

580. *gʷu¹ 'we' incl. > K *gw- 'us' incl. > Sv gw- 'us' incl. (object px.), OG gw-, G gv- 'us' (object px.); Sv {TK}: UB gwis-s'gwey ~ gu-s'gwey, LB gwis'gwe ~ gus'ge, L gus'gwe, Ln gus'k, we 'our' incl.; the element -s'gwe goes back to K *c'we- (a component of possessive pronouns) < N *c'ʷu¹ 'that of..., that which' {q.v. ffd., cf. also N *wVʷyV 'we' and *nV 'we' excl.} ¶ Top. SJ 83-4, Fn. GAS 81, K 60, Dn. IE, Dt. 34 ¶ HS: Ch: WCh: Ron {Blz.} *gʷan 'we' incl. (aut. prn.), *-gʷa 'us' incl., *-i-gʷan 'our' incl. > Sha gʷa'ʷ, Klr gʷa'ʷ 'we' incl. (subject px.), Klr -m-i gʷan 'our' incl., Sha -a -m-i-gʷan id. m., -ma-gʷan id. f. ¶ NgzB {Blz.} *gwa 'we, us' incl., *-gwa 'our' incl. > Bd a-gʷa'ʷ 'we' incl., gʷa'ʷ 'us' incl., -gʷa'ʷ 'our' incl. (as well as Ngz wa'ʷ 'we, us' incl., -wa'ʷ 'our' incl.?); ? pNgz *gʷa 'we, us' excl., *-gʷa 'our' excl. > Bd ʒʷa, Ngz a-ʒʷa'ʷ 'we' excl., -ʒʷa'ʷ, Ngz (aʷ)-ʒʷa'ʷ 'our' excl. (unless ʒʷ- is from *y-, which is a typical Ch marker of 1p excl.) ¶ CCh: ? pTr {Blz.} *gaʷan 'we' excl. > Tr ngaʷan 'we' excl., -gaʷan-cʷi 'us' excl. (object) ¶ Kr. RChP, ¶ Blz. PPCh2 40-1 (*-g-, *ga- as a morpheme in the above pronouns of Ron, pNgz and pTr), J R 374 ¶ In the Ngz lgs. and in CCh the morpheme got the the meaning of 1p excl. due to opposition to *mun 1p. incl. (cf. under N *mi ʷa) ¶ The traces of this ancient prn. are hard to detect accurately, due to numerous phonetic changes and morphological restructuring in the history of branches and subbranches of Ch ¶ A: NaT *-k 'we' (subject px. of 1p in some tenses, including past with the ending -tʷ/*-tʷ) > OT, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, StAlt -q/-k (postvoc.: -iq/-uq/-ik/-uʷk in most lgs., -iq/-uq/-ik/-uʷk in Uz, etc.), e.g. OT kaʷl-tuʷ-k 'we came', StAlt bar-dʷ-q 'we went'; *-k (> -q/-k) in 1p optative: StAlt baraʷq 'let us go' ¶ Shch. GTVT 155-6, B SS 266, 270, BT 277-86.

581. ₂ *gaʷi ~ *gaʷyV 'high' > HS: CS *ǵʷy v. 'be/become high' > Hb eag ǵʷyʷy (pf. gaʷiʷaʷ, ip. -gʷeʷ) v. 'be/become high, grow tall', JA [Trg.] ǵʷyʷy 'be high', Sr ǵʷyʷy TD 'bear oneself grandly, magnificently, with pride'; Hb ea3G4 geʷeʷ 'exalted, proud; hochmutig' (> MHb 'proud'), Sr W ʷoʷe geʷeʷaʷ, 'ʷoʷa gaʷiʷaʷ 'glorious, stately, proud', Hb ev!a9G4 geʷaʷaʷ 'majesty, pride', pCn *gaʷaʷn- > BHB N&aG1 gaʷiʷoʷn 'height, majesty; pride', Pun (LSc) pl. cs. GUNE BEL 'exaltation of Ba'al', Ug {OLS} gʷan 'arrogancia' ¶ KB 161-2, KBR 168, BDB ##1342-4, 1346, HJ 207, OLS 142, JPS 57, DRS 92 ¶ U: FV kayV- v. 'rise, become visible' > Prm: Z kay- v. 'rise, climb, go up-stream' ¶ Lp: L {LLO} kuoʷijit v. 'rise' (of the moon), N {N} guoʷjeti- v. 'appear in a wood/mist; get clearer' (of weather) ¶ Er {W} kaye- 'aufgehen (Saaten)' ¶ Chr H koyasʷ, kayasʷ v. 'appear, be visible' ¶ Tv. WG33 125-6, LG 115, ? UEW 642-3 (rejects the Z cognate and interprets the stem as meaning 'be visible, appear').

582. ₂ *guʷa 'to butt, stab, strike' > HS: WS *ǵʷgʷ v. 'stab/butt/hit' > Gz ǵʷgʷ (js. -wgaʷ) v. 'pierce/prick/butt/gore/hit', Tgr ǵʷgʷ ~ ǵʷgʷ ǵ 'pierce', Sq {L} ʷoge v. 'hit', Ar ǵʷgʷʷ (ip. 3m ya-gʷaʷ-ʷ) 'percussit (cultro vel manu)', v. 'hit with the knife or with the palm of the hand' ¶ L G 607, Fr. IV 436, BK II 1486-7, DRS 488 ¶ Eg {Vc.} ¶ *wigʷat- 'coup' > Cpt Sd ʷaʷaʷe uace, Cpt B ʷaʷaʷi baʷi 'coup'; in the Eg texts (Dynasty XX) only a specialized term wgʷ is attested; it was interpreted by EG as 'Art Getreide oder Verarbeitung desselben', but in Vycichl's view it actually meant something like 'bliʷ battu' ¶ Vc. 242, EG I 376 ¶ C *gʷaʷ- {AD} v. 'butt, strike', {E} v. 'strike' > Bj ǵʷgʷʷ (1s: p. a-ʷgʷʷʷ = {R} a-guʷʷʷ, a-ʷgʷaʷʷ = {R} a-guʷʷʷ, prs. a-ngʷiʷʷ) 'stoʷen, puffen, einen Stoʷ geben' ({E} v. 'knock, thump, give a blow') ¶ SC: Irq {E} gʷaʷaʷ 'broken' (stem gʷaʷ-ʷ) [not in MQK] ¶ E PC #57, R WBd 86 ¶ A: Tg *guya- v. 'butt' > Ewk guyaʷ, Lm gu_y-, Neg goya-, Ork gu_ya- v. 'butt', Neg goya 'horns', Orc guya 'fang (of a wild boar \ of a musk deer)', Ud gu_ya, {Krm.} guya, Nn goya 'fang' ¶ STM I 168, Krm. 223 ¶ Tg *y- seems to have appeared in hiatus after the loss of *-ʷ-.

583. *gaʷu 'to catch, take, receive' > K: (pK or GZ) *g-/ʷgʷ- 'acquire, gain, have' > OG g- 'possess' (mo-i-g- 'mitnehmen'), G g- 'acquire, gain (sth.)' (3s aor. mo-i-go < *-gw-a), Mg {Q} g- id., 'win', Lz g- id.: inf. o-g-apu 'to gain (sth.)'; ? Sv: UB/L {TK} lʷ-g, UB {GP} and LB/Ln {TK} lʷ-g 'stands, there is' (adduced by FS) belong here only if *g- 'be (exist)' (> OG g- id.) is the same v (which is not certain) ¶ K² 24-4, Chik. 457, K 57, FS K 69-70, Ser. 17, 103, Q 211, TK 544, GP 150, 198 ¶ HS: Eg MK ʷʷ v. {EG} 'catch fish', {Fk.} 'spear fish' ¶ EG V 534, Fk. 320 ¶ IE *gʷeh₂u- > NaIE *gʷaʷu- 'receive, catch' > Lt gaʷuti 'receive, get, obtain', Ltv guʷt id., 'to gain', {ME} id., 'catch, snatch (fangen, haschen)', {ME} gaut 'to snatch (haschen), try to obtain, receive' ¶ YAv gaona- n. 'gain (Gewinn)' ¶ Frn. 141, ME I 613, 687, Brl. 482-3 ¶ A: Tg *ga- 'take' > Ewk, Lm ga- 'take, receive, buy', Sln, Orc, Ud ga-, Ork ga- 'take, buy', Neg ga- 'buy; marry (a woman)', Ul, Nn ga- 'obtain, buy; gather (berries)', WrMc gay- 'take, receive; marry (a woman)', Mc Sb {Mrm.} gaʷi- ~ gaʷi- ~ gaʷi- 'take', {Y} gæ- 'take, be given, get, receive', Jrc gai-ʷi 'take' ¶ STM I 133-4, Klz. MS 176, Y #1402, Kiy. 135 [680] ¶ pKo {S} *kaʷ- > MKo kaʷ-ciʷ, NKo kaʷiʷ, ? kaʷ 'take' ¶ S QK #10, Nam 8, MLC 27, Rm. SKE 83 ¶ T: [1] ?σ T *k₁jaʷ- > OT {Cl.} qaʷ- ¶ 'heap, pack' [2] ?φ Chv xiv- 'grasp with the mouth' ¶ Cl. 57, Jeg. 314 ¶ DQA #470 (A *ga 'take, put'), Rm. SKE 83 (Ko, Tg) ¶ IS I 225 [77] (*ga₁Hₐ₁).

584. ? *guʷe 'to feel' > HS: SC: Irq {MQK} gaʷaw- 'look at/after', {E} gaʷ- v. 'watch', gaʷaw- v. 'guard', Brn {E} gaʷid- v. 'nurse in sickness', Kz {E} gaʷam- v. 'understand' ¶ Dhl {EEN} gaʷ- vt. 'smell' ¶ E SC 236 (s.v. *gaʷ- v. 'feel, to sense, take notice of'), MQK 36, EEN 30 ¶ Eg L wʷʷ 'offenbar sein' (w- going back to the HS px. of intransitivity?) ¶ EG I 406 ¶ Tk. SCC 87

[#18.5] II IE: NaIE *g^hou₂(e⁻) v. 'feel, take account of', {EI} *g^hou₂- 'perceive, pay heed to' > L fave-o⁻ / -e⁻re / fa⁻vi / fautum 'be favourable to, help; speak no words of bad omen' (fave⁻ < *fove⁻ in view of the Um cognate), Um FONS 'favens' (pl. FONER) (< *fowenis) :: ON ga' (< *gawo⁻n) 'achtgeben, sich kümmern', geyma, AS zi'eman, OSx go⁻mian, OHG goumen 'beachten, sorgen für, hüten, sich kümmern', {Kb.} 'care, guard', bi-goumen 'weatch, care for', NGr Sw gaume 'to care for little children', Gt gaumjan 'to notice'; ON gaumr, gaum 'attention', OHG gouma^d gauma 'präfendes Aufmerken', (→) 'meal; enjoyment' ({Schz.} 'Genuß', {OsS} 'Wohlleben'), gouma ne⁻man 'pay attention, notice' :: OCS **гоуѣхъ** / **гоуѣти** 'α' ιδεῖσθαι, religiose vereri, be pious', R **гоуевъ** / **гоуветъ** v. 'to prepare oneself to confession \ the Eucharist; to fast', SCr **говети** (prs. **гоуе⁻м**)^d go⁻vjeti (prs. go⁻vije⁻m) 'to obey', Cz hove⁻ti 'to indulge in st., give oneself up to', {P} 'begünstigen. schonen, nachsehen' ¶ WP I 635-6, P 453, EI 418, WH I 464-6, Bc. G 335, Vr. 151, 158, 165-6, Schz. 153, OsS 345, Kb. 402, Ho. 129, Fs. 207, Vs. I 423-4, ESSJ VII 72-3 II ?? A: NaT *k₁'ju⁻ (- *k₁'ju⁻g) 'rumour; fame, reputation' (o₂ × N ***К. 'аѣ'wV** to hear, notice', q.v. ffd.).

585. ***gabV** (**l₁'l₁'V**) 'head' (> 'top', 'skull') > HS: S *gabb- 'top of sth.' > BHb bG2 gab₂ / -BG2 gabb- 'back of the body' (so called because it is the highest part of the pack animal), 'elevation (of altar)', 'mound (for illicit worship)', 'boss, or convex projection, of shield', vinlio4 t7BG2 gab₂bo⁻t₂ 'fe⁻na⁻w (i.e. t7BG2 of his eyes)' 'his eyebrows', Ug {OLS} gb 'lomo, dorso', JA bG2 gab₂, em. ab1G2 gab⁻b-a⁻ 'back (dorsum)', ab1B6G5 gibbo⁻b-a⁻ 'hill', Sr {Br.} 'bojbi© gəb₂i⁻b-a⁻ 'hump-backed (gibbosus)', Ar √g⁻bb (pf. ?Wja g⁻abba) 'surpasse (en mérite, en vertu)', Ak gabbu 'forehead (of an animal)' | +ext: [1] S *√gbh v. 'be high, haughty' > BHb, JA e⁻bg √gbh id., BHb E@7bG1 ga⁻b₂o⁻h 'high', EpHb gbh 'height', IA gbh v. 'be high', v. 'be haughty' (of voice), JEA Ebg √gbh G 'rise up, be raised', Ar g⁻abh-at- 'forehead', g⁻abah- 'prominence of forehead', Mh gəbhe⁻t 'front', Jb E gəb⁻het id., 'brow', Ak gab⁻u 'summit (Gipfel)' (probably here rather than with *√gb⁻ because *√g would have caused a change of *a to e); [2] CS *√gbn > MHb Nib5G6 gə⁻b₂i⁻n 'eyebrow', JA Nib5G6 gə⁻b₂i⁻n, em. an!ib5G6 gə⁻b₂i⁻na⁻ id., JEA gə⁻b₂i⁻na⁻ {Sl.} 'eyelid', Sr (pl.) 'nej=bi© gə⁻b₂i⁻n-e⁻ 'eyebrows', 'nojbi© gə⁻b₂i⁻na⁻ {Br.} 'vertex, cacumen', {JPS} 'eyebrow', {Br.} 'nej=bi© || @o ra⁻m gə⁻b₂i⁻n-e⁻ 'superbus', IA gbyn, Ar cybiJa g⁻ab₂i⁻n 'forehead' ¶ KB 163-4, KBR 170, 167, OLS 142, BDB #1354, 1360-4, 1389, Js. 203-8, Sl. 254, 256-7, Br. 100-2, JPS 59, BK I 246, 249-50, L G 179, Jo. M 113, Jo. J 69, A #617, 620, Sd. 272, HJ 208-9, DRS 94-7, || MiK I #1.66 [S *gabb-(at)- i 'eyebrow, eye-pit, front'], #68 [S *gVbh(-at)- i 'forehead, front'], #69 [S *gVb(b)i⁻n-i 'eyebrow, front'] || EC: Arr {Hw.} gubba⁻ 'top, upper side' (× N ***g⁻U⁻b⁻fV** 'hill, mountain'), ?φ Rn Rn ga⁻mba⁻r 'top part of a camel's hump' (× N ?? ***gub⁻pE** 'heap, hump, hunchback') ¶ Hw. A 363, PG 121 II IE: NaIE *g^heb^h-el/-o⁻l/-lo- 'head, top', {EI} *g^heb^ho⁻l 'head' > Gk κεφαλή id. :: Mcd [Hs.] κεβ(α)λή 'head' :: Gmc: [1] OHG ge⁻bal 'skull, forehead', gibil 'skull', gibilla 'skull, head', MHG gebel 'skull'; [2] AdS of Gt gibla, OHG gibil 'summit', NHG Giebel 'gable(-end)', p 'summit', AS 3afol, 3⁻eafel 'gable', ON gafi 'Giebelseite, Spitze einer Insel' [< N ***g⁻U⁻b⁻fV (LV)** 'hill']; NrGmc -d> Fr gable 'gable' -b> NE gable :: Tc A s⁻pa⁻l 'head' -d> s⁻pa⁻lu 'excellent' ¶ P 423, EI 260, F I 806, 835-6, Ch. 508, 522, OsS 281, 320, Kb. 321, 334, KM 257, Ho. 122, AHD 536, Wn. 488, Ad. H 131 II ??? A: i M *gabala 'skull' > WrM gabala ~ g₂abala 'skull' (× <b- OI kapa⁻la 'skull'), HIM гавал, Dg {T} gaval, {Pp. SD} gavil id. ¶ MED 394, T DgJ 129 || ? pJ {S} *ka⁻mpu⁻ 'helmet' > OJ k⁻ebu⁻tu⁻o, J: T ka⁻buto, K ka⁻bu⁻to⁻, Kg kabuto⁻ ¶ S QJ #875, Mr. 431 II D *kavul⁻ 'cheek, jaw' (× N ***qa⁻b⁻V** 'jaw', q.v. ffd.) ◆ || Gr. II #201 (*kabel 'head') [IE, OJ kabu(ri) 'head' + unc. A. ko, Gil, CK, EA].

586. ₂ ***gobV** 'plain (Ebene)'₂ > HS: HS *g₁⁻Vbb- 'earth, plain' > S *√gbb > Ar g⁻aba⁻b-at- 'plain, champ, düsert', g⁻abu⁻bat- 'morceau/motte de terre \ de boue', ? Ak gab₂i⁻b- ∈ 'land suitable for pasture' ¶ BK I 246, CAD V 6, DRS 94-5 || Eg P gbb 'the earth-god Geb (Gk Κη⁻β)' ¶ EG V 164, Fk. 288 || EC: Sd {Mrn.} goba ~ gobba 'campagna, fuori, rB', {C} guoba⁻ 'fuori', {Hd.} gobba 'country, outside, exterior', {Gs.} gobba 'world, earth, the country where one lives', {Gs., Hd.} gobba⁻ adv. 'outside', {Gs.} gobba⁻ no dargi 'the place in front of the house', Ged {Mrn.} goba 'fuori', ?σ Rn {PG} go⁻b 'village, clan' ¶ Mrn. S 218, C SE II 201, Gs. 124, Hd. 366, PG 137 ¶¶ Coh. #119, Cal. 214 [#880] II A: M *gobi 'sandy stepp without grass, desert, the Gobi' > WrM gobi, HIM гов⁻ id., WrO yobi, Kl II {Rm.} go⁻w⁻~ gow⁻, Dgr gobi id., Brt rybi, Brt A gub⁻i 'desert, steppe'; M -b> Tv xovu 'steppe, field' ¶ Pp. IM 29, MED 357, KW 153, Kow. 1025, Krg. 313, T DgJ 132, Chr. 159, TvR 478 ◆ IS MS 858 **равнина**, IS SS #6.14.

587. ?? ***gub⁻pE** 'heap, hump, hunchback' > HS: WS *gub₁V₁n- (~ *gib₁V₁n-?) 'hump' > Ar cb0ju g⁻ubn-, Sr gib⁻na⁻, JPA atnibg gbynt⁻ 'hunchback', BHb NB4G5 gib⁻be⁻n 'a hunchbacked person' (derived by means of the pattern 1i2'2e3 used to denote persons with a deformity or another [usually abnormal] physical/psychical quality), i Gz {DRS <-?} g⁻wəbən 'hunchbacked', Grg Mh {L} g⁻wəbən, Grg Go {L} g⁻wəbana id. ¶ KB 167, KBR 174, DRS 96, L EDG III 257, || MiK I #1.67 || EC: Or {Grg.} go⁻ba 'hump of cattle', Or B {Sr.} gobo⁻ 'hump of a cow/camel', Or O {Sr.} gobo⁻ id., 'hunchback', Or Wt {Sr.} go⁻wo⁻ 'hump of a camel', Or Wl {Brl.} gobo 'gobbo, gibbosus', ??φ Rn ga⁻mba⁻r 'top part of a camel's hump' [× N ***gabV** 'head' (> 'top', 'skull')] ¶ Grg. 180, Sr. 313-5, Vnt. 62, Brl. 177, PG 121 II A: M *gu⁻o⁻be⁻xe(n) 'hillock, knoll, mound' (× N ***g⁻U⁻b⁻fV (LV)** 'hill, mountain') > WrM

gu²bege(n), HIM r*byy id., Kl {Rm.} ko²we² 'small flat hill'; M *gu²bey- ~ *go²bey- v. 'rise as a hillock' > WrM gu²bei-, HIM r*byy- v. 'protrude, stick out; rise (as a hillock)', Kl go²we² 'etwas hügelig sein, sich wie ein Hügel erheben' ¶ MED 388, KW 138 II D: *kup-(Vr)- 'hump' (× N *K_uP_uVr²V 'hump', q.v. ffd.) II IE [× NaIE *gei_ub^h- 'bend' < N *kibV 'hump, bent', NaIE *g^heu_ub^h- 'bend' < N *gu²r²b²V 'to bend (tr., intr.)']: L gi²bbus, VL {ML} *gu²bbus 'hunchback' > Port gebo, Ctl gep, It gobbo, It Pv gu²b id., d: It gobbino 'humpbacked' -> Fr gobin id. ¶ ML #3755, WH I 597 ◇ Qu. (the S word can be explained as belonging to the root *√g_{bn} 'to bend', and alt. connection may be found for M and D as well). Mentioned here as one of the alternatives ◇ ? IS I 237 (the M v ī < N *gu²pA 'to bend' [tr., intr.]).

588. ² *ga²r²bV 'thick, dense; large' > HS: S *^o√g²b > Ar g²a²r²b- 'îpais, massif, vigoureux' ¶ DRS 92 || SC {E} *ga²b- 'stout, strong, thick' > Irq {MQK} gawid 'hard, difficult', {E} gawit 'hard', ? gawi 'huge calabash', SC -> Mb -ga²bi 'become fat' ¶ E SC 234, MQK 37 II A: NaT *Ka²ba 'thick' (of hair), 'bushy', 'plump' > OT {Cl.} qaba² 'thick, protruding' (esp. of hair, the beard, etc.), VTt, Qzq qaba, Qq qapa 'bushy' (beard), Osm qaba id., 'coarse', Tk kaba 'thick' (of tapets, feather-beds), 'large', Tkm ga²ba 'bushy' (beard), 'thick' (hair), Az gaba 'rude, bulky', Ggz kaba 'soft, fresh' (bread), 'light, loose' (soil), ET X qowa 'large' ¶ Cl. 580-1, Rs. W 21, ET KQ 158.

589. *gu²r²b²V 'to bend (tr., intr.)' > IE: NaIE *g^heu_ub-/ *g^hub- 'bend (tr., intr.)', 'bent, crooked' > AS Ʒeap 'crooked, curved', 'cunning, deceitful', MHG go²ufler 'thief', go²ufllich 'diebisch, raubschützenmässig' || Lt dvi²-gubas 'twofold, double', tri²-gubas 'threefold, triple', Ltv gubt 'to sink, bow down', guba²t 'to stoop', guba²tie²s vr. 'crook, bend, stoop' : SI *g²rb- (< *g^hub-) / *gib- (< lengthened grade *g^hu²b-) -> *g²rbze²ь n. 'bend, curve' > OR, RChS гъвежъ гъbez²ь id., 'joint (articulation)', *g²rb-ъкъ-ъь 'flexible' > Blg 'гъбъкъ, Cz, Slk hebky² id., *gib-ъкъ-(ъь) id. > McdS гибок, гипка, SCr gi²bak, Slv gi²bek, Cz, Slk hybky², P gibki, R 'гибкий id.; SI *g²no_{ti} (< *g²rb-no_{ti}) vt. 'bend' > RChS, OR гън(0)ти гъnuti ~ гън(0)ти гъbnuti vt. 'bend' (the variant гъbnuti with restitution of b on the analogy of the forms preserving b, like the ip. -gi-bati), Blg 'гъна, P gia²c² / gne² v. 'bend', Hls hnuc² vt. 'to bow', LLs gnus², R гнут? 'to bend' ¶ P 450, Ho. 125, Lx. 75, Frn. 140, ESSJ VII 187-9, 217-9 II HS: WS *√gwb ~ *√gbb > Md √gwb ~ *√gbb, JA/MHB {Js.} √gbb G vt. 'curve', JEA [Sl.] √gbb G vt. 'bend, bend over', Sr gəb²i²b-a² 'humpbacked', Gz √gbb D (pf. gabbaba) 'be bent', Amh √g²bb (pf. g²ebbəbə), Tgr gəb belə v. 'incline' | OSA wgb 'return, zurückkehren' ¶ Sl. 256, Js. 203-4, DM 79, Lb. I 307, Jo. M 127, Jo. J 80, L G 177, LH 582, DRS 94 || Eg G gb 'sich neigen, sich verbeugen', Eg OK w3b '(sich) umwenden' ¶ EG I 408 & V 162 || C: EC: Af {Clz.} gu²b- 'piegarsi, curvarsi, inchinarsi', 'gu²ba 'curvamento, piegamento, inchino', Or {Brl.} gugguf- 'chinarsi, curvarsi, piegarsi' -> Dhl {EEN} guguf-it - v. 'stoop' ¶ Clz. 117, || Brl. 187 (unc: Or gugguf- is a frq. of gufaw- 'urtare, inciampare'), E SC 330, EEN 32 || Ch: CCh: Msg {Trn.} g²w² 'b. 'se pencher' || Ech: Ke go²be² vi., vt. 'bend (biegen, sich biegen)' ¶ Eb. 51, ChC ¶ IS I 235 (i ч S *gawb- 'shield' [> Ar D iv0Ja g²awb 'shield', Mh gawb, Jb C/E gub 'shield'] and the corresponding C word for 'shield'), Tk. SCC 88 [#18.11], Tk. I 400 II A: pKo {S} *ko²p-, *kup- 'be bent', MKo ko²p-, kup-, NKo kop-, kup- 'be crooked, bent' ¶ Rm. SKE 124, S QK #1066, Nam 52, 63, MLC 163, 202, 220 II K: Sv L gib- v. 'dislocate (a limb)' ¶ Dn. s.v. gib- ¶¶ Hardly here M *gu²be- ~ *go²be- 'hillock, hill' (⇔ IS I 237), ≠ N *gub²pE 'heap, hump' and *g²U²b²V 'hill, mountain' (q.v.) ◇ The discrepancy between the IE and Or ev. (pointing to a N *p), and that of S, Eg, Af, Ech and K (indicating N *b) may be explained by postulating N *-p²-, still preserved in Msg -b-, -. The Ir. *? is the only one leaving no traces in NaIE (as well as in S and Eg) ◇ IS I 236-7 [#92].

590. *ga²r²bV (or *gaybV?) 'to hold, seize; collect' > HS *√g²rb > S *^o√g²rb > Ar ?oJ √g²rb (ip. -g²rab-) v. 'collect', 'ramasser, réunir' ¶ Ln. 428, BK I 298 || C: Ag *gab- v. 'hold' > Bln {R} gab- id., Q {R} gab- 'verweigern, abschlagen, verwehren, verhindern', Xm gigeб- 'verweigern, abwehren, verhindern' ¶ R WB 134-5, R QW 61, R Ch II 46 || Ch: WCh *r²g²Vb²- v. 'hold, seize' > Bl {Kr.} g²z²b-, Ngm {Kr.} ngap- v. 'seize' ?? SBc: Bg {Kr.} kubyə v. 'hold, seize', Gj {Kr.} ngib²i, Plc {Kr.} gubu²n 'hold', Dw {Kr.} k3b²iy v. 'seize' ?? NrBc: Mbr {Sk.} g3f- 'hold' ¶ Stl. ZCh 214-5 [#647] (*g²h²ab- v. 'hold, seize') II IE: NaIE *g^hab^h- v. 'seize, hold' ~ *g^hab- v. 'seize', {EI} *g^hab^h- 'take, seize': > Vd gabhastih, 'forearm, hand', KhS ggos²ta² 'hand', Wx gawust 'fist' || L habe²- v. 'hold, have', Osc HAFIEST 'habebit', HIPUST 'habuerit', ?φ Um HABE habe 'has', haburent 'ceperint' || Olr gab- 'take' (ga(i)bid 'takes'), W gafaēl 'to grasp, hold, grip' || Gt gabei, OHG gebigi, (Alm?) kepi² 'wealth', AS ƷiefiƷ, OHG Alm kepic 'rich', ?φ Dt gappen 'to filch' || Lt gabana², ga²bana, Ltv gabana 'armfull' : NaIE *g^ha²b^h- > pSI *gaba-ti > Slk MS haba-t² 'to take, appropriate (with greed)', Slk haba-t² 'to take (from so.)' ('brōt, zabavovat'), 'to rake/shovel up, seize greedily' ('popadat, hratat, chamtive] brōt'), Cz {Kott} habati, Uk {Grn.} 'габати 'to grasp', Cz ? habati 'to appropriate', Blr га'баи? 'to grasp, take, touch' ¶ P 406, EI 563, Mn. 310, Dv. #535, M K I 322-3, M E I 463-4, Bai. 91, WH I 630-1, Bc. G 317, 336, LP § 34, Thr. § 756, YGM-I 230, Fs. 175-6, Ho. 129, WW 94, Kb. 322, ? Vr. N 183 (← Moo. I 319) [unc.: Dt gappen <b- Yid NB 'xaver 'thief' ч Yid rbh 'xaver 'comrade' <b- Hb rb4h1 ħa²b²e²r id.], Frn. I 126-7, ESSJ VI 76; Ma. CS 119, GK 120 II D *kav-a- ({9GS}

*k-) v. 'grasp' (× N ***k.AhwV** 'to seize, grasp, hold' and N ***K.apa ~ *K.ap.a** 'to seize?') > Tm kavar v. 'seize, grasp, catch, steal, receive', kavvu ({Km.} < *kavi|javu) v. 'seize, grasp with eagerness', Ml kavarte, kavate 'taking by force, seizing, plundering', kavaru v. 'plunder', OTl {Km.} kavvu (*kaviyu) v. 'seize, seize by mouth, take away by force', OTm {Km.} kavavu 'embracing, copulation', OTl {Km.} kavayu v. 'embrace, copulate'; D b> OI kavarakī- 'a captive female prisoner' ¶¶ D #1326, Km. 327 [##264, 266] (< *kap-V-) ¶ The D v is ambiguous (*-v- may go back both to ppD *-v- and to ppD *-p-) || A: NaT *Ka-ba- > Tkm qa-ba- v. 'pen (sheep), besiege, fence in, blockade'; [× NaT *Kama- v. 'surround\encircle\besiege (enemies), drive (cattle, horses) into an enclosure, capture' < N ***kam'o** 'to grasp, press', q.v. ffd.] > Chg {Rl.} qaba- 'umgeben, belagern, umschließen, schließen', [BL] {Brv.} 'besiege', Chg {Bu.} qaba- ~ qabya- 'encircle', ET X {Ml.} qaba- 'surround', ??σ ET ? {Mng.} qaba- 'um... herumlaufen' ¶¶ ET KQ 159, Ml. X 157, Mng. G 773, Bu. II 2, Brv. BL 21, Rl. II 435 ♦ In several lgs. there is coalescence with N ***K.ap.a ~ *K.apa** v. 'seize' [q.v.]. Both roots are ideophonic or have ideophonic associations. Cf. IS I 313-5 s.v. *k.aba ~ *k.ap'a 'xbatat?'.
 591. ***go0bV** (or ***go0pV**?) 'frog, toad' > HS: Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} gofır 'frog' || NrOm: Bsk {Fl.} gofra 'toad', gob3r-si 'frog', Kf {C} geppec'c'-o-, geppec'c'-e- id. ¶ Fl. OO 318, C SE IV 447 || K *o3|gwebu- > Mg z'vabu 'frog', Lz A m3'vabu, Lz X (m)z'vabu 'toad' ¶ K IEK 110-2 || IE: NaIE *g^we-b^h-a- / ? *g^wəb^h- 'toad' (× N ***ko'q'pV** 'mucus, slime' → 'toad' as 'a slimy animal', whence *g^w- for *g^{hw}-?) > Pru gabawo id. (Tr.: < *g^wəb^h-) || SI *z'a'ba (< pre-Sl *ge-ba-) 'toad' > OCS жабѣ z'aba, Blg, R, Uk жабѣ, SCr z'a'ba, Slv z'a'ba, Cz z'a'ba, P z'aba id. || ? L bufo- 'toad' ({Ert.}: <b- OscU < *g^wəb^h-) ¶ P 466, Vs. II 31, Glh. 704, En. 174, En. APG 62 (on the derivational form of gabawo), Tr. 8, Tp. P E-H 124-7, WH I 121, Ert. ED 130 ♦ NaIE *e- (/ *ə?) points to a N Ir., that in the light of the K zero reflex must be weak (*0). L -f- and K -b- suggest a pN *-b-, while Bsk and Dm -f- and Kf -pp- seem to favour *-p- (but the devoicing may also be due to the Ir.).

592. ***g'uy'bV** 'to heat' (→ 'to cook, roast, burn, dry') > HS: S *o/ghb > Ak D √ghb v. 'roast' || EC *gub- vt. 'burn' > Sml, Rn, Or gub-, Bn kub-, Kns kup-, Ged {Bnd.} gu'b- (<b- Or?) id., Ya {Ss.} kup- 'rot' ¶ Bl. 182, BISO 89, Ss. PEC 17, Hn. S 61, PG 128, Sim 15, 25, Grg. 184 || Ch: WCh: Sy {Kr.} gu'bm' vt. 'burn' ¶ ChL I 212 ¶¶ AD SEC 132 [6.7] || K *gab-/gb- vt. 'cook, boil' > G gb- v. 'cook (e.g. silk thread), boil', Lz gub-, gib-, 3'ib- v. 'cook, boil', Mg g3b- ~ gib- v. 'boil silk thread', Sv 3'a'b-/3'b- v. 'cook', Sv UB/Ln li-3'ab, Sv L li-3'bi msd. vt. 'cook/boil sth.', vi. 'be cooked, boil' ¶ K 58, K² 25, FS K 70-1, Chx. 182, GP 191, TK 487 || σ U: FU *kuywa- 'dry' > F kuiva adj. 'dry', Es kuiv 'dry, arid' || σ Lp: Lp L {LLO} kui 'fe', kuffi 'wer nicht begreift, wem es schwer fällt lesen zu lernen' ('dry-brained'), Lp Sw {SK} kuife, kuiwe 'dumm, einfältig', Lp Vfs {Lgc.} g_u'ffz, ku'ffe 'dumme, unwissende Person' || Os {KrT}: Os V qo'yəm-, Os D/Kz xo'yəm- 'fallen, sich vermindern (vom Wasser)' ¶ UEW 196-7, Lgc. SL 63 [880], Lgc. #2763, SK 231, LLO 253 || A: Tg *gub- > WrMc {Z} гyвaxи? guwa-xiyan 'fireplace, furnace', {Hr.} gu'wahiyan 'Kochloch', 'Gestell, an dem der Kochtopf über dem Kochloche hängt', Ewk gi- v. 'smoke, cure in smoke, dry (meat/fish over weak fire)', giwun 'place for smoking meat/fish' ¶ STM II 147, 165, Z 354, Hr. 397 □□ || ???σ T *k'u'beç 'earthenware pot' > OT {Cl.} ku'vec' 'e pot', XwT xiv ku'vec' 'cooking pot', Tk gu'vec, Az gu'va'3' 'earthenware cooking pot', Tkm go'wec' 'juweller's crucible', Uz ? ko'wa's' d ka'wa's' 'earthenware pot, pot for milk', Ggz gu'vec' 'large bowl of clay (макира)', ? Alt ? {Vrb.} ko's' 'skull' ¶ Justified only if the primary meaning is 'cooking pot', rather than 'earthenware pot' in general ¶ Cl. 687-8, ET VGD 53-4, GRM 121 || pKo {S} ku'b- 'bake, fry' > MKo ku-p- (≠ ku'i-), NKo ku'p|w- ¶ S QK #535, Nam 63, MLC 220 || pJ {S} *ka'w3'r- v. 'smell [vi.], fumigate' > OJ kawor-, J: T ka'or-, K ka'o'r-, Kg kao'r- I S QJ #897, Mr. 703 ¶¶ DQA #537 (A *gi_u'be 'to smoke, roast') ♦ Blz. KM #8.

593. ? ***g'U'ibV** (LV) 'hill, mountain' > HS: S *g/bf 'hill' > Ug gb' {A} 'mountain, rock', {OLS} 'hill, height, summit', Hb eo1b6G5 gib_ 'fa', JA at1o9b6G5 gib_ f'a' 'hill', Ar g'uba- - a place name (KB: 'kleine Hengelstadt'), ? Ak gab?u 'summit (Gipfel)' (why did not *f produce the reg. change *a > e?), i Amh {DRS} guba 'colline, tertre', ? Amh gb† gebeta (< **gabfat-) 'high hill' b> Gz gb† gabata id. | with loss of *f due to rdp.: CS *gabgab- 'hill' > JA ab1B6G5 gibbā'b_a' 'hill', Ar g'abg'ab-at- 'pierre/rocher dont quelque part sort de l'eau' | +ext *-l-: S *gabal- 'mountain' > Ar TbaJa g'abal-, Mh {Jo.} g3be'l, Jb E/C {Jo.} gi'el id., Hb d lubG6 gə'b_u'l id., 'landmark, boundary', Ph, Yd gbl 'border, boundary', Ug gbl {A} 'mountain, rock', {OLS} 'peak, mountain', Ar g'ubl-at- 'bosse du chameau' ¶ KB 163-4, 167, KBR 171-4, BDB ##1354, 1360-4, 1389, A ##617, 620, OLS 143, Js. 203-8, Br. 100-2, BK I 246, 249-50, L G 179, Jo. M 113, Jo. J 69, Sd. 272, HJ 208-9, DRS 94-7 || EC {Ss.} *gub(b)- 'mountain' > Af gubb-i 'high spot in undulating country', Or gubb-a' 'up, above; top', {Grg.} gubba postp. 'above, over, on', gubbe- 'top (of head)', {Th.} gubba 'il disopra, cima, sommita, tetto; sopra, in alto', Arr {Hw.} gubba' 'top, upper side', Dsn {Ss.} gum, HrD gu'po', Gln g_u'po', Gwd qupo, Brj 'gubba 'mountain', Dsn {To.} gu'mmuti 'hill' ¶ Ss. B 85, Ss. PEC 15 (Dsn -m < *-b), AMS 159, 201, 233, Grg. 184, Th. 175, Hw. A 363, To. DL 501 || NrOm {Blz.} *gVpp|bb- 'mountain' > Kf {C} geppo-, {Mas.,

HHM} geppo 'hill', {Beke} 'gubbo 'hill, mountain', Mch {L} 'ga'ppo 'slope, hill' ¶ Blz. OL #109, C SE IV 436, 446, L M 29, 32, Mas. 161 & 138 (Kf geppo 'colle, montagna'), 232 (Kf geppo 'collina'), HHM 118, Beke LDA 98 || Ch {JS} *√g^wrb, 'mountain' > CCh: Gdf {IL} xo'b,a', Gv {ChL} xu'b,a', Nkc {ChL} xu'ba', Glv {Rp., ChL} x'wa', Dgh {Frk. in ChC} g'wa'a', Ngs {IL} x'wa' i Gude {IL} giwa, Gudu {ChL} g'inwa' i Lmn {Lk.} gwa' i ZmB {J} g3b,3'η, ? {Sa.} g'wo'ʔi, ? Zm {ChL} goy ¶ JS 186, ChC, ChL ¶ Ch *-b,- < *-bʃ- || ???σ,ϕ Eg P w3b 'river-bank, riparian lands, shore' (only if ← 'hill, high place' and if b < *bʃ) ¶ EG I 409, Fk. 76 ¶ Tk. I 400 (Eg, EC, CCh) II ?? IE: NaIE ? *g^hvb₁ə- > MHG gupf(e) 'huchste Spitze' -d> dim. MHG gu'pfel, gipfel > NHG Gipfel 'summit', ON gafll 'Giebelseite, Spitze einer Insel', AS zafol, z'efel 'gable', [x N *gabV (LV) 'head', q.v.]: Gt gibla, OHG gibil 'top\summit' ¶ OsS 281, 320, Kb. 334, KM 257-8, Ho. 122, AHD 536, ¶ P 423 II D *kop- ~ *ko|upp- > [1] *kop- ({9GS} *k-) > Td kofoy 'top of a hill', Kn kobe, Tu kubæ, Krg kobe 'top of a coconut tree', Kn kobal.u, Tu kubal.ə, Krg kobali 'top of a roof'; [2] *ko|upp- ({9GS} *gUbb-?) > Tl gubbali 'mountain, hill', ? goppu 'small elevation in a field', Prj koppa 'small hillock', Gnd gubbal, Kui kupa, Ku kupli 'hillock', ? Tl koppu 'the crest or ridge of a roof', kopparamu, kopramu 'top, summit' ¶ D #1731 (a) & (b) ¶ x D *kupp- v. 'heap', {GS} *kup- 'heap' (D #1731 (a), GS 50 [#124]) < N *k.uP_V 'heap, hill' (q.v.) II U: FU *ka'ṭ:ppa' 'hill' > F ? ka'a'ppa' 'hill, stony ground (in a field), heap of stones', Es ka'a'p (g ka'a'ba) 'aufgeworfener Hügel, Grabhügel' (x ka'a'pa's [< East Baltic *ka'pas, represented in Lt ka'pas, Ltv kaps 'Grab, Grabhügel']) :: Vg: T/LK/P ka'p, UL kap 'hill' ¶ UEW 138 (FU *ka'ppa') II A: M *gu'o'be-xe(n) 'hillock, knoll, mound' (x N *gubpE 'heap, hump, hunchback', q.v. ffd.) ♦ Ch *-b,-, Om and FU *-pp- and D *-p- ~ *-pp- go back to the N cluster *-bʃ-. The vw. *a' in FU is obscure. In many lgs. there was mutual infl. of the v in question and N *gabV 'head' (q.v.) ♦ ? IS I 237 (the M v i < N *gu'pA 'to bend' [tr., intr.]).

594. ? *g'ab^hE ~ *hb- 'blunt, weak' > HS: SS *√gbh > Mh g3bh 'blunt', go'b3h v. 'blunt', gīb3h v. 'be blunt', Jb C g3b'hun 'blunt', Tgr, Tgy √gbh G 'become blunt' ¶ Jo. M 113, LH 583, DRS 95 II IE: NaIE *k^ha^h-b^h- ~ *k^ho^h-b^h- 'blunt(ed), weak, powerless (abgestumpft, kraftlos)' > Gk κωφο'ς {LS} 'blunt, dull, obtuse', κηφ'ν 'drone; a worn-out, decrepit person', Gk [Hs.] κωφ'ν 'drone' :: L hebes / hebetis 'blunt, dull', hebeo / -e're 'be blunt\dull' :: Sl *xab-i-ti 'to spoil, to blunt' (*-i- is a caus. sx.) > ChS {Mikl.} xabitni xabiti 'corrumpere', Blg xa'ba v. 'work in vain, spoil, blunt', SCr habiti, Cz chab'iti 'to spoil' ¶ WP I 348-8, F II 64, WH I 637-8, ? ESSJ VIII 8-9 (looking for different IE connections of the Sl verb) ¶ NaIE *k^h is likely to go back to N *g + vl. Ir. II A: T *k'a^h-b- 'weaken' > OT QU/U {Cl., MKD} ka^h-v- (aor. ka^hva^h-r) vt. 'weaken', [MhK] ku^hc'i ka^hvdim 'I weakened his strength', Osm ga^hvs'a^hk 'loose, lax, slack; relaxed, weak, feeble', Ggz gevs'ek weak, meager', Qrg ko^hps'o^hk 'loose, flabby (рыжкий, дряблый)', Tk gevs'ek 'weak, locker', OT kevre- vi. 'weaken', Az {Rl.} ku^hvra^h- 'become weak\brittle', Tk gevre- v. 'weaken', Chv xav^hxa- xavs'a- 'crack with dryness' (of tubs, barrels), 'weaken, become flabby', xav^hxa^hk 'weak, decrepit, flabby, locker' ¶ ET VGD 9-10, Cl. 687, 691, MKD 104, DTS 304, Jeg. 283, Fed. II 304-5, Md. 37, 167, Rh. 1595, Rl. II 1524 || Tg: WrMc gebsehun 'lean, meager, emaciated' ({Hr.} 'abgemagert, spindeldünn'), gebse-re v. 'become lean, meager, emaciated' ¶ Z 318, Hr. 839.

595. *gub₁V₁RE 'nape (of neck)' > HS: S: Ak guba^hru 'nape (of the human body)' ¶ CAD V 117 || ? EC (mt): Sml garab, Sml N ga^hrab (pl. ga^hrb-o'), Rn ga^hra^hb (pl. ga^hrbo') 'shoulder', Bn 'ka^hrub (pl. karo^hb't3) id. ¶ Hn. S 60, ZMO 154, Abr. S 87, PG 121 II A: Tg *gu^hre-Ke 'nape' (x N *guRIIE or *gu^hRIIV 'throat, neck') > Nn Nh gur3x3, Nn B gur(3)x3, Nn KU gurux3 'nape', WrMc gurexe 'a large sinew' ({Z}: 'бол?ная становая жила') on cattle's neck, breite Sehne am Rinderhalse', gurexe-le- 'to tie around (a bow or sth. broken) with oxen's sinews (to strengthen it)' ¶ STM I 174-5, Z 364-5, Hr. 385 ¶ In pA there is no phonemic opposition between the original *w and *b, so that the loss of N *b in this v may be understood as follows: *gubRE > *guBRE (¶ *guwrE) > A *gu^hre II ?? IE: NaIE *g^werwa^h- ~ *g^wriwa^h- (x N *kUr^hh'u 'throat, neck', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The merger with N *kUr^hh'u accounts for the loss of the precon. *b^h and for the cns. *g^w- (instead of the expected *g^{hw}-).

596. ? *gic^h.V 'to injure, irritate' > HS: S *√gθ.θ. > Ak gas,s,u 'raging, furious', √gs,s, v. 'knash the teeth', v. 'bare the teeth', v. 'rage, be raging' (x HS *√g^wS 'tooth' > C *√g^wS id. - ƒ AD SF 70-1), Ar √g^hδ.δ. (pf. 7Wja g^had^hδ.δ.a) 'tourment, affecter d'une peine d'un chagrin', √g^hwδ.δ. (pf. 7aJa g^had^hδ.a) 'affecter quelqu'un, lui causer du tourment \ des inquiétudes \ des craintes' ¶ CAD V 52-4, BK II 298, 356 || ? Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gac- v. 'insult' > Hs {Abr.} gatse ga^hc.e^h- 'replying rudely & recklessly to a superior' i Ang {Flk.} kass 'abuse, cursing, defilement' i ?σ Tng k^wade v. 'fight over sth.' ¶ Stl. ZCh 216 [#662], Abr. H 311, J T 107, ? Sk. HCD 80-1 (Hs gatse ← Hs ga^htsa 'bite') II IE: NaIE {Mn.} *g^hei^h-sd- ~ *g^hei^h-sd^h- v. 'rile, irritate, injure' > OI hīd^h- v. 'make angry, vex', hīd^hi'ta- 'angry, roth', he^hd.a- m., he^hd.ah. (he^hdas) n. 'anger, hatred', OI BdSk he^ht.hati 'verletzt, beleidigt', Av zo^hiz^hdis^hta- 'der abscheulichste' :: W † gwyth 'anger, wrath' (< *g^hei^h-sd-) :: Lt z^heidz^hiū / z^hei^hsti v. 'injure, wound', z^heid^hmas 'injury, wounding', z^haizda^h 'wound' || d> *g^hoi^h-sd- > Lt z^haizda^h 'wound' || var. *g^hei^h-sd^h- > AS c^hīdan 'to chide' ({Ho.} 'streiten, klagen'), NE chide ¶ Mn. 413, M K III 601, M E II 819, MW 1300, 1303, Ho. 47, Frn. 1285, 1296, ? WP I

547, 554, P 427 || ?σ U: FU {UEW} *kic'V 'illness, be sick' > F kitu- 'be tormented, suffer pain; languish, suffer', Es kidu-, kidi- 'kränkeln', kidune- 'grow sickly, be in bad health', kide (g kide) 'Kränklichkeit' | Prm: Vt G kiz' 'Kampf', {Wc.} ki'z' 'Krankheit, Krankheitsgeist', Z {W} kiz' 'totgeborenes Kind' || Os: V ke'c'a, O qas'i 'illness, sick', D ke'c'a 'illness' || UEW 153, Sm. 543 (FU *ki'eci 'illness' > FP *kic'i, Ugr *kr'c'i) ◆ FU *kic'V belong here if the semantic change was 'to wound' → 'to cause illness'.

597. ??φ *gi'c'V 'hip, thigh' > HS: S *gi's's'-l- 'thigh' > Sr 'so©e ges'sa- 'side, flank, haunch', Ar D g'is's'a 'corpse, dead body', Mh gās's'e-t 'body, corpse', Jb C {Jo} 'ge's'at (pl. 'gi's'ε?) 'side', Ak gils'u ~ gis's'(um) 'hip, flank', MHb xx3G3 'geses', JA ax1x6ig gis'a-s-a- 'side, arm' || Br. 126, JPS CSD 75, Js. 241, 261, Lb. D 283, CAD V 73, Sd. 288, Jo. J 79, Jo. M 126 DRS 195-6, MiK I #1.97 (*gis's'- 'torso, body') || Ch {Stl.} *gos'- 'shoulder' > WCh: Mnt {ChL} ta'η-g'o'l | Plc {ChL} n. g'w'z's' id. || Gude {Hsk.} g'w'a'la 'upper arm' || Ech: Skr {Nc.} 'ko'-gol id., Mgm {JA} gu'l (pl. go'lli'la'), Mu {Lk., J} go'l 'shoulder' || Stl. IF 196, JA 89, Lk. ZSS 35, 182, ChC, ChL || AdS of IE: NaIE {P} *kei_s- 'arm, thigh, shank' (× N *k.ic'V 'thigh muscle' [q.v. ffd.]) || D (in CD) *kit_t_- ({9GS} *k-) 'hip, waist' > Prj kit_t_a 'hip', Gdb kit_t_e 'waist', kit_e pu_n 'hipbone' || D #1537 ◆ The IE cns. *k- proves that the main source of IE *kei_s- is *k.ic'V and not *gi'c'V.

598. *gad'a' 'bank, shore, side of sth.' > HS: CS *giday- ~ *guday- 'bank, side of a river', *gadd- id. > BHb vitl&dG6 gād-o-t_-a-w ~ vitl&id6G5 gid_y-o-t_-a-w 'its banks' (presumably forms of ei!d6G5* *gid_ya-), Md gada, gida, g(i)dada 'bank, riverside, waterside', JA aD1uG gud'd-a- 'wall', JEA gud'd-a- 'wall, side', Ar dwJu g'udd- 'cəftī, bord (de toute chose)', dwJi g'idd-, ĪdWJi g'idd-at- 'bord, rive (d'un fleuve)', dwJa g'add- 'rivage, bord (d'un fleuve)', surface de la terre' || KB 171, KBR 178, GB 130, BDB 152, Js. 218, Sl. 265-6, BK I 260, DM 73, 88-9, DRS 100-1 || ? B: Ah e-g'e-de, ETwl agidi 'dune de sable', Sgl {NZ} igidu, igidi id., 'sable', Gh iz'idi 'colline de sable', Izn, Rf, Shw, Mz, Wrg, Jrb iz'di 'sable', Kb iz'di id., 'gravier', Si iz'di, Nf z'idi 'terre'; B belongs here only if the meaning 'dune, colline de sable' is primary || Fc. 394, Dl. 359, NZ 721-2 || C *√gdm > Bj {R} ge'dim (pl. gidma) 'edge, bank, side' || Ag *gVdVm 'side, range, bank' > Bln {R} gādum 'side, edge, bank'; Ag -b> Gz GDM gādm 'side, direction', Tgr gādm 'edge, side', Tgy gādm 'side, bank'; ? Bln {R} 'gadī 'river-bed, valley, wadi' (unless <b- Ar wadi id.) || EC: Sa {R} 'gade ~ 'gadde (pl. gadu'wa-) 'river-bed, valley, wadi' (unless <b- Ar wadi.) || E PC #44 (+ unc. EC *gudm- 'shoulder'), R S II 145, R WB 139 || An alt. hyp.: Bj ge'dim and Bln gādum <b- EthS gādm (possibly connected with the Gz verb √gdm 'be in horizontal position, be inclined'); but this latter hyp. fails to explain the et. of the EthS words || Om {Blz.} *gad_dj- 'earth, land' > NrOm: Oyda {Fl.} gādde id., Zs {C} gade- 'terra, paese', Wl/Zl/Gf {C} gade- 'paese', Bdt {C} gada- id., Mch {L} gado- 'clod of earth' || Som: the meaning 'bank of river' seems to have been preserved in Ari {Bnd.} gidib id. (unless <b- Amh gēdeb 'dike, dam, barrier') || Blz. OL #105, C SE III 202, Fl. OWL ms., L M 30, Bnd. AL 145 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ga'di'r...a 'lake, pond', Ī Ngm {OS <-?} godo 'lake' || ChC, Sch. DN 63, OS #869 || R WB 139 (C, S), OS #869 (S, WCh, Ag, Sa; i 4 Bdm {Nc.} nga'da 'river', actually a loan from Knr {Lk.} nga'da 'small river' [Lk. B 121]) || A: M *gada 'outside, the outside' > Dg {Mr., T} ga-da 'the outside, out of doors', {Pp.} g_ad_ 'outside' (direction), Ba {T} gade 'outside, out of doors', Mnr H {SM} g_ad_a, Mnr M {Pot.} xata id., d: MM [MA] gadadu 'external', Dx gada-du id., MM [HI] qadavun gadavun, WrM gadagun 'a l'extérieur'; *gada-na 'outside' > MM [HI] qadana gadana 'a l'extérieur', WrM gadana, HIM гадна (adv., adj., postp.) 'outside, exterior', Dx gadane 'outside, out of doors', Mgl {Rm.} yadana 'außen, außer'; *gada-ga > WrM gadaga 'out of, outside, outer', Dg {T} ga'dag ~ ga'dig 'outside'; *gada-g-si 'outwards' > WrM gadagsi, HIM гадарш 'outside' (direction), MMgl {Iw.} yadaqs'i 'outside, outwards', Mgl {Rm.} yadaqs'i 'nach außen', Dx gadas'i 'outwards', Mnr H {SM} g_ad_as3 vers le dehors' || MED 342-3, Rm. M 28, Iw. 104, SM 114, T DnJ 115, T BJ 137, Pot. 412, Pp. MA 173, Ms. H 85-6 || In M *gada-na the element *-na goes back to the locative pc. *na < N *?in'A' 'place' (q.v.) || D *kat_(-ay) ({9GS} *kad_-) 'end, side, beach' > Tm kat_ay 'end, limit, boudary', Ml kat_avu 'beach', Kt kar' pa.t 'the end, at last', Td kadc 'end (of thing, event)', Kn kad_e 'end, termination, limit', Kdg kad_e 'end (of row, event, etc.)', Tu kad_e 'verge, margin, end', Tl kat.t.akad.a 'the very end', Prj kad_a 'end, side'; D -b> OMrt kad_e, kad_a 'edge, side' || D #1109, cp. GS 206-7 [#522], 28 [#16], 164 [#407], 166 [#417] (*kyad_- v. 'pass through, cross').

599. *gadi (or *gati?) 'kid, young goat', ? '(ε) antelope' > HS: S *gadiy- 'kid' (→ 'lamb') > BHb id5G^ gā'd_ī 'kid, lamb' (pl. Mii%dlG^ gāda'yīm with -a- possibly due to the generalized model of pl. of the segolat nouns), EpOHb idg gdy, Pun gd?, [Plt.] GADE, Ug gd(y) {OLS} 'kid (cabrito)', pl. {A} gdym, OA gd? 'goat', JA [Trg.] ai!d6G2 gad_y-a- 'kid, lamb', JEA gad_y-a-, Sr 'od©a gad_y-a-, Md gadia 'kid, young goat', Ar g'ady- 'kid (chevreau)', Ar NY z'adi d z'idi, Ak NB gadu- 'male kid' (<b- WS) || KB 171, KBR 178, HJ 213-4, OLS 144-5, Lv. T I 126, Sl. 260-1, JPS 60, DM 73, BK I 267, Ln. 393, Bns. NJ I 206-7, CAD V 9, DRS 100-1 || B *yāi_d 'kid, (young) goat' > Ah {Fc.} e-yāi_d (pl. i-yāi_d-ən), Ty, ETwl e-yāyd (pl. i-yāyd-ən, Ty i-yāyd-ən) 'chevreau', Gh {Nh.} i-yid (pl. i-yid-ən), Gd {Lf.} a-yid (pl. yid-a-n) id., Izd {Mrc.} i-yāyd (pl. i-yāyd-ən) 'young he-goat (jeune bouc, chevreau)', Tz a-yā d_ 'he-goat'; fem. *tV-yāi_dV-t 'she-goat, female kid' > Ty, ETwl te-yāydət 'chevrette' (pl. Ty

tiyǝyɗad, ETwl s'iyɗad), Gd tǝfɨd,et (pl. tǝfɨd,a-t̪) id.; Gd te-t̪at̪ ~ te-t̪et, Kb t̪ə-yat̪ (pl. t̪i-yat̪,t̪in), Tz ta-ya-t̪ (pl. ti-yt̪-d̪-in), Izd {Mrc.} ta-yat̪ (pl. ti-yt̪,t̪ən), Si t̪ya-t̪ (pl. t̪ya-t̪in), SrSn t̪ayat̪ 'she-goat' ¶ Fc. 1711, Lf. II ##1869, 1876, 1921, Mrc. 37, 51, Stm. 160, 227, GhA 75 ¶ The emphatic *y (for the expected *g) is puzzling || EC: Or {Brl., Th.} gadamsa 'kudu antelope', Or B {Vnt.} gadamsa (n̪-ni), Brj {Ss.} ga'dama 'greater kudu antelope', Ged gadansa 'antelope, buffalo' (ɬ- Or?) ¶ Ss. B 75, Brl. 157, Th. 142, Brl. 157, Sr. 308, Vnt. 57, Hd. 20, 192, 240 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gada 'e antelope' > Hs ga-da- 'crested duiker (antelope) Cephalophus Grimmi (= Sylvicopra grimmia)', ga-da-r ku-rmi 'duiker Cephalophus rufilatus'! BT: Gera gadere 'bushbuck'! NrBc: P {MSk.} ga-tara 'buck'! ? SBc: Jm {Gw.} kito, Gj {ChL} kiti, Buli {Gw.} kīt, Zar {Gw.} kiddi, Sy Zk {Gw.} kidu 'antelope', Dw {ChL} kidi 'duiker'! Ngz {Sch.} ga-du-wa 'crester duiker' || CCh: ZmB {J} go-da-y, {Sa.} gu-tay 'buck', Dgh {Frk.} x̣ẓ ḍẓ g̣i-ṛe 'antelope' ¶ ChC, ChL, Abr. H 282, Sch. DN 64 ¶¶ Sk. HCD 74 || IE: NaIE *g^hg^hai-do- '(young) buck, goat', {EI} *g^hai-do-s 'goat' > L haedus 'kid, young goat' || Gt gaits, ON geit, OSx ge-t, OHG gei Φ 'goat', NHG Geiß 'she-goat', AS ȝa-t 'goat', NE goat ¶ P 409-10, EI 229, WH I 632, Fs. 186, Schz. 150, Kb. 324, KM 242, Ho. 124, Ho. S 26 ¶¶ The *media* *-d- (for the expected *-d^h-) is obscure. It may be explained if the IE word is a loan from HS or one of its branches (≠ IS DIES 4 [IE ɬ- S], AD IEH 14 & fn. 11 [IE ɬ- early pS]) || D *kat̪-, {GS} *kyad̪- 'young male of horned domestic animal' > Tm kat̪.a, kat̪.avu, kat̪.ay 'male of sheep/goat/buffalo', kat̪.a-ri, kit̪.a-ri 'heifer, young cow', ? kit̪.a 'buffalo, bull, ram' (why -i-?), Ml kat̪.a, kit̪.a, kit̪.a-vu 'young male of cattle', Kt kar̪.c na:g 'buffalo calf between 2 and 3 years', kar̪.c kurl 'cow calf between 2 and 3 years', Kn kad̪.asu, Kdg kad̪.ici, Tu gad̪.asə 'young cow/buffalo', Gnd ka-r̪.a 'young buffalo', Knd gr̪.a-lu, Kui gra-d̪.u 'calf', Kui kr̪.ai- 'young female buffalo/goat', Krx kar̪.i id., kar̪.a 'young male buffalo', Brh xar̪ 'ram', xara-s 'bull, bullock'; D ɬ- pInA {Tu.} *kat̪.t̪.a- and *kad̪.d̪.a- 'young male [horned domestic] animal' (*kat̪.t̪.a- > Kshm kat̪.h 'ram, sheep in general', Lhn kat̪.t̪.a 'buffalo calf', Hnd kat̪.iya- 'buffalo heifer'; *kad̪.d̪.a- > Ori kar̪.a- 'castrated male buffalo', kar̪.a-i- 'young buffalo cow') and OI Sk kat̪.aha- 'young female buffalo' ¶¶ D #1123, Tu. ##2645, 2658, GS 166 [#416], 28 [#15] ♦ The precon. (rather than the expected postcons.) position of *i-, *y in B and IE is due to mt (possibly favoured by root structure patterns in both lgs.). IS DIES 4 assumed that IE *g^haydo- is a loan from S, because the root-internal vw. *a is not typical of IE. But I do not find it a sufficient argument for a loan hypothesis because there are still other genuine IE nominal roots with an internal *a ♦ AD NM #49.

600. ? *gadV (to be) suitable/good; luck' > HS: WS *gadd- 'happiness, fortune' > Hb dG2 gad 'fortune', dg2B6 bə-g ad 'feliciter', Pun, Nbt, Plm, Htr gd, JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} aD1G2 gad'd-a- 'genius, god of fortune; luck', Sr gad / gad-da- 'fortune, luck, success', Md gada 'fortune, success, luck, fate', Nmd ga'd 'Glück, Chance', Ar dWJa g-add- 'good luck, chance, fortune', Gz gD gadd 'luck' ¶ KB 169, KBR 176, Js. 210, Sl. 260, HJ 212-3, JPS 60, DM 73, Mc. NM 207, L G 180, DRS 100 || C: HEC (ɬ- EthS?): Hd {L} gada?a 'luck' ¶ L G 180 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} ga-da 'beautiful' ¶ Wdk. BY 123, Lm. Y 345 || IE: NaIE *g^hed^h-/*g^hod^h- v. 'be suitable/good' ({EI} *g^hed^h- 'join, fit together') > Gmc *go-da- 'suitable' > Gt go-þs 'gut, t̪chtig, schun', ON go-ðr, OHG guot, NHG gut, OSx go-d, AS ȝo-d 'good', NE good; Gmc *gað- 'gefallen' > MLG gaden id., OHG gi-gat ^d ge-gat 'suitable' || SI *goditi (se-) v. 'suit, be fortunate' > OCS гoдити 'satisfy', 'gratum esse, morem gerere, placere', Blg гoдa 'to arrange, prepare', не ми годи 'is not to my advantage', SCr go-diti 'to make a deal', Slv to mi godi 'it is pleasant, I like it', Cz hoditi se, R гoдит?cл 'be suitable', P godzić 'to bring to an agreement', godzi sie 'it is permitted/lawful'; ɬ- SI *godъ 'appropriate time' > OCS гoдъ 'time (hora, tempus); year; appropriate time', SCr go-d 'holiday, year, appropriate time', Cz hod 'religious feast', OR, RChS гoдъ 'time, year', R год 'year'; ɬ- SI *god-ъл̪(ъ) 'suitable, appropriate' > ChS гoдънъ, Blg 'годен, P godny, R 'годный id. ! Ltv gad-r̪ ties 'to happen, occur, be found', Lt {Bg.} godyti 'aufspüren, ausfindig machen', Ltv go-ds 'honor, glory', Lt guo-das, Lt Zh goda 'honor' || ? OI 'gadhya- 'what one readily holds fast, what suits one' (× ɬ- gadh- 'cling to, hang on to') || pTc *ka-tk- > Tc A/B ka-tk-'rejoice, be glad' || amb Gk γηθε'ω, Gk D γα-θε'ω 'rejoice' (× IE *ga-wed^h-, whence L gaudeo) ¶ P 423-4, || EI 64 (unc.: Gmc *go-da- 'suitable', etc. < IE *g^hed^h- 'join, fit together'), Fs. 218-9, F I 303-4, M K I 320-1 (gadhya- ɬ- gadh-), Vr. 181, Kb. 345, 416, Schz. 148, 155-6, OsS 246, 358, KM 277-8, Ho. 134, Ho. S 28, ESSJ VI 187-92, StSS 173, Wn. LE 32, Wn. 197-8 (Tc ɬ Gk), Ad. 150, Frn. 159-60, Tr. 74, F I 303-4 (Gk < *ga-wed^h-) || D: SD *kat̪- ({9GS} *gad̪-) 'fixed time' [× ɬ- *kat̪- v. 'pass' (< N *gat̪, fV 'to pass through/over', q.v.) and/or *kat̪- 'end' (< N *gad̪'a 'bank, shore, side of sth.')] > Tm kat̪.u, ket̪.u 'fixed time, period, term', Ml gad̪.u, ket̪.u 'term, instalment', Kt gad̪.v, gayr̪ 'fixed or appointed time', Td kod̪.f 'stipulated period of an agreement', kor̪.y 'fixed period (of imprisonment or purgatory), fixed time for paying a loan', Kn gad̪.a, gad̪.avu, gad̪.i, gad̪.u, gad̪.uba, gad̪.uvu 'limit, limited time, period', Tu gad̪.u 'a time, fixed time or place', Tl gad̪.uvu 'term, period, limit of time' ¶¶ D #1109 ♦ Another possible cognate is T *kata 'times' ('mal') > OT qata id. (Cl. 596), which is semantically conceivable, but the vl. T *-t- for the expected *-ð- makes it hardly acceptable.

601. ***r^gledi** 'occiput, nape of the neck; hinder part' > A {DQA} *ge^udi^h 'back, behind' > M *gede ~ *gezi (< *gedi) 'nape of the neck, occiput, hinder part' > WrM gede id., WrM geʒige, HIM rʒyʒr 'nape of the neck, plait/braid of hair, pigtail, queue', Brt rʒyʒr 'plait of hair', Brt W rʒyʒr 'occiput'; MM [MA] gedergu^u, Mnr {SM} g_id_ierg_u, {T} gedergu 'backwards' ¶ MED 372, 381, Pp. IM 118, Pp. MA 169, SM 136, T 322 || Tg *gedi 'occiput' > Ewk g3dimuk^d g3d3muk, g3tk3ⁿ, Neg g3d3muk, Ul g3ki(n-) id., Lm g3d3k3, g3d3m3k ~ g3d3m3k id., 'occiput bone', Ud g3dig3 'occiput, nape of the neck' ¶ STM I 177 || NaT *Ka^hedi-n 'backwards' > OT, Chg ka^hdin 'behind', ET keyin ~ ka^hyin, Qrg kiyin adv. 'afterwards, later', postp. 'after', Qzq keyin id., 'backwards', {Rl.} kein 'behind', Alt kiyin, Ln kiin 'hinder part', Qq, Uz keyin id., 'afterwards, after', Xq ки́з 'hinder' (adj. of animal's legs, wheels, etc.), Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} kezin, Kь/Shor {Rl.} ka^hzin 'hinder part, backwards', adj. 'hinder'; hardly here T *ko^ht 'backside, buttocks' (Cl. 70) ¶ Cl. O4, ET KQ 23-4, BIG 73, ET KQ 23-4, Rl. II 1054, 1137-8, 1176-7, 1344-6, Rs. W 246 || pJ {S} *ki^hta^h 'North' > OJ ki^hta^h, J: T kita^h, K ki^hta^h, Kg ki^hta^h ¶ S QJ #811, Mr. 452 ¶¶ DQA #492, ADb. KL, S AJ 71 || HS: Ch *gidaH- 'neck, occiput', {Stl.} *giHad--*gidaH- 'neck' > WCh: AG: Su {J} ʒ^het, Kfr {Nt.} ʒ^he^ht 'occiput' | BT: Kkr, Krf {Sch.} ŋgid^o, Glm {Sch.} ŋgi^hrya^h 'neck' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} ge^hr^h, EDng {Fd.} ga^hj^ha^h id. ¶ J S II 67, Nt. 16, Stl. IF 174 (without AG), Sch. BTL 57, 87, Cp. 62, Fd. 312 || C: Ag: Xm T gīd- 'hind, hinder' || EC: Sd {Hd.} gidsa, gedensa 'after', {Gs.} gedensa 'last, the end', gedensanni, gedensa^h 'afterwards', Sml {DSI} gada^hl 'behind' ('dietro, indietro') ¶ Hd. 19, Gs. 179, DSI 248 || ? Nrom: Gf {Mnr.} gedo(n) 'behind', gedon 'dopo' || ? φ K: GZ *ked- 'back of head, neck' > OG ked- 'neck', G ked- 'nape of the neck', Mg kindir id., 'back of head' ¶ K² 214, Chx. 1546 ◆ Hardly here NaIE *g^hed- 'hole, anus; → to defecate' (> ON gat, OFrs jet 'hole, opening', AS ʒeat 'doors, opening', OSx gat 'hole' || Gk [Hs.] χο^hδαυος^h 'εδρα^h 'podex', Gk ξε^hζω 'defecate' || OI 'hadati 'defecates', Av ʒadah- 'podex' || Arm 3et ʒet 'tail' || pAl {O} *ʒec^ha or *ʒetya > Al dhjes (aor. dhjeva) 'defecate' ¶ WP I 571-2, P 423, M K III 573-4, F II 1078-9, LS 1996, O 83, Slt. 176-7 ¶ The primary meaning of the IE v is not 'hinder', but 'hole', hence there is no basis for comparison with the N ***r^gledi** 'occiput; hinder part'. IE *g^hed- was adduced here by IS MS 342 (→ S CNM 5), but correctly omitted in IS I ◆ IS MS 342, IS I 227-8 [#81], AD NM #106.

602. ***gudV** 'to cut, tear' > HS: S *√gdd ~ SS *√gdy 'cut, chop' > BHb √gdd TL (Hithpo^hel) (ip. dd27Gt6i% yit^hgo^hd^had^h) 'make incisions in one's own body', MHb √gdd G 'cut, cut off', BA √gdd G (imv. pl. uD7G god^hdu^h) 'umhauen', Sr √gdd G 'cut off/out', {Br.} 'absceidit, amputavit; discidit', Md √gdd 'cut off, put an end to', Ar √g^hdd (pf. dWJa g^hadda) 'cut out (a garment), cut off (a fruit)', ? Sb √gdd S^h (?) assign (allouer, attribuer)', √gdy S^h (pf. hgd) 'make a grant of land', gdyt 'grant of land' {Rk.} 'allotment', Qt {Rk.} gdyt 'portion, allotment, assignment', {DRS} s^hgdd 'repartir, accorder', Tgr pf. G gadda 'tear off, separate', Gz gaddu^h 'piece of wood cut off with an axe/saw', Ak A √gdd G (inf. gada^hdu) 'chop'; +ext.: CS *√gd^hv. 'chop (off)' [< *√gdd influenced by S *√k.t.ʒ 'cut/break off' < N ***K^hut^hIII** or ***K^hut^hIII** 'to cut off, tear (off)', q.v.] > Hb, JA, Sr √gd^h G id., Ar IIIIdJ √g^hd^h G 'cut off' ¶ In Aram there was a merger with S *√gdd 'cut, break to pieces' (> Ar 3WJa √g^hdd G [pf. 3WJa g^hadda] id.) ¶ KB 169-70, 173, 1685, Js. 210, 213-4, Br. 103, 105, JPS 60, Hv. 79-81, BGMR 49, Rk. D 52, || Rk. 36 (← Lnd. SD 52: Qt/Sb gdyt 'renewal'), L G 180, CAD V 8, DRS 99-102 || Ch: Ngz {Sch.} gi^hdu^h vt. 'snap in two (rope etc.) by pulling, pluck (fruit fr om tree)', ga^hdu^h vi. 'snap in two' (as a rope), 'snap off (fruit off tree)', 'break loose (sth. tied by rope)' ¶ Sch. DN 59, 64 || A: AmTg *gude- v. 'be torn apart' > Orc gud3-, Ul, Nn Nh gud3-, Ork gud3d3- 'be torn apart', Nn Nh gud3- 'hole (in clothes), rags'; d: AmTg *gude-ci 'tear asunder' > Nn Nh gud3ci-, Orc gud3ti-, Ud gu3^hasi- id. ¶ STM I 167 || ? φ IE: NaIE *g^wed^h- 'to destroy' (× N ***k^houdV** 'to destroy, break' [q.v. ffd.]).

603. ***g^hu^hdV** 'belly, middle' > HS: C {AD} *g^wVd- 'middle, belly' > EC *gud- > Af {PH} gude (pl. gude^hda) 'middle, waist', Sml {DSI, ZMO} n. gudo, {ZMO} gude n., Sml N {Abr.} gu^hdi 'inside' (and Or goda, gadi {Ss.} id., {Grg., Sr.} 'down'??), Hd {Ss.} gud-a 'half, middle'; EC {Ss.} *gidd- 'middle' > Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} ʒ^hidd-u^h id., 'between', Or Wl {Brl.} giddu id., ʒ^hiddu 'inside' (adv.), 'between', Or H {Ow.} ʒ^hiddu^h 'between', Hr, Dbs, Gwd kitte 'middle', Gln kitte id., 'half', HEC {Hd.} *giddo 'inside' > Sd, Ged giddo, Brj {Hd.} giddi 'inside, interior'; ? HEC {Hd.} *godoba 'belly' > Sd {Gs.} godoba^h, Ged godoba, Hd godabo, Kmb godaba id. ¶ AD SF 239-40, PH 116, DSI 277, Abr. S 97, ZMO 168, Ss. PEC 16, 18, Grg. 139, 176, Sr. 339, Brl. 175, 265, Ow. 265, AMS 164, 208, 258, Hd. 26, 84, 193, 242, 279, 318, 365-6 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ga^hda^hva^h 'between' || CCh: Gdr {Mch} g3d3f 'belly', ? Bcm {Sk.} ʒ^he^hde^h id. || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gi^hd3^h, ? Nd D {J} gu^h3^h 'belly' ¶ JI II 21, Sch. DN 63, Eb. 51 || A: M: [I] M {?Pp.} *gu^h3e^h > *gu^h3e^h 'stomach of animals' > MM [MA] gu^h3^he^hni ac^havan 'pack carried on the belly', WrM gu^h3e^hge, HIM r^h3y^hy id., 'rumen used as container for butter, kumiss, etc.', Brt r^h3^h (h), Dg {T} gu^h3^he^h, MMgl {Iw.} gu^h3^hza^hn 'belly', Kl r^h3za^hn gu^h3^hza^hn 'paunch, peritoneum, belly', {Rm.} gu^h3e^hn 'Wamme, Blattermagen', Ord g^hu^h3^he^h 'panse de ruminant, ventre', Mnr H {SM} g^hu3^hie^h 'stomach, paunch', {T} gu3^hie^h 'stomach, belly'; b> Ewk PT/Brg/Y/I/Nr gudi3^h, Sln gud3g3, gud3g3^h 'belly, peritoneum', Ud gudi3, {Krm.} gude^h, Mc Sb gu3^hug3^h 'peritoneum, container for liquids (made of a dried

stomach') [2] with delabialization *u' > *e: M *gede-su'n 'belly' > MM [HI] gedesu'n 'intestine', MM [IM] ēvssuga ges_iV_isu'n (Iw.: < *gedsu'n), WrM gedesu'n (n) ~ gedu'su'n (n), HLM гүдүс, гүдүсүн, Brт гүдүһү (н) 'belly, stomach', Kl {Rm.} gesn_o, Ord {Ms.} g_{ed}usu, Mnr NR {SM} g_{id}ies₃, Mnr H {T} gedese, Dg {Pp.} g_{3d}əs, Dx ki₃iesun 'intestine, belly', Mgl {Rm.} gesa'n 'stomach' ¶ Pp. MA 172, Pp. DN s.v. г_үд_үд_үс, Ms. H 56, Ms. O 274, MED 373, KRS 148, KW 135, 140, Rm. M 28, STM I 167, Krm. 223, SM 136, 140, T 322-3, T DnJ 123, T DgJ 20, Iw. 103-4 || Tg *gu_uedi(-ke) 'belly, peritoneum' > Ewk ? gudi, Lm gudi 'peritoneum, stomach', Neg gudi 'peritoneum, content of an animal's stomach', Nn Nh gu₃'ə 'stomach (of animals)', WrMc guwe₃'ixe 'stomach' (some of these words may be loans from M) ¶ STM I 167 ♦ Hardly here FU *ku'te 'middle, middle of the body' (FU *-t- is not a reg. reflex of N *-d-); it rather belongs to N ***kot.e** 'belly' (q.v.).

604. ***gEillu''gE** or ***gEyUgE** 'to covet, long for', (→?) 'to mate, copulate' > IE: NaIE *g^hei_g^h- 'to covet' > Gt faihu-geigan id., ga-geigan 'to win, obtain', with the *n-infix: OHG gingen 'to long for', gingo 'das Verlangen', ginge-n 'to require' || ? Lt giez'u'os 'heftig verlange', pa-gie~z'ti 'to crave for revenge', pagiez'a 'rancour, craving for revenge' (unless <d- Lt gi~z'ti 'become sour', gai~z'ti 'become bitter') ¶ P 427, Fs. 136, 181, Schz. 151, Kb. 363, Frn. 129 || U: FU *kEy₃V- 'to utter the mating call' (of birds in courtship ritual), 'to sing' [partially × FU *ku''ye (or *keye-) 'lust, amorous calling sounds' < N ***k.uyE** 'be hungry, desire, want' (→ 'be in heat')] > pLp {Lr.} *kik₃- v. 'to emit amorous calling sounds, mate' (of birds) > Lp: L {LLO} kihkat 'to mate' (of birds), N {N} gikka't, Kld kigge-(δ) id. : Prm *koy- ({LG} *ko_y-) > Z N koy-, Z US ko_y- 'utter mating call, mate' (of birds), Z ? koyt, Yz 'kut' 'mating place of birds (**тоқ**)' || pObU {Ht.} *ke_y- ~ *ko''y- v. 'mate/copulate' (of birds), 'utter the mating call' > pVg *ka''y- id. > Vg: T kiy-, LK/MK/UK/P/SV/LL ka''y- id., LL/Ss kay- id., 'sing a magic song' (of shamans); pOs {Ht.} *ko''y- ({?Hl.} *ka''y-) 'mate, utter the mating call' ({Trj.} '**токоват?**, **ворковат?**') > Os: V/Vy ko''y-, Ty ko''y-, Y ko''y-, D ke''y-, K ka''y-, Nz/Kz key- id., O qoy- v. 'prophecy, exercise magic by singing' : Hg ke''j 'carnal/sensual pleasure; pleasure, enjoyment' ¶ Coll. 79, UEW 143-4, Sm. 543 (FU *kixi 'rut' > FP *kixi-, Ugr *kixi₃-), LG 128, MF 346-7, Ht. #231, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 596-7, Trj. S 167, Lt. 45 || A: NaT *Ku''g- 'be in heat, mate' > OT ku''g 'the mating of rams and wild animals in the mating season', Qrg ku''-go'' kel- 'be in heat, be ready to be mated' (of female animals) (lit. 'come [kel-] to [-go''] the heat'), Qzq ku''ylo''- v. 'mate' (of cattle, sheep and dogs) ¶ Cl. 709-10, Jud. 472-3 || M *guyu- v. 'ask, implore, require, beg' [{Pp: 'bitten, betteln'}] [× N ***gUhwjyV** 'to go/drive away', q.v. ffd. × N ***gX_i?jyV** v. 'wave one's hand, point with one's hand/finger' (→ v. 'wave to so., beckon')] ¶ MED 365, ? Pp. VG 49 || ?? HS: S *^o/g^hg^h > MHb o@uGo6G5 gi's^hgu''as 'longing for, paternal love', ?? Ar majao0jaTa tag'a^hg'a^ha v. 'throw oneself on the ground out of grief' (unless <d- g'a^hg'a^ha 'kneel' [of camels]) ¶ Lv. I 350, Js. 261. Hv. 91 ♦ If the S word belongs here, the N rec. must include internal *^h. The contraction of the internal *V_y or *V_{yi} accounts for the long vw. in FU and T.

605. ***gUhwjyV** 'to go/drive away' > HS: WS *^hghh ~ *^hghy 'run away' > Ar ^hg^hhh (pf. rWJa g^hahha) v. 'drive away', {BK} 'chasser ignominieusement', Sr ^hghw_y (pf. xho© gaha) 'flee, escape', Md ^hghw_y (act. prtc. gahia) 'flee from', Gz ^hg^wyy (js. yə-g^way) 'run, run away, flee', Tgy ^hg^wyy ^hg 'flee, run way', Amh (3n)g^wzy 'one who flees', Sq {L} *^hgwy 'to flee' -d- s'i-guha 'fugitif', ? ge v. 'flee, hurry', ¶ Br. 106, DM 81, L G 209, L LS 105, BK I 341, DRS 104 || SC ({E} *gow- 'go out/away'): Irq {Mgw.} go''w v. 'flee', {MQK} go''w-, {E} gow- 'run away'; -d- (caus.) pRt *gu-s- > Irq {MQK} gu''s- 'chase, drive away', {E} gus- 'drive out', Alg {E} gusim- 'chase away' ¶ E SC 238-9 [##36, 42], Mgw. 114, Wh. SI, MQK 40, 42 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *g^wa / *ga8 (= *gaw_y) vt. 'chase, drive' ('treiben') > Ang (rdp.) kwok v. 'drive away; gallop' : pBT ^hgy v. 'run (away), chase', Tng kay- (vb. n. ka'yi) v. 'chase, drive, persecute', kai pi'' 'run after!', Krkr {Lk.} guy- 'run away', ?σ Bl {Lk.} gay- 'ride' : Bks g'a 'wegtreiben', Fy g^we'' id., 'wegstoßen', DfB g'a''h 'weg-ver-treiben, verjagen', g'a''h '(weg-)treiben (wie ein Hirt)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 219 [695], J R 86, 142, 215, J T 96, Flk. s.v. kwok ¶¶ OS #910 (BT, SC, Gz; does not distinguish this v from S *-gi?- to come', EC *gay- 'arrive', CCh *g^wV- 'enter' and ECh: Kbl giy₃ 'come'), Stl. ZCh 246 [43], Lk. PPV 135, J T 96, ChC || IE {EI} *g^heh₁- 'leave (go away)' > NaIE *g^he⁻(i_u)-/*g^hi- or *g^he⁻(i_u)-/*g^hi- v. 'go away' ('fortgehen'), (× N ***gazV** 'to go; way, path') > OI 'jihite' 'geht fort/hervor', {MW} 'start forward', Av a''-za''- 'herangehen' [× md. of the v *g^heh₂- 'leave, abandon' > OI ^hha''-] || Gk Hm κ_iχ_α'wō, Gk A κ_iγ_χα'wō (based on the prs. form *κ_i'-χ_η-μ_i) v. 'reach (erreichen, erlangen)' (← *go' ← *go away') || Gmc: OHG ga''n^d ga''en^d ke''n, NHG gehen, OFrs, OSx ga''n, AS za''n, NE go, OSw, ODn ga', Sw, Dn ga'', Gt Cr geen 'to go' || Blt (× NaIE *g^wa''- < N ***k'f'u''illa** 'to go, advance, follow', q.v.): Lt ? go''ti 'to go', Ltv ga''ju 'I went' ¶ WP I 542-4, EI 349 (*g^heh₁-), 115 (on IE *g^weh_A- 'come', cf. N ***k'f'u''illa** '↑'), || M K I 426, MW 1296, F I 861-2, Ho. 123, Ho. S 24, Schz. 146, Kb. 312, Hlq. 316, Fs. 182, 213, Frn. 161, Kar. I 337-8, F I 208-10 ¶ It is doubtful if OI 'jaha'te 'leaves, abandons' and Av zaza'hi 'entlasse' belong here ¶¶ NaIE *g^he⁻(i_u)- may be also explained as going back to *g^he⁻u_u(i_u)- ¶¶ AD NGIE || U *kuyV > Ugr *kuyV 'chase' > Vg: Ss {BV}, LK/Ss {Kn.} xuyt- v. 'entice (an animal), set (a dog) on', N {MK} xujti-, ML khujti-, P khujte'ti-

[xuytəti-], khwo_jti ~ khujti 'hetzen, aufbringen, aufreizen, rufen, locken, treiben', P {Rd.} kuyt- 'entice' : OHg hajt- 'zu etw, bewegen, treiben', Hg hajt- v. 'drive (treiben, jagen); incite, urge on (anreizen, anziehen, antreiben)' || Sm *ku- vi. 'drive by the water stream', vt. 'drive sth.' (of a stream\wind) > Ne T d xyə-ла-с? ~ xyələс?, Ne F {Lh.} χυτa-, χυτ>I'ο> 'von der Strömung getrieben schwimmen', Ne T BZ xyB, Ne T Y xy-, Ne F {Lh.} χυβ̄ d χυ- 'vom Wasser an das Ufer getriebener Baum', ?φ,μ Slq Tz {Prk.} kuri- ~ quri-, {KKIH} d kuri-qo 'carry sth.' (of a stream, wind), 'swim with the stream' ¶ UEW 858, BV 142, MK 117, EWU 515, Jn. 76, KKIH 122, WVD 140 II ? A {ADb.} *gow- v. 'hunt, pursue, look for' > T *k_l'job- 'follow, pursue, chase' [x T k_l'jog- < N *goki 'track' (→ 'way'), 'to track (game), follow the tracks of', q.v. ffd.] || Tg *gob(jo)- v. 'hunt, drive (a wild animal)' > Ewk PT gox-, Ewk Tmt gowyo-, Ewk SB/Skh/Urm gowjo- v. 'hunt with a dog for sables', Lm A gobja- 'hunt by driving (a wild animal)', Lm ? obja- hunt with a dog, hunt for mountain rams', Neg gobjo- 'hunt with a dog (on fresh snow)', Orc gobj'ono- 'drive sables on snow', Ork 'hunt with a dog, hunt for sables, hunt in winter' ¶ STM I 157 || ?σ M *guyu- ~ *guyi- 'ask, implore, request, beg' [{Pp.} 'bitten, betteln'] (← *pursue) (× N *k_luyE 'be hungry, desire, want') > MM [HI, S] guyu- 'ask, solicit, require', [MA] {Pp.} guyu- *ask' (att. guyulduba tedenle- 'asked together with them'), WrM guyu-, HIM гуй-х 'ask, request, beg, solicit', Kl {Rm.} gu-χα 'bitten, werben', gul' gu-χα 'to beg for alms', {KRS} hyy-х yu-χъ id., d M *guyuli > WrM guili, HIM гуйл?, Kl hyul? yuI' 'begging, alms', {Rm.} guI' i~, gul' n. 'alms', Mnr H {SM} g_{ue}<s'z' i ~ g_{ue}z' i 'beggar', ? g_{ue}<rla- 'demander avec instance, prier, mendier' ¶ Ms. H 92, Pp. MA 180, H 74, MED 365, KRS 171, KW 156-7, SM 124-5, ¶¶ Pp. VG 24, 49, 137, ADb. KL 10.

606. *goki 'track' (→ 'way'), 'to follow the tracks of' > HS: C {AD} *g^wṽgk- > Ag *gu-k- > Bln {R} gu-g- (pl. gu-kək), Xm T {CR} g^wug 'way' || Bj {R} gi-g- scv. 'go away' || HEC: Hd {AD, Hd.} go-go 'road', Kmb {C} goggo- 'way'; ?σ C d Gz jggw (pf. go-gawa, js. yəgo-gu) v. 'err' ¶ AD SF 256, AD MLX s.v. go-go, R WB 144, R WBd 93, Hd. 280, L G 185, qu. Ap. ANH 23 (suggests as from HEC *do-go 'way' as an alt. et. of Hd go-go and Kmb goggo-) || Om: NrOm: Zs {Si.} 'goge 'road', Shk {Bnd.} ko'ku, Mj {C} kok || SOM: Ari {Bnd.} go-gi- 'road, path' (loans from HEC?) ¶ AD SF 256, Bnd. AL 157, Si. ACh 6 || Ch {JS} *gk 'path' > WCh: Dr {J} go'ko', Bl {Mk.} gəgo 'road', Pr {Frz.} ko'kko- 'way' ¶ JS 200, ChC, Frz. P 36 II ? U *koke- v. 'see, experience, find' (× N *K_lokE 'to look, see' [q.v. ffd.]) II A: T *k_l'jog(V)- v. 'follow the tracks of, track (game), hunt' (× T *k_l'job- 'follow, pursue, chase' < N *gUhwjyV 'to go\drive away') > OT [QB, MhK] qov- v. 'follow, pursue, chase', MT XIII [a Tefsir] qov- v. 'hunt', Chg, XwT XIV qaw- v. 'pursue, drive away', MQp qow- v. 'pursue', Osm qow- ~ qoy-, Tk kov-, ? qoy- d goy-, Tkm qow-, Az gow-, Xq xoy-, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Uz quw-, Ggz ku- 'chase, follow, pursue', Qrg, Alt qu-, Tlt {RI.}, Tb/QK {B} qoy-, VTt qu-, Bsh qəw-'follow the tracks of, pursue', Qmn qo- 'keep an eye on, pursue, look for', Sg/Qc/Qk/Qb {RI.} qoy-, Xq xo- xoy- v. 'follow so.', ET qoy-li- v. 'pursue, chase, follow' || Chv хаӔв- хъv-, Chv L xy- xu-, Chv ? хъ v- 'drive away, chase, pursue' ¶ The distinction between T *k'- and T *k'- is impossible for lack of Tv and Tf cognates. But if Tv † xo-r 'to invite (e.g. a shaman)' belongs here (?σ), the pT initial cns. is *k'- ¶ Cl. 580 [? *ko-b with a long *o- (unj. rec. of length on the insufficient ev. of MK's spelling with v) [at variance with the ev. of Tkm], DTS 461, Rs. W 275 (*qoy-), ET Q 9-10, Rh. 1490, TkR 402, Hьs. 83, Nj. 605-6, BN 124, BT 97, B DChT 128, B DK 223, B DLT 164, BIG 283, RI. II 515, 663, 883-4, IO40, KRPS 372, Jeg. 288, Fed. II 315-6, MM 455, Jeg. 288, Fed. II 315-6, ¶ Md. 44, 169 (pT *k'o-b- with unj. *k'-), TvR 483 || ?? M *gu'yiyi- 'run' > MM [S] {H} guiyi- 'laufen, rennen', [HI] {Ms.} gu'(y)i-, [MA, IM] {Pp.} gu'i- 'run', WrM gu'i- ~ gu'yu'', HIM r'й- 'run, flow', Mnr H {SM} g_{ue}<- id., {T} gui-, Mgl {Rm.} gu i-, Brt r'й- 'run', WrO gu'u'', Kl r''- gu''- 'run, flee', Ord g_ui- 'run, gallop', Dg {Mrm.} gui- 'laufen, rennen' ¶ Pp. MA 172, 437, H 52, Ms. H 57, 59, Ms. O 275, MED 389-9, SM 140, T 323, Krg. 775, KRS 150, KW 140, Rm. M 28, Chr. 164, Klz. D I 135 || Tg: Nn Nh/KU gıqo- v. 'run at a trot' || pJ {S} *ka'ka' - 'run, gallop, flee' > OJ kaka-, J: T kake', K/Kg ka'ke' - ¶ S QJ #804, Mr. 702 ¶ STM I 149 ¶¶ DQA #530 (A *gi_o'~'k'o' 'run, send: T, M, Tg) ♦ IS I 309-10 [#183] (*Koki ийти по следу, следит?: U, A), AD NM #31, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts about the T cognate because [as far as Vv. thought] it is isolated within A), S CNM 6 (чч NrCs, Yn, ST).

607. *gaKt'a'' 'couple, one of a pair' > HS: NrOm: Gng: Kf {C} gut- v. 'be two', gutto- 'two', {Fl., Mas.} gutto, Mch {L} 'gutto, Anf {MYTY} gutto, {Gt.} gutto', {C} gutto-, Mch {Lm.} gutto, Amuru {Fl.} gitta, Shn {Lm.} gi'tta- 'two' ¶ C SE IV 308, 451, L M 34, Lm. Sh 316, Fl. OWL s.v. 'two', Masera 86, Gt. 353, MYTY 117 ¶ Acc. to C and Lm., the Gng numeral is a loan from EthS kəlt'e'tt- 'two' [hardly convincing] || Eg {EG, Vc.} *zwt 'twenty' (this approximate reading of the numerical sign for '20' is assured by two wordplays) > Cpt: Sd xoywt zuo't, B xwt zo't 'twenty' ¶ EG V 252, Vc. 333 II U *kakta ~ *ka'kta'' 'two' > F kaks (g kahden), Es kaks (g kahe) : pLp {Lr.} *ko-kte- > Lp: N {N} guok'te, S {Hs.} guokte, L {LLO} kuokte, Kld ku-x't : pMr {Ker.} *kaxt > Er kavto kavto, Mk кафра 'kafta : pChr *kokt > Chr H/L/E attr. kok kok, subst., pred. L коктыг коктът, H коктыкоктъ : LtPrm *ku'k > Z, Vt kik, Yz kāk; acc. to Lt. 192, Prm *u' (for the expected *ɔ' < FU *a'') is due to the infl. of *u't 'one', the original *ɔ' being preserved in Z ко=кымыс kəkyamis, Z I, Prmk ? kik'yamis, Vt XVIII

кыкымыс 'eight' > Vt т.кымыс id. || pObU *kīt(V) > pVg *kiːtV > OVg kitta^d кита, Vg: T kiç, LK/MK/UK/P, NV/SV, LL/UL/Ss kit; pOs *kit- / *kaːt-: the variant *kit- is found as a bound morpheme in derived and compound forms of Os E and some other dialects: V/Vy {Trj.} kittə, Ag/Uy/Ty/Y {Trj.} kitənti, Sl {Trj.} kitəntə, UY {Trj.} kitəmti, Sh {Stn.} kiːtəm-tak 'both', Sl {Trj.} kitkoːtˈaŋ ~ -oːŋ '12', Ag/Ty/Uy {Trj.} kitsaːt '200', Sl {Trj.} kitsir 'of two kinds (двоѣкий)', kitmətəx 'for the second time (вторично)', while in the free morpheme (the attr. numeral 'two') and the subst. numeral 'two' the stem is always (in all dialects) {Ht.} *kaːt > {Ht.} V/Vy kaːt, Ty/Y kaːt, D keːt, K/O kaːt, Nz/Kz qaːt, {Stn.} Sh qaːt 'two' (attr.), subst. numeral: V {Trj.} kaːtkən (-kən is a du. formant), Sh {Stn.} qatən 'two' || Hg keːt (attr.), kettoː 'two' || Sm {Jn.} *kitaː, {Hl.} *kite 'two' > Ng {Mik., Hl.} sˈiti, {Ter.} citˈi sitiː, En {Ter.} 'siðe, En {Cs.} X sire, B side, Ne T сиди, T O {Lh.} sˈidˈe, Ne F {Popova} /sˈitˈa/ [sˈicˈicˈæ], {Lh.} sˈicˈzaː, {Slq Tz} {KKIH} sˈitti, Slq Tm {KD} sˈiːdə, Kms {KD} sˈide, Koib {Sp.} сьда, {Pl.} tschidaː джида, Mt {Hl.} *kidˌdʲe (Mt: M {Sp.} кыды, {Pl.} kiddaː, K {Pl.} gide, M/T/K {Mll.} kiddē) || ? Y: T {Krn.} kiyonˈ, {Ku.} kiyuˌonˈ 'are two', {Ku.} kiyuˌol- 'be two', {Jc. → Ang.} kijol 'two', kijiˈzu zweitˈ ¶ Coll. 21, Coll. CG 406, UEW 118-9, Sm. 537 (U, FU, Ugr *kektaː, FP *kakta), SK 146, Lr. #509, Lgc. #2880, Hs. 686-7, Ker. II 51, Ber. 18, LG 140, 151, Lt. J 130, Ht. #339, Trj. S 104, 114-5, Trj. VD 58-9, Stn. OG 58, 144-5, Jn. 71, Ter. NgJ 149, Ter. EJ 446, Cs. 92, KP 191-2, Hl. MNJ 214, Hl. M #481, Ppv. 121, Ptp. 50, 100, Krn. JJ 182-4, Ku. 91, Ang. 117, ¶ Rd. UJ 37 [#16] (Y < b- U) || A *gagta 'one of a pair' > Tg *gagda (-iːgakta) 'one of a pair' (→ 'comrade') > Ewk, Neg, Orc gagda, Nn B/KU gagda, WrMc gaqda ~ gaqta, Mc Sb gadə 'one of a pair', Lm gaːd id., 'half', Ud gagda 'one of a pair, the other one, second' ¶ STM I 135, Ci. 299, Vas. 80 || pJ {S} *kaːtaː 'one of two sides' > OJ kaːtaː id. ¶ S QJ #1311, Mr. 442 || M *gagca > MM [MA] {Pp.} qacˈa, {HI} qaqca (= gagca), [IsV] qaqcˈa (= gagcˈa) 'alone', [S] {H} hˌahca 'einzig, allein', WrM gagca 'alone, single, the only one', Kl {Rm.} gakcaː 'allein', Ord g_ag_cˈa, WrO qaqca 'sole, only', Dg {Lg.} gasˈyaː, {T} gasˈqaː(r) 'alone' (< d *gagcaɣar id.); the var. *ganca 'alone' (> WrM ganca, HIM ганц, Brt ганс, Kl ганц, {Rm.} *gaˈŋˈca, Ord g_ancˈa) is akin to WrMc ganˌzi 'whole' and may result from a merger with a different root ¶ Pp. MA 175, Ms. H 88, H 56, Lg. VMI 41, MED 343, Ms. O 287, Krg. 310, KRS 15, KW 141, 143, Chr 145-6, T DgJ 131, Z 301 || T *kˈata 'time[s] (Mal)', 'whole' [× T *kˈat 'layer, row' < *kanˌpˈV(-t, V) 'stalk, trunk of a tree'] > OT {Cl.} qata '(so many) times' (bir qata 'one', uːcˈ qata '3 times', qacˈ qata 'many times'), OT [MhK] {Rl.} qada id., MT [Tefsir], OXwT xiv qata id., Tk kat, Kr T/G kat, Qmq, VTt, Bsh qat 'time (Mal)', Chv хыт хут^d хот id., Chv L хыта xud_a 'whole' (кун хыта '[for] the whole day'), хыташxud_asˈ 'together', Az gat '-fold\ple' (with numerals: uːcˈ-gata 'threefold, triple'); Shor/Sg/Bltr/Qc {Rl.} qada, Xq хада xada, Tv qatay 'together', StAlt qatay id., side by side (рѣдом); ? Yk xat 'for the second time, again' (← *'the other one' ← *'one of a pair') ¶ Cl. 593, 596, ¶ ET KQ 335-6, Jeg. 310-1, Ash. XVI 250-2, 257, Fed. II 371-4, Rl. II 305-6, BIG 262, TvR 231, JkR 488, Pek. 3393-4 ¶¶ DQA #472 (A *gaːˈgta 'one of a pair') ♦ AD SShS 299-300 (U, A, HS).

608. *gkoK.E (rV) 'chest, breast' (→ 'belly', 'heart') > HS: Ch: ECh: Mu {Lk.} gaːk (pl. goːˈguːk) m. 'chest', f. 'female breast', Tmk {Cp.} gəˈgəˈr m., Mkl {J} giˈgəˈreˈ 'poitrine' || WCh: Klr {J} kuːkoːh 'Brustkorb' ¶ Lk. ZSS 182, Cp. 64, J LM 101, J R 353 || ? S: Ak kukku(bu)bu 'pig's stomach' ¶ Sd. 421 || U: FP *kokoV 'belly' > F kohtu 'womb', Es koːht (g koːhu) 'belly, abdomen, stomach (Magen)' || Prm: Vt koːt kət 'belly, stomach', Vt Sr/Kz {Wc.} kət 'belly, heart', Vt G {Wc.} kət 'stomach, heart', Z I kot 'belly' in qds.: kot-ku 'peritoneum' (ku 'skin'), kot-ku uː 'bottom part of the belly' (uː 'bottom'), Prmk {W} kəta 'pregnant' ¶ UEW 670 || A {SDM95, SDM97} *koːkˈe 'breast; to suck' (→ 'chest', 'belly') > [1] T *kˈoːkuːrˈ 'chest, breast' > OT koːkuːz ({Cl.} koːguːz) id., MQp, Cmn koːguːs ~ koːvuːs 'breast, female breast', Tkm rˈ bˈc goːvuːθ, Az koːkuːs ~ koːks, , ET koːkuːs ~ koːguːs, SY koːkuːs ~ goːs, Ln koːkuːz id., Uz kyĀk kōks 'breast, heart, soul', Tk goːgˈuːs 'breast, bosom, thorax', Ggz guːs, Alt koːguːs, Xq koːgiːs 'breast, thorax', Yk koːxuːs 'breast, middle of the back, spine' || Chv kaĀkaĀp кыг-ыг 'breast, female breast' || [2] NaT *kˈoːkuːraːk 'chest, upper part of the body' > Chg xii [San.], Tkm kuːkrek, Blq koːkuːrek, Bsh кьˈkraːk, Nog, Qzq, Qq koːkiːrek, Qrg koːkuːroːk, ET koːkraːk 'chest, breast', Qmq koːkuːrek, VTt кьˈkraːk, Uz kyĀkrap kōkrak 'breast, female breast', Brb {Rl.} koːkroːk 'chest, upper part of the body', MQp {Rs.} koːkraːuː 'Rumpf, Oberkörper', Tv koːkerek 'ankle-bone of cattle', Slr {Tn.} kuːpraːx ~ koːpˈrix 'breast' ¶ Cl. 712, 714, Rs. W 288, ET VGD 54-5, ET KQ 136-7, Grmn. 150, Jeg. 98, Fed. I 249, BIG 87, Hbs. 173, Dž. 213, Nj. 652, UzR 229, Tn. SJ 393, 398 ¶ The T stem *kˈoːkuːrˈ (if originally 'female breasts') may represent a N word group with the dual pc. *yV (-rV-yV > *-ry- > -r-), while in the stem *kˈoːkuːraːk 'chest' no dual marker is present || M *koːkuːn 'female breast' > MM [MA] koːken, [S] kokan [koːkaːn] (pl. kokot [koːkoːt], WrM koːkuː(n), HIM xoːx, Kl кˈ кн koːkn, Dx gogo, Ba kugo, ShY hgoːn, Mnr H {SM} kˈugˈuō, MMgl {Iw.} koːkəˈ 'nipple', Mgl {Rm.} koːkaː 'Zitze'; M *koːkuː- v. 'suck (mother's breast)' > WrM koːkuː-, HIM xˈ xˈ - id., Kl кˈ кх koːkəˈ xə v. 'suck (breast), suck in', MM [MA] koːke- v. 'suck (breast, water)', [S] koko- [koːkoː-] v. 'suck, suckle', MMgl {Iw.} koːkə- v. 'suck milk', Mgl {Rm.} koːka-naː 'sucks (mother's breast)' ¶ Pp. VG 132, S AH 234 [#13],

MED 483, Pp. MA 220, H 103, Iw. 112-3, KW 237, KRS 313 || Tg *xu.ku.-n 'female breast' > Ewk ukun, Ewk UL hukun, Ewk Hng hukuhu, Lm o'kən, Neg o'xo'n, Orc oko(n-), Ud {Shn.} oko, Ul ku3(n-), Ork qo~(n-) ~ qu~(n-), Nn Nh ku~, Nn Bk ku(n-), Nn KU ukun', WrMc xuxun, Mc Sb xuxun 'female breast'; -d̥ Lm o'kən' 'milk', Sln uxu~, Neg o'xo'n'o' 'milk'; Tg *₁xu.ku.- v. 'suck (mother's breast)' > Ewk ₁uku-, Neg o'xo'-, Lm o'k- id. ¶ STM II 254-5, S AJ 208 [#18] ¶ S, AD and Md. (SDM95) reconstruct Tg *xukun ~ *kukun 'fem. breast', but for the variant with *k- there is no ev. (Ul ī kukun does not exist) ¶ Tg *x- may be due to as: A *kok'e > **k'ok'e > Tg xu.ku.n || pKo *kokai~ 'heart (of wood), pith, core' > MKo kokai_yaη, NKo koga`ηi ¶ S AJ 256 [#138], S QK #138, Nam 45, MLC 134 || pJ *k3'k3'r3 'heart' > OJ ko'ko'ro', J: T koko'ro, K ko'ko'ro', Kg kokoro', Ns ko'ro', Sh ku'ku'ru', Ht ku_ku'ru', Y ku'gu'ru' ¶ S AJ 270 [#138], S QJ #138, Mr. 454 ¶¶ DQA #867 (A *ko~'k'e 'breast; to suck; heart'), S AJ 32-3, 280 [#128], ADb. SR 13.

609. 2 *gaLE 'to shout, cry' (→ 'to weep', 'to ask for') > IE: NaIE *g^hel- v. 'call, shout (rufen, schreien)', {EI} 'cry out; sing' > ON gjalla ~ gella 'laut tunen, schreien', OHG ge'llan 'to sound, yell, cheap' (> NHG gellen), AS g'íellan 'to shout, yell', NE yell; ON gala (p. go'l) 'to shout, sing', AS galan 'to sing, call, shout', OHG galan 'to sing, conjure, enchant'; WGmc ed *nahta-galo~n 'nightingale' (← 'cantatrix nocturna') > OSx, OHG nahtagala ~ nahtigala, NHG Nachtigal, AS nihtegale, NE nightingale || R ? 'галил?' 'to shout, cry, weep', 'to shout in a fit of anger, be angry', на'галил?' 'to shout/sing rhythmically (while working)' || ???σ names of birds: Gk χελιδών (< χελιδφών) 'swallow', rdp. κίχλη, Gk D κίχνηλα 'thrush', ?? SI *gal̥, *gal̥ka 'jackdaw, crow' > Blg гал 'jackdaw', McS ? gal 'crow', OR gal̥ka, R 'галька' 'jackdaw', etc. (the SI words may alternatively be connected with SI *gal- denoting black colour, F ESSJ VI 96-7) ¶ WP I 628, P 428, EI 89, Vr. 169-70, OsS 252, 296, 635, Ho. 123, 129, 236, Ho. S 54, Kb. 311, 324-5, KM 245, 500, ESSJ VI 93 (does not distinguish this R verb from homo- and paronymous verbs such as га'лит?' 'to play pranks', OCS galiti 'to jump, rejoice'), 96-7, F I 862 & II 1084-5 II A: Tg *gele- v. 'ask for, beg' (× N *gol̥V 'to look, look for, wish') > Ewk g3l3-, Orc g3l3- v. 'ask, wish', Sln g3l3- v. 'look for, ask', Lm g3l3- id., ? v. 'wish', Neg g3l3- v. 'ask', Ud g3l3- v. 'call for, ask for, wish', Ul g3l3- ~ g3li-, Ork g3l3- v. 'ask, require, look for', Nn Nh/B g3l3- v. 'ask, invite, look for'; Tg *gel̥e_jne- v. 'go to fetch (sth.)' > Ewk g3ln3-, Sln g3l3~n3-, Lm g3ln3-, Orc g3nn3- ~ η3nn3-, Ud g3~n3- id.; Tg *gele_l̥kte- v. 'look for' > Ewk g3l3~kt3-, Lm g3l3t- ^{d̥} g3l3c-, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn g3l3kt3-, Ud H galakta- id. ¶ STM I 179, Krm. 224 II HS: WS *-gīl- ~ *-gu~l- > Ug {OLS} √gl v. 'rejoice (regocijarse)', gl 'an ecstatic cry of joy (grito estentyreo, de júbilo)', Hb √gyl (3m ip. lig5i! ya~'g īl) v. 'shout in exultation, rejoice', liG5 gīl 'rejoicing', Tgr √gwl (pf. M~ gola) v. 'dance and sing', M~ gola 'banquet, revelry', Tgy goY~ g^wayla '∈ popular dance' ¶ OLS 145, KB 182, KBR 189-90, LH 591 ♦ An alt. solution: reconstructing *gawl̥l̥'E 'to shout, cry, weep', replacing the separate rec. of N *gaLE 'to shout, cry' and N *gol̥l̥l̥0V ~ *-l̥0l̥l̥l̥- 'to weep' (q.v.).

610. *gaLu (~ *ga'ya'Lu) 'tortoise' > HS: CS *gall- id. > MHb IG2 gal (pl. Mil' 5G@ gal'lim) id., Sr \o@a ~ «o'@a gal'la~, Md gala id. ¶ Lv. I 328, Br. 115, DRS 126 || WCh: Dr {Kr.} gu'ldu'ku' 'small tortoise' ¶ ChL I 133 II IE {EI} *g^heluH-s > NaIE *g^helu~ ~ *g^h(e)lo~u_ 'tortoise' > Gk χελύς, χελύων id. || SI *z'eli / *z'el̥v- > RChS желы z'elr-, g желъве z'el̥v-e, SCr (??) z'e"lva, Slv z'e"lva, OCz z'elva, P z'o'lw, g z'o'łwi, R ? жолв? 'tortoise' ¶ WP I 631, P 435, EI 595, F II 1086-7, Vs. II 41, Ma. CS 593, HIK 443 II ?φ A: Tg: WrMc giyaltu '∈ cattlefish' ¶ The palatality of the initial stop is obscure ¶ STM I 138, Z 372, Sin. TM 272 (on palatalized cnss. spelled as Ciy-) II ?φ D: [1] D *kull- ({9GS} *g-) '∈ shellfish, shell' > Tu gulla '∈ small shellfish', Tl gulla 'a shell, a white pustule', Prj gula 'snail', gulli 'shell, cowrie', Kui gola, goli 'shell' (reborrowing from Oriya?) || [2] Tm kil.in'cil 'bivalve, mussel, oyster-shell', Ml kil.in'ci 'a shellfish', kil.in'n'il 'oyster shell' ¶¶ D ##1585, 1795 ♦ The odd elements in the Mc and D cognates (-iy- in Mc, *-u- and *-i- in D) suggest that the original word had some additional internal phonemes, so that the etymon may be something like *gayulu'Lu. If not, D *-u- remains puzzling. The pIE final *H may point to a final *-HV at the pN level, but it seems more plausible to ascribe it to some morphological analogies of declension. The latter is suggested by the short u in χελύων.

611. *gElV 'stalk, twig' (> 'stick', 'trunk of a tree') > IE: NaIE *g^halg^(h)- '(flexible) twig, pole' ({EI} 'pole, stake' > Arm 3a-k 3alk 'rod, swith, stick' (< *g^halga~) || Gt galga 'pole, cross', OHG galgo 'gallows, cross', ON galgi, AS 3ealza, OFrs galga, OSx galgo, NHG Galgen 'gallows' (← 'cross'), NE gallows || Lt z'alga 'perch, pole, rod', {Ju.} z'al̥gas id. ¶ Ptrs. H 155 explains the alternation *-g^h-/*-g- by generalizations in the paradigm *g^holg^h / g *g^hl̥g^hn-es. The extension *-g^h-/*-g- is of obscure origin (as almost all extensions) ¶ WP I 540, P 411, EI 442 (*g^halg^heh_A-), Slr. 314-5, Fs. 189, Ho. 125, Ho. S 24, Schz. 146, Kb. 311, KM 229, Vr. 153, Frn. 1284-5 II K: eNG, NG gal-i 'tree trunk without boughs' ¶ SSO I 130, DCh. 160, Chx. 152 II U: FU *°k'a"l̥tV (× N *k̥'a"l̥t̥h'u 'stick, hook, bar' [q.v. ffd.]) II HS: S: Ar ilLaJa g'a~l-at- 'washer[wo]man's beetle' ('battoir de blanchisseur') ¶ BK I 519 II ? D i~kīl(-) ({9GS} *k-) 'peg, pin, nail' > Tm kīlam 'nail, pin, spike', Ml kīlam 'wedge, bolt, nail', Td ki's_ 'handle (of pot, spoon, axe, knife), ku~l 'hinge of box', Kn kīl, kīlu 'pin, peg', kīla 'stake, peg', Tu kīl̥, kīl̥, ь 'joint, hinge, peg',

Tl *kīlu* 'joint, hinge', *cīla* 'iron nail, wooden pin'; probably D -b> OI (att. in MBh and reconstructed from later InA lgs.) *kīla*-h, {MW} 'sharp piece of wood, stake, pin, peg, bolt, wedge' (-d> OI *kīla*-ka-h id.), reborrowed in some D lgs. (e.g., Tm *kīlakam* 'pin, bolt, wedge, joint'). An alt. et. (proposed in D 510 [App. #510]) is that the D v is a loan from InA, but the OI word has no clear IE et., except for postulating (after M) **kl̥_o-lo-s* *q̥* from NaIE *kela-* 'to strike' and connecting (at the level of "Wurzelverwandschaft") with Sl **kolъ* 'stake, picket' (the connection with OHG *kīl*, NHG *Keil* 'wedge' is rejected by M, because OHG *kīl* goes back to Gmc **kī̯δla-*, ƿ WP I 544) ¶¶ DED #1346, D 510, M K I 216, Tu. #3202, WP I 436-8.

612. ***giL'U'** (or ¶ ***giyoL'U'**) 'illness, pain, distress' > IE **g^he₁H₁l-* > NaIE **g^hel-/g^hol-/g^hl̥_o-* or **g^həl-* id. > OIr *galar* 'illness, grief', W *galar* {YGM} 'mourning, grief' (IS: Clt from NaIE **g^hl̥_o-*) ¶ ON, Ic *galli* 'defect, vice', OSw *galli* id., 'pain', AS *zealla* 'galled place on the skin', MLG *galle* 'wounded place on the skin' ¶ Lt *z'ala* 'harm, hut, injury', Ltv *zalba* ~ *ze'lba* 'injury, wound, pain' ¶ Sl: R ? *наѣзола*, *наѣзол* 'sorrow, annoyance, grief', *на'золит?*, *до'золит?* v. 'vex, distress', Uk *на'золити* id., *зо'лок* 'painful place in a wound' ¶ ???σ: Ped. H 38 (and after him Szem., P, C{op and EI) adduced here Ht *kallar*-adj. 'ungüstig, unheilvoll', {Pv.} 'inauspicious, unpropitious, nefarious', {EI} 'sth. evil\unpleasant' [highly *qu.*] ¶ P 411 (**g^hal-*, **g^hal-ar-*), EI (**g^halH-r/n-*, BSl < **g^halH-o/eh_A-*), SB 108, LP § 284, YGM-1 230, Vr. 154, Bv. 211, Frn. 1286, Vs. II 39, Dal II 417, Pv. IV 20-1, Ts. E I 465 ¶ If pIE {EI} **-H-* is justified, it may be ascribed to the infl. of a different root (N **gol̥₁U'V* 'weep') ¶ K: GZ **glow-* 'grieve, deplore' (× N **gol̥₁U'V* ~ **-l̥_ol̥₁U'V* '¶' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ HS: SS **√gl'w¹* ~ **√gyl* > Mh {Jo.} *√glw* (pf. *ge'ləzw*, sbjn. *yə-z'gləzw*) 'be ill, fevered, have a short illness', Hrs *√glw* (pf. *ge'ləzw*, sbjn. *yəz'gləw*) 'be fevered, have fever', Jb E/C *'gi'z'i* 'be ill, fevered', Mh, Hrs *go'ləzw*, Jb E/C *'gələz*, Sq {Jo.} *'gələ* 'fever', Sq {L} *'g(y)ole* 'illness', Tgr *guyul* pp. 'seized with a lingering disease' ¶ Jo. M 119, Jo. H 40, L LS 109, LH 596, DRS 108 ¶ A: Tg **gil(a)-*, *gilk-* > Ul *ge'l-*, *gil-*, Nn Nh/KU *gulki-* v. 'ache' (*ныг?*, *болет?*), WrMc *gila-* 'be sad\melancholy\worried', Lm Sk *gilko-* v. 'ache' (of the heart), *gulkon* 'melancholy, sadness, anxiety', Ork *gilci-* v. 'ache' (of a wound, an injury) ¶ STM I 151, Vas. 100, Ci. 301 ¶¶ DQA #2655 (pA **gi_o'lo* 'be unhappy, endure') equates Tg **gil(a)-* 'ache' with T **Kol-* 'to beg', M **golu-* 'abhorre, condemn' [MED 359] and pJ **kə'ra'pa-* ~ **kua-* 'endure' (> OJ *k(w)orapa-*, J T *korae-* id.), which is too risky both phonetically and semantically. The M and J verbs may be alternatively (and phonetically better) connected with N **gol̥₁U'V* ~ **-l̥_ol̥₁U'V* '¶'. If nevertheless the T, M and J cognates are accepted, the N rec. must be something like ***giyoL'U'** ¶ IS I 229 [#83] (**gil_A*).

613. ?₂ ***goLu** 'skull' (→ 'sphere, ball') > IE: NaIE **g^holw-/g^holu-/g^helu-* 'head' > Arm *glux gluχ* (*g glxoj glxoy*) 'head' ¶ Lt *galva*, Ltv *gal'va* id., Pru *gallu* (ce. for *galbu* [galvo]) id., *glawo* and *galbo* (both ce. for *galwo*) 'toe of a boot' ¶ Sl **gol'va* (*a* **go'ivo_o*) 'head' > OCS *глава* *glava*, Blg *гла'ва*, SCr *glá'va*, Slv *glá'va*, Cz, Slk *hla'va*, P *głowa*, R *голо'ва* (*a* 'голови'), Uk *голо'ва* ¶ P 39-50, Me. EAC 36, Slr. 298, Frn. 131-2, En. 174-5, Tp. P E-H 261, Glh. 230, ESSJ VI 221, ? EI 45 (BSl and Arm < **g^holH'w-eh_A-* 'bald-pate') ¶ HS: S **gulgul₁l₁-(at-)* 'skull' > Ak *gulgullu*, *gulgull-at-u* id., BHB t137G16G8 *gul'golet*, JA {Js.} aT116uG16uG *gulgul'ta-* ~ aT116G216uG *gulgal'ta-*, JEA {Sl.} aT116G116uG *gulgol'ta-* id., ChrPA {RB} *ñlajul0Ju g'ulg'ul-at-* id. (the word is not mentioned in dictionaries of Classical Ar [Fr., BK and Ln.], but only in those of the modern lge., but its existence in Ancient Ar is suggested by its ClAr metaphoric *qd*: *ñjul0Ju* {Ln.} *g'ulg'ul-* 'small bell, consisting of a hollow ball of metal'), Sr *ga'gu't₁a* 'Golgotha' (← JA?), Ar *ñjalaJa g'alag'-at-* 'skull, head' ¶ KB 183, KBR 191, Sl. 268, Js. 221, RB 426, BK I 311, Ln. 438, JPS 60, DRS 118, MiK I #1.79 ¶ Eg fOK 333 'head' ¶ EG V 530-1, Fk. 319 ¶ NrOm: Mj {Fl.} *geli*, *gaylli*, Mj DJ *ga'li* 'head', Shk *geri*, *gari* id. (-r- < *-l-) ¶ Fl. OAM 28 ¶ Ch: ECh: Kwn {J} *go'lo*, Kwn M {J} *go'lo* 'head' ¶ CCh: Mkt *gə'li* 'head' ¶ Ba. 406, JI II 183 ¶¶ Tk. I 322 ¶ A: Tg: WrMc *giyo'lo* ({STM} *g'o'lo* ~ *g'o'lu*, {Hr.} *giyolo*) 'crown of head' ¶ STM I 160, Z 375, Hr. 368 ¶ IS I 237-8 [#94] (**gU₁'_A* 'round, ball': IE, S [words for 'skull, head'] + Hs *gu'lu'lu* 'ball of earth'; i ч words meaning 'round', 'turn round').

614. ***gol'V** 'to look, look for, wish' > IE: NaIE **g^{wh}el-* ~ **g^hel-*, {EI} **g^{wh}el-* v. 'wish' > Gk *ἐθέλω* ~ *ἑθέλω* 'I want, wish', Gk [Hs.] *φαλιζέει* ~ *ἑθέλει* 'wants' ¶ Sl **z'ele-* ~ **z'ela-* v. 'wish' > OCS *же'лѣ-ти* *z'ele'-ti*, *же'ла-ти* *z'ela-ti* 'to desire, wish' ('επιθυμειν', *ἑθέλειν*), SCr *же'лети* ~ *z'e'ljeti* / prs. *же'лим* ~ *z'e'li'm*, Slv *z'ele'* *ti* / *z'eli'm*, OCz *z'eleti* / *z'eleji*, Slk *z'elet'*, Blg *же'ла-л*, R *же'ла-т?* / prs. *же'ла-в*, Uk *же'ла-ти* 'to wish' ¶ MHG *gilēn* 'bettern', ON *gilja* 'verlocken, verführen', Dn *gilje*, Nlc, Far, NNr, Sw *gilja* 'zur Liebe verlocken, werben', ON *gildra*, *gildri* 'trap, snare', OSw *gæl-*, *giælskaper* 'Unzucht' ¶ ? Arm *ge-3* *gefz* 'a wish, Sehnsucht' ¶ The Gk cognate points to IE **g^{wh}-*, while the Gmc cognate suggests **g^h-*, the Sl and Arm reflexes being ambiguous ¶ P 489, EI 629, F I 258-9, 447-8, Vr. 167, Lx. 73, Vs. II 40-1, Glh. 707, Ped. GDIE 20ff. (adduces Arm *gefz*), Slr. 33-4, Xud. I 269 ¶ A: NaT **Kol-* v. 'ask for' (× N **k'a'U₁X'o₁* 'to call (appeler), shout', q.v. ffd.) ¶ [2] The v in question influenced the A root ({DQA} **ge'la* 'search, hunt'), whence Tg **gel-* v. 'ask, beg' (< N **gaLE* 'to shout, cry' (→ 'to weep', 'to ask for', q.v. ffd.)) ¶ pJ {S} **ka'r-* 'hunt for, demand, search; drive' > OJ *ka'r-*, J: T *ka'r-* ~ *ka'r-*, K/Kg *ka'r-* ¶ S QJ #1367, Mr. 704 ¶ AdS of T **k₁'ja₁'ele-l'c-* 'woo, ask in marriage' > Qmq *geles* id. (× ← T **k'a'lin* 'bride' < N **ka'lu₁* 'a woman of the opposite moiety')]

¶¶ The variant [1] (the A v, represented by T *Kol-) is preferable because of its vw., corresponding to the N vw. suggested by the IE cognate ¶¶ DQA #494 [A *ge~la 'search, hunt' > Tg, J, T *k₁'a₁'ele-l'c~] ¶ HS: Ch: ECh: Ke go'le' v. 'look', go'le' v. 'seek (suchen)', Kwn {J} kald.e' id., Kbl {Cp.} gowɔ'1, Ll go'o'1 v. 'see' ¶ CCh: Glv {Rp.} ɣal v. 'beg, beseech, want, ask', ?μ Gdr {MCh.} ŋgel v. 'want', ?μ Msg {Trn.} d. 'g^w l' v. 'look' ¶ WCh: NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} gul-, Sir {Sk.} ŋgu'lu- v. 'see' ¶ SBc: Zar K {Sh.} gali id. ¶ JI II 284-5, ChC s.v. 'look for', 'want' and 'see', Eb. 52, RpB 42 ¶ SC: Kz gal- v. 'see', SC -b> Mb -gali v. 'try' ¶ E SC 235 (equates Kz and Mb with Irq giris- v. 'select' and reconstructs SC *gal- or *ga-l- v. 'look at, look over') ¶ ?σ Eg XIX g3w 'staunend blicken, beaufsichtigen', g3g3w 'staunen ɛber, staunend blicken auf' ¶ EG V 151 ¶¶ Tk. I SCC 87 [#18.3].

615. *r^gol[~]∇ 'foetus, baby' > IE: NaIE *g^welb^h-/g^wolb^h- (< *g^{wh}elb^h-?) 'womb; young (of an animal)', {EI} *g^lw^helb^hu-s 'womb' > OI garbhah., Prth gr2b, YAv garəβa- 'womb', Av gərəbus 'young of an animal' ¶ Gk δελφύς, g δελφύος 'womb', δε'λφαξ 'piglet', δελφίς, -ί'νος 'dolphin' (i.e. 'womb-[fish]') ¶ Gt kalbo- 'female calf, heifer', ON kalf, OHG calb, NHG Kalb, AS c'ealf d c'ieľf 'calf', NE calf; OHG kalba- 'female calf'; OHG kilburra d kilbra d kilbira d chilburra 'lamb', AS c'ilfor-/c'eolforlamb 'ewe lamb', NGr Sw kilbor 'young ram' ¶¶ NaIE *sm_o-g^welb^h(e)yo- 'born from the same womb' > OI 'sa-garbhyah, id., Gk Hm/I 'αδελφεός, Gk A 'αδελφός 'brother' ¶ P 473, ? 359, EI 615, M K I 329 & III 414, M E I 474-5, Bai. 81, F I 19, 863, Ch. 18-9, Fs. 305-6, Schz. 179, Kb. 525, 540, OsS 469, 487, Ho. 45, 48 ¶ HS: C: Ag *ga'f ({Ap.} *ga'r) 'calf' > Bln {R} gar (pl. gal), {Plm.} gar, Q {Ap.} ga'r, {R} gær, pl. galti, Km {Ap.} ga'r, {CR} gar (pl. galta- ~ galti, Aw {Fl.} gara ¶ R WB 157-8, Ap. WLQ 4 ¶ NrOm: Wl {dL} gallua 'calf' ¶ A: M *go'lige_n1 [x N *g^UhLE (bA) 'small carnivorous animal (jackal, [young] wolf, whelp)', q.v. ffd.] ♦ The element *-b^h- in the IE cognate goes back to N *bA (adjectival pc. forming compound names of quality bearers, nomina possessoris, animal names, etc.): IE *g^welb^h- < N *r^gol[~]∇ bA. The plain voiced *g^w- (for the expected *g^{wh}-) in IE may be due to regr. dis (a kind of Grassmann's law, but functioning not only in Indic and Gk, but in Gmc as well; for other cases in Gmc cf. Prok. CGG 203-4 and Collinge 57-8).

615a. ₂ *goLV 'tail' > HS: Om {Blz.} *gol- id.: SOM: > Ari {Bnd.} go(:)li, Dm {Bnd.} go(:)lan, Hm {Fl.} gulo ~ goli id. ¶ NrOm: Bsk {Bnd.} gól'si, Dk {Fl.} golse, Dwr {Lm.} goilano, Wl {Lm.}, Gf {Mrn.} goyna, Gm {Hw.} goi_ná ¶¶ LmS 380-1, Hw. EG s.v. 'tail', Bnd. AL 159 ¶ D (in NED only) {9GS} *g_lkol_l- 'tail' > Krx xola-, Mlt qoli id. ¶ D #2135 ♦ Blz. DA #28 (D, Om).

616. *g^UIE 'to go (away), start going (away), set out' > K *gwal- 'go!' (used in inv. only) > OG gwale 'go!' (inv.), Sv (<b- G?): UB {FS} gwa'le, {TK} gwa'l, L {FS} gwal 'go!' (FS: 'geh, mach dich auf!') ¶ K 60, K² 28, FS K 78, FS E 81-2, TK 179, Top. Sh III 69 (Sv <b- G) ¶ HS: S *√glw 'depart, leave one's place/country, be sent away (out of one's country)' > BHb elg √glw|y (pf. el1G1 ga'la-) vb. n. 'leave; go into exile', tulG1 ga'lu-t_ 'exile', JA √glw|y (pf. il4G6 gə'le- ~ el1G6 gə'la-) 'go into exile, go away, disappear', JEA ilg √gly G vi. 'emigrate, go into exile; withdraw', Sr √glw (pf. gə'la-) 'go into exile, flee', Md √gl? 'to exile, send away, banish', gluta 'exile, banishment', Ar √g'lw (pf. aJa g'ala-) 'go forth, emigrate', 'force to emigrate' (of draught, etc.), Jb C {Jo.} √gl? ~ glw|y: 3g'tol3? 'move from one's place', e'goli 'shift (animals) from one place to another', e'gle vt. 'shift from on place to another', Gz tagalgala pf. 'was taken into exile', Ak NA/NB galu- 'go to exile' (<b- Aram?) ¶ KB 183-4, KBR 191-3, BDB 162-3 [#1540], Js. 248, Sl. 286, Br. 115, DM 92-3, BK I 319-20, Jo. J 74-5, L G 190, Sd. 27, DRS 120-1 ¶ B *√glH 'go, go away' > Ah əgəl (pf. igla. < pB *yə-glah) 'go away (partir, s'en aller)' (Fcj. 25 = Pcj. I A 7, pattern {?Pr.} *-BCih-/BCah), ETwl, Ty ɤglu ({Pr.} *a~glu) 'partir, passer, continuer son chemin' (Pcj. I A 7), Gh ta3'əli 'dīpart', Kb {DL} jlu (= {?DL.} glu) (pf. yə-jla) 'go'; ? Izd {MT}, Tmz AH {MT}, CM {NZ} gulu 'arriver, parvenir a' ¶ Fc. 241, 2001, Crt. 24, GhA 51, DL. 254, MT 152, NZ 767-8 ¶ ?σ C: EC *gal- 'enter, go home' > Sml gal- d gel-, Bs, Brj gal-, Rn gel-, Bn kal- 'enter', Or gal-, Kns, Gdl kal- 'enter, return home', Dsn ga'l 'go and spend the night', Arr gal- 'enter house, go home', HEC *gal- 'stay overnight' > Sd, Ged, Kmb gal-, Hd ga-r- id. ¶ Dhl {EEN} ga'liy-, {E, To.} ga'lij- 'go home' ¶ C -b> Mb -gale 'go home' ¶ Bl. 182, Ss. PEC 17, Ss. B 76, AD SF 61, PG 124, Grg. 161-2, Hw. A 359, E SC 235, EEN 31, To. DL 499, To. D 133 (Dhl ga'lij- <b- Or) ¶¶ OS #879 (*gal- 'go, enter') ¶ A: Tg *gu'li- 'set out/off' > Orc gu'li-, gu'lin-3- 'set out, go away', Ud gulin-3 'set out', Ork, Nn gu'lin-, Ewk PT gu'lisin-, Ewk {Cs.} gu'lina-, Lm Ol/P gu'lən-, Lm O gu'lən- id., 'move on (to a new place)' (of nomads) ¶ STM I 170 ¶ U: FU *kulke 'move, go (on land or on water), stroll' > FU: F kulke- 'go, walk, travel, wander', Es kulge- 'proceed, take one's course, pass' ¶ pLp {Lr.} *kolk3-vi. 'run (of water), float, roam, wander about' > Lp: L {LLO} ka'l'ka°, N {N} go'l'ga- id., S {Hs.} ga'gedh, Kld kolke- 'flow' ¶ Er kol'ge-, Mk kol'gə- 'drip, run' (of liquid), leak' ¶ Prm: Z kīvt-, Z ? kilt- 'swim (with the stream)', Z ? kilal- 'swim/travel on water (with the stream), float, drift on water', Yz {UEW} kal-t- 'flow (with the stream)' ¶ pOs *kəɣəl- > Os: V qəɣəl 'walk, step (schreiten)' (↔ 'run'), D χοχət, Kz χω'χət- 'run' ¶ OHg halad- 'vorangehen', Hg halad-, ? hallad- 'go, make way, advance, go on, proceed, travel' ¶ UEW 198, Coll. 26, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *kulki-, Ugr *ku'lkir- 'run'), Lr. #442, Lgc. #1896, Hs. 552-3, Ker. II 64,

LG 149, Trj. VD 148, MF 525, EWU 516-7 ¶ Both Coll. and UEW adduce the Sm stem of Ne Т ху¹ лас? 'be friven by the stream', but since U *-l- is not preserved in Sm, and -l- of the Ne form belong to a sx., the comparison of the underlying Sm {Jn.} *ku- vi. 'treiben' with FU *kulke- is not reliable (?σ,φ).

617. *gu¹l A 'dwelling, house' > U: FU *ku¹ll a¹ 'dwelling, house, village' (× *K¹ul¹a¹ 'clan, village', q.v. ffd.) || A *gu¹:lV (or *-u¹-) 'dwelling, cottage' > T *k¹il ~ *k¹u¹l 'house, home' > Tk gil {Deny} 'la famille, le chez soi, l'habitation', Xzr (in names of towns): Es-kil, Es-gil (lit. 'old city\|village'), Σαρ-κελ likrs *[s¹arke¹il] (lit. 'white city'), Yk ku¹ll a¹ 'porch (ceh¹), covered passage in a building' (unless from Tg), ? Chv kil, ? ku¹l 'house, dwelling' ¶ Rm. EAS I 48, Rs. W 270, Deny GLT 347, Ash. VI 208-9, VII 69, Fed. I 291-2, Gomb. BTL 200 || Tg *ogu¹le > Ewk gu¹l³ 'dwelling, house, hut' ¶ STM I 171 || pJ {S} *ku¹ra¹ 'shed' > OJ kura id., J: T kura¹ 'go-down, warehouse, store-house, cell, cellar', K ku¹ra¹, Kg ku¹ra¹ ¶ S VL 218, S QJ #259, Mr. 464, Kenk. 1108 ¶¶ S l.c. (pA *gu¹:lV or *-u¹-), DQA #575 (A *gu¹li¹) || HS: EC: Sml {R} gol 'Zimmer, Stube', {DSI} gol 'piega nella parte anteriore della futa, dove le donne usano mettersi oggetti', {R} gola 'eingeschlossener Raum, Gemach, Stall für das Vieh', {ZMO} gole 'enclosure, chamber; meeting place', Or Wt {Sr.} gola 'room', Or {Grg.} gola 'innermost private part of house', Or Wl {Brl.} gola 'ambienti separati in capanne Galla per diversi usi; stanzino; cella; camera', Sd {Gs.} gollo 'stable, cowshed, manger; inside of'; EC b> Wl {C} guolle¹ 'house'; EC → EthS: Gz go¹l 'stable, crib, manger', Tgr gol 'stable' ¶ R SS II 168, DSI 271, ZMO 164, Sr. 314, Gs. 27, Grg. 177, Brl. 179, L G 189 || Ch: ECh: Ke kuli 'village, house', Kwn, Smr ku¹lu¹, Ll ku¹l 'hut' (× N *K¹ul¹a¹ 'clan, village', q.v. ffd.) ♦ IS MS 341 (*gu¹la¹ жили¹?e¹; U, Tg).

618. *gohle 'fire, glow of coal; to burn (vt.)' > HS: WS *√ghl v. 'glow as coal' > Hb ga¹helet¹ 'glow of coal', pl. gəha¹līm id., Ar Y g¹ayhal, mig¹hal 'stick for raking coals', Amh ga¹la v. 'be red-hot' ¶ KB 180, KBR 188, Rb. AWA 26, Uld. 169, DRS 112 ¶ Here we reconstruct S *h (rather than *χ) because of the incompatibility of an initial *g and medial *χ in the same v in pS || D *ko¹l- ({9GS} *go¹l-) > Tl go¹lincu, Gnd Rsr go¹lis- vt. 'fry' ¶¶ D #2246 || K: [1] *ogwal- v. 'parch by its heat' (of the sun parching the soil) > G gval¹/gol- id. || [2] GZ *gwal- 'be' (of drought) [× N *gU¹V 'season without vegetation' ('draught, dry season', 'winter'), q.v. ffd.] ¶ K² 28, Chx. 189, Abul. 97, DCh. 317 || A {SDM97} *go¹le, {DQA} *gi¹ol¹a¹ 'burn [tr.], fire' > M *ga¹l 'fire' > MM [MA] a¹ ol¹ (ya¹lī (ga¹l-i¹), [IsV] Tq qa¹l ([gal]), [HI, S] qal (=gal?), WrM gal, HIM гал gal 'fire, conflagration', Kl, Ord gal, Dg gal¹i ~ gal¹y ~ gal¹, MMgl [Z] ya¹l, Mgl ya¹:l (a¹: due to the impact of the Persian-Tajik labialization a¹ > a¹: ~ ɔ¹), Mgl M ya¹l, Mnr H {SM} gar, Ba {T} xal, {Pot.} гал id.; M *golumtan 'hearth' > MM [MA] golumtan id., [S] h¹olumta golumta 'Feuerbecken, Herd', WrM golumta, HIM голомт 'fireplace in a yurt, hearth in a tent' ¶ MED 346, 359, T DgJ 130, T BJ 149, Ms. H 87, H 57, 65, Pp. MA 174, 179, Lg. VMI 41, Iw. 105, Pot. 411, KW 141-2, Rm. M 28, Wr. 177, S AJ 235 [#31] || Tg *gu¹l- v. 'glitter, kindle, light a fire' > Ewk gul¹- v. 'glitter, flash', Lm gu¹l-, Nn B gola¹- v. 'kindle, light a (camp-)fire', Lm gu¹lu¹- v. 'catch fire', Ewk guluwun, Lm gu¹lu¹n, Neg golowun 'a (camp-)fire', Orc gog¹o(n-), Ul, Nn B gol¹o(n-), Nn Nh gol¹o¹, WrMc golon tuwa 'fires (by night in a road\field\camp)' ¶ STM I 169, S AJ 225 [#291] ¶¶ S AJ 294 [#490] (*gu¹al-), SDM95 s.v. *gual¹V 'burn, fire', SDM97, DQA #526, Pp. VG 24, 75 || This N v may have semantically influenced A *k¹u¹lV 'ashes, cinders, charcoal' [× N *k¹u¹l¹gV (or *k¹u¹l¹gV?) 'silt, dirt', q.v. ffd.] || ?φ IE (mt): NaIE *g¹h¹lo¹- 'coals, charcoal' > ON glo¹ð, AS glœ¹d, OFrs gle¹d, OHG gluot 'glowing coals, red-heat', NHG Glut 'embers, heat', OHG gluoen 'burn, glow', AS glō¹wan 'to glow', NE glow || Clt: W glo¹ 'coal', Crn glow 'charcoal', OBr {SB} glaou id. (not confirmed by Flr.), Br glaou 'charcoal', MBr {Ern.} d¹ Glouher p.n. (← 'charbonnier', cp. Br ? gloaou¹ae¹r and W glo¹wr id.), snglt.: W gloyn, MBr {SB} glouenn, Br glaouenn 'piece of coal' ¶ Vr. 175, Ho. 133, Schz. 153, OsS 338-9, Kb. 397, KM 263, SB 120, ? P 433 (unc. et. of the Brtt word), YGM-1 235, ECCE 246, Ern. 261, Hm. 315 ¶ NaIE *g¹h¹lo¹- represents a metathetic variant **gol¹hV; the labiality of the guttural stop was lost in the precon. position ♦ Cf. AD AltAD #15 ♦ D *-l- suggests a N plain *-l- ♦ S NS #17 equates A *k¹i¹alu (> T *k¹u¹l 'ashes', Tg *xi¹al 'coal') with IE *g¹eu¹l-/g¹u¹el¹ 'coal'. In my opinion, they go back to different N roots [A < N *gohle 'fire, glow' (q.v.), IE < N *kul¹lV (or *kaw¹l¹V?) '¶'].

619. ?? *gUhle (bA) 'small carnivorous animal (jackal, [young] wolf, whelp)' > HS: B: Ah {Fc.} a-g¹u¹lāh 'male wolf' (< *gu¹lVβ?) ¶ Fc. 429, Pr. H #95, NZ 779 || C: Bj {R} ga¹la¹b (pl. ga¹lab) 'striped hyena' || SC: pRt {E} *g¹ehela 'jackal' or 'dog' > Kz {E} g¹ehela 'jackal', Brn {E} g¹ehera, Alg {E} g¹ihira, g¹ehera 'dog' ¶ R WBd 95, E SC 328 || Ch: WCh: Grn {Jgr.} g¹u¹lu¹m 'hyena' || CCh: Gudu {ChL} ku¹l¹zm id., ? Mtk {Sb.} ng¹le¹ng¹le¹, ?? Glv {Rp.} ngelaxb¹a¹g¹va¹, {ChL} nelexb¹agu¹vā id. ¶ Jgr. 185. ChL, ChC || ?φ K: GZ *mgel- 'wolf' > OG mgel-, G mgel- ~ gel-, Mg ger-, Lz mge(r)- ~ gwer- ~ m¹z¹wer- 'wolf' ¶ K 130, Chik. 87 ¶ The initial *m- is a nominal px. || A *go¹l¹e¹k¹ 'young animal' > M *go¹lu¹ge (× N *g¹ol¹V 'foetus, baby') > WrM {Kow.} go¹lige, {MED} go¹lige ~ go¹lu¹ge 'pup (young dog)', HIM r¹l¹ r id., 'kitten', Ord {Ms.} g¹o¹lo¹g¹o¹, Kl {Rm.} go¹lgā, {KRS} r¹l¹ go¹leg 'young animal, esp. young dog', Mnr H {T} golgo, Mng

Nr {SM} *g_uorg_uo* 'pup, young dog'; these M words have also the meanings 'sprout, shoot' resp. v. 'sprout, bud', but in the light of the T cognates they must be secondary *sd*'s; WrM {MED} *go''lu''gele-*, HIM *г'л' гл' -x*, Kl *go''lgl_ -xə* v. 'whelp' ¶ The element **-ge_l_n_* may be connected with the M dim. *sx. *-qan/*-ken* (Pp. GPMJ 107, Pp. IM 239) ¶ MED 386, Kow. 2602, SM 143, T 323, KW 137, KRS 146 || T **k_l_''jo''l'ek* > Blgh -b> Hg *ko''lyo''k* 'young of an animal; whelp, puppy, kitten' || NaT **k_l_''jo''s'a''ek* 'a young animal' > OT {Cl.} *ko''s'a''k* id., MQp *ko''s''ek* 'camel colt', Tk *ko''s_ek*, Tkm *ko''s''ek*, Az *ko''s'a''k*, Ggz, Qq *ko''s''ek*, Uz ? {Shch.} *ku''s'a''k*, *ku''s'a''la''k* id., Osm XIV *ko''s''ek* id., {Rl.} 'young of an animal' ¶ Cl. 753, Shch. Zh 106, ET KQ 126-7, Rl. II 1305 ¶ T **k'-* < A **g-* regularly (IS AG 339-42) ¶¶ Pp. VG 25, 78, IS AG 341, DQA #898 (A **kgo''l'ic(kV)* 'young of animals').

620. ***gowlu** 'deep; valley' > IE: NaIE **o_g_l^wh_ el(u)-* 'deep' > Blt: Lt *gilu's*, Ltv *dzil's*, Pru (f. *a*) *gillin* id., Lt *gy'lis*, *gelme'* 'depth', Ltv *dzelme* / *dzelmanis* 'depth, deep place (in water)' ¶ Frn. 151, Kar. I 253, En. 177, Maz. PKP I 550 || HS: EC **golU* 'valley' > Af {PH} *golo* 'gorge into which a stream runs, valley', Or E *golū* 'valley', Or *gola* 'gorge', Sml *gol* 'foot of hill', Gln, Gwd *ko'lle*, Gwd *kolle'* 'river', Cm *gole* 'small river', Brj *golo* 'slope', as well as possibly Or *gola* 'corner, edge' and EC {Ss.} **gel-* 'below, under' > Or *z'al-a* (-b> Brj *z'a'lo*), Kns, Gdl *kel-a* id., Hr, Dbs, Gln *kala'* 'under', *ka'lu* 'below', Sa {R} *gale* 'deep' ¶ Ss. B 83, 109, PH 115, Abr. S 94, Bl. 183, Th. 172, AMS 242, 275 || ? ECh: Ke {Eb.} *kə́lmi* 'deep' ¶ Eb. 67 || ? B **√glmm* > Ah *a'g'əlmam*, ETwl *agəlmam*, Ty *egəlmam*, Adgg *ag'əlmam*, Gh *a3'əlmam* 'lac, bassin, mare', SrSn [Rn.] *agg'əlmam*, Izn *ayəlmam* 'lake, pool, puddle', Shl {NZ} *ag'Imim* 'mare, itang', CM {NZ}, Rf *agəlmam* ^d *ayəlmam* ^d *az'əlmam*, Shw *agəlmam*, *agəlmim* id., 'abrevoir, bassin', BSn *gəlmam* 'small lake', Kb *ag'əlmim* 'pont d'eau stagnante, mare' ¶ Rn. 354, NZ 781-2 || S: Ar *i'əal0ji* *g'ilha'b-* 'valley' (going back to a HS *cd*?) ¶ BK I 319 || A **gow_l_∇_lu* 'valley' > NaT **Ko_l_ id.* > OT {DTS} [MhK] *qol* 'valley, wadi', {Rs.} [QB] *qol* 'lowland, river-bed', Tkm *go'l* 'lowland', Qmq *qol* 'valley', SY *qol* 'water-bed', Tv *χol* 'dry river-bed', VTt *qul* id., 'ravine', Xq *χol* id., 'valley', Qrg (in place-names) *qol* 'river-bed, river valley', Sg/Shor {Rl.} *qol* 'lowland, valley (without river)', Chg/ET {Rl.}, SbTt Tr {Rl.} *qol* 'lowland, river-bed', QrB {Rs.} *qol* 'small valley, brook' ¶ Rs. W 277, ET Q 43-6, TL 90, DTS 453, Rl. II 582-3, BIG 285 || M **gowl* 'valley, river bed, river' > WrM *goul*, HIM *гол* 'river, river-bed, valley', Ord *gol* id., Kl {KRS} *хол* *χol*, {Rm.} *gol*, Brt *гол* 'middle, river', Mnr {T} *gol* 'river', Mnr Nr {SM} *guor* 'river, valley with a river or dry river-bed', Mgl *χo'l* 'river bed' ¶ MED 362, SM 125, T 325, Rm. M 28, KRS 165, KW 149-50 || Tg: WrMc *golo* 'middle, main deep part of the river-bed, valley; province', Mc Sb {Mrm.} *golo*, {Y} /*golə*/ [*gəl*] 'province' ¶ Z 341-2, Hr. 347, Klz. MS 182, Y #1032 || pKo {S} **ko-r* > MKo *ko-r*, NKo *ko'l* 'valley' ¶ S QK #683, Nam 51, 90 || pJ {S} **kura* > OJ *kura*, *kura-tani* 'deep valley' ¶ S QJ #1604 ¶¶ SDM97 (A **gowVlu* 'valley'), DQA #543 (A **goblu* 'valley'), Rm. SKE 121 (Ko, T, M, Tg), STM I 160 (M, Mc) || D **kolli* ({9GS} **k-*) 'valley' > Ml *kolli* 'valley, corner', Kn *kolli*, *kolle* 'a bend, corner, gulf, bay', Klm *kolli* 'small stream with rocky bed', Tu *kolli* 'a bay' (the meaning 'corner, bend' may be due to contamination with a different v) ¶¶ D #1839 ◇ ? IS I 231-2 #86 (**golHA* 'heart' in K **gul-* id. and A {IS} **gol'∇'* 'middle').

621. ***gol_l_∇_V** 'belly, entrails' > K **gul-* 'heart, core' > OG, G *gul-i* 'heart, breast', Mg, Lz *gur-i*, Sv: UB/LB/Ln {TK} *gwi*, L {TK} *gu*, ? {K <-?} *guh-* 'heart' ¶ K 66, K² 35, FS K 88-9, FS E 93-4 (in all three sources **gul-*), K p. c. (**gw_l_-*) [P in IS I 231 fn.], Schm. 103, Chik. 65-6, TK 181-2 || D **ko'l-* ({9GS} **k-*?) 'belly, entrails' (× N ***kol_l_∇_jy∇** 'lumbar region?') > Krx *ku'l* 'belly, stomach, womb', Mlt {Drs.} *ko'li* 'abdomen', Brh *xo'l* 'womb, entrails'; D -b> OI *Λ ko'-la-* 'breast, lap', Prkr *ko'li* 'breast, bosom', Lhn *kolī* 'chest of an animal', etc. (P Tu. #3607) ¶¶ D #2244 (hyp. with a query: D <b- InA), ¶ Pf. 169 (the same hyp.), Tu. #3607 (admits that the word is originally not Aryan) ¶ To my mind, the D word was borrowed not from, but into InA at an early epoch (probably from the northern dialects of D, with which OI first came into contact) || IE: NaIE **g'hel-ond-/*g'hol-n_* *d-* 'entrails' > Gk *χολα'δες* 'entrails, guts', *χο'λικες* id. || SI **z'elo_d_ь*, **z'elo_d_ькъ*, **z'elo_d_ьсъ* 'stomach' > OR *z'elud_ь*, *z'elud_ькъ*, RChS *z'elud_ькъ*, R, Uk *ж'лудок*, Blg *ж'льдък*, SCr *z'eludac*, Slv *z'elod_ec*, Cz *z'aludek* ~ *z'aloudek*, P *z'ola_dek* id. ¶ P 435, F II 1108-9, ? Vs. II 44, Glh. 707 ¶ The lack of labialization in **g'h-* still remains unexplained ◇ ? IS I 231-2 #86 (**golHA* 'heart' in K **gul-* id. and A {IS} **gola* 'middle'). In the light of the facts known today, the A word is not akin to K **gul-* 'heart', but belongs to N ***gowlu** 'deep; valley' (q.v.).

622. ***gu'∇_l_∇_E** 'roe, antelope' > HS: S **o_√glm* > Ar *μlaja* *g'alam-* (coll.), pl. *g'ila_m-* {BK} 'esprice de mouton de Tanf (aux jambes hautes, dīpourvues de laines); bouc; chevreau' ¶ Fr. I 298, BK I 318 || C: Bj {R} *gu'la'h* 'female *Sterspiceros* antelope' ¶ R WBd 95 || A: NaT **k'u''lmiz* 'roe-deer' > OT QU *ku''lmiz* 'female roe-deer', Shor, Xq *ku''lbu''s*, Tv *x*лb*c* 'the male of the wild goat', Alt *ku''lmu''s*, Sg/Qb {Rl.} *ku''lbu''s*, Tf *hu'lbu's* 'male roe-deer' ¶ Cl. 718, Shch. Zh 121, ET KQ 139, TL 153-4, Ra. 192, BT 99, BIG 95, Rl. II 1479 ¶ STM II 264.

623. ***go₁yE₁lllIV** 'pudendum muliebre' > HS: WS ***g₁lʃ** 'clitoris, foreskin' > Mh {Jo.} g₃lo^t, Jb E/C {Jo.} gis^h.ʃot 'clitoris' (ass. glottalization ***-lʃ-** > ***-s^h-**), Sr g₃la^sʔ-t-a⁻ 'foreskin', Arn mlJ **g₁lʃ** 'ph₁ter/enlever le p₁ripuce (dans la circoncision)' ¶ Jo. M 118, Jo. J 75, JPS 71, Br. 119, BK I 316, DRS 131, MiK I #1.76 || SC: Irq {MQK} g^wala⁻y (pl. g^wale⁻), {E} g^walay, Qz {E} gilaʔiko 'vagina' ¶ E SC 372, MQK 42 || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} gu^lé, {ChL} g^wu^lé^y 'vagina', Msg {Mch.}, Msg Ng {Krs.→Lk.} gi^ll^{ij}, Msg {Rud.→Lk.} 'gili' 'pudendum muliebre' ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. M 56 || D (in SD) ***ko₁yV₁lli** ({9GS} ***g^l-**) id. > Kn, Tl golli, Tu koyilæ id. ♦ Blz. DA #36 [D, HS].

624. ***gil^hh^u** 'to shine, glitter, sparkle' > IE ***g^hel(h^w)-**/***g^hle^w-** ({EI} ***g^hel-** ~ ***g^hel-** 'yellow') > NaIE ***g^helæ-** / ***g^hlo-** 'shining, yellow, green' > OI 'hari-h. 'pale, yellowish, greenish', Av zahri- 'yellow(ish), gold-coloured', Av zahrita-, Phl zart, NPrs drz za^rd 'yellow, pale', rz za^rr 'gold', KhS ysar- 'be reddish, yellow', ysaru⁻na 'yellow, red', NPrs éyYrz za^r-ryu⁻n {Sg.} 'yellow; green and pleasant', Sgd zrywn 'green'; ↳ OI 'hiran.yam, Av zaranya-, OPrs daraniya-, Sgd zyrm 'gold', KhS ysarrnaa- 'golden' || Gk χολη^h 'gall' (← ***yellow**), χλοή^h 'first green shoot of plants', χλωρος^h 'greenish-yellow, pale green' || L helvus 'honey-coloured, isabel-yellow', (h)olus, -eris, † helus 'culinary vegetable, pot-herb' (← ***green**) || OIr gel, Nlr geal 'bright, white', W gell 'yellow', OBr {Flr.} gel 'brun, roussâtre', MBr guel(l) (gell) 'bai, roux, brun', Br gell 'brown' ('brun, bai'); a Clt lge. ↳ L gilvus 'pale yellow' (of horses) (Ert. ED 169-70) || ON gulr, OHG ge^llo (aadj. ge^llawe^r), NHG gelb, OSx gelo, AS g³eolu 'yellow', NE yellow || Ltv zel^u / zel^t 'become/grow green', Lt z^leliu⁻ / z^lé^lti 'grow, sprout' (of plants), z^lel^{vas} 'greenish, yellowish'; Lt z^la^lias, Ltv zal^s, Pru saligan ({En.}: [zalyan]?) 'green' || SI ***zelenъ** (jъ) 'green' > OCS **зелень** zelenъ, Blg ze^len, SCr ze^len, Slv ze^len, Cz, Slk zelený, P zielony, R pradj. 'зелен, attr. зе^lл^hный, Uk зе^lлений id.; pSI ***zelye** > OCS zeliye 'λα^hχανον, vegetables', OR zeliye id., 'potion', R 'зел'е 'potion', Blg 'зеле, Cz zelí 'cabbage', SCr ze^lje = ze^lje 'greens, sorrel', Slv ze^lje 'grass' || ↳ NaIE (dial.) ***g^hel-t-**/***g^hol-t-** 'gold' (↳ NaIE forms that had lost the prevoc. ***ə?**) > Gmc: Gt gulþ, ON gull ~ goll, NNr gull, Sw, Dn guld, OHG gold, NHG Gold, AS gold 'gold', NE gold || Ltv ze^lts 'gold', Lt E z^leltas 'golden, gold-coloured' || SI ***zolto** 'gold' > OCS **злато** zlato, Blg 'злато, SCr zla^{to}, Slv zlato^h, Cz, Slk zlato, P złoto, R, Uk 'золото' ¶ P 429-30, Mn. 413-4, M K III 581, M E II 805-6, F II 1104-6, 1109-10, VI. II 126, Sg. 612-7, Gersh. AM 25, 29, Bai. 346-8, WH II 600, 639, 654, SB 112, Flr. 173, Ern. 296-7, Hm. 311, Dnn. 354, Ern. 296-7, OsS 296, 340, Kb. 325, KM 244, 264, Ho. 127, 134, Ho. S 25, Vr. 194, Hlq. 311-2, Fs. 224-5, Frn. 1287, 1296-7, En. 241, Glh. 694-7, Vs. II 92-3, 103-4, ~ EI 654 [***g^hel-** ~ ***g^hel-** 'yellow' with the var. ***g^hel-** based on Lt gel^{tas} 'yellow' (that in fact belongs to IE ***g^{wh}el-** 'yellow, gall' > L fel 'gall', etc.)] || HS: S ***g₁lʃh¹** > ***g₁lʃw** > Ar vlJ **g₁lʃw** (pf. }aJa g³ala⁻) 'rendre brillant \ йцлатан \ resplendissant', n. g₁ila⁻?- 'йцлат, brillant' & n. act. of **g₁lʃw** 'rendre brillant' ¶ BK I 320-1 || U: FU (att. in BF) ***kil** |V- v. 'glitter, shine' > F kiilu- v. 'glimmer, glisten', kiil-ta⁻ v. 'shine, glisten', Es kiilas 'glossy, glazed', Vp kiltata- v. 'shine (glitter, sparkle)' ¶ SK 191, ZM 205 ¶ The BF v is ambiguous. It might alternatively belong together with IE ***g^hel-** 'bright; to shine', but the corresponding M and Tg roots indicate that the initial cns. was voiced, hence it is preferable to equate all of them with IE ***g^helh^w-**, which is confirmed by the long ī in BF (pointing to a presence of a lr. in N) || A {DQA} ***gi^lle-** v. 'shine, glitter' > M ***gilu⁻**, ***gila-** > MM [MA] gile- in gilec³iku⁻ hodut 'shining stars', WrM gilū⁻gen 'shimmering, bright'; WrM {MED} gilai-, {Rm.} gilai- ~ gilui- v. 'shine', Brt gilai-, HIM g³alay- id., as well as possibly M ***gilu^u-** > WrM gilun ~ gilū⁻, Ord g³o⁻lo⁻η, Mnr {SM} 3⁻ilo⁻n 'shimmering, bright, smooth', Kl gilōg 'smooth, shining' ¶ Pp. MA 172, MED 382-3, KW 136, SM 87 || Tg ***gil-**, ***gi^l-ta-** ~ ***gil-te-** vi. 'shine' > Ewk PT/Brg/Y/Np giltana-, Ul giltan-, Nn Nh/B giltan-, Sln gilut³- id., Ew Ucr/Chmk geltan, Ewk Brg giltas adj. 'shining', Ork gilzmji 'shining' (of eyed), WrMc giltaxun, giltari 'shining, clean, bright' ¶ STM I 152-2 || pJ {S} ***ki^lra-** 'shining, glittering' > OJ k₁i₁ra⁻k₁i₁ra⁻ id., J: T k^lra-kira, K k^lra⁻k^lra⁻, Kg kira-k^lra 'glitteringly', T/Kg kira-me^k-, K k^lra⁻me^k- v. 'glitter, glisten, sparkle' ¶ S QJ #805, Mr. 708, Kenk. 969 ¶¶ DQA #510 ♦ The lr. is tentatively reconstructed as ***h** [it is the only lr. which is liable to be lost in S (between vowels) and may later yield Ar -ʔ- in certain hiatus positions] ♦ In some lgs. we observe the meaning 'smooth' (Lv kilaz, M ***gilū^u-**η), either resulting from an independent metonymic change (smooth things [such as ice] are shining), or induced by words going back to the paronymous N etymon ***gUL₁E₁hU** 'be smooth', or even belong to it (the case of Lv) ♦ || IS I 229-30 [#84] (***gi^lʃh^u** = ***gi^lʃ^hu** 'smooth and shining': IE, FU, M, Tg; i 4 words for 'smooth' [our ***gUL₁E₁hU**]) ♦ Gr. II #337 (***kel** 'shine') [IE, U & A (all = IS), J + qu Gil].

625. ?? ***gol₁l₁0₁V** ~ ***-l₁0₁l₁l₁'** 'to weep' > HS: B: Si gals v. 'weep' (× ***kaLc^hV** 'voice; to speak/cry/weep') ¶ La. S 279, NZ 786 || D ***ko^l-** ({9GS} ***go^l-**) 'weep; grief' > Td go^l-, go^lm 'sorrow', Tu go^lu, go^lu 'grief, lamentation', Tl go^la 'wailing', ? go^ld.u 'grief, affliction' ¶¶ D #2252, GS 159-68 (on reflexes of D ***-l₁-**) || K: GZ ***glo(w)-** 'grieve, deplore' (× N ***giL^hU¹** 'illness, pain, distress?') > OG gl- / glov-, G gl-, gl-ov- id. (m-gl-an 'ich bedaure', lit. 'it saddens me', e-gl-ov-s 'er betrauert'), Mg rg(w)- 'mourn' (v-i-rg-3n-k 'ich trauere') ¶ K 63 (*glo-), K² 31 (*glo(w)-), Abul. 94, Q 304, Chik. 259, FS K 82 & FS E 86 (*gl-) || ??σ A ***golV** || 'suffer' > M ***golu-** 'abhorre, contemn' > MM [HI] {Ms.} qolu [golu]- 'trouver mauvais, avoir en aversion', WrM golu-,

HIM голо-х, Brt голо-хо 'abhorre, be fastidious; reject', WrO {Krg.} golo- 'reject, be dissatisfied, neglect, despise', Kl хол- id., {Rm.} gol- 'mit etwas unzufrieden sein, ausmustern' ¶ MED 359, Ms. H 90, Krg. 314, KRS 166, KW 150, Chr. 156 || pJ {S} *kз'ra'pa- - > *kua- 'endure' > OJ k(w)orapa-, J: T korae'-, K/Kg ko'ra'e' - ¶ S QJ #887, Mr. 712 ¶¶ DQA #2655 (pA *gi'o'lo 'be unhappy, endure'; incl. M, J) ♦ D *o- suggests the presence of a Ir. (*0 in view of the K zero reflex). An alt. solution: rec. of *gawli'IE 'to shout, cry, weep', replacing the separate rec. of N *gaLE 'to shout, cry' (q.v.) and N *gol'IE 'to weep'.

626. *gU₁E₁hU 'be smooth' > IE *g^hleH^w-d^h/*g^hlH^w-d^h 'be smooth', {EI} *g^hleHd^h-ro- 'smooth' > NaIE *g^hlo-d^h/*g^hlad^h- 'be smooth' > L glaber 'smooth, without hair, bald' :: ON glaðr, OFrs gled, OHG, MHG glat, NHG glatt 'smooth'; the semantic variant ON glaðr, OHG, MHG glat 'shining, glänzend', AS glæd id., 'glad, pleasant', NE glad is due to the infl. of (or goes back to) the reflexes of N *gil'h^u 'to shine, glitter' :: Lt glaudnu's, gluo'dnas, glodu's (uo < *o- < *eH^w) 'smooth', {Frm.} glo'dz'iu / glo'sti v. 'polieren, schleifen, glätten', Ltv glas'tu / gla's(t)r'at v. 'stroke, caress', Pru glosto 'whetstone' : SI *gladъ > SCr † glad 'smooth'; SI *gladъ-kъ(jъ) id. > OCS глaдъкъ gladъкъ, Blg 'гладъкъ, SCr gla'dak, Slv gla'dek, Cz, Slk hladký, P gladki, R, Uk 'гладкий, Uk глад'кий; caus. v. SI *gladiti 'make smooth' (→ v. 'iron, stroke') > OCS глaдити gladiti, etc. ¶ P 431-2, EI 529, WH I 603, OsS 335, Kb. 325, Lx. 73, KM 260, Ho. 132, Frn. 158, En. 179, IS I 230, Bern. I 300-1, ESSJ VI 114-7 || HS: WS √glh 'be bald' > BHb, JA [Trg.], JEA hlg √glh D (caus.) 'cut/shave the hair', Ar √g'lh (pf. ?aliJa g'aliha, ip. -g'lah-) 'lose one's hair on both sides of the head', (pf. ?alaJa g'alaħa) 'eat away the bark of trees, leave the tree "bald" [without bark]' (of camels), g'alaħ- 'boldness on both sides of the head', Gz √g^wlh (pg. g^walħa) 'be shaved', Tgr √glh G 'be bald, shave one's hair', Tgy √g^wkhy 'raser la tkte (pendant la pñiride de deuil)' ¶ KB 185, KBR 193, GB 141, Sl. 285-6, Js. 247, Ln. 441-2, BK I 312, Hv. 94, L G 191, LH 441-2, DRS 123 || C: Bj {R} g^wa'l'a 'baldness in the fore part of the head' || K *glu₁w₁- 'smooth' > G glu, gluv-i 'smooth, even', gluv- 'be smooth' ¶ Chx. 198, DCh. 324 || U: FU *ku'l₁V 'be smooth, slippery' > Prm *gu'lit > Vt gilit 'smooth, slippery', Z gilid 'slippery, slipping', 'good for skiing \ driving in a sledge' (of snow-covered ground) : ?? Lv kilaz 'smooth, covered with ice' (× N *gil'h^u 'to shine, glitter', as suggested by the final -az, common with Es -as [Es kiilas 'glossy, glazed']) :: pOs *ko'~l₁ə (??HL.) *ku'~l₁ə 'smooth, slippery' > Os: V/Vy ko'~l₁i, Y ko'~li, Nz qu'la, Kz qu'l₁i, O quli ¶ UEW 156, Coll. 80, LG 84, Stn. D 625, HL. rHt 71, Tv. FUI 54, Kt. 133 || ? A: (× N *gil'h^u 'shining') M *gil₁u~'n 'smooth, bright' > WrM gilun ~ gilu'~n, Ord g_o'lo'~n, Mnr {SM} 3_ilo'n 'shimmering, bright, smooth', Kl gilæg 'smooth, shining' ¶ MED 382-3, KW 136, SM 87 ♦ || IS I 229-30 [#84] [*gi'l'h₁u 'smooth and shining': S, K, IE; i ч words for 'shining' (our *gil'h^u)].

627. *gU₁V 'season without vegetation' ('draught, dry season', 'winter') > K: GZ *gwal- 'be (of drought)' [× N *gohIE 'fire, glow of coal; to burn (vt.)'] > OG gual-, G gual-/gol- id., Mg golop- id., OG gualva, G gualva 'drought' ¶ K² 28, Chx. 189, Abul. 97, DCh. 317 || HS: EC *gi₁l₁al- 'dry season, winter' > Sml {DSI} 3_ila'l 'stagione secca; stagione di siccità e carestia; inverno', Sml N {Abr.} 3_ila'l 'dry season', Af {PH} gila'l 'winter', Sa {Wlm.} gila'l 'highland harvest season' ¶ DSI 344, PH 113 || A: T *k'il' 'winter' (× N *gil'V#J?V'd'V 'ice, frost; to freeze', q.v.) > OT {Cl.}, XwT XIV, OQp XIV qis', Tk kis, Tkm, Az gis', Ggz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Ln, Qrg, Alt, Xlj qis', Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY, Yk qis, VTt, Bsh qas', Uz, ET qis', Xq xis, Tv, Tf qis', Chv xeÄl xyl id. ¶ Cl. 670, ET Q 253-4, Rs. W 268, Ra. 224, Md. 70, 131, 168, IS AG 342 [fn. 15], Pek. 1438, Jeg. 297, Fed. II 341-2 ¶ Possible contamination with (or infl. of) T *Ko'~l' (- > NaT *Ko'~s-) 'feel cold' (see N *ku₁l'IE 'cold; to freeze') ♦ ? S NSShS (equates K (GZ) *gwal- with A *k'o₁lo'la 'get/make dry', see *K.UXI'a 'be dry').

628. *gil'V#J?V'd'V 'ice, frost; to freeze' > IE: NaIE *g^helad- 'ice, hail' > NPrs T"rr z'a'l, %La"rr z'a'le 'hoar-frost, dew; hail', Tj жола 'hail, dew' (acc. to Rast. SGZIJ 107, *-ld- > pLm *-rd- > NPrs and Tj -l- :: Gk Hm χα'λαζα n. 'hail' :: SI *z'eld- > OCS жaлѣница z'le'dica 'frozen rain', Slv z'le'd 'ice-covered ground, Glatteis', P z'lo'dz' 'frozen rain, ice-covered ground', Uk ожe'леда 'rain with snow, ice-covered ground' ¶ WP I 629-30, P 435, EI 287 (*g^hel₁h₂d- ~ *g^hl₁(h₂)ed- 'hail'), Vl. II 175 (NPrs %La"rr 'grando'), BM 265, Sg. 636, Horn 152, RTdS 187, 975, F II 1065-6, Mikl. E 407-8, Brъ. 665 || HS: S √gld 'freeze' > Ar √g'ld (pf. daliJa g'alida) 'be frozen' (of ground), dyliJa g'alid- 'hoar-frost, ice', JA {Trg.}, JEA ad1il5G6 gālī'd-a-, MHb di15G6 gā'lid 'ice', Sr ждоjli@gālī'd-a- 'ice, crystal', ?ag_lī'd-a- 'ice, frost', NNEA {Orh., DRS} жdjlc glīda 'ice'; in the S lgs. there is secondary association and sometimes coalescence with the root *√gld 'be(come) hard' ¶ BK I 313-4, Hv. 95, Lv. I 331, Sl. 287, DRS 118, JPS 70, Orh. 86, DRS 119 || A *gil₁d₁V 'cold' > Tg *gi₁d'V 'cold' > Ewk gilli₁ d gildi, Neg gihgd₁ ~ gihst, Lm gildā₁ d gilrā₁ d gilla adj. 'cold' (of a liquid), Ud {Rm.} gilihi adj. 'cold' ¶ STM I 151, Krm. 222 || T *k'il' 'winter' [× N *gU₁V 'season without vegetation' ('draught, dry season', 'winter', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ The A cns. *d was probably lost in T due to contamination with N *gU₁V ¶¶ DQA #511 (A *gi'~l'o' 'cold') ♦ The IE velar *g^h- is quite reg. In the framework of AD's theory on N vowels in the IE prehistory (AD NGIE and NVIE) it is explained as follows: N *gil- > pre-IE *g^hai₁- > *g^hal- (loss of glides before a sonant) > IE *g^hel- (*α is transformed into the apophonic vw.).

629. ***ga^hmV** 'strong, firm' > HS: S *^o/gmm > Ar ^o/g^hmm (pf. ^oWJa g^hamma) 'be abundant', 'be rich' (of vegetation), ?σ Jb {DRS} gimm 'abonder, se collecter a nouveau' (water after being depleted) [× ^o/gmm 'gather'] ¶ BK I 321-2, Hv. 97, Jo. J 76, DRS 141 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gam- 'be strong' > Su {J}, Ang {ChL} kam, Gmy {ChL} k.ɔ̃m : Krkr {Stl.} n-gam, Tng {J} kwamunɔ̃ 'firm' (*g- > Tng *k- regularly) : ? Hs gamza 'strong man' ¶ Stl. ZCh 217 [#674] (AG, Krkr), ChL, J T 187 II U *ka^hma 'hard, firm' > F ka^hma^h 'stiffness, rigidity, inflexibility', ka^hmea^h 'thick, firm' ('tjock, bastant') : Er keme, Mk kema^h 'hard, firm' : Hg keme^hny id. || Sm: Slq Ke/NP {Cs.} ko^hm, Slq B {Cs.} ku^hm 'tough, hard' (zɔ̃h, hart), Slq ko^hm id., ko^hmʔa 'hard', Kms {KD} kom^h.ɪ^ha^hm vt. 'harden', ba^hza^h kom^h.ɪ^ha^hm 'harden iron', {Cs.} komdel^ham, komdl^ha^hm ('Eisen) hɔ̃rten' || pY {IN} *kim- 'strong, firm' > Y: K {IN} kimɔ̃^h- v. 'fight' (-ɔ̃^h- is an iterative sx.), kimɔ̃^həs^h- 'stand firm (psychologically), крепит^hцф, мужат^hцф', K {AD} kimji-k inv. id., 'bear up!' ('крепис^h?'), {Jc.} (Jc. JR) kimɔ̃^heck 'to stand firm, take heart\courage' ('крепит^hцф, мужат^hцф'), {Ang. ← Jc. [texts]} kimdes^h-, kimdies^h- fest bleiben' ¶ UEW 137, Coll. 87, Sm. 545 (FU, FP *ka^hma^h, Ugr ka^hma^h 'hard'), MF 349-50, ERV 251, Cs. 121, 181, 232, DK 32, Ang. 117, Jc. JR, AD YN, IN 227, 306, || Rd. UJ 37 [#20] (Y < U) II D (in SD) *ke^hm- (-{9GS} *k-) 'strong, hard' > Ml ke^hmam 'strength, solidity', Kn ke^hma 'callosity, as that of a wart' ¶ D #2003 ♦ Blz. SNE #2 (U, D, ? Hs).

630. ***g^hE^hmV** 'altogether, full' > HS: S [1] CS *^o/gmm 'be full; gather' > Ar ^o/g^hmm (pf. ^oWJa g^hamma) id., 'be filled up' (of a well), 'to collect in a well' (water), 'fill', Ar Mgr ^o/g^hmm D 'remplir la mesure jusqu'au bord', possibly also BHb MG2 gam, Ug gm, M^hb, J^hd gm 'also'; [2] +ext.: WS *^o/gmɪ (× S ^o/gmɪ 'fist, handful' < N *gollmV ~ *gomllmV 'hand, fist') > Ar umJ ^o/g^hmɪ, Mh ^o/gmɪ (pf. gu^hma, sbjn. yɔ̃gmɛ^h ~ yɔ̃gmɛ^hʔ), Jb C gɪɪ v. 'gather', Ar g^humɪ- 'totalitɪ, le tout' ¶ BK I 321-2, 326-9, HJ 225, KB 187-8, KBR 195-6, OLS 147, Jo. M 120, DRS 141-3 || C: HEC *gumʔa 'all' (for phonetic reasons hardly from Ar g^humɪ-) > Hd, Kmb guʔma 'all', Sd {Gs.} guma- vi. 'assemble, gather' ¶ Hd. 19, 280, 319, Gs. 133 || Ch: WCh: AG {Hf.} *gam 'fill, be(come) full' > Gmy/Mnt {Hf.} gam id., Su {J, Hf.} gam, {IL} ga^hm, Tal {IL} ga^hm 'full', Su {J} vt. 'fill', Ang {Lax} ga^hm id., {Flk.} gam vt. 'fill, complete' : BT: Dr {Nw.} gɔ̃mɪ, Pr {Frz.} ke^hmo^h 'fill' (*g- > Pr k-), ? Bl {Lk.} gom- 'zusammentreffen', ? BT *ɲ-gV^hm- > Ngm {Sch.} ɲgama 'full', Bl {IL} ɲg^ho^hma^hni 'full', Krkr {Sch.} nɔ̃ʔa^hmu^h 'fill', Gera ɲgu^hmti^h-mi^h, Glm {Sch.} ɲga^hnd-a^hla^h vi. 'be full', vt. 'fill', Grm ɲa^hm-ta^h 'fill' : ? Pr ko^hmu^h-ra^hy 'everybody' : ECh: Ke {Eb.} gɔ̃m 'also' ¶ JI II 156, ChC, J S 66, Hf. AG 24, Flk. s.v. gam, Nw. K 125, Lax 113, Sch. BTL 87, 119, 137, 144, Lk. PPB 135, Frz. P 36-7, Eb. 50 ¶ OS #888 (*gam- 'be full': S, WCh) II A *g^ha^hl^hm- 'all, filled in' > Tg *ga^hl^hɪm ~ *gemu^h 'all': *ga^hl^hɪm > Orc ga^hm 'all (of them), every, all kind of', WrMc ganɔ̃i 'all (of them, of him, of it)', *gemu^h > Ork {Pt.} rɪm gɔ̃m ~ rɪm [ʔ] (there is no Ork phoneme ɪ) 'all of them, all, everything', WrMc gemu^h 'all [of them], altogether (alle, insgesamt, sɔ̃mtlich)', Mc Sb {Mrm.} gem, gemu^h 'alle, alles, sɔ̃mtlich, insgesamt', {Y} /gumə/ [gum] 'all', Jrc {Kiy.} gemur altogether, gemur ina 'all of it' ¶ STM I 138, 179, Pt. JO 72, Z 301, 321, Hr. 334, 343, Klz. MS 177, Y #2816, Kiy. 138 [#757], 145 [#841], S AJ 207 [#2] (Tg *gemu) || pJ {S} *kɔ̃m- 'be filled in, stuffed' > OJ ko^hm-, J: T ko^hm-, K/Kg ko^hm- ¶ S QJ #865, Mr. 712 ¶ DQA #496 (A *ge^hmo^h 'to complete, fill in': incl. Tg, J) ♦ It is hard to decide if the basic HS v is *^o/gm or *^o/gmɪ, hence the N etymon may be either ***g^hE^hmV** or ***g^hE^hmɪV** (*gV^hmɪV being ruled out, because the cluster *mɪ is more likely to undergo as to *ɲɪ that the cluster *m + approximant *ɪ). We cannot rule out the possibility that ***g^hE^hmV** and ***g^hE^hmɪV** are two different N roots.

631. ***gollmV ~ *gomllmV** 'hand, fist' > HS: WS (or CS) *^o/gmɪ 'hollow\closed hand' > Sr Ж400'mo0© gəma^hɪət^ha^h 'handful, fist (manipulis, pugillus)', Ar um0Ju g^humɪ- 'fist, back surface of the fist' ('poing, poignɛ, main fermɛ; partie exterieure de la main, les doigts ɪtant fermɪs'), ? Jb {DRS} ɔ̃ɪ^h ɪ, 'yama, 'yami, ya^hmɪah 'fist' ¶ Br. 121, BK I 327, || DRS 143 || C {AD, HL} *ganaɪ- 'hand, palm of hand' > Bj R ganʔa id., Bj A {AD} tu 'ganaʔa 'palm of hand' : EC: pSam {Hn.} *ga^hɪa^hm 'hand, arm' > Sml ga^hɪa^hn, pl. ga^hɪa^hmo, Sml J ga^hɪɲ, pBn *ka^hʔa^hn > Bn Bi ka^hʔan, Bn J/Ba/K ka^hʔa^hn; Bs gene 'hand, arm'; Elm {HL} gene 'hand', Kns kanʔa^h-ta, Gdl {HL} kana(ʔ)a-ta, {Ss.} kanaɪ-at, Gato {HL} kanʔa-te, Or Wt {Hn.} gana^hʔ, Or BI {Sr.} gana^h 'palm of hand', Hr/Gln {AMS} pl. kana^hɪɪe, Gwd {AMS} kanʔate, Brj {Ss.} ganaʔ, {Hw.} ga^hna^h 'palm\ball of hand', Sa {HL} ginnaɪ-ta 'palm of hand', Af {PH} gennaɪ, genna^hɪa 'palms of hand, soles of foot' (snglt. gennaɪ-ta), Ya {HL} kinneʔe 'hand'; cf. also Sa/Af {R} ga^hmad (pl. 'ga^hmo^h-d) 'hollow hand, fist' (but the Af word is not found either in PH or in Clz.) ¶ AD SF 316, Bl. 161, Hn. S 82, Hn. BD 111, Hn. W 62, R S II 156, R A II 59, Ss. B 77 (EC *ganɪ- 'hand'), HL 99 (C *ganaɪ- 'hand, arm'), PH 112, Sr. 310, AMS 167, 207, 247, Blz. CWL II U *komV(rV) 'hollow hand' > pLp {Lr.} *kɔ̃mɛ^hre^h 'handful' or sim. > Lp: Kld {TI} kuɔ̃mmer^h 'handful', N {N} goabmer 'the two curved open hands put together to receive\catch sth.' : ?? F kahmalo, kamahlo, Vp kamah^h d kahmah^h d kahmah^h, Es kamal id., Lv ko^hmal, Lv W ka^hmal 'handful'; -hm- in F and Vp and the vw. a may be due to the infl. of the BF verbs represented in F kahmaa- 'blindlings greifen' and F kahmi- 'nachschnappen'; it is tempting to suppose that this h is a trace of N *ɲ, but in the light of U comparative phonology such conjecture is not valid : Er komopo komoro, Mk

komop komər 'handful' : Z {W} kamir id. || Sm {Jn.} *ka^oma^o ~ *kema^o '(outstretched) arms' > Ne T cəvə id., d cəvəy 'armful', Ne O {Lh.} s'e^oβ'a^oi, Ne F {Lh.} s'ie^omma^o id., Slq Tm {KD} q'a^o:m 'outstretched arms', Slq Tz d qo^omal- v. 'embrace', Kms {KD} d q'a^o:məru^o 'outstretched arms'; ? -d> Sm *ka^omVr- (~ *ka^omVl-, *kemVl-) v. 'embrace' > Mt {Hl.} *ka^omər- 'umarmen, mit beiden Händen umfassen' (Mt M {Sp.} камьрнамь 'I embrace') ¶ UEW 175-6 (rejects the BF cognates), Lr. #472, Lgc. #2639, TI 134, Ker. II 65, Kt. 149, ZM 175, Jn. 63-4, KKH 164, KD 24, Hl. M #464 II A {DQA} *ko^ompo 'fist, wrist' > Tg *kombo- 'wrist, ∈ part\bone of the hand\forearm' > Neg komboxi^o 'wrist, metatarsus, radius (bone)', Orq qomv^o 'wrist, funny-bone', Nn: Nh qombto, KU qombt 'back side of the hand, wrist' ¶ STM I 409, On. 224, ADb. SR 260, 300-1 || pJ {S} *kə^ompusi 'fist' > OJ ko^obu'si^o, J: T ko^obus'i^o, ko^obus'i^o, K ko^obu's'i^o, Kg kobu's'i^o ¶ S QJ #883, Mr. 453 || ?φ NaT *k'opa, *k'opa-k 'fist, wrist' > Qrg qobuq 'arthritis of metacarpus', Tb, QK qoboq 'wrist', Tv qowades, Tf {Cs.} kofades^o 'fist' ({DQA}: < *k^ol'jopa-adl^o) ¶ ADb. SR 194 [acc. to ADb, the Tv-Tf word may be a reborrowing of the Tk word from Tg and Ket, which is rejected by DQA] ¶¶ DQA #875 [A *ko^ompo 'fist, wrist'; incl. Tg, J, T] ¶¶ The change A *-mp- > T *-p- is not yet clear ♦ The devoicing of N *g- to A *k- still defies explanation (as. *g...p > *k...p or infl. of the A reflex of N *k.a^op.V 'palm of the hand, sole of the foot?').

632. *gumbV 'back, (?) hump' (→ 'hill') > HS: Om: SOM: Dm {Fl.} gumb 'back' :: NrOm: Kf {C} gubbo, Mch {L} gu^obbo 'back (dos)' ¶ Fl. OO 316, C SE IV 436, L M 29 || ??φ CCh: Gdr {Mch.} 'gəbbo 'buttock' ¶¶ But Hb gab^o, Ug. gb and JA gab^oba^o 'back' do not belong here (⇔ Blz. DA), but go back to S *gabb- 'top of sth.' (the back is the highest point of animal's body) < N *gabV 'head' (q.v. ffd.) II U: FU (or FV?) *kumpV 'hill' > F kumpu 'hill' : Lp L {LLO} ka^obba^o 'Anhuhe, kleiner Berg, Hengel' : Mk kumba 'hummock, tussock' :: ?φ pVg *ka^omp 'hill, heap' ({MK} 'Hengel, Haufen') > Vg: T/K {MK} ka^omp, N {MK} kamp ¶ LG 83, MK 190, ¶ UEW 203 (does not distinguish between this v and U *kumpV 'wave') II D (att. in SD) *kump- 'back' > Tm kumpam 'upper part of the back between the shoulders', Ml ? kumbi 'buttocks', Td kub 'back; behind' ¶ D #1747 ♦ Blz. DA #27 [D, HS, including (unc.) S *gabb- (presumably 'back') and HEC *go^ob- 'neck'].

633. *gimlVjC.V 'to make a grimace with one's mouth and/or nose' (> 'to grin, smile, mock, laugh') > HS: S *√gnc, > Ak StB A √gns, G, Ak StB D (inf. gunnus, u) {CAD} 'sniff, wrinkle one's nose', {Sd.} 'Nase, Lippen hochziehen', Sr {PS} жсосов©u guna^os.a^o 'derisio, subsannatio, irrisio'; ?σ Ar √g^ons II (pf.3an WJa g^oannas.a) 'ouvrir\йқсарқуиллє les yeux (de frayeur)'; ?φ WS *√kmnc, > Ar √kns, D (pf. kannas.a) 'renifler, remuer le nez pour se moquer de quelqu'un', EthS: Gz kəmsu^os 'one who smiles', Tgr kəmsəs bela, Tgy kəmsəs bəle 'to smile' ¶ The vl. k- in Ar and EthS still defies explanation (lexical attraction of a different word?) ¶ CAD V 40, Sd. 280, PS 755, BK I 339, L G 286, BK II 339, DRS 160 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ga^omsu^o 'laugh' : NrBc: Kry {Sk.} γəmzəc, Wrj {Sk.} γənc-, My {Sk.} γama^o?s-, Mbr {Sk.} γə^on?sa, Jmb wumas^o- id. : SBC: Bg {Sh.} ko^oma^os, Zr K {Sh.} g^oa^oms^oe^o, Grn {Hrn.} ŋga^oŋsi^o id. :: CCh: Bu {Hf. from unprofessional records} kums^oi 'laugh, laugh at' : ? Gude {Srp.} wu^osi^on 'laugh' : Mtk ŋg^oas id. : Dgh {Frk.} gb^oa^osa^o id., Glv {Rp.} yubas- 'laughter' :: ECh: Mb {Lk.} ge^omi^os, {J} ga^oma^ose^o, Jg {J} gims-, Brg {J} ge^omsi^o 'laugh' : Tmk {Cp.} ga^oz^o, Nd D {J} gə^osa^o id. ¶ Nw. #79 (Ch. *gamsə), JI I 108 (Ch. *√gms₂) & II 218-9, Sch. DN 68, Sh. BZ 36, Hrn. G 46 [#265], Jgr. 186, Hf. B 260, RK 90, Cp. 60, Lk. ZSS 182 II D (in SD) *kic-/kinc- 'make a grimace by showing the teeth, grin' > Kt gin^o- '(dog) shows teeth with a snarl', kicv- 'make a grimace (of derision, etc.) by opening mouth and drawing back lips', Kn kisi 'to expand\open\withdraw the lips from the teeth so as to show them; grin', Tu kis^o 'grinning, kis^oi-kis^oi 'a titterm laugh'; D -b> InA *khiiss- v. 'grin' ¶ D #1510, Tu. #3889 ♦ Lack of as *-mc.^oc^o.- > *-NC.- in Ch (and EthS?) suggests the existence of a vw. between the root-medial cnss. and its loss in the prehistory of S and D.

634. *gumlVjC.V 'to incline, bow, bend' > HS: S *√gmc, ¶. > Gz √gmc, v. 'incline, bend', Tgr gəmc^o.uy 'crooked, perverted' ¶ L G 195-6 || ?φ,σ Ch {Stl.} *gu^oz^oi-n 'knee' > CCh: Mdr {Mk.} ug^oz^oe, {Mch.} u^okje^o, Glv {Rp.} yu^on^oz^oa, Gdf g^owi^oz^oa, Dgh {Frk.} g^owi^oz^oe, {IL} g^owi^oze, Gv {ChL} g^owi^oz^oa, Nkc y^owun^oz^oa :: ECh: Kbl {Cp.} gu^oz^oa ¶ JI II 215, Stl. IF 193, ChC, ChL II U: FU *k^ou^on^oc^oV (or *ko^oan^oc^oV) 'bent' > ObU {Ht.} *ku^on^oc^o id. > pVg {Ht.} *ku^os^ona^o > Vg: ML {Mu.} kha^os^one^o, K {Mu.} kha^os^one^o ~ kha^os^ona^o ~ 'elastisch, biegsam', N {Mu.} xa^os^one^o, ML khasna^o 'der elastische Teil des Holzes', Ss {Kn.} xu^os^ona 'der aus Birkenholz bestehende Teil des Bogens'; ?? possibly Vg: T {WVD} k^oo^os^ok^o-, MK {WVD} k^oo^osa^os^o-, P {WVD} ko^os^os^o-, LL {WVD} k^oβas^os^o- (= k^oas^os^o-) '(seinen Kopf) neigen, sich verbeugen'; pOs {Ht.} *kun^oc^o- > Os: V/Vy/Ty qut^o-, D xun^ot^o-, Nz/Kz xu^os^o, O xus^o 'obere Birkenholzlage am Bogen' ¶ Ht. 153-4 [#298], MK 112, WVD VII 130 II D *kunc- ({9GS} *k-) ¶ 'low; to bow' > Ml kun^ocuka v. 'stoop, bow', Td kwic 'humble, low', Tl kuncu v. 'depress' ¶ DED #1474 (unless these forms are connected with Tm kurun^oku v. 'bend', Ml kun^okuka v. 'sink low', etc., as in DED #1474 and D #1767) ♦ Lack of as *-mc.^oc^o.- > *-NC.^oc^o.- in HS suggests the existence of a vw. between the root-medial cnss. and its loss in the prehistory of U and D.

635. *g^ofa^oms'a '∈ bird, waterfowl' > IE: NaIE *g^ohans- 'goose' > OI ham^osa-h, 'goose', ham^os-i 'female goose, swan' :: Gk χη^ov (g χηvo^oς), Gk D/B χα^ov (< *χαvς, g *χαvσο^oς) 'goose' :: OIr ge^oiss 'swan' (< f. *g^ohans-i v OI ham^os-i) :: Gmc *gans-iz

(transormed into an *i-stem) > ON *ga's* (pl. *gæ's*), OHG *gans* (*i-stem), NHG *Gans*, AS *go's* (pl. *ge's*) 'goose', NE *goose* (pl. *geese*); Gmc **gans-iz* > Sl **go_sь* id. (an inherited word would have had an initial *z-) > Blg *ganc* m., Slv *go's* (*g gosi'*), OCz, Cz *?*, Slk f. *hos* (*g husi*) f. 'goose', Cz (restructured) *husa* f. 'goose', P *ge's*, Blr *ryc?* (*g ry'c°*) f. id., Uk *ryc?* f. 'female goose', OR *гoсь* *gusь*, R *ryc?* m. 'goose' || Lt *z'a_si's* (*z'a_si_s*), Ltv *zo'ss*, Pru *sansy* ({En.}: [*zansi*]) id. || with a sx. *-er-: L *a_nser* (< **ha_nser*) 'goose', Gmc: MHG *ganzer* ~ *ganser* 'male goose', NHG (with restructuring) *Ga_nserich* id. ¶ P 412, ¶ EI 236 (**g^han-s*, "perhaps derived from **g^han-* 'yawn, gape'"), M K III 571, M E II 799, F II 1094-5, WH I 52, LP § 26.10, Vr. 157, Ho. 135, OsS 261, Kb. 316, Lx. 53, KM 231, Frn. 1292-3, En. 242, ESSJ VII 88-9 (unconvincingly rejects the Gmc origin of Sl **go_sь*), Bern. I 342-3 (recognizes this Gmc origin as a possibility) || HS: Eg MK *zms* ({EG} *d_ms'*) {Fk.} 'avocet (a bird)', {EG} 'e Vogel (mit aufwärts gebogenem Schnabel)' ¶ EG V 574, Fk. 322 || A {S} **gasV* 'e bird (e waterfowl?)' > Tg **gasa* 'waterfowl, bird' > Orc *gasa*, Ul, Ork, Nn *gasa* 'waterfowl, duck', Ud *ga^Ha* 'bird, duck', {Krm.} *gaha* 'duck', Neg *gasa* 'swan', Ewk *gasa* 'crane', WrMc *gasxa*, Mc Sb *gasxax* 'bird' ¶ STM I 143, S AJ 207 [#10], Krm. 221 || ?σ M **geske* > WrM {Kow.} *geske* 'faucouñpervier qui a sur la queue et les ailes une raie blanche', Kl {Rm.} *geska* 'Fischadler, weiAgeschwanzter Adler' ¶ Kow. 2458, KW 135 ¶ S AJ 289 [#338], DQA #484 (A **gasol* 'crane, aquatic bird') || U: [1] **kXns^c^V* > Sm: Kms {Cs.} *konzu?* 'gull (Mцwe)' I [2] ? **kas^V* (or °-c'-) 'e duck' > Prm **ku_osV* ({?Lt.} **ku_o_sV*) > Vt *kwas'i* 'male duck' || ObU **ka_s-* > pOs **kas-* > Os: V/Vy *qas*, Ty/Y *qa^s*, Kz *xos* 'merganser', D *xos* 'a wild fish-eating duck with a pointed beak' || The adduction (UEW 111) of Slq (LTz *c^en* *kuec^e* 'graue Wildente', Ke *kuetj* ~ *kuettja* ~ *kodje* & N *kuec^* [in compound names of species of ducks]) is highly doubtful for phonetic reasons ¶¶ Hardly here FU **k^o^sV* > Chr: L *kos*, E *koso* 'goldeneye (Bucephala)' || Prm **k^o^sis'* (?Lt.} *k^o^sis'*) > Z *kosis'* 'gray duck', Yz *ku'sis* 'merganser' || ?? F *koskelo* 'Gdñsesdger, Gans-, Sdgetaucher, merganser', Es. *koskel* 'e a natatorial bird' (Prm **o^* point to a pFU **o^*) ¶ Cs. 181, ¶ UEW 111 (**kac^V* ~ ? **kan^c^V*), 673, MRS 225, B 75, Lt. 51, Lt. J 139, LG 135, Trj. S 146 ♦ Gr. II #182 (**ka(n)s* 'goose') [IE, A, CK].

636. **gAn^h^V* 'see, perceive' > HS: Ch {JS} **gan-* ~ **gin-* 'see' > WCh: Hs *ga^ni'* 'see, look at' || Tmbs {Sh.} *a^ gi^ni'* 'you see!' || ECh: Skr {Sx.} *ge^ni^ye*, {Lk.} *ge^na-go^* 'see' ¶ JI II 284-5, Abr. H 298-9, ¶ Sk. HCD 77 || K: GZ **gen-/gn-* 'learn (erkennen), apprehend, understand' > G *gen-/gn-* 'learn, understand' (s^e-v-gen 'I learned, ich erfuhr', s^e-gn-eba {DCh.} 'to understand, learn, guess', {FS} 'erfahren, erkennen'), Mg *gin-*, *g3n-* 'understand, learn' (v-i-gin-en-k 'I understand, apprehend', ki-i-b-g3ni 'I learned [erfuhr]', ki-gin-u 'he learned'), Lz *gn-* 'learn', {K²} 'hear' (n-a-gn-u 'er begriff', o-gn-u 'to apprehend, erkennen', o-gn-i 'I understood', Sv (4b-G?) *ma-mg3n-a* 'I suppose' ¶ K 63, K 27-8, FS K 75-6, FS E 79, DCh. 1401-2 || D {Pf.} **ka^h-* / **kan^h-* ({9GS} **k-*) 'see' > Tm, Kn *ka^h*, Ml *ka^h.nuka*, Kt *kan^h-/ka^h-*, Td *ko^h-*, Kdg *ka^h-*, Tl *kanu*, Brh *xaniñ* 'see', Tu *ka^h.3sa^vuni* ~ *ka^h.isa^vuni* v. 'show, represent', Klm *kand,t*, *kand,akt* 'seen, visible', Nkr *kank er-* 'appear', Prj *kand,p-* 'look for, seek', Gdb *kand,p-* v. 'search', Krx *xan-* 'be pleasant to the eye' || possibly also D **kan^h*, **kan^h^o*, {Pf.} **kan^h*, {GS} *kan^h-* 'eye' > Tm, Kn *kan^h*, Ml *kan^h*, *kan^h.nu*, Kt, Gdb, Knd, Mnd *kan^h*, Td *kon^h*, Kdg *kan^h^i*, Tu *kan^h.n.3*, Tl *kanu*, Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gnd *kan*, Png *kan^ga*, Kyu *kanu*, Ku *kan(n)u* ~ *kannu^*, Krx *xann*, Mlt *qanu*, Brh *xan* id. ¶¶ D ##1159, 1443, Pf. 2, GS 168 [#425].

637. **genu* 'jaw, cheek' > IE: NaIE **g^henu-/g^henw-* > OI *hanu-h* 'jaw', Av *zanu-* id. (att. *a du. zanu* 'both jaws'), Prt *znx*, KhS *yanuwa* 'jawbone', ZPhl *za^nak* ~ *zanak* 'jaw', NPrs ¶ Naza *za^na^x*, Psh *zana* 'chin' || Phr *a-3en^v* (*a a-3e^va*) 'beard' ({EI}: < **h_n_o-g^en-* '[that which] on the chin') || Clt [x IE **g^henu-* < N **kan^yju* (or **kan^vyu*) 'cheek, side of the face']: OIr *gin* (*g geno*) 'mouth', W *ge^h* 'cheek, chin' (pl. *genau*) 'jaw, chin', OBr {Flr.} *gen* 'jaw', MBr {Flr.} *guen* 'cheek'; Brtt {RE} **genowes* (ancient pl.?) > W, OCrm *genau*, MCrm *ganow*, OBr, MBr, Br *genou* 'mouth' || Tc [x IE **g^henu-* < N **kan^yju* '¶']: Tc A {Wn.} *s^anw-* (att.: *du. s^anwe-m^*, {Ad.} *s^anwe-m*) 'jaw' ¶ WP I 587, P 381-2, M K III 576, M E II 801, Brtl. 1662, 1689, Vl. II 149, Sg. 624, Horn 118, Bai. 345, Mrg. 102, Fs. 312, Vr. 309, OsS 489, Ho. 49, Ho. S 41, KM 369-70, LP § 72, RE 113, Flr. 174-5, YGM-1 233, Hm. 312, Wn. 470-1, Ad. H 110, ¶ EI 322 [OI *hanu-h* < IE **g^henu-* 'jaw' (unt. because of h-), cf. N **kan^yju* 'cheek'] || HS: WS **√?gn* ~ **√wgn* (or **gin-at-*?) > Ar *?ag^h-at-* ~ *?ig^h-at-* ~ *?ug^h-at-* {Fr.} 'gena, prxsertim superior ac prominentior malx pars oculis et temporibus proxima', {BK} 'pommelte, partie saillante de la joue au dessous de l^hil', wag(a)nat- ~ wag^inat- ~ wug^nat- 'joue saillante', Ar Eg {DRS} *wagna* 'cheek', Ar O {DRS} *wag^na* 'pommelte', Mh *w3gne^t* 'cheek-bone', Hrs *w3gne^t* (pl. *w3ge^h*) 'cheek', Jb E/C {Jo.} *eg3nt* 'cheek-bone', Jb C {Jo.} *o^g3n* 'have prominent cheek-bones' ¶ Fr. I 16, BK I 14 & II 1494, Jo. M 424, Jo. H 134, Jo. J 288, DRS 493-4, ¶ MiK I #1.84 [S **gu/in-*, **√wVgn-* '(area including) cheek-bone and eye-socket'] || B **√gnz* 'forehead' > Sll {Ds.} *i-g3nzi*, Shl {NZ} *ignzi*, Tz {Stm.} *i-ginzi*, Dmn {Rn.} *tagunza*, Kb {Dl.} *ta-g^w3nza* 'forehead', Ntf *taunza* 'frisettes du front' ¶ Stm. 188, La. MChB 112, Ds. 136, Rn. 356, Dl. 266, Dray 229, NZ 841 || C: Bj {R} *ge^nu^h* (pl. *ge^nin*) 'jaw, jaw-bone', {BechG} *gu^nu^h* 'jaw' (but Rop. translates the word as 'gum [of teeth]') ¶ R WBd 99, Rop. 136 || Ch: WCh: AG {Hf.} **gen* 'cheek' > Gmy {Hf.} *gen*, Mnt {Hf.} *g3n*, Su {J} *g^en* || BT: Gera

{ChL} geni 'face', Dr {J} g'nga' 'cheek' : NrBc: Wrj {Gw.} gana 'chin', P' {MSk.} ga'nc'z'ka 'cheek' : SBc: Sy gu'yn, Buli gu'ni 'cheeks' : CCh: ZmD {KNC} gi'n, {Srp.} gin, ZmB {Sa.} gi' ~n 'cheek', Lame {ChL} gi'ni', LamP {ChL} ng'en 'cheeks' : ECh: Mb {Lk.} gi'n (pl. ge'nyo') 'forehead' ¶ JI II 68-9, 76-7, Stl. ZCh 218 [#678], Hf. AG 25 [#218], ChL I 72, 196, 208 & III 197, 205, Lk. ZSS 182, KNC 8 ¶ Blz. EDB 11-2 (Bj, Ch, B) II D (in SD) *ken_n_- ({9GS} *k-) 'cheek' > Tm cen_n_i, cen_n_ai, Tu kenni, kennæ id., Ml cenni, kenni 'temples', cennam 'jaw, cheek', Kt keyn' 'cheek just in front of ear', Kn kenne 'the upper cheek'; D b> OI kena-ra- 'temples, upper part of cheek' ¶ D 1989 ♦ In some of the descendant lgs. there was mutual infl. (sometimes coalescence) of the v in question and N *kan-tyu 'cheek, side of the face' (q.v.) ♦ ¶ Blz. DA #6 (D, IE, HS *gin, gun 'face, cheek, forehead' without distinguishing between the reflexes of N *gen_u and N *kan_tyu '¶').

638. *g'o'zin-v 'to beat, strike' > IE *g^{wh}en-/g^{wh}on-/g^{wh}n-/g^{wh}n_o- 'strike' > OI 3s prs. 'han-ti 'strikes, kills' (3p prs. 'gn-anti, inv. ja'hi, pp. ha'ta-), 'hatya- 'Erschlagen', ha'tya-n. act. f. 'killing', Av 3'ahn-ti id., OPRs a-3'anam 'ich erschlug, (→) besiegte' : Arm gan gan (g gani gani) 'bastinado, blows with a stick\whip\lash', ganem ganem 'I cudgel\ scourge\whip', Jnem 3'n-em 'I beat\cudgel\whip' : Gk θει'vō 'I strike', rdp. ἔπεφνον 'I killed', n. φο'vos 'murder' : L of-fend-o- / -e're 'strike, knock, dash against', de-fend-o- / -e're 'repel, ward off, defend' (-n- is not an infix of prs., which is evidenced by the pfc. of-/de-fendi and the sup. of-/de-fensum) : OIr gonid '(he) wounds\slays' : Gmc *gunθi_o- (Ч OI hatya- < *g^{wh}n_oti_a-) > ON guþ-r, gunn-r, OSx gu'th, AS 3u'ð 'fight, battle', OHG gunda 'fight' : Lt ? ginc'ia- (< *g^{wh}n_oti_a-), Lt gin'c'as 'argument, controversy', gin'klas 'weapon' : Sl *gon- v. 'struggle, harm' > SCr ppe'ron d prije gon 'fight', *gon-oba, -obъ > Slv gonō'ba 'damage, ruin', Uk ro'ноба, Blr ? 'гонаб 'annoyance, vexation' d> Sl *gonob-i-ti 'to ruin, harm' > Slv gonobi'ti id., R ? гоно'бит? 'to fag, tire out' : Tc A {Wn.} kun'ac, 'fight, battle' ¶ It is possible (but not certain) that the BSl verb for 'to chase, drive' (> Sl *z'en-o- / *g'na-ti id., Ltv dze'nu / dzr't id., Lt genu / gin'ti 'drive [to the pasture]') belongs here as well, the underlying semantic development being 'beat' → 'push' → 'chase, drive away' || Ht kuen- 'smite, raze, slay, kill', Ld {Gsm.} qa-n-/qe-n- in f-is-qa-n- v. 'destroy' ¶ WP I 679-81, P 491-3, EI 548, Mn. 379-80, M K III 575-7, M E II 800-1, Slt. 80-1, F I 657-8, Ch. I 425-6, WH I 332-3, Thr. § 756, Vr. 195, Ho. 140, Ho. S 29, OsS 357-8, Kb. 415, Frn. 152-3, ESSJ VII 24-5, 196-7, Tls. 433, Wn. 243, Pv. IV 206-12, Ts. E I 604-6, Gsm. LW 127 II HS: C: EC gan- 'beat, strike' > Sml {DSI} gan- v. 'strike, shoot, throw', Rn {PG} gana v. 'shoot; bleed an animal for food', Sd {Gs.} 'beat, strike, hit', {Hd.} 'hit', Ged {Hd.} gan- 'hit, whip', Hd {Hd.} gan- 'hit, thresh by driving ox', gan-am- v. 'fight' (lit. 'hit each other') ¶ DSI 254, ZMO 153, PG 121, Hd. 80, 241, 271, Gs. 112, AD VZ 211 || S: Ak A genu 'to butt, gore' ¶ CAD V 60-1, Sd. 284 II A: Tg: Ewk Uc gunça-, Ewk Z/Sm/Tkm gəncəz- v. 'punish' || T *k' ryna- 'beat (so.), cause suffering' [x <d- i T *Kry- 'be difficult', if Qrg qryit- 'make difficult\tormenting' is derived from it rather than from *qryn-] > VTt, Bsh q'ryna- id., Tv x'ryna- 'be difficult, torment', ET qiyini/a- ~ qiz'ni-, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qmq, Qrg, StAlt qiyina- v. 'torment, torture', Uz qiyina- id., 'make difficult', Chv xe'ÄneÄ- хьнъ- 'beat, flog', ? Osm qryin-, Tk kryin- 'feel languor and aching in the limbs' (unless d from *qry- 'cut'); T *kryn 'punishment, torture' > OT qryn, OT QU qin ~ qryin, MT [Tef.] {Cl.} qryin, Chg qin id., XwT xiv qin 'pain, torture', Cmn xiv qin 'suffering, martyrdom', VTt {Rl.} q'ryun 'punishment, flogging' ('Strafe, Prügel'), StAlt qiyin 'punishment, torture, suffering, oppression', Qry {KRPS} qiyin 'suffering', OOs qin 'torture, pain', {Rl.} Qual, Plage', Qmq qiyin 'labour, work', Tk kryin 'oppression, cruelty', Chv xe'Än хьн 'suffering, misfortune, poverty, oppression', Chv xe'Än хьн 'torment, suffering', T b> OHg, Hg k'ri'n 'pain, torture, torment'; in some lgs. → 'difficult, complicated': VTt, Bsh q'ryun, Qrg qryin, ET qiyin ~ qiz'in 'difficult', Qmq, Nog, Qzq qryin, Uz qiyin id., 'complicated', Qq qryin 'complicated' ¶ Cl. 631, ¶ ET Q 218-9, Rl. II 718, 726, Rh. 1510, TatR 309, BR 355, BT 103, Jeg. 298, Fed. II 342-3, KrkR 379, Sht. 272-3, BN 122, Nj. 632, Gomb. BTL 95, EWU 753 ♦ The transformation of *-o'i- into T *-ry- and the origin of /ewk ə still need investigation. In IE the loss of pre-sonantic *i_ (< *?i) is a phonetic law. T *k'- < N *g...?- N *-?i- may be helpful in solving the problem of Ak e, because *a'i regularly yields Ak e- (cp. S *'ra'is^- 'head' > Ak re's^- id.). But why here the vw. e is short?.

639. *gaHn-v 'to lie, sleep' > HS: B √gHn v. 'lie, sleep' > Ah {Fc.} əg'an (pf. i-g'an) (Pcj. 30) 'ktre accroupi (les membres antérieurs et postérieurs repliés' (of camels, oxen, etc.), ETwl/Ty əg'an (pf. ETwl i-g'ən, Ty yə-g'ən, Pcj. I.A.5) id., TnsI i3'ən 's'accroupir (chameau)', Gh ə3'ən 'kneel' (animal), Kb jən v. 'sleep, lie', Shl, Izd √gn, Tmz Iz, ASgr {MT} gen ~ z'en id., Zng {TC} egun 'baraquer (animal)' ¶ Fc. 452-6, 2002, GhA 55, 246, Pr. M VI-VII 102-6, Dl. 262, MT 158, NZ 816-8, DCTC 289 ¶ Pcj. I A 5 (= Fcj. 30) implies the presence of a l. in the v *√ChVC || Ch: BT {Stl.} *gandV v. 'lie down' > Bl {IL} gandi, {Lk.} gand, Maha {Stl. <-?} gandi id., Dr {Nw.} ga'nde 'put down (a mat), lay down (a person)' ¶ Stl. VZCh, Stl. ZCh 246 [#39], Nw. M s.v. gandi, Nw. K 125, Lk. PVB II 135, ChC II D {tr., GS} *kan_- ({9GS} *k-) v. 'dream, sleep' > Tm kan_avu- v. 'dream', kan_a-, kan_avu n. 'dream, sleep', Ml kina_vu, kana(:)vu, Kt kancn, Td konof (obl konot-), Kn kana, kanasu, Kdg kenaci, Tu kana, n. 'dream', Gnd kanck- d kan3k- d kansk- d kanisk- v. 'dream', Krx xandr-, Mlt qandre v. 'sleep', Mlt qanqe- n. 'sleep' ¶ D #1407,

Pf. 93 (*kan- < kal-n-), GS 158 [#392b], 32 [#38] ◇ D *-n- (the usual reflex of N *-n- [and *-n'] outside cns. clusters) suggests that the lr. was lost in pre-D before N *-n- changed into D *-n-.

640. *gun₁h₁i ~ *gu₁h₁n₁i (or *gun₁ʔ₁i ~ *gu₁ʔ₁n₁i) to think' > K *gon- 'think, (try to) remember' > OG gon- 'think' (me esre mgonies 'so I think', Rom. 8.18), gonebay 'understanding (Verstand)', G gon- (aor. -gon-e-) 'think, (try to) remember', gun-eba 'state of mind, thought', Mg gon-: mo-gon-ua 'to recall (sich erinnern), make up [a story], feign', Lz (n)gon-: mo-vi-ngonap 'I remember, have a flicker of memory (припоминая)', Sv gwn-^d gn- / gon-: {FS} li-gn-ew-i 'ausdenken, suggerieren, zu verstehen geben', aor. at-gon-w-e 'er suggerierte, er gab ein', Sv {TK}: UB li-gwn-ew-i, LB lignewi, L lignwi, Ln li-gon-a^w-i msd. 'to invent' ¶ K 63-4, K² 31, GM S 288, IS I 284, Fn. KW-4 #5, ¶ FS K 81, ¶ FS E 87-8 (*gon- 'think'; i ч forms belonging to *gn- 'hear'), Chik. 262-3, Q 21, Marr 135, TK 429 ¶ HS: Eg fP gn.t 'Andenken', Eg MK {Fk.} gn.wt 'records, annals' ¶ EG V 173, Fk. 290 ¶ A: M *guni- > WrM guni-, HIM гуни- v. 'grieve, be afflicted/sad', Kl {Rm.} gun'- 'traurig sein, leiden, betrübt sein', Kl II {Rm.} gun'ig- 'Kummer, Traurigkeit, Langweile' ¶ MED 368, KW 155 || Tg *guⁿ- 'think, say' > WrMc guni- 'think, remember' (Rm.: 'denken, nachdenken'), Mc Sb {Mrm.} guni- 'denken, nachdenken', WrMc gunin, Mc Sb {Mrm.} gunin 'thought', Ewk, Neg guⁿ- 'say' ¶ Z 347-9, Klz. MS 184, ¶ STM I 171 || pKo {S} *kiⁿi^r- 'take care of, look after' > MKo kiⁿi^ruⁿ-, Nko kiniri- ¶ S QK #754, Nam 66, MLC 232 || pJ {S} *kzⁿzⁿ-m- {Mr.} v. 'like, be fond of' > OJ koⁿoⁿ-m-, J: T konoⁿ-m-, K koⁿoⁿ-m-, Kg koⁿoⁿ-m- 'like, fancy, be fond of' ¶ S J #210, Mr. 712, Kenk. 1050 || T *kⁿun ¶ 'thought' > VTt kon qⁿ n 'attention, care', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} quⁿ 'Geist, Seele, Wunsch', Bsh qⁿ nt, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Uz qunt 'attention, care', VTt ?, Bsh qⁿ nar, Qrg qunar 'usefulness', VTt ? qⁿ nⁿ q- v. 'get used, become accustomed', Chg [PC], Alt, Tb {B} qunuq- 'grieve (about/for)', Tv qunuq- v. 'yearn', Chg {PC, Rl.}, Tki {Zn.} qunuq 'sad, grievous', Tv qunuq id., 'impressionable, sensitive' ¶ ET Q 147-5, TvR 265, Zn. II 723, PC 440, Rl. II 908 ¶¶ S AJ 291 [#405]; ¶ S VL 218 (pA *guⁿ-ni- 'think': M, Tg, pJ), ¶ DQA #577 (A *guⁿ-no 'think': M, Tg, Ko, J, T) ◇ IS I 234 [#89] (*guⁿH'i 'to think'; K, A [T, Tg]) ◇ The long vw. in Tg and K suggests the presence of a lr., that, acc. to the K data, may be *ʔ, *h, *ʕ or *h. The Eg cognate favours the rec. of *h or ʔ (the laryngeals most laible to be lost in Eg).

641. *gaⁿnh^v 'side (of sth.), width' > K *ogan- 'side, width; outside' > OG, G gan- id., G ganieri 'broad'; ?σ GZ *gan- 'outside, outwards' (preverb) > OG gan-, G ga(n)-, Mg, L go- id., out of, from'; compound preverbs: K {K} *ga-mo- 'heraus-, out of' > OG ga-mo 'out of, from', OG, G ga-mo-, Mg, Lz go-mo- id.; compound adv.: K *ga-re 'in the outside, beyond' > OG, G gare, Mg, Lz gale id. ({Q} 'voila, outside, outdoors'); K *o-gan > OG, G -gan 'from, out of' (case ending) < N *gaⁿnh^v nu 'from the side (of)' (see N *nu 'from, out of, of') [x N *gay^v nu 'from the side', see N *gay^v 'side, outside'] ¶ K 59, K² 26-7, FS K 72-3, Ser. 17, 21-36, Q 212-3, 218, Dt. 14 ¶ This K v may contributed to the meaning and form of K *gan- 'outside' < N *gay^v '↑' (q.v.) ¶ HS: WS *√gnh > Ar ʔn0ji gⁿh- 'side, side of the road', ʔn0ju gⁿh- 'side, place at the side of a road (where people stop to rest)', Y'naJa gⁿanah- 'arm, wing', Jb {Jo.} 'genah 'wing', Sq {Jo., DRS} ganh 'side' ¶ BK I 337-8, Jo. J 77, DRS 157, MiK I #1.86 || ?σ SC: Irq {MQK} gangeⁿfi 'edge of the higher area around a house, screen, shield', {E} gangzfi 'rim of hat' ¶ E PC #378, MQK 37 || Eg P 3nh 'wing', ? Eg XVIII 3nh 'leg or its part' ¶ EG V 577-8 ¶¶ MiK I #1.86 ¶ D (in McTm) *kaⁿ-al 'seashore' > Tm kaⁿ-al 'seashore, salt marsh', Ml kaⁿ-al 'sandy barren land' ¶ D #1508 ¶ A: NaT *kⁿ eⁿ 'wide, broad' > OT {Cl.} keⁿ, OXwT ken id., Chg gen, Tk gen, Az ?eⁿ gⁿen 'wide', Tkm gⁿ, Qmq gen, Blq ken ~ gen, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Tb, Uz, Ln, SY ken, VTt, Bsh kin, ET kaⁿ, Yk {Pek.} kⁿāⁿ, {Md.} kaⁿ 'broad, wide' (Md.: T *eⁿ > Yk aⁿ after k-), ɖ: Tk genis, Ggz genis, Az gⁿenis 'broad, wide' ¶ Cl. 724-5, ET VGD 46-7, Rs. W 254, Pek. 1074, Md. 9, 167 ◇ T *eⁿ is probably a normal reflex of *-nh- (and *-n'h-?). The D and the T long vowels point to the loss of a ancient lr., while D *-n- suggests that the loss of the lr. *h occurred before the change of the N intervoc. *-n- into D *-n-.

642. *gⁿnl^vjb^v 'side, edge' > HS *ganb- 'side (of the body, of sth.)' > WS *ganb- id. > Plm gb id., Sr gabⁿ-aⁿ, Ar gⁿanb- 'side of man's body, side', ? BA gabⁿ, gabb- i'side', Mh, Jb C ganb, Jb {DRS} yanb 'side'; < WS *√gnb v. 'put aside (auf die Seite bringen)' > Ar √gⁿnb G 'put aside (mettre sur le côté)', Mh 'gatn3b Gⁿ v. 'take so. aside from the group', Md √gnb v. 'put aside, steal', Hb √gnb G 'steal, take by stealth', Pun, IA √gnb v. 'steal, rob', JA, Sr √gnb G 'steal' < OA, IA gnb, JA, Sr gannaⁿ-bⁿ-aⁿ, Md ganaba 'thief'; Aram < BHb ganⁿ-aⁿ-bⁿ id.; Sb √gnb v. 'be beside, se trouver a côté de' ¶ GB 145, 899, KB 163, 190-1, KBR 198, BK I 334-5, HJ 207, BDB 170 [##1589-90], OLS 142, Sl. 293-4, Js. 256-7, DM 77, 95, Jo. M 122, Jo. J 77, BGMR 50, DRS 150, MiK I #1.85 || C: EC *gabb- ({Ss.} *gab-) 'side; near, at' > Af gabbe 'side (of back)', Sml gebi 'riverbank', Kns kapa 'next to, near', Brj 'gaba, Hr, Dbs kape, Gln kaⁿpe, Gwd kapa 'side'; a variant EC *gamb- may be represented in Af gaⁿmbi 'side, direction' (unless an Arabism) and in Or gama 'direction' ¶ Ag {Ap.} *gap- 'side' > Bln {R} gaf 'side of body, side, half, gaba 'side, riverbank', Xm {Ap.} g3wa 'near', Q {R} g(a)ba 'side, near', {Ap.} gab-3l 'near'; Ag < EthS: Gz gaboⁿ, Tgr gēbo, Tgy gobo 'side'

|| Bj {R} gab ~ geb 'side', gebi 'near' ¶ AD SF 234 (C *gVp.(p.)-), Bl. 136, R WBd 87-8, Ss. B 74, 76, AMS 268, PH 109, Ap. AV 10, E PC #378 (Bj, Ag, Irq), L G 176 || ?? Eg ∇ w3b 'river-bank, riparian lands, sea-shore' ¶ EG I 409, Fk. 76 ¶¶ AD SF 234 (C-S), OS 193 [#856] (C i 4 Hs, cf. S, Eg) ¶¶ Hs ga' b. a' 'bank of a river or stream' (? OS) and Eg [WCP] gb3 ' (eastern, western) side' (? AD SF) do not belong here, because they are better explained as sd's of Hs ga' b. a' 'joint, limb' and Eg MK gb3 'arm' (F Ba. 335, Sk. HCD 73, EG V 163) || IE: NaIE *gʰa'mbʰa- (< *gʰra'mbʰa-) || 'jaw' > Gk [Lyc.] γαμφαι', Gk γαμφηλαι' 'jaws (of animal)' || amb Sl *go_ba 'mouth; jaws (of animal) (Rachen)' [x Sl *go_ba 'lip, mushroom' < N *kaNpV 'a soft excrescence (lip, mushroom)', q.v.] > OCz hu'ba, Cz, HLs huba, ULs guba id., Blg 'r̥b̥a, Uk 'ryb̥a, P ge_ ba 'mouth, muzzle', SCr ? gu''ba, SCr d̥ gu''bica, Slv d̥ go' b̥ac 'mouth (of animals), muzzle', R Vlg/Vt ryb̥a 'chin' ¶ WP I 534, ? F I 288 & Ch. 209 (Gk γαμφηλαι', b̥f. γαμφαι' ∇ γο'μφοs 'bolt', γομφι'οs 'grinder-tooth'), || Vs. I 468, || ESSJ VII 78-80, || Glh. 252 (refers Sl *go_ba exclusively to N *kaNpV) || U: FU *°kVmpVIV > ObU {Ht.} *kīm(p)əl- 'hem, edge (Saum, Rand)' > pVg *kīmplī > Vg: T kiplī, LK/MK/UK/NV/LL ke'pəl, UL/Ss ke'mpli id.; pOs *kiməl id. > Os: V/Vy/O kiməl, Ty/Y kiməḏ, D/K kimət, Nz ki' mət, Kz ki' mət id. ¶ Ht. #272 ◇ IE and FU *-VIV (in Gk γαμφηλαι' and ObU *kīm(p)əl-) go back to a N word or sx. (with the dim. meaning?).

643. 2 *ga''ndu'u'' 'male' > A *ga''ndu'' 'male' > M *gendu''(n) > MM gendu'' 'male animal', [S] gendu'', WrM gendu''(n) 'male of carnivorous animals; small male panther; male tiger', Kl {KRS} гeндн gendən 'male (of some animals): гeндн нoxa 'male dog', гeндн бapc 'male tiger', {Rm.} gendn. 'male (of all animals)' ¶ H 49, MED 376, Mub. 137, KW 133 || NaT *Kent_u'' '(him/her/it)self' > OT {Cl.} ka''ntu'' d̥ ka''ndu'', Chg, Qp, OOsM ka''jendu'', Ggz kendi id., Tk kendi, ? {Rs.} ka''ndu'', g'a''ndi id., 'one's own', Yk kini 'he, she, it' ¶ On the ev. of Yk we have to reconstruct T *e rather than *a'' (the Og lgs. do not distinguish between pT *e and *a'') ¶ Cl. 728-9, ET KQ 38-9, Rs. W 252, Rs. MTS 38-9 ¶¶ Pp. VG 25, || KW 133 (M, T; i 4 Tg *ñen 'dog' i 4 Kms men 'dog'), DQA #498 (A *gentV ∇ *k- 'male, self') || HS: C: SC: Irq {EldM, MQK} g'wanda, Alg {EldM} g'wandu' 'ram', Brn gondi 'male sheep' ¶ EldM 61, MQK 42 || B: Rif {Rn.} a-gənduz, Izn/SrSn {Rn.} ayənduz, Kb {Dl.} ag_ənd_uz 'calf', Tmz {MT}, BSn agənduz ~ ayənnuz 'veau (a sa naissance)', CM {NZ} agənduz d̥ ayənnuz, Snd agəndus 'calf', Shw agənduz 'calf (2 years old)'; B ∇ Ar Mrc {Bss.} || gənduz 'calf', Malt {Aq.} gendus 'a bull, young ox'; the final -uz ~ -us suggests reborrowing of a Berber word from African Vulgar Latin (Afro-Romance) ¶ Rn. 356, MT 159-60, Dl. 264, NZ 827-8, Aq. BM 301 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 89 [#18.15] (SC, B) || ?σ CS (or Aram ∇ Ar?) *gund- > IA F gnd? 'band, troop', JA aD1n'uG gunda' id., {Lv.} 'Heer, Schar', JEA gunda' 'troop of soldiers', Md gunda 'army', Ar dn0Ju g'und- 'comrades, body of warriors, army', 'any kind/species of creatures or created things, regarded as alone \ by itself' ¶ HJ 228, Lv. I 312, Js. 223, Sl. 269-70, DM 84, Ln. 400-1, BK I 338, DRS 153-4 || D {tr.} *kan't_-, {GS} *gand_-'male (person, animal)' > Tm kan,t_an_ 'warrior, husband', kan,t.i 'buffalo bull', kan_avan_ 'husband', Ml kan_avan id., kan,t_an 'male' (esp. of cat), Kt gan'd_ 'male', Td kod_n' 'Badaga husband', Kn gan,d_u 'male sex, a male, man; strength, manliness', gan,d_a 'strong manly male person, husband', Kdg kan'd_ə 'male (of dogs and wild animals)', Tu gan,d_u 'male, valiant', Tl gan,d_u 'male (of the lower animals); bravery, strength', Nkr gar'ek 'man, male', Mlt gen'd_a 'male'; D ∇ OI A gan'd_a-, gan,d_īra- 'hero' ¶¶ D #1173, GS 25 [#8], 184 [#462] ◇ The semantic change 'male person' → '-self' (in T and Ar) has parallels in other lgs., such as Lt pa'ta, Av -pati- 'himself' from NaIE *poti- 'husband, lord'. The vw. u in S (Ar) is probably connected with the N *u'' of the second syll. ◇ IS I 226-7 [#79] (A, D).

644. ? *ga''n_lV_j'p.'V (or *ka''n_lV_j'p'V?) 'stem, stalk, stick, stake, picket' (← 'thin trunk?') > IE: NaIE *gḡ_omb_l_h_ ~ *gḡ_omp- (< *gḡ_hḡ_omp-?) 'stake, picket, (a cut off) piece of wood': [1] *°gomb_h_ > Gmc *kamb-, *kumb- > OHG kembil 'iron collar, Halbfessel', Nr ? {Ar.} kamp 'dome-shaped summit of a mountain; boulder', ON ko_ppustein, Dn kampe-sten 'boulder', Sw ? kamp 'small round stone' || [2] *°gomp- > MHG kumpf 'sth. pruned, blunt (gestutzt, stumpf)', Nr ? kump 'Klumpen', NNR {Ar.} kump 'meat dumpling', NE chump; ON kumbr, AS cumbor 'wood-block'; [3] *°gnob_l_h_ > Gmc *knab(b)-, *knap(p)- > NGr ? Knabe 'Stift, Bolzen', ON knefill 'stake, pole, stick', NHG Knebel 'short and thick packong-stick, clog', Sw ? knape 'Pflock, Knoten'; ON knefill 'pole', MLG knevel 'short and thick transom (kurzes, dickes Querholz)', NHG Knebel 'branch, club', Sw ? knavel 'thin pole' || [3] NaIE *g_omb_h_o-s 'tooth' < N *k_a''b?X 'to bite', q.v.) > OI 'jambha-h. 'tooth, tusk' || Gk [Hs.] γο'μφο-ς 'bolt', Gk γομφι'ο-ς 'grinder-tooth, molar' || pAl {O} *zamba > Al: T dhe''mb, G dhamb 'tooth' || Sl *zo_''b_ (ḡ *zo_''ba) id. > OCS зѡѣъ zo_''b_ь, Blg зѡѣ, SCr zu'b, Slv zo'b, Cz, Slk zub, P za_ b, R, Uk зѡѣ : Blt *z'ambas 'tooth' (-b) BltF *s'ambas > F hammas id.) > Ltv zo'bs id., Lt z'am_bas 'sharp corner, edge', d̥ z'am_bis 'wooden plough' || OHG kamb 'comb', {Kb.} 'crest, crown', ON kambr, NNR kamb, Sw, Dn kam, OSx kamb, NHG Kamm, AS camb 'comb', NE comb || pTc {Ad.} *keme > Tc A kam, Tc B keme 'tooth' ¶ P 369, 378-9, Vr. 334, 342, Ar. 411, 465, Ho. 54, 63, Kn. 534, || OsS 500-1, Lx. 111, 118, KM 380-1, F I 319-20, O 82, Glh. 699-702, BES I 650-1, SJSS XII 692, XIII 755, XXIII 524-5 & XXVI 115, Frn. 1288-9, 1294-5, Srz. I 1015, Vs. II 102, 106, 110-1, Glh. 699, 701-2, Vr. 299, Ho. 43, Ho. S 40, OsS 470-1, Sl. 254-5, Wn. 186,

Ad. 194, Ad. H 34, 38, EI 594 (*g^homb^hos 'tooth', *g^hemb^h- 'show the teeth, bite') || HS: C: Ag *g^hnp- > Bln {R} genbi-gembi / pl. genfu^h, Aw {R} gumb, gumbi, Xm {R} gib 'stick, staff', but in the Q-Km branch with k-: Q {R, CR} kenbī id., 'rod', Km {CR} kembe^h, ka^hmbī id., 'pole' || EC: Sml {R} gamba^h 'cudgel, killing', Qbn {L} gumma^h 'stick', Ya {Lm. ←?} kuma 'club' ¶ R WB 154, R Ch II 44, R QW 84, R SS II 171, CR 214 || NrOm: Kf {C} gumbo^h 'long stick', Mch {L} 'gumbo, Anf {MYTY} gumbo, Dwr {L} gomba 'stick', Gm {Hw.} gu^hpe^h id., {Lm.} gu^hfe, Shn {Lm.} gum^hba 'club, stick' || SOM: Ari {Bnd.} gufa 'stick' ¶ Lm. Sh 309, C SE III & IV 444, L M 31, MYTY 117, Bnd. AL 159, Hw. EG s.v. 'stick' || D *ka^hmpo^h ({9GS} *k-) 'stalk, trunk, bamboo' > Tm ka^hmpu 'bamboo; flower-stalk, handle, shaft', Ml ka^hmpu 'bamboo; stem, stalk, stick', Kt ka^hv, Ku kamba ~ ka^hmba 'handle', Td ko^hf 'hollow stem, handle of tool', Kn ka^hmu, ka^hvu, Tl ka^hma 'stem, stalk, handle', Gdb ka^hme^h 'stalk of a spoon', ka^hme 'handle of ladle', kanve stick', Kdg ke^hmbi 'bamboo Oxytenanthera monostigma', Gnd ka^hme^h 'stalk of a spoon' ^d ka^hme 'handle of ladle', Ku kamba ^d ka^hmba 'handle' ¶¶ D ##1454-5 || ??φ U: ppU **ka^hmwE > FU *ka^hmE (/ *kUmE?) '(hollow) stalk' > F ka^ha^hmi 'winding-spool, quill' || Lp N {N} ga^hbme / ga^hme- 'long feather; stalk of the feather, caulis pennæ' || Prm *g^ho^hm^h 'hollow stalk' > Z gum (g gummy-) 'hollow stalk; staff (of a flail)', Vt gumi, Vt Ur gu^hmo^h 'hollow stalk'; the Prm vw. may go back to FU *a^h with the labializing infl. of *m and/or the infl. of the labial element (*w) of the next syll. ¶ Coll. 86, LG 82, ? UEW 422 ¶ The absence of the expected labial stop is puzzling. If the N v was something like *Ka^hn^hV^hbe, one can imagine the prehistory of the FU v as follows: *Ka^hn^hV^hbe > **Ka^hn^hmwE > *ka^hmwE ◇ Qu. ◇ If the original v is *ga^hn^hV^hp, ¶V, the IE initial *g^h (rather than *g^hg^h) is accounted for by the IE law ruling out combination of an aspirated voiced stop and a vl. one in the same v (*g^homp- > *g^homp-). If we prefer the N rec. *ka^hn^hV^hPV, we shall not be able to explain C and Om *g-.

645. *gant^h 'to hold, carry' > IE: NaIE *g^hend-/ *g^hn^hd- 'hold, get, contain' > Gk χαλδα^hω (aor. ε-χαδ-ov) 'take in, hold, contain', χει^hσομαι 'will contain' || Lprehend- (< *prai^h-hend-) 'lay hold of, seize, grasp' || OIr ro-geinn 'is contained, finds place in' (< *g^hn^hd-ne-t), eNW {DvM} genni 'container, comprehend, capi', W genni obs. 'be contained' ¶ Not here Gmc *git- (> NE get, etc., see N *ga^ht.X 'to grasp, take, possess') ¶ P 437-8, Mn. 319, 326-7, F II 1071-2, EM 803f., WH II 359, Vn. R 40, SB 111, YGM-1 233, ¶ EI 564 [*g^he(n)d^h- 'seize, take in' with unj. *d^h-] || U *kanta 'load; to carry' > F kanta-, Es kand- v. 'carry' || pLp *ko^hnte^h- 'carry' > Lp: L {LLO} kuodde^h- id., N {N} guod^hde/-dd- 'carry, bear', Kld {TI} ku^hhnte^h- 'carry'. S {Hs.} guo^hddre-me 'das Tragen' (← n. act. of *guo^hddredh 'carry') || Er кандо- kando-, Mk кандо- kandə- 'carry, bring' || pChr {Ber.} kondə- 'bring' > Chr: L/H канде- kande- id., Uf {B, Wc.} konde- id., {Ps.} 'tragen (i ?), bringen' || ObU *ku^hnt-~*ki^hnt- 'carry (on the back)' > pVg *ku^hnt- 'carry' (> Vg: P/NV kunt-, UL/Ss xu^hnt-), pOs *kantəm- 'carry on the back' (> Os: V/Vy qantəm-, Ty qa^hntəm-, D/K χontəm-, Nz χontəm-); ObU *ku^hnt-~*ki^hnt 'basket carried on the back' > pVg *ku^hnt- id. (> Vg: T ko^hnt ~ ko^ht, LK xu^ht, MK kut, UK ku^ht, P kunt), pOs *kint id. (> Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y qint, D/K χent, Nz χi^hnt) || Sm {Jn.} *ka^hnta^h-, {Hl.} *kanta- v. 'carry' > Ne T ха^hна-с?, Ne F {Lh.} ka^hнна^h-s', En {Ter.} kada-s' 'to carry', Slq Tz {KKIH} qənti- 'carry away', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. ku^hz^hndab^h id., Kms {KD} qun^h'im, qun^h'om, qundo^ham, qundo^ham I carry away', qundol^ha^hm 'I carry, bring, lead', Koib {Sp.} куналдыгам, куналлагам 'I carry', Mt {Hl.} *kandə- v. 'carry, drive (fahren)' [Mt M {Sp.} канды^hмь 'везу' (vt. 'ich fahre'), канд^hл^hмь 'ношу' ('ich trage'), канд^hл^hмь 'та?у' ('ich schleppe')] || Y: T {Krn.} qandeyl 'to accompany (провожа^hт?)', K/T {IN} qontə- 'carry away, lead away (от-но^hсит?, отво^hдит?)', K {IN RJ} хонго-м qontə- 'carry' ¶¶ UEW 124, Coll. 22, ¶ Sm. 538 (U *ka^hni- 'carry' > FU *ka^hnta^h-, FP kanta-, Ugr *ka^hnta-, Sm *ka^hn-), It. #21, Lr. #521, Lgc. #2863, Hs. 683, MRS 175, Ep. 38, B 73, Ps. OT 45, Wc. TT 56, Ber. 19, Ht. #292, ¶ Jn. 59-60 (Sm *ka^hnta^h - <d- *ka^hn- 'go'), Hl. M #415, KKI 160, KD 34, IN 278, IN RJ s.v. нести, ¶ Rd. UJ 37 [#17] (Y <b- U) || D (in NED only) *kVnt- 'possess, purchase' > Krx xe^hnd- / xindyas v. 'buy, purchase', Mlt qende- 'take along with, possess' ¶ D #2001 ◇ || AD LRC #136, ¶ IS MS 332 s.v. 'брат?' *kantΛ.

646. 2 *gu^hu^hn^hV 'male genitalia' > HS: EC: Dsn {To.} gun-u (pl. gunti) 'testicles' ¶ To. DL 501 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gi^hn^hi (pl. gi^hn^ha^hn^hi), Bd {ChL} g^hz^hn^ha^hn^h 'penis' || Pdl {ChL} g^hu^hn^h, Tr {Nw.} g^hun, Mtk {ChC} ng^hw^hzn id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 60, Nw. WLT 38 || D (in SD) *kun^hn^hV ({9GS} *k-) 'penis' > Ml kun^hn^ha, Kn ? kun^hn^he mari, Kdg kun^hn^he, Tu kun^hn^hæ id. ¶ D #1697 ◇ Blz. DA #31.

646a. ?? *ga^hñ^hV (= ¶ *gahon^hV??) ¶ 'flesh of leg/thigh/buttocks' > IE: NaIE *g^heng^h-/*g^hn^hg^h- id. > Gk κοχ^hω^hνη (< *κα^hχ^hω^hα < *κ^hν^hχ-) 'perineum', {F} 'Stelle zwischen den Schenkeln, Hinterbacke' || OI 'jan^hgha^h- 'shank, lower part of leg', 'Unterschenkel', ja^hghanah m. 'hinder part, buttock, pudenda', Av zanga-, zənga- 'ankle', bi-zangra- 'having two legs', c^ha^hθ^hpa^hra-zangra 'having four legs', Phl zang 'ankle, shank', Oss: I za^h'ng, D za^h'nga^h- 'shank' ¶ P 438-9, F I 937, M K I 411-2, Ab. IV 297 || HS: Ech: Mkl {J} gi^hngi^hn^he^h 'cuisse' ¶ J LM 102 || D (+ext.) *kan^ht^h- 'flesh of thigh, flesh' > Kt kan^ht^h-po^ht 'flesh of

hind thigh of animal', kan't₁-ka'l 'calf of leg', Kn kan.d.a 'flesh, meat', Kdg kan'd.a 'piece/lump of meat', Tl kan.d.a id., 'flesh', Nkr k^han'd₁e 'piece, piece of flesh', Gnd k^ha^hnd₁um d^h k^ha^hn'd₁ 'flesh, mutton', Knd kan'd₁a 'meat, flesh, muscle'; in some D lgs. (esp. Nkr & Gnd) there is contamination with the loan from OI khan.d.a- 'piece' ¶¶ D #1175, Tu. #3792 ¶¶ φ A: NaT *k'oj > OT qoj a^ht 'muscle, firm flesh' (a^ht is 'flesh, meat'), Qzq {Cl.} qoj, qoj eti 'the thick part of the thigh', Qzq 'croup of a horse', Qrg {Jud.} qoj 'the soft flesh of the thigh', Qrg T, ET qoj 'hind part, hind quarters', Tv qoj e't 'meat without bones' (e't 'meat'); T b> Kl xoj 'thick flesh of the croup' ¶ Cl. 632, ET Q 58-9, DTS 456, Jud. 403, Nj. 606, ¶ Rs. W 280 (T <b- M) || ?? M: [1] WrM {Cev.} qongu, HIM {Luv.} xohro 'fleshy hind part of the thigh', Kl {Rm.} ch xonga^h ~ xonga^h 'buttocks' ¶ [2] M (+лхт.?) *qongu-sun 'junction of the two thighs, crotch; back part' (× N *koŋ'ʒ'V 'crotch', q.v. ffd.), Kl d xonda^hχa 'flesh of the thigh, rump' ¶ [3] M *qondulay > WrM qondulai, HIM хондой 'rump, hip', Kl {Rm.} xonda^hla^h id., muscle, thigh', Brt хондой 'buttocks' ¶ MED 962-3, KW 185, Chr. 583, Cev. 689, Luv. 536 ♦ The unexpected M *q- (for *g-) is probably due to the infl. of T. T (and M) *o (for the expected *a) defies explanation. A possible slution is to suppose an internal lr. and *o, sth. like *gahonV, that will account both for the A devoicing *g- > *k- and for the A vw.

647. ?? ¶ *gu^hʒaŋ'o^h 'voice; to produce a sound' (→ 'call', etc.) > IE: NaIE *g^hwen-/g^hwon-, {EI} *g^hwono-s 'a sound, voice' > Arm 3ajn 3ayn 'voice, sound, cry (shout), noise' (< *g^hwon-yi-) ¶ pAl {O} *3^hana, {Huld} *zan (g^h *zan-i) > Al T ze^h (pl. ze^h-ra), Al G za^h (pl. zana) 'voice' ¶ pTc {Ad.} (?) *kene > Tc: A kam^h, B kene 'melody, tune' ¶ pSl *zv^hne^h-ti 'to ring' > OCS звънѣти звънѣ'ti, Slv zvené'ti, Cz zní'ti, Slk zniet', R зве'нет? id., Blg (prs.) звини'и v. 'ring', pSl *zvono^h (~ *zvono?) 'ringing, clanging' > OCS звонѣ zvono^h, McdS zvono, SCr zvo^hn, zvo^hn, zvo^hno, Slv zvo^hn, Cz, Slk zvon, P dzwon, R звон, Uk (д)зв^hн variant stems **g^hweng^{rh} in BSL: Lt z^hve^hng-ti (1s prs. z^hve^hngiu), Ltv (<b- Cur?) zvan^h dzina^h 'to neigh', Lt z^hvange^h 'ti 'to clank, clang, ring, tinkle, clatter', Sl *zvo^hk^h 'sound' > R, McdS звук, SCr zvok, Cz, Slk zvuk, Sl *zve^hk^h > Blg звек, McdS zvek, SCr zve^hk, Slk zve^hk 'ringing, clinging, chime', P dzwie^hk 'sound' ¶ P 490-1, EI 534, Slr. 315-6, Huld 134, O 521-2, Glh. 703, Vs. II 87-8, Frn. 1325-6, Wn. 186, Ad. 193, Ad. H 27, 37 ¶ HS: S *o^hg^hm > Ar g^hg^hm (pf. μαοιJa g^ha^hima) 'have a gruff voice', S^h (pf. μαοαJ0a ʒag^hama) 'groan' ¶ BK I 301-2 || B: ?o Gd g^həng^hən 'have a gruff voice, speak with a gruff voice' ¶ Lf. II #0518 ¶ U *kaŋV 'call, ask' > ?? OHg, Hg hr^hv- 'call, name, summon' || Sm {Jn.} ka^hŋ-, {Hl.} kaŋ- 'call, ask (for)' > Ne T ханз?, Ne T O {Lh.} ʒa^hn^hc^h id., En {Pu.} ka^hŋa 'er ruft', En B {Cs.} 1s aor. obcn. kaŋabo 'I called, asked', Mt {Hl.} *kan- 'bitten(?)' (Mt M {Sp.} d кагнамь 'пропу') ¶ UEW 125-6, Coll. 14 (*kiŋa-), EWU 564, Jn. 56, KP 79, Hl. M #424 ¶ A: Tg *gi^hagna- > WrMc giyagna- 'explain, interpret (толковать?), declare', Orc, Ul gagna 'ask riddles', Ud gaŋiŋa 'riddle'; ? Ewk gundə- 'speak' ¶ STM I 140, Krm. 220, S AJ 225 [#295] || ? T t *k^hiŋ- + ext: [1] *k^hiŋira- v. 'ring, clank' > Tv qingira-, StAlt qingira- id., Qrg qingira- v. 'jingle, clank', qingir 'sound of jingling/clanking'; [2] Tlt {Rl.} qinila- 'leise für sich singen', qingir- 'heulen wimmern, winseln', Tlt/Alt/QK/Shor {Rl.} qingir- 'wimmern', Alt {RAIS} qingir- v. 'yelp' (of a dog) ¶ Jud. 491, RAltR 204, OTS 179, Rl. II 709-10, RAIS 55 ♦ A N final labial vw. is suggested by S *m [< N *-ŋ- near a labial vw. (reg.?)], but it could not be *u or *u^h (that survive a IE *u^h/u), so that it must have been N *-o ♦ Qu. (onomatopoeic associations of the root at different historical levels).

648. *g^ha^hŋ^hX^ha 'to step, climb' > IE: NaIE *g^heng^h- 'to step; step', {EI} 'step, walk' > Gmc *ginxti ~ *ganxti (< g^heng-ti ~ g^hong-ti): AS ʒiht 'going (Gang)', MHG ʒiht id., 'trip', Gt ga^hhts in cds: fram-ga^hhts 'прокопѣ', progress', inn-at-ga^hhts 'entry', un-at-ga^hhts 'απροσιτος, unapproachable'; *o-grade: Gt gagg 'way, road', ON gangr, AS ʒanʒ, OHG gang n. act. 'going', 'coarse, way', MHG ganc, NHG Gang n. 'going'; *gangan 'to go' > Gt gaggan (3s prs. gaggiþ, 3s p. gaggida), ON ganga, OSx, OHG gangan, AS ʒanʒan ¶ OI 'jam^hhah^h ntr. {Bt., M} 'Schwinge, Flügel', {MW} 'moving, going, course', {P} 'Schritt, Flügelschlag' ¶ Clt: W rhy-gyngu 'amble' ¶ Lt z^hen^hgti (1s prs. z^hengiu^h) 'to step, walk, march', z^hin^hgsnis 'a step' ¶ P 438-9, EI 546, M K I 410-2, M E I 562-4, Bt. II 246, MW 407, Ab. IV 297, Ho. 123, 130, Kb. 314, Lx. 53, 73, Fs. 164, 181-2, Vr. 156, Schz. 147, KM 230-1, Frn. 1299-300, F I 937-8 ¶ HS: S *o^hgn^h > Ar ?nJ g^hgn^h 'walk quickly', Gt 'marcher d'un pas précipité (se dit d'un chameau)' ¶ BK I 337 ¶ U: FU *kaŋ^hk^hV 'climb, step up' > Z kay-, Yz 'kay- 'climb' ¶ ObU {Ht.} *ki^hŋk- 'climb (klettern)' > pVg *ki^hŋk- > Vg: T ka^hŋk-, LK xa^hnx, MK/SV k^hŋk-, UK/NV/LL k^hŋk-, P kaŋk-, ML ka^hŋk-, UL/Ss xa^hŋx- id.; pOs {Ht.} *k^hŋk- ~ *kaŋk- id. > Os: D/K xonx-, Nz xun-, Kz x^hŋk-, O xon- : Hg ha^hg- 'step up, mount, ascend' ¶ UEW 127, MF 239, LG 115, Ht. #301 ¶ A: ? Tg: Nn Nh gani- v. 'ski' ¶ STM I 539 ♦ In the prehistory of IE the lr. *X may have merged with the preceding *ŋ into the cluster *-ng^h.

649. *guŋ^h.q^hŋE ~ *gu^h.q^hŋV 'nape' (> 'neck'), 'hinder part of head' > A: Tg *o^hgu^hngV > WrMc {Hr., PSchm.} ʒungu 'back of the head', ʒungulu 'tuft/crest of birds (Haube, Federtolle, Schopf)', {Hr.} gungulunge 'having a tuft on its head' (of a bird); cf. also WrMc {Z} gunqan 'Adam's apple' ¶ STM I 172-3, Hr. 384, Z 349 ¶ D (in SD) *kuŋk- 'nape, neck' > Ml koŋga 'throat',

kun'ci 'nape of the neck', Kn kunke id., 'shoulder', gonka 'throat', ? go'n, 'neck' ¶ D #1645 ¶ HS: Om: NrOm {Blz.} *gan₁n₁- > She {C} gonno 'collar-bone, clavicle', Cha {C} ganne- 'neck', Kcm {Blz. ←?} gonno 'nape of neck', Gn₁ {Si.} 'gonil, Drz {Fl.} gana-morge, Oyda {Fl.} ganna 'neck', Dk {Blz. ←?} g3nna- 'upper back' ¶ Blz. OLBP #80, C SE III 135, Fl. OWL s.v. 'neck', Si. ACh 17 || Ch: CCh: Tr {Nw.} gana- (cs. gande-) 'back', Bdm {Lk. ← Nc.} 'nguni- 'Nacken' || ?? WCh: Ang {Flk.} gwongwon 'Adam's apple' ¶ Nw. WLT 38, Lk. B 123, Flk. s.v. gwongwon ¶¶ Blz. OLBP #80 (Om, CCh) ¶ IE: NaIE *knok(k)o-/knek(k)o- 'nape of the neck, tumulus' (× N ***ḡ**niK₁a [or ***n**iK₁a?] 'jugular vertebra, neck, nape of neck' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ADb. MER 10 [#59] (Tg, D) ◇ The irregularity in the sound corr. of the initial cns. in IE may be accounted for by contamination; in Tg there is progressive as *g...K. > Tg *g...g.

650. ?₂ ***ge**?UpV 'body' > HS: WS *gu₁p- ~ *gip- 'body' > BHb efluG* gu₁p₁a- 'corpse' (att. cs. tf2uG gu₁p₁at₁, pl. t&fuG gu₁p₁o₁t₁), JA, MHb FuG gu₁p₁ 'body' (JA em. afuG gu₁p₁a-), JEA gu₁p₁a- 'body, self', Htr gwp 'person' (or 'corpse, dead body'), Ar řfayJi g₁řf-at- 'corpse', Jb C mgcf'fot, Jb E m3g3'fot 'corpse, carcass' ¶ KB 176-7, ¶ DRS 108, ¶ MiK I #1.100 [all of them connect the root with WS *gawp- 'hollow' (cf. N ***go**lw₁p₁, 'u₁' 'hollow'), which is semantically un], Sl. 270-1, BK I 362, Jo. J 72, HJ 231 || CCh: Lmn {Lk.} ř3'va-, HgN gwa-, Kps gu₁va- 'body' ¶ ChC, ChL ¶ A [DQA] *k'e₁ba₁ 'corpse', {AD} 'body' > T: [1] *k'e₁a₁bre 'body, trunk of body' > OT {Cl.} ko₁vre 'body', Tkm r' vpe go₁wre 'trunk of body'; [2] *k'o₁bde(ḡ) id., 'body, corpse' > OT kgo₁vdo₁ḡ, Tkm go₁wde 'corpse, trunk of body', VTt r' d₁ ga₁wda₁, Nog kewde kewde 'body, trunk of body', Qzq keude kewde 'torso, trunk of body, chest', Qq gewde ~ kewde id., 'body', Qrg ko₁do₁(n), Uz gavda, Chv řewde₁ ~ řewde₁ 'trunk of body; energy, strength', Tk go₁vde, Az ?' b₁d₁ g'o₁wda₁ 'trunk of body/tree' (× N ***K**up₁V 'log', accounting for the semantic narrowing: 'body' → 'trunk of a body') ¶ Cl. 688, 690, Rs. W 688, ET VGD 52-3, TL 267, TkR 193, TatR 120, Jeg. 297 || M: [1] *keřu₁r 'corpse, dead body' > WrM keřu₁r, HIM, Brt x₁*p id., WrO ku₁u₁r, Kl k₁*p, {Rm.} ku₁r, Ord {Ms.} k'u₁r 'corpse'; [2] *keberdek > WrM {Krg.} keberdeg, WrO ko₁bo₁(r)do₁q 'torso, trunk', Kl k₁ vrd₁ ko₁vr₁d₁g 'trunk (of body), torso, breast', {Bdm.} 'trunk of body (туловище)', Kl. II {Rm.} ko₁wr₁d₁ak 'Brust, Brustknochen, Rumpf', Ord. k=₁emer₁d₁ek 'thorax, poitrine' ¶ MED 443, Krg. 736, 746, KRS 309, 326, Bdm. 84, KW 242, 250, Ms. O 413, 438, Chr. 634 || Tg {DQA} *₁lx₁eburen 'corpse' > WrMc eoren- oren- u₁ren id. ¶ STM II 289-90, Z 60, 131, 177 || ?řpJ {S} *ka₁mpa₁na₁i₁ 'corpse' > OJ ka₁ba₁ne₁, J T kabane ¶ S QJ #1380, Mr. 431 ¶¶ DQA #992 (A *k'e₁ba₁ 'corpse' > T *k'Ebre, M *keřu₁r, Tg, J), Ci. EApk 124.

651. ***go**lw₁p₁, 'u₁' 'hollow, empty, hole' > HS: WS *gawp- 'hollow' > Ug gpt (= *go₁p₁a₁t₁) 'caves', Ar řv0Ja g₁awf- 'hollow, inside of a house, belly', g₁awfu-l-layli 'middle of the night', pl. řag₁wa₁f- 'intestines', Tgr gof (pl. řagwa₁f) 'interiour, heart, soul', Mh, Hrs gawf- 'chest'; S *₁gwp (*-gwap-) 'be hollow' > Ar řg₁wf (ip. -g₁waf-) id. 'be empty' ¶ KB 176-7, BK I 357, Hv. 105, A #684, LH 594, Jo. M 127, DRS 108, ¶ MiK I #1.100 (*gawp- 'chest and abdominal cavities of body/corpse') || EC: Sml N {Abr.} go₁f 'empty hollow in ground', 'empty well, dried-up well', Sml {ZMO} go₁f 'dried-up well', 'dry river-bed', {DSI} go₁f id., 'socket of the eye (orbita dell'occhio)', řf Arr yu₁b 'hole, den' (for *g- > y- cp. Arr yirr 'upper arm' < N ***g**ArV 'hand') ¶ Abr. S 93, DSI 273, ZMO 165, Hw. A 400 || Ch: ECh: Smr {J} gu₁b3 'hole' || WCh: Dw {ChL} gup, Zar {ChL} gu₁p 'chest' | Dir {Sk.} gu₁ba₁d₁u₁ 'chest' || ?? CCh: Gude {ChL} gu₁wa, FIJ gu₁w₁t₁, Nz {Mch.} go₁we₁, {ChL} go₁řo, FIB {ChL} gu₁řu₁n, Bcm {ChC} gwe₁, {ChL} gwe₁y, FIM {ChL} e₁řw₁o₁ 'hole', Lmn {Lk.} o₁ghu₁bu₁, o₁ghbu₁ id. ¶ ChC, ChL ¶ IE: NaIE *geup-/goup-/gup- 'hollow, pit' > Gk řv₁ř₁ [Call.] 'cave', [Hs.] 'hollow in the earth; lurking-place, den; vulture's nest' || Gmc: ON kofi 'small chamber, hut', Ic kofi 'hut', NNr kove 'larder, store-room', MHG kobe 'stall, pig-sty; cage; cavity (Huhlung)', NHG Koben, NLG Kofen 'pig-sty', AS cofa 'cave, chamber, pig-sty', NE cove || SI *z₁upa > P z₁upa, Uk řyna 'salt-pit', OCS ř **ж**o₁ř₁ni₁ře z₁upis₁te 'grave' ¶ IS I 232, F I 335, Ch. 243, Vr. 323-4, Ar. 452, Lx. 112, KM 386, Paul 338, Ho. 56, Vs. II 65-, St SS 321 ¶ U ***ko**ppE (× N ***ko**hp₁E 'cave, pit') > FP *ko₁ppa 'hollow; sth. hollow' > F kuoppa 'pit', Krl K kuoppa Krl A kuoppu, Krl Ld kuop₁, Vp kop 'pit', Es koobas (ř koopa), Es ? ko₁p 'cave, cavern, grotto' | pLp *kopV- 'to hollow out' > Lp L {Wk.} kořpo- id., pLp {Lr.} *kope₁ 'hollow, depression' > Lp: N {N} goppe / -b--v- 'hollow; round-shaped bottom', S {Hs.} gu₁ppie 'Loch, Tummel', L {Wk.} kořpe- 'Aushuhlung; enger, runder Alpental', Fr/O {Wk.} g₁u₁p₁ře 'sledge produced by hollowing out a tree trunk', Krsv {Lgc.} k'oh₁pi₁ře d₁ k'o₁pi₁ře 'pit' d₁ 'depression, small valley in the mountains', Klt {It.} ka₁p₁p₁, Kld {TI} ko₁p₁ře₁, {SaR} koa₁řn₁ 'pit' | Prm *go₁p ({?LG} go₁p) 'pit, depression' (< ***gu**p < pre-Prm) *ku₁ppV < *ko₁ppV > Vt gop id., 'hollow, narrow gully', Z g3p 'small pit, hole (in the ice), puddle, small lake', Yz go₁p 'deep quiet place in a river, depression, pit'; Prm *go₁p (↔ Rd. rLG 421) may belong here, suggesting the following prehistory: FU *ko₁ppa > (due to labializing infl. of *pp) *ku₁ppV > pre-Prm *gu₁p > Prm *go₁p ¶ Rd. rLG 421 is right in pointing out that F uo does not correspond to pPrm *ř (= {?LG} *o₁), but in his etl. dictionary (UEW) he does not propose any et. either to F kuoppa or to the Prm v. To my mind, this phonetic discrepancy may be explained by

postulating a pre-harmonic U **ko^hppE*, that due to vw. harmony may have yielded both **ko^hppa* (> BF **ko^hppa* > F *kuoppa*) and **ka^hppE* (> Prm **kəp*) ¶ SK 240, Lr. #456, Lgc. #2561, N II 177, Wk. EUL 272, Wk. LLW 45, Hs. 697-8, TI 147, SaR 113, LG 80, Lt. J 106, ¶ IS I 233 (i ч F *koppa* 'basket' [not 'hollow'] and Mr and Os words for 'skull', better explainable as belonging to N **k.^ha^hl^hw^hp.^hE^h ~ **k.^ha^hl^hw^hp.^hVyV* 'skull', **qUbf^hE^h* 'basket' and/or **k.ab^hi^h?^hV* 'wickerwork, bag, vessel' [q.v.]) ¶ A **gob^hu^h~^h* 'hollow' (→ 'empty'), 'pit, depression' > T: [1] NaT **Kob^hi* 'hollow, ravine, pit, depression between hills/mountains' > OT [MhK] *qov^hi* 'hollow', Az *gobu* 'hollow in the ground, (narrow) gorge\gully', ? *gobu* ^d *gob^hi* ^d *govu* 'ravine, pit, depression (often flooded)', StAlt *qob^hi* 'ravine, narrow gully, hollow in the ground', Alt/QK {Rl.} *qo^hb^hi* 'ravine, Talhuhlung ohne FluЯ', MQp [BMTQ] {Zaj.} *qoba* 'creux, cavitā, fosse', Osm {Rl.} *rBvQ qoba* 'Loch, Grube, Graben' [-b> G Kzq *qob-i* 'Grube; Stelle im Wasser [wo sich die Fische sammeln]', Qzq, Alt *qob^hi*, Tb *qob^hi* ~ *qo^hb^hi*, Tk ? *qobu* ^d *qowu*, Qmq ? *qowu* 'depression between hills'] -d> [1] NaT **Kobuk* 'hollow, empty' > OT *qov^huq id.*, 'a hollow', MQp [CC], Osm {Cl.} *qov^huq* 'hollow', MOg *qowuq* 'anything hollowed out & empty', Osm *qoγuq ~ qov^huq*, Tk *kovuk* 'hollow' (n., adj.), 'cavity, cave', Tkm *qowuq*, Tk ? *govuk*, *goγuk*, *qawuq*, *gaw^hik* 'hollow, a hollow', Xk, Sg *χαχ* 'hollow' (a tree), 'hollow of a tree', ET ? *qua^hq* 'empty' (of a melon, water-melon), Az *govug* 'bubble'; [2] T **kobu-l^h* > MQp [CC] *xiv qovus^h*, Nog *quwis* 'hollow', VTt *куыш quw^hьs^h* id., 'hollow of a tree', Bsh *q^hw^hьs^h*, Qmq *quwus^h* 'a hollow', Osm *qoγus^h ~ qovus^h* 'large hall, dormitory', Tk *kog^hus ~ kovus^h*, 'cell (in a prison)', Az *гоғуш g_oγus^h* 'hollow of a tree', Qzq, Qq *quwis* 'cavity, hollow body', Nog *quwis* 'a hollow (depression)', Chv *хаАбаАл хънъл id.*, 'cavity' ¶ Cl. 583, ¶ Cl. 581, Rs. W 273, ET Q 5-7, 18-20, Hьs. 83, Rh. 1490, Jeg. 282, Md. 44, 169, MKD 144, DTS 461, BT 84, Zaj. VAKBM I 39, Rh. 1490, Hьs. 83, AzDDL 144, Rl. II 657-60, Bu. II 69 || M [1] **ogobiya* > Kl D {Rm.} *go^hwa^h~^h* 'niedrige Stelle, Tal'; M **gobil* 'cavity, hole' > WrM *gobil*, HlM *говил id.*, 'pit, hollow, groove; depression'; M -b> Qrg *qobul* 'groove, rut (in the ground)', Tv *χovul*, Tf *həbəl* 'groove'; T -b> Brt *хобол*, Kl *ховл id.*, Oyr *qobul id.*, 'small hole' ¶ MED 357, Kow. 1025, KW 152-3, Krg. 313, Chr. 153, Jud. 361, TvR 478, Ra. 189 || [2] **qoγu-sun* 'empty', ? 'hollow' (× N **kohp.^hE* 'cave, pit', q.v. ffd.) || Tg: [1] WrMc *qobi* 'hollow, depression' ({Hr.} 'konkave Stelle, Einbuchtung, Aushuhlung, Vertiefung') (× N **kohp.^hE* '¶') ¶ STM I 402, Z 280, Hr. 692 || [2] ?σ AmTg **gebu^h(n-)* 'empty' > Orc, Ork *gzuw(n-) ~ gzun(n-)*, Ud *gzu*, Ul, Nn B *gzu(n-)*, Nn Nh *gzu^h id.* ¶ The vw. **e* is probably due to vw. harmony ¶ STM I 176 || pJ {S} **ku^hmpu^ha^h* 'cavity' > OJ *ku^hb(u^h)o^h*, J T *kubo id.* ¶ S QJ #669, Mr. 461 ¶¶ SDM97 (A **kopu* 'hollow, cavity'), ¶ DQA #859 (A **ko^hbu^h* id., incl. T **Kobuk*, J, M **qoγusun* and Tg **qobi*) ¶ D (in McTm) **kopp- > Ml koppam* 'pitfall for catching elephants', Tm *koppam* 'keddah (an enclosure constructed to trap wild elephants)' ¶ D #2103 ♦ The length of **o* in FU may be explained by postulating a cns. **w* in the N etymon (**gowp.^hu^h*) ♦ IS I 232-3 [#87] (**gop^ha* 'hollow, empty').*

652. **goPK.^ha^h* ('(e) tooth, hook, sharp stick' > A: M **goqa* 'crook, hook' > WrM *goqa*, HlM *goχ*, Brt *goχo*, Kl *goχo id.* ¶ MED 363, KW 149 || (?) Tg **gu^hakV* 'hook' > Nn *go^haqo* 'hook for hanging up a cauldron', Ewk, Orc *goko* 'hook', Mc *goqon* 'hook, hook for hanging up sth.'; some of the forms present in Tg are loans from M (e.g., Nn and Neg *goχo* 'hook'), for other forms (with medial -k-, -q-) Mongolic origin is less plausible, but not ruled out ¶ U: FU **kopkka* (or, with an alt. phonological interpretation, **kopka* 'crook, hook, sharp point' > F *koukka*, *koukku* 'crook', Es ? *kouk* (g *kouga*) ('(e) hoe', pLp {Lr.} **kə^hkke^h* (× U **kokka* 'protruding point, hook' × N **k.^hok^hl^hw^hV* 'hook') > Lp: N {N} *goakke* 'hoe', I {It.} *koa^hkk^h*, Kld *kuə^hkə^h* 'hook', K *ko^ha^hkkə^h* 'hoe, hook'; Chr *kopka* 'ploughshare' (B quotes the word only within the cd *kopka-par^hn'a* 'crooked end of a ploughshare', lit. 'ploughshare's thumb', Coll. quotes Chr *kopka* 'plough' without indicating the source) : ?? acc. to LG 77, Z *gogin*, Z US *gogin*, Yz *gogə^ht* 'scraper (скобел?)' (? Rd. rLG 421) :: pOs **kaγəp* 'fish-hook' (× FU **kok^hl^hk^hVpV* 'hook' < **K.X^hl^hR^hJ^h.ubpV* 'top, summit, crown of the head' [q.v. ffd.]) > Os {KrT} *Vy qayəw*, Y *qayəp*, Try *qa^hγəp*, *quγp-*, Os D {KrT} *χαχəp* 'wooden fishing hook for pikes' ¶ Coll. 90, UEW 171-2, Stn. D 459, SK 208-9, 225-6, B 74, Lr. #468, LG 77, Trj. S 142, KrT 291-1 ¶ ? IE: the expected IE cognate seems to have coalesced with the the IE reflex of N **k.^hok^hl^hw^hV*, which is NaIE **kog-/keg-* 'hook, claw' > Gmc **xo^hka-*, **xakan-*, **xe^hkan-* 'hook' > ON *hækja* 'K^hæcke', OHG *ha^hco ~ ha^hkko ~ ha^hgo*, NHG *Haken*, AS *ho^hc* 'hook', NE *hook* :: SI **kog^hьt^h ~ kog^hьt^h* > OR, R 'korot?', Cz ? *koha^ht* 'claw', Hls *kocht* 'awn, **костер?** (brome)' ¶ P 537-8, Vr. 278, OsS 365, Kb. 423, KM 283, Ho. 167, ESSJ X 109-10, Trof. 86 ♦ In all reflexes, except U, there is as within the cluster **-PK^h- > *-K^h.K^h- (> *-kk-, *-k-)*. In the history of this N v the date of vw. breaking of **o* is under doubt: if all attested words of Tg lgs. are Mongolisms, the vw. breaking took place not in pA, but rather in Nn ♦ Cf. AD AltAD #19.

653. **ga^hʔ^hp^hsa^h* 'paw, hand' > IE **g^hes-r-*, **g^hes-to-* 'hand': [1] IE {Sturt., Pis., Hamp, F, Ch., EI} **g^hesr-* > Ht *kessar* (d *kesri*) id., SAn: Lw *is(sa)ri-*, HrLw *istr(i)-*, Lc *izr(i)-* ({Pv.}: before front vowels IE **g^h-* > SAn zero) || NaIE **g^hes-r-* 'hand' [but hardly NaIE **g^her-* 'hand' (P 447, Dv. #270), cf. N **gArV* 'hand' > Gk *χε^hρ / g^hχε^hρ-o^hς* 'hand', Gk D *χη^hρ / χη^hρo^hς*, Gk Ae g^h *χε^hρρlα^h*, pl. *χε^hρρας id.* :: Arm *3e@n zer^hn* (g *3e@n zer^hin*) id. (< a^h **g^hesr-m^h*) :: pAl {O} **da^hra-* (singularized ntr. pl.) >

Al T dore (pl. duar), G dor 'hand' || Tc A tsar, Tc B s, ar id. || [2] NaIE *g^hesto-, {EI} *g^hosto-s 'hand' > OI 'hasta-h., Av zasta-, OPrs, KhS dasta-, NPrs †Sda da 'st 'hand' || ? L praesto⁻adv. 'present, at hand' (< *prai_h hesto⁻d 'at hand', cp. Gallius: praesto 'quod prae manibus est') || Lt pa-z^haste⁻, pa-z^hasti⁻s 'space under the arm, armpit' ¶ P 447, EI 254, SlT. 316-7, F II 1082-3, Ts. E I 558-63, Sturt. CGHL 89, 118, Pis. SLS 121, Hamp PA 115, F II 1082-3, Ch. 1251-2, M K III 588, M E II 812, WH II 356, Huld 54, O 70-1, Horn 126, Frn. 560, Wn. 521, Ad. 649-50, Ad. H 128, 146, Pv. IV 160-5 || HS: Ch: WCh: SBc: Buli {ChL} ga^hpu^hs^ha^h 'shoulder' | Ank {ChL} kis^hat id. | ? Ngz {Sch.} ga^hpta^h id. || CCCh: Lmn {Lk.} ya^hba^hza^hk id. || ?? ECh: Ke {Eb.} ko^hsi^h, Kwn {J} kosi^h 'hand, arm' (unless ko- is a px.) ¶ Eb. 73, ChC, ChL || U: FU *kEps^ha^h (*ka^hpsa^h ~ *kipsa^h) 'paw, animal's leg/foot, fell from a paw/leg' (× N ***K**.EP.VzV 'paw, hoof') > F ka^hpsa^h 'hare-foot (for dusting etc.)', Krl A ka^hpc^hu^h 'foot (of ducks and other birds); paw', Krl Ld ka^hpc^h ~ ka^hps^h 'foot (of birds etc.)', Vp ka^hps^h '(hen's) foot; paw (of dogs, otter)', Es ka^hps^h 'heel', {W} ka^hps-jalad 'cooked pig-feet' | Chr: B ku^hps^h 'nap of cloth' (< *nap made of the skin of animals' legs), L ku^hps^h 'strands of wool in home-made woolen cloth' | Prm *ku^hs^h 'fell from an animal's leg' > Z кыс kis id., 'footwear made of a fell from an animal's leg/foot with the fur on the outside', 'a fell from a leg/foot used to line up the bottom side of ski (for braking when skiing uphill)', Yz ko^hs 'skin of the legs of an animal [horse, elk, etc.] (used as brakes under the ski when skiing uphill)', Vt kusla- v. 'brake (when skiing uphill)'; {UEW}: Prm *u^h < *i or *a^h due to the labializing infl. of *p || ObU {?Hl.} *ko^hpəθ (Ht.) *ko^hpəθ 'fell from an animal's leg (Pfortenfell)' > pOs {Ht.} *ko^hpəθ (Hl.) *ko^hpəθ id. > Os: V/Vy ko^hwəl, Ty ko^hpəθ, Y ko^hpəθ, D/K/Nz kepəθ, Kz kepəθ, O kopəθ; pVg *ku^ht 'skin of an elk's leg' > Vg: LK/MK/UK k^hwa^ht, P ka^ht ~ k^hwa^ht, NV/SV/LL k^hwa^ht, UL/Ss kot id.; ObU *o^h, Cht u^h and Prm *u^h are due to the labialization caused by *p (f Rd. rLG 421) ¶ Coll. 87, UEW 159-60, || Sm. 544 (FU, FP *ku^hpsV 'leg skin', Ugr *ku^hpəθ; does not take into account BF), LG 154, Lt. J 133, Ht. #303, Hl. rHt 71-3 || ?? D {tr.} *kaçyV, {Pf.} *kay/*key ({9GS} *k-) 'hand, arm' > Tm kai^h, Ml kai^h, kayyi, Kt, Kdg kay, Tl ce^hyi (a ce^hti), ce(y)yi, Klm ki^h d key d ki^hy d kiyu, Nkr ki^h, Kui kayu, kagu, Ku ke^hyu(:) d ke(y)yu d kayyu, Krx xekk^ha^h id., Ml kayyu, Tu kai^h, Tl ke^hlu, kai^h, Nk ki^h, Prj, Png key, Gdb ki^h d kiyu d kiy, Gnd kay, Knd kiyu d kivu, Mnd kiy, Mlt qeqe 'hand', Kn kay, kayi, kayyi, key 'hand, fore-arm' ¶¶ If GS's pD rec. *key- 'hand, arm' is right, the D word does not belong here ¶¶ D #2023, IS I 227, Pf. 45, GS 186-7 [#471] ◆ IS I 227 [#80] (IE *g^hes-, D *kac- + qu. Om *k^hc^h 'hand'; i 4 FU *ka^hte 'hand', f s.v. N ***K**.a^htV 'hand').

654. ?2 *gEqu 'to pour, flow' > IE: NaIE *g^heu^h-/*g^hhu^h- v. 'pour', *g^heu^h-mn. 'sth. poured, libation' > OI ju^hho^hti 'sacrifices' (esp. 'pours butter into fire'), hu^htah. pp. 'sacrificed', 'ho^h-man- 'libation, sacrifice', Av zaotar, zaot^hr- 'priest, sacrificer', OI 'ho^h-tra^h 'an offering, sacrifice (Opfergabe)', Av zaot^hra^h 'libation' || Gk γε^h(f)ω 'I pour', Gk Hm aor. γε^hε^hυα (< *e-g^heu^h- + -σα), Gk γε^hυ^hμα 'that which is poured, a stream, libation' || Phr [Hs.] ζευμα^hν πηγην^h 'stream [?]' [(^h < *g^heu^h-mn.)] || Arm 3ojl 3oyl 'what is smelted \ cast \ founded', n. 'font, cast' (< *g^heu^h-lo-), 3ulem 3ulem 'I cast, smelt, found || L fu^h-tis 'water(ing)-can', fu^h-tilis 'easily poured, brittle' || pTc *ku^h- > Tc A, B ku^h- v. 'pour' ¶ WP I 563-4, P 447-8, EI 448, M K I 442, M E II 821, F II 1090-3, WH I 563-4, SlT. 259, Wn. 239, Ad. 179-80 ¶ The absence of traces of the expected Ir. (< N *q) needs explanation. One may suggest a mt + subsequent loss of the Ir.: *gEqu > eIE *g^hHeu^h > IE *g^heu^h- || HS: CS *-g^hχ- ~ *-gu^h-χ- v. 'pour forth, gush out' (of water) > Hb -g^hih- 'burst forth' (of dashing water, of sea), JA [Trg.] √gyh 'break forth, stir', Sr √gwh (pf. ga^hh, ip. nə^hgu^h) 'gush out, pour forth' (of water), 'flow' (of tears), ?σ Ar pf. ΙΙαJa g^ha^hχα (√gw^hχ) 'ronger et enlever la berge (se dit de l'eau)' ¶ KB 181, KBR 189, BDB 161 [#1518], Js. 237, Br. 108-9, JPS 63, BK I 350, DRS 107 ◆ An alt. comparison (with better semantic connections, but with phonetic problems): N ***kE**llu (q.v.) > IE *g^heu^h-/*g^hhu^h- v. 'pour' 4 HS: S *√k^hw 'pour', SC: Irq {MQK} ku^hzu^h-s-, Brn ku^hzu^h-s-, Alg ku^hzumis- v. 'spill, pour'.

655. ??? *gArV 'hand' > HS: Eg fP 3r.t 'hand, handful' ¶ EG V 580-5, Fk. 323, Tk. I 319 || EC: Arr yirr 'upper arm' ¶ Hw. A 400 || A *garV > M *gar(i) 'hand, arm' > MM [MA] gar, [IM, IsV] qar, WrM gar, HlM rap, Kl gar, Dgr gari, garb, Ba xar, MMgl {Iw.} gar, Mgl qar, ? Dx qa 'hand, arm' ¶ MED 350, T 325, T DgJ 130, T DnJ 124, T BJ 136, Mr. D 19, Iw. 104, Rm. M 31 || T *k^har 'upper arm (brachium)' or 'fore-arm' > ET U qar 'upper arm', Chg qar 'arm', Qzq, Qq qar 'fore-arm', Bsh ? qar in qus^h-qar 'fore-arm' (lit. 'double arm'), Qrg qar-3^hilik 'humerus', SY {Tn.} qar simiq 'a bone in the fore-arm' || Chv L xyp xur 'double cubit (the double distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger)' | d (← a form with ppa.): T *k^hari (Md.) *k^ha^hri 'forearm' > OT, MT, MQp qari 'forearm, cubit ("arshin")', Chg qari ~ qaru 'arm, upper arm, ∈ cubit', OOsM qaru 'arm, hand', Osm {Rl.} qaru-3^ha, Brb {Rl.}, Qrg qari 'upper-arm', Az ? qari 'upper half of animal's leg', Xlj qari half-fathom', Tkm qari id., 'lower leg of a quadruped, shin-bone', VTt ? qarb 'length of an arm from elbows to fingers', Nog qari 'length of a fore-arm', QrB qari 'cubit', Qzq, Qq qari 'fore-arm (of humans and animals)', Chv {Ash.} xur^h 'a unit of length (|| 2 m)', ET Tr ker^h 'arm's length, cubit', Uz qari 'a unit of length (2 arshins)', StAlt, Shor, Uz ? qari 'upper arm', Tv qiri 'ulna', Tf qiri id., 'fore-arm', Yk xari, xari id., 'lower part of the foreleg' | d (substantivezed adj.) T *k^har-a '∈ part of arm/leg' > VTt qara 'unit of length (|| 1 m)', Uz

qara san 'shin', Yk xara 'upper arm, ulna' ¶ Cl. 644-5, ADb. SR 160-4, 195-8, ET KQ 278-83, Dr. TM III #1477, Jud. 355, BT 74, Ra. 223, Jeg. 306, Fed. II 361, Md. 103, 166 || Tg: WrMc garga, gargan 'limbs (arms and legs)' ¶ STM I 141, Z 310 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. *gara 'upper arm', SDM97 s.v. *ga^hera 'arm' (adduces pJ *ka^hta^h 'shoulder' [> OJ kata, J T ka^hta], alternatively equatable with N *k^hu^hlyjt^hVjP^hV 'shoulder' or with *K^ha^ht^hV 'hand' II ?? IE: Acc. to P 447, NaIE ?? *g^her- 'hand' [> Arm 3e@n 3er^hn 'hand' :: Gk xei^hp 'hand' :: pAl *da^hra^h > Al: T/G dore^h (pl. T duar, G duer) 'hand'], but in the light of Ht kessar- 'hand' Pokorny's rec. is to be replaced by pIE *g^hesr- (see N *ga^hp^hsa 'paw, hand', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Dv. #270 (g^her- 'mano come cosa attiva'), P 447 (s.v. *g^hesto-), O 70, Huld 54, Sturt. CGHL 89, 118, Pis. SLS 121, Hamp PA 115, Slr. 316-7, F II 1082-3, Ch. 1251-2, Pv. IV 160-5, Ts. E I 558-63 ◆ If P's rec. of the IE cognate is accepted, the N rec. should be *ga^hra (the A *a of the first syll. being accounted for by vw. harmony), otherwise we reconstruct an unspecified *A (*a^ha) in N *gAra ◆ The equation is highly doubtful (the Eg and the IE supposed cognates are qu.).

656. ² *geRV 'throat' > HS: WS *girr-, *√grr > MHb erlG4 ge^hra^h 'neck' (Lv.: 'der Hals, eig. der Ort, wo das Tier die Speise heraufbringt'), Tgy goRB g^hwerəro 'gola, trachea', CS *gira^hn- > BHb N&rG1 ga^hro^hn (cs. gə^hro^hn, st. pron. gəro^hn, pl. [att. in MHb] gəro^hn-o^ht^h) 'throat, neck' [ga^hro^hn is a hf. from the stem gəro^hn- in cs., st. pron. and pl.], Ar €"raJi g^hira^hn- 'front part of a camel's neck'; rdp.: S *gVrgVr- 'throat, gullet' > BH pl. t. t&rG1r^G2* garga^hro^ht^h* 'throat', (→) 'neck' (att. +ppa 2m: K1it3(&)rG6r^G2 gargəro^ht^hε^hk^ha^h 'thy throat') ({KBR} 'pharynx' → 'neck'), MHb tr3G3r^G2 gar^hgeret^h 'Gurgel', Ug {OLS} grgr 'garganta (?)', Sr gaggar^ht-a^h 'throat', Md gangarata 'throat, tonsils' (pl.), Ar [Nbg.] rji^hraja g^hara^hg^hir^h- 'throat (?)' (originally pl. fractum), Tgy g^hwərg^hwərit^h 'gootre' (Bsn. 'gozzo'), Ak gagguritu '∈ part of the body of an animal: ? throat' ¶ GB 147-8, KB 194, KBR 201-2, OLS 151, Lv. I 355, 358, Br. 103, DM 77, Hv. 87, Bsn. 872, L G 201, CAD III 9, DRS 175-7, MiK I #1.95 [S *gira^hn-], #102 [S *g^har(g^h)ar(at)- 'throat, gullet'] || C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} gure^hr 'throat' ¶ Hz. NSA 139-40 || B *°√grgr > Ntf {La.} a-gərgur, {Dray} ahengur, agergur, CM ag^hərgur, BSn agərgur, Izn ag^hərg^hur 'gootre' ¶ La. N 57, Dray 243, NZ 854 || Ch: ?? ECh: Tmk ge^hr 'neck' (unless to N *r^hg^hledi 'occiput, nape of the neck') ¶ Cp. 26 :: cp. also CCh *√grd. 'throat; to swallow', Kfr {Nt.} ga^hga^hra^hk 'throat' (× N *guRK^hU^h 'throat?'), Tr {Nw.} g^hora 'neck' (if the glottalization of g reflects the HS lr.), Mu {J} go^hro^h (pl. go^hra^hr) 'neck', etc. (× N *guRIIE - *gu^hRIIIV 'throat, neck', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ OS #960 II U: FP *kerV 'throat, gullet' > F kero, kerus id., Es ko^hri 'throat, larynx' : pLp {Lr.} *kərs 'windpipe, trachea' > Lp: S {Hs.} g^hirše, L {LLO} karas id., Kld kərs 'throat, windpipe' : Prm *gər- ({?LG} *go^hr-) 'throat' > Z ropu^hgors^h 'throat, larynx', Z US go^hrs^h, Yz gors^h id., Z Le goran^h 'Adam's apple' (acc. to LG, -s^h and -an^h are likely to be a dim. sxs.) ¶ UEW 660, SK 184, Lr. #319, Lgc. #1268, Hs. 612, LG 79.

657. *g^hi^hrV 'to hate, be hostile' > HS: S *√gyr - *√gry > Mh √gyr (pf. gəyo^hr, sbjn. yə-gye^hr), Jb √gyr (pf. Jb C gē^hr, Jb E ger) v. 'oppress', Ak √gry (inf. geru^h, p. -gri) 'be hostile', ge^hru^h 'foe', Ug √gry g^h 'attack', IA √gry g^h 'sue, institute suit against'; ?σ (× *√gry 'incite, provoke') BHb √gry d^h 'stir up strife', √gry d^h 'engage in strife', JA √gry t^h (ir4G^hi% yiggə^hre^h) 'attack', JEA √gry t^hd^h 'fight, contend', Sr √gry t^h (pf. Φri@ə^h e 2et ga^hri^h) 'provoke \ stir up strife, pick a quarrel' ¶ Jo. M 128, Jo. J 81, CAD V 61-3, OLS 152, HJ 234-5, BDB 173, Js. 268, Sl. 300, JPS 77 || Eg fP 3zy 'be hostile', fMK 3zy.t 'wrongdoing', 3zyw 'opponent', ?? Eg: {EG} MK 3r3r 'strange, be strange', NK 'fremd, feindselig handeln', MK {Fk.} 3r3ri 'stranger', 3r3ry 'strange' ¶ EG V 514-8, 604, Fk. 318, 324 II IE: [1] ?? Ht kurur 'enmity (Feindschaft), enemy' || [2] NaIE *g^hers- 'repugnance, abhorrence' > Arm gar2im gars^him 'I abhor, detest, hate' :: ON gersta 'drgern, buse machen', MHG garst 'rancid taste, stench', MHG, MLG garst 'rancid', Dt garstig 'rank, rancid, musty', NHG garstig id., 'nasty, foul, disagreeable' ¶¶ Not here (⇔ P) Av grə^hhma-, interpreted by P as 'Sānder, Frevler', but actually meaning 'gift' (Bai. 442, Brl. 530) ¶¶ Ts. E I 665-7, Pv. IV 280-6, ~ P 445, Slr. 371-2, Vr. 165, Vr. N 185, Lx. 53, KM 233 ¶¶ Acc. to AD's theory of vw. changes in the prehistory of IE (AD NGIE, AD NVIE), the lack of palatality in the NaIE initial cns. is reg. (*gi > *g^hai^h > *g^hei^h > *g^he [loss of the glide before another sonant]) II D *kir^h-ukk-, *ker^h- ({9GS} *k-) > Tm cer^hu v. 'hate, dislike', cir^hukku 'be angry with', Kt cirv^h id., Td kir^hk 'violent anger', Tl cir^hr^ha, cir^hr^hu 'anger, displeasure', Brh kire^hη 'abuse' ¶¶ D #1597.

658. ² *gURV 'to roll' > K *gor-/gr- vi. 'roll, wallow' > OG gor-, ngor-, G gor- vi. 'roll, wallow' ('rollen, sich wälzen'), Mg gorgol-, Lz ngor-/ngr-, Sv gur-/gwr- v. 'roll' ¶ K 64, K² 31, FS K 83-4, FS E 88-9, Chx. 202, Abul. 96, Ser. 41 II HS: EC: Sa {R} gu^hr- 'rollen, wälzen, in Kugelform bringen' :: SC: Irq {E} g^hwang^hwara^ha- v. 'roll (downhill)', {MQK} g^hwang^hwara^h?- 'roll, roll down' ¶ R S II 160-1, E SC 372, MQK 43 || ? WCh: Hs ga^hra^h v. 'roll any circular object rapidly along the ground' ¶ Ba. 362 || ??σ Eg P g33 v. 'turn over, kentern' ¶ EG V 149 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 89 [#18.13].

659. *ge^hf^hV^hrV 'to fence around, encircle; enclosed place' (→ 'build walls, huts') > HS: C: ? EC: Or {Grg.} go^hrro^h 'partition, wall', Brj {Hd.} go^hre, Ged {Hd.} go^hre 'shed for animals' :: SC: Irq {Wh.} ga^hr^h?ai (pl. ga^hr^h?a^hwe) 'wall of the verandah', {E} gar^hay 'verandah of house', {MQK} gar^hay 'front of the house, area near the house' :: Bj {R} ga^h?ra ~ gar^h?a ~ gara 'fenced courtyard around the house'; eBj or Ag *ga^hrat -b> (or <b?) Tgy {R} h>rT k^ha^hret -b> Bln/Sa {R} 'qa^hrat id. ¶ Tgy h>rT is

isolated within S and EthS, while Bj ga²ra has cognates among the C lgs., suggesting a C origin of the Tgy word ¶ R WBd 87, R WB 234, Grg. 181, Hd. 94, 242, Wh. SI, MQR 37. ¶ E SC 233 (pSC *ga⁻d- 'dwell, reside, abide' based on an unc. comparison with Dhl *ga⁻d- 'stay') || Ch: WCh: Hs ga¹ga¹ri¹ 'low wall or mound to prevent rain water from flowing into a booth' || ECh: Mkl {J} ga¹ra¹ (pl. ga¹r-d.a¹ri¹) 'clôture d'hippéux' ¶ Ba. 366, J LM 98 ¶¶ OS #852 (*ga²ur- 'wall, yard'), #956 (*gor- 'wall, house, dwelling') || A *gev¹i¹rV {AD} 'house, tent, wooden framework of a tent' > M *gevir 'yurt (nomadic tent), house' > MMgl [Iw.] gehir 'house', MM [S] {H} geyit pl. 'houses', [LM, S, MA, IM, IsV] ger, WrM, WrO ger, HLM ryp, Ord, Mnr H {SM} g_er, Brt ryp, Mgl {Rm.} ger, Ba {T} gar, Dg {Mrm., T} geri, ger' 'house' ¶ H 49-50, Pp. MA 170, 437, Pp. L III 69, Lg. VMI 30, MED 377-8, Ms. O 259-60, Krg. 770, Chr. 171-2, M 133, T 322, T BJ 136, T DgJ 131, Klz. D I 133, Iw. 103 || T *k¹era¹k¹u¹ 'latticework frame of a yurt (tent)' > OT {Cl.} ka¹ra¹ku¹, {DTS} kereku¹, Tkm † gerege, Bsh kira¹ga¹, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg kerege, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} ka¹ra¹xa¹, Uz keraga id. ¶ Cl. 744, ET VGD 24-5, Rl. II 1090, Sht. 125, KrkR 315, UzR 209, Dr. TM III #1629 || AdS of (infl. on) Tg *gerbe- 'make perches, clean trunks from boughs' < N *gorVb¹pV 'scratch, scrape', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ DQA #503 (T, M, Tg) || D *ker⁻ ({9GS} *k⁻) > Kn kir⁻ v. 'confine, close, shut, block up, make a fence, cover', Tm cer⁻u v. 'control (as the senses), hinder, prevent', cir⁻ai⁻ v. 'restrain, imprison, dam up', Ml cer⁻iyuka 'be thronged', cer⁻ukkuka 'dam up, enclose', cir⁻a 'enclosure', Kt cer⁻ 'imprisonment', Td ker⁻f- '(water) is dammed', Tl cer⁻a 'prison, imprisonment', Knd ker⁻- v. 'close, shut (as a door, box); build a board (as enclosure)' ¶¶ D #1980 || ? K: G da-v-h-gurgur-eb 'ich hege um' ¶ Chx. 217 ◆ IE *g¹hor-to- 'encircled land' hardly belongs here, because it has no long vw. (the expected trace of the N lr.) (see N *ga¹rdV) ◆ It is tempting to adduce here FU k¹a¹r¹rV > Prm *kar¹ 'settlement, fortified settlement', but the vw. 'a¹' (> Prm *a) suggests that the word belongs to N *q¹a¹yo¹rV 'heap of stones, (walled) settlement' ◆ The lr. (probably *ŷ) is suggested by the reflexes in Bj (?), Tgy (ŷ), K (lack of *ŷ) and M; the vw. between *ŷ¹ and *r is suggested by the M and D ev. (D *-r⁻ < intervoc. *-r- rather than < *-r-cluster).

660. *g¹u¹r¹rV 'to look, look for' > K *g¹o¹r¹rV (or *g¹aa¹rV) > Lz, Mg gor- c. 'look for' ¶ Chik. 264-5; GM S 334-5 and Test. KV ∇ (both on the origin of Lz and Mg o) || HS *g¹ŷr > S *g¹ŷr *see' > Ar йна¹rao0Ji g¹ŷra¹n-at- 'eye' ¶ BK I 300 || Eg fMK 3¹r v. 'search out, investigate; seek' (× N *c¹u¹r¹rV ~ *c¹ur¹rV 'to see, look' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 539, Fk. 320 || EC: Af {PH} gorrisse v. 'look for, search, seek', goran 'searching, studying', Sa, Sa Ir {R} gu¹r- 'look for', {Wlm.} gu¹ro-kio 'I shall look for' ¶ PH 115, R S II 161 || ? B: Nf sə-ggər 'look for', possibly also *g¹rw 'find' > Ah, Adgg əg¹ru, ETwl, Ty əgrəw, Gh ə3¹raw, TnsI i3¹raw ¶ La. S 214, NZ 857, 895-6 || Ch {JS} *g¹gr 'look for' > CCh: Db {Lnh.} gi¹r, Msy {Mch.} gər, Ms {J} ga¹ra¹, ? Bdm {Lk.} kēra id. ¶ ChC, ChL, JS 171 || IE: NaIE *g¹h¹erə- ~ ?? *g¹h¹werə- > Sl *zbrē¹ti / *zbr¹o¹, 'look' > OCS зьбръти зьбръти / зьбръж зьбръж, SCr zre¹ti / zre¹m, Slv zri¹ti / zre¹m, R зрѣт? / зрѣ, P z¹rzec¹ / zrzc¹, Cz zr¹i¹ti / zr¹i¹m, Lt z¹iure¹ti 'to look, look at' ¶ Frn. 1316, Tr. 366, ¶ Glh. 700 (??σ: Sl *zbrē¹ti < IE *g¹h¹erə-/*g¹h¹re¹- 'shine') || A *gorE 'see, look for, hope' > T *k¹o¹r- v. 'see' > OT, MQp, XwT, Chg ko¹r-, Tk go¹r-, Az, Tkm, Qmq go¹r-, ET, Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, SY, Xk, Tv, Yk ko¹r-, CrTt kor¹-, VTt, Bsh ku¹r-, Uz kōr-, Qzl {Dom.} ko¹r-, {Jk.} ko¹r- ~ ko¹r, Qb {Cs.} ko¹r-, Tf ko¹r-, Chv кур- kur-¹ kor- 'see'; T *k¹o¹r¹ 'eyes' (< N *g¹u¹r¹rV yi, where *yi is a marker of dual) > OT {Cl.} ko¹-z, XwT, MQp ko¹-z, Chg, OOSm go¹-z, Tk go¹-z, Az g¹o¹-z, Tkm r¹ z go¹-δ, CrT goz¹ ~ koz¹, Qmq go¹-z, XT {Dr.} ge¹-z, Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Tb, ET, Ln, SY ko¹-z, Uz kōz, Alt, Xk ko¹-s, VTt ku¹-z (b> Chv ky¹ kus¹ ~ kos¹), Bsh ku¹-δ, Qmn ko¹-z ~ ko¹ ~ ku¹-s ¶ Cl. 736, Rs. W 292, 295, ET VGD 60-3, 77-9, Ra. 240, Md. 49, 170, Fed. I 310-1, 314-5 (Chv ky¹ VTt ku¹-z), ? Md. 50 (T *k¹o¹r¹s 'eye') || Tg *ogur- 'understand' > Sln guru- 'understand, learn (y3¹nar?)' ¶ STM I 174 || M *gori 'hope, expectation' > WrM gori, HLM rop?, Brt ropi id., Ord g¹ori-ug¹ 'c'est en vain, cela n'ira pas' (ч WrM gori u¹gei 'without hope') ¶ MED 361, Ms. O 307, Chr. 157 || pKo {S} *ki¹ri¹- 'long for, miss, think of' > MKo ki¹ri¹-, NKO kiri- ¶ S QK #915, Nam 68, MLC 237 ¶¶ DQA #554 [A *go¹-re 'see, understand'; incl. T, M, Ko, Tg *ogur-] || D *kur⁻i¹ ({9GS} *g⁻?) 'mark, sign' > Tm, Ml, Kn kur⁻i 'mark, sign, aim', Tm kur⁻i v. 'draw. sketch outline in painting, design', Kt guryv 'good aim', Td kur⁻y 'aim', kur⁻p 'a mark (made by a person to show he was there)', Kn kur⁻i v. 'mark, take note of, regard', Kdg kuri 'drawing, sectarian mark', kuri- v. 'paint', Tu guri 'aim, mark', Tl gur⁻i 'an aim, design', Ku gur⁻ v. 'aim at', Mlt kurke v. 'write' ¶¶ D #1847.

661. *g¹EhRa ~ *g¹ERha 'sunshine, day' > IE *g¹h¹erh⁻ / *g¹h¹re¹h⁻ 'shine' > NaIE *g¹h¹erə-/*g¹h¹re¹- > OIr gri¹an f., Nlr grian 'sun' (< *g¹h¹re¹i¹na¹) || ON gra¹-r, NNr, Dn gra¹, OFrs gre¹, OHG gra¹o, NHG grau, AS 3ra¹w, 3ra¹3¹ 'gray', NE gray ~ grey ('gray' ← *'bright') (Gmc *e⁻ < NaIE *e⁻ < *eh⁻); with the sx. *-u⁻: ON gry¹jandi f. 'dawn' || Pru sari ([z-]) f. 'Glut', Lt z¹ara¹ f. 'aurora, sunray', z¹a¹ras id., z¹ere¹ti 'to shine, sparkle, twinkle', Ltv zars 'ray' || Sl *zo¹ra (a¹ *zo¹r¹o¹) 'sunrise, aurora' ('stem I' *g¹h¹erə-) > OCS зорѣ zorja, McdS зора, SCr zo¹ra, Slv zo¹rja, Cz zor¹e, P zorza, R pl. 'зори, R ? зо¹pi, pl. R зори; SI *zar¹a id. > OCS зарѣ zarja, Blg, R за¹pi, Slv za¹rja, Cz za¹r¹e ¶ P 441-2, Thr. §§ 222, 470, ¶ Bc. 54, Dnn. 383, Vr.

185, Schz. 154, Kb. 405, KM 268, Ho. 135, Frn. 1290, En. 242, Glh. 699-700, EI 514 (*g^her- 'shine, glow') || HS: WS *√ghr > Ar reJ √g^hhr G v. 'dazzle so. with the sunlight' (of the sun), Sr √ghr G 'be dazzled' (of the eyes), Mh {Jo.} √ghr (pf. g^her, sbjn. yzgho^r), Jb E/C √ghr id., Sq {L.} √ghrr 'ktre\devenir clair', Tgr √ghr G v. 'coal, glow' ¶ BK I 343, Hv.102, Br. 107, JPS 62, L LS 104, Jo. M 117, Jo. J 73, LH 559, DRS 104 || Ch: Hs ga^ri 'sky' || Msg {Rlf.} gerna 'day', Msg G {Trn.} gi^rna^h, Msg P {Trn.} g^rna, Msg {Ov.} girna^h 'today', Msg G {Trn.} gi^rvi^hdi^h 'day-time', Msg P {Trn.} g^rv^hz^hz^h 'moment', g^rv^hz^hz^h marbay 'noon' (marba- 'in the middle') ¶ Ba. 367, Trn. LM 90, Trn. LDM 17, 23, Lk. M 56, ChC II A: M *gere 'light, brightness' (× N *gⁱeⁱy^rX 'fire, hearth') > MM [IM] gere 'light', [S] gere 'brightness (Glanz)', WrM gere, HIM r^yp^yy id., 'light, lustre', Kl {Rm.} ger^h 'torch, wick', Ord g^here 'light, brightness', Mnr H {SM} g^hz^hrie^h 'lumière, clarté, rayon', {T} gere 'brightness, lustre (сияние, блеск)', Dx gi^heren 'light, ray'; > M *gerel 'light, brightness, beam of light' > MM [HI] gerel 'light', [S] gerel 'Glanz', WrM gerel, HIM r^yp^yl 'light, beam of light', Kl ger^hl ger^hl ~ ger^hl 'light, ray', brightness' ¶ Pp. MA 437, H 49, Ms. H 56, KW 134, MED 378-9, KRS 139, SM 134, T 322, T DnJ 114 || Tg: WrMc gere- v. 'dawn', Mc Sb {Y} ger^ham^h 'to break (of a day)', WrMc usi^hxa geris^he-mbi 'a\the star shines' ¶ Z 324, Y #2662 ¶¶ ? DQA #A1535 [A *gari 'light (lux)'; M + unc. Tg *garpa 'ray of light, arrow'] ♦ IS I 228-9 [#82].

662. *gu^hw^hrV ' (roof of a) hut\house; to dwell' > HS: WS *-gu^hr- v. 'dwell' > Hb -gu^hr- (pf. rG1 ga^hr, ip. rugi! ya-'gu^hr) 'dwell (as alien and dependant)', MHb -gu^hr- (rG1 ga^hr / rugi! ya-'gu^hr) 'dwell (wohnen)', Ug {TOu-1} gr (√gwr) 'ktre un h^hfte, sijourner', Md guara 'temporary dwelling, (?) exile', Sb √gwr v. 'visit (a sanctuary)'; > WS *ga^hwir- 'inhabitant' > Bhb rG4 ge^hr 'protected citizen, stranger living in so.'s country', MHb rG4 ge^hr, JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} ar!&IG5 giyyo^h-r-a^h 'stranger, proselyte', Sr giyo^h-r-a^h 'alien, foreigner, stranger; proselyte', Ar rJa g^ha^h-r, Gz MR go^h-r, Tgr, Tgy MR gor, Mh g^hwayr, Hrs gor, gw^hr 'neighbour'; > Gz taga^h-wara 'dwell together in a neighbourly way', Jb C pf. s^hze^h-r (sbjn. yz^hs^h'ger) 'become so.'s neighbour' ¶ KB 193, KBR 184-5, 201, TOu I 588, BGMR 51, Js. 236, Sl. 278-9, JPS 68, DM 82, L G 207, LH 592, Jo. M 128, Jo. H 42, Jo. J 80, DRS 109 || EC: Sml {ZMO} guri 'house, home', Rn gu^h-ra 'move to a new dwelling-place', ?σ Arr gu^h-r- 'migrate' (unless akin to Arr gor 'road, way'), Sd {Gs.} gare 'tribe, people, village' ¶ ZMO 170, DSI 281, PG 131-2, Hw. A 32-3, Gs. 116 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *garV 'town' > Bl {ChL} gi^hr...wu^h, {Bnt.} 'goru, i Ngm {Stl.} ←?} gargu, Krf {Sch.} gi^hri^h 'town' ; Hs ga^hri^h, Gw {Mts.} ge^hri^h 'town, inhabited environment' ; Dw {ChL} g^hz^hri^h (< Hs ga^hri^h?) 'town', Jm {Gw.} girga 'village' || ECh: Jg {J} ge^h-r 'village', EDng {Fd.} ge^h-ge^h-r 'town' ¶ Stl. ZCh 218 [#685], Stl. VZCh 67, Abr. H 305, Bnt. LWS 22, Sch. BTL 54, ChL, ChC ¶¶ Not here Wl {C} guolle^h 'house', which is probably a loan from Or (Or {Brl.} gola 'a room within a hut', {Sr.} gola 'room', {Th.} gola 'capannuccia') [see N *gu^hI^hA 'dwelling, house'] ¶¶ Sk. HCD 78-8 || D *ku^h-r- ({9GS} *k-) || 'roof, hut' > Tm ku^h-rai^h 'sloping roof (commonly thatched with grass or palm leaf), small hut', Ml ku^h-ra 'hut, thatch', Klm kurod^h 'hog-house' ¶¶ D #1904 || ??φ A: AmTg *gu^h-ry- 'to roof' > Ork gui^h-guy(u)-, Nn Nh gui-, Nn B guyu- id., Ul guyu- id., 'to thatch'; > Ork guid^h-guyd^h, Nn Nh guic^hε, Nn B guyc^h, Ul guic^hε ~ guyc^hε, guipt^hε 'a roof' ♦ The cluster *-f^hw^hr- yields D *-r- (while intervoc. *-r- would have yielded *-r^h-).

663. *guyrE 'beast' > IE: NaIE *g^hwe^h-r- ({EI} *g^hwe^h-r / g^h*g^hwer-os) 'wild animal' > Gk: A θη^hρ (g θηρός), L φη^hρ, Th φα^hρ 'beast' || L ferus (f. -a, ntr. -um) 'wild' [*e^h > L e either due to generalization of *g^her- obl or due to Celto-Italic shortening of long vowels [Dybo's law, f Db. SDKI 13] || BSl: Lt z^hve^h-r^hs, Ltv zve^h-rs 'beast', Pru a pl. sw^hirins ([zv-]) ; pSl *zve^h-r^h 'wild beast' > OCS зѣ^hръ zve^h-r^h, Blg зѣ^hp, McdS зѣ^hver, ScR зѣ^hp^h zvi^hje^h-r, Slv zve^h-r, Cz zve^h-r^h, Slk zver, P zwierz, R зѣ^hр?, Uk зѣ^hр (in BSl the word was transferred to the *i-declension on the basis of the a sg. form with -i, *-b < IE *-m^h, *-n^hs) || Tc B d s^herwe 'hunter' ({Ad.}: < *g^hwer-wo- 'he of the animal'), d s^her- v. 'hunt' ¶ WP I 642-3, P 493, EI 23, F I 671-2, WH I 487-8, ME 409, Tr. 374-5, Frn. 1327, En. 261, Vs. II 87, Glh. 702, Ad. 633-4 || A {DQA} *gu^ho^hrie 'deer, game' [× N *go^hR^hX^hE 'to track (game), smell, hear; ear'] > M *go^h-re^hen 'wild animal', *go^h-re^hen-su^h-n 'wild herbivorous animal, antelope' > [1] *go^h-re^hen 'wild animal' [× M *go^h-regen n. 'hunt, chasing; game' < N *go^hR^hX^hE] > MM [S] go^h-reve 'Wild', Kl {Rm.} go^h-re^h 'wid animal, deer, game'; [2] *go^h-re^hen-su^h-n 'wild herbivorous animal, antelope' > MM [S] go^h-revesu^h-n id., [MA] go^h-re-su^h-n 'wild goat', [IM] go^h-re-su^h-n 'antelope', WrM gu^h-regesu^h-n ~ go^h-ru^h-gesu^h-n, HIM r^h p^h 'c(' h) id., 'game, wild beast', Ord {Ms.} g^h-o^h-ro^h-su^h 'game, wild beast', Brt r^h p^h ' h^h 'wild goat, roe', Kl {KRS} r^h p^həh go^h-ra^h-sən 'saiga antelope (Saiga tatarica)', {Rm.} go^h-re^h-sn. 'wild animals, deer or antelopes', MMgl {Iw.} go^h-resu^h-n 'wild ass', Dg {T} gure^h-s 'antelope, wild beasts', {Mr.} gure^h-se 'a quadruped, wild animal', ? Mnr H {SM} k^hu^h-oros^h 'bkte fīroce, bkte sauvage, sauvage' ¶ SM 215, Iw. 104, H 51, Pp. MA 172, 437, MED 387, KRS 147, KW 138, Chr. 166, Mr. D 153, T DgJ 133 || Tg: [1] *gurma-(kun) 'hare' > Nn gorma^ho^h ~ d g^horma^ho^h(n-), LMa gulma^hxun, Jrc {Kiy.} gulmahai^h 'rabbit'; Nn Nh gurm^hz toqsa 'sacred hare', gorma^h-qsa 'hare's hide'; [2] NrTg *gurn- 'small fur-bearing animal' > Ewk gurnun 'squirrel', Lm 'gurnata 'weasel' ¶ STM I 161, 174, Kiy. 105 [#150] || pKo {S} *ko^hra^hni^h > MKo ko^hra^hni^h 'deer, elk', NKo korani^h 'elk' (× N *gurna^h 'antelope') ¶ S QK #271, MLC 138, Rm.

SKE 125, Choy 902-3, Vv. ANE 16 (suggests that Ko is a loan from pChK *qoraŋi 'reindeer') ¶¶ S CNM 6-7, DQA #572 ¶ ? U *koyra 'male animal' (× N ***k'oyl'r'V** 'young of an animal; (?) 'male animal' [q.v. ffd.] × a q of U *koye 'male, man' < N ***goyV** 'man, people') ◆ IS I 237 [#93] (IE, M). Cf. N ***gurha** 'antelope, male antelope'. ¶ Gr. II 8 [gura '(wild) animal'].

664. ***gar'III'i** 'old' > HS: EC: pOr {Bl., Ss.} *gerf- 'grow old' > Arr ge-r 'old man, elder, husband', Or 3'a-r- (< *3'a?r- < [mt] < *3'arf-), Gato, Turo, Kns ker-, Msl, Bss ker?-, Gdl {Ss.} ker?- , {Bl.} kerd.- id., Arr gair 'old', Or {Grg., Brl.} 3'arsa 'old person', {BrL.} 3'ar-ti 'old woman', ?φ Arr 3'a'ra'r 'old woman' (generic) ¶ Bl. 207, Ss. PEC 37, AD VZ 208, Hw. A 360, 369, Grg. 229 || Ch {JS} *gr (Nw.) *garY 'grow old' > WCh: i BT: Krkr {ChL} ga-ra 'old', Krf {Sch.} ga-ro 'old' (of a thing) i NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} xe-ra 'grow old', ga-ra-s3'anna 'old (person)', ga-ri-ya k. 'a-i 'old woman', ? g'a-ra-na 'old' (of a thing), Cg {Sk.} ga-ri-s3'n 'old (man)', ga-ru-me 'old woman', Kry/Mbr {Sk.} xa-r-, Jmb {Sk.} xa-r- 'grow old', My {Sk.} xa-ra-ho-z3'h3 'old man', xa-ra-ho-za'ku 'old woman', P' {MSk.} fiara 'grow old', Sir {Sk.} 33'ra' id., xa-rwa 'old (thing)', g3'ra 'old woman' i SBc: Grn {Gw.} garan 'old man', {Hrn.} ga-ga-ri-n 'old person', Buli {ChL} go-rmba m id., go-rmis-i 'old woman' i Ngz {Sch.} ga-ru 'grow old' i ? Hs gi-rma 'exceed in age, be older than' (unless <d- Hs gi-rma 'bigness; to grow big') i CCh: Tr {Nw.} gor3, ? Gzg {Nw.} gal 'grow old' i ECh: ? Skr {Lk.} gu'e 'grow old' ¶ ChC, ChL, Nw. #64, Ba. 390-1, Hrn. #170, Sch. DN 69, Sk. HCD 85, Lk. ZSS 33 ¶ IE: Ht karu 'early, formerly', karu(u)ili 'former, ancient' ¶ Pv. IV 112-5 ¶ A: NaT *k'ari 'old' (of human beings and animals) > OT, MQp XIII, Osm =XIV, Chg XV qari, Tkm rарры Qq garri, Tk kari, Ggz, Qq, Qrg, Alt qari, Uz qari, ET qeri, Xk kiri id., Qzq [DQA] qa-ri id., {MM} qariya 'old man', ET qeri, Xk kyp 'kiri id., Az gari 'old woman', q: Qq qariya 'old man', Tk kari 'wife, married woman'; pT *k'ari- ({Md.} *k'a-ri-) > OT qari- ({Cl.} qari-) 'be(come) old', Tk kari-, Tkm garri-, Uz qari-, ET qeri-, Qrg, StAlt qari-, Tv, Tf qiri-, Xk kyp - kiri-, Yk kirry- 'grow old', Az gari- 'remain unmarried after the common age for marrying' (of a woman) ¶ The variant with i, I or e of the first syll. may be due to the infl. of the reflex of N ***kir'Ha** 'old' (q.v.) ¶ Cl. 644-5, ET KQ 311-2, Ra. 223, Ra. 223, Md. 103, 166 ¶¶ ? DQA #775 ◆ The tentative rec. of N *III is based on EC {Ss.} *f, which is rather arbitrary (what is certain is that it is a lr. resembling *? and lengthening the preceding vw. in Or, but not more than that). Therefore our N ***fIII** here is only tentative. The root may be connected or even identical with N ***garhU** 'to be(come) big, grow' In the latter case the N etymon will be ¶ ***garhu** 'grow, grow old/big' with *h on the ev. of Ar (ffd. see N ***garhU** 'f') ◆ Gr. II #283 (*kara 'old') [IE, A + err. J + qu. EA].

665. ***girIIIV** 'to cut' > HS: WS *grf 'cut' > BHb org grf 'cut down, trim (a beard), diminish', JA grf 'cut (head hair, beard), diminish', JEA grf G 'be inferior, shave the head', Sr grf 'shave (hair/beard), deprive of hair, take the tonsure', Plm atorg grt? pl. 'hairdressers', Mh grf (pf. go-ra, sbjn. y3'gre?) 'shave (usually the head)', Jb C grf (pf. 'geraf, sbjn. 'y3'graf) 'cut, shave off (all the head hair)', Sq {L} grf (pf. 'garaf) 'cut (hair)' ¶ KB 195-6, KBR 203-4, Lv. I 363, Sl. 304, Br. 134, JPS 79, HJ 235, L ESAC 16, Jo. M 123, Jo. J 78, DRS 190 || EC: Sa, Af grf 'cut (off)' > Sa {Wlm.} -igref- id., Sa {R} grf- (p. 'i-gri'a, inv. e'gri' ~ i'gri') 'ab-ein-schneiden', Af {R} grf- (p. 'i-rgi'a, inv. i'rgi') 'abschneiden (Baum, Hals)', {PH} irgi'e 'cut, cut down, harvest', garafe v. 'cut off in the middle of doing sth.', garuf 'harvest, mutilation', ?φ Arr k.u-r- 'cut, reap, castrate, cut down'; but EC *gawraf- v. 'cut throat' is probably derived from the reflex of N ***guRIIE** ~ ***guRIIV** 'throat, swallow' (q.v.) ¶ AD SF 316, R S II 161-2, R A II 60, PH 110-1, 137, Hw. A 381 ¶ U *kirV > FP *kira- 'hew, strike' (× N ***k.iruV** 'to strike, hit' [q.v. ffd.]) || pY {IN} *kir(e) 'knife' > OY O {Mat.} кipe or кip'e id. ¶ IN 306, ¶ IN 228 ¶ A: Tg gi-ri- 'cut out, cut out cloth for dress-making' > Ewk gir-, Lm gir-, Neg gi- ~ gty-, Orc gi- ~ giyi, Ud gi-, Ul, Ork, Nn gur- id., WrMc giri- v. 'trim; cut off (grass, branches)' ¶ STM I 153-4, Bz. 21-2 (*giri-), S AJ 224 [#280] (*giri-) || pJ *ki-r- 'cut' > OJ ki-r-, J: T ki-r-, K/Kg ki-r- ¶ S AJ 272 [#194], S QJ #194, Mr. 709 || ? pT *Kir- > MT [IM] k'i-r- 'cut off, clip' ¶ Cl. 643 ¶¶ S AJ 298 [#297], ? DQA #528 ¶ D *kirV ~ *kerV ({9GS} *k-) 'shave, cut (with a sickle), scratch' (partial coalescence with N ***K.ir'X'V** 'scrape, scratch') > Tm cirai 'shave, cut with a sickle', Ml cira 'shaving', Kn kiri 'shave', Tu kirejuni 'cut (as straw, grass-stumps', Klm kerk-, Nk ker-, Mlt qe're- 'shave', ? Brh karyin shear, crop down, mow down' ¶ Tm cira-y 'get scratched', Ml cirekka '(shave), scrape' and Kn kere 'scratch' go back to N ***K.ir'X'V** 'f' ¶¶ D #1564.

666. ?? ***guRIIE** or ***guRIIV** 'throat, neck' > HS: EC {Ss.} *gawraf- 'cut the throat' (× EC *grf 'cut' < N ***girIIIV** 'to cut', q.v.) > Sml gowraf-, Rn go-rraha 'slaughter an animal by cutting its throat', Bn ku-ra?, Sd gor?, Kmb gor-, Or gorra? 'slaughter an animal'; Or -b> Brj gorra? v. 'slaughter' ¶ Ss. B 84, Abr. S 96, ZMO 166, Grg. 182, PG 127 || WS *gurf- 'throat, gulp (gorgi'e)' > Gz g'w'arfe 'throat, neck, palate', Tgr GR) g3'arfe 'throat', Ar йОar0Ju g'ur'f-at- ~ йOar0Ja g'ar'f-at- 'gulp (gorgi'e, ce qu'on boit et avale d'un coup)', grf (pf. ШараJa g'arafa) 'swallow at one gulp' ¶ L G 200-1, BK I 280, Hv. 8, ¶ DRS 175-6 || Ch (× N ***geRV** 'throat?'): WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} ga-ga-ra k 'throat' (× N ***guRK'U** 'throat?') i BT: Krkr {Kb.} gurgosli id. i P' {MSk.} gu rg'a's'a id. i ? Hs garefa 'trachea, windpipe' i CCh: Tr {Nw.} g_ora 'neck' (if the glottalization of g reflects the HS lr.) i Msg G

{Trn.} gurd,ok, Mlw {Trn.} gu`rd,o`k 'throat' : Mtk: Mf {BLB} gərd,- 'swallow with difficulty', MfG {Brr.} gə`rd,an 'palate' : Tr {Nw.} yu`y`w`a`r id., g`ora 'neck' : BB: Gude {Hsk.} ı gu`rə`k 'swallowing noisily' : Lane {Sa.} ı gu`ro`k id. : ECh: Mu {J} go`ro` (pl. go`ra`r), Tmk {Cp.} ge`r`r, Kwn {J} kə`r... d kə`ri, Ke {Eb.} ku`r 'neck' (in KwK \*g- > k- regularly) : Cf. also nouns with supposed pxs.: Ngz {Sch.} ngu`r...ıa`ıı`ya` 'throat', Db {Mch.} mungurlum, Hs ma`k,o`gwa`ro`, Gw {Mts.} ma`ko`ngo`ro id. ¶ Hsk. 194, Nt. 14, Ba. 758, ¶ Sk. HCD 194-5, MSk. 179, Sch. DN 127, Cp. 62, Nw. WLT 38, Trn. LM 92, Trn. LDM 22, BLB 149, Brr. MG II 120, Mch. D 196, Sa. L II 502, ¶ Stl. VZCh #76, ChC, ChL, Eb. 75 ¶ Gude gu`rə`k and Lane gu`ro`k are results of secondary ideophonization (cf. R [in fairy tales and literature for children] зайчик прыг-прыг, where the deverbal d прыг [without being ideophonic by origin] functions as an ideophon) ¶ The Tmk and Tr words or 'neck' belong here if the retroflexity of r in Tmk and the glottalization of g in Tr reflect the HS lr. in N ***guRIIE** - ***gu`RIIIV** || B **\*-gurδ**/t.t.- 'neck' (possibly < \*gurδ-at-) > Kb ag`wərd` (pl. ig`wərd`ən, ig`wəryad`) 'neck-opening of a garment, collar (encolure, col)', Awj {Par.} a`ga`ra`t` (pl. gər`t`a` :wən) 'neck', Zng {MH → Nic.} agarδ (pl. garδun) 'gosier; haut du cou', {Bs.} 3rg" agard_ 'gosier', {Nic., Bs.} ?rg" agard_ 'goulot', Izd {Mrc.} agərδ_ (pl. igurδ_an) 'cou, goulot, encolure', Ah eg`ərəd\_ 'tktüre (de licol)', ETwl, Ty eg`ərəd_ (pl. ig`ərəd\_`n) id., 'nape of the neck', ZAS {Loub.} ag`ərδ\_, Zn {Rn.}, Tmz {MT} a-gərδ\_ 'shoulder', Tmz /grδ\_ (inv. gərδ\_) 'tordre le cou; avoir le cou tordu'; d: Sll {Ds.} amggərδ\_ (pl. imgrδ\_a`d_), Izd {Mrc.} dim. tamgərδ_ (pl. timgrδ_a`d\_), Zn {Rn.} amgrδ\_ 'neck', ZAS {Loub.} amgərδ\_ 'cou, col', Kb amjərδ\_ (pl. iməjrδ\_a`d_) 'neck, nape of the neck'. Cf. also Wrg {Dlh.} a-gərdu` (pl. i-gərda`) 'gorgne longue de liquide' (survival of *ı in a B dialect??). In addition, it is worth paying attention to B ***guHrVzıVı** (< ***gurHVzıVı**) > Ah a`-g`u`rəh 'larynx', ETwl, Ty a-gur`zıy (pl. i-gərzan) 'throat', Ttq {Msq.} korzı 'throat over the Adam's apple', as well as to Kb a-jərδ_z`uz` ~ a-jərδ_z` (pl. ijərδ\_z`uz`\_ən) 'throat, larynx, trachea' and to Ntf {La.} a-gərgur 'gootre' (× N **\*geRV** 'throat') ¶ Par. A 163, Rn. 352, Ds. 77, MT 465-6, Dlh. Ou 62, Fc. 480-2, Loub. 547, Mrc. 64, 281, Pr. H #110, GhA 58, 60, Dl. 273-4, Msq. 139, Msq. Z 501, Nic. 313, Bs. MS I 124, La. N 57, NZ 868-9 II A: M **\*gu`re-xen** '(= part of the) neck' > WrM gu`rege(n), HIM r`pyy` (H) 'area of the neck below and in front of the ear', Kl {Rm.} gu`re`n ~ gu`re 'neck', MM [IM] gu`ru`n sudusun 'arteria cervicalis' (sudəsın, sudusun is 'vein, sinew'), WrM gu`regen-u` sudasu, Kl {Rm.} gu`re`n sudəsın 'jugular vein', ? Stkl {KRS} r`pə gu`ra` 'vein'; M -b> Chg [MA] ku`ru`n in ku`ru`n tamur 'arteria cervicalis', Qrg ku`ro`r, ku`ro`r tamır 'jugular vein', WrMc gurexe id. (gu- [rather than gu-] being possible in loanwords only) ¶ MED 392, Pp. MA 172, KRS 149, KW 139, Jud. 470-1, Z 363, Hr. 385, ¶ STM I 175 || Tg **\*ogure-ke** [× N **\*gubıVıRE** 'nape (of the neck)', q.v. ffd.] II D **\*kur`uŋk-** ({9GS} || ***gur`uŋg-**) > Nk gur`uŋga 'neck', Gnd B gur`n\_ga` 'oesophagus', Gnd Ch/G/HMB/KM gur`nga 'throat', Gnd DM gur`nga` id., 'neck', Gnd RSr gur`uŋga, Gnd A gur`ga` 'Adam's apple', Ml kon`n`a, Kn gon`ke 'throat', ? go`n ~ go`r`neck' ¶¶ D #1645 || The N v in question may be an AdS of D ***kUral-** 'throat, voice' (< N ***kUr`hıV** 'throat, neck', q.v. ffd.) ♦ D **\*kur`uŋk-** (|| ***gur`uŋg-**) suggests N **\*-r-**, while D **\*kUral-** (if it belongs here) points to N **\*-rH-** ♦ M **\*u`** suggests either a N ***u`** or a vw. **\*u** influenced by the front vw. of the next syll. ♦ The N etymon is qu. and hard to reconstruct, because the potential cognates outside HS are not distinguishable from **\*kUr`hıV** 'ıı' (due to neutralization of the glottal oppositions in Anlaut) ♦ IS I 235-6 [#91] ♦ ? Gr. II #390 (***kur** 'throat') [A + err. IE, U, Gil].

667. ***gUrıV** || 'mount, hill; edge, slope of a hill\mountain' > HS: S: Tgr GR) gərf 'Bergkamm, mountain-ridge' (hardly ← gərf 'neck, throat'), ??σ Ar g`ar(a)ı-at- 'monticule de sable, terrain sablonneux' (if 'monticule' is the primary meaning) ¶ LH 576, BK I 281 || C: [1] EC: Sml {DSI} guro 'the highest point of sth., summit', Or {Ss} go`rro` 'mount, small hill', {Th} go`ro` (n go`ro-n), {Brl.} goro 'high ground, small hill' || [2] C ***g`a`r-** (× N ***garHa`** 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point') > Ag: Q {R} gara 'rock' : EC: Or {Th.} ga`ra (nom. ga`rri) 'mountain, mountain ridge; height', {Grg.} ga`ra 'mountain', Sd {Gs.} ga`ra 'hill, small mountain' ¶ DSI 282, Ss. B 84, Th. 151-2, 173, Brl. 182, AD SF 61, Grg. 157, Gs. 175 II K: GZ **\*go`ra-** 'small mountain, hill' > G gora, Mg gola- ~ gvala- 'mountain', Lz gola- 'summer roaming place' ¶ K 64, K² 31-2 II IE: NaIE ***gı`hıjer-** (att. in BSI[-]) (× N **\*kurVıhıV** 'hill, mountain', q.v. ffd.) > pSl **\*go`ra** 'mountain', Lt giria`, Ltv dzir`a, dzire 'forest, wood(s)'.

668. ***gVREıu** || 'to fell, strike; fall over\in' > IE: NaIE ***g`hre`u`-/`g`hıru`-/`g`hıru`-** 'fall upon, fall in' > Gk χραει`v inf., Gk Hm `εχρα(ε)ε 'fall upon, attack, assail' : L ingru-o-, -ere 'fall upon, assail' : Lt griu`uti (prs. griu`uju) 'to bring\throw down, overthrow; to tear down, demolish', Ltv gr`au`ı (prs. gr`au`ju, p. gr`a`vu) 'to destroy, wreck', Lt griu`ti (prs. griu`vu) 'to fall (down), crash\tumble down, fall in', Ltv gr`u`ı 'to collapse, break down' ¶ WP I 647-8, ¶ P 460, F II 1114-5, WH I 700-1, Frn. 171 II HS: S **\*o`grı** > Ar IIIrJ g`r`ı Gı 'break (a piece of wood), Sı (ıag`raıa) 'fall' ¶ BK I 280 || EC: Sml gara`ı- 'nock, beat, thrash' ¶ DSI 25, ZMO 154 II ?ϕ K: G ngr- 'collapse, fall over' ¶ Chx. 927-8, DCh. 977.

669. ***garHa`** 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point' > IE **\*g`her-**, ***g`herH`-/`g`hıreH`-** > NaIE **\*g`her-**, ***g`herə-/`g`hıre-** 'sharp point' (partially × N **\*g`a`RzıV** 'to stretch') > Gk χα`ρμη 'point of a lance, spear-head' (< ***g`hı-** - without lr.) : Nr ? gare 'point

(Spitze); *g^hre-ti- > MHG gra^t (pl. græte) 'sharp fish-bone (Fischgräte), awn, peak (of a mountain), mountain-ridge', NHG Grat 'edge, ridge', Gra^{te} 'fish-bone', MDt graet id., Dt graat id., 'ridge' || Sl *grotъ 'sharp point' > Cz, Slk hrot id., P grot id., 'arrow, dart' ¶ P 440, F II 107, Lx. 75, KM 268, Vr. N 217, ESSJ VII 140 II U *kara 'sharp bough (of a coniferous tree), stick' > F kara 'peg, bar (of a lock), tang (of a knife), (metal) rod, denuded tail of a bull', karahka 'bough, young fir-tree', karas 'young fir-tree, long bough of a fir', Es {W} kara 'denuded tail of an animal (entblüßte Rute der Tiere)', jummi-kara 'icicle' || Sm: Ne: T xapb, T O {Lh.} χα^ρβ, F {Lh.} ka^ρβ 'larch'; Ng {Cs.} 'karu 'dry larch', En B {Hl.} ka^δi, {Ter.} ka^δi 'spruce', {Cs.} kadi, {Prk.} kade 'fir-tree', En Kr {Dolxix} ka^δi, En X {Cs.} kari id.; the metonymy 'bough' → 'tree' is parallel to that found in F karahka, karas ¶¶ SK 160-1, W EDW 208, Ter. 747, Lh. 166-7, Cs. 47, 245, KP 80 II A: Tg *gara 'bough' > Ewk gara 'bough, dry branch', stick', Sln gar, gara 'branch', Neg gaya, Orc, Ud ga[~], Ul, Ork, Nn gara 'bough, branch, rowlock (made of a bough) in a boat', ? WrMc garga, gargan ¶ STM I 141 || pKo {S} *ka^hrh 'knife, sword' > MKo ka^hr / ka^hrh-, NKo k^hal ¶ S QK #415, Nam 19, MLC 1669 || pJ {S} *ka^hta^hna^h 'knife' > OJ ka^hta^hna^h, J: T katana^h, kata^hna^h, K ka^hta^hna^h, Kg katana^h ¶ S QJ #419, Mr. 443 ¶¶ DQA #483 (A *ga^hr^ha^h 'sharp edge'; incl. Tg, Ko, J) II D *^okar^o > Tm karu 'prong, barb, spike', D *kar^hkk- ({9GS} *k-) > Tm karukku 'teeth of a saw\sickle, jagged edge of palyra leaf-stock', Ml karukku 'teeth of a saw\file, thorns of a palmyra branch', karikku 'edge of teeth', Kn kar^haku, karku 'a jag, notch, dent, toothed part of a file', Tl karagasamu 'a saw' ¶¶ D #1265 II HS *g^hr^hh^h- 'thorn, sharp point' → ? 'summit of a mountain' > WCh *^hgr 'thorn' > Klr {J} gi^hri^h m. (pl. gi^hre^h-r), gi^hri^h f. (pl. gi^hrye^h-r) 'thorn' : Ang {ChL} gi^hr 'thorn' : ? Hs ga^hrsa^hni^h 'a very thorny weed', ? ma^hga^hrya^h 'Jujube (a thorny tree)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 225 [#741] (*h^hgarV 'thorny plant'), ChL, J R 352, Ba. 369, 744 || C *g^ha^h-r 'rock, mountain' (× N *g^hur^hf^h ¶ 'mount, hill', q.v. ffd.) ◆ IS I 226 [#78] (IE, U, D, Tg; i č M *gar- 'go\come out, emerge, appear'); OS RPV I 67 #4 (adduction of the Hs and Ang words to N) ◆ IE, S and D (D *-r- goes back to N cns. clusters with *r) suggest the presence of a lr. The absence of traces of the N (and IE) lr. in Gk χα^ρμη is puzzling.

670. *garhU 'to be(come) big, grow' > IE *g^hreH^w-/*g^hreH^w- > NaIE *g^hro^h-/*g^hre^h- 'to grow, become green' > ON gro^a, OHG gruoen 'to flourish, grow', OSx gro^hian 'grünen', AS zro^hwan 'to grow', NE grow | -d> ON grœn-n, NNr, Dn grœn, Sw gro^hn, OHG gruoni, NHG gru^hn, OFrs gre^hne, OSx gro^hni, AS zro^hne 'green', NE green || +ext: NaIE *g^hro^h-s-/*g^hre^hs- 'grass, herbs' > Gt gras 'χο^ρτος, λα^χανον (grass, garden-herbs)', OFrs gres, gers, OSx, OHG gras, NHG Gras, AS zraes, zærs 'grass', NE grass || Sl *gro^hz^h (g^h *gro^hz^h), *gro^hz^h 'cluster' > OCS rpo^hz^h groz^hz^h, Slv gro^hz^h 'cluster of grapes', SCr gro^hz^h id., 'grapes', Blg rpo^hz^h, R rpo^hz^h?, ? rpo^hz^h 'cluster (of berries, grapes, etc.)', OR, RChS rpo^hz^h groz^hz^h 'grape' ¶ WP I 645-6, P 454, Vr. 190, 192, KM 268, 275, Schz. 154-5, Kb. 413, Ho. 137-9, Ho. S 28-9, Fs. 220, Bern. I 355, ESSJ VII 142-3, Glh. 250 II HS: S *^ogrhm > Ar ¶ 'Ear0Ji g^hirha^h-m- 'huge' (of a camel), 'huge camel', g^hura^h-him- 'big, huge' (Fr: 'magnus', BK: 'gros, corpulent') ¶ Fr I 271, BK I 284 || B *-Hgur- (> *-g^wVr) 'be bigger than', ?? *grw 'be much\many' > Kb {Dl.} aj^war (3m pf. yuj^war), Sll {Ds.} ag^war (3m pf. yu^wgær), Ah {Fc.} ag^har, Izn, Rf {Rn.} az^har v. 'surpass', Tmz {MT} agær (pf. ugær), ASgr {MT} az^har id., 'be older \ bigger \ more numerous \ better', ETwl {GhA} agær (3m pf. ogær) 'ktre plus grand que, ktre sup^hrier a', Gd {Lf.} a^hgær (3m pf. yu^hgær) 'l'emporter sur, surpasser, ktre plus grand que', Ntf {Dray} agur (3m pf. yuger) 'surpasser', Zng {TC} pf. yuger 'ktre plus grand', ?? Izn {Rn.} yærru ({Rn.} grw) 'be much\many' ¶ Fc. 468, GhA 56, 246 (on Pcj. I A 3), Rn. 352, MT 162-3, Dl. 267-8, Ds. 270, Lf. I 255 & II #0524, Dray 452, DCTC 289 (fn. 29), NZ 846-8 || Ch *grv v. 'surpass' > WCh: BT {Stl. VZCh} *gar- id. > Klr {Lk.} gar-, {ChL} gi^hra^hn, gæru-, Ngm {ChL} gi^hra^h, {Nw.} garaj id. ¶ Stl. VZCh #71, Stl. VZCh B #93, JS 257 II K *^ogwar- > G gvar- 'wachsen, gedeihen' ¶ Chx. 189 II D *kar- ({9GS} *k-) > Tm karumay 'strength, greatness', Ml karu, kar^hu 'stout, hard', Kn kara, karu 'greatness, bundance, power', Tl karamu 'much, great, very' ¶¶ D #1287 ◆ IE *h^w, S *h and *D *-r- (regularly from N *-rH- rather than from *-r-) point to a presence of a lr. in the N etymon ◆ Connected or even identical with N *gar^hIII^h 'old' (with a very tentative *^hIII^h)? If these roots are identical, the etymon may be reconstructed as *garhu^h 'grow, grow old\big'.

671. ? I ¶ *gErHV 'to belch, eruct' (> 'to ruminate') > HS: B [1] *gr^hy 'belch' > Ah ag^hri v. 'belch', Ah ta-g^hray-t (pl. ti-g^hra^hn) ~ tug^hrayt (pl. tug^hra^hn), Gh ta-3^hray-t (pl. c^hi-3^hrain) n. 'belch, eructation'; [2] ? I eB *gr^hf > -b> Ar Mgr gr^hf id. (in Ar Mrc {DMA} gerra^hf 'cause to belch', tgerra^hf v. 'belch, burp') -b> Kb {Dl.} x^hʿargæf, {NZ} g^hg^hurræf, BMn {Bs.} gurra^hf, Izd {Mrc.} gærra^hf, Shl/CM/Fgg/Shw/Mz {NZ} gr^hr^hf, CA gurræf, Zng {NZ} agærra^hf v. 'belch' ¶ Fc. 483, Dl. 273, DMA I 44, 167, NZ 899, 903 ¶ The root seems to originate in eB (at the time when *f still existed in B) or have its f due to onomatopœia || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gæ^hrhi^h v. 'belch' II U: FU *kerV 'belch, ruminate' > Prm *go^hr3^h- ({?LG} *go^hʿr3^h-) 'belch' > Z ror^h3^ho^h-d- gor3^h3d-, Yz 'gurz^ho^ht-, Vt ryp^h3^hæny gur3^h-, Vt B go^hr3^h-, Vt SW gu^hr3^h- id. || Vg: T ke^hrkæn^hta^h-kt-, LK keral^ht- 'belch', Sg ke^hral^ht- id., 'ruminate' : Hg ke^hro^hdz- 'ruminate' ¶ UEW 151, MF 354, LG 78 II A *ka^hʿk^hEr-, {S} *ka^hʿk^hirV 'belch' > T *k^ha^hʿkir- ({Md.} k^ha^hʿkir- = {?Md.} *k^he^hkir-) id. > OT ka^hgir- ~ ka^hkir-, Tk geg^hir-, Tkm ga^hʿyir-, Az ? jip- g^ha^hyir-, Xlj {DT} ga^hʿgu^h-r-, VTt, Bsh кикер- kiky^h-, Qzq kek^h p- keki^h-r-, Uz keki^h-r-, ET keki^h-(r)-^d kekiy-, CrTt, Qry Cr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg kekir-,

StAlt kegir-, Tv кегир- кег'ir-, Xq киг'р- kigi'r-, Yk кѣ'р- kevert- (with shortnenig *a'' > e in a polysyllabic stem), Chv какаӑр- kag_ӑr- id. ¶ Cl. 712, Rs. W 248, ET VGD 37, TkR 239, Jeg. 85, Fed. I 213, Md. 35, DT 117 || M *kekere- 'belch, eruct' > MM [MA] kekere-, WrM kekere-, HIM хыхыр-, Brt хыхыр-, Kl кекр- кекыр-, {Rm.} kekr_ - id. ¶ Pp. MA 213, MED 446, KRS 290, KW 223 || o Tg *keker- v. 'belch' > Ul кэ́хэ́рэ́с'у-, Nn кэ́рэ́с'и- id., WrMc kekere- id., 'hiccup' ¶ STM I 445 ¶¶ S VL 200 ¶¶ The A v *ka''k'ir- may be explained by rdp. and as: reduplicated *gErHV-gErHV > **gErHgErHV > **gErk'ErHV (*Hg > *k') > (regr. as) *kErk'ErV > *ka''k'ErV (loss of *r with Ersatzdehnung) || o D: Kn gar_r_a (sound in imitation of loud belching), Tl gar_r_u (sound produced in belching) ¶¶ D #1401.

672. ***gurna** (= ***gurXa**?) 'antelope, male antelope' > HS: C {AD} *√gʷrʰi > Bj {R} garuwa 'antelope' || EC: Sd {Gs.} guru?'m-ic'c'o (pl. guru?me) id., 'gazelle, roe' || SC: Irq {MQK} gʷare'h, {Wh.} gʷare'hi, Grw {Fl.} gʷera?ahi, Alg {Fl.} gʷera?ai, gʷarehe 'dik-dik antelope', Brn {Fl.} gʷereha 'decua antelope' ¶ AD SF 72-3, Wh. DI, MQK 43 || NrOm: Wl/Dwr {C} ga_rā id. ¶ C SO 30, Blz. OL #157 || Ch: WCh: Gmy 3'irri ~ z'irri 'roa antelope', Ngz {Sch.} gi'ra'fi'ya 'e antelope' || CCh: Bdm ng3'ri', Lgn (Lk.) garia 'antelope' ¶ ChC s.v. 'duiker' || A: M *gu-ra(n) 'antelope', {STM} 'male roebuck' > MM gura {IS ← ?} 'e hornless antelope', WrM gura(n), HIM gur {MED} 'roebuck, wild goat', {Gl.} '(male) saiga antelope (Saiga tatarica)', Brt {Chr.} гурa (н) 'male roe', Kl II {Rm.} gur_u 'male roe-deer; male saiga', Ord D {IS ← ?} gurun id.; M -b> Ewk S gu-ran 'wild goat' the length of pM *u is suggested by the loanword in Ewk ¶ MED 368, Gl. II 230, KW 155, Chr. 160 || pKo {S} *ko'ra'ni' > MKo ko'ra'ni' 'deer, elk', NKO korani 'elk' (× N ***guyrE** 'beast') ¶ S QK #271, MLC 138, Rm. SKE 125, Choy 902-3, Vv. ANE 16 (on the ev. of Ko ? korani ^d koreni ^d koreñ he suggests that Ko is a loan from pChK *qorañi 'reindeer') ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *gU'u'rU 'deer, roebuck', cf. DQA #572 (on Ko *ko'ra'ni), Rm. SKE 125 || D *ku_i:r- ({9GS} *k-) 'e deer, antelope' > Ml ku-ran 'hog-deer', Klm kori, Prj kuri, Ku kurhu ^d kruhu ^d kluhu 'antelope', Gdb kuruy 'deer', Gnd kurs 'deer, antelope', Kui kruhu ^d krusu 'barking deer, jungle sheep'; D -b> OI kuran'ga- 'e antelope', 'antelope/deer (in general)' ¶¶ D #1785 ¶¶ D *-r- suggest an original cns. cluster (*-rH-), because the intervocal N *r yields D *r_ ◆ IS I 234-5 [#90]. Cf. N ***korE** 'e deer, antelope' and N ***guyrE** 'beast'. || Gr. II 8 [gura '(wild) animal'] ◆ AD NM #36, Vv. AEN 16 (doubts about the Ko reflex), S CNM 6-7 [чч ST, Yn; suggests a different interpretation of M *gu-ra, equating it with pTg *ñu'r 'male' (of small wild animals) and probably with T *uri 'male child, son' < pA *ñura (*ñ- > *g regularly)].

673. ***garhV** (- ***gærhV**?) 'to try to obtain, wish, need' > HS: WS *√grh > Ar YrJ √g'rʰ 'look for, try to obtain (as animals looking for food)', {Ln.} 'apply oneself with art and diligence to get, obtain, gain, acquire', Ar D {L ← ?} Ar rhJ √ghr G (mt) 'emporter', Sq {L} √grh G 'ramasser' ¶ BK I 275, Ln. 405, L LS 115 || IE IE *gʰer_ih_ or *gʰer_ih_ > Ht kar-i(ya)- 'be gracious towards, gratify', Ht kargaranti 'readily, willingly, eagerly' (acc. to Ts., a fossilized d-log of a prtc. from *kar-kar- with intensive rdp.; acc. to Pv., <b- Lw sg. ntr. prs. prtc. [in -anti-] of *kar-kar-) || NaIE *gʰer_ih_ or *gʰer_ih_ {EI} *gʰor-(ye/o)- 'desire' > OI √har-: 'haryati 'yearns for, likes, is fond of, i Av zara- 'striving, aim' (if this semantic interpretation of the word is valid) || Gk χα'ρω v. 'rejoice', χα'ρις 'grace, favour' || Um heri 'vult', HERIEST 'volet', L horior, hor(i)tor v. 'urge on, incite' || OHG giri 'greediness, covetousness, ambition', NHG Gier, Gt gar'nei n. 'wish, desire', OHG ger 'covetous, greedy' ({Schz.} 'verlangend, begierig nach'), gerno 'voluntarily, greedily', NHG gern(e) adv. 'willingly, gladly, with pleasure', ON gjarn, AS 3eorn 'desirous, eager', Gt gar'rnjan, ON girna, OHG gero'n 'to desire, wish, strive to', NHG begehren 'to covet, desire', AS 3iernan id., 'to yearn', NE yearn ¶¶ Pv. IV 80-1, 89, Ts. E I 511, Frd. HW 101, P 440-1, EI 158, M K III 583, M E II 804, F II 1062-5, WH I 657-8, Be. G 336, Fs. 186, Kb. 327-9, 369, Schz. 150-1, KM 60, 250, 257, Vr. 168, 170, Ho. 127, 129 || U *karma- v. 'want, wish' > Er/Mk karma- v. 'want, intend' || Sm: Ne O {Lh.} 3arwa- v. 'wollen, Lust haben, mügen', En X {Cs.} ko'ma, B {Cs.} koma- v. 'want', Ng {Cs.} karbutu- id., Mt {Hl.} *kar3n3'3r- (or *har3n3'3r-?) 'want' (Mt: M {Sp.} харьндже-грамь 'I want') ¶ Coll. 22, UEW 128, Cs. 304, Hl. M #429 || ? A: NaT *k'a''rga''- (or *k'erga''-) 'be necessary' > OT {Cl.} ka''rga''- 'be deficient (?)', 'be worthy (?)', OOSm °mKrK, Tk gerek-, CrTt, Nog kerek-, SbTt ka''ra''k- 'be necessary']-d> NaT *k'a''|erga''-k 'necessary', 'necessity' > OT {Cl.} ka''rga''k id., Tk gerek, Az ?' p' k g'a''ra''k, Tkm репек gerek 'is necessary', 'necessity', Qmq gerek, CrTt, Qry Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, SY kerek, Bsh ka''ra''k 'is necessary', Blq, Alt kerek id., 'need'; T -b> M: WrM kereg, HIM хыпыр 'need, necessity; thing [abstr.], matter' -b> Tv хепек, Alt kerek, Xq kirek, Yk kereχ 'business, matter' ¶ The Og lgs. provide ev. for pNaT *k'', while the apparently conflicting ev. of Tv x- is not valid (Tv <b- M); Bsh and SbTt point to a NaT *a'' of the first syll., while VTt kira''k suggests *e ¶ Cl. 742-3, Rs. W 256, ET VGD 25-7, TvR 475, MED 455-6 || ? D (in SD) *kar- ({9GS} *k-) 'to aim at, intend, think, point' > Kn karu v. 'point, aim at', Tm karutu v. 'intend', Kt kart 'purpose, aim strenuously striven at' ¶ D *-r- < N *-rH- ¶ D #1283 ◆ Ar h and Ht zero point to N *h. The absence of traces of the Ir. in NaIE is still puzzling. But cf. NaIE *°gʰ_ih_era- 'look' (see N ***gʰu''i'rV** 'to look for'). T *k'erga''- (if reconstructed on the ev. of VTt) is likely to go back to ***gærhV**, but the alt. T rec.

*k'a'rga' - is compatible with N ***garhV** (*a on the U and D ev.) with effects of vw. harmony ◆ || Gr. II #93 (*keri 'desire') [IE, U, A, Ai, EA].

674. ***guriwV(-TV)** 'young of a (carnivorous) beast' > HS: S ***guriw-** id. > BHb ruG gu'r 'cub (of a lion, jackal, etc.)', JPA ruG gu'r 'cub', JEA airvg gwry?, Sr ***?@w@u gur'y-a-** 'young lion', Ak gerru 'young carnivore', Ar vr0Ju g'urw- id., 'cub' || KB 177, KBR 185 || B: Rf Bq a-gærrud_ 'young partridge', SrSn awarrud_ 'young of an animal' || Rn. 352, NZ 866 || A: NaT ***Ku-rt-** 'wolf' > OT, OUg MOg, Chg xv qurt, XwT qurd, Tk kurt, Tkm gu'rt, Az gurd, CrTt {Rs.} qurt, XT gurt ^d gu.r^d ^d go.r^t ^d go.r^t, Bsh ? q^ort 'wolf', Ggz kurt 'predator' || Cl. 648DTS 2O3, Rs. W 3O3, || ET Q 167-8, || TL 16O [unc.: ← ***kurt** 'worm' as an Og tabuistic replacement; in fact, the word is present in different ds. of OT and in different branches of NaT, within proper names and in the totem name idi qurt ('lord-wolf') of ancient Turks, cf. TL 643], DH ChT II ?? D {tr.} ***kur-** ~ {tr., GS} **kur-** 'young of an animal' (× N ***k'oyr'V** id. or ***kUr'V** 'foetus, young of an animal, child', see N ***k'oyr'V**) || The D cognate may be valid only if N ***-rw-** yields D ***-r-** (a reg. reflex of N ***-r-** clusters).

674a. ?₂ ***goR'X'E** 'to track (game), smell, hear; ear' > IE: NaIE ***g^{wh}re-** vt. 'smell, scent out, feel' (× N ***gURz'E** ~ ***gUR3'E** 'to feel' [q.v.]) > OI jighra'ti, 'ghra'ti 'smells (sth.)' (pp. ghra'ta-, ghra'n.am, gra'n.a.n. 'smell, nose' || Gk ὀσφραΐνομαι 'catch scent of, smell, track' (< ***odes g^{wh}r-**) (Gk A aor. ὀσφρομένη), , ὀσφρησις 'sense of smell, smell' || NaIE ***g^{wh}re-ti-s** n. 'smell, smelling (Geruch)' > OI gra'tih, Gk ὀσφρησις id. || WP I 697, P 495, M K I 433, M E I 433, F II 438-9 || HS: B ***√grH** > Zng {TC} ḡrīh 'hear', {Bs., Msq.} gəra (pf. igra) 'listen, hear', ?σ: Ah əg'ru 'discerner (comprendre et distinguer)', ETwl ɤgru, Ty əgru 'discerner, apercevoir', Tnsl {Pr.} əḡrəh 'discerner', {DTM} pf. iḡrəh 'discerner, comprendre, voir' || Bs. MS I 169, Msq. Z, Pr. H #106, DCTC 288, NZ 876-8, Ks. VZ 84-5 (claims that -h in Zng is secondary, but cf. Tnsl) || ??? Eg Md gry.t '∈ a part of the ear (ear-hole?)' || EG V 181, DW 921 || EC: Kns kurra', Mos koworo' 'ear', Or: {Th.} gurra, nom. gurri, {Grg., Brl.}, B/O {Sr.}, W {Sr., Hn.} gurra, T {Mrn.} 'gurra', H {Ow.} gu'rra', M {AD} 'gurra', nom. gu'rri 'ear', W {Sr.} gur(r)ī 'earwax'; an unknown C lge. -b Amh 3'oro 'ear' || Th. 18O, Brl. 191, Grg. 188, Sr. 317, Hn. W 67, AD MsO, Lm. SKE 534 || Blz. DA #12 || AdS of S ***√grH** > Ar YrJ ***g'rh G** 'look for, try to obtain (as animals looking for food)' (< N ***garhV** 'to try to obtain, wish, need') || BK I 275 || ?? A: M ***go'rexen** n. 'hunting, chasing; game' (× N ***guyrE** 'beast', q.v.) > WrM go'ru'ge(n), HIM r' p' ' n. 'hunting, chasing; game', Kl r' pe go're, {Rm} go're- n. 'hunt'; ***go'rexe-le-** v. 'hunt' > WrM go'ru'gele-, HIM r' p' ' l' -x, Kl r' pəl-x gi'ra'-l-xə, Brt r'p' ' l-x-y id. || MED 387, KRS 147, KW 138, Chr. 166 || The M stem either contaminated with M ***go'rexe-su-** n. 'wild herbivorous animal' < N ***guyrE** '†' (q.v.) (whence WrM go'ru'ge(n) 'game') or goes back to it. In the latter case the M v does not belong here || ? D ***kur-** 'ear-ring, ear' [× N ***.quRiWJ** [= ***.qur'iwJ**?] 'ear' (q.v. ffd.) × N ***ko'r'iwJ** 'external ear' ◆ Blz. DA #12 (D, C, B).

675. ***gorVbpV** 'to scratch, scrape' > IE: NaIE ***g^hreb^h-** id., 'dig' > Gt graban, ON grafa 'to dig', AS 3rafan, OHG graban 'dig, carve', NHG graben, OSx gravan 'dig' || Ltv grebt (prs. grebju) 'to carve, hollow out, scrape', greblis 'gouge, scraper', Lt grė'b-ti 'to rake', grebly's 'rake' || SI ***greb-** v. 'scrape, rake, dig, row' > OCS **грѣѡж** grebo / **грѣти** greti, R **гре'бу** / **грѣсти** v. 'row', Blg **гре'ба** 'draw (liquid), dig, row', SCr **gre'be-m** / **gre'psti** 'scrape, scratch', Slv **gre'bem** / **gre'bsti** 'dig, scratch', Cz **hr'ebu** / **hr'ebsti**, **hr'esti** 'to bury', Slk **hriebu** / **hriebst** 'dig, rake up', P † **grzes'c** 'bury'; -d SI ***grebi** (g ***grebene**) 'comb' > Blg **грѣбен**, SCr **gre''ben**, Slv **grebe'n**, VCz **hr'eben**, Slk **hreiben**, P **grzebien**, R **грѣбен?**, Uk **греб'н?** || -d NaIE ***g^hrob^h-** (with sxs.) 'pit' > Gt graba 'χα'ραξ, ditch', AS 3rafu 'cave, grave', ON grof id., 'pit', OSx graf, OHG grab 'grave, tomb', NHG Grab, AS 3raef 'grave', NE grave || SI ***grobъ** 'grave, pit' > OCS **гробъ** grobъ, Blg **гроб** 'grave, tomb', SCr **gro'b**, Cz, Slk **hrob**, P **gro'b**, Uk **rp'б** 'grave', Slv **gro'b** id., 'pit for potatoes', R **гроб** 'coffin' || WP I 653-4, P 455-6, EI 159, Fs. 218-9, Vr. 184, 193, Ho. 135-6, Ho. S 28, Kb. 4O3-4, Schz. 153, KM 266, Kar. I 31O-1, Frn. 165-6, ESSJ VII 1O9-13, 133-4, Glh. 245-9 || HS: WS ***√grp** (***grup-**) 'sweep away, (?) scrape' > BHb ***√grp G** (ip. yi-'g_rop_) {BDB} 'sweep away', Ar ***g'rf** PrJ **G** (ip. yag'rufu) id., MHb, JA [Trg.] {Js.} ***√grp G** 'scrape, sweep', JEA {Sl.} **G** 'rake (an oven), scrape clean', Ar SL ***g'rf** PrJ **G** vt. 'rake up', Mh {Jo.} ***√grf G** (pf. g3ro'f, sbjn. y3gre'f), Jb E/C ***√grf G** 'sweep \ muck out', {DRS} 'balayer' || Hv. 86, BK I 28O, Jo. J 78, Jo. M 124, BDB 175, Js. 272, Sl. 3O5, || DRS 19O-1 || U: FU ***k'o'rwV** 'scrape, scratch, rub' > F karvi- 'scrape, scratch, graze, rub, polish' || Prm {LG} ***kur-** (or ***kEr-**) 'scrape, rake (out, together)' > Vt kuryari-, Vt Ur ku'ryal-, Vt B ko'ryal- (†?LG) ko-rjal-) 'scrape, eat the rest of the food', Z kur-av- 'scrape/rake out, gather, eat the rest of the food', kurt- v. 'rake (hay), kuran n. 'rake' || Vg MK kars'al- '(mit der Angel kratzend) untertappen, mit dem Hamen im Teiche) durch das Wasser ziehen (um Fische zu fangen)' || Hg ? horol-, hurul-'rub, whet, scratch' || F -i- in karvi-, Prm -al-, -yal-, Vg -s'al- and Hg -l- are frq. sxs. || UEW 188-9, MF 3O2-3, LG 146, Ht. #239 || ? D ***ko'r-** v. 'scratch' > Kn go'r_u id., Tm ko'r_ai_ 'a scratch (as on the body)', Tl ko'r_a vt. 'scrape with a grater, scratch', Kui gro_pā / p. gro't- vt. 'claw, scratch' || D #2257 || The length of *o- is due to the loss of *w in the cluster ****rw** (Ersatzdehnung) ||

??φ A: Tg *gerbe- 'clean trunks from boughs, prepare perches (incl. those used in building a tent)' > Ewk g3rb3- id., Lm g3rb3n- 'prepare perches from trunks', Ork g3lb3n- id., 'cut (sticks, boughs)', Neg g3yb3- d g3db3- 'go to prepare perches', Orc g3bb3- 'prepare perches', Nn g3rb3- 'make perches by cutting trunks, prepare rods, cut twigs' ¶ STM I 181 ¶ The unexpected vw. *e still defies explanation [infl. of A *ge~rV 'house, tent, wooden framework of a tent'? (see N *ge~fV~rV 'to fence around, encircle; enclosed place')] ♦ An alt. equation is: N ?? *g'o~RVHwV 'to pound, scrape' or sim. > IE: NaIE *g^hg^hrəu- 'scrape, rub away' > Gk χραύω* (att.: ipf. ἐνεχραύε) v. 'scrape, graze, wound slightly' ∥ ON grjo'n 'groats, flour' (< *'ground corn'), Far gro'n, gry'n, NNr grjon, Dn, Sw gryn 'groats' ¶ P 460-2 (*g^hre~u-/*g^hrəu-/*g^hru- reconstructed due to adduction of highly qu. cognates and stem variants with extensions), Vr. 190, F II 1115-6, 1120-1 ∥ U: FU *k'o~rwV 'scrape, whet, rub' (≠ above) ∥ A: ?? M: WrM guranzu, HlM гуранз 'whetstone' ¶ MED 369.

676. ?φ *gaRu~c'a 'to crush, break to pieces' (or *gVRus~c~V 'to crush') > HS: WS *√grs^ 'crush, crumble' > Ar xJ √g'rs' (pf. g'aras'a, ip. -g'ris'- ~ -g'rus'-) v. 'bray, bruise (wheat, salt)' (-d̪ й4ariJa g'a'ris'at- 'hand-mill for groats'), BHb xrg √grs G 'be ground', (->) 'languish', x4g6l@v@ wayya-g_ 'res' 'caused [teeth] to grind' (x s < s^ in late BHb), IA {HJ} √grs D 'grind', JA/MHb {Js.} √grs D 'crush, split, grind', SmA √grs G 'crush, mash', Sr √grs G (pf. gə'res) 'be broken to pieces, shattered, crumbled', JEA, Sr √grs D 'break in pieces', Amh √g^wrs (pf. (a)g^werresə) 'make coarse-ground flour', Gz d ga'rs'a- 'soft or powdery food'; -d̪ CS (or WS?) *gar~Vjs^ 'crushed grain' > BHb Яr3G3 'geres' 'crushed grain, groats', Sr ga'r's-a- {JPS} 'meal, flour', SmA grs 'crushed grain'; -d̪ CS *garis^ 'ground' > Ar йYriJa g'a'ris- 'coarsely ground, roughly milled (wheat); groats', MHb xir%G6 gə'ris 'groats', JA axlir%G6 garis's-a- id., 'crushed beans' ¶ KB 195-6, KBR 203-4, HJ 235, Sl. 304, Js. 270-1, Tal 159, Fr. I 266, Hv. 85, HJ 235, JPS 72-3, L G 203, DRS 192-3 ∥ IE: NaIE *g^hreu_s-/*g^hrou_s- vt. 'crush' > Sl *grus'iti 'to crush, pound' > SCr gru's'iti 'to pound', Cz hrus'iti id., 'to crush', R ? rpy'шт? 'to destroy, break, break to pieces', Blg 'рруш v. 'destroy'; Sl *grus'a > Slv gru's'a 'coarse sand, gravel', possibly Sl *gruxati > Blg ђ rpyxamvt. 'thresh (corn), pound (corn)', R Ps 'rpyxar? 'to rumple, press in (M)T?', BMHAT?) ∥ Gmc: MLG gru's 'broken stones' ¶ ESSJ VII 156-7, ? 155, ? P 405-6 ∥ A: Tg: WrMc garza vi. 'fall to pieces, burst, break to pieces' ¶ STM I 141, Z 312 ∥ Cf. also (??) T: OT qirc'at-, qirc'al- 'to hit and split' (< N *k.firucX 'to strike', q.v.) ¶ Cl. 647 ♦ If the Tg cognate is rejected, the rec. must be *gVRus~c~V.

677. *ga~rdV 'to encircle, surround, fence in' > IE: *g^herdh- ~ *g^hr_dh-/ *g^hordh-: [1] *g^herdh- 'to surround, encircle; a fence' > OI gr_ 'ha-h. 'house', Av gər..da- 'cave of daē'vəts ∥ Lt z'a'rdiena 'abgeschlossene Wiese um das Gerüst, z'ar'dis 'RoЯgarten; groЯer umzäunter Weideplatz', z'a'rdas 'cattle-pen', ? Lt z'a'rdas 'grate for drying flax, peas and corn' (unless a loan from Sl [cp. P z'erdz', Blr жердз?, R жерд? 'pole, rod, grate']), Ltv za~rds 'Gestell, worauf Erbsen, Leinsamen us.w. zum Trocknen aufgestellt werden' (> mdLtv za~rds 'rack'), Pru sardis ([z-]) 'Zaun, umzäunter RoЯgarten' ∥ Sl *zordъ > R ? зo'род 'fenced place for a stack; stack' ∥ Phr (Latinized) -zordum 'city, town' (in Manezordum and other names of settlements) ∥ Gmc *garda-s [< IE *g^hg^herdh- × IE *g^hordh-to- 'encircled land' (≠ below [3])] > Gt gards 'house', OSx gard 'field' (pl. 'house'), ON garðr 'fence, hedge, courtyard', AS ȝeard id., 'enclosure', NE yard; -d̪ Gmc *gardan > Gt garda 'stockyard (α'υλη)' (Joh. 10.1: 'sheep-fold'), OFrs garda, OHG garto, NHG Garten, OSx gardo 'garden'; Gmc -b> OFr Nr gardin (-b> NE garden), MFr jardin (-b> Sp jardín, It giardino), Fr jardin ∥ amb Ht gurtā- 'citadel, acropolis' (< *g^hg^hr_dh-o- or *g^hor-to-, see below [3]); the vw. u is puzzling ({C}op): gurtā- < IE *g^hr_dh-o- "mit Schwa secundum gerundet Art") ∥ [2] There is a variant stem *g^hr_dh- / *g^hordh- > Lt gar~das 'pen; fence, enclosure' ∥ Sl *gorditi 'to enclose, fence' > OCS градити graditi id., 'to build' ('ο'ικοδομεῖν, κτι'ζειν, ждificare'), Blg гра'ди v. 'build, erect, fence', SCr gra'diti 'to make, build', Slv gradi'ti, OR goroditi, R город'дит?, Uk город'дити 'to enclose, fence', P gradzić 'to enclose by a fence', Cz hraditi id., 'to fortify'; Sl *go'rdъ (G *gor'da) 'wall, enclosed settlement' (-> 'town, city', 'garden') > OCS градъ gradъ 'murus, civitas, urbs, hortus', Blg град, P † gro'd, R, Uk 'город 'city, town', SCr, Slv gra'd id., 'fortress', Cz hrad, P gro'd 'fortress, castle', Slk hrad 'castle', OR городъ gorodъ 'fence, fortress, city/town', Blg 'града, R ? 'город 'fence' ∥ pAl {O} *garda > Al T gardh 'wicker fence, fence' ∥ ? Phr -gordum (in n. l., like Mannagordum 'city of Manne') ∥ [3] *g^hordh-to- > *g^hor-to- 'encircled land' > Gk χο'ρτος 'enclosed place, farmyard' ∥ L hortus 'garden', cohorts / g cohortis 'an enclosure, yard (esp. for cattle, poultry)' (*kon- + IE *g^hr_tis) ∥ Clt: Gl {Billy} *gorto- 'enclos', *gortia- 'haie' ({Wb.} > Fr gourse, Prov Lm gorso and place-names), OIr gort - "seges" 'field', Nlr gort 'field, corn-field, garden', MW, W garth 'enclosure, garden', OBr {Flr.} l_gorth 'enclos' (in cds.), Br garzh 'haie, clōture', Gl -b> It Lm gorz 'siepe, cespuglio' ¶ *-to- in *g^hordh-to- is a sx. of pp., so that *g^hordh-to- has the etl. meaning 'encircle+ed' ¶ The loss of palatalization *g^hr_dh- > *g^hr_dh- may be due to the precon. position [the morphophonemic sonant *r_ has phonetic features of a cns.]; the apophonic grade *g^hordh- is an Ablaut from *g^hr_dh- ¶ WP I 608-9, P 442-4, EI 199 (*g^hordh-os ~ *g^hortos 'fence, hedge; enclosure, pen, fold'), M K I 344, F II 1113-4, WH I 42-3, 660, LP § 64, SB 115, Dtn. 260, Billy 84, Flr. 179, YGM-1 232, Hm. 310, Wb. IV 200-1, TF 129, Ho. S 24, Vr. 156,

Fs. 197-8, Ho. 125, Ho. S 24, Kb. 319, Schz. 148, KM 233-4, O 110, Frn. 135-6, 1290-1, En. 242, Vs. II 105, ESSJ VII 35-8, Glh. 242-3, Ts. E I 658-60, Pv. IV 275-6, C}op IAU 15, Dv. #668 **II HS**: WS *√gdr 'fence' > BHb ed4G1 ga'd_e-r 'stone wall', JPA ar!d4G6 gäd_e-r-a-id., Ar rd0Ja g'adr- 'wall (mur, muraille); enclosure, fence', d g'ida-r- (pl. g'udr-, g'udur-) 'mur, muraille', d: r!daJi g'ida-r- id., rYdija g'adīr- enclosed by a wall', Mn {MA} gdr 'wall (mur), enclosure', Mh gīdo-r, Jb E 'gi'dor, Jb C 'ge'dor 'wall, cairn, piled stones', Hrs g3do-r 'cairn, wall', Tgr {d'A} gudur 'parois de la hutte, mur de la maison', Tgy {LH} gidaro 'Schuppen aus Holz und Dornen für die Tiere'; Ar rdJ √g'dr (pf. g'adara, ip. -g'dur-) v. 'wall, enclose (sth.) in walls', Mh √gdr (pf. g3do-r, sbjn. y3gde-r), Hrs √gdr (pf. g3do-r), Jb E/C √gdr (pf. 'gō'dor) 'pile up stones, build a wall'; Pun *gadir <b- B: Ah a-ga-dir, Gh a-da3'ir (mt), Sll {Ds.} a-ga-dir 'mur', Tmz {MT} a-gadir d ayadir (pl. i-gudar-n.) 'mur, muraille' (the borrowing is suggested by the vocalisme of the B form: full vowels for the expected *ə, cf. La MChB 3) ¶ KB 173-4, KBR 181, BK 263, MA 36, Jo. M 114, Jo. J 71, Jo. H 38, LH 600, DRS 102, Fc. 400, MT 447, NZ 734-5 **II A**: T *Ka'rta' > VTt kirta' 'fence, cattle-pen', SbTt Tu kirta' 'cattle-pen', Bsh ka'rta' 'fence, stall', Chv kapra kard_a 'fence, cattle-pen, farmyard' ¶ The narrowing *a' > *e (underlying VTt/SbTt *i) seems to be secondary ¶ Jeg. 91, TatR 258, ¶ Fed. I 232 (unc.: Chv kapra <d- kap- v. 'fence' [in fact 'curtain off'] < T *ker- 'stretch'), Tm. 99 ¶ But Sln x3r33' 'kitchen-garden' is hardly a genetic cognate (x- instead of the reg. g-); it may be a loan from some T lge. (< pT *Ka'rta', cp. Bsh ka'rta' 'fence, stall', T -b> R Sb kapra) or from Yk χarc'ax 'a fenced-in pasture' (see STM I 482, Pek. 3367).

678. ***gEardV** 'to plait, tie, gird (wear sth. around one's waist)' > IE: NaIE *g^hherd^h- 'gird' > Gmc: Gt bi-gar'dan, ON gyrða, AS 3yrdan, NE girth, OHG gurtē 'to gird', Gt gar'da, ON gjo-rð 'belt, girdle', d: ON gyrðill, OHG gurtel ~ gurtel, NHG Gu'rtel, AS 3yrdel 'girdle, belt', NE girdle ¶ WP I 608-9, ¶ P 444, ETC 199 (*g^herd^h- 'gird' > *g^hord^h-s 'fence, hrdge, enclosure', cf. N ***ga'rdV** 'to encircle, surround, fence in'), Fs. 90, 185-6, Vr. 171, 197, Ho. 140, Ho. S 24, Kb. 418, Schz. 156, KM 277 **II HS**: EC: Or B {Sr.} gurda- v. 'belt; sth. worn around the waist', Or Wl {Brl.} gurda id. ¶ Sr. 317, Brl. 190 || ? CS i*√grd > MHb {Lv.} drg √grd G 'weave', dr3G3 'gered', JA {Lv.} aD1rAG2 gar'da- ~ aD1riG5 gir'da- 'thread/fringe (Faser, Franse) in a web', Sr {Br.} жOor@a gar'da- 'web (tela, textura)' ¶ In these form there is contamination with Hb, JA, Sr √grd 'to scrape, comb' (BHb dr4G1t6e5 hit_ga-red_ 'scrape oneself'); Sr jo'oOr@a gard(ə)ya-ya- and JA iaD2rAG2 gar'day ~ jD2rAG5 gir'day 'weaver' are contaminated with (or borrowed from) Gk γε'ρδιος ~ γερδιος 'weaver' ¶ KBR 202, Br. 132, Lv. I 356-7, Sl. 299 ◇ Cf. N ?? ***kertV** 'to tie, (?) plait'.

679. ***guRK'U'** 'throat' > HS: C: Ag *g^wEfK^wVm 'gullet, throat' > Bln {R} gu'rgu-ma- (pl. gu'rku-m) id., 'Adam's apple', Knf {TBZAC} gurgum, Aw {Hz.} gurg3'm, Dmt {CR, R} g^wergem 'neck'; Ag -b> Tgy {Bsn.} gORgOm g^w3rg3mma 'trachea' :: Bj {R} 'girgu-ma 'Adam's apple; gullet, throat, jaws (Rachen)' :: EC: Sa {R} du_rgu-ma- id., Af {R} gu'rdu-me- 'gullet, throat, jaws (Rachen)' ¶ R WB 161, R WBd 101, R S II 114, R A II 60, Hz. NSA 139-40, Blz. CWL, Bsn. 872 || B *√grgf > Tmz, CM {NZ} gərgəf 'swallow a big gulp of liquid' | B i *gVrgvm > Si {Bs.} ta-gorgum 'gosier' (if not a misspelling for ta-gor3'umt), B (× AfR reflex of the VL *gu'rga [a *gu'rgam] [> Fr gorge, Olt gorga] or *gu'rgum 'gorge' [> It gorgo, OFr gourr, Prv, Ctl gorc 'Wasserstrudel') -b> Ar Mgr {Bss.} μJrQ qrz'm, {Dl., Beg.} gərz'uma -b> North Berber words for 'throat, esophagus': Tmz a-gərz'um, Kb a-jərz'um, t a-jərz'um-t., Wrg tkurz'amt, Sll agerz'um, Izd agərz'um, Nf tagur3'əma, Si tagərz'umt; in view of the exact corr. of B *gVrgVm with Bj 'girgu-ma, Aw gurg3'm, etc.. the VL word cannot be the only source of the North Berber word ¶ MT 166-7, Dl. 274, Dlh. M 63, Dlh. Ou 155, Ds. 143, La. S 244, Beg. 236, NZ 874, Dauzat 368, Kц. #4401, ML #3921, 3923 || WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} ga'ga'ra'k 'throat' (× N ***guRIIE** ~ ***gu'RIIV** 'throat, neck') **II U**: FU *kurk₁k₁V 'throat, neck' > F kurkku, Es kurk 'throat, gullet' : pre-Mr {Ker.} *kurga > pMr {Ker.} *k3rga ({?Ker.} *kərga) 'neck' > Er kɪp?ra kir'ga, Er Kal/Trb {Ps.} korga, Mk kpra kərga id. : Prm *gu'rk 'hollow (in a tree-trunk)' > Vt girk id., 'cavity', Z girksa 'having a hollow' (of a tree-trunk), girk 'cavity within a body (e.g. abdominal cavity)' (μφ: 'throat' → 'entrance into a cavity', like Fr gorge in the meaning 'entrance into a flower' or 'entrance into a hollow in timber' [in carpentry]) || ? Sm: Ne T xopaka 'throat; neck opening of a garment (bopor)', Ne T O {Lh.} xo-rak-a' 'oberster Teil der Brust und unterster Teil des Halses; Kragen', Ne F {Lh.} korra' ~ k'a' ~ 'oberster Teil der Brust', Koyb {Sp.} kypy 'voice, shooting' ¶ IS I 235-6, ¶ Coll. 89, ¶ UEW 676, Ker. II 61, PI 130, ERV 266-7, Ps. M 86, LG 85, Ter. 771, Lh. 192-3; IS rejects the hyp. (shared by SK, Vr. and other scholars) about the NrGmc origin of F kurkku and Es kurk (ON kverk would have yielded F i verk₁k₁V) ¶ Acc. to Jn [p. c.], the corr. between the FU and Sm vowels is irreg. **II A**: Tg *gorka-ka > Neg gorkakta ~ gorkakta 'palate', Ork gojaqta ~ gojjoqta 'uvula, root of the tongue' ¶ STM I 161 **III Gil**: Gil A qorqr / xorqr / gorqr (gorg-r), Gil ES qorqr 'throat' ¶ ST 145, Krn. N 476 ◇ ¶ IS I 235-6 [91] ◇ ¶ Gr. II #390 (*kur 'throat') [U, Gil & err. IE, A].

680. ?? ***gVR₁V₁mV** (= ***gAr?AmV**?) 'to scrape, pound into small pieces, grind' > IE: NaIE *g^hrem- 'grind (zerreiben)' > Gt gramst-a d sg. 'splinter of wood', NGr Sw {P} grummelig 'brockig' :: Lt grė'mz'ti (prs. grė'mz'iu) 'to scrape, scratch', gra'mdyti

'to scrape', Ltv grem~z't 'to gnaw' 𐌿𐌿𐌿 (+ ext.) NaIE *g^{wh}rendh- (< **g^{wh}remdh-), {EI} *g^hrendh- 'grind' > Gmc *°grindan 'to grind, scratch, rub' > AS ȝrindan id., NE grind 𐌺 L frendo / -e're vt. 'crush, bruise, grind', vi. 'gnash the teeth' 𐌺 Lt gre'sti (prs. gre'ndz'iu) 'to scrape, scratch', int. grandy'ti 𐌿 WP I 655-7, P 458, EI 247, Fs. 219-20, WH I 545-2, Frn. 167, 𐌿 172, AHD 1518, Ho. 137-8 𐌺 HS: CS *√grm > JA √grm D 'grind bones' (× gar'm-a- 'bone'), BHb √grm 'gnaw\break bones' (× <d- 'gerem 'bone'), Ar 𐌿 rJ √g'rm (ip. -g'rim-) 'cut, lop off (a palm tree), sheer (sheep), bone (the meat)' 𐌿 KB 195, KBR 203, BK I 270, Hv. 86 𐌺 D (in McTm) *°karan't,- > Tm karan,t,u v. 'scrape, paw (as a dog), gnaw (as a rat)', Ml karan,t,u ka c. 'scrape the inside of metal vessels with a grating noise' 𐌿 D #1268 𐌿 D *-r- points to a N cns. cluster, possibly *-rH- (most probably *-rh- or *-rʔ-, because the lrs. *h and *ʔ are the only that may disappear in S).

681. *gurandV 'log, trunk of a tree' > IE: NaIE *g^hrendh- 'log, beam' > L [γ] grunda '∈ roof, woodwork on a roof' (στειγὴ καὶ τὸ ὑπερ τοῦ ἐξοχόν [ὑποστήγων]), {EM} 'gutter of a roof, gargoyle', L suggrunda ~ sugrunda {EM} 'projecting roof, entablature, dripstone' 𐌺 ON grind 'grating, grated door', AS ȝrindel 'bar, bolt', OSx grindil id., 'plough-handle', OHG grintil 'bolt, bar, plank; Riegel, Balken, Stange', MLG grindel, grendel id., 'transom (Querholz)' 𐌺 Lt grindis, grin'das, grinda 'floor board', granda 'plank in the flooring of a bridge', Ltv gri'da, gri'ds 'floor', gro'di pl. 'planks, beams (of a bridge, below the floor, etc.)', akas grodi 'framework of a well, well-curb', Pru grandico · "Bohle" 'plank' 𐌺 Sl *gre'da (a *gre'do,) 'log, beam' > Blg rpe'da, SCr, Slv gre'da, OCz hr'ada, Slk hrada id., RCS rpaada gre'da [gr'ya'da] 'beams, the top of a building', R ? 'rpyda ~ rpy'da 'cross-beam, shelf', P grze'da 'roost (for hens)', Cz hr'ada id., 'roof beam, rafter', Sl *gre'dz > RCS rpaadz gre'dz [gr'jad], Slv gre'd (g gredi-) 'perch, beam, shaft'; it is not clear if P grze'da, RCS rpaada, Uk 'rpyda 'oblong height, ridge, bed in garden' and R 'rpydka 'bed in garden' belong here 𐌿 P 459-60, WH I 623-4, EM 283-4, Vr. 189, Kb. 409, , Schz. 154, OsS 352, Ho. 138, Ho. S 29, Frn. 170-1, Turk. 181, En. 180, ESSJ VII 120-2, Glh. 246, Kmc. 572 𐌺 D *kur_an't,- ({9GS} *k-) 'log, tree trunk' > kuran,t,u 'log', kuran,t,i 'board used as seat; stump', kur_at,u 'piece of wood', Td kud, 'large stick, club', Kt kud, id., 'bar of door, log', Kn, Tl kor_ad,u 'trunk of a lopped tree, stump', kodan,t,i 'log', Kdg kut,t,i 'small piece of wood', Tu kudan,t,i, kodan,t,i 'small log', korad, 'log, stump'; cp. N *K,uyrV 'wood (Holz), log' 𐌿 𐌿 D #1842 𐌺 HS: SS *gund- 'trunk of a tree' > Gz g'wənd, gund 'log, trunk, stem of a tree', Tgy g'wəndi 'trunk', Tgr gənday, Amh gənd id., Mh gənde't (pl. gəne'd), Jb E gənde't, Jb C gəndet (pl. gəndutə) id.; EthS b→ Sa {R} 'gu'nde, Af {R} 'gu'ndi (pl. Sa, Af 'gu'ned) 'Holzstamm, Strunk eines Baumes', Brj {Hd.} gunda- 'trunk' 𐌿 L G 197, Jo. M 122, Jo. J 77, R S II 157, R A II 59, Hd. 195, ? Ss. B 86 (EC *gund-), DRS 153 𐌺 EC *ginde 'tree-stump, (lower) trunk of a tree' > Ged {Hd.} ginde, Kmb {Hd.} gide'la id., Rn gindo' 'base, lower trunk of a tree', Arr gi'n 'base, bottom, boal', gi'na k,oret 'trunk of tree'; ʔσ: Sd {Hd.} ginde 'heel' and Arr ginnb,a' id. 𐌿 Hd. 93, 242, 318, 366, PG 125, Hw. A 361 𐌺 U: FU *kanta 'stump, tree-trunk' (→ 'basis; Stand, Ständer, Halter') (× N *kan'n'V(-t,V) 'stalk, trunk of a tree') [q.v. ffd.]).

682. *gERsV (prob. *ga'R'ss'V, if FU *°ka'rs's'V belongs here) 'to congeal, go numb' (→ 'to freeze') > HS: B *√grs v. 'freeze' > Kb əjrəs id., ajris 'froid glacial; glace, gällē', Ah tag'rəst, ETwl tagrəst, Tyr tagərəst, Tnsl taz'rəst, Awj tegeris't 'winter', Rf B afris 'geliē', Shl {NZ} agris ~ ag'rs 'givre, geliē blanche', CM √grs 'geler, ktre geli', Gd egrəs 'be very cold' (of weather), Zng {TC} ətga'rs- 'saison froide' 𐌿 Dl. 276, Fc. 487, GhA 59, Rn. 353Lf. II #0462, NZ 887-9, TC D 111 𐌺 IE: NaIE *g^hers- v. 'stiffen', {EI} 'stiffen' (of hair), 'bristle' > OI {MW} 'hars,ate', 'hr_s,yati v. 'become erect \ stiff \ rigid, bristle' (hair of the body), 'become on edge' (teeth), Av zars'ayamna- 'feathers upright', Psh ziz', 'rough, stiff', KhS {Bai.} ysira- 'rough' 𐌺 Gk γε'ρος, Gk A γε'ρρος 'Festland' 𐌺 L horreo, -e're v. 'be rough, bristle' 𐌺 AS gorst 'gorse' 𐌿 P 445-6, EI 547, MW 1303, M K III 583-4, M E II 807-8, Bai. 352, F II 1089-90, WH I 659 𐌺 U: FU (att. in ObU) *°ka'rs's'V (× N *K,a'R'juss'V 'to congeal') > ObU {?Hl.} *ka'rt- / *ke'rt- 'grow numb (with cold, etc.)' > pVg *ka'rt- 'grow numb (erstarren)' > Vg: T ka'rtəwy-, LK kō'rt-, MK kō'rt-, NV ka'rt- / kart-, P/SV/LL/UL/Ss ka'rt- id.; pOs *ke'rt- ({?Hl.} *ki'rt-) 'become numb with cold, from illness, etc. (steif werden, erstarren)' > Os: K ka'rt-, Kr ke'rt-, Nz qa'rt-, Kz qa'rt-, O qa'rt- 𐌿 Ht. #320, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 679, BV 34.

683. ? *gURzE ~ *gURz'E 'to feel' > K: OG, G gr3n- v. 'feel, perceive; understand' 𐌿 Ser. 41, Chx. 207-8, DCh. 331 𐌺 IE: [1] NaIE *g^{wh}re- (< *g^{wh}renh-?) v. 'smell (sth.), scent out, feel' (× *goR'XE 'track (game), smell, hear; ear' [q.v. ffd.]) 𐌿 [2] ??? NaIE (in Blt only) *g^hirde'ti- > Lt girde'ti (3s prs. gir'di. 1s prs. girdz'iu), Ltv dzi rde't 'to hear' 𐌿 Frn. 153, ? P 478, P 496, ME 433 𐌺 HS: B *√grz > Tmz {MT} t-graz 'se repentir, regretter' (used in 3f only in an impers. construction with the [pro]noun of the person as an indirect object: tərgaz iyi 'I am sorry, I regret' [literally 'it sorries to me']), Sll {Ds.} ət-g'rəz, 'se repentir', Ah {Fc., Crt.} mu-g'rəz, 'se repentir de, regretter', ETwl, Tyr mē-grəz (rf.) 'regretter (vivement), se repentir de', a-mē-grəz, 'regret, repentir', Zng {MH→Nic.} 3m aor. i_əmmugraz 'repent' 𐌿 ≡σ: Sp lo siento mucho 'I am very sorry about it' ← 'I feel it much' 𐌿

MT 469-70, Ds. 247, Fc. 1173, Crt. 407, 413, GhA 60, Nic. 315, NZ 899, 901-2 ♦ The correlation of an IE *lr.* and a K *vd.* sibilant suggests a N *vd.* sibilant (**z*, **z'* or **z''*), but the K affricate **ʒ* and probably the IE *cns.* *-*d_l^h* (in *Bl*) point to a N affricate **ʒ*'.

684. ***g^har^hz^hv** 'to stretch' > HS: S **√grs* (~ **√grs'*) v. 'drag, trail' > BHb, Md *√grs* v. 'drive out', 'cast out (a wife)', M'b *grs* 'drive away', SmA *√grs* D 'expel', ? OAk *√grs*, Ak *√grs* v. 'come/go to so.', **√grs* > Mh *√grs* v. 'drag, pull out, push', Jb *√grs* v. 'drag into' ¶ KB 196, KBR 204, HJ 236, Br. 135, Tal 160, Sd. 272, CAD V 49, Jo. M 125, Jo. J 79 ¶ K **gr₃*- v. 'stretch' (**на-\\вы-т₀гиват?**), be long' > OG, G *gr₃*- v. 'prolong, continue', Mg *gin₃-or*- v. 'stretch, pull out', Sv {TK}: L *g₃-ən*- (msd. li-g₃ən-e), UB/Ln *g₃-ən*- (msd. li-g₃ən-e) v. 'stretch'; d- GZ **gr₃e-l*- 'long' > OG *gr₃el*-, G *g(r)z₃el*-, Mg *g₃r₃a/-e*- ~ *gir₃e*- ~ *g₃n₃a/-e*-, Lz *gin₃e*-, *gun₃e*- id. ¶ K 65, K DE 361, K² 33, FS K 86-7, TK 428 ¶ IE **g^herH-*/**g^hreH-*/**g^hroH-*/**g^hrH-* v. 'be salient \ prominent (hervorstechen)', v. 'grow' (of plants) > Gk *χοιρα^ς* 'emportehend, hervorragend', 'hervorragende Klippe im Meer' (< **g^horyo-*), Gk [A] *χα^ρμ^η* (?) 'επιδορατι^ς (point of alance, spear-head)', Gk [Hs.] *χα^ρι^α* 'hill, mound' :??? Gmc and Sl (× NaIE **g^her-*, **g^herə-*/**g^hre-* 'sharp point' < N ***garHa** 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 440, F II 1075 (no et. of the Gk words) ♦ The correlation of IE **H*, S **s* and a K *vd.* sibilant suggests a N sibilant **z*', but the affricate **ʒ* for the expected **z* in K is still obscure (though the variation **ʒ* ~ **z* is a rather usual phenomenon in K). The appearance of a lateral **s* in SES is obscure, too.

684a. o ***gar^hv**(**г^hiv**) 'to thunder' > IE: NaIE **g^hrem*- id., 'to roar, rage, tumble', **g^hromo-s* ({EI} **g^hromo-s*) 'thunder, loud and law sound' > Av *gram* 'be angry/furious, be angry at so., NPrs I (r̥ *ya^hr(a^h)m* 'anger' ¶ Gk *χρο^ημη*, *χρο^ημος* 'crashing sound', [Hs.] 'neighing of horses', Gk *χρεμετι^ς*, [Hs.] *χρεμι^ς* 'neigh, whinny' (of horses) ¶ ON *gramr*, AS *gram* 'angry', OHG *gram* 'furious, gloomy', OSx *gram* 'hostile (feindselig)', grimman 'to rage, roar (from anger)', MHG *grimen* 'to rage from distress or pain (vor Zorn oder Schmerz wüten)', AS *gryme^{ttan}* 'to roar, grunt; to rage' ¶ Lt *grume^{ti}* 'to thunder', Pru *grumins* 'dunreyn' 'drizzling rain' ({Bzb.}: ← 'a distant thunder'), ? *grīmikan* 'song' : Sl **gr^hme^{ti}* 'to thunder' > OCS *г^hр^hмѣти* *г^hр^hмѣти*, SCr *г^hр^hмѣти* *gr^hm^hjeti*, *gr^hml^hjeti*, *gr^hmiti*, Slv *gr^hme^{ti}*, Slk *hrm^hiet*, POL *grzmieć*, OR, RCS *г^hр^hмѣти* *г^hр^hмѣти*, *г^hр^hмѣти* *greme^{ti}* 'to thunder', Cz *hr^hme^{ti}*, *hr^hmi^{ti}*, R *г^hр^hмѣт?*, Uk *г^hр^hмѣт* id., 'to produce a crashing sound', Blg *г^hр^hм* v. 'thunder'; Sl **gro^hm^h* 'thunder' > OCS, OR *г^hр^hмъ* *gromъ*, Blg, R *г^hр^hм*, SCr *gro^hm*, *gro^hm*, Slv *gro^hm*, Cz, Slk *hrom*, P *grom*, Uk *г^hр^hм* id. ¶ P 458-9, Mn. 337-8, 340-1, EI 582, Brtl. 529, VI. II 605, Sg. 885, F II 1116-7, Vr. 184, Ho. 136, 139, Ho. S 28-9, Kb. 405, Schz. 154, OsS 347, Lx. 76, Frn. 163, En. 181, ESSJ VII 138, 163-4, Glh. 249 ¶ Some of the words apparently belonging to this IE v (such as MHG, MLG *grummen* 'brummen, murren') may be independent onomatopoeic innovations ¶ K **gr₃gwin*- v. 'thunder' > G *grgvin*-, Mg *gurgin*-, *gvirgvin*-, Lz *girgin*-, Sv *gurgwn*- id.; K **gurgwal*- id. > G *gurgval*-, Lz *gurgul*- id., Sv *gərgal*- 'produce a crashing sound' ¶ K 64, 66, K² 32; FS K 89-80 and FS E 94 (K **gurgw*-) ¶ HS: Ch: Ngz {Sch.} *gi^hr...3^hn* 'thunder, lightning' ¶ Sch. DN 60 ¶ D **kar^ha^hr^h* (L¹- ({9GS} **k*-) v. 'thunder' > Tm *kar^har^hu* id., Klm *karadil* v. 'strike with lightning' [for 'it lightens' they say 'the sky (abar) strikes with lightning'], Nk *kar^halil* v. 'lighten' [ĩz *kar^halil* 'the lightening (ĩz) lightens'] ¶¶ D #1354.

685. ***g^hier^ha** ~ ***g^hier^hya** 'to step, walk' > A: T **k^her*- v. 'walk about' > OT *ka^hz*- id., 'travel, traverse', XwT XIII-XIV *kez*- 'walk about/through', Chg =XV *kez*- 'ramble, travel', MQp XIII, Cmn XIV *kez*- 'traverse', Qry Cr *gez*- 'go for a walk (spazieren gehen)', Az *g^ha^hz*-, ET *ka^hz*- ~ *ga^hz*- id., 'walk', Tk *gez*-, Tkm *geð*-, Qmq *gez*- id., 'travel', Nog, Qrg *kez*-, Tf *k^hes*- 'walk about', Uz *kez*-, ET *kez*- ~ *ka^hz*-, Ggz *gez*- id., 'walk', Qq *gez*- id., 'travel', VTt *giz*-, Bsh *gið*- 'travel', Tv *kez*- 'make the round of snares and traps (to check them)' ¶ Cl. 756, Rs. W 260, ET VGD 10-1, DTS 305, KumRS 94, TatR 115, BR 149, Ra. 203 ¶ M **gar*- 'go/come out, climb, pass over/across' > WrM *gar*-, MM *gar*- [(ChSc) *gar*-, (ArSc) -r(*yar*-), HIM *gar(a)*-, Kl, ShY *gar*-, Mnr H *g₃ari*- id. ¶ KW 145, H 61, Ms. H 88, Pp. MA 176-7, MED 350, SM 120-1 ¶ Tg **gi₃ari*- ~ **gi₃ra*- v. 'step, go for a walk' > Ewk *gira-hta*-, Nn *gi₃ari*-, *guran*-, Ork *guran*- v. 'go for a walk', Neg *giya^hn*-, Ul *ge^hri*-, *guran*- v. 'step' ¶ STM I 147, 154-5, S AJ 224 [#285] ¶ J **ka^hti* n. 'walking' > OJ *kati*, [RJ] *ka^hti*, J: T *ka^hc^hi*, K *ka^hc^hi*, Kg *kac^hi* ¶ S AJ 272 [#199], S QJ #199, Mr. 444 ¶¶ S AJ 289 [#321], SDM97 s.v. **ga^hr^ha*, DQA #518 (A **gi₃a^hra* 'to walk, step') ¶ HS: WS **√gry* > Sr *√gry^hw* *g₃* (pf. *gə^hra*) 'run/trickle down, be dragged/carried away', ArorJ *g^hry* (ip. -*g^hriy*-) *g₃* 'run, flow', Mh *√gry* (sbjn. *y₃-gra*-, condit. *y₃-gr₃y-3n*) v. 'precede', 'pass' (of time), Hrs {Jo.} *√grw^hy* *g₃* (pf. *g₃ro*-, sbjn. *y₃gr^hi*) 'run' (blood, water), 'flow', Jb C *√gry* (pf. *ge^hre*, sbjn. *yeg₃r*) 'follow, go after' ¶ JPS 77, BK I 284-5, Ln. 415-6, Jo. M 125, Jo. J 79, Jo. H 41, DRS 186 ¶ ? B **gu^hr*- (< ***guyr*- or ***guHr*-?) v. 'go, walk' > Rf Wr/B/A *u-xur* (habit. *əggur*), Izn *uyur* (habit. *əggur*) id., Mz -*z^hur* (imv. *i^hz^hur*, pf. *yi-^hz^hur*) 'marcher, couler', CM {NZ} *ggur*- (aor. int.) 'go, go away, walk', Shw *ugir* ~ *ug^hir* ~ *uyir*, Nf *ugur* 'go, walk' ¶ Rn. 352, Dlh. M 70, NZ 854-5 ¶ ? C: Bj {R} *gerwel*-scv. 'walk quickly' ¶ ? IE: NaIE (+ext.) **g^hred^h*- v. 'step, walk', {EI} 'step, go' > Av {P ← SLv.} *aiwi-gə^həð*- 'begin' ¶ L *gradior* 'I step', *gradus* 'step' ¶ Gt *grid* (a of **gri₃s*) 'step', MHG [γ] *griet*, *gri^ht*, *gri^hit* 'step', NGr B *gritt* id. ¶ (*-n-present): Olr *in/ad-grenn*-, *to-grenn*- 'pursue' (-enn- < *-n₀d^h-n-) ¶ Lt *gri^hdyti* 'to walk, roam' ! (*-n-present) Sl **gre₃d*-

(inf. *gre₂sti, prs. *gre₂d-) > OCS грѣсти gre₂sti / градж gre₂do₂ 'go, come', Blg ? 'гредам, Blg SW 'грендам id., SCr gre₂sti / gre₂de₂m 'go, walk', Uk грі'сти / грі'ду 'run\drive (fahren) quickly and noisily', R ? гредут 'they go' ¶ WP I 651-2, P 456-7, EI 546, WH I 615-6, Fs. 222, LP § 566, Thr. §§ 842, 857, Frn. 170, Bern. 349, ESSJ VII 123-4, BER 277-8, Glh. 246 ¶ IE *g^h- was not palatalized (reg. in preconsonantal position).

686. *gor'E 'hot; to heat; embers' > IE: NaIE *g^{wh}er- 'burn, heat': [1] v.: OI ghr₂ 'n.a-h. 'ardour, heat', Λ, Γ ghr₂ 'n.o₂ti 'shines, burns' ¶ OIr fo-geir v. 'heats', guirid 'warms', OIr gorim 'I heat, warm', Nlr goraim id., 'I hatch', Nlr, Br gor 'heat', W gori v. 'hatch'; Clt Brtt {RE} d₂ 'guessa₂kos 'warm, hot' ({P} < *g^{wh}re₂-ns-o-) > W gwresog, Crn gwresak, B gwrezek id. ¶ Sl *gore^uti (3s prs. *gori₂-t₂) vi. 'burn' > OCS горѣти gore^uti (prs. горитъ goritъ), SCr го₂рети d₂ go₂rjeti, Slv gore^uti, Cz hor^ueti, Slk horiet', P gorzec', gorec', R го₂пет', Uk го₂п'ти vi. 'to burn', Blg го₂п' vi. 'burn' ¶ [2] *g^{wh}oros ntr. 'heat, embers' > OI i₂ 'haras- 'flame, heat' (one of the possible semantic interpretations) ¶ Gk θερ₂ος 'summer', θερ₂ομαι 'become warm' ¶ pAl {O} *z^uera > Al zjarr {AIED} 'heat', {BFU} 'fire' ¶ Arm Jer z^uer 'heat, warmth; fine weather' ¶ Lt ga^uras 'steam, vapour, carbon monoxide', Ltv gars 'steam' ¶ *g^{wh}e-ro- > pSl *z^uar^u > SCr, Slv z^ua^ur, P z^uar, R, Uk жар 'heat, embers', Cz z^ua^ur 'heat' ¶ [3] *g^{wh}re- vt. 'warm, heat' > Sl *gre^u-ti (prs. *gre^u-j-o^u) ~ μ *gre^u-ja-ti (<d- prs. *gre^u-j-) id. > OCS грѣяти gre^ujati (prs. грѣѣ gre^ujō), RChS, OR грѣти gre^uti id., OCS грѣти сѣ gre^uti se₂ 'to warm oneself', R грет' (prs. грев), Uk гре^uти, SCr gre^ujati ~ gri^ujati d₂ ? gre^uti, Slv gre^uti, Cz hr^ua^uti, Slk hriat', P grzac' (prs. grzeje₂) 'to warm, heat', Blg гре^u v. 'warm' ¶ Ltv gre^umens d₂ ? gre^u-meles d₂ ? gre^u-mes 'heartburn' ¶ pAl {O} *en-gra^u-ya > Al ngroh- ~ ngrof- vt. 'warm' ¶ [4] *g^{wh}ermo-, *g^{wh}ormo- 'warm, warmth', {EI} *g^{wh}er^u-mo-s 'warm' > OI ghar^u-ma- 'glow, heat', Av gar^u-ma- adj. 'hot', n. 'heat', KhS gra^u-ma- 'hot' ¶ Gk θερ₂μος 'hot, warm' ¶ L Γ formus, L formidus id. ¶ Gmc *warma- (× IE *wer- < N *war^ui 'to burn, to heat', q.v. ffd.) > ON varmr, AS wearm, OHG, NHG warm adj. 'warm', NE warm adj., Gt warmjan 'to warm' ¶ Thr {EI} ger^umo- 'warm' ¶ Arm Jerm z^uerm 'warm' ¶ pAl {O} *z^uerma > Al G/T zjarm n. 'fire' ¶ Ltv gar^ume 'warmth', Pru gorme id. ¶ [4] another d₂: *g^{wh}or-no-s 'oven, heating fire' > L fornus ~ furnus 'oven' ¶ OIr gorn 'fire' ¶ pSl *g^{wh}rn^u ~ *g^{wh}rnō > SCr gr^uno 'burning coal for heating iron in a smithy', Slk grno, OR гърнъ гърнъ, R, Uk горн 'forging furnace' ¶ P 493-5, EI 88, 263, M K I 357-8, 360 & III 579, M E I 513, 515-6 & II 804, Bai. 92, F I 664-6, WH I 532-4, Thr. § 184, YGM-1 245, LP § 38, Hm. 323, Dnn. 378, RE 143, Vr. 646, Kb. 1147, Ho. 387, Hamp AIEW 146, BFU 642, O 296, 524-5, AIED 966-7, Slr. 73, Frn. 134-5, En. 179, ME I 652, ESSJ VII 42-3, 116-7, 210-1, Vs. I 441, 456 & II 35, Glh. 239, 248, Chrn. I 291-2 ¶ HS: S: Ar йѣWJa g^uarr-at- 'pain cuit dans les cendres'; (× N *g^ule^uyr^uX 'fire, hearth'): Ar rYiJa g^ua^uyir 'feu; grande chaleur dans le corps, causée par la soif\fièvre\colère' ¶ BK I 272, 361 ¶ C: Bj {R} √g^ur v. 'cook, fry' (1s: p. a^ugu^ur, prs. an^ug^uir; vb. n. 'g^ua^uri-) ¶ Ch: WCh: Hs gu^ura^u v. 'cause fire to blaze up' ¶ AG: Ang {Flk.} kur 'charcoal', Su {J} ku^ur 'ashes' ¶ BT: Tng kuro 'charcoal' ¶ CCh: Dgh gw^uvra, Glv {Rp.} yu^uvra, Gv {ChC} yu^uvu^ura id. ¶ Lgn {Lk.} gurwake 'embers' ¶ Ech: ? Bar garui 'firewood' ¶ Stl. VZCh #72, Ba. 411, J T 106, ChC II A: T: [1] *k^uo^u-r^u 'embers, live coal' (× N *ku^u-r^u?^u 'to shine; flame' → 'to produce heat') > OT {Cl.} ko^u-z, MQp, XwT, Chg, OOSm ko^u-z, MOg go^u-z, Tk ko^u-z, Tkm k^u z ko^u-δ, Az ko^u-z, Bsh ? ku^u-δ, Ln, Xq, Tv ko^u-s 'embers, live coal', Tf kō^u-s 'live coal', Ch ка^uвар к^uвар, ? к^u-var id., 'burning embers'; [2] *Ko^u:r^u 'live coal' > Bsh y^u? quδ, Qq qoz id., StAlt qos id., embers' ¶ Cl. 756-7, ET KQ 85-6. ET Q 74-6, TL 365-6, TkR 411, Hys. 173, Rl. II 1300, Grmn. 155, Ra. 204, ¶ DTS 321 (OT ko^u-ze- 'stir'), ¶ Md. 48, 170 (*k^uo^u-r^u with unjustified *k^u), ? Jeg. 97 ¶ Tv, Tf k- suggest a lax pT *k^u, while Tk, Az, Tkm k- point (but not necessarily) to a pT tense *k^u- ¶ The paronymous T word *Ko^u-r 'embers' belongs to N *k^uar^u 'to burn (vt.), heat' ¶ ¶ DQA #1161 [A *k^u-r^ukV 'glowing coals'; incl. T] ¶ IS MS 337 (s.v. *g^uo^ura 'ropet?'), ¶ IS I 239 [#95] (*gURa 'burning coal).

687. *g^ule^uyr^uX 'fire, hearth' > HS: S *g^ui^urr-, *√grr ~ *√gyr > Ak fOB girru 'fire', Amh √grr {pf. gerrere} {L} 'be scorching' (sun), {DRS} 'itinceler, ktre brulant (feu)'; Ar rYiJa g^ua^uyir 'feu, grand chaleur dans le corps (causée par la soif\faim\colère)' (× N *gor'E 'hot; to heat; embers') ¶ CAD III 93-4, L CAD 207, BK I 361, DRS 192 ¶ Eg G 3r ¶ 'fire' ¶ EG V 595 ¶ C: EC *g^uir-a 'fire' > Sa, Af gira id., HEC *g^uira id. > Sd, Hd, Ged, Kmb g^uir-a 'fire', Brj z^uir-a 'flame', Sd, Hd g^uir- vt. 'burn' ¶ SC: ? Brn {E} gi^uru, Alg {E} gi^uri 'embers', ?? Irq gil^ui {E} id., {MQK} id., 'red-hot charcoal' ¶ Ss. B 110, Hd. 64, 279, 366, E SC 238, MQK 39 ¶ OS #210 ¶ U: FP {UEW} *kerV- 'open stone-stove' > Es keris (g kerise, kerikse), ? kiris (g kirise) {W} 'upper part of a stove [in peasants' houses], light-house', {Slv.} keris 'vaporizing furnace (with big heated stons)' ¶ Prm {LG} *g^uor (LG) *go^ur 'stove' > Vt ryp gur, Vt B/SW gur, Prmk, Yz gur 'stove', Z gor / gory-, Z US go^ur 'stove in a sauna\barn' ¶ UEW 660, LG 78, W EDW 265, Slv. 110 ¶ A: T *k^u-ir^u- 'get hot' > MT XIV [IM] qiz- 'be warm', MQp XIV, Chg =XV, OOSm qiz- 'be hot', Cmn qiz- 'glow with heat', Tk kiz-, Qmq qiz-, VTt к^uв- q^uв-, Bsh q^uδ-, Tv qis-, Chv xe^uр- х^uр- 'get very hot', Tkm grδ-, Nog qiz- id., 'get warm', Az giz-, Qzq qiz- 'get warm', Ggz kiz-, Qq qiz- 'get very hot, flame up', Yk k^ui^u-s- 'flare up', NaT *kiz^u- > Qrg qiz^u-, Uz, ET qizi- 'get very hot', Alt qizi- id., 'catch fire'; it is possible (but not certain) that one may adduce here the pT verb *k^ui^u:r^u- 'get red' [> OT

qız- 'get ruddy' (of complexion), Tv qırs-, Yk kī s- 'get red'] and its $\underline{d}$ *kır'ıl 'red' (> NaT *kızıl, Chv чырл, ffd. cf. ET Q 194-6) ¶ Cl. 681 (unc.: qız 'be hot' ← qız- 'be red'), ET Q 187-9, 194-7, Md. 70, 168, TkR 228, Jeg. 298, Fed. II 343, Ra. 223-4, Rl. II 875, PC 447 || ?? M *gere 'light, brightness' (× N *neh'U'r'i 'light, fire', q.v. ffd.) ◆ IS MS 337 (s.v. *g'o'ra 'ropet?', vi. 'burn'), IS I 239 [95] (*gURΛ 'burning coal').

688. *gur'i'(dV) (or *-r-?) hip, side' (→ 'back side') > K: GZ *gwerd- 'side, flank' > OG gwerd-i id.. 'rib', G gverd-i 'side, flank', i-gurd-iv 'near, side by side', Mg gverd-i, gwerd-i, Lz gver(d)- 'half' ¶ K² 29, Ser. 42, DCh. 312, Q 216 II HS: B: Sll {Ds.} agərri (pl. igurra), Shl {NZ} agrri 'hip (hanche)' ¶ Ds. 150, NZ 848 || WS *√grd > Ar draJa g'arad- 'back (dos)' (← *'back side' ← *'side'), Tgr 3'ərīd 'muscles of the neck', Grg Sl gərdid 'nape of neck' ¶ Fr. I 264, BK I 276, LH 550, L EDG III 291, MiK I #1.92 || Eg fOK {EG} 3rw 'Rippengegend des Körpers, Seite', {DW} 3rw(w) 'Seitenfläche; hintere Rippengegend; Seitenfläche der Nase', {Fk.} 3rw 'side, flank (of a body)', 'wall (?)' ¶ EG V 602, DW 1909-10, Fk. 324 || Ch: CCh: ZmD {ChC} gu'ra'y, {KNC} gu'ra'y 'thigh', ?? Mln gi'rga'ti'gi' id. (unless derived from or compound with CCh *girV 'bone') :: WCh: Cg {Sk.} ga'ra'bu'n 'rib' ¶ ChC, ChL, KNC 9 II A: T *Kur' > NaT *Kuz > OT {Cl.} quz 'the northern (shady) side of a mountain', Tk kuz, ? koz $\underline{d}$ guz 'shady side'; NaT *Kuza'y $\underline{d}$ > Az ryзeй guzey ~ r'зeй gu'zey 'the northern (shady) side of a mountain', Tkm guḍay 'shady side (of a mountain, house, etc.)', T kuzey 'north'; $\underline{d}$: Tb (Rl.) qusqay 'northern' ¶ Cl. 680, ET Q 106-7, Rl. II 1015, Hьs. 86, 89, TkR 207 II D {tr.} *kur_V $\underline{d}$ ḡk°, {GS} kud_uḡ 'thigh, loins' (× N *k_ur'u' 'foot, hoof, q.v.) > Tm kur_an'ku, Kt korg, Tl kur_uvu, Klm kudug, Prj kudu $\underline{d}$ kud_u, Gdb kuyug, Gnd kuruku $\underline{d}$ kurki $\underline{d}$ koḡki, Knd kur_gu, Mlt qosge, Kui kuzu 'thigh', Ku kudugu id. $\underline{d}$ ku'dgu' id., 'lap', Ml kur_aku, kur_avu 'thigh, loins, quarter of animals', Krx kosga' 'leg, thigh' ¶ D #1840, Zv. 51, 95, 139, GS 151 [382], 55 [152] II ? Gil: Gil A k3dr / ʔ3dr / g3dr (g3dr) 'back (dos)' ¶ ST 125 ◆ D *-r- (for the expected *-r'-) may be due to the merger with *k_ur'u'. Alternatively, T *-r'- may go back to *-r- palatalized by the following **i, in which case we may reconstruct N *-r-.

689. ₂ *gEyUs'V 'to cast (spear), spear' (→ 'wage war', 'host [armed force]') > IE: NaIE g^hai₂-so-s, {EI} *g^hai₂'so-s ~ *g^hai₂-ses- 'javelin, spear' ({EI} 'throwing spear') > OI 'he's₂ah, 'weapon', {EI} 'missile' (?? -d₂ hi'nas-ti ~ Vd 'him'santi 'injures, hurts, destroys') :: Gl -b> L gaesum & Gk γαῖσος ~ γαῖσων 'long heavy javelin (originally a Gaulish weapon)'; OIr ga'e 'spear', fo-gae (later foga) 'javelin (Wurfspieß)', OW {Flr.} guoiu, MW gwaew, W gwayw, Crn gew 'spear', OBr {Flr.} $\underline{cd}$ Γ guugoiuou 'spiculis.i.telis', Br goaf 'lance; gaffe, perche munie d'un croc' (× Fr. gaffe) :: Grm *gaizas > AS 3a'r, OSx gē'r, OHG ge'r, NHG Ger, ON geirr 'javelin, spear' :: ?? Gk γαῖος 'shepherd's staff' (μφ from 'spear') ¶ WP I 528, P 410, EI 537, WH I 575-6, SB 104, Flr. 204, YGM-I 260, Hm. 320, LP §§ 14, 23 (3), 34 (3), Billy 76, F I 282-3 & II 1061-2, Vr. 161-2, Kb. 327, Schz. 150, Ho. 124, Ho. S 25, KM 249, ? M K III 595, 601, 611 & M E II 820-1 ('he's₂ah, i <d₂ his₂,-/he's₂,- 'injure, hurt' without IE et.) II HS: WS *'gayas₂- 'host, armed force' > MHb xi%G2 'gayis (< AHb *'gayis₂) (pl. t&xi!G6 gəya's-o't₂), JA axig (*gay'sa₂) 'troop, pack of robbers', JEA {Sl.} axlii^G2 gay₂yaj'sa₂ 'band of marauders/robbers', Sr W 'saj@a gay's-a₂ 'troop, army', Ar ʔyJa g'ays₂- 'army', Sb ʔig gys₂^ 'unit, detachment', $\underline{d}$: Mh √gys₂ (pf. gəyo's₂) v. 'rally, collect the tribe (in troubles times)', Jb E √gys₂ (pf. 'ges₂^), Jb C ʔs₂ʔge's₂ id. ¶ Dlm. 73, Br. 114, Sl. 279-80, L Lv. I 325 (erroneous vocalization MHb xjIG2 gay'ya's₂), BGMR 52, Jo. M 128, Jo. J 81, DRS 116 || C: EC *√gs₂ ({Ss.} *-gs₂i) pcv. 'kill' > Rn {Ss.} -gis-, {PG} -gīs- / p. -gis-/ga's- (n. act. o'go's₂), pBn {Hn.} *-iga's- / *-igis- (> Bn K -iga's-/igis-, B/J -iya's-/īs-), Arr {Hw.} -ek,es- / (ip.) -ak,as- (1s ʔigis-, inv. 2s ʔigi's₂) 'kill', Dsn {Ss.} -e's₂-, {To.} ʔa's₂ / -es- (pcv.), Elm -ekis-, whence scv.: Or {Ss., Grg.} a3'e's₂-, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} i3'e's₂-, Kns {Ss.} ikas₂^-/is₂^-, HEC ({Hd.} *siy-): Sd {Ss.} s'iy-, Kmb/Ged {Ss.} s'i-, Hd {Ss.} s₂^-, Brj siy- 'kill', Brj si'ya₂ 'warrior' :: ?? Bj {R} √g^ws₂? (1s: p. a-'ugs'a₂?, prs. ag^wan's₂i; prtc. 'g^wis₂?a₂) v. 'cast a spear' (and *'throw' → √g^ws₂? 'zu Boden strecken, unterjochen') ¶ R WBd 103, Ss. B 167, PG 62, 238, Hn. BD 114, Grg. 11-2, Sr. 331, Hw. A 267-9, Hd. 86, To. DL 200 || ?σ Ch: CCh: Mofu {Brr.} -ga'z₂- 'throw', MfG {Brr.} -'g3z₂- 'throw, drop' :: WCh: ? Kry {Sk.} kuse v. 'throw' :: ECh: Jg {J} gis₂- 'throw' ¶ JS 267, ChC, Brr. MG II 121 ◆ FU *ku's₂V- v. 'fall' (Coll. 79, MK 225-6) should be kept apart (it has a better et. connecting it with N *K_u's₂'ŋi'V 'to fell, fall', q.v.).

690. *g'a₂'ys'V?ʔa 'be frightened/sorrowful, worry' > IE: NaIE *g^hei₂-s 'be frightened/scared', {EI} 'frighten' > Av zae's₂a- 'horrible', zo'i(ə)s₂nav- 'zusammenschreckend, schaudernd', KhS ysa's₂t.a 'hateful, hostile', NPrs ʔ\$zi zes't 'hideous, ugly; bad' :: Gt us-geisnān 'be frightened', us-gaisjan 'frighten', Ic geisa 'to rage, be ferocious', geiski n. 'freight, terror', ON geiska-fullr 'frightful' (lit. 'full of fright') || $\underline{d}$ *g^hoi₂-sd- > OHG geist 'spirit, soul', NHG Geist 'spirit', AS 3a₂-st ~ 3a₂-st 'spirit, ghost', NE ghost :: OI 'he'd.a- 'anger' ¶ EI 214, WP I 553-4, P 427 (*g^heis- 'aufgebracht, bestärzt, erschreckt sein', but the meaning 'to anger' ['aufgebracht sein' belongs to the v *g^heisd-, which I prefer to keep apart]), Brl. 1651, 1692-3, Bai. 353, Sg. 617, BM 260, Vr. 162, Fs. 531-2, Kb. 324, Ho. 122, Bv. 219 II A: Tg *gasa- v. 'worry, grieve' > Neg, Ork gasa- v. 'worry', Ul gasa- 'be sad, grieve (токовать?)', Nn Nh/B gasa-, Nn KU gaso- 'be sad, grieve, worry', WrMc gasa- {Z} 'grieve, be sad', WrMc {Hr.} gasa-

Mc Sb {Mrm.} gasa- 'beklagen, bemangeln; unzufrieden sein, sich beschweren' ¶ STM I 143, Z 304, Hr. 337, Klz. MS 175 || M *gasal₁A- > WrM gasal-, gasala-, HlM гасла- 'be sorrowful/afflicted, grieve', Kl {Rm.} gasl_o- 'betrübt sein, sich grämen', d→ M *gasalan > WrM gasalan₁, HlM гасалан(г), Kl {Rm.} gas₁lan ~ gasl_o . 'Gram. Betrübniß, Unglück', {KRS} hasl_o xasl_o 'grief, sorrow'; the infl. of M *gasal₁A- is the source of meaning 'sorrowful' in MM [MA] gas_u-ba 'was distressed', WrM gasigu(n), HlM гауу(н) 'sorrowful', while the primary meaning of M *gasiyūn > MM [HI] gasivun, [MA] gas_un, WrM gasigu(n), HlM гауу(н), Mnr g_{as}zn is 'bitter, sour', hence M *gasiyūn hardly belongs here ¶ MED 353-4, KRS 160-1, KW 146, Pp. MA 178, SM 121, Ms. H 89 || HS: S *_ogs_o? > Ar Ÿ4J _ogs_o? G 'be convulsed, heave (from fear or grief)' (of a soul), {Fr.} 'commota et excita fuit (anima tñore vel concepto terrore)' ¶ Fr. I 270, BK I 295, Hv. 90.

691. ??₂ *gus[^]Vfa (~ *gus[^]V?V) 'belch, vomit' > HS: S *_ogs[^]? ~ *_ogs[^]? > Hb (mt)_ogs[^]? Hitpo. 'vomits loudly', Sr pf. G gə'sa[^] (*_ogs[^]?) 'vomits', Ar _ogs[^]? G 'belch', Gz _ogs[^]? G 'belch, vomit', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} gəs[^]o[^], Sq _ogs[^]?, Jb C {Jo.} s[^]z-'ges[^]i 'belch', Ak LB ges[^]u[^] (*_ogs[^]?) 'to belch' ¶ KB 200, CAD III 64, Br. 126, JPS 75, BK I 295, L G 205, L LS 117, Jo. M 126, Jo. H 42, Jo. J 80, Sd. 287, Mik I #2.17 || WCh {Stl.} *ga[^]c[^]- 'belch' > Hs g[^]a[^]-c[^].e[^] : NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj x[^]z[^]s[^]-, Kry x[^]z[^]s[^]z[^]-, My g₃la- id., Cg ga[^]-z[^]an n. 'belch', Jmb z[^]i[^]z[^]a[^]s[^]u[^], Diri g[^]z[^]s[^]a[^] v. 'vomits' : Ngz {Sch.} ga[^]d[^]z[^]u[^] 'belch' ¶ Stl. ZCh 217 [#669], ChC, Sk. NB 12, Sch. DN 66 || A: T *k₁'jus- 'vomits' (× N *_oqu₁?₁sE 'to belch, vomit, cough', q.v. ffd.) ♦ Qu. because the supposed T cognate has an alt. et.

692. ?₂ *gut[^]V 'to pull, draw' > HS: C {AD} *_og[^]wt 'draw, pull' > Ag: Xm {R} g[^]wt- id.; Ag -b→ Tgr {LH} getet ?abla, Tgy g[^]weteta id. || ?? EC: pSam {Hn.} *g[^]it/*g[^]i[^]ta[^] v. 'pull' (unless it is EC {Ss.} *zit- v. 'pull' < N *z[^]idu 'to pull, drag, draw', q.v. ffd.) > Sml z[^]id-, Rn {Hn.} z[^]it / 'z[^]ita, {PG} z[^]ita 'pull, drag', pBn {Hn. BD} *(ha[^]...)-s[^]i[^].d or {Hn. S} s[^]i[^].d > Bn: Bi (ha[^]...)-s[^]i[^].d, J/Kj ha[^]...-s[^]i[^].d, K ho[^]...-s[^]i[^].d || SC: Irq {Wh.} -gaga[^]r-, {MQK} gaga[^]r- 'carry (a load)', {E} gagar-, Alg geger- 'carry' (× N *ga[^]t.X 'to grasp, take, possess'?) ¶ AD SF 245, Hn. S 61, Abr. S 140, Hn. BD 122, Sim 11-2, 15, PG 166, Wh. SI, MQK 36 || A: Tg: WrMc goci- v. 'pull, draw' ¶ STM I 163 ♦ It is tempting to adduce here FU i[^]*kut[^]V- v. 'tear, draw' (reconstructed from Vg T/P kat-, Vg LK/Ss xat- v. 'tear', as in MF 3123-3), but the Vg Sn xu[^]pt- 'put on boots, put load on one's back' and the Os cognate (Os Ty qopit[^] 'zerstückeln', Os D xa[^]pət- 'fällern', Os O xa[^]pət- 'loswinden') point to a pUgr *kup[^]z[^]t[^]- 'pull, draw' (UEW 859).

693. ?₂ *gut[^]HV 'small, little' > HS: C: SC {E} *g[^]at₁-/*got₁- ({?E} *g[^]at₁-/*got₁-) 'child' > Irq {E, MQK} garma 'boy', Qz go?olayo 'bull calf' || Dhl {EEN, To.} g[^]i[^]cca 'child' || C -b→ Mb -gitutu[^] 'little, small' ¶ E SC 263, WQK 37, EEN 32, To. D 134 || D {tr.} *kut₁-, {IS} *kud₁-, {GS} *gud₁-, 'small, little' > Tu gid₁.a 'short, small', Kn gid₁.u, gud₁.u shortness, smallness, Tl gid₁.a 'small, dwarfish', ? gud₁.u 'short', Tm kut₁.a 'smallness; young of a monkey', Ml kut₁.u 'small, narrow', kut₁.an 'boy, lamb, calf', Td kut₁., Kdg kut₁.i 'child (of any caste except Coorgs)', Kui gu[^]t₁.a 'short, dwarfish', Krx gud₁.ru 'dwarfish', Brh xud₁.u[^], gud₁.u[^] 'small' ¶¶ D #1670, GS 166 [#419], 184 [#465] ♦ IS supposed here a lr. sx.: *-t-H- > D *-d₁-. ♦ Cf. N *k₁.Ut[^].V 'small'.

694. *ga[^]t.X 'to grasp, take, possess' > IE: NaIE *g[^]hed- v. 'acquire', 'acquisition' > Oss I z3d, Oss D zud 'greedy, greediness' || Gmc *git- > Gt bi-gitan 'to find', ON geta 'create, obtain, procreate' (NrGmc -b→ ME geten > NE get), OHG bi-ge Φ an 'to get (erhalten), reach', OSx bigetan 'to find', AS bi-zietan 'to receive, find; to procreate' (> NE beget) || OL praida, L praeda 'booty' (< *prai₁-heda) ¶ WP I 589-90, P 437-8 (*g[^]hed- & *g[^]hed-), Mn. 317 (*g[^]hed-; i[^]ч OCS z[^]adati 'desire'), Ab. IV 317-8, WH II 352-3, Vr. 165, WW 113, Kb. 331, Ho. 120, Ho. S 26, AHD 119, 554 ¶ WP and P postulate a variative v *g[^]hed- & *g[^]hed-, based on Brugmann's theory of a nasalized infix (BD II/3 293ff.) and therefore adduce here the reflexes of IE *g[^]hed-, but Mn. is probably right to reject it and to reconstruct a separate v *ghed- (our *g[^]hed- with *g[^]h- on the ev. of Oss I z3d, Oss D zud 'greedy') ¶ IE *-d- rather than *-t- (< N *-t₁-) due to the known IE incompatibility law || HS: C: EC {Ss.} *gad₁- > Brj gad₁- 'take', Rn xa[^]ta (< *k₁a[^]t- < mte *ga[^]d₁-) 'take; capture, seize', pKns *ke[^]d₁- v. 'take' > Kns, Turo, Gato qe[^]d₁-, Msl ge[^]d₁-, Gdl k₁ed₁-, ? Or E (with a caus. sx.) gad₁.is- 'set free, let go' || Dhl {EEN} get₁- 'take, send', get₁.okum- 'carry', {To.} get₁- 'bring, send' ¶ Ss. B 75, Bl. 254, PG 186, || AD SF 245, EEN 31, Th. 143 (Or gaddisu ~ gad₁.isu 'congedare, licenziare, lasciare andare'), || E SC 237, To. D 134 || ?σ S *_ogtt > Ar _ogtt (pf. †WJa g[^]atta) 'to touch a domestic animal in order to know if it is fat' ¶ BK I 251 ¶ S *-t- for *-t₁- due to S deglottalization (likely to be compulsory in certain conditions, as can be concluded from the absence of *g[^]t₁-roots in pS) || U: FU *katt[^]V- v. 'grasp, hold' (*katt[^]V from **ka[^]ttX due to vw. harmony?) > Prm *kut- > OPrm, Z kut- 'catch, hold', StVt кутыны Vt S kut-, Vt G {W} kuti- 'catch, seize' || OHg hat- 'possess', Hg hatalo, 'power, violence' ¶ UEW 130-1, LG 147-8, MF 275-6 || D *kat- ({9GS} *k-) v. 'seize' > Tm katuvu 'seize, grasp', Kn kadubu 'seize or hold firmly', kadi v. 'steal', Tu kadipu, kadupu, kadpu n. 'stealing, theft', Tl kadumu 'seize' ¶¶ D #1200, || Km. 322 [#242] (*kac- > kat-).

695. ***gat, ʃV** 'to pass through\over, cross' > HS: WCh: BT: Bl {Lk.} gad,- 'vorbei-\weiter-\hinein-gehen; ʃbertreffen', {Bnt.} ga'dawo 'pass by', Krkr {Lk.} gad,- 'pass by', ?? Tng kade vt. 'go to meet' ¶ Stl. VZCh, Lk. PVB II 135, Bnt. 24, J T 95 || S *o√k.t.ʃ v. 'go through, cross' > Ar √qt.ʃ (ip. -qt.ʃ) v. 'cross (a river), traverse (a country)', 'migrate (from a cold land to a warm one)' (of birds of passage)' (unless ← √qt.ʃ 'cut') ¶ Fr. III 465, BK II 768 ¶ The glottalized initial cns. *k,- is due to as within forms with a cns. cluster (**-gt.ʃ > *-k.t.ʃ) || A *o^ogat'/*get' (-{DQA} *ga't'i) > M: [1] M *gatul- v. 'cross (a river \ mountain)' > WrM gatul-, HIM гатл-ах v. 'cross a river', Kl hatл- gatл-, Brt гатал- id., cross (a mountain)', Ord g_at'ul- 'traverser' || [2] M *getu'l- > WrM getu'l-, HIM гүтл-үх v. 'traverse, cross, ford, wade', Ord g_et'u'l- 'cross (a river)', Kl {Rm.} getл- id., 'wade', {KRS} гетл- 'get rid of', WrO getel- v. 'save from, escape', Brt гүтүл- 'cross (a mountain, a river)', *бүцүһ 'гүтүл- 'get rid of an illness' ¶ MED 354-5, 380, KW 135, 147, KRS 141, 161, Chr. 151, Ms. O 29, 263, Krg. 766, Chr. 151, 173 || NaT *k'et- 'go, go away' > OT {Cl.}, MQp XIII ket- id., XwT XIII, Chg xv get- 'go', MQp [CC] ket-, CrTt, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Ln ket-, ET ka't-, ? ket-, VTt, Bsh kit-, Ggz get- 'go away', Tk git-, Tkm git- (aor. gider), Az g'et-, Qmq get-, Nog, Uz ket- 'go, go away' ¶ Cl. 701, ET VGD 49-50, Rs. W 258 || ?σ pJ {S} *ki'ta'-r- 'come, arrive' > OJ ki'ta'-r-, J: T kita'-r-, K ki'ta'-r-, Kg ki'ta'-r- ¶ S QJ #1389, Mr. 709 ¶¶ DQA #489 II D {Km., Zv., Pf.} *kat_t_-/*kat_-V, {GS} *kyad_- v. 'pass through, cross (sth.)' > Tm kat_a v. 'pass through, traverse, cross', Ml kat_akka v. 'pass over\out, transgress, surpass', Kt kar'v- (p. kar'd-) v. 'cross (river)', Td kad_- v. 'leave, pass, cross', Kn kad_e v. 'pass over, transgress, get through', Kdg kad_a-, Prj kad_p-, Gdb karp-, Mnd kr'a'- v. 'cross', Tu kad_apuni v. 'cross, ford, pass', OT\TI kad_acu, TI gad_acu, gad_u cu id., Knd gar'vi- v. 'go beyond the boundary of a village', Kui gr'a'-sa- v. 'pass sth. over\through', Ku gra'ncali- v. 'cross over', Krx kat_t_-, Mlt kat_e- id., v. 'cross', Brh xarr- v. 'proceed on foot, make one's way' ¶¶ Zv. 101, || D #1109 (does not distinguish between this v and *kat_- 'end'), Km. 236, Pf. 65 [#404], 84 [#534], GS 206-7 [#522], 28 [#16], 164 [#407], 166 [#417] ¶¶ D *t_- (-{GS} *-d_-) is probably from *-dʃ- < *-t.ʃ- [as].

696. ***ga''wʃV** (or ***ga''wyV**?) 'to call' > IE {EI} *g^heu_(H)- 'call to, invite, invoke' > NaIE {P} *g^hau_(ə)- 'call, invoke', *g^hawo-s 'a call', pp. *g^hu(:)-to- 'called, invoked' > OI 'havate' 'calls, invokes', hu'ta- 'called, summoned, invoked', Av zavahti 'ruft verwünscht an', OI 'hava-h., Av zava- n. 'call, invocation' || Gk καυχ-α'ομαι 'speak loud, boast' || OIr guth 'voice' (< *gutu-s) (× NaIE *gow- < N ***kawV** 'to call (exclaim), shout') || Lt z'ave'ti 'to charm, fascinate', Ltv zave't 'charm, cast a spell, conjure' ['zaubern, hexen'] (← *invoke charms') || SI *zъva''-ti (1s pres. zo''v-o_) 'to call' > OCS зъвати zъvati / зовѣ zovo_, Blg зо'ва, SCr zva'ti / zo've m, Slv zva'ti / zo'vem, OCz zva'ti / zovu, Cz zva'ti / zvu, Slk zvat' / zvem, P zwac' / zowe_, R зват? / зо'ву, Uk звати / зо'ву || Tc B {Wn.} kuwa-, {Ad.} kwa- 'call, invite' ¶ P 413-4, EI 89-90, M K III 585-7, M E II 809-11, F I 802-3, || LP § 62 (OI guth < NaIE *g^wow- > Gk βοη' 'a loud cry, shout'), Frn. 1203, Vs. II 85, Glh. 702, Wn. 292 (Tc < IE *g^hau_-), JGH 59, Ad. 235 || HS: CS √gʃy v. 'call, low' > Sr √gʃy (pf. gə'a-) v. 'call out\upon, implore, low, bellow', BHb √gʃy (pf. eo1G1 ga''ʃa-) v. 'roar, low', MHb √gʃy (p. ga''ʃa-) 'cry loudly, roar, low', Ug gʃt 'lowing of cattle', JA √gʃy (p. io5G6 gə'a', ao1G6 gə'a-) v. 'low' ¶ KB 191, KBR 199, A #679, Br. 127, Js. 261, DRS 164 ¶ The meaning 'to low, bellow, roar' is due to onomatopoeic reinterpretation of the verb || ? Eg tP zwy 'call upon' ('rufen, anrufen') (× N ***quwiʃV** 'to shout/cry\utter sounds' [i. a. of an animal] [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 550-1, Fk. 321 ¶ The loss of the expected *ʃ is still hard to explain || D *kauv- ~ *kav- 'sound', v. 'call' [× ? ***kawV** 'ʃ', q.v. ffd.] ♦ The IE vw. *a (for *e/*o) and the loss of the l- in Eg are puzzling. D *a suggests that N *E is to be specified as *a'', but the D ev. is not conclusive (because of the ambiguous origin of the D v).

697. ***gayV** 'side, outside' > HS: SC: Irq {Wh.} gayu' 'aside', {E} gayu 'beyond, on the other side', {MQK} gayu 'other side (esp. of river), area on other side', ? C-b>Mb {E} ga'na, gahana 'outside' ¶ Wh. SI, E SC 237 [#22], MQK 37 II ? K: GZ *gan- 'side, outside' (× N ***ga''nhV** 'side [of sth.], width' [q.v. ffd.]), K *-gan > OG, G -gan 'from, out of' (case ending) < N ***gayV nu** 'from the side' (see N ***nu** 'from, out of') [× N ***ga''nhV nu** 'from the side (of)', see N ***ga''nhV** 'side of'] || U *o^okaoyV (or *kaol'V/*kaoz'V) > Sm {Jn.} *ka'y 'side' > Ng {Cs} kai, kei, {Mik.} kəy is., Slq Tz {KKIH} qo'' 'side of body', qo'' qit prep. 'near' ¶ Jn. 57-8, KKI 163 || A: Tg *ga 'out!', **boh!** > Neg ga 'out!' (a ritual interjection of chasing the illness spirit), Nn ga id. ¶ STM I 132.

698. ***goyV** 'man, people' > HS: S (or WS) *gawy- 'people (Volk)' > BHb i&G go'y 'people, nation; people (persons)', EpHb pl. gyym 'the heathens', Ph, Pun gw 'community, corporation', Sb gw-m, gwy, Mn gw 'community group', Ak M ga'(ʔwy)-um 'people (Volk)' ({DRS}: <b- Cn) ¶ KB 175, KBR 182-3, HJ 215, 221, BGMR 51, MA 57, Sd. 284, CAD V 59, DRS 107 || U *koye 'man (male person), male' > FU: Lp Kld {SaR} ky-йй, {TI} kuj, Lp T {Gn.} kr'jj 'husband' || ObU {Ht.} *ku-y 'male (animal)' > pVg *ku-y > Vg: MK kuy s'ə's', P kuj s'e's 'male wolf', Ss xuy s'ə's'i 'male ermine'; pOs {Ht.} *kuy 'male (animal)' > Os: V qu / quy-, D/O xoy 'man, husband'; (in cds.: animal name X + *kuy): Vy/Ty quy, K/O xuy, Nz/Kz xu'y 'male (X)' || Sm: StNe T хаена- v. 'have a husband, be married' (of a woman), Ne T O {Lh.} xa-yu'-pa- 'having a husband, married'

(of a woman) || pY {IN} *ko'y 'man (vir)' > Y K/T {IN} ko'y id., ko'y-pə-d-o' 'boy' (-pə pl., -d- g, o' 'child'), K {Krn.} koy 'young msn' ¶ Coll. 13, UEW 166-7, SaR 131, Ht. #232, Jn. 76, Ter. 72O, 76O, IN 22, Krn. JJ 236, ¶ Rd. UJ 38 [#21] (Y <b- U) II A: Tg *goy'i_ 'other, different' (← *'stranger') > Ul goy ~ goyt, Ork got ~ goy, Nn goy id., WrMc {Z} guwa, Mc Sb gua' 'other, different, strange (fremd)', WrMc {Z, Hr.} guwa n'alma 'another person, stranger' ¶ STM I 157-8, Z 353, Hr. 397, Y #3O23 ¶ For the meaning cp. Hb go'y 'people' → 'heathen' → 'not Jewish' ♦ AD LRC #133 (HS, U).

699. ?? *gX₁?yV 'to wave one's hand, point with one's hand/finger' (→ v. 'wave to so., beckon') > U: FU (att. in Vg) **^{oo}kXyV > Vg: LK/Ss {Kn.} xuyt- 'verführen, antreiben', P {Kn.} kuyt- v. 'wave to so., beckon', N {Mu.} χujti, ML {Mu.} khujti, K {Mu.} khujti^d khwo₁jti 'hetzen, aufbringen, aufreizen, rufen, locken, treiben' ¶ UEW 858, MK 117 II A: Tg *gayVw- v. 'wave one's hand, point with one's hand/finger' > Ewk Brg/Z/Np gayiw- 'wave to so., beckon', Ul gayawc'u_ ~ गयाoc'i_ v. 'point with one's finger at', gayawc'u_(n-) c'umuc'u_(n-) 'index-finger', Nn Nh gawa^ci_ v. 'show the direction to dogs', गयाoc'i_ ~ gayosi_ ~ gayoc'i_ v. 'point with one's hand/finger' ¶ STM I 136 || ?? M *guyu- v. 'ask, implore, require' [{Pp: 'bitten, betteln'] (← 'pursue') (× N *k.uyE 'be hungry, desire, want' × N *gUhw₁yV 'to go/drive away') > MM [HI, S, MA] guyu- 'ask, solicit, require', WrM guyu-, HIM ruy-x 'ask, request, beg, solicit' ¶ Rm. 2O1, Ms. H 92, Pp. MA 18O, H 74, MED 365 II ? HS: Eg P 33y 'extend (arm), oppose to', (EG) id., 'das Gesicht jemandem zuwenden' ¶ EG V 514, Fk. 318.

700. *ga^hhya 'to throw, leave, let' > U: FU *kaya 'throw, pour' > Er/Mk kaya- 'throw away, put out (clothes), pour' : Prm {LG} *koy- 'throw, throw away' > Vt koy- 'throw, throw away', Z koy- id., 'scoop out, pour out' : Hg hajit- 'throw, hurl, cast, fling' ¶ UEW 116-7, MF 215-6, LG 128 II IE: NaIE *g^hē(i_)- 'to hurl, cast' > OI /hay-: hi'no^hti 'hurls, casts, sends forth, sets in motion, impels', Vd he^h-ti-h. 'missile weapon', Av zaena- 'weapon' : Gmc: Lngb gaida 'spear', AS 3a^hd 'goad, point' (← *'spear') > NE goad ¶ WP I 546, P 424-5, M K 595-6, M E II 8O2-3, MW 1297, 13O3, Ho. 121 II ?? HS: CS *√ghy v. 'let, be set free' (× N *gUhw₁yV 'go/drive away') > Sr √ghy (pf. kho© gə^hha^h, ip. neh^hye^h) 'flee, escape', S₁ (pf. ʔah^hyī) 'set free, deliver, eschew', Md √gh^h 'flee, escape', BHb eelG4 ge^hha^h 'healing', √ghy/w (ip. G yig^h 'he^h) 'heal, cure' (← *'set free from the illness'), Ar tag^hahg^haha 'reculer, se reculer, s'abstenir de qch.', √g^hhh G (pf. g^hahha) 'chasser ignominieusement' ¶ Br. 1O6, JPS 61-2, KB 174, KBR 181, BK I 341, DRS 1O4 ♦ U *a (for the expected *a^h) may be due to vowel harmony (regr. as).

7O1. *goXyV 'light, sunshine, dawn, aurora' > HS: WS *gawh- 'aurora, dawn' > Ar D {Lb.} Yv0Ja g^hawh (or d Y^hvaJu g^huwa^h) 'la lumière qui précède la lune avant qu'elle se lève, la première clarté qui précède le soleil levant, l'aube', Gz go^h, Amh goh 'dawn'; WS *√gwh 'to dawn' > Ar D √g^hwh (pf. YvWJ g^huwwa^h) 'luire, briller', Gz √gwh (pf. go^hha), Tgy goha v. 'dawn' ¶ L G 2O7, Lb. 3O8, Lb. D II 9O6-7, DRS 1O7 || EC {Bl., Ss.} *guyy- 'day' > Or {Bl.} gu^hyya^h, {Grg.} guyya^h 'day', Or M {AD} guy^hya^h, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} guy(y)a^h 'day, daytime', Or Wl {Brl.} guya 'giorno, chiaro del giorno', Or H {Ow.} guya^h 'day', {Th.} guyau, Or Wlg {Brl.} guya-awu v. 'dawn', Kns {Bl.} kuy^hua^hta, Gln kuyy-a^hakko^h 'day', kuyyu^h, Gwd ku^hyy-anko^h 'today' ¶ AD SF 22O, Ss. PEC 44, Bl. 134, 213, Grg. 191, Th. 178, Brl. 193, Sr. 318, Ow. 262, AMS 21O, 248, 272 || NrOm: Wl {C} gey- v. 'dawn (albeggiare)' ¶ C SO 3O II IE: *g^{wh}eny-/ *g^{wh}ny- > NaIE *g^{wh}a^hi_ / *g^{wh}ai_ - 'light (adj.), bright' > Gk φαio^h 'gray, of any colour mixed of black and white' (← *g^{wh}ai^h i_ was ~ *g^{wh}ai^h sos) ¶ ¶ (d?) NaIE {EI} *g^{wh}ai^hdro-s 'bright, shining' > Gk φαιδρο^h 'bright, beaming with joy' : Lt gie^hdras 'clear, serene' (of weather, sky, etc.), giedra^h ~ gaidra^h 'fine weather', Ltv dziedrs 'light-blue', dzidrs 'clear, serene', dzidrms 'clearness, serenity, limpidness, lucidity' ¶ If Gk φαio^h is from *g^{wh}ai^h sos, it may be equated with Lt gai^h sas 'glow' ¶ P 488-9, F II 981, 984, Frn. 128, EI 83 II U *koye > FU *koye 'redness in the sky (daybreak, evening glow), light in the sky' > F koi 'dawn, daybreak', Es d koit id., cd koi-valge 'evening glow' : Z кя kia, ? kiva 'redness in the sky (aurora)' : ObU ¶ *ku^hy > pVg *k^hu^hy > Vg: T koy ({MK} kho₁j ~ khoj), NV/UL kuy, ML/LL/P {MK} khuj, N {MK} χuj {Coll.} 'morning redness', {MK} 'Morgendämmerung', {Ht.} 'зарница' ¶ But Hg hajnal 'dawn, daybreak' and pOs *kun^hal^h 'redness in the sky' do not belong here (⇔ UEW, MF 246-7), they go back to N *Kun^hyaHl^hE ~ *Ku^hy^hn^haHl^hE 'sunshine, daybreak' [q.v.] || Sm {Jn.} *ka^hya^h, {Hl.} *kaya {AD} 'sun, daylight, bright sky' > En {Ter.} kaya 'sun', Ne d: NeT O {Lh.} χα^hy^hera^h 'leuchten', StNe T хаепа-с? 'to start shining (заблестет?)', 'become sunny' (weather), 'clear up' (the sky), хаере=с? 'to shine, glimmer, sparkle' -d> хаep^h 'sun', Ne F {Lh.} ka^hyera^h - 'klares Wetter sein', χα^hy^he^hr^h 'sun', Ng {Cs.} kou 'sun', d -d> kouru^h 'clear' : ?? Slq: Tz {Cs.} kuet^h, NP {Cs.} ku^het^h, UO kuet^h 'Hitze' : Kms {KD} k^huya, Koyb {Sp.} ку^h 'sun' : Mt {Hl.} *kaya 'sun, day' (Mt: T {Mue} chaja, K {Mue.} char^h, M {Pls.} кай id., {Mue.} cha^hja 'sun') || ? Y: OY K {Bil.} chail 'God', Y T {Krn.} qoy-ł, {Ku.} хой-л, T K/T {Jc.} xoi^h 'god', eds: T {Ku.} хойниме 'God's mother', хойн-гүруул 'divine heaven' ¶ Coll. 9O, ¶ UEW 167 (Os < *kuy-nal), ¶ Sm. 543 (FU, FP *koji, Ugr *koji^h 'dawn'), It. #93, LG 148-9, Ht. #742, MK 116, Jn. 58, Ter. 72O-1, Cs. 124, 236, KD 33, Hl. M #389, Krn. JJ 274, Ku. 3O4, Ang. 255, ¶ Rd. UJ 38 [#22] (Y <b- U) II A: Tg *gi^hawan 'dawn, daybreak (aurora)' > Ewk, Neg ge^hwan, Lm ga^hwun, Orc ga^hawan, Ud {Krm.} ga^hwa, ga^hwa, {STM} ge^ha^hwa, {Krm.}

ga^hwa ~ ga^hwa, Ork ge^hwa(n-), Nn: Nh/KU gɪwa^h, B gɪwa(n-) id. ¶ STM I 145, Krm. 221 || pKo {S} *ku^hi 'dawn' > MKo hɪ^hi_s-ku^hi, Nko ha^hk^hu^hi ¶ S QK #467, Nam 484, MLC 1815 || pJ {S} *ka(i_h) 'day, period of time' > OJ ke id., -ka 'days' (sx.): patu-ka '20 days', itu-ka '5 days', etc. ¶ S QJ #1597, Mr. 430, 448 || ?φ M *geyi- v. 'beam, shine, emit light, dawn' > MM [MA] {Pp.} gei_h- 'shine, emit light, glitter', [S] {H} geyi- 'hell werden (Tag)', WrM gei-, HIM гий- 'shine, emit light, dawn', Brt гий- v. 'dawn', Ord g_hi- v. 'clear up' (weather, sky), WrO güi- 'shine', Kl {Rm.} gī- 'leuchten, klar machen' ¶ Pp. MA 169, H 50, MED 374, Ms. O 265, Krg. 773, KW 137, Chr. 153 ¶¶ DQA #531 [A *gi_ho^hyn'u 'day, daylight'; incl. Tg, Ko, J), M *gegeye 'dawn, daylight' (rdp. of M *geyi-?)] ♦ IS I 230-1 [#85]; IS compared IE, U, A, C (Or) and Om cognates, but did not adduce the S root *√gwh 'dawn' (probably because the Ar D and the appropriate EthS sources were not available to him). He reconstructed *goHya, but indicated that on the ev. of U (lack of lengthening of the vw.) this *H is likely to be identified as *h. Now the S material confirms his theoretical prediction. This is one of the cases of IS's linguistic insight similar to Leverrier's discovery of Neptunus. Another case is Jb ʕan't.i 'front, front part', which was unknown in the 60's and has become a brilliant confirmation of IS's historical phonology and of his rec. of the etymon *qant.Λ 'forehead, front' (see N *qant. V id.).

702. ? *gaz^hV 'slanting, skew, bent' > K: G gez-ad 'schief, schräg, schief' ¶ Chx. 187 II U: FU *okXs'V > Vg N {MSz.} xusi 'curved' (of a tree) [{MSz.} 'gürbe', {Stn.} 'schief (Baum)']; Os: V/Vy qa^hsa^h 'schief, gekrümmt (Baum)', D/Nz/Kz ʕasəŋ 'krumm, gekrümmt, schief', Vy qa^hsa^h lo^h 'Pferd, das den Kopf aufrecht trägt', D/Kr ʕasə 'Biegung, Krümmung' ¶ Ht. #761, Stn. D 564 II HS: Eg fMK gs₃ ({EG} gs₃) 'sich neigen, schief sein', {Fk.} v. 'tilt, favour (sb.)' ¶ EG V 205, Fk. 292 II A: M *gazi- > WrM gazi-, HIM гажи- v. 'warp, bend, get out of shape', Brt гажа- id., 'become crooked', Kl {Rm.} ga₃i- 'sich biegen, seitwärts gebogen sein, schräg/schief sein'; M *gazi₃ > WrM ga₃i₃, HIM гажи₃, Kl ha^hг ga₃ʔ₃ 'crooked, bent', Kl {Rm.} ga₃ʔ₃ 'schräg, schief, zurückgebogen'; M *gazi₃u 'crooked, curve, slanting' > WrM ga₃i₃u, HIM, Brt гажу id., Kl {Rm.} ga₃ʔ₃u 'krummgebogen, schief, schräg' ¶ MED 356-7, Chr. 139, KRS 152, KW 141 || ?? T: OT {Cl.} qɪyɪq 'crooked, cut on a slant' (unless < *qrɪq, as supposed by Cl.) ¶ Cl. 676, ? DQA #509 [A *giyo 'notch; to cut aslant'; incl. T].

703. ? *gaz^hV 'to go; way, path' > K {K, K²} *gza-, {FS} *gz- 'way, path' (× *gu^hʔ^hV ~ *gu₃ʔ^hE 'tracks, road; to go, pass') > OG gza-y, G gza id., Mg za- 'way', (pl. za-l), o-rz-oli 'Wegzehrung', Lz (n)gza- 'way', o-gz-al-u 'to go', Sv UB/L lī-z-i, Sv LB/Ln lizi msd. 'to go away', Sv la^h-zi 'wegzugehend, me^h-z-i 'hingehend', na^h-z 'gegangen', zz- ~ zəz- v. 'send' (n. act. li-zz-i) ¶ K 62-3, K DE 359, K² 30, FS K 81, FS E 84-5, Shan. ESh 733-4, 736, TK 489 II HS: S *o-gu^hs^h > Ak NA √gws^h (inf. gua^hs^hu^h d ga^hs^hu, p. -gu^hs^h) v. 'go, come' ¶ CAD V 58 (determines the meaning of the word on the basis of recent research), ? Sd. 283 (ga^hs^hu 'etwa 'schnell laufen') II ?? IE *g^hg^heH- > NaIE *g^he^h(i_h)- or *g^he^h(i_h)- 'go' [× N *gUhw^hyV 'to go/drive away' (q.v. ffd.)] ¶ P 418-9 (does not distinguish this v from paro^h-homonymous verb *g^he^h-, *g^he^hi_h- 'be empty, lack, abandon'), AHDI 21 (considers the stem with meaning 'go' to be the middle voice^h of *g^he^h- 'release, let go'), M K I 426 & II 589, M E II 813-4 (connects OI jihite^h with the root ha^h- 'leave' only) II A: NaT *k^hay- > Tv xay- v. 'make the round' ('обходит?', 'делает? обход'), 'pass by', ? OT qay 'street' (loanshift of meaning ['way' → 'street'] due to the infl. of Chinese kai_h 'street' ¶ TvR 472, Cl. 674, Kg. AD #458 ♦ K *gza- may belong both here and to N *gu^hʔ^hV ~ *gu₃ʔ^hE '¶'. The present et. is preferable from the phonetic point of view (the origin of K *z).

704. 2 *ge₃ʔ^hV '∈ hair, wool' > HS: S *gizz- 'wool, fleece' > BHb zG4 'gez 'fleece of a sheep' (Dt. 18.4, Job 31.20), MHb zG4 'gez 'wool', Sr жзо©e gēz^hz-a^h, Ak gizzu 'fleece of sheep', CS *gizz-at- > BHb eZ1G5 giz^hza^h 'fleece, wool', JEA {Sl.} aZ1iG5 giz^hz-a^h 'fleece', JA [Trg.] at1Z6G5 gizzə^ht_h-a^h, Sr жоз©e gezzə^ht_h-a^h, Md gizta id., SmA gz {Tal} n. 'shearing', Ar ʔzWJi g^hizzat- 'wool clipped at one time; fleece'; S *gizz- > S *√gzz 'to shear, cut (wool)' > Hb, Ug, Amr, JA, Plm, Sr, Md, Ak √gzz, SmA √gzz 'shear (sheep)', Ar √g^hzz id. ¶ KB 178-9, KBR 185-6, OLS 154, HJ 219, G A 19, Sl. 273-4, 279, Tal 139-40, DM 89, BK I 285-6, DRS 110 || EC: pDI {Tk.} *ga^hz- 'hair' > Gln ka^hs-o, Cm ga^hz-o, Gwd ge^hs-o id. : ?σ Sd ga^hze 'long (hair)' ¶ AMS 246, Gs. 117 || Ch: WCh ({Stl.} *g^ha^hʔ^hV) 'hair' > Hs ga^hs^hi^h (pl. ga^hsu^hsu^hwa^h, ga^hsu^h, ga^hsu^hsu^hka^h) 'hair, feather', Gw ga^hs^ha 'hair, beard, feather'; ?? Hs gi^hzo^h 'long matted hair on a man's head', ?? Hs ge^hza^h 'mane' (qu. because of its pl. gi^hra^hza^h) : NrBc: Cg g₃ʔ^hsi^hya^h, Wrj g₃ʔ^ha^hy, Kry g₃ʔ^hz^hi^h, P^h nge^hza^h, Mbr ng₃ʔ^hz^hi^h, My a^hg₃ʔ^hz^hu^h, Sir g₃ʔ^hz^hi^h, Jmb g₃ʔ^hza^h 'hair' : Ngz gu^hza^hi_h (pl. gu^hza^hzi^hn) 'pubic hair' : CCh: Mtk {Sb.} g^hʔ^hc, Gzg D {Lk.} ng^hwic^h : Glv {Rp.} gu^hʔ^ha, Gdf {IL} g^hwu^hʔ^ha id. : ?φ Tr yos id. : ZmD {Srp.} gesau^ha, ZmB {Sa.} ng₃ʔ^hsa^hwa^h id. ¶ JI I 85 & II 176-7, Nw. #66 (pCh *gasi 'hair'), Stl. ZCh 216 [#658], Ba. 370, 379, 393, Mts. G 42, Sch. DN 77, Sk. NB 25 ¶ The presence of 3 different roots in Hs suggests that there are here several Ch roots, only one of them being the legitimate descendant of the N etymon ¶¶ Tk. PAA 16 (NrBc, DI), ¶ Sk. HCD 83 II A: M *gezige > WrM gezige, HIM рүзүг 'plait or braid of hair, pigtail, queue; hair in general', MM [MA] ge₃ʔ^hige 'withers (of a horse)', Kl ги^hг gi₃ʔ^heg 'plait/braid of hair' ({Rm.} Haarzopf) ¶ M: × *gezige (< *gedige) 'nape of the neck' (> WrM gezige, HIM рүзүг id.,

Kl rиr giʒʼəg ~ giʒʼgə 'occiput'), akin to M *gede-ŋ, *gede-s 'zurück' and T *kæð id., 'hinder part' ¶ MED 381, Pp. MA 170, KRS 142, KW 131, 135, Rs. W 946.

705. ?? *guʼzʼV ~ *guʼzʼE 'tracks, path; to go, pass' > K *gza- 'way, path' (× ? *gazʼV 'to go; way, path' [q.v. ffd.]) || HS: S: [1] WS *-guʼz- v. 'go, pass' > Ar zvJ √gʼwz (pf. gʼa-zā, ip. ya-gʼu-zu) v. 'go, go through, walk, pass', SmA √gwz 'go across, pass', BHb √gwz (pf. zG1 gā-z, pf. c. zg1!v@ way'ya-gōz) 'pass (vorsübergehen)', JA, ChrPA √gwz G 'go through', JEA {Sl.} √gwz G 'cease, pass away', Sb √gwz (pf. gz) v. 'go, pass, pass through' ¶ KB 175, KBR 182, Tal 134-5, Lv. I 309, Sl. 268, BK I 353-4, BGMR 51, DRS 106-7 [2] S **/gzʼ > OYmn √gzʼ 'go, go away', Ar Y 11zJ √gʼzʼ 'go, go away, pass by' (× Ar √gʼzʼ 'cut, cross'; the merger accounts for ʼ) ¶ Slw. 61 || C *giʼʼjʼz- 'road, way' > Ag: Bln {R} gid (pl. giz) 'way'; Ag ? -b> Gz gəʼʼz 'journey, wandering, walk' || pEC *giz > pLEC d gitt (< gid-t-) > Af gita 'trail, road, way', Sml N {Abr.} ʼʼid (pl. ʼʼidād), Bn ʼʼid 'road', Rn ʼʼi t (pl. ʼʼi ta t) 'road, path' ¶ AD SF 60-1, R WB 139, L G 175, Bl. 184, Hn. S 61, PG 168, PH 114, Oo. 71 ¶ The origin of Gz ʼʼ (4b- C *ʼʼjʼ?) is obscure (a merger with some other v?) || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *kuʼʼcʼV- v. 'follow the tracks of, follow the way' > pOs {Ht.} *koʼʼcʼ- ({{?Hl.} *kuʼʼcʼ-} v. 'follow the tracks of; to find the tracks; to follow' > Os: V koʼʼtʼ- 'Spuren verfolgen; nicht vom Weg abweichen, den Weg finden', Vy koʼʼtʼ, D qoʼʼtʼ-, Nz/Sh/Kz/Sn quʼʼsʼ- 'Spuren verfolgen, (ver)folgen' : OHG kiʼseʼr- v. 'go with, accompany; to follow (verfolgen)', Hg kiʼseʼr- v. 'go with, accompany' ¶ MF 367, EWU 756-7, Stn. D 707-8.

706. 2 *guʼʼjʼzʼE ~ *guʼʼjʼzʼV 'to guard, watch, be in the watch for' > HS: ?σ S *o √gδw > Ar √gʼδw (pf. "3aJa gʼāda) 'se tenir d'un pied ferme sur qch., se dresser sur les doigts du pied (pour mieux voir)' ¶ BK I 270, ? DRS 103 || C: Bj √gʼʼd pcv. 'guard' ({R} 1s: p. a-guʼʼʼad, pqp. ʼi-guʼʼʼed, prs. aguʼʼaʼnīd) || pEC **gaʼʼzʼ- (or **gaʼʼʼzʼ-) > EC: Or {Th.} gaʼʼd-, {Brl.} gad- v. 'spy', {darsi al brigantaggio, {Grg.} gaʼʼd-v. 'plot against, plan to destroy, spy on', {L} gadoʼʼ 'thief'; possibly (but not certain): HEC {Hd.} gaʼʼz- v. 'wage war, raid', *gaʼʼʼzʼ 'war, campaign' > Kmb {L} gaʼʼʼzʼʼo 'raid', {Hd.} gaʼʼzu 'war, campaign', gaʼʼz- v. 'wage war', Tmbr {L} gaʼʼʼzʼʼe 'raid', Hd. {Hd.}, Sd {Gs.} gaʼʼd- v. 'wage war', gaʼʼdo n. 'war, campaign'; without HED the EC rec. may be *gad- ¶ AD SF 301, Hd. 164, 278, 317, 363, L Z 120, Th. 144, Brl. 158, Grg. 154 || A: NaT *Kuʼʼδ- ~ *kʼkʼ uʼʼt- v. 'wait, lie in wait for' > OT {Cl.} kuʼʼδ- id., Qq kuʼʼy- ~ kuʼʼt-, Az ?*д- gʼuʼʼd- 'trace, track (следит?, отслеживает?)', look for', Tki kuʼʼt-, Qrg kuʼʼt-, VTt, Bsh kʼʼt-, Uz kut-, ET kuʼʼt- 'wait', Qzq, Nog kuʼʼt- 'wait for', Ln kuʼʼt- 'wait, lie in wait for', Yk kuʼʼt-; the variant *kʼjʼuʼʼt- is based on metanalysis (from forms like kuʼʼttim (kuʼʼδ-ti-m) 'I waited') ¶ Cl. 701, Rs. W 312, ET VGD 107-8, Az. 188 || E: El ku-te- 'sehen, schützen' ¶ HK 544-5 ♠ But if the Ar and HEC cognates are rejected (for semantic reasons), the N rec. will be *guʼʼjʼdE ~ *guʼʼjʼdV.

707. 2 *gUʼʼjʼU (i.e. *guʼʼʼjʼU ~ *gUʼʼjʼU) 'to laugh, amuse' > HS: S *o √gδl > Ar gʼādil- 'merry', √gʼδl (np. -gʼδal-) v. 'be merry' ¶ BK I 269-70, DRS 103 || ? Ch {JS} * √gʼyʼl v. 'laugh' > WCh: Klr {J} giʼjel id. : ? NrBc: Sir {Sk.} ʼaʼtliʼ id. || ECh: Nd D {J} gʼʼsaʼ, Tmk {Cp.} gaʼʼʼzʼ id. ¶ ChC, Cp. 60 || IE: [1] NaIE *gʼhlew- (< **gʼhlew- < **guzʼlu-?) v. 'be merry, joke' > Gk χλευῶ 'joke, jest' || ON glyʼ 'joy', AS gleʼo, zlieʼz, zliw 'mirth, jest, ridicule; music; pleasure' || Lt ? glaʼuda 'a joke', glaʼudoti, Ltv glaudaʼt 'to joke' : OCS глумѣ glumѣ 'a joke', R глумит?сѣ 'to mock, jeer' || [2] NaIE *gʼhoi_los 'merry, wanton' > Gt gailjan 'εὐφραίνεiv, to cheer up', AS ʼaʼl 'wanton, frivolous', OHG geʼil 'wanton, insolent, elevated', geili 'haughtiness, insolence', NHG geil 'luxuriant, voluptuous', ON geʼilig-r 'beautiful' ¶ WP I 634, P 451-2, EI 255-6 (*gʼhlew- 'revel'), F II 1103, Fs. 18, Ho. 123, Kb. 323, Schz. 149, KM 242, Vr. 161, Bern. I 308, Frn. 155 || A: T *kʼuʼʼl- v. 'laugh' > OT, MQp, Cmn, XwT, Chg kuʼʼl-, Tk guʼʼl-, Tkm, Ggz guʼʼl-, Az ?*л- gʼuʼʼl-, Uz kyʼʼl- kōl-, Blq, Qry Cr, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg Alt, Yk kuʼʼl-, VTt, Bsh kʼʼl- kʼʼl-, Chv kul-kul- d kol- id., Xq kuʼʼl- id., 'smile' ¶ Cl. 715-6, ET VGD 98-100, Md. 69, 171, Rs. W 307, Jeg. 115, Fed. I 304.

708. *geʼʼʼzʼuʼʼsʼV 'late, evening' (→ 'yesterday') > HS: S *'gawisʼ- > Ar {Fr., Ln.} v0Ja gʼawsʼ- 'middle of the night' (or 'part of the night') → {Fr.} 'iter per totam noctem factum', Ak [from synonym lists] geʼsʼu, translated in CAD and by Sd. as 'spend the night', 'übernachten' ¶ CAD V 64, Sd. 287, Fr. I 325, Ln. 487, Dc 109 ¶ The Ak vw. -eʼ- could have pointed to a lost *ʼʼ or *h (inf. i gaʼha-sʼʼʼum, i gaʼʼa-sʼʼʼum, i gasʼʼʼaʼʼum or i gasʼʼʼʼaʼʼum), which would suggest a lr. in the N v, but this is ruled out (the expected lr. is absent in the IE cognate). A preferable solution is to assume that the Ak word is not a *CaCaʼCum-infinitive, but a different nominal pattern, possibly S *'CaCiC- (like S *'raʼʼisʼ- 'head' > Ak reʼsʼum), i.e. S ***gawʼʼisʼ- from HS **/gwcʼ (with *cʼ < *dʼtsʼ) with reg. *avi > Ak eʼ ¶ The Ar word gʼawsʼ- seems to result from the merger of S *'gawisʼ- 'night' and S *'gawʼʼVʼsʼ- 'breast, middle' (> Ar gʼawsʼ- 'breast, middle of the man'), hence the meaning 'middle of the night' (one of the semantic variants registered by medieval Arab lexicographers and later by Lane) ¶ The corr. between S *-sʼ- and K *-sʼ- is irreg. and still defies explanation || Ch {AD} *gaʼʼsʼʼ-, {Sh.} √gs₂ 'night' > WCh: Gj {Sh.} gaʼʼsiʼ, Buli {Sh.} n_gaʼʼsi, Tule {Sh.} gasʼʼʼ, Zul {ChL} gʼʼsiʼ id. ¶ JI II 258, ChC, ChL || ?? NrOm: ?? Kf {HHM} Yt=0 (y3cʼi) yicʼi 'yesterday' : ? Dzd: Mj {AY} gota d goʼt, Shk {AY} goʼta, {Fl.} gotʼ, Na {Fl.} godʼʼ id. ¶ HHM 421, Fl. OWL, AY WShND s.v. 'night' || K: OG, G gusʼin 'yesterday' ¶

Ser. 73, Chx. 217 II IE: NaIE {P} *g^hdyes / ? *g^hdis (> simplified variants *g^he(:)s, *g^hyes) 'yesterday' > OI 'hyas 'yesterday' (< *g^hyes), hyastanah, 'gestrig', OPrs diya(ka), NPrs ©Yd dīg ~ od dī, Sgd ʔzyy myδ, Oss: I znon & D aʔzinaʔ 'yesterday' (< *zi-na-) || Gk χθες 'yesterday', Gk El [Hs.] σεπ-ο-ς (σεπ-< *g^hyes) id. || pAl {O} *de > Al dje id. || L heriʔ, hereʔ id. (< IE *g^hesi), hes-ternus 'gestrig' || Olr in-deʔ (*g^hdyes), MW, W doe, OCrm {doy, Crm deʔ, MBr dech, Br {LP} deacʔh, {Bc.} decʔh 'yesterday' || ON í gæʔr (< Gmc *geʔz-), OSw i gaʔr id. (< IE *g^he-s), AS ʒeostra(n), NE yester-day, OHG gesteron^d gestereʔn, NHG gestern id., MDt gisteren 'yesterday', ʔσ Gt gistra-dagis 'to-morrow' ¶ P 416, Bc. 1000, EI 654 [*^(dʰ)g^hyes 'yesterday'], M K III 614, M E II 822, Ab. IV 313, Vl. I 946, 953, LP § 28, SEv. 221, YGM-1 193, ECCE 231, Huld BAE 53, O 68, F II 693, Pis. AIH3, Vr. 197, Fs. 215, Kb. 330, Schz. 151, OsS 311, Ho. 128, KM 254 II A *oʔg^heʔcV > T *kʔ eʔc 'late, evening' > OT {Cl.} keʔcʔ 'late, lateness', Cmn kecʔ 'late', Chg =xv kecʔ 'late, slow; long time', gecʔ qurun 'late evening', Tk gecʔ, Tkm gīcʔ, Az ʔeʔ geʔʔ, Ggz, Qmq gecʔ, CrTt, Qrg kecʔ 'late', VTt kisʔ, Bsh kisʔ 'evening', Blq kecʔ^d kʔec, Kr Cr, Uz kecʔ, ET kaʔcʔ, Alt kecʔ, Nog, Qzq, Qq kesʔ 'late, evening', Chv kaʔ kasʔ 'evening, night'; (-dʔ) T *kʔ eʔcaʔ 'late in the evening' (→ 'night', 'yesterday') > OT {Cl.} keʔcʔaʔ 'late in the evening, late evening', Ggz geʔʔaʔ '(by) night, late in the evening', Tk gece id., 'late evening', Tkm gīʔe, Az ʔeʔʔ geʔʔaʔ '(by) night', Qmq gecʔe, Nog kesʔe, Qrg S kecʔe, VTt † kīcʔ kisʔaʔ 'night', VTt kīcʔ kisʔaʔ, Qz kesʔe, StAlt kecʔe 'yesterday', Bsh kisaʔ, Qq kesʔe id., 'evening', Uz kecʔa 'night, yesterday', ET kecʔaʔ, Xlj {DT} kīeʔcʔaʔ 'evening, night', Xq (dʔ) kīcʔe kīʔeʔ 'yesterday', Tv kezʔeʔ, Tf kʔeʔʔe, Yk kīaʔsaʔ ~ kīaʔsaʔ 'evening, in the evening' ¶ Cl. 692-3, Rs. W 245, ET VGD 50-2, Md. 35 (*keʔcʔ 'late, evening'), GRMS 107-8, KumRS 99, Jud. 383, Nj. 666, BT 81, KrkR 320, NogR 164, BIG 78, DT 150, Ra. 202-3, Pek. 1077, Jeg. 93, Fed. I 237-8 ♦ The original structure of the v is problematic. The proposed tentative rec. *geʔʔʔuʔsʔV suggests the following later phonetic changes: [1] N **geʔʔʔuʔsʔV > **guʔʔʔuʔsʔV > **guʔʔʔsʔV > K *gusʔV and HS *gusʔV (> -dʔ S *gawisʔ- and Ch *gasʔ-), [2] N **geʔʔʔuʔsʔV > **gʔeʔʔisʔV > **gʔʔisʔV > IE (stressed) *g^hdyes / (unstressed) *g^hdis, [3] N **geʔʔʔuʔsʔV > **geʔʔsʔV > **geʔcʔV (complementary lengthening) > A *oʔg^heʔcV > T *kʔ eʔc.

709. ***gUʔʔV** 'to wish, be hungry' (→ 'love') > HS: WS *ʔgsʔʔ > Ar ʔ4J ʔgʔsʔʔ {Ln.} 'be affected with the most vehement desire \ eagerness \ avidity', {BK} 'dīsīr ardemment qch., en chercher avec avidité', Jb C {Jo.} gʔsʔʔʔun 'greedy person' ¶ Ln. II 427, BK I 296, Jo. J 79 || EC: Sml gaʔʔo, Sml N gaʔʔo 'hunger' ¶ DSI 243, Abr. S 85 || Ch: WCh: BT: Bele guʔhi 'hunger', guʔʔaʔmma 'thirst (aʔmma 'water)', Glm guʔʔi, ? Grm kuʔʔuʔ 'hunger' i Ngz {Sch.} gīʔʔi, Bd ʔʔʔʔan 'thirst' i Zul {ChL} guʔʔumi, Plc guzum 'hunger' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} ʔʔʔʔzʔm 'hunger' ¶ JI II 196-7, Sch. BTL 147, 155, Sch. DN 59, ChC, ChL, || Stl. ZCh 221 [#707] (*quʔi 'hunger', includes words belonging to both N ***gUʔʔV** and N ***K.aʔʔʔV** 'be hungry, wish'), Lk. L 95 II A: Tg *guje(-n) > Ewk, Neg guʔʔn-, Lm guʔʔn-, Ork guʔʔjilʔ-, guʔʔilʔ-, guʔʔʔʔ- v. 'love, caress', vt. 'pity (жалет?)', Lm guʔʔn n. 'love, tenderness', Sln guʔʔn- v. 'love', Orc guʔʔʔn-, guʔʔʔsi-, Nn B guʔʔʔn- vt. 'pity' ¶ STM I 167-8.

710. ***gUbV** 'to plait, weave, wattle' > IE *xub- / *xweb- 'plait, interlace' > NaIE *ubʔ-/ *webʔ- v. 'plait, weave' > OI ubhʔnaʔti v. 'laces up', 'uʔrn.aʔ- 'vabhi- 'spider' (← *wool-spinner), Av ubdaeʔna- 'made of web' || Gk 'υφνί 'web', 'υφός n. act. 'weaving', 'υφαί'vō 'weave' || ON vefa, OHG weban 'to weave, plait, spin', NHG weben, AS wefan 'to weave', NE weave; AS webbian 'anspinnen' || pAl {O} *webnya (< *webʔnyoʔ) > Al vej 'weave' || pTc {Ad.} *waʔp- > Tc: A waʔp-, B waʔp- 'weave' || Ht {Pv.} hup(p)ai-, huppiya- v. 'interlace, entangle, ensnare', hup(p)ala- 'net' ¶ WP I 257, P 1114-5, EI 572 (*h₂h₃ebʔ- 'weave'), Mn. 1495, M K I 107, F II 976-7, Vr. 649-50, Kb. 1155, Schz. 312, Ho. 387-8, O 498, Pv. III 384-6, Wn. 557, Ad. 586, Ad. H 35 II K: GZ {K, FS} *yob-, {K²} *yweb- v. 'wattle, weave' > G yob- v. 'weave, wattle fence, fence in', Mg yob- 'plait, fence in', Lz yob- v. 'plait'; -dʔ K *yobe- 'wattle-fence' > OG, G yobe-, Mg yober-, Lz yobe(r)- id., Sv yweb (pl. stem yob-) 'beehive' ¶ K 205, K² 225, 231, FS K 350, FS E 393, ? K IEK 72-4 (K <b- IE; unc.: plaiting is not a new technology [as K believed], but one of the most ancient industrial techniques) II HS: S: Ar ʔybn G (ip. -yʔbunu) 'fold and hem (the edge of a garment, a skin)', {BK} 'faire un pli et le coudre pour raccourir le vtement' ¶ Fr. III 257, BK II 433, Hv. 516 ♦ If the Ar cognate is rejected (because it is isolated within HS), the N etymon will be reconstructed as ***rUbV**.

710a. ??? ***goK.VsʔcʔV(-RV)** 'in canine' > HS: (mt) B *wʔskʔn 'jackal' > BSñ, Rif, BSñh, BMñ, Kb, Shw usʔsʔʔn, pl. usʔsʔaʔn, Gd {CM} usʔsʔʔn ¶ DI. 976, Hy. DFCh 93, Rn. 282 || Om {Blz.} *aksi 'dog' [x N ***K.acʔʔʔV** 'young dog/wolf' and N ***kaʔʔV** (young) dog'??] > SOm: Ari {Bnd.} (ʔ)aksi 'dog', Ari B {Fl.} aks, aksi (pl. aksʔn), Ari U {Fl.} aksi, Ari G {Bnd.} aksʔi, Hm B {Fl., Ldl.} k. aski, Hm K {Fl.} kaski ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'dog', Blz. OL #124, Ldl. H || S *oʔʔsʔr-b > Ar yusʔarrab- 'lion' (*-b- is a sx. of animal names < N adjectival particle ***bA** forming animal names [q.v.]) II U: FU (in ObU only) *oʔwʔoksʔVrV 'fox' (x N ***wʔUʔʔʔEʔK.U** ~ ***wʔUʔʔK.UzʔV** 'in canine', q.v. ffd.) II ?? A: Tg: Ewk guskʔ 'wolf' ¶ STM I 175 ♦ Qu., because the sound correspondences are not exact and several alleged cognates have alt. etymologies.

711. ***gʷel̥V(-wV)** 'to rise in waves' (of water), 'to seethe' > HS: S *^o√ly > Ar ol(√ly G (ip. -yā) 'boil' (cooking-pot) ¶ Fr. III 292 II K: OG yelva-y 'tempestas (aquae)' (Luke 8.24), 'waves' (Mark 4.37), G yelva 'Wogen, Wellengang' ¶ Ser. 169, Chx. 1619, DCh. 1358, ? K² 222 (yelva -d̥ yel- 'be nervous') II ?? IE: NaIE *^oald^h- 'wave' (*^o-gr. of **el-d^h-?) > ON alda 'Welle', Nic, NNr, Far, OSw alda, ODan aldæ 'wave', NrGmc -b̥ F aalto, Vp a^lto id., Lp L alta^h 'big wave', Lp Sw (pl.) {Fri.} aldoh 'fluctus, unda maior' ¶ WP I 92, P 31-2 (≡σ: the NrGmc word ← NrGmc word for 'trough' < NaIE *ald^h- 'trough'), Vr. 5, SK 1, Fri. 17, LLO 23, Qv. 88, Vs. II 540, Ho. 84 ¶ The adduction of the NrGmc word is qu, because it is isolated within IE II D *elVv- 'a wave' > Klm elava 'a wave', Gnd helva 'a wave, flood' ¶¶ D #830.

712. ***guLV** 'to destroy, fight; war' > HS: S *^o-yul- > Ar √ywl (ip. -yul- 'cause to perish, destroy; attack suddenly' ¶ BK II 518, Hv. 539 || C: (pC {AD} √*y^wl or *yull-, {E} *yol- v. 'fight'): EC *yol- > Sml ſo^l 'army, enemy', Rn ho^l 'quarrel, argument (involving physical violence); anger', Bn B/J/K o^l 'war, quarrel', Elm is-olol- v. 'quarrel', Sd {C} ol- v. 'fight', Hd or-a 'fight'; rdp. *yol^ool- > **olo^l- > Arr lo^l 'anger', lol- 'be angry', Or lo^l- v. 'fight' ¶ Bl. 243, Ss. PEC 21, Hn. S 77, Hn. BD 136, PG 142, AD SF 162, E PC #492, Grg. 265-6, Hw. A 382 II IE *xul-/x^wel- 'destroy, defeat' > Ht hulla-, hulliya- {Pv.} v. 'smash, defeat' ({Frd.} hulla-i- 'bekämpfen', niederschlagen'), hullanza- {Frd., Ts.} 'fight', {Pv.} 'defeat' || NaIE *ol- (x ***wel^hV** 'to hit, attack' [q.v.]) > Gk Hm/A ὀλλυ-μι (< *^ool-vu-μι) 'destroy, make an end of', Gk ὀλοο-ς 'destructive, deadly' || L ab-ole- 'destroy' ¶ Frd. HW 73-4, Frd. HW EH II 73-6, Pv. III 13-4, 363-8, Ts. E I 273-80, WP I 87, P 777, EI 158 (*h₃elh₁- 'destroy'), WH I 4-5, F II 378-9 (no et. of the Gk words) II K: GZ *yul- 'destroy, beat' > OG {FS} mo-m-yul-ali 'destroyed', {FS←Abul.} 'zerschunden, zerquetscht', G mo-m-yul-ali 'beaten (a track)', Lz me-yur-u 'destroy, devastate, waste (verwahrlosen)', me-yur-as 'will be destroyed' ¶ FS K 358, FS E 402, Abul. 270 ♦ One may try to adduce here A *olu^l- 'die; starve' (x N ***fol^lV** 'starve, die; dead' 'to die', q.v. ffd.).

713. ? ***gʷo^lLpa** 'weak, small' > K: G Gr yalp-i 'weak', ? G I ylap- 'baby' ¶ Shar. GL 71, Ghl. 582, 591 II IE *x^welp-/x^wlp- 'small' > Ht huelpi- 'young, new, fresh, unripe; newborn animal' || NaIE *olp- / *əlp- / ?*l^op- > OI 'alpa- 'small, little' ¶¶ P 33, || EI 528 (adduces Ht alpa(nt)- 'sick, weak' and reconstructs [with "??"] IE *h₂elpos 'weak'), F I 64, Pv. III 331-2, Ts. E I 259-60, Kron. EHS 266, M K I 56, ? M E I 129 (rejects all connections of OI 'alpa-) II A: M *ulba^l- (unless with *q-) > WrM ulbai-, HIM улбай-, K1 улви- ulwi- 'be(come) soft, weak, limp, feeble, exhausted; waste away'; M *ulba^lu-gar > WrM ulbagar ~ ulbugar, HIM улбагар, K1 улвhp ulwъhp 'soft, tender, weak' ¶ MED 672, KRS 531, KW 449 ♦ IS I 239-40 [#96] (K + unt. IE *help- 'weak', Tg alba 'unable', cf. N ***f^lalPv** 'weak, exhausted').

714. ***gal^lV** 'cereals, crops, seed-produce' > HS: S (WS?) *√yll > Ar yall-at- 'crops', OYmn ylyl ({Slw.} yālil-) 'mixture of cereals', Ar yālil- {Ln., Slw.} 'date-stones mixed with †wQa (∈ trefoil) or with dough for a camel, which is fed therewith' ¶ Hv. 531, Ln. 2278-9, Slw. 166 II K: G yalva 'zu mähendes reifes Korn'; ? yala 'reicher Ertrag des Feldes' (unless a loan from Ar through a third lge.) II IE *xel^lV^g ^hl^h- > Ht halki- 'grain, corn, grain-crop', ? Lc qelehi 'of the grain-god' || Gk ὅλαξ 'spelt' -b̥ L (h)alica id. || Irn *arzana- > NPrs €zr" a^lrza^ln, Psh z^lda^ln ({Asl.} г.дән) 'millet' || Tc B lyeks, ye 'millet' ¶¶ Pv. III 35-9, Juret 20, WH I 29 (ὅλαξ <δ- ὅλεω v. 'grind'), F I 73 (quotes the above hyp. as a possibility), EI 237 [IE ? *h₂h₃(e)lg^h ^hl^h 'grain' or 'millet'; Gk ὅλαξ <δ- AnIE], Mrg. 106, Asl. 486, Ad. 567 II A *al^lV > T *al^l 'food' > OT yA {Cl., MKD} a^ls̄, XwT XIII, MQp XIV [incl. CC], Chg xv as^l id., Tk as^l, Tkm, CrTt, QrB, VTt, Bsh, ET, Qr, Alt as^l, Qzq, Qq, Nog, SY, Yk as^l, Uz om̄ as^l 'food', Az as^l 'porridge, boiled grains (**каш**), pilaf', Qmq as^l 'food, bread', Xk as id., 'corn (cereals)', Tf as^l-n'em, as^l-c^lis^lkin 'food', Tv a^ls̄-c^lem, a^ls̄try-c^lemni^l 'abounding in food' ¶ T *al^l with a short *a on the ev. of Tkm and Yk (⇔ Cl. and MKD) ¶ Cl. 253 & MKD 14 (OT a^ls̄ with unj. long *a^l on the unsufficent ev. of the spelling yA), DTS 62, ET Gl 210-2, BIG 32, TmR 59, TvR 78-9, Ra. 156 ¶¶ DQA #32 (A *al^lV 'fresh crops, germinated seeds'; incl. T) ♦ AD NM #17, S CNM 13.

715. ? ***gil^lU** 'boy, young man' > HS: CS *yaliV^lm- 'young man, a youth' > Hb Ml3o3 'fēlem, paus. "fā^llem, Ug ylm id., Pun {HJ} ALAM 'young man', Plm 'lm 'servant'; -d̥ f. *yalam-at- 'maid, young woman' > Hb eml16o2 'fal^lma^l 'young woman (until the birth of her first child)', Ph 'lmt, ALMA 'virgin, maid (demoiselle)', Ug ylm̄t 'girl (demoiselle)', Plm 'lmt 'female servant'; -d̥ (dim.) *yulaym- 'boy, young man', *yulaym-at- 'maid, girl' > OA 'lym 'child', IA, Nbt, Plm 'lym 'servant', JA amlil4o8 'ule^lma^l, JEA {Sl.} amlil4uo 'ule^lma^l 'young man', Sr 'alay^lm-a^l 'boy, a youth', Ar yula^lm- 'young man, lad, young slave', f.: SmHb a^llma 'maid', IA 'lym^hl', 'lymt-, Plm 'lymt? 'female servant', Ar yula^lmat- 'young girl, female slave' ¶ KB 790-1, KBR 835, JH 214, HJ 862, FrdR § 229, A #2150, OLS 156, Sl. 847, Br. 528 II U: FU (att. in FL) *u^lLka^l 'boy, young man' > F ylka^l 'bridegroom', Es {W} u^llg 'Brutigam, Mann'; pLp {Lr.} *əlke^l 'boy, son' > Lp: S {Hs.} a^llgie^l 'son', L {LLO} al^lhke^l 'boy (between 8 and 10 years)', I alge 'son, boy', Kld {SaR} алл?к, {TI} el:ge^l 'son' ¶ SK 1859, W EDW 1272, Lr. #10, Lgc. #47, Hs. 234-5, TI 8, SaR 24 ¶ The labialization *i- > *u^l- may be caused by *-U. The element -ka^l may go back to a dim. sx. II A: pJ {S} *iru > J iro-to, iro-se 'brothers (**родные брат?д**)' ¶ The comparison with J was suggested by Starostin (¶ 1974) II D *ilV

'young, young man' > Tm, Ml il, a 'young, tender', Tm il, ai, 'youth, tender age', Td el, 'young', Kt el, id., 'time of youth', Ka el., el, a, el, e 'tenderness, youth', Kdg əl, eə 'youth', Tu el, at, ə, el, e 'tender, not fully grown', ellyə-ye 'a youth, junior', Tl el, a 'young, tender', Prj iled 'young man, youth', ile 'young woman, girl', Gdb ile 'bride', ? Brh ilum 'brother' ¶¶ D #513.

716. ?? ***g'amV** 'mouth, (inside of) cheek' > HS: EC: Sml ʕan, ʕam- (pl. ʕam-an), Sml N ʕa'n, pl. ʕa'm-a'n {Abr., DSI, R.} 'cheek', {E} 'inside of cheek' ¶ Abr. S 13, DSI 87, R SS II 59, E PC #475 || ? S *o/ymmm 'mouth of animal, muzzle' > Ar d 'ma(i yima-m-(at-) 'muzzle (covering for the mouth of a donkey or a camel)', 'ma(u yuma-m- 'prepuce' (← *'front part\muzzle of a penis') (× /ymmm 'cover') ¶ Fr. III 292-3, BK II 498-500, Hv. 534 || ?? Ch: WCh: Wrj {Sk.} ʕu'ma'y, My {Sk.} ʕu'm 'cheek' || ?? CCh: Glv {Rp.} ?u'məla 'cheek', FIG ʕ'o'lo mo~ id. (mt?) || ECh: Mu {J} gu'mi', pl. go'ma'm 'cheek', Mgm {JA} ga'me', Nd D {J} da'-gə'm id. ¶ ChC, JS 65, ChL, RpB 96, RpM 150 II A *am'a' 'mouth' > M *aman id. > MM [HI, MA, L, IM] aman, [S] ama(n), WrM ama(n), HIM aM(ан), Kl amn, Mnr H ama, Dx, Ba, ShY aman, Dg am(a~) id. ¶ Pp. MA 99, 432, Lg. VMI 16, Iw. 85, MED 35, T 314, SM 5, T DnJ 110, T BJ 133, Rm. M 22 || Tg *am₁a₁-ṇa id. > Ewk amṇa, ? amma, Sln amma, {Iv.} ama', amaya', amya', Lm amṇa d amga d amṇa, Neg amṇa, Orc amma, Ud, Ul aṇma, Ork, Nn amṇa - aṇma, Jrc {Md.} amṇa, WrMc aṇga, Mc Sb aṇa 'mouth'; WrMc aṇga has several meanings: 'mouth, mouth of animal, mouth of a river, orifice, ravine' and hence may go back to a merger of three words: Tg *aṇa 'mouth of animal', Tg *am₁a₁-ṇa 'mouth' and a WrMc loanword aṇga 'fissure, cleft, ravine' (← WrM aṇ 'fissure, ravine' ¶ STM I 38-9, Kiy. SJL 124 [#494] (amga), Md. ChF 133 ¶¶ S AP I 79-81 & II 88-9, 185, 205, Ms. H 35, Pp. MA 99, H 6, MED 35, KW 9, Iw. 85, STM I 38-9 ¶¶ DQA #34 [A *a~mo 'mouth'; incl. M, Tg] ◇ Cf. otherwise IS I 244-5: IS interprets M *ama(n) 'mouth', Tg *aṇa or *aṇma (i.e. *am₁a₁-ṇa) 'mouth' and T *am 'vulva' (actually from N ***XamV** 'womb, vulva', q.v. ffd.) as a pA d *aṇma <d- *aṇa- v. 'open' (≠ N ***ṇaṇga** id.).

717. ?? ***gVmV** 'darkness, night' > K: GZ {FS} *yam-, {K} *yamen- 'night', {K} *yame- 'last night' > OG, G yame- 'night, at night', Mg yuma 'last night', Lz yoman ~ yoma 'yesterday' ¶ K 200-1, K² 220, FS K 342, FS E 384, Chik. 198, Q 352, Ser. 169, DCh. 1356-7 II HS: WS *o/ymmm ~ *o/ymyw 'be dark, dim' > BHb o/ymmm Hoph (ip. Mo2ui y-u-ʕam) 'be darkened' ([Vulg.] 'obscuratum est') - of gold, MHb [Tos.] Mmo (pf. Mm2o1 ʕa~mam) 'be dim (cease to flame) - of coals, JA [Trg.], Mmo o/ymmm (pf. Mm2o9 ʕa~mam) {Js.} f'be(come) dim', {Lv.} 'be(come) dark \ darkened', JA o/ymy|w (pf. im5o9 ʕa~mi~ am1o9 ʕa~ma~) 'be\become dark, dim', ai!m6o2 'am'y-a~ {Lv.} 'darkness', {Js.} 'dimness, twilight', JEA o/ymy G 'grow faint', Ar yamm- 'dark' (e.g. μU(a ḡUlay0La laylat-un yamm-un 'a dark night') (× /ymmm 'to cover'), Mh yəmo~m 'fog', Jb C/E yiu~m 'heat-mist, fog', Mh ayme~m 'to see only as a blurred image, see as in a fog', Jb C ay'mim 'make a smoke-screen, dust-cloud' ¶ KB 800-1, Lv. TW II 223, Lv. III 661-2, Js. 1087, 1089, Sl. 870, BK II 498-500, Jo. M 137, Jo. J 86 II ??? A Tg: Ewk Sm umulgə 'shadowy place under a tree' ¶ STM II 270 ◇ IS MS 368 (s.v. *ṣama 'dark'), IS SS #9.4. If the meaning 'dark' in WS *o/ymmm is secondary (e.g. ← *'cover' or 'cloud'), the comparison is uni.

717a. ?? ***gen'a~** 'to be large, copious' > HS: WS *o/yyny > Ar yaniyy- 'riche, opulent', onA(i yina~(-n) 'richesse, opulence', Mh ye'nay, Jb E/C ʕa'ni 'rich', WS *o/yyny S (caus.) 'make so. rich' > Ar o/yyny S (af'ala), Mh pf. heyno~, Jb C ay'ni id., Ar o/yyny T 'become rich', Jb C yutni id. ¶ BK II 512-3, Jo. M 139, Jo. J 87 II U *en'a~ 'big, large, much' > F ena~ 'big, much' (ena~a~ 'more', comp. enempi 'more'), Es comp. enam 'more' : pLp {Lr.} *e~ne~ 'much' > Lp: N ædne, S jienje, L iedne~, Kld jiēne- : Er in'e, Mk in'a~ 'big' : ObU *₁yje~n~ 'big' > pVg {Ht.} ya~nəw > Vg: T yinəw d ya~nəw, LK/UK ya~ni, MK ya~ni, P/NV/SV/LL ya~niw, UL/Ss yanix 'big', T yu~nt, P/NV/SV/LL ya~nt, UL/Ss yanit 'as big as', pOs {Ht.} *en'a~ 'big' > Os: V/Vy en'ə, Ty a~n'ə, D/K enə || Sm {Jn.} *ina~ 'elder brother' > Ne T dim. нинека, {Lh.} n'in'e~k'a id, Ne F {Lh.} ppx. Is n'iyəka~m 'my elder brother', En {Ter.} ina~ 'elder brother', Ng {Mik.} n'in'i 'father's younger brother', Slq NP {Cs.} inne~ 'elder brother' ¶ UEW 74-5, SSA I 106, Lr. #231, Lgc. #866, Ht. #191, Jn. 27, Cs. 107 II A: T *eṇ > OT {Cl.} eṇ (before adj.) '(the) most' (pc. of sprl.), Cum eṇ, Tk en, Tk ?, CrTt, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qrq, Qrg, Uz, Alt, Tv eṇ, Tkm, Qmq, VTt, Bsh in, Az a~n, Ggz hen id., T b~ (?) Kl eṇ 'sehr, ganz' ¶ Cl. 166, Rs. W 45, MM 148, ET Gl 365-6, KW 122 ◇ Gr. II #236 (*ena 'large') [U, T, CK + qu. M, Tg].

718. ?? ***g'unV** 'to drink, eat' > HS: ?σ S *o-yin- (or *o-yu~n-) > Ar o/yyn G (ip. -yinu) 'be thirsty' || C: LEC {Bl.} *ṭun- > Sml ṭun-, Rn hun- eat', Or {Th., Brl.} hun- v. 'sip, take a sip, taste (a beverage), suck', Arr {Hw.} ?un- v. 'taste, drink a small amount of' ¶ Bl. 105, 161, 207, Th. 206, Brl. 219, Hw. A 344, SF 162, Abr. S 243, PG 144 II D {tr., GS} *un~ 'drink, eat, suck' > Tm un, 'eat or drink, suck as a child', Ml un, n, uka 'eat (esp. rice), suck', Td un~ 'drink, take the breast', Kn un, 'eat', un, ike 'taking a meal', Kdg un~n~ 'eat a meal', Tu un, (u)pini id., 'dine, eat rice', Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gdb, Mnd un-, Gnd und, a~na, Knd, Png un~, Kui un~ba, Ku u~ndali d un-, Mlt {Drs.} o~ne v. 'drink', Krx o~n- v. 'drink, eat (rice)', ? Brh kunin 'eat, drink, bite' (k- by contamination with Sindhi k^ha~i_nu 'eat') ¶¶ D #600, GS 175 [#443a], 55 [#151] ◇ The rec. of N *g- is unequivocal only if the S cognate is valid, otherwise it may be *ṭ-, *y- or *g-.

719. ?? ***gōŋqH'a'IV** (~ **mt. *gōŋqH'a'VnV**?) 'forearm' > HS: C: Bj {R} g^wen'ha'l 'forearm (Vorderarm bis zum Ellenbogen)', gu'l'ha-n (= g^wəlha-n), 'gu'lhe (= g^wəlhe) 'forearm' || SC: Kz {E} guhuluko 'ankle' ¶ R WBd 95-9, E PC #534 || ???φ ? B *yil-/yall- 'arm' (if *y < HS *y+χ) (× N ***qawIV** or ***qawElV** 'leg, bone of a limb', q.v.) > Ah, BSn ayil (pl. iyallən), BMn yil, Izn ayil, Gd a'yil (pl. yallen) id., Zng {TC} i'y 'avant-bras' ¶ Fc. 1719, Lf. II #1219, TC D 4, TC Z 310 II ?? IE ***H^welVn-** ({EI} ***h₃elVn-** 'elbow, forearm' > NaIE ***o⁻lena⁻**, ***o⁻elni-** id. (× IE ***x^wel-** or ***Xol-** 'elbow' < N ***IULV** 'knee, elbow', q.v. ffd.) II A: Tg ***ḡa⁻la** 'hand' > Ewk ḡa⁻l³ ḡa⁻la, Sln na⁻la ḡa⁻li, {Iv.} ḡala, Lm ḡa⁻l, Neg, Orc ḡa⁻la ~ ḡala, Ud, Ul ḡala, Ork, Nn ḡala, WrMc ḡala, Jrc {Pvn.} ḡala id. ¶ STM I 656-7, Pvn. 262 II ?φ U: FU ***a⁻IV** 'space between the arms, armful; lap, bosom (of a garment)' > Chr: H ḡlḡtemeltem, L ḡlḡte el'te, Uf o⁻lto⁻, o⁻lto⁻ 'armful', H elta⁻le-, Uf o⁻lta⁻la, B elta⁻la 'put one's arms round, embrace, carry in arms' | Er el', Mk a⁻l⁻ 'bosom of a garment' | Prm {LG} ***o⁻l-** id. > Vt {Bor.} al 'id., 'lap', Yz o⁻li³, Prmk o⁻lo⁻³, Z: LLz olo³, USs 3l3³ 'bosom of a garment used to carry things' || ObU {Ht.} ***a⁻l** {AD} 'lap, space between the arms' > pVg ***a⁻l** > Vg: Ss a⁻lta⁻l 'armful' (ta⁻l 'full'), T a⁻l, LK/MK/UK/NV a⁻l, P/SV/LLz a⁻l 'lap'; pOs ***a⁻l** 'lap' > Os: V/Vy a⁻l, Ty a⁻l, D a⁻t, Nz at, Kz a⁻l, O a⁻l id., N a⁻l-te⁻l 'armful' (te⁻l 'full') ¶ It. 291, Coll. 77, UEW 23, MRS 773, Ep. 18, LG 61, Ht. #18.

720. ***gari** 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' > HS: CS ***ḡa⁻r-** 'valley, cave' > Ar r'(a ḡa⁻r- 'lowland (BK: 'terrain plat et plus bas que les lieux d'alentour, terrain encaissé, pays plat entouré de hauteurs)'; hole, cavern, cave'; S ḡ ***mV-ḡarr-at-** ~ ***mV-ḡa⁻r-at-** 'cave' > Hb erlo1m6 mḡa⁻ra⁻, Ph trom mḡrt, Ug mḡrt, IA cs. trom mḡrt, IA, Plm em. atrom mḡrt?, JA [Trg.], JEA at1r6olm6 mḡa⁻rāt⁻a⁻, Sr жыр0ам mḡart-a⁻, Ar kra'9aMa maḡa⁻rat⁻ ~ kra'9amu muḡa⁻rat⁻ 'cave', Cn (Ancient Ph?) -b> Gk με⁻ḡαρα ~ με⁻ḡαρα ḡ pl. 'sorte de cryptes dans lesquelles, aux Thesmophories, on jettait des porcs vivants', (?) Gk Hm με⁻ḡαρων 'grande salle; appartement des femmes', Cn -b> Eg N {Alb.} mḡrt 'cave' (in syllabic spelling magarata); cp. also CS (or WS) ***ḡawilr-** (< ***ḡa⁻r-**?) > Ar ḡawr- 'bottom, lowest part', Ug {OLS} ḡyr 'depresiyn, pozo, profundidad' and possibly Sq {Ls.} 'eyreh 'lake' ¶ KB 582, KBR 615-6, JH 163, HJ 672, Fr. II 189, Fr. III 301, Sl. 697, BK DAF II 516, Ln. 2307-8, Ch. 674, EG WJS II 164, Alb. VESO 44, OLS 161, Ls. LS 308 II K: GZ ***ḡare-** 'gutter, furrow' > MG [VTq.] ḡar- 'groove' (VTq. 608), G ḡar- 'gutter, furrow', Mg ḡore- 'gutter of mill; wooden dam' ¶ K² 221, Chx. 1615, DCh. 1357 II IE ***xery-** ~ ***xr_oy-** ({EI} ***h₂eryo-s** 'cavity') (× N ***ḡar⁻u⁻** 'valley, depression, pit' × (possibly) IE ***HaHr-** 'valley, low place, cave' < N ***z'a⁻lHrV** 'low place, valley') > Ht hari-s (ḡ hariyas) 'valley' || Lt armuo⁻ (ḡ armen⁻s) {PiesS} 'soil, ground; precipice, abyss' || Arm ajr ayr 'cavern, grotto, den, antre' ¶ Ts. E I 172-3, ? WP I 56 and P 50 (in both: Arm ayr ч Gk ἄντρον), Pv. III 143-4 (IE ***A₁er-y-** ~ ***A₁r_oy-**), EI 96, Frd. HW 57, C³op IGW-2 135, PiesS 55, Xud. I 43, Bedr. 22 II U: FP ***arV** in the meaning 'valley, ravine' (× N ***?arV** 'earth, land') > F aro 'vallis inter colles', ?? pPrm ***r-** > Vt N [URS] ur-kirem 'ravine, gully' (kir- 'break through, wash away'), Z k3³-3r3m 'old river-bed in the bend of the watercourse' (k3³ 'bend of river'); of course, the other semantic variety of FP ***arV** ('lowland, (?) low place, river-bed') goes back to N ***?arV** 'l', and the meaning 'grasbewachsenes Tiefland' of the F word aro is probably due to both sources II A: T: (1) ***a⁻ra** (× N ***?arV** 'l') 'space between 2 places' > OT ara-miz-da 'among us'; in later T lgs. it is used in the meanings 'space between 2 objects, interval' and 'middle': Tk ara, ET, CrTt, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, Tv ara, Uz ara 'space between two objects, interval', Tkm a⁻ra, Kr, Qmq, QrB ara id., 'middle', Az, Nog, SY, Xk ara 'space between, between', Yk a⁻ra 'in the way, one in the way between two places' ¶ The length of the first vw. (preserved in Tkm and Yk a⁻ra) can be accounted for by the initial cns. of N ***gari** 'valley' (whence later the meaning 'interval, space between 2 places'), but the meaning suggests a merger of both roots; (2) another case of partial merger is probably pT ***o⁻r** 'valley' > OT o⁻z, OOsM, Tk ? o⁻z id., OT QU o⁻zi 'passage between two mountains', Chv var 'ravine, valley' (Ash.: 'обдернелый овраг с пологими краями, лог, дол'): it is likely to go back to N ***ḡar⁻u⁻** 'valley, depression, pit' (q.v.) ¶ Ash. V 167, Cl. 196, 278, 281, ET Gl 162-4, 506-8, TL 532, Pek. I 126-7, Tkr 47-8, Fed. I 100-1.

721. ***gorV** 'to cry, speak, produce vocal sounds' > K ***ḡar-/ḡr-** 'cry, sing' > OG, G mḡer- 'sing', eNG [SSO], G ḡr- (ḡr-ial-) 'shout, bellow, cry (weap loudly)', Mg ḡor- ḡvar- v. 'shout, low', Lz mḡor- id., Sv ḡar-/ḡr- 'sing' ¶ FS K 343-4, FS E 385-6, K 201, Q 352, DCh. 914-5, 1366, Chx. 898, 1649-5, Chik. 349 II HS: SES ***ḡry** > Mh {Jo.} ḡ3ro⁻y (pl. ḡ3rye⁻h), Jb C/E ḡa⁻ro[?] 'talk, speech, language', Hrs ḡ3ro⁻y (pl. ḡ3riy3n) 'speech, language; words', Mh/Hrs ḡry Gt (pf. Mh ḡatri, Hrs ḡat3ri) v. 'speak', Sq ḡry Gt (pf. {Jo.} ḡot3ri) 'call', {L} pf. ḡetiri 'speak' ¶ Jo. M 142, Jo. J 88, Jo. H 46, L LS 326-7 || ?φ Eg {AnC} ḡrw 'crier', Eg fO ḡr 'says he, says N' (devoicing *ḡ > ḡ due to syntactically conditioned as?), Eg NK ḡrt.w 'utterance (of a god, a king), oracle' (× N ***ḡU⁻lV** 'to speak, call'), ?σ Eg fP ḡrw 'voice' ¶ AnC-1 IO, EG III 317-8, 324-5 II IE ***x^we⁻r-/x^wo⁻** 'speak, call' > NaIE ***o⁻r-/o⁻ar-** > L o⁻ra⁻ v. 'speak, prey', Osc URUST 'oraverit' ({EI} 'he pleaded') || Gk ḡapa⁻, Gk I ḡapḡ 'prayer', Gk ḡapa⁻omai 'pray, curse', Gk A ḡapo⁻ω 'speak, call' || Sl: R o⁻pa-t? 'to yell, bawl', SCr o⁻riti se 'to resound, be heard' (of a sound)

|| Lv hīru-t- 'curse' ¶¶ Ht ar(u)wai- (not 'pray, worship', but 'prostrate oneself, fall down, make obeisance') and OI a-rya-nti ({M} 'they acknowledge' rather than 'praise'), adduced by some scholars, are to be kept apart ¶ P 781, EI 450 (*h²h²er- 'ask the gods, consult an oracle', *h₂eru- 'pray, curse'), 536 (*h²h²er- 'speak a ritual formula'), WH II 224, Pln. II 709, F I 127, 158, Vs. III 149, Glh. 456, Pv. I-II 183-5, M K I 78-9, M E I 172 II A *o₁urV- > M *uri- 'shout, call, invite' > MM [HI] uri- 'call (appeler)', [MA] uri- 'invite', Dg {T} ori- 'shout, call, invite', WrM uri-, HIM ури- 'call, summon, invite', Ba {T} ure-, Dx {T} uru- 'call, invite', Mnr uri- {T} id., {SM} 'invite'; M *u₁ori-la > WrM orila-, орило-х 'cry out, shout, scream' ¶ Ms. HI 106, Pp. MA 366, MED 619, 881, T 369, T DgJ 160, T BJ 148, T DnJ 137, SM 476 || Tg *ore- > Ewk ore- 'shout, bellow', Ewk ore-, Nn B orinda- 'imitate the beckoning call of a female Manchurian deer', Sln or'e- 'call (призывает?)' ¶ STM II 23 || T *ori- 'shout, outcry' > OT {Cl.}, MT XIV [IM] ori- id.; d> *or-la- 'make a loud noise, shout' > OT orla- id., Xk orla- id., 'howl, bellow, emit a loud noise' (of animals), Qb {Rl.} orla- v. 'moo'; (?φ) d> *uran > Qzq вран u^hran, Qq uran 'war-cry; public address' (призыв), Qzq {Rl.}, Chg {Bu., Rl.}, Qrg {Jud.} uraⁿ 'war-cry', Tlt {Rl.} uraⁿ 'Geschrei', Brb {Rl.} uran 'Schrei', uran-la- 'cry (schreien)', {Tum.} o^hran 'war-cry', Shor {Rl.} uran-na- 'schreien; singen (von Betrunkenen)' ¶ Cl. 197, BIG 130, Rl. I 1064, 1653-4, Bu. I 121, MM 489, Sht. 290, KrkR 67, Tum. 162, Jud. 806 || pJ {S} *u^hru-ta^hpa- v. 'complain, sue' > OJ urutapa-, ItOJ [RJ] utta^hp-, J: T u^httae-, uttae^h-, K u^httae^h-, Kg u^httae^h- ¶ S QJ #1487, Mr. 781 ¶¶ DQA #1582 (A *o^hru 'to cry, shout').

722. *gurV 'skin' > HS: WS *γ^hu^hrr- > Ug {OLS} γ^hr 'skin', BHB r&o fo^hr (pl. t&r&o fo^hro^ht.) 'skin, leather', Ph ^hrt pl. 'skin', ? Ar γurr-at- ~ γarr-at- 'pli (d'une peau, d'une йтоffe)', rdp: Mh {Jo.} γзγуа^hr, γзγзро^ht 'side of throat', Jb C {Jo.} γор'γор'рот, γар'γор'рот 'dewlap', ?σ Ar γuryur-at- ~ γaryar-at- 'bird's gizzard' ¶ OLS 159, KB 803, Tmb. 256, Hv. 520, BK II 457, Jo. M 141, Jo. J 88, MiK I #1.106 II D *ur₁i- v. 'peel' > Tm uri v. 'peel (skin, bark)', Ml urikka v. 'flay, skin (a jack-fruit, coco-nut)', Td us^ht v. 'take off (ring, bangle, shirt, coat)', Kn uricu v. 'flay, strip off skin\covering', Tu (u)rumbu v. 'tear off (as leaves from a twig), rumbu 'stripping, plucking', rumbuni v. 'srip\pluck off', Nkr uyp- v. 'take off (clothes wrapped round middle)', Prj uyk- v. 'slough its skin' (of a serpent), Gnd uy?- id., ? uy- 'be flayed', uysp- v. 'flay', Krx ur-na^h 'rub off the leaves of a branch', Mlt uyrye ~ urwre 'fall off' (hair), 'slip off' || D *ur₁i n. 'skin, peel' > Tm uri n. 'rind, bark, peel, skin stripped off', urivai 'skin, hide, peel', Ml uri 'skin', Ku zuka 'slough of snake' ¶¶ D #652 II A: M *o^hru^hme₁n₁ 'scum on boiled milk' > WrM o^hru^hme, HIM 'p' m Brt *pm^h(h) id., Dg {Pp.} u^hru^hm, {T} urum 'scum', WrO o^hro^hmo^h 'cream', o^hro^hmede- v. 'cream over, get scummy', Kl 'pmo^hrm^h 'scum on boiled milk, cream', Mnr H {SM} yermia^hn 'cream, cream condensed by cooking'; M b> WrMc oromo ~ oromu, Ewk urumu 'scum on boiled milk, cream', Yk o^hru^hma^h ~ u^hru^hma^h id., 'film' ¶ MED 644, Krg. 150, KRS 424, KW 300, Chr. 513, SM 492, T DgJ 171, STM II 288, Z 133 II ?? IE: NaIE || *erp^h- (< *Heu^hr-ph^h) / ?? *werp^h- (× ч WrM u^hre- v. 'waste, squander') > Gk ^hερφος 'a skin (e.g. of a serpent)' || ??σ Arm gerpem gerp^hem v. 'plunder, ravage, pillage' || ??σ Sl *v^hypati > OR в^hр^hп^hст^hi v^hр^hst^hi / prs. в^hр^hп^h в^hр^hп^h 'to tear, plunder', ChS d нав^hр^hа^hп^h па-vrаръ 'pillage', Kshb varpac 'reiЯen, ziehen', Slv {Mikl.} z-vrpati 'entreiЯen' ¶ Ch. 377 & F I 571 (no et. of Gk ^hερφος), || Vs. I 355, WP I 291-2.

723. *garHV 'to crush, grind' > K *γery^h- v. 'grind (coarsely)' > G γery^h- id., Mg γary^h- id., 'talk nonsense'; d> K *γeryil- 'coarse-ground flour' > OG γeryili 'ground grains', G γeryil-, Mg, Lz γaryil- 'course-ground grains' ¶ K 202, K² 223-4, FS K 346, FS E 388-9, Chx. 1620-1, Chik. 173 II HS: S *o^h√γ^hrr > Ak Λ √γ^hrr (inf. γара^hru) 'grind' ¶ CAD VI 92 II IE *herH- (or *harH-?) ({EI} *h₁erh₃ye/o-) > NaIE *ar(ə)- v. 'plough' > Gk ^hαρο^hω v. 'plough, till' || Gt arjan, ON erja, OHG erien, erren, AS e^hrian, NE ? ear 'to plough, till'; OHG art 'cultivation, aratio' || L a^hra^h- v. 'plough' || OIr ar- (prs. airim) v. 'plough, till', aired 'arable land', W {P, Vn.} arddu (< *ary-), {YGM, Bc.} aredig, Br arat v. 'till, plough' || Lt a^hrti (prs. ariu^h), Ltv ar^hu id., Lt arto^hjas, Pru artoys 'ploughman' || Sl *ora^hti (1s prs. *o^hr^ho^h) 'to plough' > OCS, OR о^hрати ora-ti (prs. о^hр^hж orjo^h), SCr o^hrati / o^hre^hm, Slv ora^hti / orjem, Cz orati / or^hu, Slk orat^h / oriem, P orac^h / orze^h, R ^h†, Uk o^hрати / o^hp^h id., Blg o^hpa v. 'plough' || Arm arayr araw^h 'a plough' || Tc A, B a^hre id. ¶¶ Not here Ht hars-, harsiya- 'till the earth' (d> S *√hrθ id.) ¶¶ P 62-3, Bc. 495, EI 434, F I 147-8, WH I 69, Vn. A 43, 81, Fs. 56-7, Vr. 104, Ho. 94, EWA I 347-9 & II 1129-32, Schz. 126, Frn. 17, En. 143-4, Tp. P A-D 107-8, Tr. 13, Vs. III 148-9, Glh. 456, Slr. 126, Me. EAC 152, Ad.49 II D *ar- (+ suff.) 'a plough' > Tm araka 'a plough with bullocks, etc.', Mlt are 'a plough' ¶¶ D 198 ♦ D *-r- < N cns. cluster with *r (in this case *rH-). In IE and D the N v *garHV 'to crush' acquired new meanings 'to plough' (i.e. 'to crush soil') and 'a plough', connected with the appearance of ariculture.

724. ? ₂ *gVrVbV (or *-p-) 'dark, brown' > IE: NaIE {P} *e^h-reb^h / *o^h-rob^h- 'dark' > Gk ^hορφνο^hς 'dark, dusky', ^hορφναι^hος 'dark, murky', ^hορφνη (Gk I ^hορφνα^h) 'the darkness of night', ^hορφ^hνο^hς brownish gray || ON iarpr 'brown', OH {OsS} e^hrp^h 'fuscus', AS earp 'dusky, dark', eorp 'swarthy' ¶ P 334, F II 431-2, Vr. 291, Sw. 48, 52, Ho. 93, OsS 150 II HS: S *√yrb 'dark' > Ar √yrb G (pf. iari(a γariba) {Ln.} 'be black', {BK} 'ktre trus noir', Ak fOB ere^hpu 'to become dusky\dark', StB erpu (~ erbu)

'dark' ¶ BK II 449, Ln. 224O, CAD IV 279-8O, 3O4 || C: Ag: Bln {R} arəb- 'be black\blue', arə'ba 'blackness, black colour' || EC: Sa {R} o'r'ba-, war'ba- 'a cow with black spots' ¶ R WB 47-8 ¶¶ R l.c. (C, Ar).

725. ***gur'rir**¹V (or ***gur**¹V-~***gur**¹VrV~***gur**¹Vr¹V?) 'skill, ruse, deceit; to deceive' > K ***γor**- v. 'deceive, tell lies' > G, Mg **γor**- id., Lz **γor**- v. 'tell lies, lie to', **γord**-, **γerd**- 'deceive', Sv **γr**- 'tell lies, deceive' ¶ K 2O5-6 & K² 232 (G, Z), Chik. 35O, FS K 351, FS E 394, Chx. 1543, Q 351-2 || HS: WS ***√γrr**, *-**γurr**~*-**γurur**- v. 'deceive' > Ar **√γrr** Q (ip. -**γurr**, masd. **γuru**-r-) 'deceive, allure', **γarra**-r- 'deceiver', Mh, Hrs, Jb E/C **√γrr** G 'deceive' (sbjn.: Mh, Hrs **γ3γro**-r), Jb C s'3γ'rer 'be led astray' ¶ BK II 445-7, Jo. M 139-4O, Jo. H 45, Jo. J 87 || A ***ur**¹V- > T ***u**¹r¹ > NaT ***u**¹z- > OT **u**¹z 'skilled craftsman', Alt, Tv us, ET uz 'master, skilful, skilful craftsman', Xk us 'skilful craftsman', Yk u¹s id., 'craftsman', Tk uz 'good, fit', Tkm † u¹δ 'good, excellent, beautiful', Qrg uz 'skilful; skilled craftsman' ¶ Cl. 277, ET Gl 569-7O || M ***ura**-: M ***ura**-n 'skillful; art, craft, skill' > MM [HI] **uran** 'artisan', [MA] **uran** 'skilful, masterly', [IM] **uran** 'handicraft', WrM **uran**, HIM **yp**(aH) n., adj., adv. 'artisan, master; art, craft; artistic(ally, master(ly), Ord u¹ran 'habile, habile(tñ), Kl {Rm} **urn**. 'Kunstler, Meister; Handwerker', Mnr {SM} **uran** 'dexteritñ, habiletñ', Dx [T] **uran** 'master', Dg [T] **uran** id., 'skilled craftsman'; Kl {Rm.} **ur3**n. 'Meisterin, sehr geschickte Frau'; M ***ura**-la- 'do skillfully, use artifice' > WrM **urala**- 'do\make [sth.] artistically\skillfully', **ura**¹laci 'artist', WrO {Krg.} **urala**- v. 'contrive, use artifice; be master of, be a craftsman'; WrM **uracud**, HIM **урчууд** pl. 'artisans, craftsmen', WrO **uraci** 'craftsman' ¶ Ms. H 1O6, Pp. MA 365-6, 449, MED 879-9O, Rm. W 451, SM 473, T DnJ 137, T DgJ 171, Krg. 179 || ?σ D (in SD) ***or**¹r¹- 'spy out' > Tm **or**¹r¹ u. v. 'spy out', Ml **or**¹r¹ u 'private intelligence, secret information', **or**¹r¹ an 'a spy' ¶ D #1O22 ♦ D *-**r**¹r¹- and S *-**r**¹V¹r- suggest the presence of a second ***r** in the etymon. T *-**r**¹- is probably from *-**ry**- < *-**rir**-?

726. ? ***goatK.E** 'popliteal space (back of the knee), armpit' > HS: S ***o**¹ $\sqrt{y}$ tk. > Jb C {Jo.} **yat**. 'k.et (pl. 'ye't.ɔk.tɜ), Jb E {Jo.} **yat**. 'k.et 'popliteal space', Mh {Jo.} **γ3t**. 'k.ayt (pl. **γ3t3k**.t3n) 'hollow at the back of the knee' ¶ Jo. J 9O, Jo. M 144 || A {S} ***okuV** 'popliteal space, armpit': M ***ogu**-da-sun 'armpit gore of clothes' (or ***o**¹p-?) > WrM {Kow.} **ogudasun** id. ('chanteau de l'habit de dessous le bras'), Kl {Rm.} **oγ**³ $\sqrt{d}$ ³sn. , **ogd**³ $\sqrt{d}$ ³sn. 'Ärmelzwickel' ¶ KW 283, Kow. 365, S AJ 243 [#254] ¶¶ S AJ 297 [#594], SDM97 s.v. ***Ok**¹V, KW 283; S l.c. suggests a Ko cognate ***o**¹ko¹m 'popliteal space' (> MKo **o**¹ko¹m, NKo **ogim** id., Ko Kw **oyumpe**¹ {Vv.} 'the inside curve of the knee/elbow'), but Vv. AEN 16 rejects it on morphological grounds: **o**¹ko¹m ({?Y} **wo**¹kwo¹m) <d- ok- 'bends [inside] with a nominal sx. -**o**¹m || ?? IE: NaIE ***aks**-(and/or ***ok**¹-?) 'armpit' [x N ***XakECV**¹ 'shoulder (Achsel)', q.v. ffd.] ¶ The connection between ***aks**¹- 'armpit' and ***aks**¹-(el)- 'shoulder' is not clear (derivation or semantic change, and if so, in which direction? or secondary semantic association between originally unrelated stems?). In any case, connection with IE ***ak**¹s- 'axis' (supposed by many scholars) is hardly acceptable for lack of sufficient semantic ties ¶¶ The IE cognate is valid if N ***tK**. may yield IE ***ks** (cp. AD SSHS) or is IE *-s- is a sx. ♦ AD NM #1O7, S CNM 12 (: ***GoatKe** ... The A and IE forms point rather to ***HoakE**¹. All this a misunderstanding: here "GoatKe" is S's notation for ***goatKe**¹; N ***g** yields regularly A zero and IE ***H**, there is a contraction ***tK** > ***K**, so that ***HoakE**¹ is a reduced variant of N ***goatKe**¹; Vv. ANE 16 (rejects the Ko cognate; misquotes ***goatK.E** as ***goatK.E**).

727. ? ***gu3**¹E¹ 'sheep, goat' > HS: S: Ar **d** **γadiyy**-, **γadawiy**- 'kid (young of goats)', **γad**(aw)**iyyu**-l-ma¹li 'young of camels' ¶ BK II 445 || Ch: it is tempting to adduce BT (Bl {Mk.} **os**¹i 'billy-goat', Krkr **ʔo**¹c¹i¹, Ngm {Mk.} **ɔs**¹i id.), but in the light of the Krkr pl. **ʔo**¹ka¹i¹ 'goats' it seems more plausible to equate the BT forms with Jmb **a**¹k¹a¹ 'goat' and similar forms of other Ch lgs. (< N ***ʔo**¹ $\sqrt{o}$ ¹ $\sqrt{kE}$ ¹ 'goat' [q.v.]) || U: FU {Db.} ***u**¹c¹e, {UEW} ***uc**¹e 'sheep' (or '∈ an animal resembling a sheep') > F **uuhi** (g **uuh**en), Es **utt** (< **prt**), ? **uhe**¹ 'ewe' : Mk **ya**¹ u¹c¹a, Er **Kd** **uc**¹a 'sheep' : Chr: L **yγ**¹a **uz**¹¹ya, Uf/B **uz**¹¹ya, H **γγ**¹a 'γz¹¹ya 'fir coat' : Prm {LG} ***u**¹z¹ > Z, Vt **γγ**¹z¹ 'sheep' || ObU {Ht.} ***a**¹c¹ id. > pVg **a**¹s¹ (> OVg E TM **osch**, Vg: LK **o**¹s¹, MK/UK **o**¹s; OVg W P/Sl **oib**, Vg: P **os**¹ [du. **o**¹s¹z¹], NV/ML **os**¹, SV/LL **os**¹ / **o**¹s¹i¹; OVg N: SoG/Ber **oasch**, Chd/SoO **oib**, Vg Ss **os**¹; OVg S: Vt **ay**¹, SSS **asch**, (o¹tsch), pOs ***ac**¹ > Os: V/Vy **ac**¹, Ty/Y **a**¹c¹, D **os**¹ d¹ **oc**¹, K **os**¹, Nz/Kz **os**¹, O **as**¹ ¶ The long ***u**¹- (suggested by F **uuhi**) may be accounted for by the loss of the initial ***g**¹- ¶¶ UEW 541, Sm. 552 (FP ***uuc**¹i¹ 'sheep'), Db. OS xxxii, Ker. II 178, MRS 625, 762, LG 328, Ht. #4 ¶¶ UEW reasonably remarks: "Das Vorhandensein des Wortes für 'Schaf' in der FU Grundsprache ist noch kein Beweis für die Schafzucht, aber durchaus für das Kennen eines schafähnlichen Tieres". Since wild Oves, Caprae and Capreoli are (and were) absent in the presumed homeland of FU (both sides of the Urals, Northwestern Siberia), but are typical of the Turan and the mountains of Southern Siberia, this word suggests a southern (Turanic, South-Siberian?) ancient habitat of the early pU lge. Napolskikh (Nap. IU 122-3) suggests a possibility of reconstructing pFU ***oc**¹a and supposing that it is a loan from Indo-Iranian ***a3**¹a (> OI a¹ja-h. 'male goat', a¹ja¹ 'goat') < IE ***ag**¹(a)¹ 'goat'. But his ***oc**¹a is at variance with the phonetic laws (F **uuhi** cannot go back to ***oc**¹a), so that his hyp. is untenable || ? A: NaT ***u**¹ $\sqrt{c}$ ku¹ ~ (dis?) ***ec**¹ku¹ 'goat' > Chg =xv **u**¹c¹ku¹, Tv **o**¹s¹ku¹ 'goat', ET **o**¹c¹ka¹ ~ **ec**¹ku¹, Xk **o**¹sku¹ 'goat, he-goat', Ln **o**¹c¹ku¹, SY **u**¹s¹ko¹, Sg **u**¹ski¹ ~ **u**¹ska¹ 'he-goat', OT **ep**¹c¹ku¹, XwT xiv **ec**¹ku¹, MQp, MOg, Tk ?, Uz, Kr, Qmq, Qrg **ec**¹ki, Alt **ec**¹ki, VTt ? **ичк**¹, Nog, Qq **es**¹ki, Qzq **es**¹ki¹ 'goat' ¶

Cf. T *k'a'ci 'goat' < N *k.ʔa'c'V 'wild goat', '€ antelope' (q.v. ffd.) [mutual infl. of both T roots?] ¶ NaT *-k- may go back to a dim. sx. ¶ Cl. 24, ET VGD 35-6, Shch. Zh 117-8.

728. *gU3'V 'to feel, smell (sth.)' > HS: Eg G ʔ3 v. 'smell, hear', Eg fMK ʔ3 v. 'perceive' ¶ EG I 238, Fk. 51 || S *o/ʔδδ > Ar ʔaδδ- 'sentiment, sens, faculté de sentir' ¶ BK II 443 ¶ Acc. to Tk., the Eg cognate of *δ is z rather than ʔ; but Eg ʔ3 contradicts this law of sound corr. and suggests the necessity either of reformulating it or to find explanation of ʔ in ʔ3 II IE *Hwed-, *Hod- > NaIE *od- v. 'smell (sth.)', *od-ma n. 'smell' (× N *h'otE 'to smell, smell at', q.v. ffd.) II A: M *u'ʔe- v. 'see' [× N *hU3'E(-qV) 'to look, see', q.v. ffd.] || Tg *oJv > Lm Ol oJw, Lm O ωJw 'heat (of animals)' ¶ STM II 7 || NaT *u'δ- v. 'feel passion, sexual desire' (× N *h'otE 'to smell, smell at') > OT {Cl.} u'δ- id. [?]; -d > *u'δ-ig 'passion, sexual desire' > OT uδig id., XwT uδu'g 'passion' ¶ Cl. 39, 50 ◇ Qu., because the IE, T and M cognates have alt. etymologies.

729. ?? *yaEc'V 'bite, chew' > K (K or GZ) *yec'-. v. 'chew' > G yec'-. , Mg ʔac'-. , Lz ʔvanc'-. , Sv ʔarc'-. id.; acc. to Mach. (Gm. SSH 21), Mg ʔac'-. goes back to pre-Z **ʔac'.k- with subsequent loss of *k. due to dis (in the presence of *y) ¶ Acc. to FS, Sv ʔarc'-. is a loan from Mg ¶ Gm. SSH 21 (G, Zan), K 202-3, K² 224, FS K 347, FS E 389, DCh. 1359, SSO II 250 II HS: S *o/ʔθ.θ. 'bite' > Ar 7wO ʔʔδδ. L 'bite each other', ??? (with secondary lateralization?) 8wO ʔʔδδ. 'bite' ¶ BK II 276-7, 291 II ??φ,σ A: Tg: WrMc as'u 'put into one's mouth, hold in one's mouth, chew', Mc Sb ʔas'm3, ʔas'um3 'hold in one's mouth' ¶ Z 29, Hr. I 62, STM I 60, Y #1538.

730. ?? *ʔa'c'U' (€) grass' > K *oʔic'V > G yic' a 'sedge' ({Chx.} 'Gdñsedistel', {DCh.} 'ocor, серпуха полева'), ekal-yic'-.i, G K/Kx/P yic'-.i 'wolfberry (Lycium)' ¶ Chx. 1635, DCh. 1363 II U **a'c'U > FP *a'c'V ~ *ac'o 'meadow, grassland' > F aho 'meadow', 'clearing (left waste)', {SSA} 'aufgegebene Schwende, Brache, trockenes offenes Gelände', Krl aho 'old clearing on which a young forest has grown', Es ? ahu 'useless barren field' i pPrm {LG} *e.3'a 'turf', 'long fallow', 'meadow' > Z ʔxa ez'a 'turf, virgin soil, long fallow, meadow, grass', Yz iz'a, Vt oʔo oz'o 'grass' ¶ LG 331, SK 6, SSA 54 II ??φ A: NaT *ot 'grass, vegetation' > OT, Chg ot id., Tk ot, Tv o't, Uz ot, Xlj uot, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Alt, Xk, Yk ot, Ux ot, VTt † ut, Chv ud_ʔ ~ vud_ʔ od_ʔ id., QrB ot 'poison', Tf o't 'unmown grass (used as fodder for cattle)'; KW 291 mentions Kl otO 'Pflanze, Kraut; Kräuter (als Heilmittel verwendet)', seemingly a loan from T ¶ Ryna-Tōs suggests Tc origin of the T word (Tc A/B a-ti 'grass' < IE *ados 'cereals') (see Dm. NTE 172) ¶ Cl. 34, Rs. W 366, ET Gl 481-3, TL 119-20, Ra. 213 ◇ The T word is a highly doubtful cognate (its vw. does not correspond to FU *a', and the supposed change T *t < N *c', has no parallels in other roots).

731. *yUc'V 'bone', (?) 'backbone' > HS: S *ʔaθ.am- 'bone', (?) 'backbone' > Hb Mc3o3 'ʔec.em (pl. ʔac.a'mo't_), SmHb 'ʔa':s.a'm (pl. ʔa':s.a'ma't), Ph ʔs.m, Ug ʔθ.m, Ar ʔaδ.m-, Ak es.emtu, Eb {Krb.} a-za-mu-um 'bone', Sr ʔat.ma' 'coxa, latus', JPA {Sl.} Mto 't.m thigh of an animal', Md at.ma 'thigh, side, flank', Mh ʔaθ.3me't and Hrs ʔaθ.v'met 'back', Gz ʔas'm ~ ʔas.m 'bone' [either lateralization of the sibilant due to the infl. of SS *ʔʔs'.s' 'bone' (> Jb C 'ʔi's'.es', Jb E 'ʔay's'.3s', Mh, Hrs ʔa's'.ays' 'bone') or a purely orthographic variation due to the merger of s. and s' in New EthS (acc. to Vg.)] ¶ KB 622-3, KBR 869, BH IV 215, A #2082, OLS 96, Br. 520, DM 13, Sl. P 401, Js. 1063, L G 58, Jo. M 14, 39, Jo. J 39, Jo. H 6, 14, MiK I #1.25 || ? Eg G h3 'bones' (dis. *ʔ3 > h3?) ¶ EG III 210 || NrOm: Mj/Shk {Fl.} ʔus 'bone' ¶ Fl. OO 317, Fl. OWL II ? K: G ʔo3'-i 'fang, a large tooth' ¶ Chx. 1646, DCh. 1365, K² 232 (G ʔo3'-i < b- Zan ʔe3'- 'swine'?) ¶ -3'- for the expected -c'- due to as? II IE *x'est_lh_l- ~ *x'ost_lh_l- [{EI} *'h₂ost (g *'h₂est-s)] 'bone' > OI asthi-, Av ast- ¶ Gk o'ste'ov ¶ L os (stem oss-) id. ¶ Clt: OIr asna 'rib', MW ass-en 'rib, lath'; W, OCrm asen 'rib', Brtt cd {RE} *askornos 'bone' > MW ascwrn, W asgwrn, OCrm, Crn ascorn, MBr asco(u)rn, Br asko(u)rn id. (cd, with the second element seen in W mi-gwrn, Br mi-gourn 'cartilage', W llos-gwrn 'tail' ¶ pAl {O} *as'tja > Al asht 'bone' ¶ Arm oskr oskr id. ({EI} < *h₂ost-wr_)) ¶ Tc B pl. a'sta 'bones' || Ht hastai, Lw has(s)a- id. ¶ P 783, EI 77, M K I 67, M E I 150-1, WH I 225-6, F II 436-7, Vn. A 94-5, RE 84, O 11, Ad. 45-7, Pv. III 233-7, Ts. E I 202-3 II A *uc_l'ja 'back, backbone' [× N *hU_lw_lc'V (or *hUwVc'V) 'loins, lap' > NaT *u_lca 'sacrum, coccyx, backbone' (> 'back [dos]') (× N *hU_lw_lc'V); T -b > M (MM?) *u_lca, represented in MM [LV, MA, IsV] and MMgl [Z] as u_lc'a and in WrM as uguca 'croup, sacrum, loins' (where ugu is a spelling for u_l); the word has been preserved in Modern M: HIM u_lc id., Brt u_lsa 'croup, sacrum' (-b > Sln ω'sa 'sacrum'), Kl u_lc'a 'sacrum, back (dos), hind quaters', Ord u_lc'a 'hind quaters of animals', Mgl u_lc'a 'back (dos)' ¶ Lg. VMI 71; the opposite direction of the borrowing (M *u_lca -b > T *u_lca) is hardly acceptable because of chronological difficulties: the T form u_lc'a is attested from the 8th c. A.D., i.e. long before the Mongolian conquers and before the M contraction -VγV- (and -VβV-) > Vγ; neither can we suppose here a pM long *u_l [pM long vowels lose their length in HIM, Brt and Kl, while here the vw. of these lgs. is long; so that the only possible solution is to accept Ligeti's proposal (Lg. VMI 71) of the T origin of the M word; the vw. lengthening may be due to the different phonetic realization of the vowels in the T and M lgs.: the T vw. must have been longer than the Mongolian short one and was perceived by Mongolians as long] || Tg *u_locVka 'fish fin' >

WrMc uciqa 'fish fin on the belly', Neg oçaxa^d oçaka 'fish fin on the back' ¶ Z 165, STM II 29, 290, Hr. 942 ¶¶ ? DQA #2720 (A *u⁻c⁻ 'V' behind, rump, fish fin) ♦ The A and SS reflexes of the v suggest an ancient meaning 'backbone' that coexisted with the wider meaning 'bone'.

732. *yAc⁻.v 'cut, cut into pieces' > K *o⁻yec⁻. - > Mg yec⁻. - 'cut (hair), cut' ¶ Q 49 ¶ HS: WS *√s⁻.w 'divide, separate' > Ar v5O √s⁻.w (ip. -s⁻.u⁻) 'dīpīcer (un mouton, etc.), sīparer par membres\parties, partager'; S d *s⁻.s⁻. - 'piece, portion' > Ar s⁻.s⁻.at- id., Gz s⁻.s⁻.a⁻, s⁻.s⁻.a⁻, Tgr s⁻.s⁻.a⁻, Tgy s⁻.s⁻.a⁻, s⁻.s⁻.a⁻ 'lot' ¶ BK II 283, L G 57 || ?σ C: [1] Irq {MQK} hac⁻.a⁻ ? 'different, other', hac⁻.ic⁻.im- 'differentiate, sort out', {E} hac⁻.a⁻ 'other'; [2] ??,φ SC: Irq {MQK} hac⁻.it- 'share, receive one another, take turns', {E} hac⁻.it- v. 'share' ¶ E SC 336 (reconstructs SC *hac⁻. - v. 'be separated, divided up'), MQK 47, 49 || Eg fOK s⁻.z {EG} 'hacken', Eg MK {Fk.} s⁻.z 'hack up, destroy' ¶ EG I 238, Fk. 51 ¶ Hardly akin (↔ Tk. I 44, 249) to Sa {Wlm.} -u⁻gug- v. 'dig', Ang {Flk.} ok 'dig', Ll yagi 'dig' ¶ D *ac- v. 'cut' > Gnd acca⁻na⁻ v. 'cut off (hand, foot, etc.), split, saw', Mlt asye v. 'chisel' ¶ D #46 ¶ IE *xat- 'cut, pierce' > Ht hatt- 'male a hole (in), pierce, stab, slash', AnIE b> Arm hat hat 'cut, cutting; fraction, fragment, piece', hatanel hatan-el 'to cut' (not an inherited word because of -t- for the expected -t⁻ < IE *-t-) || OIr a⁻ith adj. 'cutting, piercing' ¶ Pv. III 248-255, Ts. E I 215-7, Grp. IVAA 53, Vn. A 54 ♦ The rec. of N *y- is based on S *y⁻, ht h- and K *y⁻. Thr IE reflex is qu. because it has not been proved that N *-c⁻. - yields IE *-t-.

733. *TudE or *Tu⁻dV 'to tie; thong' > K *ywed- 'thong, belt, leash' > OG ywed- (yued-) 'thong, leathern tie of a yoke', G yved- 'thong; leathern belt', G J yved- 'leathern tie of a yoke', Mg yve(n)d- 'thong, saddle-girth', Lz yved- 'thong, leathern belt', Sv ywed 'thong, strap' ¶ K 203, K² 225-6, ¶ K IEK 74-5 (K i < b- IE), GP 269 ¶ IE: *Heu⁻.d⁻/*Hou⁻.d⁻/*Hwed⁻. - v. 'tie', n. 'tie, thong': [1] *Heu⁻.d⁻/*Hou⁻.d⁻ > Lt inf. a⁻usti (1s prs. a⁻udz⁻iu), Ltv au⁻st (prs. au⁻zu) 'weave', Lt u⁻dis 'einmaliges Gewebe' ! R ? yc⁻no 'web in the initial stage of weaving' || Arm zıud zo⁻d 'with, band; tie, bond', zıudem zo⁻dem v. 'tie, bind, fasten, attach', jıud yo⁻d 'bond, tie, link; articulation, joint, juncture', jıudem yo⁻dem 'I tie, bind, unite', ? ıud o⁻d 'shoe' (Arm ıı o⁻ < eArm au⁻) || [2] *Hwed⁻. - 'attach, tie' > OI 'vadhra-h. 'leathern strap' || Gk [Hs.] ε9μοι⁻ · πολλοι⁻, δεσμοι⁻, πλο⁻καμοι⁻ ({Mn.} 'chains', 'ropes', or sim.) || OIr fedan 'Gespann, Geschirr', {Mn.} 'yoke, team', OIr fedil, W gwedd 'yoke' || Gt ga-widan* 'verbinden' (3s p. ga-wap), OHG we⁻tan vt. 'to yoke, join' ¶ P 75-6, 1116-7, Mn. 1497-8, F I 448, Fs. 211-2, Kb. 1186, OsS 1132, Frn. 26, Vs. IV 171, Slt. 290-1, ? Ach. III 412-3 & IV 607-8, M K IV 137 (rejects the connection of OI 'vadhra- with IE *wed⁻.) ¶ A: M *u⁻du⁻ |e- v. 'fasten, bind', *u⁻de|u⁻ 'fastening thong' (unless it is *qu⁻du⁻ |e-, *qu⁻de|u⁻) > WrM u⁻de- ~ u⁻du⁻, HIM *дy-x 'fasten, bind with thongs, cord or thread passed through a hole or holes', Kl {Rm.} u⁻du⁻ 'narrow thong for fastening together', udu⁻ 'zusammenbinden, befestigen (mit einem kurzen Riemen, der durch hie und da genachte Lucher gezogen wird und dessen Ende knopfartig gemacht ist)' ¶ KW 455, MED 995 ♦ IS MS 364 (*gudā 'свѣзѣбат?'), IS SS #3.13, 9.2.

734. ?? *TULV 'knee, elbow' > IE *x⁻el- or *Xol- (/ *Xel-?) 'elbow' > NaIE *o⁻lena⁻, *o⁻elni- id. (x N *gog⁻qH⁻a⁻ IV ~ mt: *gol⁻qH⁻Vn⁻ V 'forearm?') > Gk ωλε⁻νη, ωλη⁻ν 'forearm, elbow', [Hs.] ωλλο⁻ν 'elbow' || L ulna 'elbow bone, half ell' || Gt aleina 'ell', ON o⁻ln 'forearm, ell', AS {Ho.} e⁻ln id. (> NE ell), OHG elina 'elbow, ell, ulna' > NHG Elle 'ell' || OIr uilen 'elbow, angle', W, MCrm elin, Crm elyn, MBr elin, Br ilin 'elbow' || OI a⁻ni-h. ~ a⁻ni-h. 'the part of the leg just above the knee', ?? NPrs e⁻ra a⁻ra⁻n, {Horn} a⁻ra⁻n 'ell' || ?σ Tc: A a⁻lem du. 'palms of the hand', B alyiye 'palm of the hand' || Ht haliya- v. 'kneel, genuflect', halihla(i⁻) v. 'genuflect' ¶ P 308, EI 176 (IE *h₃elVn- 'elbow, forearm'), WH II 812, M K I 72, F II 1146-7, Vn. U 18, YGM-1 214, Hm. 394, Fs. 35, Vr. 686, Ho. 90, Kb. 197, EWA II 1044-9, Horn 5, Ad. 27, Pv. III 28-9, 31-2 ¶ K: Sv: UP yula⁻y (g yula⁻'is', pl. yula⁻r, yula⁻r), LB/Ln yula⁻, L yulay 'knee', L {Dn.} li-ywlay-e 'kneel' ¶ TK 797, Ni. s.v. колѣно, Dn. s.v. yulay, GP 269 ¶ HS: ? EC: Sa/af {R} helu⁻f ~ holu⁻f 'elbow, ell' ¶ R S II 181.

735. ?? *Tun⁻V 'to bend, be bent, sink, fall' > K *yūn- > OG yūn-/yōn- 'bend', G yūn- 'biegen, krümen', Mg yūn- 'bend' ¶ Abul. 129, 303, Chx. 1655-6, K² 22-3 (adduces OG byūn- 'bend' and reconstructs GZ *bywen-/bywn-) ¶ HS: Ch: ECh: Kbl {Cp.} wo⁻ηli⁻ 'bend' ¶ ChC II A: M *una- v. 'fall' > MM [MA, IM, LV] una-, WrM una-, HIM yna- v. 'fall, fall down', Mnr {SM, T} una⁻, Mgl {Rm.} uno⁻na, Dx una⁻, Ba na⁻ v. 'fall' ¶ Pp. MA 363, 449, Pp. L II 1261, MED 875, SM 471-2, T 368-9, T DnJ 137, T BJ 143, Rm. M 41 || ??σ Tg *o⁻ηk- 'fall flat \ lie on one's back' > Ewk o⁻ηka⁻n- 'fall on one's back', Ewk Np o⁻ηni⁻ vi. 'turn over', Lm o⁻ηki⁻, Neg o⁻ηkanki⁻, o⁻ηkiski⁻, Ul o⁻ndi, Ork o⁻ndon, Nn Nh o⁻ηz⁻i, Nn B unz⁻i, WrMc oncoxon '(lying)falling on one's back', Mc Sb {Y} ?onc⁻zhan, ?onc⁻uhun 'facing upwards', {Mrm.} onc⁻xon 'ausgebreitet, auf dem Rücken liegend' ¶ STM II 21, Y #525, Klz. MS 238.

736. ? *Ton⁻l⁻Vjga 'fingernail, claw' (→ 'thorn, hook') > HS: Eg fOK 'n.t 'fingernail, claw; thumb' > DEg ?n.t 'fingernail, claw', Cpt Sd eine, ine, B ini 'thumb; hache a deux tranchants, instrument du charpentier' ¶ EG I 188, Er. 63, Vc. 64-5) (< *y|gog⁻V) ¶ K: G I/Lch/Gr yvanyv-al-i {Chx., Ghl.} 'hook/peg for hanging up baskets' (Chx.: 'Haken (zum Aufhängen von Körben)'), {Ghl.}

'grip of a basket') ¶ Chx. 1622, Ghl. 587 II IE *H^weng^h_lHo/*H^wnog^h_lH_l- (> *ong^{wh}_lH_lo-, *nog^w_lH_lo-, ? *ənog^h_lH_l- id.), ({EI} *h₃nog^h(w)-) '(finger)nail, claw' > OI na'kham 'finger-toe-nail, claw', pIrn *naxa- > Oss I нѣкъ нѣхъ, D niχ 'fingernail, claw', ZrPhl n?hwn, NPrs cxu'Na nāχon ~ cvxu'Na nāχu'n, Ygn naχna id., KhS na'hune 'nails' || Arm e-ungn eł-ungn (< *enongn [?] or a cd *el-ungn 'Hornagel') 'finger-toe-nail, claw, iron hook' || Gk ὄνυξ, ὄνυχ-ος 'fingernail' (acc. to Bks., υ is due to dis: ὄνυχ- < *onog^h- < *H₃nogh [i.e. *H^wnog^h-]) || L unguis, g pl. unguium, [γ] unx 'finger-toe-nail' || OIr {P} ingu, inga, ionga, {Flr.} ingen, OW eguin, W ewin, OBr {Flr.} euin ~ eguin, Br ivin 'fingernail' || pGmc d: ON nagl, OHG nagal 'nail, plug' (> NHG Nagel) (cp. L ung-ul-a 'hoof'), OSx naga, AS næz'l 'nail, claw', NE nail || BSl: Lt na~gas, Ltv nags 'finger-toe-nail', BSl d (dim.?) *noguti- > Lt nagu ti-s 'finger-toe-nail' (dim.), Pru nagutis 'finger-toe-nail', pSl *no''' gъtъ (g no''' gъta) id. > OCS ногѣтъ nogъtъ, R 'horot?', Cz nehet, P † nogiec', Slv no'het, Blg 'нокът, pl. 'нокт-и, SCr no_kat, g no_kt-a (Blg and SCr -kt- < *-gt- by as in the oblique cases and in pl. with subsequent generalization of -kt- in the declension paradigm) || BSl *nog-a- 'hoof' > Lt naga id., Ltv nagas pl. 'both hands, hands and feet', Pru nage 'foot', pSl *no'ga 'leg, foot' > OCS нoga noga, R нo'га (a ъ нoгy), Blg нo'га, SCr no'ga, Slv no'ga, Cz, Slk noha, P noga || ?φ pTc {Ad.} *mekwa- > A maku pl., B mekwa pl. '(finger/toe)-nails' ({Ad.}: *m- < *n- by as) ¶ P 780, Mn. 879, EI 389, Flr. 169, Frn. 478-9, En. 213, Glh. 440, Vs. III 78-80, Ma. CS 321-2, M K II 124, M E II 4, Ab. II 217-8, Bai. 181, WH II 818-9, Vr. 403-4, Kb. 711, Schz. 219, Ho. 230, Ho. S 54, KM 501, Bks. IELG 47, Slt. 147-8, Vl. II 1271-2, F II 398-9, Ad. 467 ¶ IE *-ng^{hw}H- < pre-IE *-ngH- < *-ng- regularly II U: FU *oŋtV 'thorn, spear' > Chr L {B} ymdo umdo, yndo undo, Chr M unto 'spear, sting', Chr Uf unδъ 'bayonet, sting', Chr B unδo 'bear-spear, spear, sting' || ObU: pOs *oŋtə(p) [{?}Hl.} *a~ŋtə(p)] 'bear-spear, spear' > Os: V/Vy o.ŋtəw, Ty/Y a~ŋw̄təp, D oŋtə, Sh ɔ~ŋtə, Kz ɔŋti, O uŋti, N {Alm.} oŋti, uŋti id.; pVg *a~wtV 'spear' > Vg: T awta~, LK/P owta, Ss owta, ML {Mu.} a~wta~ ~ a~wte id. || ? Sm *a~ŋtъ 'blade' > Ne T ннд, T O {Lh.} n'a'~nt, Ng {Mik.} ŋat'ə, En {Cs.} Kh eddo, B naddo, Slq Tz {Prk.} a~ŋti, oŋti, Slq Tm {KD} a~ŋd, Mt {Hl.} *a~nda~ (misprinted as *a~nda~) id. (Mt K {Pl.} e~ndide id. [+ ppa. 3s]) -dъ Mt {Hl.} *a~ndəka~ (misprinted for *a~ndəka~ [?]) 'sharp' (Mt M {Sp.} андыка) ¶ Coll. 105, UEW 342, Sm. 542 (FU *oŋta~ 'spear' > FP *oŋta, Ugr ? *uŋta), Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 20-1, Hl. M #74, Stn. D 144-5, MK 399 II ? D *a~n'i 'nail, peg' > Tm a~n'i 'nail, small spike, peg, linchpin', Ml a~n'i, Tu a~n.i 'peg, nail', Kt a~n'y 'nail of metal or wood', Td o~n'y 'nail', Kn, Tl a~n'i 'nail, linchpin' ¶ The word is etymologically connected with OI a~n.ih. 'pin of the axle' and Pali a~n'i- 'linch-pin, bolt, peg', but the direction of the borrowing is not clear: Caldwell suggests that the OI word is from Dravidian, while the 2nd ed. of the Dravidian Etym. Dict. assumes the opposite direction of the borrowing. Since the IE et. of OI a~n.i- (presumably < IE *el-ni-, whence OHG lun 'bolt, nail of a wheel' and NHG Lu~nse < *l̥o-ni, as suggested with a query by Mayrhofer) is doubtful, the D origin of the stem is still rather plausible ¶ Cald. CGDL² 454ff., DED #295, D app. #10, M K I 72.

737. *Tan^hc^h.U 'cheek' > HS: C: SC: Alg {E} ŋunc^h.a, Irq {MQK} ŋunc^h.a 'inside of cheek', {Mgw.} ŋunc^h.a 'cheek', Brn {E} ŋuc^h.a 'cheek' [and/or Irq {MQK} ŋanc^h.amo~, {Wh.} a'nc^h.amo 'molar', Brn {Wh.} a~c^h.imo 'tooth' (pl. a~c^h.o)?] ¶ AD SF 307, E SC 278, Mgw. 115, Wh. IC 26, Wh. SI, MQK 15, 112 II U: FU: pOs {Ht.} *o~n'c'əχ 'jaw' > Os: V/Vy ɔn'c'əχ, on'c'əχ, Ty o~n'c'əχ, Y o~nc'əχ, D/K uns'ə, Kz wə'n's'i~, O onsi id. ¶ Ht. #39 (i ч Vg *a~nəχ 'jaw') ¶ The final *-əχ in Os may be explained by the infl. of ObU *fa~nəχ 'jaw' (< N *Xa~n~Vkv ~ *Xa~ŋkv 'jaw, palate' [q.v.]) II K {FS, K²} *yac^h.w- 'cheek' > OG yac^h.u- 'cheek' [Mt. 5.39], 'jaw' [Ψ 31.9], G yac^h.v-i 'cheek', yac^h.u 'the upper part of a cheek', Sv Lx ya~c^h.a 'cheek', Sv p ya~c^h.ol (with a dim. sx.) id. ¶ FS K 344, K² 222 II A: NTg *anča 'cheek' > Sln anča, Lm A an'ci, Lm B/O an'cin, Neg anča~n id., Ewk anča~n d han'can 'cheek, cheek-bone' ! ? (cd, d?) ATg *andasi 'cheek' > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh andasi ◆ Hardly here B *gfa~z.z. 'cheek' (> Ah ag'az.z., pl. ig'az.z.ən, Gh aʒ'əz., Gd ag'əz.z., pl. g'əz.z.ən) because of the initial *g-.

738. *TontV 'heat; to heat' > K: GZ *ywent- v. 'melt (wax, fat)' (× K {K²} *ywent- 'stream down' > Sv ywe~nt 'drop?') > G yvent- (inf. dayventeba) 'melt', Mg yvant- v. id. ¶ K DE2 175, K² 226, Fn. KW-1 #72, FS K 348, FS E 390 II IE *xend- 'be hot; set fire to' > Ht hantais- n. 'heat', Pal (bf.) ha~ 'be hot' || NaIE *oand- > OIr and- v. 'kindle' (prtc. andithe 'accensus', vb. n. andud) ¶ Ped. H 48 (Ht, OIr), Pv. III 107, Ts. E I 154, Vn. A 75 (no satisfactory et. for OIr) II U: FP *onta 'heat, warmth' > Lp Pa {TI} o~d.~t~ 'Anlage; Eifer' ! BF (with an irreg. *i-): Es ? ind (g inna) 'rut (kiima)', F inta 'desire, lust' ('halu, himo'), into 'eagerness, ardour, zeal' ! Prm: Z o~d 3d (obl 3dy-) 'embers in a stove; speed', {Rog.} o~dd 'heat in a sauna', Vt o~dy 3di 'strength' ¶ UEW 790 (suggests that the irreg. BF *i- is due to as), TI 312, SK 108, LG 209 ◆ The absence of the expected labialization in IE (*x^we- > *o-) still requires explanation.

739. *yerV (or *xerV) 'eagle' > IE *x^her-/ *x^hor- 'eagle, large bird' > NaIE *er-/ *or- > OIr irar ~ ilar, W eryr, MBr erer, Br/Crn (hpl.?) er 'eagle' || Gmc {P} *aran- > Gt ara, ON ari, o~rn (< Gmc *arnuz) 'eagle', AS earn, OHG aro id., NHG Aar 'big bird of prey'; MHG adel-ar (lit. 'noble eagle/bird of prey') 'eagle' > NHG Adler id. || BSl d: Lt ere~lis, ? are~lis, Pru [El.] arelie

(ce. for arelis), Ltv e`rglis (< \*e`rdlis) 'eagle' : Sl *o`rĭlĭ (g \*o`rĭla) 'eagle' > OCS орѣлъ o`rglĭ, Blg o`rel, SGr o`rao (g o`rla), Slv o`rel (g o`rla), Cz orel, Slk orol, P orzeł, R o`pe`el op`la), Uk o`rel : Gk ὄρνις (g ὄρνις) 'bird; cock, hen', Gk ὄρνειον 'bird' : Arm oror o`rof 'sea-mew, sea-gull, cob', urur uruf 'buzzard' || Ht haras, haran-, Pal haras(-) (g ḥarānas) 'eagle' ¶ P 325-6, EI 173 (*h₃or- 'eagle'), F II 421-2, LP § 256, Fs. 54-5, Vr. 13, 688, Ho. 86, Kb. 44, EWA I 341-4, KM 1, Frn. 122, En. 143, Tp. P A-D 101-3, Glh. 455-6, Bedr. 570, 580, Pv. III 137-9, Ts. E I 170-1, Carr. P 8-9 || HS: S *ḥar₁ay-> Ak OB/MB/NB eru (~ aru) 'eagle', Ak LB ara`nis 'like an eagle', OA {HJ} (?) ḥr 'bearded vulture', JA [Trg.] ro2 ḥar, em. aīr^o2 ḥar'y-a- {Js.} '∈ bird of prey' (prob. 'lammergeier'), {Lv.} '∈ eine Adlerart, Aar' (but {Dlm.} ro1 ḥa`r, em. ar!o1 ḥa`r-a- '∈ bird of prey') ¶ CAD I/2 231 & IV 324-5, Sd. 247, HJ 884, Lv. TM I 239, Js. 1109, Dlm. 307 || ?? Eg XVIII ḥzy.w '∈ bird of prey', {Fk.} 'carrion-birds'; ? Eg N ḥzy.t '∈ edible bird'; but Eg ḥzy.w may be alternatively connected with C: DhI {EEN} ḥe`le '∈ hawk' and {???} pWRt {E} *ḥulungay > Alg {E} ḥungulay 'kite' ¶ EG III 16, Fk. 161, EEN 27, E SC 302 || C: Bj {R} 'e`r?e 'white-tailed sea-eagle' ¶ R WBd 28 || D (in McTm) *eruvay > Tm eruvai '∈ kite', Ml eruva 'eagle, kite' ¶ D #818 ◆ Aram ḥ- does not correspond to Eg ḥ-, hence both Aram ḥr₁y and Eg ḥzy are qu. as cognates (unless a way of explaining the irregularity is found). If Aram ḥr₁y belongs here, the rec. must be *yerV, otherwise (if the Eg cognate is accepted), it must be *xerV.

740. *Turu 'to flow, stream' > K: GZ ¶ *ḡwar-/ḡwr- > G ḡvar-/ḡvr- 'pour (out)', ḡvar-i 'stream' ('Regen-, Gieß-bach, Strom [von Schweiß, Blut, etc.]), Mg {Q} ḡvaryval- vi. 'flow, leak, boil', ḡvaryval-i 'stream, strong current, boiling', ? Mg/Lz {Chik.} ḡvar- v. 'get soaked' ¶ Chx. 1622, 1628-9, Q 350, Chik. 347 || IE *xwr- ¶ 'sprinkle' > Ht hurnai-, hurniya- v. 'spray, sprinkle', Pal huwarninai 'sprinkles' || NaIE *wr_on-/u`r-/au`r- (× N *w'a'qrV [or *w'a'rqV?] 'to rain, drip, trickle, be strained' [q.v.] and possibly N *warV 'stream of water' [q.v.]) > Gk ῥαίω 'I sprinkle' (< *wr_on-y-o-), ῥαίς (g ῥαίς) n. 'drop' : L u`rīna 'urine' (semantic infl. of Gk ὄυρον id. < NaIE \*wors-/wers- 'rain, dew' < N \*wVR3V - \*wV3VRV 'to pour, flow', q.v.), ?σ u`rīnor / u`rīna-ri v. 'dive' : ON u`r 'light rain, moisture', ON u`rigr 'dewy', AS u`riz 'moist', ON aur-r (?) 'moisture, wetness' : Pru wurs (< Blt *u`ras) 'pond' (× NaIE wer-/u`r- 'flowing water' < N *warV '↑') ¶ Pv. III 402-4, P 80-1, 1182, F II 639-40, WH II 840, Vr. 20, 635, Ho. 372, En. 278, ¶ EI 636 (IE *we|Hr 'water') || A *u`RU 'flow' > M \*urus- 'flow, run, stream' > MM [MA, IsV] urus- id., WrM urus-, HIM ypca-x id., 'float; dissolve', Ord {Ms.} u`rs- 'couler', Mnr {SM} uros3- v. 'flow, leak', {T} urose- 'flow, stream', Dx {T} urusu- 'flow' ¶ Pp. MA 368, Lg. VMI 71, MED 886-7, SM 478-9, T 369, T DnJ 137, Pp. IM 203 || ?? NTg *u`rU- > Ewk urigdā(n) 'creek, back-water (завод?)', slow stream (тихое течение), Lm u`r3n- 'schmelzen, umschmelzen (Blei, Erz)' ¶ STM II 284, LW 1062 || ?? pJ {S} *u`ru`p- > OJ {S} u`ru`p-, {Mr.} uruḡu, J: T/Kg uruó-, K u`ru`o`- 'get wet, soak'; d> pJ {Mr.} \*uru-pa-pa- > J uruou 'be moistened/wet/damp' ¶ S QJ #363, Mr. 780 || T: [1] Yk u`ra`k 'river, brook' [2] T \*o`rs- (> NaT *o`rVs- ~ \*o`z-) 'river', v. 'flow' > Yk o`ru`s, u`o`s, Tk ? o`z, Chv var 'river', Az ? u`z- v. 'flow, stream'; b> T *o`rsa`n (> NaT *o`za`n) 'river, river bed' > Tk ?, Qmq, Qzq o`zen, Kr o`zen d o`z'a`n ~ ezen, CrTt ozen, 'river', Qrg o`zo`n, Uz yĀzan ōzan 'river bed', QbB, Nog o`zen 'valley' (< \*'river bed'), Tv o`zen, Chv vaz_an 'ravine (ложбина, лог, ло?ина)', VTt u`za`n, Bsh u`da`n 'valley, depression (дол)'; ¶ ET Gl 510-2, UzR 579, TkR 499, Pek. 1968, 3168, AzDDL 399 ¶ Pp. VG 102 (M, Tg), DQA #1584 (A *oruso 'river; to flow': M, T *o`rs-); the J cognate was suggested by Starostin (p.c., 1975) || D \*u`r_u- v. 'spring, flow (as water in a well), ooze' > Tm u`r<sub>u</sub> id., Ml u`r_uka v. 'spring as water, ooze', Kn u`r<sub>u</sub>, Tl u`ru id., 'leak out', Td u`r<sub>u</sub>- 'spring forth, ooze', Kdg utt-, Tu u`juni, u`suni, Gdb u`r-e`r- v. 'ooze', Klm u`r- 'house' leaks', Nkr u`r- v. 'leak, drip', Gnd u`sa- 'flow of water, flood', Knd u`sa 'spring', Kui ur-pa / ur-t- v. 'ooze, spring up', Ku u`ta 'spring, fountain', Mlt orbe v. 'fall in showers' ¶ D #761 ◆ IS I 240-1 (K, D, A + qu. S). It is worth paying attention to Sq {Ls.} 'eyreh 'lake' and Ug {OLS} ḡyr 'depression, well' ('depresiyn, pozo, profundidad'), but they are more likely to belong together with Ar ḡawir- 'bottom, lowest part' < CS *ḡawir- < d CS *ḡa`r- < N *gari 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' [q.v.]. D *-r- < N intervoc. *-r- (reg.).

741. ??2 *IVRV 'wild boar' > K: GZ *ḡor- 'swine' > G ḡor-, Mg, Lz ḡe3- id. ¶ K 205, K² 232, FS K 351-2, FS E 394-5 || HS: EC: Af {PH} ḥe`ray 'pigs' (snglt. ḥe`ra`ytu 'pig'), {R} ḥa`ra`y, Sa {R} 'ḥara` coll. 'wild boars' (snglt. -yta-) Or {Brl.} eria 'wild boar'; C b> Gz ḥara`wya 'swine' ¶ R S II 19, PH 128, L G 244, Brl. 138.

742. *YERG 'big beast, beast of prey' > IE *xr_ok`- ~ \*xr<sub>o</sub>tk`- 'bear' ({EI} *h₂r_otk`o-s) > Ht hartakka- ({Pv.} hartka) 'bear' || NaIE {WP, P} \*r<sub>o</sub>k`po-s id. > OI 'r_oks,a-, Av ars'a, Oss ars : Gk ἄρκτος : Arm arJ ar3 : L ursus : OIr art, W arth : pAl {O} *ar (> OAl xvii [Bgd.] ar) d> pAl *arina id. > Al ari, pl. arinj : Lt irs'tva 'bear's den' ¶ Pv. III 201-2, WP II 322, P 875, EI 55-6, F I 141-2, LP § 28, Vn. A 91, WH II 84, Slr. 131-2, O 8-9, ¶ Frn. 187 || ? A {DQA} *i_a`rgi'o 'wild beast of prey' > pKo {S} \*i`rhi 'wolf' > MKo i`rhi, NKo iri id. ¶ S QK #273, Nam 406, MLC 1327 || Tg \*i`arga 'leopard' > WrMc yarga ~ yarqa 'leopard (with black spots)', Jrc {Kiy.} yarha 'panther', Ud yaga ~ yag'a` 'leopard' ¶ STM I 337, Kiy. 105 [#148] ¶

□ DQA #627 (Tg, Ko) □ ? HS: S *^o/ʕrg > Ar Φ^rOu ʕura^g- pl. 'hyenas', ʕurg^a-ʔ-u 'hyena' (the vowels belong to derivational patterns) □ BK II 210 ◇ DQA I. c. (A, IE).

743. ?? ***ʕoʕrk.ou** 'bend, be bent/crooked' > K ***ʕwrek**-//***ʕwrik**-//***ʕwr** k. - vi. 'crook (get crooked), curve (get curved)' > OG, G **ʕrek**-/ʕrik. - id., OG **ʕrek.il** 'crooked', Mg **ʕirak**-/ʕirik-/ʕirk-/ʕiroke-, Lz **ʕrik**-/ʕlik-/ʕvelik. - v. 'bend', Sv **ʕwrek** - v. 'wind' □ K 206, K² 229 (GZ ***ʕ(w)r-ek**-//***ʕ(w)r-ik**-//***ʕ(w)r-k**-, Sv **ʕwrek** - 'derives from a G source'), FS K 353-4, FS E 397, Chx. 1647, Chik. 270-1, Marr 201, IS I 240 □ IE ***herk^w** - ʔ ***herku** - ({EI} ***h_Aerkwo-s**) > NaIE ***ark^w** - ʔ ***ark^w** 'a bow', (?) v. 'be flexible' (× N ***llar^ʕ.ʕu** 'sinew' [q.v. ffd.]) > OL **g_Aarqu-ī**, L **arcus**, -u^s n. 'bow', Um **arç_Alataf** 'articulatas, circular cakes' □ pGmc ***arx^wo** ['belonging to a bow' →] 'arrow' (ffd. see N ***llar^ʕ.ʕu**) □ WP I 81, P 67-8, EI 78, EM 78-9, WH I 64, Fs. 56, Vr. 688, Ho. 85, Coll. ULF 174, IS I 240, F I 142-3 □ HS: CS ***ʕrk.l** v. □ 'twist/distort; stray from the right way' > JA [Trg.] lqro ʕrk.l (pf. ʕar^ʕk_{el}) 'verkehren, kr_{mmen}, verdrehen' {Lv.} (gab₋ra₋d_{amə}ʕark_{ali}n millo^ʕy^hi 'ein Mann, dessen Worte verkehrt sind', Trg. of Prov. 29.19), Sr L_{hr}0 ʕrk.l 'torsit, implexuit, irretivit' {PS} (mə^ʕark_{el} ʔu^ʕrha⁻ 'tortuosam reddit semitam'), Ar ʔqrO ʕrql (pf. ʔaqarOaO ʕarqala) v. 'stray from the right course; to distort' [{Fr.} 'deflexit a proposito; distorsit (sermonem)'] [semantic infl. of ***ʕrk.l** 'turn, twist' (Aram/Sr "Par^{el} conjugation")] □ Lv. T II 247, PS 2964, Fr. III 145 || Eg: it is tempting to adduce Eg fOK ʕrk. 'bend', but Cpt Sd/B **wak o^lk** 'plier, courber, contracter' suggests an Eg word-medial ***l** rather than ***r** (Vc. reconstructs the pronunciation of Eg ʕrk. as ***ʕalk**), so that the Eg verb belongs here only if HS ***rk** - yields Eg ***lk** - □ EG I 211, Vc. 249 □ A: ? Tg ***u_rlx_lʕu** ʕ. - vt. 'bend', 'crooked, slanting' (?) > WrMc **urxu**, **urxuri** 'crooked, slanting' {Z}, '(zu)geneigt, schief' {Hr.}, **urxu** 'zur Seite neigen, schief sein', Lm **uru**-, Ork **urru** - ~ **uru** - vt. 'bend', Ewk **urik₃n**-, Neg **uyix₃n**-, Ul **urīn**-, Nn **uriz₃** ur³ - vi. 'bend' □ STM II 285, Hr. 969, Z 173 □ The absence of any reflex of N ***k**, (and Tg ***x**) in NrTg and AmTg is puzzling and constitutes an argument against the adduction of the Tg v □ ? D ***o^r** 'crooked' > Td **wīry** (wīry {Em.}) 'steep hillside', Kn o^rra, o^rre 'state of being aslant, oblique, bending, declivity, crookedness', Kdg o^rre 'slanting', Tu o^rre 'crooked, bent', Tl o^rra 'oblique, sidelong, bent', Knd o^rra ki- v. 'bend slantingly' □ D #1062 ◇ The N **vw**. ***o** of the first syll. is suggested by D and possibly by K (if the rec. ***ʕw** - is right). The final ***o** ʔ ***u** are evidenced by IE (labialized velar ***k^w** ʔ ***ku**). ◇ Cf. IS I 240 (***gark_u** > IE, K).

744. ? 2 ***ʕVRPV** 'cloud' > HS: S ***ʕarap(-at)** - (~ ***ʕVpVr-**) 'cloud' > Ak fOB **erpetu** ~ YB **urpatu**, Ak **Λ erpu** 'cloud', Ug ʕrpt, Mh {Jo.} ʔa^ʕfo^r, Jb C ʕa^ʕfo^r id., Hrs ʔa^ʕfo^r 'cloud, dusty wind' (× WS ***ʕa^ʕpar** 'dust' > Hb ʕa^ʕp^ar-, Ar ʕafar- 'dust'); but we should keep apart (because of the cns. ***ʕ** -) the word ***ʕara** 'pill- 'dark cloud' > BHb lf3r1o9 ʕ^ara^ʕp^{el} [pl. MHb Mil^ʕ5p⁵r^o2 ʕarpil^lim] id. [> NHb lf3r1o9 (ʕ)ara^ʕfel 'fog'], Ug ʕrpl 'nube, nubarrin', Sr ʕarpe^ll^a- 'dark fog, mist, thick darkness' □ Sd. 243, 1432, CAD IV 302-4, OLS 90, 160, A ##2102, Jo. M 15, Jo. H 7, Jo. J 8, KB 840-1, Br. 549, JPS 429 || C: Bj B {Alm.} 'afrat, Bj {Rop.} afrad (pl. afrada), {R} 'afra 'cloud' □ Alm. III 2, R WBd 9, 358, Rop. 145 □ K: MG [VTq.], G ʕrub-el-i 'cloud' □ Chx. 1652, DCh. 1567.

745. ? 2 ***ʕVr^ʕ.q^lV** 'to gnaw' > HS: CS ***ʕrk**, v. 'gnaw' > BHb ʕrk. (prtc. pl. m. Miq5r^ʕ7o ʕo^rk^lim) 'gnaw away', Sr, Ug ʕrk., Ar ʕrq 'gnaw' □ KB 841, KBR 808-9, Grd. UT #1925, A #2104 □ K: GZ ***ʕery^ʕ**-, ***ʕry^ʕ-wn_o**-, {FS} ʕry^ʕ - v. 'gnaw' > G ʕryn-, Mg ʕiryon-, Lz ʕiryol-; G ʕery^ʕ - □ K 207, K² 235, ? 223 (***ʕery^ʕ** - not distinguished from ***ʕery^ʕ** 'grind'), FS K 356 □ ???φ possibly IE (with several ass. transformations and onomatopoeic infl.) ***g^wruk^h** k^h - ~ ***g^wru(:)g^h** / **g^wrou^h** g^h - ~ ***g^wru(:)g^h** / **g^wrou^h** g^h - v. 'gnaw, bite' > Gk βρυ^ʕκω 'I bite, eat greedily', βρυ^ʕχω 'I gnash my teeth; I bite' □ BSl (< ***g^wroug^h** l^h / **gru(:)g^h** l^h -) > Lt gra^ʕuz^ʕti (1w prs. gra^ʕuz^ʕiu), Ltv grau^ʕzt v. 'gnaw' □ pSl ***griz^ʕ-ti** / prs. ***griz^ʕ-o** v. 'gnaw' > OCS **г^ʕызж^ʕ** grizo^ʕ / **г^ʕызсти** gristi v. 'bite, gnaw', Blg **г^ʕи^ʕза**, SCr **gri^ʕsti**, Slv **gri^ʕsti**, Cz **hry^ʕzti**, P **gryz^ʕc^ʕ**, OR, RChS **г^ʕыз^ʕти** grizti, R **г^ʕызт^ʕ** 'to gnaw' □ Arm **kr^ʕem k^ʕərcem** (< ***kurcem** < NaIE ***g^wrug^h** -) v. 'gnaw, nibble' □ P 485-6, F I 272-4, Slr. 447-8, Frn. 164-5, ESSJ VII 160-1, Glh. 237.

746. o ***IVRIV0TV** (= ***gVRgV0TV**) '∈ waterfowl' > K ***ʕarya^d** 'goose' > OG ʕeryed- ~ ʕeryet. - id., Mg ʕoryon3^ʕ-, Lz ʕoryo3^ʕ-, Sv: UB ʕarya^d, LB ʕaryad, L ʕaryand id. □ K 201, K² 221, Chik. 103, TK 792-3 □ IE ***Her₁H₁e_oHd** '∈ waterbird' [{EI} ? ***h₁orHdeh_A** - ~ ***h₁r(o)Hdeh_A** - id., 'heron (?)'] > NaIE ***ar^od-/ar^{ad}** - > Gk ε^ʕρ^oδιο^ʕς, ρ^oδιο^ʕς, α^ʕρ^oδιο^ʕς 'heron' □ L ardea id. □ ON arta, OSw a^ʕrta 'teal (Kriekente, Anas crecca)', AS earte, ON **ertla** 'wagtail (Motacilla)' □ SCr ro^ʕda 'stork' □ WP I 146-7, P 68, EI 268, F I 572-3, WH I 64, Mn. 31, F I 572-3, Vr. 15, 105, Ho. 86 □ HS: S: o Ar ʕaryarat- 'female partridge' □ BK II 457 ◇ Cf. AD LRC #67 (K, IE). If Ar ʕaryarat- belongs here (rather than is an independent o), the rec. must be ***gVRgV0TV**.

747. ***ʕu^ʕs^ʕV** 'live' > IE ***xeu_s-/*xwes-** ({Pv.} ***A₁e^ʕws-/A₁we^ʕs-**) 'live', {EI} ***h₂wes-** 'dwel, pass the night, stay' > Ht hues- / hwis- / hus- 'live, be/stay alive', i Ld {Gsm.} ves^ʕfa- 'living (?)' || NaIE ***wes-** 'be, live, dwell' > OI 'vasati 'dwells, lives, stays', Av **vanhahti** 'verweilt' □ Gt **wisan** 'to be, remain', ON **vesa**, vera, NNr vera, Sw **vara**, Dn **være**, AS **wesan** (whence NE p.

was, pl. were), OSx, OHG wesan 'be', NHG p. war 'was', prtc. gewesen 'been', Wesen n. 'being, essence' || Mlr fo'(a)id 'passes the night, stays', {SB} foss 'Bleiben, Ruhe', MW, W gwesti 'lodging', W gwest 'lodging, rest' || Arm goj goy 'is, there is', gon gon '(they) are', aganim aganim 'spend the night' || Tc B wa''s- v. {Pv.} 'rest, reside', {Ad.} 'dwell, abide, remain, lie (on)' ? Gk ἵστω [vu'κτας] (< {Pv.} *A₁i-A₁ew-s-) / aor. ἴστα [vu'κτα] (< {Pv.} *A₁wes-s-m_o) 'rest, spend the night' (⇔ F I 706, Ch. 454) ¶ Pv. III 332-41, Ts. E I 265-6, P 1170-1, EI 171, 281, M K III 171-2, SB 277-8, YGM-1 265, Fs. 567-8, Vr. 657, Ho. 391, Kb. 1183, Schz. 320-1, KM 854, Gd. 41, KT 210, Wn. 564-5, Ad. 597-8 || HS: WS *-ŋis- 'live' > Ar √ŋys- G (ip. -ŋis'u) 'live' ({Fr.} 'vitam duxit'), ŋy0Oa ŋays- 'life', Mh √ŋys- (3m pf. ʔa-yo-s, sbjn. ya-ye-s), Jb √ŋys- (pf. ŋe-s, sbjn. yŋo-s) 'live, survive' ¶ Fr. III 249-50, Jo. M 38, Jo. J 20 || D *uc-, {GS} *us- v. 'live' > Tm uy- 'live, subsist', Ml uyir ~ us'ir, Kn usir, usur, usiru, Tu usuru, usulu, Tl usuru, usur_u, Knd usur 'life, breath', Kt ucr, Td u''r, usir 'life', Kdg usiri 'breath', Krx u33- 'have life, reside, become animated', Mlt uze v. 'live', n. 'life' ¶ D #645, Zv. 56, 75, 112, GS 124-5 [#320], 53 [#133].

748. ?? ₂ *rŋis-**VbV** 'to grow; vegetation' > HS *√ŋs'b 'grass; to grow' > S *√ŋs'b v. 'grow luxuriantly' (grass) > Ak es'e-bu id.; S *ŋis'u₁b- 'grass' > Hb bŋ3o4 'ŋes'εβ, pl. t&Bŋ6o5 ŋis'bo't_ 'herbage, weed', BA aB1ŋ6o5 ŋis'ba_, JA {Js.} aB1x6o5 ŋis'ba_ 'herbage, grass', JEA {Sl.} aB1ŋ6io5 ~ abxo ŋis'ba_ 'herb', Plm ŋs'by pl. 'herb', Sr Bsec ε'ə'sεb_ / 'bosee ε's'ba_ 'green herb, grass', SmA bxo ŋsb 'grass', Ak is'babtu 'ε grass\weed', Ar ʔ40m ŋus'b- 'green grass'; Cn -b> Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ε'a-s'-bu 'grass (?)' ¶ KB 842, KBR 889, HJ 890, Js. 1097, Sl. 860, Tal 648, JPS 420, BK II 260, Sd. 253, 392, CAD VII 233, Hlk. #39, SivCR 78 || B i*ks'juβ > amb Gd a-s's'əβ 'herbe bonne pour le bñtail' (unless it is from *a-ks'əβ, cp. Ty, ETwl a-k_ŋsa, pl. i-k_ŋsat_ŋn, Ah a-kasa, pl. i-kəsa-t_ŋn 'herbe fraoche et abondante') ¶ Lf. II #0167, GhA 101, Fc. 909 || CCh: Mdr {Eg.} i'sba' 'grass' ¶ JS 123, ChC II ??? K: G Kx ŋoŋos-i 'junges Gras; Trieb des Keimes' ¶ Chx. 1646 || A: Tg *iseb- v. 'grow, vegetate' (× N *wis'ŋV ~ *wu''s'ŋV 'to grow'??) > Lm isu- v. 'grow, vegetate', Neg is3w- id., Ewk is3w- v. 'grow', Ud {Krm.} yiu-, {Shn.} y3Hu- v. 'grow' ¶ STM I 332, Krm. 242.

749. *ŋo'wV 'wild sheep\goats', (→ or ←) 'wild game' > HS: Eg fOK ŋw.t 'small cattle (goats and sheep)', 'wild game', 'quadrupeds' ¶ EG I 170-1, Fk. 39 || ?? Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl. VZCh} *ŋV 'goat' > Su {J, Hf.} ŋ3-, Ang ŋu- {Hf.}, Ywm ŋ3-, {J} Gmy ʔu- {Hf.} : Ron: Fy {J} ʔo- id. ? Wrj {Sk.} a'wa'y id. || CCh: BB: Nz {Mch.} ho,we, Bt G {Srp.} hu'e' id. : Mdr: Nkc ox'wa {Blg.}, Glv ʔa'g'wa' {Kr.}, a'g'wa' {Rp.}, Dgh ŋ_ 'we' {Frk.}, ŋ'we' {Kr.} id., pMM {Ro.} *aw-(ak) id. > Gzg ʔa'w, Mada, Myn, Mkt, Vm, Zlg a'wa'k, Hrz a'wa', Mlk a'wa'k; McMs: Zm {Srp.} hu, ZmB {Sx. in ChC} u'h'wu' id. ? ECh: Skr {Sx.} a'-tu' (pl. a'-w-ti') 'wild mountain goat', EDng {Fd.} a'w-ko' id. ¶ JI II 166-7, ChC, J R 88, J S 67, ChL, Hf. AG 25, #226, Stl. VZCh A #8, RpB 4, Lk. G117, Ro. 260 [#311] || IE *x₁owi- ({EI} *h₂owi-s, g *h₂ewy-os) 'sheep' > Ht {Ts.} UDU-is' [*haw-is], Lw xawi-, HrLw {Mer.} ha-wa-s, Lc xawa~ id. || NaIE *h₁owi-(s) 'sheep' > OI 'avi- id. : Wx yobc (< Irn *a-vi-c'i-) 'ewe' || Gk ŋo'is, Gk A o'is, Gk Arg ŋo'is 'sheep' || L ovi-s id., Um OUI, a pl. uvef 'oves', uvem a 'ovem' || OIr o'i 'sheep' || ON ær 'ewe', OHG ou, (?) ouwi 'ewe', OSx e'wi, AS e'owu, e'owe 'ewe lamb', NE ewe, d: Gt awistr 'sheep-cote, sheep-pen', awepi 'flock of sheep' || Lt avi's, Ltv avs 'sheep'; Lt a~vinas, Ltv a~uns, Pru [El.] awins 'ram' : SI *ovb'-ca (a *ovb'-co_) (< dim.) 'sheep' > OCS овѣца овѣса, SCr, Slv o'vca, Cz ovce, Slk ovca, P owca, Blg, R ов'ца, Uk в'вѣц 'sheep'; SI *ovb' n'ŋ 'ram' > ChS, OR овѣнъ овѣпъ, SCr o'van ~ o'van, Slv o'ven, Blg o'ven, Cz oven || Arm hovi y hovi (< *h₁owi-pa-) 'shepherd'; in addition, Mn. and Grgv. adduce OArm aydi° aw-di-k^h 'sheep' (pl.) (di 'flesh, body', -k^h pl. marker) || Tc B eye ({Ad.}: < *h₂owe'i_s) 'sheep', pl. awi 'ewes' ¶ WP I 167, P 784, Mn. 897, M K I 59, M E I 135, F II 367-8, WH II 329, Bc. G 340, Vn. Q 14, Mn. AIE 56, 179, Me. EAC 31, Grgv. BEO 128 (believes that OArm awdi 'aheep' goes back to a Phr loan from DM), Slt. 174 (denies the existence of Arm reflexes of this IE v rather than hoviw, but does not mention awdi), Vr. 681, Fs. 70-1, Schz. 230, Kb. 751, 754, OsS 134, Ho. 93, Ho. S 17, Frn. 28, En. 149, Tr. APS 679, Tp. P A-D 178-80, Vs. II 113, 116, Glh. 461-2, Ad. 92, Ts. E I 230, Mer. HHG 58-9 || ??σ A *a'bV 'wild game, hunt; to hunt' (× N *xawi'ŋV 'drive, chase, pursue', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cf. Bm. TPN 265 [#252] (IE, Eg) ◇ || AD NM #42, S CNM 10 (compares A *a'ba with IE *əwa- 'to wound, hurt', which I reconstruct as *wa'-/wə- and equate with Eg wh: 'hew (stones); pluck; cut (crops)'; 44 ST, Yn), ? Vv. AEN 17 (rejects the A cognate because of unj. doubts about the μν 'wild game' → 'hunt' in A).

750. *ToyV 'carry, bring' > K {GM, FS} *ŋ- v. 'carry', {K} *ŋw- 'have, carry', {K²} *ŋ(w)- 'take, take away' > OG ŋw-, G ŋ(v)-, Mg ŋ- / ŋv- 'take, carry, have (sth.)' (msd. ŋvena 'have'), Lz ŋ-, Sv ŋ-/ŋw- 'have [sth. inanimate]; take off [some article of clothing]' (msd. liywe-ne 'have', liŋe 'take off') ¶ K 203 (*ŋw-), K² 224, Chik. 343-4, Q 347-9, Schm. 138, FS K 341, FS E 382-3 (in both *ŋ-), GP 175 || HS: B *√Hw'y' > Ah awi 'carry, bring', Gh {Nh.}, Snd {Prv.} awi d 'bring' (3s aor. iwi d; d 'her-'), Izn, Rf, SrSn, Sll awi 'carry (away)', awi d 'bring', SrSn T uwi id., Zng 3m aor. yuwa-dda'h 'brings' ¶ Fc. 64, Nh. 123, Prv. 99, Rn. 283, Ds. 18, 226, TC FL 2 || D {tr., GS} *oy- 'carry, drag' > Tm oy- v. 'drag along' (as a flood), 'launch (as a boat), 'send forth, give', Td u''y-

v. 'chase', Kn oy, uy v. 'carry off, carry, convey', Tu oyipuni v. 'draw, pull, drag', Knd o- 'carry, take away', Prj uy-, Gnd oy-/o⁻ id., 'take', Png o⁻-, Mnd u⁻ - 'take', Kui opa / ot- 'lead away, take away (persons)', Ku oi_yali-, o⁻ - 'take away, remove', Krx ho?o. 'take, receive, transport', Mlt oye- 'take away' ¶¶ D #984, GS 72 [#233].