS I 251
 || A *ok'i 'sharp point, spitzes Ende, arrow' > T *ok 'arrow' > OT, Chg, XwT,
 MQp, Chg oq, MOg oḡ, Tk ok, Tkm, CrTt, QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg,
 StAlt, ET, SY, Ln, Tv oq, VTt, Bsh uq, Uz wq, Az, Yk oḡ, Xk uḡ id., Tf ḡq
 'bullet'; Chv L ɥxǎ uxɓ 'arrow, shooting bow' ({IS}: < *oq-jāy 'arrow bow'?)
 ¶ Cl. 76, ET Gl 437-8, TL 577, Rs. W 359, Ra. 212, Ash. III 344, Fed. II 296,
 Jeg. 279-80 || Tg *oki > WrMc {Z} okи iōpo 'blunt-headed arrow' (iōpo
 'arrow with a head of bone'), Ewk oki-kta 'fish fun', Ork ōko 'fishing hook',
 Ud {Krm.} o' 'fish gear' ¶ Z 123, 203, STM II 9-10, Krm. 273 || M *oki
 (unless it is *^ooki) 'top, Spitze' > WrM oki {MED} 'top', HlM oḡɓ {MED}
 id., {BMR} 'top, Wipfel', WrO oki 'top, summit', ? Kl {KRS} ok okɓ, {Rm.}
 okj 'erster starker Branntwein (bei der Destillierung)' (← 'Spitze?') ¶ MED
 607, BMR II 505-6, Krg. 118, KW 284, KRS 393 || pJ {S} *àkuàyaì
 'pheasant's spur' > OJ akūoye, MJ àkòyè ¶ S QJ no. 751 ¶¶ SDM 1046 (pA
 *òk'â 'sharp point, notch' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 17, Rs. W 359, Pp. VG 98,
 134, Pp. VG 98, 134, KW 284 || U: FU *^ookk∇ > BF *okka 'thorn', *okas /
 *okkaha - 'thorn, spine, prick' with a secondary variant *oɣas
 (generalization of the weak grade of cns. gradation) > F oka / gen. oan, Δ
 okka 'thorn', F oas 'thorn, spine, prick', Δ okkas, Krl Ld ogaz id., Vp ogaz
 ɔ ogah 'thorn, awn of a plant ear', Es okas / gen. okka 'thorn, prick' ||
 AdS of Sm {Jn., Hl.} *ukɜ 'tip, front part' < N *^hh₂'ôkU 'head' (q.v.) ¶¶ SK
 423-4, ZM 376, Jn. 30, Hl. M no. 1113, KKIH 191 || ? HS: S *^o✓fωḳ₁ḳ₁ > Ar
 fawāqq- pl. 'petits rejetons qui poussent au haut de la tige du palmier' ¶ BK
 II 306 ¶¶ The Ar cognate is qu., because it is isolated within HS ◇ If Ht

akɯ- belongs here, the IE reflex suggests N *ʰ- or *h- (the only lrs that do not yield Ht h-, preserve the infl. of the following N vw. in NaIE and yield zero in K). Without Ht akɯ- and without the S cognate the N rec. will be *h|ʃ|hokɪ. If the S cognate belongs here, the N rec. must be *ʃokɪ ◇ IS I 251-2 (*Hokɪ; IE, K, A, U), Rs. W 359 (A, U) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #18 (*ok 'arrow\point').

124. *ʃukɔa (or *ʃukɔʔa, *ʃAwukɔa, *ʃAwukɔʔa?) 'see', 'eye' > HS: S [1] *ʃɔʔk- > Ug {OLS} ʃk 'pupil of the eye', [2] SWS *ʃ-ʃuk- (?) > Gz -ʃuk- (pf. ʃokɔa, js. -ʃuk) v. 'know, understand, take notice, observe', Amh ዐወቀ awwəqə v. 'know, be familiar with', Har ākə id.; the EthS word is hardly a Cushitism (⇔ C, L, IS, AD SF), because its presumable Agaw origin does not account for the preservation of the ancient labial element -ū-/-ō-/-w- of the stem, and the EC origin cannot explain the cns. k ¶ OLS 86, C SE I 234, L G 78-9, IS I 255, AD SF 264 || C: Ag *-ʃʰak- v. 'see, know' > Q {R} ax- ~ ah- v. 'see', Aw {Hz.} -aq-, Km {Ap.} ax-, {CR} ax- v. 'know' || C → Mb {Fl.} axo v. 'see' || EC: [1] Dl: Hr {AMS} ʔax-iččé (pl. ʔáxxe), Dbs {AMS} ʔaxačče, Gln {AMS} ʔiχ-té (pl. ʔíxxe), Gwd {AMS} ʔaxa, Cm {Hbl.} ʔaxĩte 'eye'; [2] ʔφ EC *ʃʰog- ({Ss.} *ʔog-) 'know' > Sml óg 'knowing', wân óg ahày 'I know', Rn -ōg- 'aware of', ōgahe 'be aware of, know', Dsn ʔóg adj. 'knowing', Or {Grg.} og-ēssa (< *og-ayš-a) 'one who knows, wise, expert' (→ Brj o'gayš'i 'one who knows, skilful person, specialist, expert', Amh wəgešša 'local medical practitioner'); Sd {Gs.} egen- v. 'know'; this EC cognate is highly problematic because of its initial and medial cnss; hardly here Kns, Gdl akk- 'see' (acc. to Bl. 250, from EC *ʔark-, see N *ʔaR, ∇, ka 'see, observe') ¶ AD SF 264, R QW 21-2, Ap. K 331, Ap. AV 2 (Ag *ʔak- 'know'), Ss. B 154, Grg. 303, PG 240, Th. 259, Gs. 89, To. DL 483, AMS 231, Fl. p.c. || WCh: NgzB: Ngz {Sch.} ì:k- / (y)k- 'see, look' (3s p. ìkáy), Bd {IL in JI} íkà, {Sch. in ChL} ì:kân v. 'see' ¶ JI II 284, Sch. DN 80-1, ChC s.v. 'see', ChL I 260 || IE: *Hʷekʷ-/ *Heuk- 'eye', v. 'learn': [1] IE *Hʷekʷ- ({EI} *h₃okʷ-) 'eye' (> NaIE stems *okʷ-(s)- ~ *okʷi-, d.: *okʷ-o-, *okʷ-yo-, *okʷ-mŋ-) > OI 'akṣi ntr., akṣī- f. 'eye', Av du. aš i 'eyes' || Arm ախ աքn id., gen. ախ աքn, pl. nom. աչք աչհ-kʰ, pl. gen. աչք աչհ-աչհ || Gk ὄψ (gen. ὀπ-ός) 'eye, face', Gk D [Hs.] ὄκκον accus. 'eye', Gk Hm ὄσσε 'eyes' (Arm աչհ-kʰ and Gk ὄσσε < *okʷ-y-; acc. to Me. EAC, *-y- belongs to the marker of du.), Gk ὤψ * 'sight, face' (in set phrases, cds and ds: εἰς ὤψα '[to look one] in the face, Auge in Auge', μύ-ωψ 'short-sighted', ὠπή 'view, sight, look, aspect', ὠπ-ὠπ-τα 'part of the face under the eyes' etc.) || L ocu lus 'eye' ||

Lt *akìs* (du. *akì*), Ltv *acs* | pSl **ōko* 'eye', du. **ōči* > OCS *oko oko* / du. *oyn očì*, Blg *oko* / pl. *ochi*, SCr *ōko* / pl. *ōči*, Slv *okō* / pl. *očī*, Cz, Slk, P *oko*, R *oko* / pl. *ochi* || pTc {Ad.} **ek-* > Tc A *ak*, B *ek* 'eye' || [2] IE **h^ωek^ω* - 'hole' (← 'eye') > Gk *ὀπή* 'hole' (esp. in a roof); Erdloch, Fuchshohle' || Lt *ãkas* 'ice hole', Ltv *aka* 'spring, source' || [3] IE **H^ωek^ω-(y)* - v. 'see, watch, show' > Av *axš-*, Gk *ὄσσομαι*, ft. *ὄψομαι*, pfc. *ὄπωπα* v. 'see', OFrs *āuwa* ~ *āwia*, AS *éawian* ~ *éawan* ~ *éowan* 'to show' || [4] IE **Heuk-/ *Houk-* 'eye', v. 'learn' ({EI} **h₁euk-* 'become accustomed') > pGmc **auhan* 'eye' ({trad.} **auhan*) > Gt *augō*, ON *auga*, OSx *ôga*, OHG *ouga*, NHG *Auge*, AS *éaze* 'eye' (> NE *eye*); Gt *bi-ūhts* 'gewohnt' || Clt {Mastas.} **u-n-k-o-* 'understand' > OIr *do-uccai* id. || Lt *jũnkti* (pres. *jũnkstu*) 'to get accustomed', Ltv *jũkt* 'accustomed', Lt *jaukinti*, Ltv *jaukt* vt. 'to accustom', Pru *iaukint* 'to exercise (üben)' | Sl **uč'-ī-ti*, **uk-* / **v+k-* > OCS and OR *ouyn-tn*, R *учи-ть*, SCr *učì-ti*, Cz *učì-ti* 'to teach', P *uczyc-ć* id., OR *oukъ* 'learning', R *на-уча* 'learning, experience, science', Sl **vǣk-nq-ti* 'to learn' > OCS *вѣк-нѣ-tn* *vik-nq-ti*, SCr *vīknuti* id., R (при-)вык-ну-ть 'to get accustomed' || OI *'ucca-ti* 'is accustomed to', Sgd *učt* 'teaches' || Arm *nuwun* *hufusanim* 'I learn' || OIr *to-ucc-* v. 'understand' ¶ P 775-7, EI 4, 188 (without connecting between roots for 'become accustomed' and 'eye'), Mn. 882-3, M K I 16, M E I 42-3, F II 281, 407-8, 1154, Ch. 811-12, Fs. 64, 97, Vr. 19, Ho. 83, ≈ 87, Ho. S 56, KM 38, Kb. 751, Vn. U 13, Sl. 20-2, 264-5, IS I 255 (IE **Heuk-* > Gmc), Frn. 196-7, En. 183, Tp. P I-K 22-3, SJSS VII 357, Vs. I 368 and IV 179-80, StSS 160, 409, 756, Glh. 452, 649, Wn. I 141, Ad. 74-5, Ad. H 17, 37, 42, 137, Matas. E 400 ¶ I am grateful to Blz. for convincing me to adduce Sl **učì-* in spite of the semantic distance between 'eye' and 'learn' (≡σ M) || ?φ U: FU (att. in Ugr) **wok∇-* (or **wos∇-*) v. 'see, look' > OHg *ó-*, Hg *óv-* v. 'protect' (← v. 'look after') | pObU **wī-*, **wīj-* / **wīy-* v. 'see' > pVg **wī-*, **wīy-* / **wīx-*, **wāy-* id. > Vg: UL/Ss *wā-*, *wāx-*, P *wā-*, *wāx-*, NV/SV/LL *way-*, *ū-*, T *wā'-*, *wā'-*, *wāy-*, *way-*, LK *wā-*, *wāy-*, *ū-*, MK *ū-*, UK *wā-*, *wāy-*, *ū-* v. 'see'; pOs **wu-*, **wuy-* id. > Os: V *wu-*, Vy/Y/K/Kr *u-*, *uy-*, Ty *wu-*, *wuy-*, Nz *u-*, Kz *wɔ-* v. 'see' ¶ MF 508-9, Ht. no. 652 ¶ The cognate is qu. for phonetic reasons: **-k-* → **-x-* for the expected **-kk-*, the change **u-* > **wō-* (probably through **wu-*?) || A **uk'a* 'look into, understand' > NaT **u₁;₂k-* v. 'understand, find out' > OT, MQp *uq-*, Qzq, Qq, Uz, ET, Tb *uq-* v. 'understand', Qrg, StAlt, ET *Δuq-* v. 'hear, listen', Xk *ux-* 'hear,

understand', Az Mgn uʁ-uz 'knowing much, wise' ¶ Cl. 77-8, DTS 613, Rs. W 511-12, ET Gl 584-5 || M *uqa- v. 'learn, notice, understand' > MM [S, HI] uqa- id., [MA] وقا uqa- v. 'understand', WrM uqa- {MED} 'understand, know, comprehend, realize', HlM yxa- {MED} id., {BMR} 'understand', Kl {Rm.} ux-a- 'verstehen, begreifen, denken', WrO ux-a- 'understand, perceive, be aware'; ⇨ M *uqaʁan > WrM uqaʁan {MED} 'intellect, mind, intelligence, reason', HlM yxaan {MED} id., {BMR} 'intellect, mind, intelligence, Bewußtsein', Brt yxaa(н) 'Vestand, Vernunft (ум, разум, рассудок)', Kl {KRS} yxan id., 'Bewußtsein', {Rm.} uxān 'Vernunft, Verstand, Berechnung', Ord uxā 'intelligence, esprit, mémoire, ruse' ¶ H 160, H SMG I 23, H SMD 57, MED 890-1, BMR III 377, Chr. 482, KW 447, KRS 543, Krg. 162, Ms. H 105-6, Ms. O 726, Lew. II 82, Pp. MA 365, Cl. 77-8 (supposing: that M is borrowed from T) || pJ {S} *úká-(n)káʁ- v. 'look into, inquire' > OJ ukakap-, MJ ukagaʁ- id., JT ùkaga-, JK úkáǵá-, J Kg ukagá- {Kenk.} 'watch (wait) for, look (out) for' ¶ S QJ no. 197, Mr. 778, Kenk. 2090 || Tg *oksa > Lm oʁsa- 'think, ponder (how to live\survive in the next winter)', Ewk oksa- 'think over, change one's mind', ? Nn Nh/KU oksa- 'be offended, beleidigt sein (обидеться)' (sem. infl. of Nn Nh/KU aksa- id. < Tg *aksa- id.) ¶ STM I 25 and II 11, On. 32, 308, Pt. 96 ¶¶ SDM 1490-1 (pA *úk'u- 'understand, look into' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 2503, SDM95 s.v. *uk'a, S AJ 289, KW 447 || ?φ D (in NED) *ak- v. 'know' > Krx ax- v. 'know, realize', Mlt āge v. 'know, understand', āg-re v. 'get accustomed to' ¶ D no. 17, Pf. 184 ¶ NED *a still requires explanation ◇ Hardly here IE *augg- 'shine' (see N *h'awk'a' 'light [lux], bright') ◇ Blz. IELA 9 [no. 23] (HS, IE) ◇ If EC *ʔog- and FU *wɔk|ʁ belong here, they apparently point to a N plain *-k- rather than to *-ḳ-, suggesting a N etymon with *-k- + *-ʔ- (> *-ḳ- ~ *-k-), sc. N *ʔukʔa ◇ The vw. *a in D *ak- is still to be explained. It is tempting to suggest that Amh awwəḳə, Ag *-ʔak- and D *ak- point to a N *ʔAwukʔa (or *ʔAwukʔa) ◇ Cf. IS I 255-6 (IE, A [T, M], HS [C]); IS MS 333.

125. ?σ₂ *ʔEKʔʔ' ≈ 'to peck, to prick' (of birds and other animals) > HS: CS *ʔʔḳs ~ *ʔʔḳ v. G 'sting' > Sr ʔʔḳs T 'be stung' (by a scorpion\serpent), ʔaḳ ū' - ā 'aculeus (sting)', JA [Trg.], JEA ʔʔḳ G 'sting' (e.g. of scorpions), MHb ʔʔḳ G 'sting, prick' (of insects, reptiles) ¶ JPS 425, Br. 543, Js. 1107-8, Sl. 877, Klein 482 || B *ʔHksH (= *äksiH?) v. 'eat' > Ah akš, Gd εšš, Izn, Gh, Mtm etc. ač, Kb ačč, Tmz aťš, Zng {TC} eťš id. ¶ B *s by as. from *z ¶ Fc. 736, Lf. II no. O164, Nh. 176, Pr. M I-III 58,

MT 729, Dl. 68-70, DCTC 285, NZ 163-9 || **A**: M (unless with * φ -): WrM {MED} $\ddot{o}g\ddot{z}\ddot{u}ge$, HlM {MED} $\Theta r\ddot{z}\Theta r$ 'food for birds' (not registered in BMR) ¶ MED 633 || ? T: OT $ig\ddot{i}\delta$ - v. 'feed (a person, an animal)', MT [MhK] $ig\ddot{d}il$ - v. 'be nourished/fed' ($\times$ N * $H'i'K\ddot{a}$ 'eat', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 10, 104.

126. * $\{A\}V$ (= * $\{a\}E$ or * $\{ä\}i$) 'height, top', 'climb, go up' > **HS** * $\{a\}$ - 'high place', v. 'ascend' > S * $\{a\}$ - 'height' > Hb $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ 'height, high place', IA, Nbt, Plm $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$, Ar $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ 'above, upwards', Ug $\ddot{a}l$ 'darüber', Mh $\ddot{a}l\ddot{e}w$ 'on the top', Hrs 'ba $\ddot{a}$ la 'on, on top of', Cn $\ddot{b}$ Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} $\ddot{a}-l-t\ddot{a}$ 'upper room'; combined with * $\{la\}$ - 'to': IA [Frh.] $l\ddot{a}l$ 'up, upwards', Plm $l\ddot{a}l$ 'above, upon', Sr $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ $l\ddot{a}l$ 'above, on', Gz $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ $l\ddot{a}l$ (in modern pronunciation) < OEth * $la\ddot{a}la$, Tgr $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ $l\ddot{a}l$, Tgy $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ $l\ddot{a}l$ id.; S du. cs. * $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$ > prep. * $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$ 'above, on' > Hb $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$ 'on' (+ppa: $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$ < * $\{a\}a\ddot{y}ka$ 'on thee [m.]' etc.), Ph $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$, Ug, OA, IA $\ddot{a}l$ 'on', Ar $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$ (+ppa: $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$ 'on thee [m.]'), Sb $\ddot{a}l$ 'on'; S * $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$, *- $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$ - v. G 'ascend, go up' > Hb $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$ G (pf. $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$, ip. $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$), Ph, Ug $\ddot{a}l$ G id., Ar $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ G (pf. $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$) v. 'ascend, be high', Sb $\ddot{a}l$ G v. 'go up to (a place)', Ak $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$ v. 'travel uphill, go up, ascend'; S adj. * $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$ - 'high' > Amr {G} $\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$ - 'high', Ug {OLS} $\ddot{a}l$ 'altísimo, excelso', Ar $\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$ - 'high, elevated, lofty' ¶ KB 770-5, KBR 824-30, OLS 76-8, G A 15, JH 208-12, HJ 842-50, 852-3, Fr. III 215-17, Ln. 2146-7, BK II 352-7, BGMR 15-16, Jo. M 23, Jo. H 8, L G 303-4, CAD IV 114-35, Hlk no. 37, SivCR 78 || Eg fOK $\ddot{a}l$, fMK {EG, Fk.} $\ddot{a}l$ [= * $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$], {EG} $\ddot{a}l$ v. 'mount up, ascend' > DEg $\ddot{a}l$ > Cpt: Sd $\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$, B $\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$, F $\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$ id. ¶ EG I 41, 208, Fk. 11, 45, Er. 67, Vc. 6 || B *- $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$ v. 'climb, ascend' (Pcj. I A 3, Fcj. 68) > Kb, Mz $\ddot{a}l$, pf. 3s $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$, ASgr, Wrg $\ddot{a}l$ 'monter', Shw {Hy.} $\ddot{a}l$'s'élever en l'air, monter comme un ballon', BSn $\ddot{a}l$ v. 'climb(a tree etc.)', Ah $\ddot{a}l$, 3s pf. $\ddot{u}\ddot{a}l$, ETwl $\ddot{a}l$ v. 'be suspended (in the air)' ¶ Dl. 470-1, Dlh. M 111, Hy. 107, Fc. 1016-17, 2006, GhA 120, Pr. M VI-VII 96 || C: EC {Ss.} * $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$ - 'mountain, highland' > Sa $\ddot{a}l$, Af $\ddot{a}l$, Rn $\ddot{a}l$ 'mountain', Sml $\ddot{a}l$ 'lofty, coastal range of mountains', Sml Mt $\ddot{a}l$ 'high mountain', Arr $\ddot{a}l$ 'mountain', Hr, Dbs, Gln $\ddot{a}l$ 'highland' ¶ AD SF 140-1, Ss. PEC 35, Oo. 70, PG 135, PH 53-4, AMS 150, 195, Lm. SD 312, Hw. A 339 || Ch: WCh * $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$ - v. 'stand up' {Stl.} > pAG * $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$ (< * $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$ from * $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$ -, which Stl. explains by mt.) > Su {J} $\ddot{a}l$ $\ddot{a}l$, Ang {Flk.} $\ddot{a}l$, Tal {Sh.} $\ddot{a}l$ || Tng $\ddot{a}l$, {J} $\ddot{a}l$, Dr $\ddot{a}l$ || GJ {Sh.} $\ddot{a}l$ 'stand up' ¶ JI II 306, Stl. ZCh 228 [no. 765], J S 88 ¶ Coh. no. 58 (S, Eg, B, C), AD SF 140-1 (C, S, Eg, B), Vc. 6 (Eg, S, B) || **U** * $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$ - v. 'raise, lift, carry' > pObU {Ht.} * $\{a\}a\ddot{y}$ - v.

'raise, lift' > pVg * $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ - id. > Vg: T $\bar{a}l\bar{m}$ -, LK $\bar{u}l\bar{m}$ -, MK $\bar{u}l\bar{m}$ -, P/LL $al\bar{m}$ -/ $\bar{a}l\bar{m}$ -, NV/SV/ML/ UL, Ss $\bar{a}l\bar{m}$ - id., LK $\bar{u}l\bar{e}m\bar{k}\bar{a}t$ - v. 'rise' ('sich erheben'); pOs * $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ - v. 'raise, lift' > Os: V/Vy $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ -, Ty/Y $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ -, D/K $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ -, Nz $at\bar{a}m$ -, Kz $a\bar{a}m$ -, O $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ - id. || ? Hg $e\bar{m}el$ - v. 'lift, raise' (mt.) || Sm {Jn.} * $il\bar{b}$ - ~ * $yil\bar{b}$ - v. 'raise' > Ne T {Ter.} $il\bar{a}$ -, O {Lh.} $yil\bar{a}$ -, Ne F L $yirra$ - v. 'raise', Ng $jil\bar{a}ji$ id., En {Cs.} 1s aor. obcj. X $i'l\bar{a}bo$, B $ji'r\bar{a}bo$ id., Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. $\bar{u}l\bar{a}b$ 'I weighed', Kms {KD} $jil\bar{d}\bar{b}\bar{l}\bar{e}m$ ~ $\bar{c}il\bar{d}\bar{b}\bar{l}\bar{e}m$ 'in die Höhe heben' ¶¶ Coll. 5, UEW 24, MF 152-3, LG 211, Ht. no. 27, Jn. 26, Ter. 139, Lh. 126-7, KD 16 || **A** (?) * al - 'mountain' or 'hill' > T * $al\bar{u}k$ > Qrg {RL} $al\bar{u}q$ ~ $al\bar{u}q$ 'peak, summit' ¶ RL I 372, Cl. 135-6 || M: WrM {MED} $al\bar{a}$, HIM {MED} al 'flat-topped hill' (not registered in BMR), unless borrowed from Mc (WrMc {Z} $al\bar{a}$ 'hill, flat-topped mountain') ¶ MED 26 || Tg: WrMc {Z} $al\bar{in}$ 'mountain', Mc Sb {Y} $al\bar{in}$ 'mountain, hill', {Mrm.} $al\bar{in}$ 'Berg, Berge, Gebirge', Jrc {Lg., Kiy.} $al\bar{in}$ 'mountain'; Tg * $al\bar{u}$ 'hill, small mountain' > WrMc {Z} $al\bar{a}$ 'hill, flat-topped mountain', Nn Nh/Bk $al\bar{a}$ 'small mountains' (not registered by On.); the pTg word * $al\bar{a}$ (but not Mc $al\bar{in}$) results from a merger with the $\sqrt{\quad}$ * $al\bar{a}$ - v. 'cross mountains' < A * $\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ -, due to the merger of A * l and * $\bar{l}$ in Tg) ¶ STM I 27-8, Z 32-4, Y no. 2067, Klz. MS 100, Kiy. 99 [no. 039], Lg. IDT 225, Md. ChF 133 || **IE** * Hel - 'high' (× IE * Hal - [or * Hel -] 'feed, nourish') > L $alt\bar{u}s$ 'high', Clt. {Matas.} * $alt\bar{o}$ - 'height, cliff' (> MIr alt 'height, shore', W $all\bar{t}$ 'forest hill') ¶ P 126, Lehm. GED 29-30, LIV 262, Matas. E 30 ◇ Blz. IELA 8 [no. 19] (HS, IE) ◇ ≠ AD LRC no. 64 (S * $\sqrt{\quad}$ il 'on, above, top' ÷ IE * al -, * ol - 'over, on the other side' ÷ A * $ol\bar{a}m$ - v. 'ford'), ≠ IS I 274-5 (HS * $\sqrt{\quad}$ $il\bar{w}$ [presumably 'cross a mountain'] > Ak $el\bar{u}$ *'cross mountains', Gz $\sqrt{\quad}$ $il\bar{w}$ {Di.} 'transgredi') ÷ IE * hel - 'on the other side' ÷ A * $\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ 'cross a mountain'). But in the light of new ev. the Ak and Gz roots do not mean 'cross mountains' or anything similar, so that these earlier comparisons are not plausible. ≈ Gr. II no. 10 (* ol 'arise'). ◇ Hardly here G $ma\bar{y}ali$ 'high' adj., $ma\bar{y}la$ 'high' adv., $ma\bar{y}l$ - 'höher machen' (Chx. 729-30, Chik. 243); it would have been tenable if the $\sqrt{\quad}$ had been - $\bar{y}al$ -/- $\bar{y}l$ -, but K² 5 analysed the word as $m\bar{a}\bar{y}\bar{a}l$ - 'high' < GZ * $a\bar{y}$ - 'up, upwards'. If nevertheless the G cognate is valid, the initial N cns. was * $\bar{y}$ -.

127. * $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$ (or * $\bar{a}h\bar{u}$?) 'burn (esp. sacrifices), use magic means (sacrifices, magic formula etc.) to produce a particular result' > HS: S * $\sqrt{\quad}$ $il\bar{u}$ > Sr $\sqrt{\quad}$ $il\bar{u}$ Sh (pf. $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$) v. 'act perversely', $\bar{e}l\bar{u}$ 'scelus, injuria'; CS * $\sqrt{\quad}$ $il\bar{u}$ v. 'burn a sacrifice' > BHb $\bar{e}l\bar{u}$ ~ $\bar{e}l\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$, BA $\bar{e}l\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$ 'sacrifice which is wholly burnt', IA [Eleph.] $\bar{e}l\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$, SmA $\bar{e}l\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$

'burnt offering', JA אֶלְתָּא $\epsilon^a l \bar{a} t \bar{a}$ 'sacrifice', Sr אֶלְתָּא $\epsilon^a l \bar{a} t \bar{a}$ 'offering, holocaust, sacrifice; altar', Plm אֶלְתָּא $\epsilon^a l t \bar{a}$ 'altar' ¶ L G 61-2, Tal 637, Br. 527, KB 785-6, KBR 830-1, KB LVT 1108, JPS 416 || ECh: Smr {J} אֶלְתָּא vt. 'burn' ¶ JI II 55, ChC s.v. 'burn' tr. || IE *H₂el- ($\approx$ *Hal-) v. 'burn, burn sacrifices' ({EI} *h₂el- 'burn') > OI alātā 'a firebrand, coal' ($\leftarrow$ *'burnt') || ? Gk [Hs.] ἀλῶβη ($\epsilon^a l \bar{a} \beta \eta$) 'coal' || L altāria ntr. pl. 'altar (for sacrifice)' ($\leftarrow$ *al-t-āli-, F EM 43), ad-oleō 'I am burning (a sacrifice)', Um אֶלְתָּא 'adoleto, in order to burn' ($\leftarrow$ Itc *ol-) || Sw Δ {P $\leftarrow$ Joh.} ala v. 'blaze, flame' ¶ IS I 276, P 28, EI 87, M K I 55, WH I 13-14, 32, Bc. G 350, Ch. 52 || ?φ K *h₂al- v. 'flame', n. 'flame' > G al-i 'flame', al- (1s v-a-al-eb) 'aufflammen lassen', al-d-eba 'flammt auf', G Ing haln- v. 'burn, flame', Sv UB hāl (pl. hal-är) 'flame' ¶ Chx. 12, 14, Jan. 274, TK 893, Ni. s.v. 'пламя' || U: FU *al∇- v. 'utter magical words, exercise magic forces', v. 'sacrifice' (× N [on. ?] *hal∇ 'call out, call, pronounce magic words' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: NaT *āl > OT {Cl.} āl 'device' (esp. 'dishonourable device'), 'deceit, guile, dirty trick', {DTS} 'ruse, contrivance, artful advice (хитрость, уловка, ухищрение, хитроумный совет)', Tk Δ al 'ruse', Tkm āl 'ruse, contrivance, archness', Az Δ al 'archness, a lie', Chg/MU {Rl.} al 'Schlauheit, List, Betrug, Strategie' ¶ Cl. 120, 138, ET Gl 126-7, 137-8, Rl. I 349 || M: WrM {SDM} alašira- 'deceive', HlM {BMR} алшра- 'schlau\hinterlistig sein, tückisch/ unaufrichtig handeln', d.: Brt аляарха- 'соблазнять, сманивать' ¶ Hardly identical with pM {SDM} *aliya- 'frolic, tricky', WrM {MED} aliya 'playful, naughty, mischievous'. HlM алия {MED, BMR} id. and Brt аляарха- 'резвиться, баловаться, проказничать' ¶ SDM 288, BMR I 32, 76, 82, Chr. 46 || ?? Ko {Rm.} alcin alcin hada 'deceive, adulate' ¶ Rm. SKE 8 ¶ SDM 288-9 (pA *āli- 'deceive, trick' > T, M *aliya- 'deceive' + unc.: M *aliya 'frolic, tricky', Tg *ali-, *alak- 'be angry, endure, envy', pJ *ira- v. 'play, tamper with, concern oneself with' and pKo *irbēn- 'steal'), ≠ Vv. AEN 13 (rejected the Ko cognate as "an obvious onomatopoeic word") ◇ Sv and G Ing h- and the long vw. in T point to a N word with a lr. in the Inlaut (* $\epsilon^a h \nabla \bar{I} \nabla$?) ◇ Cf. IS I 140 (HS, IE, [with a query] K). IS considered the et. dubious, since he envisaged an alt. explanation: the IE stem $\leftarrow$ S. But now, in the light of the U cognate (unknown to IS), the et. becomes more plausible ◇ AD NM no. 122, S CNM 9 and S SN 155 (semantic doubts about the A cognate).

128. * $\epsilon^a l \bar{I} U$ 'know' > HS: CS (+ ext.) * $\epsilon^a l m$ 'know' > Ar $\epsilon^a l m$ G id. (pf. $\epsilon^a l i m a$, ip. - $\epsilon^a l a m$ -), $\epsilon^a l m$ - 'knowledge', (z) Ug {A} $\epsilon^a l m$ G 'kennen (?), $\epsilon^a l m$ 'kundig, wohlunterrichtet' (the Ug root is not mentioned in OLS) ¶ A

no. 2035, Hv. 495 || **U** *ä|l|üwä- (< **ä|l|ü-): FP *älüwä- v. 'notice, catch sight of; understand' > F äly 'intelligence, understanding', älyä-, älytä- v. 'understand', Lp L ieíve ~ äíve- 'merken, bemerken, gewahr werden', Z P al 'Verstand, Vernunft' ¶ UEW 609-10, W SDW 2, SZ 11, LG 30, SK 1872 || **D** *e₁l|l|l- 'knowledge, wisdom' > Kui ēlu, elki 'mind, reason, thought', Ku ēdu 'wisdom', Brh hēl 'knowledge, wisdom' ¶¶ D no. 912 ◇ D *e₁l|l|l as cognate with U *ä is irregular and needs investigating ◇ S *-m- in *✓f|lm is likely to go back to the N nominalizer *m A (q.v.) (pre-S n. act. **fa∇l-∇m- 'knowledge').

129. *foT∇ (= *foTü?) 'starve, die; dead' > **HS:** EC: Af {PH} fūlul 'famine, shortage of food', fūlule- 'be famished, be starved', Sa {R} fōlūl- 'Hunger leiden', fōlūl 'Hungersnot' ¶ PH 62, R S II 62, 432 || ?σ S: possibly Ar ✓fūl G (ip. -fīl-) 'become poor\destitute' ¶ BK II 422-3, Hv. 513 || **IE** {EI} *wel- 'die' > NaIE *wel- 'dead', 'die' > OLt vēlēš ~ vēlēš 'ghost (soul of a dead person)', Lt vēlē 'soul of a dead person, ghost', Ltv velis (pl. veli) id., Lt velionis 'the deceased, Verstorbener', OLt vēlinas, Lt vēlnias, Ltv vēlīns 'devil, deuce' || Tc A wāl, wal- 'die' || ? Gmc *wal- 'bodies of those slain in battle' (× N *w∇L'h'∇ 'to hit, to attack' [→ 'to wound, to kill'], q.v. ffd.) || Lw {Mlc.} walliya- 'of the dead' ¶¶ EI 150, ≈ P 1144, Tr. 548, Frn. 1218-19, Wn. I 554-5, Mlc. CL 253 ¶¶ Acc. to AD's theory of the prehistory of IE vowels (AD NVIE), N *o changed into pre-IE *u (> IE *we-) before *u|ü of the next syll. || **A** *öl'û- 'die', 'be hungry, starve' > T *öl- 'die' > OT, MQp XIII-XIV (incl. CC), XwT XIII, Chg XV ö|-, Tkm, Az, ET, Ln, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Tv, Yk ö|-, Tk ö|-, Uz ўл- ω|-, VTt, Bsh, Slr ü|-, Tf ѓ|- id., Chv вил- 'die', SY ö|- ~ yül- id., 'be dead' ¶ Cl. 125-6, ET Gl 525-7, Md. 50, 172, Ra. 214, Ash. V 220-35, Fed. I 122, Jeg. 53-4, Rs. W 371, Dr. TM II 112, 162-3 || M *ölü- 'starve, be hungry', *öl∇ 'hunger, hungry' > WrO ölü- id. ~ ö|- 'be hungry', ölöđ n. 'hunger', Kl {Rm.} ölö 'hungry', Ord öl 'faim'; ⇨ : [1] M *ölüŋ 'starvation, famine, hunger' > WrM {MED} ölüŋ, HIM {MED} өлөн(г) (not registered in BMR), Kl {Rm.} ölü ~ ölü id.; [2] M *ölön 'hungry' > WrM {Cev.} ölöŋ id., {MED} ölüŋ 'starving, hungry', HIM {MED} өлөн(г) id., {Luv., BMR} өлөн 'hungry, not having eaten', Brt үлэн, WrO ölöŋ, Kl {KRS} өлөн, {Rm.} ölü 'hungry', Ord ölöŋ 'qui est à jeûne, affamé'; [3] M *ölüs- 'be hungry, suffer starvation\famine' > WrM {MED} ölüs-, HIM {MED, BMR} өлсө - 'become\feel hungry; suffer starvation\famine', MM [L] ölüs-, [S] {H} olos- ~ oles-, [HI, MA] öles- id.,

Ord *ölös*- 'avoir faim', WrO *ölös*- 'feel hunger, starve', Brt *үлэсэ*- 'go hungry', Kl {KRS} *өлс*- 'starve, go\be hungry', {Rm.} *öls*- 'hungern, hungrig sein', MMgl *úlēs*, Mgl {Rm.} *úlās*-, Dx {T} *únsú*- 'be hungry', Mnr H {T} *lose*- 'be hungry', {SM} *losэ*- 'avoir faim', *losž_i fug_u*- 'mourir de faim'; ⇨ [3a] M **ölüskü₁у* 'hunger' > MM [MA] *öleskü*, HlM {BMR} *өлсөхүй* id.; MM [IM] *ölüsükč'i* 'hungry'; ⇨ [3b] M **ölüskülen* 'hunger, famine, starvation' > MM [IsV] *ölüskülen*, [MA] *öleskülen* ~ *öleskülen* id., WrM {MED} *ölüskülen* id., 'hungry', HlM {MED} *өлсөглөн(г)* id., {BMR} *өлсгөлөн(г)* 'hunger, famine; hungry', Mnr H {T} *losegulon*, Dx {T} *oliesulan*, Mgl {Lg.} *ólaskúlan* ~ *úlaskúlan* 'hunger, famine, starvation'; [4] HM *өлгүй* 'nicht nahrhaft; nicht sättigend; not having eaten (неевший), hungry', Brt *үлгүй* 'nicht nahrhaft'; [4a] M **ölügle*- v. 'starve, be hungry' > WrM *ölügle*-, HlM {MED, BMR} *өлөглө*- id.; [5] M **ölber*- 'suffer extreme hunger, starve' > WrM {MED} *ölber*- ~ *ölmer*-, HlM {MED} *өлөврө*- ~ {MED, BMR} *өлбөрө*-, WrO *ölbare*- id., Ord *ölbör*- 'être épuisé de faim'; [6] M **ölüde*- 'be hungry' > WrM {Cev.} *ölüde*- 'be very hungry', HlM *өлдө*- {Cev.} id., {BMR} id., 'get hungry (проголодаться)', WrO *ölöd* n. 'hunger', Ord *ölöd_ö*- 'avoir faim' (animaux), Brt *үлдэ*- 'go\be hungry' ¶ Ms. H 84, H 123-3, Pp. L II 126O, Pp. MA 275-6, 443, Lg. VMI 61, MED 633-5, BMR III 15-18, Chr. 50O, 5O2, Kow. 529-3O, Luv. 318-2O, Cev. 434-5, KRS 414-15, KW 294-5, SM 226, Krg. 14O-1, T 343, T DnJ 131, Iw. 144, Ms. O 53O-2, Chr. 499-5O2, MYC 541-2 || Tg: Ewk *ulbin*- 'go hungry', *ulbimçэ*- 'hungry' ¶ STM II 258, SDM 1O49 (Tg **χ₁olbu*- > Ewk *ulbin*-, *ulbimçэ*- + err. Ewk *зlbу*- 'shadow; phantom; soul of a dead person [remaining on earth], cf. STM 445) ¶¶ Tg **-lb*- < ***-l_w*- < pA **-lû*-? ¶¶ SDM 1O49 (pA **öl₁i_e* 'die; be hungry, be exhausted' > Tg [reconstructed as **χ₁olbu*- 'soul of the dead, shadow'] , M **öl*- 'be hungry; hungry', T), DQA no. 1567, KW 295, Rm. EAS I 146, Pp. VG 1O8, S AJ 281 || ?σ D (in McTm) **olula*- (× N **gûL₁у* 'to destroy', q.v.) > Tm *ula*- 'become diminished, die, terminate', Ml *ulakkuka*- 'shrink up' ¶ D no. 671 ◇ The Sa/Af initial *ɣ*- and the AnIE initial zero point to a N **ɣ*- ◇ The supposed IE and A reflexes of this etymon may be alternatively (but less plausibly) explained as belonging to N **w₁L₁h₁у* '↑' or N **gûL₁у* 'to destroy, to fight' (q.v.).

130. **ɣ₁g₁æ¹ṭ₁ʔ₁u* or (if the Ht cognate is accepted) **ɣ₁æ¹ṭ₁ʔ₁u* 'reddish, yellow, brown' > HS: EC **ɣa_wl*- 'yellow, reddish, light brown' > Sml N {Abr.} *ṣá_wl* 'yellowness', Sml C {DSI} *ɣa_wl(l)an* 'be reddish-grey

(grigio rossiccio)', Kns aʷl- 'brown', Hr, Dbs ʕàʷl-àkkó 'grey, green, light brown, sand-colored, gold-colored', Gln ʕàʷl-àkkó 'yellow', Gwd ʕàʷl-ètté 'yellow', Sa ʕəʷla 'dust storm' ¶ Bl. 211, Ss. PEC 46, Abr. S 18, AMS 150, 195, 244, DSI 96 || IE *H₁elū-/*H₁elw- (if the Ht √ belongs here, = *χ₁elū-/*χ₁elw-) 'reddish, yellow' ({EI} *h₁elū- 'dull red') > OI ar u'ṇa-h 'reddish, gold-yellow', ar u'sa-h 'fire-colored', Av aur uša- 'white' || Gmc *elwa- 'brown, yellow' > OHG ëlo (aadj. ëlwêr) 'brown, yellow, yellowish' > MHG ël (aadj. ëlwer), NGr Sw älv 'fahl, weißgelb' (of sheep), NGr Sb elb 'blaßgelb' || ? Ht {Pv.} hahli-, {Ts.} hahla- 'green, yellow', {Pv.} hahhal- 'greenery, verdure'; the Ht. word suggests a variant with reduplicated lr. (or an original form of the √?) *xeXlu- ¶¶ P 302-3, EI 481, M K I 49, Ts. E I 123ff., Frd. HW EG I 3, Pv. II 3-5 (deriving Ht hahli- from hahhal- 'greenery, verdure'; if he is right, the Ht cognate is to be rejected), OsS 132, EWA II 1060-2, Kb. 198 || A ≈ *ā|∇ or [?] *ā|'U' (× pA *ṇūlE 'red, pink, yellow') > NaT *āl 'red, scarlet, yellow' > OT āl 'scarlet', 'brown' (of eyes), MQp XIII-XIV al 'dust- or ash-colored', 'chestnut tending towards yellow', [CC] al 'bright red', Tkm āl 'bright red, pink', Tk al id., 'chestnut' (of horses), Az al 'scarlet, red', VTt al 'scarlet, pink'; T → M: WrM {MED} al, HIM ал {MED} 'red, scarlet, vermilion', {BMR} 'red, vermillion, яркий', Kl {KRS} ал улан id. (улан is 'red'), {Rm.} al 'hellrot', Brt ал шара 'красно-желтый' ¶ Cl. 120-1, DTS 31-2, ET Gl 125-6, Rl. I 349-50, MED 26, BMR I 69. KW 6, KRS 33, Chr. 39, Dr. TM II 94-5 ¶ The long pT vw. (preserved in Tkm) suggests a N postvoc. lr.; the back vw. *a may be due to the synharmonic ass. infl. of the lost N back vw. *u of the second syll. || ?σ M *öle ≈ 'grey' (× pA *ṇūlE 'red, pink, yellow', with M *ö- either belonging to the heritage of pA *ṇūlE or being due to regr. as. in pA *ā|U) > MM [S] öle 'dark-grey', WrM öle {Gl.} 'сизый (dove-colored, warm grey), skewbald (пегий, желтистого цвета)', HIM {BMR} эл 'dove-colored (сизый)' (of animals), 'grey (сивый), scheckig (пегий)' (of horses), Brt үлэ 'dove-colored (сизый)' (of horses), 'grey (сивый)' (of doves), Kl {KRS} эл 'сизый, сивый', {Rm.} ölö 'graugesprenkelt', Ord ölö 'gris' ¶ The M rounded vw. *ö may reflect the infl. of the ancient word-final *-u|ü ¶ Gl. I 303, BMR III 14, Chr. 502, KRD 413, KW 294-5, Ms. O 531, Dr. TM I 145-6, Rs. W 371, H 122 ¶¶ Acc. to DM 1032 and DQA no. 1541 the T root *āl- and M *öle go back to A *ṇūle, i.e. {AD} *ṇūlE (which is the source of Tg *ṇule 'алый, румяный, роховый', pKo *nùrí- 'yellow' and pJ *mùrà-sákì 'purple'), which is

id., 'writing leaf', Td wā'l 'writing, education', Kn ǝlē 'leaf of a palmyra palm, leaf used to write on', Kdg ǝlē 'screw-pine leaf', Tu ǝlē 'letter on a palmyra leaf, palmyra leaf rolled up and put into the hole of an ear' ¶ D no. 1070 || ?? IE: L ulva 'Sumpfras' ¶ WH II 813 (no et.) ◇ If L ulva belongs here, it suggests N *ǵoluy ▽ ◇ Alternatively, Gzg ʔalar may be tentatively equated with D *alar 'to blossom, to open up; flower' (> Tm alar v. 'blossom, 'full-blown flower', M alar 'a blossom', Kn alar, Tu alaruni 'to spread, to blossom', Tm, Ml alari, Kn alar, Tl alaru 'flower', see D no. 247) ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 98a (incl. S, EC, Ch, Ah, D + unc. FP *el ▽ 'Ast, Zweig' and some other parallels), ≈ Blz. DA 160 [no. 83], Blz. NDA no. 86 (D, HS, L + unc. Ht hahhal- 'Strauch, Busch').

131b. ?σ *ʔaL_op ▽ 'weak, exhausted' > IE *halp- 'weak, swooned, exhausted' > Ht {Pv.} alpan̄t- 'swooned; weak, mild' || NaIE *a|olp- > Lt aĩp-ti 'to faint (away), to swoon', álpé-ti 'to lie in a swoon', alpīmas 'a swoon' || Gk ἁλαπαδνός 'easily exhausted, powerless, feeble', ἁλαπάζω v. 'empty, drain, exhaust' || ? Al laps- vt. 'exhaust, tire out', vi. become exhausted, get tired out' ¶¶ P 33, ≈ EI 528 (IE *h_{ap}elos 'weak'), Pv. I-II 38-9, ≠ Ts. E I 18 (interprets Ht alpan̄t- as 'be-witched'), Frn. 8 (no et. of Lt aĩp-ti), O 213, F I 64 || **HS:** S: Ar ʕillaʔf- 'very aged' (of an old man), ? ʕillfaʔt- 'sot, qui parle sans réfléchir' ¶ Ln. 2132, BK II 342-3 || **A:** Tg *alba- 'be unable' > Ewk, Neg, Ork alba-, Lm alb_b- id., Nn Nh/KU {STM} albaqto ~ albaqtu, Nn Nh {On.} albaqto 'lazy' ¶ STM I 30, On 32 ◇ ≈ IS I 239-40 [no. 96] (IE, Tg + unc. K *ʔalp- 'weak', see N *g'o' Lpa 'weak, small').

132. *ǵaǵ|ǵü 'a liliaceous plant (garlic, onion, aloë or sim.)' > **HS:** CS *ǵalw(ay) 'aloë (*Allium aloë*)' > Sr 𐤀𐤋𐤍𐤏𐤍 ʕalway id., ChrPA 𐤀𐤋𐤍𐤏𐤍 ʔlʔ, MHb [Msh.] 𐤀𐤋𐤍𐤏𐤍 ʕalwaʔīn ~ 𐤀𐤋𐤍𐤏𐤍 ʕalwaʔīn id. ¶ Löw II 149-52, Js. 67 || **IE:** NaIE *a(:)lu- 'a liliaceous plant of sharp taste' ({EI} ? *ālu- 'esculent root', {P} *álu-, *ālo- 'plant of sharp taste') > L ālium, (after I c. CE) allium 'garlic', Osc (or Msp) {P} *allō (< *alǵā) ([Hs.] ἄλλη [· ἄλχανον · ἰταλός] ['a vegetable in the speech of Italics']) || Gk ἄλλη, Gk ἄλλα* in ἄλλᾱς (gen. ἄλλᾶντος) 'forcemeat, sausage' ({Ch.}: ← *'sausage with garlic') ⇨ ἄλλαντο-ειδής 'sausage-shaped', ἄλλαντο-ποιός 'maker of sausages' ({WH}: Gk ← Osc) || OI ālu'kam 'the esculent root of *Amorphophallus campanulatus*' ¶ P 33, EI 620, WH I 30, F I 75, Ch. 63, M K I 81 || **D** *uǵli, {GS} *uǵ-i 'onion, garlic' > Tm, Ml uǵli, Tl ulli id., Kt uǵy, Td uǵy, Klm, Prj, Gdb ulli, Nk ullig, Gnd ullī ǵ ulli ǵ uli, Knd, Mnd uli, Png

ū̀ri, Ku ūlli 𐌺 ulli, Krx uli 'onion', Tu 𐌺lli, 𐌺ll̥i 'garlic' ¶¶ D no. 705, GS 170 [no. 426], 51 [no. 127] || **A**: Tg *elu 'onion' > Ul, Orl, Nn Nh/KU 𐌺lu, WrMc {Z} 𐌺lu id. ¶ STM II 448, On. 527, Z 76 ◇ Tg *e- and D *u- may be due to regr. as.: N *𐌺al̥l̥i > *älü > Tg *elu, N *𐌺al̥l̥i > **ül̥l̥i > D *ul̥l̥i. The long *ā in L and OI may represent the IE apophonic L-grade (Dehnstufe).

133. *𐌺al̥l̥i 'to bend', 'a bend, a joint in a limb' (esp. 'elbow', 'ankle') > **HS**: Eg fOK 𐌺rl̥ [✓ 𐌺l̥] 'bend' > Cpt Sd/B 𐌺𐌺k'plier, courber, contracter' ¶ EG I 211, Fk. 45, Vc. 249 || ? B *✓ l̥k 'be bent' (× N *Lul̥l̥ka 'to bend; → [?] flexible twig', q.v. ffd.) || Bj {R} ✓ hlg 'biegen, krümmen' (1s: p. a-ha'lig, pres. ahan'līg) ¶ R WBd 116 || ECh: Mkl {J} 𐌺l̥é 'elbow', Jg {J} lukho id. ¶ J LM 156, J J 114 || **IE** *Hel̥k_Lᵂ- (> NaIE *al̥k_Lᵂ-) / *Hol̥k_Lᵂ- 'bent, elbow' (with secondary Schwebeablaut NaIE *ol̥k_Lᵂ- / *lol̥k_Lᵂ-) ({EI} *h₃elek- 'elbow, forearm'): [1] NaIE *al̥k_Lᵂ- / *ol̥k_Lᵂ- / *ōl̥k_Lᵂ- > Arm nl̥npolok^h 'fibula, péroné, shinbone' || Gk [Hs.] ἄλξ, ἄλαξ ('πῆχυς) 'forearm' || Lt uolektis, úolektis, Ltv ôlektis 'ell' (both from *ōlekt-), Pru woaltis, woltis (< *ōlkt-) 'Unterarm', Pru alkuⁿis, Lt alkuⁿė, Ltv ēlks, ēlkonis 'elbow' | pSl *ol̥k_b-tb 'elbow' > OCS 𐌺𐌺k^ътъ, Blg 𐌺𐌺k^ът, SCr lăkat, Δ lākat, Slv lakē^t, Cz loke^t, Slk loke^t, P 𐌺okies, R, Uk 'локоть id. || [2] ?? NaIE *lek- / *lok- > Gk λοξός 'slanting, crosswise, aslant' || OIr {SB} lol̥sc (gen. pl. lul̥scu) 'lame' || L lul̥xus 'dislocated', licinus 'aufwärts gekrümmt, aufwärts gebogen' (von Hörnern) ¶ P 308-9, EI 176, F II 136-7, SB 244, Slt. 322-3, Frn. 8, 1167, En. 140, 276, Tp. P A-D 75-7, StSS 304, Glh. 367, WH I 798, 841 || **U**: FP *ÍEl̥ke 'ankle' > pPrm *Íel̥ke > Vt {W} lel̥y (= *[Íel̥k+]) 'ankle, knucklebone', Z lek, lel̥y- 'horse's pastern, ankle, knucklebone' | ? Chr Íel̥kan 'block of wood' ¶ LG 158 || **A**: T *al̥uk 'ankle joint' (× T *al̥çI ~ *al̥çIk 'knucklebone' < A *al̥ç'a id., cp. Tg *al̥çu-kan id., see ET Gl 144-5) > OT al̥uq 'anklebone, ankle', MQp XIV, Chg ≥xv al̥uq, OOsM al̥uq / al̥ul̥, Tk al̥ik, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Qrg al̥iq, Az al̥iq, Qzq, Nog, Qq al̥iq, StAlt al̥iq, Ln al̥uq~al̥ššI, Uz al̥iq, ET ol̥uq 'ankle' ¶ Cl. 259, Rs. W 30, ET Gl 216-17, TL 288-9, ADb. SR 15 || **K**: pGZ *dl̥al̥w- 'elbow' (probably from N *y'o'dl̥ 𐌺al̥l̥i 'bend of arm', i.e. *y'o'dl̥ 'hand' [q.v. ffd.] + *𐌺al̥l̥i) > OG (n)idal̥wi, MG {SSO} dl̥al̥vi, G idal̥vi, nidal̥vi, Mg dul̥- 'elbow', Lz du(r)u-, xe-dul̥- id. (xe- is 'hand, arm') ¶ K 74, K² 41 (*d(l)al̥-), FS K 96-7, 105, FS E 101-2, Chik. 58-9, Chx. 522 and 959 ◇ The labialized vw. in T may be due to the infl. of the final *U.

133a. ?? * $\zeta a\acute{I}\nabla$ $S\nabla$ 'big, strong, heavy' > **HS**: LEC * $\zeta i\acute{I}\nabla s$ and * $\zeta u\acute{I}\nabla s$ 'heavy' (with the ext. * s) > Sa {R} $\zeta e\acute{l}i s$, Sml $\zeta u\acute{l}u's$, Or $ulfa'$, Kns $u\acute{l} s$ 'heavy' ¶ R S II 14, Abr. S 242, AD SF 141, Ss. Gssf 245, Ss. WOKS 127, Hn. S 78, Tk. II 516-7 || **A**: T * $a_{\zeta}i\acute{I}-$ > OT $a\check{s}$ - vt. 'enlarge, increase' ¶ Cl. 255 || **D** * $a\acute{I}-$, * $a\acute{I}a\nabla-$ (without the component * $S\nabla$), * $a\acute{I}a\nabla-$ > Tm $a\acute{I}$ 'strength, firmness', Kn $a\acute{I}a$ 'power, strength', Tl $a\acute{I}a\nabla i$, $a\acute{I}a\nabla u$ 'power', $\bar{a}\acute{I}a\nabla u$ 'big, large', Prj, Gnd $\bar{a}\acute{I}a\nabla$ 'strength', Knd $a\acute{I}a\nabla i$ 'energy, stamina', $\bar{a}\acute{I}$ id., 'endurance' ¶¶ DED no. 315.

134. * $\zeta i m' \acute{e}$ 'suck, swallow' > **HS**: Eg fOK ζm v. 'swallow' ¶ EG I 183-4, Fk. 42 || S * $\circ\check{\zeta} m m$ > Ar NY T $\check{\zeta} m m$ (pf. $\zeta a m m$, ip. $y i \zeta u m m$) 'drink water', ? σ S * $\circ-\zeta i m-$ > Ar $\mu\text{عـيم}$ $\zeta y m$ G (ip. $-\zeta i m u$) v. 'long for milk' < * v . 'swallow \ suck milk greedily', under the semantic infl. of Ar- $\zeta i m-$ v. 'be thirsty' ¶ Fr. III 251, 307, BK II 423, Bns. NJ I 190 || Ch: WCh: BT: Krkr {Al.} $\zeta i m p \acute{a}$, Bole {Lk.} $\zeta u m p-$, {Ib.} (n. act.) $\zeta u \acute{m} p \acute{a}$ 'suck' | P' {J} $\zeta m m a$ 'eat' ||| ECh: Smr {J} $\zeta i m$ 'eat (soft food)', as well as possibly Ke {Eb.} $\acute{h} \acute{a} m \acute{e}$ id., Skr {Sx.} $\acute{z} y m \acute{e}$, Mgm {J} $\acute{r} \acute{a} y m \acute{o}$ 'eat (hard food)', EDng {Fd.} $\acute{e} m \acute{e}$ id. ¶ JI II 119, 121, J PW 198, ChC s.v. 'eat (hard food)', 'eat (soft food' and 'suck', Fd. 24 || ? C: Bj {R} $\bar{a} m-$ scv. 'essen, verzehren, gierig und viel essen, fressen' ||| Dhl {EEN} $\acute{h} a m-$ v. 'toss little food in mouth' ¶ R WBd 16, EEN 14 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. SCC 95 [no. 25.2] (Bj, Dhl, Eg, Ch + unc. Sml $\zeta u n-$ 'eat', Kz $a m-$ 'chew') || **U** * $i m e-$ v. 'suck' > F, Es $i m e-$, OHg $e m-$, pOs * $e m-$ /* $\acute{a} m-$ ({Hl.} * $\check{a} m-$ /* $\check{i} m-$) > Os: V/Vy $e m-$ /* $\acute{a} m i$, Ty/Y $\check{a} m-$ /* $\acute{a} m \acute{a}$, I $e m-$ v. 'suck' || Sm {Jn.} * $\acute{n} i m-$ ~* $\acute{n} \ddot{u} m-$ 'suck' > Ng {Cs.} caus. 1s aor. obcj. $\acute{r} i m a' b t e' a m a$ v. 'suckle', Ne T d. нимне-сь 'to suck out, to start sucking', durative $\text{нимне-(м)б\check{a}-сь}$ 'to suck', Ne O {Lh.} $\acute{n} i m \acute{n} \acute{e}-$ ~ $\acute{n} \ddot{u} m \acute{n} \acute{e}-$ v. 'suck', Slq Tz {KKIH} $\acute{n} i m-$ id., Kms d. 1s pres. $\acute{r} i m e t e r \acute{l} \acute{a} m$ v. 'suckle', Mt {Hl.} * $\acute{n} | \acute{n} \ddot{u} m n \acute{a}-$ 'suck' (Mt: M {Sp.} d. 1s [pres.?] $\text{н\ddot{u}мн\acute{a}мъ}$ 'I am sucking breast'); Sm {Hl.} * $\acute{n} i m m \nabla$ 'female breast, milk' > Ng {Cs.} $\acute{r} i' m i \eta$ 'breast', {Pl.} d. нимингъ 'milk', Slq Tz {KKIH} $\acute{n} i m a$ id., Slq LTz {KD} $\acute{n} \ddot{u}' m \cdot \check{a}$ 'female breast, milk', Mt {Hl.} $\acute{n} | \acute{n} i m \ddot{u} \acute{h}$, 'milk' (Mt T/K {Mll.} $\acute{r} i m u$ 'milk', Mt M {Mll.} $\acute{r} i m u$ 'kumys [mare's fermented milk]') || pY {IN} * $i \omega-$ 'suck' > Y: K $i b-$, T $i \omega \acute{i}-$ id., ? K $i b i \check{s} \acute{i}$ 'qoman's breast, nipple, milk' ¶¶ Coll. 15-16, UEW 82-3, Sm. 536 (U, FU, FP * $i m i$, Sm * $\acute{r} i m-$), SK 107, Jn. 110-11, Hl. M no-s 759, 781 and 786, Hl. rHt 71, KKIH 141, IN CDY 178-9, IN UJ 218, ≈ Rd. UJ 35-6 [no. 10] (Y < U) || **A** * $E m \nabla-$ v. 'suck', (?) 'swallow' > T *** $i m-$ ~* $e m-$ v. 'suck': [1] T *** $i \zeta m(-)$ > Chv L $\check{e} m-$ $\acute{b} m-$, Chv $\Delta \acute{b} m-$ id., [2] NaT * $\acute{a} m-$ v. 'suck' > OT $e \acute{I} a m(-)$, Chg $e m-$, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Kr, Qzq, Nog, Qqlp, Uz, Qrg, StAlt, Xk,

Tv em-, Tk em-, Yk äm-, Az, ET äm-, Ggz jem-, VTt, Bsh им- im- id.; ? ⇨ : NaT *æm-ig 'woman's breast, nipple' > OT emig, SY emiṣ, Tv emig, Yk emīy id.; NaT *æm-çæg id. > MT emček, Tkm emžek, Uz emčak, ET ämčäk, VTt imščäk, Bsh imsäk, Nog, Qq emšek, Krg emček, Xk imžek 'female breast', Tk emcik ~ emcik, Az ämžäk 'nipple' ¶ Cl. 155, 158-9, DTS 172, Rs. W 41-2, ET Gl 271-2, Rl. I 918, 945, 1414, 1571, TL 273-4, TtR 270, Ash. IV 104-5, Fed. I 149, Jeg. 63, SDM97 (T *äm-ig, *äm-čäk 'female breast') || M *emkü- (× N *ʔem∇ 'seize, hold'. q.v. ffd.) > MM }H} emgugu- ~ omgugu- 'swallow (ver-schlucken)', WrM emkü- {MED} 'put into or hold in the mouth', HlM {MED} ḡḡḡḡ- id., {BMR} ḡḡḡḡ- ~ ḡḡḡḡ- id., v. 'swallow', Brt {Chr.} ḡḡḡḡ- 'seize with teeth, bite off (хватать зубами, откусывать)', Dg {T} enku- id., unku- 'seize with teeth', Kl {Rm.} ümkə- 'einschlürfen, verschlingen', {KRS} ?ṣ ḡḡḡḡ- ümkə- 'bite off', Ord üḡḡḡḡ- 'se mettre dans la bouche'; ?ṣ M *emkü n. 'bite, morsel, mouthful' > WrM {MED} emkü, HlM ḡḡḡḡ {MED} id., {BMR} 'morsel\piece of food', Brt ḡḡḡḡ 'morsel of food', Kl {KRS} ḡḡḡḡ ümkə 'piece (кусок)', {Rm.} ümkü 'ein Mundvoll, ein Bißchen', Ord üḡḡḡḡ 'bouchée' ¶ M *e- and NaT *æ- may be tentatively explained by contamination with (or infl. of) N *ʔem∇ 'seize, hold' ¶ H 124, MED 313-14, BMR III 410-11, 415, Chr. 503, KRS 551, KW 457, T DgJ 140, 171, Ms. O 759, Ms. O 759 ¶¶ Not here Tg *um(i)- v. 'drink', pKo {S} *mā- v. 'drink' and M *umda- 'drink' (in ds), which are likely to go back to N *qumʔ∇ 'drink' (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 505 (pA *em∇ 'to suck' > T, M), DQA no. 2651 (id.) ◇ Cf. AD LRC (Eg, U, T) and IS I 248 (U, A [T, M]) ◇ Gr. II no. 371 (*ima 'suck') (U, A, CK + err. Y + unc. Ko, EA).

135. *ʕ'o'm∇, dE 'stand upright, rise' > HS: S *ʕim d 'be raised\propped up, lean against', 'stand upright' > BHb ʕim d G v. 'stand', JA ʕim d D (pf. ʕam'med) v. 'place'; Mh/Jb ʕim d: Mh pf. hāmōd 'prop up one's head (with a pillow, arm)', Jb C pf. aʕim d 'put a pillow under the head'; Ak emēdu 'lean against, cling to, stand near by', as well as possibly Ar ʕim d G {BK} 'étayer\appuyer\soutenir à l'aide d'un pilier \ d'une colonne' (contamination with a denominative verb) (see below) | S *ʕa'mad- (~ *ʕamad-) n. 'support, pole' > Ar ʕamad- 'pole of a tent, column, pillar', Ak imdu 'stanchion, support', (here?) Sb ʕim d '(?) vine support, vinestock', Gz ʕamd 'column, pillar, post' | pWS *ʕa'mmūd- 'prop, pole of a tent, column, pillar' > BHb ʕam'mūd, SmHb ʕammūd id., Ph, IA, Plm ʕim d, JA {Js.} ʕam'mūd, JA/Sr em. ʕam'mūd, ʕam'mūd

ʕammū'd-ā 'column', JEA {Sl.} ʕammū'd-ā 'pillar, column', Ug ʕm d
 'column, ceiling beam', Ar ʕamūd- 'prop, support, column, base' (↔ Ar
 ✓ʕmd G [pf. عَمَد ʕamada] {BK} 'étayer\ appuyer\soutenir à l'aide d'un
 pilier \ d'une colonne'), Sb (pl.) ʔʕm d 'columns, pillars', Mh {Jo.} ʔama w d
 'ceiling beam', Jb C {Jo.} 'ʕa'mud 'beam, pillar' (↔ Ar?) ¶ KB 795-8, BK II
 360-1, Ln. 2151-3, Sl. 869-70, Js. 1086-7, Br. 529-30, BGMR 16, L G
 62-3, Jo. M 23, Jo. J 13, CAD IV 138-47 and VII 109-10 || Ch: WCh {Stl.}
 WCh *ʕum- 'rise, climb' | NrBc: Wrij {J, Sk.} ʕzm-, Kry {Sk.} ʕimo, P' {MSk.}
 h^wun, Mbr/My/Jmb {Sk.} ʕzma-, Cg {Sk.} wum, {Sk. in ChC} ʕ^wum, Sir {Sk.}
 ʕzmu 'mount (an animal), climb' | Bl {Lk.} ind-, Krkr {Lk.} hind-, Ngm {ChL}
 hīndīn, Tng aīdī id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 227 [no. 759] (WCh *ʕim ∇ d- 'stand up'), Stl.
 IF 120, ChC s.v. 'stand up' and 'climb', ChL, Sk. NB 32, MSk. 183 || C: SC:
 Irq {MQK} ʕōm- 'no longer give milk' (of a cow), 'dry up' (of a river), {E}
 ʕom- vi. 'stop', ↔ Mb -ʔúma v. 'stand, come to stop', -ʔumáti vt. 'stop' ¶ E
 SC 278, MQK 80 || A: M *öndü- (or *ündü-?) ~ *undu- (> Ord und- 'monter
 [sur un checal, etc.]') ↔ [1] *ö|ündü-s > MM [HI] ündüs 'upright (debout)',
 HLM d. {BMR} өндөсхий- 'внезапно привставать\приподниматься',
 Kl {Rm.} öndös 'hinauf, hoch', [2] M *ö|ündej- > WrM {MED} öndüi- ~
 öndüi- {MED} 'raise one's head, raise oneself, rise slightly', HLM өндий-
 {MED} id., {BMR} 'rise slightly (приподниматься), rise', Brt үнды- 'rise,
 stand up', Kl {Rm.} öndö- 'sich heben, sich aufrichten', [3] M *ö|ündiyi- > Kl
 {KRS} өндө- 'rise slightly', {Rm.} öndē- 'sich heben, aufrichten; hoch sein',
 Dg {T} undī- id., [4] M *öndür 'high' > MM [MA, S] öndür id., WrM {MED}
 öndür, HLM {MED, BMR} өндөр, Brt үндэр, Kl {KRS} өндр öndər 'high,
 tall; height', {Rm.} öndr 'hoch, gehobrn; Höhe', Ord ündür 'haut, élevé, de
 haute taille; hauteur', Ba onder, Dx undu, Mnr H {SM}} ndur 'haut, élevé,
 éminent'; [5] ??σ WrM undur- {MED}, HLM {MED} ундра- v. 'rise,
 increase' (unless Lessing's semantic misinterpretation of HLM {BMR}
 ундра- 'бить ключом, бить кипучей неиссякаемой струей' [of
 water]), cp. also Ord undur- 'de renouveler' (eau dans un puits qu'on a mis
 à secc) ¶ Ms. H 109, Pp. MA 276-7, H 164, MED 636-7, 876, BMR III 27-8,
 Chr. 505-6, KRS 416-17, KW 296, SM 264, T DgJ 171, T BJ 146, T DnJ 137,
 Ms. O 734, 736, 757 || IE *ṛH̑endʰ- / *ṛH̑ndʰ- v. 'rise, appear' > Gk Hm
 {Hofm.} (with prefixes) ἐν-ήνοθε 'hat sich erhoben', {LS} ἄν-ήνοθε 'mounted
 up', {Ch.} ἐπενήνοθε 's'éleva, monta à la surface', {LS} '(a thin coat) grew
 thereon; was on it', Gk D ἦνοθεν 'came' || (here?) ?σ IE **ṛH̑ndʰ-wen- > OI
 d. 'adhva / adhvan- 'way', Av Y adva id. ¶ WP I 130, Hofm. 83-4, Ch. I
 87, LS 138, 617, F I 516-17, M K I 32, M E I 68.

136. $_2$ * $\text{om}_L \nabla K\hat{e}$ '($\in$ part of the) neck' > HS: S * $\text{'un}_L \text{u}_J k$ - (~ * $\text{'in}_L \text{u}_J k$ -?) ($\times$ N * $\eta i \text{K}a$ 'jugular vertebra, neck, nape of neck'??) > Ar 'unq- , 'unuq- , $\text{'an}\bar{t}q-$, Ak un_k - 'neck', Eb {Co.} $\text{in-gu} = \text{'in}_k | \text{gu}_L m$; $\rightarrow$ CS * $\text{'u}^1 \text{'na}_k$ - 'neck chain, necklace' > BHb in_k $\text{'a}^1 \text{n}\bar{a}_k$ - 'neck chain', Ug {OLS} 'n_k , JA an_k $\text{'u}_n \text{'k-}\bar{a}$, Sr $\text{'e}_k \text{'k-}\bar{a}$, $\text{'e}_k \text{'k-}\bar{a} \text{'t-}\bar{a}$ id., 'necklace', JEA an_k $\text{'u}_n \text{'k-}\bar{a}$ 'neck'; $\rightarrow$ WS * $\text{'in}_k G$ v. 'put round the neck' > Gz $\text{'in}_k G$ id., BHb in_k $\text{'in}_k G$ 'adorn the neck' ¶ OLS 83, KB 812-13, KBR 858-9, BK II 387, Co. SQF 143, MiK I no. 15 (S * 'i/un_k - 'neck') || A * $\text{ömg}\bar{æ}_{:,n}$ > NaT * $\text{ö}_{:,n} \text{mg}\bar{æ}_{:,n}$ ($\times$ NaT * $\text{ömg}\bar{e}n$ 'breast' < N * $\text{Hom}_L \nabla g^1 \bar{u}$ 'breast', q.v.) > OT {Cl.} $\text{ömg}\bar{e}n$ '(?) jugular vein', Chg xv $\text{ömg}\bar{e}n \sim \text{ömg}\bar{u}n$ 'the base of the throat and the collarbone' ¶ Cl. 150, Rl. I 1315 || NrTg * umen 'Adam's apple' > Ewk $\text{um}\bar{e}n$, Lm Ol/B/P/Sk ö_m id., Lm O $\bar{u}m$ 'pharynx (гортань)' ¶ STM II 213 ¶¶ Pp. VG 216 || M * $\text{öng}\bar{e}le\bar{u}r$ 'depression close to the Adam's apple' ($\times$ N * $\text{XUng}\nabla$ 'throat', q.v. ffd.).

137. * $\text{'um}\nabla \eta | \bar{n} \nabla$ 'to sleep, to lose consciousness \ remembrance of' > A * $\text{um}_L \text{un}_J$ - 'forget, sleep' > T: [1] * umun- > Yk umun- , Chv man- 'forget, sich (etw.) abgewöhnen'; [2] * umNu-t 'oblivion' > Uz, Qrg, StAlt, Qzq {Rl.} unut , CrTt {Rl.} umut id.; [3] NaT * $\text{um}\eta \text{I-t-}$ ~ * umni-t- v. 'forget' > OT $\text{un}_t \text{I-t-}$ ~ $\text{un}_t \text{I-t-}$ id., Tk $\text{un}_t \text{I-t-}$, Ggz, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Qrg, Uz, ET, SY, Ln unut- , VTt, Bsh. $\text{un}_t \text{I-t-}$, Qzq umut- , Nog, Qq umut- , Tv ut- id.; [4] NaT * $\text{um}\eta \text{tu-}$ > Xk umdu- ~ undu- 'forget', StAlt undu- , Tb {B} $\text{un}_d u$ ¶ Cl. 179, ET Gl 597-8, Rs. W 514, Ash. VIII 190, Fed. I 342, Jeg. 128 || M: [1] M * umarta- 'forget' > MM [S, IsV] umarta- , [MA, IM] marta- , WrM {MED} umarta- , marta- , HIM {MED, BMR} umarta- , Kl {KRS} marta- id., {Rm.} marta- 'vergessen', Ord mart'a- 'oublier', Mnr H {SM} mušd_a - id., MMgl [Z] mārt , Mgl {Rm.} mōrta- 'forget', Dx {T} mata- 'forget; not to think of'; [2] M * umta- v. 'sleep' > MM [HI, S, MA, IM] unta- , WrM {MED} umta- , HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt unta- , Kl {KRS} unta- , {Rm} unta- , Mnr H {SM} nt'ia- , {T} ntā- , nčā- , Mnr M {T} nta- , Ord unt'a- id., d.: MM [S, HI] untara- , Mnr H {SM} nt'zrā- , Dx huntura- (with a secondary h-) id. ¶ H 163, 165, Pp. MA 234, 364, 441, 449, Ms. H 105, Lg. VMI 71, Iw. 115, MED 530, 874-5, BMR III 329, 335-6, Chr. 471, KW 257, 450, SM 251, 285-6, T 352, T DnJ 128, Ms. O 455. 735 || Tg * $\text{om}\eta a$ - 'forget' > Ewk, Neg, Nn KU $\text{om}\eta o$ -, Sln, Orc ommo- , Lm $\text{om}\eta b$ -, Ud $\text{om}\eta o$ -, Ork omgo- ~ ombo- , Nn Nh ombo- , Nn Bk omgo- ~ omgo- , WrMc {Z} $\text{om}\eta o$ -, Mc Sb $\text{om}\eta o$ - ¶ STM II 17, On. 311, Z 123 ¶¶ SDM 1498-9 (pA * $\text{umun}_L \text{t}_o$ - 'forget' > Tg, T * umni-t- 'forget', M * umta-), DQA no. 2523 (id.), S AJ 295 [no.516] (pA * $\text{um}_L \text{n}_J \nabla$ 'forget'),

KW 257 (M, T), 45O (M, T, Tg), Rm. EAS I 116, Pp. VG 68-9, Rs. W 514 ||
HS: Eg XIX $\text{ʕw}n$ v. 'sleep' ¶ EG I 173 || ?? S [1] $\text{*/}\checkmark\text{ʕmy} > \text{Ar } \checkmark\text{ʕmy} G$ 'be blind', Sr $\checkmark\text{ʕmy} D$ (pf. $\text{ʕamrn}\bar{i}$) vt. 'blind', Tgr $\text{ʕm}\omega G$ (pf. ʕama) 'be blind' | [2] S $\text{*/}\circ\checkmark\text{ʕmh} > \text{Ar } \checkmark\text{ʕmh}$ 'be(come) confounded \ perplex \ unable to see one's right way' ¶ BK II 373, Ln. 216O-2, F III 224-5, JPS 416, Br 529, LH 457, MiK I no. 2.3 || Ch {JS} $\text{*/}\checkmark\text{ywn} \sim \text{*/}\checkmark\text{wn}$ ({JI} $\text{*/}\checkmark\text{ywn}$) 'sleep' ($\times N$ $\text{*/}\text{ʕaw}^{\text{r}}\text{oy}^{\text{r}}\nabla$ 'spend the night, sleep', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU $\text{*/}\omega_{\text{un}}\text{h}\bar{e}$ 'sleep, dream, forget' > F un $\bar{i}$ (gen. unen), Es un $\bar{i}$ (gen. une)n. 'sleep, dream', F un $\bar{o}$ -h $\bar{t}$ a- v. 'forget', un $\bar{h}$ o 'oblivion', Es un $\bar{e}$ - 'forget', un $\bar{u}$ - 'fall into oblivion' | Er, Mk on 'sleep, dream' | Prm $\text{*/}\omega\text{un-} > \text{Vt } \omega\text{un-}$ 'be forgotten', Z $\omega\text{un-}$ id., 'forget', Yz $\omega\text{un}\acute{s}i$ - 'forget' || Sm: Ng {Cs.} $\eta\text{ana}^{\text{p}}\text{bta-}$ 'forget' ¶ UEW 588 (U $\text{*/}\omega\text{un}\nabla$ 'vergessen werden'), 8O4 (FV $\text{*/}\text{un}\nabla$ 'sleep, dream'), LG 7O, Cs. 43 || D (in SD) $\text{*/}\bar{u}m$ 'dumbness', $\text{*/}\bar{u}m-$ 'dumb' > Tm $\bar{u}m$ 'dumbness', $\bar{u}ma\bar{n}$ 'dumb man', Ml $\bar{u}ma\bar{n}$ 'dumb, stupid', Kn $\bar{u}me$ 'dumb man, taciturn man' ¶ D no. 746 ◇ Coll. 65, UEW 588, ET Gl 598 (all of them: A, U).

138. $\text{*/}\text{ʕ}\acute{o}y\text{Un}\nabla$ 'see, look; eye' > HS $\text{*/}\text{ʕ}^{\text{r}}i^{\text{r}}n-$ / $\text{*/}\text{ʕayn-}$ 'eye', ($\rightarrow$) 'spring' > S $\text{*/}\text{ʕayn-}$ 'eye' > Ak $\bar{i}n-$, Ar $\text{يَن} \text{ʕayn-}$, BHb $\text{يَن} \text{ʕayin}$, Ph, Ug ʕn , OA, IA, Nbt, Plm ʕyn , BA cs. $\text{يَن} \text{ʕēn}$, pl. $\text{يَن} \text{ʕay}^{\text{r}}n-\bar{i}n$, JA [Trg.], JEA em. $\text{يَن} \text{ʕē}^{\text{r}}n\bar{a}$, cs. $\text{يَن} \text{ʕē}^{\text{r}}n$, Sr W $\text{يَن} \text{ʕē}^{\text{r}}n$, Sr E cs. $\text{يَن} \text{ʕē}^{\text{r}}n$, Sr W em. $\text{يَن} \text{ʕay}^{\text{r}}n-\bar{a}$, Sr E em. $\text{يَن} \text{ʕē}^{\text{r}}n\bar{a}$, Sb ʕyn , Gz ʕayn id.; the same word means 'spring (of water)' in Hb, Ug, Ar, Nbt, Plm, JA, Sb, Gz, Ak etc.; $\rightarrow$ WS $\text{*/}\checkmark\text{ʕyn} D$ v. 'look, contemplate' and the like > Hb, Ug, Sr, Gz $\checkmark\text{ʕyn} D$ id. ¶ KB 773-5, KB LVT 11O7, KBR 817-19, JH 2O7, HJ 839-4O, A no-s 2O55-6, OLS 82, Lv. T II 212-13, Sl. 855-7, Br. 522, PS 2867, BGMR 23, L G 79-8O, MiK I no. 1.28 || Eg ʕn , ʕyn hier. $\text{*/}\text{eye}$; Eg G ʕny 'Name von Gewässern' (interpreted by Budge as 'well, fountain') ¶ EG I 189, Budge I 123 || ?φ B {Pr.} $\text{*/}\checkmark\text{nh}_3y \sim \text{*/}\checkmark\text{h}_3ny$ v. 'see, look' ($\times N \approx \text{*/}\text{ʕ}^{\text{r}}\text{Exa}$ 'see') > Tnsl $\text{ənh}i = \text{ənh}y$, ip. intens. $i\text{-hannay}$, vb. n. $a\text{-hanay}$, Ah əni (Pr.'s phonemic transcr.: əny), ip. intens. $i\text{-hānnay}$, vb. n. $\check{a}\text{-hanay}$, Gh $\text{əni} = \text{əny}$, ip. intens. $i\text{-hannay}$, Ty, ETwl ənəy , ip. intens. $i\text{-hannay}$, Tdq $\text{ənh}y$ v. 'see', NrB: Sll {Ds.} annay , pres. $y\text{-ānnay}$ 'apercevoir qch. qui tombe sous les yeux', Izd {Mrc.} inni , $iannay$ v. 'look at' ¶ Fc. 1357, Pr. H no. 563, GhA 152, Mrc. 218, Ds. 296 ¶ In Pr.'s opinion, the variant $\text{*/}\checkmark\text{nh}_3y$ is original, while $\text{*/}\checkmark\text{h}_3ny$ goes back to mt. (Pr. H 15-16), but in the light of external HS comparison the opposite is likely to be the case || C: Dhl {E} $\text{ʕēn-}\bar{a}d\bar{q}$ - 'see from afar' || EC $\text{*/}\text{int}\nabla \sim \text{*/}\text{ind}\nabla$ 'eyes' ($< \text{*/}\text{ʕin-t}\nabla \sim \text{*/}\text{ʕin-d}\nabla$ with loss of $\text{*/}\text{ʕ-}$ due to the infl. of the sg. $\text{*/}\text{il}$ 'eye'?) > Af

{PH} intīta, Sa {Wlm.} intit, {R} intīt ~ ʕintīt 'eyes' (whence a bf.: sg. Af {PH}, Sa {Wlm.} inti 'eye'), Sml N ínđó 'eyes', Bn innɜ, Rn ìndó, Gdl ínđā, Dsn ʔinnu, Elm ínnaʔ, Arr ʔindá 'eyes' (in all these lges there is suppletivism: sg. *il - pl. *ind̥∇), ?? Bs {HL} ido 'eye(s)' (probably from *ʕin- 'eye' with the pl. marker *-t∇; the glottalization *t > *ɖ is still to be explained) ¶ Bl. 196, AD SF 149-50, Hw. A 340-1, PG 156, PH 137, Oo. 66, Lm. SD 315, HL 63, To. DL 482, E 274 || ʔσ NrOm: Kf {C} īrō 'salt water spring', ʏrō 'spring', Anf {Gt.} irō id., ʏ Gmr {Bulat.} aH 'eye' ¶ AD SF 149-50, C SE IV 400, Gt. 347, Bulat. 343 || Ch: **[1]** Ch {Stl.} *ʕiyan- 'see' > WCh {Stl.} *ʕʕayan- v. 'see' > Bl {Lk.} ʔinn-, NrBc: P' {MSk} han, {IL in ChC} hani, SBc: Gj {Sh.} yenî, {Luc.} yèni, Plc {Luc.} yenŭ; Ron: DfB yen v. 'see' || CCh: G'nd {ChL} ànní v. 'see' || ECh: Jg {J} ʔinn- 'können, kennen' | **[2]** Ch **Hind∇ 'eye(s)' (≈ {Nw.} *idə [sc. *idʷ], {Stl.} Ch *ʔida-n- 'eye') > WCh *ʔinda > Hs ídò 'eye', pl. ídānŭ, Gw ńdāni 'eye(s)' | pAG {Hf.} *yit, {Stl.} *yid 'eye(s)' > Su, Mnt, Gmy, Cp yit, Tal {IL} yít, Ywm {J} yit, Kfr yɜt | BT *ʔiɫɫd∇ ({Stl.} *ʔid∇) > Bl {IL} idó, Dr {J} yéʔò, Krkr ʔidó, Gera {Sch.} ì:đí, Grm {Sch.} ìdá, Bele {Sch.} ìdó, Krf {Sch.} ìró, Tng ídò, {Lk.} idu, ʔ Pr {Frz.} ándò | NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} ʔidá, pl. ʔidì, Sir {IL} ítà, My aiti ~ eti | Ngz/Bd {Sch.} dà 'eye' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} yiti | Dgh {Frk, ChL} ńdè | HgN {Mk} ʏncɜ, HgK {Mk} nči || ECh: Skr {Nc.} íd-, {Brt.} yīdi | EDng {Fd.} ódò, Mgm {J} ʔídè | Jg {J} ʔúdê, Brg {J} ʔúdì 'eye' ¶ Nw.'s pCh *idə, JS's pCh *✓yd and S's Ch *ʔida-n- do not take into account the ev. for *-nd- provided by Gw, Pr and Dgh ¶ JI I 80 and II 126-7, JS 96, ChC s.v. 'eye', ChL, Mts. GD 29, Stl. ZCh 230 [no. 784], Stl. IF 119, 172, Hf. AG no. 182, Sch. BTL 144, Frz. P 19 ¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 115 || **IE [1]** **ʔwejn- > NaIE (in IIr only) *°wejn- v. 'look, see' > OI 'vēnati 'looks, observes', Av vaēna'ti 'sees', OPrs vaināmiy 'I see', MPrs vēn-, NPrs bīn- (imv. بین bīn, acp. bīnō 'seeing') v. 'see', Sgd, Prth ʷyn- id. || **[2]** ? *Hēn (or *ʔēn) 'siehe da!' (× N *hEñ∇ 'iste' [q.v.]) > Gk ῥήν, L ēn 'siehe da!' ¶ M K III 259-60, Vl. I 306, P 314, F I 637, WH I 403-4 || **[3]** ??φ IE {Blz.} *neǵHx- > OI nayana-/-ā- 'eye', ʔσ L re-nīdeo 'erglänzen' ¶ P 760 || **U:** FP (in Lp only) *oyn̥na- > pLp *w̥ynē v. 'see' > Lp: L {LLO} āi'n-ēt, S {Hs.} vuöjn'edh, Noai'dnet v. 'see', Pa {TI} vūǎ'j:n'e-, Kld {TI} uǰ:n'e- id., {SaR} ʏййнэ 'see, notice' || ?? Y: Y K {IN UJ} aŋǰə 'eye' (absent in IN HDTY) ¶ Lr. no. 819, Lgc. no. 4548, Hs. 1452-3, TI 765, SaR 370, IN UJ 47, 295 || **A** ≈ *oyîN∇ > M *oy'u'n 'mind' > MM [MA] oǰn-dan bōl {Pp.} 'будь в уме!', 'be (still) in (your) mind!', [S] oyī(n) 'Sinn, Gefühl', WrM {MED} oyun, HLM {MED, BMR} оюун, WrO oyun~oyon, Kl {KRS} оюн, ойн 'intellect, mind' ¶ MED 606,

BMR II 507, Pp. MA 262, H 130, Krg. 118, KRS 393, 407 || Tg: Lm $\text{in}\eta\text{b}$ d $\text{in}\eta\text{o}$ 'reindeer's eye, hyaloid membrane (of an eye)' ||| The A cd $*_{\text{oy}}\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{a}-\text{m}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'tears', lit. 'eye-water' (< N $*_{\text{z}}\text{d}\acute{\text{y}}\text{U}\text{n}\nabla$ + N $*\text{m}\acute{\text{u}}\text{h}\text{i}$ 'water, fluid') > Tg $*\text{o}\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{a}-\text{m}\bar{\text{u}}$ - v. 'weep' > Ewk $\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{amu-}$; Tg $*\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{a}-\text{mu}-\text{kta}$ 'tears' > Ewk $\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{amukta}$ ~ $\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{amukta}$, Sln $\text{nama}-\text{kta}$ ~ $\text{na}\eta\text{mukta}$, Lm $\text{in}\eta\text{bmtb}$, Neg $\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{amta}$, Ud $\text{i}\eta\text{amukta}$, Ork $\text{y}\bar{\text{e}}\text{ndumusqa}$, Nn Nh {On.} $\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{imoqta}$, {STM} $\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{iamoqta}$ ~ $\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{imoqta}$, Nn Nh/KU {STM} $\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{amoqta}$ id. ¶ STM I 319, Krm. 239, On. 290 || cp. the first component in pKo cds (> MKo $\text{n}\acute{\text{u}}\text{n}-\text{m}\acute{\text{ir}}$ 'tears') and pJ $*\text{n}\grave{\text{a}}-\text{m}\grave{\text{i}}(\text{n})\text{t}\acute{\text{a}}$ 'tears', ffd. see s.v. N $\approx *_{\text{r}}\text{h}^1\text{E}\chi\text{a}$ 'see' ¶¶ Cp. SDM 981-2 (pA $*\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}\text{a}$ 'eye' > Tg $*\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{a}-\text{sa}$ 'eye', M $*\text{n}\text{id}\ddot{\text{u}}$ 'eye', T $*\text{j}\bar{\text{a}}\acute{\text{l}}$ 'tear', pJ $*\text{m}\grave{\text{a}}\text{i}(\text{N})$, $*\text{m}\grave{\text{i}}$ - 'eye; see', pKo $*\text{n}\acute{\text{u}}\text{n}$ 'eye'), DQA no. 1473 (id.), S AJ 30-1, 275 [no. 21] (A $*\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{i}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'eye', $*\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{i}\bar{\text{a}}(\acute{\text{l}})-\text{m}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{ri}$ 'tears') || D $*\text{u}\eta\eta\text{-}$ v. 'look, think, consider' ($\times$ N $*_{\text{h}}\text{A}\omega\eta\nabla$ 'sense, mind, soul') > Tm $\text{u}\eta\eta\text{u}$ v. 'think, consider', $\text{u}\eta\eta\text{i}$ v. 'meditate', Ml $\text{u}\eta\eta\text{uka}$, $\text{u}\eta\eta\text{ika}$, Kt, Td uny- , Kn $\text{u}\eta\eta\text{isu}$ v. 'think', Tl {Km.} $\text{u}\eta\text{k}\text{i}\text{su}$ v. 'consider', Ku onpinal v. 'intend', Brh $\text{hunni}\eta$ v. 'look, look at, consider' ¶¶ D no. 727 ◇ The adduction of Ir $*\text{wayn-}$ has been suggested by Blz. (p.c., 1994) ◇ The palatal Ir. $*\text{h-}$ in IE $*\text{h}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}$ belongs to the infl. or heritage of N $*_{\text{h}}\text{E}\bar{\text{n}}\nabla$ 'iste' ◇ IE $*_{\text{h}}\text{H}_2\text{wejn-}$ and D $*\text{u}\eta\eta\text{-}$ point to a N $*\text{u}$ (or $*\ddot{\text{u}}$), while U and M suggest a N $*\text{o}$. This discrepancy still needs investigating and resolving ◇ S and WNL NC adduced A {SDM 95-97} $*\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{a}$: 'eye' (> Tg {SDM} $*\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{a}-\text{sa}$, {AD} $*\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{a}-\text{sa}(\text{l})$ 'eye[s]', M $*\text{n}\text{id}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{n}$ 'eye', T $*\text{j}\bar{\text{a}}\acute{\text{l}}$ 'tear', pKo $*\text{n}\acute{\text{u}}\text{n}$ 'eye'), which is less certain than to connect A $*\text{i}\acute{\text{n}}\text{a}$: with N $\approx *_{\text{r}}\text{h}^1\text{E}\chi\text{a}$ 'see' (q.v.) ◇ ? Blz. IELA 10 [no. 29] (HS, IE {Blz.} $*\text{ne}\text{jH}\chi\text{-}$).

138a. $*_{\text{z}}\text{i}\bar{\text{n}}\text{q}\nabla$ 'live' > HS: Eg fOK $\text{r}\chi$ v. 'live', $\text{r}\chi$ 'life' ¶ EG I 193-206 || A: Tg $*\text{in-}$ 'live' > Ewk in- , $\Delta\text{in}\text{z-}$ 'live', $\text{in} \sim \text{in}\varepsilon$ 'life', Lm, Neg $\text{i}\bar{\text{n-}}$ 'live', Sln $\text{inirg}\text{z-}$ ~ $\text{in}\text{zrg}\text{z-}$ 'come to life', Orc ini , iniyi , inihi , Ud inigi , Nn KU $\text{i}\eta\text{k}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'alive' ¶ STM I 315 || D $*\text{i}\eta\text{k}\text{u}_\text{j-}$ 'abide' > Tm $\text{i}\eta\text{k}\text{u}$ (p. $\text{i}\eta\text{k}\text{i}$) 'abide, stay', Tl $\text{i}\eta\text{k}\text{u}\text{v}\text{a}$ 'a place, haunt' ¶¶ D no. 420 ◇ It is tempting to adduce SC {E} $*\text{n}\text{i}\text{z}\text{h-}$ or $*\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h-}$ 'live, be alive' > ?σ Brn ilanih v. 'sprout' and (→) Mb nihi 'animal' (E SC 186), but its SC rec. is too shaky to be reliable.

139. $*_{\text{z}}\text{o}\bar{\text{n}}\text{z}\nabla$ 'fang, stake' → 'weapon (dart, javelin or the like)' > HS: S $*_{\text{z}}\text{on}\text{z}$ > Ar sanaz-at- 'e javelin, staff with a pointed iron' ¶ BK II 383, Fr. III 231, Hv. 504 || K: MG [KC] $\text{an}\text{z}\text{a}$ 'stake (Pfahl, коп)', G $\text{an}\text{z}\text{a}$ id., 'mast' ¶ DCh. 40 || IE $*_{\text{r}}\text{h}_2\text{nsi-s}$ ({EI} $*_{\text{h}}\text{h}_2\text{h}_3\text{nsi}\text{s}$) 'large (offensive) knife, dagger, ? sword' > NaIE $*_{\text{z}}\text{nsi-s}$ 'sword' > OI a'si-h_2 'sword; knife (used for killing animals)', Av $\text{a}\eta\text{h}\bar{\text{u}}$ - 'sword' ||| L ensis id. || Pal $\text{hast}\text{ra-}$ 'dagger' ¶¶ P

771, Dv. no. 489, EI 561, M K I 64-5, WH I 406 || **U:** FU {UEW} *onća-r▽ 'fang (of a bear etc.)' > Prm *wǝǝ▽r (= {LG} *wǝǝǝr) > Z vǝǝir 'fang', Z Ud vǝǝir, Vt вазерпинь id. (пинь 'tooth'), Δ wažer, važer id. || ObU: Vg: T zńćar, LK/P äńśar, Ss ańśar 'tusk (Hauzahn)'; ? Os: D/K äñçal 'bear's canine tooth (Reißzahn)', Km äñçal 'bear's tooth', O äńśär 'am Gürtel getragener Bärenzahn', Kz äńśar 'Eckzahn\Reißzahn des Bären' || OHg xv agƿar 'boar's tusk (Hauer, Hauzahn)', Hg agƿar 'tusk, fang' ¶ UEW 340, MF 74, LG 60, Coll. 71, EWU 13 ◇ Pal h- is likely to point to IE *x and N *ʁ, while the K data suggest a N weak lr. (*ʁ-). To solve the problem we need to check well the interpretation of the Pal word and to elucidate the origin of Pal h-.

140. *ʁup▽ 'take wing', 'up' > **HS:** WS *-ʁup- v. 'fly' > Hb ✓ʁwƿ (prm. -ʁup-), Ug ✓ʁwƿ, Gz ✓ʁwf (js. -ʁuf) v. 'fly', Ph ✓ʁwƿ (G inv. sg. m. ʁp) v. 'fly, fly away', Ar ✓ʁwf G (ip. -ʁufu) 'circle over (sth.)' (of birds); -d→ CS *ʁawp- 'bird' > Hb ʁἰῶ ʁōp, Ug ʁp, Sr ʁw'p-ā, Gz ʁōf, Ph ʁp-t 'fowl, bird', Ar ʁawf- 'cock; omen, fortune' ¶ KB 756-7, HJ 833, 878, OLS 84, Ln. 2198, Br. 517, L G 78 || Eg L/G ʁpy v. 'fly' ¶ EG I 179 || **IE *Hxupo** ({EI} *h4u'pō 'up [from underneath]') > NaIE *upo- 'upon, on to' > Av upa, OPrs upā 'auf' || ON of 'over', OHG ūf 'up, above' (> NHG auf 'on'), AS ufe-weard 'up, upper, later', OHG ob(a) 'on, above, over', ON upp, AS upp (> NE up), OFrs, OSx up 'up', OSx uppan adv. 'on the top, above, over', OHG obana id., 'from above' > NHG oben || NaIE *°up-ero- 'upper' > Av uparō id.; NaIE *uper-(i) 'over' > OI u'pari 'above, over', Av upa'ri, OPrs upariy 'over' || ?φ Gk ὑπέρ, ὑπερ 'over' (unless from *super) || Clt {Matas.} *ufor- prep. 'over, on' > OIr for 'over, on', OW gwor if, W gor ~ gwar id., gwarthaf 'height' (< *vortamos), OBr guor ~ gor 'over, on', Crn gor id.; Clt {Matas.} *efirom 'after, behind' > OIr iar + nasalization of the initial cns. of the next word || Gt ufar 'über', ON yfir, AS ofer (> NE over), OHG ubar, ubir (> NHG über), OSx ovar 'over'; Gt ufarō adv. 'darüber', prp. ufarō (ἐπάνω) 'über', OHG obaro 'upper, higher' (> NHG ober), AS yferra adj. 'upper' || NaIE *up-emo- 'der oberste' > OI upa'ma-, Av upama-, AS ufemest, yfemest || NaIE *ups- 'high, upper' > Gk ὑψι adv. 'high' || Clt {Matas.} *owxsos 'above' (P: < *oup-su) > OIr ós, uas 'above', OW uuc, MW uch id., W uwch 'higher', Crn (a) ugh, OBr uh, Br Δ euc'h, oc'h, ouc'h 'above'; -d→ Clt {Matas.} *owxselo- 'high, elevated' > OIr úasal, MW uchel, OBr uchel ~ uhel, MBr hyel ~ uhel, Br uhel, Crn huhel

id. || NaIE *ūpsa- > Sl *v+s- -d> : [1] *v+s-ōkъ m. 'high' (f. *v+s-ō'ka, ntr. *v+s-ō'ko) > OCS **ВЫСОКЪ** vísokъ, Blg висок, SCr vîsok, Slv visōk 'high', R вы'сок 'is high', prnl. adj.: R вы'сокий, Uk високий, P wуsoky, Cz, Slk vуsoký, [2] Sl *v+sb f. 'height (what is high above)' > ChS **ВЫСЬ** vísъ, R высь, Blg вис id., SCr vîs, Blg Δ вис 'top (of mountains); [3] Sl comp. *v+šbъ 'higher', ntr.\adv. *v+še > SCr vîšī, ntr.\adv. vîše, ChS **ВЫШНН** vîšīji, OCS ntr.\adv. **ВЫШЕ** vîše, adv.: Blg више, R выше, Slv vîše, Cz výše ¶ WP I 192, P 1106-7, EI 612, Mn. 1478-9, F II 966-7, 978, Fs. 509-10, Vr. 416, 635, 676, Ho. 240, 376-7, Ho. S 57, 81, Kb. 740-1, 1054-5, 1061, KM 36, 518, 799, Vn. O 31-2, Flr. 326, StSS 160-1, Glh. 672, BER I 152, Ma. CS 578, M K I 105-6, Matas. E 113-14, 303-4, 398, Hm 823 || **А:** [1] pA *ōP_∇ 'hill, heap of stones' > M *o_ıbuça > MM [HI] {Ms.} obo_о 'tertre', WrM {MED} obuga(n), oбу, HLM {MED} oвоо, {BMR} oвоо(н) 'heap, pile; heap of stones'; "obo", sc. 'mound\cairn of stones built as a landmark\monument for special religious ceremonies', Brt oboо id., Kl {KRS} oва id., {Rm.} oωā 'Hügel, Hügelchen, Haufen; Steinhaufen an der Wegseite oder auf einem Hügel', Mnr H {SM} ob_ō 'obo, monceau de pierres qu'on venère', Ord oωō 'monceau, tas, pile; obo'; M ⇨ T: MQp [CC] oба 'hill', Kr oба 'heap of stones', QrB oба id., 'grave', Qzq, Nog oба 'kurgan, tumulus', Bsh uba id., 'hill' ¶ Ms. H 81, MED 598, BMR II 454, Chr. 348, Kow. 370, KRS 391, KW 291, SM 296, Cl. 5, Dr. TM II 133, ET Gl 398-400, Ms. O 525, Rs. W 356, Grøn. 173 || T *ōpu' 'height, hillock (возвышенность, бугор)' ({SDM} 'rough\uneven ground') > OT [MK] oбуz ~ opуз 'height, hillock', OT Kr {Cl.} opуз 'rough\uneven ground', Osm {Cl.} opуз ~ opус {Cl.} id., Tk {SDM} oбуz id., Tkm obuδ 'precipice' ¶ DTS 362, Cl. 16-17, SDM 1059 ¶¶ The long initial vw. (*ō-) in pT and pA is still to be explained ¶¶ SDM 1039 (*ōp'∇ 'hill, heap of stones' > M, T *ōpu'), DQA no. 1603, Md. OJ 199, TL 323 || [2] Tg *upu- 'Daunen\Feder ausrupfen (выщипывать)', *upu-kte and *upu-lte 'down (Daunen), feather' (← 'wing'?) (unless from N *HUp_∇ 'stalk [of a plant], q.v.) > Nn Nh {On.} uφu-, Nn KU uφu-, Ud oφo-di- v. 'Daunen\Feder ausrupfen'; Orc upuktз ~ opuktз, Ud oφokto, Ork upuktз, Nn Nh upułтз, Nn KU uφuktз, Nn Bk uφułтз 'down, feather', WrMc {Z} yφyχy 'lungs' (← '*very light meat'), yφyχy вэхэ 'pumice, tufa' (← '*very light stone'; вэхэ means 'stone') ¶ *-kta/e is a sx of mass nouns ¶ STM II 281, Ci. 209, On. 432, Z 176 ◇ pA *ō- as a reflex of N *u still requires explanation.

141. * $\zeta\nabla P\nabla R\nabla$ '(river-)bank' > IE: NaIE {P} * $\bar{a}per-o-$, * $\bar{a}per-yo-$ 'shore, river bank', 'mainland' ({EI} IE * $h_3eHperos$ [?] 'river bank, shore of sea') > Gk: A ἡπειρος, D ἄπειρος (long $\bar{a}$), Ae ἄπερος (with $\bar{a}$) 'mainland' (< * $\bar{a}per-yo-$) || AS $\bar{o}fer$, Dt $oever$, MHG $uo\over{ver}$ > NHG $Ufer$ 'shore' (< * $\bar{a}per-o-$), MLG $\bar{o}ver$ id. (< * $\bar{a}per-yo-$) ¶ Arm $\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{n}$ $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{p}^h\mathfrak{n}$ 'bank, shore' can be better explained as going back to N * $q^a p^r$ ∇ 'bank, shore' (q.v.) ¶ Bc. no. 1.26, WP I 47, P 53, EI 515, F I 640, Hofm. 109, Ch. I 415, Ho. 240, KM 801, Ach. I 365 || HS: S * $\zeta ib_l \nabla_r$ - 'the region beyond\across a body of water (river\lake\sea)', '(further) bank\shore' > BHb $\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}$ $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{r}$ 'opposite side (of a river, lake etc.); side, edge, bank', SmHb {BH} $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{r}$ id., JA $\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}$ $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}$ - $\bar{a}$ ~ $\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}$ $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}$ - $\bar{a}$ 'opposite side', Sr $\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}$ $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}$ - $\bar{a}$ 'crossing (a river), further bank', Md $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}$ $\mathfrak{a}$ 'coastland, foreshore', Ar $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}$ - ~ $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}$ - ~ $\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}$ - 'shore', Ak $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{r}$ - $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{r}$ i (n. l., lit. 'the region beyond the river') (< WS?), Eb $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{-}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{-}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{-}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{s}$ = $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{-}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{s}$ ({Frnz.} $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{s}$) loc. 'on the other bank'; S * $\checkmark\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}$ v. 'cross (a body of water), pass over' ($\rightarrow$ *'pass over a stream to the other side') > Hb, Ph, Pu, Ug, OA, IA, JA, Sr, Ar, Sb $\checkmark\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}$ G 'cross over (water etc.), pass', Ak $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{r}$ $\mathfrak{u}$ 'to cross (water)', Eb $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{-}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{-}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{-}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{m}$ = {Krb.} $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{-}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{m}$ inf. gen. id.; Cn $\mathfrak{b}\rightarrow$ Eg (EgSSc) $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{-}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{-}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{a}$ 'ford, crossing' (Eg NK $\mathfrak{y}$ < $\mathfrak{r}$, see Erm. NÄG 23-4) ¶ KB 735-8, HJ 821-3, A no. 1990, OLS 71, Sl. 840-1, Js. 1039-40, JPS 399, DM 4, 340, Fr. III 97-8, BK II 152-3, CAD IV 10-12, Sd. 182, Slw. 145-6, Hlk no. 28, SivCR 18, Frnz. EL 133 || D (in SD) * $\bar{e}ri$ '(raised) bank, lake, reservoir for irrigation' > Tm $\bar{e}ri$ 'large tank, reservoir for irrigation; lake', Ml $\bar{e}ri$ 'bank; stakes to support banking work', Kn $\bar{e}ri$ 'a raised bank, the bank of a tank, a tank', Kdg $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{i}$ 'parapet of well, bund (in paddy fields, of tank)', Tu $\bar{e}ri$ 'a bed for planting vegetables' ¶ D no. 901.

142. ($_2$?) * $\zeta\nabla p\nabla R\nabla$ 'wild boar' > HS: S * $\circ\checkmark\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}$ > Ar $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{r}$ - ~ $\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{r}$ 'wild boar, swine, young pig' ({Fr.} $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{r}$ - 'porcus, aper', $\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{r}$ - 'porcus') ¶ Fr. III 183 || ? ϕ Eg fXX $\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{h}$ 'swine' ¶ EG I 69 || IE * $Hepero-$ ({EI} * $h_1eperos$ 'boar [adult male of *Sus scrofa*]') > NaIE * $ap(e)ro-s$ 'wild boar' (with * a on the analogy of * $kapro-s$ 'he-goat') > L $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{r}$, - $\bar{i}$ 'wild boar', Um $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{f}$, ABROF id. (accus. pl.), $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{u}$ id. (accus. sg.) || pGmc * $ebura-$ 'wild boar' > AS $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}$, MLG $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{r}$, OHG $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{r}$, NHG $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{r}$ || BSl * $\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{a}-$ (with * $w-$ on the analogy of a different word) > Ltv $\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{s}$ 'castrated boar' || Sl * $\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{b}$ ~ * $\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{b}$ 'wild boar' > OR $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{b}$ $\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{b}$, R $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{b}$, gen. ' $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{a}$ ', Blg ' $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{p}$ 'wild boar', Uk ' $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}$ 'wild boar, hog', SCr $\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{r}$ (gen. $\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{a}$), P $\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{z}$ (gen. $\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{a}$), Cz $\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{z}$ 'hog' || ? σ Thr $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{s}$ 'ram'

¶ P 323, EI 425, WH I 56, Ho. 92, KM 150-1, EWA II 941-3, Bc. G 327, Kar. II 507, Glh. 666-7, Vs. I 292, Pln. II 724 || ?σ **A** *æp'ʰo' R ∇ 'horn' (if from 'fung' ← 'wild boar's fung' ← 'wild boar'?) > M *eber 'horn' > MM [HI, S, MA, IM] eber, WrM {MED} eber, HLM əvəp {MED} 'horn'. {BMR} 'horns', Brt əvəp 'horn(s)', Kl {KRS} əvəp id., {Rm.} eʷɾ ~ öʷɾ 'Horn', Mnr H {SM} uyer, Ord ewer 'corne' ¶ MED 286, BMR IV 395, KW 129, 303, SM 480, Ms. H 52, H 40, Pp. MA 150, 436, Chr. 753, Ms. O 251, MYC 249 || pKo {S} *s-pír 'horn' > MKo spír, NKo pūl id. ¶ Nam 274, MLC 832 || Tg *opor ∇ 'nose' > Nn Nh oporo, Nn Bk/KU oʔoro, WrMc {Z} oʔopo id. ¶ STM II 22, On. 313, Z 134-5 ¶ Tg *o...o- < pA *æp'ʰo' (regr. as.)? ¶¶ SDM 607 (pA *jop'ér|ʳ ∇ - *jap'ór|ʳ ∇ 'horn' > Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 646, S AJ 46, 291 [no. 391] (pA *ep' ∇ r| ∇), Pp. MA 150, 436, S QJ no. 43 ◇ AD NM no. 46; S CNM 13 and SN 146 (÷ OChn?).

143. ₂ ***ʕAr ∇** 'dry, arid' > **HS**: WS *ʕarab- > BHb ʕarābā 'desert, steppe', בַּעֲרָב ba-ʕ'rab, (in pause בַּעֲרָב ba-ʕ'rab) 'in the desert', ʕarāb, ʕarāb, Ar عَرَب ʕarab-, Mh ʕārēb 'Arabs' (← 'inhabitants of a desert\steppe'), Sb ʕrḅ coll. 'bedouins' and Mn ʕrḅ coll. 'nomads' ([in both lges] ← 'inhabitants of the desert'), Gz ʕarab 'Arabia', ? (mt.) Gz ✓ ʕbr 'be dry\unfruitful' ¶ KB 831-3, GB 616, BGMR 19, MA 15, Jo. M 27 || **D** *āṛ- v. 'be(come) dry' > Tm āṛṛu vt. 'dry (as the hair)', Ml āṛuka vi. 'dry up (as land, washed hair, wounds)', Kt a·r- vi. 'dry' (as dew), 'heal' (as a wound), Td o·ṛ- 'become dry by heating', Kn āṛ, āṛu, Tu āṛuni, Tl āṛu vi. 'dry', Kdg a·r- vi. 'dry up' (of a stream, cloth), Klm a·r-, Nkr āṛ- vi. 'become dry', Nk āṛ- 'be dried\emaciated', Gnd Mn āranā vi. 'warm oneself', Krx artaʔānā v. 'spread out in the sun for drying' ¶¶ In some D lges there is a homonymic merger with the verb *āṛ- ({GS} *āṛ-) 'to cool' (GS 150-1 [no. 380]) ¶¶ D no. 404, Zv. 44-5, Sbr. DVM 56, Pf. 83 (*āṛ-) ◇ WS *ʕarab- 'desert' < N ***ʕAr ∇ bA** with the pc. ***bA** of quality bearers (sc. ***ʕAr ∇ bA** 'something arid?').

144. ***ʕiR'i** ' (male, young) big ungulate' > **HS**: WS *ʕayr- ~ *ʕīr- 'male wild ass, ass foal' > BHb ʕayir, SmHb ʕīr 'male ass; young ass', BHb +ppa: ʕīr-: ʕīr-ō 'his male ass' (the pl. form of the Masoretic tradition ʕīrīm ~ ʕīrīm ʕayā'īrīm is on the analogy of *1a2a3-nouns, cp. the SmHb cognate form ʕīrām, suggesting Hb *ʕīr-īm), MHb ʕayir, Ug ʕr {A} 'ass foal', {OLS} 'ass', JA [Trg.] pl. ʕayir-īn id., Ar ʕayr- 'wild ass, domestic ass', WS ⇨ Ak Mr ḫāru ~ ḫaʔaru ~ ayaru 'ass foal' ¶ KB 777-8, KBR 822, A no. 2090, OLS 87, Lv. III 643, Lv. T II 214, Js. 1075, BK II

419, CAD VI 118, Sd. 328 || Eg fOK ʕʕ 'ass' > DEg ʕʕ > Cpt Sd **eiw** eiō, Cpt B **iw** iō ¶ EG I 165, Vc. 60-1 || ?σ C: Dhl {EEN} hēri 'goat, sheep' || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔāri 'she-goat', pl. āra 'goats', Irq/Grw/ Alg/Brn {E} ara 'goats' ¶ EEN 15, E SC 297, MQK 16 || ?σ Ch: WCh: Mnt/Ywm ur 'he-goat' || ECh: Ll ōrē 'goats' ¶ JI II 167, ChL ¶¶ EG I 165, Ember ESS no. 3.b.6, OS no. 1081, Tk. I 54, Tk. SCC 95 [no. 25.3] || **K** *^oir- > OG, G irem- 'deer' ¶ Abul. 189, DCh. 582 || **IE**: NaIE *er(i)-bʰ- (with the sx *-bʰ(0)- of animal names) 'e horned artiodactyl' (× N *H'æ'R∇ 'goat, sheep', q.v.) > Gk ἔρπυλον-ς 'kid' || Clt: OIr heirp (*erbʰ-ī-) 'dama, capra', erb(b) (*erbʰ-ā-) 'cow', NIr earb 'goat', ScGl earb 'roe (deer)' ¶ P 326, EI 511, F I 560, WH I 67, Bc. G 333, KSchm. TE, Ld. A 23ff., Ach. III 586, Frn. 121, En. 170, Tp. P E-H 72-5, ≈ ESSJ VIII 179-80 || **D** *ir- '(e) deer, stag' (× N *yER∇ 'e (young of a) ruminant animal', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ D *-r- (pointing to a N *r-cluster) suggests that the main source of D *ir- is N *yER∇ rather than N *ʕiR'i' ◇ AD NM no. 47; S CNM 7 and S SN 146 (÷÷ ST).

145. ?σ₂ *∇r∇ 'run' > **HS**: Eg fMK ʷʕr 'flee' ¶ EG I 286, Fk. 57 || C: EC: Sml N {Abr.} ʕarar- 'flee', Sml {ZMO} ʕarar- 'run away, flee', ?σ Rn àrársì vt. 'hurry, rush', caus. àràríča vt. 'hurry up' || Ag: Bln {R} harer- 'laufen, rennen'; Ag ⇨ Tgr {LH} ✓hrr 'hurry' ({R} ✓hrr 'laufen, rennen') ⇨ Bj {R} herēr- ~ hirēr- scv. 'marschieren, wandern, gehen, zu Fuß gehen' ¶ R WB 200, R WBd 126, LH 10, Abr. S 14, PG 68 || (+ ext.) SES *✓ʕrmḏ > Hrs ✓ʕrm (pf. ʔārōm) 'run fast' (of a camel), Mh/Jb ✓ʕrmd (pf. Mh ʔārmed, Jb C aʕar'mid) id. ¶ Jo. H 10, Jo. J 15, Jo. M 28 || **D**: Tl urḫ 'retreat, retire, withdraw' ¶ ≈ D no. 713.

146. *∇aR₂Wu or *∇aH₂Ru 'back (dos), loins' > **HS**: S *^o✓Hr w (= *✓ʕrw?) > Ak erūtu ~ arūtu 'back (dos)', ? Ar ʕurʕur-at- 'top of a camel's hump, peak of a mountain' ¶ Sd. 248, BK II 225 || Eg P/BD ʕr.t 'hinder parts (of men), hindquarters (of animal)' ¶ EG I 209, Fk. 45 || B: Si {La.} arraḡ, arraḡ, {Bs. ← BrR} اهرأ ahrau 'back (dos)', Ah arūri, Gh {Nh.} aruri, ETwl aruru (pl. iroran), Ty ʔrori (pl. iroran), Ttq {Msq.} arurī, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} aʕrur, taʕrurt, Zww {La.} aʕarur 'back (dos)'; the unexpected presence (= preservation?) of ʕ in Izn, Rf, SrSn, Zww has not yet been explained ({La.} "ne s'explique guère") ¶ Rn. 379, Fc. 1660, GhA 163, Msq. 95, La. S 228, La. MChB 115 [fn. 2] || Ch: WCh: Cg {Σκ.} árí 'back (dorsum)' || ?φ ECh: Mu {Lk.} hâr, {J} hàr id. ¶ JI II 6-7, J Mu, ChC s.v. 'back' || **A**: **[1]** pA *ār'u 'back (dos), hind part, behind' > NaT *ārt 'back or hinder part of anything; nape of neck' > OT ārt id., Tk art, Tkm ārt, VTt

art 'hind part, back (dos)', Az arđ_, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Bsh, Qrg, StAlt, SY art, Tv art- (+ppa.) 'hind part' ¶ TkR 52, ET Gl 179-80, ADb. SR 116-17, 185 || M *aru ({ADb.} *arʏu) 'animal's back' > MM [S, HI, MA] aru, WrM aru {MED} back (dorsum), rear', HLM ap {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'hintere Seite', Brt apa id., Kl {KRS} ap id. 'north', {Rm.} ar ~ ār 'hinter; die hintere oder Rückseite; Nordseite, Norden', Dg ar 'the northern side of a mountain, northern side', Ord aru 'côté postérieur', dos', adj. 'postérieur' ¶ ADb. MSR 9, H 9, Pp. MA 106, MED 54, BMR I 116-17, Chr. 54, KRS 46, KW 21, Ms. H 37, Ms. O 30, Klz. D I 109-10 || pJ {S} *ātuā 'behind, trace' > OJ atyo, MJ àtó, J T áto, J K àtó, J Kg ató {Kenk.} back, rear; trace, track; mark, impression' ¶ S QJ no. 767, Mr. 387, Kenk. 60-2 || [2] pA *arka 'back (dos)' > NaT *arka id. > OT, MU, MQp, XwT, Chg, OOsM arqa 'back (dorsum), upper part of the back', Tk arka, VTt, Bsh, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt arqa, ET a(r)qa, Uz orqa, Xk arʏa, Tv árʏa 'back, shoulders; hintere Seite', Yk arʏā id., nape, withers', Tkm arqa, Az arxa 'back, upper part of the back; animal's back', Ln ayqa 'hind part', Chv {Ash.} opxa 'animal's back', {Ash, Jeg., ChVS} урхалăх, {Fed} урхалăх ђ орхалăх 'saddlebag (чересседельник), поперечник (ein Teil des Pferdegeschirrs)' ¶ Cl. 215, TkR 50, ET Gl 174-5, TL 267-8, ADb. SR 116-17, 185, Pek. 142, Ash. III 291, Fed. II 288, Jeg. 276, ChVS 233 || Tg *arka-n 'back (dos)' > Ewk arkan, Sln arkā, Lm arqān, Neg aykan, Orc akka(n-), Ud aka(n-), Ork attā(n-) ¶ STM I 51, Krm. 205 ¶¶ Pp. VG 76, 94, 192 (explaining T *arka and Tg *arka-n as derived from *aru (*arka < *aru-ka) ¶¶ SDM 311-12 (pA *āra > T *arka, M, Tg, J), DQA no. 48, ≈ ADb. SR 305 (T *arka-n ≠ M *aru) || D (in SD) *ar- 'waist, loins' > Tm arai id., 'stomach', Ml ara 'middle of the body, loins, waist', Td ar niñ 'silver waist string' (niñ 'string'), Kdg are 'waist' ¶ D no. 230 ◇ The long *ā in T *ārt and the D cns. *-r- (normally from cns. clusters) point to the presence of an additional element in pN (a lr. or *w?). If Ar ʏurʏur-at- belongs here, the pN postcons. lr. may have been *ʏ (N *ʏarʏu). Mu h- still requires explanation.

147. *ʏur∇K∇ 'to flee' > HS: CS *ʏrḱ 'run away, flee' > Sr ʏrḱ G 'flee', JA [Trg.] ʏrḱ 'flee, run', JEA ʏrḱ ~ ʏʔrḱ 'flee', Ar {Ln.} ʏrḱ G : ʏariqa (fi-l ʔarôḱi) 'go away into the country', {BK} ʏarq- 'way, road, beaten path' ('chemin, route, sentier frayé') ¶ BK II 228-9, Ln 2017-19, Br. 550, Js. 1123, Sl. 883, KB 841 || U: FV ≈ *urke- 'flee, go away' > Lv {Kt.} uřgз- 'flee, avoid', F pres. urkene- / inf. urjeta 'abgehen, abreisen, abfahren, sich entfernen, sich aufmachen, aufbrechen, beginnen (Weg, Laufbahn)' ||

Er *оргоде-* *orgode-*, Mk *ворьгоде-* *vořgadə-* 'flee, run away' ¶ UEW 805, SK 1548, Kt. 457, ERV 442, Ker. II 101, SSA III 375-6 || **D** **uřuk-* 'run away' > Tl *uřuk*, Knd *uřk-* id. ([partially] × D **uřuk-* 'jump' > Tm *uřukku* id.) ¶ ≈ D no. 713 ◇ Not here WrM {MED} *orgu-*, HlM *орго-* v. 'flee' (cf. MED 617, BMR II 488), because this word goes back to M **ʔorgu-* (cp. MM [MA] *horgu-* id., F Pp. MA 186).

148. **ʕaRi* ▽ or **ʕaRi* '≈ without, no' ([in descendant lges] → 'naked') > **K**: OG *ara* 'no, not', G *ara* 'no, not', *ar* 'not' ¶ Ser. 3, Chx. 30 || **IE**: NaIE **ar-* / **ōr-* v. 'deny' (P: 'verweigern, leugnen') > Gk ἀρνέομαι 'I deny' || Arm *nɪrɐwɐnɐw* *uʕanam* 'I deny' || pAl {O} **arn-nya* > Al: T *rre*j, G *rre*j v. 'deceive' ⇨ Al T *rrem* 'mendacious, false' ¶ P 62, F I 145-6, 158, Ch. 112, Slr. 385-6, O 380, Bugge BA 38ff., BFU 484, Me. EAC 111, 142 || **HS**: S **ʕry|w* (~ **ʕrr*) 'be(come) naked\empty' > BHb עֲרִיב *ʕō'rū* 2pm inv. 'strip naked!', D עֲרִיב *ʕē'rā* '(he) bared, made naked', 'entblößen, bloßlegen', Ph *ʕry* D (3s ip. *ʕr*) 'strip off', Ug *ʕr* *ʕr* 'naked, uncovered', Ar *ʕry* G (pf. *ʕariya*) 'be(come) naked, be(come) bare of clothes', Ak *eriu* *erū* 'naked, empty'; CS **ʕry-at-* 'nakedness' > BHb עֲרִיב *ʕer'ya*, Sr *ʕaryat*, JA עֲרִיב *ʕiryatā* ~ עֲרִיב *ʕoryatā*, Ar عَرِيَّة *ʕuryat-* ¶ KB 834-5, HJ 887, OLS 90, Br. 548, CAD IV 320, Sd. 242 || **U**: Y: Y T {Ku.} *araw* 'naked', {Ku.} *arāwyā*, {Ang. ← Iox.} *arauneje* 'kahl' ({Ang.} sc. 'nackt'), K {Iox.} *arau(lei)*, T {Jlox.} *araulei* 'naked', T/K {Ang. ← Iox.} 'araulei' 'naked, bare, undressed'; in IN H this word is not registered ¶ Ku. 34, Ang. 23, Iox. JR s.v. *arau*, Iox. XR s.v. *araulei* || **ʔ** **D** **aRi* 'perish, be destroyed' > Tm *aRi* v. 'perish, be ruined', Ml *aRiyuka* 'be destroyed', Kt *aRi* 'be erased', *aRy* 'destruction', Td *oRy-* 'be spent' (money), Kn *aRi* 'be ruined\destroyed, perish', Tu *arpuni* vt. 'efface, waste', *aRipuni* 'perish', Tl *aRisina* 'which destroys', Prj *andkip-*, Gnd *aRih-* v. 'destroy' ¶ D no. 277.

148a. ₂ **ʕgeR* ▽ 'raincloud, rain' > **HS**: C {AD} *ʕR-* 'cloud, rain', {E} **ʕir-* 'rain' > Ag: Awn {Hz.} *ʕrī* 'rain' || EC: Af {PH} *ʕir-* ~ *ʕer-* 'smoke, steam', Arr {Hw.} *ʕirī*, Elm {Hn.} *irī*, Dsn {To.} *ʕir*, Hr/Dbs {AMS} *iráww*, Gln/Gwd {AMS} *irráww*, Cm {Hbl.} *ér*, {SLLE} *ʕerro* 'rain', pSam {Hn.} **ʕir-* > Sm {R} *ʕir* 'fog, cloud', Sm N {Abr.} *ʕir* 'fog', Sm {Hn.} *ʕir ʕaddā gā* 'continuous light rain', {ZMO} *ʕir* 'rain, weather, sky', Rn {PG} *hír* 'rain' ¶ AD SF 143, E PC no. 489, PH 60-1, Hw. A 342, To. DL 483, Hn. S 77 (pSam **ʕir-* 'light rain'), ZMO 68, PG 141, AMS 263 || NrOm **ir* ▽ 'rain, cloud' > Wl/Zl/Dwr/Gf/Dc/Bdt/Zs/Bsk/Cha {LmS} *ira*, Malo {LmS} *ʕira*, Gm {Hw.}

ʔíro, Hrr {CR} ir̥a, Ym {Wdk} ìrò, Na/Shk/Mj {Fl.} iru 'rain', Kf {C} ir̥ō 'cloud' ¶¶ Blz. OL (Om *ir- 'rain'), AD SF 143, LmS 292, Lm. Y 321, CR H 637, Wdk. BY 170, Hw. EG s.v. 'rain', Fl. OWL s.v. 'rain' || D: McTm *er̥ili 'cloud' > Tm, Ml er̥ili id. ¶ D no. 849 ◇ Suggested by Blažek: Blz. LNA no. 2 (N *ʕer̥∇).

149. *ʕar̥K̥u 'sinew' ([in descendant lges] → 'bowstring, bow') > **HS:** WS *ʕiʔr̥K̥- 'sinew, vein, root' > Ar ʕir̥q- 'root, sinew, vein', Mh ʔar̥K̥- 'artery, sinew, nerve, root', Jb C ʕar̥K̥- 'root, sinew', JA אַרְקָא ʕar̥k̥-ā 'leather thong', Tgr ʕar̥eK̥ 'tendon, nerve', ?σ Sb ʕr̥K̥ 'neck muscle, collarbone' ¶ Fr. III 143, Jo. M 28, Lv. III 705-6, BGMR 20, LH 359, MiK I no. 1.20 || AdS of Eg fP r̥w̥z 'cord; bowstring; sinews' (< N *r̥∇, w̥, K̥æ 'sinew' [→ 'cord, rope']; to tie' [q.v.] × N *ʔoʔK̥a 'to bend' [→ 'a bow']) ¶ EG II 410, Fk. 148, Tk. I 249-50 || **IE** *H̥er̥ku- ~ *H̥er̥k̥w̥- 'bow, net' ({EI} *h̥er̥k̥w̥o-s 'bow and/or 'arrow') (× N *ʕoʔR̥K̥ô 'bend, be bent\ crooked' [q.v.]) > NaIE *a|ar̥ku- ~ *a|ar̥k̥w̥- 'bow, net' > OL gen. ar̥qu-ī, L arcus id. || Gmc *ar̥x̥w̥ō (*'belonging to a bow' →) 'arrow' > Gt d. ar̥h̥azna (βέλος) 'Pfeil', ON q̥r (gen. q̥rvar), OSw ar̥f, AS ear̥h 'arrow', NE arrow || Gk ἄρκυς, -υος 'net' ¶ WP I 81, P 67-8, EI 78, EM 78-9, WH I 64, Bc. G 329, Vr. 688, Ho. 85, Coll. ULF 174, IS I 240, Fs. 56, F I 142-3 || **A** *aR̥K̥aʔ- > NaT *arka- > Osm {Rs.} ar̥qa- 'an den Sattelriemen festbinden' (× T *arka 'back, dorsum', cp. Chv урхалăх, VTt ar̥qal̥b̥q 'saddlebag', Osm {Rh.} ar̥qal̥iq 'porter's knot for carrying burdens', Tk ar̥kal̥ik 'luggage carrier with a bicycle'), Chg {Rs.} ar̥qa- 'den Faden einschließen', Tv ar̥гы- ar̥γ̥t̥- v. 'knit, plait, weave', Xk ar̥γ̥a- v. 'embroider in flat stitches'; NaT {ET} *ark̥ān 'lasso, thick rope' > Chg {RL} ar̥qan, Kr אַרְקָא ar̥qan, Tkm ar̥qān 'lasso, thick rope', CrT, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh ar̥qan, Uz ar̥qan, Tk {ET} argan 'thick rope, cable', Qrg, StAlt ar̥qan 'rope made of hair', Qzq {RL} ar̥qan 'rope made of horsehair'; a T lge ⇨ R ар'кан 'lasso' ¶ Rs. W 26, ET Gl 175-6, BIG 30, TvR 68, Rl. I 288, Bu. I 30 ¶ N *r̥ > T *r in the preconson. position (a law formulated by Hl.) || M *argam̥ʔi 'rope' > MM [IM] ar̥gam̥ʔi 'rope', [S] {H} ar̥ham̥ji (= ar̥γ̥am̥ʔi) 'Leitstrick', WrM argam̥ʔi {MED} 'rope, tether'. HlM {MED} аргамж id., {BMR} аргамж(ин) 'leathern rope, бечева', Brt аргамжа 'leathern rope', Kl {KRS} арһмж ar̥γ̥am̥ʔə 'Fangschlinge, Lasso', {Rm.} ar̥γ̥am̥ʔi 'Strick', WrO ar̥γ̥am̥ʔi 'rope, line, halter, hawser, bridle', Ord argam̥ʔi 'longue corde'; M *argam̥ʔi- > WrM {MED} argam̥ʔi-, HlM {MED, BMR} аргамжи- v. 'tie, fasten with a rope', Ord argam̥ʔi- 'lier au moyen d'une longue corde';

М б→ Tř argamǵı 'lasso, leather rope', Tv аргамчы id., Xk arǵamǵı, StAlt армакчы армақçı 'lasso, rope', Qrg аргамжы arǵamǵı 'rope (made of hair)'; WrO арҕала- v. 'fasten, tether', HIM {BMR} аржалж 'tether (привязь)', Kl {Rm.} арҕаl- 'das Pferd mit einem langen Stricke an einem Pfahl einbinden, tüdern (tether)', {KRS} арҕлан 'tether (привязь) on a leg of a horse\camel' ¶ Pp. MA 432, H 9, MED 52, BMR I 136-7, 154, Krg. 52-3, KW 13-14, KRS 49, 52, Ra. 155, Ms. O 28 ¶ The pA lenis *-k'- for the expected fortis *-k'- (from N *-K-) is still to be explained || D (att. in NED) *eṛṇt- > Krx eṛetḥ 'longbow', Mlt eṛtu 'a bow', eṛtyo 'archer' ¶ D no. 789, Pf. 186 [no. 34] ◇ The unexpected D *e- is still to be explained ◇ AD NM no. 25, S CNM 6 (÷÷ NrCs, ST, Yn), Vv. AEN 17-18 (pointing to the problems with the sxs in M).

150. *ṛEwṇSṇ '(ε) grass' > **HS**: C: EC {Ss.} *ṛawš- / *ṛayš- (< *ṛawiš-?) > Sa, Af ṛayso 'grass, straw, vegetation', Sml ṛaws 'dry grass', ?φ Rn ḥōś, Bn ēs, Dsn ṛīš 'grass', Or ēs 'ε corn' ({Th.} 'farro, farragine, spelta, specie di frumento'), Hr, Dbs, Gln, Gwd ṛaš-ko 'grass', Sd {Ss.} ayś-o 'grass', {Hd.} hayssō 'blade of grass', hayś'sō 'grass' ¶ Ss. PEC 44-5, 47, Hn. S 77, PG 143, Th. 123, Hd. 72, AMS 245, 263, To. DL 482 || Ch: WCh: pNrBc {S} *awasi 'grass' > Jmb awašī, My awasu || Ech: Skr {Sx.} úśū, Bdy {AlJ} ṛāwso id. | possibly also *✓ws > NrBc: Wrj was3-na, Mbr wás3, Kry wasisi, SBc: Bg wás3l id. || CCh: Ms {J} wúsná, Bnn ùs3nà id.; G'nd ùš3nna, Tr {Nw.} wùz3n, Pdl wùz3ndí 'grass' ¶ Sk. NB 24, Stl. ZCh 260 [no. 183], ChL, ChC s.v. 'grass', AlJ 35, Blz. ChTP 8, Tk. NB 183 (NrBc *(a)was- < *ṛawas-) ¶¶ Tk. PAA 31 (NrBc, EC) || **A**: M *ebesün (< **ebes-sün with a nominal sx .*-sün) 'grass, hay' > MM [L, MA, IM] ebesün, WrM {MED} ebesün ~ ebūsün, HIM {MED, BMR} евс(ен), Brt ṽbḥə(н) id., Kl {Rm.} öwsn 'Heu, Gras', Mnr H {SM} wes3 ~ yes3 'herbe, plante, paille, foin', {T} wese ~ yese 'grass, hay', Mnr M {T} bese, MMgl [Z] ebesün, Mgl {Rm.} ebāsun, Dg {T} eūse, Ba {T} weson 'grass, hay', Ord öwösü ~ öwös 'herbe, paille' ¶ Pp. MA 150, 436, Pp. L II 1254, Rm. M 27, MED 287, 291, BMR III 4-5, Chr. 488-9, KW 303, Iw. 100, Pot. 421, Ms. O 544, SM 483, 493, T 321, T DgJ 19, T BJ 136 || **E**: NEI a-h-iš 'Weidegrund (?)' ¶¶ HK 34 || AdS of IE *ṛweṛs- > NaIE *weṛs- v. 'grow, sprout forth' (P: 'sprießen, wachsen') (< N *wīś?ṇ 'to grow' [esp. of plants] [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ Blz. E no. 62 (E, HS).

151. *ṛeš'i 'make, do' > **HS**: WS *✓ṛšy 'make, do' > BHb עשה ✓ṛšy|w G, M'b ✓ṛšy G (1s pf. ṛšty), Ug ✓ṛšy G id., SmA עשה ṛšh (Hebraized spelling for ṛš? [✓ṛsy] 'do'), n. act. ṛšy (for ṛsy) 'doing, making', Sb/Mn

𐰇𐰣𐰚𐰚 G 'do, make; acquire', Qt 𐰇𐰣𐰚𐰚 G {Rk.} 'acquire' (OSA 𐰇 for the expected 𐰇 is puzzling) ¶ KB 842-5, HJ 890-1, OLS 93, Tal 667, BGMR 20-1, MA 16, Rk. IQ 125 || C: Ag {Ap.} *𐰇𐰣𐰚- 'make, do' > Bln {Ap.} 𐰇𐰣𐰚-, Xm/Q {Ap.} 𐰇𐰣𐰚-, Dmb {R} 𐰇𐰣𐰚- id. || EC: Sa {R} 𐰇𐰣𐰚-/𐰇𐰣𐰚-, Af {R} 𐰇𐰣𐰚- id., pBn {Hn.} *as- v. 'prepare' (> {Hn.} Bn Bi/K as- id., Bn J/Kj áṇal as- 'brew beer'); HEC {Hd.} *ass- / *iss- 'do, make' > Sd {Gs., Hd.} ass-, Kmb {Hd.} ass-, 𐰇𐰣𐰚-, Ged (h)ass-, Hd {Hd.} iss- 'do', Brj {Hd., Ss.} iss- 'do, act, make' || SC: Alg {Wh.} 𐰇𐰇𐰣𐰚𐰚-, Brn {Wh.} 𐰇𐰇𐰣𐰚𐰚- 'do' ¶ AD SF 151, Ap. AV 5, Ss. B 107, R S II 52, Hn. BD 122, 143, Hd. 51, 95, 201, 244, 285, 308, 315, 35, Wh. IC 56 || ECh: Mkl {J} sbjn. 𐰇𐰇𐰣𐰚 (pl. 𐰇𐰇𐰣𐰚, aor. 𐰇𐰇𐰣𐰚) 'do, make' ¶ J LM 113 ¶¶ JI II 229, ChC s.v. 'make', AD SF 151 (S, C), Ap. AV 5 (S, Ag, EC), OS no. 1097 (HS *𐰇𐰇𐰣𐰚- 'do, make'; S, C, Ch) || IE: Ht 𐰇𐰇𐰣𐰚- / 𐰇𐰇𐰣𐰚- 'do, make' (unless an iterative of Ht 𐰇𐰚𐰚- id.) ¶ Pv. I-II 300-5 || U: FP (+ ext.) *eš̥te- 'make, make\be ready', (→ 'succeed, have time to do sth.') > pChr {Ber.} *iš̥ta- 'do, make' > Chr L/B 𐰇š̥te-, Chr H aš̥te- id. | pPrm {LG} *3š̥t- > Z eš̥tini, Prmk, Yz yeš̥t- 'be ready', 'be fulfilled' (a word), 'succeed in fulfilling, have time to do' | pLp {Lr.} *3st̥- > Lp: N {N} ās̥tāt 'have time\leisure (to do sth.)', L {LLO} astāt, Kld 𐰇š̥te-δ id., S {Hs.} astedh id., 'arrive in time' | F eht̥i- 'arrive in time' ¶ ≈ UEW 626 (FP *eš̥te 'have time, be ready'), Sm. 552 (FP *eš̥ti- 'manage'), Ber. 8, LG 333, SK 35, It. 303, Coll. 76-7, Lr. no. 25, Lgc. no. 111, Hs. 250, SaR 424 ◇ N *š̥ > U *š̥ is puzzling: a positional change *-š̥t- > *-š̥t-?

152. *𐰇𐰇𐰣𐰚 (𐰇𐰇𐰣𐰚) 'tree' > HS: Eg fOK 𐰇𐰇 'cedar, *Abies cilicica* (as a tree and esp. as wood)' ¶ EG I 228, Fk. 49 || ?? WCh: Geji 𐰇𐰇, Zul 𐰇𐰇𐰣𐰚 'tamarisk' ¶ Sh. SB. s.v. ;tamarisk' || IE *H^ωes- 'ash tree' ({EI} *h₂eHōs 'ash') > NaIE *os- ~ *ōs- (and with extentions: *osk- ~ [mt.] *oks-) > L ornus (< *os-en-os) 'mountain ash' || Clt {Matas} *osno- 'ash tree' > MW onn, ynn 'ash tree' (< *osnā), MCrn onnen, MBr ounn, onn, Br onn, Δ ounnenn id., OIr (h)uinnius, dat. uinsinn (< *onn-ist-ō), ? Mlr onn 'pine tree, furze bush' || Gk βέτυα ~ βέτυη 'beech tree' (< *oskes-?) || pAl {O} *aksa > Al ah 'beech tree' || Arm հացի 'ash tree' (< *H^o's-k-) || ON askr, OHG asca id. || Pru woasis, Lt ūosis, Ltv ōsis id. | Sl *āsēn ~ *āsēn id. > Slv jásen, jésen, Slv R ásen, Blg 'ясен, SCr jāsēn, Δ jēsēn, OR ꙗꙗꙗꙗ ꙗꙗꙗꙗ, R, Blr, Uk 'ясенъ, Cz jasan, Slk jaserň | The BSl vw. goes back to IE *ō (L-gr. of IE *o) ¶ P 782, ≈ EI 32 (unc.: 'ash' ← '≈ burnings'), F II 400, WH II 223, Vn. U 20, O 2-3, Vr. 15, EWA I 364-6, Slt. 312-13, Frn. 1167, En. 276, ESSJ I 79-80, Matas. E 300-1,

Glh. 29O, Frdr. PIT 2O [no. 13], Frdr. PITA 92-8 || **U** *oš|śka 'ē tree (ash tree, elm, poplar)' > Chr H oškъ 'ash tree', L oško 'black poplar' (*Populus nigra*), осокорь || pMr {Ker} *ūskъ > (mt.) *uksъ > Er uksō, Mk uks 'ash tree' || Sm: Kms {KD} āzoγ p'ā 'poplar' (p'ā 'tree') ¶¶ Ker. II 174, Ber. 93, KD 6, Coll. 138 || **A**: T *o₁ːs > Sg, Qb, Qc, StXk os 'aspen, poplar', Qzl {Rl.} os 'poplar', Chv L ābāc, Chv Δ γc 'aspen'; there may be semantic infl. of NaT *apsak 'aspen' (< N ***pač**P∇ 'ē leaf-bearing tree' ['aspen' or the like]) ¶ Hoops 123-4 and after him Tenishev (TL 131) unconvincingly suggested an IE origin of the T word (from Sl *osa 'aspen' [cf Sl *osa 'aspen' from N ***pač**P∇ 'ē leaf-bearing tree', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ET Gl 6O7-8, Fed. I 8O-1, BIG 131, Rl. I 1138, Ash. IV 36, Fed. I 8O-1, Jeg. 39 ◇ Coll. IUS 87, Coll. HUV 121 (in both sources: IE, U), IS I 255 s.v. *HosΛ 'ash tree' (IE, U), Jk. 333 (proposed as an alternative [with a query] that the Chr and Mr words may be loans from Irn [Scythian]: "Entlehnung aus einer altertümlichen iran. (skyth.) Sprachform wäre ebenso möglich..., die Sippe ist aber in den iran. Sprachen kaum belegt"), O HSN 121-2 (N *Hos∇ 'ash tree' > IE, U, SBch + unc. Ak iššē'u 'Kiefernspäne').

153. ***at**U 'ē fish' > **HS**: S *o'ī∇t- > Ug ʿt id. ¶ OLS 94 || Eg XVIII/G ʿdω 'ē fish (forbidden to eat)' ¶ EG I 237 || **A**: Tg: WrMc {Z} atγ 'a female fish (with roe)' ⇨ (or ⇨ ?) WrM atu 'a female fish' (× Tg *at∇ 'female' < N ***ʔ**at∇ 'female, woman', q.v.); WrMc }Z} atγxa 'a male fish' ⇨ (or ⇨ ?) WrM {MED} atuqa, HLM {BMR} atγyx 'a male fish' ¶ Z 29, MED 58-9, BMR I §75 || ?φ D (in SD) *at∇ 'ē fish' > Tm atal 'ē fish', Tm atalai, Ml atava 'ē marine fish', Tu adaminu, adāvu 'ē fish' ¶ D no. 68 ¶ *-t- for the expected *-t- is still to be explained || **IE**: NaIE *ateli- (and *a'ti-?) 'ē fish' (× N ***X**o't'i' 'ē fish', q.v.) > Gk [Arist., Hs.] ἑτελις (or ἑτελίζ) 'ē fish' ({F}: 'Goldbrasse?') || L [Plin.] attilus {WH} 'ē a big fish resembling sturgeons (in the Padus)' (⇨ Gl?); VL {ML} *atillus 'Stöhr' (sc. 'Stör, sturgeon') > It V '(l)adano, It Ml 'ladan, ?φ OIt Pv 'agano; VL {ML} *atillus id. > OIt V *adello > It adello id. || Lt ōtas 'halibut, turbot', (N ***X**o't'i' > ?) Lt atis, Ltv āte id. ¶ P 7O, ML no. 766, Frn. 21, Bg. KS 274, F I 58O, Hld. I 275, WH I 78.

154. ***at**∇ 'to throw, to cast' > **HS**: EC {Ss.} *īad- 'throw' > Kns, Gdl ad-, Hr īad-, Brj ad-ad- 'throw', Sa īed- 'throw away', Af S īid- 'throw, kill' ¶ Ss. B 23 || S *o'īt- > Ar īt- G 'fell so. on the ground' ¶ BK II 283, Hv. 48O || **A**: T *at- 'throw, shoot (arrows)' > OT, Chg, XwT at- id., MQp at- 'shoot', Tk at-, Tkm, Ggz, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Bsh, ET, Qrg, StAlt at-

'throw, shoot', Az, Nog, VTt at-, Uz at- id., 'cast', Qzq, SY, Xk, Tv at- 'shoot', Yk it- 'shoot (arrows)' || Chv L ЫВЃТ-, Chv Δ ƳТ- Զ ЫТ- 'throw, cast' ¶ Cl. 36, ET Gl 199-200, Ash. III 49-60, 69-70 and 324-5, Fed. II 469-70, Jeg. 341, CgVS 286 || D *at- 'throw, shoot' > Tu aḏakuṇi 'throw, cast out, discharge (as a gun)', Tl aḏrincu, aḏaruṇu v. 'discharge, shoot (as an arrow or other missile)' ¶¶ D no. 61 ◇ The irreg. reflex *-t- in D may be due to some phonetic element in sxs.

155. *ṣot- 'breathe, blow' > IE *H^ωot-/ *H_oωt- > NaIE *ōt-/at- v. 'breathe' (→ *ōt-men- [{EI} IE *h₁eh₁t-'men] 'breath') > OI āt'mā (gen. āt'manaḥ) 'breath, soul, self' || AS æðm, OSx āthom, OHG ātūm, MLG ādem, Dt adem, NHG Atem, (Δ →) Odem 'breathing, breath' || OIr athach (< *at-āko-) 'breath, wind' ¶ WP I 118, P 345 (*ēt-men), EI 82, Mn. 254, M K I 73, Ho. 13, Ho. S 4, EWA I 391-3, KM 34, Vn. A 99-100 || HS: +exts: S *^o✓ ṣ|ṣtṇ > Gz ✓ ṣtṇ G 'burn incense, fumigate with incense']? S *^o✓ 'ṣtṇ > Ak eṭemmu 'spirit of the dead, ghost'] WS *✓ ṣtr v. 'exhale (as vapor\smoke\steam)' > Sr 𐤍𐤔𐤕 ✓ ṣtr G (pf. 𐤍𐤔𐤕𐤁𐤏 'ar) id., JA [TrgJ] 𐤍𐤔𐤕𐤁𐤏 ✓ ṣtr G (pf. 𐤍𐤔𐤕𐤁𐤏 𐤍𐤔𐤕𐤁𐤏 'ar) 'rauchen, exhale smoke', Ar✓ ṣtr G (pf. 𐤍𐤔𐤕𐤁𐤏 𐤍𐤔𐤕𐤁𐤏 'ar) 'exhale fragrance, smell sweet', Mh 𐤍𐤔𐤕𐤁𐤏 v. 'perfume', Mh 𐤍𐤔𐤕𐤁𐤏, Jb 𐤍𐤔𐤕𐤁𐤏 'perfume' ¶ Br. 521, JPS 410, Lv. T II 211, Lv. III 636, Js. 1063-5, Fr. III 176, BK II 284, Jo. M 35, L G 76, CAD IV 397-401 || B *ṣadu? 'wind, odor' > Ah {Fc.} ādu, Gd aḏu, Izr/Rf {Rn.} aḏu, Gh {Nh.}, ETwl/Ty {GhA}, Tmz {MT}, Izd, Wrg {Dlh.} aḏu, Nf aḏu id., Kb {Dl.} aḏu, Mz {Dlh.} aḏu, Snd aḏu 'wind', Tz {Stm.} ādu id., Sll {Ds.} aḏu 'gentle wind', BSn/BMn {Bs.} ādu 'heavy wind', Izd aḏu n. 'smell', Zng {TC} aḏih 'odor' ¶ Pr. H no. 141, Fc. 252-3, GhA 30, Nh. 213, Rn. 311, Lf. II no. O332, Dl. 170, Stm. 158, Ds. 290, MT 86, Dlh. M 37, Dlh. Ou 63, Mrc. 180, 261, TC D 4, NZ 437-9 || ?σ Ch ≈ *ṣat- 'nose' (× N *'h'ot- 'to smell [odorare, to get the odor of]', 'to smell [olere, to have an odor\scent], q.v. ffd.) || A: ?σ AmTg *ōti > Ul ōti 'the northeastern wind', Nn Nh/Bk {STM} ōti 'the north wind', Nn Nh {On.} ōti 'north' ¶ STM II 28, On. 318 || D *ūt- v. 'blow (blasen)' > Tm ūtu v. 'blow (as a wind instrument, a fire)', Ml ūtukā id., ūttu n. 'blowing', Kt u'd- v. 'become swollen\bloated', Kn ūdu v. 'blow', Tu ūduri v. 'blow (as a pipe), swell', Tl ūdu v. 'blow with the mouth or with bellows', Klm, Nk, Nkr, Gdb ūnd-, Gnd ūd- v. 'blow', ? Ku hūtinay v. 'kindle' ¶¶ D no. 741, ≠ Km. 304 [no. 143] (reconstructing *uy-nt-/ *uy-t- for his pCD [sc. pSCD and pCD] and pSD, *uy-ṣ-/ -r- for pNED).

155a. * ζ u $\dot{\zeta}$ ∇ '≈ hand' ('palm of hand with fingers?') > **HS:** S * $\circ^{\text{r}}$ ū $\dot{\zeta}$ - and ? * $\circ^{\text{r}}$ ū $\dot{\zeta}$ ω > Ak ū $\dot{\zeta}$ - 'span, half ell', ? Ar $\checkmark$ ū $\dot{\zeta}$ ω G (ip. -ū $\dot{\zeta}$ ū) 'take\receive with the hand' ('manu accepit') ¶ Sd. 1447, Fr. III 179-80 || **U** * $\circ^{\text{r}}$ utta (or * $\circ^{\text{r}}$ t|s|š-, *-ks|š-, *-s|šk-) > Sm {Jn.} *utā, {Hl.} *uta 'hand' > Ne: T Һүдә, {Lh.} Һу·δа·, F {Lh.} Һуттāā; Ng {Mik., Hl.} jütü, {Cs.} jū $\dot{\zeta}$ ū; En: X {Cs.} ú $\dot{\zeta}$ a, B {Cs.} ú $\dot{\zeta}$ a id.; Slq: Tz {KKIH} ut $\dot{\zeta}$ id., B/Y/Kar {Cs.} ut, O {Cs.} u $\dot{\zeta}$, Ke/NP {Cs.} utte, Chl {Cs.} utö, UO {Cs.} u $\dot{\zeta}$ e id.; Kms {KD} u $\dot{\zeta}$ a, Koyb {Sp.} о $\dot{\zeta}$ a 'hand'; Mt {Hl.} *u $\dot{\zeta}$ a id. (Mt: M {Sp.} Һүдәм 'my hand\arm', K {Mll.} u $\dot{\zeta}$ a 'arm', {Pl.} Һүдәдә 'his hand\arm', T {Pl.} ú $\dot{\zeta}$ adā, u $\dot{\zets}$ adā id., {Mll.} u $\dot{\zets}$ ú $\dot{\zets}$ adā 'his arm', A {Msrs.} u $\dot{\zets}$ am 'my hand') ¶ Jn. 30, Cs. 55, 79, 232, Hl. US 115, Hl. M no. 1109 || **A** *u $\dot{\zets}$ d $\dot{\zets}$ a or (with regressive assimilation) *a $\dot{\zets}$ d $\dot{\zets}$ u 'arm, thigh' (× N * γ 'o $\dot{\zets}$ d∇ 'hand', q.v. ffd.) > T: **[1]** NaT *a δ ut > OT U a δ ut 'a handful', 'palm of hand' (< a compound *... + * ζ u $\dot{\zets}$ ∇?) (→ O T a δ utla- v. 'take a handful'), MU a δ ut 'handful', as well as possibly with *-w-: OT Δ [MhK] a ν ut, Chg a ν uč, MQp [CC] o ν č, Tk a ν u $\dot{\zets}$, Tkm a ω u $\dot{\zets}$, Nof u ω is, Qmq u ν uč, Blq uu $\dot{\zets}$, Xk ōs, SY oš 'handful' ¶ Cl. 44-5, ADb. SR 179-82 (T *a δ yut| $\zets$ with a dim. sx [?] *- $\zets$); **[2]** NaT *a δ -luk 'hip, thigh (Schenkel, бедро)' > OT u δ luq, MT u γ luq, Tk u γ luk, Tkm u γ luq, u ω luq, SY utuq, otuq, Yk ulluq id., Xk ustux 'knee', SY ustuq 'shinbone' ¶ ET Gl 378-81, Cl. 55, TL 282 || pJ {S} *ù $\dot{\zets}$ tà $\dot{\zets}$ 'arm' > OJ ù $\dot{\zets}$ dè, J T/Kg u $\dot{\zets}$ dé, J K ú $\dot{\zets}$ dè id. ¶ S QJ no. 1081, Mr. 560, Kenk. 2086 ¶ SDM 1484 (pA *udu $\dot{\zets}$ i 'arm, thigh' > T *a δ -luk, J) ¶¶ T *-d- (or pA *d-?) for the expected *-t $\dot{\zets}$ - may be due to the infl. of N * γ 'o $\dot{\zets}$ d∇ $\diamond$ ≈ Gr. II no. 193 (*ute 'hand') (Sm, J + err. A).

156. * ζ a ω y∇ 'shout, speak' > **IE:** NaIE (?) * $\circ^{\text{r}}$ a ω - > on. Gk (ipf.) αῦε, ft. αῦσ ω , aor. αῦσα ν 'cry out, shout, call aloud' ('rufen') ¶ P 76-7, F I 193 || **HS:** WS * $\checkmark$ ū $\dot{\zets}$ ω 'shout' (n. act. * $\circ^{\text{r}}$ ū $\dot{\zets}$ ω-) > Ar $\checkmark$ ū $\dot{\zets}$ ω G 'shout, howl', Gz ſa ω ya n. 'moan, wail', ſa ω yā 'wailing', $\checkmark$ ū $\dot{\zets}$ ω ω (pf. ſa ω ya ω a) 'wail in mourning, howl, cry, cry out' ¶ L G 79, BK I 415 || C: EC {Ss.} * $\zets$ i γ y- 'cry' > Sml ſi γ y-, Bs {HL} i γ i, Or i γ y- v. 'cry, shout', Arr {Hw.} ?i γ y- 'cry out', Brj i γ y- v. 'cry for help', Af ey i γ - shout' (i γ - 'say'); Rn ō γ a v. 'cry' ¶ Ss. B 108, ≈ HL 80, Hw. A 342, Grg. 228, PG 242 || Om {Blz.} * $\dot{\zets}$ u $\dot{\zets}$ ω∇- 'say' > NrOm: Sz {Fl.} ωε 'say', Ym {Wdk.} ū 'say', ? Gf {Mrn.} i ω e $\dot{\zets}$ 'speak' ¶ Blz. OL no. 238, Wdk. BY 137, Fl. p.c. || Ch (× N * γ 'a $\dot{\zets}$ y∇ 'say, speak, call'): **[1]** ECh: Kbl {Cp.} yú ω z 'say' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} wá, {Mch.} wa 'say'; **[2]** Ch {Stl.} * γ a ω | γ - 'call' ('звать') > WCh: Pr yó v. 'call' || CCh: Gudu {ChL} ? γ â, Msg {Mch.} γ i, Ms {Mch.} γ a, {J} γ íná, {Stl.} ← ?} γ u-mo, Bnn {Stl.} γ a-mi, BnnM {Stl.} γ a-mo

id. ||| ECh: Gbr ye id. ¶ JI II 59, ChC s.v. 'say' and 'call', ChL, Stl. IF 143, Lk. L 125 || **A** *ay∇ 'speak, cry', 'sound' (× N *ʔ'a'y∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ **D** *ū'v' - 'speak' > Prj ūb- 'speak, converse', ūb al 'a saying', ? Tl u b u s u 'chat, talk', Tl Vs ūsul-āḍukoni v. 'chat' ¶¶ D no. 631.

157. *ʔaw'o'y'∇ 'spend the night, sleep' > **IE**: *°HeuH̄ - / *H̄weH̄ - / *H̄woH̄ - > NaIE *au- / *awē- / *awō- v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep', *aus- id. (× N *ʔ'ū|u'q'yê 'night, dark hours') > Arm **ազանիմ** ag-anim 'I spend the night', **օթ** ô tʰ (< eArm *au tʰ-) 'pernoctation, spending the night in a place; sleeping place, inn' ||| Gk ἰαύω 'I sleep' (< rdp. *i-aus-ō) (aor. ἰ-αῦσα and unreduplicated ἄεσα), Gk Hm ἁωτέω 'sleep well', Gk L [Sph.] ἄωρος 'sleep, ὕπνος', Gk d. αῦλις (gen. -ιδος) 'tent or place for passing the night in', αὐλή 'courtyard; lair' (< 'sleeping place') ¶ P 72, Hofm. 28, 30, 122, F I 186, 205, 706, Ch. 139-40, 454, 1304, Sl. 442-3 || **HS**: Eg MK/G {EG} ʔʔw, {Fk.} ʔʔwɣ v. 'sleep' ¶ EG I 169, Fk. 38 || Om {Blz.} *wayʔ- 'sleep, lie down' > NrOm: Bdt {Fl.} woyʔ- 'sleep', Hrr {Fl.} way 'lie down', Oyda {Fl.} wɔʔ- ~ wɔy- 'sleep' ¶ Blz. OL no. 120 || Ch (× N *ʔ'um∇η|ñ∇ 'sleep' [q.v.] × N *ʔ'ū|u'q'yê 'night, dark hours'): [1] CCh: Nz {ChL} vʔʔʔ v. 'sleep' ||| ECh: Kbl {Cp.} yì, Skr {Sx.} wʔʔè v. 'sleep', EDng {Fd.} wêjè ~ wéjé 'être couché', wéjì ~ wéjì 'sommeil', Mgm {J} ʔèʔyò, amb Mu {J} ʔèwèn n. 'sleep' (× Ch *✓ywn 'sleep' [see below]) || [2] Ch {JS} ?φ *✓ywn ~ *✓wn ({JI} *✓ywn) 'sleep' (× N *ʔ'ū|u'q'yê '↑') > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} yùwàn 'spending the night; day and night (24 hours)', Bd {IL} íwàn, {ChL} ùnà 'sleep' ||| CCh: Msy {Mch.} wəṣṣ, Db {LnG} wan 'sleep'; Gudu {ChL} wíyēnũ 'sleep' (n. act.) ||| ECh: Mgm {J} wāni n. 'sleep', amb Mu {J} ʔèwèn n. 'sleep' ¶ JI I 154 and II 298-9, ChC s.v. 'sleep', ChL, Sch. DN 177, Fd. 147 || **U**: FU *°lw,oy∇- v. 'sleep, fall asleep' > ObU {Ht.} *wōy- / *wǎyā- id. > pVg {Ht.} *ǎy- v. 'sleep' > Vg: T/SV/LL ay-, LK/MK/UK ǎy-, P oy- ~ ōy-, Ss oy- id.; Vg: T ayaltākt-, LK ǎyaltaxt-, P/LL ōyaltaxt-, SV óyaltäxt-, UL oyiltaxt-, Ss oyaltaxt- v. 'try to fall asleep'; pOs *wǎya- / *woy- ({HL.} *wǎya- / *wǎy-) 'fall asleep' > Os: V wǎya-, Vy wǎya- / woy-, Ty wōy- id.; Os: V/Vy woyamt-, Ty/Kz wōyamt-, D/K/O wǎyamt- id. || pY {IN} *āwʔ- 'sleep' > Y T {IN, Ku., Krn.} āwe- v. 'sleep', {Ku.} āwe, {Krn.} āwan n. 'sleep' ¶¶ IN CDY 115, Ht. no. 669, Hl. rHt 71, Ku. 13-14, Krn. JJ 270 || **A**: Tg *āb'u' - v. 'sleep' > Ork ā-, āwū- ~ au-, Ul a w- ~ au-, Ewk, Neg, Orc ā- id., Nn Nh āwan- 'let sleep', a wani- 'go (somewhere) to pass the night', Ul a wya ~ auya, Ewk Urm āwun 'bed (sleeping place)', Neg āwun n. 'passing one night (одна ночевка)', Ork āwya ~ auya 'bed clothes' ¶ STM I 1-2, On. 23.

Ord $\text{u} \text{yan}$ 'mou, semi-liquide, flexible'; M $\rightarrow$ Yk $\text{u} \text{yan}$ 'soft' (iron), 'weak', Xk $\text{u} \text{yan}$ 'weak', Qzq $\text{у} \text{ян}$ $\text{у} \text{ян}$, Qrg, Qq $\text{u} \text{yan}$ 'soft', StAlt $\text{u} \text{yan}$ 'soft, weak', Tlt {Rl.} $\text{u} \text{yan}$ 'schwach, elend'; **[2]** M $*\text{u} \text{ya-da-}$ v. 'become too soft and flexible' > WrM {MED} $\text{u} \text{yad-}$, HlM {MED, BMR} $\text{y} \text{ada-}$ id., Brt $\text{y} \text{ada-}$ 'be too weak\flexible', Kl {KRS} $\text{y} \text{yd-}$ vi. 'bend' (of trees, spears), {Rm.} $\text{u} \text{yad} \alpha$ 'dich boegen' (z. B. das Holz, die Lanze), 'schwach\weich werden', Ord $\text{u} \text{yad-}$ 'devenir mou\ flexible' ¶ The M adj. for 'flexible, soft' belongs here unless it is $*\text{u} \text{ya-n}$ (that cannot be ruled out for lack of ev. distinguishing between $*\text{u-}$ and zero) ¶ MED 867, BMR III 382-3, Chr. 486-7, KW 447, KRS 529, Ms. O 727-8, Rl. I 1629, ET Gl 577-8.

159. ?σ $*\text{ä} \text{z} \nabla \text{q} \nabla$ 'wedge' > U: FV $*\text{ä} \text{skä}$ 'wedge' > Chr L ишке 'iške, Δ iškъ, H ишкѣ iškə 'wedge (for splitting), wooden hook, peg (for hanging clothes)' | pMr {Ker.} $*\text{ä} \text{skə}$ > Mk $\text{ä} \text{śkə}$, Er эске eske, Δ eśké 'nail (гвоздь)' ¶ It. no. 291, Ker. II 39, Ber. 9, ERV 788, PI 317, MRS 139, Ep. 23, Ps. sL 7 || **HS:** S $*\text{ö} \text{z} \text{k}$ > Ar ✓ $\text{z} \text{q}$ (pf. $\text{z} \text{a} \text{z} \text{a} \text{q} \text{a}$) 'bêcher (la terre) avec une bêche ou un hoyau', $\text{m} \text{i} \text{z} \text{a} \text{q-}$, $\text{m} \text{i} \text{z} \text{a} \text{q-at-}$ 'bêche\pelle pour remuer la terre; large pelle avec laquelle on nettoie le grain' ¶ BK II 244 || **K:** G $\text{a} \text{z} \text{y} \text{udi}$ 'gore, gusset' ('keilformiger Stoffeinsatz [an Kleidern], Zwickel)' ¶ Chx. 9, DCh. 13 ¶ K - $\text{z} \text{y-}$ < $**\text{-z} \text{q-}$ (as.) ¶ The element - ud- has no explanation so far.; $*\text{-q-}$ > - y- by as. (infl. of $*\text{z}$)

160. $*\text{z} \text{i} \text{z} \nabla$ 'strong, healthy' > **HS:** S $*\text{z} \text{azz-}$ 'strong' > Hb $\text{z} \text{az}$ (/ $\text{z} \text{azz-}$), Ug $\text{z} \text{z}$, Amr $\text{z} \text{azz-}$, Ak $\text{ezz} \text{u}$; $\rightarrow$ S $*\text{ö} \text{uzz-}$ 'might, strength' > Hb $\text{z} \text{az}$ (/ $\text{ö} \text{uzz-}$), Ph, Ug $\text{z} \text{z}$, Ug (AkSc), Amr {G} $\text{z} \text{uzz-}$ id., SmA $\text{z} \text{z}$ 'strength'; Pun $\text{z} \text{zz}$, IA $\text{z} \text{zyz}$ 'strong', SmA $\text{z} \text{zyz}$ pp. 'excited', $\text{z} \text{zyz}$ 'strong' ¶ KB 762, KBR 804-6, Sd. 269, A no. 2021, OLS 95-6, Tal 629, G A 15, JH 206, HJ 835, Hnr. 252 || ?φ B $*\text{z} \text{Hss}$ (~ $*\text{z} \text{dss}$) > Ah $\text{as} \text{as}$ 'faire effort (sur)', Kb sis (rare), $\text{it} \text{-} \text{ass} \text{as}$ 'avoir du prestige, inspirer la crainte', $\text{t} \text{issas}$ 'prestige; autorité naturelle', Sll {Ds.} düss / idüs 'be strong' ¶ B $*\text{s}$ for the expected $*\text{s}$ is still to be explained ¶ Fc. 1864-6, Dl. 751, Ds. 132 || ?σ, φ C: SC: Alg $\text{a} \text{â} \text{a}$ 'mature', Irq {MQK} $\text{a} \text{â} \text{aram} \text{ö}$ (pl. $\text{a} \text{â} \text{ar} \text{á} \text{y}$) 'old cow' ¶ E SC 275, MQK 17 || Ch: ECh: Ll {Grgs} $\text{é} \text{s} \text{i}$ 'strong' ¶ Grgs L s.v. $\text{é} \text{s} \text{i}$, ChC s.v. 'strong' || **IE:** NaIE $*\text{e} \text{j} \text{s-}$ / $*\text{o} \text{j} \text{s-}$ 'move with impetus' ({EI} IE $*\text{h}_1 \text{e} \text{j} \text{s-}$ 'set in motion') (× NaIE $*\text{e} \text{j} \text{s-}$ / $*\text{i} \text{s-}$ v. 'move (go\run) in a hurry' < N $*\text{y} \text{o} \text{s} \nabla$ '≈ go\run' [q.v.]) and NaIE $*\text{i} \text{sar} \text{o-s}$ 'vehement, strong' > OI $\text{i} \text{s} \text{'r} \text{ā} \text{t} \text{i}$, $\text{i} \text{s} \text{y} \text{at} \text{i}$ 'sets in motion, swings', $\text{i} \text{s} \text{i} \text{'r} \text{a-}$ 'vigourous, flourishing, refreshing', Av $\text{a} \text{ē} \text{š}$ (pres. $\text{i} \text{š} \text{a-}$, $\text{i} \text{š} \text{y} \text{a-}$) v. 'set in motion' || Gk $\text{ἐ} \text{ν} \text{α} \text{ῖ} \text{ω}$, $\text{ἐ} \text{ν} \text{έ} \text{ω}$ {LS} 'carry off by evacuations', Gk L/I $\text{ῖ} \text{πος}$, Gk D $\text{ἰ} \text{α} \text{ρ} \text{ός}$ 'mighty', Gk A $\text{ἱ} \text{ε} \text{ρ} \text{ός}$ id., 'holy', $\text{o} \text{ἱ} \text{μα}$ (< $*\text{o} \text{j} \text{s-mat}$) (gen.

οἰματός) 'spring, rush, swoop' ('impetus') || L ī r a, [Plt.] e i r a (< *eḷsā) 'wrath, anger, ire' || ON e i s a 'vorwärtsstürzen', OSx o v a s t ~ o f s t (< *oḷ-aist-?) {Ho.} 'haste', {P} 'Eile, Eifer', AS of-ost ~ of-est ~ of-st id. ¶ WP I 106-7, P 299-301, EI 506, M K I 93-4, M E I 271-2, MW 168-9, F I 712-14, 726-7, WH I 717-18, Vr. 98, Ho. S 57, Ho. 240 || E: AchEl h a - i z - z a - i k - q a 'groß, gewaltig', NEI h a - i z - z a - n a 'groß geworden seiend', AchEl h a - z a - q a 'groß' ({Blz.} h a z z a 'big') ¶¶ HK 592-3, 653 ◇ Blz. E no. 67 (E, HS).

160a. *ʕaʕʕ 'white, bright' > HS: EC {Ss.} *ʕaʕʕ- 'white' > Af {PH} ʕa d o 'be white\clear', Sa {Wlm.} ʔa d o 'white', Sml N ʕá d 'white color', ʕa d- 'be white', Sml N {Ss.} ʕa d d-, Sml J {Ss.} ʕa y, Or á d - i ʔ, Kns, Gdl a t, Elm {Hn.} é'w-í-da, Arr e z z í 'white', Dsn {To.} ʔé ḏ 'white, bright' ¶ Bl. 203 (LEC *ʕa d-), BISO 10, Bl. G 5, Ss. PEC 36 (EC *ʕaʕʕ-), Ss. WOKS 137, AD SF 144 (C *ʕʕʕ-), PH 52, DSI 49, Hw. A 341, Hn. E 282, To. DL 480, Blz. DL s.v. 'white' | (× N *ʕa w ḥ 'light of the sun below\on the horizon?'): ʔσ Sml ʕa d ʕē d 'sun, daylight', Or {Ss.} a d u', {Grg.} a d ū 'sun', Dsn {To.} ʔâ ḏ u 'sun, sunlight' || Dhl ʔa d d o 'sun, day') ¶ AD SF 300-1, ZMO 53, Abr. S 16, Ss. SPhG, Grg. 9, Hw. A 337, To. DL 476, To. D 127, Blz. DL s.v. 'sun' || IE: Ht a s a r a- ~ e s a r a- 'white, bright' ¶ Pv. I-II 206-7 || U: FU (+ext.) *ačka 'white' > F Δ a h k a 'eider duck (Eidergans, *Somateria mollissima*)', h a h k e a, h a a h k e a 'grey', Es h a h k (gen. h a h a) id., a h k a 'eider duck (*Somateria mollissima*)' | Mk a k š a, Er a š o 'white, clean' | pChr {Ber.} *oš ʔ 'white' > Chr: L o w o š id., 'fair-haired', H o w (ʔ) o š (ʔ), E o š (o) ʔ o š u 'white' || Os: D a š 'white clay', Cng á š id., 'chalk', Kz a š - ʔ a m p ĩ 'spröde' (ʔ a m p ĩ 'similar') ¶ UEW 3-4, SK 45, Ber. 47, MRS 396, Ep. 83-4 || R: M *ʔaʕay (unless it is *ʔaʕay) > WrM {MED} aʕa i b u g u r a l, HIM {MED, BMR} a z a ĩ b y y p a n 'silvery grey hair' (b u g u r a l, b y y p a n 'fey, grey-haired') ¶ MED 61, BMR I 63.