

**284.** ?<sub>2</sub> \*c'E 'that' (distal or intermediate deixis) > U {UEW} \*c'e ~ \*c'i {AD} 'that, ille' > F se 'it; that (iste, ille)', Es see, se 'this; that which' : Er s'e, Mk s'a' 'that, this, that which' :: pOs \*c'i(-) > Os: V gi, O s'i 'iste', V cit, Nz s'i't 'this' || Sm: En {Cs.} sed'eo 'der, jener', Ng {HL.} siti, {Cs.} sete 'he', Kms {KD} s'ə- 'dieser dort, der dort' ¶¶ UEW 33-4, SK 987-8, Cs. GSS 350, 358, Cs. 90, HL. US 137, KD 145 || R: pKo \*cə 'this' > MKo cə ¶ S QK #606 || AdS of M ca- and Tg \*ca-, dem. pronominal stem of distal deixis [< N \*c'a id. (q.v. ffd.)] ¶¶ DQA #225 || ? K \*-s (~ \*-c), verbal ending of 3s > OG, G -s, Mg -s ~ -c, Lz -s id., Sv -s id. (in the optative); according to Klimov, the primary usage of the affix is in the opt. mood, from which it spread to other moods in OG, G and Zn ¶¶ K 161, FS K 263, FS E 292, Q 056 ¶¶ In K there is desaffricatization (typical of grammatical affixes).

**285.** \*c'uqbE 'to carry away, throw (away)' > IE: NaIE \*skeu\_bh- {P} 'darinschießen, schießen, werfen, schieben', {EI} 'push away, push ahead' > Gt af-skiuban 'push away', ON sku'fa ~ sky'fa 'shove, push away (fortstoßen)', OHG sciaban, NHG schieben, AS sc'e'ofan ~ sc'u'fan 'to shove, push', NE shove :: Lt sku'ti 'to start hurrying' (× \*skeub- > ON skopa 'to run, jump') → skube'ti 'to hurry, make haste, run in a hurry' ¶ WP I 377 & II 551, P 955, EI 471, Fs. 9, Vr. 506, 508, Ho. 284, Schz. 257, KM 646, Frn. 820 || HS: S \*sxp 'throw down, throw away', 'wash away the soil' (of rain) > BHb √shp (prt. Fh4&x so'hēp\_ 'washing away' [of the rain]), MHb {Lv.} √shp G 'fortschaffen, abrasieren', JA {Lv.} √shp v. G 'stürzen, auf etwas legen, werfen', {Sl.} 'place upside-down, place above, cover, throw down', SmA {Tal} √shp G 'scatter', Md √shp 'cast down, throw down', Ak √sxp (inf. saxa\_pu) 'umwerfen, niederwerfen', ?? Ar √shf 'emporter' (se dit du vent qui emporte les nuages) [h for the expected χ due to contamination with √shf 'enlever le poil de la peau, raser?'] ¶ KB 708, Tal 578, Lv. III 497, Sl. 798, □ Js. 371, BK I 1060, DM 320, 325, Sd. 1004 ¶ S \*p is due to as (\*-qb- > \*-qp-) || ?? R: NaT \*cō'b 'sediment, dregs, rubbish' (← \*'what is to be thrown away?') (× N \*c'.apVØE 'filth, dung', 'litter'? [q.v. ffd.]).

**286.** \*cōlχcV ~ \*c'olχcV 'to sweep, rub\scrape away\off' > K \*c'oc'χ- 'besom' > G cocχ-i, Sv c'ec'χ<sup>d</sup> c'a'c'χ id., Mg {FS} \*c'orc'χ- → G G/A c'orc'χ-av-s '(he) sweeps', c'orc'χ-va 'to sweep' ¶¶ K 230, K<sup>2</sup> 273, FS K 413-4, FS E 466, SSO II 341, Chx. 2024 || HS: S: Ar √sysy 'arracher, tirer de sa place à force de remuer' ¶ BK I 1095 || U {Db.} \*c'ōc'V 'wipe off, rub off, sweep' > F huosi- '(ab-)auf-)schwabben; schaben, kratzen', huosia 'Schwabber; Besen, Wischer' : Vt чейж- c'uz'- v. 'sweep, sweep away' :: ObU {Ht.} \*c'a'c'- 'sweep' > pOs \*c'ac'- > Os: V/Vy c'ac'-, Ty/Y c'a'c'- id. || Sm: Slq UKE {KD} c'u'tc'- 'schaben' ¶ Db. OS xxiii, □ UEW 60, □ Ht. #89 (both adduce pOs \*c'ac'əm- 'pour out' and pVg \*s'a's'- 'pour (out), strew', that are likely to belong to FU \*s'Vc'V [Coll. 7, Stn. WV 171, BV 107]), KD D 74 || R: Tg \*cu.cu.- 'scrape' > Neg cōcō-, Ewk cūcūl-, Lm cō'tl- v. 'scrape clean the inner side of hide', Orc cōcōlo-, Ork tottolo- ~ tuttulo-, Nn Nh/KU tuc'ul- 'scrape hide', Neg cōcōn ~ cōcūn, Ewk cūcūn, Lm cōcūn, Ork cōcō(n-), Ork totto- ~ tuttu, Nn Nh/KU tuc'u' 'round notched scaper for cleaning the inner side of hide' ¶ STM II 418 ♦ In K and U there was as of the original affricates: N \*c...c' or \*c'...c changed into K \*c'...c' and U \*c'...c'. In K there was a reg. mt (a lr. moves to the post-obstruent position) bringing about formation of a "harmonic complex" \*c'χ.

**287.** \*c'ru'īdV 'outstretched hand, span' > K: GZ \*cid- 'span of the thumb and forefinger' ({FS} 'halbe Daumenlänge' [l]) ({K} \*mcida- 'span of the thumb and forefinger') > OG cid-i, cid-a 'hand-breadth' (in the G version of the OT [Ezek. 40.43, II Chron. 4.5] cid(a) = LXX παλαιστη 'a palm of the hand [four fingers' breadth] as a measure of length' = Hb hf2y 't.op.ah - hf2y3 't.ep.ah 'hand-breadth'), {FS} 'halbe Daumenlänge' [l], G cida- {DCh., Chx.} 'span of the outstretched thumb and forefinger' (Cerisa da salokes TiTis gashlili zoma; altes Längenmass: so lang, wie man Daumen und Zeigefinger auseinanderspannen kann)', Mg {Q} ci(n)da id., Lz {Chik.} mcida 'span' ¶ K 141, K<sup>2</sup> 266, Chik. 75, FS K 399-400, FS E 450, Abul. 516, DCh. 1593, Chx. 2003-4, Q 370, SSO I 376 || HS: S \*°√s|dw > Ar √sdw (ip. -sdu/-sduw-) 'étendre\allonger la main vers qn.\qch.' ¶ BK I 1073 || D \*cut.t.- → \*cot.t.- ('GS' \*3-) 'span' > Ml cot.t.a-cca'n. 'span of the thumb and forefinger', Kt cot.t. 'breadth of four fingers', Kn co't.u, cut.u, Kdg cut.i 'the small span of the thumb and forefinger', Tu co't.(t)u ~ con.t.u id., cut.t.i 'a span', Tl jut.t.ili 'the small span' ¶¶ D #2834.

**288.** ? \*c'odfU a' defect, evil deed' > K \*°c'odlwl- > OG, G cod(v)- v. 'sin', codva n. 'sin', ??? Lz {BU} cudi, mcudi 'a lie' (unless it is identical with Lz mcudi 'vain, idle, vergeblich', akin to G cudi 'vergeblich'

and Mg cud- 'be bad', see FS K 452) ¶ Abul. 518, Chx. 2018-9, DCh. 1598, BU 419 ¶ HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>/s<sup>o</sup>d<sup>o</sup> > Ar éOad0Sa sadf-at- 'mal, accident fâcheux' ¶ BK I 1071 ¶ D \*cot.t.u 'defect, blame; insinuation, disparaging remark' [x N \*<sup>c</sup>UdV 'to be weak, damaged, weary' x N (?φ) \*<sup>s</sup>ot.V 'to exercise magic' (> 'to curse, bless?')] > Tm cot.t.u 'defect, insinuation', Ml cat.t.u 'fault', Tl sod.d.u 'defect, fault; blame, imputation' ¶¶ D #2837 ♦ If Lz (m)cudi belongs here, it points to a pK \*c- and a pN \*c'-.

**289. \*CegV** 'breast, milk' > ? K: Sv: UB/L lī-s'gi, LB li-s'gi, Ln li-s'k.i msd. 'to milk' ¶ TK 490-1, GP 178 ¶ R: M \*cegezīn 'breast, chest' > MM [S] c'evezi 'Brustkorb', [MA] c'e-zi(n) 'breast, chest', WrM cegezīn, HlM цггж 'upper front of body, chest, breast, bosom', WrO ce-zi 'chest, bosom, breast', Ord c'e-zi, Kl che<sup>u</sup> c'e-zi, {Rm.} c'e-zi, Brt cггж, Dg c'e-zi {T} 'breast, chest', {Mr.} 'chest (of body)', Mgl {Rm.} c'eizi 'breast'; ? M б> Chv L/cheÄeÄ c'ez' 'female breast' (unless an independent L/) ¶ Pp. MA 132, H 26, MED 70, Kow. 2124-5, Gl. II 365-6, Luv. 624, DRM 132, Krg. 625, KRS 646, Ms. O 699, T DgJ 181, Mr. D 128, KW 438, Rm. M 25, Chr. 405 ¶ Merger with N \*<sup>c</sup>ayVdVjyV 'female breast' cannot be ruled out ¶ D \*ce- ({{GS} \*c'e-}) 'milk' > Tm ce-kku 'breast milk', ce-kkai 'woman's breast', Kn ce-pu 'gush/spurt as of milk', Kdg ce-pu v. 'secrete' (pf milk), Tl ce-pu<sup>d</sup> ce-pu 'become full of milk' (of the breasts), 'be secreted' (of milk), Gdb se-mpap- 'become ready to be milked' ¶¶ D #2803.

**290. \*c'okV** 'shelter, primitive house' > HS: S \*sukk- 'temporary shelter' > Hb ek'lx8 suk'ka- 'hut', t&fx'8e2 ,hag\_ hassuk'ko't\_ 'feast of tabernacles', SmHb pl. sakkot 'tabernacles', Ak OB sukku ∈ 'shrine, chapel'. SamHb s- proves that the S initial cns. is \*s- rather than \*s^-. ¶ CAD XV 361-2, KB 711, KBR 753 ¶ U: FU \*<sup>c</sup>okV-mV (or \*<sup>c</sup>oxV-mV) 'temporary shelter' ({UEW} 'zeitweiliges Obdach'), 'cave of beasts' > Prm \*<sup>c</sup>om ({Lt.} \*<sup>c</sup>'o<sub>x</sub>m) 'shelter made of branches', 'cabin' > OPrm c'o<sub>m</sub> 'shelter made of branches (палат)', Z чом c'om id., 'kennel', Z I c'om 'reindeer breeders' tent (чум), Yz c'u'm 'barn' ¶ pOs \*soxəm ({Hl.} \*sa<sup>h</sup>xəm < \*sə<sup>h</sup>xəm) > Os: V/Vy soxəm, Lk saxəm, Ty (+ppa. 3s) suxmə 'cabin dug out of snow, Schneehütte', 'cave or winter den of animals, burrow' ¶ UEW 38, LG 309, Stn. D 1318, KrT 837.

**291. \*Cok'u'** 'small, little' > HS: C: pAg {Ap.} \*cəg<sup>w</sup>- ({Ap.} \*cəg<sup>w</sup>-) 'be small, young', Bln {R} s'eg<sup>w</sup>- - sey<sup>w</sup>- 'be few', Xm {R} c.ik<sup>w</sup>-, Q {R} s'eg<sup>w</sup>-, Km {CR} s'əg<sup>w</sup>- :: EC: Kns {Ss.} s'akk- 'small', {Fl.} s'zka 'few, small', Brj s'ak-an-e- 'light' (of weight)', ?? Sa/Af {Ss.} -isissik- 'be fast, light, easy, leight-weight' (of a person)' ¶ AD SF 119, Ap. AV 20, Ss. B 171 ¶ R: M \*co<sup>h</sup>xen > MM [HI] c'o<sup>h</sup>ven, [MA, IM] c'o<sup>h</sup>n 'little' (of quantity), 'few', WrM co<sup>h</sup>gen, HlM u' n 'little, few, sparse, rare', Ba {T} c'o<sup>h</sup>, Mnr {T} c'io<sup>h</sup>n 'little' (of quantity), 'few', {SM} c'io<sup>h</sup>n 'peu nombreux, en petite quantité, peu' ¶ Pp. MA 136, 435, Ms. H 47, MED 201, SM 454, T 231, T BJ 151.

**292. \*c'c'.** 'a'K.V 'to tickle' > IE: NaIE i \*<sup>s</sup>kek-/skok- > Sl: ChS скъкътати skъкъtati, R екоѡтат 'to tickle', Blg 'скакот, R еѡкотка n. 'tickling', ?φ SCr c'ka<sup>h</sup>kljati 'to tickle' ¶ Vs. IV 500 ¶ U: FU \*c'ikkV- v. 'tickle' > Lp N {N} c'a<sup>h</sup>ga<sup>h</sup>rdi- 'be ticklish', c'a<sup>h</sup>ga<sup>h</sup>lduvva<sup>h</sup>- id., 'have a ticklish feeling', Lp L {LLO} tjaka<sup>h</sup>rtit v. 'tickle'! Chr: H cəx-əltə-, E c'ix-iltə- id. :: Hg Δ csikol-, Hg csikland- id. ¶ MF 116, N I 351-2, LLO 1124 ¶ R: Tg: Lm čaka-či-, Orc c'akac'a-, Nn B caqast-, c'iqast-, Ul cikir-c'i- v. 'tickle', Ul c'ikiruwil adj./adv. 'ticklish, it tickles' ¶ CinR 685, STM II 378, Sun. UJ 257 ¶ D \*cakkul- ({{GS} \*-s'(-)}) v. 'tickle' > Tm akkul<sup>u</sup> id., Ml akkul<sup>am</sup> 'tickling' Kn akal<sup>a</sup> (a term used in tickling), akkal<sup>ike</sup> 'tickling', cakkalagul<sup>i</sup> 'tickling another', zakkulisu v. 'tickle, touch', Kdg kakkul<sup>i</sup> 'tickling' (k- due to ideophony), Tl cakkilgili 'tickling', Mlt {Drs.} ce'qlku<sup>nd</sup>e v. 'tickle'; ? D \*cakkVll- armpit > Tm akkul<sup>u</sup>, Ml akkul<sup>am</sup>, Tl cakkili id. ¶¶ D #2274 ♦ IS I 204.

**293. \*cik.P.V** 'branch, shoot of a plant' > K: GZ \*c'kip- 'small branch' > G I ckip-i 'small broken branch', Mg c'kip- 'fork', ?? Zan б> G Gr c'kvip-i 'shoot of a tree' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 274, FS K 415, Ghl. 679 ¶ HS: S \*<sup>h</sup>/sk<sup>h</sup>p > SmA Fvqx sk<sup>h</sup>wp 'offshoot', Mh <sup>h</sup>/sk<sup>h</sup>f (pf. s3'k<sup>h</sup>au<sup>h</sup>f), Jb C <sup>h</sup>/sk<sup>h</sup>f (pf. 's3'k<sup>h</sup>af) v. 'roof a hut with branches', Mh sak<sup>h</sup>f-, Jb E/C sek<sup>h</sup>f 'roof of branches on a hut or pen', 'roof', Ak zik<sup>h</sup>pu 'shoot (of a tree or other plant), sapling' ¶ Tal 609, Jo. M 347, Jo. J 227, CAD XXI 127-8 ¶ R: NaT \*c'ibp- 'thin slender branch' (x N \*<sup>c</sup>iSP.X 'branch, bough, rod', q.v. ffd.).

**294. ??? \*C'a'V** (= \*<sup>c</sup>.'a'V?) 'cold' > IE: NaIE \*<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ol-d (x N \*<sup>k</sup>.EL<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>V 'cold, q.v.) > Sl \*xo<sup>h</sup>ldə 'cold' (n.) (gen. \*xo<sup>h</sup>lda) > OCS хладъ, Blg хлад, SCr, Slv hla<sup>h</sup>d, Cz, Slk chlad, P chłō'd, R, Uk 'холод (gen. 'холода) ¶ ESSJ VIII 57-9, Vs. IV 256, Glh. 262-3 ¶ D \*cal<sup>h</sup>- 'cold' > Tm cal<sup>i</sup> 'cold, chilliness', Kn, Tu cal<sup>i</sup>, cali, sal<sup>i</sup> 'coldness, cold, coolness', Krg talli 'cold', Tl cali 'cold' (n.), Gdb calandi 'cold rice

serving for breakfast', Knd salan 'cold, cool', Ku salma 'cool'; (× N \*c'al'UjgV 'snow') Kn cal.i 'snow' ¶¶ D #2408 ¶ A: NaT \*col 'icicle' > Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} c'ol id., \*colda- > Tlt c'olda- 'zu Eiszapfen gefrieren' ¶ Rl. III 2022-4.

**295. \*c'el'E** 'to peel' > K: GZ \*cl- v. 'peel' > OG, G cl- vt., vi. 'peel' (of fruit peel, skin), Mg rc(w)-, Lz pre-id. : Sv UB/L cil 'bark, crust, skin' ¶ K 225, Q 313, ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 263 [Sv cil <d- Sv cel-/cl- 'tear, strip off' (actually {TK} tear asunder, split' or {FS} 'cut'), see N \*c'al<sub>1</sub>Ef<sub>1</sub>o 'split, cut'), TK 473, 837, GP 277 ¶ ? HS \*√sl (de-affricatization \*s- < \*c-) > S \*√s'l- + ext. : CS \*√s'lχ v. 'skin' > Ar √slχ G v. 'skin (a sheep or other animal), take off clothes', JA s'lh G {Lv.} 'ablegen, ausziehen', {Js.} 'throw off, undress, flay', {Sl.} 'remove clothes, flay', SmA √s'lh 'strip', Sr √s'lh G 'doff, take off, atrip off (clothes)'; BHb hl2S3 's'elah 'hide', MHb hl2S3 's'elah, JA ah1l6S5 s'il'h-a- {Js.} 'hide, fresh skin', Sr Xlaɬ s'ə'lah 'hide, skin', Plm s'lh 'skin', Ar ≈U1Sa salχ- 'peau quand elle est ôtée d'un animal écorché' ¶ KB 1404, HJ 1142, Tal 897-8, Sl. 1147, Lv. IV 558-60, Js. 1580, JPS 578-9, BK I 1121, ¶ MiK I #1.244 [i ÷ OAk, Ak mas'lu' 'leather bucket; hide (used for wrapping)'] || SC: Kz {E} sil- v. 'pluck bird', C b→ Mb {E} -si'lo 'bare, naked' ¶ E SC 180 (s.v. \*si'l- v. 'strip bare') || ?? CCh: Bcm {Sh.} s'i'la're', {ChL} sulari, Mln {ChL} s'i'ra, Bt G {Mch.} s'i're' 'skin' ¶ JI II 297, ChC, ChL ¶ IE \*skol- 'peel' (n.) > Gmc \*skoljo- > Gt skalja 'κε'ραμοῦ, brick' ({KM}: ← \*Schindel, Schuppenartiges'), OHG scala 'shell, scale (paterna)', OSx ska-la 'Schale, Muschel', NHG Schale 'skin, peel, shell', ON skel, AS sc'ie'll 'Schale, Muschel, Schuppe', NE shell : Sl: R Δ скалина 'bark', RChS ско́лька skolyka 'shell' (< IE \*skelH- v. 'split' < N \*c'al<sub>1</sub>Ef<sub>1</sub>o '¶ [q.v.]') ¶ Fs. 427-8, Vr. 488, Ho. 277, Ho. S 65, Schz. 257, Kb. 865, KM 633, ≠ Mn 1173 ¶ U \*c'el<sub>1</sub>e '(to rub\scratch in order to) to get the skin off', v. 'bark' > Lp N {N} c'a'lla-/-l- v. 'rub the antlers against sth. to get the skin off', Lp L {LLO} tjalla- 'abkratzen, abschälen, abreißen' || Sm: Ne O {Lh.} s'ela- 'das Geweih von der Haut reinigen, die Rinde von einem Baum reiben' ¶¶ UEW 35, LLO 1130, Lh. 436 ¶ A: NaT \*ca'l 'film, thin skin' > Tlt c'a'l 'film (on an egg\meat\eye)', Qrg c'el 'film on the inner side of skin; wall-eye', Qzq s'el 'thin layer of epidermic fat; wall-eyed', Brb {Tm.} ca'l 'placenta' ¶ Rs. W 103, Jud. 856, Sht. 233, MM 395, Rl. III 1975, Tm. 236, TL 392.

**296. \*c'el'V** 'to be quiet, wait' > K \*°cel- > Mg cal- (cal-eba, da-cal-eba, aor. va-cal-i) {Q} 'to give time, wait' ¶ Q 369 ¶ HS: SES \*√slb > Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq √slb v. 'wait' ¶ Jo. M 348, Jo. H 110, Jo. J 228 ¶ U: FU \*c'ru'V 'be quiet\still' > pPrm \*c'v'l 'quiet' > Z чоев c'zv 'quiet' (adj.), n. 'silence', Z U/V c'zl n. 'silence, quiet', Yz c'o'l, Vt чал c'al 'without noise, silently' (acc. to Lt., before l pPrm \*c' yields Vt a) :: Hg csillapod- 'become silent' ¶ MF 117, LG 310, Lt. 129, SZ 416. Acc. to IS I 164, U \*u- > pPrm \*c' under certain conditions (incl. the position before \*l?).

**297. \*col<sub>1</sub>V** 'be\make empty' > K: GZ \*c'al-/\*c'l- v. 'empty, be idle' > OG mo-cal-/mo-cl- v. 'be idle', G cal-/cl-, Mg c'ol- v. 'empty; have spare time', G calieri 'empty, idle' ¶ K 227, K<sup>2</sup> 269, FS K 406, FS E 457-8, Q 366, Chik. 377-8, DCh. 1587, 1596-7, Chx. 2012-5 ¶ D \*col<sub>1</sub>- 'be empty, carious' > Tm col<sub>1</sub>ai 'that which is decayed, worm-eaten, carious', Ml col<sub>1</sub>u 'stunted, worm-eaten', Kn jol<sub>1</sub>u 'unsubstantiality, emptiness, state of being without stuff', Tu colle 'cripple', Tl sol<sub>1</sub>u 'empty' ¶¶ D #2864 ¶ HS: ?? AdS of S \*√s'll v. 'take out\away' (< N \*s'el'V 'to take off, destroy, pull off').

**298. \*c'al<sub>1</sub>Ef<sub>1</sub>o** 'to split, cut' > K \*cel- v. 'mow, cut' < \*cel- 'scythe' > G cel- v. 'mow', cel-i 'scythe' (b→ Mg cel-i id.), Mg cal-i id., cal- v. 'mow', Lz (n)cal- id. (Lz (n)cal- v. 'sharpen' seems to go back to a derivate from Z \*cal- 'scythe') : Sv {K<sup>2</sup>} cel-/cl- 'tear, strip off', Sv LB {TK} li-cel msd. 'tear asunder, split (gaxeve, gaxleça, gapoba)', Sv UB/L {FS} cil- (msd. li-cel) v. 'cut, cut asunder' ¶¶ IS I 196, K 223, FS K 396, FS E 445-6, GM S 77, ≠ GM S 313, TK 473 ¶ HS: CS \*√slf v. 'split' < \*sal<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>f- 'a cleft in the rock' (→ 'rock') > Ar ølS √slf v. G 'split', øl0Sa sal<sub>1</sub>- 'cleft in the rock', Hb øl2x3 'selaɬ, JA øl16x5 sil'f-a- 'rock' ¶ KB 715-6, KBR 75, Tal 591-2, Js. 996 || B: Sll {Ds.} i-sli 'rocher', Izd {Mrc.} i-salli 'grosse pierre' ¶ Mrc. 353, Ds. 250 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*sVl- v. 'cut' > Gera s'a'lls-mi' id., Gw s'a'ra id., 'reap', Hs sa'ra 'fell (tree), chop, cut' (Hs {Ba.} su'lu'lu- 'a handleless knife', adduced in Stl ZCh, is more doubtful) : Bd {Gr. <?} salo v. 'cut' ¶ Stl. ZCh 179-80 [#319], Ba. 903, Mts. G 106, Gr. LA 51 [#2] ¶¶ IS I 196 adduces some C words: Bj sal- (misunderstood as an adj. 'sharp', but actually being a verb with the meaning 'to sharpen', ≠ Rop. 231), Xm sil- 'knife', Q sal- v. 'be sharp'. In my opinion, these words are too doubtful and too semantically remote to be adduced as cognates, the more so that Bj sal- and Q {R} sal- seem to be S loanwords (maybe from Amh βl salə v. 'sharpen' going back to the EthS root √shl,

cf. Gz sll saħala id.) **IE** \*skel<sub>h</sub>-/\*skl<sub>o</sub>- 'split', {EI} \*skel- 'split (apart)' > Ht is'kalla(i)- v. 'slit, slash, split, tear' || Gk σκα'λλω 'I hoe' || Arm cēlum c<sup>h</sup>el-um 'I split' (c<sup>h</sup>- < IE \*sk-, as shown in Me. EAC 32), Arm skalim skal-im v. 'open the chinks, split, gape, crack' || Clt {RE} \*skolt- v. 'split' > OIr scoilt- v. 'split, divide up', scoilt 'fente, fissure', Brtt: W holtti, ?φ Crn falsa, felja [{Vn.} felz'a], ?φ MBr feutiff, ?φ Br faoutan~ v. 'split', W hollt, ?φ MBr faout, faut 'fente' (Clt \*sk- > Crn, Br f- is still to be explained) | OIr sceilim v. 'slice', scailt 'fente' || ON skilja 'to split, separate', AS a-sc'iełlan, to-sc'iełlan 'to separate, divide' || Lt ske'lti (prs. skeliu~) v. 'split', Ltv s'k<sup>h</sup>el't (prs. s'k<sup>h</sup>el'u) 'split lengthwise' | Sl \*ska'la 'rock, splitter' > OR скала, R, Blg ска'ла, P skała 'rock', Uk Δ ска'ла 'stone', SrCr ska'la 'rock, slice, bit', Slv ska'la 'rock, chip', Cz ska'la 'rock', Δ 'Steinbruch', Slk skala 'stone, rock'; Sl \*sc'elb > R □ел□ (dim. □-л-ка), Uk □-л-□, P szczelina, † szczel 'cleft, crevice, chink, slot', Slv s'c'a'lja 'a split' ¶¶ P 923, Pv. I-II 413-5 (invokes Arm skal-im), EI 538-9, F II 715-6, Vn. S 29, 48-9, RE 134, Vr. 492, Ho. 277, Frn. 800, Kar. II 347, Vs. III 630-1 & IV 501, Brū. 543, ZVSZ 383-4, Glh. 552-3, GK 552, Slt. 105, □ Ach. III 225 (derives skal-im from Iranian \*sik-), 452-3 **II U**: FU (in Prm) \*c'aLV- v. 'cut off, separate' > pPrm \*c'al'- v. 'cut off, split off, separate' > Z чалл- c'al'iz- 'cut off (e.g., the upper green leaves of cabbage)', чалес c'al'es 'bran', Z UV c'al'g3d- v. 'cut off, separate', Prmk c'al'd3t--c'ayd3t- 'split off' ¶ LG 301 [adduces Er чалга- c'alga- v. 'brake (flax, hemp)' (obviously a *sd* of c'alga- v. 'tread', see ERV 737)] ¶ The palatality of the lateral cns. in Prm is probably an innovation **II A** \*cal'U' > T \*cal(u)- v. 'knock down, beat (in order to split, break, slaughter), mow' (× N \*c'alV 'to beat, knock down, fell') > OT c'al- v. 'knock down, beat, beat out (fire)', Qzq s'al- v. 'slaughter', Qrch c'al-, Balq cal- v. 'mow, cut', Qmq c'al- v. 'cut off, slaughter', Chv L s'ul- v. 'mow', etc. ¶ Cl. 417-8, Rs. W 97, Ash. XII 208 & XIII 17, Fed. II 132, Rl. III 1876, 1887 & IV 965 || Tg \*calu--colu- 'cut off' > Neg co'li-id., 'trim', Ul c'a'lu- ~ c'a'li- 'cut, cut off', Nn Nh c'a'li-, Nn B cali-, WrMc coli- v. 'cut' ¶ STM II 405 ¶¶ The M forms quoted in IS I 196-7 and DQA (after KW 420) are *qu*: WrM cali (adduced by Rm. as a cognate of Kl calj- ca'li 'Schärfe, scharf') is not confirmed by standard dictionaries of WrM (Kow., Gl., MED) or by the main sources of MM. The Kl {Rm.} word calj- ca'li is cognate with Brt салии- 'be pointed' and салигар 'pointed (gespitzt, **остроконечный**)' (Chr. 383) and goes back to M \*cali<sub>h</sub>- 'pointed, sharp', without reliable semantic connection with the meaning of the N √. The latter is true also of pJ {S} \*tu'ru<sub>h</sub>ki 'sword' [> OJ tu'ru<sub>h</sub>gi ~ tu'ru<sub>h</sub>ki, J T curugi, see S QJ #1586, Mr. 557] (adduced in DQA) ¶¶ DQA #267 (A \*c'a'lu 'sharp; to cut') **II D** \*cal-, {GS} \*sel- v. 'cut, split' (× N \*s'a'liV<sub>h</sub>qU 'to cleave, cut asunder', q.v. ffd.) ♦ Cf. IS I 195-7 (IE, K, HS, A + *unc.* U \*s'is'ale--s'is'a'le- v. 'cut, split' (= {UEW} \*s'ale-, UEW 459-60). In view of the fact that there is no other known √ with U \*s'- < N \*c' (= N \*c- in the notation of IS), I prefer to adduce here FP \*c'aLV-.

**299.** **\*c'il'XV** 'to defecate' > **HS**: S \*°√slh (or \*°√s'lh) v. 'defecate' > Ar √slh id. (of a person) ¶ BK I 1120 ¶ An alt. etl. conjecture connects this verb with EC \*sa'l- 'cowdung' (Bl. 100, Ss. PEC 32, Ss. B 164) and Mb ki-sa'lo 'mud; dung of large animals' (E SC 326), but it fails to explain the absence of the reflex of HS \*h in EC **II A**: T [1] \*°cila > OT {Cl.} c'ila 'dung'; [2] \*c'il'- v. 'defecate' > OT {Cl.} c'is' 'urination, defecation', MT [AH, IM] sic'- 'to defecate', Tk sic-, Kr {Rl.} sic-, QrB c'is-, Qzq тын- tis-, VTt тын- тыс'-, QK {B} s'is-, StAlt {B}, Qmn {B} c'ic-, Tel/Alt {Rl.} sis-, Chv sis/z\_- id.; here T \*-i(-) < \*-i-y(-) with \*y of suffixal origin ¶ Cl. 418, 430, Rs. W 414 (s.v. syc-), Sht. 207, Rl. III 2094 & IV 657, 661, B DK 271, B DLT 227, BT 184.

**300.** **\*c'oLK.V** (~ **\*c'oLkV**) 'to advance with effort (creep, crawl, climb, etc.)' > **IE**: NaIE {P} \*slenk- (~ \*sleng-) 'creep, crawl', {Mn.} v. 'crawl, trudge, amble' > MBr lencl 'glissant' ({P} 'schleichend'), ?? W llyngyr pl. 'intestinal worms', MBr Inquernenn, Br lenker(n)-enn 'intestinal worm' || ?φ L lumbrīcus id. (unless < IE \*slend<sup>h</sup>- 'crawl') || OSw slinka 'kriechen, sich schmiegen', AS slincan 'creep' > NE slink; *d*: OSx, OHG slango, NHG Schlange 'snake'; OHG {Kb.} zuo-slingan 'to slide away', MHG slingen 'to crawl along', {Lx.} 'sich schlängelnd winden, kriechen, schleichen', AS slingzan {Sw.} 'to worm one's way', {Ho.} 'sich schlingen, winden, kriechen' || Lt slenkū / slin'kti 'creep, crawl' (of a snake), 'move slowly', 'slink' || OI [Dhat.] sran'k- 'go, move, creep' ¶ P 961-2, Mn. 1210-1, MW 1095, M K II 554 (considers OI sran'k- ~ sran'g- not fit ["nicht geeignet"] for etl. comparisons), Ern. 362, LP § 63, WH I 831-2, Ho. 299, Ho. S 67, OsS 818, 823-4, Kb. 906, Lx. 198, KM 653, Frn. 832-3, *unc.* σ: EI 607 [\*slenk- 'turn, twist {like a snake}'] **II HS**: CS \*√slk > BHb qlx √slk 'ascend', BA, Sr √slk v. 'ascend, climb', SmA √slk.

'go up', Ar {Fr.} √slq *G* 'run', *TD* (pf. *tasallaqa*) 'climb\scale (a wall)', ? (with deglottalization) Ar √slk v. *G* 'travel, go along' ¶ KB 716, BDB #5267, KBR 758, Fr. II 344, Tal 592-3, Br. 477, Ln. 1410 II ??σ,φ **K**: *G* *slik.in*- 'gleiten, glittern, rutschen' ¶ Chx. 1268 II **A**: ???σ *M* \**colgi*- > *WrM* *colgi*-, *HIM* *цолги*- 'come to the surface, emerge', *M* \**colgi-la*- > *WrM* *colgi-la*, *HIM* *цолгило*- v. 'hasten, rush' ¶ MED 197 II **D** \**cokk*- ({*GS*} \**s'*- or \**s*-) v. 'climb' > *Klm* *sok*-, *Nkr* *sokk*-, *Prj* *co-pp/co-tt-/cokk*- id., *Ku* *ho?*- (p. *hott*-) id. ¶¶ *D* #2828 ♦ The IE var. √ \**sleng*- and *M* \**colgi*- point to a var. \**c'olLkV* at the pN level (progressive *as* ?). *G* *s*- (for the expected *c*-) may be due to a desaffricatization in the precons. position.

**301.** \**c'a'ṽṽ.qV* 'lean, thin; reduced (as body)' > **HS**: *S* \**√s'lk* (*as* . \**s...k* < \**c...k*, [*< N* \**c'...*q]) > Ar [*Qam.*] {Fr.} *musallak*- 'tenuis, gracilis (homo)' ¶ Fr. II 346 || *C*: *HEC* \**√c'.lk* (× *N* \**c'.a'ṽṽ* 'feeble, lean; to shrink, diminish') > *Hd* {PB} *c'.erak*- 'mager, dünn, schlank sein', *c'.eraka* 'mager, dünn, schlank' (*Hd* -r- < *EC* \**l*-; *HEC* \**c'*- goes back to both emphatic and plain vl. affricates) ¶ PB 179, ¶ AD SF 120 II ?? **K** \**c'.qal*- > *G* *c'.qal*- 'grow lean, abmagern' ¶ Chx. 2208 II **U** \**c'a'ṽṽṽ* (or \**c'a'ṽṽṽ*) > *ObU* \**c'e'ləṽ* 'thin' > *pVg* \**c'a'ṽṽṽ* > *Vg*: *T* *c'a'ṽṽṽ*, *LK* *s'ṽṽṽ*, *MK/UK* *s'ṽṽṽ*, *P* *s'ṽṽṽ*, *Km* (NV) *s'ṽṽṽ*, *LL* *s'ṽṽṽ*, *UL/Ss* *s'a'ṽṽṽ*; *pOs* \**c'e'ləṽ* ({*HL*}) \**c'a'ṽṽṽ* > *Os*: *V/Vy* *c'e'ləṽ*, *Ty* *c'a'ṽṽṽ*, *Y* *c'a'ṽṽṽ*, *D* *c'e'lə*, *Nz* *s'e'lə*, *Kz* *s'e'lṽ*, *O* *s'e'l* ¶ *Ht.* #77, *HL* *rHt* 71, *KrT* 907-8, *Stn.* *WV* 177 II ? **D** (in *SD*) \**cakk*- ({*GS*} \**c'c'*-) 'lean' > *Kt* *cak* 'lean' (of meat), *cakn* 'lean man', *Tu* *cakkə* 'stunted, short, lean', *cakke* 'a weakling, lean person' ¶ *D* #2268 ||| ? and \*\**cirk*- (> \**cirk*-/\**cikk*-) v. 'become thin, meager' > *Tm* *cin'ku* v. 'diminish, wane, decrease', *cikal* v. 'diminish, decrease, perish', *Kdg* *cikk*- v. 'become tired', *Tu* *tirkani* v. 'be lean, weak', *tirkv*, *cirkə* 'fading, weakness', *tirkot.æ* 'a lean\weak man', *Gnd* *sira'na*- v. 'grow thin', *Knd* *sik*- v. 'be reduced (as body)'; *D* *b* > *pInA* \**sikka*-/\**singa* > *Prkr* *sin'ga*- 'lean, thin' ¶¶ *D* #2503.

**302.** \**ci'amV* '∈ grass' > **K** {*K*} \**c'.am*-/\**c'.em*- 'grass' > *OG*, *G* *c.am*- \*'grass' (in *OG*, *G* *c.am*-al- 'medicine, drug'), *Lz* (n)*c'.am*- 'medicine, drug', *Sv* *UB* (TK, GP), *Sv* *Ln/L* {TK} *c'.em* ({*K*<sup>2</sup>} *Sv* *c'.em* with an *err.* *e*?) 'hay'; the irreg. *vw.* in *OG*, *G* and *Mg* defies explanation ||| Compound stem *GZ* \**lel-c'.am*- 'reed *Arundo donax*' > *OG* *ler-c.am*-, *G* *ler-c.am*- - *lel-c.am*- 'reed', *Mg* *lar-c'am*- - *lar-c'em*-; the first component of the *cd* is *GZ* \**lel*- 'reed *Phragmites communis*' (*K* 120-1) ||| ?? *Mg* (r)*c'.em*- 'pubic hair', *Sv* {*K*} *c'.ima* id. ¶¶ *K* 121, 249, *K*<sup>2</sup> 306; *FS* *K* 457-8, *FS* *E* 518-9 (both: \**c'.am*- in *G* - *Sv* without *Zan*), *Q* 314, ¶ *Rog.* *C* √, *TK* 861, *GP* 280 II **HS**: *S* \**samm*- 'grass' (→ 'medicinal grass, perfume, etc.') (infl. of *N* \**c'amVc'V* 'to wither' → 'to get sour, foul'?) > *Ak* *s'ammu* 'plant, grass; hay, fodder; herb, medicinal plant', *BHb* *Mim* 5x2 *sam'm-im* 'spice (used in incense)', 'species (*Spezereien*)', *MHb* *Mx*2 *sam*, *JA* *am* 1x2 *sam'm-a*- 'drug (healing or deleterious)', *JEA* {*Sl*.} *am* 1x2 *sam'm-a*- 'drug, medicine, dye' *Sr* *sam'm-a*- drug, poison, pigment', *Ug* *smm* 'perfume', *Ar* *samm*- 'poison' (≠ *Aram*?) (≠ *Mh*, *Sq* *sam*, possibly *Jb* *E* *sem*, *Jb* *sehm* 'poison'), *Ak* *LB* (≠ *WS*?) *sammu-tu* 'fragrance' ¶ The *S* √ belongs here unless it is \**s'amm*- (as tacitly suggested by *BDB*) ¶ *CAD* *XV* 120 & *XVII*/1 315-21, *Sd.* 1167, *BDB* 702, *KB* 716, *OLS* 404, *Js.* 998, *Sl.* 817, *Br.* 479, *Jo.* *M* 350 || ?σ *B* \**√smm* v. 'be sour' (if ← 'sour\bitter grass', cp. *S*) > *Rf*, *Izn* *əsməm* 'aigrir, fermenter, être aigre', *Sll* *ismum* 'sour', *Kb* *ismum* 'be sour', *Ah* *ismam* 'be bitter', *Zng* {*TC*} *s'a'm.um* (*Z* *s'em.um*) 'bitter', pf. *yes'mem* 'il a rendu amer' ¶ *Fc.* 1836, *Rn.* 318, *Ds.* 10, *Dl.* 776, *TC* *D* 8, *TC* *Z* 308 ¶ Semantic infl. of *N* \**c'amVc'V* 'to wither' → 'to get sour, foul' cannot be ruled out || *Eg* *fP* *sm.w* 'plants, herbage; vegetables; pasture' ¶ *EG* *IV* 119-20, *Fk.* 225 || *C*: *Bj* {*R*} *se'ya-m* - *si'ya-m* 'grass' || *SC*: ? *Kz* *c.emal-iko* 'straw' ¶ *R* *WBd* 207, *E* *SC* 201 ¶ *OS* #395 adduces *Irq* *camo* 'kind of grass', but I have not been able to find the word in the available sources || *ECh*: *Mkl* *se'mi* 'hay', *Smr* {*J*} *se'mde* pl. 'grass' || ? *Hs* *c'a'wre*- (regularly from \**c.amr*...) '∈ a tall, coarse grass' ¶ *J* *LM* 172, *ChC*, *Abr.* *H* 881 ¶¶ *i* ÷ *Ak* *samidu* - *simidu* '∈ spice plant or vegetable' [*CAD* *XV* 114-5] (the stem pattern in *Ak* *samidu* suggests that this is an adj. from the root \**√smd* [= \**√cmd*], making the connection with *HS* \**c'i'm*- 'grass' implausible) ¶¶ *OS* #383 (\**camid*- 'grass': *Ak*, *Smr*), #395 (*HS* \**cim*- 'grass, plant': *Eg*, *Mkl* + erroneously interpreted or highly doubtful *S*, *Ch* and *C* words), *Tk.* *PAA* 3 (*Kz*, *Hs*) II **A**: *NaT* \**c'it:im* 'sod, turf' > *OT* *c'im* 'turf, peat', *Az* *c'im* 'turf, sod', *Osm* {*Rh.*} *c'im* id., 'grassplot', *Tk* *c'im* 'grass, greensward', *ET* *c'im* 'turf, peat' (дѣрн, торф), *Uz* *c'im*, *Qzq*, *Nog* *s'im*, *Qrg* *c'im* 'turf' (дѣрн) ¶ *Cl.* 421-2, *Rs.* *W* 111, *Äz.* 395, *Rh.* 747, *BN* 31 II **D** \**camp*- ({*GS*} \**ǰ*3-) '∈ reed, elephant grass' > *Tm* *campu* 'elephant grass, *Typha elephantina*', *Kn* *jamb*- '∈ reed or sedge, *Typha angustifolia*', *Tl* *jambu* 'a bulrush, sedge' ¶¶ *D* #2347 ¶¶ *D* \**p*- may go back to an original *sx*.

✧ K \*c.-, Kz c.- and Hs c.- < \*c.-?-.✧ The vowel(s) of the N √ are not clear. It may be tentatively suggested that there was an internal group \*-iʔa- (still preserved in Bj as -iya-, but contracted into a, e, i or ɪ in all other descendant lgs.).

**303. \*c'ɔ'm.E** 'to smear' > **K** {K<sup>2</sup>} \*cwem-/cwm- v. 'smear with fat', {FS} \*cem- v. 'smear' > Sv {TK} msd.: UB li-cwm-en-i, L li-cweni, licwieni, Ln li-cwem-i 'to smear, grease', UB {GP} li-cwm-i 'to plaster (stucco)'; d GZ {K<sup>2</sup>} \*c<sub>l</sub>w<sub>l</sub>mel-, {FS} \*cm-el- n. 'fat' > OG cmel- id. (Lev. 8.25), G cmel- {FS} 'Fett, Schmiere', Mg cəmu- d cimu- 'fat, scum (Schaum, **накип**)', {Q} cəmu- 'fat (**жиръ, тукъ**)', Lz cimu-lux- 'overripe figs' (lux- 'figs') ¶¶ K 225, K<sup>2</sup> 265, FS K 396-7, FS K<sup>2</sup> 577, FS E 446, TK 475, GP 183, Q 373 **II IE:** NaIE \*smẽ--smeĩ-d- v. 'smear, stroke', {EI} ? \*smeĩ-d- 'smear' > Gk inf. σμη̃ν, aor. σμη̃σαι 'smear, wipe' || Arm mic mic 'mud, mire, dirt' (< \*smid<sub>l</sub>-o-) || Gt bi-smeitan 'επιχρει̃ν, to smear upon', ga-smeitan id., 'spread on', OHG bi-smīōan to smear upon, soil, smīōan '(an)streichen, schmieren', AS {Fs.} be-smītan 'to smear upon', {Ho.} smītan 'to soil, to dirty', NE smite || ?σ Sl \*sme'dъ, \*sme'djъ 'dark-coloured' > ChS c<sub>m</sub>ḫdъ sme'dъ 'μαυροῦ, με'λαῦ', SCr sme'd 'brown', Slv sme'd, OCz sme'dy, OP s'miady 'dark-brown' (Cz sne'dy, P s'niady with n due to the infl. of hne'dy, gniady 'brown'); cf. also NaIE \*(s)meru- 'fat, ointment' (f s.v. N \*s'æmi 'fat') ¶ WP II 685-6, P 966-7, EI 528, F II 748, Ch. 1027, Fs. 95, Schz. 262, Ho. 302, OsS 834-5, WW 266, Kb. 919KM 663, Vs. III 684, Brū. 533, Glh. 565 ¶ The intial \*s- for the expected \*sk- is probably due to the unfluence of the synonymous NaIE \*smeru- 'fat, ointment' (< N \*Sa'mirV 'fat, grease') || ?φ D (in KK) \*co-mp- ({GS} \*s's-) > Kui ho'mb- v. 'rub, stroke', Ku Kt hombali d ho'mbinai v. 'scour, shrub' ¶ D #2879 II ??φ **HS:** C: Bj {R} √s'mt pcv. 'grease the hair, smear butter on it; anoint, rub (pomadisieren, frottieren, reiben)' (1s: p. 'as'mit, prs. as'am'mit) ¶ R WBd 216 ¶ × N \*c'ixmV 'fat'? || Ch: Bl {Lk.} sam- v. 'einreiben' ¶ Lk. PVB II 138 ✧ Without the K cognate we would have reconstructed here an initial sibilant \*s'-.

**304. 2 \*c'ul'n-cV** → **\*c'ul'ncV** 'to crawl' > **K:** GZ \*c'oc'- 'crawl, creep, clamber' (≠ {K<sup>2</sup>} 'climb') > G coc- v. {Chx.} 'creep, crawl' ({K<sup>2</sup>} 'climb'), Mg c'oc'- v. 'clamber' (≠ {K<sup>2</sup>} 'climb'); Zan b→ G c'oc'- 'clamber, drag on', Arm Δ {K<sup>2</sup>} c'oc'-h- 'crawl, creep' ¶ K 230, K<sup>2</sup> 273, FS K 413, FS E 465-6, Chx. 1945-6, 2023, Q 651 ¶ The semantic interpretation 'climb' (in K<sup>2</sup>) may be due to inaccurate rendering of the R polysemic verb лезт□ **II U** \*c'ul'ncV > pSm {Jn.} \*c'ul'ncV 'kriechen' > En d 1s aor. {Cs.}: X toddoṅaro, B toddoṅado || Sq Ke {Cs.} d 1s aor. canzonnan, Kms {KD} d 1s prs. t'a'nəz rə'am id. ¶ Jn. 31, Cs. 145, 243 ✧ As \*c'...c' (or \*c'...c) > \*c'...c (for K) and \*c'...c' (for U).

**305. 2 \*c'undV** '∈ mouse' > **A:** Tg \*c'undV-kV → \*c'undE-kV '∈ small rodent' > Orc cubduki 'harvest mouse (Micromys minutus)', Ud c'undi<sup>H3</sup>, {Krm.} c'unde- 'shrew-mouse', Lm Ol/B/P c'ud'ya, Lm Pkh c'udaga 'arctic spermophile', Lm KO c'id'na 'lemming' ¶ STM II 390, Krm. 312 **II D** \*cun't- ({GS} \*c'c'-) '∈ mouse' > Tm cun.t.an\_ 'gray musk shrew', cun.t.a.n\_ 'Mus urbanus', Ml cun.t.-eli 'mouse, musk-rat', Kn sun.d.a, Tu sun.d.-eli, Kdg cin'd.-eli 'house-mouse, field-mouse', Tl cuncu 'mouse, musk-rat', Klm cind.rag 'musk-rat', Gnd cu'ci 'musk-rat', Δ cut.i 'small rat', Δ cot.e 'mouse', Krx cot.t.o- 'mouse' ¶¶ D #2661.

**306. \*c'u'·'hV** 'to know' (← 'to have seen?') > **HS:** Eg L sw̃n ({EG} s'wn) 'know, recognize', (with the prep. m) 'von etwas wissen' > DEg sw̃n, Cpt: Sd cəw̃h̃n soun, B cəw̃h̃n so'uēn 'wissen' ¶ EG IV 69, Vc. 201 || B \*-sin-/\*√wsn 'know (savoir, connaître)' ||+ [× N \*c'e?NV 'to recognize, know (connaître)', q.v.]]: \*-sin- > ASgr aor. -sin, \*√wsn > Ah əssən, Ty, ETwl əssən, Gh əssən / pf. issən, Gd əssən / pf. issen, Nf, Si, Wrg əssən, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əsn / pf. issən, Sll {Ds.} issən-əssən / pf. issən, Kb əssən / pf. issin, Tmz {MT} ssən / isin id., Zng {TC} əssən / pf. yəssen 'savoir'; the cns. \*w is reflected in the gemination of \*s and in u of the Ah caus. s-usən ¶ ABS. LBV 97, Fc. 1837, GhA 176, Dl. 782, MT 647, Dlh. Ou 300, Lf. I 245 & II #223, DCTC 285 || Ch **□**\*c'i'n/\*cun or {AD} \*s'i'n/\*s<sub>l</sub>un 'know' > Hs s'i'na, sa'ni, (with an object) sa'n, Gw {Mts.} s'i'na | DfB {J} sun, Bks {J} s'a'ni, Klr {J} si'en, {IL} se'n | Wrj/My {Sk.} sən, Cg {Sk.} sən, Kry/Jmb {Sk.} sən, P' {MSk.} sune, Sir {Sk.} sən'ni'wi, Mbr {Sk.} sən'ni, Dir {Sk.} c'ən || Cb {IL} zəndi, {ChL} zū'nī, Hb {ChL} zin, Hld {ChL} si'nī, Wmd {ChL} si'nī | HgNk {ChL} sən'na'ta, HgG {ChL} sū'nə'gzy, HgF {ChL} sən'ni'gi, FIG {ChL} sənaki, Flj {ChL} s-, FIB {ChL} s'ij, FIM {IL} s'in | Mtk {ChL} suna?, {Sb.} sən, pMM {Ro.} \*sən (> Mada/Myn sa'l, Mkt sə', Hrz send.ika, Mlk sa'r, Gzg sən, Mofu sən'ra'da 'know', Mf {BLB} sən- 'reconnaître, découvrir'), Glv {Rp.} sən | Db {Lnh.} si'n, Kola {Sb}

-sʒʰ- 'know' : Gdr {Mch.} sʒn id. Lgn {Lk.} sʒʰn id., Bdm {Lk.} hiʰn 'I know' : ?σ Mrg sini 'know, remember' : Ll {Grgs.} seʰn 'wissen, kennen' : NdD {J} hʒnaʰ, Tmk {Cp.} haʰn 'know' : Mkl {J} suʰneʰ id. ¶ Dir cʒʰn seems to suggest a pCh initial affricate; the original vw. seems to have been \*i, while forms with \*a are likely to go back to a derived \*a-imperfective (suggested by Gr. and J) ¶ JI I 107 & II 216-7, ChC, ChL, Ba. 896-8, 940, Ro. 278-9 [#405], BLB 323-4 || ?? EC: amb Or seʰnaʰ 'memory' (unless *d* from seʰn- v. 'enter' or belong to N \*ʰsʰaNa 'word, say' → 'think' [q.v.]) ¶ Grg. 354, Brl. 371 (sena 'ricordo, memoria') ¶¶ OS #2198 (HS \*saniH--\*siniH- 'know, remember'), #2294 (HS \*sun- 'know'), Tk. I 128-9 ¶ ? U \*ʰcʰuʰŋV (< \*ʰcʰuʰŋX?) > Sm \*sʒŋʰ 'see, look' > Ne T *d*caʰo 'a glance, look', T O {Lh.} saŋuʰ 'Blick', Ne F {Lh.} ʒaŋŋuʰ id., ʒiŋŋiʰŋʰ 'sieh', Ng {Mik.} *d* sʒŋuʰrsʰa 'to see, look', En X {C} *d* soŋaroʰ, En B {C} soŋiŋaroʰ 'sehen, betrachten', En {Mik.} seŋidʰ 'see', Slq Tz {KKIH} saŋa- 'try, check' ('попробовать, проверить'), Mt {HL.} \*siaʰ- (?) 'see' (Mt: T {Mll.} schischaʰguram 'video', M {Mll.} inguʰmsiʰaʰ 'non video' [inguʰm- 'I do not']) || FU \*cʰsʰuncʰV (or \*-nsʰ-) > pVg \*sʰunsʰ-v. 'look, glance' > Vg {Stn.} T sʰoʰnsʰ-, LK sʰonsʰ-, MK sonsʰ-, UK/UL/Ss sunsʰ- ¶¶ Jn. 133, Cs. 91, KKI 168, Hl. M #875, Stn. WV 275, MK 575 ¶ K: GZ \*cʰanʰ/\*cʰnʰ- 'know, learn, recognize' (× N \*cʰeʰNV 'to recognize, know (connaître)' [q.v. ffd.]) ♦ A: DQA reconstructs pA \*cʰiʰŋV 'listen, consider', presumably reflected in T \*tʰŋla- 'hear, listen' (> OT tʰŋla-, Tv tʰŋna-, Tk dinle-, Az, Tkm dingle- etc.; may be derived from the Chinese loanword <b> Chn tʰiʰŋ, MChn tʰeŋ 'listen'), M \*ciŋla- 'listen' (> WrM cingla--cingna-, HlM чагна-; to my mind, may be a loan from T) and Tg iʰʒiŋ 'consider' (in fact, WrMc ʒiŋ ~ ʒiŋ 'exactly, just' <b> Chn ʒiʰn 'completely and/or ʒeʰn 'just, exactly'; in other Tg lgs. the word is a loan from Mc). This alleged pA root (based on controversial phonetic hypotheses) cannot be taken into consideration ¶¶ DQA #238. Cl. 522, MED 190, STM 258, Z 982, Is. 93, 190, 230 ♦ IS I 201-2 [#42] (\*cʰinʰ 'know': K, HS).

**307. \*cʰuʰŋV** 'finger, knuckle' > U: FU \*cʰuʰŋV, {UEW} \*cʰEŋV 'finger, (finger) knuckle' > Prm {LG} \*cʰEnʰi > Z чуŋ cʰunʰ, Vt чинь cʰinʰi 'finger', Yz cʰuʰnʰ 'finger, toe' : Os: D ʒoʰŋen-uʰ id. (uʰ 'head'), Kz sʰoʰŋan 'finger knuckle' : Hg csuʰd, Δ cʰuʰd d cʰuʰg d cʰuʰg d cʰoʰg 'pastern (of a horse), foot (of a bird)' ¶ UEW 49, LG 314, MF 129, EWU 238 ¶ D \*cunʰtʰ--\*cutʰtʰ- ({GS} \*s-) v. 'point at with the finger, indicate' > Ml cuʰnʰtʰuka 'to point at, aim', cunʰtʰal-viral 'forefinger', Tm cutʰtʰu 'to point out, indicate', Kn sutʰtʰu, Kui suʰtʰa 'to point at with the finger', Kui suʰtʰa vanzu, Ku huʰta vwaʰnzu 'the index finger', Tu tunʰdʰuni 'to aim, point at', Tl jutʰtʰa-vreʰlu 'forefinger' ¶¶ D #2658 ¶ HS: S \*ʰrsʰinʰ- > Ar sinʰ- 'os de la paume de la main qui joignent les doigts à la main; poignet à l'endroit où l'avant-bras se joint à la main, os du pied où la jambe se joint au pied' ¶ BK I 1152 ♦ ADB. MSR 22 [#33] (U, D).

**308. \*cʰcʰ.ʰeʰŋKV** 'to break' > HS: WCh {Stl.} \*cink- 'break (e.g. a stick)' > Hs cʰinʰkaʰ v. 'snap (a thread, a rope)' : SBC: Dw cʒŋ vi. 'snap (a stick)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 182 [#344], ChL I 227, Abr. H 885-6 ¶ U: FU {It.} \*cʰeŋkaʰ, {UEW} cʰsʰaʰŋkV 'break' > Er sʰive- vi. 'break, brechen, abbrechen' : Prm \*cʰeʰg- > Z чег- cʰeg- vt., vi. 'break, break off' ('сломать, -сф, отломить, переломить'), Yz cʰigʰ id., Vt чигьны cʰigʒ- vi. 'break' ('сломатьсф, переломитьсф') : pObU {HL.} \*seʰŋk-, {Ht.} \*seʰŋk- > pVg \*saʰŋk- > Vg: Vg T saʰŋg-, LK/Nz saŋk- 'brechen', P saŋk- 'schlagen'; pOs {Ht.} \*soʰŋk- ({pHL.} \*soʰŋk-) > Os: V soʰŋk-, Ty/Y saʰŋkʰ-, D/Kz seŋk-, Nz/O seŋ- 'schlagen' : Hg szeg- 'cut (bread), break (the neck)' ¶ Coll. 117, UEW 31/2, Sm. 549 (FU, FP \*sʰaŋki- 'cut, break', Ugr \*sʰaʰŋkiʰ-), LG 303, Ht. #598, Hl. rHt 71, MF 575-6 ¶ A: Tg \*ʰceŋ > Ewk PT cʒŋdit-/cʒŋdiʰ- 'tear (clothes), tear out (a piece of sth.)' ¶ STM II 421 ♦ Hardly here G cʰvnik- 'zerkleinern' (Chx. 2157), because it is almost certainly derived from cʰvnikʰ-i 'klein, winzig, мелкий' (Chx. l.c., DCh. 1676).

**309. \*caʰp.ʰV(ŋV)** 'to cover', 'roof, plated cover' > HS: CS \*ʰspn > BHb ʰspn (pf. cons. N7px6I%v@wayyis'pon) v. 'cover, lay a table', Np8x5 sip'puʰn 'ceiling (of a room)', Pun mspn 'roof (?)', ? IA ʰspn v. '(?) care for, respect' (< \*'protect' < \*'cover') ¶ KB 722, KBR 764-5, HJ 666, 798 ¶ IE: NaIE \*(s)kep- v. 'cover' > Gk σκεῖπα (gen. σκεῖποι) 'a covering, shelter', Gk A/I σκεῖπη id., 'protection', Gk σκεῖπω, σκεπαῶ, σκεπαῖω v. 'cover, shelter' : Lt kepuʰre 'cap', Ltv ceʰpure 'cap, hat'; Blt б F kupaʰri, kupaʰraʰ 'helmet, casque' : Sl (originally dim.) \*cʰeʰрьс 'head cover, cap' > OR чепьць cʰeʰрьс 'head-dress, head cover', R чеʰпец <b> чепчик, P czepec, Cz cʰepes, Slk cʰepiec, Slv cʰeʰpec, Hls cʰeʰps, Lls copcʰ d cepc 'cap', SCr cʰeʰpac 'cap (of women)' ¶ WP II 559, P 930, F II 724-5 (sceptical about the Gk-BSl connection), Frn. 241, Bern. I 143-4, ESSJ IV 58-9 (no IE et. of the Sl word), Srz. 1499.

**310. \*cʰaʰ.qV** 'to jump up' > K \*caʰq- > Mg coʰf- v. 'walk in a jumping gait' ¶ Q 371 ¶ HS: S \*ʰnʰsk (or \*ʰnsʰk.), prm. \*-nsak- > JA [Trg.] ʰ(n)sk (ip. -ssak., imv. sak.) 'go up' [JEA

sak. 'k\_u lis'la\_m lə'wa\_t\_ ʔab\_u'k\_o'n 'get you (pl.) up in peace unto your father' - TrgO of Gen. 44.17 (BbV)], Sr √nsk. (Qés'ño nō'sek. 'ascendit' - Peshitta, Apoc. 14.11); \*n- goes back to a px. of intransitive verbs ¶ Lv. T I 116-7, Lv. III 409, Spr. BA I 76, Js. 918, PS 2401 ¶ U: FP \*c'a'kc'e- 'jump, leap (springen, hüpfen)' > pLp {Lr.} \*c'e'kc'z- v. 'kick', 'Fußtritte geben, mit dem Fuß stoßen' > Lp: N {N} c'iek'c'a- / -vc-, L {LLO} tjektja-, Klt P {It.} c'i\_e'χ:c'v- id., S {Hs.} tje'ktjedh 'kick with the foot' ¶ Prm \*c'ec'c'- ({LG} \*c'e'tc'-) 'get up', (←?) 'jump up' > Z чеччы c'ec'c'i- 'get up', чеччыгы c'ec'c'is'ti- 'jump, jump up', Vt түтчы- tec'c'i (t- due to *dis*) ¶ UEW 612-3, LG 304, Lr. #149, Lgc. #604, Hs. 1316-7 ¶ σ,φ ϩ: NaT \*c'ik- 'go out, come out' > OT c'iq- id., Chg c'iq- 'come out, rise', Tkm c'iq- 'go out, appear, climb', VTt чыг- s'ыг-, Qmq c'iq-, Qzq, Qq s'iq/y-, Alt c'iq- 'climb up, ascend; go out, appear (on the surface)', Nog s'iq- 'go out, appear' ¶ Cl. 405-6, Rs. W 107, MM 401, Sht. 237, Tkr 745, BT 183.

**311. \*c'arV** (or **\*c'.arV**) 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard\rough surface' > ? K \*cer- > Lz {Marr} cara 'hard unfertile ground' ¶ Marr 214 ¶ IE: NaIE \*sker- 'hard\dry skin, crust' > NNr, Sw skare 'hardened surface of snow', with *exts.*: ON skra' (< \*skraho-) 'piece of dry leather', MLG, MDt schra dürr, mager' ¶ Lt skre~sti (1s p. skrendau~), skre~sti (1s p. skretau~) 'get covered with a dry crust of dirt' (< \*skr-end-, \*skr-et-) ¶ Sl \*skora > OR скора, R Δ скоpa 'hide', 'скопка 'crust of bread', Uk 'ck° pa, 'ck° pka 'skin', Blr 'cкyра, Cz skora, P sko'ra 'skin, hide' (↳ R oшкyра 'hide?'), Hls skora, Lls s'kora 'cust', Slv sko'ra, sko'rja 'skin' ¶ P 933, Hlq. 928, Vr. 500-1, Frn. 816, ¶ Vs. III 650 & IV 451, Srz. III 381-2, Ma. CS 447 ¶ U (× \*cAR<sub>L</sub>V<sub>Y</sub>V-/\*cAYRV 'to freeze, feel cold' [q.v.]): FU \*c'arV- 'hard, firm; frozen hard surface layer of snow' > Lp N {Fri.} c'arrok 'rigidus, asper', {N} c'a'res / c'arras- 'coarse' (of wool); stiff (of hair and bread), Lp L {LLO} tja(r)re's ~ tja'rris 'difficult, coarse' ¶ Prm: [1] \*c'orit ({LG} \*c'o<sub>o</sub>rit) 'hard (твердый)' > Vt чурьд c'urid, Z чорьд c'orid, Z US c'orid, Yz 'c'uro't; [2] Z c'arzm, Prmk ca'rzm, Yz c'a'ru'm 'ice crust on the snow', as well as Z c'ars 'hard ice crust on the snow' ¶ Possibly Sm {Jn.} \*sira° 'snow, winter' > Ne: T сыра, T O {Lh.} sirā°, F N {Lh.} χιτῆρα id.; Ng {Cs.} 'siru., {Mik.} su'ru id.; En {Ter.} сыра, En {Cs.}: X 'sira, B sira 'snow'; Slq Tz {KKIH} sirī id.; Kms {KD} sære, {Cs.} sirā°, Koyb {Sp.} сыра, {Pl.} sirra°; Mt {Hl.} \*sirā° (Mt T/M {Mll.} sirra°, M {Pl.} сиррл, Mt K {Mll.} se'rre, {Pl.} sirā) ¶ Because of the vw. it is preferable to connect the Sm √ with U \*s'c'i'rV- < N \*z'β'i'rV- ~ \*z'β'i'rV 'be very cold' [q.v.] ¶ Coll. 7, UEW 30, 464-5 (ties in Hg Δ szirony ~ szilony ~ szirogy ~ szilogy ~ szioty ~ szityor 'frozen surface layer on the snow after melting weather' and reconstructs \*s'arV [in spite of Prm \*c'-]), LG 302, 310, Lt. 68, Jn. 140, Ter. 574, Cs. 66, 91, 274, 303, Lh. 412-3, Hl. M #891 ¶ ϩ: ? T: Alt, Tel {Rl.} c'arim 'hardened surface of snow'; acc. to Ps., Blgh ↳ Z c'arzm id. ¶ TL 30, BT 176, Rl. III 1865, LG 302, Ps. ES 184 (Blgh ↳ Z), UEW 464-5 (rejects Ps.' hyp.; supposes that Z c'arzm is from U \*s'arV 'frozen snow, ice crust on snow' with a 'sporadic phonetic development' \*s'- > c'-), see s.v. N \*z'β'i'rV- ~ \*z'β'i'rV 'be very cold' ¶ M \*car > WrM car, HlM, Kl цар 'hardened layer of frost on the surface of snow', Kl {Rm.} car 'crust, hard surface (of snow, of melted fat)', ? WrO ca'r 'scabs, mange'; the absence of a final vw. suggests that the word is borrowed (from an unattested T source?) ¶ Merger with N \*c'.arV 'hoar-frost' is not ruled out ¶ MED 165, KRS 625, KW 422, Krg. 621 ¶¶ KW 422, Vv. AEN 15 (suggests that the M word and Tlt c'arim 'layer of frost' are loans from Tib ʔkhyag.rum in modern Tib C pronunciation, ʔ Jäschke TG 7) ¶ ?σ Tg: Ewk c̣ri 'excrecence (наплыв) on the bark of a birch-tree' ↳ Yk c'a'ri - c'a'ri id. ¶ STM II 421 ¶¶ DQA #287 (pA \*c'erao 'crust, snow crust') ¶ D \*cara- ({GS} \*c'c'-) 'rough on surface' > Tm caracara 'rough on surface', caral, caral.ai 'gravel, laterite', curacura 'be rough, have a rough surface', Ml caral, carakkalu 'gravel', Tu caratae 'what is coarse', Kui srogu 'a rough surface' ¶¶ D #2354 ¶ HS: ?? WS \*c.arnai-f-at- ~ \*c.urnai-f-at- '∈ skin disease' (originally a *cd* ?) > Hb to2r@c1 c.a'rafat id., JA aolr^uc c.ur'a- (em. atlo9r^uc c.ur^at\_t-a- ~ atlo9r^c5 c.ir^at\_t-a-) & SmA s.r̥t ~ s.wr̥t 'leprosy' (< \*c.ar'raftu < \*c.ar'naftu due to the infl. of the derivational pattern \*Ca'C:aCt- of nouns of diseases), Gz s.ərnəfət 'scab, malignant ulcer', Ak {Sd.} s.ennettu ~ s.ennettu, {CAD} s.ennitu ~ s.irnitu '∈ skin disease' ¶ KB 989, Tal 744, JA 1272, L G 564, Sd. 1090, 1588, CAD XVI 127, MiK I #1.257 ♦ If we accept the Lz cognate and reject the doubtful comparison with S, the N rec. must be \*c'arV, but if the S rather than the K cognate is recognized, the rec. is \*c'.arV ♦ IS 205 [#45] \*CarΛ (= \*c'arV) ♦ It is also possible that there were two roots: one beginning with \*c'- and meaning 'crust', and the other with

\*c.- (\*c|c.-) meaning 'hard, rough', both roots coalescing in those lgs. that lost the difference between \*c- and \*c|c.-, which brought about the meaning 'hard crust' and sim.

**312. \*c'ERV** 'small, little' > **K**: GZ \*m-cir-e 'little, small' ({K} *d* with the derivational pattern \*m(e)-...-e that builds nomina of quality-bearers, ƒ K 131) > OG, G mcire 'little, small, few', Mg cira 'girl' ¶ K 140-1, K<sup>2</sup> 129 ¶ **U**: FP \*c'ErV 'small' > Chr H {Rm.} cəraː 'sehr fein, sehr dünn', Chr L {MRS} чьр 'small' (e.g. чьр омо 'sleep of short duration'), {Ü} чьАрьАк гьАна 'a wee bit, **чуточку**' | pPrm {LG} \*c'ir- > Z c'ir 'tiny particle\grain (**мелчайшаѧ частица, крупица**), Prmk tu'run-c'ir 'feines Heustreu', ? Vt чьры c'iri, чьры-пыры c'iri-piri, Vt Kz c'zr(i)-pзri 'Kleinigkeit, Kleinsachen' ¶ UEW 615, MRS 685, LG 306-7 ¶ ??? **IE**: NaIE (att. in Gmc only) \*sker- (+exts) 'to shrink, wrinkle, shrivel' [× \*c.'UrV 'narrow' (q.v. ffd.)].

**313. ???σ \*cuRV** 'to move (go, swim, fly) away (or from one place to another)' > **HS**: WS \*-su-r-~\*sīr- 'go away, leave' > BHb -su-r- 'leave, deviate', Ph. √swr caus. 'entfernen', ?σ Sma √swr 'turn aside', ?σ JA √swr G {Js.} 'turn around\away, go astray', JEA √swr G {Js.} 'turn aside', Ar √syr (ip. -sīr-) 'go, walk, go away, leave', Ar NY √syr (ip. -sīr) 'go', Mh {Jo.} √syr (pf. szyu-r, subj. yzye-r), Hrs {Jo.} √syr 'go' ¶ KB 706-7, Sl. 797, Tal 576, Js. 969, BK I 1174-5, Bns. NJ I 200, Jo. M 355 ¶¶ ≠ Tk. PAA 3 (Hb √swr Hiph'il 'remove' ÷ Irq -cawa-r- 'choose') ¶ **K**: GZ \*c'ur- vi. 'swim' > OG cur- id., G cur- v. 'swim, slide', Mg (n)c'ur-, Lz (n)c'ur- ~ (n)c'vir- ~ nc'ir- ~ mc'vi(r)- 'swim' ¶ K 230, K<sup>2</sup> 273-4, FS K 414-5, FS E 466-7, Chx. 2031-2 ¶ ?? **A**: Tg: Lm ğordun- vi. 'gallop' (of animals), WrMc curχun 'flight (of birds from place to another)' ¶ STM II 409, 417.

**314. \*ca<sub>1</sub>we<sub>1</sub>RV** (or \*c^-(?)) 'finger, (?) hand' > **K**: GZ \*c'e-r- 'thumb' > G cer-, Mg c'an(3)- id. (Mg -a- pointing to a pK \*e-) ¶ K 228, K<sup>2</sup> 271, FS K 414-5 ¶ ?? **HS**: S \*°√s|s'wr > Ar siwa-r- (pl. su-r-) 'armring', ?aswa-r- id. ¶ BK I 1163 || WCh {Stl.} \*sa-rV 'hand' > AG: Su {J} sa'r, Ank s.a-, Ang {ChL}, Kfr {Nt.} sar | BT: Krkr, Bl, Ngm, Maha sara, Krf s'a-ra' ¶ JI II 178, Stl. ZCh 179 [#314], ChC, ChL ¶ **A**: NrTg \*caratkī 'toe, (?) finger' > Ewk ğaratki - ğirat-ki 'toe', Sln {Iv.} c'a'ratki, Neg {PSchm.} c'ayatli 'finger' ¶ STM II 385 ¶ **D** \*ce-r- ~ \*ce-r- ({GS} \*c-) 'handful' > Tm ce-r.ai id., ce-rai 'palmful (quantity that can be held in the hollow of the palm)', Kt de-r 'handful (with open hand)', Kn sa-re ~ se(:)re, Tu se(:)rae 'the palm of hand bent so as to receive\hold anyth.', Tl ce-ra 'the hand hold so as to contain anyth.', ce-re-d.u 'handful', Gnd\Ku hera, Knd se-ra id. ¶¶ D #2821 ♦ In addition, one should pay attention to S \*°√s'rŋ > Mh {Jo.} s'z'rayn 'leg', {Nak.} s'rayn (pl. s'z'rantzn) 'leg, foot', Sq {Jo.} s'z'rŋzha-n 'legs' (Jo. M 182, Nak. 9). If this S √ belongs here (?σ), the N rec. may be \*c'arŋV (with \*ŋ responsible for the length of the vw. in K and D, but the quality of the vw. \*e- remains unexplained). If Ar √swr and WCh \*sa-ra is not accepted as a cognate, the initial cns. may be either \*c- or \*c^.

**315. ?<sub>2</sub> \*c|c'a-ØRV** 'to burn sth.' > **HS**: ? S \*°√s|s'ŋr v. 'kindle' > Ar √sŋr (pf. saŋara) v. 'kindle' ¶ BK I 1091-2 ¶ **U**: FU \*c'a-|er- > ObU \*c'e-r- 'verbrennen' > pVg \*c'a-rVy- > Vg: T c'ira-y-, LK s'a-rāy-, MK/P/NV/LL s'a-rāy-, UL s'ary-, Ss s'ariy- id.; pOs \*c'e-rāy- ~ \*c'e-rāy-, \*c'e-rV ({HL.} \*i-) > Os: Nz s'a-ri-y-, Kz s'a-ri-, O s'a-ri- 'verbrennen', Nz s'arə, Kz s'ar, O s'a-r 'verbranntes Stück' ¶ Ht. #84 ¶ **K**: AdS (accounting for the meaning 'fever') of OG, G cχro- 'fever', Lz c'ec'χur- 'fever' < K (GZ) \*c'χro- 'cold, fever' < N \*cAR<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>ŋV → \*cAŋRV 'to freeze, feel cold' (→ 'fever') ¶ K 232-3, FS K 418, Chik. 236-7, Q 369.

**316. \*c'o<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>rV** 'to drip, flow; drops' > **HS**: WCh {Stl.} \*cVHVr 'dew' > pAG {Sch.} \*səy<sub>3</sub>r > Su {J} səg<sub>3</sub>r, Ang {Sch.} sə-r ({Hf.} su-u-r, {Flk.} su-r), Kfr M səy<sub>3</sub>r, Ank {Sch.} s.ə-r || BT: Krkr {Sch.} səwə<sub>3</sub>-r, ? Bole {ChL} si'nsori, ? Ngm c'inc'ir, Gera {Sch.} si'nsi'ri || SBC: Gj sisil, Plc sisir, Buli, Sy sisire, Dw susu-r ¶ Stl. ZCh 183 [#347], Hf. AG 20 [#107], Sch. ChV 48 || ?? S: Ar sariy- (pl. ?asriyat-, surya-n-) {Ln.} 'rivulet, streamlet' ¶ Ln. 1356, Fr. II 313 ([Qam.] 'rivulus qui ad palmas deductus est'), BK I 1086 ('rigole creusée au pied d'un palmier pour l'arroser') ¶ **K** \*cwar-/cur- 'to drip, flow' > OG cwar- / cur- v. 'drip', Sv {Zhgh.} li-cu-r-e 'to flow'; \*cwar- 'drop, drop of dew' > OG cwar- 'drop, dew', G cvar- 'dew', Mg cun<sub>3</sub>-i ~ cund-i 'dew', Sv cwar 'drop' (< pK or < b- G) ¶¶ K 224, K<sup>2</sup> 265, FS K 399, FS E 449, GM S 451, Q 371, Zhgh. SP 79 ¶ **U**: FU \*c'orV 'leak, flow, drip' (× N \*c.'orV 'to drip, trickle') > F soro 'a falling drop', sorotta- v. 'drip' || ObU {Ht.} \*c'V-rāy- > pVg {Ht.} \*c'u-rx- 'flow, leak, drip' ({MK} 'fließen, rinnen, tröpfeln', {BV} 'течь, сочиться') > Vg: T c'ork-, K s'orx-, Yk {Vxr.} s''arj--s'u-rj-, P s'urr--s'u-rr-, Ss c'pr-s'urx-; pOs {Ht.} \*c'orāy- v. 'flow' > Vy ğorāx-, D ğa-rə<sup>d</sup> ğo-rə-, Nz s'o-ri-y-, Kz s'o-ri-, O s'a-ri- | Hg csorog-,

csurog- v. 'flow, drip', csordul- 'spill, overflow', csurran- 'spill, pour out, drip' ¶ UEW 40 (U \*c'orV), MF 123, Ht. #87, MK 607, BV 111 ¶ Hardly here (⇔ UEW & IS) Sm: Ne T c<sub>pm</sub>baĀc 'to run', Slq N s'ormba- 'tropfen, fließen', etc., because they go back to pSm {Jn.} \*ku'r(Ā)- 'run' (Jn. 79-80) ¶ A: [1] NTg \*c<sub>urg</sub>ġ- > Ewk c<sub>urg</sub>ġ- vi. 'drip, leak', c<sub>urg</sub>ġ n. 'drop', Lm c<sub>urg</sub>ġ- vi. 'drip, flow' ¶ [2] A \*cUr- 'pour, stream' (× N \*c'or'V 'ġ', q.v. ffd.) ¶ D \*co'r-/\*cor- 'trickle, pour, flow down' > Tm co'r- vi. 'trickle down, drop, ooze out', cori v. 'flow down, rain, spill', Ml co'ruka vi. 'flow, ooze, tickle, leak', coriyuka vi. 'flow down, pour, shower', Kt 3or- 'run in streams', Kn so'r vi. 'drop, drip, trickle, ooze', suri vi. 'flow, drop, pour (as tears)', Kdg Δ co'r-, Krg 3ori vi. 'leak', Tl so'rūni vi. 'leak, ooze, run', Gdb co'r- 'pour (of water)', Gnd 3oree 'the flowing of a liquid', Krx curχ- vt. 'pour, let fall in drops, leak', Mlt curge 'ooze out, fall in drops', Brh curri<sub>n</sub> vi. flow, gush'; the meaning 'flow' may be partially induced by a paronymous reflex of N \*3'ur'ru' - \*3'u'r'ru' 'to stream' ¶ cp. also D \*co'r- 'trickle, drip' [< N \*c'or'V 'ġ'] ¶ D ##2883, 2893 ♦ IS I 198 [#35]. N \*c'- regularly yields U \*c'- (⇔ IS, who considered this reflex an exception). If Ar sariy- 'small river' belongs here (which is highly doubtful), the N Ir. must have been \*? or \*h.

**317.** ??σ \*cAR<sub>l</sub>V<sub>l</sub>YV - \*cAYRV 'to freeze, feel cold' (→ 'fever') > HS: ? S \*°√sš'fr 'fever, heat' > Ar safr- 'douloureux, cuisant', √sfr (pf. sařara) 'communiquer la maladie l'un à l'autre', 'brûler, causer une douleur cuisante' (influenced by the homonymous root √sfr 'ignite'), sufr- 'contagion, miasmes', safr-at- 'toux' ¶ BK I 1091-2 ¶ K: GZ \*c'χro- {K<sup>2</sup>} 'cold, chill; shivering' > OG, G cχro- 'fever' ({DCh.} 'лихорадка', {Chx.} '[Wechsel-]Fieber, Malaria'), {K<sup>2</sup>} 'chill, shivering', Mg c'χuru n. 'severe cold', c'χur-i adj. 'cold', Lz c'ec'χur- (< \*c'χe-c'χur-) 'fever' ({K<sup>2</sup>} lit. 'fever-shivering') ¶ K 232-3, K<sup>2</sup> 277, FS K 418, Chik. 236-7, Q 369 ¶ possibly U: FU \*c'arV- 'frozen hard surface layer of snow' (× N \*c'c'arV 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard\rough surface' [q.v.]) > Z c'ar3m, Prmk ca'r3m, Yz c'a'ru'm 'ice crust on the snow', as well as Z c'ars 'hard ice crust on the snow' || possibly Sm {Jn.} \*sira°, {Hl.} \*sira 'snow' (× N \*c'c'arV 'ġ' [q.v.] and \*z'β'i'r.V - \*z'β'i'r.V 'be very cold' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ LG 302, UEW 464-5 (ties in Hg Δ szirony ~ szilony ~ szirogy ~ szilogy ~ sziroty ~ szityor 'frozen surface layer on the snow after melting weather' and reconstructs \*s'arV [in spite of Prm \*c'-]), Jn. 140, Ter. 574, Cs. 66, 91, 274, 303, Lh. 412-3, Hl. M #891 ♦ If the Ar root √sfr is rejected, the initial N cns. may be reconstructed both as \*c- and as \*c', and the Ir. is \*χ<sub>y</sub>. IE \*srīg- 'cold' and HEC \*sirg- 'cold' hardly belong here (for the mentioned IE, HEC and Hg words see s.v. N \*s'VriχKa 'cold').

**317a.** ?? \*c'URka 'watch, watch over' > IE: NaIE \*swerg<sub>l</sub><sup>h</sup>- ~ \*swerg<sub>l</sub><sup>h</sup>- 'watch over, be concerned about' > ON sorg, OHG s(w)orga, AS sor3 'sorrow, care (angor, cura)' (> NE sorrow), ON syrgja 'be concerned about', AS sor3ian 'grieve, be anxious about', Gt sau'rga 'sorrow, care' ¶ Pru but-sargs 'householder', absergisan 'protection', Olt, Lt sé'rge'ti (prs.: Olt sé'rgmi, Lt sé'rgiu), Lt Δ serge'ti v. 'guard, keep (behüten, bewahren)', Lt sa'rgas 'Warnung, Be-, Anmerkung', 'guard', Ltv sargs 'guard', Pru absergisan acc. 'Schutz' ¶ OI su'rks,ati 'takes care of' ¶ The IE variation \*-we-/\*-e- is explained by a kind of Schwebeablaut (see AD NVIE & NGIE) ¶ ¶ EI 636 (\*swerHK- 'watch over, be concerned of'), M K II 495, Kb. 1007, Ho. 307, En. 136, 155, Frn. 776-7 ¶ K (reg. mt): G cker-/ckir- 'blicken, schauen' ¶ Chx. 2034-5 ¶ U: FU \*r'c'VrkV 'look' > Chr L чурге 'c'urge '(look, stare) fixedly, intently' ¶ Prm \*3'ork- > Z 3orgi- 'look\stare vacantly (as a new-born baby)', Δ 3orgi- 'stare at one point, fix one's eyes', Vt Δ 3'urkki uc'k- 'stare at one point, look vacantly (as a new-born baby)' ¶ LG 92, MarR 679.

**318.** \*c'a'r'V 'dirt, dung, rubbish' defecate' > HS: S \*°√syr > Mh √syr T (pf. 'saty3r) 'have diarrhoea', ShT (pf. 3st3yur) 'go to stool, excrete' ¶ Jo. M 355 ¶ IE: \*sk'er(-d<sup>h</sup>)- 'cacare; dung, excrements', {EI} \*sok' r<sub>o</sub>- [gen. \*(s)e k' n-os] 'human excrement' (metanalysis reintepreting -r- as a heteroclytic sx.?) (× N \*c'UyrV 'to rot, stink' [q.v.]) > YAv sairyā- 'dung, manure (Dünger, Mist)', MPrs sarge'n, NPrs ñygrS sa'rgin 'dung' : OI s'ardhate 'farts'; ? chr<sub>o</sub> n.atti, chardayati 'vomits' ¶ Gk σκωρ, gen. σκατο' 'dung' ¶ L mu'scerda 'mouse-dung' (metanalysis mu's-scerda > mu's-cerda, whence bu'cerda 'cowdung', ovicerda 'sheep-dung', etc.) ¶ Mir {WH, P <-?} sceirt- v. 'spit out, vomit' ¶ ON skarn, MLG, MDt scharn, OFrs skern, AS sc'earn 'dung, manure', NE sharn ¶ Ltv sa'rni pl. 'slag, dross, rubbish, faeces, menstua', Lt s'a'rvas, pl. s'a'rvai 'placenta, menstua' : Sl inf. \*syrati / prs. \*sero<sub>o</sub> ~ \*ser'o<sub>o</sub> 'defecate' > SCr sra'ti / se\_re'm, Blg ce'pa, Slv sra'ti / se'rjem, Cz sra'ti / seru (3s se'r'e), P srac' / siore<sub>e</sub> (2s sierzesz), R cpat / cpy (3s cpeet ~ cepet); R sor 'rubbish' || ? Ht sakkar (gen. sak-n-as) 'faeces' ¶ P 947-8, EI 186,

VL. II 284-5, M E I 557, **■** M K I 409 & **■** III 310, Brtl. 1568, McK 74, Sg. 677, F II 746, WH II 133-4, Vn. S 39, Vr. 485, OsS 781, Ho. 274, **■** Frn. 966, **■** Kar. II 156, Vs. III 720, 740, Glh. 573, Ts. W 67 **II** **U:** FU \*c'arV 'dung' (× N \*s'ihar'u 'dirt, earth', q.v.) > Os: Nz s'or '(reindeer's) dung', Kz s'or 'dung' **||** pMr {Ker.} \*s'arə- > \*s'a'r'ə- 'defecate' > Er s'er'n'e-, Δ s'a'r'n'īl-, Mk s'a'r'ən'd'ə- id. **¶** UEW 405-6, Ker. II 138 **II** **D** \*car'ap- 'cowdung' > Prj carpi, Gdb sar'pi ~ sad\_pi, Gnd sara\_pi, sar'a\_pi ~ sad\_a\_pi, Knd, Png, Mnd r'a\_pi, Ku r'a\_pi ~ ra\_pi **¶¶** D #2402b.

**319.** ?? **\*c'EtV** 'to cover' > **HS:** WS (with *ext.*) \*√str v. 'cover, hide' > BHb √str N 'hide, conceal', JA [Trg.] √str D id., SmA √str G 'hide oneself', JEA {Sl.} √str Sh 'conceal', Sr rΔ4iB sa't\_īr ps. prt. 'concealed', Ar √str v. G 'veil, conceal, hide', Gz √str 'hide, conceal' **¶** KB 728-9, BDB #5641, Js. 1032-3, Ln. 1304, L G 518, Sl. 834, Tal 614, Br. 503, JPS 394 **II** **IE:** NaIE \*(s)k'ed- 'cover' > OI Λ 'chadati, OI cha'dayati v. caus. 'covers, wraps', cha'd-is- n. 'lid, cover', Av sadayantī- '∈ part of garment' **||** ? Gmc (without \*s mobile): MHG ha'ō 'garment, cloth', NGr Sw ha's, geha's 'Kleidung, Wäsche', AS hæ'teru pl. 'clothes', NE hater **¶** M K I 403, M E I 554-5, Ho. 146, OsS 377, Lx. 82, **■** WP II 558, **■** P 919 **◆** IS I 198-9 [#36].

**320.** **\*c'a'wV** 'to look at, look after, protect\guard' > **K:** GZ \*c'ew-/c'w- v. 'protect, take care, watch' > OG cev-/cv- id., G (da-)cav-/cv- 'protect (verteidigen, schützen)', Mg c'(w)- v. 'preserve, keep safe; take care; hide', Lz c'(v)- v. 'watch, wait' **¶¶** K 229, K<sup>2</sup> 270 [*unc.* : + Sv li-lc'e, actually Sv UB/L li-lc'e, Sv Ln li-lec'e msd. 'preserve, defend, guard (watch over)'], Chik. 372-3, FS K 405-6, 417-8, GP 158, Chx. 1971, TK 440 **II** **IE:** NaIE \*(s)kew- 'worauf achten (beobachten, schauen)' > Arm çuṇanem c'uc'hanem v. 'show, indicate, point out', çojç c'hoyc'h 'showing, indication' **||** Gk {Ch.} ῥο-σκο'οϋ 'prêtre qui examine les sacrifices' **||** ON skoða 'behold, inspect', WGmc {Vr.} \*skauwo'n > OSx skauwon, MDt scouwen, Dt schouwen 'inspect, view', OHG scouwo'n 'to see, look' (> NHG schauen), AS sc'e'awian 'look at, behold', NE show **||** Pru au-schauditwei 'vertrauen', auschaidīsan, auschaidisnān - "Zuversicht, Treue, Hoffnung" **||** without \*s-: L cave- 'sich in Acht nehmen, sich versehen' **||** OI ka'vi- 'wise, skilful; seer, sage, poet', a-'kuvate- 'beabsichtigt' **||** Gk κοε'ω 'I notice, hear', ἀνακω'ϋ ε'χειν 'Sorge tragen' **||** ? Sl \*c'u'-ti (1s prs.) \*c'u''j-o.) 'feel, perceive' > OCS ѡуѣти c'uti / ѡуѣж c'ujo 'feel, notice, learn (noscere)', OR ѡѣти c'uti 'to feel, hear, understand', SCR c'u''ti, Uk ѡчути 'to feel, hear', Blr чуц, Slv c'u'ti, Slk po-c'ut' 'to hear', Blg ѡчу 'I feel hear', Cz c'ít, P czuc' 'to feel', R ѡчу 1s 'I feel' **◆** inf. ѡчуѣт 'to feel' **¶** P 587-8, Ch. 448, 551, Sl. 268-9, Ho. 275, DM 638, Vr. 496, Vr. N 62, Skeat 559, Kb. 890, M K I 187-8, WH I 186-7, En. 148, Tp. P A-D 161-3, Vs. IV 390, ESSJ IV 134-6, Glh. 182 **II** **D** \*co'v-/pp- v. 'watch, notice' > Kn so'vu, so'he 'trace, mark, sign', Tu so'vu 'spying, watching, observing secretly; trace, mark, sign', Kui so'pa v. 'watch over, guard, lie in wait for' **¶¶** D #2892 **◆** IS MS 367 s.v. \*c'awa 'стережѣ'.

**321.** **\*c'Aw'hV** 'to cover, to dress, to put\hang (on)' > **K** \*cw- v. 'put on\in\into, wear, string\hang (on)' > OG cw-, s'ta-cw- v. 'put on', aṡ-cw- 'hineinstecken', s'e-cw- v. 'string (on sth.)', G cv- 'put on, string', Mg cun- 'abschließen, abdecken', mo-cun- v. 'put on', o-cun- 'darinstoßen', Lz o-con- 'auffädeln, aufreihen', do-cun- 'hineinstoßen', Sv xa-cw-e 'er hängt es daran', Sv UB li-cw-em 'to hang [sth.] on the back', {GP} 'to shoulder sth.' **¶¶** FS K 396, FS E 448, K 226, K<sup>2</sup> 264, Chx. 1994-6, 2048, GP 183, TK 475 **II** **HS:** S \*°√swy > BHb ev#x6m2 mas'we- 'covering, veil, hull', MHb ev#x6m2 mas'we- {Js.} 'cover, sheath', Pun (pl.) mswy't 'clothing, dress'; BHb su'-t-\*'garment' (+ppa.: e7tux su'-t-o- 'his garment'), Ph swt 'garment', Pun \*swyh (cs. swyt) 'veil, curtain (?)', SmA vxm msw, evxm msw n. 'veil' **¶** KB 572, 707, KBR 605, 749, HJ 663, 780-1, Js. 804, Tal 573 **||** Eg s {EG} *hier*. \*'ein Tuch', {Gard.} *hier*. \*'folded cloth' **¶** EG IV 1, Gard. 507 [#S-29] **||** C: Ag {Ap.} \*sa'-: \*sa'-t- v. 'dress oneself', caus. \*sa'-s- v. 'dress sb.' > Bln {R} sa-r-, Xm {R} si-t-, Km {Ap.} sēy-, Aw {Ap.} set-/sey-/sī't- 'dress oneself', Bln {R} sa-s-, Xm {R} si-s-, Q {R} sa-s'- vt. 'dress' **||** SC: ? Irq {Wh.} -c.ī-t- 'wear', {Mgw.} -c.ī'-t- v. 'dress', -c.ī-t-i's v. 'clothe' **¶** R WB 291-2, Ap. AV 18, Wh. SI, Mgw 103 **¶¶** **■** Tk. PAA 4 (treats Irq and SC \*c. as c) **II** **IE** \*(s)k<sub>l</sub>'jeu<sub>H</sub>-, {El} \*(s)keu<sub>(H)</sub>- 'cover, wrap' > NaIE \*(s)k<sup>h</sup>eu<sub>ə</sub>- ~ \*(s)k<sup>h</sup>e<sub>u</sub>- v. 'cover' > Arm çiy c'hiw 'roof, tiling'; from \*k<sup>h</sup>ew-: Arm xuç xuc'h 'cot, hut, cell, small room' **||** Gk ἐπι-σκυ'νιον 'the skin of the brows which is knitted in frowning', γ σκυ'νία pl. 'eyebrows', σκυ'λοϋ 'animal's skin, hide', ? κω'αϋ (pl. κω'εα) 'fleece' **||** [1] AS scu(w)a 'shadow, darkness, protection', OHG scu'wo 'shade (umbra)', ON skuggi id., 'mirror', Gt skuggwa 'mirror', ON skja-r 'transparent calf skin used to close windows',

skja' 'window closed with a transparent film'); [2] ?? ON sky' (< \*skeu\_yo-) 'cloud, clouding', OSx skio 'Wolkendecke', AS sc'io 'cloud' (unless ÷ OIr ce'ó 'fog') || SI \*xova- v. 'hide; take care of' > Cz chovati id., Slk chovat' 'to feed, keep (livestock)', 'conceal, keep', Hls chowac' 'to keep, conceal, hide', OP, P chowac' 'to hide, conceal; feed; bury', OR XIV ховатиса (въ законѣ своемъ) 'keep oneself (in one's religion)' [i.e. 'remain faithful to one's religion'], R S/W/Psk/Kl хо'ват□ 'to bury, hide, conceal', R Tv/Rz ху'ват□ 'to hide', Uk хо'вати, Blr хо'вац□ 'to hide, keep, bury', OCrt K hovati 'to put, place' || OI [Dhat., Bhatt.] sku- v. 'cover', skuna-ti 'covers', KhS {Bai.} bu-s.kve 'covered', khaucā 'covering, face' ¶ Mayrhofer (M K III 508, M E II 751) rejects the connection of the OI √ sku- with words for 'skin', because skuna-ti 'covers' is "vereinzelt und jung", but the late attestation of the OI word does not rule out its ancient origin (confirmed within Itr by the KhS cognate) ¶ WP II 546-8, P 951-3, EI 134, MW 1257, Bai. 76, 301, F I 541, Ch. 360, Ho. 279, 284, Ho. S 66, Vr. 506, 508, Kb. 902Fs. 435, Sl. 338-9, ESSJ VIII 86-8 (all of them do not mention the connection of SI \*xov- with the IE √ in question), Srz. III 1377 ¶ NrGrm and Gt Verschärfung (ON -ggj-, Gt -ggw-) points to the presence of a Ir. II ?? D \*caval.i 'cloth' [× N \*c'aw'bV '(hide as) cloth', q.v. ffd.] ♦ NrGmc and Gt Verschärfung (ON -ggj-, Gt -ggw-) points to the presence of an IE Ir. which is likely to go back to N \*h (a Ir. liable to be lost in HS and K).

**322.** ??σ \*c'Eχu 'mix, deal with each grain (one by one), separate them' > K: GZ \*ceχ- v. 'thresh, knead', {K<sup>2</sup>} 'remove stubble' > OG sa-xceχu-el- 'mowing board', {FS} sa-ceχwl- 'flail', G I/G {Chx.} v. ceχ- 'husk (e.g. maize), cruck (rice)', G {DCh.} ceχ- 'thresh', {K<sup>2</sup>} ceχ- 'remove stubble', Mg caχ- 'knead' ({Q} 'мѣтити'), {K<sup>2</sup>} 'grind, crush' ¶ FS K 397-8, FS E 447, K<sup>2</sup> 264, Chx. 1994, DCh. 1994, Q 370 II HS: ? C: Bj √s'wy {R} 'mix, add' ({R} 1s: p. a's'a-wi ~ a's'a-u, pqp. 'is'wa, prs. es'u'wī ~ 'e-s'wi) ¶ R WBd 218-9 || ???σ S: Ar √shh 'flog, strike' ¶ Ln. 1313 II ?σ IE: NaIE \*ske\_u- 'poke\rake\stir (the fire)' ('stochern') > OI {MW} sku- 'pluck, pick, poke, tear': Vd cos.ku'yate 'stöbert auf, bringt durcheinander, stochert', OI [SČB] a-skauti 'verkleinert durch Stochern', [Ap.] danta-skavana 'das Stochern in den Zähnen', KhS bus.kuta 'burst' || ?σ AdS of Blt \*sku- ~ \*skut- 'scrape, scratch, peel' (mt < NaIE \*kes-/kseu- v. 'scratch, comb' < N \*k.a'c'U 'to scratch, scrape off scales', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP II 552-3, P 954, M K III 508, M E II 751, MW 1257, Bai. 300 ♦ Qu. (loose semantic connections).

**323.** \*c'i'χE 'to sweep, rub\scratch away' > HS: CS √shy 'sweep (away)' > Ar √shy 'sweep away', BHb ehx √shy/w N (ip. 3pm yis'sa'hu-) 'be swept away', √shy/D 'sweep away', sə'hī 'litter', SmA √shy G 'wash', JEA {Sl.} √shy G 'wash oneself, bathe', JA, SmA √shy D 'wash, cleanse, bathe' ¶ KB 707, Sl. 797, Tal 576-7, Js. 971, BK I 1063-4 II A: Tg: Ewk cī- 'scratch away, clean away' ¶ STM II 388 II D \*cī- ({GS} \*c'c's-) > Tm cī v. 'sweep off, brush away, wipe off', cīy 'sweep', Gnd heya-na- d hey- d hay- d ey- id., Krx cī:c- 'rub with sth. soft for cleaning, wipe away', Mlt {Drs.} cī'ce v. 'wipe, clean' ¶ D #2599 II ??φ IE: Ht sanh- 'sweep, wipe away' ¶ Frd. HW 182, Ts. W 70.

**324.** \*c'a ~ \*c'a (= \*Hic'c'a?) marker of relative constructions [(in descendant lgs.: → sx. of adjectives \ singulatives (→ diminutives)] > HS: C: EC: Or -ic'c'a d -ic'a, sx. of singlt. m., Brj -ac'c'o, -ic'c'o, -c'o, -c'c'a, Sd -ic'c'o, -ic'c'a, -c'o, Kmb -(c')c'u, Alb -c'o, Hd -V(c')c'o, Dsn -(V)c' id. || ?? Dhl -z'e id. ¶ It belongs here unless it goes back to \*-ay-t- (singlt. \*-ay- [as -ay- in Bj: ta'wig-ay- 'a mosquito' ↔ taweg 'mosquitos'] + HS singlt. \*-at- > pS \*-at-id., Sa -t-id. [{R} adam-to 'a man'], etc.) ¶ Zab. MNPC 3, 21, 125, 133-4, 219-24, To. DL 75 II IE: NaIE \*isk-, sx. of relative adjectives: Gmc \*isk-, Lt -is'ka-, Sl \*-ysk-: Gt mannisk 'männlich', OHG irdisc 'irdisch', Lt de'vis'kas 'göttlich', OCS нѣбесьскъ ne'bes'yskъ 'himmlisch', ? Gk -ισκο- dem. (παῖδι'σκοῖ 'child' [dem.]), as well as possibly amb Arm gen.-dat.-abl. pl. -ç- -c'h- ¶ Brg. KVG 327, Me. EAC 71-2 II U \*-c'V, qualifying sx.: F karitsa 'lamb' (cp. karja 'cattle?'), Mr kure'a 'shoulder yoke' (cp. Prm {LG} \*ker 'beam' > Z ker, Vt kor), Chr L kuw'ic'ъ 'fem. capercalzie' (cp. F koppelo, Lp N goap'pel), Os: O a'ps'i, Kz aps'i, Nz apəs'a 'younger brother, nephew (younger than ego)', as well as Vg: N/ML {MK} a'ps'i ~ aps'i, Ss апси aps'i ({MK} < Os) (cp. Vg: N/ML a'p'ix ~ ap'ix, Ss апг 'nephew, grandson') || Ne -c', -c'e, dimin. sx. ¶ SSA I 313, Lh. 206, 212-3, Stn. D 150, MK 46, BV 17 II A: NaT [1] \*-c, sx. of diminutives and forms of endearment: OT o'gu'c'u'm 'mein Mütterchen' (< o'g 'mother'), atac'im 'mein Väterchen' (< ata 'father') (Gbn. ATG 59), atac' 'das Kind, das den Vater spielt', anac' 'Mädchen, das die Mutter spielt' (Rm. EAS II 215), etc.; [2] \*-ca/-ca'', diminutive and intensive > OT: anc'a 'ein Paar', azraq-c'a 'ganz wenig' (Gbn. ATG 59-60, Deny § 517) (acc. to IS), [3]

\*-ci/-ci, sx. of n. agentis (trade, etc.) (× N \*c'ru' 'that of..., that which') (¶ SIGTJM 144-6, Kon. GJTRP 84-6, Gbn. ATG 60) || Tg ꞑ\*-can: Rm. mentions Nn diminutive -c'a [amac'a, abac'a 'Väterchen', mamac'a 'Mamachen' (mama 'old woman')], but in grammars and dictionaries of the Tg lgs. I found only Nn {On.} mamac'a-n 'old woman' (dim.) ÷ Ul {Sun.} mama-c'a(n) 'old woman', cp. also Ewk -cika-n [including Tg dim. \*-ka-n] (oroncika-n 'young of a reindeer' -d> oron 'reindeer')] ¶ Rm. EAS II 215-8, On. 256 Sun. UJ 212, Vas. 797 || Ko {Rm.} -ci: apaci [abaʒ'i] 'Väterchen', əməci [əməʒ'i] 'Mütterchen' ¶¶ Rm. EAS II 215-8 ♦ IS I 204 (N -C'a) ♦ The rec. \*Hic|c'.a is based on the presence of \*i in IE \*-isk- and in EC ꞑ\*-ic-. It is quite possible that the pc. \*c'.|c'.a (= \*Hic|c'.a?) goes back to the N noun ic'xv~\*c'.- (\*-I|h-) 'father, head of a family' (q.v. ffd.). A semantic parallel: Ar ?abu 'father' as marker of relative constructions, as well as the use of words for 'son' in similar constructions in Hb, Aram, Berber and Chinese.

**325.** <sub>2</sub> \*c'.a' v. 'away, downward' > K: GZ \*c.a- 'downward, away' > OG, G c.a- pv. 'away', Mg, Lz c.o- pv. 'dowbward'; -d> GZ \*c.a-re- (~ \*c.a-le-?) adv. 'downward' > OG pv. c.ar-, G adv. c.are, Mg, Lz c.ale ¶ \*re is a morpheme of adverbs of place, e.g. GZ \*ga-re 'outside' (> OG gare, Mg, Lz gale) ¶ K 59, 241-2 || IE: NaIE \*°sk- > Sl \*sъ (+ gen. [< abl.]) prep. 'downward from' > OCS, OR съ sъ, R c / co, OCz, Cz, OP s / se, SCr s / sa, (× Sl \*jъz 'from'): Uk z, P z / ze, Slk z / zo; pv. \*sъ- 'downward from sth.' > OCS, OR съ- sъ-, R c- / co-, Uk c- / з-, P ze- / s-, OCz, Cz s- / se-, Slk z- / s-, Slv s-, Blg c- ¶ possibly Arm gen.-dat.-abl. pl. -ç- -c<sup>h</sup>- (× IE adjectival suffix \*-isk- < N \*c'.a - \*c'a, marker of relative constructions [q.v.]) ¶ Me. EAC 71-2, ꞑ Vs. III 540 (*unc.* : Sl \*sъ < NaIE \*k'om 'with'), ꞑ EtSSJ-SGZ I 244-6, 249-55 (unjustified rec. of \*-n in Sl \*sъn), Rcz. 437.

**326.** \*c'.|c'i - \*c'.|c'i, marker of verbal frequentativity\iterativity > IE sx. \*-sk-, marker of iterativity\frequency > AnIE: Ht iterative sx. -sk- (denoting iterative and durative stems), Lw, HrLw, Pal -ss-, -s- 'id. (?)' || NaIE \*-sk- > Tc: B -sk-, A -s-, caus. sx. (← iterative-intensive) and sx. of the middle voice: Tc B 'ta'nama'sk-au 'I beget', ta'nma'sk-emar 'I am born', also without caus. meaning: a'na'skem 'we breathe' ] in most other branches of NaIE \*-sk- functions as a marker of the ip. aspect ('present'): \*gm°-sk'-eti ({Be.} \*g°m-'ske) 'goes, is going' > OI 'ga-cch-ati, Av (3s) jasaiti id., Gk (1s) βα'σκω, \*g°no-sk'-o- ({Be.} \*g°nh<sub>3</sub>-ske) 'I recognize, know' > L (gnosco, Gk Ep γνω'σκω id., OPrs xs'na-s-a-tiy 'noscat', \*prk'-sk'-o- 'I ask' > OI pr°c'cha-mi id., L posco 'I ask, request', OHG forscō-n (> NHG forschen) 'to explore, inquire', \*is-sk'-e-ti 'he requires, looks for' > OI ic'chati 'requires', fossilized as part of the stem in Sl \*jъskati 'to look for' (> OCS искати iskati, R ис'кат, etc.), Lt ies'ko'ti id., OHG eisco-n (> NHG heischen 'to require'), AS a'scian (> NE ask) ¶ Brg. KVG 519-620, Szem. EVS-70 253-4, Bks. VT 271, 274, Kb. 280, Vn. A 86, Iv. OPA 139-72, Bn. TIE 96, Ad. H 76-8, ESSJ VIII 238-9, Frd. HEB I 140-1, Mer. SGA 330-1 || U: FU \*-c'e-, sx. of frequentative verbs: F -tse (with partial loss of clear frequentative semantics): ruoskitse- v. 'flog, whip', 'give a terrible beating' | Lp Vfs {Lgc.} -s-, sx. of durative verbs and verbs of state: g\_w>arya'sit v. 'lie' [cp. g\_u>ṛṛyēt 'lie down'] | Mk -s'ə-, Er -s'e-, sx. of frequentativity: Mk mor-s'ə- v. 'use to sing', pil-s'ə- v. 'saw frequently', Er yak-s'e- v. 'stop frequently', {Ps.} sovs'e-ms, suvs'i-ms, frequ. from suvams v. 'go in, enter' || ObU \*c'> Vg N {Rmb.} -s-, -s-, sxs. of durative verbs: po'yaks'(a)- v. 'pray' (i.e. 'be begging, imploring' [< po'yk(u)- v. 'beg, implore']), waṅks(a)- v. 'be crawling, ползат' [< waṅk(u)- v. 'crawl (in a certain direction), ползти']; ObU compound sx. \*-c'l-, marker of durative and iterative verbs > Os N -s'l-: la'ulas'lem 'I am waiting' (durative of la'ullem 'I wait'), Vg UL {Lh. [← Mu.]} e'rye's'le'im 'I sing now and then, sing often' (< e'ryi- v. 'sing') ¶ Lh. PUAS 218-22, Srb. IMMJ 229-30, Sz. 106, Rmb. 172-3 || R: M \*-ci-, sx. of verbal intensivity: WrM kemke-ci- v. 'break in pieces' < kemke 'in pieces', compound sx. \*-caga-/cege-, marker of polypersonality: WrM -caga-/cege-, HIM -цгаа-/цгоо-/цгүү-/цг' - , e. g. WrM yabucaga- v. 'walk\go' (of many people) < yabu- 'go, walk' ¶ Pp. GWM 63, 66, Snz. SMJ 66 || Tg \*-ci-, sx. of intensive and durative verbs > Nn xola-c'i- v. 'go on reading', Ul gu'p3l-c'i- v. 'shake (many times)', Lm tan-ci- v. 'draw (with effort)' ¶ Bz. 119, Pt. UD 71 || HS: possibly (but not certainly) the S root-extension \*-c-, e.g. CS \*s'pc. D [> JA, MHb c'pS s'pc. D v. 'repair'] - f CS \*s'py v. 'sweep bare' [> MHb efs s'py, Ar s'fy id.] ♦ It is likely that this N pc. goes back to some aux. verb (forming a construction that meant ꞑ 'used to..., tries to...', e.g. to the verb \*c'ih'i' ꞑ 'to carry' (q.v. ffd.) ♦ IS I 206 (IE, U, A), ꞑ Gr. I 206-9 ("conative SK" in IE + qu. FU {Sz.} \*-sk- of frequentativity, intensivity, etc., + err. Tg conative \*-ksi, ?? ChK, EA).

**327. \*c.'oXibV** 'belly' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>/c.hb > Jb C s.ahb 'belly under the navel' ¶ Jo. J 237 ¶ **U** \*c'oywa ~ \*c'owya 'belly, stomach' > pLp {Lr.} \*c'ō-vye- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} tjoa'jjie, L {LLO} tja'i've-, N {N} c'oaw'je / -wj-, Kld c'ov'v'y id. || Sm {Jn.} \*c'teywъ ({Jn.} \*t<sup>1</sup>ejwə-) 'stomach' > Ne: T тив, T O {Lh.} t<sup>s</sup>iβ id., F L {Lh.} c'i\_eβ 'Pansen, Inhalt des Pansens'; Kms {KD} s'u\_i.з° 'Magen, Bauch, Inneres', {Cs.} s'ō'yo- 'das Innere' ¶ Coll. CG 401, UEW 40, Lr. #180, Lgc. #667, Hs. 1326-7, Jn. 156-7, KD 66 ¶ **D** (in GnD) \*cipp- ({GS} \*s|s-) 'upper belly' > Gnd Ch sipi id., Gnd B sipi 'the part over the liver', Ku sipa-d\_aki d hīpa-d\_aki 'chest' (cp. Kui d\_aki 'breastbone, chest') ¶ D #2620 ◇ D \*-pp- < \*-Xb-. In U the variant \*c'owya (in Lp) is due to metathesis.

**328. 2 \*c.'u|b|VjgV** 'to dip in' (→ 'dye'), 'immerse' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>/c.by 'to dye, dip' > BHb, IA, BA obc /c.bf, NNEA /s.bf v. 'dye', Ar \*bC /s.by v. G 'dye, dip', Sr /s.b<sup>o</sup> G 'dip, moisten, dye', JA /s.b<sup>o</sup> G 'dip; dye', JEA {Sl.} /s.b<sup>o</sup> G id., 'moisten', SmA /s.b<sup>o</sup> G 'wash, rinse', Md /s.b<sup>o</sup> 'immerse, dye', Gz /s.bx G 'dip (into a sauce)', Sq {L} /s.b<sup>o</sup> 'paint', Ak NB s.a'bu 'dyer'; (× N \*c.'eiyjV 'to sink, immerse; swim; flow'): Ak fOB s.abu 'to soak, bathe' ¶ KB 937, 1768-9, KBR 998-9, HJ 958, Tal 720-1, Js. 1259, Lv. IV 165, Sl. 951, JPS 472, Br. 620, DM 388-9, BK I 1307-8, L G 546, CAD XIII 45-6, 55 || EC {Ss.} \*c.ub|Vjg- ({Ss.} \*d\_ub-) v. 'dip in' > Or {Ss., Th.} c'.up.-/c'.ub- id., {Grg.} c'.u'p- (= c'.u'p.-) v. 'dip', Dbs t.upa- v. 'swim', Ya t.o'b- v. 'sift', HEC: Brj {Hd.} c'.u'b-, Ged {Hd.} c'.u'p.- 'immerse' (infl. of HEC \*c'.e'p.- v. 'immerse' < N \*c.'eiyjV '↑') || ?? Bj {R} -d.if pcv. 'dye' (1s: p. a'd.if, prs. an'd.if) ¶ Ss. PEC 30, Grg. 89, Th. 72, Hd. 184, 235, ≠ Hd. 83 (Brj, Ged < HEC \*c'.e'f-), R WBd 73 || B: Izd -z.ubb 'plonger la tête dans l'eau' ¶ Mrc. 196 ¶¶ But HEC \*c'.ep.- v. 'immerse' is to be kept apart, because it belongs together with FU \*c'epV- v. 'immerse, drown' and M \*cibki- v. 'dive, dip' to N \*c.'eiyjV (q.v.) ¶ **A:** NaT \*cu'bi't > OT QU [MhK] {Cl.} c'u'wit, {DTS} c'u'wu't '(ε) dye-stuff', Tk c.ivit 'indigo, ultramarine', Tlt {Rl.} c'ibit 'ochre' ¶ Cl. 395, Rl. III 2155, TL 399 || ?σ Tg \*copV ~ \*cobb- v. 'drown, dive' > Ewk copo- id., Neg cop tik- v. 'disappear (in water), drown', Orc cubb3- vt. 'drown, immerse' ¶ STM II 408.

**329. \*c'.u'dV** 'point with a finger', (→) 'true, just' > **K** \*<sup>o</sup>/c.wd > Sv /m-c.od: Sv L mac.wdi 'right, innocent, found not guilty' ¶ Dn. s.v. mc.od ¶ **HS:** WS \*<sup>o</sup>/c.dk., \*c.dak.- > Hb c.a'd\_ak /-c.dak.- 'be right, be in the right, be just', IA c.dk. G 'be (considered as) just', Amr {G} /s.dk. 'be just', JA /c.dk. G 'be right, true', JEA {Sl.} /c.dk. Sh 'make right\legal', Sr /c.dk. (Sr c.ad'dek. 'justificavit'), SmA /s.dk. 'give charity', Ar /s.dq 'être vrai, sincère', Sb {BGMR} s.dk. v. (D?, Sh) 'perform\fulfil (a duty\obligation), justify', Qtb {Rk.} s.dk. v. D? 'grant one his due', Mn {MA} s.dk. id., 's'acquitter d'un devoir', Gz /s.dk. (js. yəs.dak.) 'be just \ justified\ righteous \ true'; WS \*c.id|Vjg.- (~ \*c.ad|Vjg.-?) > BHb 'c.ed.ek. 'rightness, righteousness, justice', Ph/Yd/OA {HI} s.dk. 'correct \ justifiable conduct', legitimacy', Ug {OLS} 'justicia, legitimidad', {A} s.dk. 'Zuverlässigkeit, Tugend', Amr {G} s.idk.-um 'justice', SmA s.dk. 'righteousness, justice', Ar s.idq- 'veritas, sinceritas', s.adq- 'truth' (→ Mh s.adk. id.), Sb s.dk. 'right, justice, justification, truth', Qt {Rk.} s.dk. 'goodwill, concurrence, favour', Mn {MA} s.dk. 'droit', Gz s.adk. 'justice, righteousness, truth'; BHb qid'5c2 c.ad'dik. 'just, righteous', JA {Js.} c.ad'dik., c.addi'k.-a- 'virtuous, just, pious man', IA, JEA {Sl.} c.ad'dik. 'righteous, righteous man', SmA s.dyk. 'righteous', Ph s.dk. 'legitimate', Pun s.adyk. 'correct\justifiable in conduct, legitimate', IA s.dyk. adj. 'being entitled to, having the right', n. 'just\righteous one', Ar s.adiq- 'amicus, amicus sincerus' ¶ KBR 1003-7, BDB ##6659-66, HJ 961-4, A #2305, OLS 414, G A 34, Js. 1262-4, Sl. 952, Tal 724, Fr. I 488-9. L G 548, BGMR 141, Rk. 133-4, MA 93, Jo. M 35, Siv. GAG 269 ¶ **D** [1] \*cut.t.- / \*cunt.- ({GS} \*s-) v. 'point at with the finger, show' > Kn sut.t.u 'point at with the finger', sut.t.unbe 'the index finger', Kn, Tu cu't.i, Tl su't.i 'aim', Tm cut.t.u v. 'point out, show, designate, indicate', Ml cut.t.u 'pointing', cu'n.t.uka v. 'point at, aim', Kui su't.a v. 'point with a finger', Ku hu't.- d hu'tali v. 'point out' ¶¶ ?σ [2] \*cut.t.- / \*cu't.- ({GS} \*s-) 'clever' > Tm cut.t.i 'intelligent person', Ml cut.t.i, Kn su't.i 'smartness, quickness', Kn sut.i 'clever, able', Td sut.m 'cleverness, skill', Tu cut.i, sut.i 'smart, clever', Tl su't.i 'clearheadedness' ¶¶ D ##2656, 2568.

**330. ? \*c.a|?idV** 'to hunt for, wish' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>/c.yd 'hunt, hunt for' > Ar /s.yd G 'chasser, prendre à la chasse (une bête fauve, etc.)', JEA /c.wd G 'catch creatures', Sb /s.yd G 'hunt, perform a ritual hunt', d: Mh pf. 3s.t3yu'd, Jb E/C 3s'tōd v. 'fish'; \*c.ay|Vjg.-n. 'hunt, hunting' > BHb di%e2 'c.ayid., JA adlic4 c.e'd\_-a-, Sr s.ay'd-a- id., Ar s.ayd- id., 'killed game', Md s.aid 'Jagd, Fischfang', Ug s.d 'killed game', Pun s.d (??) sacrifice of game', Sb {Bl.} s.d ~ s.yd 'hunt; game, hunted animals', Mh s.ayd, Jb E

s,ud, Jb C s,od, Sq {Jo.} 's,od3h 'fish'; *d* : JA ad1l!c2 c,ayya<sup>-</sup>d<sub>-</sub>a<sup>-</sup>, Sr s,ayya<sup>-</sup>d<sub>-</sub>a<sup>-</sup>, BHb d!c2 c,ay'ya<sup>-</sup>d<sub>-</sub> (Ab Aram) 'hunter', JEA {Sl.} c,ayya<sup>-</sup>d<sub>-</sub>a<sup>-</sup> 'fisherman', Ak s,aya<sup>-</sup>du {Sd.} id., {CAD} 'stalker, stalking', Mh s,zyyo<sup>-</sup>d, Ar s,ayya<sup>-</sup>d<sub>-</sub>, Sb s,yd 'hunter', Jb E s,3b'bēdi, s,3b'di, Jb C s,e<sup>-</sup>d 'fishermen' ¶ KB 956-7, HJ 959, A #2302, OLS 414, Js. 1274, Sl. 953, 959-60, Ln. 1753, BK I 1389, Bll. 421-2, Jo. M 369, Sd. 1075, CAD XVI 66 || Dhl {E} t,a<sup>-</sup>t<sub>-</sub>ikuδ- 'long for' || SC: (here?) Qz {E} salim- 'want, need' ¶ E SC 226 (SC \*t<sup>-</sup>a<sub>-</sub>d<sub>-</sub>- 'want, need') || U \*c'a<sup>-</sup>da- v. 'run, race' (of animals), 'rut' (× N \*c<sup>-</sup>.a<sup>-</sup>f<sup>-</sup>i<sup>-</sup>d<sup>-</sup>v 'to advance with effort', q.v. ffd.) || K \*c<sup>-</sup>.ad- 'to wish, desire' > OG, G c<sup>-</sup>.ad- 'wish, desire', Sv had- /hd(w)- 'wish' (inf. li-hdw-i) ¶ K 242, K DE, K<sup>2</sup> 306, FS K 457, FS E 517-8.

**331.** ?? \*c<sup>-</sup>.a<sup>-</sup>f<sup>-</sup>i<sup>-</sup>d<sup>-</sup>v 'to advance with effort (run, climb, etc.), step' > HS: WS \*√c<sup>-</sup>.fd v. 'step, climb' > BHb doc √c<sup>-</sup>.fd G 'stride solemnly, walk along [sth.], climb', 'ca<sup>-</sup>fa<sup>-</sup>d 'step', Ar √s<sup>-</sup>.fd (pf. s,a<sup>-</sup>fida, ip. -s<sup>-</sup>.fa<sup>-</sup>d) v. 'ascend, step' ('monter par degrés, monter sur une échelle; marcher d'un pas affecté et saccadé, marcher sur une pente; aller, se diriger (vers un lieu)', ?σ *d* : OYmn s<sup>-</sup>.fd ({Slw.} s<sup>-</sup>.ufd) 'tripod (cookingstand)', Ar Y s<sup>-</sup>.ufd id., Ar D s<sup>-</sup>.ufd 'âtre fait de trois pierres', Ar B {Stace} s<sup>-</sup>.ufd 'cookingstand for pots', Amh {L} t,ade 'put the pot on the fire (on the cookingstand)' ¶ GB 688-9, KBR 1040, BK I 1337-8, Slw. 133, Lb. 2131, Stace 40, L EDG III 612 || ?? C: SC: Irq {Wh., Mgw, Wd.} -c<sup>-</sup>.af-am- 'climb', Irq/Alg {E} -c<sup>-</sup>.afam- id., 'mount' ¶ Wh. SI, Mgw. 104, Wd. #381 ¶¶ □ Tk. PAA 2 (SC ÷ Hs c,aya 'stand') || IE: NaIE \*k<sup>-</sup>ad- or \*k<sup>-</sup>ad- □'go, walk' > Gk χα<sup>-</sup>ζομαι 'go away, draw back, retire' || Sl \*xodi- 'to walk', n. act. \*xodъ > OCS, OR xodъ, Blg, R xod, SCr ho<sup>-</sup>d, Slv ho<sup>-</sup>d, Cz chod, P cho<sup>-</sup>d n. act. of 'to walk'; OCS xodити, Blg 'ходь, SCr ho<sup>-</sup>diti, Slv ho<sup>-</sup>diti, Cz choditi, P chodzie', R xодит□ 'to walk' ¶ F II 1061, Kzl. GSC 384, □ ESSJ VIII 48-52 (unconvincingly connects the Sl root with IE \*sed- 'to sit'), F II 1061 (no cognates of the Gk word) || U \*c'a<sup>-</sup>da ({UEW} \*c'a<sup>-</sup>da ~ \*s'a<sup>-</sup>da) v. 'run, race' (of animals) ('rut') (× N \*c<sup>-</sup>.a<sup>-</sup>i<sup>-</sup>d<sup>-</sup>v 'to hunt for, wish', q.v. ffd.) > FU: F suota 'group of mares which are in heat', suoti- v. 'rut, be in heat' (BF \*o<sup>-</sup> < \*a<sup>-</sup>) : Lp: N {N} c<sup>-</sup>uodde/-d- v. 'go outside the herd to look for female reindeer' (of a weak male reindeer), c<sup>-</sup>uoddeli- 'set off to look for female reindeer' (of a male reindeer in the rutting season), I {It.} 'c<sup>-</sup>u<sup>-</sup>adde<sup>-</sup> 'Rentierstier, der besiegt wurde und der danach die Flucht ergriffen hat' : Prm: Z Vc c<sup>-</sup>u3d-, StZ чyав-ны c<sup>-</sup>uav-ni, Z Ud c<sup>-</sup>ual-, Yz c<sup>-</sup>u<sup>-</sup>lal- v. 'rut'; Z Δ c<sup>-</sup>ulav- v. 'elapse, vorbeigehen' (of time), Prmk c<sup>-</sup>ulav-, Prmk N c<sup>-</sup>ulal-, Prmk In c<sup>-</sup>uav- ~ c<sup>-</sup>uvav- 'vorbeigehen, vorübergehen (z. B. an einer Kirche), 'pass, be over, elapse' (of time, winter, etc.) || Hg szalad- v. 'run, flee' || ? Sm: StNe T ca<sup>-</sup>ie-, Ne BZ/W {Ter.} sa<sup>-</sup>ye-, Ne E/Y {Ter.} saye-, T O {Lh.} sa<sup>-</sup>ye<sup>-</sup> v. 'rut' (of mammals and birds) ¶¶ Coll. 58, UEW 28 (Lp N misquoted with c- for c<sup>-</sup>), SK 1120-1, N I 428, LG 312-3, KPR 547-8 ¶¶ {UEW}: Z \*3d-, -al<sup>-</sup>d-av- and Hg -ad- are sxs. ¶¶ BF, Lp, Prm and Sm data suggest (or are compatible with) the rec. of U \*c<sup>-</sup>-, while Hg sz- requires a special explanation || A: Tg \*ci<sup>-</sup>dX- v. 'run' (of animals) > Neg cida- id., Ul c<sup>-</sup>idu- ~ c<sup>-</sup>idu- v. 'trot, gallop' (of horses) ¶ STM II 389-90.

**332.** \*c<sup>-</sup>.uyya 'thorn' > K {K<sup>2</sup>} \*c<sup>-</sup>xwi- id., 'arrow' > Mg o-c<sup>-</sup>xva-c<sup>-</sup>xvi-n-aia 'thorny, burning' ({IS} 'needles of cereals') (IS: < \*sa-c<sup>-</sup>xwe-c<sup>-</sup>xw-in- with *rdp* of \*c<sup>-</sup>xw-), Sv: UB/LB/Ln c<sup>-</sup>xwi, L c<sup>-</sup>xu 'arrow' ¶¶ IS I 197, K<sup>2</sup> 26, TK 843, GP 277 || HS: S \*°√c<sup>-</sup>.fn > Ar mus,a<sup>-</sup>f<sup>-</sup>an- 'terminé en pointe, effilé' (se dit, par ex., des oreilles de quelques animaux) ¶ BK I 1340 || IE \*sk<sup>-</sup>wei<sup>-</sup>H<sub>1</sub>- 'thorn', {EI} \*skwe<sup>-</sup>i<sup>-</sup>-s (gen. \*sku<sup>-</sup>y-os) 'needle' and/or 'thorn' > pAl {O} \*skuna (with a secondary \*n-sx. from earlier \*skuya) > Al T hu 'stake, pole, ox-goad, penis', Al G hu<sup>-</sup>, (with the article) huni 'penis' || Clt: OIr sce<sup>-</sup> (gen. pl. sciad < \*sk<sup>-</sup>h<sup>-</sup>wiy-at-) 'thorny bush, haw (Crataegus)'; Brtt \*spii<sup>-</sup>at- > OW dir ispidatten 'up to the thorny bush', MW yspydāt '(bark of) haw', W yspyddaden 'Spinus albus, spina acuta', ysyddad 'Santis, Leucacanthé', Crn spethes, {Ern.} spedhes 'thorny shrubs', MBr spezaden snglt. 'groseille' || Lt skuja<sup>-</sup> 'needle of a conifer', Ltv skujas (f. pl.) id. : Sl \*xvoja ~ \*xvojъ 'needles of a conifer' > OCz chvoje<sup>-</sup>, Cz chvoje, R 'хвои id., Slv ho<sup>-</sup>ja 'fir-tree, conifer', P choja 'conifer, pine-tree', Blg 'хвои 'pine-tree'; Sl \*xujъ 'penis' > Blg, R хуй, P chuj ¶ P 958, EI 80, Frn. 821, Vn. S 37, Ern. 642, O 150-1, Bern. I 408, ESSJ VIII 114, 125-6 || A: NaT \*cu<sup>-</sup>y(a<sup>-</sup>) 'needle of a coniferous tree; coniferous tree' > Alt c'a<sup>-</sup> 'young coniferous forest', ET I c<sup>-</sup>u<sup>-</sup>a<sup>-</sup> 'penis', Nog s<sup>-</sup>u<sup>-</sup>y, VTt s<sup>-</sup>ъ<sup>-</sup>y, Bsh s<sup>-</sup>ъ<sup>-</sup>y 'nail, wedge', Tkm c<sup>-</sup>u<sup>-</sup>y 'wedge', Tk c<sup>-</sup>ivi id. (< \*cu<sup>-</sup>y-i < [as] \*cu<sup>-</sup>y-a<sup>-</sup>) || NTg \*ci<sup>-</sup>ya > Ewk ci<sup>-</sup>y3, Ewk Nk ci<sup>-</sup>ya 'needle of a coniferous tree (fallen out to the ground); an animal hair (that has come out)', Neg ci<sup>-</sup>ya 'dog's hair (that has come out)' ¶ STM 390 || D \*ci<sup>-</sup>ya<sup>-</sup> ({"GS} \*s-) 'thorn' and \*ci<sup>-</sup>ya<sup>-</sup>-kka<sup>-</sup>y 'soap-pod' (lit. 'thorn-pod') > Tm ci<sup>-</sup>-kka<sup>-</sup>y, ci<sup>-</sup>ya-kka<sup>-</sup>y 'soap-pod wattle, Acacia concinna', Ml ci<sup>-</sup>ya-kka<sup>-</sup>yi, cikka-ka<sup>-</sup>yi 'Mimosa abstergens', Td si<sup>-</sup>-x 'Acacia delibata, Acacia

melanoxydon', Kn *sīge* 'a climbing prickly shrub; Acacia concinna', Tu *sīgæ*, *sīge-kayi* 'pods of Mimosa abstergens reduced to powder and used as soap', Tl *sī-kaya* 'Acacia concinna', Knd *sīko* 'soap-nut tree' ¶¶ D #2607 (a) ♦ IS I 197 [#34] (\**cujh.a* on the basis of K, IE, Tg and D) ♦ The S cognate points to a voiced lr. \**ʕ* or \**ɣ*, while the presence of a lr. in K suggests that it was \**ɣ*. In K there is assimilation \**c*. (from N \**c'*.) + \**ɣ* > \**cɣ*-.  
 333. \**c*. **Ak.ɿ.ɿ.ɿ** 'a snow (thin layer of snow?), hoar-frost' > HS: S \**√c.k.ɿ* > *d* Ar *s\_aqīf*- 'hoar-frost' ¶ BK I 1353 || C: Ag {**Ap.**} \**cəq-/caq*- (= \**cək-/cak*.-) 'rainy season' > Bln *s'əq*, {R} *s'iq*, Xm {R} *ɜ'a*-, {Ap.} *c'a-ra*, Xm T {CR} *c'ar* ({AD} = *c'ay*?), Km *s'axi*, Q {R} *s'a'g'e*, Aw *c'ə'ə* ¶ Ap. AV 20, AD SF 103-4, 205-6 ¶¶ ?? S (+ *ext*) \**s's'ak.t*.- > Ar *saqt*.- 'snow, dew' ¶ Hv. 326 ¶ U: FU \**c'aka* 'drift-ice; thin ice' > pLp {Lr.} \**c'o'ke*- 'ice-crust on snow' > Lp: S {Hs.} *tjuo'gie id.*, L {LLO} *tjuohke*- 'ice-crust on the ground', N {N} *c'uokke* / -*gg*- 'ice-crust on pasture' || ObU: pOs \**c'oɣ* > Os V {KrT} *t'oɣ* 'thin floating ice (before freezing of a river)', Vg ML {Mu.} *saɾ* 'drift-ice' || Hg Δ *zaj*, *szaj*, *saj* 'Eisstosß, Eitreiben; dünne Eisdecke auf der Wasseroberfläche' ¶ UEW 29, Lr. #190, Lgc. #755, KrT 898 ¶¶ U \**c'a'ke(rV)* > FU: pLp {Lr.} \**c'e'kər* 'winter pasture for reindeer' > Lp: S {Hs.} *tjiege're*, L {LLO} *tjiekər*, N {N} *c'iega'r*, Kld *c'iyar*; Lp *b* F *kiekero* id. || ObU \**c'vɣər* > Vg: LK *s'o'r*, UL *s'ivr*, Ss *s'avr* 'trampled snow'; Os: V *t'iyər* 'snow-drift, Schneewehe, **цyrпoб'**, Y *t'a'ɣər*, O *s'a'ɣər* id., 'winter pasture (with trampled snow) for reindeer and elks' || Sm {Jn.} \**sekV(-rV)*- > Ne T *s'ehe* 'large snowball, hard snow', *s'eheri* 'algemeiner Winterweg' ¶ Lr. #147, Lgc. #608, Ht. #820, Trj. S 492, Trj. VD 195, ¶ Resh. NEN #1 [*err.* adduction of Kms {KD} *s'ə'r* 'reindeer pasture', while in fact Kms \**s*- is from \**k*-] ¶ A {DQA} \**c\_i\_aga* ({**A** DQA} \**c\_i\_aga*) > ¶ Tg \**c\_i\_a\_ga* 'thin ice-crust over snow' > Ewk *ce'ya*, Lm *çakay*, Lm A *ça'kay* id., WrMc {Z} *caqza*- 'to arise' (of ice-crust over snow), {Hr.} *caqza*- 'verkrusten', *caqzaqa-bi* 'hat sich verkrustet, ist an der Oberfläche gefroren (Schnee)' ¶ STM II 381, Hr. 135 || ?? M \**caḷḷi-sun* 'snow' > MM [MA, IM, IsV, LV] *c'asun*, WrM *casun*, HIM *цас(ан)*, Kl *casən*, MMgl [Z] *c'a'sun*, Mgl {Rm.} *c'o'sun*, Dg *c'as*, Dx *c'asun*, Ba *c'ason*, Mnr H {SM} *c'i\_a'sə*, {T} *c'ase*, Mnr M {Pot.} *чаксе*, *часун*, {Rkh.} *chekseu*, Mnr H {Pot.} *часы* ¶ MED 166, T 378, KRS 626, KW 423; -x- and -k- in Pot.'s and Rkh.'s records of Mnr M seem to reflect to M \**ɣ*. KW 423 connects this M word with WrM *caṅ* 'hoar-frost', *cai*- 'to become white and *ca-gan* 'white' (≠ MED 158, 160, 164), which is possible, but still *qu*. If Rm. is right, this will corroborate the assumption of a pM *√* \**ca* ¶¶ DQA ##304 (A \**c\_i\_aga* 'cold, frozen snow' > T, M + *unc.* pK {S} \**c'h\_*- 'cold') ♦ The HS glottalization \*\**k* > \**k*. is due to the infl. of \**ʕ* and/or that of the initial \**c*.- ♦ Resh. NEN #1 (A - U).

334. **ɿ** \**c.ik.ɿ* 'small' > K: GZ {K<sup>2</sup>} \**c'.ik.u*- 'tiny, wee; small things', {FS} \**c'.ik*.- 'small' > G T *c.ik.u-y* 'very small, crumb', G K *c.ik.-o-mak.-o* {FS} 'winzig kleines Stoffstück', {K<sup>2</sup> ← Gh1.} 'small things', G Kzq *c.ik.-a-mak.-a* 'ganz kleiner Kram, Kleinigkeiten', ? G M *c.uk.ana* 'very small', Mg *c'.ik.u* 'small' ¶ FS K 465, FS E 527, 529, Fn. KW-4 37 [#75], Gh1. 702, K<sup>2</sup> 313 ¶ HS: Om: SOM: Dm {Fl.} *c'.ek.k.-and* 'small' f. || NrOm: Male {HLw.} *c.ik.o* id. ¶ Fl. OO 320 ¶ D {tr.} \**cikk*-, {GS} \**c'ik*.- 'little, small' > Tl *cikiciki* id., Tm *cikka* 'in brief', Ml *cikkin.i* 'young, small' (of girls), Kn *cikka*, *ciga* 'little, small, young', *ciku* 'smallness', Kdg *cikk-ad.ake* 'very young, tender areca-nut', Tu *cikka* 'little, young, small, short', Tl *cikiciki* 'small, little', as well as possibly words for 'mouse, muskrat': Kt *cikn* 'mouse', Tl *cikkeli* 'a small variety of mouse', Gnd *cikkal* <sup>d</sup> *cikka* 'muskrat', *cikka* 'mouse' ¶¶ D #2495, GS 122 [#317] ¶ A \**c'e'ka* > M \**caqa* (< \**c'e'ka* by *as*?) > MM [S] {H} *c'aqa* 'child', WrM *caqa*, HIM *цак* 'small child, infant', WrO {Krg.} *caqa-s* 'child(ren), infant(s)' ¶ H 23, MED 166, Krg. 614 || T: [1] \**cek*- > OT *c'eku'n* 'the young of the marmot' || [2] (?) T \**ca-gqa* (< \**c'e'ka* by *as* or < b- M) 'child' > OT U [IS] *c'aya* 'boy, young dancer', Chg {Bu., Shaw} *é(a'8 c'aya* 'nestling', Chg {Rs. ← ?} *c'aqa*, Osm *c'aya* 'little boy', Tkm *çara* *c'a'ya* 'child' ¶ Tz. UIS 87, Rs. W 96, Bu. I 458 || ?σ Tg: Ewk *çəks'ə* 'tarbagan' (≡ OT *c'eku'n*) ¶ STM II 419 || pKo {S} \**c\_i\_a'k*- ~ \**c\_i\_ə'k*- 'small' > MKo *c\_i\_a'k*- ~ *c\_i\_ə'k*-, NKO *cak*-, Ko: Ph *c'ak*-, Sl *c'hakt'a*, PhN *c'akt'a*, Hmg *c'a\_kt'a*, Chj *t'akt'a*, Chs *c'og'i'n*, Ks *c'ə-g'i'n*, Kw *c'axin* ¶ S QK #79, Nam 419, 425, MLC 1386 ¶¶ DQA #309 (pA \**c\_i\_a'k'e'u* or \**c'ek'a* 'small: T, M, Tg, Ko), Rm. SKE 20, Rm. EAS I 64 ♦ Sp *chico* 'little, small' (phonetic similarity without etl. connection with N \**c.ik.ɿ*) confirms the ideophonic character of the N word.

335. \**c. al'i* - ??? \**c'vīU* 'to wind (round sth.), tie' > HS: WCh \**√C'vī*- ({OS} \**c.al*.) 'rope' > Bl {Stl. ← ?} *coli*, Ang {Flk.} *sa'l* 'a tree supplying bark to make ropes from' || CCh: Mln {ChL} *sa'lu*, Bcm {Sk. in

ChL} sa'like ~ sa'lake 'rope' ¶ ChL, ChC, Flk. s.v. sa'l ¶¶ OS RPV I 67 ¶ U \*c'olV 'bind, tie', \*c'olme 'knot', v. 'bind' > FU {UEW} \*c'olme id. > F solmi 'knot', solmi- v. 'knot, tie', Es so'lm 'knot, loop' ¶ pLp \*c'o'lmz 'knot' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjuolme, L {LLO} tjuol'ma, N {N} c'uol'bma /-lm- id.; L {LLO} tjuol'ma- 'knüpfen, knoten', S {Hs.} tjuolmedh 'zubinden, zuknoten' ¶ pMr \*s'ulmъ > Er c'ulmo s'ulmo, Mk c'ulma s'ulmā d s'ulma 'Knoten, Bündel', Er/Mk c'ulma- '(zusammen)knüpfen, (zu)binden, stricken' ¶ Hg csomo' 'Knoten, Bündel' ¶ pY {IN} \*c'a'la- 'bind, add, на́дста́влѣтѣ (patch on?)' > Y {IN}: K c'o'lo-, T c'a'la- id. ¶ UEW 38-9, Lr. #194, Lgc. #765, Hs. 1346-7, Ps. sL 6O, Ker. II 149, IN 216, Ku. 316 ¶ A: two alt. hypothetical pA roots may be envisaged as cognates: [1] A \*c'ali > NaT \*calr- v. 'wind' > Qmn {B} c'alr- vt. 'wind round, entangle (обвѣтѣ, запутатѣ)', QK {B, RL.}, Tlt {RL.} c'alr- 'embrace, entangle (обнѣтѣ, запутатѣ)', Kr cal-, VTt {Bu.} s'al- v. 'wind', Qmq c'al- v. 'plait'; d NaT \*cal-ma > Chg xv c'alma 'stripe of cloth wrapped round the heads', MQp xiv [CC], OOsM xvi c'alma, Tk c'alma 'turban', Alt, Qmn, Tlt c'alma 'loop', VTt чалма s'alma, Kr calma d c'alma 'turban' ¶ Cl. 42O, Rs. W 97, KRPS 611-2, B DK 266, B DLT 22O, RL. III 188O, 1892, Bu. I 464, TL 395 ¶ Ko {MLC} car- v. 'tie up tight' ¶ MLC 1376 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 24, KW 421 ¶ or [2] ??? SDM suggest A {SDM95} \*ca'lu- v. 'twist, wrap round' and {SDM97} id., 'hang' > NaT \*tolga- id. > OT tolga- id., Tk dola-, Az, Tkm dola-, Chg, SY tolyā-, Tv t\_olyā- id. ¶ Cl. 497, Rs. W 486 ¶ M \*cilbuḷuṛ 'bridle, rein' > MM [HI] c'ilbur 'longe', WrM cilbugur, HIM цилбуур 'long leather cord attached to the headstall of a halter or bridle', WrO culbuur 'rein, guiderope, lead; halter', K1 цулвур culwuṛ 'Leitriemen, Leitzügel', '(bridle) rein, чѣмбур' ¶ Ms. H 47, MED 182, Krg. 649, KRS 64O, KW 433 ¶ pKo {S} \*ca'ra' v. 'hang up, strangle' > MKo ca'ra-, NKO car- id.; MKo ca'ro', ca'ra', ca'r, NKO caru 'handle' ¶ S QK #726, Nam 412, 416, MLC 1376 ¶ pJ {S} \*tu'r- 'handle (of a pot, basket)' > J T curu ¶¶ SDM95 and SDM97 (A \*ca'lu 'to twist, wrap round') adduce here Tg \*jalan 'joint (сустав)' (≠σ) ♦ If we could have taken for granted that Orël & Stolbova's rec. of the WCh √ is reliable, we could assume that the pN initial cns. was either \*c. or \*c'; but in my opinion the rec. is more than *qu.*, because even the primary source (in the case of Bl coli) is still to be checked, and there is no ev. of the initial cns. being emphatic. IS I 20O reconstructed the U √ as \*s'olme, and this √ served as one of the arguments for his hyp. about N \*c' (his \*c) > U \*s'. But in view of recent research both the U rec. (= UEW 38-9) and IS's hyp. must be revised. If the pA \*c'ali is chosen as a cognate, the N rec. must be \*c.'al'i.

**336.** \*c.'alV 'to bend, incline' > HS: WS (or CS) \*√c.lw > JA √c.ly ~ √c.lw G (pf. il4c6 c.ə'le- ~ al1c6 c.ə'la-) v. 'turn, incline, bend', JEA √c.ly G {SL.} 'turn aside, incline', Sr Ooç s.ə'la- 'se inclinavit, inclinatus est; flexit', Md √sl? 'bend, incline', Ar Y s.alā- prep. 'in die Richtung auf, zu, nach', ??σ √s.ly L (pf. s.ə'la-, ip. yu.s.ə'li) 'be opposite\vis-à-vis', OYmn {Slw.} √s.ly (L ?) id. (unless ÷ Sb s.lwt, s.lw 'façade, portico'), ? Gz √s.ly (pf. s.alawa) v. 'listen, incline (the ear)', s.ə'la'wə ləbb 'inconsistent, non constant' (lit. 'inclining [his] heart'), ?σ Sb s.lt 'prayer, supplication' ¶ Br. 628, Lv. IV 191, Js. 1283, Sl. 964-5, L G 556, Slw. 134-5, BGMR 143 ¶ IE: NaIE \*skel- 'bend, be bent\twisted', ¶ {EI} \*(s)kel- 'crooked' > Gk σκολιόϛ 'curved, winding, twisted' ¶ pAl {O} \*s'c'ala > Al c.ale- 'crippled, lame; wrinkled' ¶ OHG sce'lah 'sloping, squint-eyed' (> MHG sche'lich 'scheel, schielend, quer, krumm', NHG † scheel 'squint-eyed' → NHG scheel 'envious'; d MHG schilhen 'schielen, blinzeln', NHG schielen 'to squint, be cross-eyed'), AS sc'eolh 'wry, oblique', ON skjalgr 'schief, schielend' ¶ ?σ L scelus / gen. sceleris 'crime, evil deed' ¶ ??φ Arm xe- xe' 'crippled, maimed', 2el s'el 'squint-eyed, goggle-eyed' ¶ P 728, Mn. 1155, Mn. AHG 38, F II 723-4, WH II 492, Vr. 495, Ho. 275, OsS 787, Kb. 874, Lx. 181, 183, KM 64O, 647, O 49, Sl. 35O-3, Bedr. 28O, 547, ¶ EI 142 (*unc.* : adduces Pru culczy 'hip, haunch', Lt ku'lnas 'heel' and Blg кулка 'thigh' and hence reconstructs \*s- mobile in \*(s)kel- 'crooked').

**337.** \*c.'ElV (\*c.'eylV?) 'to jump' > HS: S \*°-c.u'l- ~ \*°√c.ll > Ar √s.wl (ip. -s.u'l-) v. 'dart furiously upon' (of beasts), 'assault', ??σ BHb lc2llc6 c.ə'la'c.al 'locust' (h.l., Dt. 28.42), Jb C √s.ll (pf. s.ell, 3m sbjn. 'yos.s.əl) 'be startled, jump in fright; run fast' ] deglott.: ? MHb √sll D {Lv.} 'sich hin-\her-schwenken, sich erheben' ¶ Fr. II 533-4, Hv. 41O, KB 965-6, GB 685, Jo. J 238, Lv. III 532 ¶ C: HEC: Kmb {Hd.} c'a'l-, Hd {Hd.} c'a'll-, c'alal- 'jump' ¶ SC: Kz {E} c.al- v. 'fly' ¶ Hd. 86, 273, 312, E SC 194 ¶ Ch: Hs c.a'lle- 'jumping' ¶ ECh: Ll {Grgs.} c'a'l 'jump' ¶ Abr. H 875, ChC s.v. 'jump' ¶¶ OS #411 (\*c.a'al-/c.awal-), Tk. PAA 2 (SC, Hb √sll, Hs) ¶ IE: NaIE \*(s)k'el- 'jump' > OI s'ala'bha-h. 'grasshopper', s'a'lu'ra-h. 'frog', OI Λ s'a'lu-, s'a'luka- id. ¶ MHG schel 'aufspringend, auffahrend' ¶ Lt s'u'olis, s'uoly's

'Sprung, Auf-\Emporspringen', Ltv so<sup>o</sup>lis 'step' ¶ WP II 600, P 929, ▢ M K III 313, M E II 616 (mentions OI s'ala'bha- without et.), Lx. 181, ▢ Frn. 1035 II U: FU \*c'elV- or \*c'eyV- (IS} \*c'elV-) 'jump' > pLp {Lr.} \*c'elb'- id. > Lp: L {LLO} tja''llo't, K {Gn.} c'alleð id., N {N} c'ællot / -æ'l- 'to make long jumps\bounds' : Z Ss {Wc.} c'il- in c'il-ni mun-ni 'vom Wasser zurückprallend hüpfen (Stein, wenn man "Seejungfern" wirft)' (-ni is an inf. marker, mun-ni 'go') :: Hg Sz csillai- 'jump (скакати)'; LG 305 mentions Hg csillen- 'обскакати, перепрыгати' [= 'outgallop, jump over?'] (←?) [not found in standard Hg dictionaries and in the dialect dict. UMT] ¶ The vowel corrs. within FU are irreg. (Lp points to \*e or \*ẽ, while Z and Hg suggest \*i); a possible solution is to postulate pFU \*c'eyV ¶ Lr. #129, Lgc. #540, N I 454, Wc. FUAA 192, Wc. SW 300, ≠ LG 305 (connects Z c'ilni munni with Z чилгы- 'cast [a disk, etc.]') ♦ IS I 203 [#44] (\*c'.elΛ).

¶ 337a. ? \*c'.il'u or \*c'.u''iV ± 'entire, intact, pure' > HS: WS \*√c.ll 'purify' > Ar √s.ll G (ip. -s.ull-) 'clarify (a beverage), clear wheat from dust', Pun {HJ} s.ll 'purified', BHb llc √c.ll G {Drv.} 'be cleared (gate) of traffic', MHb {Js.} √c.ll G 'settle, be cleared' (of liquid), 'clarify', pp. lulcl c.a''lu'l 'clarified', JEA √c.ll G 'be clear', JA [Trg.] pp. lilc6 c.əil 'clarified', Sr √s.ll D 'cleanse, purify', pp. G s.ə'il 'limpid, clear, transparent' (of air, water), 'clarified' (of wine, honey, ointment), Gz √s.ll G 'percolate, filter; be filtered' ¶ Hv. 402, BK I 1355, HJ 568, Drv. HH 62, Js. 1284, Sl. 965, Br. 627, JPS 478, L G 556 II U: FU (att. in FP) \*c'illV 'entire, pure' > pChr {Ber.} \*c'ila > Chr: Н цила ci'la, L чыла c'ъ'la 'whole, all, all kind of (весь, всекий)', Uf/B c'ъ'la 'alle, alles' : Prm {LG} \*c'il- or \*c'u'l- > Yz c'il' 'entirely, quite', Vt {Bor.} чыкак, Vt Sr c'ilk-ak 'im ganzen, rein', {Wc.} c'ilkit 'rein, klar' ¶ UEW 613, Ber. 7, MRS 660, Ep. 138 (Chr Н цила), LG 306 II A: M \*culu ± 'entire, pure, monolithic' > WrM {MED} culu, HIM цул 'pure, unmixed; solid, monolithic; monochromatic', {Kow.} WrM culu 'compacte, qui n'est pas vide; fort, inébranlable', IM {MYC} c'ul d cul 'pure, unmixed', Kl {Rm.} culu 'ganz (nicht gelöchert, nicht hohl), kompakt, komplett, ungemischt, lauter', Ord c'ū<lu< 'qui présente une masse compacte, massif', Brt сула 'entirely; robust (of health, healthy person), pure (сплошной, e.g. сплошное мѣсо)', Mnr E {MYC} c'ul 'pure, unmixed' ¶ MED 207, Kow. 2205, KW 433, Ms. O 719, Chr. 396, MYC 581 ♦ If the N etymon is \*c'.il'u, the first vw. of M \*culu is due to as; if the rec. is \*c'.u''iV, we have to accept delabialization in U ♦ пс,ф Blz. LNA #7 (N \*c'ilu 'all' > FP, M).]

338. ? \*c'.ulV 'stalk, stick' > K \*c.wel- 'dry stem, straw' (→ 'staff') > OG c.wel-i 'stalk(s)' (Mark 4.28) [in the Gk text χορτοφ, but K 243 translates it as 'стебел' ('stalk')], 'a straw (Strohalm)', G c.wel-i 'chaff', {FS} 'straw', Mg c.u- id., Lz c.u- 'straw (stalks), stem', o-c.val-e 'barn of chaff (мѣкиник)', {FS} 'Scheune', Sv UB/LB/L c.uw, c.wi {FS} 'straw, stalk[s]' ('Stroh, Halm'), 'stem of a plant', Sv UB {GP} c.wi 'blade of grass' ¶¶ K 243 (GZ \*c.wel), K<sup>2</sup> 294-5, Q 382, FS K 443, FS E 500-1, Chx. 2154, GP 279, TK 856 II HS: ?σ S \*°rc.'ill- ~ \*°rc.'ull- 'thorn' > Ak OB/OA s.illum, Ak OB s.ullum id., 'pin, needle'; a deglottalized CS variant \*salw- ~ \*sall- ~ \*sull- may be suggested by BHb N&l'x2 sal'lo'n 'thorn', JA [Trg.] {Js.}, JEA {Sl.} av!l6ix sil'wa~, JEA {Sl.}, Sr sal'w-a~ id. and Ar sulla~?-'épines du palmier' ¶ KB 714, KBR 756-7, Js. 993-4, Sl. 804, Sd. 1101-2, CAD XVI 193-4, BK I 1117 || B \*-z.ily- ~ \*-z.uly- 'branch' > Ah a-z.əl (pl. i-z.əl-a~n) 'branche', ETwl a-z.əl (pl. i-z.əl-an), Ty a-z.əl (pl. əz.əl-an), Gh az.əl (pl. iz.əl-an), Sil ta-z.əly-īt (pl. ti-z.əly-a~) id. ¶ \*i is reconstructed on the ev. of ETwl and Ty \*ə, because pB \*a yields ETwl/Ty \*ъ [= \*a~], while ETwl/Ty \*ə goes back to pB \*i and \*u ¶ Fc. 1955, GhA 221, Ds. 45 II U: FU \*c'u''iV ~ \*c'ulV 'stalk, stick' > Chr L чыльк c'ъ'льк 'a thin twig\rod used to clear pipes', Chr Н цѣльѣк cələk 'a pipe of the Cheremis Dudelsack', Chr L чыльм c'ъ'льм 'pipe' :: pOs \*c'o~lV ({pHl.} \*c'u~lV) > Os Kz s'ω~l.i~ < 'Knüttel beim s'ō-r-Spiel, Knüttel zum Schleudern von Zirbelzapfen', s'ω~l.ω~w 'Knüttel beim s'ō-r-Spiel; eigens zum Abschalgen von Zirbelzapfen hergestellter Stock' ¶ Ü 251, MRS 684, Ep. 141, KrT 907 II ? A: Tg: Sln {Iv.} col'co'xu 'transverse perches of the roof' ¶ STM II 406, Iv. 34 (чол'чоху'), ≠ Vv. AEN 14 (rejects the Sln cognate as isolated within A; misquotes Iv. by ascribing a non-existing length to the first o) II D (× N \*c'ul'a 'stalk, branch' × N \*s's'ulV 'trunk, log?'): [1] (in SD) \*cul.ikk° ({GS} \*c'c'-) 'stick' > Tm cul.ikku 'pikestaff, sharp-pointed stick carried by travellers', Kn cul.ike 'a stout stick to beat cotton with'; [2] \*cul.l- ({GS} \*c'-) 'stalk, branch' > Tm, Ml cul.l.i 'dry twigs, branch, brushwood', Knd cul.k 'long pliable stick, stalk' ¶¶ D ##2701, 2706 ♦ AD NM #85, S CNM 4 (÷÷ NrCs, ST).

⌘ **338a.** \**c.ʷsɪɳɪ* 'small' > **HS:** S \**c.ɳɪ* > Ar *s.ʷaɪal-* 'état de ce qui est mince', *s.ʷaɪl-* 'qui a la tête petite est le cou mince' ⌘ BK I 1340 **II K:** GZ \**c.wɪl-il-* 'little, small' > OG (m)*c.ulil-*, *c.uril-* 'small, little, narrow', G *c.vril-* 'small', Lz *c.ulu-* 'little, small' ⌘ K<sup>2</sup> 295, Abul. 552 **II D** \**c.ɳɪl-* 'light (not heavy)' > Tu *culaka*, Ku *suɫkara id.*, Kn *culaka*, *culuku* 'lightness of temper', Tl *culuka(n)* 'lightly, with slight\disregard, easily', *culukani* 'light, easy'; (× *ɬb* InA: OI *sulabha-* 'easy'): Tm *cul.uvu* 'ease', Kn, Tl *suɫ.uvu* 'facility', Kt *c.ɳɪv* 'easy work, easy' [the cns. -ɳɪ- proves that these words are not simply loans from InA, but have a D source as well] ⌘ D #2703 **II A:** M \**coˀluˀyi-* v. 'decline, diminish' and pKo {S} \**cuˀr-* v. 'shrink, grow less' (× \**c.ʷɪɳɪɳɪ* 'little, small', q.v. ffd.) ⌘ If IS's hyp. on N \**ɳɪ* yielding K \**r* (*r*ˀ) (> G, Zan *r*, Sv *l*) is right, the N etymon must be \**c.ʷsɪɳɪ* ⌘ Blz. KM 130-1 [#2] (K, D, M, Ko)].

**339.** \**c.ɳɪɳɪ* 'to be wet\moist, moisture (water, etc.)' > **HS:** S \**c.ɳɪl-* 'heavy rain, moisture' > Ar *s.all-* 'pluie abondante', *s.all-at-* 'terre humectée', *s.ull-at-* 'reste\résidu d'eau dans un vase', 'mollesse des viandes trempées et humides' ⌘ BK I 1355-6 **II IE:** NaIE \**skˀle-k-* / \**skˀlə-k* 'wet', 'splash, sprinkle' > ON slag 'Näße (von Regen)', *sleginn* 'wettened', Nr *slagen* 'moist', MLG *slagge*, Sw *slagga-vaˀder* 'schlackiges, regnerisches Wetter', MDt *slagge* 'rainy weather', NLG *slack* 'large heavy drops', NHG *Schlack* 'rain with snow', *schlackig*, *schlackrig* 'rainy, wet, sloppy, slushy' (of weather), NE Δ *slaggy*, *slack* 'swamp' || Lt *sˀlaˀkas* 'drop, spot, splash (of)', *sˀlakeˀti* (1s prs. *sˀlakuˀ*) 'to drip, dribble, drop', *sˀleˀkti* (prs. *sˀlekiuˀ*) 'to sprinkle', Ltv *slaka* 'drop, besprinkling', *slacrˀt* 'to (be)sprinkle, water, asperse' ⌘ WP II 602-3, P 957, Vr. 512, Paul 508, Frn. 998, Kar. II 213 **II A:** NaT {Cl.} \**cɳɪla-* v. 'moisten' > OT {Cl.} *cˀɳɪla-*, {DTS} *cˀilaˀ- - cˀila-* v. 'moisten', Tk An *cˀile-* v. 'drizzle, be moist', VTt {θRl.} *sˀɳlan-* 'befeuchtet \ bewässert \ naß werden', *sˀɳlat-* 'besprizen, begießen, naß machen, bewässern' ⌘ Cl. 418, DTS 146, Rl. III 2055, 2085, 2135-6 || ?? Tg: WrMc *cilci-* 'rise' (of water during the rising tide), but Nn *cˀilkan* 'flood-time' belongs to Tg \**tilkan id.* ⌘ STM II 180-1 **II ? K:** GZ \**c.ɳɪqal-* 'water, well' > OG, G *c.ɳɪqal-i* 'water', Mg *c.ɳɪqu-* 'well', *c.ɳɪqu-rgil-i* 'spring' ⌘ Mach. K 91, FS K 455, ≠ K 159-60 (\**rc.ɳɪqal-* 'water') ⌘ **II A** possible D cognate: **D** \**cil-* ({GS} \**cɳɪ-*) 'to flow' [× N \**sɳɪɳɪ* 'to be(come) liquid, melt, flow', q.v.] > Tm *cilucilu* v. 'rain gently', *cilu-nir* 'raindrop dripping from the leaves' (*nir* 'water'), *cilumpu* v. 'flow\gush out', Kt *cilk* v. 'drizzle', Kn *cilkuniru* 'water in fine drops', *jilipu* v. 'ooze', Krg *cilbi* v. 'splash water', Tl *ciluku vt.* 'sprinkle, shed', vt. 'be spilled', *cilacila* ɪ (imitation of flowing), Ku *silk-vi.* 'splash'; D *ɬb* Prkr *ciliciliaˀ* 'shower' ⌘ D #2569 ⌘ But D \**cil-* ({GS} \**s-?*) 'pond, brook, river' hardly belongs here because its initial cs. is likely to be \**s-* [see N \**sizˀɳɪ* 'stream, small body of water (lake & sim.)']; for the same reason one cannot adduce here D \**cele* ({GS} \**s-*) 'spring of water' (D #2785) ⌘ K \**c.ɳɪq-* may go back to N \**cˀɳɪ*...? (cp. K \**tˀɳɪqu-* < \**tuˀˀɳɪ* 'two') ⌘ ≠ Blz. KM 132 [#4] (equates the K root with IE \**skol-* 'wash', D *cel-* 'spring' and T \**caˀlaˀk-* 'bucket, pail')].

**340.** \**c.ɳɪɳɪ* 'to prick, wound' > **K:** GZ \**c.ɳɪqal-/c.ɳɪql-* v. 'wound' > OG, G *c.ɳɪqal-/c.ɳɪql-*, Mg *cˀ.ɳɪqol-id.* ⌘ Schm. 157, K 254, FS K 468, FS E 532 **II HS:** WS \**c.ɳɪɳɪ* (and with deglottalization: \**cɳɪɳɪ*) > Gz *s.ʷaɪf- ~ s.ʷaɪf-* 'abscess wound, ulcer, sore', Tgr *ɳɪɳɪ* (pf. *sɳɪfa*) v. 'be wounded', *saləɳ* 'wound', Sb {BGMR} *ols sɳɪ* v. 'quarry stone, dig', Ar *ɳɪɳɪ* v. *G* 'cleave, wound' ⌘ L G 554, BK I 1124, Hv. 331, BGMR 138 || SC: Irq *c.ɳɪl-* v. 'sting', Kz {E} *c.ʷal-* v. 'stab', *c.ʷel-et-* v. 'drill' ⌘ E SC 193 || WCh: Su {J} *suɳ* 'dig', Mpn {Frz.} *suɳ* 'pierce, make a hole', Sha *cˀul-* 'durchbohren, erstecken' ⌘ J S 82, Frz. DM 57, J R 284 ⌘ Tk. PAA 5 (SC, Sb, WCh) **II D** (in SD) \**c.ɳɪl-* ({GS} \**ɳɪɳɪ*) v. 'prick' > Tm *cul.*, *cul.l.u* 'pungency', *cul.l-it.u* v. 'prick', Ml *cul.ɳɪl* 'wuth sharp pain', *cul.ɳɪl.ɳɪl* 'feel hot, irritated by the touch of nettles, piercing pain', Kn Cr *ɳul.l.u* v. 'prick' ⌘ D #2699.

⌘ **340a.** \**c.ɳɪɳɪ* '(char)coal, soot' > **K** \**c.ʷaɳɪ* > Mgr *c.ʷola* 'soot' ⌘ Q 381 **II HS:** EC \**c.ɳɪɳɪ* ({Ss.} \**d.ɳɪɳɪ*) ~ \**c.ɳɪɳɪ* > Sa *dilh-eno* 'charcoal', {R} *dilhenoˀ* 'live coals', ?? Rn {PG} *ɳɪɳɪ* 'burning charcoal, glowing coal' [× N \**ɳɪɳɪ* (or \**ɳɪɳɪ*) 'to smoulder'], Or *cˀileˀ*, {Grg.} *cˀ.ɳɪɳɪ*, *cˀ.ɳɪɳɪ*, {Th.} *cˀ.ɳɪɳɪ*, {Brl.} *cˀ.ɳɪɳɪ*, Or H {Ow.} *cˀ.ɳɪɳɪ*, Or B {Sr.} *cˀ.ɳɪɳɪ*, *cˀ.ɳɪɳɪ*, Or O/W {Sr.} *cˀ.ɳɪɳɪ* (< \**cˀ.ɳɪɳɪ* < \**cˀ.ɳɪɳɪ*), Kns {Bl.} *d.ɳɪɳɪ*, Gdl {Bl.} *d.ɳɪɳɪ*, Sm *d.ɳɪɳɪ*, Ya {Ss.} *t.ɳɪɳɪ* id., ? Gwd *d.ɳɪɳɪ* v. 'burn' || DhI {EEN} *t.ɳɪɳɪ*, {E} *t.ɳɪɳɪ*, {To} *t.ɳɪɳɪ* (pl. *t.ɳɪɳɪ*) 'embers' || AdS of SC: Irq *c.ɳɪɳɪ* v. 'glow' (< N \**t.ɳɪɳɪ* 'to heat, roast, fry') ⌘ Bl. 202, 215, Ss. PEC 22, 30, R S II 106, PG 167, Grg. 82-3, Th. 68, Sr. 281, Ow. 256, To. D 148, EEN 17, E SC 175, E PC #127 || Om: SOM: Gll {Fl.} *cˀ.ɳɪɳɪ* 'charcoal (used in smithy)', Hm B {Fl.} *cˀ.ɳɪɳɪ* 'sheep with black skin' || NrOm: Gm {Hw.} *cˀ.ɳɪɳɪ*, ?*ɳɪɳɪ* {C}

'c̣'ic̣ino- 'charcoal' ¶ Fl. OO 317, C SE IV 419, Hw. EG || ??σ S \*°√c̣.θ̣.lh > Gz ṣ.ịlā'h 'filth, dirt, mud' ('dirt' ← \*'soot, charcoal?') ¶ L G 555 II ? ¶ R: M: LM cilden qara 'jet-black', HIM чилдүн хар 'black as soot' (qara, хар 'black'), Kl {Rm.} c̣'ilṃ. ɣara mo'rṇ., {KRS} чилм хар м рн 'kohlschwarzes Pferd, absolutely black horse' (ɣara mo'rṇ., хар м рн 'black horse'). The word may have been associated with the system represented by LM celbeŋ sagan, HIM цүлбүн цагаан 'white as snow' ¶ MED 171, 183, Rm. KW 440, KRS 650 ♦ The K vw. still defies explanation ♦ ▢ Blz. KM 130 [#1] [Mg, HS + *unc.* : D \*cuḷ.ḷ-/ \*cụ.ḷ- 'fireplace' (see N \*ʒ'ụ'hịḷ'ɣV (or \*ʒ'ụ'hịḷ'ɣE)) 'to smoulder, burn' and T \*cuḷ' 'heat'.)]

**[340a. \*c̣'ʉ'ʉ'ɣV 'embers, charcoal' > K:** [1] \*°c̣ɣ'ʉ'ʉ- > Sv L c̣ɣul-, c̣ɣwl- v. 'singe, burn the surface of (опалит, обжечит)', msd. {TK}: UB/Ln li-c̣ɣwle, L li-c̣ɣwli id. ¶ TK 478, Dn. s.v. c̣ɣul- ▢ [2] \*ʒec̣'ɣḷ- 'fire' (< N *cd* \*ʒ'iṣ'V c̣'ʉ'ʉ'ɣV 'flame embers', cf. below N \*ʒ'iṣ'V 'fire' [q.v. ffd.]) II D \*cuḷ.ḷ-/ \*cụ.ḷ- 'fireplace' (× N \*ʒ'ụ'ɣịḷ'ØV (or \*ʒ'ụ'ɣịḷ'ØE)) 'to smoulder, burn [intr.]' > Tm cuḷ.ḷaị 'potter's kiln, furnace', cụ.ḷaị 'kiln, furnace, funeral pile', Ml cuḷ.ḷa 'potter's furnace', cụ.ḷa 'brick-kiln'; D -b> OI, Prkr cuḷli- 'fireplace' ¶ D #2709 II HS: EC \*c̣.iḥ- ({Ss.} \*ḍ.iḥḷ-) ~ \*c̣.uḷḥ- > Sa dilḥ-eno 'charcoal', {R} dilḥeno 'live coals', ?? Rn {PG} ʒ'ịlā'h 'burning charcoal, glowing coal' [× N \*ʒ'ụ'ɣịḷ'ØV (or \*ʒ'ụ'ɣịḷ'ØE) 'to smoulder'], Or 'c̣'ile?, {Grg.} c̣'ille-, c̣'illa-tti, {Th.} c̣'ile, {Brl.} c̣'ile', Or H {Ow.} c̣'ile', Or B {Sr.} c̣'ile-, c̣'ile-ti, Or O/W {Sr.} c̣'illa-ti (< \*°c̣'ile-e- < \*°c̣'iḥ-e-?), Kns {Bl.} 'ḍ.iḷ-a-, Gdl {Bl.} 'ḍ.iḥ-a-, Sm ḍ.uhụ'l, Ya {Ss.} ṭ.e'ho id., ? Gwd ḍ.ili v. 'burn' :: Dḥl {EEN} ṭ.i'liha, {E} ṭ.i'lihe, {To} ṭ.ili'he (pl. ṭ.ili'ha) 'embers' :: *AdS* of SC: Irq c̣.iriḥ- v. 'glow' (< N \*ṭ.eriḥ̣a 'to heat, roast, fry') ¶ Bl. 202, 215, Ss. PEC 22, 30, R S II 106, PG 167, Grg. 82-3, Th. 68, Sr. 281, Ow. 256, To. D 148, EEN 17, E SC 175, E PC #127 || Om: SOM: Gll {Fl.} c̣'iṣ'i 'charcoal (used in smithy)', Hm B {Fl.} c̣'iṣ'i 'sheep with black skin' :: NrOm: Gm {Hw.} c̣'ic̣.inci, ?ϕ Kf {C} 'c̣'ic̣ino- 'charcoal' ¶ Fl. OO 317, C SE IV 419, Hw. EG || ??σ S \*°√c̣.θ̣.lh > Gz ṣ.ịlā'h 'filth, dirt, mud' ('dirt' ← \*'soot, charcoal?') ¶ L G 555 II ? ¶ R: M: LM cilden qara 'jet-black', HIM чилдүн хар 'black as soot' (qara, хар 'black'), Kl {Rm.} c̣'ilṃ. ɣara mo'rṇ., {KRS} чилм хар м рн 'kohlschwarzes Pferd, absolutely black horse' (ɣara mo'rṇ., хар м рн 'black horse'). The word may have been associated with the system represented by LM celbeŋ sagan, HIM цүлбүн цагаан 'white as snow' ¶ MED 171, 183, Rm. KW 440, KRS 650.] **To remove!**

**341. \*c̣'EmV 'to maim, torment' > K:** \*°c̣.am- v. 'torment' > G c̣.am- id., Lz c̣.am- id. (ϕ G?) ¶ Chik. 392-3, Chx. 2102 II HS: S: [1] WS \*√c̣.my > Ar √ṣ.my 'tomber roide mort, être tué sur place' (× √ṣ.my 'tomber à l'improviste'), Sq {L} ṣ.ame v. 'die' ¶ L LS 353, BK I 1373 ▢ [2] ? WS \*√c̣.mm 'have a damaged ear, be deaf' > MHb Miṃ'suc ṣ.um'miṃ, Mṃ'luc c̣.um'ma-ṃ 'a person whose auricles are a shapeless mass', Sr ṣ.am'm-a- 'deaf and dumb', Ar √ṣ.mm G (pf. ṣ.amma) 'become deaf', 'be obstructed' (ear-hole), Gz √ṣ.mm G 'be deaf, dumb' ¶ Js. 1268, Br. 631, BK I 1366, Hv. 404, L G 320, MiK I #2.64 II IE: NaIE \*sḳ-em- 'mutilated, hornless' > OI ṣ'ama- 'hornless', ṣ'amala-ṃ 'stain, spot, fault' :: Lt ṣ'mụlas, Ltv smạuls 'hornless' :: Gmc: [1] ON skammr, AS sc̣amm, OHG scam 'short' ▢ [2] NaIE \*kọam- OHG ham (aadj. hamme-r) 'mutilated' ▢ [3] NaIE \*kọam-Vl- > AS hamola 'one whose head has been mutilated or shaved', OHG hamal 'mutilated; wether', NHG Hammel 'wether', ON hamla 'to mutilate', AS hamelian 'to mutilate', OHG hamalo-n 'to castrate' :: Sl \*komoḷ̌(j̣) 'hornless' > R ко'моль̣й, Slv komoḷ̌, OP komoḷ̌y, P gomoly id., Cz komoly 'truncated, tailless, hornless', komoliti 'to mutilate' ¶ P 929, ▢ M K III 208-9, M E II 610, Vr. 207, 482, Sw. 81, Ho. 171, 271, OsS 368, 776, Kb. 866, KM 286, Frn. 1015, Vs. II 304, Ma. CS 216, ≠ EI 273 (\*ḳ-em- 'hornless' without taking into account OI) II ??σ R: M cimad- > WrM cimad- v. 'reproach, blame; be dissatisfied' ¶ MED 184 || pKo {S} \*c̣'āmh- 'endure, bear' > MKo c̣'hā'm-, NKO c̣'hā-m- ¶ S QK #727, Nam 448, MLC 1571 || pJ {S} \*tamar- 'endure' > J T tamar- ¶ S QJ #650 ¶ ¶ DQA #268 ♦ IS MS s.v. 'увечит' \*c̣.amḷ.

**342. \*c̣'ɣimV 'eyelid', 'to blink (eyes)' > K** \*c̣.am- 'a blink' (→ 'moment, instant') > OG c̣.am-i 'a blink' (c̣.amiṣ.qopa 'to blink', lit. 'to make a blink'; c̣.ami twalisa 'twinkling of an eye' [twalisa 'of an eye'] - I Cor. 15.52), G c̣.am-i 'moment, second', Mg c̣.um-i 'minute, second', aḳ.a-c̣.un-s 'in a minute\second', Sv UB/Ln c̣.a'm, L c̣.am 'moment' ({Dn.} 'миг, мгновение'), c̣.am-c̣.am 'quickly'. The pGZ word \*ḳ.amc̣.am- ({K} \*c̣.amc̣.am-) 'eyelashes' (> G c̣.amc̣.am-, Lz ḳ.amc̣.am- id.) may go back to a word group, cp. D: Kn Hl keṇzeme 'eyelid' (D #2545) with the first component D \*kaṇ'n- 'eye' (D #1159, Zv. 42, 116, 171) ¶¶ K 242, K<sup>2</sup> 292, FS K 439-40, FS E 496-7, Chik. 45, Chx. 2103, DCh. 1634, NCh. RKL I 515, Mol. AGG 225, Dn. s.v. c̣.am, TK 851 II D \*cimV ({GS} \*s'-?) v. 'wink', 'eyelid' > Tm imai v.

'wink', imai 'eyelid', cimir v. 'wink, blink', Ml ima, cima 'eyelash', imekka v. 'blink', Kn ime, eme 'eyelash, eyelid', cimet u v. 'twinkle\wink with the eyes', Kdg cimm- v. 'twinkle', Tu imæ, simæ, simmæ 'eyelash, Tl cimet u v. 'wink' ¶¶ D #2545 ¶¶ The vw. \*i suggest that the word may be contaminated with N \*s'il'V(-ma) 'to look, examine' [q.v.] ¶ HS: S: Gz s.amlā't 'bleary-eyed, who has no eyelids', Tgr c'əmt.əle 'bleary-eyed' ¶ Likely to go back to a *cd* with the first element \*\*c'Vm- 'eyelid' ¶ L G 557 || C: EC: Brj {Ss.} c'immiy- v. 'close\cover the eyes', Kmb {Hd.} t.imbī?, Ged {Hd.} himmi has- id. (has- 'do') ¶ ??? Bj {R} s'imbeha-ni ~ s'imba-ni, {Rop.} s'ambə'hani 'eyebrows' (unless to N \*s'am'V<sub>1</sub>ge 'lock of) hair, fine hair' [q.v.]) ¶ Ss. B 48, Hd. 42 (reconstructs \*t.-), R WBd 215 (equates Bj with Bl s'ebka 'hair'), Rop. 238 ♦ Blz. DA [154 [#16]-#15] (D, C).

**343. \*c'ampV** 'cold' > U: FP \*c'amKV- > Z UV c'amgi- 'begin to freeze hard' (of frost) ¶ ¶ LG 301 ¶ R: ?? M \*caṇ 'hoar-frost' > WtM caṇ, HlM цаṇ(r), Ord c'aṇ, Brt cṡṇ (with puzzling ṡ), Kl ṡa id., Kl {Rm.} caṇ 'Reif, Frost' ¶ MED 164, KRS 625, KW 421, Chr. 403, Ms. O 694 ¶ The word is not attested in MM and has a strange phonetic shape (no final vw.), which suggests borrowing ¶ HS: WS \*√c.nn > MHb, JA, ChPA √c.nn 'be(come) cold', JEA {Sl.} √c.nn D vt. 'cool', BHb c.in'na\* (att. cs. tn'2c5 c.in,nat\_ 'coolness', SmA enc c.nh, envc c.wnh n. 'cold', JA atln'6c5 (~ atln'6ic) 5c.innə't-a- id., Qtb (ArSc) da't s.annat.i (goddess) of coolness' ¶ GB 688, KB 972, Js. 1278, 1292, Sl. 968, Tal 737 || WCh: DfB {J} c'ye'n 'wind, air' ¶ J R 213 ¶¶ ¶ OS #119.

**344. \*c'EmpV** (or \*c'-?) 'bent, crooked' > IE: NaIE {IS} \*(s)Kemb- 'crooked', {EI} \*(s)kamb- 'curve' > Gk σκαμφοῖ 'crooked' (< \*σκαβοῖ < \*skm<sub>0</sub>b- with reintroduction of μ due to the infl. of different words of the same √) || OIr camm, W cam 'crooked' ¶ ¶ P 918, EI 143, F II 716-7, Vn. C 28-9 ¶ U: FU \*c'EmpV {IS} \*c'impa ¶ '(sth.) bent; to bend' > pLp {Lr.} \*c'impe- > Lp: N {N} c'ibbe, U {Schl.} tjibbee 'knee' (← 'bent'), L {LLO} tjibbee c'ibbe 'lower part of the human leg' : ?φ Chr L c'am'bal 'hummock, tussock' (irreg. c' and the vw.) : Prm: Z 3'ib / 3'iby- 'a salient height, hillock, hill', ban 3'in 'the salient part of a cheek' || ObU \*c'a'mpəl > pVg \*c'a'mpəl > Vg Ss s'a'mpəl 'Schwebung', s'a'mpala-l- 'sich nach beiden Seiten neigen (die Ente, beim Herabfliegen)', ? Vg N {Mu.} s'ampe'la-li 'hin und her drehen, erwägen' (× s'ampe'lti 'drehen'); pOs \*c'a'mpla- > Os D/K/Kr/C ɕa'mpla 'schwankend, schaukelnd (Boot)' ¶ LG 90, Lr. #137, Lgc. #566, LLO 1151, Ht. #78, MK 587 ¶ HS: S: Gz √s.np.w (pf. s.anp.awa) 'twist, disturb', s.ənp.əw 'distorted, twisted' (unless ← √s.np.w 'crush', s.ənp.əw 'crushed, shattered') ¶ L G 561 ♦ IS I 206-7 (\*C'impa: IE, U).

**345. \*c'enV** 'to tie, bind, plait' > K \*<sup>o</sup>c.'an-/c.'n- 'to wicker' > G (da-)c.an-/c.n- v. 'plait, wicker', c.nuli 'wicker-work (e.g. 'basket'), Geflecht'; ??σ GZ \*c.'n-el- 'rod' > OG, G c.n-el-i, Mg c'.in-i d c'.ən-i, Lz c'.inu d c'.unu 'rod, sapling (Rute, Gerte)' ¶ FS K 458, FS E 519, FS K<sup>2</sup> 660; K 252 & K<sup>2</sup> 307 (\*c.'nel- 'rod'), Chx. 2187-8, DCh. 456, 1699, KEGL VIII 1160-2, SSO II 386 ¶¶ K \*<sup>o</sup>c.'an-/c.'n- 'to wicker' is a legitimate rec. if in GZ \*c.'n-el- the meaning 'rod' is from 'staff for wickering' ¶ HS: CS \*s.inn- ~ \*s.ann- 'basket' > JA {Dl., Lv.} an'lc5 c.in'n-a- 'basket, wicker-work as container', {Js.} an'lc5 c.ina- ~ an'lc1 c.a'na- 'basket of palm-leaves', JEA an'lc2 c.an'n-a- 'basket', Ar s.inn- 'panier à couvercle dans lequel on met le pain', BHb rdp tn#c3n^c5 c.in'c.enet\_, SmHb s.a'n's.e'net\_ 'basket' ¶ KB 973, BK I 1373, Sl. 967-8, Js. 1277 & 1290, Lv. IV 202 || WCh: pAG {Hf.} \*j.in 'to tie' > Gm d.in 'to tie (e.g. a goat)', Ang {Hf.} j.in id., Su {J} d.i'n 'festbinden (Tiere, Boote)', Kfr j.in 'to tie (a goat, cloth round waist)', ? Kfr {Nt.} j.a'n 'to tie up, bind (pl. obj.)' ¶ Hf. AG 23 [#166], J S 64, Nt. 11 ¶ U \*c'enV 'to tie, bind; a tie' > pLp {Lr.} \*c'3n3- 'to tie, bind' > Lp: U tjad'na-t id., N {N} c'a'dna-t / -n- id., 'fasten by tying; catch and tie (a reindeer)', L {LLO} tjatna-t 'binden, fest-\an-binden', Lp P {TI} c'3\_nna- 'binden' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} s'a\_n 'halter (in reindeer bridle)', s'a\_n, Ne T {Ter.} c.ih 'two flat bones within the halter', Ne F P {Lh.} sa\_nni 'Hslsband, womit das Argischrentier den vorangehenden Schlitten gebunden ist' ¶ UEW 37, Lr. #112, Lgc. #469, Lh. 429, Ter. 600 ♦ The rec. of \*c.- is legitimate only if GZ \*c.'nel- 'rod' is derived from the K verb 'to wicker' (which in this case must be \*c.'n-), otherwise we remain with an unspecified N \*c'.- (= \*c.'c'.-).

**346. ??σ,φ \*c'c'.anV** 'be of a shining white', 'be enlightened (as sky)', 'moon' > IE (+ext.) NaIE \*skend- 'be of a shining white', 'moon', {EI} \*(s)kend- 'shine', 'moon' > L candeo 'be of a shining white, shine, glitter' || OI 'candati 'shines, is bright', can'dra-h. (in cds-s'can'drah.) 'moon' || pAl {O} mt \*ksanda- > Al T he'ne, Al G ha'ne id. ¶ ¶ P 526, EI 385, M K I 372-3, WH I 151-2, Huld 24 (Al < IE \*skan-neH),

150, O 146-7 (IE \*skend-) || D \*caṅk- ({}GS) \*<sup>33</sup>/- 'moon' > Nk zaṅgo, Gnd zaṅo ~ zaṅgo id. ¶¶ D #2287 || ? HS: Ch: WCh: Tng {} saṅṅ 'bright, clear' : Ngz {}Sch.} s̱a'nu' 'be come light/enlightened', d.a' s̱ani~gara 'it has dawned' (d.a' 'it, country') ¶ J T 141, Sch. DN 53, 162, Stl. ZCh 199 [#505] (pWCh \*c̱an-).

347. 2 \*c. 'ap.V (or \*c. 'ap.K.V, \*c. 'aK.P.V?) 'stalk, pointed stick, spear' > IE: NaIE skep- 'stalk, spear' > Ltv s̱ḵe~ps 'spear, lance' || OHG scaft 'spear, shaft', NHG Schaft 'shaft, handle', OSx skaft 'spear, shaft', ON skapt 'Schaft, Stab, Stange, Griff' || L sca'pus 'stalk of plants, weaver's beam' ¶ ME IV 32-3, Ho. S 65, OsS 772, Kb. 864, KM 632, Vr. 483, WH II 490, ¶ Kar. 348, ¶ P 930-3 || ¶ \*c'apK 'spear, pointed stick' ({}SDM97} 'spear, axe') > Tg \*capka 'fish spear' > Ewk, Neg capka, Ul c̱aqa, Nn Nh c̱aqa~; Nn B ca(f)qa, Nn KU c̱apqa id., Ork c̱apqa id., 'fork' ¶ STM II 384 || pKo {}S} \*c̱ak- > NKO cak-sal, cak-suji 'fish spear' ¶ S QK #715, MLC 1387 || M \*caqu or \*caqa ¶ wooden prop, support, peg' > WrM caqu ~ caqa, HlM uax 'prop, support', Kl uax 'rack (κο+ζλμ)', {}Rm.} caḡa 'Zapfen, Pflock, hölzerner Nagel (um etw. aufzuhängen), Brt caxa 'wooden platform, cross-beam serving as a rack for drying clothes' ¶ MED 167, KRS 626, KW 419-20, Chr. 386 || NaT \*cakV 'pointed stick, knife' > Osm {}Rh.} c̱aq̱r, Tk c̱akr 'clasp-knife, pocket-knife', Kr c̱aq̱i 'Klappmesser', Tlt c̱aq̱i 'Pfosten zum Anbinden der Pferde' ¶ RI. 1834, Rs. W 96, Rh. 707 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. \*c̱'apK (T, Tg, Ko), ≠ DQA #271 [A \*c̱'ap(V)-ḵV < ḏ A \*c̱'a~p̱aḡi 'to chop, hit', cf. N \*c. 'ap.iḡa 'to beat, strike, chop'].

348. 2 \*c. 'i'p.V 'navel' > K \*c. 'ip.- 'navel' > Mg c̱'ip.(e)-, c̱'ap.an-, Lz c̱.ip.a-; Zan ḇ>G c̱'ip.i- ¶ ¶ K 255 (reconstructs GZ \*c̱'ip.-, but finds no explanation for the irreg. reflex of \*c̱'- in Zan other than a "symbolic quality" of the word), Chik. 69 || HS: Ch: Hs c̱'ī'bi'ya' 'navel' (loc. form c̱'ī'bi') (ḇ>P' {}MSk.} sipiya id.), ? Bg {}Sh.} swap, ? Kir {}ChL} sap id. ¶ Abr. H 139, Stl. ZCh 175 [#281] (\*sap.Vw/y).

349. o \*c. 'ip.u(-ṟV) 'small bird' > HS: S: [1] CS \*c.ippur- '(small) bird, sparrow' > BHB r7pc5 ṟpc5 c̱.ip'po~r (pl. Miṟp0c5 c̱.ipp̱ṟim) 'bird(s)', MHb ṟpc5 c̱.ip'po~r, Pun s̱.pr, SmA s̱.pwr, s̱.pyr 'bird', JA ṟpc5 c̱.ip'por, em. aṟp6c5 c̱.ipp̱ṟ-a- 'fowl, bird', JEA {}Sl.} aṟp6c5 c̱.ipp̱ṟ-a- ~ arv̱ic c̱.ypṟ? (unk. voc.) 'bird, fowl', DA s̱.pr, IA s̱.npr '∈ bird, sparrow', Plm s̱.pr?, Sr æroṗce s̱.epp̱ṟ-a- 'bird', Ar s̱us̱.fu~r- 'sparrow, small bird'; [2] \*c. i'pp̱ar- > JA ṟp2c5 c̱.ip'par, Sr ṟpaṗce s̱.ep'par 'bird', Ak Λ s̱.iba~ru '∈ bird' (probably 'sparrow') (←ḇ Aram?) ¶ KB 980, HJ 973, Js. 1298, Lv. IV 213, Sl. 962, BK II 272-3, Br. 635, Tal 743, CAD XVI 155, Sd. 1097 || ??φ,σ Ch: WCh: Hs za'bo', Gw {}Mts.} ẕa'bu'wa' 'guinea fowl' : Mbr {}Sk.} c̱'a'pu'r, Jmb {}Sk.} ẕa'bu~r, Wrj {}Sk.} za'bṟi'ya'ī., {}Gw.} zabriye, Cg {}Sk.} sa'bu'n, Kry {}Sk.} za'bu'r, My {}Sk.} za'bu'rku-, {}ChL} za'bi'ra'ku', P' {}MSk.} ẕa'vu'na, ? Sir {}Gw.} zuhunchi, Dir {}Sk.} za'vu'na id. : Bg {}Sh.} s̱'a'p, Kir {}ChL} s̱'a'pm̱, Tala {}Gw.} zubbē, Plc {}ChL} ẕi'bun, Zar {}ChL} ẕubm̱, Zar K {}Sh.} ẕēpm̱ id. : Ngz {}Sch.} za'ba'nu', Bd {}ChL} sa'va'ṉi' ṉ id. || CCCh: Tr {}Nw.} c̱'iva'ṉ : Br {}ChL} c̱'iv̱v̱r, Mrg {}ChL} c̱'iv̱v̱r, Kḻb {}ChL} c̱'iv̱i'ṟ : HgF {}ChL} ẕi'vinu, HgG {}ChL} su'vu'ne : Gude {}ChL} zo'vi'na id. : Lmn {}Lk.} ẕv̱ẕna'ka' id. : Glv {}Rp.} ẕv̱ḇẕra', Gv {}ChL} ẕabura, Dgh {}ChL} za'vi'ra, {}Frk.} za'v̱ẕra' id. : Mtk {}Sb.} za'p̱a'n, pMM {}Ro.} \*ẕavan > Gzg {}Lk.} c̱'iv̱oṗ ḏ cuvoṗ, (Ro.) c̱'u'vu'n, {}Ro.} Mkt za'vu'r, Mada za'va'r, Myn, Mofu za'va'r, Hrz sa'vna : Db {}Lnh.} za'vi'n : Gdr {}Mch.} zavuna : Lgn {}Bou.} sa'fa'ḡ id. || ECh: Smr {}J} s̱'iḇẕri, EDng {}Fd.} zo'pu'lo', Mgm {}J} zo'bi'lo', Mkl {}J} su'bi'lo', Jg {}J} zo'bo'lo', Brg {}J} zo'bo'lo' id. ¶ Abr. H 959, ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 181, JI I 84 (Ch \*ẕḇl 'guinea-fowl') & II 174-5, Ro. 265, Fd. 393 || IE: NaIE \*sper-, \*sperw- 'sparrow, small bird' > Gmc: Gt sparwa, OHG sparo, MHG spar, sparwe, ON spo~rr, AS spearwa 'sparrow', NE sparrow; MDt spre'we, Dt spreek, NLG spra ~ spre'a 'starling', dim.: MHG sperlinc, NHG Sperling 'sparrow' || ? Clt: Crn fraw 'crow', Br {}P} fra'o, {}Hm.} frav 'crow, raven' (< \*sprawa) || Tc: A s̱.pa~r (nom. pl. s̱.pa~ra'ṉ), B {}Ad.} s̱.para~ '∈ bird' ('sparrow?'), s̱.para-ya~kre '∈ bird of prey' ('sparrow-hawk?') (Tc < IE \*spe~rweH) || Gk [Hs.] (σ)περγουλοῦ · ὀρνι'α'ριον ἄγριον 'a small bird living in fields', Gk [Hs.] παρα'σιον · ὀρνειον ἐμφερε'ῖ στρου'ῖ 'a bird resembling the sparrow' || Pru spurglis 'sparrow' ¶ WP II 666, P 991, EI 534 (\*sper-), Ch. 1040-1, Fs. 443, OsS 847, Kb. 930, Ho. 308-9, Vr. 540, Vr. N 684, Lx. 203-4, KM 724, LP § 26, Hm. 297, En. 253, Wn. 460, Ad. 666-7 ¶+ II ? K: G R/Lch c̱.ip̱ia 'eben ausgeschlüpfte Truthahn- \ Gänse- \ Enten-junges' ¶ Qu., may be purely onomatopoeic, cp. R цыпленок 'a chicken' ¶ Chx. 2174 || ¶ A: Tg \*ci̱pi- 'small bird' > Ewk A/UL/I/Urm ci̱vka~n, ci̱pka~n 'small bird, sparrow' (-ka~n is a diminutive sx.), Ewk PT/Y/I/Np/Tp ci̱piḡa~ 'small bird', Lm ci̱pṟi 'nestling (not fully fledged), ci̱ptaka 'young of partridge', Lm ci̱wka~ca~n ḏ ci̱uqa~ca~n, Neg ci̱wi~t-ka~n, ci̱w(ka~)-ka~n 'small bird', Ud {}Shn.} c̱'iw̱yau 'sparrow', Nn Nh c̱'i̱pi̱aqo ~ -u, Nn KU c̱'i̱f̱aqo, Nn B c̱'i̱fqo 'swallow',

WrMc {Hr.} cibin id. ¶ STM II 398, Hr. 144 || pKo {S} c'i.ə-pi 'swallow' (× N \*s<sup>h</sup>ipV '(young of a) bird'] > MKO ci.ə-pi', NKo ce-bi 'swallow' ¶ S QK #183, Nam 425, MLC 1464 || ? NaT \*cibi 'young of a bird' > Qrg c'ibi(y) id.; rdp. 1 (f) NaT \*cibcik ~ \*cimcik 'small bird, sparrow' > MQp c'ipc'uq, Bsh sьpsъq, Chg c'ipc'ik ~ c'imc'ik, {TL ← ?} c'upc'uq, 'sparrow', Tk c<sub>i</sub>mc<sub>e</sub>ek / -g'i '∈ small sparrow', Kr ципчик d цыпчик 'small bird, sparrow', чыпчык 'bird', ? чипчу d чипчи d ципцц 'chicken', Kr T {Rl.} c'ipc'ix, ET c'ipc'ik, Qzq s'ibis'iq, Qzq/Qq s'ims'iq, Qrg c'imc'iq, Uz c'umc'uq 'sparrow', Nog s'ims'iq 'any small bird', VTt чыпчык s'ъps'ъq, Qmn {Rl.} c'ibilc'ik '∈ bird' ¶ TL 176, Jud. 880, NogR 422, TatR 646, RKazS, KrkR 748, Rl. III 2098, 2155, 2161, KRPS 614, 617, 628-9, 637, Bu. I 508 || ?? pJ {S} \*tupa-mai/-ia n. 'swallow' > OJ tubame, J T cubame ¶ S AJ 293 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 63, DQA #308 (pA \*c'i'p'f'u' 'small bird') || D (in GnD) \*cipp- (~\*civ-), \*cippVr- 'young of birds' [× N \*s<sup>h</sup>ipV '(young of a) bird', q.v.] > Knd sipr'i, sipi 'chicken', Gnd civa d ciwa(l) d civna~ d civa, Kui sipa, Ku hipa d hipa~hipa id.. 'chick' ¶ D #2636.

**350. \*c.ʼop.V** 'to watch, look out, spy' > K: GZ \*c.ap- {K<sup>2</sup>} v. 'study, learn' > G c.ap- v. 'teach, study, learn', OG, G m-c.ap-el-i 'leader', Lz c.op- ~ nc.op- v. 'study, learn' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 293, FS K 441, FS E 497-8, Chx. 2119-20, Chik. 402 || HS: S \*√c.py v. 'watch, look at' > BHb efc √c.py (pf. c.a'p.a') 'watch; reconnoitre, keep a look-out; spy, look', Ug s.p n. 'look (Blick, mirada)', JA {Js.} ifc √c.py D 'look out, wait', JEA {Sl.} ifc √c.py G 'look', SmA √s.py G 'look, observe', Mh s.ʒfo't 'news, information; knowledge', Jb E/C 's.e'fət id., Mh caus. pf. s'zs'fu, sbjn. yzs'zs.f, Jb E caus. pf. s'zs'fe, Jb C caus. pf. s'zs'fe id., Ak s.ubbu(m) 'mit Abstand ansehen'; the Ug variant √ √py (< \*√θ.py) v. 'spy, observe' is irreg. ¶ KB 977-8, KBR 1044-5, OLS 158-9, 419, Tal 741, Sl. 970, Js. 1297, Sd. 1082, Jo. M 359 || IE: NaIE \*skkēp- > Gk σκεῖτομαι 'I watch, look about, look after', σκοποῦ 'one that watches \ looks after', σκοπεῖω, σκοπεῖομαι 'look at\after, behold, contemplate' ¶ P 984, Ch. 1014-5 and EI 505 (all of them believe that it is a *mt* of \*spek- 'spähen, scharf hinsehen', but in fact both directions of *mt* are possible), F II 725-6 || D \*co~v-/\*co~pp- v. 'watch over, guard' > Tu so~vu 'spying, watching', Kui zo~pa v. 'watch over, guard, lie in wait for' ¶¶ D #2892.

**351. o \*c.ʼap.ɿja** 'to beat, strike, chop' > IE: NaIE \*skep<sub>i</sub>H<sub>j</sub>- ~ \*skeHb<sub>i</sub><sup>h</sup><sub>j</sub>- 'split' > Gk σκεῖπαρνοῦ 'carpenter's axe' || Lt ska~plis id., sko~pti / skapiu~ (-skopiu~), sko~bti / skobiu~ 'hollow\gouge out' ('mit dem Beitel, Schaber oder Deichsel aushöhlen'), ska~ptas 'gouge, chisel', Ltv s'k<sub>e</sub>pele 'splinter' | Sl: [1] \*skopiti 'to castrate' > OCS скопити skopiti, Slv skopí'ti, Cz skopiti, P skopić, R скоп<sub>и</sub>т<sub>и</sub> id., Blg скоп 'I castrate'; [2] \*s'čepa- v. 'split, chop (wood)' > P szczepac', LLs s'č'e'pas', Blr ce'пац id., R ce'пат<sub>и</sub> л<sub>у</sub>чину 'chop sticks'; d Sl \*s'čepa ~ s'čep'ь 'wood chips' > OR ce'па s'čepa id., R ce'па id., 'splinter' (d ce'пка 'chip, sliver'), Slv s'č'e'p 'wood chips, shaving', P szczepa 'log, billet (of wood)' ¶ F II 724, Frn. 812, Kar. II 348, Vs. III 650 & IV 502-3, ME IV 32-3, Bc. 1391, P 930-3 || HS: [1] WS \*√c.pf > Ar √s.ff 'taper légèrement le derrière de la tête à quelqu'un; donner un soufflet', Mh/Jb {Jo.} √s.ff (pf.: Mh hzs'fe, Jb E/C es'fa'f) 'make a rude noise with the tongue protruding between the lips, blow a raspberry'; [2] IS adduces S roots with \*s- and ext. : \*√spk. 'strike with a noise' (> Hb √spk., Ar √sfq) and \*√spd id. (Ug √spd id., Hb and Ak √spd 'wail'), which is less plausible, the more so that there are similar onomatopoeic roots with \*c.: \*√c.pk. (> Ar √s.fq 'frapper avec qch. de manière à faire entendre un bruit', Mh {Jo.} √s.fk. 'clap one's hands'), etc., so that IS's conclusion about the S non-glottalized initial \*s- loses its basis ¶ BK I 1101, 1347-8, Jo. M 358, Jo. J 235, GB 549-50, A #222 || o U \*c'appV 'strike with a noise, chop; clap one's hands' > Vp c'appa- 'schlagen, dreschen; brechen (Flachs, Hanf)' | pLp {Lr.} \*c'o~ppz 'chop, cut, cut up' > Lp: N {N} c'uop'pa~ / -pp- id., amputate', S {Hs.} tjuoppedh 'cut (off), chop', L {LLO} tjuohpps- '(auf)schneiden, aufhacken (z. B. Fleisch \ Fisch zum Kochen)', K {Gn.} c'u'hpe- 'cut, chop' | Mk c'apa- 'schlagen', Er c'apa- 'clap one's hands' | Prm \*c'ap-kV- > Z чaпкы- c'apki- 'throw (for the object [a small stone, etc.] to fall flat)', Yz c'apki- 'throw, hurl', Vt G {Wc.} c'apki~ 'clap one's hands', чaпкыны id., 'strike with the palm of the hand' || Hg csap- 'strike, hit, flap, slap' || Sm: [1] \*sa'p'pa~ (or \*s'p'pa~) v. 'chop' > Ne T ca'pāÄ-c id., T O {Lh.} sa.p'a~, Ne F {Lh.} ʒa'p'ə~ v. 'hauen, schlagen (mit der Axt)', Koyb {Sp.} d сабыгобдеь 'выбиваю', Mt {Hl.} \*sabətd- 'chop' (Mt M {Sp.} сабыд<sub>и</sub>мь 'подсекаю', сабатте 'обрубая') ¶ UEW 29, Lr. #203, Lgc. #794, Hs. 1348-9, MF 113, LG 302, Lh. 399, Hl. M #832, Jn. 134 (Sm \*sə't<sub>3</sub>pə~ = \*sə't<sub>3</sub>ksrə without sufficient justification of ə and t<sub>3</sub>) || R: T \*cap(a)- v. 'strike' > OT, MQp XIV c'ap- id., Chg XV c'ap- 'strike with the

sword, behead', ET c'ap/b-, Uz c'ap/b-, Qzq s'ab-, VTt чаб/п- s'ab/p- 'chop, mow', Tkm c'ap/b- 'chop, strike with a sabre', Qrg c'ap-, Xk sap- 'strike, beat', Chv L ын- s'up/b\_- 'slap in the face', VTt qul s'ab-, Bsh qul sab-, Alt qol c'ab-, Chv алаА ын- 'clap one's hands' (qul, qol, алаА 'hand') ¶ Cl. 394, Rs. W 99, Jeg. 219 || M \*cabci- v. 'hew, chop, cut (with a weapon)' > MM [IM] c'abc'i- 'hew, chop', [MA] c'abc'i- 'cut (with a sword)', [S] {H} 'ab-\durch-schlagen, abhauen', WtM cabci-, HIM цавчи- 'hew, chop', 'blink', 'kick the forefoot\forefeet' (of a horse)', Brt савиц- 'chop, mow', Ord {Ms.} з'ab\_c'i- 'hacher, couper', Mnr H {SM} з'ia~b\_з' i- id., clignoter (yeux)', Mnr H/M {T} c'iavc'i- v. 'hew' ¶ Pp. MA 129, 434, H 25, MED 154, SM 76 || Tg \*capcV- > Neg capca~capci- v. 'destroy, break', Ewk capca-kī ~ capcikī ~ capcukī 'chip, sliver (of wood)', Ewk Tmt capcikit/c- 'place of chopping wood', Ud c'apc'a- v. 'chop wood', Nn Nh/KU c'apc'i-, Nn B c'apc'i- 'chop, split'; the forms of Ud, Nn and some other lgs. may be of M origin ¶ STM II 384 ¶¶ KW 437, □ DQA #271 \*c'a~p'au|| 'to chop, hit' (T, M i ÷ Tg \*capka 'fish-spear' & pKo \*cak- id., cf. N \*c.'aP\_V ~ \*c.'aP\_K\_V ~ \*c.'aK\_P\_V 'stalk, pointed stick, spear') || D: [1] D (in SD) \*cavVr- ({GS} \*c'c'-) 'cut (off, down)' > Kt c'avr- 'cut down (standing plants, bushes)', Kn savaru 'cut off side branches', chip, cut, cut down', Tu ta(v)uru-ni 'to strip off, cut away (leaves of a tree), cut away brushwood'; [2] D \*capp- ({GS} \*c'-) 'clap hands', 'slap' (× N \*zap.V 'strike' [q.v.]) > Tm cappa~n.i, Tu cappal.i 'clapping hands', Kn cappat.e, cappal.i id., capparisu v. 'slap, pat', Kt capat\_ 'noise of a hand-clap', Tl cappat.a, Nkr capat\_, Mnd hapar', Ku sapor' 'a slap of the hand', Gnd capur d ca~pt.a 'a blow with the hand, slap'; D b> OI capet.a~ 'slap with the open hand' ¶¶ D ##2335, 2390, Tu. ##4673, 4696 ♦ Some of the forms (e.g. those meaning 'clap hands') may be of independent onomatopœic origin ♦ IS I 201 [#41] (\*c'ap'a) ♦ S \*ɣ may go back either to N \*ɣ or to N \*y, but N \*p.y is hardly plausible (this cluster of obstruents would have been assimilated almost certainly to \*by, while the approximant \*ɣ does not usually require as ).

**352. \*c.'Ep.ɣV** (as > \*c.'EbɣV) 'finger' > K \*c'.c'.ip.- > G M/X c.ip.-i 'Verbindungsstelle zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger' ¶ Chx. 2146 || HS: S \*c'.u'baɣ- (> \*ɣuc.baɣ-) 'finger, toe' > BHb ɣec.'ba~ɣ-, (TV) oB2c6a3 ɣec.'baɣ id. [in ltHb T (bases of the Masoretic BHb spelling) word-final \*-aɣ yielded -aɣ rather than -a'ɣ (spelled o l- -a'ɣ), ɣ Blau BNPA], Sr s.eb.'sa~ id., Ug ɣus.bɣ 'finger, claw', IA s.bɣ (pl. s.b'n) 'finger', BA pl. No1B6c6a3 ɣec.bə'ɣ-a~n, pl. em. at1o1B6c6a3 ɣec.bə'ɣ-a~t-a~ 'fingers, toes', JA {Js.} oB2c6a3 ɣec.'baɣ / em. aolB6c6a3 ɣec.'bə'ɣa~, JEA {SL.} aolB6c6a2 ɣac.'bə'ɣa~, SmA ɣs.bɣ ({Tal} = is.ba), Ar ɣis.baɣ- (~ ɣas.baɣ-, ɣas.biɣ-, ɣis.buɣ-), Ar Cr s.ubaɣ, Ar Hm us.baɣ, Mn s.bɣ, Sb ɣs.bɣ, OĖth \*ɣac.baɣt (> Gz ɣas.baɣt ɣas.ba~t), Tgr c'əbɣɣt, Tgy pl. ɣas.abɣɣti 'finger, toe', Mh {Jo.} s'ə'baɣ, Hrs {Jo.} ha-s'baɣ, Jb C {Jo.} ɣis.'baɣ, Sq {L} 'ɣes.bah, 's.obeh id., Eb is~ba-um (= {Krb.} ɣis.baɣum), ɣμ Ak Λ nes.bettu 'finger' ¶ GB 61, 896, KB 79, 1573, OLS 55-6, Tal 720, Js. 110, Sl. 159, Br. 620, BK I 1307, BGMR 140, MA 93, L G 45, LH 627, Bsn. 580, Jo. M 397, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 5, L LS 70, 345, Krb. 18, Blz. EP, CAD XI/2 190 (Ak nes.bettu <b- WS), Sd. 782, MiK I #1.256 || Eg fP 3bɣ 'finger' > DEg tbɣ > Cpt Sd ɣɣɣbe te'e'be, Cpt B ɣɣɣbe te'b; Eg d 3bɣ.t 'signet (on a signet-ring)' b> BHb to2B2y2 t.ab'baɣat\_ 'signet-ring, ring' and possibly B: Gd {Lf.} ta-d.əβot (pl. t-d.əβwa) 'bague d'argent' ({Rö. → Tk.} i 'Fingerring'), ? Tw {Rö.} ta-d.əhot 'finger-ring' (not in Fc.) ¶ EG V 562-5, Fk. 321, Er. 625, Vc. 210, KB 353, Wlf. EAW 48, Rö. SL 132, Lf. II #0337, Pr. H 28 || B: Zmr a-t.ad (pl. i-d.ubd.-an) 'finger' ¶ Wlf. EAW 48 || NrOm: HzMa za'b- / zaba, Sz za'b-i 'finger' ¶ Bnd. RL 343 ¶¶ OS #434, Tk. I 98 || U: FU \*c'EppV 'finger-tip' (× N \*ɣ'ip.V 'a pinch; to pinch' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ UEW 49 (he is right in rejecting the adduction of F hyppy, hypi 'finger-pit' and of Lp Kld ciehp 'finger, toe' because of the initial cns. going back to FU \*c'-; the F and Lp words belong rather to N \*c'.op.V(RV) 'finger-nail, claw' [q.v.]).

**353. 2 \*c.VqV** 'to make dirty, revile' > HS: WS \*ɣc.ɣy id., 'be dirty' > Sr ɣs.hy D (pf. s.ahī) 'revile', s.uh'y-a~, Sr W s.uhīt\_-a~ (Sr W s.o'hīt\_-a~) 'railing, abuse', Ar ɣs.ɣy (pf. s.ahiya) 'ître sali, abimé (se dit des habits), ≈Ica s.əɣi(-n) 'sali, abimé', ?ϕ Gz ɣ@W s.a'hw [s.ahw] 'filth, rubbish' (unexpected h for ɣ due to contamination with a different ɣ ?) ¶ Br. 625, JPS 475, 477, BK I 1317, L G 553 || K: GZ {K} \*c'.qew-/ \*c'.qew-, {FS} \*c'.q- v. 'curse, damn' > OG {K} c\_.qev-, {FS} c\_.qew-, G c\_.qevl- id., caus. c\_.qevin- 'make so. curse', Mg c'.q(u)-, Lz (n)c'.k.- v. 'curse' ¶ K 253, K<sup>2</sup> 318, FS K 470-1 (GZ \*c'.qew-), FS E 531 (GZ \*c'.q-), Chx. 2122, DCh. 1698, Q 393.

**354. \*c'.i.qU** 'mouse' [- \*c'.u'k.V (or \*c'.ik.U?) 'mouse?'] > K: either [1] \*c'c'i.qw- > G ci.qv-i {KEGL, Chx.} 'squirrel' (sciurus), {DCh.} 'mus glis, полчекъ', G mci.qv-i 'mus glis, mus agraria' ] or [2]

K \*c'.uk.- > Mg c'.uk.-i 'mouse' (\*-k.- due to contamination with N **\*c.ik.V** 'small') ¶ KEGL VIII 634, DCh. 823, 1596, Q 393, K<sup>2</sup> 316 & FS E 529-30 (Mg c'.uk.-i ÷ G M c.uk.ana 'very small', likely to belong to N **\*c.ik.V** '¶' [q.v.]) ¶ HS: S: Gz {L} s.ək.ʷənk.ʷən ~ s.ək.ʷənk.ʷe-n 'field mouse, ∈ lizard, crocodile' ¶ L G 562 ¶ D (in SD) \*cikk- ({GS} \*c'-) 'mouse' > Kdg cikn, Gnd cikka-1 id., Tu cikkelī 'a small variety of mouse' ¶¶ D #124-5.

**355.** **\*c'.o.qiajʃE** to beat\hit (so.), hurt; pain' > K: GZ \*c'.q- v. 'feel pain' -d> \*c'.q-Vn- 'ache, hurt' > Lz c.k.- id. (m-c.k.-up-s 'es schmerzt mich'), Mg c'.q-in-/c'.q-ən- v. {Q} 'be pained\bored', OG c'.q-en-/c'.q-in- {FS} 'betrüben, belästigen' (momec.qona cχorebay 'I am weary of life' - Gn. 27.46), G c'.q-en-/c'.q-in- 'do harm, grieve; feel hurt (by), resent' ¶ Chik. 399, K 247, K<sup>2</sup> 303, FS K 454, FS E 514, Chx. 2212-3, Q 384 ¶ HS: S \*°√c.k.ʃ > Ar √s.qʃ 'strike\beat (so.)' ¶ Ln. 1706-7, BK I 1352-3 ¶ IE: [1] \*skeHt<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>- ({EI} \*sket<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub> or \*skeh<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>-) 'injure, harm' > NaIE \*ske-t<sup>h</sup>-/\*skə-t<sup>h</sup>- 'hurt, injure' > Gk Hm 'α-σκηῖν' 'unhurt, unscathed' ¶ OIr sci'th 'fatigué, las', escid {Vn.} 'indefatigable' (→ 'vif, alerte'), Br skuizh 'fatigué', Crn squyth id., 'las' ¶ Gt skapjan (p. sko'p) 'to do wrong, damage' ('αδικεῖν, βλαπτειν'), ON skeðja 'to harm, damage', AS sc'ieððan 'to injure'; sc'eaðian 'to damage', ON skaða, OHG scado-n, NHG schaden 'to harm'; n. act.: Gt skap'is 'damage, wrong-doing' ('αδικία'), AS sc'eaða 'damage', OSx skatho, OHG scado 'damage' (-> Cz, Slk s'koda, OP, P szkoda -> OR шкoдa s'koda, Uk, Blr, R øшкoдa id.), NHG Schade id., ON skaði 'harm, damage' (Schaden, Verlust); ¶ [2] ?? {WP} NaIE \*ske-n- 'push, strike' > OIr fo-scann- 'throw, push, winnow' ¶ WP II 557-8, 564, P 950, EI 312, F I 164, Ch. 124, Vn. S 32, 46-7, Hm. 739, Fs. 429-30, Vr. 479-80, 487, OsS 771, Kb. 862, KM 630, Ho. 274, 278, Rcz. 859, Brū. 549, Vs. IV 449 ¶ A: M \*coki- 'hit, beat, strike, knock, peck' (× N **\*c'ak.V** 'to prick (stechen), to gouge', q.v. ffd.) > WrM coki-, HlM цoхи- v. 'hit, beat, thrash, strike; knock', WrO coki-, Kl цок- cokə- 'beat, strike', Kl {Rm.} cok- 'schlagen, hauen' ¶ MED 196, Krg. 641, KRS 636, KW 429 ¶ D (in GnD) \*cokk- ({GS} \*3-) > Gnd zak- 'kill' d zokka-na- 'strike, kill', Kui soka d so-ka- 'strike at', 'bite' (of snake, dog, etc.) ¶ D 2831.

**356.** **\*c.a.qiajʃV** (or **\*c.a.qV**) 'elbow, ∈ part of a limb' > K: \*c'.qr.ta 'elbow' (→ [1] 'ell', [2] 'door-post, jamb of a window\door') > OG c'.qrta 'cubit', G c'.qrta id., 'ell', Mg c'.q3(r)ta -- c'.qi(r)ta-, d G c'.qirtl- '(door>window)post', as well as G c.irtxl-i id., Sv UB {GP}, LB/Ln {TK} c'.itχ 'ell, cubit' (both from \*c'.r.tχa - mt + fricativization of \*q - GM S 96, 99, Gm. DS 10) ¶¶ K 254, K<sup>2</sup> 315 (\*c'.rtχa-), FS K 471-2, FS E 534-5, K DE 358 (reconstructs pK \*c'.r.tχa- [-> Sv c'.itχ ÷ G c.irtxl-i] as a different √), GP 280, TK 861 ¶ HS: EC \*c.ikl- 'elbow' > pBn \*c'i'ki'le' (> Bn: Bi c'.i'ki'le', J/K/Kj j'ig'ile'), OSml \*j'ik.ali (> Sml Og c'iqil), Rn {PG} d.i'kki'l, {Oo.} 'dikil, Arr (mt) c'i'li'g (pl. c'ilk-o'), Or {Grg.} c'.ik.ile-, Kns d.ikl-, d.iqil-, Gdl d.ilk, Hr t.ihí'le, Gln t.ihí'lle, Gwd D d.ixilxo', Hd t.unk.ul- id., Brj tangil- 'elbow, heel', ? ingi'lays- 'elbow', Ya t.okl-e- 'forearm' ¶ Lm. SKE 536, Ss. PEC 30, Ss. B 105, Bl. 216, Hn. BD 104, Grg. 83, AMS 189, 226, 239, PG 96, Oo. 66, Hw. A 350 || ? S \*°c.uk.1VJL- > Ar s.uql- flancs' ¶ BK I 1354 ¶ IE: NaIE \*°skk-el- > Gk σκεῖλον 'the leg from the hip downwards' (× N **\*c'.i'li.VJʃV** 'side of body', 'hip', q.v. ffd.) ¶ A \*c'a<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>k'a **a** 'elbow, forearm' ({Adb.} \*ca<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>k'a-) 'elbow' (< \*\*cak'yV < \*\*cak'íV) > NaT {Adb.} \*çayk'an -d> [1] \*çayk'anak 'elbow' > Chg {RL.} ð'en'q\* c'aqanaq id., wrist' ({RL.} 'Ellebogen, Elle = локот, запястье'), Alt {BT} чаганак c'aγanaq, Tel {Rs.}, Qmn {B} c'a-naq, QK {RL.} c'aḡnaq, Sg {BIG} sɣanaχ, {RL.} saγanaq, Shor {RL.} s'aγnaq, {Dyr.} шγанак id., Nog s'γanaq, Qq s'γanaq, Qrg c'iqanaq, Xk c'γanaq, ET 3'a-yna-k, {LQ} c'a-na-k 'elbow', SY c'ikenek, MQP [CC] c'γanaq, VTt {ðRL.} s'γanaq 'elbow, door-hook, hinge (of a door)', Tbl c'γanaq 'elbow, door-hinge', bf : ET Δ c'oqa 'elbow'; [2] \*çayk'an-çak/-çik 'elbow' > Alt c'aḡc'aq, Tlt {Vrb.} c'aḡc'aq, QrB c'mac'iq, Qq s'intaq id., Qzq s'intaq 'elbow, ell', s'intaq su'ek 'funny-bone' (-d> Uz Δ c'mtaq id.) ¶ TL 249-50, Adb. SR 169-71, Rs. W 96, 107, Rl. III 1833, 1851, 2063 & IV 262, 938, BT 174, B DK 265, BIG 205, 325; ¶ Adb. TMCT (i ÷ Osm {Rs.} c'a-kin 'shoulder [near the neck]' and Chg {Rs.} c'ikin 'Nacken, Schulter', belonging to N **\*c'ikU** 'side part of the base of limbs (shoulder, hip)' [q.v.]) || Tg \*çaka 'forearm' > Nn Nh c'aχa-, Nn B caχa(n-) 'ell (forearm as a unit of length)', ?? Ewk çakça, 'calves of legs' ¶ STM II 378, 380, Adb. TMCT 119 ¶¶ Adb. SR-D 447 (pT \*c'ajkan 'elbow'), 458 (pT \*c'aka 'forearm') ¶¶ But T \*c'o-k- v. 'kneel' does not belong here (≠ N **\*c'.oKʃE** 'to sink to a kneeling\squatting\lying position') ♦ Blz. KM #3 (K, C i ÷ A [T \*c'o-k-]) ♦ A \*y seems to suggest N \*i' (cp. IS's hyp. of N \*i' > K r<sub>2</sub> > GZ \*r, see IS I iv-v).

**357. \*c'.arV** (= \*c'.arV?) 'to cross; across, over [direction], through' > ?σK: GZ \*c.ar- {Schm.} 'durch-, vorüber', {K, Chx.} 'down, away, off' > OG c.ar-, G c.ar- ~ c.a- id. (↳ Zan c.a-), Mg. Lz c.o- id. ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 292-3, Schm. 154, Chx. 2097 **II IE:** NaIE \*(s)ker(-s)- 'across, through' > Gk 'εγ-κα'ρσιος, 'επι-κα'ρσιος 'athwart, oblique, crosswise' :: BSl \*(s)kersa- > Pru kirscha, kirschan, kerscha, kerschan 'over, more than', Ltv s'k\_e`rs, s'k\_e`rsam 'quer', Lt sker`sas, Ltv s'k\_e`rss 'transversal, cross', Lt skersiai 'across' : Sl \*c'ersъ 'over' (direction), 'through' (~ \*c'erzъ with voicing on the analogy of some other prepositions) > RChS, SrChS **чрѣкъ** c'resъ ~ **чрѣзь** c'rezъ, R 'чрез', Blg чрез, SCr c're\_z, Slv c're\_z ~ c're`z, Slk cez, Δ c'ez ¶ P 949-50 [i \*(s)kert(-s)- with an unjustified \*-t- [based on the arbitrary conjecture connecting this stem with \*(s)kert- 'to cut'], F I 637, ME IV 35-6, Frn. 802-3, En. 193-4, Vs. IV 338, ESSJ IV 76-7, ESISJ-SGZ I 49-52 **II HS:** Eg fp 33y v. 'cross, ferry (sb. across water), cross' ¶ EG V 511-3, Fk. 318 || S \*°/c.ry 'cut through \ asunder' > Ar /s\_ry (pf. îraCa s\_ara-, ip. -s\_riy-) id. ('retrancher en coupant') ¶ BK I 1336 ♦ IS MS 372 ('чрезъ' \*c'.arV [K, IE]).

**358. \*c'.orV** (← \*c'.awrV ← \*c'.arwV?) 'tip, top, edge' > **HS:** EC: Or {Ss.} c'.ara 'tip, top, edge', Brj c'.ar(a) 'edge, blade', c'.ari 'point, summit, peak; pointedness, sharpness', c'.are- v. 'sharpen (knife)' ¶ Ss. B 46, Hd. 183 **II K:** GZ \*c.wer- 'tip, point (Spitze)' > G c.ver-i id., Mg c.van3'i ~ c.vandi 'tip, top', OG mc.uerwal- 'summit' ¶ K 243, K<sup>2</sup> 311-2, FS K 443-4, FS E 501 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from K \*c.we-r- 'beard' [> G c.veri, Sv we-re d wa'r(e) id.]), Chx. 2155 ¶¶ It is possible that in pK the √ in question coalesced with \*c.we-r- 'beard', which may be helpful in explaining the unexpected \*w in GZ \*c.wer- 'point, tip' **II D** (in KK) \*co\_r\_ru ({}GS} \*s|3-) 'hill, mountain' > Kui so\_ru id., Ku ho\_ru id., 'rock' ¶ D #2887 **II Possibly AdS of IE:** NaIE {WP} \*k'ar- 'pointed, sharp' (< N \*qar'V 'hard, firm, sharp' [q.v. ffd.]) ♦ D \*o- and K \*w point to a presence of a labial element in N. If the etymon is \*c'.awrV.

**359. 2 \*c'.UrV** 'narrow' > **HS:** S \*c.arr- 'narrow, tight (?)' > BHb rc2 c.ar narrow, tight', /c.rr 'be narrow' (rc2 c.ar 'is narrow'), SmA s.ry 'narrow passage', i Ak s.arir 'is (?) narrow' (s'ummu muxxas'u s.arir 'if the top of his head is (?) narrow' [followed by xabis', rapas' 'is wide']), Ar s.arr- 'serré, noué' (infl. of the verb /s.rr 'serrer, nouer'), /s.rr Gt (pf. ?istarra) 'be narrow' (of a hoof), mas\_ru-r- 'serré, noué; étroit, pincé'; WS \*√c.rr 'tighten (by wrapping, tying up)' > Hb /c.rr, Sr /s.rr, Ar /s.rr G 'bind, tie up', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} /s.rr 'tie the foreskin before circumcision' ¶ KB 984, 990, BK I 1325-7, BDB 864-5, Tal 741, Jo. M 365, Jo. J 241, Jo. H 116, CAD XIV 107 **II IE:** NaIE (att. in Gmc) \*°sker- (+exts.) 'to shrink, wrinkle, shrivel' (× N \*c'ERV 'small, little') > NNr skra'na (< Gmc \*skraxnan) 'to shrink (verschrumpfen)', MLG schra-, NGr NrF schrah (both from Gmc \*skre-xa-) 'dürr, mager', ON skra' (< \*skraho) 'thin leather', NE Ork (↳ NrGmc) skrue 'Maß von Trockenheit', Nr Δ skranta 'become lean (mager werden)', Nr skrinn (< \*skrenθa-) 'dürr, mafer, unfruchtbar', MLG schra-de 'dünn, mager, kümmerlich' ¶ P 933, Vr. 500-1 **II A:** NaT \*°c'o-r 'tight, dense' > OT {Cl., MKD} c'o-r, {DTS} c'or id. ¶ Cl. and Dnk. reconstructed an OT long vw. o- on the insufficient basis of the *plene* spelling with v in Mah>mud al-Kashgari ¶ Cl. 428, MKD 95, DTS 94 **II ?φ D:** [1] D (in McTm) \*cur- > Tm curam 'narrow and difficult path', Ml curam 'difficult road'; [2] D \*cur- ~ \*c.ur- 'to shrink, wrinkle, contract' (× N \*c'.ur'P\_rV 'to twist, plait' × N \*c'.U'gRV 'small, diminish', q.v. ffd.).

**360. \*c.a'TrV** 'to be in pain, feel hurt, resent' > **K** \*c'.qar-/°c'.qr- 'take offense (at), be angry (with)' (← \*'resent') > OG, G c.qer-/c.qr- id., 'take offense' (Chx.: 'ärgerlich\böse ein'), Mg (n)c'.qor- id., Sv {Fn.} c'.qr- (msd. li-c'.qr-un-a'l 'sich sträben, sich widersetzen', {K<sup>2</sup>} v. 'bristle') ¶¶ FS E 533, K 253, K<sup>2</sup> 318, FS K 469-70, Mach. XS 266ff. (on \*a in this √), Zhgh. ChMP (on the prothetic n- before the dental\lingual cnss. in Zan), Chx. 2222, 2227, DCh. 1700, Q 395, Fn. KW-4 37 **II HS:** WS \*√c.√sr 'be in pain, suffer, grief' > MHb ro2c2 'c.a'far 'pain, grief, trouble', JA ro2c2 'c.a'far / em. ar!o9c2 c.a'a'r-a- 'pain, grief, trouble', JEA {Sl.} ar!o9c2 c.a'a'r-a- 'trouble, distress, pain', SmA s.r, s.rh 'distress', Md s.aiarta 'pain, grief', Gz /s.r (js. -s.far) 'be in pain, suffer', çR s.a'r [s.a'f] n. 'anguish, torment, pain' ¶ Lv. IV 209, Js. 1294-5, Tal 740, L G 544 || ??φ Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*3'umar {AD} 'pain, anger' > Ngz {Sch.} z'i-ra 'intetnal bodily ache\pain, being in pain, being warlike\belligerent' : Ang {Flk.} do-r, du-r 'anger' : My {Sk.} z'umar, Kry {Sk.} s'iwar 'be angry' : Fy {J} d.o-r 'Ärger, Unwillen' ¶ Stl. ZCh 204-5 [#552], Sch. DN 46, J R 83, Sk. NB 10 **II U:** FU \*c'a'rke- v. 'ache, pain' > F sa'rke- id. (↳ Lp N {N}

sær'gaː- / -ærg- v. 'ache, be painful'), Vp sa'rgē-, s'a'rg'e- v. 'ache, pain' : ? Lp: N c'ērgiidi- 'go to sleep (of limbs), L {LLO} tjiēr'kijit id., 'become numb' (of limbs), U {Schl.} tja'r'ka 'scharfes Prickeln in eingeschlafene Gliedern', Pa {TI} c'e.ːaːr'g\_ː- v. 'ache (of a wound)' :: ObU {Ht.} \*c'aːrəy- > pVg \*c'aːrəy- > Vg: Ss s'aːrəy- v. 'ache, pain', UL/SS s'aːrəy-, UL/SS T c'aːrk-, LK/MK s'oːrəy-, P/NV/LL s'arr- v. 'deplore'; pOs {Ht.} \*c'aːrəy- ~ c'oːrəy- v. 'ache, pain' > Os Ty c'erəy-, K c'aːrəy-, Nz s'arəy-, Kz s'ariː- id. : OHg se'r 'be hurt (verletzt werden), ache', Hg se'rt- v. 'injure, damage, harm, hurt', Δ se're's 'pain, ache, illness' ¶ FU \*ke may be due to contamination with FP \*s'aːrke- 'break, split' ¶ MF 551-2, Ht. #86, LLO 1161, TI 653, EWU 1322, ¶ UEW 32-3 (does not distinguish between this √ and FP \*s'aːrke- 'break, split' < U \*s'aːrke- < N \*s'aːRK.E 'break, split') ¶ A: NaT \*c'er m'illness' > Qzq {RL} s'er 'langjährige, alte Krankheit', Qqz {MM}, Qq s'er 'grief', Nog s'er 'illness', Qrg {Jud.} c'er 'tumour', Shor {RL} s'aːr 'Schwindsucht', ? Chg {RL} c'ir (= c'er?) 'Pickel, Geschwür', VTt чир s'ir 'illness' (> Chv c'ir id.), Bsh sir id., Tk c,oːr 'illness' (× c,oːr 'devil'), Az c'aːr-laː- 'be ill' ¶ Rs. W 104, Rl. III 2122 & IV 1004-5, Jud. 858, Jeg. 326, DTS 144, MM 395, NogR 410, TrR 199.

**361. \*c.'U'gRV** 'small, diminish' > K \*c'c'χlwj- / \*c'c'χlwj- > G cχra-, cχer- v. 'wane' (of the moon), {DCh.} cχroma n. 'wane of the moon' ¶ DCh. 1610, Chx. 2044 ¶ HS: S \*√c.γr v. 'be small' > BHb √c.γr 'gering werden', Ak √s'χr (inf. s,eχeːru ~ s,aχaːru 'become small\few\young', ? Sr √s.γr (pf. s.əfar) 'beschimpft werden'; S \*c.ayir- 'little, young' > BHb c.aːs'ir 'klein, jung, gering', PH, PUN s.γr 'small', Ug s.γr 'small, young', SmA s.γr 'young', Sr s.ə'sir / s.ə'sir-aː 'despised, vile', Sb s.γr 'little', Ak s,eχru ~ s,aχru 'small, few, young' ¶ KB 974-7, HJ 971-2, A #2340, OLS 415, Grd. UT #2182, Tal 739, JPS 482, CAD XIII 120-4, Sd. 1087-9 ¶ D \*c.γr- ~ \*cur- 'shrink, lessen' (× \*c.'UrV 'narrow' × \*c.'U'P\_rV 'to twist, plait') > Tm curun'ku 'shrink, lessen, be reduced', Ml curun'n'uka v. 'shrivel, shrink, decrease', curukkam 'contraction shortness', Kt curk- 'make small, draw up (legs, fingers), shrink', Td tur- vi. 'shrink', Kn surku, Tu surun.t.u-, surut.u- v. 'contract, shrivel, shrink', Tl suruːgu v. 'shrink', Prj curk- v. 'shrivel', Krx {Hahn} cog'reː 'person with sunken cheeks'; cp. Brh kurring, kurreːnging v. 'shrink from, contract' ¶¶ D #2687, DED #2213, Em. DS 365 ¶¶ D The initial \*c.γr- (> Brh k-) is likely to reflect N \*c'ː- in \*c.'U'P\_rV, while Krx cog'reː (if it belongs here) reflects N \*c'ː- of \*c.'U'gRV and/or \*c.'UrV.

**362. \*c.'aːh'urV** 'circle; to twist' > HS: CS \*c.uːr- ~ \*√c.rr v. 'twist, tie around' (a merger with several homonymous roots) > Hb rvc √c.wr (ip. -c.uːr, imv. ruc c.uːr) {GB} 'zusammenschnüren', {KBR} 'tie up [in a bag], bind [money in one's hand]' (i.e. 'carry money wrapped up in the hand'), MHb {Js.} rvc √c.wr v. 'tie around, wrap', JA {Js.} rvc √c.wr G v. 'tie around', JEA {Sl.} √c.wr G v. 'besiege', Md √s.ur, √s.rr v. 'surround, hem in, tie in', Ar rwc √s.rr G 'tie up (a purse), tie up with a lace (the udder of a female camel)' ¶ KB 951-2, 990, KBR 1015, GB 678-9, Js. 1270-1, Sl. 956, DM 391, BK I 1325-6 ¶ ? K: G c.re 'circle' (unless DCh. is right in claiming that the word is an Arm loan, but to my mind the resemblance of the G word with Arm c@em cr-em v. 'bend, bow', cran- cran- v. 'become round' or crabolor crabolor 'circle' is not close enough to suppose a borrowing, because there is no Arm word able to be the source of G c.re) ¶ KEGL VIII 1168-9, Chx. 2194, DCh. 1693, NCh. 454, Xud. I 548-9, Bedr. 316 ¶ U: FP \*c'aːyU'rV 'circle, spindle' > Es soːoːr səːr 'circle', {W} soːoːr səːr ~ tsoːoːr tsəːr 'Kreis, Umkreis, runde Scheibe' : Prm \*c'aːrs 'spindle, axle' > Z c'ars, Yz c'oːrs, Vt c'ers id., Vt c'ersini v. 'spin' ¶ LG 311, Lt. 157, W EDW 1080, 1208 ¶ A: NaT \*c'aːbuːr- v. 'twist' (< \*\*c'aːwuːr-) > OT {Cl.}, XwT c'aːvuːr-, Chg c'ewuːr- v. 'twist, turn (sth.)', Osm {Rh.}, Az c'evir- v. 'turn, turn round', Osm {Rh.} %orv\* c'evre 'circumference, circuit', Az c'evraː 'circle', Brb {Tm.} c'uːraː 'around' ('вокруг, кругом'), {Rl., Tm.} cuːr- vi. 'turn round' ¶ Cl. 398, Rh. 735, 741, Hüs. 342, Tm. 243, 247, Rl. IV 213 ♦ FU \*-y- and Pre-T \*-w- developed in hiatus. The only N lr. that can disappear in intervoc. position both in S and K is \*-h-.

**363. \*c.UyrV** 'to rot, stink, be spoiled\bitter' > HS: S \*c.VrVjy- > Ar s.iry- ~ s.ary- 'stagnated water with spoiled taste' ('aqua diu restagnans ut sapor corruptus sit'), s.ary- 'depravatum saporem habens' ¶ Fr. II 496 ¶ K: GZ \*c'.ar- v. 'be bitter', d \*m-c'.ar-e 'bitter' > OG, G m-c'.ar-e 'bitter', Mg gito-c'.or-ap-a- {FS, K<sup>2</sup> 131} 'remove the bitter taste', {K<sup>2</sup> 307} 'calm down, cool down' ¶ FS K 458-9, Abul. 309, ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 131 (\*m-c'.ar-e 'bitter'), 307 (\*c'.ar- v. 'anger; irritate') ¶ IE \*(s)k̑er-(d<sup>h</sup>-) 'cacare; dung, excrements' (× N \*c.'aːr'V 'dirt, dung, rubbish' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ U: FU \*c'uyrV 'bitter, spoiled, rotten' >

pPrm \*c'u'r- > Vt чьрс c'irs 'sour', c'irsa- v. 'turn sour, be fermented', Z чир- c'ir- v. 'turn rancid\bitter\tainted, turn sour' || pObU {Ht.} \*c'a'r- > pVg {Ht.} \*c'a'r- v. 'turn bitter' (of fish) > Vg: P s'a'r-, NV/SV/LL s'ar-/s'ar, UL/Ss s'or- id.; pOs {Ht.} \*c'a'r-, {Hl.} \*c'i'r- v. 'turn tainted\bad' (of fish and meat) > Os: V/Vy/Ty/D ċa'r-, Nz/Kz s'o'r-, O s'a'r- ¶ LG 307, Ht. #82 II A \*c'u'yri- or \*c'u'ri- v. 'stink, be rotten' > T \*cu'ri- or \*cu'yri- id. > Tkm c'u'yre-, Tk c,u'ru'-, Az c'u'ru'-, Chg, ET Tr {Rs.} c'u'ri- 'verfaulen, verrosten', Qmq, ET {BN}, Uz, Qrg, Qmn {B}, Tlt {Rl.} c'iri-, Qzq, Qq, Nog s'ir(i)-, StAlt чири- c'iri-, Tki {Rl.} ← Shaw} -vry8 c'iru'-, VTt чере- s'ьгь- (inf. чер\* s'ьру''), Bsh cere- сыгь-, Qzq шp° - s'i'ri- (inf. s'i'ru''), Qq, Nog s'iri-, Chv 'eÄp- s'ьгь-, Δ s'ь°r- vi. 'rot', ? ET Δ {Jr.} c'o'ru' - c'u'ru' - 'become worn, decayed, rotten'; d \*cu'ri-k 'rotten' > Tkm c'uyrek, Tk c,u'ru'k, Tbl, Tlt {Rl.}, ET, Qrg, Qmn, Tb c'irik, SbTt Tö, Brb cırık, StAlt c'irik id., VTt черек s'ьгьк id., n. 'rot, dust of rotten wood', Bsh cereк сыгьк, Nog s'irik n. 'rot, rotten stuff' ¶ Rs. W 121, Md. 64, 163, TkR 740, Tum. 245, TatR 634, Rl. III 2124-6, 2194, BN 32, Nj. 408, Jr. 77, Jud. 863, B DK 268, B DChT 165, Jeg. 211-2, Fed. II 111-2 || Tg \*ci\_ri- v. 'stink, be fetid' > Ewk ċiri- id., Nn B c'iriftala- v. 'be fetid', Ewk ċiripcu adj. 'stinking' ¶ STM II 399 || pKo \*ciri- v. 'be foul, emit a foul odour' > Nko ċiri- ¶ S QK #722, MLC 1531 ¶¶ DQA ##301 [\*c'i're 'stink, be rotten' > Tg, Ko + *unc.* M \*cer 'phlegm, tumour' and T \*ċer 'bodily heaviness'].

**364. \*c.er<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>fV** '∈ (stinging?) insect' > **HS:** CS \*c.ar<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>f<sub>1</sub> '∈ stinging insect (wasp, or sim.)' > BHb eo1r^c5 c.ir'fa- 'hornet' or 'wasp' (?) [Ex. 23.28, Deut. 7.20, Joshua 24.12: ?et\_hac.c.ir'fa- - LXX σφηκι'αθ, σφηκι'αυ], SmH 's,a'ra' id., SmA atire c.ryt? id. (unless the original meaning is 'leprosy', as in JPA B aorc c.r?h - f Sl. P 470-1) ¶ GB 695, KB 989, Tal T I 320 (SmA atire in Ex. 23.28 & Deut. 7.20) II K \*mc'.er- 'fly, insect' > OG mc.er-: zaylis mc.eri = LXX κυνο'μυια 'dog-fly', G mc.er- 'insect', † 'fly', Mg c'an3--c'and-, Lz mc'a3-, Sv UB/L me'r, Sv Ln mer 'fly'; Zan b→ Arm 4an4etn c'anc'etn 'fly, flies' ¶¶ K 141, K<sup>2</sup> 131, DCh. 930, Chx. 878, Q 386, TK 570, GP 217 II ?φ A \*c'ar- + sxs. ({SDM97} \*c'arc'u) '∈ insect (locust, dragon-fly)' > M \*carca > WrM carca, carcaga(i), carcaqai, HIM царцахай 'locust, grasshopper', {Luv.} царцаа 'locust', WrM damzigur carcaqai 'dragon-fly', Kl {Rm.} carcā, carcā, carcāḫa' 'grasshopper, locust', Dgr c'a'rc'a'n 'locust', Mnr H {SM} c'i\_ar3\_i\_ag\_ 'sauterelle, cigale' ¶ MED 165, Luv. 605, KW 422, T DgJ 180, SM 443 || NaT \*sarmcga 'locust' (× \*sarig 'yellow?') > OT [MhK] saric'ya, MQp [AH] sarinc'qa, sarinc'qan, Qb {Rl.} sarisqa 'locust', Sg {BIG} sarisxa 'grasshopper', Xk sarisxa 'кобылка (∈ grasshopper \ locust)'; T b→ R саран'ча 'locust' ¶ Cl. 845-6, Rs. W 404, TL 187, Rl. IV 325-6, BIG 183 || Tg: WrMc cacaraqu '∈ locust' ¶ STM II 486 || ??φ pJ {S} \*sunsu-musi (\*musi 'insect') > OJ suzumusi, J T suzumusi '∈ cricket' (× N \*3'U'n'c'U 'ant, stinging insect' [q.v.]) || pKo {S} \*cā'nca'ri' > MKo \*cā'nca'ri', Nko camcari 'dragon-fly' (× N \*3'U'n'c'U 'ant?') ¶ S QK #293, Nam 416, MLC 1396 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. \*c'arc'u 'locust, dragon-fly'; KW 422 (M, T) II D \*ce'r\_- ({'GS} \*c'c'- ~ \*33'-) '∈ insect' > Kn jar\_i centipede, scolopendra', Ml ce'rat,t,a ~ te'rat,t,a, Tu te'ran,t,æ<sup>d</sup> ce'rat,e ~ s'e'ra(n)t,e' 'centipede, millipede', Tl jer\_i, jer\_r\_i, Prj zerri<sup>d</sup> cer\_r\_i, Gnd zer<sup>d</sup> zerru, Knd ser\_i 'centipede' ¶¶ D #2797 ◇ D \*r\_- (the reg. reflex of N intervoc. \*-r-) suggests early loss of N \*r or the presence of a vw. between \*r and \*r. The length of the D \*e- reflexes the lost lr. On the ev. of D the N vw. must have been front (\*e?), while A \*a may be explained by *as* (vw. harmony) within A bi-\poly-syllabic stem.

**365. \*c.iryX** 'to scratch\chisel, shape (an object), fashion' > **K** \*c.'er- 'scratch; depict' > OG c.er- v. 'write', 'produce an image' (3'uaris dac.era 'made a sign of cross', i.e. 'cross oneself'), G c.er- 'depict, write' (3'varus dac.era v. 'cross oneself', lit. 'depict a cross'), G Kzq c.erva- 'make paintings on windows\doors', G M ga-c.era- 'depict a line', Mg c'ar-, Lz (n)c'ar-, Sv yr-/r-/e'r- (msd. UB li-yr-i) 'write'; FS adduces here OG, G c.ert- 'to prick', c.ert-il-i 'point', which is doubtful (because of the unexplained -t-) ¶¶ K 249-50, K<sup>2</sup> 309, FS K 461, FS E 521-2 (+ *err.* K \*mc'.er- 'fly, insect', f N \*c.er<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>fV '∈ insect'), Chik. 407, GP 163 II **HS:** CS \*c.u'r-/c'ir- v. 'fashion, shape' > BHb √c.wr G (pf. c. re2I!v@ way'ya-c.ar) 'fashion, delineate', JEA {Sl.} √c.wr G 'fashion, draw, form', Plm √s.wr v. 'paint', Sr √s.wr (pf. s,a'r) 'form, fashion, paint'; D: Ar √s.wr v. D 'shape out (a th.), paint, picture', MHb/JA √c.yr D id.; \*c.u'r-at- 'drawing, form' > BHb er'luc c.u'ra- 'form, fashion', ChrPA æ@Σç s.wr?, Plm s.wrh 'Bild', Sr s.u'r-t-a- 'form, image, statue', Ar ÉravCu s\_u'r-at- 'shape, exterior appearance, picture' ¶ KB 954, Sl. 956, JPS 476-7, BK I 1383-4 II A: T \*ċir' - ~ \*ċir' - v. 'scratch, draw a line' > OT U ≥VIII {Cl.} c'iz, {Gbn., DTS} c'iz- 'scratch, draw a line', Osm {Bu.} \*Mz\*i c'iz-ma'k ~ æMz\*i c'iz-maq 'to draw a line, to

mark a boundary path', {Rh.} \*Mz*i* c'iz-mek 'to draw (a line, mark, scratch), sketch, delineate', Tk c<sub>i</sub>iz-, Ggz c'iz-, Qrg siz-, Qrg S c'iz- v. 'draw a line, mark', Az чизѣи c'iz-g'i 'line, stroke (линиѣ, штрих)', Tkm чѣв- c'īd- 'draw a line, draw (чертит), scratch' ¶ Cl. 432, Rs. W 112, DTS 147, Bu. I 476, Rh. 720, Hüs. 345, Tkr 743, Jus. 675, 883, Rl. III 2148-9 || Tg \*c<sub>i</sub>.rċi- > Ewk ċirċi- (3s ċirċi-rən) 'scratch off (skin on the face)' ¶ STM II 400, Vas. 522 ¶¶ ≠ DQA ##322 [A \*c'ire 'cut, scrape': Tg + *unc*. T \*ċErt- 'cut'] || D \*c<sub>i</sub>ran- ({{GS} \*c'c'-) 'small chisel' (× \*c'.'u''r'v 'flintstone, knife?') > Kn c<sub>i</sub>ran.a, c<sub>i</sub>rn.a, jīrn.a 'a small chisel, esp. used in cutting metals', Tl c<sub>i</sub>ran.amu 'a small chisel' ¶¶ D #2627.

**365a.** <sub>2</sub> \*c'.'aRlċpV (- \*b-?) 'to scratch\chisel, hew, cut' > IE: NaIE \*skerb-/skreb- (- \*p-), \*skrei\_b/p- 'scratch, scrape' > AS sc'eorpan 'to scratch, gnaw', OHG scarbo\_n 'to cut', scarpf 'sharp', MHG scharf adj. 'cutting', NHG scharf, AS sc'earp 'sharp', NE sharp; AS sc'eorf 'Einschnitt', OHG scurfen 'aufschneiden', NHG schurfen 'leicht abkratzen', to dig (for st.); MHG schreffen, AS sc'repan 'scratch'; NE scrap || BSl: Lt skrebe'ti 'to scrape', Ltv skra'pe't 'to scratch, scrape', skrabt (1s prs. skrabu) id., 'scoop, hollow out'. s'k<sub>i</sub>r'ba 'chink, split, gap', Ltv Δ skri'pa't 'einritzen, kratzen'; Sl \*skreb- (inf. \*skresti) > ChS оскребѣ o-skreb-o 'scrape off', R cкpeѣб-у (inf. cкpeѣсти), Uk cкpeѣб-у (inf. cкpeѣти), Sln s'kre'bljem (inf. s'kre'bati), Slk {Ma.} inf. s'kret 'scrape'; d (iter.): Cz s'krabati 'scratch, scrape', Slk s'rabat', P skrobac' || L scrib-o-, -e're 'write' || Clt: OIr scri'p- ({{Vn.}: -p- = [b]) 'scratch', Nlr scri'obaim 'scrape, rub the surface, scratch', Brtt {ðRE} \*skrebami 'scratch' > W scrapo, Crn scravynias id., Br skaran' 'scratch, rub' || Gk σκαριφάομαι, σκαριφέω 'die Oberfläche eines Körpers aufritzen', 'scratch an outline' ¶ P 943-7 (*unj.* adduction of homo-\paro-nymous words of different origin), ¶ Frn. 815, Kar. II 203, 355, F II 720, WH II 499-500, Vn. S 55, RE 126, Ho. 274-6, 282, Kb. 869, KM 635-6, 684, Vs. III 656, Ma. CS 50, Srz. II 730 || HS: WS \*c<sub>i</sub>.rb > Gz √s<sub>i</sub>.rb G (js. yəs.rəb) 'hew, do carpentry', Sb s<sub>i</sub>.rbt '(?) cutting of a road', ?σ s<sub>i</sub>.rb n. 'harvest', Mh {Jo.} məs.ra'b, Jb C {Jo.} məs.'reb 'saw-edged knife used to cut grass', Sq {L} √s<sub>i</sub>.rb G, Ar irc √s<sub>i</sub>.rb G v. 'cut', BHb tb3r#c1 c.a'reb\_et\_ 'scab, scar (of a sore)' (× Hb √s<sub>i</sub>.rb 'burn, scorch' < CS \*√s<sub>i</sub>.rb 'kindle?') ¶ L G 56, BK I 1327, Hv. 393, Ln. 1674, KB 985-6, BDB 863, BGMR 144, Jo. M 365, Jo. J 241.

**366.** ?? \*c'.'or'V 'to drip, trickle' > HS: S \*o<sub>i</sub>.r<sub>i</sub>r > Ak fOB √s<sub>i</sub>.rr G (p. is<sub>i</sub>.rur) 'flow, drip', 'libate, pour out' ¶ Sd. 1084-5, CAD XVI 105-6 || K \*c<sub>i</sub>.ur- 'squeeze out, strain' (× N \*c'.'o<sub>i</sub>.r'V 'squeeze out [liquid]), strain, sift' [q.v. ffd.]) || U {UEW} \*c'or'V 'leak, flow, drip' (× N \*c'.'o<sub>i</sub>.r'V 'to drip, flow; drops' [q.v.]) || D \*co'r- ({{GS} \*c'c'-?) 'trickle, pour, flow down' (× N \*z'ur'.'u''i -> \*z'.'u''r'.'u''i 'to stream') > Prj co'r- v. 'trickle', Png ho'r- v. 'drip'; cp. also N \*c'.'o<sub>i</sub>.r'V '↑' [q.v. ffd.] ¶¶ D ##2883, 2893 || A \*cUr- 'pour, stream' (× N \*c'.'o<sub>i</sub>.r'V '↑') > ?? M: Ba c'ur- vi. 'pour' (of tears) ¶ T BJ 151 || Tg \*c<sub>i</sub>or- 'stream', 'run' (of water) > Ul c'or<sub>3</sub>u- id. ('cтруица'), 'flow down', ?ϕ Nn B caoqa 'rivulet (in the mountains)', WrMc adj. i cor seme 'welling out, spounting' ¶ STM II 409 ♦ Doubtful, because the etymon has a non-contaminated reflex in Ak only. Due to the loss of the opposition "emphatic ↔ plain voiceless" in U and D and the loss of the lr. in K it was doomed to coalesce with paronymous N roots of a similar meaning.

**367.** <sub>2</sub> \*c'.'o<sub>i</sub>.r'V 'squeeze out (liquid), strain, sift' > K \*c<sub>i</sub>.ur- 'squeeze out, press; 'strain', {K<sup>2</sup>} 'flow out' (× N \*c'.'or'V 'to drip, trickle' [q.v.]) > OG c<sub>i</sub>.ur- 'squeeze out' (gamo-w-c<sub>i</sub>.ur-e sasumelsa s'ina 'I pressed [the grapes] into the cup'- Gen. 40.11), G c<sub>i</sub>.ur- 'squeeze out (juice, etc.), strain', Mg c<sub>i</sub>.ur- / c<sub>i</sub>.ir- (-c<sub>i</sub>.3r-), Lz (n)c<sub>i</sub>.or- / (n)c<sub>i</sub>.ir- {FS} id., Sv nc<sub>i</sub>.ur- / nc<sub>i</sub>.3r- 'strain, drain off (a vessel)', ?σ Mg c<sub>i</sub>.ur- {K} 'fall, sink' ¶¶ K 246, Fn. KW-4 #66, FS K 451-2, FS E 511, Chx. 2199-200, Q 382 || HS: Eg G z'ir 'sieve' ¶ EG V 541.

**368.** \*c<sub>i</sub>.otV 'drop' > K (GZ or pK) \*c'.'wet- n. 'drop' > OG c<sub>i</sub>.uet-, G c<sub>i</sub>.vet-, Mg c'wet- ~ c'wat-, Lz d o-c'.'ot-u-a {FS} 'Tropfstelle', o-c'.'wet-el-a ~ o-c'.'ot-ur-a 'place for litter in the yard'; GZ \*c'.'wet-/\*c'.'wt- v. 'drip' > OG c<sub>i</sub>.wet-/c<sub>i</sub>.wt-, G c<sub>i</sub>.vet-, Mg c'.'wat- id.; ?? Sv {K} wed-id., 'dew', adduced in K 250, was not mentioned as cognate by K<sup>2</sup> ¶¶ K 250, K<sup>2</sup> 310-1, FS K 462, FS E 524, Chx. 2152-3, Abul. 551 || D \*cot<sub>i</sub>.t<sub>i</sub>o ({{GS} \*s-) n. 'drop', \*cot<sub>i</sub>.t<sub>i</sub>- v. 'fall in drops' > Tm cot<sub>i</sub>.t<sub>i</sub>.u, Kt cot<sub>i</sub>., Td swit<sub>i</sub>., Kn tot<sub>i</sub>.t<sub>i</sub>.u, Brh cut<sub>i</sub> 'a drop'; Tm cot<sub>i</sub>.t<sub>i</sub>.u, Td swit<sub>i</sub>- 'fall in drops', Kt cot<sub>i</sub>., Mlt cate id., leak', Brh cuttin v. 'drip' ¶¶ D #2835 || ?? HS > S \*o<sub>i</sub>.s'a-day- 'dew' > Ar idAsa sada- 'night dew', √sdy (pf. sadiya) 'copiosum habet rorem (terra)' ¶ Ln. 1335-6, Fr. II 302 ¶¶ S \*s (= [c]) is from a deglottalized \*c<sub>i</sub>. S -d- (for -t-) still needs explanation.

**369.** ? \*c'.'u''tV (or \*c'.'u''t.V?) 'to throw, fling, pour' > K o \*c'.'c<sub>i</sub>.it- > G -c<sub>i</sub>.it- 'zwischen den Zähnen ausspucken' ¶ Chx. 2176 || IE: NaIE \*(s)keu<sub>i</sub>-d-/\*(s)kud- 'throw, cast', {EI} \*(s)keu<sub>i</sub>-d- > pAl {O}

\*skeu<sub>da</sub> > Al T hedh- (aor. hodha), Al G {Mn.} hudh v. {AIED} 'throw', {Mn.} 'fling' (= Al G {Kf.} hudh, hudhi ρι'πτω) || ON skjo'ta, AS sc'e'otan 'shoot, throw', OHG scio'ōan 'to shoot (arrows), throw', NHG schießen, MDt scieten, Dt schieten, OSx skiotan 'to shoot', NE shoot || Sl \*ki-''da-ti / pfv. \*ki-''(d)-no<sub>ti</sub>-ti 'throw' > ChS {Mikl.}, OR кыдати kidati 'to throw', OCS искыдати is-kidati 'throw away', R ки́дат (pfv. ки́нут), Uk ки́дати 'to throw, cast, fling', Cz kydati 'throw, throw away', SCr ki''dati id., 'clean the cattle-shed', ki''nuti 'to throw, cast', ki''nuti se 'to clear off (intr.)', Slv ki'dati, Slk kydat' (pfv. kydnut'), P kidac' 'to throw', Hls kidac', Lls kidas' 'to pour out, shake out' ¶ WP II 554, P 955-6, EI 581, ¶ Mn. 1160-1 [unc. σ\*(s)keu<sub>d</sub>- {Mn.} v. 'fling, shoot, impel'; adduces OI co'dati v. 'incites, animates', Lt [skudru~s 'quick'], Kf. 135, 138, O 143-4, Vr. 496, Ho. 276, Ho. S 66, OsS 797-8, Schz. 257, Kb. 885, KM 647-8, Vs. II 230, ESSJ XIII 252-4, Glh. 316-7 || HS: Eg fP sty 'throw (out\away), pour, shoot (arrow)' (× N \*SidV 'sprinkle, pour' and possibly Eg sty 'lay' < N \*fs'la'tV 'to sit [down]', accounting for the unexpected s-) ¶ EG IV 328-9, Fk. 252 || ?? WS \*s<sub>u</sub>t<sub>u</sub>- v. 'pour, spill' > Gz -su<sub>t</sub>- (pf. so<sub>t</sub>.a, js. yə-su<sub>t</sub>.) id., ? Ar sawt<sub>u</sub>- 'place where water collects', {BK} 'mare d'eau stagnante; le superflu d'eau d'un vivier qui déborde'; some scholars adduce to this √ doubtful Sb and Hb forms (h. l.) that are semantically interpreted on the basis of this et. (a vicious circle!): Sb tiSa ṣs'yt. ({BGM} 'rainwater cisterns' [?]) and Hb y&S s'o<sub>t</sub> in the phrase 's'o<sub>t</sub>. s'o<sub>t</sub>.e<sub>p</sub> (interpreted by some as 'fließender Flut', discussion in GB 814); if the Hb and Sb parallels are correct (that is highly qu.), the √ is to be reconstructed as \*s<sub>u</sub>wt<sub>u</sub>; otherwise both \*s<sub>u</sub>wt<sub>u</sub> and \*s<sub>u</sub>wt<sub>u</sub> are possible ¶ L G 521, BGMR 130, BK I 1164 || R: M \*ci<sub>u</sub>dqu- 'pour (schütten, gießen)' > MM [MA] c'itqu- 'schütten', WrM cidqu-, HIM цутга- v. 'pour, pour into, smelt, cast', WrO cudxu- 'pour in, flow into', Kl {KRS} цутх- cutx<sub>u</sub>- v. 'cast (metal, glass); drive out (a gopher from its burrow by pouring water in it)', {Rm.} cutxα-xα 'gießen, in Formen gießen; sich ergießen, ausfließen (ein Fluß)' ¶ Pp. MA 135, MED 177, Krg. 649, KRS 642, KW 434 ♦ The de-emphatization and desaffricatization of the initial N \*c<sub>u</sub>c' in HS is a typical process. In K the glottalization of the final cns., if not original, may be due to ass. infl. of the initial \*c<sub>u</sub>c'. The S √ with its final \*t<sub>u</sub> belong here only if the glottalized \*t<sub>u</sub> is original. In this latter case the IE tenuis \*d- will be hard to explain.

**370. \*c<sub>u</sub>AshtV** → **\*c<sub>u</sub>AshtV** 'red' > **K**: GZ \*c<sub>u</sub>it- 'be(come) red' > OG, G c<sub>u</sub>it- id. (OG. G c<sub>u</sub>it-s 'is red'), Mg c<sub>u</sub>it- 'become red'; d> GZ \*c<sub>u</sub>it-el- red' > OG, G c<sub>u</sub>itel-, Mg c<sub>u</sub>ita-, Lz (m)c<sub>u</sub>ita id. ¶ K 251, K<sup>2</sup> 313, FS E 526, Chx. 2162-3, Q 388-9 || HS: i S \*°s<sub>u</sub>shd > Ak {Sd.} se<sub>d</sub>-um 'red' ¶ Sd. 1034; CAD XIII 206 considers the meaning of this word uncertain || C: SC ({E} \*c<sub>u</sub>e'd-, {Tk.} \*ce<sub>d</sub>-) 'red' > Brn {Wh.} c<sub>u</sub>e<sub>d</sub>-, Irq/Grw {Wh.} c<sub>u</sub>e<sub>r</sub>-, Alg {Wh.} c<sub>u</sub>e<sub>r</sub> 'blood', ?? SC b> Mb m-se<sub>r</sub>e 'red(-brown) cow' || ?φ Dhl {EEN, To.} c<sub>u</sub>irara<sub>e</sub> 'red' ¶ Wh. IC 22, E SC 179, E PC #171, EEN 17, To. D 149 ¶¶ ¶ Tk. PAA (pHS \*cayd- red') || D \*ca<sub>t</sub>- ({GS} \*33'-) 'red colour' > Kn ja<sub>u</sub>-ju ~ ja<sub>u</sub>-du id., 'colour of red ochre', Tl ja<sub>u</sub>-ju ~ ja<sub>u</sub>-du 'redness' ¶¶ D #2437 ¶¶ D \*-t- seems to go back to the cluster \*-Ht- (D \*-t- goes back either to N \*-t<sub>u</sub>- or to a \*-t-cluster).

**371. \*c<sub>u</sub>oQt<sub>u</sub>V** 'dark, darkness' > **K** \*c<sub>u</sub>c'qud- (dis from \*c<sub>u</sub>c'qu<sub>u</sub>-?) 'dark' > OG c<sub>u</sub>qwdiadi, c<sub>u</sub>qudeva 'darkness (μακ)', G c<sub>u</sub>qwdiadi id., c<sub>u</sub>qviadoba 'darkness (темнота)' ¶ Chik. 200, DCh. 1701 || IE: NaIE \*skot- 'shade, darkness, shadow', {EI} \*skoto-s 'shadow, shade' > Gk σκο'τοϛ 'darkness' || OIr (L-gr. of apophony) sca'th 'shade, shelter, shadow, reflection (in a mirror)', W ysgodigo 'être ombrageux', MW ysgawd - isgaud 'ombre, obscurité, esprit nocturne', cy-sgaud 'shadow, image', W cy-sgod, OCrn scod, MCrn scos, NCrn ske<sub>z</sub>, MBr squeut 'shadow', Br skeud 'shade, shadow' || Gt skadus 'shadow', Dn, Nr skodde 'fog', OHG scato (gen. scatuwes) 'shadow', NHG Schatten id., 'shade', Dt schadow 'shadow', AS sceadu (dat. sceadwe) 'shade, shadow', NE shade, shadow ¶ WP II 600. P 957, AHDI 61, EI 508, F II 739-40, Vn. S 36, Ern. 646, YGM-1 151, Hm. 728, Fs. 427, Skeat 552, Schz. 255, OsS 782, Kb. 870, KM 637-8 ¶ IE \*sk- for the expected \*sk<sub>u</sub>- has not yet found explanation || U: FP \*c<sub>u</sub>o<sub>tt</sub>E 'black' > Prm: pZ \*c<sub>u</sub>o<sub>t</sub>- ({LG} \*c<sub>u</sub>o<sub>t</sub>-) > StZ чо<sub>д</sub> c<sub>u</sub>zd / c<sub>u</sub>zdy-, Z Δ c<sub>u</sub>zd, Yz 'c<sub>u</sub>u'd 'bilberries' || Chr L {Ü} чоты<sub>р</sub> c<sub>u</sub>ot<sub>u</sub>r 'dark-haired person' ¶ LG 310, Lt. 148, Ü 246.

**372. \*c<sub>u</sub>owV** 'to inform, make know\hear' > **K**: GZ \*c<sub>u</sub>aw-/c<sub>u</sub>w- v. 'communicate, inform, announce' > OG, G sc<sub>u</sub>av- v. 'mean, designate, inform, teach' (< 3m px. \*s- 'to him\her' + \*c<sub>u</sub>aw-), Mg c<sub>u</sub>(o)- v. 'inform, tell', Lz \*c<sub>u</sub>(v)- v. 'speak, tell' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 291-2, Chik. 393-4, Fn. KW-4 54, FS K 438, FS E 494-5 || HS: CS \*c<sub>u</sub>ww ~ c<sub>u</sub>wy<sub>w</sub> > Ar ÉvWCu s<sub>u</sub>ww-at- (pl. ivACu s<sub>u</sub>wa-n) 'pierre qui indique la route;

écho, retentissement de la voix \ d'un son', ? Hb uc2 c.aw n. 'command, ordinance', √c.wy|w v. *D* (pf. eu|c5 c.iw'wa-) 'command, order, lay charge upon' (× S \*√wc.y [> Ar √ws.y *G* 'recommend, appoint as executor', *Sh* (pf. iCa00à ʔaws.a-) 'order, command']) ¶ BK I 1388 & II 1551-2, KB 946-8, BDB 845-6  
**II R:** M \*°cobuʔa > WrM cobuga, cobugu, HlM цовоо 'clever, smart, quickwitted, alert' (usually of children) ¶ MED 193.

**373.** **2** \*c. ∇χU 'to be alive\healthy' > **K:** GZ \*c'χow- 'live' -d> [1] GZ {K} \*c'χo(w)n- 'save (soul)' > OG cχown- 'save (so.), make so. whole' (gacxovna s'en 'hath made thee whole, Mt. 9.22), cχond- ps. 'live', G cχon- 'save (soul), be saved; live, be alive', cχovneba 'life', cχovr- v. 'live', Mg c'xon- v. 'save'; [2] GZ \*c'χow-el- 'living, animal' > OG cχowel- 'alive, animated, animal', G cχovel- 'animal', Mg c'xo-u ~ c'xu ~ c'xu-u 'cow' ¶ K 232, K<sup>2</sup> 276, FS K 417-8 **II HS:** WS \*√c.ħh v. 'be alive, healthy' > Mh s.ʒh, Jb C s.a'hi 'alive, awake, healthy', Hrs s.ʒh 'alive, healthy', Mh s.ʒħħa-t, Jb E/C s.ʒ'hat 'health', Ar √s.ħh *G* 'be in good condition, be healthy', Ar s.ħħat-, Sb s.ħ, s.ħħ 'health, good condition' ¶ BK I 1056, 1310-1, Jo. M 360, Jo. J 238, Jo. H 115, BGMR 142 ♠ In K there is a compulsory glottal *as* (here deglottalization) within "harmonic" cns. clusters (\*c' + \*χ > \*c'χ).

**374.** **2** \*c'a dem. pronominal stem of the *ille*-deixis > **R:** Tg \*ca- id. [× N \*c'E 'that' (ille- or iste-deixis)?] > Nn Nh c'adu 'there' (place), Ul c'adu id., 'there' (direction), Nn Nh c'ala id., Ul c'ala 'there' (direction), ? Ud {Krm.} c'ayla 'far away', Ewk ca-wu-<sup>d</sup> ca-yu- 'that which is father, the following', Lm ca-y id., 'that which is far', Sln ca-yu- 'the opposite, that on the other side', WrMc casi ({Pp.} c'a-si) 'there' (direction), 'to the other side', cala 'there, on the other side' ¶ STM II 376-7, Krm. 309 || ? M \*ca(ya)-, {Pp.} \*ca-: M \*cayada ({Pp.} \*c'aga-da) > MM caʔada 'bei, jenseits' ({H} 'eng, nahe'), WrM cagana {Kow.} 'au delà de, plus loin', {MED} 'farther, beyond, behind, yonder, trans-, after', HlM {MED} цаана id., {Pp.} ca-na 'on the other side'; M \*cayasi > WrM cagasi 'away from, farther', HlM {MED} цаанид., {Pp.} cais'i 'in jener Richtung, weiter dorthin', WrM {Kow.} ca-si 'un peu de côté, un peu plus loin' ¶ MED 158, 187, H 24, Lig. VMI 24, Kow. 2088, 2096 || *AdS* of pKo cə 'this' > MKo cə [*<* N \*c'E 'that' (distal or intermediate deixis)] ¶ S QK #606 ¶¶ Pp. VG 26 (M. Tg), DQA ##255 [A \*c'a 'that, beyond (not very far)'] **II HS:** CS \*°amma 'there (place)' > Hb MS1 s'a-m, M'b, Ph, DA s'm, Ug θm, BA em'IT2 'amma-, JEA {Sl.} MT2 tam, JA {Js., Lv.} MT1 ta-m, Sr tamma-, NNEA {Mcl.} tama, Md tam, Ar μW@a θamma id., SmA tm 'then' ¶ KB 1430-2, 1799, OLS 495, Js. 1675, Lv. IV 649, Mcl. 322, Br. 82, Tal 953 ♠ Related to (or identical with?) \*c'ru- 'that of...?' (q.v.).

**375.** \*c'ru- 'that of..., that which' > **K** \*c'we-, first component of poss. pronouns: [1] K {Gm.} c'wem*i*l*i*, {K<sup>2</sup>} \*c'(w)em-, {K, FS} \*c'em*i*l*i* 'my' > GZ \*c'em*i*l*i* > OG, G c'em-i, Mg c'kim-i, Lz c'kim-i ~ s'kim-i 'my' : USv mi-s'gu, USv/L mi-s'gwi, Ln mi-s'k.wi 'my' ¶¶ K \*-w- is preserved in Sv, but was lost in GZ (*dīs* due to the presence of \*m?) ¶¶ K 219, K<sup>2</sup> 255, FS K 387, FS E 434-5, Gm. SSh 41-2, TK 571, GP 220, Dn. s.v. mis'gvi, Top. SJ 83 ¶¶ [2] \*c'wen- 'our' > OG c'uen-i, G \*c'wen-i, Mg c'k3n-i ~ c'kin-i, Lz c'kun-i ~ s'kun-i ~ c'kin-i ~ s'kin-i 'our', Sv {TK}: UB gwis-s'gwey ~ gu-s'gwey, LB gwis'gwe ~ gus'ge, L gus'gwe, Ln gus'k.we 'our' incl., UB {GP} ni-s'gwe(y), LB {GP} nis'gwe 'our' excl.; → GZ \*c'wen 'we' > OG c'wen, G c'wen, Δ c'on, Mg c'k3 ~ c'ki, Lz c'kun ~ c'kin- s'ku 'we' ¶¶ K 219-20, K<sup>2</sup> 256-7, FS K 388-9, FS E 436-7, Q 367, TK 183, Top. SJ 83, GP 94-5, 237 ¶¶ [3] pre-K \*\*c'w-sen- > K \*s'wen- 'thy' > Sv UB {TK} isgw-i ~ isgu, Sv L isgwi, Ln isk.wi 'thy' : GZ \*s'en- > OG, G s'en-i 'thy' (→ OG, G s'en 'thou'), Mg skan-i, sk.an-i, Lz skan-i, ckan-i 'thy' ¶¶ FS E 427-8, K 216, K<sup>2</sup> 250, Schm. 142, TK 299, Top. SJ 83, GP 299 ¶¶ These K poss. pronouns emerge from N constructions \*c'ru-<sup>1</sup>mi my (\*mi 'I'), \*c'ru-<sup>1</sup>n-<sup>2</sup> 'our' (\*n-<sup>2</sup> 'we' excl.), \*c'ru-<sup>1</sup>s'ru-<sup>1</sup>nu (\*s'ru-<sup>1</sup> 'thou', \*nu 'of' → marker of obl. cases) **II HS:** S \*θ- nota genitivi > OAk sg. m. nom. θ-u, acc. θ-a, gen. θ-i 'which', sf. f. nom./acc/ θ-at, gen. θ-at-i, pl. m. nom./acc. θ-u-t, gen. θ-u-t-i, pl. f. nom./acc. θ-a-t, gen. θ-a-t-i (θ = s' ↔ s' < S s' & s'), Ak s'a 'which', ? BHb [Deborah's Song] s'a + gmc. [subordinative cnjc.] 'that', MHb s'ε + gmc. cnjc. 'which, that', Ph s', Pun (LSc) SA, SY ¶ Sd. G § 46, KB 1271-2 **II IE** \*-istHo- > NaIE \*-ist<sup>(h)</sup>o-, sprl. sx. > Gk ῥηδιστοϑ, OHG suo-ōisto, OI 'svadis.t.has 'sweetest', Gk πλαϊστοϑ, ON flestr, Av frae-s'ta 'plurimus', Gk μεγιστοϑ, OI 'mahis.t.has 'greatest', Gk ἐλαχιστοϑ, OI 'laghis.t.has 'longest'; acc. to Hirt, \*-ist<sup>(h)</sup>o- goes back to \*-is-st<sup>(h)</sup>o-, where \*-is- is a sx. of cmpr. (it means that the N prototype of the IE sprl. may be reconstructed as nomen + \*yi s'∇ c'∇ (lit. 'than + this + that which') ¶ Acc. to Hirt IG III 196, \*-t<sup>(h)</sup>os

of some ordinal numerals (OI catur'thas 'fourth', s.as't.has 'sixth', etc.) is of the same origin ¶ Hirt IG III 195-6, BD II/1 659-60, Bks. 199 II A: Tg \*-cī, nominal sx. with several functions: [1] sx. of ordinal numerals: Ewk -cī (u-mu-cī, ju-cī 'second', ila-cī 'third') WrMc -ci (emuci 'first', ilaci 'third'), Nn -cī<sub>a</sub>/-cī<sub>3</sub> (toyngacī<sub>a</sub> 'fifth', nadacī<sub>a</sub> 'seventh', n'unguncī<sub>3</sub> 'sixth'), [2] sx. of adjectives denoting age (*d* from numerals): Ewk ju-cī 'two-years-old', ila-cī 'three-years-old'; probably here also Nn -pcī that forms adjectives from words of time: bala-pcī 'ancient custom' (<d bala 'long ago') [3] sx. with the meaning 'having X', having relation to X', e.g. Ewk hut<sub>3</sub>-cī 'who has children' (<d hut<sub>3</sub> 'child'), Tg \*oro(n)-cī 'reindeer-breeder' (<d \*oron 'reindeer') > Ewk oro-cī 'reindeer-breeder', Lm or<sub>3</sub>c id. (a name for Lamuts of some regions), Orc oro-cī, Ud oroc'i, Ul oroc'i, Nn oroc'e 'Orochi' (ethnic name ← 'reindeer-breeder'), WrMc oronco 'reindeer-breeder' ¶ Vas. 797, Avr. GNJ I 221-2, 239-42, Hrl. 40, STM II 25 || NaT \*-cī, denominative sx. for names of professions and other nomina agentis (possibly × N \*c<sub>1</sub>'a – \*c<sub>2</sub>'a, marker of relative constructions > sx. of adjectives?): OT -cī/-cī<sub>1</sub>, {Cl.} -cī/-cī<sub>1</sub>, e.g. [MhK] a-mcī 'medicine man', aγī-cī 'treasurer', umducī 'beggar', aya-qcī 'bowl-maker', o-tu-gcī 'intercessor', as well the cognate sx. of later T lgs.; it is theoretically possible that the T sx. \*-nc of the ordinal numerals (OT u-cī<sub>1</sub>-nc 'third', bisinc 'fifth', etc.) belong here as well, but is better explained as related to FU \*-n'c'- of ordinal numerals ¶ MTD 315, Cl. xi, 53, 80, 136, 157, 271 ♦ AD PP ∇.

**376.** ??? \*c<sub>1</sub>'ib ∇ 'stem of a tree, log' > IE: NaIE \*ste<sup>h</sup>-b<sup>(h)</sup>- 'post, pillar, stem of a tree', → 'staff, stick' (× N \*s<sup>h</sup>'o<sup>h</sup>b<sub>1</sub> ∇, ∇ [or \*s<sup>h</sup> ∇ b<sub>1</sub> ∇, ∇] 'stem, piece of wood' [q.v.]) [1] \*steb<sup>h</sup>-, \*steb<sub>1</sub><sup>h</sup>- > Gk σταφυλή 'grape vine, grape' || Olr {P} sab 'shaft, arrow, stick', {Vn.} 'tige, pieu, bâton servant d'appui' (P: < \*stəb<sub>1</sub><sup>h</sup>a-), Nlr sabh 'bolt\bar of a door\gate; a short, thick stick' || ON staf-r 'staff (Stab, Stock)', OHG stab 'staff, stick, club' (> NHG Stab 'staff, stick'), AS stæf 'staff, stick' (> NE staff) || Ltv stabs 'post, pole, pillar', Lt sta<sup>h</sup>bas id., 'idol', Ltv stebe 'mast' || NaIE °steb- ∇ 'pillar' > ON sto<sub>1</sub>pull 'post, pillar', {Vr.} 'dicker Pfahl', AS stapol 'pillar, prop, stem' || [2] NaIE \*stob<sub>1</sub><sup>h</sup>-Vr- > Lt sta<sup>h</sup>baras 'stalk, stem, dry twig\branch' || Sl ∇ \*stoborъ, {Vs.} \*stəbərъ > SrChS стоборъ stoborъ 'column', *d* OR, RChS стоборице stoborije 'row of posts, colonnade', SCr † sto<sup>h</sup>bo<sup>h</sup>r 'column, pillar', Slv {Kmc.} stebe<sup>h</sup>r id., 'pier (of a bridge)', {Vs.} 'idol', Blg 'стобор - стобор 'pale fence' || Gmc: Dn stavær 'high mast, high pole', Sw Δ {P} 'pale (Zaunpfahl)' ¶ P 1011-3, EI 442 (\*sth<sub>2</sub>b<sup>h</sup>o/e<sub>A</sub>- 'post, pillar'), F II 778-9, Vn. S 3, Dnn. 585, Vr. 541, 559, Ho. 314-7, Kb. 947, OsS 861, KEN 647, Tr. 280, Frn. 890-1, Mikl. E 323, Mikl. L 885, Kmc. 819, Vs. III 762-3 II U: FU \*°c<sub>1</sub>iwō<sub>1</sub> ∇ > ObU {Hl.} \*c<sub>1</sub>iwō<sub>1</sub> '∈ beam' > pVg \*s<sup>h</sup>iwō<sub>1</sub> 'cross-beam' > Vg: LK s<sup>h</sup>e-wō<sub>1</sub>, MK/UK se-wō<sub>1</sub> id., P s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>-wō<sub>1</sub>ta<sup>h</sup>p 'Gestell'; pOs \*c<sub>1</sub>iγō<sub>1</sub> ~ \*c<sub>1</sub>eγō<sub>1</sub> 'supporting beam' > Os: K/Km c<sup>h</sup>eγō<sub>1</sub> id. ¶ Ht. #98 II D \*civva ({GS} \*c<sub>1</sub>-) ∇ 'piece of wood, stick' > Nkr s<sup>h</sup>ivva 'wood', Klm sivva 'piece of fuel', ? Tl cuvva 'twig, small flexiblr stick or cane' ¶ ¶ ∇ D #2600 ♦ Qu. because the IE ∇ has an alt. et.

**377.** ?? <sub>2</sub> \*c<sub>1</sub>'u<sup>h</sup>b ∇ or \*c<sub>1</sub>'ubE 'to bend, turn, turn back, give back' > HS: WS (or S?) \*θu<sup>h</sup>b- 'return, give back' > BHb √s<sup>h</sup>wb (ip. -s<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>b-), OA bvs [√θwb] G , JA, Sr √twb G (ip. -t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>b-), Ar √θwb G (ip. -θu<sup>h</sup>b-) 'turn back, return', JEA √twb G 'answer, raise an objection', Ug √θwb 'turn back; turn to; answer', Sb √θwb G 'repair; complete\execute (construction); reward, recompense', Mn {MA} √θwb G 'decree', Qt {Rk.} √θwb G 'succeed; offer', Mh √θwb G (pf. θwu<sup>h</sup>b), Jb C/E √θwb G (pf. θwu<sup>h</sup>b) 'requite (so.)', ??σ Ak fOB √s<sup>h</sup>wb (p. i-s<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>b) 'tremble, sway' ¶ KB 1326-31, A #2828, OLS 484-5, Sl. 1196, Ln. 361ff., BGMR 151, MA 99, Rk. 178, Jo. M 419, Jo J 285, CAD XVII/1 16 || Eg MK ws<sup>h</sup>b v. 'answer' ¶ EG I 371-2, Tk. I 313 ¶ -s<sup>h</sup>- (for the expected -s) may be due to contamination with a different ∇, namely HS \*s<sup>h</sup>∇b 'answer' > Ch \*√s<sup>h</sup>b 'answer' > WCh: AG \*lap (< \*s<sup>h</sup>ab) > Ang {Flk.} lap, Su {J}, Mpn {Frz.} la<sup>h</sup>p id., Chip ləp g<sup>h</sup>e, Gm ni la<sup>h</sup>p 'to answer' || Bl {Lk.} low- (< \*s<sup>h</sup>ob-), Ngm lap, Dr lu<sup>h</sup>wi || CCCh: Pdl s<sup>h</sup>ə'wā<sup>h</sup> || Hld s<sup>h</sup>uwa<sup>h</sup> (s<sup>h</sup>- for s<sup>h</sup>- is puzzling) || FG z<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>ba<sup>h</sup>ti' || ? Mwl u<sup>h</sup>lu<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>pa<sup>h</sup> || Db ti z<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>wu<sup>h</sup>la<sup>h</sup> id. (ChL, Nw. 22 [#1], J S II 72, Frz. DM 31, Lk. PVB II 137) ¶ Tk. I 203, 399 (Blv.'s law: Eg w- ÷ S \*-u-) II ?? IE: NaIE {P} \*°steu<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub><sup>h</sup>-ma, \*°stou<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub><sup>h</sup>-ma > Clt: W ystum 'bend' → 'shape, posture', Br stumm 'forme, aspect' ¶ ∇ P 1034, YGM-1 447, Hm. 765 II ?? Gil: Gil A (30-) = zo-/co-/jo- vt. 'bend' ¶ ST 88.

**378.** \*c<sub>1</sub>'aw<sup>h</sup>ba 'hide as) cloth\sack' > A: M \*cuba ∇ 'fur coat' > WrM cuba {Rm.} 'large fur coat', {Ms.} 'short fur vest', {Kow.} cuba degel '∈ coat (manteau)' (degel 'jacket'), WrM {MED} cuba, HIM цуб, Brt cyба 'raincoat', Kl цуб 'sheepskin coat, fur coat (тулуп, пуба)', Kl Ö/T cuw<sub>U</sub> 'Überrock, großer Pelz, großer Regenrock' ¶ MED 203, Chr. 395, Kow. 2200-1, KRS 639, KW 435 || pJ \*ta<sup>h</sup>pa<sup>h</sup>ra 'sack' > OJ

ta'pa'ra, J: T/Kg tawara', K ta'wa'ra' ¶ S QJ #665, Mr. 544 || ?σ pKo \*car 'sack' ({DQA}: < \*cawar- < \*cabar-) > MKo caru, NKO car ¶ S QK #751, MLC 1392 || ?σ Tg \*japu(ku) 'quiver' > Orc 3'apu, 3'apku, 3'apuku, Ul 3'apav(n-), Nn B 3'afu id., WrMc 3abqu 'small quiver' ¶ STM I 251 ¶¶ DQA #221 [A \*c'a'ba' 'sack' > Tg, Ko, J] || HS: S: Ar θawb- '(any) cloth' ¶ BK I 240-1 || D \*caval.i '(any) cloth' (× N \*c'Aw'h'V 'to cover, to dress') > Tm caval.i 'cloth, piece-goods', Ml caval.i, Kn javal.i 'any cloth', Tu javal.i, jaul.i 'cloth', Tl javal.i 'clothes, drapery' ¶¶ D #2394 || ? K: [1] G c'ob-al-i 'Netz (Teil des Bauchfells) or [2] G X/M c'av-i 'pritschenartige Liegestätte aus Geflecht' ¶ G c'av-i is a valid cognate if \*-wb- > K \*-w- ¶ Chx. 1906, 1942 ♦ If any of the G words belongs here, the original meaning of the √ in question may be not only 'hide', but 'plaited work' as well.

**379. \*c'ayVdLjyV** 'female breast' > HS: WS \*θaday- id. > BHB pl. [< du.] Mi%2S1 s'a'd\_ayim 'female breasts', sg. (< pl.\du.) dS1 s'a'd\_, BHB B sg. s'ad\_ 'mother's breast' [acc. to Nld NB 121 and GB, BHB T d7S s'od\_id. is an erroneous vocalization for dS1 s'a'd\_], Ug θd ~ δd, JA pl. NiD5T2 tad'dīn / al!D2T2 tadday'ya' pl., Sr tə'd\_ā-, SmA td, Ar ¥Ud0@a θady-un, idA2a θada-n, Mh θo'di (pl. θī'day?), Hrs θo'di, Jb E/C 'θode?, Sq {Jo.} 'todi; i ÷ Ak fMB s'addu 'ε a chest or container' ¶ KB 1316-7, A ##2723, 2842, OLS 139, 487, Tal 942, Js. 1647, Br. 816, Jo. M 415, Jo. H 132, CAD XVII/1 42, MiK I #1.280 || AdS of Eg fP s'dy v. 'suckle' × N \*s'u'n3V 'milk' × \*su'tlyjV ~ \*su'tlyjtV 'milk; to suck\drink' ¶ The unexpected Eg s'-(for s-, which is the reg. cognate of S θ) is due to the above homonymic merger with N \*s'u'n3V) ¶ EG IV 564-5, Fk. 273-4, Tk. I 314 || ff: M \*cecesin 'breast, chest' (× N \*CegV 'breast, milk', q.v. ffd.) || Tg ¶c'fai\_1jaen ~ ¶cadjan 'breast, female breast' > WrMc cezen 'upper part of the chest', Ewk Uc jadan, Lm j3jin d jajan, Lm A jej 'udder', Neg † joyan, Ork dada-qa 'female breast' ¶ STM I 242 & II 419 || pKo {S} \*ci\_5'c 'female breast' > MKo ci\_5's, NKO cəc cət ¶ S QK #11, Nam 426, MLC 1460 ¶¶ DQA ##260 \*c'a'y3V 'breast' (M, Tg, Ko i ÷ pJ {S} o \*ti', \*ti'ti' 'female breast' i ÷ T \*ciçig ~ \*ciçig 'ewe; fat tail'), S AJ 32-3, 76, 88, 279 ¶¶ A \*-3- < \*-dy- || ?φ IE: NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>jed<sup>h</sup>- ({P} \*d<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>n-, {Dv.} \*dad<sup>h</sup>-) 'milk' (× N \*dodLjV 'point, nipple') > OI 'dadhi 'sour milk' || Pru dadan 'milk' || pAl {O} \*dedi- > d (dim.) djathe' 'cheese' ¶ If the IE √ belongs here, \*d<sup>h</sup>j- (for the expected \*st-) may be due to *as* and the *L*-factor ¶ P 241-2, EI 382 [\*d<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>i (gen. \*d<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>nos) 'coagulated (sour) milk'], Dv. #934, M K II 15, M E II 923-3, En. 155, O 67; M, O and EI suppose that the IE word is derived from \*d<sup>h</sup>e-i\_-'to suck'.

**380. 2 \*c'EgV** 'to pick' (> 'to butt') > K {F} \*c'ig- > G X c'ig- v. 'butt', c'ig-av-s 'butts with horns' ¶ Chx. 1934 || IE: NaIE \*steg<sup>h</sup>- 'to prick' > ON \*steggi (\*'pricker') in andarsteggi 'male duck, dracke', Ic, Far steggi 'male fowl', Sw stagg 'Nardus stricta' ({WP} 'steifes und stehendes Gras'), 'stickleback (Gasterosteus aculeatus)' || Lt P ste'ge', ste'gis 'stickleback', Ltv stagars, Δ stagaris 'stickleback, tittlebat' (with an obscure r) ! Sl \*steg- 'to quilt' (← \*'to prick') > R cre'rar□ 'to quilt; to whip, lash', 'стеежа 'a quilting, stitch', P s'cieg, s'cig, Cz steh 'a stitch' ¶ WP II 622, P 1014-5, Vr. 545, Bv. 696, JM 410, Hlq. 1063, Tr. 285, Frn. 900, ME III 1037-8, Turk. 628, Ma. CS 471, ¶ Vs. III 751, Mikl. E 320 ♦ Fn. KD #59 (+ *err.* D \*cik- 'split', at variance with the reg. sound corr. (D \*-k- does not correspond to K \*-g-), hence it is preferable to connect D \*cik- with IE \*(s)teig- 'to prick' < N \*c'ika 'to prick, split' [q.v.]).

**381. \*c'a'h'a** 'to stop, stand (up)' (> 'to raise') > HS: S \*°√θwy > Ar √θwy (ip. -θwiy-) v. 'halt, remain\settle (in a place), stay' ¶ BK I 243, Hv. 74, Ln. 365-6 || IE \*steH- (= \*stea₂-) / \*sthe- / \*sth- > NaIE \*sta- / \*st<sup>h</sup>e- (preserved in OI only) / \*stā- 'stand' > OI (1s aor.) a-stha'-m || Gk (1s aor.) \*εστην || L sta- (prs.), Osc stai't (3s prs.) || Clt: Brtt {RE} \*stabīmi 'stand' > OBr sab, MBr saff, sav; vb. n. in \*-il: MW seuyll, W sefyll, C, Br sevel || Gmc: Dt, NNr, Sw sta°, OSx sta'n, OHG sta'n - ste'n, NHG stehen 'to stand'; (d ?): Gt, OSx, AS standan, ON, NNr, Sw standa, OHG stantan 'to stand', NE stand || Lt sto'ti (1s prs. sto'ju) 'to stand (up), take one's stand', Ltv sta't 'to stop, cease'; d- (res.) Lt stove'ti, Ltv sta've'~t 'to stand' ! Sl \*sta- (inf. \*sta'ti) 'stand up, halt' > OCS cтати stati, SCr sta'ti, Slv sta'ti, Slk stat' 'stand up, halt', Cz sta'ti se id., 'become'; d (res.?) \*stoja'ti 'to stand' (1s prs. \*stojo.) > OCS cтoяти stoyati, R cтo'ити, Uk cтo'ити, SCr sta'jati, Slv sta'ti, Cz sta'ti, Slk sta't', P stac' id., Blg cтo'и 'I stand' || rdp \*sista- > Gk prs. \*ιστημι 'I stand' || Av his'taiti 'he stands', OPrs a-is'tata 'he stood' (3s ipf.), OI tis.t.hati 'he stands' (t- due to the morphophonemic law preventing an initial s-) || OIr siss- 'stand', tair-issem 'fait de se tenir ferme \ persévérer \ s'arrêter' (< \*to-air-siss-) || L caus. sisto- 'I put', Um SESTU id. ¶ P 1004-10, M K III 526-7, M E II 764-6, F I 739, WH II 596-9, Bc. G 324,345, Vn. S 118-20 & T 13, RE 135, Hlq. 1101, Ho. 317, Ho. S 70, OsS 863-4, Kb. 950-1, KM 743, Vr. 543, Frn. 914-6, Vs. III 748, 769, Glh.

579-82, ■ EI 542-3 [\*(s)teh₂- 'stand' with *unc.* \*s- mobile that us based only on Tc B taₖa 'will be'] ||  
**Ⓐ:** Tg: WrMc ca- 'raise' ¶ STM II 374 || ? **Ⓓ** \*ca- ({GS} \*s-) v. 'die' (if from \*to stop') (× N  
 \*c̣. AOV 'perish', q.v. ffd.).

**382. \*c̣ika** 'to prick, split' > **IE:** NaIE {EI} \*stei\_g- 'prick' (or \*(s)tei\_g- 'to prick; pointed') > Gk στῖγ- (prs. στῖζω, pfc. ps. ἔστειγμαι) v. 'mark with a pointed instrument, tattoo', στῖγμα 'the mark of a pointed instrument, tattoo-mark' || L in-stiga- v. 'goad, incite, stimulate' (< 'spur on') || Gt stiks 'stab, puuncture, point', OSx stiki, MLG steke, MHG stich, NHG Stich 'prick, puncture, stab', AS stic'e 'stab, puncture', NE stitch; OHG stẽchan ḍ stehhan 'to stitch, stab', NHG stechen 'to prick'; OHG sticken 'stipare; to stitch, stuff (?)', NHG sticken 'to embroider', AS stician 'to prick, goad, pierce', NE v. stick || ??σ,φ Ary: OI tẽ-jate- 'is\become sharp, sharpens', tejah. 'blade, point (Spitze)', Av bi-taẽya- 'double-bladed', brõiprõ-taẽz'a- 'with sharpened edge', Av tiyra-, OPrs tigrā- 'pointed', ? NPrs ʔyTi {VL} tẽy, {BM} tiy 'sword, blade, blade of a weapon, knife, razor, awl', {VL} 'point of a spear\arrow, blade of a knife, awl' ¶ WP II 612-3, P 1016-7, EI 451, M K I 525-6, Sg. 342-3, BM 142, VL I 492, F II 797-8, WH I 706-7, Fs. 453, Ho. 321, Ho. S 71, OsS 868-71, Kb. 956, 964, KM 742, 748, Dv. #645 || **K:** GZ \*c̣ic̣k-wṇ- v. 'dig in, rummage in' (× N \*c̣Ec̣kV 'to crush, split') > eNG {SSO} c̣ic̣kna 'dig badly', G c̣ic̣kna 'dig (the surface of the ground), dig\rummage in, peck\pick at', {NCh.} 'копaт, ковыр̣т', {DCh.} 'ковыр̣т', Mg c̣ic̣ḳon- 'dig\rummage in, tear asunder' ¶ K 220, K² 257, FS K 389, FS E 437-8, Chx. 1940, DCh 1580, NCh. 431 || ?? **Ⓓ** \*cik- ({GS} \*c̣lig-) 'split, tear' > Kn sigi v. 'split (as wood), tear\rend with the teeth (as sugar-cane)', Tu sigipu - tigipu- - tigupu- v. 'split, slit, cut, saw, tear', Prj cik-, Gnd M hika-na-, Gnd G/Mu/HMS hik- v. 'tear', Kui siki inba 'be torn\split'; cp D \*ceḷakk-, {GS} \*c̣ek- v. 'chip' (< N \*c̣Ec̣kV '↑') ¶¶ D # 2491.

**383. \*c̣ikU** 'side part of the base of limbs (shoulder, hip)' (→ 'thigh') > **HS:** WS \*θṿkm- 'shoulder' > Hb Mk3S3 'ṣeḳem - Mk3S6 ṣə'ḳem id., Ug θkm {OLS} 'shoulder', {A} 'Nacken mit Schulter', Gz √skm G 'carry on the shoulders, carry a burden' ¶ HJ 1266, GB 826-7, A #2866, OLS 489, L G 496, MiK I #1.282 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*c̣ikuni: Hs c̣i'n'a 'thigh' ({Stl.} < \*c̣ic̣in'a < \*c̣.ikin'a), Gw {Mts.} c̣i'ri'n'a :SBC: Bg {ChL} ṣigin, Zul {ChL} c̣igu'ni, Gj {ChL} c̣i'ki'n, Buli {ChL}, Kir {Csp.} c̣igin, Kir Mn {Csp.} ṣu'n, Dw {ChL} c̣uxin, Plc {ChL} c̣ixin, Zar {ChL} c̣igṇ, Zar K {Sh.} c̣ikn, Grn {J} ṣi'ṇ ? pAG \*c̣i 'thigh' > Su {J} c̣i', Ang {Flk., Hf.} c̣i, Gmy {Hf.} ṣi, {ChL} ṣi' id., Kfr {Nt.} c̣i 'thigh, leg' || ECh: Kwn M {J} c̣'wga id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 184 [#357] (WCh \*c̣.ikuni with an arbitrarily reconstructed glottality of the initial affricate), Abr. H 146-7, JI I 167 & II 324-5, ChC, ChL, Jgr. 188, Csp. 36, 69, Hf. AG 22, Flk. s.v. c̣i, Nt. 5 || **IE:** NaIE \*(s)tei\_gw-, {Mn.} \*(s)tḥei\_gw- 'shoulder, thigh' > Arm ṭekn ṭhe'kn / ṭikan ṭḥikan {Bdr.} 'top of the shoulder, shoulder-bone, shoulder, arm' (< \*stoygw-no-) || Clt \*toi\_bos (< \*toi\_gw-os) > OIr to'eb, to'ib, W, Crn, Br tu 'side' || pSl \*steg'no 'thigh' > OCS cтeгнo stegno 'femur', SCr ste'gno, Slv ste'gno, R †, Uk cтeг'но, Blr cтuг'но, Cz stehno, P (with secondary nasalization) ṣ'cie\_gno (< \*steg-no) ¶ WP II 614, P 1018, Mn.168 (IE \*sthegno--\*sthigno- > Arm, Sl i + Gk στεγνο̃ 'water-proof, covering'), Vn. T 91-2, ZVSZ 407, Vs. III 751 (rejects the comparison of Sl with Arm and Celt), Glh. 583, ■ EI 518 (\*tei\_gw- 'side'; no account of Sl) ¶ The traces of the alternation \*ei/\*e in IE are expected in the light of my theory of the prehistory of the IE vowels (AD NVIE) || **Ⓐ:** NaT \*c̣eḷikin ({Adb., TL} \*c̣Ekn) 'shoulder' > OT U {Bai.} c̣ikin 'part of the body between the neck and the shoulder', MQp c̣igin - ṣigin 'shoulder', Chg ≥xvi c̣ikin 'upper part of the shoilder betwee the neck and the shoulder-blades', Chg {PC}, Tki {Zn.} c̣iqin 'shoulder', Osm ṇky8 ɛ́é'in c̣'e.kin, {Rh.} c̣eyin 'the ridge of the shoulder between the neck and the shoulder-joint', Tk c̣ekin 'shoulder(s)', Az c̣iyin, Tkm c̣igin, Xlj c̣i'n, ? SY zigin id., ?? Chv † ṣ'an 'body'; cp also OT {Cl.} c̣u'gde 'the projecting bone behind the ear' ¶ Cl. 414-5, TL 238-9, Adb. SR 129-30, 190, Bai. TK 293, Rh. 72, Rl. III 1949, TrR 177, TkR 781, Hüs. 345, PC 308, Zn. I 379, DT 101 || M \*ceḷyke > WrM {MED, Gl.} cege 'the hind flat part of the ankle-bone', {Kow.} ceke 'ома у лодыжки, le côté de l'osselet qui a un trou'; ?? MM cekera - cekerey 'breast, neck' ¶ H 26, Pp. MA 132, MED 169, Kow. 2124-5, Gl. II 365-6, Luv. 624, DRM 132, KRS 646, KW 438, RKS 124, T DgJ 181, Mr. D 128 [†|| Tg \*c̣akan > Nn-Nh c̣'axa, Nn-B c̣axa(n) 'ell' ¶ STM II 378] || ? σ pKo {S} \*ci\_a'ka'i\_ -> MKo \*ci\_a'ka'i\_a'm, NKo caga'mi 'groin, inguinal region' ¶ S QK #1190, Nam 419, MLC 1372 [¶¶ i ÷ Tg \*c̣aka 'forearm, el' (< N \*c̣.a.qia) ¶ V or \*c̣.a.qV 'elbow, ∈ part of a limb', q.v.) ] ¶¶ DQA ##264 [A \*c̣ak'e 'forearm' > T, Tg, Ko] || **Ⓓ**

\*c'e'k- (/'GS) \*c-, -k-) > Tm cekil 'upper part of the shoulders', Kn tegal 'shoulder', ? (× N \*Su'g'E' 'back of the neck, back') Kui sukor'i-sukoli 'shoulder-blade' ¶¶ D #2696 ♦ \*-nV in Sl, Ch and T and \*m in S may go back to ancient derivational sxs. or last components of a compound (word group) [♦ ♦ Blz. LB #6j (S, IE, T, M), ▢ Blz. LNA #8 (\*c'ayku 'back'; unconvincingly adduces the T and Tg reflexes of \*c.a.qV 'elbow')] ♦ Cp. pCK {Md.} \*c'u'ḡma 'плечо, предплечье' (Md. ECK 25).

**384. \*c'apok.V** 'to prick (stechen), to gouge' > HS: S \*°/θk.b v. 'pierce' > Ar /θqb G 'percer, forer' (\*b due to the infl. of the synonymous verb /nk.b?) ¶ BK I 228 II K \*c'ek- > G c'a-c'ek- 'zerstechen. zerlöchern', c'ek-i 'Feuerhaken, Schür-\Schab-\Kratz-eisen, Scharre' ¶ Chx. 1919 II A \*c'okV- v. 'peck, gouge' > NaT \*coku- v. 'peck' > OT {Cl.} c'oq-, Alt {Rl.} c'oqr-, StAlt {BT} c'oqu- v. 'peck, peck out', Tkm c'oq- v. 'peck, sting', Osm {Rh.}, ET {Nj.} c'oqu-, Qzq s'oqu- v. 'peck' ¶ Cl. 406, Rs. W 114, Rh. 738, Nj. 394, BT 180, Sht. 235 || M \*coki- v. 'hit, beat, knock, peck' (× N \*c'.o.qiaJSE to beat\hit (so.), hurt; pain', q.v.) > WrM coki-, HIM цохи- 'hit, beat, knock, peck', MM [S] coki- v. 'bore', Kl {Rm.} cok- 'schlagen, hauen', nu'dig cok- 'das Auge aushacken', Mnr H {SM} c'ug\_u- v. 'peck' ¶ MED 196, H 29, KW 429, SM 440 || Tg \*cōl:jk(i)- ({DQA} \*c'o'k(i)-) v. 'peck, gouge' (→ 'dig') > Ul, Nn Nh c'oql- v. 'peck', Ewk cō'k-, Ewk Tp coki- v. 'dig, dig out', Ewk Urm cok- v. 'pick out (выковыривать)', Lm cuq- id., v. 'take out the eyes (of a slaughtered animal)', Neg cok- v. 'gouge, carve (an ornament on birch-bark)', Orc c'okto 'woodpecker' ¶ STM II 403 || ?φ pKo {S} \*c'h'Λ- v. 'kick' > MKo c'h'Λ-, NKo c'h'a- ¶ S QK #509, Nam 447, MLC 1562 ¶¶ KW 429, DQA #336 (A \*c'o'k'a'u 'peck, gauge') II D \*cakk- > Krx c'akk'h-/cakk- v. 'pierce with a prick, prick', Mlt caqe v. 'sting, pierce, stab', Brh 3'axxiṇ 'to run into, pierce' ¶¶ D #2278, Pf. 190 [#100], Hahn KG 3 (on the Krx phoneme k<sup>h</sup>), An. JB 19-21 (on Brh cnss.) ♦ NaIE \*(s)tei\_g- 'to prick' cannot be adduced here (≠φ,σ), it belongs rather to N \*c'ika 'to prick, split' [q.v.] ♦ IS MS 344 'колот' (A, D).

**385. \*c'io'K.V** 'much, heavy' > HS: S (+ext.) \*°/θk.l v. 'weigh' > Hb /s'k.l G, Sr /tk.l G id., Pun /s'k.l, IA /s'k.l ~ /tk.l, BA/JA/Md /tk.l G 'weigh, weigh out', JEA /tk.l G vi. 'weigh, be even \ equal to', Ar /θql G 'peser un objet dans la main pour en apprécier le poids; éгалer en poids; rendre pesant', θaqil- 'heavy\weighty', Mh, Jb, Hrs /θk.l 'be heavy', Gz /s'k.l G 'weigh, suspend, hang up', Ak /s'k.l {Sd.} 'aufhängen, (ab)wägen, (dar)wägen'; d→ S \*°θik.il- 'weight' > BHb lq#S3 s'ek.el (pl. s'ək.a'-l-īm) 'weight, sheqel (a unit of weight)', Ph (GkSc) σιγλ, σικλ b→ Gk σι'κλo id., Pun. s'k.l, Ug θk.l, OA s'k.l [\*θək.al], IA tk.l, BA lq\$T6 tək.el, JA al1q^T5 tik.'l-a- 'shekel, sikl (a unit of weight, coin)', JEA al1q^iT5 tik.'l-a- 'weigh, shekel', Yd ?tk.l 'shekel (unit of weight)', Sr sek.'l-a- 'weight, ponderous mass', Ar θiq- 'weight, burden', Ak s'ik.lum 'sikl, a unit of weight', Eb s'a-gi-lum (θak.il-); the meaning 'suspend, hang up' (in EthS and Ak is secondary, the semantic change 'weigh' → 'suspend' (from a basic meaning 'weigh by lifting\hanging' [as suggested in L G 510]) is typologically possible (cp. R держат на весу) ¶ KB 1515-6, 1779-800, Beyer AHG 26, HJ 1187-8, A #2930, Grd. UT #2735, Sl. 1207, 1227, JPS 618, Tal 960, L G 510, Jo. M 418, Sd. 1178ff., 1248, Krb. EG 16, Lok. #1880 || ?φ C: Ag: Xm {R} s.iqaw- 'be heavy, weighty' ¶ R Ch II 102, R WB 338 II U: FU \*c'okkV 'dense', thick' (of grass, hair) > ! Prm \*c'o'k- ({LG} \*c'o'k-) (or \*c'ek-) > Z тш'кыд c'zkiḡ 'dense', Z LV/Lu, Prmk c'z'k id. :: pVg \*s'i-w > Vg: T s'aw, LK s'o'-w, P s'aw, Ss sa-w 'much' !? Chr: L чока c'o'ka id., H/B c'oka 'dicht; fest, kompakt', YO c'oka 'dicht', L чоката c'oka'ta 'dense'; hardly here (⇔ UEW) H {Wc.} c'akata i 'dicht', not confirmed by other sources (MaRS, Ep) that translate it as 'аккуратный' (÷ Chr L чатка'ta id.); to my mind, Wc. in 1906 misunderstood this Chr H word (by association with Chr L c'okata 'dense') :: Hg sok 'much, many' ¶ Most cognates suggest FU \*o, while Hg o (seemingly pointing to a FU \*u) is still to be explained; one cannot rule out the possibility (mentioned in Rm. W 113) that Hg sok is a loan from T ¶ UEW 62-3, Coll. 114, MRS 664, 668, 673, Ep. 141, Wc. FUScJT 31, LG 290, SZ 386, KPR 497 II A: NaT \*cok 'much, many' > Chg, XwT, MQP c'oq id., Kr/Sg {Rl.} c'oq 'much, too much', Osm {Bu.} 'much, many, too much, very', Tk c,ok 'much, many', Az чоx c'oχ, Sg f {Rl.} c'oq id., 'very', ET c'oq 'very' ¶ Cl. 405, Rm. W 113, Bu. I 495, S AJ 180 [#51], BN 33, Rl. III 2004 || M \*cogca 'heap, pile, mass' > WrM cogca, HIM цогц id., Kl цогц согсѣ, {Rm.} соксѣ 'heap, pile', d→ M \*cogca-la- v. 'accumulate, heap' > WrM cogcala-, Mnr {SM} c'u'z'i\_olo- v. 'accumulate' ¶ MED 194, KRS 635, KW 429, SM 460 || ? pJ {S} \*ta'ku'-pa'p- v. 'hoard, assemble' > OJ ta'ku'pa'p(a)-, J: T/Kg takuwaē- ~ T ta'kuwaē-, K ta'ku'wa'e- ¶ S QJ #144, Mr. 762 ¶¶ DQA #265 [\*c'a'k'o ~ \*-k- 'many, be full, enough' > T

ī ÷ Tg \*čak- 'full' and pKo \*cʰa- 'be full'] [†II 6il: Gil A č'oy / soγ 'group, flock' ¶ ST 450] ◇ [† IS MS 331 ('big'; A, U), Blz. LB #11, ] UEW 63 (FU, T, M) ◇ ▢ Gr. II #261 (\*c'ok 'many') [U, A d + qu. K, CK + unc. J].

**386.** ? \*cʰAIv 'stalk' > K \*cʰal- > G cʰala 'straw, reed', cʰal- 'cut stalks of maize' ¶ Chx. 1874 II HS: S \*°θlθl > Ar θilθil-a-n-, θulθul-a-n- 'hey' ¶ BK I 233 II IE: NaIE \*stel- 'branch, stalk, stem' (× N \*cʰul\_a 'stalk, branch, twig, a tree with flexible branches' [q.v.]) > Arm ste-n stein 'branch, bough, stalk, stem' ¶ Gk στελεχοϑ 'bottom part of the trunk, stump' ({LS} 'crown of the root'), στελεα', στελεο'v 'haft\shaft of an axe' ¶ L: [1] stolo- / -o-nis 'root-shoot'; [2] stilus / -ī 'stake, pale; pointed iron\bobe instrument' (× NaIE \*stoi-lo- > Av sta-ra- 'mountain-summit') ¶ AS stela 'stalk', OHG stil 'handle, stylo', NHG Stiel 'haft, handle' ¶ Ltv stul'ms top of a boot' ¶ P 1019-20, ZVSZ 415, WH II 592, 599-600, F II 785-6, Sw. 161, Ho. 319, OsS 872, Kb. 964, KM 749, Slr. 332-3, Kar. II 313 II A {SDM95} \*calu > pKo \*cu'r-ki' 'stalk, branche without leaves' > MKo cu'rki', NKO culgi, culgəri ¶ S QK #160, MLC 1507 ||?σ Tg ▢\*jali-kta 'haw-thorn' > Ewk jalikta - n'alikta, Neg ja'lta, Orc z'arakta, Ud z'alikta, Ul z'araqta-z'ariqta, Nn KU z'alqta, Nn Nh z'ariqta id., Nn B/KU z'alaqta 'willow' (the last meaning on the analogy of a different Tg stem represented by Ul z'atala 'willow') ¶ STM I 246, 253, Krm. 231 || ? pJ {S} \*tu'ru' 'willow, 'vine' (< \*'rod') > OJ turu id., J: T/Kg curu', K cu'ru' 'vine' ⇨ (?) J T curu- v. 'angle (for fish), fish with rid and line' ¶ S QJ 189, Mr. 557, Kenk. 2073 ¶¶ S AJ 288 [#278] & SDM97 s.v. \*cʰalu 'a kind of broad-leaved plant'. Not here (⇔ S AJ & ADM97) T \*t'al (reconstructed by S with a lenis \*t\_ [= {S, SDM} \*d-], in spite of the Tkm and Tv ev. for \*t'-. T √ obviously belongs to N \*t.al.fv ~ \*t.afv ∇ 'shoot, sprout, twig' (→ 'willow, elm') [q.v.]. ī ÷ pJ \*tu'ru' 'willow, vine', which is semantically near to the T stem II D (in SD) \*call- ({GS} \*z'z-) 'reed; ∈ grass' > Ml call- '∈ grass\reed', Tm calli 'reed; ∈ grass', ? Kn jalle 'sugar-cane', 'bamboo pole', Kdg zalle 'sugar cane' ¶ D ##2382-3.

**387.** ? \*cʰalv 'to beat, knock down, fell' > HS: S \*°θl: Ar θl 'détruire, renverser, démolir' ¶ BK I 231 || ? B \*°zll > Kb t\_izlallit 'coup vigoureux' ¶ Dl. 942 II A: T \*cal(u)-v. 'knock down, beat' (× N \*cʰalEfjo 'to split, cut' [q.v. ffd.]) II D \*cal- ({GS} \*s'-) 'beat' > Tm alai 'beat, slap', Gnd: Mu {Bh.} hal-, HMS {Lind} hala-sna-, ChM {LuS} halsna- 'beat' ¶¶ D #2374.

**388.** ?? \*cʰfa''IV 'to plait' > HS: Ech: Ke c'i'li 'to plate (a mat)' ¶ CCh: Azm {Pc.} silapa 'weave' ¶ Eb. 36, Pc. 350 II K: G c'elt-i 'wickerwork' ¶ Chx. 1919 II U: FU (att. in ObU) \*cʰUlkwv (or \*cʰUxwIV) 'stripe\piece of cloth' > ObU \*cʰoywəl > pVg sʰo'wəl 'stripe (in a garment)' > Vg: LK/MK/UK sowl, P/LL s'owl, UL/Ss sowəl; pOs \*cʰo'xəl 'linen cloth' ({BHL} \*cʰu'xəl) > Os: D cʰo'xət, Nz sʰo'xət, Kz sʰoxət ¶ Ht. #97 (\*U in FU is obscure), Hl. rHt 71-4 II D \*ca'li- [{GS} \*c-] (+ sx.) 'weaver' > Tm ca'likan ~ ca'liyan 'a caste of weavers', Ml ca'liyan, Kn sa'liga, sa'liya, Tl sa'li~du, sa'leva~du, Ku sa'liesi, 'weaver', Tu ta'lye id., 'spider', Tu {Shanm.} sa'lye, Tl sa'le 'caste of weavers', Gdb sa'le pind,ake 'spider' ¶¶ D #2475.

**369.** \*cʰeLV 'to pull away, take away\out, rob' > HS: WS \*°θll v. 'take out, rob' > BHB IIS √s'll (ip. -s'oll-) id., Sb I1338 θll 'carry off (booty)' ¶ GB 835, BGMR 150 || C: ?σ DhI {EEN} colaδ- v. 'pick up' ¶ EEN 9 II IE: NaIE \*stel- v. 'rob' > pGmc \*stel- v. 'steal' > Gt stilan, ON stela, OHG ste'lan, NHG stehlen, OSx, AS stelan id., NE steal ¶ Arm řalnem t'halnem, řallem t'hallem v. 'pillage' ¶ Mn. 1283 (Gmc, Arm); Fs. 453-4, OsS 869, KM 743, Vr. 546 (all of them do not find any IE parallels for Gmc), Ho. 319, Ho. S 7, Kb. 959, ≠ EI 543 (tries to derive Gmc \*stel- from IE \*ster- 'steal') ¶ Mn. unconvincingly adduces Gk στε'λλω v. 'send', Ltv stelu id. and OCS steljo- / stla-ti v. 'spread' (??σ) ¶ On Arm ř tʰ as the reg. reflex of IE \*st ř Mn. AIE 166-8 II D {Km.} \*cel- ({GS} \*s-) v. 'draw, pull (of\out), rob' (× N \*s'el'v 'to take off, destroy, pull off', q.v. ffd.).

**390.** \*cʰul\_a 'stalk, branch, twig, withy, rod, a tree with flexible branches' > HS: S \*°θ'u-l- > Ak s'u-l- 'reed-stalk'; +ext. (with the sx. \*-p(b)-) is the S stem \*θulVp(b)- > Ak s'ulp- 'a straw, reed, tube', Ug θlb 'flute' ¶ Sd. 1269-70, OLS 490 II D \*cul\_l- ({GS} \*c'-) 'stalk, branch', \*cul\_ikk- ({GS} \*c'c'-) 'stick' (× N \*cʰul\_v 'stalk, stick' [q.v. ffd.] × N \*s'ul\_v 'trunk, log'?) ¶¶ D #2701, 2706 II IE: NaIE \*stel/\*stwol-o- 'branch, stalk, stem': [1] NaIE \*stel- (× N \*cʰAIv 'stalk', q.v. ffd.) ¶ [2] \*°stwol-o- > Sl \*stvolъ > Cz stvol 'stalk', R ствол, Blg цвол 'stem', OCS стволник stvolije 'nettle' ¶ P 1019, ZVSZ 415, Vs. III 749, Vr. 549 (s.v. stjo'lr), Sw. 161, Slr. 332-3 ¶ In IE there is a reg. SA \*ew/\*we (\*wo) with loss of the glide \*w preceding the sonant \*l- a normal IE reflex of N \*u (AD NVIE) ◇ ≠ AD AltAD #13 (HS, D, IE, A [Tg, M + ī ÷ T]).

**391.** ?<sub>2</sub> \***c'wɔlɔn(-ba)** 'canine' > **HS:** S \*θu'fal- 'fox' > Hb lo1uS s'ufa1, OA s'ɔl [θ-ɔ-l], JA (incl. JEA) allo9T ta'ɔ1-a-, Sr ta'la-, Md tala, Ar θu'fal- ~ θu'fa1- 'fox', Ug θɔl (n. pr.) | S \*θa'flab- 'fox' > Ar θa'flab-, Ak s'e-lebu(m) id. ¶ KB 1341, Lv. IV 657, Sl. 1223, A #2910, OLS 483, BK I 225, Sd. 1210, CAD XVII/2 268 || Ch {Stl.} \*c'ru'lib- 'wolf, jackal' > CCh: Msg c'e-c'elebe 'jackal' || ECh: Mkl su'li'be 'wolf' ¶ Stl. IF 73, J LM 178 ¶ OS #464 || **U:** FP: Lp N {Fri.} c'a'lp ~ c'ellup ~ c'olp 'wolf', Lp T {TI} c'a'p id. ¶ Fri. 750, TI 645, Coll. 8 ♦ HS data suggest a N \*c'-, while Lp c'- seems to point to different sibilants (\*c'-, \*c'-. or \*s'-).

**392.** \***c'al'UigV** 'snow' or 'hoar-frost' > **HS:** S \*θalag- 'snow' > Hb gl3S3 's'elæg, JA (incl. JEA) gl2T6 tə'lag, em. aG1l6T2 tal'ga-, SmA tlg, Sr em. "gölça tal'g-a-, Ar Δl02a θalg-, Ak s'alg-u id.; SCn \*θalag- > Eg (EgSSc) {Alb.} sa-ra-qu, {Hlk.} sa'-l-qu 'snow' ¶ KB 1392, EG IV 204, Burch. AFEÄ #810, Alb. VESO 55, Hlk. #199, SivCR 84, Sl. 1208, Tal 949, Lv. IV 644 ¶ The posttonic \*a has been reconstructed on the ev. of BA and the Eg reflex of SCn || ?? B: Kb {DL.} a-salu (pl. i-sula) 'thick layer of snow'; unless the B word goes back to N \*s'ru'~LɔV 'dew' (q.v.) ¶ DL. 771 || **U:** FU \*c'ra'U'ɔV > pVg \*s'al' 'hoar-frost' > Vg S: T s'al' d s'a'1, Vg W (P/SV/NV/LL) s'al', Vg E: LK s'a'1, MKo/U sa'1, Vg N (UL/Ss) sol' id. ¶ Kn. VW 78, Stn. WV 231 || **R:** Tg \*jalka 'fine snow' > Neg jalka id., jalka- v. 'snow' (of fine snow), Ud B z'aka- 'be a snow-storm' ¶ STM I 246, Krm. 231 || ?? pJ \*tu'ra'ra' 'icicle' > OJ tu'ra'ra', J: T cu'rara, K cu'ra'ra', Kg curara' ¶ S QJ #1540 ¶ Acc. to S and DQA (→AD NM), the Tg word is akin to T \*t\_ol' 'ice' (> NaT \*t\_ol' > OT {DTS} tos' 'glacier in the mountains', etc.); but this comparison is based on S's highly controversial hyp. on pA \*c'- > T \*t\_- (= d of his notation), Tg \*j- (= his \*ɜ'-) and pJ \*t- (S AJ 14) and therefore cannot be unequivocally accepted (as I did in treating this word in AD NM). Nevertheless cases of N \*c'- yielding M \*j- should be studied carefully because they may reflect an ancient phonemic opposition. Vovin's criticism of my et. in NM (Altaic \*c' ... is never reflected as \*t in proto-Turkic" - Vv. AEN 8) is justified, but another of his remarks: "Altaic does not have a \*c, but only \*c'" is based on misunderstanding of my system of symbols: in my notation A \*c [not \*c'] is a sign for the unspecified vl. affricate (i.e. one without specification of its place of articulation, which is the case in pA) ¶ ≠ DQA #244, Vv. AEN 8 [critical remarks based on my etymology in AD NM; the change from A \*c' to pT \*t\_- (as in my etymology in NM) is S's hyp., that still has to be checked]. On the N et. of T \*t\_ol' see N \*t.ul'V 'to drip; drops of water, dew' || ??? **D:** Kn cal.i 'snow' [x D \*cal- 'cold' (D #2408) < N \*C'a'U'V (= \*c.'a'U'V?) 'cold'].

¶ **392a.** ?<sub>2</sub> \***c'alVmV** 'orifice, pit' > **HS:** S \*c'θlm > Ar θalm- 'brèche, cassure', θulm-at- 'brèche, trou', √θlm G 'ébrecher' || **D** \*calVm- ({GS} \*c-) 'orifice' [x N \*s'alVmV 'collect on the bottom' (of liquid), 'place (depression) where water collects'] > Kn calame, calime, calume, cilume 'orifice, a bore, small pit, hole dug in the dry bed of a river', Tu cilimbi ~ cil(i)mæ 'a small tank', Tl celama 'hole\pit dug for water in the dry bed of a river\rivulet', Ku salma 'well' ¶ D #2367 ♦ Blz. DA 161 [#93] (HS, D; does not distinguish this N etymon from N \*SilV 'hole').]

**393.** \***c'i'mX** 'to be(come) quiet\silent' > **HS:** B \*√s-wsm v. 'keep silence' > Ah {Fc.}, Izn {Rn.} susəm, BSn su'səm id. ¶ Fc. 1833, Rn. 347, Ds. B 335-6 || **K:** GZ \*c'um- 'calm down, be quiet' > G c'um- v. 'calm down; fall silent; quiet', G Kzq c'uma 'a quiet person', G c'umi 'leise, still, ruhig', Zan > Sv Ln c'kwim 'quiet, calm' ¶ Chx. 1950-1, K<sup>2</sup> 258, TK 833 || **R:** Tg \*ci\_m-, \*ci\_mcam- 'be quiet' > Ewk Okh cunmun 'calm down, abate' (of a wind, storm), Orc cimca'mdi 'in silence', Nn Nh c'imo-c'imo, c'umc'am 'fallen silent (примолкнув)', Ul c'umc'am id., 'quietly, without noise', Ork c'iptamdi bu 'be quiet!', 'hush', ? WrMc cibse 'be quiet, silent' (of a person), cibsen n. 'quiet, silence' ¶ STM II 396 || NaT \*cim 'quiet, silent' > QK {Rl.} c'im, {B} s'im 'quiet', {Rl.} c'umc'a- v. 'be silent', Qmn {B} c'im 'quietly, without stirring', Tb {B} c'im 'quietly', StAlt {RAS} c'im 'motionless' (adv.), 'quietly', Tv чьмааргай c'ima'ray 'quiet, shy' adj., чьмаарар- c'ima-rar- v. 'become quiet, shy' ¶ Rs. W 201, Rl. III 2102-3, B DLT 224, 227, B DK 271, B DChT 166, RAltS 756, TvR 557 ♦ K \*u < \*i under the ass. infl. of \*m.

**394.** ?<sub>2</sub> \***c'oma** 'aurochs, wild bovine' > **K** \*c'oma > G I c'oma 'cattle (Rindvieh)' ¶ Chx. 1943 || **D** (in GnD) \*coma 'wild buffalo' > Png homa, Mnd hama 'bison', pKK {GS} \*soma > Kui soma 'wild buffalo', Ku homma d homa 'sambar' ¶ D #2849, GS 130 ♦ AD NM #40, S CNM 10 (÷ NrCs).

**395.** ?<sub>2</sub> \***c'amVc'V** 'to wither' (> 'to get sour, foul') > **U:** FP \*c'amc'V 'sour, foul' (of food) > Lp: N {Fri.} cuo'bza, cuobz, cuo'bca, cuo'pca 'putridus', T {TI} ci'm:c ({Gn.} cr'mc) 'verfault', {Gn.} cr'mcr

'verfaulen' : Chr: L {MRS} *шачка* s'ac'ka 'tasteless' (of beverage), B *puran* s'ac' kod'ɛn 'das Bier ist überständig' : Prm {LG} \*s'oz'y- ({LG} \*s'oz'j-) 'turned sour, turned too sour, turned tasteless' > Z z'oz'a (yɜv) 'milk that is turning\turned sour', Z US z'oz'z'id., Z Δ z'oz'm- v. 'turn sour, but not clotted' (of milk), Vt C s'uz'z'am 'tasteless' (of kvas), 'not boiled enough' (of water, milk), Vt Tl s'uz'z'am 'turned too sour, grow mouldy' (of kvas) ¶ UEW 617-8, Gn. 877, TI 634, LG 102 ¶ A: T: OT tnc'r- ~ to|unc'r- v. 'be(come) putrid, smell foul' ¶ Cl. 516-7 ¶ ?? HS: Possible semantic infl. on S \*samm- ('grass' → drug, perfume') and B \*√smm v. 'be sour' (see \*c.i.ya<sub>1</sub>mV '∈ grass', q.v. ffd.). The alt. connection with WCh \*c.ami 'sour' < N \*c'ēmlV<sub>1</sub>χV 'sour, bitter (astrigent)' (q.v.) is less plausible because the sibilant in B and S is not emphatic.

**396. \*c'inV 'other' > HS:** S \*θin- 'two' (m.: nom. \*θin-a-, gen./acc. \*θin-ay, df. [→ abs.] \*θin-a-ni, \*θin-ay-ni) > BHB cs. in\$S6 s'ə,ne-, abs. Mi%n@S6 s'ənayim, Ug m. θn(m), JA/Sr m. abs. tə're'n, JEA Nir4T6 tə're'n, SmA tryn, JA cs. ir4T6 tərē, Ar m. cs. nom. ʔiθna-, gen./acc. ʔiθnay-, abs.: nom. ʔiθna-ni, gen./acc. ʔiθnay-ni, Sb m. θny, Mh {Jo.} m. θzro-, θroh, Hrs {Jo.} m. θzro-, Jb E/C {Jo.} m. θroh, Sq {Jo.} trō, Ak m. s'ina-; S f. \*θin-at- > BHB Mi%T2S6 s'tayim [traditional spelling for ʔes'tayim], Ug θtm, θm, SmA trtyn, JA iT4r^T2 tarte- ~ NiT5r^T2 tar'tin ¶ KB 1482-3, Lip. 282-3, OLS 498-500, Sl. 1233-4, Tal 963-4, BGMR 171, Jo. M 418-9, Sd. G 91 || B \*sīn- / \*sin- 'two' > Ah {Fc.} m. əssin, f. səna't, Gd {Lf.} m. sən, f. sənət, Kb {Dl.} sən, f. snat., Sll {Ds.} m. sīn, f. sna't, Si m. sən, f. sən(ə)t, Zng {TC} s'inen :: Gnc {Wlf.} \*sini, f. \*sinetti (Gnc. GC[?]) {Mlt. ← NicR} smetti, Gnc T {Mlt. ← ?} sijn 'two') ¶ Fc. 1841, Lf. II #1479, Dl. 781-2, Ds. 94, AiM 176, 214, Bs. NLB I 389, TC Z 304, Nic. 60, Wlf. 635, Zl. AHD 226 || Eg √ sn.wy m. 'two', {Vc.} \*siny- (> Cpt: Sd/B *снау* snaw, A *сney* snew ~ *cho* sno), sn.ty f. 'two' (> Cpt Sd *снѣте* sante, B *снорѣ* snuti) ¶ EG IV 148-50, Vc. 196 (Eg stem \*siny-) || C: Ag \*sVn- 'equal, similar' > Bln/Q/Dmb {R} səna-, Km {CR} sa-na- 'Gleichnis; wie, gleich wie' ¶ R WB 306, AD SF 111 ¶ K \*c'√Vn- > US, Sv L is'gen, Sv Ln is'k.en 'other' ¶ Ni. s.v. *другой*, GP 121, TK 311-2 ¶ A: M \*cina 'the other side' > MM [S] {H} c'ina-na, c'ina/un, c'inaru 'on the other side', MM c'inadu 'jenseitig', WrM cina-du 'the other or opposite (side)'; WrM cinagsi, Ord {Ms.} c'a's, Mnr {SM} c'ī<sub>ag</sub>s<sub>3</sub> 'on the other side, further'; WrM cinagsiki-, HlM *чанагши* 'being on the other side'; MM [S] {H} c'ina<sub>3</sub>i 'on the other side', [MA] {Pp.} c'ina<sub>3</sub>i o'du'r, {Lg.} c'ina<sub>3</sub>i o'du'r, [ISV] {Lg.} c'ana<sub>3</sub>i o'du'r 'the day after tomorrow', [ZhY] c'ina<sub>3</sub>i u'du'r {Lg.} id. (but {SM} 'le jour qui suit l'après-demain'), Shrn {Lg.} c'ina<sub>3</sub>i, Mnr M {Pot.} chene'ta, MMgl {Z} c'ina<sub>3</sub>da, {Lg.} c'ina<sub>3</sub>da 'the day after tomorrow', Mnr H {SM} c'ina<sub>3</sub>d<sub>ag</sub>, {T} c'inadag, Dx {T} c'ina-er id. ¶ H 27-8, MED 186-7, SM 442, 451, Pp. MA 134, Lg. VMI 24, T 380, T DnJ 141, Iw. 96.

**397. \*c'a'ndV 'to rise, emerge, jump (up)' > K:** GZ \*c'nd- 'appear, emerge' > G c'nd-, Mg (r)c'kind-, Lz c'kind- id. ¶ K 220, K<sup>2</sup> 257-8 (\*c'nd- with a ps. sx. \*-d-), ≠ FS K 385-6 & FS E 433-4 (i < d \*c'an-/c'en-/c'in-/c'n- 'be seen, know') ¶ IE: NaIE \*skand- 'jump up, rise' ({WP}: 'aufschnellen, in die Höhe gehen'), {EI} 'jump' > L scand-o- / -e're / scandī / scansum 'climb' :: Olr {Vn.} scend- 'sauter, s'élaner', MW cy-chwynnu v. 'aufspringen' > W cychwyn 'rise, stir' (→ 'star, begin') ({Vn.} 'partir', {WP} 'auffahren, aufbrechen') :: OI 'skandati 'jumps; spurts out' ¶ The cluster \*sk- for the expected \*st- is due to the IE law (of *dis*?) ruling out \*st-...-T-roots: in the presence of a root-final dental stop N \*c'-, \*c'- yield IE \*(s)k-, \*(s)k<sup>h</sup>-, \*(s)k<sup>w</sup>-, cf. IE \*skai<sub>d</sub>- (L caedo-) < N \*c'.aydV 'to strike, beat' [q.v.] ¶ WP II 540-1, EI 323, WH II 488, M K III 506, M E II 749, LP § 25.2, Vn. S 41, YGM-1 118 ¶ U ? \*c'anc'a 'jump, gallop, trot' > Er s'ans'ne, Mk s'anc'kardə- 'galoppieren, in vollem Galopp fahren', s'anz'a 'a long step, jumping' :: ObU \*c'u<sub>c</sub>- > pVg \*s'u<sub>s</sub>- v. 'wade' > Vg: T s'o<sub>s</sub>-, LK s'os<sub>s</sub>-, P s'us<sub>s</sub>-, Ss su<sub>s</sub>- id.; pOs \*c'oc<sub>s</sub>- > T soc<sub>s</sub>-, D c'us<sub>s</sub>-, O sos- 'schreiten, zu Fuß gehen' || Sm {Jn.} \*c't<sub>1</sub>nt<sub>1</sub>cV- 'run, trot' (of animals) > Ne T d *таАһераА-с* 'run at a moderate trot' (of draught-reindeers), T O {Lh.} tan'et.a<sub>3</sub>, F K {Lh.} ta'n'ā<sub>3</sub>t'a<sub>3</sub>s' id.; Ng d {Ter.} (bamə) taneuradu<sub>3</sub>o ' (my dog) started running (*погналас*)', d {Cs.} 3s (aor.?) tanta'ju'a; En d {Cs.} 1s aor. todde<sub>3</sub>ero<sub>3</sub> d todde<sub>3</sub>edo 'run'; Kms 1s prs. {KD} t'u<sub>3</sub>no<sub>3</sub>l'a<sub>3</sub>m- v. 'gallop'; Mt {Hl.} \*tanda<sub>3</sub>- 'rennen, schnell rennen' (Mt M d {Sp.} 1s *тандалньмь 'сочу'*) ¶ The U √ belongs here if its meaning is 'to gallop, jump' [as in Coll.] rather than 'schreiten, gehen' [as in UEW] ¶ U medial \*c'- for the expected \*-t- by as? ¶ Coll. 60, UEW 53, Jn. 147, Ter. 625, Hl. M #955 ¶ The change 'jump' → 'run quickly' ≡ σ R *скакат*.

**398.**  ${}_2$  \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{v}$  'smoke, smell' n. > **HS:** S: [1]  $d$  \* $\sqrt{\theta}\text{nt}$  > Ar  $\sqrt{\theta}\text{nt}$  'have a bad smell' (of meat) (<  $d$  \* $\sqrt{\theta}\text{Vn-at}$  n. <  $d$  \* $\sqrt{\theta}\text{Vn-}$ ); [2] ? \* $\sqrt{\theta}\text{nn}$  > JA [Trg.] Nn!T6  $t\acute{a}na\text{-}n$  (em. an!n!T6  $t\acute{a}na\text{-}n\text{-}a$ ) 'smoke', 'stink' (Is. 34.3), Sr  $t\acute{a}na\text{-}n\text{-}a$  'smoke'; JA/Sr  $\sqrt{tnn}$   $G$  'emit smoke' ¶ BK I 238, Lv. T II 547, Lv. IV 655-6, Br. 828 || Eg MK/G  $snsn$  v. 'smell (sth.)', Eg BD  $snsn$  'rot' or 'stink' (of a corpse), Eg {Mks.}  $snsn.t$  'perfume' ¶  $\times$  N \* $\text{su}^{\text{h}}\text{ge}$  'to smell'  $\times$  \* $\text{s}^{\text{u}}\text{ge}$  'to breathe' [q.v.] ¶ EG IV 172-4, Mks. III 2634, Tk. I 130 (Eg  $sn \sim sny$  'smell, breathe' with HS cognates referring to N \* $\text{su}^{\text{h}}\text{ge}$  '↑') || ? some Ch words for 'nose': Wrij {Sk.}  $c\acute{i}nna$ , Jm {Sh.}  $ic\acute{i}n$ , Gj {Sh.}  $i\acute{c}i\acute{n}$ , Bt {Mch.}  $cinne$ , Gudu {IL}  $c\acute{i}n$ , Bdm {Cfr.}  $c\acute{e}nai$ , {Lk.}  $c\acute{i}nay$ , Ms {Mch.}  $cin$ , ZmB {J}  $c\acute{i}n$ , ZmD {KNC}  $c\acute{i}n$  ¶ JI II 258-9, KNC 4 II **U:** FU \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{v}$  'smoke, fog, steam' > Prm {LG} \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{h}}$  'smoke' > Z  $\text{тшын}$   $c\acute{i}n$ , Vt  $\text{чѣьн}$   $c\acute{i}n$ ,  $\Delta$   $c\acute{i}n$  id. || ObU {Ht.} \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{nk}$  'fog' > pVg \* $\text{s}^{\text{ik}}\text{w}$ , \* $\text{s}^{\text{ih}}\text{w}$  id. > OVg S Vt  $\text{чегъ}$ , OVg S SSs  $\text{schu}^{\text{h}}\text{cht}$ ,  $\text{tscho}^{\text{h}}\text{cht}$ , OVg W P  $\text{ue}(x)$ , OVg W Sol  $\text{че}^{\text{h}}\text{xy}$  id., Vg: T  $\text{s}^{\text{ik}}\text{w}$ , LK  $\text{s}^{\text{e}}\text{x}\text{w}$ ,  $\text{s}^{\text{e}}\text{h}\text{w}$ , P  $\text{s}^{\text{e}}\text{x}\text{w}$ , LL  $\text{s}^{\text{e}}\text{x}\text{w}$ , Ss  $\text{se}^{\text{h}}\text{w}$  id., T  $d$   $\text{s}^{\text{ik}}\text{w}\text{ita}^{\text{h}}\text{kt}$  'sich abkühlen'; pOs {Ht.} \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{h}}$  'fog' > Os: V/Vy  $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{h}}$ , Ty  $\text{c}^{\text{is}}\text{w}$ , Y/D/K  $\text{c}^{\text{iw}}$ , Nz  $\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{x}$ , Kz  $\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{w}$ , O  $\text{siw}$  id. || pY {IN} \* $\text{c}^{\text{ih}}\text{v}$  > Y T {IN}  $\text{c}^{\text{ih}}\text{-i-c}^{\text{e}}\text{a}$   $\text{мгла}$  (haze?), darkness, night' (- $\text{c}^{\text{e}}\text{a}$  is a nominal sx.) ¶ UEW 59, LG 291-2, Lt. 197, IN 216 ♦ Possible infl. of \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{iwnv}$  'bad smell, malodorous sweat' [q.v.] ♦  $\square$  IS I 207-8 [#51] (\* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{ngl}$ ) [adduces S, Ch and FU words that do not belong here].

**399.** ?  ${}_2$  \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{a}\text{nk}\text{X}$  'to push, kick, stumble' > **IE:** NaIE \* $\text{stengl}^{\text{w}}\text{-}$  ({WP} \* $\text{steng-}$ ) v.  $\square$  'kick, stumble' ({WP} 'stoßen, mit dem Fuße [an]stoßen') > Gt  $\text{stigqan}$  'zusammenstoßen', bi- $\text{stigqan}$ , ga- $\text{stigqan}$  vi. 'stumble, strike against' ({Fs.} 'anstoßen', [NT]  $\text{προσκοπτειν}$ ), ?  $\text{stigqan}$  h.l. 'meet [a hostile army]' ({Fs.} 'zusammenstoßen'),  $d$  ga- $\text{stagqan}$  vt. 'anstoßen,  $\text{προσκοπτειν}$ ',  $d$  bi- $\text{stugq}$  n. 'stumble, stumbling' ('Anstoß,  $\text{προσκομμα}$ ') || W {WP}  $\text{sangu}$  v. 'tread (treten)' || OI 'tangati 'stumbles' ¶ The Gt cognate points to IE \* $\text{g}^{\text{w}}$ , while W suggests lack of labiality ¶ WP II 618, 627, Fs. 452-3,  $\square$  M K I 469 (OI-Gt connection "ist unerweisbar") II **U:** FU \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{a}\text{v}$  'strike, push, kick' > Er  $\text{c}^{\text{avo}}$ , Mk  $\text{s}^{\text{ava}}$  'strike, beat' : Chr: H {MRS}  $\text{чангаш}$   $\text{c}^{\text{a}}\text{nga-s}$  'to notch logs (for building a house)', {Rm.}  $\text{c}^{\text{a}}\text{nga-s}$  'einhausen, einschneiden', L  $\text{чо}^{\text{h}}\text{аш}$  {MRS}  $\text{c}^{\text{a}}\text{ngas}$  'erect a house (of logs), build', Uf {Ps.}  $\text{c}^{\text{a}}\text{ngem}$  'Einschnitte in die (Enden der) für einen Blockverband bestimmten Balken hauen' || ObU {Ht.} \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{nk}$  > pVg {Ht.} \* $\text{s}^{\text{ih}}\text{w}$  > Vg: T  $\text{s}^{\text{a}}\text{h}\text{nk}$ , LK  $\text{sa}\text{nx}$ , MK  $\text{s}\text{a}\text{h}\text{nk}$ , P  $\text{s}^{\text{a}}\text{nk}$ , NV/LL  $\text{s}\text{a}\text{h}\text{nk}$ , SV  $\text{s}\text{a}\text{h}\text{nk}$ ,  $\text{s}\text{a}\text{h}\text{w}$  'ausschlagen einen Fußtritt geben', N {Mu.}  $\text{sa}\text{h}\text{w}$  'stoßen', Ss {BV}  $\text{sa}\text{nx}$ , Yk {Vxr.}  $\text{sa}\text{h}\text{nk}$  'kick with the foot'; pOs {Ht.} \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{h}\text{nk}$  'kick' > V/Vy  $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{h}$ ,  $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{h}$  'ausschlagen, einen Fußtritt geben', T/Y  $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{h}$ , K  $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{h}$ , Nz  $\text{s}^{\text{u}}\text{h}$ , Kz  $\text{s}^{\text{u}}\text{h}$ , O  $\text{so}\text{h}$  'mit dem Fuß stoßen ( $\text{πνυτ}$ ), ausschlagen ( $\text{πνυτ}$ ), D  $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{h}$  id., 'ein Bein stellen, durch Beinstellen umwerfen' ¶ UEW 53-4, Ht. #107, BV 99, Stn. WV 195, Ps. OT 154, Rm. BT 157, Stn. D 255,  $\neq$  LG 312 II *AdS* of **K:** G  $\text{c}^{\text{ant}}$  'jem-m einen Fußtritt versetzen' (< N \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{a}\text{v}$  'to step, tread' [q.v.]) ¶ Chx. 1894 ♦ If the K cognate is ignored, we lose the distinction between N \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}$  and \* $\text{c}^{\text{h}}$ , so that the N rec. must be \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{a}\text{nk}\text{X}$ .

**400.** ? \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{a}\text{v}$  'to step, tread' > **K:** G  $\text{c}^{\text{ant}}$  'jem-m einen Fußtritt versetzen' (possibly  $\times$  N \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{a}\text{nk}\text{X}$  'to push, kick, stumble?') ¶ Chx. 1894 II **U** \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{ontv}$  (or \* $\text{t}\text{ss}$ - and - $\text{nc}\text{ss}$ -) > Sm {Jn.} \* $\text{ca}^{\text{nt}}$ - (or \* $\text{t}$ - and \* $\text{c}$ -) 'to step, tread (treten)' > Ne T  $\text{тана}^{\text{h}}\text{c}$ , T O {Lh.}  $\text{tan}^{\text{a}}\text{h}$ , Ne F L {Lh.}  $\text{ta}^{\text{nn}}\text{a}$ , En  $\text{d}$  {Cs.} 1s aor. obj.  $\text{taddu}^{\text{h}}\text{abo}$  id., Kms {KD} 1s prs.  $\text{t}^{\text{o}}\text{n}^{\text{im}}$  'gehen, wandern',  $d$  {Cs.}  $\text{thono}^{\text{h}}\text{am}$ , {KD}  $\text{t}^{\text{o}}\text{nu}^{\text{h}}\text{om}$  'treten',  $d$  {KD}  $\text{t}^{\text{o}}\text{no}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{h}}\text{am}$  'zertreten' ¶ Jn. 151 II ? $\phi$  **HS:** CS \* $\sqrt{\theta}\text{nt}$  > BHb  $\text{ty}2\text{o}9\text{S}2$   $\text{s}^{\text{a}}\text{f}^{\text{at}}$ -at n. cs. 'stamping', Ar  $\sqrt{\theta}\text{nt}$  v. D {Fr.} 'contudit in partes, comminuit' ¶ GB 853, BK I 224, Fr. I 217 ♦ If the S cognate is legitimate, it means that under some conditions N \* $\eta$  yields S \* $\zeta$ .

**401.** ?  ${}_2$  \* $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{apa}$  'sack, vessel' > **K:** G  $\text{c}^{\text{ap-i}}$  'earthenware jug', 'a measure for liquids (36 Russian pounds [19th. c.])' ¶ Chx. 1906, DCh. 1562, SSO II 316 II **U:** FV \* $\text{c}^{\text{awa}}$  'sack, vessel' > Krl A  $\text{hoavo}$  'Sack(stoff), Beutel, Säckchen', Krl Ld  $\text{ahvad}$ ,  $\text{huavo}$ ,  $\text{hoavo}$ , Vp  $\text{havad}$  'sack' : Er  $\text{c}^{\text{ava}}$  'dish, bowl' ('Schale, Napf',  $\text{блцдо}$ ), Mk  $\text{s}^{\text{ava}}$  'wooden dish/bowl' ¶ UEW 619, ZM 111, ERV 734, PI 301 II **A** \* $\text{c}^{\text{ap}}$  'container, vessel' > ? $\mu$  T: NaT \* $\text{capaq}$  '(wooden) container' > CrTt  $\text{c}^{\text{apc}^{\text{h}}\text{ak}}$  'tub' ('Zuber'), VTt  $\Delta$   $\text{чапчак}$   $\text{s}^{\text{aps}^{\text{h}}}\text{aq}$  id., 'barrel', Bsh  $\text{sapsaq}$  'tub (made of a log)',  $\Delta$  'hollow of a tree-trunk', Brb  $\text{cspaq}$  'barrel', Alt  $\text{чапчак}$   $\text{c}^{\text{apc}^{\text{h}}}\text{aq}$  {BT} 'tub', {Rl.} 'barrel', Shor  $\text{s}^{\text{apc}^{\text{h}}}\text{aq}$  'barrel', Tlt {Rl.}  $\text{c}^{\text{apc}^{\text{h}}}\text{aq}$  'bucket' ¶ Rl. III 1927, Rs. W 99, TatR 631, BT 176, BR 463 || pKo {S} \* $\text{capa-}$  (or \* $\text{ci-apa-}$ ) 'earthenware jar, bowl' > NKO  $\text{caba}^{\text{h}}\text{gi}$  ¶ S QK #1129, MLC 1379 ¶  $\square$  DQA #316 [pA \* $\text{ci}^{\text{h}}\text{op}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$  'water container, vessel': T, Ko + (*unc.*) pJ {S} \* $\text{t}\text{z}^{\text{h}}\text{pi}^{\text{h}} \rightarrow \text{tu}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{h}}\text{pi}^{\text{h}}$  'gutter' (without unequivocal ev. for \* $\text{p}$ -) (> J: T  $\text{to}^{\text{h}}$ , K  $\text{to}^{\text{h}}$ , Kg  $\text{toi}^{\text{h}}$ ) + *unj*. pM \* $\text{co}^{\text{h}}\text{yeru}^{\text{h}}\text{m}$  'pond, small lake, pool'].

**402.** ?? *\*c'iq'U'* (or *\*c'ix'U'*) 'to chop, cut' > **K** *\*c'eqχ-* > *G c'εχ-* 'chop (wood), split' ¶ Chx. 1929-30, DCh. 1576 || **HS:** Ch: WCh {Stl.} ci- v. {AD} 'chop, cut (wood)' > Tng {J} se- 'cut (wood, tree), chop; slay (with a sword), hew, fell' : Sir {Sk.} cī 'cut, chop' ¶ Stl. ZCh 181 [#336], J T 142, ChC, Sk. NB 17 || ?σ Eg L sx' ({EG} s'h\_) 'injury', 'wound' or sim. ¶ EG IV 267 ♦ If Eg sx' belongs here, the rec. must be *\*c'iq'U'*.

**403.** *\*c'a'q'yV* 'to shine' > **HS:** ? Eg NK sχ'y 'shine' (of the sun) [unless ← Eg fP sχ'y 'appear'] ¶ EG IV 237-8 || **K:** *G c'axc'ax-* 'glänzen, strahlen', *c'axc'ax-i* 'Glänzen, Gleissen, Strahlen' ¶ Chx. 1918 || **A:** M *\*cay-* v. 'be(come) bright\white, shine' > MM [S] *c'ayi-* v. 'become bright\white', [MA] *c'ai-* v. 'become white', WrM {MED} *cai-*, HlM цай- v. 'be(come) white, turn pale, dawn, grow light', Ord {Ms.} *c'a-* 'become white', Mnr H {SM} *c'ie-* 'devenir blanc, jaunir (moisson)', o-r c'ie- v. 'dawn' ('commencer à faire jour'), WrM [AT] *ciu'gen - ceu'gen* 'shining' ¶ Pp. MA 130, H 25, MED 180, 1200, Kow. 2075, SM 441, 447, AT 8 ♦ N *\*-q-* if the Eg cognate is valid, otherwise *\*-qχ-*.

**404.** *\*c'ar'fu* 'to spread, scatter' > **IE:** NaIE *\*ster-*, *\*steru-/streu-*, *\*sterā-/stro-* id., {EI} *\*ster-* 'spread out' (× N *\*t.ar'XV* 'to throw, disperse, scatter' [q.v.]) > OI *√star-*: str. 'n.a-ti, str. 'n.o-ti 'spreads, scatters', Av *stərənā-iti* 'streut hin', Phl *vistar-tan* 'to spread', NPrs *ˈdrtasgu gosta-r-da-n* id., 'to expand; make a bed' : Gk *στορνύμι, σπορέννυμι* v. 'spread', *σπρωτό* adj. 'spread', *σπρωμα* 'anything spread\laid out for lying\sitting upon' : L *stern-o-* / *-e-re* (pfc. *stra-vi*, pp. *stra-tus*) 'stretch\spread out, strew, spread', *stra-men* 'straw, litter' : OIr *sern-* {Vn.} 'étendre, joncher, distribuer'; OBr *strouis* 'stravi', MBr *streoui* 'joncher', *streuein* v. 'strew, spread' ('parsemer, éparpiller'), Br *strewin* id., 'répandre, joncher' : pAl {O} *\*strinya* > Al *shtrij* v. (prs. *strinj*) 'stretch (out), spread' : pGmc *\*straujan* 'to spread, strew' > Gt *straujan*, ON *stra'*, OHG *strewen* (> NHG *streuen* 'to strew, spread'), AS *stre(o)wian* 'strew, scatter' (> NE *strew*); ON *stra'* (← ME *stra-*, *stro-* > NE *straw*), OFrs *stre-*, OHG *strou* *stro-* (> NHG *Stroh*) 'straw' (← *\*sth. spread\scattered*) : Lt *stīrta* 'stack, rick', Δ *straja* 'Streu(stroh)' : Sl *\*pro-sterti* 'to spread, stretch' > OCS *прострѣти* *pro-stre-ti*, R *про-сте'петі*, Slv *prostre-ti* 'to stretch, extend', SCr *про'стре-ти* *pro'-strije-ti* id., 'to spread, spread out', Blg *про-'стирам* v. 'I stretch, extend', Cz *prostr-iti* 'to spread (out)' ¶ P 1029-30, EI 539, M K III 517-8, M E II 756-7, Vl. II 1002, Sg. 1089, F II 802-3, Cowg. EG 155ff., WH II 590-1, Vn. S 93-5, Flr. 309, Ern. 662, Hm. 760, Ho. 326, Fs. 456Kb. 976, OsS 878, Schz. 273, Kb. 973, KM 757-8, Vr. 552, O 442, AlbED 844, Frn. 909-10, 917, Vs. III 379 || **HS:** S *\*√θrr* > Ar *√θrr* 'séparer, disperser, disséminer' ¶ BK I 220 || **D** *\*ca-r-* ({GS} *\*s-*?) v. 'spread, extend' > Tl *sa-rincu* id., Knd *sa-r-* v. 'spread (e.g. sore)' ¶¶ D #2466 ♦ ≠ IS MS 359 (equates IE *\*ster(H)-* with HS *\*d-r-* 'scatter').

**405.** *\*c'UR'i'(-ka)* 'to stand, stand up' > **HS:** CS *\*-θu-r-* > Ar *√θwr* (ip. *-θu-r-*) v. 'become raised, stirred up' (of things), 'leap', SmA *-tu-r-* ip. *G* 'raise' ¶ Ln. 364, BK I 241, Tal 946 [† || ???φ WCh: NrBc {Tk.} *\*c.urw--\*c.ərw-* 'stand, stop, wait' ¶ Sk. NB 142, Tk. NB 170 ¶ The initial glottalized cns. may suggest a N ± *\*c'u'rV*, but the hissing (rather than hushing) cns. finds no explanation || **K:** *G* (ga-)c'er- v. 'make (so., sth.) stop' ('zum Stehen bringen, anhalten, abstellen') ¶ Chx. 1925-6, DCh. 1576 || **A** *\*c'urV-* ({S AJ} *\*curV*, {SDM97} *\*cu-ra*) v. 'stand' > Tg *\*jur-* v. 'stand still' > Ewk *jurul-* v. 'stand still, in silence' ¶ STM I 278 ¶ Tg *\*j-* < N *\*c'-* (cp. also Tg *\*jali-ka* 'haw-thorn' < N *\*c'AlV* 'stalk', Tg *\*jalka* 'fine snow' < N *\*c'al'UjgV* 'snow' or 'hoar-frost' and Tg *\*japakun* 'quiver' < N *\*c'apa* 'sack, vessel') || S AJ and SDM97 adduce here pJ *\*ta-t-* v. 'stand' > OJ *tat-*, J: T *ta'cu*, K *ta'tteru*, Ns/Sh *tac-* ¶ S AJ 267 [#70], S QJ #70, Mr. 765 ¶¶ S AJ 101, 277 [#66], □ SDM97 (A *\*c'u-ra* id.), □ DQA #247 [A *\*ci-ur'i* 'even, straight' > Tg *\*jur-* i + T *\*t'u-r'* (> OT *tu-z* 'level, flat, even'), that goes back to N *\*t.u'ryV* – *\*t.uryE* or *\*t.u'r'V* – *\*t.ur'E* 'row, line; to string' (q.v. ffd.).

**406.** *\*c'i'igRV* (~ *\*c'i'R'ig'V*?) 'to stop up, thrust, plug, dam' > **HS:** S *\*√θyr* > Ar *√θyr* 'remplir, boucher (le trou, la crevasse); barrer, barricader un défilé contre l'irruption de l'ennemi', ?σ Sq {L} pf. *G* (y)ho'or 'split', ? Aram *mt* : SmA *√tr* *G* 'breach' (pp. *try* 'breached'), Sr *√tr* 'fregit, perfregit; perfodit' ¶ BK I 225, Tal 965-6, Br. 836-7, □ L G 481 || **K** *\*c'χer-* / *\*c'χir-* / *\*c'χr-* v. 'pick (with stick)' > OG *da-c'χer-*, *G c'χir-/c'χer-* {K<sup>2</sup>} 'pick (with stick)', {Chx.} '(hinein)stecken' (× K *\*c'χir-* 'stick' > *G c'χir-*, Mg *\*c'χin3-* [← Abh *a-c'χanc-* ~ *a-c'χan3-*], Sv *c'χir* *c'χir*, *d* Gz *\*c'χr-ek-* / *\*c'χr-ik-* / *\*c'χr-k-* v. 'pick (with stick)' > *G c'χrek-* / *c'χrik-*, Mg *c'χirk-*, Lz *c'χrak-* id. ¶ G χ < \*γ due to the law of compulsory *as* within clusters ("harmonic complexes") ¶¶ K<sup>2</sup> 259-61, Chx. 1963-4, Abul. 132 || **A:** M *\*c'irga-* > WrM *cirga-* v.

'stop up, dam'; M → WrMc cirga- {Z} 'hold in (within some limits), dam, fill with mud' ({Hr.} 'stecken bleiben, in der Klemme sein'), {Hr.} cirga-bu- 'stecken bleiben lassen; anhalten (Atem); stauern (Wasser)' ¶ MED 191, STM II 399, Z 941, Hr. 151 ¶ AdS of SD and SCD \*cer- v. 'shove in, thrust, insert' [< D \*k'ér- < N \*s'ErwV 'insert, thrust in' (q.v. ffd.), see also N \*c'ErV 'to stick in, to gauge, to chisel'].

**407. \*c'ErV (= \*c'ErV?)** 'to stick in, to gauge, to chisel' > **K:** G c'r- / c'ar- 'hinein-\durch-stecken, hinein-zwängen\stopfen' ¶ Chx. 1946-8 ¶ **A:** Tg: Ul c'irg3- v. 'gauge, chisel' ¶ STM II 399 ¶ AdS of SD and SCD \*cer- v. 'shove in, thrust, insert' [< D \*k'ér- < N \*s'ErwV 'insert, thrust in' (q.v. ffd.), see also N \*c'i'igRV ~ \*c'i'R'gV] ¶ ?? (σ) **HS:** WS \*√θrf > Ar √θrf 'être importun à qn. par ses visites très fréquentes' (if a μφ from 'thrust, shove [oneself] in'), ?σ Sq {L} pf. G (y)ho'or 'split', Sma √tr' G 'breach' (pp. try' 'breached'), Sr √tr' 'fregit, perfregit; perfodit', JA [Trg.] √tr' 'zerbrechen, zerschlagen', MHB eolir%T6 tərī'sa- 'Riß, durchbrochener Ort' ¶ Tal 965-6, Br. 836-7, Lv. IV 673, ¶ L G 481.

**408. \*c'VRuqV** 'to pile up, put\lay on, over' > **IE:** NaIE \*streu<sub>1</sub>əJ- / \*strou<sub>1</sub>əJ / \*stru<sub>1</sub>əJ- 'pile up, build' > L stru-o-, -e're (pfc. stru-xi, pp. stru-ctum) 'pile up, put in layers (schichten); build', strue's (gen. struis) 'a heap', Um struhc<sub>1</sub>la, struc<sub>1</sub>la, STRUS'LA 'struiculam, struem' (acc. dim. 'a heap') ¶ Lt Δ stru-nyti, Lt Z striu-nyti 'errichten, erbauen' ¶ It is tempting to suppose that -k- in L stru-xi, stru-ctum is somehow connected with N \*-q- ¶ WH II 607-8, Bc. G 347, Pln. II 756, Frn. 927, ≠ EI 539 (L struo- 'build up' < IE \*ster- 'spread out') ¶ **K:** G c'xor-i n. 'heap, piling up' ('Anhäufung, Haufen'), c'xor- v. 'unordentlich anhäufen oder bauen' ¶ Chx. 1965 ¶ **HS:** B \*√srH > Kb {Hy.} ti-sri 'tas de claies\planches'; ?? BSn {Ds.} a-s'ars'u-r (pl. i-s'ers'a-r) 'tas de pierres (sacré)' ¶ DI. 790, Ds. B 338 ¶ Eg fMK srχ i 'memorial stone (Denkstein)', possibly also Eg fXVIII srχ 'throne' (if ← \*erected') ¶ EG IV 200, Fk. 234.

**409. \*c'i'rkV** 'pus, rotten\filthy liquid' > **HS:** S \*r'θark- > Ak s'ark- 'pus' ('Eiter') ¶ Sd. 1187 ¶ **IE:** NaIE \*(s)terg<sub>1</sub>g / \*(s)trek<sub>1</sub>g- 'rotten liquid, filth' > Gk [Hs.] στεργα'νοϋ · κο'πρων {LS} 'sterquilinium' ('dung-heap'), Gk τα'ργανον 'wine vinegar, spoiled wine' ¶ ON þrekkr, MHG dre'c / gen. dreckes 'filth, dirt' > NHG Dreck 'mud, dirt, filth' ¶ NaIE \*(s)terk<sub>1</sub>- / \*(s)trenk<sub>1</sub>- > L stercus / gen. stercoris 'excrements, dung, muck, manure' ¶ Br stronk 'excrements (ordure, crotte)', troazh 'urine', W trwnē 'urine', troeth (< \*trokta-) 'lye, urine', troethi v. 'urinate' ¶ pAl {O} \*streka > Al shtrek (pl. 'shtrique') 'corpse, carrion' ¶ Lt ter-s'ti (prs. ters'iu-) 'to soil, make dirty', Lt tre-s'ti, Lt E tre-s'ti (prs. tre-s'iu-) 'to manure, dung', Lt tra-s'a- 'manure', tras'kanos 'pus in the eyes' ¶ P 1031-2, WH II 589, F II 790, 856, Vr. 620, Lx. 32, KM 141, YGM-1 418, 420, Hm. 763, 815, Frn. 1083, 1112, 1120-1, O 441 ¶ The variation \*g<sub>1</sub>g ~ \*k<sub>1</sub> still needs explanation ¶ **A:** NaT \*c'irk 'dirt' > Az c'irk 'dirt, pus', Osm {Rh.} c'irk 'dirt, pollution, matter, pus', Tk {RYS} c'irk 'dirt, rust', Δ 'pus, matter; manure', Tkm c'irk 'stain, stained spot'; T → G c'irk- 'pus' ¶ Rh. 718, Chx. 1937, RI. III 2127 ◆ ¶ IS I 207 [#50] (\*c'iru 'гной, жиж').

**410. \*c'a'w'u'rV (or \*c'awVyrV, \*c'awirV, \*c'uRV?)** 'bull, calf' > **HS:** S {AD} \*θawar- 'bull, ox' > BHB r&S 's'o-r, pl. Mir5v!S6 s'əwa-r'im, ? Ph 'ωρ, Ug θr (θo-r-), BA pl. Nir5&T to-r'in, JA ar1&T to-r-a-, Sr ÆAo,ēa taw'r-a-, Ar rv0@a θawr-, OSA θwr, Gz, Tgr IR so-r, Ak s'u-r-, Eb s'u-lum (= θo'u-r-um) id., JA ar1&T to-r-a- 'ox'; S → IE \*tawro-s 'bull, aurochs' > Gk Mc tawros, Gk τaw'po id.; pAl {O} \*tau<sub>1</sub>ra > Al ter 'bull'; L taurus, Osc acc. ταυρομ, Um acc. pl. turuf, TORU id.; Gl TARVOS, OIr tarb, NIr tarbh, W tarw, MBr {Ern.} taru, Br tarv, Crn tarow id.; pSl \*turъ > OCS туръ 'aurochs'; Lt tau-ras 'aurochs', Pru tauris 'bison'; Blt → F tarvas 'reindeer'; ON þjo'r, Sw tjur, Dt Δ deur 'bull' ¶ KB 1346-8, 1797-8, AD PhSS 10-1, AD PSH 93, Br. 819, OLS 505, Siv. GAG 281, Sl. 1199, L G 511, Sd. 1287, IS DIES 3, WP I 711, P 1083, Mn. 1370, EI 135, F II 860-1, WH II 650-2, Bc. G 325, 349, Vr. 614, Frn. 1067-8, En. 263, Vn. T 31, Ern. 681, Hm. 777, YGM-1 405, Hamp AIEW 150, O 432 ¶ Eg: OK s: 'young bull' ({Mks.} 'taurillon'), ?? MK {Fk.} s: 'byre' ¶ Mks. I #3325, Fk. 207, Hng. 654 ¶ SC → Mb c'uru 'bull' ¶ E SC 227 (err. SC parallels) ¶ Tk. PAA 7 ¶ **IE:** NaIE \*steu<sub>1</sub>r-/stou<sub>1</sub>r- 'bull' ({EI} \*steu<sub>1</sub>ros 'large domestic animal') > Av staora 'large cattle', MPrs sto-r 'draught-animal', NPrs rvtS sotu-r ~ rvtS" ostu-r 'beast of burden (horse, mule)' ¶ Gt stiur 'male calf, (young) bull', i ON {Ho., KM} stjor (not mentioned in Vr.), OHG stior 'bullock', NHG Stier 'bull, bullock', Dt stier, AS ste'or 'bullock, steer', NE steer ¶ WP I 603-4, P 1010, Mn. 1316-7, EI 23-4, VI. I 95 & II 227, Sg. 55, 656, Fs. 454, Ho. 320, OsS 873, Kb. 966, KM 749, Vr. N 699 ¶ **A:** NrTg \*c'ur- (~ \*ci<sub>1</sub>r-?) > Ewk c'urup 'wild deer (2-3 years old)' and possibly

Ewk Urm ċirak, Ewk M ċira-p 'elk (4 years old)', Neg ċirap 'male elk (3-4 years old)' ¶ STM II 399 || T: possibly Alt/Tlt/QK c'ar 'ox (Ochs, Arbeitsochs)', Brb/Kü c'ar 'ox' (Rl. III 1859 & IV 192) -> WrM {Rm.} car, Kl car, HIM map 'castrated ox' (in this case N \*-awR- > A \*-aR-) ¶ D: [1] D {tr.} \*car'- > Gdb sar'it 'bullock', Knd P sar'a 'bull', Ku sr'ahnu ko'd.i 'bullock' (ko'd.i 'cow, ox') ¶¶ D #2402 || [2] ?? D (in CD) {tr.} \*cir, {GS} \*cir 'buffalo' > Klm sir, Nkr s'ir 'female buffalo', Nk sir id., 'buffalo', Prj cir, Gdb sir d cirru 'buffalo'; D -> OI sai\_ribha id. ¶ D #2554, GS 127 [#330] ♦ AD NM #41, Vv. AEN 19 (legitimate doubts about the supposed cognates in the Altaic lgs.).

**411.** ? \*c'it'V 'to clean, (?) wipe' > K: G I c'it- 'säubern (Reben)' ¶ Chx. 1934 II ? HS: S °/θdm 'strain, filter (a liquid)' > Ar θida-m- 'linge, etc., qu'on applique à une vase pour filtrer, coller un liqueur' ¶ BK I 220 II U: FU {Coll.} °c'ic'V- v. 'wipe' > Lp: Ar {Lgc.} cih-:cu\_o.t, Vfs {Lgc.} ca''h-co't 'abwischen' ¶ \*c'- for the expected \*-t- is probably due to the infl. of the paronymous FU root °c'o-c'V (< N \*col'χc'V -> \*c'ol'χc'V 'to sweep, rub\scrape away\off' [q.v.]) ¶ Lgc. #305, 353, Coll. 75 (Lp cicco / cizo- 'wipe'; i ÷ Prm & Vg words belonging to the abovementioned U °c'o-c'V).

**412.** 1? \*c'it'ħja 'small bird' > K °c'it- 'small\young bird' > G c'it- 'small bird', c'it- v. 'bring up nestlings' (of a bird)'; possibly some K lge. -> Arm cit cit 'sparrow' ¶ Chx. 1938, DCh. 1579 II HS: EC: HEC {Hd.} °c'id.a 'bird' > Brj {Ss.} c'id.d.a, {Hd.} c'id.d.a, Ged c'id.c'o (< °c'id- + snglt. -c'o), Kmb c'ic'c'u-ta, Alb c'ic'uta 'bird' ¶ ? SC {Tk.} °c'idf- > {E}: °c'irf- 'bird' > Irq c.irfi, Alg/Brn c'irafa, Asa s'irafa id.; °df- (< (as) °dh-) ¶ Hd. 27, 183, Ss. B 47 ¶, E SC 226, Tk. NB 176 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} °c'ita 'bird', {AD} 'small bird' (mte °c'..t, > °c'...t) > Hs tsita c'it'a 'small bird' : Mbr {Sk.} 'c'o-ti', Dir {Sk.} a'c'i'da 'bird' : ECh: Nd {J} c'a'di'n id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 193 [#443], Ba. 1041, ChC || ? Eg XXII sth 'small bird' (t for the expected \*d due to as °t.h > °th), Eg MK s3h id. (affricatization °t. > °C.) ¶ EG IV 345, 394 II o U {UEW} °c'ic'a (~ °c'inc'a) 'small bird' > pLp {Lr.} °cice- 'small bird' > Lp: N {Fri.} cicce, sicce / -c- 'passer, avicula', {N} cizas / -a3- 'Calcarius lapponicus', (last part of cds) 'sparrow, small bird', S {Hs.} ts'u''jtse-ke, L {LLO} tsitse- '(=) 'small bird', Kld {SaR} ċiza 'a bird belonging to the order of Passeriformes (sparrow and sim.)' : Prm: Z I 3'iz' 'small bird', 3'iz' kay 'Arctic sparrow', Z US/MS 3'iz'i, Prmk 3'iz', Yz 3'iz'i 'swift (Apodidae)', StZ джџж 3'iz' id., 'sand martinet (Riparia)' : Os: D c'en'c 'a small bird', Kz s'es 'a song-bird', K s'is 'goldfinch' || Sm: Slq Tm {KD} c'ic'i 'a small bird', Slq Tz {Erl.} ← JP} c'ic'ik, c'ic'ika 'a small bird' ¶¶ UEW 58-9, Lr. #81, Lgc. #355, Hs. 1370, SaR 382, LG 89, Erl. 239 ¶¶ The unexpected °c'--°nc' (for °tt-) are due to onomatopoeic associations (and to as?). The additional cns. -n' in Os D and in prePrm (\*-n'c' > Prm °3') is obscure II D °cit.t. 'small bird' > Tl jit.t.a - the generic name of several birds (warblers, babblers, wagtails, etc.), Kn cet.t.i 'hen-sparrow', Kt gogr-cet.y 'pigeon' ('a bird that says gogr'); D -> OI cat.aka- 'sparrow' ¶¶ D °cit.t.a (preserved in Tl jit.t.a) > pSD °cet.t.a (\*i > SD °e before °a of the next syll.) -> Kn cet.t.i and Kt cet.y ¶¶ D #2763, Zv. 65-6 (\*i > SD °e), Tu. #4571 ♦ In WCh and D one may see a shift of emphaticity °c'..t. > °c'...t (> D °c...t.) [+ ♦] ♦ An alt. rec. is °c'it'ħja, that presupposes a shift of emphaticity in K ♦ If Eg sth (~ s3h) belongs here, the etymon is °c'it'ħja (the combined ev. of Eg ħ and of K Ø suggesting N °h) ¶. But if SC °c'idf- > {E}: °c'irf- belongs here, the N etymon may have been °c'it'ħja [Eg th < °t.ħ- (assimilative deglottalization and voicing)]

**413.** ??σ 2 \*c'AyV 'to bring, give' (-> 'allow') > HS °c'ayy- > CS °θayy- 'gift, donation' > BHb is2 s'ay, EpHb is s'y id., Ug θy {A} 'Votivgeschenk', {Grd.} 'tribute, gift', Yd s'y [\*θay-] 'gift, donation' ¶ KB 1§368, A #2857, Grd. UT #2666, HJ 1125 || WCh: NrBc {+{Tk.} °c'ay-~°c'iy- > || Wrj {Sk.} c'a-, Jmb {Sk.} s'i- s'a, My, Mbr c-, Kry c'iy- 'give' ¶ Sk. NB 23 ¶, Tk. NB 174 || Eg OK sw, sw.t, ysw 'Ersatz, Lohn, Entgelt; ¶ EG I 131 ¶¶ q Tk. PAA 17-8 [S, NrBc, Eg + err. pSam °si': 'give' (in fact, < N °c'ih'i' 'to carry, bring' -> 'to give', q.v.)] II ?σ D °cay- 'leave, let go, (?) give' > Klm say- 'leave, let go, release', Nk say-, Prj ca-y- 'leave', Nkr sa-y-, Gdb O {Bh.} sa-y- 'leave, abandon', Gdb {BBh.} sa-y key- 'leave, let loose', Gdb K sa-y- 'leave, heal' : ? Td toy- 'give the slip to' || AdS of D °ci-/°ciy- ({GS} °s'-) v. 'give' (-> 'allow') [< N °c'ih'i' 'to' (q.v. ffd.)]; cannot be the direct reflex of °c'AyV because of D {GS} °s'- ¶¶ D \*\*2458, 2596, Zv. 105.

**414.** 2 \*c'abi'ħja 'a horned animal' > HS: S °θ.abiy- 'gazelle' > Ak fOB s.abitu(m), Ebl za-ba-a-tum, BHb ib5c6 c.ab\_i (pl. Mia5b1c6 c.ab\_a-?-im ~ Mii%b1c6 c.ab\_a-y-im; pl. with pretonic a- on the analogy of most segolate nouns), Ug θ.by, OA s.by [θ.'a'biy-], IA t.by, JA (incl. JEA) ai!b6y2 t.ab'y-a-, Sr

t.ab.'y-a- ~ t.ab.ī-'t-a-, Md t.abia, Ar ¥Ub07a δ.ab- ¶ CAD XVI 42-4, Sd. 1071, Krb. EG 42, KB 937, HJ 419, 958, OLS 551, Grd. UT #1045, Sl. 493, Br. 266, DM 173, BK II 132, Ln. 1098 || Eg OK žbn.w '€ antelope' ¶ EG V 568 ¶ DQA} \*c'ap'i ~ \*c'ep'a '€ horned animal' > T {DQA} \*ca'epil' 'kid' > OT c'epis' 'a kid more than half grown', Osm c'a'pis' 'half-year-old kid', Tkm c'ebis', c'ebse'ek id., Az c'a'pis' 'one-year-old kid', Qzq s'ibis' 'one-year-old goat (she-goat?)', Qq s'ibis' 'goat that has kidded once', Qrg c'ebic' 'kid of the second year' ¶ Cl. 399, Rs. W 105, Shch. Zh 120 || ?σ M: \*ca'β'a > WrM ca, ca bugu, HIM наа 'domesticated reindeer', Kl † на(a) ca' 'reindeer', ?φ Brt сагаа(н) saga(n) 'sire reindeer' ¶ Kow. 2073, MED 154, Gl. III 333, KRS 620, Chr. 382 || ?? Tg: Ewk çubukī, Ewk I ce'waku'n 'mountain sheep' ('горный \ каменный баран') → Yk c'u(b)buka ~ c'u(b)buku id. ¶ STM 410 ¶¶ DQA #273 ♦ A \*-p- < N \*-b+?

**415.** ? \*c'.Xc'.xV 'be born; a young (of an animal)' > K: G c'.ic'.qina '€ young fish, fry' ¶ Chx. 2260 ¶ U \*c'ac'a (~ \*c'anc'a) ~ (Ugr) \*c'oc'V 'be born' > FU: Er s'ac'o- ~ c'ac'o-, Mk s'ac'a- id., 'appear, be a (good) crop' ¶ Chr: L s'oc'a- (inf. шочаш'o'c'a-s'), B s'oc'a-, Uf s'oc'a-, H s'ac'a- (inf. шачаш's'ac'a-s') 'be born' ¶ Prm \*c'uz'- id. > Z чуж- c'uz'- id., 'appear, germinate', Prmk, Yz c'uz'- id., Vt ч'ымы c'iz'i 'clan', ч'ымы-вымы c'iz'i-viz'i 'clan, relative(s)' (вымы 'root, clan') ¶ ObU {Ht.} \*c'o'c'ay > pVg {Ht.} \*s'o's'ay ~ \*s'o's'ya 'native land' > Vg: LK/MK sa'sə, P s'os'ix, Ss sossa id.; pOs {Ht.} \*c'o'c'ay ~ \*c'a'c'ay 'of this country, local, indigenous' > Os: D/K c'a'c'a, Nz s'o's'a, Kz s'o's'i, O sa'si || Sm: Ne T түнз, T O {Lh.} tenc 'clan, tribe; kind', En X {Cs.} tid'o, En B {Cs.} tiso, {Mik.} tiz 'Geschlecht', Ng {Hl.} tansə 'clan', Slq {Cs.}: O c'a'z, MO 'c'a'z'cak ~ c'ac'cak, NP c'at'cak, Ke ca'ceak, B c'ez'ijea, Tz c'ec'et'a, c'ec'eja, tetet'a 'Geschlecht' ¶¶ UEW 52, MRS 722, LG 312, Lt. 216, U3S 490-1, Ht. #92, Stn. D 241, Ter. 690, Hl. US 139, Cs. 89, 134, 228 ¶ A: NaT \*co'cugk ~ \*co'cka 'young of an animal (→ 'young of a pig'), child' (← \*'born') > OT c'oc'uq, Trm 'o'yi' 3'o'3'uq, Az чошга c'os'ga, QrB c'oc'xa 'suckling pig', Tk c'ocuk / c'ocug- 'child', Ggz c'o'3'uq 'boy, son', Uz чүәйа c'oc'qa, ET, Qmq c'oc'qa, Qzq/Qq/Nog s'os'qa, VTt чучка s'us'qa, Bsh susqa, Qrg c'oc'qo, StAlt чочко c'oc'qo, Qmn {B} c'oc'qa ~ c'oc'qo ~ c'o'c'ko, QK {B} c'oc'qa ~ s'os'qo, Xk sos'xa 'swine' ¶ Cl. 400, MKD 94, Rs. W 113, TkR 326, BT 180, B DK 269, B DLT 223, RKB 455 ¶ The length of the vw. \*o- reflects the loss of the postcons. lr.

**416.** ? \*c'.aydV 'to strike, beat' > K \*c'.e'd- / \*c'.a'd- v. 'hammer in (metal), forge; nail' > OG c'.ed- (aor. -c'.ed-e < \*c'.e'd-) v. 'hammer (metal), forge', G c'.ed- (aor. -c'.ed-e) id., v. 'nail on, affix, shoe', Mg c'.k,a(n)d-, Lz c'.k,ad- v. 'nail, shoe', Sv -s'k,a'd- / -s'k'id-, Sv L -s'k,a'd- id. ({TK} msd.: UB lis'k,a'di, LB/Ln lis'k,a'di, LB lis'k,di, L lis'k,a'di) ¶¶ K 254-5, K<sup>2</sup> 320, Chik. 412, FS K 474, FS E 537-8, Chx. 2238-40, TK 462; on the phonological basis of the full-grade aorist in G: Vogt AVG 133 & GM S 269-70 ¶¶ The K long vw. reflects N \*ay ¶ D \*cat,- v. 'strike, beat' > Tm ca't.u v. 'beat, trample, gore, kill, destroy', ca't.t.u v. 'beat, strike', Tu cad,a'iyis- id., 'flog', Kn jad,i 'beat, pound, crush', Tl sad,incu v. 'pound, beat', Prj cad,p- v. 'strike, beat, hammer', Kui zar'sa 'a whip, scourge', Mlt {Drs.} ja'r.e 'beat\shake down as fruits' ¶¶ D #2300 ¶ ?? IE: NaIE \*(s)k(h)ai-d- 'strike' > L caed-o- / -e're (pfc. cecid-i) 'strike, beat, kill, cut (trees)' ¶ OI khe-d- {MW} 'strike, press, press down', {M} 'drücken, stoßen' [to keep apart {M} khe-d- 'tear?'] ¶ ¶ WH I 129, MW 339-40, ¶ M K I 309, ¶ M E I 454-5 ¶ Though the IE \*s mobile is not attested in any language, there is indirect ev. of it: the OI aspirated kh- is accounted for by NaIE \*(s)k<sup>h</sup>- < N \*c'.- ¶ The cluster \*sk- for the expected \*st- is due to the IE law (of *dis*?) ruling out \*st-...-T-roots (in the presence of a root-final dental stop N \*c', \*c'- yield IE \*(s)k-, \*(s)k<sup>h</sup>-, \*(s)k<sup>w</sup>-, cp. IE \*skand- < N \*c'ra'ndV 'to rise, emerge, jump (up)' [q.v.]) ¶ HS: ? EC {Ss.} \*c'.d,īt- v. 'kick' > Or {Grg., Sr.} d.ita, Arr {Hw.} d.it-, Ya dīt- {Ss.} v. 'kick', Hr {AMS} d.īc'- 'treten' ¶ Ss. PEC 26, 30, Grg. 126, Sr. 297, Brl. 118 (Or d.it-u 'pestare, calpestare, pigliare coi piedi'), Hw. A 356, AMS 155.

**417.** \*c'.ro'ka (or 2 roots: \*c'.Eka and \*c'.c'UK.V?) 'to shut, stop up, cover' > K: G c'.ek- 'vollstopfen' ¶ Chx. 2245 ¶ IE: NaIE {P, El} \*(s)teg- v. 'cover' > OI sthagayati 'covers, hides' (: no et.) ¶ Gk στε'γω 'I cover, protect' ¶ L teg-o-, -ere v. 'cover' ¶ ON þekja, OSx bi-the'kkian, OHG decken<sup>d</sup> decchen<sup>d</sup> thechen, NHG decken, AS ðe'c'c'an 'to cover', NE thatch ¶ Lt sti'egti (prs. sti'egu) 'to roof, thatch' || → NaIE \*(s)tego-s ~ \*(s)togo-s 'roof' > Gk στε'γοϋ, τε'γοϋ, στε'γη, τε'γη 'roof, house' ¶ OIr tech, OW tig 'house' ¶ ON þak, AS ðæc, OHG dah<sup>d</sup> dach<sup>d</sup> thah, NHG Dach 'roof' ¶ Lt sto'gas, Ltv sta'gs, OPrs stogis

'roof' ¶ P 1012-3, Dv. #109, EI 134, M K II 523 (the adduction of OI "remains questionable"), F II 780-1, WH II 654-5, Vn. T 39-40, Vr. 605, 607, OsS 94-5, Schz. 105, 108, Ho. 359, 361, Ho. S 77, EWA II 553-5, Kb. 147, KM 119, 124, Frn. 904, 911, En. 257 ¶ U \*c'ukka- 'versperren, verstecken' > Hg csuk- 'sperrern, versperren, zuschließen' :: ? Vt c'uka- vt. 'hamper, bar' ('задержат, прегради') || Sm: [1] i\*c'v̄k- > Slq Tz {Cs.} c'akac'am ~ takatam 'einschließen, verschließen'; [2] ?φ Sm {Jn.} \*t'uk- v. 'hide' > Sq Tm {KD} takku 'хранит' (= 'keep?'), Sq N {Cs.} 1s pf. tahhap 'I buried'; φ Sm {Jn.} \*t'uk- v. 'verbergen' > Ne T такаАл-□ 'to hide, conceal', {Lh.} tak'kal- 'verbergen, verstecken', Ne F 2s obcj. imv. ta'kkarot, Slq Tz {KKIH} taqqil- v. 'gather', {Cs.} ? En X/B teka- 'sich verstecken' ¶ UEW 62, Coll. 7, MF 126, LG 313, Jn. 146, Cs. 133, KKIИ 179, Ter. 617 ¶ A: ?σ Tg \*coku- v. 'screw up\close one's eye' > Ewk cōkon- ~ cōkor- id., v. 'take aim (when shooting)', Lm cōka-n id., Neg cōxot-, Ork c'ōqoric'- id., Orc c'okc'omic'- v. 'cover one's eyes with the hand' ¶ STM II 404.

418. <sub>2</sub> \*c'.c'ik.V 'to cut' > K: GZ \*c'.ec'.k.- v. 'cut (fine)' > G c'.ec'.k.-, Mg c'.k.ac'.k.- id. ¶ K 255, K<sup>2</sup> 321, FS K 474-5, FS E 538 ¶ A: Tg \*ci.ka- > Ewk cika- v. 'cut off', Lm ciqi, Neg ciqa<sup>d</sup> cika id., 'cut into pieces', Ork c'ikz 'a support (piece of log, etc.) on which sth. is chopped, cut, broken up, crushed' ¶ STM II 390 ♦ The initial cns. may have been either \*c'- (preserved in K) or \*c'- (glottalized in K by as) ♦ IS MS 361, IS I 210 [#55] (K, A).

419. \*c'.Efk.V (or \*c'.a'fik.V?) 'to squeeze, make tight' > K: G c'.ik.n- 'prallvoll machen, vollstopfen' ¶ Chx. 2251 ¶ HS: ? WS \*√<sup>l</sup>θ.ʔk. > Gz √s.ʔk. 'be squeezed, pressed' and possibly Hb qic5e4 he'c'.ik. 'drive [smb.] in the corner, press [smb.], he'c'.ik. lə- 'harass, press hard' [absence of \*ʔ due to contamination with CS \*√s'.yk. 'be narrowed, pressed' < N \*c'.iK.V 'tight, narrow' (q.v. ffd.) × N \*c'.VlC.l.Vl.qV 'to squeeze, press' (q.v. ffd.)] ¶ L G 543-4, KB 951, KBR 1014, BK II 49, OLS 420-1, Js. 1056 ¶ U: FU \*c'a'kkV 'tight; to press, suffocate' > Prm: Z джгъд з'agzd 'tight' (e.g., of a collar), з'agzd-ni 'to press, strangle (with a loop)', з'agav-ni 'to strangle oneself', Yz з'agal- 'hang oneself', Vt жоканы з'oka- vi. 'suffocate', з'okat-ini vt. 'to strangle, suffocate', з'ok-з'ok picani 'to close tightly \ hermetically' :: ObU {Ht.} \*c'a'k- > pVg \*s'a'k- φ \*s'a'k-vt- vt. 'suffocate' > Vg T s'u'kit-, Vg P s'a'kət- id., pVg \*s'a'k-vp- vi. 'suffocate' > Vg: LK/P s'a'kəp-, MK sa'kəp-, LL s'a'ka'p-; pOs {Ht.} \*c'a'kən-, {HL} \*c'a'kən- vi. 'suffocate' > Os: V/Vy c'a'kən-, Ty/Y/D/K c'a'kən-, Nz/Kz s'akən, O sa'kən- id. ('ersticken') ¶ UEW 55, LG 88, Ht. #132, Stn. D 247 ¶ A: M \*ciqul 'narrow, tight; pressed' (× N \*c'.iK.V '↑', q.v. ffd.).

420. \*c'.a'l.V (or \*c'.a'zl.V) 'feeble, lean; to shrink, diminish' > K: GZ \*m-c'.l-e 'lean, thin' (with the derivastional circumfix \*m- -e) > OG, G mc'.le, Mg c'.k.ola id. ¶ K 143, K<sup>2</sup> 133, FS K 472 (\*c'.el-/c'.l-) ¶ HS: SES \*√θll v. 'be weak' (animal, person) > Jb E θel 'weak', Jb C m3'θəl'lot 'weak, sickly (cow)', m3'θi'lel 'weak (person, young animal)', Jb eθ'lel v. 'cause (animals) to be weak', Mh θal, Hrs θel 'weakly goat' ¶ Jo. H 132, Jo. J 284, Jo. M 417 || Eg MKL s3 'weak' in s3- 'the weak of arm' (× N \*s'uw'V 'weak' × ? \*s'ul'fu' 'lax, loose') ¶ EG IV 14, 17 || C: SC: Kz {E} c'.el- 'slow down' ¶ E SC 199 :: AdS of EC \*√c'.l'k > Hd {PB} c'.erak- v. 'be lean, thin' (× N \*c'.a'l.V id., q.v.) ¶¶ Tk. PAA (S, Eg, SC) ¶ U: FU \*c'.el.V 'a small thing' > pPrm \*z'ol'y- id. > Z z'ol', z'ol'í- id., z'ol'a 'small', Z UV z'ol'a id., Prmk z'ol' 'a few' :: pObU \*c'.el.əy 'thin' > pVg \*c'a'ləw > Vg: T c'a'ləw, LK s'əli, MK/LK s'əli, N s'alix; pOs \*c'.el.əy ({pHL} \*c'a'ləw) > Os: V/Vy c'el.əw, θy c'a'ləw, D/K c'elə, Nz s'elə, Kz s'eti, O s'el ¶ LG 91-2, Rd. rLG 422, Ht. #77 ¶ FU \*c'- (for the expected \*c'-) is puzzling; Prm \*l' is due to the infl. of the following \*y ¶ A: NaT \*cal- > OT cal-m- v. 'be emaciated (-azaEa hazala)' (of a horse), исхудат (MKA 342:3) ¶ Cl. 421, DTS 137 || Tg: WrMc celmeri {Z} 'slender, lean' ('стройный, с тонкой талией, сухоавый'), 'thin and dense' (of cloth), {Hr.} 'schlank, rank' ¶ STM II 420, Hr. 142, Z 929 || M: [1] M \*cile- > WrM cile-, HIM чилү- 'be(come) ill \ weary \ tired \ exhausted', K1 чил- 'run low, be exhausted (исчерпатсѣ, кончитсѣ)', {Rm.} c'il(ə)- 'ein Ende nehmen, zu Ende gehen, kraftlos\krank sein', Ord c'ile- 'éprouver de la fatigue; être épuisé' ¶ MED 182, KRS 650, KW 440, Ms. O 701 [2] ?? WrM cilger {MED} 'slender', {Gl.} 'стройный станом', HIM {MED} чилгүр 'slender' ¶ MED 183 ¶ D \*cal.l- ({GS} \*c- or [?] \*c'-) 'weak, feeble, undevelopped' > Tm cal.l.ukkay 'tender and undevelopped green fruit', Ml cal.l.u 'unsubstantial, unripe', Kn jal.l.uga 'a weak, feeble man', Kn Cr sal.ke 'lean', Tu cal.l.ə 'stupid, weak', Kui sad.u 'an empty ear of corn, an unformed grain' ¶¶ DEDS #1951, D #2415 ♦ U \*-l- and D \*-l- suggest N \*-l- ♦ ¶ S \*θ- and Eg s- either

result from deglottalization (\*c̣ > \*c̣ > S \*θ, Eg s) or represent N \*c̣a''ʔl̥v. If \*c̣a''ʔl̥v is the right rec., K \*c̣.- and Kz c̣.- go back to \*c̣ + \*ʔ.

**421.** *\*c̣.ʔoʔl̥w̥v* 'shadow, shade, dark' > **HS:** S \*ʔilal- 'shadow' > Hb l̥c4 c̣.el 'shadow' (pl. Mil51l̥c6 c̣.əla-l̥im), Ug θ.l, Amr {G} ṣ.illum, JA ṭ.əʔal / em. ṭ.əla-l̥-a-, ṭ.ul-l̥-a-, SmA ṭ.l, Sr ʔoloʔe ṭ.əla-l̥a- (= ṭ.əloʔ), Ar -əʔ&i δ̣ill-, Gz ḍ ṣ.əla-loʔ, Ak ṣ.illu id., JEA ṭ.əla-l̥a- 'ceiling' ʔ (+ext.) S \*ʔθ.lm id. > Ak ṣ.ala-mu 'be black\dark', ṣ.almu 'black, dark', Ar μl7 ʔδ̣.lm G (pf. δ̣.alima) 'be dark', Ug θ.lmt ~ ʔlmt 'darkness', Gz ʔṣ.lm G 'grow dark, be darkened\black' ¶ KB 960-3, KBR 1024-5, OLS 551, G A 34, Tal 311-2, Js. 537, Sl. 505, Br. 275-6. L G 555-6, Sd. 1076-8 || EC: Ged ṭ.illo 'black' || Ag: Aw {Hz.} c̣aʔkaʔ id. ¶ AD SF 113-4, Hd. 263 || WCh {Stl.} \*ʔc̣.ʔVla- 'shade, shadow' > Sha c̣ʔalaʔ, Ang ʔil id. ʔ? (+ext.): Tmk ḍ3lmiʔ ~ duʔlmiʔ (f. ḍ3lmiʔ-r, pl. ḍ3lmaʔw) 'black' (unless ← Ar) ¶ Stl. ZCh. 194 [#455], J R 233, Flk. s.v. ʔil, Cp. 53, Blz. LECh s.v. 'black' || Om {Blz.} \*c̣.al-/c̣.il- 'black' or 'green' > NrOm: Gm {Hw.} c̣.iliʔlo, Drz {Fl.} c̣.iliʔa, Malo {Fl.} c̣.iliʔo, Oyda {Fl.} c̣.iliʔo, Bsk {Fl.} c̣.ulla, Naʔo {Fl.} c̣.iliʔu, Mj c̣.ʔil-is, Gmr {Fl.} c̣.ʔil, Cha {Fl.} ṣ.ilaʔa, Hrr {Fl.} jiluk.a 'green' || SOM: Ari B c̣.al- 'black', Ari G -c̣.al, -c̣.el, Dm c̣.ilo 'green', Ari {Bnd.} c̣.ale-mi 'black, green' ¶ Blz. OL #197, Fl. AGC 623, Hw. EG, Bnd. AL 145, 151 || ??? B \*ʔḍ.lw̥H: Ah əḍ.lv. 'be green & profuse' (of vegetation) (× B \*dal 'green, dark'), Shl {NZ} ḍ.lu ~ dlu 'be(come) black', Sll i-ḍ.ili 'black', Ntf dlu 'be black', Zng {TC} eḏey 'black', 3m pf. yeḏiy / m aor. yiḏiy 'become black' ¶ Fc. 271, Ds. 199, Dray 335, NZ 463, DCTC 296 ¶ To distinguish from B \*dal 'green, dark' (NZ 326-7) || U \*c̣.ʔṣolw̥v > Sm {Jn.} \*c̣.ʔalw̥b 'dark' > Ne T талв, Ne T O {Lh.} taʔb 'the darkest part of night (in winter)', Ne F {Lh.} pīt taʔna id., Kms {KD} ṭ.ʔoʔu 'dark', Koyb {Sp.} то-ло 'темно' ¶ Jn. 151, Ter. 618.

**422.** *\*c̣.vʔhm̥v* (= *\*c̣.vʔhm̥v*?) 'to taste, eat' > **HS:** WCh {Stl.} \*ʔc̣.m 'to taste' > Hs {Ba.} c̣.a-m̥eʔ 'a small amount of food taken (out of a pot on the fire) to taste if it is good' (× Hs c̣.ama v. 'take, pick out') || Ang {ChC} c̣.a-m v. 'taste' {Flk.} c̣.am, Kfr {Nt.} c̣.a-m id., 'touch (in darkness)', Mpn {Frz.} c̣.a-m v. 'taste, feel, touch, test sth.' || Fy {J} c̣.a-mi 'taste, touch' || ECh: Mu {J} c̣.a-m 'eat (hard food)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 193 [#446], ChC, ChL, Ba. 1026, Flk. s.v. c̣.am, Frz. DM 9, Nt. 5, J R 84 ¶¶ OS #111 [+ err. Ar ʔθm? 'make food fat, feed with fat food' (in fact, the basic meaning of Ar ʔθm? is 'fat')] || K \*c̣.a-m-/c̣.m- 'eat' > OG, G c̣.am- (aor. -c̣.am-e < \*c̣.a-m-), Mg c̣.k.om--c̣.k.um-, Lz c̣.k.om-, Sv L {K<sup>2</sup>} e-m-, {Dn.} em- (aor.: 1s l-oʔw-em 'I ate', 2s laʔ-em, 3s laʔ-em, 1p l-oʔw-e-m-d, 2p laʔe-md, 3p laʔe-m-ʔ) ¶¶ K 254, K<sup>2</sup> 319-20, Schm. 157, FS K 472-3, FS E 535-6, Dn. s.v. em-; on the length of vowels evidenced by the G aorist: GM S 241, 244, IS rGM 132-3 ♦ IS I 211-2 [#57] (+ err. S \*ʔṭ.ʔm 'taste') ♦ The long vw. in K points to a N "light" Ir. (\*h, \*ʔ or \*h, less probably \*ʔ).

**423.** *\*c̣.em̥l̥v̥ʔv̥* 'sour, bitter (astrigent)' > **K** [1] G c̣.maʔ- v. 'become sour' (of wine)', c̣.maʔ-i 'sour' (wine); [2] ?? GZ \*mc̣.ʔʔe- (< \*\*m-c̣.maʔ-e-?) 'sour' > OG mc̣.ʔʔe-, G mc̣.ʔʔe-, Lz mc̣.ʔʔa- id. ¶ FS K 231, K<sup>2</sup> 133 || **HS:** NrOm \*ʔc̣.m 'bitter' > Hrr {CR} c̣.a-m-, Wl {C} c̣.am-, Kf {C} c̣.a-mm- v. 'be bitter', Mch {L} c̣.ammo 'bitter', Anf {MYTY} ṣ.a-mo 'bile' ¶ C SE IV 421, L M 24, MYTY 118 || Ch: WCh: Hs c̣.a-mi 'acidity, sourness', Gw cami || Tng {J} ṣ.em, {Kr.} so-m 'sour, -ness' || P' {MSk.} c̣.i-mu-wu ~ c̣.ʔ-mu-mu 'sourness', Mbr {Sk.} ṣ.a-min, Dir {Sk.} ṇ3 'sa-n'sa-m 'sour'; ?? NrBc \*ʔṣ.mm 'bitter' > Cg {Sk.} ṣ.e-ma-ma, P' {MSk.} ṣ.a-m(u)-ma, Sir ṣ.a-ma-mi id. (or akin to Jmb {Sk.} j̣.a-ma j̣.a-ma 'bitterness', Kry {Sk.} ḍ.e-mḍ.e-ṃ3-na 'bitter?') || CCh: Pdl ṣ.om ṣ.om 'sour', ZmB {Sa.} ci-ce-m, ZmD {KNC} c̣3-mo-k, Zm {Kr.} c̣.umok 'sour' || ECh: Brg {J} j̣.e-ma 'bitter' ¶ Ba. 1027, ChC, ChL, JS 43, JI II 26-7, Sk. NB 13, 41, MSk. 208-9, KNC 28 ¶¶ OS #580, ¶ Sk. HCD 268, ≠ Tk. PAA 20 (NrBc {Tk.} \*c̣.am- 'bitter' ÷ S \*cmṣ.ṣ. 'be sour') || U: FU \*c̣.emv̥ 'sour', vi. 'ferment' > Prm ṣ.o-m̥ ({LG} ṣ.o-m̥) 'sour' > Z ʔOM ṣ.om, Z US ṣ.o-m, Prmk {UEW} ṣ3m, Yz ṣ'u-m 'acidifying ferment; sour', Z Ud/I ṣ.om 'leavened dough', Vt ʔOM ṣ3m 'taste, acidifying ferment' || Os: Ty c̣-im-, O sim- vi. 'ferment, rise' (of dough) ¶ UEW 56-7, LG 321-2, KrT 949 || D {tr.} \*cam- v. 'go bad, become rotten' > Nk sam- 'be rotten', Prj cam-, Gdb sam-, Krx canx- v. 'turn stale' (of food), 'turn mouldy' (of bread), (?) Krx caʔ-waʔ-r- 'get an unpleasant taste', Mlt cange 'be[come] rotten', cangro 'rotten' ¶¶ D ##2341, 2424, Pf. 5 ♦ IS I 209-10 (\*c̣.a-m̥v̥ HS-U), Tyler DU 807 (U, D), Blz. C (D, U).

**424.** *\*c̣.iwn̥v̥(-c̣.v̥)* 'smell, stench, malodorous sweat' > **HS:** SES \*ʔθ.wn ~ \*ʔθ.nw > Mh θ.ʔneʔt (pl. θ.ʔwantʔn) ({Jo.} ḍ.ʔ-neʔt, ḍ.əwaʔntən), Hrs θ.ʔnweʔt 'bad-smelling, malodorous sweat', Gz, Tgr ʔṣ.nw 'be fragrant, smell (vi.), emit an odour', Tgy ʔc̣.nw (pf. c̣.enew̥e) v. 'smell', c̣.ena 'odour' (c̣.- due

Cushitic infl.?), Amh tena 'odour, smell'; a variant with an unexplained change S \*θ. > \*c. is represented in Ar s<sub>1</sub>una<sup>n</sup>-, s<sub>2</sub>inn-at- 'bad odour, fetid smell of the arm-pits', ?s<sub>3</sub>anna v. 'to be altered, stink', in Sr s<sub>1</sub>əna<sup>n</sup>-a<sup>n</sup> 'smell of the arm-pits; savour\smell (esp. of the roasted meat)' and in Md s<sub>1</sub>anta 'stench' ¶ Jo. H 30, Jo. M 85, Lonnet p.c. (on the phonetic meaning of {Jo.} d<sub>1</sub> in Mh/Hrs/Jb), L G 562, LH 646-7, BK I 1373-4, Br. 632, JPS 481 || EC: Brj {Hd.} c<sup>h</sup>.inc<sup>h</sup>-, c<sup>h</sup>.inc<sup>h</sup>.ay- vi. 'smell', {Ss.} ← Hw.} c<sup>h</sup>.inc<sup>h</sup>.ay-, {Ss.} c<sup>h</sup>.inc<sup>h</sup>.ay- 'smell, esp. pleasant', Or {Th.} c<sup>h</sup>.inc<sup>h</sup>.awu 'puzzare, essere nauseante', {Brl.} c<sup>h</sup>.inc<sup>h</sup>.awu 'puzzare (di bruciaticcio), bruciacciare', Or B {Vnt.} c<sup>h</sup>.inc<sup>h</sup>.a<sup>n</sup>- / c<sup>h</sup>.inc<sup>h</sup>.ofta 'puzzare, essere nauseabundo', {Sr.} c<sup>h</sup>.inc<sup>h</sup>.a<sup>n</sup>- / c<sup>h</sup>.inc<sup>h</sup>.ofta v. 'transpire abundantly' ¶ Hd. 184, Ss. B 48, Th. 68, Brl. 78, Sr. 281, Vnt. 30 || NrOm: Kf {HHM} 9i<sup>n</sup> c<sup>h</sup>.inno, {Bbr.} c<sup>h</sup>.inno 'smell', Gm {Hw.} c<sup>h</sup>.i<sup>n</sup>nk<sup>o</sup> 'smell foul' ¶ HHM 302, Hw. EG ¶¶ □ OS #442 || K: G c<sup>h</sup>.enc<sup>h</sup>.i n. 'sweat', G K c<sup>h</sup>.enc<sup>h</sup>.exi id., G Lch c<sup>h</sup>.enc<sup>h</sup>-. v. 'sweat' ¶ Chx. 2240-1 || U: FU (att. in FV) \*c<sup>h</sup>.iwn<sup>n</sup> 'smell, stench' > Lp: N {N} c<sup>h</sup>.iwna<sup>n</sup> 'which has a smell of burnt hair or cloth or the like', L {LLO} tsiuna 'scharf\bitter schmeckend, stinkend', Kld {TI} ciu<sup>n</sup>-n(a<sup>n</sup>) 'stench of a stoat (and a cat)' : Er чине c<sup>h</sup>.in'e, Δ c<sup>h</sup>.iyn'e, Mk s<sup>h</sup>.in'a<sup>n</sup> 'smell, stench' ¶ UEW 621 || D: [1] D (in SD) \*c<sup>h</sup>.in<sup>n</sup>- 'bad smell' > Tm c<sup>h</sup>.in<sup>n</sup>.t<sup>u</sup> 'stench (as of racid curd)', Kn sin<sup>n</sup>.d<sup>u</sup> 'a disagreeable \nauseous smell (as of sheep, tiger, rancid butter, etc.)', Kdg cindr 'scent (found by dog in hunting, etc.)', Tu jid<sup>n</sup>.d<sup>u</sup>, jid<sup>n</sup>.d<sup>a</sup> 'rancidity' || [2] D (in NED) □\*cEn<sup>n</sup>- > Krx ca<sup>n</sup>?(a)na<sup>n</sup> (p. ca<sup>n</sup>:cas) v. 'stink, give forth an offensive smell; smell', Mlt cen<sup>n</sup>.ye (p. cen<sup>n</sup>.ca) 'emit odour' ¶ D ##2264, 2523.

**425. \*c<sup>h</sup>.en<sup>n</sup>-** ¶V 'narrow, thin' > K: G {NCh., DCh.} c<sup>h</sup>.ani 'lean, meager', G c<sup>h</sup>.navi id., 'skinny' (Chx: 'mager, ausgemergelt') ¶ Chx. 2265, DCh. 1702, 1713, NCh. 457, 459 || HS: EC: Brj c<sup>h</sup>.in<sup>n</sup>-a {Ss.} 'very small', {Hd.} 'small, little' ¶ Ss. B 48, Hd. 183 || IE: NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>sten- 'narrow' > Gk A στενο<sup>υ</sup>, Gk I στεινο<sup>υ</sup> 'narrow' ¶ WP II 627, P 1021-2 and EI 391 (all of them suggest a doubtful comparison with Gmc: ON stinnr, OFrs stīth, AS stīp 'steif, fest, hart, stark'); F II 788-9 & Ch. 1051 (no et. of the Gk word) || U: FU (att. in FP) \*c<sup>h</sup>.e<sup>n</sup>-n<sup>n</sup> 'small, thin, eng' ('klein, dünn, schmal') > F hieno, Krl Ld hien, hieno id., 'fine' : pKomi {LG} \*z<sup>h</sup>.enit (□LG} z<sup>h</sup>.e<sup>n</sup>it) 'short' > StZ, Z US z<sup>h</sup>.en'id, Z UV z<sup>h</sup>.en'id, Prmk z<sup>h</sup>.enit, Yz 'z<sup>h</sup>.inat id. ¶ UEW 620-1, LG 89, Lt. J 118 ♦ The stem-medial lr. is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of the long \*e<sup>n</sup> in U. But the lack of traces of the lr. in IE and K suggests that it was \*? (confirmed by the C reflex) ♦ Trnt. NE 159 (IE, U).

**426. ?<sub>2</sub> \*c<sup>h</sup>.<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>-n<sup>n</sup>-c<sup>h</sup>.<sup>n</sup> (or \*c<sup>h</sup>.<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>-n<sup>n</sup>-c<sup>h</sup>.<sup>n</sup>)** 'tip, (back) end' > K: G c<sup>h</sup>.oc<sup>h</sup>.i 'Spitze, Ecke', 'spout (of a jug)' ¶ Chx. 2267 || U: FU \*c<sup>h</sup>.a<sup>n</sup>-n<sup>n</sup>-c<sup>h</sup>.a<sup>n</sup> 'tail, back end' > F ha<sup>n</sup>-nta<sup>n</sup> (gen. ha<sup>n</sup>-nna<sup>n</sup>), Es ha<sup>n</sup>-nd 'tail' : Lp Vfs {Lgc.} ca<sup>n</sup>-cka<sup>n</sup> 'Fleisch am Hinteren' : ObU \*c<sup>h</sup>.u<sup>n</sup>-n<sup>n</sup>-c<sup>h</sup> ({Ht.} \*c<sup>h</sup>.u<sup>n</sup>-nc<sup>h</sup>) 'back (dorsum)' > pVg {Ht.} \*si<sup>n</sup> s<sup>h</sup> id. > Vg: T/LK/P/NV/SV/LL s<sup>h</sup>is<sup>n</sup>, MK/UK/UL/Ss sis; pOs {Ht.} c<sup>h</sup>.un<sup>n</sup>-c<sup>h</sup> id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty c<sup>h</sup>.un<sup>n</sup>-c<sup>h</sup>, Y c<sup>h</sup>.unc<sup>h</sup>, D/K c<sup>h</sup>.u<sup>n</sup>-nc<sup>h</sup>, Nz s<sup>h</sup>.u<sup>n</sup>-ns<sup>h</sup>, Kz s<sup>h</sup>.u<sup>n</sup>-s<sup>h</sup>, O sus || Sm {Jn.} □\*sa<sup>n</sup>-a<sup>n</sup>-n<sup>n</sup>-c<sup>h</sup>.a<sup>n</sup>-nt- 'tail' > Ne T W cahe<sup>i</sup> san'e<sup>n</sup>? / obl. cahe<sup>n</sup>- san'es-, Ne {Cs.} san'a<sup>n</sup>, san'e<sup>n</sup> 'tail', En {Cs.} soddaki 'bird's tail', Ng {Cs.} santu<sup>n</sup> id. ¶¶ Sm \*s- (the reg. reflex of U \*s') is accounted for by *dis* \*c<sup>h</sup>.a<sup>n</sup>-n<sup>n</sup>-c<sup>h</sup>.a<sup>n</sup> > \*s'a<sup>n</sup>-n<sup>n</sup>-c<sup>h</sup>.a<sup>n</sup>; an alt. conjecture: if U \*c<sup>h</sup>- yields Sm \*s- (which has not been demonstrated), the N etymon may have been \*c<sup>h</sup>.<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>-n<sup>n</sup>-c<sup>h</sup>.<sup>n</sup>, whence U \*c<sup>h</sup>.a<sup>n</sup>-n<sup>n</sup>-c<sup>h</sup>.a<sup>n</sup>, while G c<sup>h</sup>-. and FU c<sup>h</sup>- are due to *as* ¶¶ Coll. 81, UEW 56 (rejects the Sm cognate because of Sm \*s-), Lgc. SL #2779, Ht. #105, Ter. 529, Cs. 29, 65, 91 || HS: B \*z<sup>h</sup>.z<sup>h</sup> > Kb t<sup>h</sup>.i-z<sup>h</sup>.z<sup>h</sup>.i-t<sup>h</sup> (pl. t<sup>h</sup>.i-z<sup>h</sup>.z<sup>h</sup>.i-yin) 'barbe de grain d'orge, brindille', Izn {Rn.} t<sup>h</sup>.az<sup>h</sup>.a 'quill of a porcupine, thorn'; ?σ Ah {Fc.} ti-z<sup>h</sup>.z<sup>h</sup> 'anus' (if ← 'back part of the body'), ??σ ETwl {GhA} ti-z<sup>h</sup>.z<sup>h</sup> (pl. tiz<sup>h</sup>.z<sup>h</sup>.awən) 'vagina' (if ← 'anus' or 'penis') ¶ Dl. 927, GhA 219, Rn. 320, Fc. 1927 || ECh: Kwn {J} c<sup>h</sup>.i<sup>n</sup>, Kbl {Cp.} c<sup>h</sup>.i<sup>n</sup>da<sup>n</sup> 'tail' ¶ JI II 317 || ? R: i pKo {S} \*ca<sup>n</sup>:(ci) > Nko ca<sup>n</sup>:(ci) ca<sup>n</sup>-zi 'penis', coc cot ¶ S QK #718, MLC 1383, 1488 || Tg i \*c<sup>h</sup>.Vcu > WrMc coco, Ud c<sup>h</sup>.ic<sup>h</sup>.ko, Ork tutv, ? Nn {PSchm.} c<sup>h</sup>.ilc<sup>h</sup>.u<sup>n</sup> 'penis', Ul c<sup>h</sup>.ic<sup>h</sup>.v id., spout (of a tea-pot)', Nn Nh c<sup>h</sup>.ic<sup>h</sup>.i- v. 'pour water through a snout' ¶ □ STM II 403 || ??σ, μ M \*cici > Kl {Rm.} c<sup>h</sup>.is<sup>n</sup> 'kurze Stange, spitzen Holz', WrM cicigu<sup>n</sup> 'thorn, prick', Kl чич\*р 'crow-bar, boar-spear', Kl Ö {Rm.} c<sup>h</sup>.ic<sup>h</sup>.u<sup>n</sup>-r 'Instrument, um etwas durchzustecken', d Ord z<sup>h</sup>.ic<sup>h</sup>.in 'droit au but'; bf: M \*cici- v. 'poke, thrust, prod, prick, stick' > WrM cici-, HIM чичи- id., Ord z<sup>h</sup>.ic<sup>h</sup>.i- 'piquer, aiguillonner', Kl чич-х c<sup>h</sup>.ic<sup>h</sup>.xə 'to prick, pierce (with a spear), punch', {Rm.} c<sup>h</sup>.ic<sup>h</sup>.xə 'durch-stecken/-bohren' ¶ MED 176, Ms. O 205, KRS 654, KW 442 ¶¶ □ DQA \*c<sup>h</sup>.i<sup>n</sup>-c<sup>h</sup>.u<sup>n</sup> 'spout, prick, penis' (Tg, Ko, M) ¶¶ The Ko and Tg words for 'penis' may be Lallwörter.

**427. \*c<sup>h</sup>.op<sup>n</sup>.** ¶V(RV) 'finger-nail, claw' > HS: S \*'θ.up'a<sup>n</sup>-r- 'finger-nail, claw' > BA t<sup>h</sup>.əp<sup>n</sup>.ar\* id. (ie5&rf6y5 t<sup>h</sup>.ip<sup>n</sup>.ro<sup>n</sup>-hī 'his finger-nails', Er@f6y5 t<sup>h</sup>.ip<sup>n</sup>.rah 'her claws'), JA rf2y6 t<sup>h</sup>.əp<sup>n</sup>.ar, em. ar!f6uy t<sup>h</sup>.up<sup>n</sup>.r-a<sup>n</sup>, SmA t<sup>h</sup>.pr, Sr

æroffe t.ep\_ 'r-a' 'finger-nail', JEA ar!f6uy t.up\_ 'r-a' 'finger-\toe-nail, hoof', Md t.upra 'claw, nail, hoof', Ar r00&u δ\_ufur- ~ rf0&i δ\_ifr- ~ rfu&u δ\_ufur-id., 'claw', Jb C {Jo.} '0.i'fer ({JJo.} d\_i'fē'r), Hrs {Jo.} 0.3fir 'finger\toe-nail', Mh {Jo.} 0.fe-r ({JJo.} d\_fe-r) id., 'claw', Sq {Jo.} 't.3yf3r, 't.3fh3r, {Nak.} 't.ifher 'finger-nail', Gz s.əfr (pl. s.əfar) id., 'claw', Tgy s.3f3r 'finger-\toe-nail', Tgr s.3fr id., 'claw', Ak s.upru(m) 'finger-\toe-nail, claw, hoof', BHB d Nr37pc5 c.ip'poren 'finger-nail' ¶ KB 983, 1716, GB 693, 908, Dlm. 1174, Spr. BA III 176, Lv. II 183, Sl. 498, Br. 286, Tal 322-3, DM 178, Jo. M 83, Jo. H 49, Jo. J 48, Nak. 6 [#48], L G 549, LH 650, Bsn. 975, Sd. 1113, CAD XVI 250, MiK I #1.285 || ?? AdS of B \*°/tfr 'front part of the foot (including the toes)' (< \*t.VP\_RV ~ \*t.VRP\_V, '∈ part of the foot', 'foot', q.v. ffd.) || C (mt): SC: Brn/Alg c\_arafu {Wh.} 'finger-nail', {E} 'nail, claw' || ?φ Ag: Q {R} 3'ərfa, Xm T {CR} za'fer 'finger' || ?φ EC: Kmb {L} zuruPm-ic-uta (pl. zuruPm-ata) 'finger', Alb {CR} zurum'a, {PB} zur'ma 'thumb' ¶ AD SF 129, Wh. IC 23, E SC 329 || ?φ NrOm {Blz.} \*f3'Vpn- ~ \*f3'abar- > Kf {C} yafaro ~ yabaro 'finger-nail', Mch {L} yabaro, Anf {Gt.} ya'bero, Ym {C} difna-id., amb Shn {Lm.} 3'a-ba 'branch', kis'i-3a-ba 'finger' (kis'a 'hand') (× HS \*√cbf > S \*√cbf 'finger') ¶ Blz. OLBP s.v. 'finger-nail', AD SF 129, C SE III 72, Lm. Sh 321-2, 331 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} c'ib.en, Krkr {Mk.} yar fetu, Bd {RLk.} s'3'ba'r-3'n 'finger-nail' || CCh: Mdr {Mch.} s'irba id., 'claw', Msg {GKrs.} 'dufra bino 'finger, toe', ? Msg Ng {Rlf.} dzhrum id., (× HS \*√cbf > S \*√cbf 'finger'): FlJ {ChL} amb3'i'vi's'i'nga c'i'vu' 'finger' (c'i'vu' 'hand, arm'), FIMc z'ivi'c'igic'i 'finger' ¶ JI II 246-7, ChL III 6, Lk. DQM 93, RLk. NB 222 ¶¶ AD SF 129 [C, Om, S, Ch], OS #120 (\*c'.upar- 'fingernail') [S, C, Om] || U \*c'UppV (~ \*c'eppa'?) 'finger' > F hyppy, hyppi, hyppynen 'finger tip, finger's end; finger' i pLp p'ce-ppV > Lp Kld {TI} ci\_e:p(ъ\_), {SaR} ue-hn, Lp T {TI} ci\_e:p(ъ\_) ~ ci\_e,ppv 'finger, toe' || Sm {Jn.} \*topa°, {HL.} \*topa 'claw, hoof' > Ne T тоба 'hoof', Ne T O to'b\_a~> 'toe (of a ruminant), hoof', Ne F L {Lh.} to-p'oъ id., Slq Tz {KKIH} topi 'foot', Mt {HL.} \*toha|o 'hoof' (Mt K {Pl.} tohoto 'its hoof') ¶ SK 93, TI 632, SaR 378, N I 311-2, Jn. 166, Ter. 664, Lh. 492, KKI 185, Cs. 148, Hl. M #1044, UEW 49 ¶ The pLp vw. \*e (regularly from FU \*e) is obscure (contamination with a different √ ?) || R: Tg \*cop'a-l-, \*copar- 'claw' > Ewk cōwomo, Ewk I cō'bi, Ewk Skh/Tng/Urm cō'wi 'claw (of a bird)', Neg cōwoki 'claw, bear's paw', Orc c'opokto, Ud {Krm.} c'ofoto 'claw', WrMc s'oforo 'claws (of a hunting claw); a pinchful (of five fingers)' ¶ STM II 402, Krm. 311.

**428. \*c'Vp.V(-tV) 'thong' > HS:** S \*√°0.pp > Ar √δ.ff G (pf. fW7a δ.affa) 'lier, serrer (les pied d'une chamelle)' ¶ BK II 86-7 || C: Ag \*cVpVt- > Bln {R} 's'aber (pl. 's'afet), Xm {R} 's.aber 'leather-strap (Lederriemen)'; Ag b> Tgr s.əfarə 'pack-rope, leather-strap', Amh t.əf3r 'leather-strip, thong' ¶ R WB 316, LH 650, L CAD 236 || K: G {DCh.} c'.ap.-i 'leather-straps of footwear', G R c'.ap.-i 'Riemen zum Zubinden der Kalamani (Art geraffte Ledersandale)' ¶ DCh. 1703, Chx. 2232 || U: FU (att. in Vg) \*c'ippV'tt'V > pVg {Stn.} \*s'i'pVt > Vg {Stn.}: T s'əpa't, LK s'əpt, MK səpt, P/SV/LL s'ipt, NV/ML s'ipt, UL/Ss sipat 'Schnur am Netzrand' ¶ Stn. WV 303, Kn. VW 49.

**429. \*c'.iFP\_X 'branch, bough, rod' > K:** \*c'.ep.l\_ - 'rod' > Mg {FS} c.k.ap.ul- 'Gerte, Rute', Zan b> OG, eNG [SSO] c.k.ep.l-, G c.k.ep.la-, c.k.epel-, G Δ c.qep.la- 'Gerte, Rute' ¶ Chx. 2180-1, K 244 & K<sup>2</sup> 298 (GZ \*c.k.ep.l\_ - <d- GZ \*c.k.ep. - 'to split, splinter'), K FS K 447 & K FS E 505 (GZ \*c.k.ep.l-) ¶ \*-l\_ - is likely to go back to a sx. || R: NaT \*c'l:p 'slender branch' (× N \*cik.P\_V 'branch, shoot of a plant') > OT c'ip id., Osm {Rh.} πv\* c'up 'little bit of wood, stock' (× <b- NPrs iv\* c'u'b 'log, wood [as material], tree' [<b- some T lge?]), Yk {JkR} sip 'thin twig' (in sip kurduk 'thin as a thin twig'); <b- NaT \*c'l-b-ik ~ \*c'l-b-uk (Cl., Dr: dim.) 'flexible rod, switch' > OT c'ibiq, OT QU c'iviq id., MU c'ibiq, MQp ≥XIII c'ibiq ~ c'ibiq, XwT dalniq c'ubuq 'a willow shoot', XwT, Chg c'ubuq, Tkm c'ibiq 'rod, switch', Az c'ubug id., twig', MQp, QrB c'ibik, Chg c'ubuy ~ c'ubuq, XwT c'ubuq, Tk c'ubuk 'rod, branch', Ggz c'ibiq ~ c'ubuq, CrTt, Qmq, ET Tr {RL.} c'ubuq, ET, Uz c'iviq, Qzq, Qq, Nog s'ibiq, VTt s'zbzq, Qrg c'ibiq, StAlt c'ibiq, Bsh szbzq 'switch, rod (прут, хворостина, розга)', Uz c'ibiq ~ c'iwiq, Xk, Shor simix, Tv s'ibiq 'rod, switch (прут, хворостина)', Tv d s'iqpī r id., Qmn c'ibiq ~ c'ibuz 'twig, rod', Yk si'pax '∈ small willow (талник) with twigs used in loops for catching birds'. Stems with c'ub- are due to the analogy of NPrs iv\* c'u'b 'wood (material), tree, log' and to the labializing infl. of \*-b- and the ending \*-uk ¶ Cl. 393, 395, TL 118-9, Rs. W 106, Rl. III 2099-2100, 2185, Sg. 401, Dr. TM III #1059, Sg. 401-2, Rh. 733-4, GRMS 552, 554, BN 32, UzR 519, BT 182, Sht. 235, KrkR 745, NogR 419, KumRS 360, RKB 505, 551, 686, TatR 643, BR 487, Jud. 880, B DK 269, B DChT 166, B DLT 223, BIG 207, TvR 585, 587, JkR 360, Pek. 2472 ¶ Compensatory lengthening of \*i (evidenced by Tkm) is due to the loss of

\*ʕ and \*k. and (\*cʰ.iʃP\_X and \*cik.P\_V > \*cɪ:b-) || Tg (att. in NrTg) \*ɕiˈpa- 'sharp stick' > Lm ɕipan 'sharp head (tip) of the braking stick (used when driving a dog-sledge)', Neg ɕip-ɕip- 'pointed' (of sticks, pencils) ¶ STM I 398 ¶¶ DQA ##327 (A \*cʰip'a 'branch, sharp branch') || D \*civv- (~ \*cuvv-?) > Tl cuvva, cuvaka 'twig, small flexible stick or cane', Klm sivva 'piece of fuel', Nkr s'ivva 'wood', suvval pl. 'fuel' ¶¶ D #2600 || HS: Eg P ʒɪb 'sceptre' ¶ EG V 536 ♠ Eg b and D \*-v- are accounted for by as \*-ʃp,- > \*-ʃb-. The lr. \*ʕ is reconstructed on the ev. of Eg ʕ, K \*Ø and the D length of the vw.

**430. \*cʰ.eɪy.p.V** 'to sink, immerse; swim; flow' > HS: HEC {Hd.} \*cʰ.e-p- v. 'immerse' > Hd {Hd.} cʰ.e-f-, Kmb {Hd.} cʰ.ef- v. 'immerse' ¶ Hd. 83, 273, 313 || CS \*-θ.u-p- (\*√θ.wp) 'float, overflow' > BHb √c.wp (pf. Fcl c.a-p-, ip. -c.u-p-) 'overflow', Sh (pf. Fic5e4 he-c.īp-) 'cause to flow over, cause to float', MHb √c.wp G 'flow, overflow, float', JA √t.wp (ip. -t.u-p-), Sma √t.wp v. Sh 'flood', t.wpn 'deluge', JEA √t.wp v. Sh 'inundate', Md √t.wp G 'overflow', Sr √t.wp G 'float, overflow, be inundated' ¶ KB 940-1, BDB 847, Br. 271, Sl. 497, Tal 307, DM 181 || B (deglot.) \*√syf v. 'stream', 'swim' (or 'float') > Kb əsʰsʰəf 'ruisseler, suinter', Si {La.} sīyaf (pf. isīyaf), Izd {Mrc.} sʰsʰef (pf. isʰsʰef) 'nager', Tmz {MT} sʰsʰəf 'être baigné, se baigner, nager' | B \*su-f ~ \*sif 'river, stream' (× N \*s-ap.V 'riverbank, river', q.v. ffd.) ¶ La. S 264, 289, Msq. Z 527, Hy. 456, Mrc. 174, 402, Ds. 131, Rn. 313, Dlh. M 184, MT 617, 685, Dl. 78, 759, Beg. N 317, Fc. 1806 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) \*cʰepV 'einsinken, versinken, untersinken' > Vg K se-p- 'untersinken', Vg LL {Kn.} sʰep-, ML/LL {MK} se-pi, Ss {Kn.} se-p- {MK} 'untersinken, ertrinken' | OHg fepedu-k, Hg su-pped- 'einsinken, sich senken, sich setzen, versinken' ¶ UEW 841-2, MF 557-8, MK 542 || A \*cʰiP > M \*cibu- v. 'become submerged, drown' > WrM cib-, ci(b)bu-, HLM чиву-х v. 'sink, become submerged', Kl cʰiw- v. 'drown, become submerged' ¶ MED 174, KRS 647, KW 443 || ??? T: OT [MhK, QB] cʰap- 'swim' (highly *qu.*, because it may be a *sd* of NaT \*cap- 'run quickly' > Chg xv, Tkm, Qrg cʰap-, Alt cʰap- 'run', Osm {Rh.}, ET cʰap-, Uz cʰap- id., 'gallop') ¶ If the OT cʰap- 'swim' belongs here, its vw. a may be due to contamination with cʰap- 'run quickly' ¶ Cl. 394, Tkr 722, BN 27.

**431. \*cʰ.ʔa.rV** 'to cut' > HS: S \*√θ.rr > Ar √δ.rr (pf. rW7a δ.arra, ip. -δ.urr-) 'rendre aigu, tranchant (p. ex. une pierre à fusil)', 'égorger (une bête) à l'aide d'un instrument tranchant de pierre'; × S \*θ.ʔu.rʔa.r- (> Ar rw7i δ.urr-, rra7u δ.urar- 'pierre tranchante propre à couper comme un couteau', Ak s.urr(u)m 'obsidian, flint-stone', Hb br#h3 r7c c.or 'herēb\_ 'blade of a sword' ['herēb\_ 'sword']) [< N \*cʰ.ʔu.rV 'flintstone, knife' (q.v.)] ¶ BK II 132, KB 985, KBR 1052-3, Sd. 1114 || Eg: amb Cpt: Sd xwp ʒo-r, xep- ʒer-, xop- ʒoor-, B xop- ʒor- 'aiguiser, affiler' (in Eg and DEg texts this word is not attested) (× N \*cʰ.ʔu.rV 'ʔ'?) ¶ Vc. 331 || EC: Or {Grg.} cʰ.ir- v. 'cut', Or B/O/W {Sr.} cʰ.ir- v. 'cut into pieces', Or H {Ow.} cʰ.ir- v. 'cut, slice', Rn {PG} cʰu-ra 'trim lower edge of a girl's hair, cut girl's hair', Sd {Gs., Hd.} cʰ.ir- v. 'shave (beard)', Brj {Ss.} cʰ.ir- v. 'chop', {Hd.} cʰ.ir- v. 'clear (forest)' ¶ Grg. 84, Sr. 281, PG 87, Gs. 58, Hd. 184, 357, Ow. 256, Ss. B 49 (Brj < Or) || K {K<sup>2</sup>} \*cʰ.er-/cʰ.r- v. 'cut, chop' > OG cʰ.r- v. 'cut, reap', G cʰ.er-/cʰ.r- (prs. -cʰ.r-i, aor. -cʰ.er-) v. 'cut, chop, fell', G Gr cʰ.ar-/cʰ.r-, Lz cʰ.k.i(r)-, cʰ.k.or-, Mg cʰ.k.ʒr-, cʰ.k.ir- v. 'cut, chop, reap', Sv d la-r-e 'meadow' (lit. 'place of mowing'), Sw {TK}: UB/L la-re, LB/Ln lare 'hayfield (saTibi), field' ¶¶ K 255-6, K<sup>2</sup> 321, FS K 473-6 (\*cʰ.ar-/cʰ.r-), GM S 234, 354, Chx. 2256, 2272, GP 136, TK 387-8 || ?σ D \*car-r- to be split, torn, cut' > Prj car- v. 'be torn (cloth, etc.)', Gnd Δ sarra-na 'be split as wood, be torn' (of clothes, etc.), Gnd HM aʕ-, Δ har- ~ ar- v. 'be torn', Krx carr- v. 'tear, rend', Mlt care v. 'cut as with the teeth or scissors' ¶¶ D #2416 || A: ? NaT amb\*car 'whetstone' > Alt ɕap cʰar, Tel {Rl.}, Qmq cʰar, VTt ɕap sʰar, Brb/SbTt Tom {Tm.} car, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Shor {Rl.} sʰar, Bsh sar id. ¶ An alt. et. (more plausible semantically, but with an irreg. vowel corr.) derives the T √ from N \*cʰ.ʔu.rV 'ʔ' [q.v.] (S CNM 8) ¶ Rs. W 99-100, BT 176, Tm. 234, Rl. III 1859, BR 463, KkrR 726, NogR 406 || Tg \*ʕari- > Ewk ɕari- v. 'tear' ¶ STM II 385 || pKo {S} \*car- 'cut off, chop off' > MKO car-, NKO car- ¶ S QK #912, Nam 413, MLC 1376 || pJ \*ta-t- 'cut (off)' > OJ ta-t-, J: T ta-t-, K/Kg ta-t- ¶ S QJ 1109, Mr. 766 ¶¶ DQA #274 [A \*cʰa-ro 'cut off, tear off'] ♠ IS I 209 (HS, K, D).

**432. \*cʰ.irV** 'to look after, guard' > K \*cʰ.ir- 'care, need' (× N \*cʰ.iR.V 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult' [q.v.]) > OG cʰ.ir- v. 'care', G cʰ.ir- v. 'need' (m-cʰ.ir-s 'mir fehlt et., ich leide [an]'), cʰ.ir- 'Not, Unglück', G X cʰ.ir- 'Trauer', Mg cʰ.k.ʒr-, cʰ.k.ir-, Lz A cʰ.i(r)- ({IS}: Lz A cʰ.- < Zn \*cʰ.k.-) v. 'need, be in want of', Lz cʰ.k.ʒr-, ncʰ.k.ʒr-, cʰ.ir- n. 'need', (?) grieve', Sv LB -ncʰ.k.ʒr-, Sv L -cʰ.k.ʒr- v. {FS} 'need; grieve', Sv {TK} msd.: UB/L li-cʰ.k.ʒr-e, LB li-ncʰ.k.ʒr-e, Ln licʰ.k.ʒre 'to think, grieve, worry', Sv cʰ.k.ʒra 'care, meditation',

{K<sup>2</sup>} 'anxiety, thought' ¶¶ K 255, □ K<sup>2</sup> 320, 322, FS K 476, FS E 539-40, Chik. 410, Chx. 2255-7, TK 482 || **HS:** S \* $\sqrt{n\theta.r}$  v. 'guard' > BHb rcn  $\sqrt{nc.r}$  G 'observe, watch over; keep from; protect, preserve; observe, comply with', Ug nyr {OLS} 'atender; proteger, guardar', Amr {G}  $\sqrt{ns.r}$ , IA, JA, SmA, Sr  $\sqrt{nt.r}$  G 'guard', Ar  $\sqrt{n\delta.r}$  G 'look at, watch', na $\delta$ .ar- regard; soin, surveillance', Sb  $\sqrt{n\theta.r}$  'observe', Gz  $\sqrt{ns.r}$  D 'look at', Ak  $\sqrt{ns.r}$  G 'bewachen, schützen, bewahren', Eb {Krb.}  $\sqrt{n\theta.r}$  G (inf. na-za-lum = na $\theta$ .a $\bar{r}$ um, 3m i-na-sar) v. 'guard' ¶ KB 678, KBR 718, OLS 320-1, Br. 426, Sl. 745-6, Tal 51-2, BK II 1287-90, BGMR 102, Bll. 303-4, Sd. 755, Krb. EG 34; S \*-n- apparently goes back to a px. || Ch: Hs c.a $\bar{r}$ e' v. 'guard, protect, preserve' ¶ Abr. H 879, Ba. 1030 ¶¶ OS #506, ≠ Sk. HCD 269 || **IE:** NaIE \*ster-g-, \*ster-k- v. 'guard, care, take care of' ({P} 'sorgend worauf achten, hegen und pflegen') > Sl \*sterg- (inf. \*stergti, prs. \*stergo.) > OCS  $\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\sigma$  stre's'ti (prs.  $\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\sigma$  stre'go.) 'to guard', R  $\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\sigma$  /  $\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\sigma$ , Slv stre'c'i / stre'z'em, Cz str'íci / str'ehu, P strzec' / strzege id.; -d- \*storz'ъ > OCS  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\sigma$  straz'ъ, Blg  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\sigma$ , P stro'z', R, Uk 'сторож' watchman, guard'; \*storz'a 'guard (Wache), watch' > OCS  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\sigma$  straz'a, Blg  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\sigma$ , SCr, Slv stra'z'a, P stro'z'a, Uk, R  $\Delta$   $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\sigma$  !?φ (loss of \*t due to contamination with NaIE \*serg<sup>h</sup>- v. 'languish' < N \*s $\bar{i}$ r<sup>h</sup>Ka 'pain; pine, languish', q.v.) Blt: Lt se'rgēti (prs: Olt se'rgmi, Lt se'rgiu) 'to guard, watch (over)', Pru absergīsan 'Schutz'; Lt sa'rgas 'watch(man)', Ltv sa'rgs id., 'guard, guardsman', Pru but-sargs 'Haushalter' || Gk  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\gamma\omega$  'I love, am fond of',  $\sigma\tau\omicron\rho\gamma\eta$  'love, affection' || OIr serc, W serch 'love', MBr serch, Br T serc'h 'concubine, one who lives in concubinage'; IE \*st- > Clt \*ts- > \*s- is reg. (LP § 25.5) || cp. also NaIE \*ster- > Sl \*starati se 'to take care of, exert oneself, do one's best' (F N \*c $\bar{i}$ r $\bar{L}$  V 'ñ', q.v. ffd.) ¶ □ P 1032, F II 790, Vs. III 746, 757, 768, Glh. 587, Ma. CS 469-70, 481, Frn. 762-3, 776-7, En. 136, 155, Vn. S 91-2, Ern. 623, Tp. P A-D 52-3, 274, ME III 716 ◆ IS I 210-1 s.v. \*c $\bar{i}$ r $\bar{L}$ .

**433. \*c $\bar{i}$ r $\bar{V}$**  'to seize, take, carry' > **HS:** WS \* $\sqrt{\theta.wr}$  (\*- $\theta.u\bar{r}$ -) 'carry, support' > Gz  $\sqrt{s.wr}$  (pf. s.o $\bar{r}$ a, js. -s.u $\bar{r}$ ) 'bear, carry, wear (clothes), support (old parents)', Sq {L}  $\sqrt{s.wr}$  'carry (porter)' (caus. sbjn. 'l(y)o-s.ir, ps. pf. is.rauwoh), OSA {Mü.}  $\sqrt{\theta.wr}$  'mit Pfeilern stützen',  $\theta.wrm$  'Pfeiler', Sb {Rk.}  $\theta.wr$  'besiege', Mn  $\theta.wwr$  {MA} 'entourer d'un mur', {Mü.} 'mit Pfeilern stützen', Qt {Rk.}  $\sqrt{z.wr}$  'fortify, establish', Mn {MA} t $\theta.wrt$ , Nbt t.wr 'wall (mur), Ar  $\delta.u\bar{a}r$ - 'pierres placées sous une marmite pour la soutenir',  $\sqrt{\delta.zr}$  L (pf.  $\delta.a\bar{?}ara$ ) v. 'nurse an other's child', r'07i  $\delta.i\bar{z}r$ - 'nurse', 'foster-father' and 'column (Strebepfeiler)' ({Rk.} 'buttress', {BK} 'colonne, pilastre') [from the basic meaning 'support'], OYmn  $\theta.zrh$  ({Slw.}  $\delta.i\bar{z}ra$ ) 'Strebepfeiler, Tragestange' ¶ The cns. \*? in derived forms in Ar and OYmn is due to adaptation of a biconsonantic  $\sqrt{\phantom{x}}$  to triconsonantic derivational patterns and to hiatus-closing development ¶ L G 567, L LS 347, BK II 131-2, Hv. 445, Rk. 78, MA 111, Mü. WMT 77-8, Slw. 143 || **K:** GZ \*c $\bar{i}$ .er-/c $\bar{i}$ .r- ~ \*c $\bar{i}$ .ar- 'hold, catch, grasp' > G Gr/X c $\bar{i}$ ar-, OG \*c $\bar{i}$ .er-/c $\bar{i}$ .ir-, G c $\bar{i}$ .er-/c $\bar{i}$ .ir- (< proto-G \*c $\bar{i}$ .ar-) id., Mg d c $\bar{i}$ .k.or-i 'slave' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 320, Schm. 157, FS K 473 & FS E 536 (\*c $\bar{i}$ .ar-), Mach. K 60, Chx. 2241-4, 2286, DCh. 1705; for the change a > e in G F Mach. XS 269ff. and Gm. SSh 55, 61 || **D** \*cu $\bar{r}$ - ({}GS) \*{s $\bar{i}$ -) 'rob, plunder' > Tm cu $\bar{r}$ .ai 'robbery, pillage', Td su $\bar{r}$ .y 'loot', Kn su $\bar{r}$ .e, Tu su $\bar{r}$ .e 'plundering, pillaging', Tl cu $\bar{r}$ .a 'plunder, loot', Ku zuria 'dacoit' ¶¶ D #2744 ◆ The lack of labialized vw. or \*w in K is still puzzling.

**434. \*c $\bar{i}$ .r $\bar{V}$**  'to soil, stain, dirty' (partial infl. of N \*c $\bar{i}$ .r $\bar{V}$  'pus, rotten liquid' [q.v.]) > **HS:** EC \*c.ur- ({Ss.} \*d $\bar{i}$ .ur-) v. 'be dirty' (× N \*t. $\sigma\chi$ qury $\bar{V}$  or \*t. $\sigma\chi$ qr $\bar{V}$  'dirt, be dirty') > Kns j.ur-e $\bar{t}$ a, Sd, Hd t.u $\bar{r}$ -, Brj c $\bar{i}$ .u $\bar{r}$ -e 'dirt', Kns j.ur-a $\bar{w}$ - 'become dirty', as well as (unless exclusively from \*t. $\sigma\chi$ qury $\bar{V}$  ~ \*t. $\sigma\chi$ qr $\bar{V}$ ): Or {Grg.} t.ur-i 'dirt, filth', Or H {Ow.} t.u $\bar{r}$ i 'dirty', Arr t.ur-aw- id., t.ure' 'dirty thing', ?? Ya t.er- 'bad' ¶ Ss. PEC 29, 31, Ss. B 49, BISO 54, AD SF 56-7, E PC #76, Grg. 386-7, Ow. 272, Hw. A 398 || **A:** Tg: ?σ Ewk Ald curarga- v. 'get dark' (of a face) ¶ STM II 416 || ?? M: Dg c $\bar{i}$ re 'dirt, soilage'; ? Kl {Rm.} cer 'Schleim in der Gurgel, Speichel' ¶ Mr. D 130, Rs. KW 427 || **D** (in SCD) \*cu $\bar{r}$ (-) 'soot' (× N \*c $\bar{i}$ .urt $\bar{V}$  'soot', q.v. ffd.) || **IE:** NaIE \*(s)ter- 'filth, filthy liquid; to stain' (× N \*t. $\sigma$ ury $\bar{V}$  ~ \*t. $\sigma$ ur $\bar{V}$  'litter, dirt, dust' [q.v.]) > Av star- 'be stained' || Arm  $\bar{t}$ arax t $\bar{h}$ arax {Xud.} 'pus (of wounds), ichor' || Nr stor 'Faulen, Verwesen' || pSl \*st $\bar{y}$ rvъ 'carrion' > Blg  $\sigma\tau\rho\bar{v}$ , SCr, Slv str $\bar{v}$ , P  $\bar{t}$  s $\bar{c}$ ierw id., RChS  $\sigma\tau\rho\bar{v}$  st $\bar{y}$ rvъ 'corpse'; morphological variants with \*-o, \*-a: P s $\bar{c}$ ierwo, R  $\bar{t}$  stepva 'carrion' ¶ P 1031-2, Mn. 1285-6, WH II 589, O 441, BFU 553, Xud. I 427, Glh. 591-2, Srz. III 586, Chrn. II 202 || ?? **K:** G curcli 'droppings (of mice, etc.)' ¶ Chx. 2032 ¶ G c- (for the expected c $\bar{i}$ -) is likely to be due to as.

**435. \*c $\bar{i}$ .r $\bar{V}$**  'flintstone, knife' (coalesced in some lgs. with \*c $\bar{i}$ .r $\bar{V}$  'to cut') > **HS:** S \* $\theta$ .urar- ~ \* $\theta$ .ir $\bar{L}$ ir- > Ar rw7i  $\delta$ .irr-, rra7u  $\delta$ .urar- 'pierre tranchante propre à couper comme un couteau',

Ak s.urrū(m) 'obsidian, flint-stone', Hb br#h3 r7c c.or 'hereb\_ 'blade of a sword' ('hereb\_ 'sword') ¶ BK II 132, KB 985, Sd. 1114 || amb Cpt: Sd xwp 3o-r, xep- 3er-, xoo- 3oor-, B xop- 3or- 'aiguise, affiler' (× N \*c'.f'arV 'f' [q.v.]) (in Eg and DEg texts this word is not attested) ¶ Vc. 331 ¶ The Cpt word may alternatively be a loan from the Ar verb √δr (so Ap. AN 22) || ? B \*zVru/a- 'stone, rock' > Kb a-zru 'pierre (matier première); pierre, caillou; rocher', Ah a-zru 'muraille rocheuse', Tmz a-zru (pl. i-zra) 'rock, large stone', ti-zra 'small stone'; in B the √ coalesced with the cognate of S \*θ.urr- 'rock' (unless the latter belongs to the etymon in question, too) ¶ Dl. 955, MT 826, Fc. 1988 || Ch: WCh: Hs c.u'-ra 'knife\sword without handle' || CCh: Gude c'ir...a, FIM c'urv, FIB c'irun 'hoe' ¶ Abr. H 392, Ba. 1046, ChL, Sk. HCD 276 ¶¶ OS #514 (\*c'.ur- 'flint, flint knife' in S, B, Ch) || ¶ {S} \*c'i\_ora): Tg \*ci\_u.ru-<sub>kje(n)</sub>- 'knife' > Sln s'iruxa-: 'knife', Ul c'u-rə(n-), {PSchm.} c'urun, Nn Nh c'u-rus~, Nn KU c'iurə~ 'knife used by women in carving ornaments' ¶ STM II 426 || ? NaT amb\*car 'whetstone' > Alt чар c'ar, Tel {RL.}, Qmq c'ar, VTt чар s'ar, Brb/SbTt Tom {Tm.} car, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Shor {RL.} s'ar, Bsh sar id. ¶ The vw. \*a is obscure; an alt. et. (less plausible semantically, but without phonetic problems) derives the T √ from N \*c'.f'arV 'f' [q.v.] ¶ Rs. W 99-100, BT 176, Tm. 234, RL. III 1859, BR 463, KrkR 726, NogR 406 ¶¶ AD NM #80, □ S CNM 8 (suggests to adduce here T \*car 'whetstone'), Vv. AEN (suggests to reconstruct Tg \*cu'-ru-'k'an) || ? D \*ciran- 'small chisel' (× N \*c.iryX 'to scratch\chisel', q.v. ffd.) ♦ AD NM #80, S CNM 8 (÷÷ ST \*c'β'Vr(H)- 'hoe, pick-axe').

**436. \*c'.UhrV** 'vessel', (←?) 'basket' > HS: S \*θ.Vh<sub>l</sub>V<sub>r</sub>- > Ar re0&a δ\_ahr- 'old cooking-pot' ¶ Ln. 1929, BK II 146 || K: GZ \*c'.ur- 'vessel' > OG c'.ur- 'vessel', G c'.ur- 'vessel, thing', Mg c'.k.u3-, c'.k.ud- 'vessel, ship' ¶ K 256, K<sup>2</sup> 323, FS K 477, FS E 541, □ Marr AI 3-4 || D: D \*co-ra ({'GS} \*c'c'-) 'vessel' > Krg co-ra 'milk-pot', Prj co-ra 'earthen pot', Gnd B {Tr.} so-r.a- 'a large earthen vessel for holding water', Gnd Ch {BB} so-ra 'pot', Gnd M {Wll., Ph.} so-ra- 'pitcher'; D \*cur- ({'GS} \*c'-?) 'basket' > Ml curiyal 'round rattan basket', Gnd G {BB} curki, Gnd M {Ph.} curki, Knd, Ku surki 'a small basket' ¶¶ Apparent different Gnd reflexes of the affricate in the words for 'vessel' and 'basket' may be due to dialectal disparity, therefore they do not necessarily point to a difference at the pD (and hence the N) level ¶¶ -r- in Trench's record of Gnd B (1919-21) is likely to be a mistake for -r- (≠ the quite reliable records of Gnd Ch [T. Burrow & S. Bhattacharya, 1958]) with -r- ¶¶ D ##2691, 2886 ♦ D \*-r- (rather than \*-r-) reflects a pN cns. cluster (\*-hr-).

**437. \*c'.u<sub>h</sub>h<sub>l</sub>V<sub>r</sub>V** 'top, edge, highest point' > HS: S \*θ.uh<sub>l</sub>V<sub>r</sub>- ~ \*θ.ah<sub>l</sub>V<sub>r</sub>- 'top', 'the highest point (of the sun in the sky)' (→ 'noon') > BHB re27c 'c.ohar 'roof', Mi%r@e0c1 c.oh<sup>2</sup>rayim (pseudo-dual from loc. \*c.oh<sup>2</sup>ra-m) 'noon' (← 'the point of culmination of the sun'), Ug θ\_r 'back (espalda, dorso), highest point', JA arle9iy5 tī'h<sup>a</sup>r-a-, JEA {Sl.} arle6iy5 tī'h<sup>a</sup>r-a-, Sr t.ah<sup>a</sup>r-a- 'noon', Arre07u δ\_uhr- 'noon' (→ Sq {L} d\_uhr id.), Sb b-θ.hr 'on the back of, upon', Ak s.u<sup>2</sup>ru ~ s.u<sup>2</sup>ru (← WS?) 'back'. In CS this stem influenced S \*s<sup>a</sup>.ah<sub>l</sub>V<sub>r</sub>- 'back (of a body)' (< N \*c'.ehrV 'back', q.v.), bringing about a contaminated CS stem \*θ.ah<sub>l</sub>V<sub>r</sub>- 'back, noon' > Ar re07a δ\_ahr- 'back [dorsum], noon' (→ Mh θ\_ahr, Jb C 'θ.ohur 'noon, midday'), Ug θ\_r 'shoulder, back, top'. The contamination is probably based on interpretation of the back (of an animal) as its highest point. The Ak word s.u<sup>2</sup>ru ~ s.u<sup>2</sup>ru 'back' is probably a WS loan (≠ CAD XVI 261) and reflects a CS contamination of both stems ¶ KB 946, KBR 1008, A #2378, OLS 552, Sd. 1093-5, 1115, CAD XVI 138-47, 261, Br. 269, Lv. II 142, Sl. 501, BGMR 171, Jo. H 151, Jo. J 48, 324, Jo. M 83, 475, L LS 361, □ MiK I #1.284 (S \*θ.Vhr- 'back') || AdS of EC: Or c'.ara 'top, top, edge', Brj c'.a-r-i -c'.e-r-i 'point, top, peak' (< N \*c'.orV 'tip, top, edge', q.v.) || K: G c'.er-i 'ceiling, roof' ¶ Chx. 2245, DCh. 1705 || IE: NaIE žž \*stu(:)r- ({Mn.} \*st<sub>l</sub>h<sub>l</sub>u<sup>2</sup>-r-) 'edge, tip, peak, point' > ? Gk στῦραξ 'a spike at the lower end of a spear-shaft' || Ltv stu<sup>2</sup>-ris 'corner', Lt Δ stu<sup>2</sup>-ris Δ stu<sup>2</sup>-ry's 'Winkel, Ecke, Kante' || ?? NaIE {Mn.} \*stəwro- 'post, stake' > Gk σταυροῖ 'upright pale\stake', ON staurr 'Stütze', OHG stiura {Kb.} 'rudder, support' ¶ Mn. 1330 (i ÷ NPrs %orts) ostore 'razor', which is in fact *d* from ostor- v. 'shave, erase', ≠ Bai. 42), P 1008-9, Ch. 1044-5, 1067, Hofm. 332, F II 778, ≠ F II 814, Frn. 932, Kar. II 316-7, ME III 1110, Vr. 544, OsS 874, Kb. 966 || D \*cu<sup>2</sup>-r- ({'GS} \*c-) 'edge of the roof' > Kn cu<sup>2</sup>ru, su<sup>2</sup>r, su<sup>2</sup>ru 'the part of the sloping roof that projects beyond the walls', Tu cu<sup>2</sup>-ri 'border of the roof', Tl cu<sup>2</sup>ru 'eaves, edge of a roof', munju<sup>2</sup>ru 'eaves', Prj mun<sup>2</sup>ir, Knd munzuru id. ¶¶ D \*-r- points to a N cluster (here \*-hr-) ¶¶ D #2729 ♦ In addition, we may draw attention to a possible (though highly

doubtful) cognate in **fl**: M: WrM corui-, HlM цорой-х v. 'rise up on the hind legs' (of quadrupeds), 'rise on tiptoe and raise one's hands' ¶ MED 199 ♦ **fl** Blz. LB #6e (N \*c'ahri 'back').

**438. ?? \*c'f'a'R?V** 'hoar-frost', (→) 'frozen soil' > **HS**: S \*°√θ.r? > Ar ar07u δur? 'frozen earth, frozen mud' ¶ BK II 133 **fl** K \*°c'χ|qar- > G T c'χar-i 'hoar-frost' ('Rauhreif') ¶?? G c'.irχl- 'hoar-frost', c'.irχ(v)l- 'es reift' ¶ Chx. 1961, 2258, Ghl. 668 **fl** **fl**: An additional source of M \*car 'layer of frost on the surface of snow (going back mainly to N \*c'arV (or \*c'.arV) 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard\rough surface', q.v. ffd.) ♦ **fl** IS I 205-6 (\*C'ara 'hardened crust') → S CNM 2. In some lgs. there was contamination between the N word in question and N \*cARlVjgV – \*cAygRV 'to freeze, feel cold' [q.v.] ♦ AD NM #9, S CNM 2 (÷÷ NrCs, ST, Yn).

**439. \*c'.iRl.V** 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult' > **HS**: Eg MK/N 3ry 'strong (of walls, etc.)', {BnH} 'fest, hart', Eg MK {Fk.} 3ri 'be hard, solid', Eg XVIII-XX 3ry 'difficult (schwierig, mühselig)', 'strong (fest)' (of stones, walls) > Cpt: Sd xwwe, B xwpi 'fort, solide' ¶ EG V 599, Fk. 323, BnH s.v. Drj, Vc. 330 **fl** K: G {Chx.} c'.irv-/c'.ir- 'be heavy, difficult'; K \*c'.ir- v. 'need, suffer a misfortune' (× K \*c'.ir- 'care, need' < N \*c'.iRV 'to look after, guard' [q.v.]) > G c'.ir- v. 'need', Mg c'.k.ir-, c'.k.3r-, Lz c'.k.3r-, nc'.k.3r-, c'.ir-n. 'need, grieve', Sv c'.k.3r- 'worry, upset'; K \*c'.ir- 'need, plague' > G c'.ir- n. 'want, need, plague', Sv d c'.k.3ra- 'anxiety, thought' ¶¶ Chx. 2255-7, K<sup>2</sup> 322, K 255, FS K 476, Chik. 410 **fl** **IE** {EI} \*(s)terh<sub>1</sub>- 'stiff' > NaIE \*(s)terh<sub>1</sub>-stre- v. 'be stiff, firm, hard, strong' (→ 'exert oneself') > Gk στερεοϝ 'stiff, stark, firm, solid', στερενϝ 'strong, hard', στερε'ποϝ 'stiff, firm, solid, strong', Gk στερενηϝ 'strong, hard' ¶ L stre-nuus 'strong (kräftig)' (→ 'brisk, prompt, active, vigorous') ¶ W trin 'battle' (← 'effort?') ¶ ON stirð-r 'stiff, heavy', stirð-na 'to stiffen'; Gmc \*stara- 'stiff, fixed (esp. of eyes)' > ON stara, OHG stare-n ~ staro-n 'to gaze', AS starian 'to stare, look fixedly at (starren, stieren)', NE stare; ON, NHG starr 'stiff, rigid' ¶ Lt Δ stari-nti (prs. starinu) 'angestrengt ziehen, spannen, straff anziehen, steifen, straffen', Ltv Δ stari-ġs 'assiduous, zealous' ({ME} 'strebsam, tätig, fleißig'), Pru stu-rnawiskan 'sternness' ¶ Sl \*starati se, 'to take care of, exert oneself, do one's best' (× N \*c'.iRV 'fl') > SCr sta-rati se id., Cz starati se, Slk starat' se 'take care of', P starac' sie, R cpaпaт ce vr. 'endeavour, exert oneself' ¶ pTc {Ad.} \*s'c'a're-n- (= \*s'c'a're-n-?) > Tc: A tsa-r 'hard, rough', B s'cire 'hard, harsh' (of words) ¶ P 1022, EI 547, WH II 601-2, F II 790-1, 809-10, YGM-1 417, LP § 26.2, Vr. 543-4, 549, Ho. 317, OsS 865, Kb. 953, KM 740, Frn. 896, Ad. 639-40, Ad. H 41, Vs. III 746, Chrn. II 198-9, Ma. CS 469-70, ME III 1045 ¶ i ÷ (⇔ P) Al shte-roj 'run dry, dry up' < d shter- 'stop flowing, dry up' (see O 439) **fl** **U**: FU \*°c'√rkrV > ObU {Ht.} \*θa-r̄yāt-~\*θa-r̄yāt- 'heavy' > pVg {Ht.} \*ta-r̄wāc- > LK tō-rwāc, ta-rwāc, MK tō-rwāc, P ta-rwāc, S ta-rwit 'heavy'; pVg \*ta-r̄wāc-Vñ id. > Vg: T ta-rkēca-ñ, P tarwācēñ, ta-rwācēñ, NV/LL ta-rwācēñ id.; pOs {Ht.} \*θa-r̄yāt > Os: V la-r̄yāt, Vy ya-r̄yāt, Ty/Y fa-r̄yāt, D/K ta-r̄yāt, Nz tawāt, Kz ɬawāt id. ¶ Ht. #161 **fl** **fl**: M \*cirday- > WrM cirdai-, HlM чардай- 'make sth. with great effort, exert oneself', Kl чирдэ-х c'irda-χ id. ¶ MED 191, KRS 653 || Tg \*ci-ra- 'taut, tense, strong; to stretch sth. taut' > Nn Nh c'ira- 'taut (тыро́й, тыро́)', c'irambo- v. 'stretch sth. taut', c'iran- v. 'be stretched taut', WrMc cira 'strong, tight, taut (bow)', ({Hr.} 'fest, hart, kräftig'), Mc Sb c'ira- 'severe, strict, tight' ¶ The Tg cognate is valid unless the Mc and Nn words are loans from M \*civirag 'strong, firm' (see N \*t.iRga 'force, strength, effort') ¶ STM II 399, Z 939, Hr. I 150, Pt. 156, Y #2468 ♦ The NaIE long vw. \*e- suggests the presence of a lr., which must have been "weak" (\*. = \*h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>2</sub>) on the ev. of K.

**440. 2 \*c'.urtV** 'soot' > **K** \*°c'.wart(w)l- 'soot' > G c'.wart.l-i id., c'.wart.(v)l- (trans. cj.) v. 'make sooty', (ps. cj.) v. 'become sooty' ¶ Chx. 2247, DCh. 1706 ¶¶ -t- for the expected -t- is due to as **fl** **IE**: NaIE \*swordo- 'black, dirty' (× N \*s'URtV 'dirt(y)' [q.v. ffd.]) **fl** **D** \*cu-r(-) 'soot' (× N \*r'c'.uRV 'to soil, stain, dirty' 'soot') > Tl G cu-ru in: poga cu-ru 'smoke to coat walls, roof, etc. with soot', Prj curuk 'deposit of soot on the ceiling or on any object that has been near the fire', Gdb suygur, Kui sro-bi<sup>d</sup>srozi, Ku ro?va<sup>d</sup> ro?ya<sup>d</sup> roowa 'soot' ¶¶ D #2686, Km. 360 [#453] ¶¶ D \*-r- is a reflex of \*r-clusters (in this case \*-rt-), hence \*c'.urtV (rather than \*r'c'.uRV) is the main source of the D √.

**441. \*c'.uſr'V ~ \*c'.ur'ſV** 'to see, look' > **HS**: Eg fMK 3r 'search out, investigate, seek' (with the variant Eg 3r [<sup>3</sup> < \*3r < \*C.Vrf-?] id.) > Cpt Sd xwp 3o-r, xoor- 3oor-, Cpt B xep- 3er-, xop- 3or- 'examiner, étudiant' [× N \*g'f'u'ſrV 'to look for', q.v.] ¶ EG V 534, 539, Fk. 320, Vc. 330 || B \*√z.rH (pf. \*-z.raH ~ \*-z.ruH) 'see' (Pcj. I A 7, Fcj. 25) (× N \*3'r'u'ſrV ~ \*3'r'u'ſrV 'to see, know?') > Kb z.ər (3m pf. yəz.r.a) 'see, know; look', Tmz {MT} z.ər id., 'look', Sll {Ds.} z.ər (pf. iz.r.a), Mz {Dlh.} z.ər (pf. yəz.ru)

'see', BSn {Ds.} z.e'r (pf. i.i'z.ru° ['yiz.ru°]), Zkara {Ds.} zər (pf. izri), BMn {Ds.} zer (pf. izru) 'voir, apercevoir', Wrg {Dlh.} zər (pf. yəz.ru), Izn {Rn.} z.ər 'see, look', Izn/BSlh {Ds.} zer (pf. izra) 'see, perceive', SrSn/Rf {Rn.} z.ər 'see, look', Izd {Mrc.} iz.ır (pf. iz.r.ə) 'avoir connaissance', Nf {La.} ←? zər (pf. izru) [not registered in Beg. N], Si {La.} z.ər, Skn {Srn.} z.orr (pf. yəz.ə), Gd □ {Lf.} ez.ər (pf. iz.ru°), Zng {TC} imv. z.z.u'r / 3m pf. yuz.z.a'r 'voir' ¶ Dl. 953, MT 826, Ds. 296, Ds. B 370, Fc. 2001, Pr. M VI-VII 109-10, Mrc. 59, 365, 355, Dlh. M 254, Dlh. Ou 395, Rn. 323, La. S 313, Lf. I 258-9 & II #1838, DCTC 293 ¶ K +ext. \*c°.wret./-°c°.writ.- > MG [VTq., Vsr.], G c°.vret.- 'look at', G (gan-)c°.vret.- / c°.vrit.- 'forsee (voraussehen)' ¶ Chx. 2248, DCh. 1706, NCh. 458 ¶ D \*cu-r- 'look, see' (× N \*g'ru''hRV – \*g'ru''R2V 'fl') > Svr su-r-, su-d., Gnd su-r- d su-r- d hu-r- d hu-r-, Knd su-r-, Png/Mnd hur-, Prj cu-r-, Gdb su-r- d cu-d., Kui su-r'a 'see', Tl cu-d.- 'see behold, look', Tm cu-rv. 'deliberate, consider, know' ¶¶ D #2735, Zv. 56, □ Km. 359.

**442.** ? i \*c°.awχV 'to cry, exclaim' (> 'to praise', 'fame') > HS: S: CS \*√c.wh (prm. \*-c.wah-) 'cry' > BHb √c.wh G (ip. paus. 3p yi-'c.wah-u-) 'cry aloud', MHb √c.wh (pf. c.a'wah) 'cry', Ug √s.wyḥ (pf. s.ḥ) 'call, exclaim, invite', Amr {G} √s.yh 'call', JA {Js.} √c.wh (pf. c.ə'wah) 'cry (schreien), complain', JEA {Sl.} √c.wh 'shout, protest, complain', SmA √s.wh 'cry', Sr √s.wh (pf. s.ə'wah, ip. -s.wah) 'scream (as an eagle), s.əwa'h-a- 'wailing sorrow', Ar √s.yh (pf. s.a'ha, ip. -s.ih-) 'cry aloud, call out' | S: ? Gz √s.wf D (pf. s.awwəfa) 'call, call upon/out', Tgr √s.wf G 'call' ¶ KB 949, KBR 1011-2, A #2313, OLS 415-6, Grd. UT #2162, Sl. 953-4, Tal 725-6, G A 34, Js. 1266, JPS 476, L G 566, LH 644 || C: Ag \*cVw- > Bln {Plm.} s'iw-, {R} s'iw-, Dmb {R} s'aw- 'ask for, demand', Q {R} s'ew- 'cry (schreien), beg, demand', Xm {R} c'.aw- id., 'go begging' ¶ AD SF 105, R WB 331-2, R Ch II 52, R QW 128-9 [\*, Ap. AV 20] ¶¶ The change S \*c- < HS \*\*c°- (< N \*c°-) may be interpreted as loss of a marked phonemic feature (which sometimes occurs in S and has been mentioned by IS in OS I 210); it is likely to be a conditioned phonemic change (that will account for the unusual rareness of the phoneme \*θ- in S and the total absence of 7 δ- in Ar roots with II rad. w and y) [\*, ¶¶ This HS root may have contaminated with S \*√c.wy 'ask' > Gz √s.wf D 'fl', NrBc {Tk.} \*c.ay--\*c.iy- 'ask' (Tk. NB 169) ¶ K: G c°.qav-il-/c°.qav(v)-/c°.qavl- 'heulen, jaulen, schreien (ein Tier)' (as \*c°.χ > \*c°.q) ¶ Chx. 2279 ¶ IE: NaIE \*steu- 'praise loudly', {EI} 'praise' > OI √stav-: 'stauti 'praises' (aor. 'asta'vi), pp. stu'ta- 'gepriesen, angerufen', Av staomi 'I praise', 'stu't- 'song of praise' || ? Gk Hm/A στευ'ται 3s prs. 'promises/threatens that he will, makes as if one would' ({P} ← \*'rühmt sich') ¶ WP II 620, P 1035, EI 449, M K III 519-21, M E II 757-8, F II 793-4 ¶ A: NaT \*ca'b 'shouting, rumour, fame' > OT c'av 'fame, good reputation', XwT xiv c'av 'fame', Oosm xiv, Chg xv c'av 'reputation', Osm {Rl.} c'av 'Geschrei, Schrei, Ruf', Tk c'av 'voice, sound', † 'news', Tkm † c'av 'fame', Alt {BT, Rl.}, QK/Tel {Rl.} c'ap 'fame, rumour (Ruhm, Ruf)', Brb {Rl.} cap, Qmn {B} c'ap id., QrB s'ap ¶ Rs. W 93, Cl. 393, TkR 715, Rl. III 1915, 1934 & IV 196, SDD I 310, BT 176, B DK 266 || M: WrM cuu, HIM иуу 'sound, noise; fame', Kl {Rm.} cu- 'Schrei, Getöse, Gelärm' ¶ MED 207, KW 435 || Tg \*cab- 'sound, (make) noise' > Nn KU c'awal- v. 'resound', Ewk ciwi-, Neg cawgi-, Ud c'augda-, Ul c'avgal-, Ork cayıqotci-, Nn Nh c'aogi-, Nn KU c'aogi-, Nn B caolgi- 'make noise', Ewk ciwin, Nn Nh c'ao- 'noise' ¶ STM II 389 || ? pJ \*tu\_a p- v. 'address; ask (a question)' > OJ tu\_o'p-, J: T to'- to'-, K to'-, Kg to'- ¶ S QJ #1504, Mr. 771 ¶¶ Pp. VG 44 (T, M), DQA ##277 [A \*c'a'bu 'sound, fame'] ♦ IS MS 337 ('говори' \*c.ΛWA) [HS, K]. The length of \*a in T reflects the N Ir. ♦ Qu., because the word has onomatopoeic associations.

**443.** 2 \*c'u.c°V (or \*s°-?) 'clean; to clean' > HS: WS \*-s'u-c°- v. 'clean one's teeth' > Mh pf. s'o's. / sbjn. y3s'o's., Jb C pf. 's'3s. / sbjn. y's'es., Ar √s'ws- ~ √s'ws (ip. -s'u's- ~ -s'u's-) id. ¶ Jo. M 388, Jo. J 258, BK I 1287 ¶ U: FU \*su'c°V ~ \*c'ic°V (both most probably from \*\*c'u'c°V by dis \*\*c°...c°... > \*s...c°... and delabialization \*\*u' > \*i) 'clean' > Prm {UEW} \*so'3' > Z co'3d3 s33' 'transparent, clean, clear, pure', Prmk, Prmk Zz s33', Yz so'3' id., StVt cy3JHy suz'a-ni, Vt Sr s'u3'al-, Vt Kz/Gl s'u'z'al- v. 'clean' || pObU \*c'ic°- ~ \*c'ic°- (both from FU \*c'ic°V) > Vg MK/N s'e:s' 'immaculated, clean' (MK s'e:s' oa'y 'virgin', lit. 'immaculated girl'), Os: Os Ty ce't wa'y 'Glocke', K/Kr ci' wa'χ 'money' || OHg szu'z 'rein, unvermischt', Hg szu'z (acc. szu'zet) 'jungfräulich, keusch; Jungfrau, Jungfer' ¶ Lt. 224, LG 262-3, Ht. #822.

**444.** ?? \*c°Ec°kV 'to crush, split' > K: GZ \*c°ec°k- ({K, K², FS} \*c°ec°k-) 'crush, split' ({K²} v. 'hollow, break') > G c°ec°k- 'crush, beat to pieces' ({FS} 'zerstoßen, zerklopfen', {K²} 'hollow, pound', {NCh.}

'толоч', {DCh.} 'измѣтѣ', {K} 'долбитѣ', {Chx.} (da-)c'ec'k- 'zerstoßen, zerquetschen; weich klopfen', (ga-)da-)c'ec'k- j-n. durchdreschen'), Mg c'kac'k- 'break (e.g., an apple), split', Lz c'ac'k- v. 'pound' ¶ Lz c'- points to an initial K \*c'-, while G c'- (for the expected c-) and Mg c'k- (for c'-) are due to *as* : G \*\*cac'k- > c'ac'k-, Zan \*c'ac'k- > Mg c'kac'k- acc. to Gudava's law of Mg *rdp* of the velar element of the stem-final cluster ["harmonic complex"] \*⊥K after the initial dental cns. or affricate (identical to that of the cluster) [F K 23]; K's and FS's rec. of the initial GZ \*c'- fails to explain Lz c'- ¶ K 219, K<sup>2</sup> 256, FS K 388, FS E 435-6, Chx. 1928-9, NCh. 430, DCh. 1576 ¶ HS: S \*√s'kk, \*-s'ukk- 'split, cleave, pierce' > Ar √s'kk G {BK} 'fendre, pourfendre (le bois)', Mh/Jb {Jo.} √s'kk v. G 'skewer (meat)', Ak √s'kk (p. -s'ukk-) v. G 'harrow' ¶ BK I 1252-3, Sd. 1134, Jo. M 375, Jo. J 250 ¶ The loss of the reflex of the N stem-medial \*c' is due to the S law ruling out roots with sequence of two similar cns. (hence \*\*√s'θk > \*√s'kk) ¶ The S √ belongs here unless it is connected with S \*s'ikk(-at)- 'thorn', 'pin, nail' < N \*ʔez'ekU 'thorn, hook' [q.v.] || ? Ch: Ngz {Sch.} s'a's'ku', v. 'hollow out' ¶ Sch. DN 148 ¶ ?? D {tr.} \*ce|akk-, {GS} \*c'ek- v. 'chip', n. 'chip, splinter' > Tm cakkai\_ 'chips, small wooden peg', Kt cek, Kn cakke, cekke, sakke, sekke 'chip', Tu cakke, cekkæ id., 'split, splinter', Tl cekku v. 'pare, cut the side\rimd of', cekka 'piece, chip, slice', Klm sek- 'make pointed (piece of wood)', sekka 'bark of tree', Nkr s'ekka id., s'ekk- v. 'chip, scrape', Prj cekk- v. 'chip, scrape, plane', cekka 'piece, slice', Knd sek v. 'plane, fashion things out of wood', Ku sekali 'scrape (with a hoe)', Krx cakta\_, Mlt caka 'slice'; D b>OI s'akala- 'piece, fragment' ¶¶ D #2748, GS 115 [#305]. ♦ In some lgs. this N √ my have contaminated or coalesced with N \*s'a''k.a 'to split, cleave' [q.v.].

445. ?? \*c'UdV 'to be weak, damaged, weary' > K: GZ \*c'we'd/-\*c'u'd- 'sexually impotent' (of a male person), 'vain' > OG cud-i 'vain, futile', G cvedan- 'impotent', Mg c'ut-u id. ¶ K 229, FS K 410, DCh. 1602-3, K<sup>2</sup> 271-2 (OG, G, Mg <d- \*c'wet-/\*c'ut- 'wear out') ¶ HS: SES \*√s'dd > Mh s'dod, Jb E/C 3s'ded v. 'get tired' ¶ Jo. M 372 ¶ D \*c'k'ot.t.- ( {GS} \*s-?) 'defect, fault' > Tm cot.t.u 'defect, blemish', Ml cat.t.u 'fault', Tl sod.d.u 'defect, fault' ¶¶ D #2837.

446. ?<sub>2</sub> \*c'Vd'i'(Ka) 'wait, stay, have leisure' > K: \*c'ad-/\*c'd- 'have time, wait' > OG cad- 'wait, let (do sth.)' (acade p.irvelad ganzyomad s'vilita 'let first the children get sated' [Marc. 7.27]), G cad-/cd- 'wait, delay', Lz c'od- 'have spare time', Mg c'od- id., 'wait', Sv -c'd- 'be, exist' ¶¶ K 227 (GZ \*c'ad- 'have leisure, wait'), K<sup>2</sup> 269 (GZ \*c'(a)d- 'have time, wait'), FS K 405 (GZ), FS E 456 (GZ), Ser. 195, Chx. 1979, Q 366, Chik. 377-8 ¶ HS: Eg N s'ds'd.ty {EG} (?) 'wait (for so..)', {Hng.} id., (?) 'lie in wait\ambush' ¶ EG IV 569, Hng. 845 || ? B \*√zdy (< \*\*√sdy by *as*) 'stay, remain, dwell' > Sll {Ds.} (e)zde'g əzdə'g id. ('rester, habiter'), Wrg əzdəg 'habiter, logger', Tmz {MT} zdəg 'habiter, logger, demeurur', Kb əzdəg 'habiter, logger', Ah {Fc.} əzzəg, Nf/Snd {La.} əzdəg 'habiter', Gh {Nh.} əzzəg, Ttq {Msq.} əzzəg, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əzday, BSn {Ds.} əzdəg, Izd {Mrc.} zdəg, Gd {Lf.} ezde'f 'habiter, demeurur' ¶ Ds. 149, Ds. B 93, 161, 248, MT 192, Dl. 936, Dlh. Ou 384, Fc. 1993, Msq. 81, 146, Mrc. 77, 135, 441, Rn. 321, La. S 246, Lf. II #1758 || AdS of SES \*√s'dd 'get tired' (× N \*c'UdV 'to be weak, weary') ¶ ? IE: NaIE \*stei\_g- 'stand still' > Lt stygti (prs. sty'gau) 'keep quiet, stand still', † sti'gti (prs. stingu) 'auf einer Stelle ruhig weilend aushalten', Ltv stigt 'to get stuck' :: OHG {OsS} stecchen, stecke'n 'festsitzen', {Kb..} stecke'n 'to stick, infigi', NHG stecken 'be, stay, remain; stick fast', AS stician vi. 'remain fixed, stick', 'be inside', 'lie' (of direction, boundary) > NE stick ¶ Frn. 905, Turk. 632, PiesS 673, Sw. 161, Ho. 321, P 1016-7, OsS 86 (OHG stecchen <d- ste'chan 'to prick'), Schz. 270, Kb. 959, KM 742, Ho. 321 ¶ Secondary association with NaIE \*(s)tei\_g- vt. 'stechen; spitz'.

447. ?<sub>2</sub> \*c'odhV 'break (esp. a body part), strike' > HS: S \*°√s'dh > Ar \*√s'dh v. 'break (the head)' ¶ BK I 1206 ¶ D (in SD) \*c'k'ot.t.- v. 'beat\strike (with fingers)' > Tm cot.t.u v. 'strike with knuckles, tap gently (the udder of a goat for inducing the free flow of milk)', v. 'beat, hit, peck (as a crow)', Ml cot.t.u a slap on the head', cot.t.uka v. 'rap with the knuckles, knock with the fingers (esp. on the head)', Tu so'n.t.uni v. 'box with knuckles of the fingers' ¶ D #2836 ¶ AdS of K: GZ \*c'wet-/\*c'wit- v. 'cut, chop' (from \*c'i\_wjtV or \*c'u'tV? 'to split' [q.v. ffd.]).

448. \*c'Vd\_iV\_i.qV - \*c'V.q\_iV\_i.dV 'to tear, split' > IE: NaIE \*sk<sup>(h)</sup>ed-/\*skend- 'split' (× N \*c'i\_wjtV [or \*c'u'tV?] 'to split' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ HS: S \*√s'dk v. 'tear', \*s'id\_iV\_k- 'chink, crack' > Sr √sdk, (pf. səd.ak.) G 'tear asunder', SmA √sdk G 'be cleft', JA [Trg.], MHb √sdk G 'split, tear asunder', JEA {Sl.} √sdk G 'split', MHb qd3x3 'səd.ek. 'Spalt, Risse', SmA sdk n. 'cleft', Ar s'idq- ~ s'adq- 'coin de la bouche, à

l'endroit où les deux l`vres se joignent' (← \*slit, chink'), Gz √sʰt.k. *G* vt., vi. 'cleave, split, tear asunder', Ak √sʰtk. *abspalten*' ¶ Br. 460, JPS 361, Sl. 789, Tal 568, BK I 1205, Lv. III 480, L G 537-8, Sd. 1200 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*cʰakt- v. 'tear' > Tng sugd-/sukt- 'make a hole' : SBC: Dw {ChL} zʰaktiy, Zr K {Sh. in ChC} zʰakti, Plc {ChL} sʰεχtu, Zl {ChL} yaʰ sʰatiʰ, Buli {ChL} sʰadu v. 'tear' ¶ Stl. ZCh 199 [#501], J T 147, ChL, ChC ¶ K \*cʰ..qwed-/cʰ..qwid-/cʰ..qwd- v. 'tear, break' > OG c..qwed-/c..qwid- {FS} 'tear off (abreißen)', {DCh., Ser., K} 'exterminate', G c..qvət-/c..qvīt-/c..qd- 'break, tear; cease, end', Mg cʰ..qvad-/cʰ..qvīd- id., 'strike', Lz cʰ.k.vad-/cʰ.k.vīd-/cʰ.k.id- 'tear out, decide', Sv sʰ.qed-/sʰ.qad-/sʰ.qd- {FS} 'tear off (abreißen), fall', {GP, K, TK} 'fall', Sv L {Dn.} sʰ.qad-/sʰ.qad- 'throw, be thrown, fall', kaʰn-sʰ.qad '(er) sprang her', em-sʰ.qad 'y мѣнѣ упало' ¶ K 253, K<sup>2</sup> 319, FS K 471, FS E 534, Chik. 413-4, Ser. 119, NCh. 456, Chx. 2213-4, GP 180, Dn. s.v. sʰ.qad-/sʰ.qed-, TK 466.

**449. \*cʰihʰiʰi** 'to carry, bring' (→ 'to give') > HS: WS (or SES) \*√sʰhy > Jb C √sʰhy in esʰhet 'carry sth. under one's arm on a rope over one's shoulder', Mh √sʰhwɣ (pf. sʰhuʰ) 'carry under the arm sth. supported by a rope over one's shoulder', Sq {L} sʰe 'give', ??? Ar sʰayʰ- 'thing' (if ← \*sth. brought') ¶ Jo. M 378, Jo. J 25, L ESAC 53 || B ? \*√Hsy v. 'carry' > Sil {Ds.} asii. (pf. yuʰsii.) 'porter, transporter', Izd {Mrc.} asi (pf. yusi) 'porter, contenir' ¶ Ds. 226, Mrc. 198, 308 || EC: Arr {Hw.} sih-is- (imv. siʰh / 2s sitʰ) 'give', pSam {Hn.} \*siʰ: ~ \*siʰ:cʰa 'give' > Sml, Jbr siʰ, Rn {Hn.} 'siʰ: ~ \*siʰ:cʰa, {PG} siʰcʰ- / imv. siʰ, Bn siʰ:, 'siʰa [ʰ, Dsn {Bnd.} sʰiye, {To., Ss.} sʰi-(sʰ) (1s pret. sʰi), Elm siʰse ¶ Hw. A 393, Hn. S 73, PG 260 [ʰ, To. DL 528, Blz. DL s.v. 'give'] ¶ K: GZ \*cʰ- 'give' > OG, G c- 'give', Mg, Lz cʰ- 'give, feed' ¶ K 227, K<sup>2</sup> 269, FS K 404, FS E 454-5 (both K and FS identify GZ \*cʰ- 'give' with GZ \*cʰ- 'beat' [highly *qu.*, though not ruled out]), Chik. 369-70 ¶ H: pKo {S} \*ciʰ- 'carry on the back, bear' > MKo ciʰ-, NKO ci- ¶ MLC 1527, Rm. SKE 31, S QK #601 ¶ D \*ciʰ- / \*ciy- (iʰGS) \*sʰ- v. 'give' (→ 'allow') > Tm i- 'give to inferiors), agree', Knd i- 'give, allow, permit', Tl iccu (iʰiyy-, ivv-) id., Klm si-, Nk sʰi-, Gnd siʰd hiʰd i-, Mnd, Ku hi-, Kui siʰva, Krx ciʰi- id., Mlt ciye 'give away' ¶ D #2596, Zv. 105 ♦ One is tempted to adduce here IE: NaIE \*(s)taʰi- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', \*taʰyu-s-, taʰti-s 'thief' and AnIE \*tay- 'steal', which cannot belong here (≠φ: IE \*(s)t- does not go back to N \*cʰ-). It is preferable to equate it with Eg sʰdy 'take, take away, take out' and T \*sat- 'to sell' (≠ s.v. N \*sʰat, 'ahiʰiʰiʰi' to take away').

**450. \*cʰEkʰV, ? \*rV** 'to step, tramp, trample down' > K: GZ \*cʰek- v. 'step, tramp' > G cek- v-a v. 'dance', Mg cʰak- v. 'tramp and waddle while walking' ¶ FS K 407-8 ¶ HS: SES \*√sʰk.ɣ > Mh √sʰk.ɣ *G* v. 'step' ¶ Jo. M 379 ¶ ?σ U \*cʰaʰke-(rV) 'trampled groundsnow; to trample down (snow)' > FU: pLp \*cʰeʰkər 'snow-field which has been trampled and dug up by reindeer feeding there' > Lp: N {N} ciegaʰr / -kk- id., L {LLO} tijekar id., S {Hs.} tjieʰgere id., 'hole in the snow made by reindeer looking for lichen', Nt {Gn.} cʰieyar, Kld {Gn.} cʰiyar 'reindeer pasture' ¶ pObU: Vg: LK sʰoʰr, UL sʰixr, Ss sʰaxr 'stamped groundsnow' ('niedergetretener Schnee'), LK sʰorəy-, P sʰoʰrt-, UL sʰixrt-, Ss sʰaxrt- v. 'trample down'; ?σ Os: V ciyar, Y caʰyar, O sʰaʰxər 'snow-drift'; Os Vy {Stn.} cʰaʰy- 'den Kopf des Nagels hitförmig schmieden, curch Schlagen einen "Kopf" machen (z. B., an der Spitze des Ladestockes)' || Sm: Ne T sʰexe 'hard snow', sʰexeri 'winter road', Ne F sʰixa- 'witer pasture of reindeer', Kms sʰeʰr 'reindeer pasture' ¶ Coll. 7-8, UEW 31, Lr. #147, Gn. 733-4, Hs. 1316, Ht. #820, Stn. D 246-7 ¶ H \*cʰikV (or \*cʰiga) v. 'tramp, ram (ground)' > NaT \*cʰig-ru- > OT [MhK] cʰiyru- v. 'trample down (ground)'; NaT \*cʰigir ~ \*cʰagir 'trampled ground\snow' > OT QU [MhK] cʰayir (read by Cl. as cʰiyir) 'foot-path, narrow track', Chg ≥xv cʰigir 'snow which has become hard owing to wind action', Osm cʰiyir 'track\path through snow, the track left by an avalanche', Tk Δ cʰiyra 'goat's path', Uz Δ cʰibir 'trace of sheep', Qzq sʰiyir 'tramped place, sth. tramped', Tv sʰir 'stamped snow' ¶ Cl. 409-11, TL 533, TvR 590 || M \*cʰigzi- v. 'stamp, ram down' > WrM cigzi-, HlM чигжи- v. 'ram down; calk, make waterproof\airtight by filling tracks', v. 'cork, close an opening'; M Ъ Yk cʰigdi 'stamped hard snow', cʰigdiaʰn id. (→ Ewk Ald/Ucr cigjan, Lm cigcañ id.) ¶ MED 180, STM II 389 || Tg \*cʰiki- > Ewk Tmt ciki 'stamped snow' ¶ STM l.c. ¶¶ DQA ##262 [A \*cʰikaʰu 'to stamp ram; stamped path'] ♦ T \*g- < N \*kʰ- regularly (cp. N \*hakʰV 'to stand, stay, be' > T \*aʰg- v. 'rise' and N \*taʰkʰV 'to touch' > T tʰeg- id.).

**451. ?? 2 \*cʰuK.E** 'thorn, point (→ blade), summit' > HS: S \*sʰikk- 'thorn, nail' (× N \*ʰezʰekU 'thorn, hook', q.v. ffd.); WS \*sʰawk- > Ar □v0\$ā sʰawk- 'thorn, prickle, point', Gz sʰoʰk 'thorn, spine (of hedgehog), sting' ¶ GB 783, KB 1236, Js. 988, 993, L G 529, Sd. 1234 ¶ U: FU \*cʰukkV 'summit, hill;

sharp' (× N \*z'ugU - \*z'uK.U 'hill' [q.v. ffd.]) > Lp Kld {SaR} ʈoṛṛk 'sharp' || Os {KT}: Ty ʈa'k 'vorragendes Ende, Spitze', D ʈa'k '(Spitze einer) Landzunge; vorragende Spitze, Ecke', O s'a'x ~ s'a'k 'Hammer' ¶ UEW 42, Lr. #159, Lgc. #450, SaR 398-9, KT 897, Stn. D 1495 ¶ The FU √ has two semantic variants: [1] 'sharp' → 'edge, hammer' (< N \*c'uK.E), and [2] 'hill' (< N \*z'ugU - \*z'uK.U), while the meaning 'summit' is derivable from both ⇧ Qu. (both the U and the S cognates are ambiguous).

**452. \*c'alV** 'to pour (out)' > HS: S \*°√s'll > Ar √s'll (pf. s'alla) 'verser, répandre' ¶ BK I 1262 || IE: [1] NaIE \*selg- (P, EI \*selg-) v. 'pour out, let go\flow, discharge', {EI} 'release, send out' (< N \*s'ilKV 'to let out' → 'to throw', 'to fall out', q.v. ffd.) || ? U: FU \*c'o'llta- > FP \*c'o'llta- (< \*\*c'alta- < \*c'alHta?) v. 'draw out, pour, separate' > F suolta- 'ziehen; allmählich ausziehen, ausreißen und verschütten', pLp \*c'o'ltz {Lgc.} 'separate' > Lp: N {N} c'uol'da-, S {Hs.} tjuo'ld'edh id., L {LLO} tjuolte- 'ausscheiden, aus-\absondern' | Prm {UEW} \*c'o'lt- ({UEW} \*c'o'lt-), {LG} \*c'a'lt- > Z c'zvt- v. 'throw, pour (soup from the kettle to the bowl)', Yz c'o'lt- v. 'throw', Vt c'zlt- v. 'throw, cast lots' ¶ UEW 613, LG 310, 158, Lr. #196, Lgc. #768, Hs. 1345-6 || D {tr.} \*ck'all-, {GS} \*cal- v. 'pour, sprinkle (water)' (× N \*z'agul'V - \*z'ugal'V 'to flow, pour?') > Tm callu v. 'sprinkle water', Kn callu v. 'scatter, pour out, shed, spill', {Km.} cal.e, cal.eya, cal.aka 'sprinkling', Kdg cell- v. 'throw away (liquid), scatter (grain)', Tu callu- vi. 'spill, shed', cellu- v. 'sprinkle, spill', Tl callu v. 'sprinkle, scatter', jallu 'rain, a shower, spray of rainwater', Nkr sall- v. 'sprinkle', Prj cal- 'rain falls in a shower', Gnd zal- v. 'strain water from boiled rice', zall- v. 'swill with water', Ku zal- v. 'throw out liquids' ¶¶ D #2384, Km. 351 [#413], GS 35 [#55].

**453. \*c'o'h'l'V** 'similar; as; alone, one of two' > K: GZ \*c'a'l- 'similar' > G cal-i id., 'one (of two)', {Chx.} 'ebenbürtig, gleichkommend; der eine (von zweien)', Sv {FS} s'a'l, Sv UB/L {GP, TK} -s'a'l, LB/Ln -s'al (postp.) 'like' ¶ FS K 406-7, GP 271, Chx. 1973, TK 812 || HS: S \*°√s'wl > Mh s'z'wayl (pl. s'z'wo'l), Jb E {Jo.} s'il, Jb C s'el 'like, likeness', Mh s'atwz v. 'look alike, seem alike' ¶ Jo. M 388 || IE: NaIE \*so'lo- > L so'lus 'alone' ¶ WH II 557, P 884 || R: NaT {Cl.} \*col- -d- ({Cl.} ps. deverbial noun/adj.) \*colXk > OT {Cl.} c'oluq '(a person) with one arm', ET c'olaq - c'ulaq id., Tk c'olak, Kr c'olaq 'a person with one arm or with a paralyzed arm', Tkm c'olaq, Az c'olag, Qzq s'olaq 'cripple, crippled', Qq s'olaq 'a person with one arm or with one leg', Nog s'olaq 'a person without arms or with one arm', Qmq, Ggz c'olaq id., 'a person with a paralyzed arm', Qrg c'oloq 'a person with one arm\leg, without arms\legs', Uz ʈyÄloʈ c'wlaq 'lame, a person without arms\legs', VTt ʈyʈak s'ulaq, Bsh sulaq 'a person with a crippled arm'; VTt ʈyChv c'ylax id., 'cripple' ¶ Cl. 419-20, Rs. W 115, TkR 735, Jeg. 319, Sht. 234, BN 33-4, Fed. II 400 || ? M: WrM {MED} cile-n 'as, according to, like', {Kow.} cile-n ku 'de même que, pareillement, ainsi' ¶ Qu., because the morphological structure is not clear ¶ MED 183, Kow. 2162 ⇧ The K, IE and S cognates point to a Ir. \*h, because this is the only Ir. that both causes Ersatzdehnung in K and IE and may disappear in S.

**453a. 2 \*c'umV** 'to lift, raise' > HS: S \*°√s'mm > Ar {Ln., BK} s'amim- 'high, elevated' (of a saddle)', {BK} 'haut, élevé', {Ln.} √s'mm G 'be high\elevated in the nose', 'he magnified himself' ¶ Ln. 1593-4, BK I 1264-5, Hv. 375 || D {Em.} \*k'um- v. 'carry on head' > Tm cuma 'bear, support, carry a burden', Ml cumakka 'carry a burden', Kn simbi, simbe 'ring\cloth to be put under a burden (vessel, etc.) upon the head', Kn H to'mpat.a 'carrying on the head', Tu tumbu - sumbu - humbu 'bear, carry on head', Nkr cumma 'pad on head for carrying', Prj/Gdb kumt- 'carry on head', Krx kum'na- 'take and carry on the head', Mlt kume 'take upon one's head' ¶¶ D #2677, Em. DS 365 || R: ?σ M \*co'mu- > WrM co'mu-, HIM u' m - v. 'pluck, pick (as fruits and flowers)', Ord c'o'mo- 'arracher, cueillir', Mnr: H {SM} c'imo- 'cueillir (des fruits, des pois, etc.)', H {T} c'imo-, M {T} c'umu- 'gather, reap (собирать)' ¶ MED 202-3, Ms. O 715, SM 450, T 379 ¶ Valid if the primary meaning is 'to pick' || ?φ U (+ext.) \*c'unCts'a > Sm \*c'ndta- 'rise (steigen)' > Ne: T та́на-с 'to rise, climb on sth.', T O {Lh.} ta'na'-, F {Lh.} та́нпа-s' 'climb' ('klettern, auf etw. steigen'), T {Ter.} та́н 'slope upgrade (подъём); En {Ter.} toda- v. 'rise'; Slq Ch can- 'rise' ¶ Jn. 31, Ter. 624.

**454. \*c'ixmV** 'fat' > K \*c'xim- 'fat, grease' > G c'xim- n. id., Sv UB {GP} məc'xim id. ¶¶ FS K 417, K 232, K<sup>2</sup> 276, GP 224 || HS: S \*s'ah\_lV\_m- 'fat (of meat)' > Ar s'ahm- id., √s'h\_m G (pf. s'ahuma) 'be fat' (of animals, humans), Jb C {Jo.} s'hz'met 'temple (as far as the eye)' (it is cut in a slaughtered animal to see how much fat is on the carcass), Ak LB s'e'mu 'fat, grease', f. pl. s'e'me'tu id. ¶ Ln. 1513-4, BK I

1199, Jo. J 250, CAD XVII/2 276, 287, MiK I #1.263 || B \* $\sqrt{s}$ iHm 'fat' ( $\times$  N \* $\sqrt{s}$ æmi 'fat' [q.v.]) > Ah {Fc.} e-sim, Ttq {Msq.} i-sr'm 'melted tallow', Kb t\_a-(s)səm-t\_ 'tallow' ¶ Fc. 1835, Msq. 141, Dl. 778 || ?? C: Bj {R}  $\sqrt{s}$ mt pcv. 'grease the hair, smear butter on it' ( $\times$  N \* $\sqrt{c}$ 'o'm.E 'to smear', q.v. ffd.) || R: M \*cimu'gen > MM [HI] c'imu'gen, WrM cimu'ge(n), HlM ч'м г, Kl чимгн c'imgən ~ c'imgn\_, Mnr H c'imug\_e, Dg {T} s'imug, {Mr.} s'imehe 'marrow'; M \*cimu'ge-le- > WrM cimu'gele-, HlM ч'м гл'х v. 'put on weight, become fat' ¶ MED 186, Ms. H 47, SM 451, T 380, T DgJ 183, KW 440, KRS 651, Mr. D 216.

**455. \*c'e?NV** 'to recognize, know (connaître)' > K: GZ \*c'an-/c'n- v. 'know, learn, recognize' ( $\times$  N \* $\sqrt{c}$ 'u''hV 'to know' [q.v.]) > OG, G can/cn- id., Mg {Q} c'in- v. 'know (so.), recognize', Lz c'in- v. 'recognize' ¶ K 229, K<sup>2</sup> 270, FS K 407, FS E 458-9, Chik. 376-7 || HS: WS \* $\sqrt{s}$ ?n G 'know (connaître)' Ú \* $\sqrt{s}$ ny G v. 'see' > Ar  $\sqrt{s}$ ?n 'connaître, s'informer', ( $\times$  N \***Son**-V hear') Mh {Jo.}  $\sqrt{s}$ ny (pf. s'ini, sbjn, yzs'ne-, ps. s'(ə)nay), Hrs, Jb, Sq  $\sqrt{s}$ ny v. 'see' ¶ BK I 1179-80, Jo. M 381-2, Jo. J 253, Jo. H 120-1 ||+ || B \*-sin- / \* $\sqrt{wsn}$  'know (savoir, connaître)' [ $\times$  N \* $\sqrt{c}$ 'u''hV 'to know' ( $\leftarrow$  'to have seen?'), q.v. ffd.]] || R: STg \*cende- > WrMc cende- {Hr.} 'nachprüfen, erproben', {Z} v. 'try, examine, taste', Jrc c'entemei tuvanž'ila 'to examine' ¶ STM II 421, Hr. 143, Z 927-8, Kiy. 142 [#804] || ? $\phi$  T {ADb.} \*siyn ({AD:} or \*sīn?) 'external appearance' ( $\rightarrow$  'stature, human body'), {AD} 'observation, external appearance' > OT sīn 'external appearance, stature; human body', Tkm θīn 'observation (наблюдение, обзор)', Nog sin 'a man's figure, outward appearance', Qzq sm id., 'test, trial, exploration', Qmq sin 'outward appearance', Qq sin id., 'criticism', ET sin 'a man's stature \ figure \ appearance', VTt sən, Bsh hən id., 'image, picture', 'statue over the grave', Qrg sin 'test, trial', StAlt sin 'stature, trunk of the body', Tv sin 'Menschengestalt (стан, телосложение), stature', Xk sin 'stature; truth', Tk sin 'grave', 'age'; T \*sīna- or \*siyna- v. 'watch, observe, test (so.\sth.)' > OT sina- v. 'test', XwT XIV, MQp XIV, OOsM ≥XIV, Chg ≥XV sina-, Tkm θīna-, Tk sina-, Az, Qmq, Qq, Xk sina-, VTt səna-, Bsh həna-, ET, Uz sina- 'test, try', Qzq sina- 'investigate, explore, try, test', Nog sina- 'watch, notice; test, try', Qrg sina-, Chv (← VTt?) səna- 'observe, test' ¶ The rec. \*siyn is suggested by the d {ADb.} \*siyn-ak- > Qzq, Qq siyaq 'appearance (of a person), exterior, outward appearance', Qrg siyaq id., 'face', n. 'similar (to)', Nog siyaq 'exterior', ET siyaq 'shape, appearance', Uz siyaq 'face, appearance' ¶ Cl. 832, 835, DTS 503-4, Rs. W 417, TL 266-7, Pp. VG 115, Jeg. 181-2, Tkr 604-5, Sht. 181, 183, Jud. 679-80, NogR 320-1, 323, KrkR 603, 607, KumRS 293-4, TatR 495-6, BIG 207-8, Rl. IV 628-9, BT 136, TvR 397, Jud. 683, Nj. 540 || ? Nko sngəp- (spelled siən-) 'be interesting' ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2075 [T ÷ M \*sonus- 'hear'] ♦ If the ADb.'s pT rec. \*siyn is right, it suggest a pN rec. \***c'e?Vn**-V. Contrary to IS's opinion (IS I 201-2), K \*c'an-/c'n- cannot be equated with DEg swv. 'know', Hs sa'ni, Mrg səni v. 'know' and the related words of other Ch lgs., because they represent HS \*s- (not akin to K \*c'-) and go back to N \* $\sqrt{c}$ 'u''hV 'to know' (q.v.).

||+ **455a. 2 \*c'ūn'?** V 'to sound, utter' > IE: NaIE \*swen- 'produce sounds' > OI svan- v. 'sound, roar, be noisy, rattle', Av pahtis'-χVana 'Gegen-Lärm', KhS hvan- 'speak', Phl χvan- 'call, read'. NPrs -"vX χwañ- χan- id., 'sing' || L sona- 'sound, resound, make a noise', sonus 'a noise, sound' || AS swinn 'music' || ? $\phi$  Olr senn- v. 'jouer (d'un instrument de musique), 'faire de la musique', senim 'fait de jouer d'un instrument' musique; son' ¶ WP II 542-3, P 1046-7, Mn. 1346, M K III 560-1, Brtl. 838, Bai. 502-3, BM 199, WH II 559-60, Ho. 338, Vn. S 86 || R: Tg: Neg cu'n- 'cry' (of a baby) ¶ STM II 414 || HS: ? $\sigma$  Ch \* $\sqrt{c}$ 'u'-n- > Hs s'u'-na v. 'urge\incite to fight, direct smb. to a place' ¶ Ba. 943, Stl. IF (on Ch \*c'- > Hs s'-) || ? $\sigma$  S \* $\sqrt{s}$ ñn? G > Ar  $\sqrt{s}$ ñn? G 'avouer qc.', 'acknowledge, give smb. his right' ¶ Ln. 1603, BK I 1274 ♦ IE \*s- (if cognate with Tg \*c'- and Hs s'-) may go back only to N \***c'**-. If Ar  $\sqrt{s}$ ñn? belongs here, the N rec. is \***c'ūn**-?V.]]

**456. ?2 \*c'a|En-c'.** V 'large' ( $\rightarrow$  'high, broad') > U \*c'a|Enn-c'V > Sm {Jn.} \*ca'ncs, {Hl.} \*ca'ncō 'broad' > Ne T d тлнеёй id., Ne F L {Lh.} c'e\_a'n 'breadth', c'e\_a'n'n'u 'broad', Ng {Mik.} tantzəg id., trantədu 'breadth', En d {Cs.} tedde 'broad', Slq Tm {KD} c'a\_n3' id., Slq Tz {Prk.} ta'nti 'breadth, broad', Slq Kat/Tz {Cs.} ta'nd, ta\_n3', Slq Nr {Cs.} c'a\_n3'e, Slq B/Tz {Cs.} c'a\_n3', c'a\_n3'e, Kms {KD} t'a\_n'o ~ t'ano 'broad', Mt {Hl.} \*ta'ndu'h 'broad' (Mt K {Pl.} de'endu id.) ¶ Jn. 32, Erl. 248, KD 68, Cs. 134, Hl. M #985 || HS: S \* $\sqrt{s}$ ñnθ. > Ar s'andə't-, s'unəduwat- (pl. s'ana-δ\_i) 'summit of a mountain' ( $\leftarrow$  \*'high') ¶ BK I 1233 ♦ For an alt. et. of the Eg see N \***donp**-CE 'large', 'heavy'. The irreg. U \*c'- for the expected \*s^- can be explained by as in pre-U: \***c'a|Enc**-V > \*c'a|EncV > U \*c'a|EncV.

**457. \*c<sup>h</sup>leṗ** 'heel, foot, part of leg' > **HS:** S \*s<sup>h</sup>alyp- 'foot, track' > Ak s<sup>h</sup>eṗ-u, Ak OB s<sup>h</sup>ip-u ~ s<sup>h</sup>eṗ-u, Sq {Jo.} s<sup>h</sup>ab<sup>h</sup> s<sup>h</sup>af 'foot' Sq Δ {SSL} s<sup>h</sup>ab<sup>h</sup> s<sup>h</sup>af<sup>h</sup> s<sup>h</sup>af<sup>h</sup> s<sup>h</sup>af 'foot, leg', Jb s<sup>h</sup>ef 'trace, track; foot under the ankle', Mh s<sup>h</sup>af 'trace, track', Hrs s<sup>h</sup>ef 'foot, footprint' ¶ Sd. 1214, Jo. J 246, Jo. M 373, Jo. H 119, L LS 424, SSL LSNP 1472, SSL CLS 97, MiK I #1.269 (S \*s<sup>h</sup>app-; includes Grg c<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>mba<sup>h</sup> c<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>mba<sup>h</sup> 'sole of foot as measure' without recognizing them as loans) || ? C: Ag \*caṗ-/caṗ- > Bln {R} s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>f-a<sup>h</sup>, pl. s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>f 'sandal', s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>nfi 'sole of foot, sandal', Xm {R} c<sup>h</sup>aba<sup>h</sup> 'foot, heel, sandal', Km {CR} s<sup>h</sup>am-ba<sup>h</sup>; > Grg En/Gt c<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>mba, Grg Ed c<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>mba<sup>h</sup> 'sole of foot serving as measure' ¶ AD SF 120-1, R WB 317, 326, L EDG III 173 ¶ **A:** Tg \*<sup>o</sup>cebe 'heel (?)' > Ewk c<sup>h</sup>aw<sup>h</sup> 'prop (of a stick supporting a kettle suspended over the fire)' ¶ STM II 419 ¶ **U:** FU \*s<sup>h</sup>ewc<sup>h</sup>a 'e part of the leg' > Lp N c<sup>h</sup>aw<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>a, c<sup>h</sup>aw<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>e 'hock of reindeer or other quadruped', 'calcaneus, the heel-bone of reindeer' ¶ pOs \*soṗal<sup>h</sup>ic<sup>h</sup> ({**HL**.} \*sa<sup>h</sup>ṗal<sup>h</sup>ic<sup>h</sup>) > Os: Ty sa<sup>h</sup>ṗan<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup> 'heel', Kz s<sup>h</sup>ow<sup>h</sup>as, O s<sup>h</sup>ow<sup>h</sup>as 'Hinterseite der Fußwurzel\des Unterschenkels', Nz s<sup>h</sup>uṗas 'Rückseite des Unter-\Oberschenkels'; pOs \*s- is evidenced by Os TY and some other dialects (Kr, Likr etc.) recorded by Karjalainen, while s<sup>h</sup>- in Os Kz/Nz/O is due to *as* by the final -s<sup>h</sup> ¶ F Coll. 75, Stn. D 1320-1, KrT 840 ¶ If this is a valid cognate, FU \*c<sup>h</sup>a must be considered a sx.].

**458. \*c<sup>h</sup>ayṗ** 'vegetation, leaves' (→ 'hedge\mat made of leaves') > **IE:** NaIE \*sai<sup>h</sup>p- 'thicket, hedge' (originally of plants) > Gk [Aesch.] α<sup>h</sup>ιμο<sup>h</sup> 'coppice, thicket' (P: < \*sai<sup>h</sup>p-mo-?), Gk α<sup>h</sup>ιμασι<sup>h</sup>α 'wall (of stones, thorns)' || L saepe<sup>h</sup>s / -is 'hedge, fence', praesaepes 'crib, manger'; stall' ¶ P 878, WH II 462-3, Fr. I 39 ¶ **HS:** SC: Alg {E} s<sup>h</sup>aba 'bush, thick undergrowth' || DhI {To.} s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>bu, {EEN} s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>bu 'leaf, leaves' (snglt. s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>bune, s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>ḡbune) || EC: Rn {PG} se<sup>h</sup>b, Arr {Hw.} se<sup>h</sup>b 'leaf'; HEC: Ged {Hd.} s<sup>h</sup>afa, Hd/Qbn {OS ←?} s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>f-ita 'leaf', ? Sd {Gs.} s<sup>h</sup>afinc<sup>h</sup>o 'branch of the ensete plant' ¶ PG 358, Hw. A 392, Hd. 89, 259, Gs. 298-9, To. D 142, EEN 26, E SC 208 (SC \*s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>b- 'foliage, vegetation') || S \*<sup>o</sup>ṗal<sup>h</sup> > Jb C 's<sup>h</sup>efe? 'untouched \ uncropped grass' ¶ Jo. J 246 || Ch {AD} \*<sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>p 'leaf, leaves' > WCh {Stl.} \*c<sup>h</sup>api > Hs s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>fi 'one side of a leaf (of paper), one side of a writing-board \ of a slate' || NrBc {**+** Tk.} \*s<sup>h</sup>ap~\*s<sup>h</sup>ip- 'leaf' > || {Sk.}: My, Kry s<sup>h</sup>ipi<sup>h</sup>, Sir s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>pi<sup>h</sup> 'leaf', Mbr s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>pu<sup>h</sup>zu<sup>h</sup> 'leaf of corn-plant' || CCh: {**+** Bnn {ChL} s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>ba<sup>h</sup>na<sup>h</sup>, || ZmB {Sa. in ChC} s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>pa<sup>h</sup>, {ChL} s<sup>h</sup>ab., ZmD {KNC} s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>p, Lame {ChL} s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>b, LamP s<sup>h</sup>ab, Mdr {Mk.} s<sup>h</sup>apa 'leaf' ¶ AD ChCS #44, JS 160-1, Stl. ZCh 197 [#489] (pZCh \*c<sup>h</sup>api 'leaf'), Abr. H 797, Ba. 921, ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 28, KNC 25 {**+**, Tk. NB 179} ¶¶ On the alt. (and less plausible) et. of DhI s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>bu and the Ch <sup>h</sup> see s.v. N \***leṗ**<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>p.a 'leaf, foliage' ¶¶ OS #540, #2318 (\*s<sup>h</sup>ab- 'plant') || **II D** \*capp<sup>o</sup> (actually \*s-) 'leaf, foliage' > Ml cappu 'leaf', Tm cuppal, Jcuppi 'twigs', uval(ai<sup>h</sup>) 'twigs and spays, dried leaves' Kt cop broth made of plants, plants used in making broth', Kn sappu, soppu 'green leaves of plants, foliage', Kdg cappala 'leaf', Tu coppu, 'soppu 'leaf, foliage, greens' ¶ D #2673 ◇ i ÷ (⇔ Blz.) IE \*sop- 'cane' (Mn. 1247) and S \*<sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>bb 'grow, grow up' [actually 'ascend, climb'] (> Ar <sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>bb 'grow, grow up', s<sup>h</sup>ubb- 'jeunesse'), Mh <sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>bb 'climb, grow up') ◇ **+** Blz. LB #98c & **+** Blz. DA 160 [#85] (suggested to add D). ]

**459. \*c<sup>h</sup>ip<sup>h</sup>ṗ** 'to be\make sate (with food)' > **HS:** pS \*<sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>f 'have eaten one's fill, be sated' (< \*\*<sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>f by *as*) > BHb obḡ <sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>f G id., 'have\get enough of...', adj. o@b481 s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>f 'satt'), ob27B s<sup>h</sup>ob<sup>h</sup>af 'satiation', Ug <sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>f G, OA Ú<sup>h</sup> s<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>f (= <sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>f), IA obs<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>f (traditional spelling for <sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>f) (DR KAI ##222-3), SmA <sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>f G 'be sated', JA obḡ ~ obx <sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>f, Sr <sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>f, Ar obḡ <sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>f (pf. s<sup>h</sup>abifa) id., JA obḡ ~ obx <sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>f 'be satiated\ satisfied', Sb Sh obḡe hs<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>f v. 'give in abundance', Sb, Hdr {MA}, Qt {Rk.} mobḡ s<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>-m 'abundantly, to satiety', Mn {MA} Tobḡ s<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>t 'satisfaction', Mh pf. s<sup>h</sup>iba, sbjn. y3s<sup>h</sup>'be(?), Hrs pf. s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>ba, sbjn. y3s<sup>h</sup>'b3?, Jb C pf. s<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>f, sbjn. y3s<sup>h</sup>'ba<sup>h</sup>f, Sq pf. s<sup>h</sup>eba<sup>h</sup>f v. 'be satisfied', Ak: A (inf.) s<sup>h</sup>aba<sup>h</sup>u, B s<sup>h</sup>ebu<sup>h</sup>(m) v. 'be satisfied (satt sein)' ¶ KB 1214-6, KBR 1302-4, DR KAI ##222-3, A #2579, OLS 428, Js. 1516, Sl. 1188, Tal 561-2, BK I 1184-5, BGMR 131, MA 85, Rk. 164, Sd. 1207, MiK I #2.65 || ECh: Ch: Ke {Eb.} se<sup>h</sup>pe<sup>h</sup> 'sättigen' ¶ Eb. 91 ¶ **IE** \*speh<sup>h</sup>- id. [{EI} \*speh<sup>h</sup>-, \*speh<sup>h</sup>(i)- 'be satisfied, be filled, thrive; be sated, prosper'] > Ht {Pv., Ts.} ispa<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>- / ispiya<sup>h</sup>- 'eat to satiety, be filled, get full' (ispa<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup> < stative pf. \*spoh<sup>h</sup>ye-, 3p ispiyanzi < \*sph<sup>h</sup>'y-onti) || NaIE \*sp<sup>h</sup>(e<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>-/\*sp<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>- and \*sp<sup>h</sup>(e<sup>h</sup>-/\*sp<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>- 'be filled \ sated, prosper' [× N \***P<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>ṗ**Qy<sup>h</sup> 'to get ready (food), boil, ripen', q.v. ffd.] > OI <sup>h</sup>spha<sup>h</sup>-: prs. spha<sup>h</sup>yate<sup>h</sup> 'grows fat, increases (wird feist, nimmt zu)', Oss D a<sup>h</sup>fsadun, Oss I a<sup>h</sup>fsad3n v. 'eat to satiety', KhS spata<sup>h</sup> 'sated (gesättigt, satt)', spai<sup>h</sup>- v. 'be rich, abundant, satisfied' ¶¶ Ts. W 30, Fr. HW 429, Pv. I-II 429-3, Pv. EA 91-2, WP II 680, P 983, EI 458, 500, M K III 541-2, M E II 776-7, Ab. I 479-80, Bai. 437, Ho. 312, Vs. III 734, StSS 620, Frn. 866, WH II 375-6, 573-4 ¶ **A:** NaT \*<sup>o</sup>cib- > OT {DTS, not in Cl.}

c'iva'g 'nutritiousness, satiety', {Cl., DTS} c'ivgin n.\adj. 'fattening (food)', c'ivginlen- v. 'be nourishing for the body' ¶ Cl. 396-7, DTS 147 || ??σ Tg \*sab<sub>l</sub>u<sub>li</sub>- 'treat (a guest with food)' > Neg sawli-, Orc sawli- ~ sauli-, Ud sauli-, Ul saulu/v-, Nn saolt- id. ¶ STM II 52) ◇ If the Tg stem is adduced and the T one is not, the N rec. must be **\*s'a'pfa**. Cf. also Sv 3'u-b- 'fill one's mouth with food' (3'- < K \*3'- < [??] N 3^-?). Otherwise Sv 3'u-b- belongs to N **\*3u<sub>ow</sub>V** 'to eat, taste'.

**460. \*c'a''rØU'RV** 'calf of the leg, shank' > IE \*seH<sup>W</sup>r-VH > NaIE {P} \*so<sub>l</sub>u<sub>ra</sub>- 'calf of the leg' > Gk Hm ἄωροι '(those) without calves: ἄωροι ποτῶδες 'legs without calves', Gk I ὠρη ∈ 'part of a sacrifice animal', 'calf of the leg' || L su<sub>ra</sub> 'calf of the leg' ¶¶ P 980, WH II 632, F I 205 || **HS**: *mt* SES \*√s'rf > Mh {Jo.} s'a'rayn 'leg', {Jahn} s'rayn 'shank' ('Unterschenkel'), Sq {Jo.} s'a'f3ha'n 'legs' ¶ Jo. M 382, Jahn 242, Nak. 9 [#80] (Mh s'rayn 'leg, foot') || **U**: FU \*c'a'yVrV 'shin, forearm' > F sa'a'ri 'shank, shin, leg, calf of the leg', Es sa'a'ri 'shank, shin, the leg below the knee' | pMr {Ker.} \*s'a'yər'a > Er pil'ge-s'ejer'ks, Mk pil'gə-s'a'ja'r' 'the lower part of the leg' (pil'ge, pil'gə means 'leg'), Er ked'-s'ejer'ks, Mk ka'd'-s'a'ja'r'ks 'forearm' (ked', ka'd' means 'arm') | Prm \*c'a'p'p'r > Z kok-c'ər 'shank' (kok- means 'leg') (× FU \*s'arV 'stalk' > Z I c'ər 'stalk of plants'). LG reconstructs here \*c'a'r, but in the absence of Vt and Yz data no unequivocal rec. of the pPrm vw. is justified ¶ UEW 612, LG 311, Raun EKET 167, Ker. II 134.

**461. \*c'ur'ri** 'vulva' > K \*c'ur- id. > Mg, Lz c'uri id., possibly also G cur-i 'udder', cur-i-tavi 'nipple' (× N **\*c'ar'fV** 'female breast, udder') ¶¶ FS K 415 || **HS**: S \*√s'fr > Ar ʔas'ʔar, pl. s'ufir- 'pubis (surtout de la femme), bord du vagin' (× S \*s'fr 'hair' < N **\*s'a'yUr'V** 'hair') ¶ BK I 1237-9 || B: Ah tāsəssērut 'vagina of a female animal' ¶ Fc. 1650 || **D** \*c'k'u<sub>r</sub>- ~ \*c'k'u<sub>tt</sub>- (< \*\*c'k'u<sub>r</sub>-t-) 'anus, private parts' > Tm cu<sub>r</sub>u 'anus', cu<sub>ttu</sub> id., 'private parts', Ml cu<sub>ttu</sub> 'testicles, penis', Kui suti 'female urinal passage' ¶¶ D #2724.

**462. \*c'Ur'i** (or **\*c'Ury'?**) 'to twist, twine' > K \*c'ar- id. > Sv li-nc'r-e id. ('drehen, winden, zwirnen'), G (da-)car- v. 'unbraid, untwine (a rope)' ¶¶ FS K 407, Fn. KW-3 51, Chx. 1976, 2048 || **HS**: SS \*√s'ry > Gz √s'ry G (pf. s'araya) v. 'weave, spin', Tgy √sry (pf. sərreyə) v. 'weave' ¶ L G 536 || **U**: FU \*c'or<sub>l</sub>V<sub>k</sub>V > ObU \*c'a'rək 'fest gedreht, fest gebunden (vom Schnur)' > pVg \*c'arka- ~ \*c'irka- 'fest gebunden (vom Schnur)' > Vg: T c'arka-, LK s'irxə, MK/UK s'orkə, P s'irka id.; pOs \*c'a'rək 'fest gedreht' > Os: Ty \*c'a'rəq, Nz s'o'rəχ id. ¶ Ht. 131 [#85] || **D**: [1] \*c'k'ur-, {GS} \*c'ur'- v. 'whirl, spin, move round' > Tm cu<sub>ral</sub> v. 'whirl, spin, rotate', Ml cu<sub>rali</sub> 'whirling', cu<sub>ral</sub> 'revolving', cu<sub>ra</sub> 'round about', Kt cu<sub>ly</sub> 'whirlpool in river', Kn to<sub>ral</sub> v. 'move round, turn round', Tu sulipini, sulipuni 'to whirl, go round', ? Tl sud<sub>i</sub> a whirl, circle', sud<sub>iyu</sub> v. 'turn round', Kui d<sub>ur</sub>i 'rolling' ¶¶ D #2698 (a), Km. 501 (proposes a different et. for Tl sud<sub>iyu</sub>), GS 172 [#431], 53 [#134] || and/or ? [2] ? \*k'ur- (= {Pf.} \*ku<sub>r</sub>-/\*cu<sub>r</sub>-) v. 'wind spirally, roll, rotate' > Tm curi v. 'be spiral as conch, whirl round', Ml curul<sub>uka</sub> v. 'be rolled up', curut<sub>t</sub><sub>uka</sub> v. 'roll up', Td tu<sub>l</sub>- v. 'be rolled up', Kt curn'- v. 'lie in coils (snake, rope)', Kn surut<sub>u</sub>, surun<sub>t</sub><sub>u</sub> vi. 'coil, roll up', Kdg turid<sub>u</sub>- v. 'be rolled up', turit<sub>u</sub>- vt. 'roll up', Tu sural<sub>i</sub>, surul<sub>i</sub> 'coil, roll of sth.', Prj cird<sub>u</sub>- v. 'turn', Gdb sirl- v. 'revolve, rotate', Gnd surund<sub>u</sub>-v. 'roll', Krx ku<sub>r</sub>- v. 'tie a sari round one's waist', Mlt kur'ge v. 'roll up', Brh ku<sub>ruṅ</sub> id. ¶¶ D #2684, Pf. 66-7, Em. DS 365 ¶¶ By D \*k' (= {GS} \*kj) we denote a phoneme yielding c in SD, CD, but in Krx, Mlt and Brh (for discussion cf. Em. DS 363-9, GS 203-7) ◇ If the D cognate is \*c'k'ur-, the N rec. is **\*c'Ur'i**, but if is k'ur- (a less plausible alt.), we have to rec. N **\*c'Ury'?**, because D \*-r- represents \*r-clusters, and the only cnss. compatible with the S ev. are \*y, \*h and \*ʔ.

**463. ?<sub>2</sub> \*c'atV** 'to separate, scatter' > **HS**: S \*√s'tt > Ar √s'tt G v. 'separate, disperse' ¶ BK I 1189 || **IE** {EI} \*(s)ked- 'scatter' > NaIE \*(s)k<sup>(h)</sup>ed- v. 'scatter, disperse' > Gk σκεδᾶννυμι 'I scatter, disperse' || AS {Skeat} scaterian 'to scatter, squander', {Ho.} to-sc'eacerian [{Ho.} to read: -terian] 'zerstreuen' > ME scateren 'to scatter' > NE scatter; possible lexical interaction with the source of ME schetteren and NE shatter || Tc: A ka't-, kat- 'répandre, jeter, disséminer', B {Wn.} ka't-, kat-, s'a't- id., {Ad.} ka't- 'strew (to some purpose), sow' ¶ P 918-9 (does not distinguish this √ from NaIE \*sk<sup>(h)</sup>ed-/\*skend- < N **\*c'Vd<sub>l</sub>V<sub>l</sub>qV** or **\*c'V<sub>q</sub>lV<sub>l</sub>dV** 'to tear, split' [q.v.]), EI 500, F II 721, Wn. 211, Ad. 157, Ad. H 18, 4, Skeat 539, 554, Ho. 274, AHD 1160.

**464. \*c'iw<sub>l</sub>tV** (or **\*c'u'tV?**) 'to split' > K: GZ \*c'wet-/c'wit- v. 'cut, chop' (× **\*c'odhV** 'break (esp. a body part), strike') > OG c<sub>ina</sub>-da-cuet-/cwit- v. 'circumcise', da-cwet id. (Ges. 17.24, Lev. 12.3), Lz c'it- v. 'cut, chop' (e.g. dis'ka p-c'it-up 'I chop wood') ¶ FS K 410, Ser. 211, DCh. 1682, ■ K<sup>2</sup> 271-2 (OG

cwet-/cwit- 'citcumcise' ← 'wear out') || **HS**: WS (+ext.) \**√s'tr* *G* 'split, tear' > BHB *√s'tr* *N* nis'tar 'burst open (of ulcers, boils)', Ar *√s'tr* *G* 'cut, split', IA *√s'tr* 'einbrechen', Gz *√s'tr* *G* 'rend, tear to pieces' ¶ GB 795, KBR 1363-4, BK I 1206, L G 537 || **IE**: NaIE \*(s)ked- ~ \*skei\_d- [/ with a nasal infix: \*(s)kend-] 'split' (× N \**√d<sub>1</sub>* *qV* or \**√q<sub>1</sub>* *dV* 'to tear, split' [q.v.]): [1] \*(s)ked- / \*(s)kend- > OI [Dhap.] skhadate 'splits' (< \*sk<sup>h</sup>n<sub>d</sub>?) [M: "fraglich"], Av sc'andayeiti 'breaks to pieces, destroys', skand- 'break', NPrs -ñkaši s'eka'n- vt., vi. 'break' (inf. s'eka'sta'n) , KhS hatcan- 'break' [< \*fra-sc'anday-] || Arm çert s'ert 'splinter of wood, chip' (< \*sk<sup>h</sup>edri) || pAl {O} \*c'anya > Al {Hamp} c<sub>1</sub>anj, c<sub>2</sub>aj, {O} c<sub>3</sub>aj (aor. c<sub>3</sub>ava) 'split, cleave, smash' || Lt skederva, skederla 'splinter', Ltv Δ s'k<sub>2</sub>e<sub>3</sub>de\_rns 'abgespaltenes Stück' || Sl \*sko<sub>2</sub>dъ > OCS скѡдъ sko<sub>2</sub>dъ (renders Gk 'εὐδενής) 'too small quantity, scanty', adv. по(-)скѡдоу po-sko<sub>2</sub>du 'little (wenig)', скѡдо 'little (wenig), scanty, scantily', R 'скул-н-ый, Blg о'скъден, SCR о'skudan 'scanty, poor' || [2] \*skei\_d- v. 'split' > OI *√chid*- (3s prs. chi'natti, chindati, caus. che'dayati) 'cut off\through, hew, chop, split', Av sae'd- v. 'split', Blc sindag id. || Arm çtem c<sup>h</sup>tem 'rub the skin off, scratch, bruise' || Gk σχιζω 'split, cleave' || L scindo / scīdī / scissum v. 'cut, rend, tear asunder, split' || MBr {Ern.} squegaff 'to cut', skigea, skija 'découper, déchiqueter', Br skejan- 'couper, tailler, inciser' || Gt skaidan, OSx ske'than, AS sc'e'adan, OHG sceidan, NHG, Dt scheiden 'to separate' || Lt skied- (inf. ski'esti, 1s prs. ski'edz'iu) 'separate (a fiber from a flax stalk \ from a thread)', ? Lt ki'sti (1s prs. kindu, p. kidau) 'get worn out' ¶ P 918-9 (does not distinguish IE \*(s)ked- 'split' from the paronymous *√* \*(s)k<sup>(h)</sup>ed- 'to scatter', f N \**√at* 'to separate, scatter'), P 919-21, Hamp AIEW 148, O 49, M K II 506-7, M E II 561, Horn 175, BM 314, Bai. 449, F II 838-40, Slt. 269, Ern. 645, Hm. 727, Frn. 233, 259, 799, 805-6, StSS 483, 608, Vs. III 661, Wn. E-5 464-5, Fs. 427, KM 640-1, Kb. 872, □ Ho. 272, Ho. S 66, AHD 1191, Skeat 554 || **D** \*citV ({GS} \*c'c'-) v. 'harm, crush' > Tm citai 'be injured, spoiled, be broken', Tl cituku, ciduku, cidiyu 'be crushed\broken\smashed', Knd sidli- 'be crushed (as an overripe fruit)', Mlt cithge v. 'squeeze out the seed or stone from a fruit' ¶¶ D #2526, Km. 354-5 ◇ D \*-t- (prob. from postcons. N \*-t-, unlike D \*-t<sub>2</sub>- < intervoc. N \*-t-) and GZ \*w suggest the present of \*w in the N etymon ◇ An alt. conjecture: two N roots: [1] \**√c'ot* 'split' > GZ \*c'wet-/c'wit-, NaIE \*sk<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub>ed-/sk<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub>end-, D (in SD) \*cot<sub>2</sub>t<sub>2</sub>- v. 'beat\strike (with fingers)' [> Tm cot.t.u v. 'strike with knuckles, tap gently (the udder of a goat for inducing the free flow of milk)', v. 'beat, hit, peck (as a crow)', Ml cot.t.u a slap on the head', cot.t.uka v. 'rap with the knuckles, knock with the fingers (esp. on the head)', Tu so'n.t.uni v. 'box with knuckles of the fingers' ¶ D #2836] and possibly amb WS \**√s'tr* (if the latter belongs here, the N etymon has an initial \*c'-), and [2] \**√c'c* (or \**√c'ith*?) 'split, crush' > NaIE \*skei\_d-, D \*citV- v. 'harm, crush' and possibly S \**√s'dh*; D \*-t- (rather than \*-t<sub>2</sub>-, the reg. reflex of the N intervoc. \*-t-) may go back to a cns. cluster, but the voiced S \*d nas no explanation.

**465. \**√ap't*** 'to deviate from the right path, incline, be lame\crooked' > K \**√c* cet.- > G cet.- 'unbesonnen handeln', cet.-i 'unbesonnen, leichtfertig' ¶ Chx. 1991-2, DCh. 1591 || **HS**: WS \**√s'ty* 'deviate from the right path' > BHB *√s'ty* [pf. ey1β1 s'a't.a, ip. ey3β6T5 ti-s't.ε, y6β6i\$ 'yes't.(ə)] id., MHb *√st.y* (pf. ey1x1 sa't.a), JA pf. iy4x6 sət.e' ~ ey1x5 sət.a, JEA *√st.y* *G* 'deviate', SmA *√st.y* *G* 'turn aside\away', Sr *√st.w* (pf. ætoβ sət.a) 'deflexit, aberravit', Md *√st.?* *G* 'turn aside, deflect, lead astray', Gz *d* *√t-s't.y* (pf. tas'at.ya) 'deviate from the right path, be bent, lean to one side', s'ət.yat 'misleading', Ar *μ* *√s't<sub>2</sub>* (pf. 6W\$ a s'at.t.a) 'be(come) far off' (← \*'go beyond the due distance'), 'go beyond the due bounds in offering a th. for sale & demanding a price for it' ¶ KB 1227, GB 782, Js. 972, Sl. 798, Br. 467, Tal 580-1, DM 323, Ln. 1548, L G 578 || **U**: FV \**√att* 'limp, be lame' > Prm \**√ot*- (= {LG} \**√o* t-) id. > Z чот- c'ot-, Vt чут- c'ut- id. || Chr E {MRS} ча'тан, Chr Uf {Ü} чатан 'a lame person, cripple' (belongs here if ч = c') ¶ □ UEW 611 (\**√at* V, although Chr -t- and Prm \*-t- point to \*-tt-), MRS 241, Ü 668, LG 310 || **D**: [1] D (in SD) \**√k'ott*- ({GS} \**√c*?) 'lame' > Tm cotti 'lameness, crippledom; lame person', Ml cotti-kai 'withered hand', Kt cot 'deep depression on the arm where rope\chain has been tied', cot gay 'one arm smaller than the other (i.e. is withered)', Kn cottu, sottu 'crooked(ness)', cotta, sotta 'a male with crooked\crippled limbs', cotti, sotti 'a woman with crippled limbs'; [2] (less certain) D \**√cot<sub>2</sub>*- ({GS} \**√c*?) 'crooked, lame' > Tm cot.t.ai 'crookedness, bend as in the sheath of a sword', Ml cat.t.u 'lameness', cat't'a 'person with bent feet, lame', Kn cot.t.a, cot.t.i, cot.t.u, sot.t.a, sot.t.u 'crooked(ness)', Tu cot.t.u, cot.t.a, sot.t.a 'handless, maimed in the hand', Krg con't.e 'lame person', Tl cot.t.a, sot.t.a 'lame(ness), crooked(ness)', Gdb m. sot.at.ond / f.\ntr. sot.it.e,

Png cot<sub>1</sub>a, Ku so-ti<sup>d</sup> sotta, soto<sup>d</sup> sot<sub>1</sub>a<sup>-</sup> 'lame', Brh co-t<sub>1</sub> 'crooked' ¶¶ D #2838 ¶¶ In D \*cot<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>- the unexpected cns. \*-t<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>- is probably due to a prehistoric sx. or to contamination with a different word.

¶ 465a. \***c<sup>h</sup>uw<sub>1</sub>ʔ<sub>1</sub>ʋ** (or \***c<sup>h</sup>ow<sub>1</sub>ʔ<sub>1</sub>ʋ**?) 'meat' > HS: Ch: WCh: NrBc: Kry {Sk.} s<sup>i</sup>wi, My {Sk.} s<sup>i</sup>wi'ya, P' s<sup>u</sup>wi, Sir s<sup>u</sup>yi, {IL} \*s<sup>u</sup>wi, Wrj {Sk.} s<sup>u</sup>na, {IL} s<sup>u</sup>na, Cg {Sk.} s<sup>u</sup>n 'meat, animal' :SBC: Kir {Sh.} s<sup>o</sup>, Tala {Sh.} s<sup>u</sup>, Jm {Grgs.} s<sup>o</sup>, Buli {Sl.} s<sup>u</sup>, Tule {Sh.} s<sup>awo</sup>, Wng {Sh.} s<sup>au</sup>, Zar {Sh.} s<sup>u</sup>, Bg {Sh.} sa<sup>w</sup> 'meat' : Ngz {Sch.} s<sup>u</sup>wa<sup>i</sup> (pl. s<sup>u</sup>wa<sup>wi</sup>n) 'meat, animal' :: CCh: Tr {Nw.} z<sup>u</sup>, Hona {Mk.} s<sup>ua</sup> : HgNk/FlK {ChL} s<sup>ti</sup> : Lmn {Mk.} s<sup>ui</sup> : Mdr {ChL} x<sup>wa</sup>, {Mk.} hyuwa, Glv {Rp.} s<sup>u</sup>w, {ChL} s<sup>u</sup>wa, Gdf {IL} s<sup>u</sup>wa, Dgh {IL} s<sup>u</sup>we, Ngs {IL} s<sup>z</sup>b.o<sup>i</sup> : Mtk {Sb.} z<sup>u</sup>we<sup>d</sup> 'meat', MfG {Ba.} a<sup>s</sup>aw, 's<sup>aw</sup> 'viande; chair animal (viande ou poisson)', pMM {Ro.} \*s<sup>aw</sup> > Mkt {Ro.} s<sup>z</sup>b., Myn {Ro.} a<sup>s</sup>o, Vm/Zlg {Ro.} s<sup>u</sup>we/a 'meat', Mada {BaB} os<sup>s</sup>o 'meat, flesh' : Gdr {Mch.} s<sup>wa</sup> 'meat' : Ktk {Bou.} s<sup>u</sup>, {Mch.} s<sup>u</sup>, s<sup>wa</sup> id. ¶ JI II 232-3, JS II 177 (pCh \*s<sup>u</sup>ʋw- 'meat'), ¶ Nw. ChCR 29 [#83] (pCh \*hlw- = \*s<sup>u</sup>ʋw- 'meat, animal'; does not distinguish this root from WCh {Stl.} \*luw<sup>u</sup> 'animal, meat'), Stl. ZCh 200 [#515] (WCh. \*c<sup>aw</sup>a<sup>y</sup> 'meat'), Sk. NB 31, Sch. DN 163, Ro. 253 [#278], 290 [#459], Ba. MG II 78, BaB 163 || C: Bj {R.} sa<sup>ʔ</sup>, {Rop.} s<sup>a</sup>- 'meat' :: EC \*so<sup>ʔ</sup>- 'meat' > Or fo<sup>-</sup>ni, Kns {Bl.} so<sup>w</sup>-a<sup>-</sup>, Gdl {Ss.} so<sup>ʔ</sup>-a<sup>d</sup> soh-a, Msl so<sup>h</sup>-a<sup>-</sup>, Gato, Bss so<sup>ʔ</sup>-a, Bs so<sup>-</sup>, Dsn {To.} so<sup>-</sup>, Elm sow<sup>ʔ</sup>, Arr {Hw.} so<sup>ʔ</sup> 'meat' ¶ R WBd 208, Rop. 235, Bl. 205, Ss. PEC 50, 52, To. DL 526, Hw. A 394 || possibly (not certainly) S \*s<sup>ay</sup>- 'sheep' > BHb eB3 s<sup>e</sup>- (+ppa.: &iB4 s<sup>e</sup>-y-o<sup>-</sup> ~ ueiB6 s<sup>a</sup>y-e<sup>h</sup>u<sup>-</sup> 'his sheep'), Ph, Ug s<sup>-</sup>, OA s<sup>ʔ</sup>t, Ar s<sup>a</sup>- (coll.), sgl. s<sup>a</sup>ʔt- ~ s<sup>ah</sup>at-, Sb s<sup>h</sup>, Ak fOB s<sup>u</sup>m, s<sup>u</sup>ʔu, Ak mA s<sup>u</sup>bu 'sheep' ¶ KB 1221-2, HJ 1094-5, A #2561, OLS 424, Ln. 1623-4, BGMR 132, Sd. 1255, CAD /3 417 ¶ IE: Ht {Ts.} zuwa 'food, bread' ¶ Ts. W 111 ¶ D \*c<sup>u</sup>ʋ- 'flesh, meat' > Brh su<sup>-</sup>, Gnd savi<sup>d</sup> savvi<sup>d</sup> sawwi<sup>d</sup> sa<sup>wi</sup>, ?ϕ Tm tu<sup>-</sup>, tu<sup>-</sup>vu, tu(v)vai<sup>-</sup> id., ?ϕ Ml tuva 'raw flesh' ¶¶ D #3373 ¶ cf. also E: MEL, NEL s<sup>u</sup>hi (unknown meaning, but possibly connected with 'sheep': it is used after the word for 'sheep': 26 hi-du-me s<sup>u</sup>-hi '26 sheep s<sup>u</sup>-hi') ¶ HK 1176 ◇ MfG {Ba.} a<sup>s</sup>aw 'viande; chair animal (viande ou poisson)', Myn {Ro.} a<sup>s</sup>o 'meat', Mada {BaB} os<sup>s</sup>o 'meat, flesh' may be alternatively equated with NOm ±\*ac<sup>-</sup> 'meat' (> Bnc {Wnd.} a<sup>c</sup>-, Jnj {Wnd.} a<sup>s</sup>a, Wl {LmS} as<sup>u</sup>wa, etc. 'meat' (see LmS 298-9), with Awn {LmS} as<sup>s</sup> 'meat, flesh' and with T \*a<sup>cku</sup>- 'goat' (Cl. 24) ◇ The N Ir. \*ʔ is suggested by Ngs and Mkt -b. (< \*-wʔ-) and by EC \*-ʔ-. Alternatively, a N Ir. \*-h- may underly Sb h, Ar, Gdl and Msl -h-. Ht z- [c-] suggests that the N initial cns. was an affricate (\*c<sup>-</sup> rather than \*s<sup>-</sup>) ◇ Blz. DA 152 [#2] (D, HS, E) ¶.

466. \***c<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>ʔ<sub>1</sub>iwe** (or \***s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>ʔ<sub>1</sub>iwe**?) 'body of water', (??) 'wet\swampy ground' > HS: Eg s<sup>-</sup> 'pool, lake, basin' (acc. to EG and Tk., the spelling of the word represents s<sup>y</sup>; acc. to Vc., it is ¶\*s<sup>y</sup>w) > DEg {Er.} s<sup>y</sup> 'lake, well' > Cpt Sd/B u<sup>u</sup>u s<sup>e</sup>i (pl. Sd u<sup>u</sup>u s<sup>e</sup>w) 'puits, citerne, fosse, bassin' ¶ EG IV 397-8, F 260, Er. 485, Vc. 258-9 || C: Dh1 {EEN, E} c<sup>a</sup>-fa 'lake', {To.} c<sup>a</sup>-fa 'river, lake' (× N \*s<sup>h</sup>ay<sup>h</sup>U 'surface of water', that accounts for -ʔ-) :: SC: Irq/Alg {E} c<sup>a</sup>awi, Brn c<sup>a</sup>awa 'lake' ¶ E SC 214, EEN 18, To. D 149 || ?σ S \*s<sup>a</sup>ʔ<sub>1</sub>ʋ<sub>1</sub>w- > Ar s<sup>a</sup>ʔw- 'vase, limon qu'on extrait d'un puits' ¶ BK I 1180 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 9 (C, Eg) ¶ IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) \*s<sup>o</sup>i<sup>-</sup> w- 'body of water (lake?)' > pGmc \*sai<sup>-</sup>wa- ~ \*sai<sup>-</sup>wi ¶ 'lake' > Gt saivs 'lake, swamp', ON sja<sup>-</sup>r, sjo<sup>-</sup>r, sæ-r, OSx se<sup>-</sup>o, OHG se<sup>-</sup>o (gen. se<sup>-</sup>wes) 'sea, lake' (> NHG See id.), MDt see (gen. se<sup>-</sup>wes) id. (> Dt zee 'sea'), AS sæ id., 'swamp' (> NE sea); NrGmc b<sup>-</sup> F saivo 'clear place in a sea' ¶ Fs. 406-7, Vr. N 856-7, Vr. 575-6, Ho. 266, Ho. S 63, OsS 757, Schz. 249, Kb. 843-4, KM 676, ≠ EI 503 (the Gms word <b> non-IE sources) ¶ D \*c<sup>h</sup>av- > Kn javugu, jo<sup>-</sup>gu, javal<sup>-</sup>u, javul<sup>-</sup>u 'swampy ground' ¶ D #2398 ¶ ? A \*si<sup>-</sup>pe id, 'swamp' > M \*siber 'swampy' (of ground), 'swampy ground' > MM siber, Kl {KRS} шивр 'swampy' (of ground), Kl Ö {Rm.} s<sup>i</sup>wr. 'nasses Land mit Gebüsch und Wald, Waldung, Urwald', WrM siber, HIM шивр 'dense shrubbery on a marsh, overgrowth on a river bank; dense forest, thicket', Ord {Ms.} s<sup>i</sup>wer 'terrain humide et où il ya du gazon touffu' ¶ MED 695, KRS 669, KW 362, Ms. O 625 || pJ {S} si<sup>-</sup>mpa<sup>-</sup> / si<sup>-</sup>mpa<sup>-</sup> 'turf' > OJ si<sup>-</sup>ba, J: T si<sup>-</sup>ba ~ si<sup>-</sup>ba, K si<sup>-</sup>ba, Kg si<sup>-</sup>ba ¶ S QJ #276, Mr. 522 ¶ DQA explains the unexpected \*-mp- by the infl. of pJ \*si<sup>-</sup>mpa<sup>-</sup> ~ \*si<sup>-</sup>mpa<sup>-</sup> 'firewood' || ?σ Tg \*si<sup>-</sup>be-gi 'swampy ground where horse-tail grows', \*si<sup>-</sup>be(-kte) 'horse-tail' > Ewk si<sup>-</sup>w3y ~ si<sup>-</sup>w3yi 'swampy lawn where horse-tail grows', Lm hi<sup>-</sup>w3y 'horse-tail thicket', Ewk si<sup>-</sup>w3-kt3, Lm hi<sup>-</sup>wrt, Neg siwu-kt3, Ul, Nn siu-kt3, WrMc sibiya ~ sibe 'horse-tail' ¶ STM II 7, Z 599 || ?σ T \*se<sup>-</sup>b- > Tkm θo<sup>-</sup>v-dek 'spurge, euphorbia' ¶ TkmR 587 ¶¶ St AJ 79, DQA #2099 (A \*si<sup>-</sup>pe 'swamp ground, swamp vegetation') ¶¶ The A √ can belong here if A \*i may go back to N \*a<sup>-</sup>y ◇ A \*-p- may go back to \*-ʔb- < N \*-ʔw-. A \*si<sup>-</sup>pe (if it belongs here) suggests N \*s<sup>-</sup>, while the C cognates seem to point to a N affricate \*c<sup>-</sup>, but SC/Dhl c<sup>-</sup> may also result from glottalization of \*s<sup>-</sup> (as to \*ʔ) that involves

affricatization ✧ Hardly identical with N *\*sʰayʷ* 'surface of water' [q.v.], because Eg *sʰ* and IE *\*soi-w-* cannot be cognate with S *\*sʰsyʰ* and with K *\*zywa-* (irreg. corrs. of the initial sibilant and no lr. in Eg and IE).

**467.** *\*cʰVχV* 'to burn' (tr.) > K *\*cʰχ-* v. 'burn, make hot', 'scorch' (of the sun) > Sv *sʰχ-*, *sʰix-* vt., vi. 'burn', UB/LB msd. {TK, GP} *li-sʰχ-i* vt. 'burn', OG, G *cχ-* v. 'make hot, scorch' (Marc 4.6), 'be hot' (of hot weather, sun)', Mg *dʰcʰχana-* 'heat, hot weather', Lz *cʰχ-* v. 'be hot' (of weather), 'roast', Sv *sʰχ-*, *sʰix-* 'burn' ¶¶ K 231, K<sup>2</sup> 274-5, FS K 415-6, TK 467, GP 180 ¶ HS: C {E} *\*sʰahawj-* vt. 'burn' > Bj -luw pcv. 'burn, burn up, light' (1s: p. a'luw, pqp. f. 'iluw, prs. an'liu; prtc. 'luwa), {Rop.} -liw vt. 'burn', rf. -lau 'be burnt, burn' (intr.) (× N *\*LahPV* 'flame; to glow') ¶ Ag {E} *\*la-x-* 'fire' > Aw leg id. ¶ Dhl {To.} *sʰah-* v. 'put on fire', {EEN} *sʰah-* burn up' ¶ C *ba* Mb -*sʰahaʰiʒa* vt. 'burn', -*sʰahaʰ* vi. 'burn' ¶ E PC #567, R WBd 160, Rop. 213, E SC 210 (reconstructs SC *\*sʰah-* vt. 'burn' on the basis of Dhl and Ma'a), EEN 26, To. D 142.

**468.** *\*cʰVyʰiV* 'girl, (younger) sister' > K *\*cʰca* > G Gr *ca* (voc. *ca-v!*), *cica* 'girl' ¶ The form *cica* is on the analogy of G *cicav-* 'liebevoll ansehen' or due to ideophonic associations (LI?) ¶ Chx. 1972, 2011 ¶ IE: NaIE *\*sei<sub>1</sub>Hj-* 'sister' > BSL *\*sey-* > Lt (Δ?) {Otk.} *se'ja ~ se'ja* id. ¶ SCR *se'ja* id. end ¶ Otk. DME 195, Tls. 539 ¶ U: FU *\*cʰVyV* 'sister' > Prm *\*cʰoy* > Z *choj cʰoy* id., Z I *cʰojko* id. (end; -ko is an endearment sx.) ¶ F *sikko*, Krl *cʰikko*, Vp *cʰika* 'sister' end; BF *\*-kko* is an diminutive sx. ¶ The adduction of BF is valid unless these BF words are not a a hyporistic contraction from *i* *sisar-ko*, a diminutive from *\*sisar* 'sister' (a BF loan from Baltic) ¶ LG 308-9, Wc. FUA 254 ¶ HS: S *\*sʰyʰwʰ* > Ar *éOa'4a sʰaʰ-at-* (< *\*sʰayaʰ-at-*) 'woman, wife' (unless derived from the verb *sʰyʰ* 'accompany').

**469.** *\*cʰAØV* 'perish' > HS: S *\*cʰ(-)sʰuʰ-* > Ar *\*-δʰuʰ-* G 'perish' ¶ BK II 47 ¶ D *\*kʰa-* ('GS' *\*s-*) 'die (sterben)' > Tm *ca-*, Ml *ca-ka-* / p. *catt-* id., Kt *ka-rʰca-v* 'person who dies somewhere so that his body is not found (*ka-rʰ* 'jungle'), Tf *soy-*, Kn *sa-y*, Kdg *ca.l* (p. *catt-*), Tu *sai-pi-*, Tl *caccu* / *ca-* / *ca-v-*, Png, Mnd, Ku *ha-*, Prj *cay-*, Gnd *say-<sup>d</sup> cay-<sup>d</sup> sa-*, Knd *sa-*, Kui *sa-va* (p. *sa-t-*), Krx *xeʰe-na* / *kecas*, Mlt *keye* / *kec-*, Brh *kahiṅ* 'die' ¶¶ D #2426, Em. \*C 366.

**470.** *\*cʰaʰʔbV* '(ε) fish' > HS: S *\*cʰsʰʔb* > Ar *ʔo%ī δʰiʔb-* {Fr., BK} 'animal living in water, animal marinum', {Bel.} 'fish' ¶ Fr. III 1, BK II 1, Bel. 428 ¶ ? NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} *cʰo.p.a* 'fish' ¶ Blz. OM #173, Wdk. BJ 120 ¶ ? Eg G *ʒbh* '(ein Gewässer mit dem Netz) durchfischen', *ʒbh.w* '(ε) Fischer', ?? Eg Md *ʒdb* '(ε) fish' ¶ EG V 568, 633 ¶¶ a Blz. OM #173 reconstructs HS *\*cʰabuʰʰ* 'water creature' > NrOm, SC (Brn *cʰambeʰu*, Alg *cʰembeʰu* 'frog'), WCh (Hs *cʰuʰmbe-* 'ε frog') and S; but some of these words can be better explained as belonging to HS {OS} *\*cʰamb-* 'lizard, frog' (cf. OS #581) ¶ A: T *\*cʰapak* (> *\*cʰabaq ~ \*cʰapaq*) '(ε) small sweetwater fish' (= 'Cyprinidae?') > OT [MhK] *cʰabaq* '(ε) small sweetwater fish', Chg [San.] *cʰabak* 'ε small fish', Tk *cʰapak*, Az *cʰapag*, Qq *sʰabaq*, CrTt *cʰapaq* 'bream (*Abramis brama*)', Tkm *cʰapaq*, Nog *sʰabaq* 'Caspian roach', Uz *cʰavaq* 'roach', Qmq, Kr *cʰabaq* 'fish', Qzq *sʰabaq baliq* {Sht.} 'bream, small fry', {MM} 'small fish (рыбки)', VTt *чабак sʰabaq*, Bsh *sabaq* 'roach (плотва, сорочка)', Qrg *cʰabaq* '(all kinds of) small fish', QK {B} *cʰabaq* 'small fish, all kinds of Cyprinidae fish', Alt/Tel {RL} *cʰabaq* '(ε) small fish', StAlt *cʰabaq чебак* (ε small fish)', Tv *sʰavaya* 'small fish', Chv *sʰub\_aχ<sup>d</sup> sʰob\_aχ* 'bream' ¶ TL 177, Cl. 395, Dr. TM III #1061, DTS 135, KumRS 351, Sht. 227, MM 385, KRPS 619, Jud. 831, B DLT 219, Rl. III 1928, BT 174, Jeg. 219 ¶ D *\*copp-* '(ε) fish or sim.' > Krx {Hahn} *coppo-* 'young frogs', *coppo-injo-* 'prawn fish' (*injo-* 'fish'), Mlt {Drs.} *cope-mi'nu* 'cuttlefish' (*mi'nu* means 'fish'), ?? D (in McTm) *\*camp-* > Tm *campai* 'fish', Ml *campa* 'a fish, boat-load of fishes' ¶¶ D ##2348, 2847, Hahn KD 33, 69 ✧ The vl. *\*p<sub>2</sub>-* in pT and the glottalized p. in Ym are due to the infl. of *\*ʔ*, i.e. *\*-ʔb-* > T *\*p<sub>2</sub>-* (> -p/-b-), Ym p.

**471.** *\*cʰabVʔV* 'war', 'warriors, host' > HS: S *\*sʰbʔv*. 'make war, fight' > BHb *ʔc.bʔ* G, Sb *ʔsʰ.bʔ*, Gz *ʔsʰ.bʔ* G ~ *ʔs.bʔ* G (late spelling) id., Ak *ʔs.bʔ* G (inf. *s.abu-*) 'zu Felde ziehen'; the nom. act. ('war' > 'host') is represented in BHb *c.aʰb.aʰablcl* 'military men, troops', Ug {A} *s.bʔ* 'troops, army' (not in OLS!), Sb *sʰ.bʔ* 'military operation, battle', Gz *s.abʔ* 'war', Ak *s.aʰbu* 'people, soldiers, army'; Cn *ba* Eg N *ʒa-bi-ʔi*, *ʒa-bi-ʔu<sub>3</sub>* (= *\*c.abiʰu*) troops, army' ¶ KBR 994-7, KB 933-5, A #2299, L G 544-5, BGMR 40, EG V 562, Hoch #573 ¶ A: Tg *\*cabu<sub>1</sub>ka* 'army, war' > Neg *cawxa ~ cauxa*, Nn *cʰaoxa*, Ul *cʰauxa* id., Sln *coʰxa*, Orc *cʰauxa*, Ud {Krm.} *cʰawa* 'army', WrMc *cooxa* 'army, soldier', Jrc {Kiy.} *cʰauxa eʒʰehi* 'military commission' (Gru.: *err.* interpretation as 'military official' based on an error in copying the Chn

translation) ¶ STM II 402, Krm. 309, Kiy. 112 [#278], Gru. SSJ #278, Md. ChF 138 || T \*c̣abul<sub>LCI</sub> > OT c̣abuṣ 'military commander', Tk c̣avuṣ 'sergeant, guard'; T ḅ> Prs c̣v\* c̣avuṣ 'Feldgendarm, Hofwächter' ¶ Cl. 309, Dr. TM II #1055, ▢ Rs. W 101 (T ḅ> Prs) || M \*cayur > WrM {Vld.} coura 'alarm\turmoil of war', HIM {Vld.} cu<sup>ra</sup> 'war, troubles [civil war], army', Brt su<sup>r</sup> 'revolt, war, army' ¶ Vld. 209 || pJ {S} \*tupa- > OJ tupa-mono 'army, weaponry', J: T cu<sup>wamono</sup>, K/Kg cuwamono 'soldier' ¶ S QJ #1110, Mr. 558 ¶¶ DQA ##257 [A \*c̣'abu 'army, war'].

**472. \*c̣.æbØV** 'shoulder' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>ṣ<sup>h</sup>.ab<sub>L</sub> V<sub>L</sub>ŋ- > Ar øb0%a δ̣<sup>h</sup>.abŋ- 'arm, upper part of the arm', øaba6a%0i ʔið̣<sup>h</sup>.ṭabaŋa v. 'wrap oneself in a cloak in covering the left shoulder and leaving the right uncovered' ¶ Hv. 413 **II U:** FU \*ṣ<sup>h</sup>epa<sup>h</sup> 'neck, nape of the neck' > F sepa<sup>h</sup>, F Δ sepi, sevi 'hochgebogener Vorderteil des Schlittens', Est seba id., 'Heunetz, welches das Heufuder umschlieβ', F sepalus 'collar' : pLp {Lr.} \*c̣<sup>h</sup>ē<sup>h</sup>pe<sup>h</sup>tte<sup>h</sup> ~ \*c̣<sup>h</sup>ē<sup>h</sup>pō<sup>h</sup>tte<sup>h</sup> 'neck' > Lp: N {N} c̣<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>h</sup>be<sup>h</sup>t / c̣<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>h</sup>ve<sup>h</sup> 'neck (whole of) or throat (outside); collar on clothing', L {LLO} tjiepe<sup>h</sup>, S {Hs.} tjea<sup>h</sup>buoh, Kld c̣<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>p:at 'neck' : pMr {Ker.} \*ṣiwa > Er сиве ṣiv'e, Mk сиве ṣiva<sup>h</sup> 'collar on a shirt' : Chr L ш<sup>h</sup>й, E {Ps.} ṣu<sup>h</sup>y, M/B ṣu<sup>h</sup>y 'neck', Chr H {Ep.} ш<sup>h</sup> 'collar' : pPrm \*ṣ<sup>h</sup>i- in Z сико<sup>h</sup>тш ṣi-kẓc̣ 'beads' (lit. 'neck-circle') and in pPrm \*ṣ<sup>h</sup>iyes (< \*ṣ<sup>h</sup>iyes) 'horse's collar' > Z сийо<sup>h</sup>с ṣi<sup>h</sup>yẓs, Yz ṣi<sup>h</sup>ylas, Vt сиес ṣi<sup>h</sup>yes id.; pPrm \*ṣ<sup>h</sup>u-l- 'neck' (\*l- is a sx.) > Z с<sup>h</sup>ып̣ ṣ<sup>h</sup>ili, Z LVC ṣ<sup>h</sup>ili, Yz ṣ<sup>h</sup>li id., Z ṣ<sup>h</sup>iv- in ṣ<sup>h</sup>ivyẓṣẓdc̣<sup>h</sup>ini 'to throw oneself on so.'s neck', Vt сил<sup>h</sup>с<sup>h</sup>о<sup>h</sup>р ṣil<sup>h</sup>-ṣ<sup>h</sup>ẓr 'nape' (lit. 'hind part of the neck') :: ObU \*ṣ<sup>h</sup>ip(V) 'neck' > pVg \*ṣ<sup>h</sup>i p > Vg (partially in cds): LK ṣ<sup>h</sup>ip, MK/UK/UL/Ss sip, P ṣ<sup>h</sup>ip ~ ṣ<sup>h</sup>ip 'collar'; pVg \*ṣ<sup>h</sup>i p-lu<sup>h</sup>w 'neck' (\*lu<sup>h</sup>w means 'bone') > LK ṣ<sup>h</sup>iplow, P ṣ<sup>h</sup>ipluw ~ ṣ<sup>h</sup>upluw, Ss sipluw 'neck'; pOs \*sa<sup>h</sup>pəl 'neck' > Os: V/Vy sa<sup>h</sup>wəl, Ty/Y sa<sup>h</sup>pəl, D/K sa<sup>h</sup>pət, Nz sapət, Kz sapət, O sa<sup>h</sup>pəl ¶ UEW 473-4, Sm. 548 (FU, FP \*ṣ<sup>h</sup>epa<sup>h</sup>, Ugr \*sepa<sup>h</sup> 'neck'), It. #334, Ht. #600 (and #352), LG 255, 271, Lr. #130, Hs. 1310, MRS 74, Ep. 157, Ps. OT 132, SZ 357, Lt. J 181, 183, Ker. II 143-4 **II D** \*c̣k' app- ~ \*c̣k' epp-, [GS] \*ẓ'abb- 'shoulder, outer side of the thigh' > Tl jabba id., Tm cappai 'hips, haunch, shoulder blade', ceppu 'hip', ? appu 'thigh', Kn cappe 'the hip bone', Δ jabbe 'outer side of the thigh', Prj zabba, Knd zeba 'shoulder', Gnd aṭa zaba id. ¶¶ D #2339, GS 90 [#261] ♦ The U cognate and D \*c̣k' epp- point to N \*e, while D \*capp- (and S \*<sup>o</sup>ṣ<sup>h</sup>.abŋ-) suggest \*a<sup>h</sup> (or \*a).ā

**473. \*c̣.ʔi<sup>h</sup>bVŋV** (or \*c̣.ʔi<sup>h</sup>bVŋV) 'hyena' > **HS:** WS \*<sup>o</sup>ṣ<sup>h</sup>.abuŋ- ~ \*<sup>o</sup>ṣ<sup>h</sup>.a<sup>h</sup>buŋ- id. > PBHb [BS] c̣.a<sup>h</sup>-bo<sup>h</sup>ŋ, BHb [Mas.] o@ubc1 c̣.a<sup>h</sup>-b<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>-a<sup>h</sup>ŋ 'hyena' (u<sup>h</sup> for o<sup>h</sup> due to folk et. interpreting the words as a pp. o@ubc1 c̣.a<sup>h</sup>-b<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>-a<sup>h</sup>ŋ 'a dyed one'), pl. Mio&bc6 c̣.əb<sup>h</sup>-o<sup>h</sup>-ŋ-im, Sr '90ofæ â<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup>-a<sup>h</sup> (ʔ- < ŋ- by *dis*), Ar øbu5a δ̣<sup>h</sup>.abuŋ- ~ øbo5a δ̣<sup>h</sup>.abŋ-, Gz \*B) ṣ<sup>h</sup>.əbŋ 'hyena' ¶ GB 672, KBR 997, L G 147, Br. 42, KB 936 **II ? A:** Tg \*<sup>o</sup>ci<sup>h</sup>bpka > Ewk A c̣ipkaku 'wolf' ¶ STM II 399 **II D** \*c̣k'ivVŋki 'hyena, tiger-wolf' or sim. (× N \*SibVØV 'beast of prey' × N \*ẓiwVm<sup>h</sup>VjgE 'leopard') > Kn sivan'gi 'tiger-wolf, hyena', Tl civa<sup>h</sup>gi, civva<sup>h</sup>gi, civvan'gi, siva<sup>h</sup>gi, sivan'hi, sivvan'gi 'hyena', as well as Tm civin'ki 'Indian lynx, hunting leopard', Ml civin'ni 'hunting leopard' ¶¶ D #2579 ♦ AD NM #2, ≠ S CNM 14 (rejects the comparison because in his opinion Ewk c̣ipkaku 'wolf' is a loan from Alt c̣'epke 'wolverine', which is hard to believe because of the enormous distance between the Altay lge. in Southwestern Siberia and the Ayan dialect of Ewk [near the Pacific coast]), ≠ Vv. AEN 14 (doubts about Ewk c̣ipkaku as isolated within A).

**474. ʔ<sub>2</sub> \*c̣.obVRV** 'to press together, squeeze (as in a fist)' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>ṣ<sup>h</sup>.br > Ar rb% √δ̣<sup>h</sup>.br (ip. -δ̣<sup>h</sup>.bur-) {Ln.} 'make (books, writings) into a bundle; collect together (books, writings), collect together an army for war', {BK} 'assembler, réunir les feuillets en cahiers', √δ̣<sup>h</sup>.br D 'assembler, réunir' ¶ Ln. 1764, BK II 5 **II U:** FU \*<sup>o</sup>ṣ<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>lowVr- > FP \*ṣ<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>lowVr- 'squeeze, press together' > Er с<sup>h</sup>ворт-амс ṣ<sup>h</sup>uvorda-, ṣ<sup>h</sup>urda-, Mk ṣ<sup>h</sup>uvərda- 'press together, squeeze (in a fist)' : ? Lp S {Hs.} tjuoveridh 'müssen, sollen, dürfen' : Es so<sup>h</sup>-ō<sup>h</sup>-ruta- 'make milk flow (by rubbing the teats)' [← \*'squeeze'] : Prm {LG} \*ṣ<sup>h</sup>ur- 'collect, gather in one place' > Z с<sup>h</sup>ортчы<sup>h</sup> vi. ṣ<sup>h</sup>urtc̣<sup>h</sup>-i 'accrete, grow together', 'unite into one group', с<sup>h</sup>орт- ṣ<sup>h</sup>urt- vt. 'tuck up (a haystack after stowing the hay)' ¶ LG 275, MF 594-5, Hs. 1349-50, ≠ UEW 487 (does not recognize the connection between these words).

**475. ʔ<sub>2</sub> \*c̣.V<sub>L</sub>C<sub>L</sub>V<sub>L</sub>.qV** (possibly \*c̣.V<sub>L</sub>C<sub>L</sub>V<sub>L</sub>.qV ~ \*c̣.V<sub>L</sub>C<sub>L</sub>.qV) 'to squeeze, press' > **HS:** SC: Irq c̣<sup>h</sup>.eq 'squeeze', Kz c̣<sup>h</sup>.ak<sup>h</sup>- v. 'pinch' ¶ E SC 360, E K 20 || S \*<sup>o</sup>ṣ<sup>h</sup>.yk<sup>h</sup> 'be narrowed \ straitened \ pressed' (× N \*c̣<sup>h</sup>.iK<sup>h</sup>.V 'tight, narrow', q.v. ffd.) **II K:** [1] GZ ı \*c̣<sup>h</sup>.ec̣<sup>h</sup>.q- 'press, squeeze' > G c̣<sup>h</sup>.ec̣<sup>h</sup>.q- id., {Chx.} '(zer-)drücken, (zer-)quetschen, (zer-)malmen, (zer-)traten', Mg c̣<sup>h</sup>.qac̣<sup>h</sup>.q- {FS, K} 'press, squeeze', [2] GZ ı \*c̣<sup>h</sup>.qec̣<sup>h</sup>.q- 'squeeze, press (einklemmen, quetschen, drücken)' > G {FS} c̣<sup>h</sup>.qec̣<sup>h</sup>.q-, Mg c̣<sup>h</sup>.qac̣<sup>h</sup>.q-

id. ¶ K 255, FS K 455, 475, FS E 515-6, 538-9, Chx. 2246 ¶ The initial affricates \*č̣- and \*c̣- are due to *as* ⇨ Doubtful, because the S cognate has a good alt. etymology.

**476. \*č̣.ṽhwil** 'to burn' (vt.) (→ 'to warm' [of the sun], 'heat of the day') > **K** \*č̣.w- vt., vi. 'burn', vt. 'bake, fry' > OG c.uw-, G c.v- v. 'burn, roast', Mg, Lz c̣̣(v)- v. 'burn, be hot' (of the sun), 'fry', Sv -č̣- (prs. -ač̣̣.i) v. 'bake (up to dryish consistency), scorch', msd. UB li-c̣̣.i ¶¶ Mach. K 29-30, K 250, K DE 359, K<sup>2</sup> 310, Chx. 2144-7, DCh. 1674, Q 392-3, Dn. s.v. -č̣̣-, GP 187 **HS**: WS \*√ṣ̣.ḥy > Ar δ̣̣.jhh- 'soleil, éclat du soleil', δ̣̣.uha-, δ̣̣.uhayy- 'heure du jour où le soleil est déjà élevé sur l'horizon; soleil', OETH \*ṣ̣.ahay > Gz (modern pronunciation), Tgr, Tgy ṣ̣.əhay 'sun' ¶ BK II 10, 13, L G 149 || C: SC: Alg {E} c̣̣.ah- v. 'set out to dry'; ?? Irq {MQK} c̣̣.eʔama 'sunshine, midday sun, warmth', c̣̣.īf- v. 'get hot, be at sth.'s highest temperature' ¶ E SC 360 (reconstructs pRt \*c̣̣.ah-), MQK 108 **II** ? **A**: NaT \*c̣̣.abaʔ > OT c̣̣.avar 'kindling' (Cl. ED 398); the T √ is ambiguous: it may belong to N \*c̣̣.ṽxV 'burn' as well.

**477. ? 2 \*č̣.oksē** 'to sink to a kneeling\squatting\lying position' > **HS**: WS \*√ṣ̣.gf v. 'lie down' > Ar əj% √δ̣̣.gʔ G 'lay down one's side upon the ground, lie down', 'set' (of a star), Gz √ṣ̣.gʔ G v. 'make up a bed, lean upon', Tgr ṣ̣.eggəfa v. 'lean against, lie down' ¶ Ln. 1769, BK II 9, L G 148-9 || WCh: [1] NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} cakʔat v. 'kneel, squat', Cg {Sk.} ẓ̣.ugu id. ? Ngz {Sch.} ʔọ̣.ku'lo'lo'k 'in a squatting position' [2] ?WCh {Stl.} \*c̣̣.ug- v. 'squat' > Hs c̣̣.u'gu'na' 'squatted on heels', c̣̣.u'gu'ne' 'act of squatting' ! pNrBc {Stl.} √cg v. 'sit' > Wrj {Sk.} c̣̣.əg, My/Mbr {Sk.} c̣̣.əg, Cg {Sk.} c̣̣.əg :: ECh: Bdy {Alj} ʔọ̣.ko'm 'squat (s'accroupir)' ¶ Sk. NB 28, 40, Stl. ZCh 184 [#355], Sch. DN 85, Abr. H 890-1, Alj 85 ¶¶ **A** Sk. HCD 275 ¶¶ The voiced cns. \*g in S and Ch may be either original or resulting from an *as* \*ḳ̣.ʔ > \*gʔ **II** **A** {SDM} \*c̣̣.ok'i > T \*c̣̣.ok- (= {Md.} \*c̣̣.o'k-) v. 'kneel down' (→ 'to sink') > OT c̣̣.o'k- v. 'kneel' (esp. of camels), 'sink' (kọ̣.ḥu'lu'm c̣̣.o'kti korkti 'my heart sank and was afraid'), XwT c̣̣.o'k- v. 'kneel, collapse', Chg c̣̣.o'k- v. 'subside', MQp, Qrg c̣̣.o'k-, StAlt {BT} c̣̣.o'g-o'do- v. 'kneel', Tk c̣̣.o'k-, Qzq ṣ̣.o'k- v. 'sink, kneel', Tkm c̣̣.o'k-, Qq ṣ̣.o'k-, Nog ṣ̣.o'k-/ṣ̣.o'g-, Uz c̣̣.əḥk- c̣̣.o'k- v. 'kneel, sink', Az c̣̣.o'k- v. 'sink', diz c̣̣.o'k- v. 'kneel', ET {Nj.} c̣̣.o'k- v. 'sink', tiz c̣̣.o'k- v. 'kneel', Ggz c̣̣.o'k- v. 'sink', Qmq c̣̣.o'k- v. 'squat, sink', VTt c̣̣.əḥ- ṣ̣.u'g- v. 'sink' (of a building), Bsh su'g- id., 'kneel', Yk so'x- v. 'sink', ? su'g-u'ru'y-, Chv Δ c̣̣.əḥk- ṣ̣.əḥk/g- 'sink (as ears of cereals)', Chv c̣̣.əḥk- ṣ̣.əḥk- {Md.} ṣ̣.əḥk- v. 'kneel'; T (Tk?) ⇨ OG [KC], G c̣̣.ok- v. 'kneel down (niederknieen)', c̣̣.ok-i 'knieende Stellung', Mg c̣̣.ok- v. 'kneel' ¶ Cl. 413-4, Rs. W 117, TkR 738, Sht. 239, TatR 651, Nj. 392, BT 181, Pek. 2312, 2379, Jeg. 205, Fed. II 90-1, Md. 51, Chx. 1944-5, DCh. 1581, KEGL VIII 532 || M: MM [MA] c̣̣.oke- v. 'squat, make (a camel) squat' (⇨ T?) ¶ Pp. MA 136 || Tg \*c̣̣.oko- v. 'squat' > Ewk coko- v. 'squat', Ul c̣̣.oqc̣̣.o' v. 'squat down, squat', Nn Nh c̣̣.oqc̣̣.oma- v. 'squat down', c̣̣.oqc̣̣.ora-c̣̣.i- v. 'be squatting' ¶ STM II 404 || pJ {S} \*tuku-(m)pap- v. 'squat' > OJ tuku-bap-, J T cukuba- id. ¶ S QJ #564 || pKo {S} \*cu'k- 'to squat; bow\ incline' → v. 'die' ⇨ \*cu'k-yo- v. 'kill' > MKo cu'k, NKO cuk- v. 'die', MKo cu'sku'r- v. 'squat', MKo cu'kyu-, NKO cugi- v. 'kill' ¶ SDM97 55, S AJ 252 [#17], S QK #17, Nam 63, 433-4, MLC 219, 1470, 1494, 1503-4 ¶¶ KW 431 (Kl co'kō- 'elend sein, mutlos sein' i ÷ the above T √), S AJ 286 [#252] (A \*c̣̣.o'k'u) and DQA #329 (A \*c̣̣.o'k'i 'to incline, sink' (T, Tg, Ko, J; shares Rm.'s opinion by unconvincing adducing M \*co'ku- 'elend sein', 'lose all hope').

**478. \*č̣.ik.ṽ** 'tight, narrow, dense' > **HS**: S \*-ṣ̣.u'k- ~ \*-ṣ̣.ik- v. 'be narrow, tight' (× N \*č̣̣.ṽC.ṽṽ.ṽqV 'to squeeze, press?') > BHb *Sh* pf. qic5e4 he-c̣̣.ik, ip. qic5i! ya-c̣̣.ik v. 'drive [smb.] in the corner, press [smb.]', he-c̣̣.ik, la- 'harass, press hard', Ug √ṣ̣.ywk, *Sh* 'exert pressure', JA √ṣ̣.ywk. (pf. qol ʔa'k.) v. 'be narrow(ed), pressed', JEA √ṣ̣.ywk, *D* 'cause trouble, distress', SmA √ṣ̣.ywk, *G* 'be in dread', ʔyk.h 'distress', Ar əy% √δ̣̣.yq (pf. δ̣̣.a-qa, ip. -δ̣̣.īq-) v. 'be straitened, be narrow', Mh ṣ̣.əyk. ({Jo.} ẓ̣.ayk.), Jb E ṣ̣.ik. ({Jo.} ẓ̣.ik.) 'narrow, cramped', Hrs ṣ̣.ək. ({Jo. HL} ẓ̣.ek., {Jo. ML} ẓ̣.ək.) 'narrow', Ak -ṣ̣.ik- (inf. sia'k.um, sa'k.u) v. 'be(come) narrow\tight' ¶ KB 951, KBR 1014, Js. 1056, Tal 627-8, OLS 420-1, Js. 1056, Sl. 848, BK II 49, Fr. III 35, Hv. 424, Jo. M 479, Jo. H 132, Sd. 1039, CAD XV 169-70 || B: Ah ẓ̣.ukmāt v. 'be narrow (a place)', ?? Zng {TC} aẓ̣.ẓ̣.ig 'étrangler', pf. yuẓ̣.ẓ̣.a'g ¶ Fc. 1952, DCTC 287, TC Z 306 **II** **U**: FU (att. in FP) \*ṣ̣.ṣ̣.ikV ~ \*ṣ̣.ṣ̣.ikkV 'dense' > pMr {Ker.} ṣ̣.īxə-ḍ̣.ə > Er сееде ṣ̣.eyed'e, Δ ṣ̣.a'yed'e, Mk сиде ṣ̣.iḍ̣.ə 'dense\thick (forest, fence)' ! F sikea' 'deep (sea), heavy (sleep)' ! Prm \*ṣ̣.ik > Vt {U3S} ṣ̣.ik 'forest' (← \*thicket'), {Set.} ṣ̣.ik 'dichter Wald' ¶ Set. FULL 267, UEW 774 (FV \*ṣ̣.ikV), Lt. 182, ERV 575, Ker. II 134, U3S 389, KC 192, PI 248, ≠ LG 255 (Vt < Prm \*ṣ̣.ik 'set of homogeneous

objects'), Ps. sL 32, 74-5, SK 1022 ¶ In FV the stem has \*-k-, in Prm it has \*-kk-; the lack of gemination in FV is still to be explained ¶ **II A:** M \*ciqul 'narrow, tight' (× N \*c̣ʰ.ɛʃk.ɿ̄ - \*c̣ʰ.aʰʃik.ɿ̄ 'to squeeze, make tight') > MM [HI] c̣ʰiqul 'étroit, reserré', WrM ciqul, HlM цухал 'narrow, tight', Ord {Ms.} ʒ̣\_u<χu<1 id., WrO {Krg.} cuχul 'close, narrow'; ?φ M \*cigq > WrM {Rm.} cig ~ cig, WrO ciq 'dense' (ciq modon 'dense forest'), Kl Ö c̣ʰiq 'eng, schmal, gedrängt', ?σ,φ M \*ciq ɱ'thicket' > MM [MA] c̣ʰiq 'brushwood' ('заросли кустарника'), [HI] c̣ʰiq 'treillis de bambou' ¶ MED 193, Kow. 2143, Ms. H 47, Ms. O 216, Krg. 636, 648, Pp. MA 134, KW 438 ¶ The structure of M \*cigq 'dense' and M \*ciq 'thicket' is not typical of M and therefore seems to suggest its foreign (T?) origin, but no plausible source of borrowing has been found so far ¶ **II D** \*c̣k'ikk- v. 'thicken; congeal' (of liquid), 'harden' (× \*ṣʰiK.U 'to get\be cold, to cool') > Tm cikkan.avu 'hardness', Kn jigi 'stickiness, thickness', cikani 'thick, hard', Klm sikot, 'sticky', Knd sika 'thickness (of fluid)', sikani 'thick' (of fluid), D → OI cikka 'gum, birdlime' ¶¶ D #2488, Tu. #4780 ◇ Cf. \*ʒ̣'ek.ɿ̄ 'to be tight\cramped, tighten' (q.v.).

**479.** \*c̣ʰ.Uʔiɿ̄ɿ̄wɿ̄ɿ̄ 'little, small' > K {K<sup>2</sup>} \*c̣ʰ.ul' (= {K} \*c̣ʰ.uzɿ̄-) '(male) child, boy' > OG c̣ʰ.ul- 'child', G c̣ʰ.ul- 'baby, (male) child', Sv {TK}: UB c̣ʰ.u'ṣ, c̣ʰ.wiṣ, L c̣ʰ.uṣ id. ¶ K 252, K<sup>2</sup> 316, FS K 463 (\*c̣ʰ.ul-), TK 863 ¶ **HS:** S \*°√ṣʰ.ɿ̄ɿ̄ > Ar √δ̣ʰ.ɿ̄ɿ̄ G (pf. ὀαὐσα δ̣ʰ.α?ula) 'be lean \ thin \ little \ mean' ¶ Fr. III 1, Hv. 412 ¶ **II A** {AD} \*c̣ʰ.olwe ({SDM97} \*c̣ʰ.ole) v. 'diminish, shrink' > M \*°coʰ.luʰyi- v. > WrM coʰ.luʰi-, HlM ц̣ʰ лий-х 'decline, decay, deteriorate, diminish' ¶ MED 202 || Tg \*°c̣ʰuʰlbi- v. 'grow thin\lean, lose flesh' > Ewk PT c̣ʰulbi-, c̣ʰulbi- v. 'get lean (person, animal)', Ewk Tmt c̣ʰulbi- v. 'be starving', Ewk PT c̣ʰulbika-, c̣ʰulbi- 'lean (person, animal), thin (tree)' ¶ STM II 413 || pKo {S} \*cuʰr- v. 'shrink, grow less' > MKo curi-hi- id., NKo cuʰl- 'reduce, diminish, decrease' ¶ S QK #725, MLC 1508-9 || ?[+?σ] NaT {DQA} \*°c̣ʰuʰlik- > OT [MhK] c̣ʰuʰluʰk- {MKD, Cl.} 'be in a shabby condition', {DTS} 'fall into decay', {Rs.} 'vernichtet werden' ¶ Cl. 420, MKD 96, DTS 157 ¶¶ Rs. W 121 (T, M, Ko), DQA ##337 \*c̣ʰuli 'grow less, shrink' ¶ [⊕ **D** \*c̣k'ill- ({GS} \*c̣-) 'small' > Ml cillar\_a 'small, trifling matter', Kn cillar\_a 'smallness', Tu cillaræ 'small money', Tl cillara 'small, unimportant', Ku cillera pra-ncu v. 'retail' ¶¶ D #2574 ◇ K \*l' (> G l, Sv ṣ) seems to go back to \*-yɿ̄- (contraction of \*-ɿ̄l-?), [ if IS's hyp. supposing that N \*l' yields K \*r' (ṛ) (> G, Zan r, Sv l) is right]. N \*-w- is suggested by Tg \*-b-. The adduction of D is tentative and highly *qu.*; it is possible on assumption of a N medial \*-i-. If [⊕ the] D [⊕ and T dubious cognates are ~~is~~] accepted, the original lateral is \*-l- (because N \*-l- would have yielded D \*-l- [⊕, and N \*-l' would have been represented by D \*-l- and pT \*l'). A contamination with N \*c̣ʰ.uʃɿ̄ɿ̄ɿ̄ɿ̄ 'small' (in some daughter lgs.) cannot be ruled out.].

**480.** ?₂ \*c̣ʰ.ɿ̄ɿ̄ɿ̄ɿ̄ 'to be compassionate, have mercy' > K: GZ {K<sup>2</sup>} \*c̣ʰ.qal- 'feel sorry (for), regret, spare' > OG, G c̣ʰ.qal- id., Mg c̣ʰ.qol-op-ua 'charity' ¶¶ K 252, K<sup>2</sup> 317, FS K 468-9 ¶ **HS:** SS \*°√ṣʰ.hl (deglossalization from \*°√ṣʰ.hl?) > Gz taṣʰaʰhala, taṣʰaʰhale- v. 'be gracious, have mercy, be compassionate', Tgy səhle v. 'be benign', Tgr səhala v. 'be merciful' ¶ L G 528.

**481.** \*c̣ʰ.ɿ̄ɿ̄ɿ̄ɿ̄ 'side of body' (→ 'rib'), 'hip' (→ 'thigh') > K \*c̣ʰ.el- 'loins, waist' (→ 'guts, intestines') (× N \*ɿ̄ɿ̄ɿ̄ɿ̄ 'guts') > OG c̣ʰ.el-i 'loins' [Luke 12.35], 'guts', G c̣ʰ.el-i 'waist, loin; intestine', pl. c̣ʰ.el-eb-i 'guts', Mg c̣ʰ.ɿ̄, c̣ʰ.i-, Lz (m)c̣ʰ.u-, ? Sv UB/L {TK, GP} rdp c̣ʰ.inc̣.il 'gut, intestine' ¶ K 249, K<sup>2</sup> 308, FS K 460, FS E 521 (K \*c̣ʰ.el- 'gut'), Ser. 209 (OG c̣ʰ.el- 'loins, waist'), Chx. 1973, 2135-6, DCh. 1671, NCh. 448, Chik. 69-70, Q 396, GP 280, TK 862 ¶ **HS:** S \*ṣʰ.iʰlaʃ- ~ \*ṣʰ.ilaʃ- 'rib', 'side (of body)' > BHb ol1c4 c̣ʰ.eʰlaʃ- id., Ug ṣ.lʰ 'rib; meat on a rib', BA ol2o9\* ʃ̣ʰaʰlaʃ\* (pl. Nio5l6o5 ʃ̣ʰilʰʃ̣in) 'rib', IA pl. cs. iolo ʃ̣ʰy 'ribs of...', JA {Js., Dlm.} ao1l6(i)o5 ʃ̣ʰilʰʃ̣-aʰ, JEA {Sl.} ao1l6io5 ʃ̣ʰilʰʃ̣-aʰ, SmA ʃ̣ʰ 'rib', Sr ʔelʰʃ̣-aʰ, Ug ṣ.lʰ {OLS} 'rib', {A} 'Rippenstück', Ar øl0%i δ̣ʰilʰʃ̣- ~ øla%øi δ̣ʰilaʃ- 'rip, side (of body)', Sb ḍ ṣ.lʰt (?) 'malady affecting the chest', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} ṣʰ.aʰlaʃ, Jb C/E {Jo.}, Sq {Jo.} ṣʰ.alʃ, {L} ṣʰ.alh, Sq Δ {SSL} ṣʰ.ɿ̄ɿ̄ɿ̄ 'rib', Ak fOB ṣ.eʰlu 'rib, side (of body), side'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hoch} ʒi-ra-ʃ̣-tu (\*c̣ʰ.ilaʃtu) 'plank' ¶ KB 965, 1760, A #2320, OLS 416-7, HJ 864, Sl. 855, Dlm. 314, Js. 1085, Tal 641, Br 22, JPS 18, BGMR 41, Jo. M 476, Jo. H 152, Jo. J 325, L LS 361, SSL LSNP 1480, Sd. 1090, CAD XVI 124, Hoch #592, MiK I #1.272 ¶ **IE:** NaIE \*(s)ḳʰel- 'hip, thigh; rib' (× N \*c̣ʰ.a.qaɿɿ̄ɿ̄ or \*c̣ʰ.a.qɿ̄ 'elbow, ∈ part of a limb') > Gk σκεῶλον 'the leg from the hip downwards', (?φ) σκεῶλον pl. 'ribs of beef', κωλεῶνα 'thigh-bone with the flesh on it' ¶ BSl: Lt kuʰṣ'e, kuʰṣ'is 'hip, haunch', Pru culczi 'hip' : Sl \*кѣлка ~ \*кѣлкѣ 'hip' > ChS кѣлка klъka 'ham' ({Mikl.} 'αγκυῶλη, poples'), SCr kuʰk 'hip joint, hip', Slv koʰlk 'hip, haunch', Blg \*кѣлка id., thigh; the BSl word is adduced by WP and P, but not accepted as a cognate by ESSJ and Frn.; it is

doubtful because of the unexplained stem-medial \*k ¶ WP II 597-8, P 929, Frn. 308, En. 199, Tp. P K-L 256-62, ESSJ XIII 188, Mikl. E 154, F II 60-1, 723-4, 837-8, Ch. 1013, ≠ EI 142 (F, Ch and EI connect Gk σκεῖ'λοϝ with \*skel- 'bend') || D (in SD) \*c̣ḳ'īlaman'd.- (× N \*ṣ'i'l'wV 'shank, meat of a limb') > Tl c̣laman.d.a, (b>?) Kn c̣laman.d.e 'ankle' (D \*man't.- means 'knee', see D #4677) ¶ D #2633 ♦ The IE data do not contradict the possibility of a N \*i. Acc. to AD's theory (AD NGIE, AD NVIE), the pre-IE \*ị (< N \*i) was lost before sonants [ʃ]. IE \*(s)k- for the expected \*s-may be due to the contamination with N c̣.a.q̣ḷạl'V ♦ Blz. KM 131 [#3] (*incl.* K, S).].

**482.** \*c̣'.Ṿ.ṾmV 'daylight' > K \*c̣'.am- 'morning' > Mg c̣'.ume- 'to-morrow', oc̣'.umara, Lz c̣'.uman- 'morning', c̣'.umen- 'tomorrow', Sv UB/LB ham 'morning' ¶¶ K 247-8, K<sup>2</sup> 306, Chik. 19, TK 892 || **HS:** SC: Alg {E} c̣'.ehemu 'sun, daylight', Brn {E} c̣'.ema 'sun', c̣'.emati 'today', Irq {E} -c̣'.emu in amec̣'.emu 'noon', ?φ Asa {E} demok 'morning' ¶ E SC 360 (reconstructs pRt \*c̣'.ehem- 'day, daytime, daylight') || ? NrOm: Hrr {Abb} ẓ.ompe- 'artificial light' [Abb: ẓ. = (EthSc) 8] ¶ CR H 668, AD SF 122 || **A:** ?σ M \*comur > WrM comur 'clear, legible, evident; accurate; suitable', Brt comop 'orderly' (of a person) ('аккуратный, собранный') ¶ MED 197, Chr. 390.

**483.** \*c̣'.ṾṃṾ'ṣ'V 'to interlace, plait\tie\wrap together' > K: GZ \*c̣'.mas- v. 'interlace, twist; plait\braid together' > OG, G c̣.masn- v. 'weave, interlace tightly', Mg c̣'.imoṣ-, c̣'.umoṣ- v. 'twist, tie up (tobacco leaves, etc.)', Lz c̣'.imoṣ- v. 'interlace, twist (ropes)' ¶ K 251-2, K<sup>2</sup> 314, FS K 465 || **HS:** S \*√ṣ'.md (from \*√ṣ'.mṣ' + a sx.?) v. 'tie\bind together, attach' > Ak √ṣ'.md 'an-zusammen-verbinden, anschirren', Ar √δ̣'.md v. 'bandage', BHb √c̣'.md N (pf. nic̣'.maḍ-) 'attach oneself to' ({KBR} 'be involved with'), 'c̣'.emeḍ- 'team (of oxen/donkeys), team', MHb √c̣'.md G v. 'join, attach', Ug ṣ'.md 'pair; pair of oxen', Gz √ṣ'.md G v. 'yoke, harness, bind together', ṣ'.amḍ 'yoke; pair (of animals, objects)' ¶ KB 967, KBR 1032-3, OLS 417, Sd. 1080, L G 149-50 || Eg fP (mt) dṃ 'assemble, bring together; unite' ¶ EG V 457-9, Fk. 313 || SOm: (mt) Ari sud.umat- v. 'gather' ¶ Bnd. AL 151 ¶¶ Tk. I 259 (Eg, S, Om) [ʃ || WCh: NrBc {Tk.} \*c̣'.im- 'sew' > Sir c̣'.imu, Jmb ṣ'.im-, P' c̣'.imba ¶ Sk. NB 39, ChC, Tk. NB 178] || **U** \*ọ'ṛṣ'iṃ'ṣ'a [ʃṛṣ' = ṣ'ṣ't] (as from \*ṣ'iṃsa?) > pSm \*ṭ'ṃta /ḅ 'wrap round, bind, (um-zusammen)wickeln' > Ne T {Ter.} та̣м̣та̣, Slq Tz {KKIH} tamtil- 'zusammen-drehen\rollen-\drücken' ¶ Jn. 147, KKIH 178 || **A:** ?? M \*camca<sub>1</sub>y 'shirt' > MM [S] camca, [MA] c̣'amc̣'ay, WrM camca, HIM цамц, Kl † цамца, Kl Ö camca id, WrO camca id., 'blouse' ¶ The second \*c̣ < \*ṣ by as? ¶ H 25, Pp. MA 130, MED 164, Krg. 617, KRS 625, KW 421.

**484.** <sub>2</sub> \*c̣'.ạṆṾ 'to give birth' > **HS:** S \*°√ṣ'.ṇ? > Ar {Ln.} jn0%a δ̣'.aṇ? 'children, offspring', jn% √δ̣'.ṇ? G 'have many children' (of a woman), 'multiply, become numerous' (of cattle), †0j̣na%a δ̣'.ana?at 'she brought forth' ¶ Ln. 1806, BK II 41, Hv. 422 || Eg fP 3̣n.w 'junge Leute' (← \*'children') ¶ Metathesis \*ṇ? > \*?ṇ ¶ EG V 524 || **D** \*c̣ḳ'aṇ- ({GS} \*c̣-?) 'foetus', 'be(come) pregnant' > Ml cana 'pregnancy', canekka v. 'conceive' (animals), Kn jane, Tl jena 'yolk of an egg', Kn tane, tene 'foetus of beasts, pregnancy', Tu tanæ, sanæ 'conceiving, breeding' (of cattle, sheep, etc.); (with an obscure i) Tm ciṇ.aị 'embryo, foetus, pregnancy', ciṇ.aị v. 'be impregnated' ¶¶ D #2592.

**485.** ?σ \*c̣'.EṆṾqV 'to press, squeeze' > K: GZ \*c̣'.neq̣χ/\*c̣'.niq̣χ- id. > OG, G c̣'.neχ-/c̣'.niχ- v. 'press (grapes)', G sa-c̣'.xen-el-i 'press-vat (for grapes)', Mg c̣'.inaχ- v. 'press', {FS} o-c̣'.inaχ-u, {Q} o-c̣'.inaχz, o-c̣'.3naχ-i, o-c̣'.3naχ-u 'press-vat', Lz c̣'.inaχ-u 'press, squeeze', o-c̣'.inaχ-u 'auspressen, keltern', n. 'press-vat' ¶ K 252, K<sup>2</sup> 315, FS K 466, FS K<sup>2</sup> 671, FS E 527-8, Q 389 || **HS:** CS \*√ṣ'.nḳ. (< \*\*√ṣ'.ṇ.q̣ < \*\*√ṣ'.nq̣ - mte) > Ar {Ln.} 'hang [smb.] by the neck till he dies', 'bind the camel with the ṣ'.ina-q̣; bind the head of the beast\horse', ṣ'.anaqa-l-qirbata '(he) bound the mouth of the water-skin with the bond called wiqa?- and then bound the extremity of its wiqa?- to its fore legs', {Fr.} √ṣ'.nq̣ (ip̣. -ṣ'.niq̣-, -ṣ'.nuq̣-) 'strangulavit', 'ligavit [camelum] fune vel loro (E'n\$ appellato', MHb qnx √snḳ. G 'press, stuff', JA {Dlm.} √snḳ. D 'erdrücken (?)', {Lv., Js.} √snḳ. D 'stuff, press' or (acc. to some scholars) 'choke, cause loss of breath' ¶ Ln. 1606-8, Fr. III 457-8, Lv. III 558, Js. 1008, Dlm. 283 || **D** \*c̣ḳ'ẹ'ṅkḳ- ({GS} \*ṣ'-) 'breathe with difficulty' (← \*'be suffocated') > Ml ẹ'ṇ'ṇ'uka id., eṇ'ṇ'a? 'breathing with difficulty', ẹ'kkal 'asthma', ẹ'kkam id., 'hard breathing', Tm eṇ'kal 'asthma in children', Tu sẹ'ṇ'ku- v. 'pant, breathe quickly\heavily', sẹ'ṇ'kæ 'panting, breathing quickly', Kui sẹ'ke 'panting, gasping for breath', Ku sẹ'ke sẹ'ke nẹ'ṇzina? 'pant' (nẹ'ṇzina? 'breathe, gasp') ¶¶ D #2804, An. SG 137 (D \*-ṅkḳ-) ♦

≠ Kap. ALM 13 (equates the K √ with the non-existent Ak sanaḱu 'to press', i.e. actually with S √sʰnk, as well as with Arm 4n2el cʰnsʰ-el 'to press, squeeze').

**486. \*cʰUnʰtV** 'mucus' (> 'sweat', 'snivel', 'dung, filth') > **K**: G c.vint.li 'nasal mucus' ¶ Chx. 2157 **II HS**: SS \*sʰuṇṇVt- > Gz sʰənt 'urine', (*bf?*) SS \*sʰin- > Gz √sʰyn (pf. sʰe-na, js. yəsʰin) v. 'urinate', Tgr √sʰyn (pf. sʰena), Tgy pf. sʰenə, sʰenə id. (possible infl. of S \*√θyn 'urinate') ¶ L G 540 **II IE**: NaIE {P, EI} \*swei\_d- v. 'sweat', \*swei\_des n., \*swoi\_do-, \*sweidro-/swidro- 'sweat' > OI 'svidyati, 'sve-date' 'sweats', Av xʰisat\_ 'geriet in Schweiß'; OI 'sve-dah, Av xʰae-do-n. 'sweat, perspiration' ¶ W chwys id., chwysu 'to sweat' ¶ Gmc \*switjan id. > OHG swizzen, NHG schwitzen, AS swætan id., NE sweat v.; Gmc \*swai\_ta- n. 'sweat, perspiration' > OHG sweiō, NHG Schweiß, OSx sweʰt, MDt sweet, Dt zweet, AS swaʰt id. ¶ Gk Hm (e)ʰidōw, Gk A ʰidōw v. 'sweat' ¶ L suda- id. ¶ Ltv svrʰst id., svieʰdri n. pl. 'sweat, perspiration' ¶ Tc B sya- v. 'sweat' (< \*swidye- + a-) ¶¶¶ \*swoi\_d-o-s id. > L sudor, -o-ris id. ¶ P 1043, WP II 521, EI 560, Mn. 164, M K III 570, M E II 798-9, WH II 623-4, YGM-1 158, LP § 153, F I 709-10, KM 691, 695, Kb. 999, 1007, Kar. II 340, Wn. 448, Ad. 721, Ad. H 38 **II U**: FU \*sʰsʰontV > FP (or FV) \*sʰontV 'dirt, dung' > F sonta id., Es soʰnnik 'dung, muck, manure' ! Chr: H {Ep.} 'sʰandʰ 'excrements, urine', {Wc., Ü, Ep.} 'sʰandʰ 'lavatory', {Ep., MRS} 'sʰandʰ 'urine with blood (an illness of animals)', L dʰ {MRS, Ü} sʰonʰdan, Uf {Wc.} 'sʰondʰ 'dung, urine', dʰ {Ü} sʰondem 'lavatory' ! ? Vt Sr zud 'black mud (used as dye)' ¶ UEW 764-5, SK 1072, It. #122, Wc. TT 92, MRS 691, Ep. 146, Ü 257, 268, LG 269 ♦ If W. Müller (p.c. to L) is right in supposing that Gz √ is √syn (rather than √sʰyn, which in his opinion is not the etl. spelling), the EthS cognate is to be rejected, so that the N etymon will be \*cʰUnʰtV.

**487. i \*cʰaṇU** 'to jump, skip' > **HS**: S \*√sʰmd > Jb √sʰmd (pret. sʰuʰd) v. 'jump a certain height', sʰəmdurn 'a good jumper' ¶ Jo. J 325 **II U**: FU (att. in Ugr) \*sʰaṇX- v. 'gallop, jump' (× \*sʰaṇØV dʰ 'to run, jump, climb' [q.v. ffd.]) **II A**: Tg: Nn cʰangoar, cʰansoap, Nn B cʰonsoq, Nn KU cʰamsop 'quickly, suddenly (to get up, rise, jump up)' ¶ STM II 384 **II D** \*cʰaṇk-, {GS} \*cʰaṇ- v. 'jump, climb' (× \*sʰaṇØV dʰ?) > Kn canʰgu, cenʰgu v. 'jump, skip', Tl cenʰganaʰlu 'leaping, frisking, gambol', cenʰguna 'nimble, agilely, quickly' (applied to leaping), Δ cenʰgu, janʰgu 'agility', Nk caṇgay- v. 'climb' ¶¶ D #2285, GS 127 [#333] ♦ N \*-U is suggested by Tg and by S \*m [regularly from N \*-ṇ- near a labial vw.].

**488. \*cʰapV** v. 'clay, mud; smear, moisten' > **HS**: C: SC: Alg {E} cʰufa 'mud' ¶ EC: Sml dʰoʰbo 'mud, dirt, soil, clay', dʰoʰb- v. 'mould (out of clay), plaster, daub with mud' ¶ ZMO 122, E SC 328 (s.v. SC \*cʰuʰf- 'mud') **II K**: GZ \*cʰeb- vt. 'glue' > G cʰeb-, Mg, Lz cʰab- id., OG cʰeb-\* id. (att. within verbs with pxs.); GZ \*cʰebo- n. 'mistletoe, gum (vegetable glue)' > Mg, Lz cʰabu- id., OG, G cʰebo- gum, glue' ¶ K 248, K<sup>2</sup> 308, FS K 459, FS E 520-1, Abul. 541 **II A**: M \*cabaʰyʰun 'glue' > MM [IM] {Pp.} cʰabuʰn n. 'glue' [(ArSc) with a spelling mistake: ʰvsbj], WrM cabau ~ cabagu, HIM цавуун, Brt сабуу(н) sabuʰ(n) 'glue', Ord {Ms.} cʰawuʰ- 'colle forte', WrO {Krg.} cabaq, Kl {KRS} цавг cawag 'starch', Kl Ö {Rm.} cawag 'glue, fish-glue'; M \*cabug 'sth. glued' > WrM cabug, HIM цавар 'layers of paper\cloth glued or pasted together', WrM cabug-la-, HIM цаварла- 'paste layers of cloth\paper together' ¶ Pp. MA 435, MED 154-5, Ms. O 697, KW 423, Krg. 615, KRS 621, Chr. 379 || T {DQA} \*cʰap- > OT [MhK] cʰap- v. plaster ('a6aLa') [aʰr aʰvin cʰapdu 'the man plastered his house (with mud)'], Uz cʰapi-, ET {Nj.} cʰap-li-, ET Tr {Rl.} cʰap-la- vt. 'plaster (a wall\house)', Qrg cʰap-ta- 'glue up, stick up, stop up (заклеиват, закупориват)', ? Chv {Ash.} sʰop- 'заворачиват пирог' (= 'wrap the filling of the pie with dough?') ¶ Cl. 394, Rs. W 99, Nj. 279, Rl. III 1925, UzR 515, Jud. 847, Ash. XII 247-8 || Tg \*cʰap > Ewk PT/Y/I cawija, Ewk PT cawida ~ capida 'white clay' ¶ STM II 74 ¶¶ DQA #272 (A \*cʰaʰpʰaʰi 'glue, clay' > T, M, Tg), KW 427 **II D** \*cava 'brackish\saline earth, fuller's earth' (× N \*sʰahʰiʰbV 'desert; saline earth', q.v. ffd. × \*sʰabʰiʰV 'clay') ¶¶ D \*cavar- ~ \*camar- ({GS} \*s-) 'to smear, to oil, to rub in (oil, etc.)' (× N \*sʰæmi 'fat') > Kn savaru id., 'rub in or apply to (water, oil, etc.), convey a sticky substance to a vessel', Tl camuru 'oil, any oily\unctuous substance', camuru v. 'smear, daub, run as with oil', EpTl samaru 'ghee' ¶¶ D #2389, 2674b ♦ IS SS #12.24, IS MS 344 s.v. 'клеѣ' \*cʰabʰ.

**488a. ?? i \*cʰapV** 'to grasp, take' > **K**: GZ \*cʰap- v. 'grasp, take' > Mg, Lz cʰop- v. 'take, grasp, hold', OG cʰap- ('acquire, take much') v. 'drink greedily', G cʰap- v. 'drink greedily, steal' (σ=: R наѡбралсѣ 'took much' → 'got drunk') ¶¶ K 248, Chik. 418 **II HS**: WS \*√sʰbt v. 'take' > Hrs √sʰbt. (pret. sʰaʰybet.), Mh √sʰbt. (pf. sʰaʰt.) v. 'take', Jb √sʰbt. (pf. sʰeʰt.) v. 'hold', Sq zʰeʰbat. (= sʰeʰbat.) v. 'be apprehended', Ar √dʰbt\_ 'firmiter tenuit' ¶ Jo. M 473, Jo. H 151, Fr. III 4, BK II 6 **II A** \*cʰapV (~ \*cʰabV)

> Tg \*čap- ~ \*čab- v. 'grasp' > Ewk čawupča- v. 'grasp, squeeze so.'s hand', Neg čawa-, Ul čawaqtala- Ul čapaqtala- v. 'grasp' || pKo {S} \*ca'p- v. 'catch, take hold' (× Altaic \***3abV** < N \***3ap.V** ~ \***-p-** 'to hold, catch', q.v.) > MKo ca'p-, NKo cap- id. ¶ S QK #512, MLC 1397 ¶¶ STM II 375, SDM97 (A\***3'abV** v. 'catch, hold' (equates pKo with Tg \*jawa- v. 'catch, hold' [STM I 240-1] and reconstructs pA \***3'c'abV**)  
 ♦ The √ is ideophonic and hence doubtful.

**489. \*c'ũ.p.X** 'to be narrow, compressed' > **HS** \*√s'.pp ~ \*√s'.bb id. > CS \*√s'.pp v. 'be narrow, crowded' > MHb c.a'p.u'p\_ (pp. of √c.pp) 'crowded', Ar δ'aff- 'narrow, straitened', √δ'ff 'se presser en foule', WS \*√s'.bb v. 'be narrow, compressed' > Gz √s.bb (late spelling for √s'.bb?) id., Ar (derived √) √δ'bn G 'be narrow' (of place) ¶ Ln. 1794, BK II 30, Lv. IV 212, L G 545 || C: Ag \*√cbb > Bln {R} s'a(b)baw- 'enge\schmal sein', Aw {Hz.} cebeb- 'be narrow' || EC: Or Wt {Sr.} d.ip.o' 'narrow', d.ip.u' 'narrowness', Or Wl {Brl.} d.ibu 'valle, depressione, strettoia' ¶ AD SF 118-9, R WB 316-7, Hz. VSSA 113, Sr. 298, Brl. 110 **II K** ? \*c'.i'p- 'thin' > Mg c'.ipe, Lz mc'.ipe id., ?? Sv UB/L me-c'χpe, Sv Ln me-c'χepe 'lean' (a person) ¶ Chik. 231, GP 219, Ni. s.v. **худоѣ**, GP 219, TK 567 **II U**: FU \*s'š'uppV 'narrow (schmal, eng)' > F suppa 'schmal, nach oben schmaler werdend', ? Lp N {N} c'o.p'pe 'bag-shaped end of a rug', Lp L {LLO} tjuhppa 'Spitze, Zipfel' : pPrm \*s'op- (√LG} s'o.p-) 'tight, narrow, compressed (zusammengedrängt)' > Z {W} s'opid id., Vt c'ber 'narrow', Vt {Mnk.} s'uba'g 'tight' (of footwear, etc.) || Hg Δ szupojko', szupujko' 'plötzlich schmaler werdend; dürr, eingeschrumpft; klein; schlank, dünn, mager' ¶ UEW 44 (reconstructs \*c'uppa, though Prm and Hg suggest \*s'- or \*s'-), LG 252-3, MF 601-2 **II B**: NrTg \*ci.p- 'squeeze (with fingers)' > Ewk cipak- id., ? Ewk Ald ciwka'n- v. 'choke', Neg cipixila- 'grip in one's hand, squeeze out (liquid)' ¶ STM II 389, 398-9 || pKo {S} ci'p- 'pick up, pinch' > MKo ci'p-, NKo cip- ¶ S QK #1018, MLC 1554 || pJ {S} tu'mp'z'm- 'to stuff, press into' > OJ tuboma-, J: T cu'bome-, K cu'bo'me', Kg cubome- ¶ S QJ #1498, Mr. 771 ¶¶ DQA #300 [A \*c'i'p'u 'press (with fingers), pinch': Tg \*ci.p-, Ko, J] ♦ K anf Tg suggest a front vw. in the first syll. The U vw. \*u may go back to \*u' with depalatalization due to the back vw. of the second syll. (suggested by the Tg data, too) ♦ ¶ Gr. II 275 (\*cupa 'narrow') [U, A, Ko + qu. OJ tipisa 'small'].

**490. \*c'.apVØE** 'filth, dung', 'litter' > **HS**: WS \*√s'.p'f 'excrement, filth' > BHb pl. cs. k c.əp.u'f'e', q c.əp.i'f'e' 'animal's droppings, dung', Ar δ'aff- 'elephant dung', √δ'ff G v. 'fart and go to stool' : Mh s'.o'fəy, Jb E s'.əfəy, Jb C s'.əfəy 'partly formed almost liquid cowdung', Hrs s'.o'fa' 'cow dung', Gz s'.əff ~ s'.aff 'filth, excrement', Tgr c'.əfəf ~ s'.əfəf, Tgy s'.əff'i 'cowdung' ¶ KB 981, KBR 1048, BK II 32, Jo. H 151, Jo. M 473, Jo. J 323, L G 148, LH 631, MiK I #1.273 || C: ? Ag: Bln {R} dif'fa' 'faeces of animals' ¶ R WB 98 **II B**: T \*co'b 'sediment, dregs, rubbish' (> 'sth. worthless, rubbish' > 'splinters, bits of chaff, straw', acc. to Cl.) [× N \***c'uqbE** 'to carry away, throw (away)'] > OT {Cl.} c'o'b, {DTS} c'o'p 'residues, dregs, sediment', Chg xv, OOSm xv c'o'p 'rubbish', MQp xiv c'o'b id., [CC] 'residue', OOSm, Az c'o'p, Tk c'o'p 'rubbish', Tkm c'o'p 'mote, brushwood', VTt u'p s'u'p, Bsh su'p, Qmq, Qrg c'o'p, Alt, QK/Tel {RL} c'o'p, Nog s'o'p, Xk so'p 'litter', Qzq s'o'p-s'alam, Qq s'o'p-s'ar id. (and Qzq, Qq s'o'p, Qrg, Alt c'o'p 'grass, hay?'); Tb {B} c'o'p 'litter', c'o'pte- vt. 'litter, stain (**засорит**, **замарат**)' || Chv s'u'p, s'u'b\_ 'litter, sweepings' || T b M: WrM co'b, HIM u' b 'deposit, sediment (left after melting butter); cracklings' ¶ In Az, Tk and Tkm the meaning was influenced by NPrs iv\* c'u'b 'wood', as well as possibly by onomatopoeia ¶ Cl. 394, DTS 155, Rs. W 118, MM 404, Rl. III 2047, B DChT166, Jeg. 223, Fed. II 148, MED 200 ¶ Cl. reconstructs \*c'o'b, but Tkm provides ev. for a short vw. in pT; Tb o' is not a reg. reflex of T \*o', but must be explained otherwise || Tg: [1] ?σ Tg \*čapa 'roe' > Ewk čapa 'soft roe', Orc, Nn Nh c'apa, Nn B safa ~ cafa, Nn KU c'afa 'hard roe', Neg c'apa 'roe-bladder (of fish)' ¶ STM II 384 [2] ??φ,σ Ewk čupa 'flour porridge', Ewk Brg čupa 'sediment (left after distillation of araq)' (← M?) ¶ STM II 415 ¶¶ DQA #2724 [A \*c'op'je 'dregs, dirt'] **II ? D** (in SD) \*čk'avar\_ (√GS} \*čc'avvar\_) 'rubbish' > Tm cavar\_u 'rubbish, sweepings', Ml cavar\_u, cavar 'green leaves and rubbish used as manure, sweepings', Td tofir 'afterbirth' ¶ D #2395 ♦ The labialized T \*o' (in \*co'b) may be ascribed to ass. infl. of \*p.

**491. \*c'.ũ.p.rV** 'to twist, plait' > **HS**: S \*√s'.pr v. 'braid, plait, weave' > Ar √δ'fr G 'braid', δ'affir-at- 'crown, diadem', BHb erlifsc6 c.əp.i'ra' 'wreath, garland', ħ Ug {KB} s.pr 'winden (Ranken)' (not in A & OLS), Gz √s'.fr G 'braid, plait, weave, interwine', Ak √s.pr (inf. s.epe'ru) v. 'strand (hair\linen), dress (hair)', s.ipirtu '∈ a sash woven or treated in a special technique' ¶ KB 981, 983, L G 148, CAD XVI

132-3, 201 **IE**: NaIE \*sper- 'turn, twist', {EI} 'wrap around' (× N **\*P<sub>o</sub>RwV** 'to turn, revolve' [q.v.]) > Gk σπειρά f. 'anything wound/coiled', pl. σπειράι 'coils/spires of a serpent', συ-σπειράομαι 'be coiled up', 'be formed in close order', Gk Hl σπειράομαι 'be coiled \ folded round'; Gk σπείρα b> L spīra 'anything coiled/wreathed/twisted', 'a coil of a snake' || Olt spartas 'Band' ¶ P 991-2, EI 644, F II 761, Frn. 861 **II D** \*ck'ur- 'shrink, lessen' (× N **\*c<sub>1</sub>UrV** 'narrow' × N **\*c<sub>1</sub>U'gRV** 'small, diminish', q.v. ffd.).

**492. \*c<sup>h</sup>Ept.V** 'to close, shut, hide' > **HS**: S \*<sup>o</sup>√s<sup>h</sup>.pt. > Ar 6p% √δ<sup>h</sup>.ft. 'serrer avec les cordes, ficeler', 'constringere' ¶ Fr. III 23, BK II 32 **II U** \*s<sup>h</sup>EptV- v. 'close, cover' > Prm \*s<sup>h</sup>ipt- > Z s<sup>h</sup>ipti-, Yz s<sup>h</sup>ipti- v. 'close a door, a window, a stove' || pVg \*s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>pt- > Vg : T {Kn.} s<sup>h</sup>ept-, ML {MK} s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>pti ~ sa<sup>h</sup>pti, LL {MK} s<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>pti, P {Kn.} s<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>pt-, {MK} s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>pti, MK {Kn.} s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>pt-, K {MK} s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>pti ~ s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>pti, N {MK} sapti ~ sa<sup>h</sup>pti v. 'bury, hide' || Sm: Kms s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>bdā- v. 'hide, conceal' ¶ Coll. 57, Coll. CG 408, LG 256, Wc. SW 250, WVD VII 327, MK 529, KD 61 **II A**: Tg: Ewk PT čipca- v. 'hide, conceal' ¶ Vas. 522 **II ? D** \*ck'a<sup>h</sup>tt- v. 'wear (clothes)' > Tm ca<sup>h</sup>ttu v. 'put on', Tl ca<sup>h</sup>tu v. 'wear' ¶¶ D #2449, Km. 352-3 [#416] **II IE** (mt): ? Ht istap(p)- v. 'shut, close' ¶ Pv. I-II 471-5 (proposes a connection with OI stabh- v. 'make firm', etc.) ♦ Cf. AD SSHS 309.

¶ **492a. \*c<sup>h</sup>ehrV** 'back' > **HS**: S \*s<sup>h</sup>.ah<sub>1</sub>V<sub>Jr</sub>- 'back (of a body)' > Mh s<sup>h</sup>.a<sup>h</sup>h<sub>3</sub>r 'back (of a camel)', Hrs s<sup>h</sup>.ahr, Jb E/C s<sup>h</sup>.eh<sub>3</sub>r 'back', Ak fOB/OA s<sup>h</sup>.e<sup>h</sup>r-u 'back (of animals and humans)', 'over, on top of', Ebl za-lum (\*[s<sup>h</sup>.ahr-um]) 'back'; it influenced S \*<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>1</sub>V<sub>Jr</sub>- ~ \*<sup>h</sup>ah<sub>1</sub>V<sub>Jr</sub>- 'top' (< N **\*c<sup>h</sup>.u<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>V<sub>Jr</sub>V** 'top, edge, highest point', q.v. ffd.), bringing about a contaminated CS stem \*<sup>h</sup>ah<sub>1</sub>V<sub>Jr</sub>- 'back, noon' > Ar re07a δ<sub>3</sub>ahr- 'back [dorsum], noon' (b> Mh θ<sub>3</sub>ahr, Jb C θ<sub>3</sub>hur 'noon, midday') ¶ **II MiK** I #1.284 (S \*<sup>h</sup>ṽhr- 'back'), BK II 14, 23, Fr. III 16, Ln. 1787, Jo. M 83, 475, Jo. J 48, 324, Jo. H 151, Sd. 1093, 1115, CAD XVI 138-47 || B \*-z<sub>1</sub>ir- 'shoulder' > Ah a-z<sub>1</sub>ir, Gh a-z<sub>1</sub>ir, ETwl ʔ-z<sub>1</sub>ir Ty ʔ-z<sub>1</sub>ir id. ¶ Fc. 1288, PGG 390 **II U**: FU \*s<sup>h</sup>.s<sup>h</sup>ErV (× N **\*r<sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>ErV** 'back, nape of neck', q.v.) > Prm \*s<sup>h</sup>.o<sup>h</sup>rV- > Z Ud s<sup>h</sup>zr 'space behind sth.' (karta s<sup>h</sup>zr 'behind the cattle-shed'), Vt s<sup>h</sup>zr- in сил-с-оер s<sup>h</sup>il'-s<sup>h</sup>zr 'occiput' (sil' 'neck'), с-оер s<sup>h</sup>zr 'behind, over' (bakč'a s<sup>h</sup>zri 'behind the kitchen-garden', s<sup>h</sup>ur s<sup>h</sup>zrin 'over the river'), с-оерлан s<sup>h</sup>zr-lan' 'in the opposite direction, back [direction]', с-оерласан s<sup>h</sup>zr-las'an' 'from the back side' ¶ U3S 403, LG 270 **II D** \*cer- 'back of the neck, shoulder' > Tm eruttu 'nape of neck', Ml erattu, Kui se<sup>h</sup>rki 'the back of the neck', Ku he<sup>h</sup>rki<sup>h</sup> herki 'shoulder, neck' ¶¶ D ##2817, 2419.]]

**493. \*c<sup>h</sup>.arV** 'female breast, udder' > **HS**: S \*s<sup>h</sup>.arV- 'female breast, nipple, teat, udder' (with glottalization \*s<sup>h</sup>- > \*s<sup>h</sup>.- of unknown origin) > Ar Ør05a δ<sup>h</sup>arV- 'mammelle', Sr s<sup>h</sup>.er<sup>h</sup>-a<sup>h</sup> 'mamma lactis plena' (*dis* ruling out the expected sequence \*s<sup>h</sup>...r, ʔ Br. G I 237 [§ 85.dβ]; or a Canaanism?), Tgr s<sup>h</sup>.er<sub>3</sub> 'udder', Ak s<sup>h</sup>.er(re)tu 'female breast, udder' ¶ Br. 638, Sd. 1093-4, BK II 14, 23, Fr. III 16, Ln. 1787, **II L G** 637 (*unc.* : Tg b> Ar), MiK I #1.274 || Eg fP ss<sup>h</sup>r ({EG} s<sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>r) v. 'milk, suck (a cow's udder)' (s- is a verbal px.) ¶ EG IV 295 **II U**: FU \*s<sup>h</sup>.s<sup>h</sup>ra<sup>h</sup>rV > pObU \*s<sup>h</sup>.sa<sup>h</sup>r- ~ \*s<sup>h</sup>.s<sup>h</sup>ir- > pOs \*sa<sup>h</sup>r- / \*sir- 'front, front part' > 1) Os: V/Vy sa<sup>h</sup>r, Ty/Y sa<sup>h</sup>r ~ sir- 'front' (adj.), 2) Os: V/Vy siri-, D/K sirə-, Nz s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup> rə, Kz si<sup>h</sup>ri 'earlier' ¶ Stn. D 160-1 **II D** (in GnD) \*ck'ar<sub>1</sub>- 'udder, breast' > Gnd harva<sup>h</sup> rawa 'udder', Kui ʔra<sup>h</sup>mbu id., sr<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>ngu<sup>h</sup> sra<sup>h</sup>ngu 'breast', Kui ra<sup>h</sup>ngu id. ¶ D #2364 **II AdS** of **K** \*c<sup>h</sup>.cur- 'udder, female breast' > G cur-i 'udder', cur-i-tavi 'nipple' (tavi 'head') (× N **\*c<sup>h</sup>.u<sup>h</sup>fri** 'vulva', whence G c- rather than c<sup>h</sup>-?) ¶ FS K 415, Chx. 2032 ♦ Alternative solutions of the irreg. corr. of K \*c<sup>h</sup>.c- and S \*s<sup>h</sup>.- are possible. One may envisage two solutions of the problem: [1] to assume secondary de-emphatization of N \*c<sup>h</sup>.- in K (infl. of \*r, namely \*c<sup>h</sup>.arV > \*\*c<sup>h</sup>.rVrV > K \*c<sup>h</sup>.ur-??), [2] to assume secondary glottalization in S (caused by some unknown factor, e.g. lexical attraction of some semantically related word). The latter solution is supported by the Eg cognate. To explain the K vw., one may take into account a different root structure: \*c<sup>h</sup>.c<sup>h</sup>.a<sup>h</sup>UrV > \*\*c<sup>h</sup>.c<sup>h</sup>.rVrV > K \*c<sup>h</sup>.ur-.

**494. 2\*c<sup>h</sup>.er<sub>1</sub>V<sub>Jr</sub>XV** 'wing, feather' > **HS**: S \*<sup>o</sup>√s<sup>h</sup>.rh 'wing' > Ar d' Óra50Ma maδ<sup>h</sup>rah- adj. 'having large wings' (of a bird) ¶ BK I 21 **II D** \*k<sup>h</sup>er<sub>1</sub>- (~ \*cer<sup>h</sup>-?) (also + sxs. \*-vkk-, \*-v<sub>h</sub>k-) 'wing, feather' > Tm cir<sub>1</sub>ai<sub>1</sub>, cir<sub>1</sub>aku 'wing', Ml ir<sub>1</sub>aku, cir<sub>1</sub>aku, Kt kerngl ~ kergl 'feather, wing', Kn er<sub>1</sub>ake, r<sub>1</sub>akke, r<sub>1</sub>ekke, Kdg rekke, Tu kedi 'feather', edin<sup>h</sup>ke, ren<sup>h</sup>kə, Tl er<sub>1</sub>aka, r<sub>1</sub>ekka, Ku rekka 'wing', Tm ir<sub>1</sub>ai<sub>1</sub>, ir<sub>1</sub>aku, Kt rek 'wing, feather', Gnd Rsr {Bh.} rekka 'wing-feather', Gnd DM {Mitch.} reka 'feather', Gnd KM {Pat.} reka 'wing', {BB} ger<sub>1</sub>g 'feather', Knd r<sub>1</sub>eka 'wing, upper arm', ¶¶ D ##1983, 2591, Em. DS 366.

**495. 2\*c<sup>h</sup>.ot.V** 'mud' > **HS**: WS \*<sup>o</sup>√s<sup>h</sup>.wt ~ \*<sup>o</sup>√s<sup>h</sup>.wt. > Ar δ<sup>h</sup>.awit<sub>1</sub>-at- 'slime' ('limon au fond d'un réservoir d'eau'), Gz c<sup>h</sup>.o<sup>h</sup>t 'mud, mire' ¶ L G 565, Di. 1302, BK II 45 **II D** \*cott- 'mud, mire' [× N **\*s<sup>h</sup>URtV** 'dirt(y)??'] > Ml cotta, Krx cot<sub>1</sub>or id. ¶¶ D #2843.