

496. $\text{₂}^*d'i$, marker of imperfective ($\leftarrow$ an aux. verb?) $> K^*-d$, sx. of the ip. aspect $> OG, G, Mg, Sv -d$, $Lz -t$, $- \sim -d$, $- \sim -t$ ¶ Dt. 133-42, Shan. G 77-9, K 67 ¶ A $^*d'i$ $> T^*-\delta i/\text{ }^*-\delta i$, (after cnss.) $^*-\text{ti}/\text{ }^*-\text{ti}$ (postcons. neutralization of the opposition $^*\delta \leftrightarrow ^*t$), marker of the Past Categorical (Past Obvious) tense: Chv $-r\bar{t}/-r\bar{t}$ id., (after cnss.) $-t\bar{t}/-t\bar{t}$ (1s *muxta-r̄-m* 'I praised', 2s *muxta-r̄-n*, 3s *muxta-r̄-ŋ*, 1p *muxta-r̄-m̄r*, 2p *muxta-r̄-r*, 3p *muxta-r̄-ŋs'*; *r̄l-t̄-m* 'I knew', 2s *r̄l-t̄-n* etc.) ¶ NaT $^*-\text{ti}/\text{ }^*-\text{ti}$ id. (generalization of the postcons. allomorphs): OT O $-d\bar{i}/-d\bar{i}$, after voiceless cnss. $-\text{ti}/-\text{ti}$ (1s *bar-d̄-m* 'I went', 2s *bar-d̄-y* $\sim$ *bar-d̄-n*, 3s, 3p *bar-d̄*, 1p *bar-d̄-miz*, 2p *bar-d̄-yiz* $\sim$ *bar-d̄-ŋiz*), Tk $-d\bar{i}/-d\bar{i}/-d\bar{u}/-d\bar{u}$, after voiceless cnss. $-\text{ti}/-\text{ti}/-t\bar{u}/-t\bar{u}$ (1s *al-d̄m* 'I took', 2s *al-d̄-n*, 3s *al-d̄*, etc.), VTt $-d\bar{t}/-d\bar{t}/-t\bar{t}/-t\bar{t}$, Qq, StAlt $-d\bar{i}/-d\bar{i}/-t\bar{i}/-t\bar{i}$, ET $-d\bar{i}/-d\bar{i}/-t\bar{i}/-t\bar{i}$, Uz $-d\bar{i}$, Xk $-d\bar{y}$ $-d\bar{i}/-d\bar{o}$ $-d\bar{i}/-t\bar{y}$ $-t\bar{i}/-t\bar{o}$ $-t\bar{i}$, Tv $-d\bar{i}/-d\bar{i}/-d\bar{u}/-d\bar{u}$ $^-t\bar{i}/-t\bar{i}/-t\bar{u}/-t\bar{u}$ id., Yk $-t\bar{i}/-t\bar{i}$, marker of Past Immediate tense. There is an alt. hyp. drawing back this tense to a $-d\bar{i}/-d\bar{i}$ -prtc. (B PdTJ, Bii. PFPV). On other hypotheses of the origin of this T tense form cf. Rs. MTS 229-30 and Shch. OSMG 78-81 ¶ SIGTJM 373-88, Shch. OSMG 78-82, DmG GChJ 885, Rm. EAS II 125-6 ¶ M $^*-\text{zi}/\text{ }^*-\text{zu}$ / (after certain cnss.) $^*-\text{ci}$, converbium imperfecti $> MM -\text{zi}/-\text{ci} \sim -\text{zu}/-\text{cu}$, WrM $-\text{zu}/$ (after b, s, g, r, d) $-\text{cu}$, HIM $-\text{z}\bar{i}/-c\bar{i}$, Ord, Mgl $-\text{z}\bar{i}/-c\bar{i}$, Mnr H $-\text{z}\bar{i}$, Dg $-\text{z}\bar{i}/-c\bar{i}$, Kl $-\text{z}\bar{y}/-c\bar{y}$, Brt $-\text{z}\bar{a}/-s\bar{a}$. In some modern M lgs. this form or more probably a compound form $^*-\text{ziyay}$ has got the meaning of Past Imperfect: HIM $-\text{z}\bar{i}/-c\bar{i}$, $-\text{z}\bar{a}/-c\bar{a}$, Ord $-\text{z}\bar{i}/-c\bar{i}$ ¶ Pp. IM 265-7, 276-7 ¶ ? Ko: MKo $-\text{it}$ $[-\text{id}]$ $> N\text{Ko} -\text{at}/-\text{at}$, marker of the past ¶ Book 94 ¶ Pp. IM 266 (T, M), Rm. EAS II 23-6, IS I 218 [T, M, ?Ko; $\bar{i} \div Tg^*-\text{da}/\text{ }^*-\text{de}$, "aorist" marker, while in fact $^*-\text{d}$ (and $-\text{d} < ^*-\text{r}$ in some cns. clusters) is a derivational sx. of certain verbal stems rather than a tense marker, $\neq$ Sun. G 44-9, 53-4, 69-73, 106, 313-6] $\diamond$ IS I 218-9 [$^*-\text{di}$, sx. of p. $> D^*-\text{t}(\text{t})$ - of p., A (T $^*-\text{ti}/-t\bar{i} \sim -\delta i/\text{ }^*-\delta i$ of the definite past, M $^*-\text{zi}/\text{ }^*-\text{ci}$ of the converbium imperfecti $+ \bar{i} \div Tg^*-\text{da}/\text{ }^*-\text{da}$ of the "aorist"), (with a query)] IE: Gmc $^*-\delta a$, marker of the past (but an alt. et. drawing back $^*-\delta a$ to the IE pp. marker $^*-\text{to}$ - is based on good arguments and is preferable, $\neq$ Me. OG 107-10), K $^*-\text{di}$, misinterpreted as marker of the past, while in fact this sx. $^*-\text{d}$ is a marker of the ip. aspect not connected necessarily with the past tense (it is used for both past and future, as well as imv., etc.); IS did not distinguish between N $^*d'i$ of imperfectiveness and N *t .V of the passive prtc.

497. $^*d\bar{e}f'i$ 'to put, to place' $> HS$: WS $^*-(w)d\bar{f}$ $> Ar \sqrt{wd\bar{f}}$ G (ip. $-\text{da}\bar{f}$ -) 'poser, placer, mettre', Sq {L} $\sqrt{dh}$, ps. *dyah* 'être posé, être couché', caus.-rf. 's'edah' 's'appuyer, se coucher', Mh $\sqrt{wd\bar{f}}$ Sh (pf. {Jo.} *s'zwde*, {DRS} *s'zwda*) {Jo.} 'keep safe, keep st. safe for so.', {DRS} 'comserver un dépôt', ?? Mh $\sqrt{dh\bar{w}}$ (pf. *dāho*) v. 'pull oneself along by oneself's arms' ¶ BK II 1508-9, L LS 125, Jo. M 68, 421, $\approx$ DRS 503 ¶ ? Eg $\text{fOK } d(w)$ inf. 'place, put', {EG} wd , {Fk.} $wd\bar{i}$ v. 'place, put' ($< ^*-(w)d\bar{f}$ due to metanalysis of $^*-(w)d\bar{f}$ as $w-d$ 'extend the hand?') ¶ EG I 384-7 & V 421, Fk. 72, 308-9 ¶ C: Bj {R} ? $da\bar{s}$ -, $dada\bar{s}$ - 'legen', $\sqrt{wd\bar{f}}$ pcv. (1s: p. 'auda?', pqp. 'iwdā?', prs. *awan'dī*) 'setzen, stellen' ¶ R WbD 56, 236 ¶ Ch *d .V v. 'put' $> WCh$: Gmy {ChL} (ni)d $\bar{u}$ 'to put down' ¶ CCh: Lgn {Lk.} $d\bar{z}$ 'legen, stellen' ¶ ECh: Mu {J} $d\bar{i}r$ / $d\bar{e}s$ / $d\bar{e}r$ / $d\bar{i}rra$ 'mettre, poser' ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. L 88 ¶ K $^*dew/\text{ }^*d(w)$ - v. 'lay, put' $> G d$ - / dev - / dv - (vt., neutral version) 'lay, legen' (1s prs. *v-deb*, 3s aor. *-v-do* $\sim$ *-v-dw-a*, 1s aor. *-v-dev-i*), (ps. of state) v. 'lie' (s-*dev-s*, u-*dev-s* 'liegt bei'), Mg *dv--zv*- v. 'put' (b-*dvank* 'I put', aor. *kādo-b-dvi* 'posui'), Lz *dv*- v. 'put, lay', Sv {FS $\leftarrow$ Det.} *d*- v. 'put', 'hinlegen', Sv L {Dn.} *d*- 'put, put on (clothes)', msd. L li-*d-i* ¶ FS K 100-1, FS E 106-7 ($^*dew/\text{ }^*dw$ -), Chik. 269-270, Q 224-5, Chx. 220-3, Marr 138-9, GP 150, Dn. s.v. *d*-, $\neq$ K 72-3 ($^*d(w)$ - v. 'lie, put'); in fact, the meaning 'to lie' is secondary and is conditioned by grammatical forms (G passive of state) ¶ The element $^*-\text{w}$ - is likely to go back to a sx. ¶ IE $^*d^heh$ - / $^*d^hei_h$ - v. 'put, lay', {EI} $^*d^heh$ - 'put, place' $> Ht$ {Ts.} *te/dai*- (*-tai*-) 'setzen, legen, stellen', {EI} *da*-i 'puts, lays' ($< ^*d^heh_i\text{-}ei$ -); Lc *ta*- $\sim$ *ta*-, Lw *duwa*- 'placer', HrLw *tu(wa)*- 'mettre', 'aufstellen, setzen, legen', Lc *tuwe*- id. ({Ts.} 'errichten'), Ld *cu(ve)*- 'errichten, erbauen', ζ Car {Shv.} *t^uwa*- 'stela'; but Ht *da*-, HrLw *ta*- v. 'take' belong to N *t .E $\sqrt{u}$ 'to take' [q.v.], while Lc M {ABlv.} *da/du*- v. 'give [?]', Ld *da*- v. 'I give [?]' belong rather to IE $^*deH^w$ - v. 'give' $< N^*toHo \sim ^*taHo$ 'to bring, fetch' ($\rightarrow$ 'to give') [q.v.] ¶ NaIE $^*d^he$ - / $^*d^ha$ - v. 'put, place' $> OI$ 'a-dha-t' 'he put, placed', 'dadha-ti' 'he puts, places', Av *daḁa* 'hti' 'setzt hin, bringt' ¶ Arm ed ed aor. 'posuit' (1s prs. *dnem dnem* 'I put') ¶ Phr $\epsilon\delta\alpha\epsilon\bar{\eta}$ 'er hat gesetzt' ¶ Gk $\epsilon\bar{\eta}$ - η -κα 'I put, placed', $\tau\bar{i}$ - η -μι 'I put (now)', I place' ¶ L ab-*do*- / inf. *ab-de-re* / pfc. *ab-did*- / sup. *ab-ditum* 'put away', *ad-do*- / *ad-de-re* 'to add', *con-do*- / *con-de-re* 'put together, put, place', *per-do*- / *per-de-re* 'lose', *sub-do*- / *sub-de-re* 'put/place/set under, substitute', *cre-do*- / *cre-de-re* 'trust, believe' ($< ^*k^red d^he$ - lit. 'put the heart', cp. OI 's'rad asmai, dhatta 'trust him') ¶ Gl $\delta\epsilon\delta\epsilon$ {P} 'he put' (p.), {Billy} 'he gave' ¶ Lt *de*- $\bar{i}$ -ti 'to put, lay', Ltv *de*- $\bar{t}$ 'to lay (eggs)' ¶ Sl *de - $\bar{i}$ 'to put, place' $> OCS$ $\text{дѣти } d\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{i}$ id., rf. $\text{дѣти } c\bar{a} d\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{i}$ se, OP, P Δ *dziac*' sie, 'wohin geraten', Cz *dí*-ti se, Slk *diet*' sa id., 'to get lost', SCr *де̑ти* $d\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{i}$, R *де̑т*-, Uk $\text{дѣти } d\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{i}$ 'to place (somewhere)', Slk *diet*' 'to put, hide', Blg $\text{дѣти } d\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{i}$ 'I put' ¶ Tc A *ta*-, *ta*-s-, *tas*- 'ponere', p. prtc. to, B *ta*- v. 'place, set', *tes*-, *ta*-s- 'lay, set', *ta*-*tta*- sbjn. 'lay, set' $< rdp$ $^*d^h\bar{i}h$ -) ¶ P 235-9, EI 472, 506, Ts. W 80-1, 89, Ts. E III 5-11, 19-23, 291, Frd. HW 201-3, 220, Mer. SGA 261, 404, Mer. HHG 114-5, 119, 134-5, Lar. 100, Gsm. LW 94, 96-7, Shv. SHS 265, ABlv I 85 & II 110, M K II 15, F II 897-8, WH I 3, 286-7, 362-3, Billy 62, Tum. 359, Slr. 86-7, Wn. 464-5, Ad. 283-6, Ad. H 65, Frn. 90-2, SJSS X 552, $\approx$ Glh. 199-200, $\approx$ ESSJ IV 229-30 (does not distinguish Sl $^*de\bar{t}\bar{i}$ from $^*de\bar{t}\bar{i}$ 'to act') ¶ A: NrTg $^*d\bar{i}$ - v. 'put in' $> Ewk$ $\bar{d}\bar{i}$ -, Lm Ol $\bar{d}\bar{i}$ - v. 'put in, insert', ?? Tg {DQA} *de - 'to lie' $> WrMc$ *dedu*- v. 'lie down, lie' (of person or animal), Mc Sb *dādu*- id., Orc *dā*- 'bed, sleeping place' ¶ STM I 202, 227 ¶ $\approx$ DQA #377 [A *de - 'to lie (liegen)' $> Tg^*de$ -] $\diamond$ IS I 224 ($^*d\bar{a}$ IE, S,

C, Ch, Eg wdy 'stellen', K, U *teke- v. 'do', D: Brh tix- 'put') → BmK 261-2 (*diy-/dey- 'throw, cast, put, place': IE, S ḡ *wa-day-, *na-day id. [reconstructed from WS New Perfect forms like BHb yaḏa and from the Ak inf. nadu, both misinterpreted as the basic forms of the verb], Eg).

¶ 497a. *dVbV 'hill' > HS: C {AD} *dibb-~*dubb- 'hill' > Ag: Q {R} deba, Dmb {R} debba, debu 'mountain', Km {CR} dāba ~ dāva 'hill', Bln {R} 'dibba (pl. dīfēf, 'dīfuf) 'hill near a village (used as the gathering place for the popular assembly of the village) || Bj {R} 'dibba, 'dubba 'hill', Bj A {AD} tu dibba, dibbat 'a height, plateau' || EC: Sa {R} dibo 'mountain', Sml {R} dabo 'hill, small mountain' ¶ AD SF 50, R WB 95, CR K 182, R WBd 5, R S II 98, R SS II 98 || B: Ah ta~dabun-t (pl. tidba~n) 'petite colline de forme conique', ETwl/Ty {PGG} a-dub~n 'petite colline rocailleuse' ¶ Fc. 160, PGG 26, NZ 186 || ?? WS *dabb- > Ar dabb-at-, Tgr da~bb- 'sandhill' ¶ BK I 662, DRS 205 ¶ Valid unless the primary meaning is 'sand' (cf. Ar dabbat- 'sable rougeâtre', Tgy dābba~t- banc desable) || A: M *dobu 'hill' > WrM dobu, HIM дов 'hill, mound, knoll', Brt добо 'hill, hillock, tumulus'; *dobu~ 'small hill' > WrM dobu~n, HIM дово~н(г) 'small round-top elevation, knoll', Ord {Ms.} d_owō~ id., WrM dobon, dobo~n 'hillock, mound', dobu~n, dobuun 'hillock', K1 дову~н 'small hill, small hillock', {Rm.} down_ 'hill', Brt добу~н 'hill, hillock, tumulus, high ground' ¶ MED 255-6, KW 97, Ms. O 155, KRS 202, Krg. 559, Chr. 192-3 ¶¶ But T *t'o~pu~ 'hill, summit' cannot belong here [↔ Blz.] (T *t'- is not cognate with HS *d- and M *d-; see N *t.a~p.e~u~ ~ *t.a~be~u~ 'high place, top, hill') || U: FP *ta~we 'hill, island' (× N *t.a~p.e~u~ ~ *t.a~be~u~ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || D *tipp-/tiv- ({GS} *dibb-?) 'hill, heap' (× N *t.a~p.e~u~ ~ *t.a~be~u~ '↑', q.v. ffd. ♢ ≈ Blz. DA 161 [#91] (D, C, M + err. T))

498. ? *dubV 'edge, end' > HS: Eg N db.w 'riverbank', Eg ∇ idb id., 'riparian land, shore (of flood)' > Cpt ṛon top 'edge' ¶ EG I 153, 409 & V 434, Fk. 35, Vc. 218 || C: Bj {Rop.} dibba 'mound of earth; bank, moving sandhill' [†, {R} dibba, 'dubba 'hill'] || Ag: Bln {R} 'dibba (pl. dīfēf, 'dīfuf) 'das freie Feld, die Weite' (↔ 'village') [†, {R} deba~ 'mountain'] || EC: Af {R} 'dubu~ 'Steppe, Wüste, Wald', Sa {R} 'dibo~ 'Steppe, Wüste; gathering place of men in front of the village' ¶ Rop. 168, R WBd 59, R WB 95, R A II 43, R S II 98 || Ech: ?ϕ Ke {Eb.} te~we 'beenden' ¶ Eb. 96 ¶¶ Tk. I 396 (Eg, C) || A {DQA} *tu~o~bV 'end, edge' (× N *tup~fV 'tail, back', q.v. ffd.) ¶ A *t- is due to the merger with *tup~fV || D (in SD) *tuvakk-/~nk- ({GS} *t-) v. 'begin' > Tm tuvakku, tuvan~ku, Kt tovk-, ? Td twiθk- v. 'start, begin' ¶ D #3350 ♢ The N √ may be identical with *dub~f~V 'back, hinder part, tail' [q.v.]. If Eg db.w and Eg ∇ idb do not belong here, the rec. may be *tubV (whence Ke *t-).

499. *dub~f~V 'back, hinder part, tail' > HS: S *dubur- 'back, hinder part', √dbr D v. 'turn the back' (× N *dagurV 'shoulder-blade as part of the back?') > Ar dubr- 'partie postérieure, derrière; dos, derrière', dubur- id., 'cul', dabr- (pl. dubu~r-) 'derrière, partie postérieure', Md dibra 'back, tail', BHb √dbr D (pf. rB4D5 dib~ber) {Eit.} 'turn the back', {KB} 'den Rücken kehren, sich abwenden', {KBR} 'turn aside, drive away, pursue', Mh √dbr (pf. adō~b~r, sbjn. yado~b~r) v. 'turn the back', Hrs √dbr (pf. ade~b~r, sbjn. yade~b~r) v. 'turn away (from)', with mt : Mh {DRS} arde~b 'nuque et haut des épaules', Hrs {DRS} arde~b 'nuque'; Gz {L} √dbr TD (tadabbara) 'lie on one's back', ? Ak √dpr D (inf. duppuru) 'go away, sich entfernen' ¶ BK I 665, KB 201, KBR 209-10, Eitan 33-4, DM 102, L G 121, Jo. M 63, Jo. H 22, CAD III 186, Sd. 177, DRS 212-4, MiK I #1.46 || EC: LEC {Bl.} *dub- (-d~ *dab-) 'tail, hinder part' > Bn tib 'tail', Sml dab-o id., dib (< *dub-) 'short tail (of goat etc.)', Rn {PG} du~b 'tail; buttocks, backside', Bs deb-e, Elm dup ~ tup 'tail', Arr {Hw.} du~b 'buttocks, anus', Or {Grg.} du~ba~, {Th.} du~ba 'after, behind', Or B/O {Sr.} du~ba id., duba 'a sheep's fat tail', Or H {Ow.} du~ba 'behind, in back', Kns tup-a 'behind', tupp-a~ 'upper back', Gln {AMS} tup-e~nu 'hinter; später', tup-e~ 'später', Gwd {Bl.} 'tup-en, tu~p-e~te 'behind' || HEC {Ss.} *dubb- 'tail, after, behind' > Ged duba 'tail of sheep', Brj dob~ba-ka 'younger brother' (lit. 'he who is behind') ¶ Bl. 177, Ss. B 57, Ss. PEC 15-6, PG 103-4, Oo. 72, HL 88, Hw. A 353, Grg. 113, Th. 111, Sr. 289, 291, Ow. 258, AMS 226, Hd. 237 ¶ The EC variant *dab- may go back to (or be influenced by) N *zeyba 'tail' (q.v.) || B *√dfr ~ *√dfr 'hind' > Ah d_øff~r 'derrière', CM dæfir d tæfir, Izn dæff~r, Rf dæff~r, Awj dæff~r 'behind, after', Gh √dfr v. 'be behind, follow', Kb, Gd, ETwl, Ty, Rf √dfr id., Shl {NZ} dfur, CM dfur, d tfar 'follow' ¶ Fc. 261, NZ 296-7 ¶ The variant *√dfr may be connected with N *tup~fV 'tail, back' (q.v.) || Om {Blz.} *dub- 'tail' > NrOm: Dwr {AIA} dup~i-ya, {Bnd.} du~wiya || SOm: (× mt N *z~an~ab~V 'back, tail?') Hm B {Bnd.} do~bana, Hm K {Bnd., Fl.} dibini 'tail' ¶ Blz. OLBP #95, Bnd. AL 159, Fl. OWL s.v. 'tail', AIA ODS #134 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *dubV {AD} 'anus', (→?) 'penis' > Su {J} du~p, ? Ang {ChL}, Cp dip, ? Gmy de~p 'penis' || CCh: pMM {Ro.} *d~b,a 'back' > HrZ, Vm, Zlg d~b,a id., MfG {Brr.} 'd~b,a', MfG M {Brr.} 'd~b,a' 'dos, derrière', Mf {BLB} d~b,a 'dos', Gzg {Lk.} duba ~ d~ba 'Rücken', d~ba~n 'hinten' || Glf {Lk.} dagbe 'Hinterer', {Röd.} dabe~ 'Arsch' || Msy {Mch.} du~wo~n, Db {Lnh.} da~w~n, Kola {Sb.} du~w~n id. || Gdr {Srp.} deboko~, {Mch.} du~bo id. || Msg P {Mch.} d~ba id. || Zm {Sa.} du~b,u id., ZmD {KNC} du~b 'back (dos)', ?? Azm {Pc.} da~pa v. 'finish', d~b,a 'end, last' || FJ {ChL} d,u~ba~ku~ 'buttocks' || Kwn {J} ta~wa 'back' ¶ Stl. ZCh 169 [#221], ChC, J S 63, ChL, Abr. H 227, Brr. MG II 99, BLB 107-8, Ro. 205 [#37], Lk. G 120, Lk. ZSS 148, 150, Sk. HCD 50, KNC 5, Pc. 110, 113 ¶¶ Blz. OLBP #95 (HS *duby-: S, Om, C, Ch + i ÷ B [in fact an Arabism]), OS #731 (*dub- 'back, tail') and #691 (*di(m)bur- 'back': S, CCh: WMrg dimbur 'buttocks') || U: FU *tuppV 'back, backbone' > Chr H/L tup 'back (dorsum)' || Vt тѣбѣ, Vt Kz t~b~r 'back (dorsum), backbone' || Hg Δ

top 'der dicke Teil der Schweinskeule oder des Schinkens' ¶ UEW 537-8 II A: Tg *du.be(kī)~*debe(kī-) 'lower part of the back, pelvis, croup' > Ewk duwukī d duxukī d d3w3kī, Lm d3wki d do'wki, Neg do'xi ~ d3w3xi 'pelvis, pelvic bones, lower back, croup (of a horse/reindeer)', Sln d3b3xi ~ d3w3xi 'side of the body', Ud d3uxi, Ul, Nn Nh d3w3, Nn KU d3uki 'pelvis, pelvic bones', Ork d3w3 id., 'croup of reindeer', WrMc {Z} du 'pelvic bone', 'croup, lower back' ¶ STM I 218, Z 828 ♦ The N √ may be identical with *dubV 'edge, end' [q.v.] ♦ D {GS} *tu-v-/*tupp- 'feather' (not 'bird's tail', as interpreted by Blz.!) [D #3393] is hardly to be adduced here (≠σ). We may consider genetic ties between the D word and Gil (d_ub_r) (= (t_up_r)) 'feather' ♦ ≠ Blz. DA [155 [#30]-#29]. (HS, D).

500. ??? 2 *dadV 'thick, fat, large' > HS: NrOm: Kf {C} dadd- v. 'be fat', daddo adj. 'fat', Shn {R} doddo id. ¶ C SE IV 426, R K 277 || Ech: Mkl {J} do'ddi're 'long, big' ¶ J LM 83 || SC: Alg {Wh.} da-dir 'large' (or to N *didV 'large, big?') ¶ Wh. IC 27 II D *tat-, [GS] *dat-, 'large, thick, stout' > Tm tat.a 'large, broad, full', Ml tat.a 'large, great', tat.i 'stout, robust', Kt dat., 'e thick thread', Kn dat.t.a 'state of being thick\stout\robust', Tu dat.a 'thickness; thick', Krg dad.d.a 'big', Tl dat.t.amu 'thick, dense', Klm dad.pa-, Nkr d^har'apa- 'good', Gnd d.arga'l 'pot-bellied man', KLnd d.at.am 'too much\many; thickly', Kui d.a.t.a- 'strength; strong', d.a-d.a v. 'increase in number', Krx d.ar'ya- 'stout, thick', Mlt d.at.e 'difficult' ¶¶ D #3020, GS 176-7 [#445] ♦ Connected with N *didV 'large' (*dadV and *didV being two contractions of *da'y'idV?).

501. *didV 'large, big' > HS: C: Ag: Xm {R} diden v. 'be thick, be voluminous (umfangreich), be fat', rel. sg. m. didn-aw 'thick \ voluminous \ fat', f. diden-'day, pl. didn-a^wk id., {BSW} 'dīnn3w 'thick', Xm T {CR} didno adj. 'fat' ¶ SC: Brn {Wh.} didir 'large' || Ch: ġ Gdr {IS ← ?} dīde 'big' ¶ AD GDS 72, R Ch II 352, BSW KhWL 7, Wh. IC 27, IS I 219 ¶¶ AD GDS 72 II K: pGZ *did- 'big' > OG did-i 'great', G did- 'big, elder', Mg, Lz did- 'big' ¶¶ K 73, Chik. 234, FS K 103 II IE: NaIE *^od_l^hid_l^h-(-i-) 'big' > Lt di^hdis, Ltv diz's 'big, large, great', Lt did- (prs. did-au~, inf. di^hsti) v. 'become big\large' ¶ ≠ Frn. 93, Kar. I 222 ♦ IS I 219, AD GDS 72.

502. ≈ *dod_l.iV 'point, nipple; to suck' > ?? HS: B *√_lw_jd_l v. 'suck (the breast)' > BSn ă^ht_lu_lad_l, BMn ă^ht_lu_lad_l, Izn ă^ht_lu_lad_l, Rf, SrSn ă^ht_lu_lad_l, Izd t_lad_l, Ty ă^ht_lu_lad_l, Kb ă^ht_lu_lad_l 'téter, être tété', Izn, Rf, SrSn u_ld_lu_lad_l 'allaitement, action de têter', Shl/CM {NZ} √_lt_ld_l 'téter', Zng {TC} ad_ld_lu_lad_l 'allaiter' ¶ Rn. 311, Mrc. 249, GhA 30, Dl. 835, La. S 302, DCTC 289, NZ 433-5 || EC: Or t_lu^ht_la v. 'suck (e.g. with a straw)', Arr {Hw.} d.ehad- 'suck marrow out of a bone', HEC {Hd.} *t_lu^ht_l- v. 'suck' > Ged t_lu^ht_l-v. 'suck (e.g. a lemon)', Hd t_lu^ht_l- v. 'gulp', Sd t_lu^ht_l- v. 'suck, drink by sucking (e.g. with a straw)'; ? C b> Amh t_lut_lo 'nipple' (unless a Ll) ¶ Hd. 146, Gs. 331, Grg. 384, Hw. A 355 || ?? S: Ak dada^h 'e a thorny plant' ¶ Sd. 148 ('eine Dornpflanze'), CAD III 17 [dada^h (plant)] II D (in SD) *tot_l.t_lo ({GS} *t-) 'point, nipple' > Ml tottu, Tu tot.t_lu 'nipple of the breast', Kn tot.t_lu id., 'point' ¶ D #3488 II K *dud- 'point, tip, upper end, nipple' > G Gr/UA/F dud-i 'sinciput, crown/top of the head (Txemi Tavis), cock's comb (KaTmis bibilo)', Mg dud- 'head', Lz dud- 'crown of the head, top, tip', Sv {K} dudu^h- 'nipple (of breast)', Sv UB {GP} dudu^h- 'breast, nipple' ¶¶ K 75, K² 42-3, Ghl. 213, Chik. 44, Zhgh. ChT 8, GP 97 II ?φ IE: NaIE *d_l^hed^h- ({P} *d^hed^hn-, {Dv.} *dad^h-) 'milk' (× N *c^{ay}Vd_lV_jyV 'female breast', q.v. ffd.) ♦ Cf. IS I 222 [#72] (*du_lλ) [D, K + i ÷ U *tuz^hka], IS MS 352 (ОКОНОЧНОСТ' *du_lλ) and IS SS 323 [#3.2] (the same comparison); in my opinion, FU *tuz^hka- belongs to N *tul^hØV 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding' (q.v.), while D *tutV goes back to N *t^hV.t^hV 'point, finger' (q.v.). In B and EC the glottalization of the cns. is due to onomatopoeic or Lallwort influence ♦ The semantic history in daughter-languages may be: 'point, nipple' → 'suck the nipple/breast' → 'suck' (encouraged by the Ll-factor for the meaning 'suck breast').

503. *d^hu^h''ga 'suitable, fit, good' > A {SDM97} *do^h''ge, ({DQA} *di_o'ge) 'good, better' > NaT *jeg ({S} *ja^h''ig) 'better' > OT jeg, Tk yeg^h, Tkm, Az Δ jex id.; S. Tezcan reconstructs here *je^hg, Starostin (S AJ 196) and (after him) SDM reconstruct *ja^h''ig, but there is no ev. for the quality *a^h and for the length; S AJ 196 [#234] adduces here Chv s'iy-el 'upper', but this is probably another pA √ [represented by WrM degedu^h 'upper, high'] ¶ F Cl. 909-10, Rs. W 194, DTS 252, ET J 165, Tz. UIS 107, Tkr 301, Fed. II 115-6, S AJ 196 [#234] || ??φ ι M *3aγa ≈ 'all right, yes' > WrM (ϕb- HlM) 3a, HlM 3aa 'all right, yes, very good', IM {T} 3^ha^h 3^he^h id., Brt 3aa 'well, all right' (answering a request), Dg 3^he^h ~ 3^ha^h, Dx/ShY {MYC} 3^ha id., Ord 3^ha^h: 'bien, eh bien, oui', WrM 3agabala 'for certain, absolutely' ¶ MYC 416, MED 1016, 1022, Ms. O 176, Chr. 239, SM 81, 87, T VM 151. T DgJ 143, Mr. D 176 || pKo *ti_o^h- 'good' > MKo ti_o^h-, NKo co^h- co^h-, Ko: Sl c'o^htt^ha, Ks c'o^htt^ha ¶ S AJ 252 [#36], S QK #36, Nam 162, MLC 1488 || pJ *d3^h- 'good' > OJ yo-, J: Tk i^h, Ky e^h, Sh yu-ta- ¶ S AJ 265 [#32] ¶ S QJ #32, Mr. 845 ¶¶ SDM97 (A **do^h''ge > T, Ko, J), DQA #388 (A *di_o'ge 'good, better'), S AJ 275 [#30] II HS: S *^o√dwg > Ar √dwg^h > Ar duwa^hg^h~duwwa^hg^h 'beauty' ('nitor, pulchritudo') ¶ BK I 746, Fr. II 68 II IE: NaIE *d^heu_g^h- v. 'be ready, prepare', {EI} 'be useful, produce sth. useful' → ?? *d^heu_g^h- 'fortune' > Gk τευ^hχω 'I prepare, make' ¶ Ir {P} du'al 'suitable, fit', Nlr {Dnn.} dual 'right, proper, natural' (< *d^hug^h-lo-) ¶ ON duga, Gt dugan, AS duzan, OHG tугan 'to suit', NHG taugen 'to be useful, fit': Gmc p-prs.: Gt daug, AS de'a3, OHG toug 'is fit for, taught' ¶ Sl *dug^h 'strength' > OR дугъ dugъ, OCz, Cz duh id. (Cz slouz^hiti \ j^hi^hti k duhu, Slk byt' k duhu 'to be of benefit'); ? BSl: Sl *duz^hъjъ 'strong, big' > Uk 'дужий id., OR дужин djuz^hii, R дужий, R Δ, Uk 'дужий, P duz'y 'strong, big', Cz duz'i, Slk du'z'i 'strong'; Sl *duz^he 'very, much' > R Δ дуже id., P duz'o, Uk Δ дуже 'much', OP duz'o, Blr дужа 'very' ¶ Lt dau^hg 'much' ¶ P 271, EI

211, 614, F II 888, Dnn. 266, ESSJ V 150, 167-8, ≠ SPS IV 195 (pSl *do_g 'strength' rather than *dug_g), ≈ Vr. 86, Fs. 116, 127-8, Ho. 70, 79, OsS 965-6, Schz. 288, Kb. 1043, KM 773, Frn. I 84, ESSJ V 150, 167-8 || ??amb K: it is tempting to adduce K *°dg-/°deg- > G (gamo-)dg- v. 'be useful, fit, suitable' (Chx. 293), unless this is a sd of the √ *dg- v. 'stand' ♦ Cf. AD AltAD #1.

504. ***da''h_gU** 'to watch, look at' > HS: [1] HS √dhg > SES √dhg 'look, stare' > Jb C {Jo.} √dhg : e'doh_g v. 'look down, have a fixed stare', ed'heg (sbjn. 3m 'yēdh_g) v. 'look fixedly', Mh √dhg: d₃he'g v. 'look at sth. with such concentration that one does not hear what is said to one', h₃dho'g v. 'look into the distance not thinking' ¶ Jo. J 36, Jo. M 66 || Eg fP dgy, Eg fMd dg₃ v. 'see, look' ('sehen, (er)blicken, betrachten') ¶ EG V 497-8, Fk. 316 || C: Bj {R} √dg^w (1s p. a-'du_g, prs. an'diū_g) 'examine (nachsehen, überschauen, prüfen)' || LEC {Ss.} *-d_g-/-d_g- pcv. 'recognize, perceive' (× N ***tt_gu?g¹V** 'to listen') > Rn degey ~ degeh v. 'scout, spy', Sa {Wlm.} -d_g- ~ -d_g-, {Ss.} -ed_g- v. 'recognize, perceive', Af {PH} -e'd_g 'know, understand' (3m p. ye'd_g), Arr {Hw.} -tteg/-ttig- 'know' (1s ?i'tt_g, 2s, 3f te'tte_g, 3m ye'tte_g), HEC: Kmb {Hd.} dag- 'know, find'; Sa/Af *-d- may go back to the cluster *?- (1s px.) + *-d-, cf. the secondary emphatization of the stem-initial cns. in 1s forms in Aw] ¶ AD SF 255, R WBd 62, Clz. 115, PG 102, PH 95, 255, Hw. A 453, Hd. 313 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} d_gi'gi' 'think' (× N ***tt_gu?g¹V** 'to listen') ¶ Eb. 43 ¶ AD SF 255 (Eg, C), OS #618 (*dag-> Eg, EC, Kr), Tk. I 226-7 (S, Eg, C, ECh) || [2] HS (+ext.) √d_hgl > S √dgl v. 'look at' > Ak daga'lu 'to look, look at', BHb (ps. prtc. G) lugD1 da'g_ul 'outstanding' (← *'seen'), Sr √dgl G 'contemplate, examine' ¶ KB 205, KBR 213, Br. 141, Sd. 149, CAD III 21-2 || Ch: Ngz {Sch.} du'gu'ru' 'look (at)' || CCh: Mlw {Trn.} d_gu'gu'li' 'look (at), see', MsgP {Trn.} d_guguli v. 'visit', d_gugol n. 'visit' ¶ Sch. DN 50, TrnSL 196, Trn. LM 85 ¶ Mlw, MsgP d_g- < HS *dh-? ¶ OS #757 (*d_gol > Eg, S, Ch) || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *ta''kkV- v. 'look, watch' > Hg tekint- v. 'look at' ! Os V/Vy ta''xən- 'im Gedächtnis, im Sinn behalten, sich erinnern, Kenntnis haben' ¶ UEW 893 ♦ The comparison is valid if FU *-kk- can be explained by the devoicing effect of *h (*-hg- > *-hk- > *-kk-).

505. ***dagurV** 'shoulder-blade as part of the back' > HS: S *dubur- 'back (dos)' (× N ***dub_g?_gV** 'back, hinder part, tail', q.v. ffd.) || A *dagar(in) or *dagarVm ({ADb.} *dāy_gVm) 'the waist part of backbone' > NaT *jagrin 'shoulder-blade as part of the back' [× T *jagrin ~ *jagrin 'back of a pack-animal <d- NaT *jagri 'back\withers of a horse' < N ***z'VgErV** (or ***z'VrgV**) 'back (dorsum)'] > OT jarin 'shoulder-blade', MOg xiv [IM], XwT xiii, OOsM xiv, MT [IM] jayrin, Uz jayrin, VTt {Rl.} z'aw_gen, Δ jaw_gen, Qzq jaw_gin, Alt z'arin, SY jarin, Xk, Tv c'arin id., Tk yag'rin id., 'upper part of the back', Tb jarin, QK jarin 'shoulder-blade, shoulder', Tkm Δ jay(ri)in, SbTt yaw_gen, Qq z'aw_gin, Yk sarin 'shoulder', Blq z'avrun d z'au_grun 'shoulder-blade', Qrg z'o_grun 'shoulder-blade (bone)', Bsh jaw_gen 'shoulder-blade (заметче)', Nog jaw_gin id., 'shoulder', Qmq jawrun 'upper part of the back' ¶ ADb. SR 139-41, DTS 241, ET J 65-7, TL 242-3, Bai. TK 293, Cl. 970 (considers jarin to be the original form, while the variant jayrin 'shoulder-blade' in the T lgs. is in his mind a result of the infl. of jayir 'saddle-gall', which "perhaps evolved from 'the part of the animal where saddle-galls occur'" [Cl. 905]; but if DTS is right in interpreting OT jayrin-la- as v. 'strike on so.'s shoulder-blades' in MKA III 343 [DTS 225], it suggests that *yayrin 'shoulder-blade existed in OT), San. 333v4, PC 528-9, Rl. III 42-3, Bu. II 356, TTDS 563 || M *dāyarin 'saddle-sore' > MM [S] da'vari, [MA] da'ri id., WrM dagari, dair, HIM дайр 'saddle-sore, abrasion'; M -b> Tg: Sln dagari, Lm day_gen, WrMc darin, Mc Sb darin 'saddle-sore', d : Ork da'ri-, WrMc dari- 'make a saddle-sore on horse's\reindeer's back' ¶ H 30 (da'ari 'Geschwür\Druckstelle auf dem Rücken'), Pp. MA 139, MED 218, 222, STM I 188 || ??φ Tg *darama > Ewk darama 'waist', Ewk I, Neg darama 'waist, back', Ewk Brg/O darama 'waist, backbone', Sln darama 'back', Lm dar_gem 'waist, the vertebra in the region of the waist', Orc da'ma 'waist', Ud da'ma 'waist, waist part of the backbone', Ul darama 'waist, back', Ork darama id., 'backbone, vertebra of the waist', Nn darama ~ darma 'back', WrMc {Z} darama, darma, dara 'waist, sacrum, back', Mc Sb {Y} darəmə 'spine, the line of the backbone' ¶ STM I 198, Y #95 ¶ ADb. SR-D 443 [#1], 452, ADb. MSR, ≈ DQA #349 [A *dagV 'shoulder bone, back': T, M] || D *t_gokor_g- ({GS} *d_g-, *-g-) 'back (dos)' > Klm d_gogor 'back', Gnd d_gogor per'eka 'backbone', ? Kui t_gokoli 'rear part of the cranium' ¶ D #2979 ♦ ADb. SR-D 443, 452 (A, D, EA).

506. ***dabowg_gV** 'sun, day, morning' (> 'be bright as sun') > HS: Eg dw₃.w 'morning' > Cpt B τούρι toui id. ¶ 3 for the expected τ may be due to a change *d...τ > d...3 (evidenced by the absence of d_g, dw_g and dy_g in Eg stems, except for the Semitism yd_g 'clever') ¶ EG V 422-5, Vc. 317 || Ch: CCh: Msg {Rlf.} doe' 'morning', {GKrs.} da'wai, {Brt.} dawo' 'tomorrow' || ECh: Smr {J} da'wa', Tmk {Cp.} de'w, Nd D {J} z'o'w 'sun' ! L1 {Grgs.} tu'wa, Kbl {Cp.} ta'ba' id. ! Ke {Eb.} c'z'wa' [*, Kwn {Lk.} tua, {J} to'wa' ma' ?a'na'η, Kwn M {J} tu'wa' ma'-a'na'η id. ¶ JI II 313, ChC, Lk. M 49, 51, Cp. 52, Eb. 36 || K *dye 'day' > OG, G d_gye-, Mg d_gya- (pl. d_gyal-), Lz (n)d_gya- (pl. (n)d_gyal-) 'day' || Sv: UB lada'γ, UB/L ladeγ, LB/Ln la'dey 'day' (< K d *s'a-d_g-e) ¶ K 75-6, K² 43, FS K 101-2, Chik. 193, IS I 155 (on K *s'- [IS, K] *s_g) > Sv I-), GM S 146, Test. KV 67, TK 359, Dn. s.v. ladeγ, GP 133 || ? A: Tg: WrMc duwarga usi_ga 'morning star' (usi_ga is 'star') ¶ STM I 218 || ? M *do_girona 'east' (if *o_giron < *a_giron) [× <d- M *doura ~ *do-ra 'below' (> WrM doura)] > MM [HI, S] dorona, WrM dorun-a, HIM дорно, Brt дурна, WrO dorono id., Ord dorono 'eastern', Kl дорд dord_g 'east' (× дорд 'lower') ¶ MED 263, H 37, Ms. H 50, Krg. 656, KRS 208, Chr. 203, Ms. O 153 || ? D (att. in McTm) *tav- > Tm tavan.ai 'fixed term of payment of a

due, limited time', MI tavan.a 'fixed time\term' ¶ D #3108 II ???σ IE: NaIE *d^hew₁əJ- 'be bright, shine' > OI dhava'la- 'dazzling white' ¶ Gk [Hs., Thc.] ὥω 'hell glänzen', 'to shine, gleam, be very bright\white' (e.g. of teeth) ¶ P 261, M K II 95-6, LS 796, F I 669 ◆ ≠ IS I 221 [#70] (*diga 'bright'; IS equated K *dye 'day' with IE *dheih- [i.e. *d^heyh-] v. 'see', which is *unc.*, because IE *d^heyh- is obviously nearer to EC *dey-/doy- v. 'look at', ≠ N *diha v. 'look at'), BmK 270-1 (*daG-/dāG-: K + IE {Phv.} *d^hog^ho- 'day' + S [Gz dagdaga v. 'be early in the morning'] + D ı [Tm taka-tak-en_{al} - an onomatopoeic expression of dazzling, etc.]), ≠ S NSR 4-6 [err. ∴ equates K with IE *dei₁(w)- 'to shine, daylight' (in fact from *ti₂u 'to shine) and reconstructs pN *d^w-; his IE-K comparison is unacceptable because IE *dei₁(w)- has no lr.].

507. *dE.a 'with', 'together with' (→ 'and') > HS: LbB *dV 'and, together with' > ONum d 'with' and/or 'and' ¶ B *id ~ d₁i 'with, together with', and' > Ah, Ty, ETwl d, əd, dā, Gd d, əd, Shl, Si d 'with, and', Izd, Mz, SrSn d 'et', Izd d, id, Kb δ, yiδ, iδ-, Zng iδ 'avec'; cp. also Si {La.} dā^h 'also' ¶ Fv. QSL 270, Fc. 140-4, Lf. II #0229, Mrc. 29, 107, GhA 15-6, DI. 125, AiM 181, 230, La. S 198, NZ 269-70 || C: Ag *-dī 'with' > Q {R} -dī 'with, together with', Bln {R} -dī id., 'and' ¶ R WB 93, R QW 46 || Ch: WCh: Hs dā^h 'with, together with', dā^h ... dā^h 'both ... and' ¶ CCh: Glv {Rp.} dā^h 'with', Gude {Hsk.} dā^h 'with' (instr.) ¶ Ech: Kwn {Mch.} dā^h, Ke dā^h 'with' ¶ Abr. H 153, RpB 27, ChC s.v. 'with', ≈ Sk. HCD 38, Hsk. 171 II IE *d₁^hja^ho^h > Ht ta 'and' || pSI *da 'and, but' > OCS dā da 'and', OR dā da 'and, but', R да, Uk † да id., Uk та, Blr ды 'and', P † да 'and, but', Blg да ~ та 'and', SCr † да 'but' ¶ Ts. W 80, Ts. E III 1-3, ESISJ-SGZ II 145-7, SPS II 323-6 II K (in GZ) *da₁ 'and' > OG, G da, Mg, Lz do 'and' ¶ K 68-9 ¶ Without Sv ev. we cannot distinguish between pK *a and *a^h II A *da^h > T *-ta^h / *-ta^h (postnominal) 'and, also' > OT da/da^h/ta/ta^h, Tk da / de / ta / te, Tkm -da^h / -de^h, Az da / da^h, Qzq da / de, Qq, Nog da / de / ta / te, VTt da / da^h / ta id. (→ Chv та та ~ те те 'and'), Bsh da / da^h / δa / δa^h / ta / ta^h 'also, and', Uz -da 'and, вед^h, же', StAlt da / de / ta / te 'and', Xk, Tv -даа -da^h, Yk da 'and'; VTt da, да^h ¶ Rs. MTS 236, Shch. OSMN 116, Kon. GTJ 356-7, Fed. II 159-60 ¶ T *t for the expected intervoc. *d is due to the generalization of the postcons. morphophonemic variant. The shortening of the vw. in Yk may be due to prosodic factors || Tg *-da^h / *-de^h ({Bz.} *da^h) 'and, also' (an enclitic pc.): Nn -da / -dā, Ud -da / -do / -dā, Lm -da^h / -de^h / -ta^h / -te^h id. ¶ Bz. 143, On. RN 83, Shn. 24, CiR RES 196-7 ◆ IS I 214-5 (*daH₁, an emphatic and coordinating article; i ÷ Sml {R} rhematizing pc. -da^h [a'minka-'da^h 'gerade, neben jetzt'; the pc., that is cognate with Bln {R} -ta^h, goes back to the dem. prn. connected with the N dem. prn. *t.a^h]. The Slavic jussive\optative cnjc. *da 'ut' and M *-da / *-de (identifying pc. undelining consent or impatience - ≠ MED 211) [both adduced here by IS] hardly belong here, because they are semantically too far from 'with' and 'and'; ≠ BmK 275-6 [do not distinguish between the etymon in question (in IE, K, Ch) and the locative pc. *da 'in' (in fact from *d₁oy₁a 'place' (q.v.); they adduce NEI/AchEI da 'also', though it goes back to MEI tak 'also' - ≠ HK 245, 270].

508. *deHəp 'make, do' > HS: C: Bj {R} -di? (p.: 1s a-di?, 3f ted'it, prs. 1s a-dani?, prtc. 'di?a) v. 'prepare, make' ¶ R WBd 56 || CCh: FIJ {ChL} d.e^h, FIM {ChL} d.i^h v. 'do', Bem {Sk.} d.a^h v. 'make' ¶ Db {Mch.} di 'faire', {Lnh.} d₁ya^h v. 'make' ¶ Gude {Hsk.} d.a 'do, make' ¶ ChC s.v. 'make', ChL, Mch. D 117, Hsk. 182 II IE *d^heh^h - v. 'make, do' > OPrs a-dada^h 'he created (schuf, machte [zu etwas])' ¶ L face^h-re (pfc. fe^h-i) 'to make, do', Osc fakiad, Um fac^hia 'faciat', Osc (pfc. cnj.) FEFACIT 'fecerit', Um FEITU, fetu 'facito' ¶ OHG tuo-m ~ to^h-m, AS do^h-m 'I do', inf. OHG tuo-n, NHG tun, AS, OSx do^h-n, NE do, p. OHG teta, NHG tat 'I did', NE did ¶ SI inf. *de^hja-ti, 1s prs. *de^hj-o^h > OCS d^heti de^hjati / 1s prs. d^heti de^hjō do, act', Blg не дей 'do not do!', Slv de^hja^hti 'to do' (secondary homonymy with de^hja^hti 'to say' and de^hja^hti 'to put'), OCrt dieti, diem v. 'do' (homonymy with dieti, diem v. 'say'), Cz di^hti 'to do', Slk de^hat 'to do', OP d^hiac 'to do', R Δ εδ^hετ^h 'to do' || d *d^he^h-I-/*d^ho^h-I- > pSI *de^hlo 'deed' > OCS d^helo de^hlo, SCr де^hло^h d^he^hlo, R, Blg 'дело id., Slv de^hlo, Cz dr^hlo, Slk dielo 'work', P dzieło 'work, deed' ¶ ON dæll 'easy, facilis' (< Gmc *daliz) ¶ P 235-9, Hinz 42, WH I 440-4, Bc. G 316, 335, Schz. 289-90, KM 796-7, Kb. 1048, Ho. 75, Ho. S 13, Vr. 92, SJSS X 553-4, StSS 205, ≈ EI 472 & 506 & ≈ ESSJ IV 229-30 (both fail to distinguish between *d^heh^h - 'put' and *d^heh^h - v. 'do' [and between their SI reflexes *de^h- and *de^hja-]), ESSJ V 7-8, SPS III 126-33 II U: FV *tewe 'work (Arbeit, Werk)' > F tyo^h 'Arbeit, Beschäftigung, Tat', Vp to^h, Es to^ho^h 'Arbeit, Werk' ¶ pMr *tevə > Er t'ev, Δ t'v 'affair, business, work (дело, зан^hтие, работа, Sache, Werk), Mk t'ev 'affair' ¶ UEW 796, Ker. II 167, KC 212, PI 268 ◆ IS I 224 [#75]. The timbre of the lr. *-h^h suggests a N palatal vw. (*e or *a^h) in the stem-final position, while U *-w- is better accounted for by a labial auslaut-vw. *o; but *-w- may go back also to a sx. or to hiatus before a suffixal vw. The scholars have not distinguished between this √ and N *dE^hi^h 'to put, place' (at the pIE level, as well at the level of subgroups of lgs. and at that of individual lgs.) considering the semantic difference secondary (≠ P, Bn. PLG [ch. XXVII], etc.), but the lgs. which have preserved the distinction (Slavic, Beja) suggest that this practically general opinion is to be rejected. On the other hand, it is certain than in many lgs. (such as FU) both roots merged. IS adduces here FU *teke- v. 'do' [unacceptable (≠φ: FU *-k- is not a reg. reflex of N *-i-)]; FU *teke- v. 'do' and *teke- v. 'put, place' are better accounted for by N *t.EkE 'build, make, do' (q.v.) and N *t.E^hak^ha 'put, set' (q.v.) respectively. I am grateful to V. Dybo (p.c.) for drawing my attention to the distinction between *d^he^h - v. 'do' and *d^he^h - v. 'put' at the IE and the pSI level.

509. ***diha** 'to look at' > HS: EC **dey-/doy-* v. 'look at' ({Bl.} pLEC **dõ-y-*) > Sml day v. 'examine', Bn day- v. 'try, test', Arr {Hw.} *dõ-y-* v. 'look at' (and day- v. 'find, obtain?'), Kns, Gdl *tõ-y-* v. 'look at, watch', Elm {Ss.} *doy-* v. 'regard', {Bl.} an-doy-a v. 'consider, regard', Or {Th.} *doya* (nom. *doyan*) 'observation', {Ss.} *doy-a-* id., *dõ-y-a?* 'spy, scout', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} *dõ-ya-* 'spies, robbers', Hd *do-* v. 'lurk, spy', Hr *tay* v. 'find', Ya *tey-* v. 'find, get' ¶ Ss. PEC 16, Bl. 263, Th. 109, Sr. 289, Hw. A 352-3 || ??? S: Ak OA *dãtum* 'notice, information', ? Ak OB *diḫatu*, *daḫatu* id. (spelling reflecting *dĩʔ(a)tu* ~ *dãʔ(a)tu*?); the word is not likely to go back to S **dĩʔat-um* 'knowledge' (> BHb eolD4 'dẽʔa- id.) from the S $\sqrt{*}/wd\bar{\bar{f}}$ 'know' [> Ak *edu*] (as suggested by Sd.) because the presence of S **ʕ* would have brought about the vw. change S **a* > Ak *e*; a contamination of both N roots (***diha** 'to look at' and ***wifitʕyʔ** 'to look, see') is also possible (esp. in the variant *dĩʔ(a)tu*) ¶ CAD III 130-1, Sd. 168 II IE **dʰeyh-* / **dʰyeh-* / **dʰih-* v. 'see, look at' > NaIE **dʰeyə-/dʰya-/dʰi-* > OI **dīdhe-ti* 'perceives', **adīdhe-t* 'he looked at', *dʰĩti*h. 'thought, idea', *dʰya-ti* 'schaut im Geiste, d. h. denkt, sinnt' (prtc. *dʰya-ta* ~ *dʰĩ-ta-*), *dʰya-* 'das Denken, Sinnen', Av *dã(y)-* v. 'see', *ã-diḫa-hti* 'betrachtet', prtc. *paiti-dīta-* 'erblickt', NPrs *dyD dīdãn* 'to see, look' ¶ Gk σῆμα, Gk D σα̃μα 'sign' (< **dʰya-mn-*, cp. OI *dʰya-man-* 'thought') ¶ pAl {O} **dīya* > Al G/T *di-* v. 'know' ('savoir'), G {Lamp} *dij* 'he knows' ¶ P 243, M K II 45, 105, Sg. 551, Horn 132, F II 695-6, My. 66, Ç I 125 & II 372, O 64-5, Mn. AIE 357, Kf. 81, Lamp 147 II ?? A: M **zĩ/a-* (or **zĩya-*?) 'point out, show' > MM [S] *zĩ/a-* 'ansagen, mitteilen', WrM *ziga-*, HIM, Brt, Kl *zāa-*, Ord *zā-* v. 'point out, show, demonstrate', Dx {T} *zā-* 'show, point out', Mnr H {T} *zā-* id., {SM} *zā-* 'indiquer, promettre' ¶ H 89, MED 1049, KRS 234, Chr. 240, Ms. O 175, SM 75, T 332, T DnJ 118 ¶ WrM -g- may be a secondary spelling device that reflects a syllable boundary ♦ The presence of a lr. is evidenced by IE, while the zero reflex of the lr. in C may suggest either **h* or **ʔ*, but **ʔ* is ruled out by the IE form **dʰeyə-* (because N **ʔ* does not yield a syllabic lr. [> **ə*] in IE). Therefore the reconstructed lr. must be **h* ♦ ≠ BmK 264-5 (**day-/dāy-*: IE, C, S **dīn-* v. 'judge' [interpreted as **day-an-* on the basis of deverbal nominal WS New Perfect], D **tẽt-* v. 'seek').

510. ***daka** 'back of the body (?), back, behind' > HS: EC: Or {Th., Brl.} *dugda* (nom. *dugdi*) 'back (dorso, schiena), hinder part', {Grg.} *dugda* ~ *dubda* ~ *dudda* 'back' ¶ Th. 115, Brl. 125-6, Grg. 111 || WCh: Ngz {Sch.} *d̃ĩgũ* v. 'follow (a person, an animal)', *d̃ĩgãũ* v. 'follow (a road)', Bd {Sch. in ChL} *z̃d̃, z̃gãn* v. 'follow' ¶ Sch. DN 52, ChL II U **taka* 'hind part, rear' > F *taka-* 'back' (e.g. *taka-ovi* 'back door'), *takaa* 'from behind', Es *taga* 'Hinterraum', 'behind, in the back of', pLp {Lr.} **tõke-* 'that which is behind so.\sth.' > Lp: N {N} *duokke*, L {LLO} *tuohke-*, S {Hs.} *duõgie*, T {TI} *tik̃k̃en* id., Kld {TI} *tũj̃k̃en* 'behind' (postp.) || Sm {Jn.} **tãk-* ~ **tãk̃-* 'das Hintere, hinten' > Ng {Cs.} *taka* 'back side', {Mik.} dat. *tagə*, loc. *takəni*, En X {Cs.} dat. *teho?* 'hinterhin', loc. *tehone* 'behind', En B {Cs.} dat. *taha?*, *tahu?* 'hinterhin', loc. *tahane*, *tahane* 'behind', Ne T тухад 'over, for [чреэз, за (что-л.)], further', туха̃на (postp.) 'behind', Ne F {Sm.} *c̃āha-na* id. : Slq: Tz {KKIH} *tõ-q̃q̃in(i)* postp. 'behind', Tm {KD} *tãk̃* 'das Hintere' : Kms dat. *t̃ãk̃tə* 'behind' (direction), loc. *t̃ãk̃k̃an* 'behind' ¶ Coll. 61, UEW 506-7, Lr. #1292, Lgc. #8068, Hs. 466, SaR 359, Jn. 154, Cs. 60, 88, Ter. 705, KKIH 187 II A **dak̃*- v. 'follow, go behind so.' ({SDM97} **dãki* 'near; follow') > M **daga-* v. 'follow, go behind so.' > MM [S, HI] *daqa-* (= [daga] or [daya]) id., WrM *daga-*, HIM *daḡa-* v. 'follow so., accompany', Kl *daḡa-*, Dx *daya-*, Dg *dag-* id. ¶ MED 216, H 31, Ms. H 48 || pKo **ta(h)-* 'following' > NKO *tar-m* ¶ S QK #130, MLC 388 ¶¶ For Tg **daga-* v. 'be near' and T **jak-in*, **jaguk* 'near' cf. N ***dũʔK̃.ʔE** v. 'approach; near' ¶¶ ≈ DQA #351 [A **dãk̃i* 'follow, near'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of N ***daka** 'back, behind' and those of ***dũʔK̃.ʔE** '¶' (q.v.); adduces pJ **tĩkã* 'near' > J T *c̃ikã(i)-* ♦ Coll. 146 (U, A [M, Tg]), UEW 506-7 (id.), ≠ IS I 215-6 (**dãkã* 'near', does not distinguish between the $\sqrt{}$ in question and ***dũʔK̃.ʔE** '¶') ♦ ≈ Gr. II #36 (**tak* ~ **tek* 'behind').

511. ***dʰÃk̃õ** (or ***dʰÃg̃õ**) 'to burn' (tr.) > K **dag-* vt. ≈ 'burn' > G *dag-* (aor. *da-v-dag-e*) 'niederbrennen, einbrennen, brandmarken, quälen', Sv {Fn.} *dg-* (msd. *li-dg-e*) v. 'burn low' (unless identical with *dg-/lidge* 'extinguish') ¶¶ Chx. 227, Fn. KW-1 34, #12 II HS: C: ? Bj {R} $\sqrt{tk}^w y$ (1s. p. 'atk̃wī, prs. atañk̃wī) vt. 'cook' (× N ***t̃.ok̃ṽṽ** ~ ***t̃.oh̃l̃ṽjk̃ṽ** 'to burn, fire') ¶ Dhl {To., EEN} *d̃ak-* v. 'cook' ¶ R WBd 225, EEN 34, To. D 131, E SC 189 (equates the Dhl word with Asa *rakas* 'dry' and reconstructs **d̃ak̃x-* v. 'dry over fire'); the Bj word belong here only if *-tk̃w-* is from **-dk̃w-* by *as*; otherwise it may belong to N ***t̃.ok̃ṽṽ** ~ ***t̃.oh̃l̃ṽjk̃ṽ** || CCh: Zgw {ChL} *dũgãyã* v. 'burn' II IE: NaIE {P, EI} **dʰeg̃wh-* vt., vi. 'burn' > OI **daha-ti*, Av *daz̃ahti* vt. 'burns' ¶ Gk Hm/I τε̃φρα̃ 'ashes', ? Gk [Hs.] ἑ̃πτανο̃ϋ̃ 'απτο̃μενο̃ϋ̃ 'kindled (?)' (÷ Lt *dē̃gtinas* 'wer/was zu verbrennen ist') ¶ L *fove-* v. 'warm, keep warm', *fõ-culum* 'brazier', *fõ-mentum* 'poultice, fomentation', *fõ-mes* (G *fõ-mitis*) 'touchwood, tinder', *favilla* 'glowing ashes' ¶ OIr *daig* (gen. *daiged*, *dega*) 'flame, pain', Brtt {RE} **deb̃imi* vt. 'burn' > Crn *dewy*, *dywy* id., OBr [γ] *deuu-eticion* · 'cremata', MBr *deuiff*, Br *devin* 'burn', MW *deifyaw*, W *deifio* v. 'scorch, singe' ¶ pAl {O} **dega* > Al *djeg* (aor. *dogja*) vt. 'burn, scorch, singe' ¶ Lt *dē̃g-ti* (1s prs. *deg-ũ*) vi. 'to burn', vt. 'to kindle', Ltv *degt* vi., vt. 'to burn'; Lt *degũtas* 'tar', Ltv *dẽguts* ~ *dẽgots* 'birch-tree tar' : Sl {Gllh.} **z̃egti* (1s prs. **z̃egõ* ~ **z̃ygõ*) vt. 'to burn' > OCS **же̃н** *z̃es̃ti* / prs. **ж̃ьг̃ж̃** *z̃ygõ*, Scr *z̃ẽc̃ĩ* $\bar{d}$ *z̃ẽc̃ĩ*, OCz *z̃ẽcĩ* / *z̃eh̃u*, P *z̃ec̃* / *z̃igẽ*, R **ж̃еч̃** / **ж̃г̃**; the change **d-* > **z̃-* may be accounted for by *as* (**deg-* > **geg-* > Sl **z̃eg-* or [ð Brandt] 2s **z̃ẽp̃z̃es̃ĩ* < **dẽp̃z̃es̃ĩ* and 3s **z̃ẽp̃z̃et̃b̃* < **dẽp̃z̃et̃b̃* after **z-*prefixes, such as **ṽbz̃-*); **d-* is preserved in a *d*: **deg̃et̃b̃* 'tar' (> OCz *dehet*, P *dziegiec̃*, R

Øдђот / G Øдђт, Uk Øдеот) :: Tc: A tsa'k-, tsak-, B tsa'k-, tsek- vt., vi. 'burn' ¶ WP I 849-50, P 240-1, EI 87, M K II 29, F I 663 & II 888-9, WH I 466-7, O 68, AIED 173, LP § 39.1, RE 85, YGM-I 166, Frn. 85-6, Vs. I 493 & II 38, Glh. 706-7, Wn. 526 II A {DQA} *de'ko ({S AJ} *dak-) v. 'burn' > NaT *jak- or {CL} *ja'k- v. 'ignite' > MT XIV [IM] ja'q-, XwT XIV jaq- vt. 'ignite, burn', Chg XV jaq- v. 'ignite', Tk yak, Tkm, VTt, Bsh, Nog, ET, Ln jaq-, Xlj ja'q-, Uz jaq-, Qrg 3'aq-, Qzq z'aq- vt. 'burn', Qq z'aq- vt. 'burn, strike fire', Yk saɣ- v. 'strike fire' ¶ ESSJ IV 81-2, DT 221, JkR 319, Rs. W 180; Cl. 897 supposes that the word is derived from *ja-, but S (AJ 175 [13]) rejects this assumption, because, acc. to him, the T sx. -k-/q- never forms transitive verbs || Tg *jegde--*degje- (acc. to S AJ and DQA, originally *deg-je-) vi., vt. 'burn' > Ewk j3gdĩ- vt. 'burn', vi. 'burn oneself, get sun-burnt', j3gdĩ 'forest-fire', Lm j3gd3, j3gd3k3ɣ 'site of a forest-fire' ('rap', пожари'), Neg j3gdĩ-, Orc, Ud, Ul 3'3gdĩ-, Ud 3'3gdĩ- vt. 'burn', Ud 3'3gd3- vi. 'burn, get slightly burnt' (of food), Ul 3'3gd3- 'be burnt, burn down (croper-)', Ork d3gd3- vi. 'burn', d3gd3-ktu 'site of a forest-fire', Nn 3'3gd3- 'be burnt', 3'3gd3 '(forest-)fire', WrMc deyzi ~ dezi, Mc Sb de3'ĩ-~di3'ĩ- vt. 'burn' ¶ STM I 281-2, Y #483, Krm. 235 || pKo {S} *thΛ'- vi. 'burn' > MKo t'hΛ'-, NKo t'hΛ'- id., MKo t'hΛ'ĩ- 'o'-, NKo t'hΛ'u- vt. 'burn' ¶ S KD #12, Nam 46-7, MLC 1684, 1697 || pJ *da'k- vt. 'burn' > OJ yak-, J: T ya'ku, K ya'k-, Kg ya', Ns ya'k', Sh ya'c', Ht ya'g-, Y da'g- vt. 'burn' ¶ S AJ 269 [109], S QJ #109 ¶¶ DQA #367 [A *de'ka' 'burn' (tr., intr.)], Cl. 897, S AJ 35-6, 279 [102] ♦ Illich-Svitych (IS SS #10.11 and MS 337) assumed that IE *d^heg^{wh}- goes back to earlier i teg^{wh}- and equates it with A *t'oga (> Tg *toga 'fire'), with HS *t'k^w (> Eg tk3, Bj √tk^w) and with U *ta''fɣ'Vt (actually *tewV-tV) 'fire' and reconstructed a N √t'.'o'gΛ, which I do not accept. I prefer to distinguish between three paronymous N words: *d'A'k'g'o', *t.okV?V~*t.o'h'ĩVjkV 'to burn' (whence the mentioned Tg √, as well as possibly the Eg √) and *t'e'ɣw'a' 'fire' (whence the mentioned U √). My hyp. of three roots allows us to explain many more observed facts than that of IS and does it on a more regular basis. It is corroborated by the fact that in some lgs. the distinction between these N roots has been preserved: N *d'A'k'g'o' > Tg *degje- ~ *jegde- vt. 'burn', N *t.okV?V ~ *t.o'h'ĩVjkV > Tg *toga 'fire'. In the N word in question the quality of the medial cns. is problematic: K and IE suggest *-g-, while C and T suggest *-k-. To my mind, the reflexes of *-g- in K and IE may be explained by *as* (originally in forms with the zero-grade of the apophony?), where pre-K and pre-IE *d-k- was assimilated to *d-g-. On the other hand, the C and T reflexes *-k- cannot be but original. Hence I am inclined to reconstruct the N word as *d'A'k'o'. Blz. KM 114 [4] equates K, IE and A with D *tĩ-~*tu- 'fire' (D #3266) [unacceptable because of the quality of the D vw.]. On the D √ cf. N *t'e'ɣw'a' 'fire' and GS 202 [511]. Cf. also AD GD #121 (IE-U-A- HS without distinction of the reflexes of N *d'A'k'o' and *t.okV?V~*t.o'h'ĩVjkV), Mng. DA 139-40, IS MS 337 (draws back IE *d^heg^{wh} from N *t'.'o'gΛ) ♦ Cf. Gr. II #54 (*taku 'burn') [IE, A, Gil].

512. *duk'U' 'strike, beat' > HS: S *√dwk, *-du'k- id. > Ak -du'k- (inf. da'ku) v. 'kill, break, beat', BHb √dwk G (ps. 3p ukD1 da'k_u-) 'pound, zerstampfen', Ug dk G 'zermalmen' (× S *√dkk 'reduce to fragments', probably from N *daK.V 'small, thin, short'), Ar √dwk G (pf. da'ka. ip. -du'k-) 'smash' ¶ DRS 234, Sd. 151-2, KB 207-8, A #739, OLS 131, Hv. 222 || WCh *√dk^w 'beat, kill' > Krkr du'k^wa' id., Krf du'ɣ^wa', Wrj/Mbr {Sk.} t3'ɣ- Sir {Sk.} t3'ɣ3 'kill', Hs do'ka', Klr {J} duk 'beat', Ngz sa'dgu 'beat, thresh' [¶ ECh: Mnj du'k, ? Lī di'gri 'kill'] ¶ Stl. VZCh #42, ChC, Sch. DN 39, [¶ Blz. LECh #44] || ?φ B: Ah {Fc.} duqqat 'frapper de la pointe avec un objet un peu pointu', dɔyɔɣ, Tdɔ dɔyɔɣ 'frapper à plusieurs reprises de la pointe' (infl. of B *√dg 'prick' < N *dEØik'a' 'to pierce, dig') ¶ Fc. 237, NZ 361 II K: GZ (+ext.) *tkwep-/tkwip- 'beat, beat up' [× N *t.abiVjqa 'to hit/strike' (→ 'to kill')] > OG ay-tkwepa vb. n. 'beating up', G tkvep-/tkvip- 'beat up', {Chx.} 'schlagen', Mg tkvp- 'beat up', Lz tkvap- 'beat, beat up' ¶ K 76, FS E 166 (both sources do not distinguish the root from the homonymous verb *tkwep- 'mix'), Chx. 506 II A: Tg *√dug- v. 'beat, strike' > Ewk duɣ-, Sln dukt3- id., Ewk Ald dukt3- vt. 'pound, crush', Lm du- d duw- d duɣ-, Orc, Ork, Nn du- 'beat, strike', Ud dukt3- 'beat', Ul duksin- 'strike', WrMc du- ~ du- 'strike (with a stick), thresh' ¶ STM I 219.

513. ?₂ *dEØik'a' 'to pierce, dig' > IE {EI} *d^hei_g^w- or *d^hei_{Hg}^w- 'stick, set up' > NaIE *d^he_i_g-/*d^ho_i_g-/*d^hig_g- 'pierce, stick, fix' > L fīg-o-, -e_{re} / fīxī / fīctum ~ fīxum 'fix, fasten', Umb fiktū 'figito' :: ON dī'ki 'ditch; puddle, morass', OSx, OFrs dīk, MDt dijc, Dt dijk 'dike' (-b> Fr digue -d> diguer -b> NE dig), MHG tī'ch 'dike, dam, pond' (> NHG Teich 'pond'), MLG dīch (-b> MHG dī'ch > NHG Deich 'dike, dam, embankment'), AS dīc' 'ditch, moat' > NE ditch; ME dyk, dik 'dike' (-b> MDt dijc?) > NE dike :: Lt di'egiu / di'egti v. 'stick, set, plant', Ltv diē'gt 'to tack, stitch together, baste'; Lt dygu's 'prickly', dy'gti 'to spring, shoot, sprout' ¶ WP I 832-3, P 243-4, EI 472, WH I 495-6, Bc. G 335, ≈ KM 775, Vr. 76, Vr. N 116, Lx. 226, Ho. 72, AHD 369, ≈ Skeat 169, 177, Frn. 93 II HS: Ch {Stl.} *dig-/HVdig- 'dig' > WCh: Mnt {Fp.} dik id.; P' {MSk.} 3'ĩ ga' 'dig, uncover'; Hs da'gi 'iron implement for digging holes' :: CCh: Gzg dik, MfG -da'd3g- 'enterrer' (?) -d> *diga 'hoe' > Hs di'ga' 'pickaxe' (unless -b> NE digger) :: Mf {BLB} d3ga 'pioche' :: Ll diga, Tmk d3'ga id. ¶ Stl. IF 58-9, BLB 111, Brr. MG II 100 || ?σ CS *√dfk (× N *dik_{Ej}Ø'U' 'to rumple, knead, press') > Ar ékaO0da da'k-at- 'partie la plus foulée du chemin', mad'fū-l- pp. 'foulé, abimé par le grand nombre d'allants et de venants', JA, MHb √dfk G 'crush, stamp upon' ¶ BK I 702, Js. 316, DRS 290-1 || B *√dg 'prick' (× N *duk'U' 'strike, beat') > Wrg dugg 'poignarder, frapper avec une pointe', Ah ədəg', Tw Ng ədəg' 'piquer, percer', Gh əddə3' 'piquer (avec une pointe/aiguille/épine)' ¶ NZ 300-1.

514. ***dik₁E₁Ø^hU¹** 'to rumple, knead, press' > HS: EC: Sa (R) dakah- ~ takah- 'die Penta umrühren', Af S dakha (pl. dakoh) 'pastry', Af N dakha (pl. dakoh) 'porridge' ¶ R S II 105, PH 79 || ? *mt* : CS **ǵk* ≈ 'crush, rub' > Ar *ǵk* (ip. -*ǵak*-) 'frotter, lisser en frottant' (*mt* **ǵk* < **ǵk* ?), JA/MHb {Js.} *ǵk* v. G 'crush, stamp upon' (absent in Lv. and Sl!) ¶ BK I 702, Js. 316, DRS 290-1 II ? K **dyw*- v. 'mix' (→ v. 'splash?') > Lz *dyval*- v. 'mix' ('перемешиват'), ? Mg *dyvab*- v. 'flop into water', ? Sv {K} *dyul*- /*dyəl* 'splash of milk when milking a cow/goat', Sv UB/L {TK} *dyu*¹, UB/Ln *dyul* id. ¶¶ K 76, Chx. 329, Chik. 271, TK 199 ¶¶ K **-y*- < **-ky*- ? II IE: NaIE **d^hei_g^h*- 'knead', {P} knead clay and build out of it or smear with it, {EI} 'work clay, smear' > OI *de^h*- (prs. 1s 'de^h-mi, 3s *de^h-gdhi*) v. 'smear, anoint' :: Gk ἥλυνω (aor. inf. ἥλυν) 'touch with the hand, handle' :: L *finger*-(pp. *fic-tum*) vt. 'shape, fashion, form, mould', {WH} 'knead/mould out of clay, wax, or sim.' ({P}: ← 'streichelnd betasten') :: Gt *dig*- vt. 'knead, build out of clay', *daig*-s 'dough' (< **d^hoi_g^hom*), OHG *teik* ~ *teig* (> NHG *Teig*), AS *da³* id., NE *dough* :: SI **de^hz'a* 'trough for kneading dough' > OR *дѣжа* *de^hz'a*, R *дежа*, Uk *д'жа*, Cz *dr^hz'e*, *di^hz*, Slk *diez'a*, P *dziez'a* id., Slv *de^hz'a* 'kneaded dough', SCr *Δ di^hz'a*, *di^hz'va*, *dijez'va* 'milk pail' ¶ WP I 833-4, P 244-5, EI 649, WH I 501-2, M K II 62, F I 674-5, Fs. 118-9, OsS 924, Kb. 1014, KM 775-6, Ho. 69-70, ESSJ V 23-4, Bern. I 198, Vs. I 494, Mn. 181, 195 II A: Tg **ji_g*- (< **dig*-) > Ewk *jigir³*- v. 'warp, get wrinkled from fire' (of leather), v. 'shrink' (of cloth), *jigir³* 'warped, wrinkled, shrunk', Nn *z'igda*- v. 'press, tread down' ¶ STM I 255 II D (in GnD) **tik*- ({*GS*} **tig*-) v. 'press down' > Knd *tig*- v. 'press down hard, lay pressure on', Png, Mnd *tig*- v. 'push' ¶ D #3205 ◆ IE **g^h* suggests a following N front vw., while K **yw* suggests a final rounded vw.; at the same time both HS and K provide ev. of **y*. Therefore (and in the light of Sa and Af data, where the reflexes of **k* and **y* are separated by a vw.) one may assume that originally there was a vw. between **k* and **y*, so that there were two vowels, one of them front, and the other rounded. If it is right, Tg and D lost the final syll. (**-*yU*) without traces, while in IE the front vw. palatalized the velar cns. (**kE* > pre-IE **g^h*), and later the pIE cluster **g^hH* (with **H* < **y*) yielded NaIE **g^h*.

515. ****dak₁U*** (young of an) equid' > HS **dV_k*- 'donkey' > C {AD} **dV(k)_k*-*W_r*-, {E} *dik₁*- id.: Ag {AD} **d3k₁*- / (pl.) **d3k₁*-*W_a* (= **d3k₁*-*W_a*)l-, {Ap.} **d3y_W*- id. > Bln/Xm {Ap., R} *d3x_W*-*ara*, pl. {R} *d3k₁*-*W_a*, Q {Ap.} *d3y_W*-*era*, {R} *dewo_{ra}* ~ *dehora*, Dmb {R} *daq_W*-*ara* ~ *deg_W*-*ara*, pl. *daq_W*-*al*-t, Aw {Ap.} *d3y_W*-*ari*, {CR} *dux_W*-*ari* id. :: EC: Or Brr {Fl.} *dongorra* 'donkey' > Amh *denk_{oro}* 'stupid, ignorant, deaf' :: SC: Irq {Wh.} *da^hq_W*-*ay* (pl. *da^hq_W*-*ay^h*), Grw {Fl.} *dog_W*-*ay*, Alg {Wh.} *daq_W*-*i*, {Fl.} *ndag_W*-*ay*, Brn {Fl.} *daq_W*-*a*, {Wh.} *daq_W*-*ay*, Kz {E} *dak_W*-*ak_W*-*ayiko*, {Fl.} *dag_W*-*ag_W*-*ay*-ko 'donkey' (E reconstructs Rt **dak₁*-, **dak₁*-*ay_i*); Irq *daketi*, Alg *deketi* 'zebra' (Rt {E} **dak₁*-*et*-) ¶ AD SF 275, AD GDS 70, L CAD 197, Wh. SI, E PC #406, E SC 345, R WB 103, R QW 48, R Ch II 353, Ap. AV 9 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} **dak_W*-*i* 'horse' > Hs *do^hki^h* id. :: BT **dak_W*-*i* id. > Krkr {Lk.} *do^hku^h*, Bl {Mk.} *doku*, Ngm *doku*, Dr {J} *do^hk* id., {Nw.} *do^hk*, Krf {ChC} pl. *du^hkku^h* s'i n 'horses', Grm {Sch.} *du^hwa^h* (pl. *du^hc^hc^hu^hn^hz^hi*) 'horse' :: NrBc {Stl.} **dak_W*-*i* 'horse' > {Sk.}: Wrj *du^hhu^hna^h*, Mbr *da^hku^h*, My *du^hwa^hk^h*, Sir *du^hkwi^h*, Cg *da^hk^hz^hn*, Jmb *da^hk^hwa^h*, P' {MSk.} *z^hi^hki^h*, Kry *du^hhu^h*, Sir *du^hkwi^h* :: Ngz {Sch.} *du^hka^h*, Bd {ChL} *du^hwu^hn* id. :: CCh: Mrg {Hf.} *ta^hgu^h*, Klb {Mk.} *ta^hku^h*, Hld {ChL}, Wmd {ChL} *tagu^h* :: Higi: HgK {Mk.} *tuku*, FK {ChL} *tu^hku^h*, FG {ChL} *ti^hku^h* :: Gude {ChL} *tu^hx^hwa^h*, {Mk.} *tuhwa*, Bt {Mch.} *du^hwe*, Bcm {Sk.} *de^hwe^h* id. :: ECh: EDng {Fd.} *de^hwki^h* 'antilope cheval' (Sk.: = 'roan antelope') ¶ Stl. ZCh 170 [#232], ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 29, 115, 135, 147, JI II 194-5, Fd. 186-7, ≈ Sk. HCD 49 ¶ In the BT, NrBc and CCh lgs. this word for 'horse' may be a loan from Hs ¶ OS #667 (**dawak*- 'horse': SC, Ag?, WCh) II A: M **da^hy^haqan* 'colt' > WrM *dagagan* ~ *dagan*, HlM *дагаган* 'colt between one and two years', Ord *da^hya* 'poulain de deux ans', WrO *daya^hn* 'two-year colt', *daya^h* 'a colt of 1-2 years', KI *дааһн* 'two-year colt', Mnr H {SM} *d_a^hya* 'poulain, ânon', Dx *dagan*, Ba *da^hyan* 'colt'; M > WrMc *da^hyan* 'colt (from 2 to 5 years)' ¶ SM 40, MED 216, T 328, T DnJ 117, T BJ 138, Krg. 534, Z 777.

516. ****dak₁V*** 'small, thin, short' > HS: S **dak₁*- 'small, fine' > Ug *dk₁*, (AkSc) *dak₁*-*u* 'small', BHb qD2 'dak₁ (f. *dak₁*-*ka^h*, pl. *dak₁*-*k^him*) {BDB} 'thin, fine, small', Pun *dk₁* 'fine, pulverized', IA *dk₁*- 'fine' (of salt), JA qD2 *dak₁* 'dünn, fein, zart' (pl. em. ai!Q!D2 *dak₁*-*a^hya^h* 'die dünnen, kleinen Därme'), Ak *dak₁*-*u* 'small'; *d* **dak₁*-*ik₁*- adj. 'small, fine' > Ar *daqiq₁*, Sb *dk₁* 'flour', Ak *dak₁*-*ik₁*- 'small'; JEA *dak₁*-*dak₁* 'verysmall' ¶ KB 220, KBR 229, GB 167, BDB #1851, Sl. 349, BGMR 36, OLS 135, Hnr. 119, Grd. UT #695, CAD III 107, Lv. I 418, HJ 257-8, DRS 305 || EC {Ss.} **dik₁*- 'small' > Or B/Wt {Sr.} *dik₁*-*a^hm*, *dik₁*-*o^hf*, Or H {Ow.} *di^hk₁*-*a^hm*, *di^hk₁*-*o^hf* 'small, little', Hr *tik₁*-*assa* 'small', ?σ Sml *diq₁*- v. 'become faint, tenuous', *diq₁* 'faintness'; ?φ Af {PH} *dago* 'one who is small' ¶ Ss. PEC 50, Sr. 287, Ow. 257, PH 79 || Om: SOM: Ari B {Fl.} *toko-mi*, {Bnd.} *tok*-, Ub {Fl.} *tok^hmi*, Ari {Blz.} *tok^hmi* (= *tok^hmi*?) 'small' :: NrOm: Male {Fl.} *d_a*-*ak₁* id. ¶ Fl. AJ, Fl. SO, Bnd. AL, Blz. OL || Ch **ǵk₁*- 'small, short': WCh: BT: Grm {ChC} *d_e*-*k^hz^hm*, {Gw.} *dekumu* 'small' :: SBc: ? Grn *z^heka* id., ?? Wnd {ChL} *nduk* 'short' :: Ron: Klr n_o *dik^hz^h* 'small' :: CCh: Higi: FIG {ChL} *duku* 'short', HgB {Kr.} *tiku* 'small' :: Glv *de^hyk^ha^h* id., Gv {ChL} *de^hx^he^h*, Dgh {Frk., ChL} *du^hk^he^h* id. :: Db {Lnh.} *duk*, Kola {Sb.} *du^hk* id. :: Lame *da^hke* :: ECh: ? Mu {J} *ǵgs* (*da^hga^hs^he^h* / *de^hgi^hs^h* / *di^hga^hs^h*) v. 'be short' ¶ ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 135, 138 ¶ OS #704 (S, C) II A: Tg: WrMc *daqda^hyan* 'short' (of garment) ¶ STM I 191, Z 777 II D **takat₁*- ({*GS*} ≈ **tagad₁*-) 'thin and flat' > Tm *takat₁*- 'quality of being thin and flat', Ml *takat₁*-*u*, *takit₁*-*u* 'thin metal plate', Tu *tagad₁*-*u* id., Kn *tagad₁*-*u* 'flat piece or sheet of metal', Tl *tagad₁*-*u* 'plate, sheet, leaf of foil, of metal' ¶ D #2995.

517. ***dik** ∇ 'edible cereals\fruit' > K: pGZ ***dik** - 'wheat' > G **dik** a 'wheat' (*Triticum persicum*, a kind of summer wheat)', Lz **dik** a 'wheat' ¶ Chik. 141-2, Chx. 313, FS K 104 II ? A ***dik** - d> [1] A ***di** k₁ - kta'' 'edible berries' > NaT ***jigda**'' 'edible berries (of *Zizyphus* and possibly *Eleaagnus*)' [ET: 'the berries *Zizypha rubra*'] > OT [MhK] **jigda**'' {Cl.} 'jujube tree (*Zizyphus angustifolia*) and its fruit (an edible berry)', {DTS} 'Elaeagnus' ([MhK]: **jigda**'' talqanī 'flour of dried *Eleaagnus* berries'), Tkm iyde 'Elaeagnus and its berry; date fruit', Tkm Δ **z**'igde 'Elaeagnus', Tk ig'de {TrR} 'Elaeagnus, *Zizypha rubra* (джида), wild olive', Az iyda'', Qrg, Qq **z**'iyde, Qzq **z**'yde, Uz **z**'iyda ~ Δ **z**'iyda'' 'Elaeagnus and its berries' ¶ Cl. 911, DTS 260, ET Gl 325-6 || Tg ***jikte** 'berries, *Vaccinium*' > Ewk **jiktə** 'berries', Orc **z**'iktə, Ud **z**'iktə- 'bog bilberry (*Vaccinium uliginosum*), Neg **jiktə** id., 'bilberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*)' ¶ STM I 256, Krm. 233 || [2] A: NaT ***jig** d₁ jellek 'berries' > Tk c₁ ilek, Ggz c₁ ilek, Økm c₁ ilek, QrB **z**'lek, Qmq **z**'ielek 'strawberries', VTt **z**'ila''k, Bsh **z**'ila''k, Qzq **z**'ide ~ **z**'idek 'berries' (unless from ***jigda**'), Alt **z**'ilek 'berries', Nog **jelek** id., 'fruit' ¶ TL 122 II D (in NED) ***tik** k₁ ∇ || - > Krx tīxəl 'rice, paddy cleansed of its husk', Mlt tiqalu 'rice' ¶ D #3271, Pf. 192 II ??? HS: ? Eg fmk dk_r 'edible fruit' (general name), {Fk.} dk_r.w 'fruit' ¶ EG V 495-6, Fk. 316 || AdS of ? B ***d** a₁ y- 'grain, seed' [< N ***t.owK**. 'a' 'germ' (→ 'seed'), q.v. ffd.] ♦ Fn. KD #58 (K, D) ♦ S CNM 10 (rejects the Tg cognate and unconvincingly considers it to be a loan from M ***z**'edegene 'berry' allegedly borrowed from T ***jigda**''; ÷÷ NrCs ***dik**.wi '∈ cereal [millet, rice]', Vv. AEN 18 ("teleological rec." of ***K** in A ***diK**-kta''; on legitimacy of "teleological recs." ≠ AD NMI 41-2 and above: Introduction, § 8.7).

518. ≈ ?? ***doK**.E 'to observe, learn' > HS: CS -du₁ k₁ - v. 'observe, inspect' > Ar √dwq (ip. -du₁ q-, pf. da₁ qa) v. 'taste (food)', BHb √dwk, Sh qd3I!v@ way'ya₁ d₁ ek. (h. l.) [LXX] 'h' pī'' μησεν' ({L} to review, inspect'), JEA, ChrPA, SmA, Sr, Md √dwk, Sh 'scrutinize' ¶ KB 208, KBR 217, BK I 751, DRS 238 II ? U ***tok** k₁ e (or ***s** -, ***c** -) > pSm {Jn., Hl.} ***t** cok₁ - ~ ? ***t** cok₁ - v. 'learn' > Ne T toxo-c-, Ne O {Lh.} to₁ xo₁ id., Ne F {Lh.} 3s aor. toxu₁ ηηα₁ ə id., Slq Tz {Prk.} **d** togilti-qo 'to read, count', Mt {Hl.} ***tok** i ə₁ - 'get accustomed' d> ***toktə** - 'teach (erlernen, lehren)' (Mt M {Sp.} **м**ндоохомъ 'I get accustomed' [мн 'I'], тохти₁ мъ 'I learn' (**на**уча₁-c₁'), тохты₁ мъ 'I teach') ¶ Jn. 165, Hl. M ##1049, 1051 II ?? IE: NaIE ***dok** k₁ - v. ≈ 'make clear, teach, believe' > L doce₁ - (pfc. docui, supinum doctum) v. 'make clear, teach' || Gk δοκε₁ ω (ft. δο₁ ξω, aor. εδο₁ ξα) 'videor mihi, suppose, think, have an opinion' (here?) δοκευ₁ ω 'keep an eye upon, watch narrowly' ¶ An alt. (less plausible) et.: NaIE ***dok** - <d- NaIE ***dek** - v. 'be fit, suit' (EI 564) ¶ WH I 331, F I 404-6 ¶¶ IE ***d** - (for the expected ***d^h** -) is due to the IE incompatibility law rejecting combinations of media aspirata and tenuis in roots.

519. ? ***du** K₁.E 'to approach; near' > HS: C (acc. to AD SF) ***t** VKV 'near' > EC: Sa I {R} d₁ aga₁ - 'proximity', postp. 'chez' || Ag: Aw dig- (1s dik-) v. 'approach'; C -b> Gz t₁ ak₁ a₁ - t₁ ək₁ a₁ 'proximity, near', Tgy təz₁ a 'proximity' -b> Bln {R} ta₁ ya₁ - 'Seite, neben' d> taya₁ - 'sich nahen', Xm {R} t₁ ak₁ e₁ - t id.; for further (rather *qu.*) cognates in the C lgs. see IS I 215 ¶ AD SF 55-6, L G 595, R WB 334, R S II 123 ¶ Secondary glottalization of the initial cns. (***te** d...k₁ > ***t**...K?) || Ch: WCh: Gmy {Kr.} duk, Kfr {Nt.} du₁ k₁ 'near' || CCh: Gude {ChL} nduk^w(v) id. || Bnn {ChL} tək₁ tə₁ η, BnnM {ChL} tək id. ¶ ChL, ChC ¶¶ Coh. #339, Gr. LA 60 [#53], AD SF 55-6 ¶¶ If we had accepted O. Rössler's theory (Eg ¹ < ***d**), we would have adduced Eg fP 'k₁ 'enter, come in', Eg N 'k₁ 'k₁ 'betreten, (jmn.) erreichen' (EG I 230, 234, Fk. 49) II A ***do**''ki- v. 'approach, be near' > M ***do**''ku'' - vi. 'approach' > WrM do₁''ku'' - v. 'approach, move closer, be close to', HlM d₁''x₁ - id., Brt d₁''xy- vi. 'approach' ¶ MED 266, Chr. 213 || T ***j** i₁ jak- v. 'approach' > NaT ***jak** - > OT {Cl.} jaq-, ET Δ jaq- id.; variant verb ***j** i₁ jagu- 'approach' > OT {Cl.} ja₁ yu- v. 'approach, be near to', Chg jawu-, Nog juwī-, Qrg **z**'u-, Qzq **z**'uw- v. 'approach'; d NaT ***jak**-in adj. 'near' > OT {Cl.} jaqin, Tk yakın, Qq, Nog, SY, Ln jaqin, VTt, Bsh jaq₁ ηn, Uz jaqin, ET jeqin, Az ja₁ ηm, Qzq **z**'aqin, Xk c₁ a₁ ηm id. ¶ Cl. 896-9, 904, ET J 81, 84 || Tg ***daga** - ***d** i₁ lga 'near' > Jrc {Kiy.} digasa, {Md.} di₁ xa-sa id., Ewk dā₁ d₁ daa₁ d₁ daga, Sln daga, Neg dā₁ xa 'near', Lm dā₁ ηm v. 'approach', daksā- id., dā₁ s'a 'near' ¶ STM I 187-8, Gru. SSJ #681, Kiy. 135, Md. ChF 136 || pJ {S} ***ti** 'ka' - 'near' > OJ tika-, J: T c₁ ika₁ i, Ky c₁ i kai, Kg c₁ i ke', Ns c₁ i kya', Sh c₁ ika', Ht si₁ ka', Y ta' - id. ¶ S QJ #100, Mr. 142 ¶ ≈ DQA #351 (A ***da**''k₁ i 'follow, near'; does not take into account M ***do**''ku'' - and does not distinguish between ***do**''k₁ i - 'be near' and ***daka** 'back, follow', ≠ N ***daka** 'back of the body (?), back, behind'), STM I 188; on the vowel corrs. justifying the rec. of A ***do**''k₁ i - see SDM VC (A ***o**'' [with ***i** of the second syll.] > T ***i** a, M ***o**'', pJ ***i**; in Tg ***daga** - ***d** i₁ lga 'near' the vowels ***a** ~ ***i** (for the expected labial vw.) has not yet been explained ♦ IS I 215-6 (***da** K₁ a 'near', adduces the U and A reflexes of ***daka** 'back, behind').

520. ***dal** ∇ 'tasty, sweet' > IE: NaIE ***dl** k₁ u- 'sweet' (< N ***dal** ∇ + ***La**.qu₁'' 'tender, mild' [q.v.]) > L dulcis (< ***dl** k₁ k₁ wi-s) 'sweet, pleasant' || Gk γλυκυ₁ ō, γλυκερο₁ ō 'sweet' (P: γλ- < ***δλ**- due to *dis* from the word-medial -κ-) ¶ WP I 816, P 222, EI 560 (***dl** ku-s ~ ***gluku**-s), WH I 379-380, F I 314-5, Ch. 228-9, Hofm. 46 ¶¶ IE ***d** - (for the expected ***d^h** -) due to one of the IE incompatibility laws (***d**...k₁ > pre-IE ***t**...k₁ > IE ***d**...k₁) II ? HS: ECh: Mu {J} d₁ i₁ l / d₁ e₁ l / d₁ i₁ lla 'être sucré', {Lk.} d₁ i₁ l i₁ t 'sweet', Mkl {J} dā₁ lu₁ l 'gentillesse, douceur' ¶ Lk. ZSS 181, J LM 78 II A {SDM97} ***dalo** 'tasty, sweet' > NrTg ***dal** - id. > Ewk dalli₁ d₁ daldi, Lm dalr₁ d₁ dalda₁ d₁ dald₁ d₁ dalla₁ d₁ dall₁ d₁ dals₁ d₁ dalh₁, Neg dal₁ gdu₁ id. ¶ STM I 195 || Ko ***t** a₁ r- 'sweet' > MKO t₁ a₁ r-, Ko tal- v. 'be sweet' ¶ S KD #545, Nam 140, Rm. SKE 253 || ??? NaT ***j** a₁ l - > OT [MhK] {Br.} jal₁ m₁ c₁ ya (as₁'), {Cl.} jil₁ m₁ c₁ ya (as₁') '(food) which has no fat in it, or salt, or taste' (unless from T ***jal**m, ***jal**m₁ j₁ aq 'naked', cf.

ET J 104-6); other possible Tk words of this √ are Alt {GAJ} ʒ'alm-c'ı 'fresh water' (GAJ 167) and VTt z'alamɤk 'feiner Griesbrei' (RI. IV 37) ¶ Br. MT 75, Cl. 931, DTS 266 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 50-1, DQA #353 [A *dalo 'sweet, tasty'] II D {tr., °GS} *taḷ- v. 'season/flavour food with spices' > Tm taḷ.i id., Ml taḷ.ikka, Kn taḷ.isu, OTl {Km.} taḷa'boyu, Tl taḷincu, Δ taḷa'bo'yu v. 'season food', Kn taḷ.ida, taḷ.ada, taḷ.da, taḷ.lu 'boiled and seasoned vegetables', Tl taḷimpu 'seasoning, a seasoned curry', OTl {Km.} taḷupu n., Knd taḷep 'seasoning of food with spices' ¶¶ D #3186, Km. 381 [#560].

521. ***dil̥a** 'sunshine, daylight, bright' > HS: SC: Irq {Wh.} de'lo 'day' (as opposed to 'night'), Alg {Wh.} de'lu id., Kz {E} deles- 'yellow', ?? Asa {E} -diliʔi 'red' ¶ Wh. IC 23, E SC 346 [#11] (pRt *del- 'daylight') II K *dila 'morning' > OG, G dila 'morning', OG dila 'dawn', 'to-morrow', diliti 'in the morning' ¶ DCh. 478, Ser. 58, Abul. 142 II ? IE: NaIE *dʰel- 'sun, bright' > Arm de-in defin (gen. defnoy) 'yellow, pale' (< *dʰeleno-) ¶ pAl {O} *delwa, {Huld} *dieḷ 'sun' > Al: G/T diell, {Kf.} G dill 'sun', {Huld} SG/Ba diḷ, Sh diḷ, D/Be/Ç dieḷ, A dyeḷ, P dieḷ, diēna (P: < *del-no-) ¶ OIr {P} dellrad 'Glanz', ? Nlr {Dnn.} dealrach 'bright, shining' ¶ ON Dellingr 'father of the god of day (Dagr)', MLG {P} ge-telle 'hübsch, artig' ¶ P 246 (does not adduce Al and reconstructs *dʰel- 'leuchten, hell'), Vr. 72, 75, Kf. 81, ≈ O 65 (*qu.* : pAl *delwa < IE *gʰelw- 'yellow' with a tabooistic change), Huld 50-1, ≠ Slt. 349 (*unc.* : Arm defin connected with Arm dalar dalar 'green, fresh' < IE dʰal-), Dnn. 228-9 II A {DQA} *di'lo 'sun, sun cycle, year' > NaT *jıl 'year' > OT jıl, Tk yıl, Tkm jıl, VTt, Bsh jıl, Az il, Qzq, Qq z'il, Qrg z'il, Uz, ET, SY jıl, StAlt ʒ'il, Xk, Tv c'il, Yk sıl 'year', T → M: WrM ʒıl, HIM, Kl, Dg ʒ'il ¶ Lack of the final vw. in the M word suggests that it is a loan from T ¶ ET J 275, S AJ 186 [#105], 239 [#118], Rs. W 200, Cl. 917, TL 70-2, MED 1054 || NrTg *diḷaça- 'sun' > Neg Δ dilaça, Ewk dilaça- id. ¶ STM I 206, S AJ 238 [#201] || pKo *tolcs 'full year, anniversary (cicle)' > MKo tors, Nko tot (tols), tol id. ¶ S AJ 256 [#131], S QK #131, MLC 478 || pJ *tə'si' 'year' > OJ to'si', J: T to'si', K to'si', Kg to'si', Ns tu'si', Sh tu'si', Ht tu'si', Y tu'te'i' id. ¶ S AJ 269 [#107], S QJ #107, Mr. 551 ¶¶ S AJ 31, 88, 278-9 [#100], ≈ DQA #382 [A *di'lo 'year; sun, sun cycle' > T, Tg, Ko, J] II ??σ,φ D *tel- ({}GS) *t- > Tm tel-, Kn til.i, tal.i v. 'become clear', Ml tel.i 'clearness, brightness', Td tu'li 'clear', Tu til.i 'transparent, clear, distilled', teli 'clear, pure, filtered', Tl teli 'white, pure', Klm telmi, Gdb tellan, Knd telani 'white' ¶¶ D #3433 ◆ IS I 219-20 [#28] (K, IE, A [T, M, Tg]) (→ BmK 273-4: IS's comparison + SC + D). If the D cognate is valid, the reconstructed form must be ***dil̥a**.

522. ***dul̥i** 'fire; to heat' > U *tul̥, le 'fire' [× N *t.Ul̥V 'kindle (a fire); fire'] > F, Es tuli id. | pLp {Lr.} *tolz > Lp: N {N} dolla, S {Hs.} da'lle, Kld to'li id. | pMr {Ker.} tul > Er/Mk тол tol | Chr: L тул tul, Н тъл tъл | pPrm *tu'l > Z tiv, Vt til || ? Sm {Jn., Hl.} *tuy id. > StNe T ty, Ne O {Lh.} tu-, Ne F {Lh.} tu-, Ng {Ter., Mkl.} tuy, En {Cs.} X tu-, B tu | Slq Tz {KKIH} tu-, Tm {KD} tu-, Ch {Cs.} t'yu- | Kms {KD} *s'u- | Koyb {Sp.} c→ id. | Mt {Hl.} *tuy 'Feuer, Feuerzeug' (Mt: M/T tui, K {Mll.} dui, A {Ms.} thui, {Strl.} thuy 'fire', M {Sp.} туй 'огниво = flint/steel for striking fire') ¶¶ UEW 535, Coll. 63, It. #205, Sm. 540 (U *tuli, FU, FP *tuli, Sm *tuj), Lr. #1266, Lgc. #7914, Hs. 415, Ker. II 168-9, Ep. 124, LG 292, Jn. 166, Hl. M ##1085-6, KKI 189 ¶¶ Sm *y < U *-li II A *du'li 'be(come) hot/warm' > NaT *jıl- v. 'be(come) hot' > OT {Cl.} jıl- id., Tk ıl-, Tkm jıla-, Bsh jıl-, Uz jili-, ET ili-, Qrg ʒıl-, Qzq z'ıl-, StAlt ʒ'ıl-, Xk, Tv c'ıl-, Yk sıl- v. 'become warm \ warmer'; d NaT *jilg ~ *jilug adj. 'hot, warm' > OT {Cl.} jilg id. > QK jilg, SY jilg, Az ilg, Tkm, Qmq jıl, Bsh jıl, Tk ıl, ET jiliq, Uz jiliq ~ iliq, Qrg ʒ'ılu, Qzq z'ıl, StAlt ʒ'ılu, Xk c'ıl, Tv c'ıl 'warm' ¶ Cl. 919, 925, ET J 275-6, Rs. W 431, Dr. TM III 281-2 || M *dula-yan 'warm' > MM [HI] {H} dulaḷan 'lau', {Ms., Lew.} dulaḷan 'chaleur modérée', WrM dulagan, HIM дулаан dulaḷan, Kl дулан, Brt дулаа (н), Dg, ShY dulaḷan 'warm; warmth'; [× N *tul̥E 'be bright, light (hell)', q.v. ffd.]: WrM dul, HIM дул 'clear, serene, bright' (of weather) ¶ H SMG I #73, Ms. H 51, Lew. II 36, MED 272, KRS 214, Chr. 200, T DgJ 138, S AJ 238 [#101] || Tg *du'li- vt. 'warm' (of sun) > Ewk du'li, Lm du'li id., Jrc {Md.} duluhun 'warm', {Kiy.} dulhun 'sunny (?)' ¶ STM I 221, Gru. SSJ #20, Kiy. 97 [#020], Md. ChF 136 || pJ *du' 'warm water' > OJ yu, J: T yu', K yu', Kg yu' ¶ S AJ 72, 271 [#170], S QJ #170, Mr. 578 ¶¶ S AJ 51, 72, 284 [#215], Adb. KL, SDM95 (A *du'li (-u'') 'warm', SDM97 (A *du'lu id.), DQA #392 (A *di'li id.) II D {tr., °GS} *tul- v. 'shine, sparkle, be bright' [× N *tul̥E 'fl', q.v. ffd.] II ?? HS *dVI- > CS *√dlk. vi. 'burn' > BHb qld √dlk. G 'set on fire', JA, Sr, MHb √dlk. G vi. 'burn' ¶ BDB #1814, KB 214, KBR 223, GB 163, Js. 311, Sl. 340, Br. 155, DRS 268-9 || ? EC: Sa dilh-eno 'charcoal', {R} dilheno 'live coals' (× N *ʒ'u'li ʒilg ~ *ʒ'u'li ʒilg 'to smoulder, burn [intr.]; live coals', q.v. ffd.) || ? WCh *TVI- 'hot', (?) v. 'heat' > Ang {ChL} tal vt. 'burn', Su {J} ta'l 'heiß, febrig', Kfr {ChL} ta'l 'hot' | Tng {J} tu'ldu'l 'warm', ? te'le' v. 'fry, put in/on fire, roast' ¶ J T 152, 157, J S 84, ChL, ChC, ≠ Stl. ZCh 173 [#254] (WCh *dVI- with *d- on the presumed ev. of Hs dallaro, actually meaning 'protrude' rather than {Stl.} 'kindle') ◆ IS I 221-2 [#71] (→ BmK 274-5). Since this N etymon is not the main source of D *tul̥-, the latter does not provide legitimate ev. for identifying the N lateral. Hence we reconstruct it not as *l̥, but as a less specific *l̥ (i.e. *ll̥).

523. ***dul̥V** 'itching, lust' > A: *du'liV > T *°ju'li- > Yk su'li- 'to be in heat' (of male reindeer, stallions, capercalxies, etc.), su'li 'heat (of male animals)' (× N *dul̥UHE 'be mad, stupid' [q.v.]) ¶ JkR 352, Pek. 2887, ≈ Md. 66, 163, ≈ Rs. W 213 || J: OJ turub- v. 'copulate' (← 'lust', cp. Yk su'li- 'be in heat') ¶¶ DQA #404 (T < A *du'li 'mad, crazy', see N *dul̥UHE) II D

*tu¹-l- ({GS} *d-) > Kn du¹le 'itching, lust', Tl du¹la 'itching, itch', Prj dulkarⁿ'id, dulada^{ma} 'cow-itch' (karⁿ'id '∈ creeper'), Gnd M {LuS} doorwa 'Indian cowhage', Knd du¹la 'itch' ¶¶ D #3392.

524. ***da.l¹∇** ~ ***dal¹∇** 'lick' > A *da¹l¹u¹ > T **jal¹u¹ya > *jalga-~*jala- v. 'lick': [1] *jalga- (~*jalwa-?) > OT jalga- ~ [MhK] jalwa-, Xlj jalya-, SY jalya-~jayla-, Xk c¹alya-, Tv c¹ilya-, Tf c¹ilga-, Yk sala¹-; T *jala- id. > Tk yala-, Tkm. Ggz, Az, Kr, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET, Ln ja¹la-, Uz jala¹-, Qzq, Qq z¹ala-, Qrg z¹ala-, Alt z¹ala-, Chv s¹ula- ¶ Cl. 926-7, ET J 87-8, Rs. W 182, DTS 228, 230, MKD 211, DT 219, Ra. 199-200 || M *do¹lu¹ya- (~*do¹li¹ya-?) id. > MM [MA] dola¹-, [IM] dolo¹-, WrM doluga- ~ doliya-, HIM долоо-, Brt долѣо-, WrO dolo¹-, Kl дола- dola¹-, Ord, Dg dolo¹-, Mnr H {SM} d¹o¹li-, T} do¹li-, Dx dolu-, Ba dolz-, ShY do¹l-, MMgl do¹l¹- ¶ The length of *-o¹- is evidenced by MMgl ¶ Pp. MA 142, 436, MED 259, Krg. 562, KRS 205, KW 94, SM 59, T 330, T DsJ 118, Iw. 98, Ms. O 150, Hatt. LV ∇ (on pM long vowels preserved in Mgl) || Tg *dala- v. 'lap' (of animals) > Ewk, Neg, Ud dala-, Ork dal(l)a-, Ewk dal- id., -d>: Neg dalaw-, Orc dalau-, Ul dakan-, Ork dalaw-, dallav-, Nn dalo^d dala- 'feed (dogs)' ¶ STM I 193 || HS: Ch: WCh: Tng {J} delme- 'lick' :: ECh: Mkl {J} da¹ld,a¹- id., v. 'taste' ¶ ChC, J T 79, J LM 78 || ?ϕ K: GZ *t¹lek-, 'lick, lick oneself' (× N ***t¹tiLV (K,U)?** 'tongue') > G t¹lek-, Mg t¹irk- id. ¶ K *t¹- (rather than *d-) is due to the abovementioned merger and possibly to regr. as ¶ K 182, Fn. KW-1 36, K² 190.

525. ***dul¹UHe** 'to be mad, stupid' > U: FU (att. in ObU) *^ot¹U¹∇ 'mad' > Os (partially in composita) *tul¹ 'mad' > Os: V/Vy/Ty tul¹, Y tul, D/K tu¹l, Nz tu¹l id.; Vg Ss tul (< Os?): tul-pa¹ηq 'sinnlos machender Fliegenpilz' ¶ Ht. #827 || A *du¹lwE ({SDM97} *du¹lbi, {DQA} *du¹li) 'crazy, stupid' (→ 'deaf') > T *ju¹l-, {Md.} *ju¹i¹lō- 'be crazy; anger' > Alt z¹u¹l- 'be crazy, mad', ET Tr {Rl.} jo¹la¹- 'be a sleep-walker, rave', Chv ѿлеÄ s¹ilь ~ {Fed.} s¹il 'anger, fury', possibly also Yk su¹l- 'to be in heat' (of male reindeer, stallions, capercalxies, etc.), su¹l 'heat (of male animals)' (× N ***dul¹∇** 'itching, lust') ¶ Rs. W 213, BT 60, JkR 352, Pek. 2887, Md. 66, 163, Ash. XII 152-5, Fed. II 117, Rl. III 608, 628 || M *du¹ley 'deaf' > MM [MA, IM, IsV] du¹lei¹-, [L] du¹lī¹, WrM du¹lei, HIM дулий, Kl д*л¹, {Rm.} du¹la¹-, Mnr {T} dulī¹, {SM} d¹ulī¹, Dgr dulī¹, Dx duley id. ¶ KW 105, MED 280, T 331, T DgJ 138, T DnJ 118, Pp. L III 57, Pp. MA 147, 436, Lg. VMI 28, KRS 218 || Tg *du¹lbu- v. 'become stupid' > Ewk ¹dulbu- id., Lm dōlbur 'fool, stupid', WrMc dulba 'stupid' ¶ STM I 221-2 || ?σ pKo {S} *tor 'wicked, base, wild' > Nko tol id., tul- 'stupid, clumsy' ¶ Rm. SKE 272, S QK #869, MLC 478, 509-10 ¶¶ DQA #404 [A *du¹li 'mad, crazy'] || HS: S *^odlh (or WS?) 'go mad' > Ar ¹dlh G 'perdre la raison, être frappé d'aliénaion mentale; tomber dans la stupéfaction; éprouver un violent trouble, perdre la tête (d'amour, de chagrin, etc.)', da¹lih-un 'qui a perdu la tête; aliéné, fou', Ar O dilih, Hrs (←b- Ar?) ('deleh) 'de¹leh 'foolish, silly' ¶ BK I 726-7, Jo. H 24, DRS 262.

526. ***dalq¹u¹** 'wave' > HS *^odlχ v. 'rise in waves, stir up' > S *^odlχ id., 'agitate' > BHb ¹dlh G 'make turbid (water)', IA, JA, Sr ¹dlh G id., 'stir up' (? Aram *^odlh v. 'mix' -b> Ar dulla¹h- 'milk mixed with water'), Ak fOB/OA ¹dlχ v. 'stir up, roil (water), blur (eyes)', Ak OB dilχu 'trouble, confusion' ¶ KB 213, KBR 222, Js. 309, DRS 264, CAD III 43-6, 141-2 || B: Ah dōləχ 'être trouble (de l'eau)' ¶ Fc. 196, NZ 332 || IE *^od¹h¹eH- > -d> Gk ῥαλασσα, Gk A ῥαλαττα 'sea' (< *d¹h¹o¹-tya; *d¹h¹o¹ < *d¹h¹h-), Mcd [Hs.] δαλαγχαν acc. 'sea' ¶ F I 648-9, Ch. 42, ≠ EI 503 (the Gk word ←b- non-IE lge.) || D {tr., GS} *tall- v. 'be agitated, wave' > ds : Kn tallan,a 'agitation, amazement, alarm, fear, grief', Tu tallan,a 'wavering, vexed', Tl tallad,amu 'agitation, commotion, anxiety, turmoil' ¶¶ D #3104 || A: Tg *d¹a¹lan 'flood, inundation' > Neg dalan, Ul dala(n-), Nn dala¹ 'flood, inundation' ¶ STM I 193 || (1) M amb¹dalUy (unless the word as a Chn loan, f Cl. 502: Clauson treats OT taluy as a loan from Chn ta 'large' + lei¹ 'Sang-kan river') > MM [S] dalay 'sea, lake', [HI] dalay 'sea, ocean', WrM dalay, HIM далай 'ocean, sea, great lake', Mnr H d¹ale¹ 'sea'; M *dalUy -b> OT taluy 'sea, large body of water' ¶ H 31, Ms. H 48, MED 224, SM 41, T 327, Cl. 502 || (2) M d *da¹l¹u¹y-gi- > WrM dolgi- v. 'wave, undulate, be tempestuous; -d> M *da¹l¹u¹y-gi-yan > *do¹ligiya¹n 'wave' > MM doligiye¹n, dolgiyan, WrM dolgiya(n), Dg dolg'e¹η, dolg'a¹n, HIM долгио(н) 'wave' -b> Ewk A to¹lga¹n 'whirlpool', WrMc dolcin 'wave', Yk dolgun, Tkm tolqun, Qzq tolqin, Az dalya, Tk dalga 'wave' ¶ MED 259, IS AD #6.43, Pp. AU 100, Pp. IM 77, Rm. VMT 15, 55, KW 94 || ?? T *t¹a¹l¹(i)- v. 'overflow' > OT, XwT XIV, Chg z¹xv tas¹- id., MQp XIV tas¹- v. 'boil over' (of a pot), Tkm da¹s¹, Ggz, Kr tas¹- 'overflow', 'overflow its banks' (a river), ET tas¹-, Uz тоиш tas¹- id., 'run over', Tk tas¹, Az das¹, CrTt tas¹- id., 'boil over' (of water/milk in a pot), Xk tas- 'run over, overflow its banks' ¶ Cl. 559, ET VGD 169-70 ¶ T *t¹- for the expected *j- (< A *d-) may be due to the infl. of T *t¹ o¹l- v. 'be filled, be full' (cf. N ***to.l¹∇** ~ ***tol¹∇** 'to fill, pile up; full') ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2719 (A *c¹alV 'sea' [> M *dalay 'sea' + unc. T *t¹a¹l- (actually meaning 'immerse, dip, dive', cf. ET VGD 133-4) and Tg *^ojal- (in fact *^oja¹l-) 'overflow, be filled with water' > Lm ja¹l- id. (STM I 245-6)]; in an earlier version of DQA: A *ta¹l¹∇ (> T *t¹a¹l¹(i)-, M *dalay 'sea', Tg *dalan 'flood'), ≠ SDM95 s.v. *ti¹o¹lV 'wave, shallow place' (i ÷ pKo *to¹r 'ditch' and pJ *tu¹ 'ford'; the T words [Yk dolgun, Tk dalga, etc.] are considered inherited A words representing pT *t¹alKu 'wave') ♦ IS I 216-7 (*dalq¹u¹), cp. IS MS 334 (*t¹o¹lgA) ♦ N ***q** is recontracted in the ev. of S *χ and IE *H ♦ ≠ Resh. NNE #11 (phonetically unjustified comparison of A *ta¹l¹∇ with FU *ta¹wōe 'full', cf. N ***t¹a¹wd∇** 'be full').

527. ***dælbV** 'to gouge, dig, cut through' > IE: NaIE ***d^helb^h**- v. 'dig, gouge', {EI} 'dig' > OHG bi-telban ^d -telpan, OSx bi-delvan v. 'bury', MDt, Dt delven, OFrs delva, AS delfan v. 'dig\bury', NE delve :: ?? Blt [x N ***tal**, Ø'o¹ 'back of the) neck, shoulders'] : Lt da lba 'crow-bar, lever', Pru dalptan - "Durchschlag" 'crow-bar (for punching holes)' : Sl ***dylb-ti** / 1s prs. ***dylbo** v. 'gouge' > OR, RChS **дѣлѣсти** dēlbsti ~ **дѣлѣсти** dēlbsti, Uk дов'сти / prs. дов'бу, Blr дай'а'ц', Blg дѣл'бъ, SCr du'psti / prs. du'be'm, Slv do'lbsti / do'lbem, R дол'бит- / μ дол'бл- > WP I 865-6, P 246-7, EI 159, Mn. 179, Vr. N 110-1, OsS 825, Kb. 1016, Ho. 71, Ho. S 12, Frn. 81, En. 156, Tr. P A-D 291-4, Bern. I 250-1, ESSJ V 206, Glh. 213, SPS III 36, 246-8 (***dl'**ba-ti, ***delb-ti**) || A: M ***delbe** > WrM delbe, HIM дүлбү 'through and through, to pieces, asunder', M ***delbere** > WrM delbere-, HIM дүлбүрү- v. 'burst, crack asunder', WrM delberkei-, HIM дүлбүрхий 'split, cracked; crack, cleft, crevice', Kl {Rm.} delwr_{ke} 'tiefer Riß; tief gespalten' || MED 248, KW 87 || HS: S: (mt) Ar dubl-at- (pl. dubal-, dubul-) {Ln.} 'the hole of a hoe\adz\axe', {BK} 'trou dans la hache, qui sert à la suspendre' || BK I 668, Ln. 850 ◆ Cf. BmK 268-9 (***dal**-/ ***dæl**- v. 'cut, prick, pierce, gash, notch, wound', based on semantically and phonetically shaky comparison of truncated roots: IE d^hel-b^h- v. 'dig, hollow out', ***d^hel-g-** 'sharp object', C ***√dlf** v. 'be cracked', v. 'gash, notch', D ***tall**- v. 'beat, crush', M delbere- [f above], Tk delik 'hole').

528. ??? ***dæL'k'a** 'to prick' > IE: NaIE ***d^helg-** v. 'prick; thorn', {EI} 'sting, pierce', 'pin' > OIr {P} delg 'thorn, needle' :: ON da lkr 'fastening needle (fibula)', 'spina dorsalis piscium', 'dagger, knife', AS dalc 'buckle, bracelet', possibly LG dolk & NHG Dolch, NGr Δ Tolch 'dagger' :: Lt dilgu's 'stingy', di lge 'nettle' | ?σ possibly words for 'sickle, scythe': Lt dal'ge, Ltv dalgs, Pru doalgis 'scythe' :: L falx (gen. falcis) 'sickle' || P 247, EI 424, 428, Vr. 72, Ho. 70, KM 137, Paul 129, Frn. 81, En. 162, Tr. P A-D 354-6, WH I 449-50 || A: Tg ***delkV-** v. 'split' [x N ***tel** ¹ ***V** 'to cut (split, trim, cleave), q.v. ffd.] || ???σ,φ HS: SC: Brn {E} dela'f- v. 'gash, notch', Kz {E} dala- v. 'shoot (with arrow)' || E SC 345 ◆ Doubtful (Tg ***delkV-** has an alt. explanation, SC is phonetically imperfect) ◆ ≈ Gr. II #295 (***tel** 'pierce') [IE, Tg + err. . A, Ko, J, Gil + qu. CK].

529. ?₂ ***deL₁V₁p.V** 'to flap, to wave, to fly' > HS: S ***√dlp** > Ar dalu'f- 'rapide dans son vol [aigle, oiseau]' || BK I 724 || A: T ***jelpi-** v. 'flap, fan, winnow' > OT jelpi-n- v. ps. 'fan oneself', jelpi-t- v. cs. 'order to fan', jelpir- 'blow' (of wind), Tkm jelpе-, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Uz jelpi-, ET ja'lpu'-, Bsh jьlpь-, VTt z'lpь-, SbTt Tb {Tm.} inf. jьlb-u'-, Brb {Tm.} jilba'-, Qzq, Qq z'elpi'-, Qrg z'elpi-, Alt {BT}, Tlt {RI.} z'elbi- id., Xk c'elbe- 'wave hands, produce wind', Tv c'elbi-, Tf c'elpi-, Yk sippiy- 'winnow', T ***jelpik** n. 'fan, waving object' > Az jelpik 'fan', Shor c'elbeg 'fortune telling by letting a cloth wave in the air' || Cl. 920, ET J 182-3, RI. III 356-7, 1981, BT 52, Tm. 77-6, Ra. 195 || M: [1] M ***delb'e¹** > Dg {T} delbur, {Pp.} d₃lbu'r, {Mr.} delebure, {Mrm.} delwur ~ delgur 'fan', WrM delbe-gene-, HIM дүлбүгнү-, WrM delbe-lge-, HIM дүлбүлзү- vi. 'move\sway' (of flat\protruding objects), Kl {Rm.} delwl_{zə}-xə inf. 'flattern, fächeln' || [2] M ***dele-** [loss of ***b(e)-** due to metanalysis?] > WrM dele-, HIM дүлү- v. 'wave, flap (as wings), fan', Brt дүли- 'swing [размахиват-(-сф)]', Kl дел- 'flap (wings), take wing (fly up)' || MED 238, 247-8, KRS 198, KW 8, Chr. 21, Klz. D I 122, T DgJ 136.

530. ***√dl qəp** 'feather' > ? HS: CCh: Glv {Rp.} z'a'k'a' 'feather', Gdf {ChC} z'a'k'a' d₁'ka 'feather' (lit. 'bird feather', where d₁'ka means 'bird'); the Ch √ is acceptable if z' < ***dl** - || RpB 31, ChC II K: pGZ ***burt** .ql- 'down and feathers' > G burt .ql- id., Mg but .qu- 'soft'; pGZ ***burt** .ql- seems to go back to a N phrase ***bur₁?₁V dV₁ qəp** (lit. 'hair feather', cf N ***bur₁?₁V** 'lock of hair' [q.v.]) || K 55, FS K 65 || U ***tulka** 'feather, wing' > FU: pLp {Lr.} ***tolke** 'feather' > Lp: N {N} do'lg'e / -lg-, Kld ta'lf: g, T tol'f: g'f'e id., L {LLO} ta'lf'ke' id., 'dawn' | pMr {Ker.} ***təlgə** > Er/Mk tolga id. | Prm {LG} ***tu'l** > Vt тылы Z Le til, Yz tə'j id., StZ тѣв tiv 'Schwung- oder Schwanzfeder' || Hg toll 'feather' | ObU ***to'wəl** id. > pOs ***to'wəl** ({HL.} ***tu'wəl**) > Os: V/Vy to'wəl, Ty to'wəl, Y to'wəl, D/K/Nz to'wəl, Kz to'wəl, O to'wəl id.; pVg ***to'wəl** > Vg: T to'l, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/LL/ML towl, SV tawl, UL/Ss towəl id., 'wing' || Sm {Jn.} ***tuə₂y**, {HL.} ***tua** 'feather, wing' > Ne T ro, T O {Lh.}, Ne F {Lh.} to-, Ng {Mik.} t'u'3, {Cs.} t'u., t'u.a, En {Cs.} tua, Slq Tz {KKIH} tu-, Mt {HL.} ***tu₁gja**, ? ***toga** id. (Mt M {Sp.} ty, K {Pl.} to'ra 'feather', M {Sp.} туда 'its wing') || UEW 535-6, Coll. 62, ≈ Sm. 540 (U ***tuxli** 'feather' > FU ***tulka**, FP ***tulka**, Ugr ***tu'lka**, Sm ***tuo-j**), MF 637, It. #216, Ker. II 169, LG 292, Ht. #624, Lr. #1267, Lgc. #7912, Jn. 166, KKIH 188, Hl. M #1070 || A ***da** ¹ ***el₁V₁k'** > NaT ***jela'k** '(large) feather' > Tk yelek, Osm {RI.} ja'la'k (□IY, e'élé) 'feather (of a wing, an arrow)', Tkm jelek 'feather, down', Xlj ja'la'k 'feather' (DHST 309, but not mentioned in DT), Az la'la'k 'feather, plumage' (l- for j- < *j- by as), SbTt Tr jьla'k 'comb\crest (of a bird)', SbTt Tö d jьlbьrca'k id. || ET J 179, DHST 309, RI. III 347, Tm. 77-8 ◆ Gr. II #145 (***tul** 'feather') [U, A, Ko, CK, EA + unc. Ai].

531. ***dEgl'X** (= ***du'gl'X**?) 'bush(es), shrubs, thicket' > HS: S ***dayl-** > Ar dayl- 'thicket', √dyl Sh (pf. ?adyala) v. 'be bushy' (of land) || BK I 708, DRS 295 || B ***√dly** > Ah te-dəle 'gros tronc d'arbre', Ttq ti-dəli 'tronc d'arbre' || Fc. 192, Msq. 341, NZ 328 || U: FU ***tEl'V** (= ***tu'f'V**?) 'young thick forest, shrubs' > pPrm {Lt.} ***te₁'** > Z t'л' til', t'л'чнд til'sd 'thick pine forest, young thick coniferous forest', Prmk, Yz tel' 'young thick forest', Vt C түл' tel' 'forest', Vt N tel' 'low wood, underwood, shrubs' :: Ugr: OHg {Seb.→LG} to'lgь 'shrubs', but hardly here OHg to'lgь ~ to'l, Hg to'lgь 'oak' (← Alan, cp. Oss: I тулдз tu'lg, D tolzə) || LG 279, Seb. WUS 326, EWU 1539-40, Ab. III 315-6 || A ***d₁f₁'X**: T ***j₁'f₁'** (ε) forest' > OT j₁'s' 'mountain forest', Qmn/QK {RI.} j₁'s', {B} z₁'is' 'forest', StAlt {BT}

дѣш 3'is 'thick forest', Tb {Rl.} jrs id., 'taiga', {B} дѣш 3'is id. ('черн-, тайга'), дѣш 3'is 'forest', Xk чѣс c'is 'mountain forest' ¶ Cl. 976, Rl. III 497, B DCHT 116, 118, B DLT 145, B DK 213 ¶ D (in GnD) *tUll- ('GS) *d-) > Knd dolu 'a creeper plant, shrub, plant of shoot height', Png dol 'plant', 'stem, trunk', Mnd dul 'plant', 'sapling', Ku ku'li-dolu 'rice plant', dulomi 'plant' ¶ D #3517.

532. *duhlV 'dust' > D *tuL-, {'GS} *duL- id. > Tm tuL-, Kn duL(u) 'dust, powder, pollen', Ml tuL-, Tu duL(u), dhuL(u) 'dust', Prj duL- v. 'rise' (of dust), Mnd tulve 'earth, soil'; D → OI dhu'li- 'dust, powder, pollen' (which has influenced Tu dhuL(u) 'dust' and Ml dhuL(u)ka- v. 'fly about as dust') ¶ D #3283 (does not distinguish this √ from D *tukaL- 'dust'), Tu. #6835 ¶ IE: NaIE *dheu-/*dhuL-/ *dhwolo- 'dust' > OI dhu'li-, dhu'lika- id. ¶ Gk ὄλο' 'mud, dirt' ¶ L fu'ligo 'soot; powder used for darkening the eyebrows' (but EI: <d- 'smoke') ¶ Lt du'lis 'punk, piece of rotten wood', † {Ju.} 'Nebel, Dunst, Baummoder zum Beräuchern der Bienen', Ltv du'lais, du'lis 'fumigator (Räuchermasse zum Forttreiben der Bienen)' ¶ ≈ P 265, ≈ M K II 110, ≠ F I 677, WH I 560, ≈ Frn. 109, ≠ EI 160 (rejects IE *dhu'li- 'dust') ¶ Not here NaIE: L tellus / -u'ris 'earth' and OIr talam id.; in the light of comparative ev. within IE the original meaning of NaIE *tel- is likely to have been 'flat surface' (cf. N *t.alhV 'flat') ¶ P 1061 ¶ HS: NrOm {Blz.} *tul(l)- 'ashes, dust' > Ym {Wdk.} tu'lo', {C} tulo' 'dust', Kf {Fl.} tullo, {C} tullo, Mch {L} 'tullo, Shn {Fl.} tulla, {Lm.} tulla 'ashes', Dwr {Bnd.} d.iliya 'sand' (Blz. p.c. 2001) ¶ NrOm *t- < *d...H-? ¶ Blz. OL ##99-100, Wdk. BY 136, C SE III 85, C SE IV 506, L M 54, Lm. Sh 388-9 ¶ ECh: Mgm {J} bu'ru'ntu'lle', EDng {Fd.} bu'ri'nta' l pl. (sg. r bu'ri'nti'lo') 'dust' [possibly a phrase: N *buri'yU 'loose earth, dust' + (?) N *nu genitive + N *duhlV 'dust'] ¶ JA LM 72, Fd. 101 ¶ One may try to adduce here Ch {JS} *y'il (= *j il?) 'earth', but it is more likely to belong to N *?ulV 'sole, foundation, earth' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ ??σ ('dust' → 'earth'): LEC *d.ul- > Sml d.ul, Sml N {Abr.} d.u'l 'earth, soil; country, land', Kns {BISO} d.ula 'field, cultivated area', Bs {HL} u'l 'earth' (× EC *?ulJa 'earth' < abovementioned N *?ulV), ? Sa {R} du'l 'country (Bezirk, Gebiet, Landschaft)' (influenced by Tgr dewel 'district, country') ¶ LEC *d- < *dH-? ¶ AD SF 59, DSI180, ZMO 124, Abr. S 69, R S II 106, HL 66, BISO 25 ¶ Blz. OL (Om *y'all-~*yill- < HS *yil-~yul-), Tk. I 62 (on the Eg - Ch parallel), EG I 26, Hng. 22 ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE I 241 [#5] (*TulV; compares C, IE, D and unacceptably K *(m)t.wer- 'dust').

533. *deqlV 'to be) thin' > HS: S *°√dχl > Ar √dχl G 'amaigrir', madχuL- 'maigre, amaigri' ¶ BK I 678 ¶ K *ttχel- (< *dVtχel-?) v. 'be thin' > OG, G tχeli 'thin, sparse', Mg tχitχu, Lz tutχu - tittχu id., Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK, GP, Dn., Ni.} dətχel 'thin', Sv {Ni.} nadtxeli 'thinness' ¶ K 93-4, Chik. 239, ≈ K² 71 (GZ *ttχ-el-), ≠ FS K 102-3 (*dtx- v. 'be thin'), Abul. 185, TK 199, Ni. s.v. тонкий, GP 97, Dn. s.v. dətχel ¶ D (in SD) {tr, 'GS} *tel- 'thin' > Kn tel-, tel(u) 'thinness', tel(u) id., Kdg təl.lane 'thin' (of person or thing), Tu telpu 'thinness'; D → OI talina- 'thin, fine' ¶ D #3434 ◇ The corr. K *χ - S *χ is irreg.; the solution may be found by supposing a change pre-K *tq- > K *tχ-.

534. *dapolV 'to push' > HS: SES *°√dlf > Jb C √dlf G (pf. 'delaḥ, sbjn. 'yodlaḥ) v. 'shove, push' ¶ Jo. J 38-9, DRS 267 ¶ Ch: [1] WCh: Dr {ChL} di'le' v. 'push' [2] ?? [× N *da'zV (gkv) 'to strike', q.v. ffd.]: Ch *√dl > ECh: EDng {Fd.} de'le' 'frapper' ¶ WCh: NrBc: P' {MSk.} 3'il, {IL} 3'ili, Sir {Sk.} 3'i'li 'mortar' ¶ SBc: Gj {IL} t'hu'li' id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Fd. 187 ¶ U: FU *tolV- v. 'push' > pPm {LG} *to'p'y- vt. 'push, shove' (× FU *tekV- v. 'push' < N *t.E?ak?a 'to put, set?') > Z LL toy-ni 'to prick, pierce, thrust, poke', StZ toy-is't-ni 'push' (mom.), toylav-ni 'push, push out', Z US tōylal-ni, Yz 'tu'y- v. 'push', Vt Uf tu'y- (< *tuy-) 'push in, thrust', StVt tuyilini id., 'stick in, caulk (конопатит)', Vt Sl tuy-is't- vt. 'stick in' ¶ Hg † toly-, Hg tol-, Δ toy- 'schieben, rücken, stoßen' ¶ Coll. 119, UEW 528-9 (*toyV), LG 281, U3S 427 ¶ D {Km., 'GS} *tal- v. 'push' (× N *t.alLk.a 'to strike, push') > Tm talL(u) v. 'push, force forward, expel, reject', 'be removed/lost', Ml talL(u)ka v. 'push, reject', talL(u) n. 'thrust, push', Kt tal-, Td tol-, Kn talL(u) 'push, shove away, thrust', Tu talluni ~ talL(u)ni 'push in', OTI {Km.} tala~gu, talu~gu (& Tl talgu) 'remove, shove away, expel', OTI tala~gu / tal- 'be lost (as wealth, kingdom)', 'get out of the way (as crowd)' ¶ D #3135, Km. 379 [#549] (*tal-), 380 [#552] (s.v. talu~gu) ¶ ?? K: Sv: {Ni.} ot-tile v. 'squeeze', Ln {TK}, UB {GP} li-tle

Ошибки!

535. *damV 'to cover, to close' > HS: WS *√dmm > Ar √dmm (ip. -dumm-) v. 'stop up, level, cover' [Fr.} 'illinit, textitobtextit aequaliter', {BK} 'boucher les trous (avec de la terre, de la boue); enduire'], Gz √dmm D 'close, cover, fill up, heap up, level', Tgr √dmm L (pf. damemē) v. 'close the udder' ¶ BK I 128, L G 134, Fr. II 53, LH 515, ≠ DRS 274 ¶ B *dīm- or *diHm- > Kb t.a-d.im-t- (pl. t.i-d.im-a) 'bouchon, couvercle', Shw dimi 'pièce de mousseline qui se met sur la table' ¶ DI. 14, NZ 341 ¶ A: M *°damda- > WrM {MED} damda- v. 'cover, enclose, close', {Gl.} 'be covered, hidden, screened' ¶ MED 228, Gl. III 65 ¶ ?? U *°tVnm't'a- > Sm {Jn.} *t̃mta- ~ *t̃mt̃- 'wrap, fold' > Ne T taÄm̃daÄm̃- v. 'shrivel (as birch-bark in fire, worms) (zusammenschrumpfen)', vt. 'crumple', {Lh.} ta~mda,c' 'zusammenwickeln, zusammenfalten'; -d̃ *t̃mta- l- vt. 'fold, roll' > Ne T taÄm̃daÄm̃-, {Lh.} ta~m'talc' 'zusammenwickeln, -packen, -rollen', Ne F tamta~rōt inv. 'wickle zusammen!', Slq Tz tamtil- {KKIH} 'twist/roll together, wrap', Slq Tm 1s aor. tamdōnab_ ¶ Jn. 147, Ter. 623, KKI 178, Lh. 464.

536. ***dAmV** 'steam, mist, dust' > HS: CS ***dīm-** 'mist, fog' > Sr **dīmā-** 't₁-a₁-nebula tenuis cineri simila', Ar **dīm-at-** 'pluvia continua et tranquilla'; EthS ***√dmn** > Gz **dammānā-** 'cloud, mass, dāmmu₁n 'cloudy', **dammānā** v. 'cover with clouds, be dark', Tgy **dəmmēna-** **dəbēna**, Tgr **dēmēna-** **dēbēna** 'clouds' (-b> Ag: Aw {L} **dammā** 'na', Km **da** 'mma' 'na' 'cloud(s)', as well as probably Bln {Bnd.} **dēmna**, Xm {R} **dimēna** id.) ¶ Br. 151, L G 134-5, AD SF 51, DRS 274-5 ¶ An alt. (less likely) hyp. is that the EthS word is a Cushitism || EC: Or {Grg.} **du** 'messa, Or Gj {LLC} **dumē** 'nsa, Or B {Sr.} **du** 'mansa, Or O **du** 'masa, Or T {Mrn.} **dumē** 'sa, Or M {LLC}, Or Wl {Brl.} **dumessa** 'cloud', Or H {Ow.} **dummesa**, Rn {PG} **du** 'ba₁t, {Oo.} **du** 'bat 'fog, mist', Bs **dumbo** 'fog', Brj {Ss.} **du** 'banc₁i 'dense fog', ? Hd **du** 'ba 'cloud' ¶ Ss. B 58, Grg. 115, Sr. 291, Brl. 128, Ow. 258, LLC 37, Th. 116, PG 105, Oo. 67, Blz. RL 257, Blz. CL 177, || NrOm: Bdt {Ss.} **du** 'ma 'cloud' ¶ Ss. B 58 || Ch ***dVmVn-** 'rainy season' > WCh: Hs **da** 'mu₁na₁ 'da₁mina₁ 'da₁mana₁ Ngz {Sch.} **dī** 'ma₁n, Bd {ChL} **d3** 'ma₁n3₁n || CCh: Lgn {Nc.} 'de₁man id. ¶ Gr. LA 61, ChL, Lk. L 88 ¶ Gr. LA 61 (S, C, Ch), AD SF 51 (S, C, Om, Ch), OS #678, ≈ Sk. HCD 42 II ? K ***da₁i₁m** > amb G **dam-i** 'steam' [unless a Persian loanword (less plausible because NPrs **da** **da** 'm means {Sg., BM} 'breath, air, scent', {VL.} 'halitus, spiritus; odor' rather than 'steam')] II IE: NaIE {P} ***d^hem-** 'to smoke, fly about (dust); blow (blasen, wehen)' (the meaning 'blow' < N ***dVmV** 'to breathe, blow' [q.v.]) > Oss I **дѣм-** **da** 'm-, Oss D **дым-** **d3m-** v. 'blow, smoke', Tati **da** 'mi 'tobacco-pipe' || pGmc ***dem-b-** ***dumb-** > Sw Δ **dimba** 'steam', **dimba-** 'dampfen, rauchen, stieben', **dumba** 'Nebel, Dunst', NNr **damb** 'dust', ON **dumba** 'dust, cloud of dust', Nlc, Far **dumba** 'mist, cloud of dust' ¶ Not here OI 'dhamati 'blows', OCS **дымъ** **d3m-o** / **дыти** **do₁-ti**, R **ду-т** v. 'blow', etc. (< N ***dVmV** '¶') ¶ P 247-8, VI. I 898, 906, Sg. 536, Ab. I 382-3, Vr. 87 II A ***da₁i₁m** > NaT ***ja₁i₁m** > OT **ja₁i₁m** 'a piece of dust' ¶ Cl. 933 ♦ It is not yet clear if this N word is genetically identical with (and is a *sd* of) ***dVmV** 'to breathe, blow', or these are different roots that contaminated in IE. Of course, if the vw. of this √ is *i* (as suggested by the D reflex), the two roots are to be kept apart. In addition, in IE there was a merger with ***d^hem(ə)-** 'dark' < N ***d^hu^hhmV** (or ***d^hu^hmhV**) '(to be) dark' (q.v.) ♦ Cf. BmK 267 (IE, S, C).

537. ***dumV** 'to be motionless, silent, quiet' > HS: WS ***-du₁m-**, ***√dmm** [prm. ***-dumm-**] (and a secondary root ***√dmy₁w**) v. 'be quiet, silent' > BHb **em₁u₁D** **du** 'ma₁ 'silence', **el₁m₁5u₁D** **du** 'miy₁ya₁ 'silence, still waiting, rest', **Mm₁u₁D** **du** 'm-a₁m (fossilized loc. of ***du₁m-**) 'quiet, silence' (< 'in silence'), Ug {OLS} **√dm** G 'quedarse quieto', Ar **-du₁m-** (**√dwm**, ip. **ya-du₁m-u**) 'être tranquille, être en repos'; BHb **Mmd** **√dmm** G (imv. M7D 'dom, f. im5'7D 'dommī, ip. 3m yid'dom) v. 'stand still, keep quiet, be motionless \ rigid', MHb **√dmm** G 'be silent', IA **dmy** 'rest, calmness (?)', Gz **√dmm** T (pf. **tadamma**, **tadamama**) v. 'be silent, stop, be immobile, be stupefied', {KWK} **dāma₁m** 'silence'; BHb **√dmy** G (ip. 3f **em3d6T5** **tid₁me₁**) 'still sein; zur Ruhe kommen, enden (Träne)' ¶ KB 208, 216-7, KBR 216-7, 226, BDB ##1745, 1747-8, 1826, OLS 132, BK I 752-3, Ln. 935ff., L G 134, JH 58, HJ 252, Lv. I 413, DRS 236-7, 274 || C: Bj **dim-**, **dum-** v. 'be silent' ¶ R **WBd** 66 II K ***dum-** > G **dum-** v. 'be silent' ¶ Chx. 324 II A: M ***du₁ṅsu₁yi** > WrM **du₁ṅsu₁i**, HIM **д^hнсий-** 'be silent' ¶ MED 281 || AmTg ***duṅgV-** > Nn {On.} **duṅgiri₁zn**, Nn Nh {STM} **duṅgur₁z** 'become silent\calm', Nn KU {STM} **duṅgur₁z** adv. 'quietly, in silence', Nn, Orc, Ul **duṅgum** id. ¶ STM I 223 ¶ ≈ DQA #2271 [A ***ti₁u₁m(k)u** 'silent, calm' > M, Tg + *err.* . T ***dim-**, i.e. ***t₁i₁m** 'silence' (in fact from N ***t₁i₁m₁Vn₁V** 'be quiet, calm'] ♦ ≠ IS I 222-3 s.v. ***du₁ṅga**. IS equates the HS and K √ with Ltv **din₁gt** and A ***du₁ṅgV**, but this may be accepted only if the sound corr. IE ***ng₁w₁** ^h ÷ A -ṅg ÷ HS ***m** ÷ K ***-m-** is proved to be reg.

537a. ?? ***dVmV** (= ***dimV**?) 'to breathe, blow' > ? HS: S ***√dmm**, ***-dumm-** v. 'wail' (< ***moan**, breathe heavily' < ***breathe**) > BHb **Mmd** **√dmm** G (imv. M7D 'dom) v. 'wail', Ug **dmm** 'gemir, lamentarse', Ak **√dmm** G 'jammern, klagen' ¶ KB 217, KBR 226, Sd. 155, CAD III 59-61, DRS 274, Grd. UT #674, OLS 133 II IE: NaIE ***d^hem-** 'to blow (blasen, wehen)' > OI 'dhamati 'blows, blows up, kindles by blowing', NPrs **dyMd** **da** 'mīda₁n 'to blow (blasen, wehen), breathe', **da** 'm 'breath, air, scent', Oss I **дым-** **da** 'm-, Oss D **дым-** **d3m-** v. 'blow', Yzg **dam-** v. 'inflate, blow with bellows', Av **da₁ṁmaṁnya** 'sich aufblasend, blähend' || Lt **du₁mti** (prs. **dumiū**) 'to blow (blasen, wehen)', **du₁mple₁s** 'bellows', Pru **dumsle** 'uinary bladder' i Sl ***do₁-ti** / 1s prs. **d3m-o** 'blow', OCS **дыти** **do₁-ti** / 1s prs. **дымъ** **d3m-o**, R **ду-т**, SCr **du₁ti** / prs. **dme₁m**, Cz **douti** / prs. **dmu**, P **da₁c₁** v. 'blow'; in some lgs. contamination with Sl ***du₁ti** / prs. ***dujo₁** [**<** IE ***d^heu₁H-** ***d^hou₁H-** < N ***du₁gV** 'to blow (wehen, blasen), breathe, shake'], whence the prs. forms: R **ды₁**, SCr **du₁je₁m**, Blg **ду₁**. as well as Slv **du₁ti**) ¶ P 247-8, Ab. I 382-3, M K II 92, Sg. 534-6, Frn. 88, 510, En. 164, Tp. P A-D 391, Vs. I 555-6, ESSJ V 99-100, 166, Glh. 213-4 ¶ cp. N ***dAmV** 'steam, mist, dust' II D ***tīm** (?) ({GS} ***t-**) > Tu **tīmpuni** v. 'snort, breathe heavily, snivel', Knd **tīm** ik- 'snob (v.)' ¶ D #3276 ♦ In IE ***d^hem-** v. 'blow' contaminated with ***d^hem-** 'stieben, rauchen' (< N ***dAmV** '¶'); the two N stems may be genetically identical.

538. ***d^hu^hhmV** ~ ***d^hu^hmhV** '(to be) dark' > HS: S ***√dhm** > Ar **duhm-at-** 'blackness', **duhm-** 'tres noctes mensis illunes', **duha₁m-** 'black', ?adham- 'black, dark green', Jb {Jo.} 'do₁hum, Jb C **dhum** 'heat-haze, shimmer, morning mist', Mh **d3ho₁m** 'heat-haze, shimmer', Jb C {Jo.} **ed₁him** (sbjn. 'yēdh3m) v. 'come upon so unexpectedly at night, do sth. by stealth at night, sleep with on's wife when children or guests are sleeping in the same room', Mh {Jo.} **h3dho₁m** v. 'have sexual relations with one's wife at night when another person (us. a child) is in the sleeping area', Ak **√d?m** G (inf. **da₁2a₁mu**) 'become dark' ¶

Fr. II 66, Jo. J 6, Jo. M 66, CAD III 1, DRS 227 || EC *dum-, *√dm v. 'become dark' > Sa, Af, Sml dum- id., ? Brj {Ss.} damm- v. 'pass the night', ? Or {Grg., Th, Brl.} dimimmisa 'twilight', Or {Brl.} dimimmis-awu 'imbrunirsi, oscurarsi, farsi notte' ¶ Ss. B 52, 58, Th. 104, Brl. 114, Grg. 105 || WCh: SBc: Zul {ChL} dī'mu'ni', Gj {ChL} dī'ms'a'l, Buli {ChL} dum, Jm {Csp.}, du'mlu'ko', Tala tum {Csp.}, Tala Z {Csp.} tu'm, Kir Mn tu'm 'dark' (Tala/Kir t- < pSBc *d-, see Sh. SB 16) ¶ ChL, Csp. 14, 46 || IE: NaIE *d^hem(ə)- 'dark' (× *d^hem- 'to smoke, fly about [dust]' < N N *dAmV 'steam, mist, dust'), {Mn.} *d^hemy-o- v. 'darken', *d^heməro-s 'dark, gloomy, grim' > Gk ἔμπερος 'serious, grim', ἔμπερος πῖθος 'grave and sedate of look' || OHG timbar 'dark', OSw dimber, ON dimmr id., dimma 'darkness', AS dimm 'dark', dimmian v. 'darken', NE dim || OIr {P} dem 'black, dark', {SB} deim 'düster', deme 'darkness' ¶ WP I 851, P 248, Mn. 182, F I 66O, SB 147, Vr. 77, OsS 939, Kb. 1018, Ho. 73 || A: ? Tg: WrMc dungi-dun̄ki 'dark' ¶ STM I 224.

¶ 538a. ± *dUṇwV or *dUm̄l̄ju (≈?) big tree' > S: Ar dawm- {Ln.} 'doum palm (Hyphaene thebaica)', 'big tree of any kind' ¶ Ln. 937, BK I 753 || C: Bj {R} do-m 'doum palm' ¶ R WBd 66 || Ch: WCh: NrBc: My {Sk.} du-m, Cg {Sk.} dī'ni', Kry dī'n, Wrj {Sk.} dā'na'i, Mbr {Sk.} dī'ṇ, Jmb {Sk.} dī'na' (inChC) 'tree', (in Sk. NB) 'tree' or 'wood' {OS} damw- nocm B VJ 1988, no. 5: 66-83, [III] VJ 1990, no. 2: 75-90 || AG: Ang {CL} tiṇ, Su {J} tī'ṇ, Ywm {IL} t^hṇ, Cp tī'ṇ 'tree' || Bd {ChL} dā'mā'n 'tree, wood', Ngz {Sch.} dā'm 'wod (for fire, etc.), stick of wood' ¶ Stl. ZCh. 253 [#59] (NrBc *dVmV 'πec'), ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 45, Sch. DN 34 || IE: NaIE *d^honu-/*d^honw- {EI} 'fir' > Ht tanau 'fir' or sim. || Gmc *danwo- (< IE *d^honwo-n-) > OSx danna, MDu, MLG danne, OHG tanna-, NHG Tanne 'fir (Abies)'; Gmc *dannio- > OSx deḡnnia, Dt den 'spruce' || OI 'dhanvana- 'Grewia asiatica', as well as possibly OI 'dhanu-h., dha'nu-, 'dhanvan-, 'dhanus- 'bow' and Av θanwarə id. ¶ EI 202, Ts. W 84, WP I 825, P 234, M K II 90-1, KM 769, Kb. 1012 || D: [1] D *tump- 'Acacia arabica (babool tree)' > tl tumma, Kl tumba^d tumba, Gnd tumma (< Tl?); [2] D *tump- 'ebony' > Tm tumpi '∈ Diospyros tomentosa, Diospyros ebenum (two kinds of ebony tree)', Kn tumaki, tumari, tumbar-a-i, tumburu, Tl tubiki, tumiki 'wild mangosteen tree (Diospyros embryopteris)', Tl tumida, Klm, Nkr tumki, Prj tumbri 'Diospyros melanoxylon', Gnd tumrī^d tumrī^d tumir^d tumer(i) id., 'ebony', Nk tumik 'tendu tree', Gdb tumur, Ku du-ri 'ebony', Kui duri, durenī^d du-ri 'Coromandel ebony' ¶¶ D ##3329, 3335 || U: FV (or FP?) {SSA} *tamme 'oak' > F tammi || Er tumo, Mk tuma || Chr: H tum, L tu'mṛ || ?? Prm **tum-pu > *tu-pu (*pu 'tree') > OPm tupu, Vt tipī 'oak'. If the Prm word does not belong here, the root *tamme is reconstructed at the FV level, so that we may consider the possibility of its BSl or even Baltic origin (BSl *dombo-s or Blt *tamba-s 'oak' → FV tammV) on assuming that the BSl word (represented by Sl *do.bṛ 'oak') was later lost in East Baltic (→ Lt, Ltv). The alternative hyp. of a FU source of the Sl word is hardly acceptable, because it does not explain the Sl cns. *b and because there is no geographical proximity between the areas of pSl and early FU (cf. TpT 246). But the Sl root may be a loan of some other lge. of the area (a substratum lge. of Nostratic origin) ¶ It. #45, SSA III 265, LG 286, Coll. CG § 309 (FV *tomma) ♦ It is worth paying attention to WrM dom, HIM дом 'lime-tree, linden' (MED 260) that makes the impression of being a loanword (because of its un-Mongolian phonetic shape and its absence in MM and Mongolian lgs. other than WrM and HIM). The source of the loan is unknown. Is it Tbt Δ 'dum-po 'trunk, body of a tree' < Classical Tbt 'sdoṇ-po id. (Jäschke D 296)? ♦ If *-m- in U, M and HS may go down to *-ṇw-, the N rec. is likely to be *dUṇwV. If, on the contrary, the N cluster *-m?- yields *-ṇ- (and later -n-, *-nw-) in pIE and some Chadic lgs., the tentative N rec. is *dUm̄l̄ju. The cluster *-mp-, -mb- in D and Hd may go back to *-m?- (through *-mp.-) ♦ Blz. 159 [#77] (D, HS, FP, M).]

539. ?? *dim̄l̄VṇaE 'rubbish, dirt, animal faeces' > HS: CS *dim̄l̄Vṇn- (or *dum̄l̄Vṇn-) 'rubbish, dung' > Ar dimn- 'débris, ordures; crottin, fiente de bêtes; tas de fumier', √dmn v. G 'manure (a field)', BHb Nm37D 'domen 'dung' (the variant *dum̄l̄Vṇn- [in BHb 'domen] may be explained by as *i > *u near a labial cns.) ¶ GB 164, KB 217, KBR 227, BK I 735, DRS 274-5, MiK I #1.53 || C: Bj √dmr pcv. {R} 1s: p. a'da-mer, prs. ed'mīr 'be dirty', 'da-mra 'dirty' ¶ R WBd 67 || Ch: CCh: Db {Lnh.} da'm 'dirt' || WCh: ? Hs {Abr.} da'wd.a' id. (w < *m before a cns.) ¶ ChC, Abr. H 199, ≠ Sk. HCD 46 || IE: NaIE *d^heng^hg^h- 'rubbish, dung' (→ 'dirt' → 'earth') > OHG tunga 'dung', tung 'cellar, ground-house' ('unterirdische zur Abwehr der Kälte mit Mist bedeckte Stätte als Winterwohnung'), ON dyngja 'dung-heap; underground room for women', OSx dung 'underground weaver's work-room', AS dunȝ 'dung; prison' (× NaIE *d^heng^h- v. 'cover' < N *doṇa id.?), Ic, NNR dyngja 'dung-heap', OHG tunga 'Düngung, stercoratio', NHG Dung, Du'nger, Sw dynga, Dn dyngje 'dung', NE dung ¶ P 250, Vr. 90, OsS 969-70, Kb. 1046, ≈ KM 147, Ho. 80, Ho. S 14 || A: NaT *jin ~ *jin 'faeces, mucus' > OT {Cl.} jīṇ, {DTS} jīṇ 'nasal mucus', jin 'animal faeces', SY jīṇ ~ jin 'faeces of sheep; cud', Tv c'in 'faecal mass', Qq, ET z'in 'contents of animals' stomach; cud', Qrg z'in 'contents of guts and stomach', Alt z'in id., 'excrements', 'cud', Qzq z'in 'cud', Xk nīn nīn, Tb {Rl.} n'in, Tlt/Brb {Rl.} jin 'contents of guts' ¶ Cl. 941, DTS 261-2, Rs. W 203, ET J 27-8, TL 148-9, BIG 118, Rl. III 514, 632 ♦ An alt. et. is also plausible: the S and the Gmc words for 'dung, rubbish' go back to a N √ *dom̄l̄Vṇa 'to cover' (to be reconstructed instead of *doṇa 'to cover', q.v.) with a parallel semantic change in S and G: 'to cover' → 'to cover the field with manure, düngen', whence ds for 'dung', but the latter et. does not account for the T word.

540. ?? 2 *dVmpV (= *dVmp.V?) 'back, hinder part, tail' > HS: C: Ag *damb- > Bln {R} denbī ~ dambī 'back, backbone', (postpos.) 'behind' || ? EC (× EC *zanb-/zinb- 'tail' < N *3'an⁻lab⁻V 'back, tail', Ss. WOKS 140): Sml {DSI}

dambe 'behind, after; later', ka dambe- 'be behind, come after, follow', Arr du¹ mm 'tail' [♣, Dsn {To.} du¹ m 'tail tip'] ♣ R WB 107, DSI 130-1, ZMO 83, Hw. A 353 [♣, To. DL 492] || NrOm: Kf/Anf {C} dombo- 'vulva', Anf {MYTY} dombo 'vagina' (← *anus) ♣ C SE IV 430, MYTY 116 || CCh: WMrg dimbur 'buttocks' ♣ ChC II IE: NaIE *^odumb- 'tail, penis' > YAv duma- 'tail', ZPhl dum, dumb, dumbak, NPrs ~du dom, [Mdu domb (< *dum_hma-), KhS duma- id., BdSgd brz-δwnp²k 'long-tailed' (δwnp²k = [δu¹mba²k]), Oss I d³ma²g, Oss D duma²g 'tail' :: OHG zumpfo 'penis' ♣ P 227, Brtl. 750, Vl. I 900, Sg. 534-5, Horn 128, Bai. 161, Ab. I 381, Kb. 1265, OsS 1300 ♠ Qu. The attested forms may alternatively go back to N *³an₁ab₁V¹ (if Sml, Om, CCh *d- and IE *d- are legitimate reflexes of N *³-) ♠ IE *d- (for the expected *d^h-) may be accounted for by the IE incompatibility law that rules out media aspirata and tenues in the same √, implying the rec. of N *p. (*dVmp.V).

541. *d^oo¹n¹V 'flat, low' > HS: WS [??CS] *√dn̄ (~) *^o√dn̄? ~ *^o√dny?) > [♣ Mn {MA} b-dwn 'en aval', Sb {BGMR} ?dyn 'irrigated field', ζ Ug {Blz.←-} dn.t 'lowland' (not in Aistleitner and OLS),] Ar √dn̄? ~ √dny: √dn̄? G (pf. dana?a ~ danu?a, ip. -dna?-) 'be mean' ('être vil, bas'), dana?-at- 'baseness, weakness', dany- 'vil, bas; faible' ♣ BK I 678, Br. 150, DRS 277-8 [♣, BGMR 37, MA 27] II ? K: G done ~ doni 'level' (Chx: 'Niveau, Stand, Stufe') ♣ Chx. 318-9, Fn. SK 94 [#65] II IE: NaIE *d^hen- 'palm of hand; plain, area, lowlands' > OI 'dhanuh, 'sandbank, island', 'dhanvan- 'dry soil, shore' :: Gk ε¹ναρ 'palm of hand, surface of the sea' :: OHG te¹nar, te¹nara 'hollow hand', MHD te¹ner, te¹nre 'palm of hand' ♣ P 249, MW 509, M K II 90, F I 361, OsS 925-6, Kb. 1016, Lx. 225 II ?? U: FV ≈*tantVr₁V₁ < F tanner (gen. tantere-n) 'field, lowland', pLp {Lr.} *to¹nt³r 'bare mountain, high mountain moorland' > Lp: N {N} duodda¹r id., S {Hs.} duoddere 'Hochgebirge', L {LLO} tuottar id., 'waldloses Land', Kld tu¹ndar 'bare mountains, woodless highland'; Lp -b> F tunturi 'bare mountains in Lapland', R 'тундра' ♣ UEW 41, Lr. #1299, Lgc. #8065, Hs. 464-5, SK 1224, 1402 II A: Tg *du¹nse 'land' (< *dun-se, with the sx. *-nsa/e of n. coll.) > Ewk dun³z d¹ dund³z d¹ dund³z d¹ dun³z 'land', Lm do¹:nd³ d¹ do¹:nn³ d¹ do¹:nd³ d¹ du¹:nd³ d¹ do¹:nr³ 'mainland; forest', Ud {STM} du¹H^o, {Krm} du¹ho¹ 'mainland', Ul, Nn du¹znt³ 'forest' ♣ Ci. 199, STM I 224, Krm. 229 ♠ Blz. KM 114 [#5] (K, ?S, IE, ??U, Tg) [♣ & 130.]

542. *d^oo¹n¹V 'to cut' > HS: S: Tgr √dn̄ G (or D ?) 'cut off' ♣ LH 531 || Eg fMK dn v. 'cut off' ♣ EG V 463, Fk. 313 II A *^od^oo¹n¹V > T *jo¹n- v. 'cut' > OT {Cl.} jon- v. 'cut, wound', Tkm jo¹n-, Tk yon-, Az, Qmq, Nog, ET jon-, Qzq z¹on-, Qrg z¹on-, VTt, Bsh jun-, StAlt z¹on-, Tv c¹on-, Tf n¹on-, Chv L s¹un- v. 'hew\plane\trim [wood]' ♣ Cl. 942, ET J 221-2, Rs. W 206, Jeg. 218, Fed. II 136, Ra. 210, Tkr 316 II D {tr., GS} *tun¹- > Tm tun¹i 'be sundered/cut', Ml tun¹i 'piece', tun¹iyuka v. 'cut short', Kn tun¹aka, tun¹aku, Tl tuniya 'fragment, piece', Nkr tunke 'half portion', Gnd tunk¹i 'piece', Knd tuns- v. 'be broken in pieces', Png, Mnd t¹u¹n¹ v. 'cut, slaughter', Ku t¹u¹n¹- v. 'cut (with axe)', Kui t¹u¹n¹u 'log of wood' ♣ D #3305 II ?? IE: NaIE *^od^hen- > pAl {O} *den-ta > OAl [Bgd.] dhend; pAl *ga-den-ta > Al T gdhe¹nd 'form with a bladed tool: chisel, carve, whittle, sculpt; engrave', Al G gdhe¹nd, dhe¹nn (unless akin to Gmc *dang-/ding- > ON danga 'prügeln', MHD tingelen 'klopfen, hammeren', OGH tangal 'Hammer', in which case the primary IE meaning must be 'to hit', so that the semantic distance from other N lgs. becomes too great to be reliable) ♣ WP I 853-4, P 249-50, Hamp AIEW 144, AIED 250, O 112 ♠ The length of the vw. in Tkm (hence in pT) remains unexplained so far. Not here G dana 'knife' (a loan from Arm danak danak id.) ♠ BmK 263 (*don¹-/*dun¹- 'to cut off, cleave, split': S, Eg, D, IE *d^hen-/d^hon-/d^hno¹-).

543. *d^ou¹n¹V 'to stream, flow' > HS: C: HEC {Hd.} *dun- v. 'leak (e.g. bag, roof), pour' > Sd dun- id., Hd dun- id., v. 'sprinkle', Ged, Kmb dun- v. 'leak' (of a bag, a roof), *dun-am- v. 'leak' (of liquid) > Sd, Hd, Kmb dunam-, Ged dunem- id. i [♣ ??φ,σ Dsn {To.} δa¹nu- 'swim'] ♣ Hd. 89, 238, 276, 314, 360 [♣, To. DL 496] || WCh: Su {J} du¹η 'river', Kfr {Nt.} du¹η 'lake, pool, spring', Cp du¹ηko¹η 'lake', Mpn {Frz.} du¹η 'swampy area, pond' i ? Bd du¹wa¹n 'lake' ♣ J S 63, 208, Nt. 8, ChC s.v. 'lake', Frz. DM 12 II K {FS, K²} *dn-, {K} *dn-/den- v. 'melt, thaw' > OG dn-, G dn- / dwn-, Lz din- / (n)dun-, Sv n- id., Mg d³zn- / din- v. 'disappear, get lost' ♣ K 74, K² 41-2, FS K 106-6, Schm. 105, Chik. 271, Chx. 316-7 II IE: NaIE *d^hen- v. 'stream, flow, leak', {EI} 'run, flow' > OPrs danuvatiy 'flows', OI 'dhanvati 'runs, flows', ? dha¹nayati 'sets in motion, runs' (if the semantic change 'flow' → 'run' is typologically plausible) :: L fo¹ns / font- 'spring' ('Quelle'), ? Um {Pln.} FONDILIRE 'in fontulis' :: Tc: A tsa¹n- vi. 'flow, stream (couler)', B d tsen¹e n. 'river, stream, courant' || -d> NaIE *d^ho¹nu- ({EI} *d^ho¹nu- or *deh_Anu-) 'river' > Av da¹nu-, Oss don id.; Irn -b> names of rivers Don (Gk Ταναῖος ~ Τα¹ναῖος, OR донъ donъ), Dnieper (OR дънѣпроъ dъne¹prъ, Uk Дн¹про, Gk Δα¹ναπριῖ), Dniester (OR дънѣстръ dъne¹strъ, Gk Δα¹ναστριῖ, L Danastius, Danaster), etc. :: Clt: W Donwy (river name), Gl -b> L Da¹nuvius 'Danube' ♣ P 249, EI 491, 486, M K II 90-2, WH I 525, Pln. II 738, Wn. 527, Ad. 741, Ab. I 366-7, Vs. I 518-9, 528-9 II ? D (in NED) *tunt- v. 'pour, spill' > Krx tund-na¹ 'to be poured out, spill, pour out', Mlt tunde v. 'spill, shed, throw out as water' ♣ D #3321 ♠ BmK 271-2 (*dan-/dān-: IE, K, C).

544. *don¹c¹E 'large', 'heavy' (of load) > D (in GnD) *to¹c- ({GS} *d-?) v. 'carry a load' > Gnd B to¹ca¹na¹ 'to put (a load) on one's head', Gnd KM to¹s- 'carry (a load) on the head', Knd do¹s, Png zo¹s-, Kui du¹sa, Ku zucc- d¹ ducc- id. ♣ D #3540 II A: NaT (att. in Og) *^oju¹ca¹E 'high' > MT [TAG] jvY ju¹c¹a¹ 'back (Rücken), highest part, high', OOSm [AH] ju¹c¹a¹, Tk yu¹ce, CrTt {Rl.} ju¹z¹a¹, Az u¹z¹a 'high' ♣ TAG 109, ET J 263, Rs. W 212 II possibly IE *d₁tes- > Ht dassu-

'strong, heavy; mighty' ¶ Ts. E III 259-66, ABlv II 113 ¶ HS: Eg fMK dns be heavy', 'heavy' ¶ EG V 468-9, Fk. 314 || ? WCh: Su {J} d,e's 'big; much, many', {Sh.} d,e's 'big' ¶ Fy {J} d,e's 'big, powerful' ¶ ChC, J R 85, J S II 64 ♦ The loss of the nasal cns. in IE points to a N *n' (*don'c'E > *doyc'E > *d^hei_s- > AnIE *des-); if so, the adjacent affir. must have been palatal (*c'). The glottalized d. - in Su and Fy still needs explanation.

545. ***doŋa** 'to cover' > HS: B *√_lH₁dn v. 'cover' > Izn aḏən, BSn a^hḏən, Skn, Nf aḏən (pf. 3m uḏən), Gd a^hḏən 'couvrir, mettre en couvercle', Awj uḏən 's'habiller, se vêtir', Kb id_{ni} 'couverture de chaume', Zng {NZ} edden 'couvrir une calebasse ou un puits' ¶ Rn. 310, Lf. II #0289, NZ 348-50 || Ag: Bln {R} dang- 'verhüllen das Gesicht beim Trinken' ¶ R WB 108 || AdS of WS *√_{dm}, *-dumm- 'stop up, cover' (< N ***damV** 'to cover, to close', q.v. ffd.) ¶ IE: NaIE *d^heng^h- v. 'cover, press on' > Lt dengiū, den^hgti v. 'cover, wrap', danga^h 'Decke' ¶ OIr dingid, for-ding 'oppresses' ¶ Gmc (× NaIE *^od^heng^hl^h- 'rubbish, dung' < N ***dim_lV_{ŋa}E** 'rubbish, dirt, animal faeces'): OHG tung 'cellar, ground-house (unterirdische zur Abwehr der Kälte mit Mist bedeckte Stätte als Winterwohnung)', ON dyngja 'underground room for women', OSx dung 'underground weaver's work-room', AS dunz 'prison' ¶ ≠ P 250, Frn. 88-9, Thr. 355, Vr. 90, OsS 969-70, Kb. 1046, Ho. 80, Ho. S 14 ¶ U ***toŋe**- v. 'cover, patch' > pLp {Lr.} *to^hŋz- v. 'patch' > Lp N {N} duog^hŋa^t, Lp S {Hs.} duogedh, Lp L {LLO} tuognat, Lp Kld tu^hvŋeḏ id. : ? Er тавадо- tavado-, Mk тавадо- tavado- v. 'cover' (the vw. a is not expected, therefore E. Itkonen and K. Rédei reject the Mr cognate) : Chr H/L тумыш tum^hš 'patch', Chr H тумыж tum^hž 'constipation (of animals)' : pPrm {LG} *do^hm- > Z d^hzm- v. 'patch; dam (a river) for fishing', Z d^hmas, Yz 'du^hmas 'patch', Z Ud d^hmz 'patches' (v., 3s), Z d^hmzd, Yz 'du^hm^hz 'dam used for fishing with fishing-baskets' || pY {IN} *tuŋ- v. 'cover' > Y T {IN, Ku.} tuŋ- v. 'cover', tuŋu-l^h n. 'patch' || UEW 798 mentions a Sm √ that is represented in individual lgs. as follows: StNe T то?(-) to? / ton- 'covering garment for men at night, blanket' [= Ne O {Lh.} to^h 'Decke'], Ne F L {Lh.} to^hn^hd^h 'Decke', StNe T тонда- [= Ne O {Lh.} to^hnta^h-] v. 'cover', Ng {Cs.} t^hu^hi 'Decke', Slq Tz {KKIH} taqiti- vt. 'close, shut' [= {Cs.} takatam 'zuschließen']; UEW mentions Slq ta^hgada 'bedecken (mit einem Tuch)' without indicating the dialect and the source], Kms {KD} tu^hydu^h- 'decken, bedecken'. Rédei does not accept this Sm cognate "aus semantischen Gründen". But if the meaning of the U √ is 'to cover' [→ 'to patch', i.e. 'to cover with a patch'] (rather than 'to patch', as interpreted by UEW) and if the phonetic corr. are accurate (still an open question), the Sm cognate is valid ¶ Coll. 9, UEW 798 (FU *toŋe- 'flicken, usbessern'), Lr. #1293, Lgc. #8084, Hs. 468, MRS 597, Ber. 78, KKIH 179, LG 96, Lt. J 112, Cs. 64, 144, Lh. 489, IN 248-9, Ku. 278 ¶ ? A {SDM95} *t^huŋV 'a cover' > Tg *tuŋke 'a cover, covering' > Nn Nh/B tuŋkz, Nn KU tumkz, ? WrMc tuxe 'a cover (of a cauldron)', ? Mc Sb tuxe 'roof', ? Jrc {Kiy.} tuko 'outer garment', ? Ewk Brg tuk-čargu 'roof (Überdachung, **набес**) between buildings' ¶ STM II 210, 216, Kiy. SJL 127 [#544], Md. ChF 137 ¶ SDM95 s.v. *t^huŋV 'a cover' (adduces also M *tuŋurga 'felt walls [covering] of a tent' > WrM tugurga, HIM, Brt тyypra); the A cognate is doubtful because of the initial *t^h- for the expected *d^h-.

546. ? ***du^hŋg_lX** '(to be) quiet, silent' > IE: NaIE *^od^hl^heng^hl^h- > Ltv din^hgt 'to be quiet, keep one's temper' ('ruhig sein, sich beherrschen'), sa-din^hgt 'erstarren' ¶ ME I 469 & III 610-1; the unexpected preservation of *n suggests that the words go back to a loan from Curonian or some other Baltic lge preserving the cluster *ng ¶ A ***du^hngV** > M ***du^hngge**- > Kl du^hngge^h- v. 'be silent' [< *du^hngge-yi-, d : WrO du^hngu^hgu^hr 'quiet, peaceful', Kl {Rm.} du^hngagr^h 'schweigend'; d : WrM du^hng-su^h-i- v. 'be silent, maintain one's silence', HIM д^hн^hсий- id.; ¶ KW 105, MED 281, Krg. 578 || AmTg t^hdu^hngu > Orc, Ul, Nn dun^hgu-dun^hgu, dun^hgum, Nn dun^hgumz^hi, dun^hduyg^hzn 'quietly, in silence', Orc dun^hgus^h- v. 'be quiet, taciturn', Nn KU dun^hgur^hl 'quietly, silently', Nn Nh dun^hgur^hz^hn v. 'get quiet' ¶ STM I 223 ¶ HS: Ech: Kwn {J} de^hwe^h 'silent' ¶ ChC || ? WS ***du^hm**-, *√_{dm} [prm. *-dumm-] (and a secondary √ *√_{dmy} v. 'be quiet, silent' (× N ***dumV** 'to be motionless, silent, quiet', q.v. ffd.) ♦ If S ***du^hm**-, *√_{dm} belongs here, the N rec. must be ***du^hŋX** [N intervoc. *-ŋ- (near *U) > S *m reg.] ♦ IS I 222-3 (s.v. *du^hnga) adduces Bj dum-, dim- and K ***dum**-, but this may be accepted only if the change N *-ŋ- > Bj, K *-m- (following N *u^h) is proved as reg. In my opinion, the Bj and K words belong to N ***dumV** (q.v.).

547. ***daPV(K,V)** 'to stick, to glue' > HS: CS *√_{dbk}, (~ *√_{t.bk}) id. > BHb √_{dbk}, G (pf. qb2D1 da^hb^hak, ~ qb4D1 da^hb^hek, ip. -dbak.) v. 'stick to, cling to', BA dab^hk^hin 'they stick together', IA √_{dbk}, G 'cling, cleave, be contiguous', JA [Trg.] √_{dbk}, G (pf. qb4D6 da^hb^hek, ~ qb2D6 da^hb^hak.) 'stick to (kleben), adhere to', JEA {Sl.} √_{dbk}, G 'adhere, touch', Sr √_{dbk}, G (pf. Q^had da^hb^hak, ~ Q^hed da^hb^hek, id.), Ar √_{dbq}, G (pf. dabiqa) 's'attacher, s'agglutiner (de manière visqueuse)', CS *^hdib^hl^hV^hk^h- 'joining, glue' > Ar dibq^h- 'glu, gui de chène', Md dubk^ha, Sr deb^hl^hk^h-a^h 'glue', BHb qb3D3 'deb^hek, 'soldering, welding together' ¶ KB 200-1, KBR 209, Sl. 312-3, Js. 277-8, BK I 667-8, HJ 238, DRS 211-2 ¶ U: U (?) ***tappE** (or ***ta^hppX**) > FP ***tappV**- ~ ***ta^hppV**- v. 'stick, adhere, press to sth.' > Hg tapad- v. 'stick, adhere, cling (to sth.)', OHg XIII-XVI tapasz 'klebriger Stoff, Lehm, Wandbewurf', Hg tapasz 'lute, putty; plaster' ¶ pLp {Lr.} ***topz** > Lp N {N} doppa^ht vi. 'stick, get stuck in' : pPrm ***top**-, ***topal**- > Z topz^hd- vt. 'cover tightly, press together, knock together, unite', Vt tupa- v. 'fix, repair, fix to' ¶ LG 282, MTE III 842-3, EWU 1480, Lr. #1270, N I 564 ¶ Hg a suggests FU *a, while Prm *^h suggests *a^h (or *e), and pLp *o suggests FU *u (ass. infl. of *p?); most probably, ***tappV** ~ ***ta^hppV** are two variants of the same √ based on different synharmonic generalizations of a √ having both a front vw. and a back vw. ¶ A: M ***dabirqay** 'resin of a coniferous tree' > MM

[MA] dabirqay id., WrM dabirqai, HIM давирхай, Brt дабирхай, Ord d_a>wirxa id., 'pitch'; M -b> Ewk dabirkay 'resin of a coniferous tree'; M -b> Yk dabarxay id. ¶ Pp. MA 137, MED 212, Chr. 179, Ms. O 130, STM I 184 || Tg: Ewk dapkaldī- vi. 'be adjusted well, fit together well' (of building details, handicraft wares), Ewk PT dapka-n- vt. 'unite, attach', Ewk Y/I/Np dapkar 'juncture, joint (of two details)' ¶ STM I 197.

548. ?? ₂ ≈*dup.V 'to squat, hide [intr.] (→ 'to steal') > HS: EC: Sa {R} dafay- ~ dafay- ~ difī- 'sit down, sit', Af {PH} daffe- 'sit down, sit up' ¶ R S II 102, PH 78 || SOm {Bnd.}: Ari dif+, Ari G dīb+, Dm de`b+ v. 'steal' ¶ Bnd. AL 159 II IE: NaIE \*teu\_p- (for \*d<sup>h</sup>eu\_p- due to one of the incompatibility laws) v. 'cover (also in order to get hidden)', {EI} \*teu\_b<sup>h</sup>- 'steal' > Gmc: Gt þiubjo- adj. 'secret, concealed', þiubi 'theft', þiubs 'thief', ON þjo`fr, NNr tjuv, tjuv, Sw tjuv, Dn tyv, OSx thiof, OHG diob, NHG Dieb, AS ðe`of 'thief', NE thief || Lt tu`pti (1s prs. tupiū, {Krsch.} tu`piu) 'to squat, crouch' ({P} 'sich hinhocken, sich in die Knie setzen'), tupe`ti 'to squat', Ltv tupe`t 'to squat, cower', tupties vr. 'to squat' || Ł Gk Hm h. l. ε`ν-τυπα` (if it means 'kauernd, hockend', which is not obvious) || Tc B cowai, ta`rk 'rob' (lit. 'commit a theft') ¶ P 1085, WP I 714, Vr. 613, Hlq. 1195-6, Fs. 495-7, Ho. 363, Ho. S 78, OsS 105, EWA II 665-7, KM 131, Frn. 1141-2, Kar. II 442, F I 525-6, Ad. 257-8..

549. *d'a`i`p.V (or *d'a`i`p.V?) 'to wave, flap, wave the wings, fly; wing' > HS: S *o`dpp > Ar √dff G 'agiter les ailes, voler en agitant les ailes' ¶ BK I 710 || Ch: WCh: Kfr {Nt.} d,i`p 'feather, wing' || CCh: Msg {Trn.} d.V`fV`IV` v. 'fly' ¶ Nt. IO, ChC s.v. 'fly' v. II U: FU (att. in BF) \*o`tipe ~ *o`tipa (> \*√tī`pa) 'wing' > F siipi, Es tiib (gen. tiiva), Es S siib (pl. siiva, siivo), Lv tiibz (pl. tiibzd) ¶ SK 1016-7, SSA III 176 II A {SDM97} *de`p`e v. 'wave, flap; fly' > M *debi- > WrM debi- v. 'wave, flap (as wings), fan, winnow' (of grains), HIM дүвү-х, Brt дүби- id., Kl dew- 'soar (schweben), float in the air; take wing', {Rm.} 'die Flügel heben, sich zum Fliegen anschicken' ¶ Pp. VG 95, MED 238, KRS 191, KW 90 || Tg *dep- v. 'flap (wings), fan', *depsi- id. > Ud d3qi- 'flap (wings)', Orc d3ps3- v. 'fan\wave away (mosquitoes, midges)', Ul, Nn Nh/KU d3psi-, Nn B d3fsi- 'flap, wave, максат', WrMc debsi- ~ debs`e-, Mc Sb d3ps`i- ~ d3ps`3- 'flap (wings)'; Tg \*dapsi-: Ewk dawsī-, Lm daws- v. 'wave, flap (as wings)', Neg dawst-, Ork dapst- 'wave (one's hands)', Orc dapsuku 'fan', WrMc dasixa- v. 'fan\sweep away, dust (sth.)' ¶ STM I 186-7, 228 || ???σ T: Osm {Rl.} ja`p- 'mit Sprüngen entlang laufen', {Rh.} `mpY jep-mek 'to run along with leaps' (adduced as a cognate by Rm. with an underlying assumption of a semantic change: 'die Flügel heben, sich zum Fliegen anschicken' → 'to run by leaps') ¶ Rh. 2197, Rl. III 384 || ?φ pJ {S} \*t3mp- v. 'fly' > OJ to`b-, J: T to`b-, K/Kg to`b-, Sh/Y tu`b-, Ns tu`by-, Ht tu`p- id.; (-d?) pJ {S} \*tumpasa 'wing' > J T tubasa ¶ S AJ 110, 275, S QJ ##28, 1608, Mr. 768 ¶ KW 90 (M, T), ≈ SDM97 s.v. \*de`p`e 'wave, flap; fly' [> M \*debi, Tg, J \*temp- + err. . T \*jelpi- 'flap, winnow' (see N \*deL.V.p.V 'to flap, to fly')]; qu.: DQA #2646 [A \*di`up`u` 'wing, fin' > J *tumpasa ÷ M *ziber 'fin of fish'] ♠ Ch *d.- suggests *d...? FU *-p- points to N *-p-, while AG *-p (usually from N *p.) may go back to *?...p.

550. *dap.V ~ *dap`y`p.V 'to push' > HS: WS *√dpf > Ar øFd √dff G (ip. -dfa-) 'repousser, pousser', Gz √dff G 'thrust, push'; S *√dhp v. 'push (away)' > BHb Fhd √dhp G 'push away', MHb, JA √dhp G 'push (stoßen)', Gz ø!F da`hf dahf 'pushing out, expulsion', ? Ak √d2p G (inf. da2a`pu, p. id2ip) {Sd.} '(an\weg)stoßen', {CAD} v. 'push, press, knock over' ¶ *h- in *√dhp is due to the infl. of WS *√dhw 'to press, push' (< N *daXwV id.) and possibly to as *-fp- > *-hp- ¶ KB 210, KBR 219, Sl. 325, Js. 293, Sd. 146, L G 124, 127, CAD III 1, DRS 247, 299-300 || EC *d,i`p-, {AD} \*t,i`p- (mte from *√dp.) > Or d,i`b- v. 'push, annoy', {Grg.} d,i`b- vt. 'push forward', Or B/O {Sr.}, Or H {Ow.} d,i`b- 'push' (Or -b> Brj {Ss.}, Ged {Hd.} d,i`b- v. 'push'), Sml N d,i`f- v. 'bully', Sd {Hd.} t,i`b-, {Gs.} t,i`wa v. 'push' ¶ Abr. S 59, Gs. 327-8, Grg. 124-5, Sr. 297, Ow. 259, Hd. 238, 397, ≠ Ss. B 64 (does not distinguish this √ from EC \*d,i`b- v. 'press, squeeze'), Hd. 119 (pHEC *d,i`b- > Ged, Brj d,i`b-, Sd t,i`b-) || WCh {Stl.} \*dap- v. 'push' > Hs da`fa` v. 'press on with one's palm' : Su {J} tu`p v. 'push', Ang {Flk.} tup 'stir soup while cooking' : Ngz {Sch.} da`ba`u_ (n. act. da`bi`) v. 'push' ¶ Stl. ZCh 169 [#217], J S 86, Sch. DN 38, ChL, Flk. s.v. tup ¶ ≈ OS #753, ≈ Sk. HCD 39 II IE *depH- > NaIE *dep^h- 'trample, push, knead, strike' (× N *t,a`bHV 'to trample, crumple, press' [q.v. ffd.]) II K: G {Chx.} dyeb-/dyvib- 'make butter by churning' ¶ Chx. 329 II U \*tappV- v. 'strike, beat' (partially × N U \*t,a`bHV '↑') > F tappa- 'totschlagen, ermorden; schlachten', tappele- 'sich schlagen, kämpfen', taputta- 'klopfen', Es tapa- v. 'kill, slaughter' : pMr *tapa- > Mk tapa- 'break (glass, etc.), smash', Er tapa- 'defeat\smash (an army, host)' : pPrm *tap- > Prmk tap3d- 'strike with a feast; einen Faust in den Rücken stoßen'; but pPrm *tap- v. 'flap' is obviously a different √ of onomatopoeic origin; the same is probably true of Prm *tap- v. 'trample' || Sm: Ne O tapar- 'mit dem Fuß treten, stoßen', Slq Tz {KKIH} tapir-qo 'to kick with feet', tappal-qo mom. id. ¶ UEW 509-10, PI 266, KC 209, LG 278, Ker. II 164, KKI 179, Lh. 466 II A *dapij- v. 'push, press' > M [× N *t,æ`p.V 'to squeeze, press' × N *daXwV ~ *dawXV (?) 'to press, push?'] > [1] dabi- > WrM dabi-, HIM дави- v. 'spur on a horse', Ord d_a>wi- 'frapper les pieds contre les flancs du cheval pour le faire aller plus vite' ¶ MED 212, Ms. O 130 || [2] *dabta- v. 'forge, rivet' > MM [S] dabta- vt. 'hammer', dabtamal 'gestampft', WrM dabta- v. 'forge, beat', {Kow.} vt. 'rivet, forge, flatten (battre, forger, aplatir)', HIM давта-, Brt дабта-, Kl давт- v. 'forge, rivet', WrO dabta- 'strike repeatedly, forge'; M -b> WrMc dabta- id. ¶ MED 213, Kow. 1609-10, H 30, Krg. 537, KRS 175, Chr. 179, Z 784 || Tg *dap- v. 'press' > Ork dapa`w- 'squeeze, press', ?amb Ewk

(unless a loan from M): Ewk PT/Y/Np *daṗṗa-*, Ewk Al/Z/Ucr *dapṭa-* v. 'flatten, crush flat; hammer out; tap with one's palm', *daṗṗarawṗa-* ~ *daṗṗarapṗa-* 'pressed to', Ewk PT *daṗṗaran-* 'clutch, squeeze, pinch' ¶ STM I 197-8 II D **topp-*, {GS} **dobb-* v. 'push' > Kn *dobbu* ~ *d.obbu* ~ *dabbu* ~ *d.abbu*, Tl *d(r)obbu* v. 'shove, push', Tu *dobbu* 'pushing, shoving', *dobbuni* v. 'push, shove, put off' ¶¶ D #3340, ≠ Km. 406 [#687] (suggests that OTl *drobbu* v. 'push, trust' goes back to **tor-b-* < **tor-upp-* / -v-, but remarks: "the following are confusing: Kn *d.obbu*, *dobbu* v. 'shove, push, thrust', Tu *dobbuni* id.") ◇ S **√dpṡ-*, IE **depH-* (< **d^hepH-* due to one of the IE incompatibility laws) and D **tobb-* (or **dobb-*) suggest a cns. cluster *-PH-, while S **√dhp* (< **d^hp* by *as*) and the C long *vw*. suggest that the *lr*. preceded the labial stop (a *mt* at the pHS level?). On the other hand, the presence of **γ* in K suggest N *-Py- ◇ ≈ Gr. II #208 (**tap* 'hit') [IE, U, M, Tg + *unc.* T, Ko + *qu.* J, CK].

551. ? **dEqV* 'earth' > ? HS: S **√dxy* > Gz *√dxy* G (js. *yə-dxay*) v. 'excavate, dig up' ¶ L G 130, DRS 249 || ? Eg N *dṡ.w.t* 'Steinblöcke' (↔ 'Geröll') ¶ EG V 484 || ?? B **√dHy* (or **√dṡy*) 'sand' > Ah {Fc.} *edəhi* 'sable fin' (pl. *idəha-n*), *tedəhit* 'petite dune basse de sable fin', *edəyən* 'plaine unie de sable fin', Ty/ETwl {GhA} *edəhi* (pl. *idəhan*) 'colline', Gh {Nh.} *idəhi* (pl. *idəhan*) 'petite colline de sable', Rf A {Rn.} *t_id_it_*, Rf B {Rn.} *t_audit_* 'galet, caillou roulé' ¶ Because of the root-final **y*, ETwl, Ty -h- and Rf -Ø- this word cannot belong to B **r^wdz* 'piler' (> Ah *əddəh*, ETwl *əddəz*, Kb *d_d_əz*) or to B **r^wdṡ* 'piler' (> Ah *ədd*, Gd *əddəṡ*) ¶ Fc. 186-7, Pr. H 35 [##37-8], GhA 21, Nh. 203, Rn. 307 II K: pGZ **dīqa* 'soil, clay' > Mg *dīṡa* ~ *dəṡa* 'soil, earth, land, place', Lz (n)*dīṡa* 'earth, soil', Zan -b> G Gr *dīṡa* 'earth'; OG *tīqa* 'clay', G *tīṡa* 'clay, mud' [acc. to Mach. K 22 and FS K 105, K: *as* **d...q* > **t...q*]; d- has been preserved in G Gr *dīṡa* 'earth' (infl. of Zan?) ¶¶ FS K 105 (**dīq-*), Chx. 316, Q 227, ≠ K 94-5 and K² 72 (**tīqa-* with **t-* > Zan d-) ◇ ≠ IS I 220 [#69] (**dīqV* > K **dīqa* and IE **d^hg^hem-* 'earth') (→ BmK 269-70: IE, K); I prefer to connect IE **d^hg^hem-* with N **t.ogE* 'dust, earth' for phonetic reasons: IE **g^h* is a reg. reflex of N **g*, not of *-q-.

552. ? **duḡgV* 'to blow (wehen, blasen), breathe, shake' > HS: ? C **√rd.ṡ* 'wehen' > EC: Sml {ZMO} *d.əf-*, {R} *d.əf-* 'blow' (wind) (unless ← *d.əf-* 'happen'), Ya {Hn.} *dəhmo* (pl. *dəhmai*) 'wind' ¶ If the Sml word belongs here and the rec. of pC **d-* is valid, its unexpected emphaticity may be due to the infl. of **ṡ* ¶ AD SF 315-6, Hn. Y II 137, DSI 150, R SS II 528, ZMO 106 || S: Ar *duṡṡ-* ~ *daṡṡ-* 'smoke', *duṡa-n* id. ¶ BK I 677, 680, DRS 249 II IE **d^heu_H-* v. 'shake, blow' [{EI} **d^heu_H* 'be in (com)motion, rise (as dust or smoke)'] > OI *dhu-* 'no-ti', *dhu-vati* 'shakes', pfc. *dudha-va* || Arm *dedeyim* *dedewim* vi. 'I vacillate, totter, shake' || Gk ὕω {LS} v. 'rush on/along' (of a rushing wind) || ON *dy'ja* 'to shake' || pAl {O} **deg-ska-* > Al T *deh* v. 'become untaxed, get drunk'; pAl {O} **deg-nya* > Al *dej-* *dē-nj-*, G {Ç, Kf.} *dej* {Ç} 's'enivrer', {Kf.} μῆ'ῶ τινά', {LP} *dejshem* 'drunk' || Lt *duja* 'Stäubchen, feiner Regen, Nebel' || SI **du* 'ti / prs. **dujo* 'blow' > R дут / prs. дут, SCr *du* 'ti / prs. *du* 'je-m, Blg дут, Slv *du* 'ti 'blow' (inf. **du* 'ti coalesced in some lgs. with SI **do* 'ti 'blow' < NaIE **d^hem-* < N **dVmV* 'to breathe, blow') || d- **dhuH-mo-* 'smoke, steam', {EI} **d^huh₂-mo-s* 'smoke' > OI *dhu-* 'mah. 'smoke, steam' || Gk ὕμο' 'breath' → 'soul, life, Lebenskraft' || L *fu-mus* 'smoke, steam' || Lt *du* 'mai (pl.), Ltv *du* 'mi (pl.), Pru *dumis* 'smoke' || SI **dīm* 'smoke' > OCS дѣмъ *dīm*ъ, Blg, Uk дим, SCr, Slv *di* 'm, R дѣм, Cz *dy* 'm, Slk, P *dym* || OIr {P} *dumacha* (pl.) 'fog' (< **dum-*) || OHG {Kb., EWA} *doum*, {OsS} *toum*, *thoum* 'smoke, steam', MHG *toum* ~ *doum*, NGr Sw *tau* 'm, Nr B *da* 'um, *da* 'm id., OSx *do* 'mian 'to steam' (< **dou* 'm-) || Ht *tuhhui* ~ *tuhhuwai* 'smoke' ¶¶ P 261-7, EI 388, 529, Frd. HW 227, Frd. HW EH II 25, Ts. E III 47-9, F I 693-4, 697-8, WH I 561-2, Vr. 89, OsS 948, Kb. 163, EWA II 744-6, Ho. S 13, Slr. 242-3, O 57-8, Ç I 111 & II 368, AIED 155, Kf. 77, LamP 147, BFU 92, Frn. 109-110, En. 164, Wn. 519, M K II 107-9, ESSJ V 99-100, 203, Vs. I 555-8, Glh. 196, 213-4, SPS V 207-8 ◇ ≠ IS I 217-218: IS equates IE **d^heu_H-* v. 'shake, blow' with Wrm *debi-* 'winnow frain', flap (wings) and with Lm *dəwu-* 'whirlwind, hurrican, wind', *dəwu-* 'brausen, toben, aufwirbeln' (of wind, snow-storm) (Pp. VG 45, cp. LW 180-1); but this is hardly acceptable because Lm *dəwu-* *dəwu-* 'brausen, aufwirbeln' and *dəwu-* *dəgu* '(whirl)wind, hurrican' go back to Tg **deg-* [STM I 228-9], while M *debi* belongs together with Tg **dep₁-* 'flap' [> Ud *dəp₁-* etc.; cp. STM I 228].

553. **dī qa* 'goat' > HS: NrOm {Blz.} **dVg--dV_k-* 'capricorn, lamb' > Oyda *doge* 'greater kudu', Bsk *dak.īs'i*, Doka *dakis'a* 'lamb', Bdt {Hw.} *deggele* 'goats' ¶ Blz. OL #152 || Ch: WCh: AG: Cp *dī gun* 'he-goat', Kfr {Nt.} *dəgu* 'castrated male goat', ?? Su {J} *du gu* 'm ~ *du su* 'm 'male antelope' || Ron: Fy {J} *da ku* 's 'he-goat' || CCh: Pdk {Mch.} *du g-zuma* id. || Tr {Nw.} *ḡ* 'goat' || ECh: Nd {GD} *dih*, Nd D {J} *d.ḡa*, Tmk {Cp.} *ḡ* 'goat' ¶ ChC, JI II 167-9, ChL, J S 62, Nt. 7 II K **dqa-* 'she-goat' > OG, NG *tṡa*, Mg *tṡa-* (pl. *tṡal-*), Lz (m)*tṡa-* [pl. (m)*tṡal-*, Sv: UB/LB/Ln *daqəl* (pl. UB/Ln *daq-a* 'r, L *daq-l-a* 'r) ¶ K 77, ≈ K² 80 (**tqa-*), TK 188, GP 95, Dn. s.v. *daqəl* II IE: NaIE {EI} **dik-s* (**dig-os*), {P} **digh-*, {Dv.} **digh--dik-* 'goat' > Gk Δ [Hs.] δι'ζα: α'τῆς ('goat'); Fick and P supposed that this gloss is Thracian, which is not accepted by Grgv., Durid., Russu and Dechev || OHG *ziga* 'goat' (> NHG *Ziege*), with a hypothetical "cns. sharpening" OHG *zickī*, *zickīn* 'kid' ('Zicklein'), AS *tic'c'en* id., Nr Δ *tikka* 'sheep' || Arm *tik tik* 'leather bottle, goat's skin' ¶ Huld 59 adduces here StAl T, Al: SG *dhi*, D/P *ḡ*, T Sl/V/F *ḡ* 'goat', but O 83 reconstructs pAl **ai₃ziya* 'goat' related to Gk α'τῆς id. ¶ WP I 814, P 222, Dv. #978, EI 229, F I 390-1, OsS 125, Kb. 1250, , KM 882, Ho. 346, O 128, Slr. 335-6, Jokl KA 241 ◇ IE *-k- < *-q- < *?q-, the origin of

the cns. *-g- is not clear; the initial *d- for the expected *d^h- is probably due to the IE root structure rejection of the **g^het-structure (asp. vd. + vl. cns. in the same √) ◆ AD NM #43, S CNM 10 (≠ NrCs, ST).

554. ***dar^{IE}** 'to have a suitable size (to be just right, **быть впопругу**), have enough room for' > K *^oda₁:r- > G dar-/dr- 'j-m gleichkommen, ebenbürtig sein', dar- 'gleich, entsprechend', dar-i 'gleich, gleichartig; wertig, ähnlich' ¶ Chx. 254-6 II D *tar₋ ({GS} *t-) v. 'be fit' (× N ***dar₁VH₁V** 'to hold, hold fast, fasten') > Tm tar_u v. 'wear tightly as a cloth', taram 'opportune moment, time, turn', tarun_{am} 'right time, proper season', Ml tar_{ayuka} v. 'be fixed', ta_ru 'wearing clothes tucked in', taram 'time, opportunity', Kn tari 'state of being joined, fixed or settled', Tl tar_i 'opportunity, proper time', ? Ku dari 'next' (adv.) ¶¶ D #3142 II ??? A: M: WrM daru-, HIM дара- v. 'outline, eclipse' (× ← WrM daru-, HIM дара- v. 'press, push down'), (?) darui, HIM даруй 'immediately', MM [HI] darui-tur 'aussitôt après' ¶ MED 233-4, Luv. 147, Ms. H 48 ◆ Fn. KD #14 (K, D). FU *terV 'Raum oder Platz haben oder finden, hineingehen' does not belong here because of its vw. *e. It rather belongs to N ***t_{er}V** 'to contain' (q.v.).

555. ***duri** 'to go, walk' > A: Tg *du_{ere}- ({DQA} *du_{re}-) v. 'walk' > Nn, Ul du_{3r3-}, Orc duw3--du3-, Ewk du_{r3-} v. 'walk', Neg du_{y3-}, Ud du3- v. 'walk along the bank (near the waterline)' ¶ STM I 226, Krm. 229 || NaT *jori- ~ *ju_r- v. 'walk, go' > [1] *jori- > OT jori-, SY jor- z_{or}-, Alt z_{or}-id., Uz, ET H {Ml.} jur-, Tv c_{or}(u)-, Tf c_{oru}- ~ c_{ori}- v. 'walk, ride, go'; [2] *ju_r- ~ *jo₁:r- > Tk yu_{ru}-, Az ju_{ru}-, Ggz, ET jo_{ru}-, Tkm jo_{re}-, Qzq z_uru-, VTt j_or-, Bsh j_or_o-, Blq z_uru(u)- ~ zu_r-, Qzq z_uru-, Nog ju_r-, Qrg z_uru-, Xk c_oru-, Shor c_uru-, Yk su_r- v. 'walk, move', Qq z_uru- 'move', StAlt z_uru- v. 'walk, ride; be', Chv s_uru- 'walk, move' ¶ Cl. 957, DTS 274, Rs. W 207, ET J 229-31, Ra. 197 || | σ pJ *d₃r- v. 'approach' > OJ jor-, J: T y_or-, K/Kg y_or- ¶¶ S AJ 284, S QJ #169, Mr. 787 ¶¶ DQA #399 [A *do_{re} 'go, walk, approach' > T, Tg, J] II D *tu_r- (-) v. 'enter' (× N ***t_{or}Vh₁a** 'to pass over; through', q.v. ffd.) II HS: ?? WS *-du_r- v. 'roam (of nomads), go and come back, wander about within some territory' > Mh √dwr G (pf. do_r, sbjn. y3-do_r) v. 'wander about, herumgehen; go and come back', Hrs √dwr (pf. do_r, prs. y3do_r) v. 'go round', Jb √dwr (pf. d_or) v. 'come between, in front of', (pf. d_er) v. 'wander about', Ar rvd √dwr G 'aller tout autour, tourner, tourner', ? (× S *-du_r- 'turn round', cf. DRS 239): BHB √dwr G {KB} 'rundherumschichten' ¶ Jo. M 76, Jo. J 42-3, Jo. H 26, KB 208-9, Fr. II 69, BK I 747, DRS 239-41 ◆ Cf. AD AltAD #11.

556. ***durV** 'hole, hollow' > K: pGZ {Fn.} *duro > G duro 'deep hole', Mg duru 'hollow, depression, hole, pit' ¶ Chx. 325, Fn. KW-1 34 [#16] II IE: NaIE *d^hwe(:)r- / *d^hwo(:)r- / *d^hur- / *d^hwr_o-, {EI} *d^hwo_r (gen. *d^hu_r-os) 'door, gate' (× N ***dURV** 'stick, log', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 278-9, EI 168-9 [≡ NaIE (in BSI) *d₁ur-/*d₁u_r- > SI *d_{ira} 'hole' > OR дѣръ-а dirja, R дѣра, Plb dara_{id}. : Lt du_rti 'thrust, stab' ¶ Vs. I 205, ESSJ V 205. Frn. 113] II D *tor_a- ~ *tora- 'hollow, hole, cavity' [× N ***tu_rRi** 'pierce'??] > Ml tura 'hole, burrow', Kn tor_{alu}, tor_{al}e 'hole', tor_e, d_{or}e 'hollow, hole', Tl tor_a, tor_{ata}, tor_{ra} 'hole, cavity in a tree', Gnd Δ dora 'hole in tree' III D {Pf.} *tu_r-/*tur_V- (~ *tur₋) v. 'make a hole' > Tm tura v. 'tunnel, bore', Ml turavu 'burrowing, mine, hole', Kn turi, turuvu v. 'hollow, bore, drill, make a hole', Tl tur_{umu} v. 'scrape with a toothed instrument', Krx tu_r- v. 'pierce through, perforate', Mlt tu_r v. 'scratch out'; Tm, Ml u and Kn, Tl o may go back both to *u and to *o, but Krx and Mlt point to pD *u(:) only ¶¶ The variants with *-r- (reg. from N *r-clusters) may be due to the infl. of N ***t_{or}Vh₁a** 'to pass over; through'. Tm, Ml u and Kn, Tl o may go back both to *u and to *o, but Krx and Mlt point to pD *u(:) only ¶¶ D #3533, Pf. 135 [#1167], Zv. 65-6, Km. 111-8, Em. DCPh § 14 ◆ Blz. KM 115 [#7] (K, D) [≡ & 133 (added R дѣра).]

557. ? ***dURV** 'log, stick' > HS: Eg L dr 'prod, goad' ¶ Jsn. 22 II K *dwire- 'log, beam; squared beam' > OG dwire- ~ dire-id. ('plank' in Mt. 7.3), G dire, G Gr dviro-, G I diro- 'log, squared beam', Mg dāre- 'cross-beam', Sv: UB/L dīr, Ln/LB dir, LB dər 'beam' ¶ K² 40, ≠ Rog. GRL (K <b- Gk) [↔ K² 40], TK 196, GP 97, Dn. s.v. dīr II IE: NaIE *d^hwe(:)r- / *d^hwo(:)r- / *d^hur- / *d^hwr_o-, {EI} *d^hwo_r (gen. *d^hu_r-os) 'door, gate' (× N ***durV** 'hole, hollow', q.v.) > OI nom. pl. 'dva_r- 'door' (nom. pl. 'dva_{rah}-, acc. pl. du_{rah}-, ~ 'durah_o-, nom. du. 'dva_{rau}-, nom. sg. 'dva_h), Av acc. sg. dvarəṃ 'gate' ¶ Arm pl. dur^o dur^h 'door' ¶ Gk ὄρᾱ, Gk ἰ ὄρῃ id. ¶ pAl {O} *dwo_{ra}-, {Huld} *dera_l 'door, gate', pl. *du_{er}- > Al T/G 'dere_o' (pl. T, G 'dyer, G dyr), {Huld} SG de_r/ du_r-, D de_r/ du_{er}-, B der/ du_{er} ¶ L foris 'door', pl. fore_s 'folding-doors' ¶ W do_r, MBr {Ern.} dor, Crn {P} dor 'door', OIr dorus, W drws 'door' ¶ OHG turi, NHG Tu_r, ON dyrr 'door', Gt dau_r, OHG tor, NHG Tor 'gate', OSx duru 'door', dor 'gate', AS duru, dor 'door, gate', NE door ¶ Lt acc. pl. duri_s 'door', gen. pl. du_{ru}-, OLT, Lt EA du_{res}, Lt du_{rys} d id., Ltv duris, du_{rvis} pl. 'door', Pru pl. dauris 'big gate' (ce. for duaris?) : pSl *dv̑ri pl. 'doors' > OCS дѣри dv̑ri, Blg †, R дѣри, Slv dve_{ri}, duri, Cz dver_e, P drzwi, Δ dz_{wierze}, Uk дѣвер_o 'door(s)', SCr Δ дѣри 'middle gate of the altar'; secondary sg.: pSl *dv̑rb_g 'door' > OCS дѣрьб_g dv̑rb_g, R дѣр_o, SCr † dva_o r ¶ pTc *twere > Tc B twere 'door' [III] ?? NaIE {Mn.} *^od_{hr}n- > ON drumbr (name of a slave ← 'Klotz'), Icl drumbur 'Holzklotz', OSw drummer 'Keule' ¶ P 278-9, EI 168-9, M K II 83-4, F I 695-6, WH I 529-30, LP §§ 117.2, 178.2, 268.1, 296, Fs. 117-8, Vr. 91, OsS 946, 972, Kb. 1051, Ho. 75, 80, Ho. S 13-4, KM 783, 797, Frn. 112-3, En. 157, Tp. P A-D 309-10, Bern. I 241, YGM-1 194-5, Ern. 192, O 60, Huld 49, Kf. 77-8, SPS V 140-2, ESSJ V 171-2, Wn. 520, Ad. 323-4 ¶, Vr. 85, Mn.

205, 212] ◆ ≠ S NSSh #4 [K ÷ A *t'i_or(ge) 'beam, prop' ÷ IE derw- 'tree', see N *t'o'ru' (ε) tree, log'] [†, ≈ Blz. KM 132 [#6] (K, IE °d'r_n- + *unc.* : names of trees in HS, U and T lgs and D *tur_u 'bushes, thicket']].

558. 2 *dURV 'deaf' > HS *dur- > B *√d_rdr ~ *√drdr, *d_u_rdr v. 'be deaf', *d_u_rdr v. 'be deaf', *d_u_rdr v. 'be deaf' > Sll {Ds.}, Shl {NZ} d_u_r d_er v. 'be deaf', Izd d_u_r d_er id., ad_u_r d_er 'deaf', ZAS ad_u_r d_er (pl. id_u_r d_urr) id., BSn {Bs.} ad_u_r d_er, Izn {Bs.} ad_u_r d_er, Ntf {La.} ad_u_r d_er, Zmr {La.} *ad_u_r d_er 'deaf' ¶ Ds. 267, Mrc. 240, Loub. 518, La. MChB 147, NZ 482 ¶ In the light of external comparative ev. we may suppose that here the emphatic *d_ is secondary; one of possible explanations may be a *cd* (such as *t_vr-du-r > *d_er-du-r or *d_vr-t_u-r > *d_er-d_u-r) in the pre-history of B, whence, due to *as*, two variants (*d_u_r d_er and *d_er d_u-r) || C: Bj 'dundur 'deaf and dumb' (acc. to IS, from *dum 'silent' + dur 'deaf') ¶ R WBd 68; IS I 223 equated it with Bln {R} dira- 'deaf' (R WB 110) [untenable because the Bln pl. form did and the cognate words in Q/Xm (de'da-) suggest that here Bln -r- goes back to a dental stop] || Ch: Hs du'ru'ma- 'a deaf and dumb person' (and du'ru'ma- 'a blind person') ¶ Abr. H 238, Ba. 284 II ? K: Lz: Ar durani, X dura, A t_ura 'deaf' (Lz A t_- < *d is a typical dialectal change within Lz) ¶ Zhgh. ChT 140 ◆ IS I 223-4. IS suggested to adduce here M *dulei 'deaf' [hardly tenable (≠)].

559. ??2 *du-rV or *dUrE 'intestines, heart' > HS ≈ *dur- > C: SC: Irq {E} durumi 'first stomach', Brn {E} durumiya 'large intestines' || DhI {To.} du'-ra 'bowels', {E} d_u'-ra 'intestines' ¶ E SC 167, To. D 132 || Ch: WCh: Ang {ChL} dur 'heart' || ECh: Ll {WeibP} du're- ~ du'ro- 'milieu, centre' ¶ ChL, WeibP 18 || B: Izd {Mrc.} ta-duwwar-t (pl. ti-dur-in) 'tripe' ¶ Mrc. 404 || ? Eg LL idr 'heart' (× N *?u.dV(RV) 'breast') ¶ EG I 155 ¶ Tk. I 241 (C, Ch, Eg) II A *du-rV k'V 'heart' (× N *?3'UrE 'inside of body, heart') > T *ju-r-a-k 'heart' (ffd. see N *?3'UrE) || M *zu-ru'ken (< **diru'ken) 'heart' > MM [HI] [Ms.], [MA] (Pp.) 3'u-ru'ken, [S] {H} 3'u-ru'ge(n) ~ 3'iru'gen, [IM] {Pp.} 3'u-ru'ke, [L] {Pp.} 'okar0vJu 3'u-rke, WrM 3'iru'ken, HIM 3'px(γn), Brt 3'px(γn), Ord {Ms.} 3'_u're'xe, WrO 3u'reke(n), Kl 3'pκH zu'rκan, {Rm.} zu'rkn_, Mnr H {SM} 3'_ierg_e, Mnr H/M {T}, Ba {T} 3'irge, Dg {Pp.} 3'u'rgu, Dx {T} 3'uge, Mgl {Pp.} 3'u'rka, {Rm., Pp.} 3'u'rka ¶ Ms. H 69, Ms. O 225, Pp. MA 211-2, 439, Pp. L II 1273, Pp. SD I 28, Pp. MDG 28, H 91, 95, MED 1062, Krg. 687, KRS 260, SM 87, KW 483-4, Rm. M 42, T 334, T DnJ 120, T BJ 139 || ?σ pJ {S} *d3'k3'si 'spleen' > OJ y_lu_10 k_lu_10'si ¶ S QJ #1668, Mr. 576 ¶ S AJ 282 [#176], DQA #2624 (A *3'u-r(V)k'e 'heart, inner organ'), ≈ ADb. SR 5 (T, M + *unc.* Tg *jurga 'of high moral standards, brave') ◆ If the cns. d- in SC, DhI, B and Ch may have developed from *3-, all the abovementioned words belong to N *?3'UrE, so that this rec. of N *du-rV ~ *dUrE will be null and void.

[† 559a. *d'u'rV 'woods, bush(es)' > HS: C: Ag **du'- 'thicket' [× N *t_u_lw_jr'U' 'to grow densely, sprout forth, become bushy, thrive; thicket, thick bush\grass' (> 'to grow')] > Xm {R} dir 'Gebüsch, Wald; Wüste', Xmt {CR} dur 'woods, forest; edge of a hill', Ag b- Gz du-r 'forest', do-r 'wilderness', Amh dur 'wood, forest', Tgy dur {YGE} id., 'thicket, bush' || EC: Sml {R} dīr f. 'Dickicht, Gebüsch, Dschungel', {ZMO, DSI} du-r 'jungle, woods, forest, wilderness', 'boscaglia, luogo disabitato', ?σ Rn du'-r 'rocky / impassable place; large pile of boulders' || SC: Irq {MQK} darma (pl. dare-mi, dare-mo-) 'wilderness (large and far from habitat)' ¶ R Ch II 40, R SS II 116, L G 141, ZMO 103, DSI 203, PG 105. MQK 28 || Ch: ??φ CCh: FIJ {ChL} d_orn 'bush (woods)' || ??μ ECh: Kbl {Cp.} dr_ 'rosug' id. ¶ ChL, ChC II D *tu-r_ 'bushes' ({GS} *t-?) [× *t_u_lw_jr'U' ¶] > Tm tu-r_u 'bushes, shrubbery, thick underwood, low jungle', Kt tu-r 'bushy bunch of leaves of tree', Td tu-r_ 'branch with leaves; bushes', Knd to-r_u 'thicket, bush' ¶ D #3401 ◆ Blz. 259 [#74] [HS (except for SC), D).]

560. *da'urV 'to stand, stay' > A: T *t'ur- > OT tur-, Tk dur-, Az, Ggz, Tkm, SY dur-, VTt, Bsh top- t_°r-, Qzq t_°p- tu-r-, Qq, Nog, Qrg, ET, Uz, Xk, Yk tur-, Tv t'ur-, Tf d_ur- id., Chv L ta_äp- t_°r-, Chv H t_°r- 'stand up, stand' ¶ Tv t'- points to a pT *t'-, while Tf d_- and d- in the Og lgs point to a lax *t_- ¶ Cl. 529-30, Rs. W 100, Ra. 176, Fed. II 195, S AJ 182-3 [#75], Md. 58, 180 (pT *t'ur-) II HS: WCh *√d_r 'stand, stop (remain standing)' > AG *d_a'r > Su {J} d_a'r 'stehenbleiben, bleiben', Kfr {Nt.} d_a'r v. 'stay, stand', Ang {Flk.} da-r id., Mpn {Frz.} d_a'r 'stand' (living beings, trees), 'stand up' || Ngm d_ire 'stand, stay' [† Fy {J} d_ar 'stand'] || ECh: Mu {J} d_a'r 'rester debout', {Lk.} 'sich hinstellen, stehen', [†, Mjl {DB} d_e'yrū,] Kwn {J} j_e're 'stand' ¶ [† JI II 304-5,] Stl. ZCh 174 [#269], J S 62, Nt. 9, Flk. s.v. da-r, Frz. M 14, ChC [†, Blz. LECh #78] || CS *dawar- 'sojourn, abode, place to stay, dwelling place', S *daw_ajr- 'dwelling place, camp site' and CS *√dwr (*-du-r-) v. 'dwell (wohnen)' (× N *dur'E 'camping-site, abode', q.v. ffd.) II ?φ D: SD *tar- 'stop, stand still' > Tm tari id., 'rest, abide', Kn tarahara n. 'staying, exercise of patience, forbearance', Tu tariyuni 'stay, stop' ¶ D #3094 ◆ Ch *d_- and T *t'- < *d + *?; D *-r- is a reg. reflex of *-clusters (here *-r- > D *-r- ◆ Alternatively, we may reject the S cognate *dawar- and adduce SES *√t_rh > Jb C {Jo.} 'st_rh v. 'stay, stop, cast anchor' (Jo. M 412). In this case we have to reconstruct N *t_vrVXV, but the problem of the vowels (*a in Ch and D, *u in T) will be harder to solve.

[† 560a. ?? *de'g'rV (or *der_wjV?) 'hill, summit' > HS: B *dra_r- (< **d_lu_jraHr-) 'mountain' > Ah a-drar, Shl, Tmz, Shnw a-drar, Kb a-d_rar (pl. i-d_urar), Rf, SrSn, Izn a-d_rar, Nfs drar, Gd adurar 'mountain', Si a-drar id., 'hill' ¶ NZ 371, Fc. 234, PGG 42, Dl. 153, Ren. 308, Lf. II #0305 || ?σ S: [1] SES *√dyr > Jb C 'day_3r 'top, edge, point', Mh d_3y'rayr (pl. d_3yro-r) 'point, summit, peak'] SES *√drw G, Sh 'climb to the mountain top' > Hrs pf. dero- 'get to the top', adro-, Mh h_3dro-, Jb C ed're', Jb E ed're 'climb to the top', Mh s_3dro-, Jb E s_3d're 'get to the top', Jb C s_3d're 'climb up, be ab;e to be

climbed' ¶ Jo J 35, 41, Jo. M 65, 74 || ? EC: Bss {Bnd.} tarra 'mountain' || NrOm: Wl {LmS} deriya_, Zl {C} darya_, {Mrn.} darya, Gf {Ala, Mrn.} dere, Hrr {CR} dare_, Malo/Oyda {Fl.} dere, Cha {C} dera_, Kcm {LmS} dare 'mountain', Gm {LmS} dare 'mountainous country' ¶ LmS 348, C SO 29, 43, C SE III 166, CR H 644, Fl. OWL. AlA ODS 8, Mrn. O 140-111 D: SD: McTm *te-ri > Tm te-ri 'sandhill', Ml te-ri 'hillock' ¶ D #3461 II ?? A: T jar ({Md.} *ja_r) 'steep bank, ravine, cliff' (× N *z'a_ HrrV 'low place, valley', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D *-r- is a reg. reflex of *r-clusters, hence it suggests (together with the B long *a_) the presence of a lr. ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #111a (incl. B, C, Om, T and D), Blz. DA 161 [#90].]

561. ?? *da_ yRV ~ *da_ yRE 'to be(come) stiff/firm' > HS: S *°/dr̥r 'robust, strong' > Ar darir- 'fort, robuste, et aux chaires fermes et compactes' ¶ BK I 682 II U: FP *tarV 'get stiff with cold' (< **da_rX due to the vw. harmony or from the original **dara_) > Er tard e- id., 'be chilled' ¶ Prm {LG} *tur- > Z turav- v. 'get stiff with cold', ? turdi- id., 'be frozen' ¶ UEW 792, LG 287, ≠ Lt. 217 (connects the Prm √ with F turtua v. 'get stiff') II A: M *°dereyi- v. 'become stiff' > WrM derei- id., HIM дүрий-х {MED} id., {Luv.} 'be stiff and stick out' ¶ MED 253, Luv. 170 || ? NaT *°jarp (× N *yolarV(-bA) 'firm, strong, hard' [q.v.]) > OT jarp 'firm, solid' ¶ Cl. 957 II ?? IE: NaIE *dhr̥ i_r- 'firm', {EI} *dher- 'be immobile; support, hold up' (× IE *dher- v. 'hold' < N *dar_ VhV 'to hold, hold fast, fasten') > OI dhirah_ 'firm, steady' || L firmus, EpL fīrmus 'firm' || AS darian 'be motionless, lurk' || Arm dadarem dadarem 'become quiet, stop' || Av da-rayat 'holds fast' ¶ M K II 105, P 253, EI 270, WH I 505-6, ≈ Slt. 373-4 ◇ NaIE *i_ (if it does belong to the NaIE rec.) remains mysterious. It may suggest the presence of a N *y (lost in S, A and FU).

562. *der?i_ 'to thrust back, drive away' > HS: S *°/dr? > Sr √dr? G 'thrust back (so.)', Ar √dr? G 'éloigner, chasser (qn.)', L (pf. da-ra?a) 'repel (so.)', Sq {L} ?edre 'chasser', Ak OB/YB {Sd.} durru_ 'abstoßen (?)' ¶ BK I 685, Hv. 200, L LS 135, Sd. 178, DRS 306 || Eg fP dr, Eg MKL dr ~ d̥r 'entfernen' ¶ EG V 473-4 || NrOm: Kf {C} dar- 'drive away', 'divorce (a wife)' (unless <B- Ar √dhr 'drive away') ¶ C SE IV 433 ¶¶ i_ (↔ C) Af {R} da-ar- 'weschicken, fortschicken', likely to be connected with Af {PH} dafa-r- 'go, leave' (PH 77); neither should we adduce Ar √dhr G 'drive away' and Gz √dhr G 'divorce' ¶¶ OS #660 II IE: NaIE (+ext.) *dhr̥ ei_bh- 'drive away, push', {EI} 'drive' > Gmc: Gt dreiban id., OHG triiban to push, expel', NHG treiben 'to drive, expel', OSx drīvan, AS drīfan id., NE drive || ??σ Lt dre~bti (prs. drebiu_) 'to throw down (a thick liquid)' (unless <d- dri bti 'fall, drop') ¶ P 274, EI 170, Fs. 124-5, Ho. 77, Ho. S 13, OsS 953, Kb. 1032, KM 788, Sw. 44, Frn. 104 II D (in SD) *te-r- ({GS} *d-) 'drive (away)' > Tu de-ru- 'drive, drive away', Kdg do-t- d̥ de-t- d̥ d̥-t- 'drive away (cattle, persons)', Ml te-ruka v. 'attack, pursue' ¶ D #3472 ◇ D *-r- (a reg. reflex of *r-clusters) suggest the presence of a lr.

563. *dur?i_ V 'dirt' > ? HS: S: Ar √drn G (ip. -dran-) v. 'be dirty', darin- 'dirty', ? Tgr {DRS} d̥ere 'éruption cutanée' ¶ BK I 693, DRS 315 || Ch: WCh: ? Jmb adzri 'dirt' || Ech: Kwn {J} do_ru_ wo_ 'dust' (cp. N *t.oxquryV ~ *t.UxqrV 'dirt, be dirty') ¶ ChC, ChL, ≈ Stl. ZCh 253 [#71] II IE: NaIE *dher-(k-), *dheri_ / *dhr̥ ei_ - 'to defecate; faeces' > L foria pl. 'Durchfall (bei Schweinen), dünne Exkrementen', fori- 'cacare' || Gmc.: ON dri'ta, Ic, Far, NNr drita, Dn drite, NLG drīten, AS drītan 'to defecate', OHG triōan 'urinate', NE drite; OHG triō-stuol 'chamber pot, Nachtgeschirr' || Mcd (?) [Hs.] δαρδαί'νει · μολὺ'νει ('he stains, sullies') || Lt der~k-ti (prs. derk-iu_) 'mit Unrat besudlen, den After leeren' || ? Sl driskati (d with *-sk-) ~ *dristati 'to have diarrhea' > SCr, Slv dri'skati, Slv dri'stati, Cz dr'ī'stati, Slk dri'stat', P Δ drzysac', R дриџстат-, Uk дриџстати id., Blg (1s prs.) ђдискам 'have diarrhea' ¶ P 251, 256, WH I 527-8, Vr. 84, Ho. 78, Kb. 1035, ESSJ V 116 II ? D {tr, °GS} *tur- > Tm turu 'rust, verdigris, flaw, turicu 'blue vitriol', Ml turis'u id., turumpu, turuvu 'rust', Tl t(r)uppu 'rust' ¶¶ D #3343 ◇ The D cognate suggests a *r-cluster (*r + lr.?). The only lrs. liable to be lost in S are *? and *h (*h = *? of our notation) ◇ BmK 266-7 (S, IE, D) ◇ Cf. N *t.UryV 'litter, dirt, dust' (q.v.).

¶ 563a. 2 *dArOV 'ashes' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} *darf- id. > Or da-r-a_, Kns {Ss.} tar-a, Gato {Fl.} tara, Gdl {Ss.} ter?-ata ({Bl.} terd_-ata), Brj da-r-a, Gwd, Hr, Gln tarf-o || SC: Irq {MQK} da'fara, {Wh.} da'fa'ri to^?o (pl. da'fa'ra) id. ¶ Ss. PEC 16, Ss. EDB 51, AD SF 205, Bl. 207, MQK 24 || Ch: WCh: Dr {J} dud_a_ 'ashes' (unless from N *t.ut.V 'ashes' or 'smoke') || ? Ech: Kwn {Mch., J} da'rwə_ id. (unless from *°/dbr, cf. Tmk d̥ə b̥ə r, Smr, Nd d̥əbrin' id.) ¶ JI II 4-5 || ??σ S: Ar dufr-, dufr-at- 'pourriture (du bois)' ¶ BK I 700 ¶¶ HSVA #314 (EC, Ar √dfr 'to smoke/steam/rot') II D (in GnD) *°taramp- ({GS} *d-) 'ashes' > Ku darmbu d̥ darmbu ~d̥armbu 'ashes', Mnd nīy-darmbu id. (nīy- < D nīr_- id.), Png (<d- Mnd?) darmu id. ¶ D #3092 ◇ This etl. connection was discovered by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #4e); cf. also Blz. LNA #9]

564. *dar_ VhV 'to hold, hold fast, fasten' > IE: NaIE *dher(ə)- v. 'hold, hold fast, keep' ('halten, festhalten, stützen'), {EI} 'hold up' (× N *da_ yRV ~ *da_ yRE 'to be(come) stiff/firm') > OI dha-rayati 'holds, bears, preserves, keeps' (pfc. da'dhara, pp. dhr_ 'tah.), Av vī-ḍa-rayehti 'supports' (pp. d̥er.ta-), OPrs da-rayā-miy 'ich halte in Besitz', Sgd ḍṛ 'hold', Oss darən v. 'have (domestic animals); support (a family); wear', OI dha-run_a 'haltend, stützend', dhar'tar ~ dharitar 'Halte', dhar'tra- 'Halt, Stütze', Av darəpra- 'das Festhalten, Begreifen' || Gk ῥα'ομαι 'be seated' (< 'to be supported'), ῥα'voḥ 'bench, form' ({F} 'Tragbalken, Bank, Schemel'), Gk I ῥη'σασται 'to sit down' ({F}: < ≈ sich aufstützen, aufstemmen'), Gk ῥο'voḥ 'a seat, chair', ῥη'voḥ 'footstool' || L fre-tus 'relying on', Um FRITE (abl. or loc.) 'fretu, fiducia', ?σ L firmus (~ EpL fīrmus) 'firm,

strong' || Lt *dere'ti* ? *deru* v. 'be fit, suited', caus. *dary'ti* 'to do, make, prepare' (← 'make fit'), Ltv *dari-t* id. ¶ P 252-4 (adduces here Ht *tarh-* v. 'win', better explainable as belonging together with NaIE **terə-* v. 'win', ≠ ABIv II 155-60), OsR 183, EI 270, M K II 100, Mn. 185-6, 198, F I 678-9, 686-7, WH I 505-6, Bc. G 336, Frn. 83 II U: FU **tarttV-* v. 'hold, seize' > F *tarttu-*, Vo *tarttu-* v. 'grasp, grip, seize' || OHg *≥xlll tart-* 'hold, keep', Hg *tart-* v. 'hold' ¶ ≈ UEW 511-2 (**tarttV-* 'steckenbleiben, klebenbleiben'), SK 1240, MF 616, EWU 1487 ¶ Cf. FU **°tarka-* > Er 'targa-(ms) 'take out, draw out' < N **t.aRV*, -*HVgV* 'to drag, pull' II D **tar-* ({*GD*} **t-*) v. 'fasten, stick' (× N **dar'E* 'to have a suitable size') > Tm *tar_u* v. 'wear tightly as a cloth, fasten', Ml *tar_ayuka* v. 'be fixed', *ta_r_u* 'wearing clothes tucked in', Td *tar_u-* v. 'get stuck (in mud)', Tu *tarapuni*, *tarpuni* v. 'rivet, fasten firmly', Tm *tar_upu* v. 'join together, amass (wealth)', Ku *dari* 'next' (adv.) ¶¶ D #3142 II ?? HS: C: SC ({*E*} **dar-* v. 'handle, make with the hands'): ? Kz *dal-* v. 'make, do, prepare', SC -b> Mb -*da'ra* v. 'grip, hold' || DhI *dar-* v. 'put (a lot of things)' ¶ E SC 166 ♦ The Ir. **iH₁* is evidenced by the IE vw. **ə* (preserved in L *e*⁻). D **-r-* < (*reg.*) N intervoc. **-r-*, suggesting the presence of a vw. between **r* and **H* ♦ ≠ BmK 307 (D, SC + *i* ÷ IE **dergh-* > Gk *δρα'σσομαι* v. 'grasp, clutch').

565. **dur₁Vh₁V* 'to deceive' > HS: CS **dr?* > Ar *√dr?* G (n. act. *duru-?*) 'sortir soudain et fondre sur quelqu'un' (se dit, e. g., d'une troupe qui attaque l'ennemi à l'improviste), Sb *√dr?* v. 'make a sudden assault on'; S **°√drh* > Ar *√drh* G 'survenir à l'improviste, tomber sur quelqu'un' ¶ BK I 683, 693, BGMR 36, DRS 306, 312 ¶ In the variant *√dr?* the cns. ? < **h* (a rather typical case of weakening) || EC: Sa {*R*} *di'ra-b* 'a lie, libel, calumny', *dira-b-it-* v. 'lie', Af {*PH*} *dirab* / pred. *dira-b-a* 'falsehood, lie' ¶ PH 85, R S II 112-3 II IE **d^hwer(H)-* > NaIE **d^hwer(ə)-* v. 'deceive, seduce' ({*P*} 'durch Täuschung, Hinterlist zu Fall bringen'), (+ext.) {*P*, EI} **d^hreu_g^h-* 'deceive' > Vd 'd^hru-ti-h' 'misleading, seduction', Av *druz'aiti* 'stiftet Unheil, betrügt', OPrs *aduruj'īya* ipf. 'he told lies' || L *fraus*, -dis 'deceit, deception, fraud', *fru-stra* 'in error', *fru-stro*, *fru-stor* v. 'disappoint, deceive, trick' || OHG *triogan*, NHG *tru''gen*, *betru''gen*, OSx *driogan*, *bidriogan* 'to deceive' ¶ P 276-7, EI 154, WH I 543-4, M K II 118-9, OsS 957, Kb. 1034-5, Ho. S 13, KM 784 II U: ?? Sm: Slq: Ke/Ch/UO/B {*Cs.*} *tuernaŋ* v. 'steal', Tz {*HL*} *t3r-it-qo* id., Tz B {*Cs.*} *tuerennaŋ* id. ¶ Cs. 150, 284, Hl. (p.c., 1976) II D **tu-r-* ({*GS*} **d-*) v. 'slander, blame' > Tm *tu-r_u* v. 'traduce, slander; calumny, slander', Ml *du-r_u* v. 'blame, slander', *tu-r_r_uka* v. 'abuse, blame', Kn *du-r_u* v. 'bear tales, report evil of others, blame', Kdg *du-ri* 'information laid against so.', Tu *du-ru* 'aspersion, blame, reproach', *du-runi* v. 'accuse, complain, blame', Tl *du-r_u* v. 'reproach, blame, censure', Kui *doh-pa* v. 'mention a name of so., cite, accuse, blame' ¶¶ D #3397, ≠ Km. 403-4 [#670] (reconstructs pSD **tu-r_- / -r_r_-*, 'ultimately to' **tu- + *-r_-*).

¶ 565a. ??₂ **darHV* or **daHrV* 'path, way' > HS: EC: Ya {*Hn.*} *da-r* 'path, road', ? Sa {*R*} *do-r-* 'follow' ¶ Hn. Y II 131-2, R S II 111 || WCh: Ywm *der* 'road' : Krkr *ndaru*, Mh *d,ore*, Grm {*ChC*, *ChL*} *nda'ru'* id. : My {*Sk.*} *de'ra'hi'*, P' {*MSk.*} *da'ri'*, Mbr {*Sk.*} *de'ri'*, Kry {*Sk.*} *derahi*, Jmb {*Sk.*} *da'ru'* 'road, path, way' || ECh: Jg {*J*} *de'ri'p* 'road' (× N **derubV* 'way, path') ¶ Stl. ZCh. 172 [#248], Sk. NB 37, ChC, ChL ¶¶ OS #657 (HS **dar-* 'road'; incl. WCh and Ya) II D **ta-ri* ({*GS*} **d-*) 'way, path' > Tm *ta-ri*, Kn, Tu, Tl *da-ri* 'way, road, path', Kt *a-da-ry* 'road, path' ¶¶ D #3170 ♦ Blz. DA 163 [#105]).]

¶ 565b. ??₂ **derubV* (or **der?ubV?*) 'way, path' > HS: WS **darb-* > Sr *dar'b-a-* 'road', Ar *darb-* {*BK*} 'rue; chemin, route; défilé dans les montagnes', {*Ln.*} 'narrow pass', Jb C {*Jo.*} *derb* 'village street' ¶ DRS 307, BK I 684, Ln. 866-7, Jo. J 40 || ?? ECh: Jg {*J*} *de'ri'p* 'road' (× N **darHV* or **daHrV* id.) II D **teruv-* 'road' > Tm *teru*, *teruvam*, *teruvu* 'street, highway, public road', Ml *teru* 'street', Kt *tervi* 'neighbourhood', Bel *teru* 'way', Tl *teruvu* 'way, road, path' ¶¶ D #3422 ♦ D **-r-* (regularly from **r*-clusters) suggests the presence of an additional cns. that was later lost in S (most probably, a "weak" Ir. **? or *h*).]

566. **daRugV* 'to tremble, shake' > ? HS: S: amb Ar *ÔriÆda da-rig'* - 'tremblant' (se dit du timbre de la voix du chanteur)', unless ← Ar *Ôrd* *√drg'* G 'walk' ¶ BK I 685 II IE: NaIE **d^hreu_g^h-* v. 'tremble, shake' > Lt *drugy's* 'fever; butterfly', Ltv *drudzis* 'cold fever; fever' : Sl **dr̥g-a-ti* (se.), {*SPS*} **dr̥gati* 'to tremble' > Slv *dr̥gati*, P *drgac'* 'to tremble', *drygac'* 'to hop, skip', Slk, Cz *Δ drgati* 'to shake', OR, RChS rf. *дрѣгати се* *drigati se* 'to tremble', R 'дрыгати' 'to shake'; Sl **dr̥g-no₂-ti* 'to tremble' (mom.) > OR *drygnuti*, R 'дрогнут', P *drgna₂c'*; Sl **dr̥z'a-ti* 'to tremble' > OCz *drz'e'ti*, *dr'ez'eti*, P *drz'ec'*, OR *droz'ati*, R 'дрожа₂т', Uk *дрижати* || ? Gk [Hs.] *τοῖσιν ὀρυσσεῖν* · *σειεῖν* vi. 'to shake', ?φ Gk *ταῦν ἄρυσζω* id. ¶ P 275, F I 852, Frn. 105, ESSJ V 137-8, 144, Vs. I 540-1, SPS V 43-5 II U: FU **tar(k)V-* v. 'tremble' > [1] FP **tarV* (< ***tarVxV?*) > Z *tarz'i-* v. 'tremble' : Er *tapno-* *tarno-* id., 'quake', Mk *tapo-* *tarə-* id., vi. 'swing'] [2] FU **tarkV* > Z *tark3d-* 'knock', vt. 'shake' || pObU **ta-rəx-* v. 'tremble' > pVg **ta-rəx-* > Vg: UL *to-rəx-*, Ss *tə-rəx-* id.; pOs **tarəx-* > Os: Vy *ta-rəx-*, Ty *ta-rəx-*, K *torəx-*, Nz *təri-y-*, Kz *təri-*, O *ta-ri-* id. ¶ LG 278, Ht. 189 [#647] II A **dargi-* ~ **dorgi-* v. 'tremble, shake' > M **°dorgi-* > WrM *dorgi-*, HIM *дорги-* id., 'vibrate' ¶ MED 262 || Tg **dargi_a-* v. 'shake' > Nn *darg'an* ~ *dargian* 'raise one's hand against so.', WrMc {*Z*, *Hr.*} *dargi-* 'tremble', *dargiya-* {*Z*} 'threaten by shaking one's feast, brandish a sword', {*Hr.*} 'ausholen (mir Faust, Schwert, Stock usw.); ? Tg **dergi-* v. 'tremble' > Ul *d3r3'i-*, Nn *d3rgi-* ~ *3'3rgi-*

id., Ewk d3rgi- 'quiver (вздрыгнул-), shake one's head' ¶ STM I 200, 237, Z 795-6, Hr. 181, Vas. 137 || ?ϕ pJ {S} *du'r- 'shake, sway' > OJ jur-, J: T yu'r-, K/Kg yu'r- ¶ S QJ #826, Mr. 788 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #374 [A *de'ru 'shake, sway' > Tg *der(gi)-, J].

567. ??? *d'o'R_L VgK.V 'sediment (in food), refuse' > IE: NaIE *d^herəg^h- 'sediment, residue', {EI} *d^hrog^h- 'dregs' > L frace's 'dregs of oil, olive-cake' (WH: < *d^hrək-s <d- *d^here^h- [= *d^hre^h-/*d^herəg^h-]) || Lt Δ drage's 'sediment of fat from cooked smelt fish', {F} 'was sich beim Kochen des Stints zwecks Trankgewinnung am Boden absetzt', 'yeast', Pru dragios 'yeast', Ltv Δ dradz'i (←b- Cur) 'sediment in melted butter' || SI {ESSJ} *droz'dz'-a, -i. *-ъje > OCS дръжидъ droz'dije f. pl. 'leaven, yeast', Blg † 'дрожиде id., SCr dro'z'da 'residue, husks', Slv droz'je, P droz'dz'e, OR дръжид droz'di, R 'дрожжи 'yeast' || Gmc {Vr.} *dragjo- > ON dregg 'yeast' [→ ME dreg(ge) > NE dregs], Sw dra'gg 'yeast', d *drahsta > AS dræst, dærst(e) 'leaven', pl. 'dregs, lees' (> NE drast), OHG trestir pl. 'husks', NHG Trester pl. 'residue of brewery and grape-pressing' || pAl {O} *draga- > Al G dra^h-, -ni, StAl T dra-, -u 'waste residue left from melting butter; dregs, lees, sediment' ¶ P 251, EI 170, WH I 539, EM 251, Vr. 82, Hlq. 157-8, Sw. 40, Ho. 69, Kb. 1031, OsS 953, KM 789, Frn. 100, En. 162, Tp. P A-D 363-5, ESSJ V 128-9, Kf. 85, FGjSSh 365, AIED 179, O 71 || K: G durdo 'sediment in wine' (as from *durgV?) ¶ Chx. 325 || ? A: M: WrM žirig 'litter of grass/leaves under an animal being flayed' ¶ MED 1080 || ?? T amb *jogurt (mt) > OT {DTS} [MhK] joyurt ~ OT [QB], BdUig joyrut, OT {Cl.} juyrut 'coagulated curded milk', Tk yog'urt, Tkm, Osm joyurt, SY joyurt ~ juyrut, Az joğurđ, Qmq juwurt, Nog juwirt, QrB ž'uwurt, Qrg ž'u'rat, Sg {Rl.} c'o'rt, Yk su'orat id. ¶ Belongs here unless it is from A *zu'k'o 'rotten, turbid' < N *z'u.qU 'to putrefy, turn sour' [q.v.] or derived from T *juyrur- v. 'knead (dough, etc.)' ¶ DTS 270, Cl. 905-6 (derives juyrut from juyrur- v. 'knead [dough]' - hardly convincing), ET J 207-8, Rl. III 542, 2020.

568. *dæR'h'Vkv (~ *dæR'h'Vga) 'to walk, run; road' > HS: S: [1] S *√drg > Ar Ôrd √drg' G 'walk', Ak √drg G 'schreiten', daraggu 'path' || [2] CS *√drk v. 'walk, tread' (× N *d'o'r'VjkV 'tread, trample', q.v.) > BHb Krd √drk G (ip. -d_rok_) v. 'tread, press (out juice by stamping)', Ph/IA {HJ} √drk G 'go (to), enter', Ug {OLS} √drk G 'pisar, hollar (?)', Ar √drk v. 'follow, pursue'; Cn *dar'Vjk- 'road, way' > BHb K6r3D3 'derek_ id., Ug {OLS} drk 'traficante (¿)'; ? (× S *√drk. > Ar √drq G 'walk hastily') Ug {A} √drk, 'herankommen', Ug (AkSc) dark_u 'path' and {Grd.} tdrk, 'tread, gait' ¶ KB 221-2, KBR 281, HJ 261, BK I 685-6, Hnr. 119-120, A #794, OLS 137, Grd. UT #708, DRS 308-9, 313-4 || ?? WCh: Kry {Sk.} de'ra hi', My {Sk.} da'rhí 'road' ¶ ChC, ChL || IE: [1] {EI} *d^hreg^h- 'run' > Lt {Fm.} dro'z'-ti 'ziehen, gehen', de'rz'-ti 'mit großen Schritten gehen', Lt pa-dro'z'-ti 'go/run away, scamper away', Ltv dra'z-t 'rush, speed', {Fm.} 'sich schnell wohin begeben, laufen' || Gk τρε'χω 'run' (× IE *treg^h- 'run') || [2] NaIE *o'd^horəg^h- > pSl *do'rga 'road, way' > OR дорора 'way', R до'pora, OCz, Cz, Slk dra'ha, P, Lls droga id., OSCr dra'ga id., 'narrow gulf, ravine' || [3] ?σ NaIE *d^hrog^ho-, {EI} *d^hro'g^ho-s 'wheel' (× N *doRk.E 'to bend, turn, wrap', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 273, EI 640, EI 491 (on IE *d^hreg^h- and *treg^h-), Bc. #10.76, Fm. 106, F II 927-9, Thr. § 220, Slr. 301, ESSJ V 74-5, Bern. I 212, DbZN OSA 10-42 (on the acute intonation and the 1st accentual paradigm in pSl and their IE origin), SPS IV 113-5 (*dro'ga 'wyz.-obienie, wg-eubienie; bruzda wymyta przez wodę, wydeptana przez bydło, ludzi lun jez;dz;co;w', 'semita, callis', 'via, iter') ¶ Sl *do'rga has no plausible direct cognates within the IE family. ESSJ V is right in rejecting all earlier etl. hypotheses, but its own et. [repeated in EI 471] (←d- Sl *d̥rga- 'to jerk, pull, pull out, pinch' through the meaning of *do'rga as 'a cleared one, расчи́щенный') is unc. || A: M *derkEre- '∈ run quickly' > WrM derkire- v. 'run, race', Kl derkr_-xə- derkl_-xə 'schnell, im Fluge) rennen od. fließen, um die Wette rennen', Ord d_er"xere- 'aller l'amble ou d'un pas rapide' (of donkeys and mules) ¶ MED 253, KW 89, Ms. O 141 || ? pKo {S} *tA'rzi' > MKo tA'rzi' {S} 'ride quickly', NKo talli {MLC} v. 'run (canter, gallop)' (of a horse), 'run, rush, hurry' [unless an iter. from *tAd- 'run'] (< the A √ in question × pA {DQA} *t'i_or(g)i- 'quick, swift', ≠ DQA #2394 and N *t.Er'gE 'run') ¶ S QK #511, Nam 141, MLC 405 ¶ Cp. also D *teruv- 'road' (D #3422), but on the ev. of its *-v- it is more likely to be akin to Ar darb- (see N *derubV or *der?ubV 'way, path')).

569. *doRk.E 'to bend, turn, wrap' > K: pGZ {K} *drek-/drik-/derk.- v. 'bend, bow' > OG drek-/drik-/derk.-, G drek-/drik.- v. 'bend, curve', Mg dirak-/dirik-/dirk.- 'bend, stoop', Lz drak-/drik-/druk.- 'bend' ¶¶ K 74-5, Chik. 270, ≈ K² 42 (*dr-ek-/dr-ik-/dr-k.-) || IE: NaIE *d^herg^h-/*d^horg^h-/*d^hr_g^h-/*d^hreg^h-/*d^hrog^h- v. 'turn' > ?σ NPrs {Sg.} zřda da'rz 'seam, suture', %ozarda da'rze 'a rent in a garment which has been seen' || Arm da@nam dar_nam (< *dar3nam) (aor. dar3aj dar3ay) vi. 'turn, turn about, return' || pAl {O} *dre3a > Al dredh (aor. drodha) v. 'twist, spin, curl' || ? NaIE *d^hrog^ho- 'wheel' (× N *dæR'h'Vkv ~ *dæR'h'Vga 'to walk, run; road') > Gk τροχο'ϑ 'wheel' (× ←d- τρε'χω 'run' < IE *treg^h- id.?) || OIr droch 'wheel' || Arm durgn durgn 'potter's wheel' ¶ P 258, 273, Sg. 511-2, Horn 122, Thr. § 220, AIED 179-80, O 73, Slr. 301 || HS: S *√drk ~ ? *√drg v. 'roll, wrap' > Ak OA √drk v. G 'pack (cloth)', Ar Ôrd √drg' G v. 'roll' ('rouler/ployer [étouffe, papier]'), Sh (pf. ?adrag'a) 'rouler, ployer', durg'- rouleau de papier, pli', Tgr √drgg (pf. dergege) v. 'make roll down, roll away', ?? Jb C 3'durg v. 'wrap in a white cloth, enshroud' (× d from a noun for 'white cloth', cp. Mh darg 'white cloth') ¶ BK I 685-6, Sd. 163, Jo. J 40, Jo. M 73, LH 523, DRS 309, 314 || A: NaT *jo'rga- v. 'wrap' > OT jo'rga- v. 'wrap up, swaddle', Tki jo'rga-, Ln jo'jgo-, Tv c'o'rx'e-, Yk so'ro- v. 'wrap', ET jo'rgo- ~ jo'go- id., Δ ju'rge- id., v. 'pack, roll, wind (a string/rope)' ¶ Cl. 965-6, DTS 276, ET J 234-5, Jr. 162, Rl. III 449 ◆ IE *g^h for the expected *k^h is due to the known IE

incompatibility law; S *k is a case of reg. de-emphatization, while *g in Ar and Tgr may be due to some sort of as ; another possibility is that the Ar verbs are *d* from *durg*-, and the latter is akin to Mh *darg* 'white cloth' and does not belong to the $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ in question $\diamond \neq$ BmK 272-3 (**dar*/**dər*- v. 'bend/twist/turn' reconstructed by "kernel comparison" between IE, K and S [**√drg* v. 'wrap'] with arbitrary truncating the third cns. and with untenable adduction of IE *d^hreg^h*- v. 'run' and S **√drg* v. 'go', that belong to a different $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ - $\neq$ N ***dæR'h'Vkv** '↑').

570. ***dur'E** 'camping-site, abode' > HS: S (× N ***daʔurV** 'to stand, stay'): S **daw₁a₁r-* id. > BHb *r&D do-r* 'tent-camp, dwelling-place', Md *daura* 'home, abode, dwelling', Ak *du-ru* 'Stadtmauer, settlement', Ug {A} *dr* 'house, dynasty' (but {OLS} *dr* 'círculo, agrupación, cabildo' does not belong here, but is connected with **dawr-* 'circle' of different origin); CS **da'war-* 'sojourn, abode, place to stay, dwelling place' > Ar *r'da da-r-* 'Haus mit Hof', {BK} 'demeure, séjour; habitation, lieu habité où il'y a plusieurs maisons ou tentes', Sr æðo@ð *da-r-t-a-* 'domus, domicilium'; CS **√dwr* (**-du-r-*) v. 'dwell (wohnen)' > BHb, JA [Trg.], JEA, SmA, Sr, Amr *√dwr* G id. ¶ KB 208-9, KBR 217, A #785, Js. 288, Sl. 321, DM 99, BK I 748, Hff. 183, G A 18, Br. 147, DM 99, DRS 239-41 || B {Pr.} **(-)ddVr-* (< {Pr.} **√y|w¹dr*) v. 'live' (←**√dwell*?) > Kb *əd_d_ər*, Mz, Izn, SrSn, Rf, Shw {NZ}, Gh, Ah, Ty, ETwl *əddər*, Gd {Lf.} *əddər* (pf. *iddər*), Tmz {MT} *ddər* (pf. *idir*), Izd {Mrc.} *ddər* (pf. *iddər*), Sll {Ds.} *əddər* (pf. *iddər*), Si *əddər* (pf. *iddər*) 'vivre'; B **tadda-rt* (< {Pr.} **ta-ry|w¹da-r-tV₁t*) 'house, abode' > Gd {Lf.}, Wrg {Dlh.}, Tmz {MT} *taddart* 'maison, demeure', Mz {Dlh.}, Nf {La.} *taddart*, Izd {Mrc.} *taddart* (pl. *taddərwin, tiydrin*), Izn {Rn.} *t_idda-rt*, Rf Wr {Rn.} *t__adda-rt* 'maison', Kb {Dl.} *t__ad_d_art* 'village' ¶ Fc. 226, Lf. I 243 & II ##0298, 0302, Dl. 151-2, Dl. VK #456, Dlh. M 31, Dlh. Ou 56, MT 70-1, GhA 25, Mrc. 160, 264, Ds. B 295-6, La. S 256, 312, Nh. 215, NZ 368-71 || ECh: Mkl {J} *da rma* 'case au mur en terre cuite et toit de paille', EDng {Fd.} *da-rne* 'village', ???ϕ Kwn M {J} *tə-r* 'house', ? *ti-r* 'village' ¶ ChC, JI II 203, J LM 79, Fd. 183 || IE: NaIE **d^hwor-/*d^hur-* 'courtyard, abode', {EI} **d^hworo-m* 'enclosure, courtard' > OI *duro-n.a-m* 'dwelling, home', Av acc. sg. *dvarəm*, loc. *dvarə* 'courtyard' (while acc. *dvarəm* 'gate' belongs to IE **d^hwe(:)r-* 'door' < N ***durV** 'hole, hollow', q.v.) || L *forum* 'market place, open square', Um **FURO** *furu* id. || Lt *dva-ras* 'estate, landed property, manor' || pSl **dvo-rə* / gen. **dvo-ra* (accentual paradigm B) 'courtyard, large house with courtyard, farmstead (**ycad-ба**)' > OCS *dvorъ* 'aula, оѣкоѡ, domus', 'courtyard', OR **дворъ** *dvorъ* 'dwelling, house, farmstead, courtyard', Blg **двор**, Slv *dvo-r*, Cz *dvu-r*, Slk *dvor*, HLs, LLs *dwo-r* 'courtyard', SCr *dvo_r* id., 'palace, house', P *dwo-r*, R **двор**, Uk **двiр** 'courtyard, farmstead (**ycad-ба**)', Plb *do-r* 'farmstead' ¶ M K II 51, WH I 537-8, Bc. G 336, ≈ Frn. 112-3, ESSJ V 169-70, DbZN OSAS I 185-9, SPS V 130-4, Glh. 214-5, ≠ P 278, ≈ EI 168-9 (**d^hworo-m* < **d^hwo-r* 'door, gate') ¶¶ The connection of IE **d^hwor-/*d^hur-* 'courtyard' with IE **d^hwe(:)r-* 'door' ('courtyard' interpreted as 'a place before the doors') < N ***dURV** 'log, stick' × N ***durV** 'hole, hollow' is secondary (popular et.) || A: T **ju-r-t* 'camping-site, dwelling place, abode' > OT *jurt* id., MQp [CC], OOSm ≥xiv *jurt* 'dwelling place', Chg *jurt* 'residence, mansion', MQp XIII *jurt* 'stopping place, inn', Tkm *ju-rt*, Tk *yurt* 'house, homeland, country', Az *jurt* 'house, tent', Xlj *ju-rt* 'dwelling place', Nog *jurt* 'homeland', Uz *jurt*, Alt *z'urt* id., 'country', Qq *z'urt*, Qrg *z'urt* id., 'abandoned camping-side', Qzq *z'urt*, Tv *c'u-rt*, Tf *c'u-rt* 'camping-site', Az *jurt* 'dwelling place, tent, house', Qmq *jurt* 'home, village', VTt, Bsh *j-r* 'house', Yk *su-rt* 'camping-site, (land for) pasture', Chv L *s'urt* 'house' ¶ Cl. 958, Rs. W 211, ET J 254-5, TL 490-1, DT 230, Jeg. 221, Fed. II 144-5, Md. 68, Bich. 52 (on the origin of *u* in Tv *c'u-rt*), Ra.19, RI. III 548-51 ¶ **-rt-* < **-r't-* acc. to a law discovered by Helimski (Hl. TRN 71): pre-T **r* > T **r* in precons. position || D **tor*(-) ({GS} **t-*) 'cattle-stall, stable, pen for cattle' (× N ***t.ur'i** 'to turn round, surround, enclose', q.v. ffd.).

571. ***dur'VlgqV₁** 'lamb, kid (of a wild ram, etc.)' > HS **d'u₁r₁V₁χ₁-* 'ram, sheep' ({Blz.} **duri* 'ram') > Om {Blz.} **dur-* 'sheep, ram' > NrOm: Wl {Beke} *du-rsa*, Wl/Zl/Gf/Cha {C} *dorsa-*, Bdt/Zs {C} *doro-*, Oyda {Fl.} *duro*, *dorsa*, Zs {Fl.} *doro*, Bsk {Fl.} *do-ri* 'sheep', She {C} *dor* 'ram' || Som: Ari {Bnd.} *derti* 'sheep', Dm {Bnd.} *de-r* 'goat' ¶ C SO 29, 67, C SE III 166, Blz. OL #153, Bnd. AL 151, 158, Fl. AGC 681 || ?? C: Bj {R} 'dirfin 'lamb' b> Tgr DRFN *dərfən* 'lamb, ram' ¶ R WBd 70, LH 523-4 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} **dVr-*, **dVr-gas-i* 'ram' > Ron: DfB {J} *~du^h:r*, Bks {J} *?a-~du^h:r* (pl. *~dura'y*), Sha *dur* 'ram' || NrBe: Mbr {Sk.} *darng'a-z'i*, Jmb {Sk.} *ti¹r³~e^h-z'i* 'ram' || CCh: ? Mtk {Sb.} *drə^hk*, {ChL} *d.rək* id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 172 [#251] || S: Ug *drχ* 'mountain goat' ('cabra montés'), ζ Ak {Sd.} *dariu* 'Opferschaf' (not confirmed by CAD) ¶ Sd. 164, OLS 137 || K: G {Fn., Chx.} *dura.q- ~ duray-* 'yearly capricorn' ({Chx.} 'einjähriger Steinbock'), {DCh.} *duray-i* 'junger Steinbock' ¶ Fn. SK 93 [#61], Chx. 325, DCh. 484 || ? D (in SCD) **tu^hr'a* ({GS} **d-*) > Tl *du^h.a* 'calf', Knd *du^h.a* id. (← Tl?), Gnd *d.ud.d.e* 'female young of buffalo' ¶¶ D #3378 $\diamond$ Blz. KM 114-5 [#6] (NOM, Ch, K, D).

572. ***d'o'r'VjkV** 'to tread, trample' > HS: S **√drk* 'tread' (× ***dæR'h'Vkv** - ***dæR'h'Vga** 'to walk, run; road?') > BHb *Krd √drk* G (ip. -*d.rok*.) v. 'tread, press (out juice by stamping)', Ug {OLS} *√drk* G 'pisar, hollar (?)', Ar Mgr {DRS} *√drk* G 'fouler, bourrer', Tgy {DRS} pf. *dərreha* 'oppromer'; ? (× S **√drk* > Ar *√drq* G 'walk hastily') Ug {Grd., Hnr.} *tdrk*, 'tread, gait' ¶ KB 221-2, KBR 281, Hnr. 119-120, OLS 13, Grd. UT #708, DRS 313-4 || K [*mt* and *as* within the cns. cluster ('harmonic complex')]: G *t₁ker-/tkir-* 'trample under foot, trample/tread down' ¶ Chx. 505 || D **tor₁i₁-* ({GS} **t-*) v. 'tread, trample, kick' > Kn *tur₁i₁*, Tl *trokku* v. 'tread, tread on, trample, crush to pieces with the feet', Ml *tor₁ik₁ka* v. 'kick, beat the

breast from grief, Tu torpuni v. 'kick, tread', {MBhK} toripu v. 'kick', Krg tol.i^d tori id., Ku tur'b- v. 'trample, tread out grain' ¶¶ D #3522.

573. *d^hēfs^h 'to track (game), follow the tracks of' > HS: S *^{oi}da^hl^hṽs^h > Ar da^hfs- 'trace, piste; chemin battu', {Fr.} 'vestigium; multum calcata (via)', √d^hfs G 'fouler fortement avec les pieds' ¶ Fr. I 33, BK I 700, ≠ DRS 202 || Ch: WCh: Df {J} d^husa^hy, Btr {J} d^hisa^hy v. 'find' ! Ngz {Sch.} ta^hsa^hu^h (n. act. ta^hs^hi^h) v. 'find, come across, stumble upon' ¶ Sch. DN 158, ChC, J R 214 ¶ Probably d^h- ~ t- < *d^ht- + *ǵ II K *^{oi}ǵ^h > G ǵi- (pres. ǵev-) 'forschen, suchen [nach]' ¶ Chx. 2072 ¶ K *ǵ- < *ds- II ?? A: ?? M *^odes > WrM, HIM des 'following, next, subsequent, second', desle- v. 'be next, follow', unless a loan from Tib de-s 'therefore, ergo, after that' (abl. of Tib de 'that') ¶ MED 254, Kow. 1709-11, Vv. AEN 15 (M <b- Tib) II ?? IE: NaIE *de^hl^hs^h- / (?) *des- 'find, track, trace' > Gk δῆω 'I find, shall find', Gk [Hs.] ἔδῃεν · εἵυρεν (he) found' || pAl ? *en-das-sya, {O} *en-da-sya > Al ndesh v. 'encounter' || Sl *desiti 'to meet, find' (× IE *dek^h- 'find, get' < N *t^he^hK.E 'to take, carry'?) > OCS десити desiti / prs. деша des^o v. 'εὐρίσκειν, invenire; find\meet (so. somewhere)', OR, RChS десити desiti, дѣсити de^hsiti id., RChS досити dositi, оудосити u-dositi 'to find, meet', SCr de^hsiti (prs. 1s de^hsim) id., de^hsiti 'find so. (antreffen), meet', desiti se 'happen, occur' ¶ The IE √ may be either *de^hl^hs^h- or *de^hl^h-, because both the Gk and the Al form may be interpreted in both ways, while Sl *des- may well go back to *dek^h- ¶ WP I 783, 814, P 217, F I 383, Ch. I 275, ALED 554, O 284, ≈ ESSJ IV 217-8, Glh. 192, Drd. 75, SPS III 74-6 ¶ If the NaIE √ was *de^h-, it may go back to IE *deH- < *deHH- < **deOzz^h > N *dēOs^h (as *-Os^h- > *-Oz^h-) ◇ If the IE cognate is legitimate, it points to a N *t-. In this case the S initial cns. *d- may be explained by as *-t^h- > *-d^h- [in the primary stem *(yi)t^has^h > *(yi)d^has^h], most probably at the time when the lr. was still uvular (i.e. *-t^h- > *-d^h-) ◇ AD NM #32, ≠ S CNM 13 (does not accept the G cognates; suggests that M *des- may go back to to *di-se with *di- like in *zirin 'two'; suggests to derive Ar √d^hfs from HS *di^hfas- 'to walk'; hence considers this N comparison "very shaky").

574. *d^hvs^htē 'moon' (→ 'star') > K *d^htus^hte- 'moon' > OG twite, ttue, tue, G tve 'month' (-d→ Sv {Ni., GP} tew 'month'), G mtvare 'moon', Mg tuta-, Lz (m)tuta- 'month, moon', Sv: UB/LB/L dos^hd-ul, Ln dos^ht^h-ul 'moon', UB do^hs^hd-is^h ~ dwes^hdis^h, LB des^hdis^h, L dos^hdis^h, Ln dwes^ht^his^h 'Monday' ('lunae [dies]', lit. 'of the moon') ¶¶ K 75 (*du(s^h)te-), K² 74 (*tute-), Chik. 270, FS K 107 & FS E 113-4 (*dute-), TK 197-8, Ni. s.v. мѣсѣць, GP 96-7, 106, Dn. s.v. dos^hdul and dos^hdis^h II U: FU (att. in FV) *ta^hs^hta^h 'star; sign' > F ta^hhti (gen. ta^hhden) 'star', Es ta^hht 'star, sign' | pLp {Lr.} *ta^hste^h 'star' > Lp: S {Hs.} daastaa, Klt ta^hs^ht^hж, Kld ta^hs^ht^hж T tas^ht^hж id. | pMr {Ker.} *ta^hs^ht^hə > Er teure t^hes^ht^he 'star', Mk т^hure t^ha^hs^ht^hə 'star, sign' | pChr {Ber.} *tis^ht^h 'sign' > Chr H/YU tis^ht^hə, Chr M tis^hte id. ¶ UEW 793, SK 1472-3, It. #272, Lr. #1233, Lgc. #7752b, Hs. 406, Ker. II 167, Ber. 76 [409] ¶ HS: Ch: ECh: Smr {Lk.} disu, Ll {Grgs., WeibP} te^hse^h, Kbl {Cp.} ta^hsa^h, Skr c^hi^hzo^h 'star' || ? WCh: Diri {Sk.} ad^h'su^h id. ¶ ChC, Blz. LECh #79 || ? SC: Alg {Wh., E} tic^ha^hi, Irq/Grw {Wh.} c^ha^hc^he^hfi, Brn {Wh.} c^hic^ha^hiya, {E} c^hic^ha^hʔe 'star' [infl. of SC *√C.ʔ ({E} *t^ha^hʔ-) 'to light'] ¶ Wh. IC 25, MQK 107. ≈ E SC 226-7] ◇ This etl. comparison (together with others) suggests a law: the pre-K clusters *St (= *st, *s^ht, *s^ht) yielded K *s^ht > G, Mg, Lz t, Sv s^hd (cp. also S *s^hi^htaw- 'winter' ÷ K *s^hto^hl^h- v. 'snow' (-d→ *s^htowl^h-snow), S *fas^ha^hrat^h-ten^h ÷ K *as^ht^h-ten^h, etc.).

575. *doTgi^hU 'fish' > IE {EI} *d^hg^hhuH- > NaIE *d^hg^hhu- 'fish' > Gk ι^hχ^hυ^h (< *g^hhd^hu- - mt from *d^hg^hhu-) || Lt z^huvi^hs, Ltv zivs, Δ zuvs, with a *k-sx.: Pru suckis ([Z-]), acc. pl. suckans || Arm 3ukn zukn ¶ Acc. to Me., Lej., Schw. and Ch., the initial ι^h- in ι^hχ^hυ^h is of prothetic origin; acc. to Frisk, Arm -kn is a sx. ¶ WP I 664, P 416-7 (*g^hhd^hu- → *g^hhyu-), EI 205, Ch. 474, F I 745-6, Sl. 317-8, Frn. 1323, En. 258 II HS: CS *dag- or *da^hwag- 'fish' > BHb gD1 'da^hg^h, Ug dg 'fish', MHb -du^hg^h- v. 'fish', BHb gu!D2 dawwa^hg^h-im pl. 'fishers', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ag!ugD5 dæg^hu^hg^ha^h, {Lv.} tigugD6 dæg^hu^hg^hit 'fisher boat' ¶ KB 204-6, KBR 213, 215, A #725, OLS 130, Js. 279, Lv. I 376, Lv. T I 162-3, DRS 217 ¶¶ Cf. {Rö.} Eg XVIII/G 'dw 'e fish' (EG I 237), but in fact < N *Oat.^hu^h 'e fish' [q.v.] II U *totke 'e a cyprinide fish' > Es to^htkes 'tench, Tinca tinca', F totke (in the n. l. Totkija^hrvi) | pMr *tutk^h > Er τυrko tutko, Mk τυrka tutka 'tench' | Chr: KB tat^h, M toto id. || Vg T {Mu.} ta^hxt id., {Kn.} takt-ko^hl id. | Hg tat-hal 'a worthless fish; tench, Tinca vulgaris' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} tuti 'crucian carp, Carassius', Tur {Lh.} tu^hti, Kt {Lh.} tutto, Tm {KD} tuta^h id. ¶ UEW 532, Coll. 63, Coll. CG 409, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *totki, Ugr *ta^htkr^h 'Tinca'), Ker. II 173, ERV 684, KKI 189 II A {SDM95} *do^hg^hki 'fish' > Tg {S} *jog^hgi 'Salmo lenoc' > Nn ǵ^hot, Ud ǵ^hu^hi-so, Neg joyo id., Neg joyolan 'minnow, Phoxinus phoxinus' ¶ STM I 262, Krm. 235, S AJ 218 [174] || M *siga-sun 'fish' > WrM ǵigasun, MM [MA] ñvsu^h9ji ǵi^hyasun, [S, HI] ǵi^h-xa-sun ǵi^hyasun, HIM ǵagas, Kl za^has^hno, Dx ǵayasun, Dg ǵause, ShY ǵayasən, Mnr H {SM} ǵi^ha^hg^has^h ¶ KW 463, MED 1050, Pp. MA 205, 439, H 89, Ms. H 67, SM 78, Mr. D 176, 269, Pot. 419, T 333, T DnJ 119 || pKo {S} thi ({Vv. *cVhi}) 'fish' in fish names: MKo ka^hmo^h-t^hi 'eel', NKO kamul-c^hi id., sam-c^hi 'mackerel' ¶ S QK #1147, Vv. AEN 9 || ?? pJ {S} *id^hi^hwua^h, {Vv.} *id^hiwo 'fish' > OJ iwo, J: T u^ho, Kg i^hwo, Sh i^hyu, Nk ʔyu^h, Ht yu^h, Y i^hyu^h ¶ S AJ 265 [27], S QJ #27, Vv. AEN 9 [suggests the Ko cognate, rejects the J one (because pJ *-w- does not reflect A *-g-), unconvincingly rejects the M reflex] ¶¶ DQA #2611 [A *di^ha^hgi → -i^ho- 'fish'] ◇ IS I 219: S, IE, M (→ BmK 269: S, IE, M), AD SShS 303 (U, S, IE, M), MichMR 11-13 (reject the FU

cognate and reconstruct N *digHU); ƒ AD AltAD #14 ♦ The cluster *-Tg- seems to have been reduced to the reflex of *g in S, A and IE ♦ AD NM #74, S CNM 7 (÷ Yn *tʰʔg 'perch').

576. ***daXwV** (~ ***dawXV?**) 'to press, push' > HS: WS *√dhw id. > BHb √dhwly G (pf. eh1D1 da'ha, ip. eh3d6i% yi-d_ħē-) v. 'push (down)', JEA √dhy ihd G (pf. ah1D6 dā'ha) id., Sr æ'ð √dhwly G, JPA ihd √dhy v. 'repel, push', Ar √dhw G (pf. 'hada daħa') 'pousser violemment en portant à quelqu'un un coup par derrière; jeter, lancer', Hrs √dhw G (pf. deħo-) v. 'press (dates into a bag)' ¶ KB 210, KBR 218, Js. 291-2, Sl. P 142, Br. 148, Fr. II 13, BK I 676-7, Jo. H 34, DRS 244 II IE: NaIE *d^hoaw- v. 'press, oppress' > Av dav- 'drängen' ¶ Gt af-dojan* (att.: nom. pl. pp. af-dauidai 'εσκυλμε'voi, geplagt, angehetzt) ¶ Sl *davi'ti 'to press' > OCS ДАВИТИ davi-ti / prs. ДАВЛѦ davljo, R да'вит- / да'вл-, Uk да'вити, P † dawic', Slk da'vit', SCr, Slv da'viti 'to press, strangle', Cz da'viti id. (da'vi 'he vomits'), Blg †давј v. 'suffocate, oppress' ¶ P 235, EI 150, Brtl. 687, Fs. 4, Vs. I 481, Glh. 190, ESSJ IV 198-9, ≠ EI 150 (OCS davi-ti 'strangle' < IE *d^heu- 'die') II A *dab-- dap- (× N ***daop.yV** ~ ***dao'p.V** 'to push', q.v. ffd.): M: [1] *dabta- v. 'forge, rivet', [2] M *dabi- v. 'spur on a horse'.

577. ***d'æ'wV** **o'gV** 'wolf' or 'jackal' > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} *dawafo 'jackal' (× N ***ʒ'i?VbV** '(young?) wolf' > Sml [DSI]{DSI} dawaŋ 'male jackal', dawafo ~ daŋawo, Sml N da'wwaŋ(-i) 'male jackal', da'wwa'fo (df. dawwaŋa'di) 'female jackal', Rn {Hn.} do'wo'ho, {Oo.} d_o'woho 'jackal', {PG} do'wwo'ho 'black-backed jackal, Canis mesomelas' ¶ Hn. S 56, Abr. S 52, DSI 123, 139, Oo. 68, PG 103 || CCh: Msy {Mch.} mdə'va, 'jackal' ¶ ChC II A: Tg: Ewk Sm dəwəŋə 'wolf' ¶ STM I 228.

578. ***dVwV** **V.yV** 'to be ill/weak, die' > HS: WS *√dwy (*-dway-) v. 'be ill', *da'way- 'sick' > BHb ev#D1 da'-we- 'faint, sick', Ug {A, OLS} dw, Ar ivAda dawa-(n) 'sick', Ug {OLS} √dwy G 'fall ill', JA ivd √dwy G (pf. av!D6 dā'wa-) 'betrübt sein', {Js.} 'mourn', JA [Trg.] {Js.} iv@D6 dā'way, JEA {Sl.} ai!v!D6 dāwa'ya-, Sr E dāwa'ya- 'grief', Sr √dwyw G (pf. Ô,,ið dā'wī - Æ,,o! dā'wa-) 'tristis/miser fuit, afflixt, anxī', Ar √dwy G (pf. dawiya, ip. -dway-), Gz √dwy G (pf. dawaya) v. 'be ill' ¶ KB 207, KBR 216, OLS 138, Lv. I 381, Js. 284, Sl. 317, Br. 143, PS 828-9, Fr. II 74-5, BK I 755-6, MiK I #2.12 || C: EC: [DSn {Fl.} d.ed. 'die', {To.} d.a't 'dead'] ¶ LEC {AD} *du?- v. 'die' > Or {Th.} du-a (nom. du-nni, du-ti) 'death', {Grg.} du?-a, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} du-a v. 'die', du?a 'death', Kns 'to'ta, Gdl 'to?ot 'death' ¶ SC: Kz di?ako 'sick person' ¶ Blz. DL s.v. 'die', To. DL 493, ≈ Bl. 108, 205 (LEC *duf- with unj. *ŋ), Th. 111, Grg. 110, Sr. 289, E K 5 || Ch: CCh {ChL}: HgNk d,3'wa', Kps d,a'wa' 'fever' ¶ Ech: Ke {Eb.} de'we' 'weak' ¶ ChL II 134, 154, Eb. 39 ¶ OS ##666, 684 ¶ In Ch there is an apparently similar √ for v. 'kill' (represented by Su {J} tu', Ang tu', Dr/Bl {IL} du'wī, SBc {Sh.}: Zar K d,u', Zar L d,u', Zar GL d,u', Sy Zk du', Ds D -duyie', Skr {Sx.} de', EDng {Fd.} de', Mgm {J} di'ya'w, Mkl da'ya', Jg {J} di'ya' v. 'kill' and partially adduced by Illich-Svitych [IS I 225], but in view of the cognates with medial -k-, -k^w-, -x^w-, -x- (Krk du'k'a', etc.) it should belong to N ***duk'U** 'strike, beat' (q.v.) II IE *d^heu-, d^hwei-(H)- v. 'die, faint', {EI} *d^heu- 'die' > Gt diwans (< *d^hew-ono-) 'mortal', OHG touwen d tewen, OSx do'ian, ON deyja / do' / da'inn, AS dīez'an v. 'die', NE die; Gt dauþs, ON dauðr, OHG to't, NHG tot, OSx do'd, AS de'ad 'dead', NE dead; Gt dauþus, OSx do'th, OHG to'd, NHG Tod, AS de'að, ON dauð-r 'death', NE death; the meaning 'faint' is represented by ON da- (< Gmc *dawa) 'Ohnmacht' ¶ ʔ Clt: OIr duine 'person' (< *d^hu-n-yo-) (pl. do'ini < *d^hewen-yo-); Brtt {RE} *doni-os 'person' (< *mortal') > W dyn, OCm den, Crn de'n, OBr don ~ den, MBr, Br den id.; OIr di'th 'end, death' (< *d^hwitu-) ¶ Arm di di (gen. dioj dioy) 'corpse' ¶ P 260-1, EI 150, Fs. 118, 122, Vr. 71, 74, 76, Ho. 70, 73, Ho. S 12-3, Kb. 1025, OsS 942, 946-8, KM 780, 784, Slr. 299-300, LP § 22, RE 118, Flr. 149 II U: FP *tVyV 'illness' > Z doy 'pain, bruise, trauma', Z US doy 'wound', Yz doy 'furuncle', Vt dey 'hernia' ¶ Chr L tyño tuyo 'sick' ¶ LG 95, MRS 505 ♦ IS I 224-5 (→ BmK 273).

579. ***dloya** 'place (within, below), inside' (→ locative pc.) > HS: C *da 'place', *-d₁a₁, locative > Ag: Aw {Hz., Plm.} -da 'in' (kani-da' 'on a tree' [direction], bəti'-da 'in his land'), Bln {Hz., Plm., R} -d 'in, to' (loc.-dir. case) (R: 'dərb-i d 'auf dem Wege', ba'a'l-d 'am Festtage', ləbba'ka-d 'in the heart') ¶ EC: Sa {R} -d 'in, into' (loc.-dir. case) ('a're-d 'into/in the house', 'ba-d-ad 'in the sea', 'dik-id 'in the village', san'du'k,-ud 'into the box/chest', Brj -ddi (dawa-ddi 'in the road'), ? Sd {Mrn.} -(t)te 'in' (an'ga-tte 'in the hand[ful]', do'gotte ~ do'go'te 'in the road' [< *-t-de with the feminine ending *-t) ¶ DhI {To.} da-'in, at' ¶ Bj {AD, TB} -da 'towards' (Bj A {AD} ʔv ta'kida 'to a man') ¶ SC: Irq {E} di, Brn {E} da 'place', Alg {E} di 'places' ¶ AD SF 238, R WB 92, R S II 95, Hz. VSSA 75-6, Hz. AL 16-7, Mrn. NLB 357, E SC 191, To. D 152 || B: [1] *d₁V₁ 'in' (preposition) > Ah, Ty, ETwl d 'in' [Ty {PGG} d-əs 'dans lui', Ah {Fc.}: mu'sa i_eqqīm d əsən 'Musa sits in them' (i.e. 'among them'), tallit sət_t_ə'fet u d əs tidawən 'le mois noir non dans lui ils se marient'. i.e. 'people do not marry in the black month', nə'yəq q ewa d insa' 'je l'ai vu au lieu que dans il a été couché', i.e. 'I saw him in a place that he was lying in'], Wrg di- 'in' (e.g., di-s 'en lui'), BMn di, BHlm d_i 'in' (the forms di, d_i may also go back to a compound preposition *dV-y 'in', present as dəy in many B languages); *d 'in' should be distinguished from its homonyms: B *d 'with' (probably of a different origin) and B *d 'here' (pc. of proximity, belonging here only if it goes back to sth. like *da ʔe 'here', lit. 'in this') [2] *d, a directional (en)clitic 'to, towards' (after a verb or a chain of other clitics); in Tmz, Shl, Dmn, ASgr, Kb and many other B lgs. the directional d is opposed to the ablative n 'from' (< N ***nu** 'from, of', q.v.): Kb awi-d_ 'bring' ↔ awi-n 'carry away', Tz idda-d 'to come'

↔ idda-n 'to go away', Ntf əksəm d 'come in' ↔ əksəm n 'come out', Ah aʔns-aʔd 'lie down here' ↔ aʔns-īn 'lie down there'; in some other B lgs (Shw, Shnw, Nf, Awj, etc.) this d is opposed to zero (ablative): Shw awi-dd 'bring' ↔ awi 'carry away', Nf as-d 'to come' ↔ as- 'to leave') ¶ Fc. 140-1, GhA 15, PGG 23, Dlh. Ou 44, Bs. ZOu 85, AiM 226-7, Ai. MCB 117-8, 208 [table 26], Pr. M I-III 208ff., NZ 266-8, ≈ 272 (*dV 'in' < *day 'in'), AD BR § 1 || ? Eg N dy 'hier, da, dort' ¶ EG V 420 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 78 [#4.5] II K: [1] *-da 'towards', directive case ending > OG -da id., 'to X's place, chez' (dir., used with pronouns: s'en c'em-da moxvala 'do you come to me?' [Matth. 3.14], s'en-da 'to[wards] thee', mowida ymerti tkuen-da 'God came to you' [Ex. 20.20]), Mg, Lz -da id. (c'kim-da 'to[wards] me', skan-da 'to[wards] thee', s'kin-da ~ c'kin-da 'to[wards] us', tkvan-da 'to[wards] you' pl.), Sv -d id.: mis'gwas'w-d 'to[wards] me', isgwas'w-d 'to[wards] thee' (reinterpreted as one of the variants of the polysemantic "circumstantial" case); ¶ [2] GZ *-d, *-ad, "circumstantial (adverbial) case", having many semantic variants, including directive: (OG betlem-d 'to Bethlehem', sion-d 'to Zion', adgil-d 'to the place', lot s'ewida segor-d 'Lot entered into Zo'ar' [Gen. 19.23], ganved vel-ad 'go out to the field!'), Lz -t (fossilized ending in some forms: o-xap, arapu-t 'for a conversation', mo-d ~ mo-t 'what for?'), Sv -ad, ending of the polysemantic circumstantial (transformative) case, including the directive meaning: zi-ad 'nach oben, aufwärts', t'xum-ad 'up to the summit'; this "adverbial case" has resulted from convergence of several ancient postpositions ¶ [3] GZ *-da- pv. 'downward' > OG da- id. (OG da-sxedir manda 'sit down there!' - Gen. 22.5), G da- {Chx.} pv. 'hununter, hunab', Mg, Lz pv. do- 'downward' ¶ K 43, 68-9, 78, K S 78-87, FS K 93-4, Fn. GAS 119, Ser. 44, Q O41, Marr 29, Dt. 14, Chx. 224, Imn. SBDzK 736, Test. S 5 II IE: NaIE *-d^he locative ending ('in') in adverbs: *ku-d^he 'where?' > OI kuha, GAv kuda-, OCS кѹде кѹде, Osc puf, Um pufe PUFU 'where?', as well as in other adverbs: OI i'-ha, Pali i-dha, OPrs ida- 'here', OCS сѹде сѹ-де 'here', онѹде онѹ-де 'elsewhere', Gk προ'σ'ε(v) 'in front, before', ενερ'ε(v) 'beneath, from beneath', ι'α-γενη' 'born here, indigenous', loc. of place names Ἀλωπεκη'ε, Ἐλευσι'νο'ε ¶ NaIE *-d^hi, locative ending > OI adhi 'on', Gk πο'ι 'where?', ο'ι 'where' (rel.), το'ι 'there', ο'ικο'ι 'at home', ο'υρανο'ι in the sky/heaven', OL ubei, L ibi 'where?', ubi 'there' ¶ *-i in *-d^hi goes back to N *-oyV (the IE zero grade of apophony) ¶ BD II/2 728-30, Bks. 220, M K I 249, F I 569-70, WH II 739-40, Bc. G 343, Pln. II 702, 752 II A: [1] *-do- 'place, place within' > Tg *-do- 'inside' > Ewk, Lm, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn do-, Neg do-(n) 'inside', Sln do- 'heart', do-la- 'inside, within' (place, direction), Ud {Krm.} do-, WrMc do 'inside' ¶ STM I 209, Krm. 227 ¶ [2] A *-da ~ *-dU 'in', locative ending > T *-ta / *-ta- (originally after cnss.) / *-da / *-da- (after vowels), loc. case ending > Chv -ta / -te (after cnss.) / -ra / -re (after vowels), NaT *-ta / *-ta- (generalization of the postcons. allomorph) > OT -da / -da-, (after stem-final l, n, r) -ta / -ta-, Tk -da/-de (after voiced cnss. and vowels), -ta/-te (after vl. cnss.), Ggz, VTt, Bsh, ET, Kū -da/-da-/-ta/-ta-, CrTt, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Xk, Shor, Tv -da/-de/-ta/-te, Tf -d_a/-d_e/-ta/-te, Brb -da/-da-/-ta/-ta-, (after stem-final n, ŋ, m) -na/-na-, Kr T -da/-d^ya/-ta/-t^ya, Az -da/-da-, Qrg/Alt (after vd. cnss. & vowels) -da/-do/-de/-do-, (after vl. cnss.) -ta/-to/-te/-to-, Trkm, Qmq, QrB -da/-de, Uz -da, Chv -ra 'in' (< *-da/*-da-) 'in'; on the ablative (> partitive) *-t_a / *-t_a- in Yk, OT, XIj and Az Δ see N *t^a- 'from'; in Yk the locative meaning of the ending survived in the compound sx. -ta-γt (adj.) 'that in' ¶ pT *t_ < N *d after cnss.; pT *δ < N *d between vowels ¶ Rs. MTS 61-2, Sev. KP 53-5, Gbn. AT 38, Gbn. ATG 88, IsxP 135, Ra. MTJ 31 || M *-da/-de (locative-directive-dative case ending) > MM -da / -de, (rare after vl. cnss.) -ta / -te ([PP] s'ine-de 'at the time of the new moon', daruqas-da 'to the chieftains', [MA] s'iru-da 'into the earth', [S] merkit-ta 'to the Merkits [∈ a tribe]), PCIWrM -da/-de (oracid-da 'to the physicians', cima-da 'to thee'), HIM, Brt, Kl -d^h / -d^h / -d^h / -d^h / -t^h / -t^h / -t^h / -t^h (dat.-dir.-loc. case), Dg {T} -da / -de / -do / -d id.; PCIWrM -da/-de, dir.-dat. sx.: otacid-ta 'to the physicians', cima-da 'to thee'; in WrM the form is not used, except for fossilized adverbs: ende 'here', tende 'there', urtuda 'for a long time', nasuda 'always', o'nde 'long ago'; in WrM and some new M lgs. the form has been partially or completely replaced by the ending *-du and the (compound) ending *-dur > MM -du / -tu, Mgl, Mnr -du, Ord -du / -tu, WrM -dur / -tur ¶ Pp. IM 185-99, Snz. SG 164-8, Vz. 63-4, T DgJ 42-3 || Tg *-du₁e₁ (dative case ending) ({Bz.} *dua?) [× N *fadV 'up to, until', q.v. ffd.]; Tg *-du-la- (ending of loc.) (< N *d₁oyja 'place (within, below), inside' + N *l₁A, locative pc.) > Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm -dula-, Orc, Ud, Ul -dula, Nn -dola; Tg *-du-ki- (ending of abl.) (< Tg *-du₁e₁ + N *kV 'out of, from') > Ewk -duk, Sln -dusi, Ud -digi, Orc -duy(i), Nn -duy ¶ STM I 209-10, Ci. 256, Bz. 79, 83, Krm. 227, Y #2989, Kiy. 42, 93, Lg. IDT 14 || pKo {S} *t₁i₁ 'place, inside' > MKo t₁i₁, NKo te id., {Rm.}: Ko t₁i₁ 'place, site', ida- < yə-d₁i₁ 'here' (yə 'this'), cəda- < cə-d₁i₁ 'there' (cə^d Ko N ti₁ə, tə 'that'), ida- < wə-d₁i₁ 'where?' (wə < pKo *mə 'what?') ¶ Rm. SKE 248, S QK #1057, Nam 147, MLC 454 ¶¶ The M ending *-du, Tg *-do- and Ko *t₁i₁ may be explained as going back to a hypothetical N *d₁oyja ¶ Rm. SKE l.c., Pp. IM 195 II U: Y T locative -da in qa-da 'where?', ta-da 'there' ¶ Krm. JJ 206-7 || ? FU: Os {KrT} -t (loc.): V/Vy/Ty ko-t 'where?', t₃-t 'here, dort (nahe)' ¶ KrT 367, 967 II D: *-t₁t₁u₁ (locative-ablative case ending) [× N *t^a- 'from', ablative (separative) pc.], *-ttV (loc.) > OTm *(a)ttu (loc. case marker: par₁an₁a-ttu 'in the fields'), Tu -t₁i ~ -t₁u ~ -d₁i ~ -at₁i ({Zv.} -t₁i ~ d₁i), Tu Br -t₁u loc., Knd -t₁o ~ -r₁o ~ -t(u) ~ d(u) (loc.-dir.: unr₁i na₁t₁o sor₁ad 'it went into a village' - from na₁r₁u 'village', d₁okri gusil-du bastad 'the older woman sat on a stump'), Brh -at₁i 'in, into', Tl {Shanm.} -an-du 'in' (loc.: u₁d₁l-andu 'in the village'), Prj -t-i (-el-ti 'in': meram-el-ti 'in the jungle'), Gnd -te (loc.), Kui KK -ta id. ({BB} d₁ed₁i-ta 'on a tree', neppi-ta 'on

the shoulder') [unless < -t-a with the presuffix -t-, as in Ku kad_ud_ua-t-a 'in the river', cp. kad_ud_uaṇa-n'-a 'in the rivers'], Klm -t (loc.-dir.: ella-t 'in the house, into the house, pa₁-t 'in milk') [unless < *-t-a with the presuffix *-t-] ¶¶ Shanm. DN 273, 310-1, 326, 330-3, 340, 348, 369, BB KKK 128, Zv. CDM 28-30, IS I 213, An. SG 220-1 [hyp.: the forms with gingival *-t--*-tt- go back to the increment (presuffix of the oblique cases) *-t-] ¶¶ The variant *-ttV may go back to pre-D *-t.V < *-d?V < **do?V < ***d₁oyja** ◇ N *-y- survives in Ko as -i_u, in IE *-d^{hi} as *-i, in Tg as the length of the vw., and in B as *-i (Wrg -di, etc.) ◇ IS I 212-4 (*da, locative pc.: HS [B, C], K, IE, D, A + qu. U ablative *-da/*-ḍa), Gr. I 155-9 ("locative TA" in IE, U, A, ? Gil, ? Ai).

580. ***da^hr^hz^hiV (gkV)** 'to strike' > HS: Ch *√dl (× N ***da₁ol' iV₁iV** 'to push?') > WCh: NrBc: P' {MSk.} 3'il, {IL in ChC} 3'ili 'mortar', Sir {Sk.} 3'i li' id. † SBc: Gj {IL} t^{hu} li' id. † ECh: EDng {Fd.} de' l3 'frapper' ¶ ChC, Fd. 187, JS 183, Sk. NB 32 || C: Dhl {EEN} d.as^h- v. 'split', {E} d.as^h- v. 'be split, torn', {To.} d.as^hid-, {EEN} d.as^he⁻ḍ-, {E} d.ale⁻ḍ- v. 'tear' † SC: Irq {E} das^ho 'crushed malt' ¶ E SC 188 (s.v. SC *d.as^h- v. 'be split, crushed'), EEN 35, To. D 131 † IE: NaIE *^od^helg₁^h- v. 'strike, beat' > AS dol3, OHG tol3 ~ tolg ~ dolg 'wound', NLG dalgen, daljen 'schlagen', MHG talgen 'kneten', NGr HsN/EP dalken^d talken 'prügeln, schlagen' † ?? Gk ε'λω v. 'enchant, bewitch' [← 'bewitch by striking', acc. to Hvr. W 190-4] ¶ P 247, Hofm. 112, Ch. 427, F I 658-9, Ho. 74, Kb. 1023, OsS 94, Lx. 224 † A ***^oda^heL-** > M *deled- v. 'beat, strike' > MM [S] delet(gu) 'schlagen', WrM delde- v. 'strike, beat, knock', K1 делд- 'strike; play (a musical instrument)', {Rm.} deld- 'schlagen, klopfen', Brt дүлдү- 'beat, strike'; M *deles- > WrM deles-, HIM дүлсү- v. 'beat, hit, pluck; beat, pulsate', K1 делс- 'flutter' (of flags, etc.) ¶ H 35, KW 85, MED 248-9, Chr. 216, KRS 197-8 † D ***tal-** v. 'beat, knock, pound' [× N ***tal'V** 'to tread, pound' (→ 'to thresh'), q.v. ffd.].