

751. ***ha**, deictic pronominal pc. ('ille', distal deixis ↔ N ***h'e** 'hic', proximal deixis ↔ (?) ***h'i** 'iste' or 'hic' ~ ? ***hu** 'iste', intermediate deixis) > **HS**: WS ***ha-** (> Ar **ha-ḏa** 'this'), (× N ***han** 'other') > ***han** (~ ***h'al?**) 'this' > df. art.: BHb **ha-** + gmc., Ph, M'b, Amn, Ed, Lh, Sf, Tmd **h-**, Hdr **-hn**, Sb, Mn, Qt **-n**, ?? Ar **ḥal-** ¶ KB 225-6, HJ 263-4, GBr. JJAP 49-50, GBr. DJA 177-8, Bst. 31, ≠ BL H § 262 (Hb **ha-** < ***ha-**) || C: Ag: Aw **a'-n** 'that' (↔ **z'-n** 'this') : Af {PH} **a** 'this\these' (proximal dem. prn.) ¶ Hz. NSA 134, PH 27, 235 || NrOm: [1] (an inversion of the relation?): Wl {LmS} **ha** 'this' ({C} **a**) (↔ **he** 'that'), Zs {C} **a-** 'this' (↔ **e-** 'that'), Gf {Bnd.} **ha** 'this', Bsk {Bnd.} **fa** 'this' m., [2] Ym {Lm.} **a** 'der\die da' ¶ LmS W 81-4, Bnd. MO 16-7, C SO 15, C SE III 190, Lm. Y 85-7 || B ***a-**, a dem. pronominal sx. [{Pr.}: an anaphoric dem. suffix (¶ 'the', 'ce') of the 'état libre' = {Pr. PE} 'nominative (absolute) case'], Tmz, Kb **a** ({Dl., MT}: dem. sx. of proximal deixis) ¶ Pr. M I-III 191, Pr. PE ∅, Dl. 1, MT 1-2 ¶¶ But the collective prn. B ***a-** > Tw **a** is more likely to go back to the N pc. of plurality ***?a** (q.v.) || K ***h₁a** 'this' > G **a-ka** 'here', **a-se** 'so', Lz **ha -a**, Mg **as'o-** 'here' (direction), **as'i-** 'so', Mg, Lz **a-k** 'here', Sv **as'** 'so' ¶¶ K¹ 41, 44, 46, K² 1, 4, Schm. 92, Shan. G 51-2 || IE: IE ***?o/e-no-**, {Pv.} (?) ***o-n-yo-**, ?? {EI} ***h₁an-** 'that' (× N ***h₁en** 'iste' × N ***han** 'other') > Ht **an(n)i-** 'ille' (remote deixis), **annaz**, **annisan** 'formerly, once upon a time', **anna(l)i-**, **anna(l)a-** 'former, erlier, old', Pal **anni** (dem. prn.) || OI **a'n-e-na**, **a'n-aya-** instr., OPrs **ana-** instr. '(with) this', Av **ana-** 'this' || Lt **an's**, Δ **ana's** 'that' : pSl ***on-** 'that' (m. ***onъ** / f. ***ona** / ntr. ***ono** / pl. m. ***oni** / pl. f. ***one**) > OCS **онъ** **онъ** 'that, he' / **она** **она** 'that, she' / **оно** **оно** 'that, it' / **они** **они** 'those, them' (m.) / **онѣ** **онѣ** id. (f.), later 'he, she, it, them': R **он** / **оѣна** / **оѣно**, Uk **в'н** / **воѣна** / **воѣно**, SCr **о'н** (~ **o'n**) / **о'на** / **о'но**, Slv **о'н** / **о'на** / **о'но**, Cz, Slk, P **on** / **ona** / **ono** id., but still with remote deixis: R **во ѿвремѣ ѿоно** 'long ago, jadis' (lit. 'in illo tempore'), Blg **ѿон-зи** (f. **ѿонази**, ntr. **ѿоноѿа**) 'that'; prnl.: OCS, OR **онѣни** **онѣни**, SCr **о'на-ј**, Blg **ѿонѣ** 'ille' || Clt: OIr **an-d** 'here' || ? Gk D **τη'νο** 'ille' (< ***τε'-ενο** or ***τη'-ενο**, *cd* with the dem. prn. ***te/o-**) || OHG U **e.ne'r** prn. 'that', ON **enn** ~ **φinn** id. || Arm **sojn** **so-yn** 'this, that, he, self, the same' (< ***k'o-eno-**) ¶¶ Pv. I 51-5, Carr. P 50, M K I 32, 56, Schz. 123, Kb. 522, Vr. 286, KM 332, Frn. 10, ESISJ-SGZ II 529-34, 565-6, Chrn. II 5, Glh. 454, 461, Vs. III 116-7, 140-1, Srz. II 673-4, ¶ Bks. 202 (BSI ***on-** < ***h₂en** 'there', NaIE ***ow-** < ***h₂eu-** 'away, again'), F I 476, 515 & II 894, EIA 458 ¶¶ It is possible that IE ***?e-** 'this\that' (> Ht **a-** 'this, that', **-a-** 'he, she, it', OI, Av **a-** 'he' in the obl. cases: gen. m. sg. OI **a-sya**, Av **ahe**, dat. m. sg. OI **asma'i**, Av **ah-ma'i**, etc., ≠ Pv. I-II 3-7, P 281-3) goes back to a merger: N ***ha** 'that, ille' × N ***h'e** 'this' (hence the distance-deictically undifferentiated meaning 'he, she, it') || U ***a**, ***an** 'that' > FU ***a** id. > Hg **a-z** 'that', pChr ***a-** > Chr H **a-n'-z̄s**, Chr L **o-n'-z̄s** 'dorthin', ? Prm: Z Ud **ata** 'here (?)' || pY {IN} ***an-** pc. of distal deixis > Y: K/T **aduṇ**, K **aduben** id. ({IN} < ***an-tuṇ**, ***an-tuben**) ¶ Coll. 73, IN 218-9, ≠: UEW 332 & MF 102-4 (Hg and Z < U ***o** ~ ***u**) || D ***a-** ***a** 'that, yonder' (dem. base for remoter persons or things) > Tm **a-**, avv-, Ml **a**, **a-id.**, Kt, Td **a-** 'that (distant from the speaker)', Kn **a-** (remote dem. base), Kdg **a-** 'that' (adjective prn.), **a-** 'that' (m. **avən**, f. **ava**, inanim. **ad**), Tu **a-**, **a-id.**, Tl **a-**, Klm **a**, Nkr, Prj **a-** 'that', Knd **aya** 'that' (adj. pronoun), Kui, Krx **a-** 'that over there', **a-id.** (in adjectival function), Mlt **a-** (= **a?**) id. ¶¶ D #1 || A {SDM95} ***a** 'that' (deictic √) > T ***a** (> SY **a** 'that'), T ***a-n-** (obl. cases of the prn. ***ol** 'that') > OT **an-** (gen. **an-ṇ**), Tk **an-**, Az, Tkm, Qrg **an-** 'that', Chv gen. **уна'ан un-ṇn** ^d **он-ṇn**, etc. ¶ Rs. W 19, Cl. 165, ET Gl 444-6, ¶ 147-9 || pJ ***a'** - 'that' (distal) > OJ **a-** id., J: T **a're**, K **a're** 'that, he\it', T **a'-no**, Sh **a'-nu'**, Ns **a'-n̄**, Kg **a'i** 'that' ¶ S AJ 268 [#76], S QJ #76, Mr. 376 ¶¶ SDM97 (A ***a** 'that'), ⇔ DQA # 406 (*qu.* pJ ***a'** < A ***e'**, cf. N ***h'e**) ♦ Cp. IS I 258-9. I do not share IS's opinion that S ***ha(-)** 'this' has a secondary ***h-** for the original ***?-**: Aram **a-** **a-** 'the' (adduced by IS as an argument) provides no information as to the identity of the original initial **lr**. The S and Om cognates point to the HS and N initial ***h-**. The apparently deviant loss of the expected IE strong **lr**. (regularly from N ***h**) is due to the grammatical use of the particle [its history may be described as N ***ha** (× ***h'e**) > pre-IE ***?V** > pIE ***i?e**] Cp. Gr. I 87-91 [("demonstrative A ~ E (in IE, U, A, Ainu, Gil))].

751a. ***h₁a**, particle of collectiveness: **HS**: B: pB {Pr.} ***a-** (or ***ha**) > Tw **a**, indefinite collective prn. ('pronom d'appui collectif') ↔ Tw **i**, indefinite singulative prn. ¶ Pr. M I-III 185-7, Vc. UB 321 (Tw indefinite and relative prn. **a**) || S (× N ***?a**, pc. of plurality?): nomina collectiva (→ plural forms) with the prefix ***?a-**: Ar **-UJur0a** **?a-rg-ul-un** 'feet' (< **rig-l-un** 'foot'), **?a-yya'm-un** 'days' (< **yawm-un** 'day'), **?amt₁a-r-un** 'rains' (< **mat₁ar-un** 'rain'), OSA **?b₁l** 'owners' (< **b₁l** 'owner'), **?hgr** 'towns' (< **hgr**

'town'), Gz ʔa-znaḇ 'tails' (<d- zanab 'tail'), ʔadbaḇ 'mountains' (<d- dabḇ 'mountain'), ʔasˤ.raḇ 'enemies' (<d- sˤ.arr 'enemy'), ʔabyaṭ 'houses' (<d- beṭ 'house'), ʔaḥk.uṭ 'fields' (<d- ḥak.l 'field'); this patterns is used mostly (but not always) with inanimate nouns; if used with inanimate nouns, it is syntactically treated (in the predicate verb) as f. sg. ʔ S *-a-, ending of pl. in the fem.-and-inanimate gender: pred. *-a-, nom. *-a-ṭ-u(m), acc.-gen. *-a-ṭ-a(m) pred. f. pl. *-a- > Ak -a- (mars.-a- 'they (f.) are ill'; in WS stative turned into a verbal form denoting state and later into a "new perfective", accordingly the form with *-a- became form of f. pl. of this aspect of state and "new perfective": *mawit-a- 'they [f.] are dead' → 'they [f.] died' (> Ar maṭ-a- id.); nom. *-a-ṭ-u(m), acc.-gen. *-a-ṭ-a(m) are S forms of f. pl.: *ban-a-ṭ-um nom. f. pl. df., *ban-a-ṭ-im acc.-gen. f. pl. df. 'daughters' (> Ar baṇaṭun nom., banaṭin acc.-gen. 'daughters', BHb baṇ-oṭ 'daughters' (without case distinctions) ¶ Br. AG 98-9, Bst. 26, GBr. JJAP 56, Di. G 267-72, Jo. M 61, Sd. G 100-1, 8* II IE *-h_o / (with thematic nomina *-e/o-h (*e/o- belonging to the stem), ending of nom.-acc. ntr. pl. > NaIE *-a/-a- > OI -a- / -i, Gt -a, pSl *-a, Gk -α, L -a, e.g. with *-e/o-stems: *yuga- 'yokes' (↔ sg. *yugo-m) > Vd yu'ga-, Gk ζυγα', L iuga, Gt juka; with consonantic stems: *bʰer-ont-ə acp. pl. ntr. 'carring' (> OI 'bharant-i, Gk φε'ρонт-α), *no-men-ə 'names' > Av na-mən-i, cp. Gl 'ovo'ματ-α 'names' || AnIE: Ht -a (genuwa 'knees' ↔ sg. genu; aniyatt-a 'Leistungen' ↔ sg. aniyaz; salla 'big' ntr. pl. ↔ sg. aniyaz; salla 'big' ntr. pl. ↔ sg. salli) and a zero ending with lengthening of the preceding vw. in the stem [compensatory lengthening?] (uddaḇ 'words, things' ↔ sg. uttar); acc. to Rsk, in Lw, Lc and Ld, the ending of ntr. pl. is also -a ¶ III IE *-he within the pIE "primary" ending of 2p *-the ({Bks.} th₁e): OI -the, pSl *-te (> OCS -тѣ -te), Lt -te, Gk -τε, L -tis, Gt -þ, OIr (e.g. beirthe 'fertis'), Ht -teni ¶ Brg. KVG 393-4, Schmidt PN ∇, Szem. IEL 160, 186, Rsk. 54-63, Kron. VLFL 107, Bks. 232-5 ♦ The pN etymon is tentatively reconstructed with *-h-, because it is the only lr. that may turn into *ʔ- and zero in S and be vocalized as *ə in NaIE. The AnIE representation of *-h- as zero is probably conditioned by the grammatical functioning of the morpheme (unlike autosemantic roots where N *h usually yields Ht h). Cp. on one hand N *ha 'ille', *h₁i 'iste' or 'hic', *hEnV 'iste', *hæ?jw'U 'to fall, sink' (partially grammaticalized in Ht), where N *h yield Ht zero, and on the other hand *halV 'call out, call, praise', *huLV 'to push, butt, pierce', *hu?imV 'wave', *huP_U 'bad', *h'i'R₁V₁gV 'kill', *haRK₁a 'hold/grasp', where N *h is represented by Ht h.

752. 1 *h₁e 'this', deictic pc. > K *h₁e > G K/R/Lch/I/A e 'hic, iste', G Ing he 'this', OG e-se, G e-s(e) 'hic', OG e-ge, G e-g(e) 'iste', Mg e 'this', e-na 'this one, he', Lz he 'that', he-m id., he-a 'that one, he'; *e-g-, dem. pronominal stem: OG ege, G eg- 'this', Sv eḡi, eḡ'a, Sv U aḡ'a; K *e-s- > G ese 'so', Mg es'i, Lz es'e 'so, there', Sv es' 'so' ¶¶ K¹ 77-8, K² 45, 47, Mrtr. N 146, Gh₁. 216, Chx. 333, 351, Q 192 s.v. aTe, aTena, Marr 25-6, TK 244, Shan. G 51-2; acc. to IS I 271, K *e- did not change into a- in Mg and Lz due to the deictic nature of the stem II HS: NOm: Wl {LmS} he 'that, those' (prn. of distal deixis) ¶ LmS W 81-3 ¶ Apparent inversion of the opposition *hic* ↔ *ille* (cf. s.v. *ha) II ? IE *ʔe- > NaIE *e- (gen. *e-syo) may be suggested (as one of the solutions) on the basis of OI asya, Av ahe, dat. OI asma'i, Av ahma'i, OLat em 'him', L ecce (<*e-d-ke), Osc ekkum (<*ed-ke-um) 'item', Sl *e sь, *e se 'ecce' [> OCS кѣ je-se, OR оѣ ose, Uk oc□ id., Blg Δ eḡce 'this, ceci (BOT YTOT), Slv esej / esa / eso 'this'], *e tь (f. *e ta, ntr. *e to) 'voici, this' > Blg ѿeto, SCr e"to 'voici', Sln ete / eta / eto 'this', but hardly R ѿѿот / ѿѿта / ѿѿто 'this' (a new interjection ѿ + prn. tot / та / то 'that')), as well as IE *e¹-tos 'from here' > OI a-tah 'von hier' ʔ NaIE *e-m- (× N *ʔa 'ille') > Brtt {RE} *em- 'he' > OW em, MW e, ef, W ef, fe, Crn ef, OBr em, MBr eff, Br hen- ¶¶ WP I 43, 99, P 282-4, M K I 13, 27, WH I 390, 399-400, Bc. G 315, RE 102, □ ESSJ VI 8 II U *e- 'this' > FU: Er e-t'e (pl. e-n'e) 'this', e-s'e (pl.e-s'-n'e) 'that', Mk e-sa 'da, dort', pPrm *e-: *e-3' BOT TAK, in this way' > Vt oḡ, Yz i'ḡi, pPrm *e-tis' 'from there' > Vt otis', Hg e-z, e 'this' (↔ a-z 'that') || Sm: ? En {Prk.} eke, {Ter.} ekke 'this', eo 'hierher' || pY {IN} *e(-n)- 'this, hic' > Y K ediḡ id. ¶¶ UEW 67, LG 332, Lt. 134, □ MF 167-9, KP 73-4, IN 219 II A {SDM97} *e 'this' > M *e-gu-n- 'this' (stem of obl. cases) correlating with *ene nom. and *ene-n- for obl. cases (< *hEnV 'iste' [q.v.]); pl. M *e-de 'these' (> MM/WrM ede, etc.) ¶ ffd. see Pp. IM 226-8, IS I 272 || Tg *e-, proximal deictic stem (e.g. *e-du/e 'in this, here', where *du/e is a locative sx.) > Ewk 3-r 'this', 3-du-, 3-lī 'here', Sln 3(j)j3, 3r(i) 'this', 3l'3 'here', Lm 3r 'voici', 3du 'here', Neg 3-du- 'here', 3y 'this', Orc 3du 'here', 3li 'through this place', 3i 'this', Ud 3ji, Ul, Nn 3j, Ork 3j3, 3r(i) 'this', WrMc ere, Mc Sb

3r3, 3ji 'this', WrMc e-de, Mc Sb 3-d3 'in this, here', Jrc {Md.} e(r)se 'this' ¶ STM II 460-2, Ci. 267, Md. ChF 133, Krm. 313 ¶¶ DQA #406 [A *e' 'that' [deictic root]; incl. M, Tg, J], S AJ 111-2, 277 [#141] II ?? HS *°E- 'this' > C: Ag: Aw 3'-n 'this' ¶ Hz. NSA 134.

753. i *h'i 'iste' (or 'hic'), demonstrative pc. > HS: B: Tw i, indefinite singulative prn. ¶ Pr. M I-III 185-7 || ?? Ch {Sch.} *-i, marker of definiteness (× N *?e' 'this'): Dr ga'm-i: 'the ram' (↔ ga'm 'ram'), Zr gima-n-i 'the husband' (↔ gima-n 'husband'), EDng a'k-i' 'the fire' (↔ a'ko 'fire') ¶ Sch. ED 158-60 || EC *-i:, marker of the theme → marker of the subject case (nom.): Or -n-i, -i ({HW} nam-ni nom. ↔ absl. nama 'man', nom. fa-rd-i ↔ absl. fa-rda 'horse', nom. mu-k-i ↔ absl. mu'ka 'tree'), Sd -i ({Mrn.} nu'gus-i a3'3'a3'ino 'the king ordered', 'min-i mi'namino 'the house was built'), Rn nom. (of f.) -e', Sm nom. -i (la f-i' nom. ↔ la f absl. 'bone', d,a'gha-n-i' nom. ↔ d,a'gha'n absl. 'stones', with dem. endings: nom. -ka'n-i' 'this' ↔ absl. -ka'n 'this'), as well as Sml -i within the df. art. of the remote type: m. -k-i, f. -t-i || ? Ag: Xm {Ap.} -i/-y-, def. art. m. (in obl., preceding the case ending): i3'ir-i-z yiwun 'I gave it to the man' ¶ HW 145, Mrn. S 26-7, Hn. NBLK 224, PG 17, 106, AD KJ 34-5, Anr. DSN 119, Ap. DAX 16-22 II K *i,hi 'that' (distal deixis) > G Im/R/Lch/Mt/P/HA i 'that', G i-s 'he; that', i-gi id., Mg i-, Lz hi- 'that', Sv i-, i-m; *i-ma- deictic stem for remote objects: G ima-, Mg imu, Lz (h)imu- id., Sv im-eg 'there' || K *-i, marker of nom. (> OG, G, Mg, Lz -i), which in the final account goes back to a dem. pronominal pc. (article?) *i ¶¶ K¹ 99-100, K² 80-1, Q 230 s.v. eTi, Chx. 519-533, Ghl. 257 II IE: AnIE: HrLw i-, nom. i-s 'this' ¶ Mer. HHG 61-7 || *?ei-/?i (or *h'ei-/h'i-?), anaphoric dem. prn. {Bks.} 'that, the (just named)' [× N *yi 'he, (?) that' (anaphoric), q.c. ffd.] II U: Sm *-i 'iste' [> En {Cs.} ino'?' 'dorthin', Kms {KD} idə 'dieser da, der dort', Mt {Hl.} *idi 'jener' (Mt K {Mll.} idi-)] may go back both to U *-i- and/or to U *e- || FU *-i- 'this' (from the functional point of view a variant of *e- 'this', ≠ N *?e' 'this') may be discerned in Es i-ga 'such', Hg i-tt 'here' (↔ o-tt 'there'), i-de 'here' [direction] (↔ o-da 'there' [direction], i'gy 'so', pOs *-i- (proximal pronominal stem) > Os: V/Vy/Ty in, Nz i'n 'just now', Os K {Ps.} in 'der, er' (von einem nicht näher Bekannten, Entfernten), Os Sh/Sn i'n, LK {Ptk.} in 'утор, dieser, jener' (von einem oder etwas schon Erwähnten), V/Vy/Ty/Y it 'now (jetzt)', O {Stn.} itta 'sofort' ¶¶ UEW 67-8, Jn. 26, Hl. M #336, Stn. D 2-3, □ MF 167-9 II A *i 'iste' > pKo *i' > MKo i', NKo i 'this' ¶ Rm. SKE 66, S QK #88, Nam 397, MLC 131§6 || pJ *i 'iste' > OJ {S} i ({Srm.} 'thou' mostly in deprecatory speech), as well as possibly the first element i- in the OJ {Mill.} spacially indefinite dem. idu- (in the dem. prn. idure, place adv. idu-ku 'there\here', direction word idu-ti 'thither\hither' ¶ Srm. DJ 92, Mill. JL 341-2, S QJ #235, Mr. 420 || T *-i- in Xk °ди idi, Sg {Rl.} i-da' 'so'; *in- in dem. pronouns\adverbs (< N *h'i nu (with the genitive pc. *nu)): Yk innik (*in-lik) 'such', inja' 'so, there', Blq in-ol 'that', Az, Chg {Rl.}, Brb {Dm.} indi, SbTt Tb {Tum.} инде (= [ində]) 'now', Bsh инде ində 'now, already', VTt инде ində 'already' ¶ Pek. 240, 256, BIG 65, Rl. I 1450, 1506, Hüs. 147, Dm. JBT 139, Tm. 56, BR 206, TatR 169, Ktw. PLA 20-3 ¶ MED 412 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *i > Ko, J, as well as T *o'-'r' 'inside'), □ DQA #582 *i (a deictic √; Ko, J, T + T, M i- 'he'; no distinction between refkexes of *?i 'iste' and *yi 'he') II D *i 'hic (the nearer to the speaker)' > Tm i-, ivv-, Ml i, i, Kt, Td i- 'this, hic', Kn i-, proximate dem. base, i 'this', Tu i, Klm i-, Nkr, Prj, Gdb, Png, Mnd, Kui, Ku, Krx i, Knd iya, Mlt i' (= i?) 'this', Brh i-, a base declined for case ¶¶ D #410 ♦ Sm and J suggest the original meaning 'iste', while other lgs. point to the meaning 'hic' ♦ The initial N *h- is tentatively reconstructed on the analogy of N *ha 'ille', because the paradigm of the deictical particles is likely to presuppose their similar phonological structure ♦ Cp. IS I 270-2 [combines together *h'i [incl. our *yi] and *h'e' as two variants of the same word *?i/(?)?e].

754. i *h'u 'iste', dem. pc. > HS: C: Bj Hd {Rop.} u- - df. art. nom. m., o- nom. m., {R} u~wu- - df. art. nom. m., o~wo- - acc. m. (allomorphs with w- when preceding a noun beginning with ?, otherwise allomorphs without w-), Bj B {Alm.} u- - df. art. nom. m., o- - acc. m., Bj A {AD} 'ʔo~ʔu~ʔu-hu- - df. art. nom. m. (e.g. 'ʔo~gaw 'the house' nom., ʔu~tak 'the man', ʔu~had,a 'the lion', hu~ʔor 'son, boy, child', hu~ʔe~w 'the kudu antelope', hu~ʔab 'the kid'), 'ʔo~ʔo~ʔo-ho~ho- - obl. m. (ʔo~tak 'den Menschen', ʔo~had,a 'den Löwen, dem Löwen', 'ʔo~gaw obl. 'the house', ho~ʔawi obl. 'the stone', ho~ʔo~r 'den Jungen, das Kind'); the variants with h- occur when the article precedes a noun beginning with ?, otherwise the variants with ?- are used || EC: Sd {Mrn.} marker of subject case (nom.) -u (nom. nugu's-u ↔ absl. nuguse 'king', nom. maga'n-u ↔ absl. maga'no 'God'), Bn J

-u[̄] nom. (i[̄]r-u[̄] nom. ↔ i[̄]r[̄] abs. 'goat', mo[̄]-f-u[̄] nom. ↔ mo[̄]-f[̄] abs. 'snake, ba[̄]-l-u[̄] nom. ↔ ba[̄]-l abs. 'feather'), Sml -u (marker of nom. with dem. suffixes of nouns: -ka[̄]n-u[̄] nom. ↔ -ka[̄]n abs. 'this' m., -ta[̄]n-u[̄] nom. ↔ -ta[̄]n abs. 'this' f., -ke[̄]-r-u[̄] nom. ↔ -ke[̄]-r abs. 'that' m.); but Sml N u[̄] 'to him\her\it\them', 'for him\her\it\them' (Abr. S 241) does not necessarily belong here: acc. to Lm. SD 356, it goes back to pSml *us > Sml T i, Sml Ji is, cp. Rn i[̄]- 'to, for (so.)' ? Af wo[̄] 'that\those' (remote for both speaker & addressee) ¶ Mrn. S 26-7, Hn. BD 28, PG 146, AD KJ 35, PH 235 || LbB: B *w-a m. sg. / *w-i m. pl., dem. and rel. prn. > Shl, Tmz, ASgr wa sg. / wi pl. 'this', relative 'that of, which', B *w-i m. pl. (> Tw wə-), px. of the dependent state (état d'annexion, that Pr. proposes to call 'cas subordonné'), typical, among others, to the postverbal subject noun (*w- is likely to go back to a thematic focalizer or "singulatif défini", acc. to Pr., or df. art., acc. to Vc. ← dem. prn.), compound pronouns: Tmz/ASgr wa-n, Shl wa-hin, Kb wa-hi 'that' || Gnc gua (< *wa) 'that of', guan id. (< *wa + nota genitivi *n): guan chinec 'that of Chinec, the man of Chinec' ¶ Pr. M IV-V 11-6 & V ADB 139-46, Pr. PE ∇, Ai. SKBJ I 17-22, 49-52, AiM 176, 210-1, 218, Brugn. EAB, Brugn. SNBO ¶¶ In my opinion, we may adduce here the HS ending of the subject case **u > pS *-u (> Ar, Ug -u), ending of the nominative case sing. (← thematic focalizer ← dem. prn.), pEC *-u (~*-i) id.; the S morpheme group *-u-m - nom. df. (> OAk -um nom. st. r., Ar -un nom. indf., Ug -u nom. abs.); it would be tempting to equate S *mu[̄]-t-u-m 'the man' nom. df. (> Ak mutum 'man' st. r.) with Hs mutum [mu[̄]tu[̄]ŋ] 'man' (< AncHs *mutum, the final *-m reconstructed on the ev. of the gen. mutumin [mu[̄]tu[̄]m-i[̄]n]) and thus to suggest that the ending *-um existed already at the pHS level. We may also adduce here the ending *-u of the pS relative mood (= Dk.'s pS "subjunctive", used in subordinated clauses) > Ak -u [rel. mood = traditionally called "subjunctive"], CS *-u of the new ip. (> Ar -u id.); its semantic prehistory: dem. *hu > rel. *-u 'that which' > *-u of the rel. mood ¶¶ f Ss. CCSB 111-126; on the pS endings and their meaning f AD MN ∇ and AD PhSS 7, fn. 12; on S *mu[̄]-tu-m f AD PhSS 3; on the pS rel. mood see Dk. JDPa 254, 304, ■ Eil. SA ∇ (equates the Ak -u-mood with the Ar -u-ip., but believes that the pS *-u-mood is indicative) || K *-u- 'it', marker of the objective version of the verb having a recipient of the 3rd pers. > G, Mg, Lz u-, Sv u--o- id.: OG χ-u-.qo ~ h-u-.qo 'er tat es ihm\für ihn', NG u-c.er-s 'il l'écrit pour lui', u-c.er-t 'il l'écrit pour eux' ¶¶ K¹ 185, Vogt GLG 122-3, Shan. G 74 || IE *?u- / *?ou- / *we- / *wo- 'iste', deictic pc. > Ht u-ni- 'jener, der da, der erwähnte; iste'; the former opposition of degrees of proximity to the speaker and hearer ('hic' ↔ 'iste' ↔ 'ille') which probably existed in eni-, uni- and anni-, was lost when these pronouns became predominantly anaphorical; pv. u- '(hier)her' (↔ pe- 'hin', cf. Ht uda- '(her)bringen' ↔ peda- 'hinschaffen, forttragen', uwate- 'herbringen' ↔ pehute- 'hinbringen', etc.), ? Ht -un (a rare OHt form) 'him, her' (side by side with -an) ¶ Ts. W 63, 95-8, SomF HAB 161, Frd. HEB 68, Mer. SGA 324 || NaIE *u- / *ou- / *we- / *wo- 'iste' (→ 'ille', 'hic') > Sl *ovъ / f. *ova / ntr. *ovo 'that', OCS, OR овъ ovъ 'that' (usually овъ ... овъ 'that\one ... the other'), Scr †, Δ, Sln, OCz ov, P o'w 'that', prnl.: Scr o'vaj, f. o'va-, ntr. o'vo- 'this'; Scr o'v-a-j (f. o'v-a-, ntr. o'v-o-) 'hic', P o'w 'ille', OCS {Mikl.} ovъ 'hic', {SJSS} 'hic, ille' || ? O, Av ava- 'jener', OI u- 'and, also, further, on the other hand' || u in OI asau, Av ha-u 'ille', OPrs hauv 'this'; with a *-r- formant: OI avah., Av avarə 'downwards', Um uru 'illo'; *we-, *wo- 'on the other hand' → 'or' (× *wu 'whether') > OI/Av/OPrs va-, Gk η[̄]-(f)ε[̄] > η, L-ve[̄] 'or'; this morpheme is to be kept apart from the paronymous NaIE word *au[̄] 'or' (< N *?a[̄]wu 'whether?; or') in Gk αἰς 'again, once more', L aut 'or', autem 'but, however', Osc AUT avt, AUTI 'aut, autem' ¶ P 73-5, F I 183, 619, WH I 87 & II 740-1, Bc. G 313, 350, Mikl. L 486, Mikl. E 229, ESISJ-SGZ II 558-61, SJSS XXII 508-9, Brtl. 163-76, 1730-2, M K I 58, 66 || U: FU *u--*o-: FU *°u- is represented by Hg o-da 'dahin, dorthin, dort', oly 'such, so', ott 'there', u'gy 'so', FU *°o- or *°u- is reflected by Chr H {Rm.} umpal 'jene Seite, die andere Seite', Chr L/H {Ü} umbalne 'there, in the distance', umbalan 'there, to that place', umbake 'there, to that point', umbac'an 'from there', FU *°u- ~ *°o- > pMr *o- in Er ombo, Mk omba, oma 'other, second' (Chr and Mr -mb- < FU *-mpa/a[̄], sx. of cmpr.); Rédei (UEW) explains irreg. sound corr. by mixing of different deictic stems, IS attributes FU *o- to the infl. of the interr. *ko- ¶¶ UEW 332, IS I 258 || A {SDM95} *o 'this, that' (deictic pc.) > NaT *o 'jener dort' > Tk o, Δ o-u, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr o, ET, Bsh u, Uz u^do^dwu-hu, SY, Ln o-u 'that', Xlj o. 'he, she, it, that'; but T *ol 'that' (> OT ol, Tkm, Qzq, Yk, Tv ol, Chv baÄÄÄ v[̄]l) does not belong here, it is better explained as going back to N *?ol[̄] 'that (visible)' ¶ ET Gl 444-6, Bu. I 106, DT 167, ≠ SDM97 (A *o(iv) 'this, that') ||

Tg {Bz} *u- 'iste' in derivatives: WrMc uba hoc', urala 'hicce', Ud uti 'this, it' (stem uta-: acc. utawa, dat. utadu, loc. utala) ¶ Bz. 114, STM II 293-4 || pJ {S} *3- 'this' (a deictic √) > J: Sh u'-nu', Ns u'-n_o', Ht u'-nu', Y u'-nu' ¶ S QJ #147 ¶¶ DQA #1554 (A *o 'this, that', incl. T, Tg, J), S AJ 280 [#136] (T, J) ¶ D *u 'iste', deictic base and demonstrative pc.\adj. > Tm, Kn u- - dem. base expressing a person\place\thing occupying an intermediate position or a position near the person(s) spoken to', Tm u-uvv, Kn u-, Ku u-, Krx hu- 'iste', dem. adjective prn. ¶¶ D #557 ♦ The ancient meaning is best preserved in D. Cp. UEW 332 (U, IE, T) and IS I 257-8 (considers U *o to be a variant of the U deictic *a, arisen due to the infl. of the interr. *ko; adduces T *o). On the reasons for the tentative rec. of N *h- cf. above s.v. N *ha and *hi.

755. ?? ₂ *h₁æ ~ *h₁u, dual pc. (for nomina animata) > IE *-H(e) ~ *Hu₂, dual ending (nom., anim. gender) > [1] (with consonantic stems) *-H(e) ~ *Hu₂ > OI -a- ~ -a₂u, Av -a, Gk -ε, OIr {Bks.} *-e, [2] (with *-o-stems) *-o-H ~ *-o-Hu₂ > OI -a- ~ -a₂u, Av -a ~ -a₂, Gk -ω, L -o- (ambo- 'both'), Lt -u₂, OCS -a₂ -a, [3] (with *-u-stems): *-u-H > OI -u₂, Av -u, OIr {Bks.} *-u₂, Lt -u₂, OCS -u₂ -i, [4] *dwo-H₂ ~ *dwo-Hu₂ 'two' nom. > OI dva₂ ~ dva₂u, Av, Gk δυ₂ω, L duo, OIr da₂ ~ dau (or da₂u), Gt ntr. twa, AS ntr. tu₂ ~ twa₂, OHG ntr. zwa₂ ~ zwo₂, Lt du₂, OCS дѡѡ даѡва [5] NaIE *we₂ 'we' du. nom. for nomina animata < N *wVyV h₁a ¶ Bks. 194, 214, Brg. KVG 364, 387-8, 399 (Übersichtstabelle), Hirt UG II 108-9 ¶ HS: S *-a₂, marker of dualis (nom. and pred.) of nouns, adjectives and pronouns, *-a₂-ni [marker of nom. dualis df. [with the determiner *-ni < N *n₁i₁ (q.v.)], *-a₂, marker of du. in verbal forms > Ar -a₂ / -a₂ni in nouns (nom.), -a₂ in pronouns and verbal forms [2nd and 3rd persons], Gz -a₂ in A#® ʔəs₂r-a₂ 'twenty', Ak nom. du. d-a₂-n (with the ancient determiner *-ni > -n), Ak OB/OA nom. -a(:) in s'ena 'two', es₂r-a₂ 'twenty' ¶ Br. G I 455-9 [§ 244], Sd. G §§ 61c, 63h ¶ The prehistory of the S vw. and the loss of the expected labial element (i w or i u) still needs investigation (some kind of restructuring and/or generalization within the paradigms of gender-number-cases. e.x. infl. of the ending *-a of sg. pred.?) ♦ This dual pc. (← prn.) is used for nomina animata or for the active case, while there is a different dual marker *yi (q.v.) for the nomina inanimata or for the non-active cases [> S du. ending for oblique cases, IE *-o-i₂ / *-i(:) - du. for nomina inanimata, T palatalization (*r+y > *r') for paired nouns]. Cf. also the N dem. dual prn. *n₁i₁ ♦ The variation of vowels (*h₁a ~ h₁u) still needs explanation. Qu. because of the problem of vowels.

¶+ **755a.** ??? ₂ *hi₂u 'thou' > K *H- ({Mcv.} *-x₁, K *χ₁-), verbal px. of the 2 person subiecti > OG χ₁-^d Ø-, G, Mg, Lz Ø-, Sv χ₁-, Ø- ¶ K 257 ¶ IE: Lt -i, 2s of verbs (and -ie-id. in rf. verbs), Ltv -i id.; in compound pronouns of 2p and 2d: 2p *yuH-s 'ye', *u₂swe 'you' acc., encl. *wos id. (< N *hi₂u + pl. marker *r₁ʔ₁Vs₂V) > L vos 'you' pl. nom./acc., poss. vester 'yours', Gt ju₂-s 'ye', acc. izwis, ON yōr ~ yō(v)ar 'you' acc., AS ʒe 'ye' (> NE ye), acc. e₂ow (> NE you), Lt ju₂-s 'ye' (acc. jus, gen. ju₂-su₂), Ltv ju₂-s 'ye, you' (nom., acc.), OCS вѣ vy (gen. вѣсъ vasъ), Al ju 'ye', OI yu₂-yam 'ye' (acc. yus₂ma₂n, encl. vas), Av yu₂-s₂, yu₂-z₂am 'ye' (encl. va₂h), Tc: A yas, B yes 'you' (nom./acc.); in the form *uswe- there is contamination with *swe 'vos' < N *s₁u₂ 'thou' + *ʔa pl. (cf. N *t₁u₂ / s₁u₂) ¶ EIC 455, P 513-4 (*yu₂-); IE *woh₂ 'ye two, you two', *u₂hwe 'you two' (< N *hi₂u + dual marker *h₁æ) > ON it 'ye two', ykk₂r 'you two' (acc.), AS ʒit 'ye two', inc ~ oncit 'you two' acc., Lt ju₂du 'ye\you two' (in Blt and part of the Gmc forms a compound with IE *dw- 'two'), OCS вѡ va 1d (gen. вѡю vaju), OI yu₂va₂m, Tc B yene 1d nom./acc.]]

756. ₂ *hedV 'to break' > HS: S *₂hdd > Ar ₂hdd G vt. 'break, crush' ¶ Hv. 818, ¶ DRS 373 || Eg MK hd 'break stones' ¶ EG II 505 ¶¶ But not here (⇔ Tk.) Ch *₂hd. 'break' (JS, Stl. ZCh 228 [#766]), because Ch *h hardly corresponds to S and Eg *h-; Ch *₂hd. is more likely to correspond to S *₂χtt (> BHb th2n% ni'hat₂ was broken', Ug {Grd.} χt 'broken', Tgr χatta 'was torn' ¶ KB 360, LH 81, Grd. UT #1020) ¶¶ Tk. I 147 (Eg, S + err. Ch) ¶ D (in NED) *et₂na₂ 'tear in pieces, lacerate', Mlt et₂e v. 'deface, destroy' ¶ D #785.

757. *hudi 'to rot, dissolve (by boiling)' > HS: WS *₂hdy > Gz ₂hdy v. 'dissolve by overcooking, cook completely', Ar ₂hdy Sh (pf. ʔahda₂) 'boil meal to shreads' (⊂ a S lge. with *d- > -d-) ¶ L G 215, Di. 18, BK II 1408 ¶ A: M *u₂zire- vi. 'rot' (unless it is *φu₂zire-) > WrM u₂zire-, HIM *xpy-(x) id., Brt *xpy-(xy) vi. 'rot, go bad' (in Brt loss of r?) ¶ *-zi- < *-di- ¶ MED 1017, Chr. 496 ¶ D *ut₂- > Tl ud₂uku v. 'boil, seethe, bubble with heat', ud₂ikincu, ud₂iki(l)lu vt. 'boil, cook', Gnd ud₂k e₂r 'hot water', Ku ud₂ku 'heat', Krx ur₂tur- 'be boiled or cooked, be be tired up to excitement' ¶¶ D #588.

758. *h₁od₁v₁?v 'be motionless, sleep' (→ 'be sleepy\giddy') > **HS:** S: [1] WS *₁hd? 'be motionless, quiet' > Ar ₁hd? *G* (hadaʔa / -hdaʔu) 'take a rest, stop (somewhere)', acp. haḏiʔ- 'motionless, quiet', ₁hd? *D* vt. 'calmer, apaiser, adoucir', Mh {Jo.} hoḏi 'quiet' (of a person)', {Jahn} hoḏi 'quiet' (of a wind)', Hrs {Jo.} hedī, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'hudi 'quiet', Sq {L.} 'hyode 'se calmer', Tgr ₁hd? *G* 'se calmer'; [2] +ext.: WS *₁hdm 'be sleepy\giddy' > Ar hudaḡm- 'giddiness' ({BK} 'mal de mer'), Gz ₁hdm v. *D* (pf. haddama) 'sleep, slumber' ¶ BK II 1397-8, 1402-3, Jo. M 152, Jo. H 50, L G 214, DRS 371 ¶|| EC {Ss.} *hudr- 'sleep' > Rn udur / urd-, Sml (*mt*) hurd- ¶ Ss. PEC 40, PG 285, DSI 319 || Ch: ECh: Brg ʔoḏ- jī, Kjk aud.u, ? Mu {Lk.} heḏi, {J} haḏi 'sleep', Mgm ʔoḏ- jī 'se coucher' ¶ JI II 299, JA 113, Lk. ZSS 189] **U:** FU *oda- v. 'sleep, lie' > pLp {Lr.} *ōde- v. 'sleep' > Lp: S {Hs.} oaḡr'e-dh, L aḡdda-, N {N} oadde-t (/ -d-), Kld {TI} üüḡḡe-δ- / üüḡḡam- / üüḡḡid. : Er удо- удо-. Mk удо-н udə- id. :: ObU {Ht.} *woḡδ- / ? *waḡda- > pVg {Ht.} *aḡl-/*aḡl- > OVg S Vt ололаны 'I am dozing (дремлю)', OVg S Kg алалахъ 'sleep'; pOs {Ht.} *aḡla- / *ol- v. 'lie (liegen)' > Os: V/Vy aḡla-, Ty aḡla- / oḡl-, Y aḡl- / oḡl-, D/K aḡt-, Kz oḡl- id., d : Y aḡtə-, Nz uttə-, Kz wwḡtə-, O oltə- 'schlafen legen' ¶ UEW 334-5, Sm. 542 (FU *odaḡ 'sleep' > FP *oda, Ugr *aḡdr), Lr. #817, Lgc. #4543, Hs. 1035, Ker. II 179, Ht. #662 **II A:** T *uḡr- v. 'sleep' > OT uḡr-, XwT uy₁u₁-, MQP XIII uḡyī-, XIV uyī-, [CC] uyū- id., Tk uyū-, Ggz, Qmq uyū-, SY, Xk, Shor/Sg/Qb/Qc {RL.} uzu-, Tv udu-, Tf ud₁-, Yk utuy- id., VTt oe- ḡyḡ- (inf. oḡ ḡyḡ), Bsh ойо- ḡyḡ- v. 'doze, slumber; go numb' : ?? some MT lge. (xiv) [L] {Hts.} uḡu- id. (Hts. attributed the word to the Blgh lge., but Erd. does not mention it in his list of Blgh words) :: It is possible that T *uḡ n. 'sleep' (> OT uḡ:, Xlj uḡ and Yk uḡ) goes back to an earlier **uḡ:δ (so Cl. 2, Rs. W 508 and Pek. 3098), but the alternative et. relating T *uḡ to A *ḡuḡiḡya- 'sleep' (< N *ḡuhy'a 'to rest, lie, repose, sleep' [q.v.]) is more plausible ¶ The vw. *u in the verb *uḡr- was not long (⇔ Cl.), as evidenced by Yk utuy-; if the noun *uḡ 'sleep' belongs here, the length may be compensatory (for the loss of *δ) ¶ ET Gl 579-81, DTS 605, Cl. 1-2, 42-3 (derives *uḡr- from *uḡ n. 'sleep'), TAG 44, Ra. 236, TatR 408, 417, BR 412, Pek. 3064-5, 3098, DT 209-10, Rs. W 508 (err. initial iḡ in Yk utuy-) ♦ Comparison of U and A: Rs. UAW 42, Coll. 147, IS MS 367, IS SS #1.14, UEW 334-5 (U, T + i ÷ M umta- 'sleep').

759. *h₁ogE 'top, above' > **HS:** B *₁H₁wgH 'be on the top' > Ah {Fc.} agḡ' (pf. yugḡ'a), ETwl {GhA} aggu (pf. ogga), Ty {GhA} aggu (pf. yogga) 'be above (sth.), be higher than (sth.)', Adgg aggy- 'être au-dessus de', Gh yuḡ'a 'il est élevé \ haut', Sll {Ds.} iggi 'on', Tmz {MT} agḡ 'see\look at sth. from above' ¶ Fc. 381, 2001 (Fcj. 17 = Pcj. I B 5), GhA 47, 248, MT 144-5, Ds. 94, 269, ¶ NZ 698-700 || C: Ag {Ap.} *ḡayw-, {AD} *ḡakw- 'top, head' > Q {Ap.} awa, {R} awa-, Km {CR} awa-, Aw {Ap.} aya, Bln {R} awa'y, Xm {R} uḡa- 'top, Oberteil'; Ag {AD} *ḡakw-ēt ({Ap.} ḡayw-a'r) 'head' (× N ***oḡukU** 'head', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Ap. AV 3, R WB 19, R Q II 23, CR K 162, 172 **II A** {SDM97} *ogi 'up, above' > M *oḡe- id., *oḡe-de 'upward' > MM [S] oḡede 'entgegen, gegen den Strom, aufwärts', WrM oḡgede, HIM ' ' д 'upwards, uphill, upstream', Kl {Rm.} oḡdḡ, oḡdaḡn, {KRS} ' ' д н 'upward', Ord {Ms.} oḡd₁oḡ id., 'upstream', Brt ' ' дḡ, MMgl {Iw.} oḡdḡ 'upward, above', Mgl {Lg.} oḡda- u₁oḡda, {Rm.} oḡaḡda, {Iw.} oḡde 'upward'; dḡ M *oḡgsuḡ- 'ascend, go upstream' > WrM oḡgsuḡ-, HIM ' rc- -x, Brt *rcy-xḡ id., Kl {KRS} ' rcx oḡgs-xḡ, Kl Ō {Rm.} oḡksḡ-xḡ id., 'go uphill' ¶ H 121, MED 630, 633, KW 294, 303, Iw. 121, KRS 412, 419, Chr. 367, 490 || Tg *uḡE- 'top, above, up' > Ewk uxī 'top', Lm oyḡuy id., 'upper', oḡḡḡ oḡḡwḡḡ ugḡg 'upper', Sln oḡg- ug 'bank (of a river)', Neg uwu- uxu- uu 'upper', uwi- uxī- uyi- v. 'ascend', Orc ui- uyi- v. 'raise', ui-lḡ 'above, up', Nn Nh/B uyḡ 'upper side, space above (sth.)', Ul, Ork ui-lḡ, Nn uyḡ-lḡ ~ ui-lḡ ~ uy-lḡ 'above', Ork uwwe- ~ uwu- ui 'upper, upper side, high', Ud ui-xi 'up' ¶ STM II 245-6 || pKo {S} *uḡh > MKo uḡ / uḡh-, NKo wi 'up, above' ¶ S QK #620, Nam 388, MLC 1258 || pJ {S} *uḡ-pa- id. > OJ uḡpe, J T ue ¶ S AJ 15, 81, Mr. 247 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. A *ogi 'up, above', S AJ 15, 81, DQA #658 (A *iḡuḡu 'up, above' > M, Tg, Ko, J + *unc.* T *juḡg- in NaT *juḡgeḡru 'upwards', see Cl. 915-6, ET J 215, 263-4), Rm. SKE 284 **II ?? U:** Y T {Ku.} waya 'face' (< *'head'), wayadiḡe '(head) kerchief', wayadiḡ 'head part of a bridle for reindeers (недоуздок)', wayane, wayine 'own' (← 'of oneself' ← 'of [one's] head') ¶ Ku. 37-8 ♦ Not here NaE *agro- 'top, point, uppermost (oberstes)' and Ht {Phv.} hekur 'rock-sanctuary, acropolis' (P 8-9, Phv. III 287-9), that belong to N ***ḡakoaRV** d 'top part, tip, extremity' (q.v.).

760. ?? *hakḡi 'slow, inactive' > **HS:** SS *₁hky > Gz ₁hky (pf. hakaya) 'be lazy\sluggish\inactive\weary', Tgr ₁hky (pf. hakka), Tgy ₁hky (pf. hakəye) 'be weary\indolent' (EthS

↳ Bln {R} hakay 'tired, weary', Km {CR} ake-t 'laziness', Mh {Jahn} √hky (pf. *GT* 'hatkī 'bend downward' = 'abhängen, sich nach unten neigen') ¶ L G 216-7, Jahn 187, ▢ DRS 407 ▢ R: NaT *akur- 'do slowly' > OT {Gbn.} aqur- id., {Cl.} aq(u)ru, OOSm XIV arqm ~ arqun ~ arxun 'gently, quietly, slowly', XwT XIV aqr(u)n 'quietly, peacefully', Cum aqrn ~ arqun 'slowly, quietly', QBl, Qzq, Qq, Qrg aqrn, VTt, Bsh aḥḥḥn 'slow(ly), quiet(ly)' ¶ Cl. 89-90, DTS 49, ET Gl 123-4, Gbn. ATG 295, Br. OTG §§ 104, 136, Rs. W 14 || M *aḡazi- d> *aḡazi-gu > WrM agazi-gu, HIM аажу 'slow(ly)', M *aḡazi-m id. > WrM agazim, HIM аажимid. [+, {MYC} 'slow, unhurried']; cp. also WrM agas'ar, HIM ааһар 'for a while, leasurably' ¶ MED 13-4 [+, {MYC} 90].

761. *h₁ka 'to need, lack' > IE *Heg- ({EI} *h₁eg- 'be in need, lack') > NaIE *egg̃- 'lack' > L ege- 'be in need, want' || ON ekla n. 'lack, want, need', OHG ecko-ro-di, ecko-ro-do 'just, merely (nur, bloß, allein)' ¶ ¶ i ÷ (⇔ EI) Ht ak(k)-/ek- 'die' ({Pv.}: ÷ Vnt ekupeθaris ~ ecupetaris ~ equipetars 'tombstone' < IE *i₁ek- die') ¶ ¶ P 290, ▢ EI 343, WH I 394-5, Vr. 9, Kb. 196, EWA II 945-7, Schz. 122, Pv. I 17-23 ▢ HS: HEC: Ged {Hd.} ha-k- vt. 'lose, miss', vi. 'be unable', ?φ Brj hok- 'be absent' ¶ Hd. 243, Ss. B 100 || ? S: Gz ʔakko- 'by no means, no' (unless < *ʔal-ko-), Tgr ʔikon 'not, no' ¶ L G 14 ▢ R: NaT *aḡsu- 'be(come) defective, deficient, lacking' (× N *Xo₁ay₁gE 'lack, want', q.v.) > OT aḡsu- ({Cl.} eg̃su-), OT (BrSc) {Gb.} aḡso-, ET oḡsu-, Chg oḡksu-, OOSm eksi-, Tk Δ exsi-, eysi-, Qrg, Ln eksu-, Tkm exiθ- ¶ Cl. 117, ET Gl 257-8, DTS 168, Rl. I 687, 1188.

762. ?₂ *h₁awk'a 'light (lux), bright' > IE: NaIE *au₁-g- v. 'shine' d> NaIE *au₁-g-a-, -o(n) 'light, gleam' > Gk αῦγή id., 'daylight', pl. 'sun-rays' || pAl {O} *au₁-ga > StAl Tag 'twilight, dusk', agu i drite's 'Morgengrauen', agu i syrit 'pupil of the eye', a'goj 'to dawn', {C} 'il fait jour', Al G {Kf.} agon || NLG auken^d ooken 'attic, garret' || ? W gwawl 'light (lux)' ({Mn.} < *au₁-glo-?) || ?? pSl *jug₁ 'south, southern wind' > OCS югъ jug₁, Blg, R, Uk □, Slk juh 'south', OR угуъ ug₁, SCr juḡ, Slv juḡ, Cz jir^h id., 'southern wind', as well as SCr juḡo 'south', Uk □гa 'drought' ¶ WP I 25, P 87, EI 314 (*h₂eu₁-g- 'shine, become bright'), Mn. 41, F I 183-4, YGM-1 259, Ch. 137, Hofm. EWG 28, BFU 29, Kf. 38, C I 30-1 & II 344, O 2, Vs. IV 526, Glh. 302 ▢ HS: S *√wky > Gz √wky L (pf. waḡaya) 'shine, glisten, glitter', ? Ak akaku-tu 'brandon, tison, rougeoiment du ciel' ¶ L G 612, DRS 537 [+, [2] (× *Ha₁ḡkU 'fire', q.v. ffd.): Ch {Nw.} *aku ~ *ak^wa 'fire', {Stl.} *ʔakuw- id. > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} a'ka^h, Bd {IL} a'ka^h : Cg {Sk.} a^h-k^we^h, Kry {Sk.} a'ku^h, My {Sk.} a'ku^h, Jmb {Sk.} ak^wa^h, Dir {Sk.} aku^hwa^h, Wrj {Sk.} k^hwa^hy, Sir {Sk.} ku^hwi^h, Mbr ku^hwa^h || CCh: Db {JI} ku : G'nd wa^h-ta || ? BM: Mrg {IL} ʔi^hʔi^h (= [IL] ʔu^hʔu^h), Cb u^hʔu^h : Mtk {Nw.} ak^wa, Mada {BrrB} okk^wo, {Ro.} a'k^wa^h, Mofu {Brr.} a'w^ho^hw, MfG {Brr.} a'wa^hw, Gzg D {Lk.} ʔavo; {Ro.}: Mkt a'ka^hl, Myn a'ku^h, Hrz, Vm a'k^wa^h, Zlg a'k^wa^h, Mlk a'ko^h : Msg {Trn.} a'fu^h : Lmn {Lk.} u^huvu^h : Suk {IL} k^hu^h : Ms {Nw.} aku^h-da, {J} ku^hda^h, ZmD {KND} ku^h, {Srp.} ku, ZmB {J} ku^h, LamP ku, Lam k^wu, Bnn ku^h-da || ECh {Stl.} *ʔak^huw- > EDng {Fd.} a'ko^h, Bdy ʔa^hko, Mgm {JA} o'kko^h, Mkl {J} ʔu^hww^ho^h : Skr {Sx.} o'ko^h, {Nw.} o'ko^h : Jg {J} ʔo^h-k, Brg {J} ʔa^hku^h, Mu {J} ke^h-wi^h id. ¶ JI II 138-9, Nw. 26 [#48], Stl. IF 124, KNC 13, Ro. 252 [#271], Brr. MG II 149, BrrB 151, Fd. 14 [+, Blz. LECh. #27 || C: EC: Arr {Hw.} ʔe^h-g, Elm 'e^h-k, Yk iku, {E} ʔeku 'fire', ʔo Dsn ʔe^h-ge 'ashes' || DhI ʔe^h-ga 'fire' || SC: Asa yogot 'fire' ¶ Blz. CL 178, BlzT D 2, To. D 132, Hw. A 338, To. DL 481, Hn. NBLK 204 [+, ▢ AD SF 262-3, E PC #106] ▢ R: T *a^h-k 'white' > OT, Tkm a^h-q, Tk ak, Az ay, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, Shor, Tv, ET aq, Uz aq, Tf aq₁, Xk aḡ id. ¶ Rs. W 12, ET Gl 116-7, TL 679-80, Ra. 154 || pJ {S} *aka- 'be bright; red, bright' > pJ *a^hka^h 'red, (?) bright' ({S} *a^hka^h-ru^h 'bright') > OJ {Mr.} aka- 'red, bright', {S} 'red', [RJ] a^hka^h- 'red', J: T/K a^hkai, Kg akaka, Ns ha^h-, Sh a^hka^h-, Ht a^hga^h-, Y a^hga^h-nta^hri^h id., OJ {Mr.} akaru- v. 'get bright\red', akasu 'red, bright'; [2] *a^hka^h- v. 'dawn' > OJ aka-/ake- id., OJ a^hka^h-ru 'bright, light' ¶ S AJ 110 [#58], 267 [#60], S QJ #60, Mr. 675, 825 ¶ ¶ ▢ DQA #634 (A *i^h-a^hka 'light, white': incl. T, J) ♦ The tentative rec. of N *h- is based on indirect ev.: the only lrs. liable to disappear in S are *h and *ʔ, but N *ʔ yields IE *ʔ, which is unable to produce colouring effect on vowels. Hence the only N lr. to be reconstructed is *h-.

763. ?₂ *huwa^h-ke 'to move, walk' > HS: S [1] WS *hu^h-k- > Gz √hwk (js. -hu^h-k, pf. ho^h-ka) v. 'stir, stir up, move', ? Ar √hwk TD (pf. tahawwaka) 'tomber dans qch. par étourderie ou témérité'; [2] ʔo S {KB} *^h-ha^h-k- > OA √hk 'go' (1s ip. ʔhk, 3pm ip. yhkn), IA, EpJA √hk, BA K6eli^h ya^h-ha^h-k₁ 'go' ¶ L G 220, Di. 10, BK II 1458, KB 1697, HJ 281-2 (s.v. hlk), ▢ DRS 387 ▢ U: FP *wa^h-ke 'run, walk' or 'come' > pLp {Lr.} *ve^h-k₃- 'run, walk' > Lp: L {LLO} viehka- 'run, walk', N {N} viekka^h- / -g- 'run' : Prm *vo- 'come, arrive'

(→ 'ripen') > OPrm vo-, Z vo- vo-(ni), Z US vo-₁-ni, Yz vu-na id., Yz vois 'he came', Vt вы-ыны vu- reach, arrive, ripen' ¶ UEW 817, Lr. #1395, Lgc. #8670, LG 63 ♦ Qu.

764. *hakʃv 'stand, stop, stay, be' > **HS:** S *^o/hkʃ > Ar √hkʃ G 'take rest, halt' ¶ BK II 1433, Hv. 831 || C {AD} *^o/ʔk v. 'be, become' > pAg {Ap.} *ʔak-/ʔax- id. > Bln {Plm.} ʔax-/ʔak-, {R} aʃ-, Xm {R} aʃ-, Aw {Plm.} -aʃ- v. 'be' || EC *-ik(k)-/*-ak(k)- id. > Sml {Abr.} ah- v. 'be', Sa, Af -ekk-, sx. of stative (← copula), HEC {Hd.} *ik- v. 'become' > Brj ih-, Sd ik-/ikk-, Hd, Kmb ik- id. ¶ AD SF 131, 260, Ss. B 103-4, Hd. 25 ¶ The vw. *i in EC *-ik- may go back to the 3m prefix *y- (*y-ak- > *ik-) || ? **U:** Sm: Kms {Cs.} ig- 'be': iga'm 'sum', iga'l 'es', iga' 'est', etc., imv. iʔ 'be!' (sg.), pl. iga'', {KD} ĭgem 'sum' ¶ Cs. GSS 576-7, KD 22 || **R:** NaT *a-g- v. 'rise' (← *'stand') > OT a-ʃ- v. 'rise (from sth.), climb (up sth.)', Tkm a-ʃ- v. 'climb (over), overflow, exceed (a stated period)', Osm, Chg aʃ- v. 'rise', Osm aʃ- v. 'rise, evaporate', QrB aw- v. 'climb (over)' ¶ Cl. 76-7, DTS 16, ET Gl 68-9, Rl. I 142, Tkr 22, Rs. W 7 || **D** *a-k- v. 'be, become' > Tm a-ku (a-ki-) v. 'come into existence, happen, be', Ml a-kuka v. 'be that, become that', Kt a-g- v. 'become', Kn a-gu v. 'come into existence', Kdg a-g- v. 'become', Tl agu-avu v. 'be, become' ¶¶ D #333 ¶¶ It is not clear if D *a- [- > Tm a- v. 'come into existence, happen, be', Kt a- v. 'become' (gerund ar'y, a'ty), Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku a- v. 'be, become', Gnd a- v. 'be', Kui a-va- v. 'become, be, happen'] is originally a morphophonemic variant of the same word (with N *k- > D *-Ø-) or a different verb ♦ T *-g- < N *-kʃ- regularly (cp. N *ta-kʃv 'to touch' > T *t-eg- id. and N *c-ekʃv 'to step, tramp' > T *ci-gru- 'to trample').

765. 2 *hoK.U 'copulate' > **HS:** S *^o/hk.k. > Ar √hqk (pf. haqqa) 'cohabiter avec une femme avec violence' ({Fr.} 'vehementer inivit [feminam]), ha-qq- 'vehementer futuens' ¶ BK II 1430, Fr. IV 398 || B {Pr.} *^o/wqʰH¹ (*wquʰH¹-) v. 'copulate' (× N *k.uyE 'be hungry, desire, want'?) > Izn {Rn.} əqqi, Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əqqu, Sll {Ds.} qqu° (pf. iqqu°), Izd qqu id., Izd t-uqqu-t 'cohabitation, acte d'amour' ¶ Rn. 372, Mrc. 54 || **R:** M *oqu- 'copulate' > MM [MA, IM] oqaba p. 'copulated' (of humans and animals), WrM oqu-, HIM oxo-x, Kl {Rm.} oxʒ-χa v¹ 'copulate' (of humans), Ord {Ms.} oxo 'copulate' (of a man) ¶ Pp. MA 266-7, 443, MED 626, KW 284, Ms. O 508 || Tg: Ewk oko- id. (← M?) ¶ STM II 10 ¶¶ **DQA** #1564.

766. oʔ *halv 'call out, call, praise' > **IE** {Pv.} *xel-t-/*xl-et-, d *xl. 'tye/o- ({Pv.} *H₁l. tye/'o'-) > AnIE {Pv.} *halt(i)ya- > Ht halzai- v. 'call out, cry, shout, exclaim, howl; cry for, crave; proclaim, recite, read; call, summon, invoke', Lw (3s prs. md.) hal-ti-it-ta-ri || NaIE: [1] Acc. to Pv. II 5-64, NaIE *lo-ta- (< IE {Pv.} *xlo-ta-) > ORu laḫu n. 'call, summons, invitation', ON loḫ, AS laḫu 'invitation'; -ḫ Gt laḫo-n, ON laḫa, AS laḫian, OHG lado-n 'to invite, call' [> NHG (ein)laden 'invite'] || ? OL lessus, acc. sg. lessum 'wailing, lamentation' (acc. to Cʃop, < *let^S-tu-s < *H¹let^S-tu-s) || [2] ?o: Gk 'αλαλη', Gk D 'αλαλα' 'war-cry' and Gk H 'ολολυζω v. 'cry with a loud voice' (so Ts. E) ¶ F I 63, Pv. II 53-64, Pv. EA 88, Ts. E I 139-40, Cʃop IGW-8 96-7, Fs. 323, Ho. 196, Vr. 343, 373, Kb. 585 || **HS:** S *^o/hll **rejoice, cry with exaltation** > BHb √hll G 'be boastful, infatuated', v. D 'eulogize', 'praise (God)', MHb √hll D 'praise', Ug √hll, Aram √hll G (pf. halla) 'rejoice', SmA √hll D 'praise', Sr √hll D 'sing, praise', BHb hillu-l-im 'festival exultation', MHb lul'ie hil'lu-l, JA hillu-l-a- {Js.} 'singing praises', JEA {Sl.} al'lul'ie5 hillu-l-a- 'festivity, wedding feast', IA [Eleph.] {KB} hīallu-lat 'noise', Gz √hll T (pf. tahalala) 'jubilate, utter cries of joy', Ak fOB √lil: atlulu 'to shout ala'la, to brag, boast', s'u'lulu 'to hail, acclaim, utter a cry' ¶ KB 235, 238-9, KBR 245-9, Js. 346, 353, Sl. 378, Tal I 210, Br. 176, BK II 1434-5, L G 217, CAD I/1 331-2, DRS 414-5 || B *^o/hʔl ({PPr.} √h₂h₁l) v. 'diriger un salut (vers un absent)' > Ah, Tnsl, ETwl, Ty uhal, pf. yəhul, Gh pf. yəhul ¶ Fc. 576-8, Pr. H #218, GhA 78, 251 (Pcj. II B 3) || **U:** FU *alv- v. 'pronounce magic words, exercise magic forces; to sacrifice' [× N *ʃfa'lv 'burn (esp. sacrifices), use magic means (sacrifices, magic formulae etc.) to produce a particular result' (q.v.)] > Er {Bd.} alta-, alvta- v. 'promise', {ERV} alta- v. 'promise, dedicate', {Jv.} alta- 'doom', {Bd.} alsta- 'versprechen, zusagen, weichen; verwünschen' ! Chr {Szil.} ulte- v. 'prey', Chr L {MRS, Ü} ul'ḫa-s 'to prey, pronounce a prayer' || pOs *al- > Os: V/Vy alil- v. 'curse, scold', Vy alil- v. 'bewitch', V aliltə ko'l 'Fluchwort, malediction', alim- v. 'curse, call down curses upon' ! OHg a'ld- v. 'sacrifice, opfern', Hg a'ld- v. 'bless, consecrate', a'ldoz- 'sacrifice, offer; devote to' || ? Y: Y {Jc.} ilete- 'beschimpfen, schelten', Y K {IN} il'tə-, Y T {Ku.} il'ete- 'scold' ¶ UEW 7, MF I 81, ERV 45, MRS 628, Stn. D 75, Trj. 13, KC 16-7, Jv. 19, Ü 225, EWU 24, **Rd.** UJ 45 [#58] (Y ← U) || **R** *al- > NaT *alka- v. 'bless, praise, conjure (supernatural spirits)' > OT alqa- v. 'praise' (both

in the religious and the ordinary sense), v. 'bless', Qmq, Qrg, Qzq alqa-, Tv alya- v. 'bless', Xk alya- v. 'bless, thank', StAlt alqa- v. id., 'thank', Yk alya- v. 'bless, praise, prey, conjure (supernatural spirits), cast a spell' > Ewk alga- v. 'bless, pray', alga 'blessing' ¶ Cl. 138, Rs. W 17, ET Gl 137-8, Rl. I 349, Pek. 74 || ? Tg *algi-n 'fame, rumour' > Sln algi~ 'rumour', Mc algin, Mc Sb algi_an 'fame, rumour'; Mc algi-, Mc Sb algi_a- v. 'become famous' ¶ STM I 30 || ? M *aldar 'fame' > MM [S] aldar id., WrM aldar, HlM алдар 'fame, renown, reputation', Kl {KW} aldr. 'fame', Dgr {T} aldar ~ aldu_r id., 'news', 'honorific name' ¶ H 5, MED 30, KW 6, T DgJ 120.

767. *halV 'this' > **HS**: S *hal-, dem. prn. > Ar ?al- (df. art.) and a component in compound pronouns (e.g. ḏa'lika 'this'), Ak A allu 'jener', Ug hl {A} 'this', {OLS} 'i'he aquí, mira!', hlny, (AkSc) {Hnr.} hallinīya 'here, now then', ? Ar -aEa hala ~ aEa hala- 'here' (in ḥayya hala ~ ḥayya hala- 'come here'), ??? CS *'halV?-(as'), *la 'halV?i, 'further, onward, thither' (with directive case ending *-as' or with preposition *la 'to') [× N *'r?alV?E (= *halV?E?) 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.] ¶ Sd. 37, A #87, OLS 164-5, Hnr. 121, BK II 1435, KB 235, KBR 245, BDB #1973, PS 1009 || [× N *?olV 'that (visible)']: EC *?VI- > Gdl ?e'le (nom. ?e'lu) 'that' (remote from speaker, superior), Dsn -al-a 'this', Arr -lo' 'this': faraw-lo' 'this horse', ?ummo-lo' 'these children' ¶ Hw. DP 13, Hw. A 191-200, To. DL 226-7 || **K**: Sv: UB ala, LB ali, L/Ls ale 'he\it (near the speaker); 'this', Sv al 'this' ¶ TK 39-40, GP 40, Top. SJ 83 || **IE**: NaIE *al-i_o-s 'other' ({EI} IE *hAeli_o-s), *al-ter 'the other from two', IE *oal-nei_ > Sl *olni 'last year' (all × N *'r?alV?E '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 25-6, EI 411, Brg. D 107, F I 76-7, Vn. A 31-2, Flr. 155, Hm. 239, YGM-1 11, Billy 6-7, WH I 30-3, Slt. 270, Fs. 39, Vr. 100-1, Ma. CS 275, Glh. 368 || **R**: ??? NaT *al 'that' > Qrg, Tb al 'that', unless it is a secondary variant of T *ol 'ille' [F N *?olV '↑'].

768. *hAlV 'to shine; bright' > **HS**: WS *√hll v. 'shine' (of a heavenly body), 'be bright' > Ar hall- 'clair' (se dit des étoffes d'un tissu léger et clair), √hll (pf. halla) v. 'appear' (of a new moon, of a heavenly body appearing over the horizon), √hll v. TD (pf. tahallala) 'shine', 'be bright (face, cloud)', hall-at- 'lamp', BHb lle Hiph. v. (ip. le4i! ya'hel, 3pm ip. ul'e4i!) 'flash forth, light, shine', Tgr hLhl halhalē v. 'blaze (lodern, flammen), hLhL† halhalta n. 'blaze (Lohe, Flamme)', ?? Gz {DRS <?} √hll G 'être clair, se rasséréner' ¶ BK II 1434-6, Hv. 832, KB 238, KBR 248, BDB #1984, LH 1-2, DRS 415 || B *√Hll > Izn {Rn.} iuləlla pl. 'lightning' ¶ Rn. 287 || **K** *hJe- v. 'lighten' (× N *yelJayV 'to shine; light', q.v.) > OG, G el-, G Ing hel- id., Lz A al- v. 'sparkle, lighten', Sv hel- ~ el- / -hl- (masdar li-el-e^d li-hl-) v. 'lighten', Sv. LB hel 'lightning' ¶ ¶ K 78-9 & K² 46-7 (*el-; adduces Mg/Lz val- 'lighten'), ¶ FS K 122 (adduce Mg/Lz val- and reconstruct K *wel-); on Mg/Lz val- see N *w'eI'V 'shine, lighten', IS MS 362-3 and IS I 281-2 [¶ **IE**: AnIE: Lw {Mlc.} halliya- 'day', HrLw {Mer.} hali- 'day, time' ¶ Mlc. CL 48, Mer. HHG 48, ¶ Pv. III 25] || **D** *all- 'clear' (of liquids) (× N *XalbV 'white' 'white') > Krx all- 'become clear' (of liquid left undisturbed), Mlt {Drs.} a'le 'get clear (as water when left undisturbed)', ? Kui alga 'tidy, clear' ¶¶ D #261, Pf. 184 ✧ To be distinguished from N *oJga~Hl~u ~ *Ta~HVI~u 'reddish, yellow, brown' (q.v.).

[¶ **768a. *hiLV** (or *hEyLV??) 'new heavenly light' (± 'new moon, the first star in the sky') > **HS**: CS (or WS) *hila-l- (~ *haylil-?) > BHb ll4ie4 he'le'l 'morning star' (scriptio plena of the first e~, as always in BHb, points to a former *ay), Ug hll {A} 'crescent', {OLS} 'e divinidad astral', Ar hila-l- 'new moon', 'moon at the end of the lunar month', as well as Gz {L} həla'l 'new moon' and Amh həlal 'moon' (both from Ar?) ¶ KB 235, OLS 165, A #832, BK II 1435. L G 217 || B: Ah {Fc.} tallit (pl. tilil), Ttq {Msq.} tallit (pl. telil), 'new moon, lunar month', Tw Ud {Sdl.} tallit (pl. tilil) 'moon, month', Gt {Nh.} tallit (pl. c'illil) 'month', Kb {Dl.} t_allit 'moment imprévis: un instant, quelque jours' ¶ Fc. III 982, Msq. 178, 197, Sdl. 307, Nh. s.v. 'mois', Dl. 441 ¶¶ Cf. also CCh: Bdm {Cfr.} h'yil'lu'gu', {Lk.} hi'logu 'star' (unless from Knr s'illogu id.) (ChC, Lk. B 104) || **R**: Tg: Lm ula-n 'moon', 'month' (← *'new moon') ¶ STM I 306 ✧ ≠ Blz. LNA #19 [S, B i÷ Sa, Af alsa 'moon, month', AnIE, D, Tg words for 'day', 'light', 'to burn, kindle' (see N *hAlV 'shine, bright', *yelJayV 'shine, lux', *yiLV 'burn, kindle')].]

769. *hiLV 'stand, be, exist' (→ 'have') > **HS**: WS *√hlw 'be, exist' > Gz √hlw D (pf. hlw hallawa ~ hlo hallo~) 'be, exist; there is', Tgr h- halla, Tgy alo ?allo, Arg halla, Amh al allē id., Hmr hl 'be', Ar Y {Mü.} hallo, {Slw.} hall- 'there is' ¶ L G 217-8, LH 5, Mü. rEDG 399, Blv. XJ 69-72, Slw. 214-5, Bns. NJ I 23, DRS 412 || B: Ty ilu (3s pf. ila) [Pcj. I C 2] 'have', ETwl ɛlu [Pcj. I A 9-11], Ah əl (pf. ila~) [Fcj. 12 = Pcj. I A 11] 'have', Kb əl (pf. ila) 'have, belong to' ¶ Dl. 437-8, Fc. 974-7, GhA 108, Pr. M VI-VII 119-26 &

143-4 (on conjugations) || C: EC: Elm -el p. / -al-a prs. 'stand', Arr -ell pf. / -all- ip., Sml -i-l--ill- 'live, be' [3m p.: Sml N >yi-l, Sml yi-l, 3s prs.: Sml N >ya-l, Sml C ya-l(da)], Rn {PG} -il-/a-l- 'live, dwell (wohnen)', pBn pf. *-i-l- / ip. *-a-l- 'stay' (Bn J 1s p. a_ki'-?i-l_3_, 3m p. a_ki'-y-i-l_3_, 1s prs. a_ká'-?a-l_3_, 3m prs. a_ká'-?a-l_3_, Bn K 1s p. ki'-?i-l_3_, 3m p. ki'-?i-l_3_, 1s prs. ka'á'-?a-l_3_, 3m prs. ki'-?a-l_3_), Dsn ya-l 'stand' || AD IPSV, Bell 32, 59, Anr. VVMS, Mrn. SS 100-7, 272-7, 357-8, Abr. S 1962, Ss. OKSV 164-9, Ss. G 426-7, Ss. D 211-2, Hn. S 33-6, Hn. BD 35-9, 57-61, 76, PG 59, 150, Schlee 17-20, Hw. A 267-9, Vg. rSimO 165-7, To. DL 532 ||*, HL 67 (pEC *-a-l- 'stand, be present') || Coh. 80 [#20] || A *iLV 'stand (up)', {DQA} *iLV 'stand, become' > Tg *iLi-lu- 'stand up, stop still' > Orc, Ud ili-, Ul iLi--iLu-, Ork iLi- ~ iLli-, Nn iLi-, Ewk -il-, Lm, Neg iLi-, WrMc ili- id., Mc Sb yili- id., yula- id., 'halt', Sln -il- 'stand up', Jrc ili-bun 'standing, vertically' || STM I 302-3, Y ##537-8, Kiy. 121 [#424], 131 [#604], Gru. SSJ #424, Md. ChF 135 || ? pKo {S} *ir- 'become, happen' > MKo ir- 'become', NKO irə-na- id., il- 'happen' || S QK #733, Nam 405, MLC 1351, 1356 || DQA # 596, Rm. SKE 71 (connects Ko with Tg i- 'enter') ♦ IS MS 332 s.v. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎠 ('be') *le (U, HS + *unc.* K *-r- 'be') ♦ A Gr. II #29 (*le 'be', incl. Y, CK, EA, U *le- ÷ IE *le(i)- 'provide, obtain').

770. *huLV 'to push, butt, pierce' > IE *Xwel-/Xul- v. strike' > Ht hulla-, hulliya- v. {Pv.} 'smash, quash, defeat', {Ts.} '(nieder)schlagen' || NaIE *wel- v. a'push, wound, damage' [× IE *welX- 'strike' < N *wel'hV 'to hit, attack', q.v.] > L volnus, vulnus (gen. -eris) 'wound' || Gk ο'υλην 'wound scarred over', ἀναλίσκω (< *ανα-φάλλισκω) 'waste, spend' || Phv. II 363-8 (distinguishes between IE *Xwel-hV- [{Phv.} H₁wel-A^w > Ht hulla-] and *wel-hj- [{Phv.} *wel-(A₁- > *walh-], Ts. E I 275ff., P 1144-5, F I 74 & II 443-4, WH II 744-5, 827, Fs. 564, Vr. 642, a EI 567 (cf. N *wel'hV 'hit, attack' and *w'al₁iyV 'draw, pull out\off') || HS: S *√hlw v. 'push' > Jb C {Jo.} √hl? [{Jo.} √hlw] (pf. 'he'le?) v. 'push (animals) into a pen\cave' || Jo. J 97 || A: M *oli- v. 'butt' > WrM oli- v. 'butt' (of a goat, ram), HIM оли-х 'to butt (with one horn)', Kl {KRS} олх ол-хъ, {Rm.} olj- 'to butt (with horns)' || MED 609, Luv. 297, KRS 396, KW 285 || The M √ belongs here unless it is *qoli- (which cannot be ruled out, because no reflexes are known in lgs. distinguishing between *q- and zero).

|| 770a. ?₂ *h'alifwV 'elephant' > HS: B *√Hlw id. > Ah {Fc.} e-lu (pl. e-lwa-n), ETwl {PGG} eləw, Ty {PGG} iləw, Gh {Nh.} alu, Zng {Nic.} əzəh, {Bs.} iz'it (pl. a-3'a-dən) || Fc. 982, PGG 201 || ? ECh: Mkl {J} ?e'ibi 'elephant', pl. ?e'ibi'd.i; ?e'ibi'so' 'female elephant' || J LM 96 || ?μ EC: pBn {Hn.} *a'li's'i 'female elephant' > Bn: J ali's'i, Kj ali's'z, K ale'ss id. || For the element *-s'i cp. Mkl ?e'ibi'so' 'female elephant' || Hn. BD 104 || ??σ S: Ak Bg/LB alu- 'bull (as a mythological being)' ({Blz.} 'mythical giant bull') || CAD I/1 377, ASal. J 167, Dk. ESA 32 || Cp. also Gk ἐλε'φας (gen. -vto) 'elephant' [a loan from some HS (perhaps Libyan) source?] || Blz. EH 3-4 || D: McTm *alliyān > Tm alliyān 'stray elephant separated from the fold', Ml alliyān 'female elephant' || D 258 ♦ N *h' is very tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of Ak (a- rules out all laryngeals other than *ʔ- and *h-) and B (Ah long e- favours a lr. other than *ʔ-). If Ak does not belong here, we have to reconstruct an unspecified N *Hq- ♦ Blz. DA 157 [#50]. ||

771. ₂ *haL₁u₁K₁V 'to step, walk' > HS: S *√hlk v. 'go, walk' > BHb √hlk G id. (pf. Kl2el ha-lak_, imv. Kl4 lek_, 3m ip. Kl4i\$ ye-l-lek_), Ph √hlk, Pun pf. ylk, imv. LECH, M'b 1s ip. ʔhlk, imv. lk, Ug, Nab, Plm √hlk, Ak √ʔlk (inf. ala-ku) id., IA √hlk D 'walk', Md √hlk D 'proceed, go forward, travel, walk', Ar √hlk G (pf. halaka) 'perish, pass away', Sq {L} 1p GT nah'tilok 'we perish' || KB 236-8, KBR 246-8, HJ 280-2, OLS 165, DM 148, BK II 1439-41, Sod. 31-4, CAD I/1 300-28, DRS 413-4 || B (mt) *√Hkl v. 'walk' > Wrg {Dlh.} akəl (3m pf. yukəl) 'follow, walk, travel', Tmz {MT} akəl^d as'al (pf. ukəl^d us'al) 'marcher sur, piétiner, fouler', Skn akəl 'cheminer', BMn {Bs.} k₁el (3s pf. ik₁la) 'walk', d verbal stems: Ah sikəl 'marcher au pas (animaux)', Gh {Nh.} s'ikəl 'marcher droit son chemin', d n. act.: Ah te'kle 'marche au pas', Gh c'ikəlt (pl. c'ikkal), BSn t₁is'li, BMn his'li, Zww {Bs.} t₁ikli, Wrs {Bs.} t₁ic'li, Nf tikli 'walking (marche)', Kb t₁imli id., 'allure, Shnw {La.} hik₁li 'la marche, le pas' || Fc. 781-3, Dlh. Ou. 142, La. S 193, La. Ch 143, Nh. 176, MT 331, Dl. 40, Bs. ZOu 145 || A *alUk'V, {DQA} *a-lak'u 'to step, walk' > M *alqu- v. 'step' > MM [MA] alqu-, WrM alqu-, HIM алха-, Dgr alku-, ShY algə- id., Kl {Rm.} alχa- 'steigen, treten, schreiten'; 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎠 *alqum 'a step' > WrM alqum, HIM алха(м) 'step, pace, gait', Kl {KRS, Rm.} алх алχъ, алхм алχъм, Mnr H {SM} arg₁u ~ ? χarg₁u, MM [MA] alqu, Mnr H {SM} χarg₁u, arg₁u, {T} χalgu, Dx hanku a step' || Pp. MA 99, MED 34, KRS 38, T 372, T DnJ 139, SM 13, 161, KW 7 || Mnr and Dx χ-, h- is

probably accounted for by Md.-Hl.'s law of a Mnr/Dx initial aspiration induced by the root-medial vl. cns. || pJ {S} a'ru'k- v. 'walk' > OJ aruk-, a'ri'k- id., J: T aru'k- 'walk, go on foot, step', K a'ru'k-, Kg a'ruk-, Ns a'kkʷ-, Sh a'tcʷ-, Ht a'ru'g-, Y a'i'g- 'walk' ¶ S AJ 270 [#84] ¶¶ S AJ 268 [#84] (*alukʷ), S QJ #84, Mr. 677 ¶¶ DQA #22 ♦ HS *k < *k. (HS deglottalization) ♦ ≠ Gr. II #178 (*al 'go') [A, J + *unc.* IE, Sm, CK].

772. *h'a~'l'UK. 'a' 'be in need (hungry, thirsty), covet' > IE: NaIE *elk-/~olk- 'to hunger, be hungry' > Lt a'lk-ti, Ltv al'k-t 'to hunger', Pru alkĩns · "nüchtern" ({Tp.} 'sober-minded'), Lt a'lkanas 'one on an empty stomach' ! Sl *olka-ti 'to hunger' > OCS лакати lakati ~ алѣкати alѣkati 'to hunger, fast', OR лакати lakati (prs. лав(0)) 'to hunger, be thirsty', Slv la'kati 'to hunger', Cz la'kati, Slk la'kat 'to attract', P laknač 'hunger, be hungry; covet, long for' || OHG ilgi 'famine' ¶ P 307, Frn. 8, En. 140, Tp. P A-D 75, Vs. II 452, SJSS I 27-8, Trt. 6-7, Kb. 496 || **HS:** WS *√hlk > Mh √hlk (pf. hīlzk) 'be very tired and thirsty', Jb C √hlk (pf. 'helk) id., 'miss so. who has died', Mh hɜ'lɜkt 'thirst', Tgr {DRS} hēlkēy 'tired', Ar √hlk G (halaka / -hlaku) 'être extrêmement avide de qch.' ¶ Jo. M 156-7, BK II 1439, DRS 413-4 || **A:** T *a'uk- > NaT *as'uk- > OT as'uq- v. 'long for'; ???σ → NaT *as'uk- 'be in a hurry' > OT, Ln as'uq-, CrTt, Kr Cr, QrB, Qrg as'iq-, VTt, Bsh as'ɛq-, Nog, Qzq, Qq asiq-, Uz as'iq-, ET os'uq- id. ¶ Cl. 239, DTS 64, ET Gl 217-8 ♦ S *k is due to deglottalization of *K.

773. *h'Vmp'i' 'stinging insect' > IE: NaIE *empi- ~ *emb'i- > Gk ἔμπι' (gen. ἔμπι'δ-οῦ) 'mosquito, gnat' || AS imbe 'swarm of bees', OHG imbi, NHG Imme id., NGr Wf ime 'bee' ¶ WP I 125, P 311, EI 312 (*h₁em'pi-s 'gnat, stinging insect') ≠ F I 506, ≠ Ch. 344, ■ Ho. 187, Schz. 173, OsS 443, KM 325, Kb. 496 || **D** *ummVl- 'stinging insect' > Kn ummun.i 'in insect', Tu umil- ~ umbl.i 'mosquito, gnat', Nkr ummel 'mosquito' ¶¶ D #638 || ? **HS:** WS *√hmm > Ar ha-mm-at- 'venomous vermin (scorpions, worms, lice), serpents', Jb {DRS} ha'm 'big snake' ¶ BK 1443, DRS 424 || Ch {Nw.} *ami 'bee' > CCh: pMM {Ro.} *ama > Gzg {Lk.} ?amam, {Ro.} a'ma'm, MfG {Brr.} a'mam, {Ro.}: Myn a'mu', Mlk a'mo'm, Zlg a'mu'm, Mofu u'wa'm id. || ECh: Jg {J} ?i'mo', Brgt {J} ?imi'yu', Mu {J} ?u'm 'bee' ¶ ChC, ChL, Nw. #70, Lk. G 117, Ro. 209 [#57]), Brr. MG II 75 || **N word group *h'Vmp'i' 'gnat, mosquito' (q.v. ffd.).**

774. *hanV 'head' → 'top' → 'on, on the surface, towards' > HS: Eg G hn 'head', hn 'bis hin nach...' (unless < Eg fP hn 'box, chest', hnw {Fk.} 'jar', {EG} 'in pot') ¶ EG II 491-5, Fk. 158 || S *^{or}h'ana > Ak ana, an 'towards, to' (Sd.: 'zu, [in der Richtung] nach'), ? Gz ne- 'away to', 'towards' ¶ Sd. 47-8, L G 380 || C: HEC *hana 'over, above' > Sd a-na 'over, on', Hd, Ged hana id. ¶ Hd. 109 || ? Bj {R} -na 'bei' || C b- Mb {Fl.} ana 'above' || ?? CCh: Gudu {IL} yin!Tr {Nw.} j in 'head' ¶ Nw. WLT 37, JI II 182-3 || **IE** *x'an ~ *x'anu ~ *(x'a)no- {P} 'an einer schrägen Fläche hin, hinauf' > Av ana, OPrs ana- 'über ... hin', 'entlang, auf', Av anu, OPrs anuv 'nach, gemäß', 'längs, entlang', Oi 'anu' 'after, along, acc. to' || ? Arm (h)am- (h)am- verbal px.: (h)am-ba@nam (h)am-bar-nam 'I raise up', (h)am-berem (h)am-berem 'ich ertrage' (-m- for *-n- due to generalization of the variant preceding a nasal cns. of the √) || Gk I/A ἄνα, ἀνα 'up, upon' || Gt, ORu ana (later an), ON a' 'on', OHG ana, an 'at, on, over, in', NHG an, AS an, on 'on', NE on || ? Lt ano'te, ano't 'according to' ¶ P 39-40, EI 612 [IE *h₁en-h₁e 'up (onto), upwards, along'], F I 100-1, Fs. 41, Vr. 1, Mkj. DR 119, Ho. 4, Kb. 23-4, EWA I 214-5, M K I 3, Frn. 11 || **U** *na- 'toward, into, near' > FU *na- 'to, toward' > Os: N -na- 'towards, into' (lative, illative): χατνα 'into the house', ? E -na't, -nat 'with'; Vg: T -na-, -na-, LK -nə, -ən, -n, P -nə, -n, Ss -na, -n; Hg Δ -ni, -n'i 'zu', Hg -nek, -nak 'gegen, uf zu', OHg -na'l, -ne'l 'zu, bei', Hg -na'l, -ne'l 'bei' || Sm *na- (postposition): dat. sg. *na-η 'zu', loc. sg. *na-na° 'bei', abl. sg. *na-tɛ 'von' > Ng dat. {Cs.} naη 'zu', {Mik.} nanu 'bei', En X {Cs.} dat. ne, En B {Cs.} dat. ni_e 'zu', Ne T {Ter.} dat. nɪ 'zu', loc. nɪ na 'bei', Kms na°:mɛn 'für, wegen' ¶ Jn. 99, MF 461-2 ≠ UEW 300 || **D** (in SD) *an'ln- 'upper part' > Tm an. 'upper part', an.a v. 'lift the hand', Ml an.n.a 'upwards, above', Kn an.n.e, an.n.a, an.a 'excellence, purity', Tu an.a-vuni, an.n.a-vuni v. 'look up, lift up the face, gaze' ¶ D #110 ¶ The cerebrality of *n' in the D √ has not yet been explained (*-n- + suffixal *y > *-n'- > D *-n'-?).

775. *hEnV 'iste' > HS: WS *hinn- 'here, voici, voilà' > Ug hn 'aquí', 'he aquí; ¡mira!; así', Hb Ne4 'voici', {KBR} conj. 'behold', Ph, Yd hn id., Ar ?inna 'certainly, indeed', Sb {Bll.} ?n 'behold, lo!', Gz {L} ?ən-ka 'so then', ?ənga- 'indeed' ¶ KBR 251, OLS 167, HJ 285-7, Bll. 22, L G 26, DRS 427 || B {Pr.} *h-in, deictic nominal sx. of remoteness and invisibility' > Twr {Pr.} -(h)in id., Kb -ihin, -ihinna, invariable postnom. dem. prn. (remote visible object), -inna, -yinna, invariable postnom. dem. prn. (remote visible person or object), Tmz {MT} -nn, -nna, invariable postnom. dem. prn. (remote or absent), Mz

{Dlh.} -n, -ən, -in, invariable deictic morpheme of remoteness or absence (arʒʰaz-ən 'cer homme-là'), Wrg {Dlh.} -n id. ('that'): argaz-ən 'homme-là, cet homme-là', ass-ən 'ce jour-là en question', w-ən 'celui-là', t-ən 'celle-là', pl. i-ni 'ceux-là', ti-ni 'celles-là' ¶ AiM 217, Pr. M III 191-2, Dl. 282, 534-5, MT 456, Dlh. M 129, Dlh. Ou 208 || eEg -n, deictic element of proximity: m. pn 'this', f. tn, ntr. nn 'this', adv. ʷn 'so' ¶ Lopr. AE 68-71 || C: [Ag: Bln {R} ʷnʒa 'that', Q {Hz.} ʒn 'this', i'n 'that', Km {Hz., Ap.} ʒ'n 'this', {Ap., Hz.} in 'that', Aw {Hz.} ʒ'nn 'this', a'n 'that'; these forms or part of them go back to sequences ***ha** 'ille' + ***hEnV** and ***hi** (dem. pc.) + ***hEnV**, producing the opposition 'this' ↔ 'that' ¶ EC: Kns {BISO} ini 'this' ¶ Bj {R} u'n nom. this' m. (acc. o'n, pl. nom. a'n, pl. acc. e'n) ¶ SC: ? Irq {Nrb.} -si'ŋ 'iste, that near you': he-si'ŋ 'iste homo' (the element -s- is still obscure) ¶ Ap. K 321, Nrb. 30-2, Wh. IC 79 (Irq -si'ŋ 'that [particular]') ¶, Hz. AL 21, R BedS III 32-6, Rop. 150] || Ch nominal determiner (m.) ***VnV** > Hs do'ki-n 'the horse' (↔ do'ki 'horse'), Bd {Sch.} kʷa'm-a-ni 'that bull' (↔ kʷa'm 'bull'), Gude {Sch.} ra'ha-na 'this axe' (↔ ra'ha 'axe'), Msg {Sch.} d.if na 'this man' (↔ d.if 'man') and with loss of gender distinction: Mkl {Sch.} é tro'wo-ŋ 'the woman' (↔ é tro'wo 'woman'), Ke {Sch.} hʒlgʒ-ŋ 'the woman' (↔ hʒlgʒ 'woman') ¶ Sch. ED 156-9 **II IE**: [1] NaIE ***eno-/*ono-** dem. prn. 'that' (intermediate or distal deixis) (× *cd.* with ***ha** 'ille') > Lt ana's, an's id., an(a) 'behold' ¶ Sl ***onъ** 'that' (→) 'he' (f. ***ona**, ntr. ***ono**, pl.: m. ***oni**, f. ***one**) > OCS **онъ** onъ m. 'that, ille', 'he' / **она** f. / **оно** ntr. / **они** pl. m. / **онѣ** pl. f., in later lgs. mainly 'he' / 'she' / 'it' / 'they': R sg. **он** / o'ha / o'ho, pl. o'hi, pl. f. † & Δ o'he, UK **в'н/во'на/во'но**, SCR o'n (~ o'n) / o'na / o'no, Slv o'n/o'na/ono' (-o'no), Cz, Slk, P on/ona/ono ¶ OI ana- 'this', base of a prn. (in a'ne-na, a'naya-, a'nayo-h.), Av ana- (anaya), OPrs instr. ana- ¶ Arm sojn so-yn 'this, that, he, self, the same' (< ***k'o-eno-**) ¶ Gk *cd* 'εκεῖνο' 'that' (distal deixis) (< ***ε-κε-ενο**) ¶ L enim 'indeed, truly; namely', 'for' (explanatory conj.), Osc r'ni'm INIM εινειμ, r'ni' 'and' ¶ Gmc *cd* (< IE ***y-on-yos**): OHG jene'r 'that one', NHG jener 'that, ille', AS h.l. zeon, OFrs jen, MLG jene id., ON inn ~ enn 'the', Sw, Dn -(e)n id. || Ht an(n)i 'that, yonder' (sg. com. annis), annaz 'formerly, once upon a time'; acc. to Pv., ann- < ***on-yo-**) ¶ P 319-21, Frn. 10, Vs. III 140-1, Glh. 454, M K I 32, F I 476, 515, WH I 404-6, Bc. G 317, Vr. 286, Kb. 522, , KM 332, Pv. I-II 51-5, EI 458 (***haen-** 'that') ¶ [2] ? IE ***h'e-n** (or ***pe-n**) 'behold!', 'lo!', 'voilà' > Gk ᾗν, ᾗν'ν, L e-n id. (× N ***OoyNV** 'see, look' [q.v.]) **II A**: M nom. ***ene** 'iste' ('this', 'he, she, it' [*hic*-deixis]) / declension stem (of obl. cases) ***ene-n** [× N ***?e'** 'this', deictic pc. (q.v.)], whence the suppletive stem ***egu-n-** for obl. cases and possibly ***ede** pl. 'these') > MM [S, MA] ene / obl. [MA] enen-, WrM ene, HIM yny / obl. ynyh-, Brt yny e'ne< / obl. ynyh- e'ne-n, Mgl ena / obl. ena'n id., Dg ʒnʒ, Kl enə, Mgr {Pp.} nīe / obl. {SM} enu-n-, {Pp.} nīā'n ¶ Pp. IM analyzes M ***ene** as ***e-n-e** (the √ ***e-** + element -n- that "occurs in all pronouns": ***mi-n-u**, ***ci-n-u**, ***i-n-u** + deictic ***e-**); Pp.'s analysis is *unt.*, because ***-n-** in ***minu** 'of me' etc. occurs in gen. [not in nom.] and goes back to the N genitive pc. ***nu** [q.v.], while ***-n-** in ***ene** occurs in the nom. and hence belongs to the stem ¶ MED 316, ¶ Pp. IM 225-7, Pp. GMPJ 82, GBJ 141-3, SM G 40-1, Snz. SMJ 53-5 **II ? K**: GZ ***-n**, subject marker of 3 sg. in verbs > OG, G, Mg, Lz -n ¶ K¹ 144-5.

776. ***huʒinŋV** 'wave' > **HS**: Eg N hʒnw 'wave; flood (of the sea)' > Cpt: Sd ʒoem hocim, ʒoime hoime, B ʒwimi hoimi, coll. ʒimi hime 'wave' ¶ EG II 481, ¶ Vc. 292 || ? C: Bj {R} haymo 'wave' **II IE** ***xun-** / ? ***xwen-** > Ht hunhuwan- 'wave', hunhunessar/n- id., ? hunhumazzi- id. || NaIE: pGmc ***unθi-o-**, ***unθu-** 'wave' > ON unnr, uðr (pl. unnir), OSx u'thia, AS y'ð, OHG unda id. ¶ L unda id. ¶ ¶ P 79-80, Ts. E I 287, ≠ WH I 816-8. Vr. 635, Ho. 413, Ho. S 82, Kb. 1070.

777. ***hAwŋV** 'sense, mind, soul' > **HS**: S ***o**/hwn, ***hawn-** 'sense' > Sr 'ño,,Ha haw'n-a- 'mens, intelligentia', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} an!wle9 h'a'wa-na- ~ an!&ve9 h'a'wo-na- 'Vernünftigkeit, Einsicht', JPA Nve hwn 'sense'; ??σ CS ***hwn** 'be easy' (if from ***savoir faire**?) > Ar √hwn (pf ha-na) 'become easy', BHb √hwn *Sh* (3p watta'hīnu-) 'regard as easy'; ???σ Ph hwn 'wealth', BHb N&e ho'n 'wealth, sufficiency; enough' ¶ Br. 173, Sl. P 161, Lv. I 458-9, Lv. T I 196, KB 232, BDB 22, HJ 276-7, DRS 388-9 **II U**: FU (att. in FL) ***āa-ŋe** 'spirit, ghost' (× N ***ʔaŋq'i** 'breathe' [q.v. ffd.]) **II A** ***a-ŋV** > T ***a-ŋ**, {Md.} ***a-ŋ** 'mind, intellect, consciousness' > OT, Chg aŋ 'understanding, intelligence', Osm {Bu.} ***n** ank [= aŋ?] 'intelligence; intellect, mind' (**сметливост**; **умь, понѣт'е**), Tk an, Tkm a-ŋ, Uz aŋ, ET aŋ, QrB, CrTt, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg aŋ, Chv aʔn ʔn 'mind, intellect'; T ***a-ŋ-** v. 'remember, call to mind' > OT, MQp, XwT aŋ- id., Chg xv aŋ- 'understand', Tk an-, Tk Δ, CrTt, Kr Cr aŋ-, Tkm a-ŋ-, Az aŋ- an-; < T ***a-ŋ-la-** v. 'understand' > OT anla-, Tk anla-, Chv aʔnla- ʔnla-; acc. to SDM97 s.v. ***a|elu|okV** ~ ***a|o|u-**, WrM

anžira- ~ anžira- v. 'know, understand, comprehend' (MED 46-7) is a loan from *an-sira-, a word in some Turkic (SDM: "Siberian Turkic") lgs., < T *a-ŋ- with the sx. *-sira- (denoting uncomplete action) ¶ Cl. 165, 168, 186, ET Gl 153-4, Dr. TM II #565, Rl. I 123, Bu. I 73-4, Md. 104, 159 || ? Tg *°eŋe- > Lm anžli-, anžt/č- 'peep, observe, spy out, find out (разведыват□)' ¶ STM II 458 || pJ {S} 3m3-p- v. 'think' > OJ o'mo-p-, J: T omo'-, K o'mo'-, Kg o'mo'- ¶ QJ #160, Mr, 471 ¶¶ S AJ 286 [#243] (A *a-ŋv), DQA #462 [A *e-ŋv 'think, understand' > incl. T, Tg, J] || D *un_n_- 'think, consider, look' (× N *Ooyñv 'to see, look; eye', q.v. ffd.).

778. ?₂ *huP_U 'bad', 'error, sin' > IE *x^wep-/x^wop-/xup- > Ht {Ts., Pv.} huwappa- 'evil, ill, bad', {Phv.} huwapp- v. 'ill-treat, harrow, harass, disfigure, spoil', huh(h)upa- 'evil', huipi- 'ruthless, pitiless', HrLw hupasanu- v. 'cause to be harmed' || NaIE: Gk ὑβρις 'insolence, outrage; wanton violence, arising from the pride of strength or from passion' (< NaIE *huwappar-/huppar-?) || Gmc (< *Hupelo-): Gt ubils, OSx uvil, OHG ubilo, NHG u'bel adj. 'evil, bad', AS yfel 'evil', NE evil || OIr fel 'bad' (< *Hupelo-) ¶ EI 43 (*h₂h₃wop- 'treat badly'), F II 954, Fs. 508, KM 799, Kb. 1061, Ho. 412, Ho. S 82, Ts. E I 290, Pv. III 358, 360, 430-2, Juret VELH 71, Szem. JHS 154 (Ht. ÷ Gk) || HS: B *°/Hf > Ah əhaf 'dévier' ¶ Fc. 521, Pr. H #162 || ?σ S *°hu-p- > Ar hu-f- 'homme lâche et paresseux; peureux; sot, imbécile'; ??? Ar tahfif- 'lâche, poltron; sot, imbécile' (unless < d /hff 'léger') ¶ BK II 1428-9, 1458 || A: NaT *ubut n. 'shame' > OT {Cl.} uvut 'modesty, shyness', {DTS} ubut 'shame', MT XII-XIII {Brv.} ovut ~ oyut id.; variants: *ubat ~ *uyat (< *ubyat?) 'shame' > OT T {BG} awyat, ET Δ {Jr.} ubat d uwat, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Nog, ET, Alt, Xk uyat, Qzq u'yat, VTt, Bsh ʔ̄yat, Tv iyat, Yk sa-t id.; NaT *ubat- 'be ashamed' > ET Δ {Jr.} ubat- d uwat- d uyat-, Tk Δ, Xk uyat-, Tv iyat-, Yk sa-t id. ¶ Cl. 6, ET Gl 561-3, Brv. T 230, 252, Jr. 321, BG AI 467 || Tg *u'ḫb-, {DQA} *u'ḫb- > Ewk ibja- d iwja- 'be ashamed' || pJ {S} *3p3p3- 'perturbed, taken aback' > OJ opopo-si- ¶ S QJ #1525 ¶¶ DQA #669 [A *i_uo 'be ashamed, taken aback': incl. T, Tg, J].

779. *herV 'desintegrate, fall to pieces' > HS: CS *√hr-/*√hyr v. 'disintegrate, be destroyed, hurt' > Ar ryE √hyr (D with factitive meaning) pf. rayWEa hayyara v. 'destroy' (BK: 'détruire, faire crouler, démolir'), {BK} rVE √hwr (ip. -hwar-) 'démolir, abbatre (une maison)', 'crouler, tomber en ruines' (dit d'un édifice), {Hv.} Ar √hwr (ip. -hu'ru) v. 'fall to pieces', 'crumble down' (of buildings), 'crush down' (of people), JA, Sr √hr Sh v. 'do harm, hurt' (Sr pf. ʔ̄āa ʔ̄a-har, ip. n-a(ʔ)har, acp. ma(ʔ)har), JA [Trg.] acp. sg. f. erle9m2 mah'ra- 'beschwert' (krywt? mhr lby? dgbr? 'Die Krankheit beschwert das Mannesherz') ¶ BK II 456, 466, Br. 182-3, JPS 106, Lv. T I 205, Hv. 839 || IE *h¹er(H)- (> NaIE *er₁əJ-/er₁əJ-) v. 'disintegrate' (IS: 'разваливат□') > OI 'ardh-ah. 'part, side, half', Av arāda- 'side, half' || Gk ερημός (< *h¹ren-) 'desolate, lone(ly). solitary' (< *'separated') || L ra-rus (< *h¹ren-ro-?) 'sparse, not dense' (→ 'rare') || Lt i-r-ti v. 'disintegrate, fall to pieces, break down' (with innovating accentuation), Ltv {ME} ir-t 'sich auf-los-trennen, sich bröckeln', Lt er-dvas 'spacious, wide', Lt ardy-ti (caus.) v. 'take to pieces, destroy, demolish' ({Frn.} 'Zusammengefügtes lösen, auftrennen, zerlegen, abrechnen'), Ltv e-rst (1s p. e'rdū) 'auseinanderbringen, reffeln, trennen' : pSl *ori- (caus. with the *o-grade of apophony and the sx. *-i-) > OCS or¹iti ori-ti 'destroy', Blg ʔ̄op¹ 'I ruin'; < Sl *ob-ori-ti > OCS obor¹iti oboriti 'to destroy, demolish', SCr obo-riti 'to fell', Cz obor-iti se 'come down, collapse'; Sl *orz-ori-ti 'to ruin' > OCS razor¹iti razoriti '(δια-)λύειν', SCr razo-riti, R разоёрит□ id. ¶ IS I 246, EI 158 (IE *h₂erH- 'destroy'), F I 557, M K I 51, M E I 119, WH II 418-9, Frn. 15-6, ME I 576, 710-1, ≠ P 332-3, Vs. III 152-3, 435 || U: FU *era-(-) (*) to disintegrate' > F era- 'part, share', era-ssa- 'separately', Es {W} a-ra - era 'Besonderes, Getrenntes, Eigentümliches', Es Sera- id., Lp N {N} æ-ra 'another' : Chr L {MRS} iēr-ašir(e)- vt. 'disintegrate, pull apart, destroy, break' ('разваливат□ [что-л. сложное], разрушат□, ломат□) : pPrm *ō-r- vt. 'tear off' > Vt ur-, Vt SW: Vt Ur/Shm u'r- and Vt B o'r- ({pLt.} o-r-) vi. 'tear off', 'break' (of an abscess), Z or- vi. 'tear off, be torn', Z US or-id.; Lytkin (LG) reconstructs Prm *ōr-, but the SW ds. of Vt (the only ds. distinguishing between pPrm *ō and *ō- = Lt. 75) provide ev. for *ō- : pOs *a-r- > Os: V/Vy a-rəx, Ty/Y a-rəx, Nz/Kz ara, O a'rri 'separately, apart' ('getrennt, auseinander') {Stn.} ¶ Cf. IS I 246-7, SK 40-1, W EDW 71-2, N III 870, MRS 137, Stn. D 155, ≠ LG 207 || A: T *eru- (~*a'ru-?) v. 'melt, become liquid' (of ice, fat, wax, etc.), 'boil soft in cooking' > OT {Cl.} a'ru--a'ri- v. 'melt, become liquid', OXwT a'ri-, Chg eri-, MQp xiv eri--a'ri-, Cum iri- v. 'melt', Tk eri-, VTt yp(e)- ыр(ь)-, Ggz i-eri-id., Tkm Δ eri-, Qrg, Qq, Uz, StAlt, Tv eri- v. 'dissolve', Chv ir- vt. 'dissolve', irь- vi. 'melt', v. 'turn to ashes' (of charcoal), v. 'ravel out, come to

pieces' (of clothes); the Chv stem goes back to a merger: T *eru- < T *eā-r- v. 'knead, mash' (DTS 192, Rl. I 887). The latter T stem may, too, go back to the N √ in question ¶ The origin and the age of the variant with unexpected *a- in *a-r- (if it does exist) are not clear. The stem-final *-u- is probably a sx. of intransitivity ¶ Cl. 198, ET Gl 289-90, DTS 177, 182, Rs. W 47-8, BT 193, Ash. III 131-5 ¶ D *ir- v. 'break to pieces, smash' > Tm ir_u (ir_uv-, ir_r-) v. 'break, snap (as a stick)', ir_u (-pp-, -tt-) v. 'break off (as a branch), snap asunder, break to pieces', Ml ir_uka v. 'break, snap', Tl iriyu v. 'be broken, smashed', Kui renga v. 'be broken in pieces', Krx esna v. 'break, divide by force (a stick, a tooth, etc.), quell, crush' ¶ D #520 ¶ Cf. IS I 246-7: IE, U- A, D. The root-final lr. in IE (rec. of EI) is probably an innovation (< sx.), because both S and D suggest no lr. Another solution is N *herh-√ with loss of *h in S and in pre-D (D *-r- < intervocalic *-r-).

780. *hor'i 'conceive', 'newborn, a young' > IE ?? *H^wer- > NaIE *or- 'child; be born' > Gk νε-ορτο 'new-born' ¶ Arm ordi ordi (gen. pl. ordyoj ordwoy) 'son' [< *ord^hii_o-] ¶ L orior / oriri / ortus 'be born' (× orior 'rise' < N *erU or *orE 'go upwards, rise') ¶ < *or- 'be born' × *er-/or- 'rise' ¶ P 326-8, Slt. 324-5, WH II 222-3, F II 423 ¶ HS: S *√hry 'conceive, be(come) pregnant' > Hb, Aram ere √hry, Ug √hry, OA √hry, Ak fOB/OA aru- ~ eru-, Eb ?a-rī-tum = {Krb.} haritym id., Sb {MiK ← BGMR} √hry 'be pregnant', hry 'pregnancy' ¶ KB 245, KBR 255-6, OLS 169, HJ 293, CAD IV 325, Sd. 72, Krb. 23, DRS 452-3, MiK I #2.21 ¶ B *√Hrw v. 'bring forth, bear (a child), beget' > Ah aru (pf. yeraw), ETwl ar_u (pf. er_ɔw), Ty ar_u (pf. yer_ɔw), Gd a-raw, Izd aru, Tmz {MT} arew, Kb {Dl.} araw (pf. yuraw), Mz ar_u (pf. yir_u), Si {La.} iru 'enfanter, accoucher', Gh {Nh.} aru (pf. iru) 'enfanter', ɔru (3f pf. c'iru) 'accoucher'; in nouns: Ah a-ra 'child, young of animals', Wrg {Dlh.} ara 'progéniture, enfant', Mz {Dlh.} ar(r)a 'progéniture, bébé', Tmz {MT} ara 'agneau d'un an', Ah a-rraw, Ty {GhA} ar_raw 'boy', Kb arraw 'enfantement', Tmz arraw 'progéniture', Si {La.} tarau_wai_n pl. children', Kb, Wrg tarwa postérité, enfants', Mz tarwa id., 'baby', Tmz tarwa 'enfantement, naissance', Si tarwa 'posterité, descendance; enfantement', Gd tarwa 'fils, progéniture' ¶ Fc. 1647-51, GhA 164, 246 (Pcj. I A), Mrc. 13, Lf. II #1385, MT 559, 591, Nh. 123, 156, Dl. 736-7, Dlh. M 168, 176-7, Dlh. Ou 266, 280, La. S 230 ¶ C: Ag: Bln {R} er-t- 'conceive' (of a cow) ¶ Bj A {AD} (hu) ?o-r, pl. (hu) ?ar, Bj {R} ?o-r, pl. ?ar 'son, boy' ¶ R WB 46, R WBd 27-8, ADP BFN, ¶ AD SF 82-3 ¶ Eg fOK iwr v. 'conceive (a child), become pregnant' ¶ EG I 56, Fk. 13, Vc. 248 ¶ ECh: Nd D {J} ?3-ra 'be pregnant', Tmk {Cp.} u-r's-r 'make (a woman) pregnant, be pregnant' ¶ ChC, Cp. 97 ¶ Coh. 80 [#90], OS #1200 (S, ECh), Tk. I 278 (S, Eg, Bln, ECh) ¶ A: M *°ori (unless it is *°pori) 'young' > WrM {Kow., Gl.} ori, HIM {Luv.} op adj. 'young', WrM {Rm. SKE} ori 'young, boy; young man' ¶ Qu., because not attested in the available sources of lgs. outside WrM and HIM ¶ Kow. 439, Gl. I 262, Luv. 310 ¶ pKo *ə-rī- 'young' > MKo ə-rī-, NKO əri- ¶ S QK #958, MLC 1128 ¶ Tg *or'o-kan 'young of an animal', *or- (+ other sxs.) id. > Neg oyokon, Orc orko ~ oroko ~ oroko(n-) 'young of bears', Nn Nh oro-ka~, Nn KU oroko~ 'young of animals, Ud {Krm.} o-? 'animal', Ewk oroṅa-t 'female bear (3 years old)', WrMc orxoca, orcun 'small; newborn (baby)' ¶ STM II 25, Krm. 273 ¶ STM II 25, Krm. 273 ¶ NaT *uri_yi 'child, son' [× A *p-uri 'child, offspring(s)' < N *p.or'i 'child' × N *HwurV 'male person\animal'] > OT uri 'male child, son'; (× T *uruy 'clan'): Tv uruy 'child, girl', Tf uruy 'child' ¶ Cl. 197, Ra. 237, ET Gl 604-6 ¶ DQA #630 (A *i_aru 'young of an animal' > incl. M, Tg, Ko) ¶ IS MS 342 s.v. 344at *h/u/rA (IE, HS). Cp. N *HwurV 'male'.

781. *he_l_yir'E 'male' > HS: ? Eg fp h3y 'husband' > Cpt Sd/B 2ai hai id. ¶ Belongs here unless the variant hy (presumably underlying the verb hy 'to act as a husband') is the original one (as Vc. supposes) and is akin to Bj {R} hiyo 'husband'. An alternative hyp. is that h3y 'husband' and the v. hy are not connected etymologically ¶ EG II 475, Vc. 240, Tk. I 81 ¶ C: EC: ?? Gdl he-ro 'male, man', Or he-r-um- ps. 'marry' (of a girl) ¶ AdS of EC {AD} *?ar- and Ag: Aw {Hz.} ṅa-ra (< *ṅi-ara) 'her husband' (< N *?arV 'member of the clan\family', q.v. ffd.) ¶ AD SF 201, Hd. 82, Hw. A 336, Hw. B II 121, Grg. 206, HL 70 ¶ Ch: Bks {J} re (pl. ?arya) 'man' (× the abovementioned N *?arV) ¶ J R 145 ¶ AdS of NrOm: Anf {Gt.} aro- 'man' (< N *?arV, q.v. ffd.) ¶ A: T *a-r (or *e-r?) 'male, man' > OT er, Tk er, Tkm a-r, VTt, Bsh ir, Qq er adam, Tb e-r, Xk ir, CrTt, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Uz, SY, Tv er, Yk a-r, Xlj ha-r, Chv ar 'male person', Az a-r, ET er 'husband' ¶ Chv a- provides ev. for a pT *a-, but VTt/Bsh i- seems to point to a pNaT *e- ¶ Cl. 192, Rs. W 46, Dr. TM II ##178-9, ET Gl 321-2, DT 129, TL 561, 661 ¶ M *ere 'male person, male animal' > MM [HI, LV, IM] ere 'male', [ISV, MA] e_re 'man', [S] ere 'husband' (pl. eres 'men'), WrM ere, HIM yp, Ord {Ms.} ere 'male (person, animal)', Kl {Rm.} erā 'man, male', Mnr

H {SM} re- 'non-castrated male animal; male', MMgl e_{rra}, Mgl irra- 'male', Dx {T} ere(kun), Ba ere kun, Dg {T} er 'male person' ¶ H 45, Ms. H 55, Lg. VMI 32, Pp. MA 161, 437, Pp. L II 1262, KW 123, MED 321, SM 313, Iw. 102, T DnJ 144, T DgJ 140, T BJ 152 ¶¶ DQA #2764 (*a⁻ri - *e⁻ra 'man'), S AJ 54, 283 II D *e_r- 'male, bull' [x N *q^a "rV ' (wild) ox'] > Tm e_r-u 'bull, male of certain animals (pig, deer, buffalo, tiger, lion)', Ml e_r-u 'bullock', e_r-an 'bull', Kt e_r 'male buffalo', Td e_r-id., 'bull', ? Brh are- 'man (vir), person, husband' ¶¶ D #917 II ??? Acc. to IS I 248, possibly IE *H^{ers}-/*H^r-s- (□ {AD} *H^{ers}-/*H^r-s-) 'male' > OI r_s-a-'bha-h. 'bull', Av, OPrs ars'an- 'man (vir), male animal' :: Arm ajr ayr (gen. a_n ar-n) 'man', a_ni ar-n-i 'virile' :: Gk I/Cr ^ερσην 'male', Gk ^αρσην id. ¶ P 336 (unc. : <d- *ers- 'to flow' (→ 'semen emittere'), F I 152-3, M K I 125, M E I 260-1, Slr. 121 ¶¶ The IE stem belongs here only if *-s- is an ext. (acc. to IS l.c., induced by the synonymous IE *Hu_{ers}- 'male' [> OI vr_s-ah. 'bull', Av varəs-na- 'male']) ♦ The long *e- in A and D suggests the presence of a lr. (? or *h) or of *y after the vw. *e ♦ IS I 247-8 [#108] (misprint ^ερσην for ^ερσην) ♦ ≠ Gr. II #259 (*er 'man') [T, M + err. : IE *r_s-en, U, Ko, Gil; cf. N *H^{wur}V 'male person\animal'].

782. ?? *h^o'R^vbV 'run' > HS: S *√hrb v. 'flee' > Ar √hrb G (ip. -hribu) id., Sb hrb id., M, Hrs √hrb (pf. Mh ho_rzb, Hrs h_zro_b) 'put to flight, smuggle', Jb E hurb, Jb C o'hurb 'smuggle; run away (from prison)', Ak {Sd.} arbu 'fugitive' ¶ Fr. IV 382, BK II 1409, BGMR 56, Jo. M 159, Jo. H 52, Sd. 66, DRS 447 || ?φ amb Ch {Stl.} *rVw-/rVy- 'run' > WCh: Ngz ra^{wa}u_u : Dir riya, Cg rey :: ECh: Mgm {JA} r^o-r^o 'galopper', Jg {J} rer 'go' ¶ Belongs here unless akin to Ar √rwh 'go, go away' ¶ Sch. DN 138, Stl. IF 133, JA 120 II K: OG rb-i, mi-rb-i v. 'run', G rb- 'run (laufen, rennen)' ¶ Ser. 1049-51, Chx. 132 II U: FU *fow^rE- 'run' > Er ardo-ms, Mk ардомс ardō-ms 'to run' (of animals), 'fahren', Mk арнемс arn^ə-ms frq. id. : Prm *u^r- > Z {W} irmas- v. 'hurry', Z irskibt- 'begin to run, start with a jerk (рванутьсѣ)', Z Ss irskipt- 'vor Schreck in Galopp fallen (z. B. Pferd)', Vt irgat- 'abreizen, hetzen (den Hund)' (← *'make run') :: OHg *ir- (OHg XIV iruele) 'laufen, rennen', OHg, Hg † iram- 'rennen', Hg iram-od- 'rennen, schnell laufen', iram 'pace, speed', ir-ul- 'entweichen' ¶ MF 322, EWU 621-2 ¶¶ Mr a- and Hg i- apparently suggest FU *o⁻, while Prm *u⁻ can be accounted by FU *u⁻, but all these vowels together may be accounted for by a pFU *ow- ♦ i ÷ M *orgu- 'flee, escape' (> WrM orgu-, HLM opro-) [if from **orbu-?], which is more likely to belong together with Nn orgocⁱ- v. 'incite'.

783. *hu^r'Rc^vV 'squeeze, rumple, crush' > HS: CS *√hrs, *-hrus- > BHb √hrs (ip. -h_{ar}os) v. 'tear down' → 'annihilate', M^b √hrs G 'destroy', Ar G √hrs, -hrusu v. {HV.} 'bruise, bray, crush down', {BK} 'battere, piler avec force'; cp. also S *√hrs^u > OYmn √hrs^u. ({Slw.} harad^a) 'tear (cloth)' ¶ KBR 256-7, BK II 1412, DRS 456-7, Slw. 213 II A: M *u^rciy- (unless it is *φu^rciy-) > WrM u^rci-ii, HLM *рчий-х v. 'become shrunk & wrinkled; to frown; to wrinkle one's face', Kl {Rm.} u^rciⁱ- 'sich runzeln, Grimassen machen'; the cognate is valid unless in pM there is an initial *φ- ¶ MED 1011, KW 459 II IE: i Ht {Ts.} hars- 'aufreißen' ¶ Frd. HW 59, Ts. W 17, Ts. E I 182-3, ≠ Pv. III 184-5 [believes that hars- 'aufreißen' (= {Pv.} v. 'pound') is a stylistic usage of the Ht verb hars- v. □ 'till the soil' (which is a loan from S *√hrθ id.)].

784. *hⁱ'RⁱV^jgV 'kill' > HS: WS *√hrg v. 'kill' > BHb, M^b, Yd, OA √hrg G id., Ar {Fr., BK} ÔrE √hrg^u G (harig^a /-h^{ri}g^u) 'kill', Sb, Mn √hrg 'kill, slaughter', Qt √hrg v. 'kill, murder' ¶ KB 245, KBR 255, BK II 1410-1, Ltm. rRSE-VII/3: 377, BGMR 56-7, Rk. 47, DRS 448 II IE *xer^gh¹- 'disappear, die' > Ht har(a)k- 'get lost, disappear', {Ts.} 'umkommen, zugrunde gehn' || NaIE: Tc: B erkau 'cemetery', A {Wn.} *arka^{mn}- id. (-d> adj. arka^{mn}-s_i) :: Clt (x NaIE *perg- 'smite, destroy, kill' < N *p^a'Rga 'to split, crack'): Gl ORGE imv. 'kill!', OIr org- 'smite, slay', OIr [γ] orn 'murder', W orn 'killing, destruction' ¶¶ i ÷ Arm harkanem harkanem (aor. hari) 'smite, slash' (probably < *perg- < N *p^a'Rga) ¶¶ Ts. W 175-6, Pv. III 157-68, P 818-9 (*perg-), Vn. O 30-1, Billy 116, Wn. 150, Slr. 257-8, El 158 (*h₂erk- 'rend, destroy'). Ad. 95-6 II ?? D *ir_vkk- v. kill' > Tm ir_{akku} id., Kn irku - ikku 'kill, destroy'; D *ir_v- v. 'die' (bf. from *ir_vkk-?) > Tm ir_a 'die', Ml ir_u 'riun', as well as derivatives from *ir_vkk-: Ml ir_{akku}- v. 'die', ? Kui e3ga- v. 'die in childbirth' ¶¶ D #514 ¶¶ N *-g- is regularly lost in D. If the D √ belongs here, the N etymon is *hirVgV.

785. *ha^rK^a 'hold\grasp, keep, keep in one's possession' > HS: SWS *√hrk v. 'take as booty, loot' > Sb mhrk 'booty', Gz māharka- 'booty, spoils, plunder', μHrk mā^hraka [mahraka] v. 'take as booty, plunder, loot, rob, pillage', Tgr mareka, Tgy marek_v, Amh marreke id.; EthS -b> Aw marex^a, Xm, Q mirek id. ¶

BGMR 57, L G 334 || **IE** *xark- 'hold' > Ht har(a)k-, har- v. 'hold, keep, have' || NaIE *ark- > L arce-o- 'hold in, shut up; hold off, keep at a distance', arx 'stronghold, fortress' || Gk ἄρκε'ω 'ward off' || ? Arm argelum argelum 'hinder, restrain, hold back' ¶ Pv. III 145-57, Ts. W 173-5, P 65 (*arek-), EI 270 [*h₂erk- 'hold back (to prevent of doing sth.), contain'], F I 141, WH I 62-3 || **A**: NaT *^oarkuk- > OT arqūq 'obstinate, refractory' ¶ Cl. 216, DTS 55.

786. *h¹as^o 'burn' (of fire) > **HS**: C {E} *a-s^o vi. 'burn' > EC: Bs {HL} elen 'fire' || SC: Irq {Wh.} a^os^a, {MQK} ʔas^a, Grw/Alg/Brn {Wh.} as^a, (b) Mb mw-a^os^a 'fire' || ??σ Ag ({E} *ala^o 'burn'): Km {CR} alal- v. 'be in heat' (of a horse), but of course not Bln {R} alal- 'rosten' (not 'rösten', as Ehret has misread it); I have my doubts about the Km word as well: it seems to belong together with Xm {R} ielel- v. 'neigh', so that both belong to the C √ in question only if the semantic development was as follows: vi. 'burn' → v. 'be in heat' (of a horse) → v. 'neigh' ¶ **IE** SC 297 (s.v. SC *a^os^a – *a^os^a 'fire'), E PC #341, AD SF 290, Wh. IC 23, MQK 16, PB 137, HL 67, Gs. 19, R WB 26, R Ch. II 23, CR LK 163 [∗, Blz. SCL s.v. 'fire'] || ??? Eg XX is^of **o**'verbrennen' ¶ EG I 135 || **K** *^oHVs^ow- > Sv: L {Dn.} √:s^ow v. 'light\kindle a fire' [aor. 1s oxwa^os^ow, otwa^os^ow, prs. 1s χwīs^owe 'разводит огонь', mīs^owe 'у меня горит огонь', Sv UB {GP} √:s^ow/s^ou; masdar UB/L līs^owe, LB/Ln līs^owe (vt., 2nd version) v. 'set fire to', (vi., 1st vers.) v. 'catch fire' ¶ GP 179, Dn. s.v. √:s^ou, TK 491 || **IE** *xes- (= *xes- – *Xas-) 'hearth, ashes; to dry' > Ht has(s)- 'ashes', hassa- 'fireplace, hearth, ire-altar', Lw ʔas^os^oaniti 'hearth' || OI 'a^osah' 'ash, dust' (← 'burnt') || La^ora 'sacrificial altar', Osc aasai^o 'in ara', Um ase 'arae'; ? L a^ore- 'be dry', a^oridus 'dry, arid' || ON aska, OHG asca 'ashes, dust', NHG Asche 'ashes', AS asce, æsce 'ash, dust', NE ash ¶¶ acc. to Pv., the paradigm of Ht has(s)- (nom. sg. ha-a-as, acc. sg. ha-as-sa-an, instr. sg. ha-as-si-it, acc. pl. ha-s-su-us) reflects IE nom. sg. *A₁e^os, acc. sg. *A₁esm^o, gen. sg. *A₁(e)^osos ¶¶ P 68-9, Mn. 38, **o** EI 32 (*h₂eHo-s 'ash' ← **o**'burnings'), Pv. III 210-2, 221-4, Ts. E I 196-7, M K I 83, M E I 182-3, WH I 61, 65, Schz. 91, KM 33, Vr. 15, Ho 12, Kb. 46, EWA I 364-6 || **A** *asa- > M *asa- (unless it is *pas-a) vi. 'burn, catch fire, ignite' > WrM asa-, HIM asa-, Kl as-, Brt aha- ¶ KW 16, MED 55, Chr. 67 || NaT *as- v. 'cook' > Alt, Tlt, Shor, CrTt, Qzq as-id., ? Tkm aθ- v. 'cook' [in the expression naʔar aθ-(maq) v. 'cook a meal' (naʔar is 'meal'), etc., unless from aθ- 'hang' in contexts like et aθ- v. 'cook meat' ← v. 'hang meat (over the fire)'] ¶ BT 22, Rl. I 533-4, TkR 54, NogR 50, TatR 42, Jud. 74, MM 43 || ?? Tg: Ork aladu- v. 'roast (поджариват)' ¶ STM I 29 ¶ Tg *-l- suggests a pA *-s^o- (??) ¶¶ **o** KW 16: M, T *as- v. 'cook'; on M *-s- and Tg *-l- as reg. reflexes of N *-s^o- see AD PNPh; S AJ 288 [#283], ≠ DQA #54 *ase (– *p^oase) 'catch fire; hot' (incl. M) ♦ N *h- is reconstructed on the joint ev. of HS and IE: the only cns. yielding χ- in Ht and zero in C is N *h- ♦ Otherwise IS I 262-3 s.v. *ʔaSa 'fire' (not distinguishing between this √ and N *ʔu^os^o 'fire') [∗; Blz. DA 162 [# 101] [unconvincingly equates the above IE and M roots with the HS, D, FU and T reflexes of *h¹as^o].] ♦ Gr. II #53 (*as 'burn') [IE, A, CK].

787. *his^oE 'to break' > **HS**: S *^ohs^os^o > Ar has^os^o- 'fragile'; +ext. : S *^ohs^om > Ar √hs^om G 'crush, bruise' ¶ Ln. 2894, Hv. 328, Dz. II 757, BK II 1422, 1424, DRS 462 || **A** {S} *isV- v. 'break, break to pieces' > Tg *₁xjise- v. 'break' > Ewk Δ is^oz- id., Neg isi-ktz- v. 'slap (in the face)', WrMc ise- v. 'to butt each other, to rival, compete, argue' ¶ STM I 336 || pKo *isir- v. 'break to pieces, crush' > NKO isir- id. ¶ S AJ 256 [#142], S QK #142, MLC 1287 || pJ {S} *u^osu^o 'mortar' > OJ u^osu^o, J: T u^osu^o, K u^osu^o, Kg usu^o ¶ S QJ #962, Mr. 564 || ?σ NaT *isir- v. 'bite' > OT isir-, Tk isir-, CrTt, Kr, Tf isir-, Xk, Tv izir-, Yk itir- id. ¶ ET Gl 671-2, Ra. 240 ¶¶ S AJ 281 [#149], DQA #610 (A *i^osu^o 'crush, grind; bite') || **D** (in NED) *icik- v. 'crack' > Krx isyg-na^o v. 'open in long slits, chap, crack', isigka^o 'crack, slit, chink', Mlt isge v. 'be well parched (as grain), be cracken (as the skin)' ¶ D #423, Pf. 185.

788. *h¹otE 'to smell, smell at' > **HS**: B *^o√Hwt > Ah awt v. ps. 'sentir (une odeur)' ¶ Fc. 1536 || C: EC *ʔudg- – *ʔuzg- 'fragrance' > Sml udg-o^on id., Rn u^oyu^og or u^oyu^og 'pleasant smell, fragrance', Or urg-aw-v. 'exhale fragrance' ¶ Ss. PEC 57, PG 288 [∗ || ?? Ch ± *ʔVtVn 'nose' (× N *Øot.V 'breathe, blow')) : WCh: Bks {J} ʔatin, Klr {J} ʔatena^o : Ywm {IL} i^od^os^o, {J} yi^oddi^o : Krf {Grgs.} u^oti^on^o, Bl {IL} unti^o : My {Sk.} a^oti^on^o, P^o {MSk.} a^oti^on^o, {J} ʔat^on^o, Jmb {Sk.} it^on^o, Diri {Sk.} a^oti^on^o 'nose' || ECh: Mgm {J} ʔi^oti^on^o, Dng {Fd.} e^ote^o : Jg {J} ʔe^ote^onto^o, ʔe^ote^one^o, Brg {J} *ʔe^ote^one^o, Mu {J} ʔida^ono^o, Kjk atan ¶ JI II 258-9, ChC, Blz. LECh #62 || **IE** *^ox^owed- 'odour' (× N *gU^oz^oV 'feel, smell' [q.v.]) > Arm hot hot 'odour, smell', hotim hotim 'I smell (sth.)' || Gk ὀσέω, Gk D ὀσέω vi. (pfc. ὀσέωδα) 'emit an odour, smell', Gk Hm ὀδμήν, Gk D ὀδμα^o 'smell, scent' || L odor 'smell' || pAl {O} *adma^o > Al G ame^o || ALED} 'scent, fragrance', Al T d^o am-e^oz 'food odor; smell (of freshly ploughed ground, of fire)' || Gmc: Sw os 'odour, smell of charcoal fumes

(carbon monoxide)', Dn, NNr os (< *od-s-o-) 'Dunst, erstinkender Dampf' || Lt u'odz'iu (inf. u'osti) v. 'smell (sth.)', Ltv o'z'u (inf. o'st) id., v. 'smell of sth.' | OCz jadati 'to search, inquire' (< *'smell out') ¶ P 772-3, EI 528 (*h₃ed- v. 'smell'), Dv. #164, F II 353-5, Slr. 313-4, WH II 203, Wnt. AE 102-3 (Arm hot may point to the IE lr. *O- = *x^w-), Frn. 1167-8, ALED 13, O 4 II A: T (NaT?) *u'δ- v. 'feel lust' [× N *gU₃~V '↑', q.v. ffd.] ♦ EC *?- points to a N *h- or *?- , but if Arm h- goes back to an IE lr., it cannot be N *?- . Hence a tentative preliminary rec. of N *h-.

789. ?? ₂ *hawtV 'call, speak' > IE *heu_d > NaIE *^oaud- > Gk α'υδῆ 'voice, speech', α'υδα'ω 'I speak' || NaIE *wed- (< IE **hwed- [{M} *₂u_d-ed-] × IE *wed- < N *wot₁V?jE - *wot₁E?jV 'organ of speech; to speak, utter sounds' q.v. ffd.]) ¶ WP I 251-2, P 76-7, M K III 133-4, F I 184, Frn. 1177-8, StSS 108, Ts. W 97-8 II HS: S *₁/hwt (*-hu⁻t-) > Ar ₁/hwt D 'call after so.', Hb ₁/hwtt Pol 3p ip. utt6&eT6 tə-ho⁻t.ə⁻t.u⁻ 'overwhelm with reproofs' ¶ KB 247, GB 178, BK II 1455 || Eg RT/G hwt 'jammern, klagen', {Alb.} 'cry' ¶ EG II 485 ¶¶ Tk. I 147 (Eg, S).

790. *hawV 'to desire, love' > HS: CS *₁/hwy (*-hway-) v. 'love, desire', n. abstr. *hawway- 'desire' > Ar ÈvE ₁/hwy (hawiya / -hwa⁻) G 'love, desire', n. abstr. ÈvAEa hawa⁻ 'desire, passion, love', Ug ₁/hw'y v. 'desire' (ip. 3f thw), Hb ₁/wy ~ ₁/hwy: D ip. 3f eu#a2T6 tə?aw'wə⁻ 'desires, wishes, will wish\desire', pf. eula5 ?iw'wa⁻ 'desired', eula2 ?aw'wa⁻ n. 'desire', eule2 haw'wa⁻ n. '(evil) desire' (KB: 'Willkür, Gier'), Amr {G} ₁/hwy v. 'desire' ¶ KB 20, KBR 20, 232, A #820, OLS 170, G A 19, Fr. IV 420, DRS 386 || C: ???φ Bj {Rop.} ₁/ywy 'be thirsty' (× N *LubV 'be thirsty, hungry' [q.v. ffd.] and/or akin to S *₁/χwy 'be hungry') ¶ R WBd 243 ¶¶ Cal. 36 [S + Eg fp h₃y (spelled OK h, fMK hy, Eg N h₃y) 'husband' + *unc.* Bj {Rop.} hiyi 'husband, wife', {R} hiyo id. (Rop. 200, R WBd 133]; Vc. (l.c.) rejects the comparison of these Eg and Bj words with CS *₁/hwy v. 'love'; I am inclined to support Vc.'s criticism both on semantic grounds (the semantic connection between 'husband' and v. 'love, desire', though quite natural today, is rather unlikely in an archaic society, like that of ancient Hamito-Semitic people) and on phonetic reasons (S *h- is not likely to correspond to Bj h-) II IE *^{hew}- (or *^{2aw}-) ({EI} *h₁eu- 'favour') > NaIE *aw- v. 'like, favour, want' > OI 'avati 'is pleased, strives', 'avi- 'favourable' || Gk Hm ε'ν-ηη' 'benign', Gk α'ι'τῆρ, Gk D {Ch.} α'ι'τῆρ 'jeune homme aimé' || Arm ayiyn awiwn 'libido, fury, enthusiasm' (> NArm avjun avyun 'inspiration') || Lave⁻ v. 'long for, desire' || W awyddu v. 'desire', awydd 'desire, eagerness', ewyllys 'desire' || ORu auja 'good fortune', Gt awi-liup 'thanks' || The connection with Ht uwai- 'Weh, Leid, Not, Schwierigkeiten' (proposed by Mann) is not plausible. Since the AnIE reflexes are unknown, we cannot determine if the initial lr. was heavy or light. We reconstruct here an unspecified *a-coloured lr. (denoted as *h-) or *?- ¶ P 77, EI 197, Mn. 45-7, M K I 57, WH I 81-2, F I 47, 515-6, Ch. 40, 348, Slr. 133, YGM-1 37, Ts. W 98 s.v. uwai- II D *a⁻v- v. 'desire' > Tm a⁻vu, Ml a⁻vikka v. 'desire', Tm, Ml a⁻val n. 'desire', Td o⁻fil 'desire to eat', Tl a⁻ba 'eagerness' ¶¶ D #394 ♦ Cf. AD LRC #80 (IE, HS), IS I 241-2 (IE, HS, D with references to earlier literature).

791. *h'o'wV 'pit, depression' > HS: CS *haw(Vy)- 'pit, abyss' > Sy *Æ*co., 'a haw'-t-a⁻ (pl. *Æ*, e'Óa ha'we⁻) 'an abyss, deep; great cavern', Ar ha'wiya⁻ 'deep valley, abyss' ¶ JPS 103, BK II 1462, ¶ KB 232 II IE: NaIE *a₁owent- 'well, spring' > OI ava'ta-h. (*a₁own_o-to-s) 'well', ava't.a-h. 'cistern' || Ltv avo⁻t-s (*a₁owontos) 'spring' || ? Clt: Gl Aventia (name of a well nympe) and nomina loci ¶ P 78, EI 539 (? *h₁aw(o)nt- 'spring'), M K I 57, M E I 130-1, Kar. I 93-4 ¶ P reconstructs IE *a- on the precarious ev. of n. l. and the nympe name Aventia; outside this ev. the distinction between NaIE *a- and *o- is impossible II A: Tg *^ooba 'depression, hollow in the ground' > Lm Al/O o⁻wa, Lm Sk o⁻ba id. ('*впадина, котловина*'), Lm O o⁻wa 'spring (in mountains)' ¶ STM II 4 || NaT *o⁻b'a 'lowland' or 'plain' > Tk ova 'plain, valley', Δ oba 'plain', Az ova 'plain', Ggz uva 'uncultivated field', ET ova, Uz uwa 'valley', Tv howu 'steppe' (with a puzzling h-), ?σ Nog oba '*трѣсина*' ('marsh' or 'quagmire') ¶ ET Gl 403-4, RI. I 1166, Bu. I 106, 161 || ?σ pJ {S} *u⁻wa- 'to plant (pflanzen)' > OJ u⁻wa-, J: T u⁻e-, K u⁻e-, Kg ue⁻ ¶ S QJ #687, Mr. 777 ¶¶ DQA #653 (pA ₁i_u-ub'u⁻ 'to dig, hole').

792. ? *how'i 'become, appear' > HS: S *₁/hwy (*-hway-) id., 'be' > Ak ₁/Hwy/w (inf. ewu'm, OB p. īwe < *yi-hwī) 'turn (into), werden (zu), geschehen, sein', BHB ₁/hyw (pf. c. wayyā'hī, js. yā'hī, ip. yih'yē⁻, pf. ha⁻ya⁻) 'become, be (werden, sein, bleiben)', Yd ₁/hwy (pf. 3f hwt, 1s hwyt) 'be, happen', OA ₁/hwy id. ('h⁻wt 'she was', ip. y-hwh 'he will be'), IA, BA ₁/hwy (pf. ave hw², eve hwh) id., 'become, happen', Sr ₁/hw² 'fuit, factus est' (with acc.: 'happened to ...'), Ar ₁/hwy 'se lever, paraître'. 'to rise' (star) ¶ Nld. NBSS 92, KB 232-4, GB 177-9, 903, Deg. 76-8, Seg. AAG 303-7, BK II 1461, Hv. 841, Sd. 266-7, Sd. G

153, CAD IV 413-5, HJ 271-6, DRS 386 || B ? *^o/HwHv. 'appear' > Sll agg^w (pf. yugg^{wa}) id. ¶ Ds. 18 ¶ Cp. B *^o/h?? 'be in' < N *^o/Ta²V 'grow, become' || C: [1] Bj {R} ha^{-y}- / -he⁻ 'be, exist' (3m p. 'i-he⁻, imv. 2m 'ha^{-y}-a) || SC {E} pSC *haw- 'stay': Irq {MQK} ho^{-t}- 'reside, stay', Irq {E}, Alg hot- 'live, dwell', Asa hut- v. 'stand (still)' (acc. to E, -t- is a sx.) || EC: ? Sa {R} hay- 'live' (if R's transcription of the lr. is valid and unless the word is not a loan from EthS; if it is a valid cognate, it may have contaminated with HS /hyw 'live' < N *^oXay'u⁻ 'live' [q.v.]) || [2] the EC, Bj and Aw sxs. of person/number/gender of the suffix-conjugated verbs have developed from prefix-conjugated forms of an aux. verb (or verbs), which may have been either *-hay- 'be' (akin to S *^o/hyw 'be' < N *^ohow'i⁻ 'become, appear') or *-Ha- (< N *²a 'become, be' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ E SC 381, MQK 52, R WBd 132, R S II 200, AD SF 156 || IE: NaIE *-ew-(o⁻), *-eu⁻w-(o⁻), *-eu⁻y-(o⁻) 'be X', sx. of denom. verbs > Lt piemeniauju / piemeniau^{-ti} 'be a shepherd', Gk ^εραπειω 'be attendant, do service' (< ^ερα^πει, ^ερα^πων 'waiting-man, attendant'), βασιλευω 'be king' (< βασιλεω 'king'), OCS slugujo⁻ / slugovati 'be a servant' (< sluga 'servant') ¶ Mn. 256, Me. SC § 234 || **ft**: Tg *o⁻ 'become, happen' > WrMc o⁻, oo- v. 'become, be', Mc Sb o- id., Ewk o⁻ (o⁻-da-n) v. 'become, appear, happen', Sln o⁻, Lm o⁻ (o⁻-d²-m, o⁻-d-n) v. 'become', Neg o⁻ (o⁻-da-n) v. 'become, appear', Orc o⁻doli-, Ud o-do-, Ul o- (o-si-ni-), Ork o-si- id., Nn o- v. 'become'. The stem should be kept apart (as it is done in Vas., but not in STM and in IS) from the homonymous stem *o⁻-v. 'make' [> Ewk o⁻ (o⁻-ra-n) v. 'make', Sln o⁻, Lm o⁻ (o-r²-m, o⁻n), Neg o⁻ (o⁻-ya-n), Orc o⁻ (o⁻-y-ni), Ud o--o⁻ (o⁻-i-ni ~ o⁻-ri-ni), Nn o- v. 'make']. The etl. relations between the two stems (if any) are not yet investigated ¶ STM II 3-4, Vas. 312-3.

793. *hæ²ɿw¹U¹ 'to fall, sink' > **HS**: WS *^o/hwy (*-hw²y-) v. 'fall' > Sr /hwy¹w 'fall' (pf. ^æΣo⁻ hæ²wa⁻), Ar /hwy G (ivaEa hawa⁻ / -hw²i) 'fall', 'go down, set' (of a star), Hb /hwy (imv. av\$e= ~ ev\$e= h²we⁻) 'fall' (of snow), 'fall upon (so.)', Mh /hwy (pf. h²wu⁻, vb. n. ho⁻wi), Jb C /hwy (pf. he⁻, sbjn. 'i²hi, vb. n. 'hbet) v. 'fall, swoop', Hrs /hwy (pf. hæwo⁻, sbjn. y²hwi) 'fall (upon sth.)' ¶ KB 231, KBR 241, K II 1461, Hv. 841, Jo. M 162, Jo. J 100, Jo. H 53 || B *^o/HhH (pf. *-HhiH-) > Ah i-hi v. 'fall' ¶ Fc. 498 || Eg fp h²y v. 'come\go down, descend', Eg fMK h²y 'fall' > Cpt: Sd ²e he, B ²e ²e, A ²e ²e v. 'fall' ¶ EG II 472-4, Fk. 156, Vc. 285 || SC: Irq {MQK} hu^{-?}- 'drop, fall, tumble', Irq/Brn/Alg {E} hu- 'fall', Asa hu^{-?}- 'fall' (of rain) ¶ E SC 381, MQK 52, AD SF 243 || Ch: CCh: Glf {Por. < Sö.} hawai v. 'fall', Bdm {Lk.} hai, hey 'absteigen' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} a²we⁻ v. 'fall', ? Jg {J} ²o⁻ 'hinabsteigen' ¶ JI II 131, Eb. 29. Por. IKK 70 ¶ Vc. 285 (Eg, Ar) ¶ Tk. I 72, Tk. SCC 98 [#28.6] || **IE** *^ohou⁻(e) 'down, away' > NaIE *^olau⁻(e) 'down (herab), away' > OI 'ava 'down (ab, herab); off' (pv. & prep.), Av, OPrs pv. ava 'down', OI avah. 'herab' || OIr o⁻ / u⁻a- 'from, by' || Pru, Lt, Ltv au- 'away, down' : possibly Sl *u- 'away, down': *u-pasti 'fall down' (> OCS ^oупасти upasti, Slv upa⁻sti, R y⁻паст², P upas⁻c), *u-be⁻z⁻ati 'run away', *u-xoditi 'go away', *u-je⁻ti 'take away, catchhold of' (> OCS uje⁻ti 'take away', P uja⁻c⁻, Slv uje⁻ti 'catch hold of'), *u-nesti 'carry away', OCS ubez⁻ati, R убе⁻жат², SCr u⁻bec⁻i, Slv ubez⁻a⁻ti, P ubiez⁻ec⁻ 'run away', ChS ^oуходити uxoditi, R ух⁻одит², P uchodzic⁻ 'go away', R уй⁻ти, Cz uj⁻i⁻ti, Slv ui⁻i⁻ti 'go away', R унес⁻ти, Cz un⁻e⁻sti, P unies⁻c⁻ 'carry away', etc. || Ht awan in awan arha 'away, off', awan katta 'down' ¶ No connection with N *^oχawi²V¹ 'drive, chase, pursue' because of the initial lr. ¶ P 72-3, EI 37 [*^ohe⁻u⁻ 'away (from)'], M K I 56, EtSSJ-SGZ I 261-2, Vn. O 1, Frn. 24, Tp. P A-D 142-3, ² ESISJ-SGZ II 261, Pv. I-II 245 || **ft**: Tg *ebu- v. 'descend, go down' > Ewk ²zw- ²z⁻b-, Sln ²zwu⁻ ~ ²zgu⁻ ~ ²z²u⁻, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn ²zw-, Orc, Ud, Ul ²zu-, WrMc ebu-, Mc Sb ²zbu- id. ¶ STM II 433-4 || ??? M *^oibEl- (unless it is *^oφibEl-) v. 'descend' > WrM ibil- ~ ibel-, HlM ивл⁻у-х v. 'descend, come\go down' (unless < *ibEl- v. 'flow') ¶ MED 397 [*, MYC 405.]

794. *ho²ɿwa¹ (or *ho²wa) 'to flow, stream; a stream' > **HS**: WS *^o/hw²i- *^o/hy²i v. 'flow' > Ar ØvE /hw²i G (ip. -hu⁻ɿ-, -hwa⁻ɿ-) v. 'vomit', øyE /hy²i (ip. -hi⁻ɿ-, -hya⁻ɿ-) v. 'fuse (lead)', Sb /h(y)ɿ v. 'flow, run (water)', hy⁻m 'flow of water, libation' ¶ Fr. IV 418, 424, BGMR 57-8, Bll. 109-10, DRS 404 || C {E} *wa⁻f- v. 'run, flow' > Bj {R} wiya 'rainy season', wa⁻t 'pus' || SC: Irq {MQK} wa⁻ɿ- 'vomit, flood, overflow, flow', Irq/Alg/Brn {E} wa⁻f- v. 'vomit', Irq {E} wa⁻fam- v. 'flow, trickle', Brn {E} wa⁻famu 'well', Alg {E} wa⁻famu 'river', Kz {E} wa⁻famuko id., (C²b²) Mb {E} -wa v. 'urinate' || EC: Sa/Af {Ss.} we⁻f 'flowing water', Af {PH} we⁻fa 'flood, torrent of water', ?? HEC: Hd wo⁻o, Kmb wa⁻a, wi⁻a, Sd wa⁻, Brj wa⁻ (gen. wayin-) 'water' [xN *^owete '(flowing) water', q.v.]; ? EC *ya⁻i⁻f- v. 'flow away' > Sml ya⁻ɿ- v. 'run away', Gdl ye⁻- v. 'fall down in particles, sprinkle down', Or {Grg.} ya⁻ɿ-, Brj ya⁻ɿ- v. 'flow' ¶ E PC #586, E SC 313 (s.v. SC *wa⁻i⁻f- v. 'flow'), MQK 113, Grg. 404, ² Ss. B 186 (a wrong et. for Sa/Af we⁻f), Ss. B

192, PH 211 **II U:** FU *^ro⁻wa ~ *uwa 'stream; to stream' > F vuo 'stream', Es {W} voo 'Strömung, Wellengang', ? Lv: E əva, Wiva, Lv Slc u⁻va 'Strom, Strömung' ! Lp OSw {LÖ} uwe, uvwe 'flumen placide fluxus', Lp N {Fri.} uvve (gen. uve) 'flumen placide labens, fluvium' !! pObU *o⁻w-v. 'stream', *ow 'stream' > pVg *o⁻w-, *o⁻w > Vg: T/LK/MK/P/Ss ow 'stream', Ss ow-v. 'stream'; pOs {Ht.} *oy-, *oy ({HL.} *a⁻y-, *a⁻y) > Os: V/Vy oy, Ty a⁻y^w, Y/K/O a⁻w, D/Nz/Kz o⁻w'a 'stream', V o⁻ya-, Ty a⁻y^w-, Y/K/O a⁻w-, D/Nz/Kz o⁻w-v. 'stream' ¶ Cp. Coll. 125, UEW 544-5, SK 1813-4, Fri. 790, Kt. 51-2, W EDW 1386, Ht. 123-4 [#8], Hl. rHt 71. The variant with *^ro⁻ is represented by F and ObU, while Lv and Lp seem to suggest a variant with initial *u- (from *o- → *o⁻ under the ass. infl. of *w-?) **II Cf.** also NaIE *a⁻lowent- 'well' (P 78), which is better accounted for by N *^ho⁻w[∇] 'pit, depression' (q.v.) ♦ Cp. IS I 256: IS equates the FU stem with A. He adduces a Tg stem reconstructed by him as *u⁻(a) 'wave' and the M word for 'water' (WrM usun 'water', etc.). In the light of extant data this is untenable, because the Tg stem is to be reconstructed as *u⁻ge [= *o⁻g³] (or *u⁻pe), and in pM there was an initial *^q-: Mnr H fu³_u and ShY xsun- husun provide ev. for pM *^qu-sun 'water'.

794a. ?? *^ha⁻ya 'for, for the sake of', directive-designative pc. > **HS:** S *^hay > Gz he⁻, a directive-locative pc.: k^wəllə-he⁻ 'everywhere', k^wəllə-he⁻ 'in every direction' (k^wəll- is 'all, every') ¶ G 213 **II NaIE** *⁻ei⁻ 'to', ending of the dative case > *⁻ped-ei⁻ 'to the/a foot' (> OI pa⁻d-e⁻, L ped-ī), *⁻ma⁻tr-ei⁻ 'to the mother' (> OI ma⁻tr-e⁻, L matr-ī, OCS матерн mater-i), dat. of *⁻dyeu⁻ '[god of] daylight' > OI div-e⁻, Gk Δι(φ)ει⁻-φιλoφ, L Iouī; the dative of thematic nouns underwent morphological changes (metanalysis, etc.), resulting in the following forms: (dat. of *⁻wl⁻k^wo-s 'wolf') OI vr⁻k-a⁻ya, Gk λυ⁻κοι, L lupō(i), Lt vilkui, OCS вѣлкoу vѣku ¶ Szem. IEL 160-92 **II A:** Tg: [1] *-ya as a designative pc.: -ya-n 'for him' in Lm mo⁻-ya-n 'einen Baum für ihn, Holz für ihn' (mo⁻ is 'tree, wood', -n is 'he'), Neg mo⁻-ya-n 'Holz für ihn'; [2] *-ya, ending of indefinite accusative: Ewk, Sln, Neg -ya -a, possibly here also the Orc ending of the designative case -ya ~ -a ¶ Ci. 256-7, Bz. 82-3 || ? M *-yi, accusative ending > MM -yi / -i, WrM -i (possibly pronounces as [-i⁻] after vowels and [i] after cnss.) [unless from ppM *-igi / *-igr, as supposed by Poppe on the basis of comparison with OT], pM *-yi in *ci-ma-yi acc. 'thee' and *i-ma-yi acc. 'him' (see s.v. N *^{ma} acc.) ¶ Pp. IMCS 191-3 **II D:** *-ay, accusative ending > Tm -ai⁻ (obligatory only with human nouns), epigraphical Oml -ai⁻, Ml -e, (?) Gnd K, Kui, Ku -i acc., Brj accusative-dative -e (only with the rational objects) ¶¶ Shanm. 256-7, 280, 318-9, 327-8, 332, 365, SkhG 28-31 **II ? K:** *⁻a-, causative (← designative) verbal px. [that follows the personal prefix for objects ('me, thee, him')]: OG, G a-, Mgr, Lz o-, Sv a-. e.g. OG m-a-su 'er tränkete mich, gave me a drink' (m- 'me' + a- + su 'drink'), Sv. χ-a-tre 'er tränkete ihn' (χ- 'him' + a- + tre 'drink') ¶ Kl. 42, Dt. 73-6, 207 ♦ Qu., because both the S, K and A cognates are not irreproachable.

795. i *⁻i, pc. of past: IS I 249-50 [#111] tried to connect the **IE** *⁻e-augment of the past tenses (OI a-, Gk 'ε-, Arm e- e-) with the vw. *i or the cns. *y, which serve as sxs. of past in B, K, U and D and as affixes (prefixes and sxs.) of past in C, e.g. **HS:** B (one of several alternative interpretations): *⁻ī- (past marker) > Shl -i- in past (ft-i-y 'I went away', t-ft-i-t 'you [sg. m.] went away' ↔ aor. ftuy, tftut) **II U:** FU *⁻i-, sx. of past: F sano-i 'he said', Lp N gulla⁻i-mek 'we heard', Lp S {Hs.} go⁻l-i-b¹ go⁻l-i-m 'I fished', Er кунд-ы-н 'I caught' (↔ кунд-а-н 'I catch'), Chr L уж-ы-м 'I saw' (↔ уж-а-м 'I see'), Chr G лыд-ы-м 'I read' p. (↔ лыд-а-м 'I read' prs.), Z гиж-и-м 'we wrote' (↔ гиж-а-м 'we write'), Prmk мун-°-м 'we went' (↔ мун-а-м 'we go'), OHg men-ī-k ~ men-e⁻-k, Hg men-e⁻-k 'I went', u⁻l-e⁻-nk 'we sat' ¶ Sz. 122-3, Hs. 141-54, Fkt. EJ-66 187-9, Kov. LV 231-2, Kov. G 248, Lt. KZJ 291-2, Lt. KPJ 309 **II D:** *⁻i-, sx. of past > Tm -i- (an⁻3-i-n⁻e⁻ 'I was scared' from an⁻3- v. 'fear'), Td -y-, Kdg -i-/-i-, Kn -iδ-({An.} < -i- and *-d-), Tu -iy-/-iy-/-i-, Tl -e-/-i-, Krx, Mlt -y- ¶¶ An. SG 322-35, An. GTJ 113-7 **II K:** *⁻e/i, sx. of the aorist (in the 1st and 2nd person) ♦ This preliminary comparison may become valid only after reconstructing the prehistory of the corresponding morphological structures (verbal tenses, etc.). In some cases forms of the past tense seem to have been based on analytical constructions with verbal nouns. In any case, a direct comparison between *i, *e and *y as markers of past seems premature and too shaky to be reliable. There is also a phonetic difficulty: the reg. NaIE reflex of *i must be *ei⁻ rather than *e, but this apparent irregularity may be due to generalization of *e before a sonant (*e < N *i regularly).

796. 2 *⁻ic'χ[∇] ~ *⁻c'-'-, *-⁻h- 'father, head of a family' (→ or ← 'master, lord') > **IE** *^h2esxo-s ({EI} *^h1es'h2o-s) 'master' > Ht isha ~ esha 'master, lord'; AnIE b→ Arm i2xan is⁻χan 'prince, sovereign' || NaIE:

OL esa, L era 'mistress', L erus 'master of the house\family. lord, owner' ¶ WH I 419, WP I 161 (both: no satisfactory et. of the L word), Pv. I-II 385, EI 371-2 || U *ic'a- 'father' > F isa-, Es isa id. | pLp {Lr.} *3c'e- 'father' > Lp: S {Hs.} aattjie, L {LLO} ahtjtē, N {N} ac'c'e, Klt ec'c'ŷ, Kld e'j'c'ŷ, T yīec'c'e id. | ? pMr {Ker.} *uc'a- > Mk oш oc'a- 'father's elder brother', Δ 'father, grandfather' | Chr: H ѿѿа 'əza, KB əza-, L иза i'za, Uf iza, M iz'a 'elder brother; father's younger brother' || Vg LK/P {Kn.} a-~s' 'mother's brother' | OHg o's 'grandfather', Hg o's 'ancestor' || Sm {Jn.} *eysa- 'father' > Ne T нислĀ Ne F {Lh.} nīes-:əa-, Ng {Cs.} jase, {Ter.} 'десы, En {Cs.} ese, Slq Tz 3si id. || pY {IN} *ec'e- 'father' [more probable than from N *Hac. 'c'.i' (= *X. Qhac. 'c'.i') 'father'] > OY: OY xvп {Wts.} otje', OY K {Bil.} etchea, {Merk} aittsche, {Lnd.} otsche', OY Ch {Mat.} ere id., OY O еземь '(my?) father'; Y K es'e- 'father' ¶ Coll. 16, UEW 78, Db. OS xxxi, Lr. #2, Lgc. #129, Hs. 220-1, MF 516-7, It. #369, MRS 125, 768, Ker. II 102, Jn. 22, KKIИ 109, IN 217-8, 299, ▢ Rd. UJ 35 [#9] (Y < U) ♦ This root may be the etl. source of the N pc. *c'.a- ~ *c'.a (= *Hic'c'.a?), marker of relative constructions [(in descendant lgs.: → sx. of adjectives \ singulatives (→ diminutives)] (q.v. ffd.). Cp. a similar usage of Ar ʔabu- 'father of' ♦ Gr. II #141 (*ece 'father') [U (incl. Y), A, Ko, Ai, Gil, CK].

797. *Hac. 'c'.i' (= *X. Qhac. 'c'.i') 'father, ancestor' > U *a'c'a- 'father' > pLp {Lr.} *3ce- 'father' (Lp E/N *a'c'c'e-, Lp T/T *e'c'e-) > Lp: S aattjie, L ahtjtē, N ac'c'e, Kld {SarS} адж-, K {Gn.} a3'3' id. || ObU *a'c' > pVg *a'c'(V) 'grandfather' > Vg: T a'c'i, K 3's', UL a's'; pOs *a'c'i 'father' > Os: Ty a't'i, Nz as'ə, Kz as'i, O a's'i id. || Sm: Nn T BZ {Ter.} ʔyш, Nn T Y ʔаш 'daddy', Nn T O {Lh.} ʔa'c'e? voc. 'daddy, father!', En K {Mik.} ac'a? 'father' || ? Y: Y K {Jc.} ec'ie, {IN} es'e- 'father' (× N *ic'xV ~ *c'.-, *-Ih- 'father') ¶ UEW 22, Lr. #2, Lgc. #129, SaR 20, Ht. #1, Ter. 391, 425, Lh. 20, ▢ Rd. UJ 34 [#4] (Y < U) || A: T *a'ci 'ancestor, elder relative' > OT {Grøn.} ec'i 'a close male relative younger than one's father and older than ego', Chv ac,a az'а 'father' (+ppas.: ac,aAp, ac,aAbaAp 'your [pl.] father', amēĀ 'his\their father'), 'male [animal]'; but Tk † ece 'old man' (and Tk Δ e3'e 'elder sibling?') may be a loan from M *ezen 'lord, master' ¶ Cl. 20, Grøn. TSK, Rs. W 35, Jeg. 35-6, TrR 259 || M *ecige 'father' > MM [S] ecige, [MA, IsV] ec'ige, WrM ecige, HlM yueг, Dg {T, Pp.} ec'ig, {Iv.} eшы ге, {Mrm.} e'c'ie ~ e'c'ige, {Mr.} ecihe id. ¶ MED 292, H 41, Lg. VMI 28, Pp. MA 151, T DgJ 141 || NrTg *aci 'ancestor, elder relative' > Ewk Vtm aci 'ancestor', Ewk {Cs.} ac'i 'cousin', ? ı Sln {Iv.} a'c'a 'father' ¶ STM I 59 || pKo {S} *a'ca- 'aunt, uncle' > MKo a'ca'mi 'aunt', a'ca'pi 'uncle', NKO a3'a- 'aunt, uncle', a3'uməni 'aunt', a3'a'bi 'uncle' ¶ S QK #978, Nam 341, MLC 1076-7 ¶¶ i ÷ M *ezen 'lord, master' (rather belonging to N *?ediNV 'pater familias, owner' [q.v.]) ¶¶ DQA #4 (A *a'c'~V 'ancestor': T, Tg, Ko), S CNM 9, Vv. AEN 9 || Gil: Gil A 3s / 3z- 'lord, owner' ¶ ST 466, ST RN 448 || D *acc1a1 'father' > Tm accan-, Ml accan id., Kt az ayn 'very old man' (and az av 'very old woman'), Kn ajja, Kdg a33ə, Tu ajje 'grandfather'; d words for 'mother': Ml acca (bf), Kn acci id., Kn, Tu ajji, Krx a33i 'grandmother', Mnd azi 'father's mother' ¶¶ D #50 (unc. : probably < Ol a-rya-, ʔ Tu. #1347) || ?? IE: Ht hassu 'king' ¶ Ts. E I 207-9, ▢ Pv. III 240-6 (Ht hassu- 'king' ← 'Born One' or 'Begotten One' < Ht has(s)- 'beget'), EI 330 ♦ If Ht hassu belongs here (⇔ Pv.'s qu. et.), we may reconstruct a pN initial *XQh-, otherwise the quality of the initial lr. (or uvular cns.) remains unknown. If the √ is a Lallwort, typological considerations point to an initial *?- ♦ Several scholars (including AD) equated the A √ with U *ic'a- 'father' (= our *ic'xV [or *c'.-, *-Ih-] 'father, head of a family'): ▢ AD NM 90 [#66] (i ÷ M *ezen instead of M *ecige), S CNM 8-9 (÷ ST), Vv. AEN 9-10 (WrM ecige ÷ U *ic'a-), but in the light of recent research it is preferable to adduce it here (because of its vw.). The original vw. of the first syll. is likely to have been *a (still preserved in Tg), while the U, T and M front vw. (U, T *a-, M *e) may be due to the ass. infl. of the final front vw. (*i?) ♦ Gr. II #141 (*ece 'father') [U (incl. Y), A, Ko, Ai, Gil, CK] (without distinguishing from the relexes of *ic'xV ~ *c'.-, *-Ih- 'father').

798. *ec'.iU 'sink', (→?) 'to dip' > K: GZ *c.(w)- v. 'dip' > OG, G c.-, Mg c.(v)- (n. act. gec,uapa), Lz nc.- (msd. o-nc.-u) id. || Cp. GZ *c.a- pv. 'down, away' and *c.a-re ~ *c.a-le adv. 'downward' (< N *c'.a- v. 'away, downward' [q.v.]) ¶ K 241, K² 294, FS K 438, Chik. 391, Q 378, Marr 217 || U *ec'c'V- v. 'sink' (× N *q'E'c'iVJfV 'sink') > Prm *fo'~s'- v. 'fall' > Z us'- v. 'fall', Z Ud us'3 'falls', Vt us'-, Vt SW u's'- v. 'fall' || Hg es-ik v. 'fall, rain' | pObU *Es- > pVg *i's- v. 'alight' (of a bird) > Vg: LK/MK/UK/P/NV/UL/Ss is-; pOs {Ht.} *es-əl- ({Hl.} *a'~s-əl-) v. 'let' ('lassen') > Os V/Vy e'sel-, Ty a'səl-, Y a'slə-, D/K estə-, Nz esəl-, O esəl- id. (*-əl- is a transitivizing sx., ʔ Majt. SM 367) || Sm *Vs- > Kms {KD} u'zu'l-em v. 'fall, go down

(fallen, niedersteigen)', Sq Tm {KD} a's- v. 'fall', caus.: Sq Tz {KKIH} 3sti-, Sq Ke a'set'ta-, Sq Nr {Cs.} a's-ta-u, Sq NP {Cs.} a'sa-p'ta-m, Slq UO {Cs.} a's-ta-m v. 'let fall, bring down' ¶¶ UEW 71, Coll. 10, Lt. 221, LG 298, MF 162-3, Ht. #67, Hl. rHt 71, Cs. 104, KD 82, KKI 109 ¶¶ The rec. of a geminated *-c'- is based on Prm *-s- (while *-c'- would have yielded Prm *-z-) ¶ ? A: M *ice- v. 'retire into hibernation' (× N *q'E'c'V' sink?) > WrM ice-, HIM ичи-, Kl ич-(x) ic'-xə id. [*, WrM icege(n), HIM ич(н) 'hibernation' (unless Mnr E {MYC} h3g3'e- 'hibernation' belongs here and the pM etymon is ± *qigce-)] ¶ MED 397, KW 212, H 80, Ms. H 62 [*, MYC 415] ¶ D (in GnD) *ic- v. 'soak, steep' > Png ih- (p. ist-), Kui ihpa (p. iht-) id., Mnd ih- v. 'soak, brew' ¶ D #426.

799. ? *UdV 'sister', 'e woman' > K *u₁da 'sister' > OG, G da-, Mg, Lz da(l)- id., Sv UB/L udil-, Sv LB widil- 'sister (in relation to another sister)' ¶ K 69, K² 36, FS K 92-3, FS E 97 (all of them reconstruct K *da-), TK 725 ¶ U *ro'dV > Es o'de 'sister' || Slq Tz ilenta, iltā 'younger niece-in-law, wife's sister, husband's sister' ¶ KKI 195 ¶¶ The Sq cognate was suggested by Hl. (p.c., 1975) ¶ ? HS: S: Ar hāda-d-at- 'wife' (unless <d- √hdd 'empêcher d'approcher') || ?? Ch: Ke a'di'd3 'daughter-in-law \ mother-in-law (of a woman); grandmother' ¶ Eb. 23.

800. ? *Hu'wdV (= *Tu'wdV?) 'evening, night' > U *yu'tV 'night' > Chr: L йу'д yu'd, B yu't, Uf ju't, H {MRS} йѳ, {Ep.} йѳ yѳ id. || pObU *₁yjīt(V) 'evening' > pVg *₁yjīt, {Ht.} *īt > OVg S Vt етъ, Vg T yīt dīt, Vg LK/MK/UK/NVg/LL īt', Vg P e't', OVg N Ber атъ, OVg N SoG e't, Vg Ss e't id.; pOs {Ht.} *a't 'night' > Os: V a't, Ty/Y/D/O a't, Nz/Kz at id.; pOs *₁yjītən, {Ht.} *itən '(in the) evening' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D itən, Nz/Kz yetən id. || Sm {Hl.} *u'tV (= *u'tV) 'evening' > Slq: Tz {KKIH} u'ti, Nr {Cs.} u'd, Kr {Cs.} u'te, Chl {Cs.} u'to 'evening', Tur {Lh.} u'tit '(in the) evening'; Kms {KD} nu'di, Koyb niude, Mt {Hl.} *n'nu'dV 'evening' (Mt T {Mll.} nju'de 'evening', Mt M {Mll.} nju'de id., {Sp.} нѳде 'late', нудѳ 'evening', Mt K {Pl.} njuude id.) ¶¶ Coll. 20, UEW 99, MRS 155, Ep. 33, Ht. #72, KKI 194, Ps. B 70, Cs. 110, Hl. M #777 ¶ A *u'tdV > M *u'den 'evening, in the evening' > MM [S] u'de, u'des'i id., 'late', [MA] u'des'i 'evening', u'des'in 'of the evening', 'vespertinus', WrM u'de, HIM *д, Brt *дy 'noon', WrO u'de, Kl *д u'də, {Rm.} u'du, Dg {T} udu 'noon, midday', Dx {T} udu, Ba ude(r) 'day', WrM u'desi, HIM *дyш Brt *дyш '(in the) evening', WrO u'dus'i 'evening', Kl Ö {Rm.} u'du's 'in the evening' ¶ H 158, Pp. MA 373, MED 995-6, Chr. 494-5, Krg. 190-1, KRS 545, KW 455, T DnJ 136, T DgJ 170 ¶ The semantic shift 'evening' → 'noon, day' in modern M lgs. may have been influenced by M *edu'r (> u'du'r ~ o'du'pō'r) 'day' (WrM edu'r, HIM 'д' p, WrO o'do'r ~ o'du'r ~ o'dur, Kl 'дp, {Rm.} o'dr, Dg udur, Ba ude(r) id., F MED 295-6, KRS 412-3, Krg. 139, KW 293, T DgJ 170) || ? Tg: Ewk Nor {Cs.} ← Mdd.} o'du'n 'evening' ¶ Cs. T 119 || ??σ NaT *o'ḷ:δ 'time (point\period of time)' > OT {Cl.} o'd id., 'hour', MU xiii o'z 'time', eChg [Rbg.] 3v o'd, MT [IM], Tlt {Rl.} o'y, ET Tar {Rl.} o't 'Zeit, Zeitpunkt'; <δ o'ḷ:δ-la'g 'time' → 'noon' > Chg {Rm.} o'zla'k, Tk o'yle (spelled o'g'le), Kr Cr, Nog u'yle, VTt Δ u'la, Slr u'le, Tkm o'yla'n, Ggz u'len 'noon' ¶ Cl. 35, 55-6, DTS 376-7, 395, Br. MT 138, KW 455, Rl. I 1172, 1259. ET Gl 516-7, TL 68-9 ¶ Cl. postulates an OT long vw., probably on the basis of the Ar plene spelling, which is not a reliable source ¶ ? HS: C √ Hwd 'evening, night' > Bj A {AD} (?u) hawā'd 'evening (after the sunset), night', -hawid v. 'come late in the evening', {R} hawā'd 'night', hawid v. 'spend the evening\night', rest' || Ag: Q {R} awā-da 'late evening, night' || EC: Sml N {Abr.} fa'wa 'tonight', fa'we'ysi'n 'time from 7 p.m. to bedtime', Gdl {Bl.} aw'wed.d., Brj {Ss.} 'yed.i [*, {Blz.} ← ?] (hi)yedi 'night' [*, ?? Or {Grg.} (h)eda 'last night', Or Bl {Sr.} e-da id., e-dana 'tonight' || Dh1 {To.} heddo 'evening' ¶ AD SF 239-40, Abr. S 17, Bl. G 6, Ss. B 192 [*, Grg. 133, Sr. 300, To. D 135, Blz. CL 179] || ?? B *√βd? ({Pr.} *h₂d.h₁) 'night' > Gd {Lf.} e'βed, {CM} iβad, Awj aβot, Ntf id ~ iyəd, Nf uət, Ah {Fc.} ehod, Ty, ETwl ehəd, Gh ihəd, Izl, Izd id., Kb id, Sll id, BSn {Bs.} e'd, Si it, Zng {TC} id 'night' ¶ Pr. H 21, #145, Fc. 516, Dl. 170, Dray 339, Lf. II #0032, TC Z 306, NZ 26, 436-7 ¶ The B √ may belong here only if *-β- is a reflex of *-w-; the emphatic *-d- is still puzzling ◇ IS I 257 [#120] (*Hu'ta 'rest hours'; U, M, Tg + qu. T *o'd-le 'noon'), Sauv. 76 (U, A) ◇ The precon. *w is responsible for the length of the vw. in Sm and Tk, as well as for the vl. *t in U (N *d > U *t in a postcons. position).

[* 800a. *HQAkV 'leaf', (?) 'branch' > ? HS: EC: Sa/Af {R} hak, Sa I {Hw.} hak 'branch', Sd {Gsp.} ho'ga 'leaf of the wese plant', Gln/Gwd {AMS} a-x-itte' (pl. a-xe) 'leaf' ¶ R S II 179, Gsp. 162, AMS 234

11 D *a⁻k 'leaf' > Kn a⁻ku id., 'young sprout', Tl a⁻ku 'leaf, petal', Gnd a⁻k^d a⁻ki(:), Knd, Kui a⁻ku, Png, Mnd a⁻ki, Ku akku⁻, a⁻ku 'leaf' ¶ D #335 ♦ Blz. LB #98b (N *hakV), ▢ Blz. DA 160 [#84].]

801. *fo⁻ke (= *fo⁻ku[?]) 'goat' > **IE**: NaE *oag⁻ 'goat' > OI a⁻ja-h. 'he-goat', a⁻ja 'she-goat', YAv aza- 'he-goat', ZPhl ?z 'goat' :: Lt oz⁻y⁻s, Ltv a⁻zis 'he-goat', Pru wosee 'goat' :: pTc {Ad.} *a⁻s(e) 'goat' > Tc: A a⁻s id., B as⁻iye 'pring to a goat' ¶ Not here (⇔ P) Al dhi 'goat' (< pAl {O} d *ai⁻ziya⁻ ÷ Gk α⁻ξ id.) ¶ ▢ P 6-7, M K I 23, M E I 51, Bai. 6, Frn. 519, O 83, Ad. 32, EI 229 (*hae⁻g⁻o-s 'he-goat') **11 HS**: Ch ▢*?o⁻ak^wV 'goat' > WCh {Stl.} *zak^{wi} 'he-goat' > Hs a⁻kuya⁻ id., a⁻k^{wi}ya⁻ 'goat' : Kfr {Nt.} ok id. : Ron {J.} Df ?a⁻h, Btr a⁻χ, Klr ?a⁻h id. : Krkr {Lk, J} ?o⁻c⁻i⁻ (pl. ?o⁻ka⁻i⁻), Krf {Sch.} wu⁻c⁻c⁻i⁻, Bl/Ngm {Mk.} os⁻i id. : NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj a⁻wa⁻i⁻, Kry a⁻hu⁻n, My a⁻hu⁻, Jmb {Sk.} a⁻k^wa⁻ : Ngz {Sch.} a⁻ku⁻ id. :: CCh: BuP {Mk.} k^{wi}, Klb {Mk.} k^wa, Mrg {Hf.} ku⁻ : HgNk {Mk.} uk^we, FIK {Mk.} ku⁻ : Gude {Srp.} oxo⁻a⁻, {Mk.} oh^wa, Nz {Mk.} hoe, Bt {Srp.} hue⁻, Bcm {Sk.} ho⁻to⁻! Lmn {Lk.} o⁻gu⁻ id. : Glv {Rp.} a⁻g^wa⁻, Dgh {IL} o⁻ye⁻ : Gzg D {Lk.} ?aw, {Ro.} a⁻w; {Ro.}: Mada, Mkt, Myn, Vm, Zlg a⁻wa⁻k, Hrz a⁻wa⁻, Mlk a⁻wa⁻k : ZmB {Sa.} u⁻h^wu⁻ id. ¶ JI II 166-9, J R 212, 350, ChC, ChL, Ro. 260, Stl. ZCh 231 [#789] **11 A**: M *uquna (~ *u⁻g⁻luna?) 'he-goat' > MM [HI] uyuna ~ [MA] éNvqv⁻ uquna, WrM uquna ~ uqana, HIM ухна, Mgl {Rm.} uqo⁻na, Dg {T} ukan id., Brt ухана, Kl Ö {Rm.} uxuna⁻ 'young he-goat' ¶ MED 892, Pp. MA 365, Ms. H 105, T DgJ 170, Rm. M 41, KW 447, Chr. 483 ¶ The variant with *-q- still defies explanation.

802. *ok⁻u 'head' > **HS**: C: Ag {AD} *zak^w-(at), {Ap.} *?ay^w-(ar) 'head' (× N *h⁻logE 'top, above') > Bln {Ap.} ?ax^war, {R} ?ay^war (pl. ?ay^wat-), Xm {Ap.} awzr, {R} awr, Xm T {CR} awu⁻r, Km {Ap.} ay^wa⁻y, {CR} awe⁻, ax^wa⁻y (pl. ax^wa⁻t), Dmb {R} ay^we⁻, ax^we⁻ id., Q {R} ax^we⁻, awe⁻ 'head, oneself', {Ap.} awa⁻ 'top', Aw {Ap.} aya⁻ 'top', {CR} aya⁻ 'head, lord' ¶ R WB 19, CR K, Ap. AV 3 **11 U** {UEW} *u⁻ok⁻V 'head' > FU: ObU {Ht.} *u⁻yV, {HL.} *i⁻wV id. > pVg *i⁻wV 'bear's head' > LK {Kn.} a⁻wt, P {Kn.} z⁻wt, MK {MK} a⁻w, UL/Ss a⁻wa id.; pOs *oy 'head' > Os: V/Vy oy, Ty oy^w, oy, Y ow, D/K/Nz ux, Kz/O o⁻χ id. || Sm {Jn.} *uk⁻ 'tip, front part' (× N *f⁻ok⁻i 'sharp point\edge', q.v.) > En {Ter.} ubo⁻, ub, {Cs.} ubo id., ? Ne T d ~ухуд, {Lh.} nu⁻χu⁻δ, ? Ne F {Lh.} nu⁻χunti⁻ d nu⁻χu⁻ttæ⁻e⁻i 'upper lip' (← 'top'), Slq Tz {KKIH} u⁻ki 'nose (of humans\animals), beak, front part, tip', Slq NP {UEW ←?} ug⁻ 'tip (Ende), lip', Slq Nr {Cs.} u⁻g 'Ende, Schluß' ¶¶ UEW 542-3, ▢ Ht. #9 (without data of Vg LK/MK/P and with pVg *i⁻wV 'bear's crane'), MK 59, Hl. rHt. 73, Jn. 30, KKIH 191, Cs. 108; Coll. 44 and Hl l.c. equate the ObU word with Lp N oai⁻ve 'head' and hence with U *oywa 'head', but UEW l.c. rejects it on phonetic grounds, because U *-yw- cannot yield ObU *-y- or *-w- (≠ UEW 336-7 s.v. U *oywa 'head') **11 E**: El uk⁻ku, uk⁻gi 'head' ¶¶ HK 1206, 1210-4 ♦ On the possible connection with N *fo⁻ke (= *fo⁻ku[?]) 'self' (whence rec. of a N √ *fo⁻ku[?] 'head' → 'self') see s.v. N *fo⁻ke.

803. ?? *H⁻ke 'eat' > **IE** *hek⁻ v. 'eat' > OI as⁻ (3s prs. as⁻na⁻ti) 'eat', 'as⁻ana 'eating, food' :: ON, NNr, Dn, Sw agn 'bait, lure' :: ?μ Gk Hm α⁻κολο⁻ 'a bit, morsel' ¶¶ Cp. N *f⁻egU 'drink' [q.v.] ¶¶ ▢ IS I 275-6 s.v. *EK⁻u ¶ M K I 60, M E I 136, F I 55, Vr. 3, 681 **11 HS**: ? ECh: Nd {J} yi⁻ga⁻v. 'eat (hard food)' ¶ JI II 119 [± | ? EC: Yk {Hn.} -ek- 'eat', e⁻kto⁻ 'food'? (× N *f⁻egU 'drink') ¶ Hn. Y II 124-5] ¶¶ Not here B *HksH v. 'eat', which is more likely to belong to N *OEK⁻V⁻z⁻V ▢ 'peck' (of birds) [q.v. ffd.] **11 A**: T: OT igiδ- v. 'feed (a person, animal), [MhK] igdil- v. 'be nourished, fed' (× N *OEK⁻V⁻z⁻V '↑') ¶ Cl. 10, 104.

[+ **803a. ??? *el⁻V** 'sprout, twig' > **HS**: S: ? Ak Λ elu⁻ 'sprout' (unless derived from *fly 'rise') [× N *o⁻gol⁻Vy⁻V 'leaf'?? or derived from S *fly 'rise'] ¶ CAD IV 114 || SC {E} *h⁻ale⁻m- 'branch' (unless akin to Sml fale⁻n- 'leaf' < N *o⁻gol⁻Vy⁻V 'leaf') > Irq halmi, Alg elemi, Brn alema id. ¶ E SC 336 **11 U**: FU (att. in FP) *el⁻V 'sprout, twig' > Er il⁻ev 'twig', Δ il⁻ey, il⁻iy, Mk il⁻i 'Rute' ('rod, twig') : Prm *ul 'twig, sprout' > Vt ul 'bough', Δ {Wc.} ul 'bud, sprout, Z yb uv, Δ ul, Prmk, Yz ul 'bough, twig' ¶ UEW 624, LG 295, UZS 446 **11 D**: SD *el- 'leaf' > Tm ilai⁻ 'leaf, petal', Ml ila, Kt el, Td es⁻, Kn ele, ela, Kdg elakan⁻d⁻a, Tu elæ 'leaf', Gnd kor⁻k-ila 'new leaf' (kor⁻k 'sprout') ¶ D #497.]

804. *il⁻i (= *hil⁻i[?]) '∈ intestines' > **IE**: NaE *ili- 'intestines' > L ilia / -ium (pl.) [> ilium sg.] 'intestines, guts; loin, womb, Schamgegend', (EM: 'flancs, parties latérales du ventre qui s'étendent depuis le bas des côtes jusqu'à la naissance des cuisses') :: Gk [Hs.] ἰλία · μο⁻ρια γυναικει⁻α ('(private) parts of women') [unless to be read δω⁻ρα γυναικει⁻α, as in some codexes], ἰλιον · το⁻ τη⁻ γυναικο⁻ῃ ἐφη⁻βαιον δη⁻λοι⁻ ('it means: woman's pubes') :: Sl *elito 'gut(s), intestines' > SCr jelito 'sausage', Δ 'gut', Slv jelita '∈ sausage', Δ olito 'gut', Cz jelito '∈ sausage', Slk jelito 'sausage, stomach, gut', Hls jelito

(Ruhe), peace', adj. 'quiet, peaceful, healthy, comfortable'; M *amu-ra- 'relax, rest, be relieved, feel contentment\joy' > WrM amura-, HIM am̥ax id., Ord amara- vi. 'rest, be quiet', MM [S] {H} d̥ amurli- 'be\feel calm\secure', amurul- vt. 'calm', MM [HI] d̥ amraq [amray] 'loving each other', Mnr H {SM} xamura- vi. 'rest, calm, recover, go out (fire)', {T} xambura-, Ba hamera-, Dx {T} hamura- vi. 'rest', Kl am̥- amr- 'rest', {Rm.} amr̥- 'ruhen, Ruhe bekommen, ausruhen' (Mnr x̥- and Ba, Dx h- are due to contamination with the √ of Mnr H {SM} xamuli-, {T} xambuli- vt. 'extinguish, efface') ¶ Pp. MA 101-2, 432, Ms. H 35-6, H 7, MED 40, KRS 41-2, KW 9-10, SM 153-4, T 373, T DnJ 139, T BJ 150 || NaT *a_L:jm-u_Lil (with the derivational sx. *-I [Cl. XIII]?) > OT amu_Lil 'quiet, mild, peaceable', Tk Δ imil ~ umul 'quietly, gently'; NaT *a_L:jm_Lira- vi. 'calm, be at peace' > OT {DTS} amra- v. 'love', Tv amira- vi. 'calm, take comfort, be glad', Tlt/Qmn {Rl.} amira- 'sich beruhigen', Alt {Rl.} amra- id., 'in Ruhe leben'; -d̥ NaT *amur-t- v. 'quieten, calm [sth., so.]' > OT XI amurt- vt. 'calm [sth.]', Tk Δ amurt- vt. 'quieten, calm'; -d̥ NaT *amri_Lul- 'be at peace' > OT VIII-XIII amru_Lil id.; NaT *amir > (or M *amara- b̥-) Tv, SY amir, Qzq Δ a[~]mi[~] r n. 'calm, peace', Alt/Tlt/Sg/Qb/Kū {Rl.} amir id., 'rest (Ausruhen, Erholung)', Xk amir 'peaceful, quiet' ¶ Rs. W 19, Rl. I 647-51; ▣ Cl. 160-3 (claims that *am(V)r- is based entirely on a loan from M amara-, which is highly doubtful because derivatives from *am(V)r- are attested in pre-Mongolian OT from the VIII c. on; the idea of M origin may be valid for the T noun amir only, because it is not attested in OT), ▣ ET Gl 59-60 (does not distinguish between *abra- and amra-), DTS 41, TvR 58-9 ¶¶ DQA #72 (A *a[~]mV 'be quiet, sleep'), KW 9, S AJ 292 || D (in SD) *am- 'be(come) still\quiet' > Tm amai_L 'become still\quiet, abide, remain', amar- 'v. 'abide, remain\become tranquil', Ml amaruka v. 'subside, settle, be settled, rest on', amarcca 'calmness, self-government', Tu amaru-ni 'become quiet\calm; settle', amapu-ni 'to quiet' ¶ D #161 || ?σ IE: NaIE *am- v. 'love' > L ama⁻ (amo⁻, -a⁻re) v. 'love', amor 'love', amicus 'a loved one, friend', Mrc AMATENS 'voluerint' || Phr [Hs.] 'αδαμει[~]ν · το[~] φιλει[~]ν 'to love'; [Hs.] και[~] Φρυ[~]γει το[~]ν φι[~]λον[~] "αδαμνα λε[~]γουσιν 'Phrygians call a loved one "αδαμνα' ¶ WH I 40-1, ≠ P 36 ♦ If the IE cognate is valid, the initial N lr. may be *ʕ-, *h- or *h- (*ʕhha- > IE *he- > NaIE *a-), but not *ʔ- (*ʔa- would have yielded IE *e-/zero).

806. ?₂ *H[~]e[~]mVn[~]∇ (= *ʔ[~]e[~]mVn[~]∇?) 'oak, tree' > IE: OIr omnae 'tree, oak' ¶ Vn. O 22 || R: T *ema[~]n 'oak' > Tkm imen, Uz eman, ET ema[~]n, VTt, Bsh ima[~]n, QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg emen, Kr ama[~]n, Alt ermen, Chv □ман yuman^d yoman 'oak' ¶ r in Alt still needs explanation ¶ Rs. W 42, Dm. NRTAJ 185-6, Jeg. 348, Fed. II 485, Md. 115, 165 (T *i_Laman ~ *emen, NaT *emen), TL 124 (*ermen) || ??φ,σ HS: Eg fO im₃ '∈ fruit-bearing tree (date-palm?); '∈ sacred tree; wood used for statues and tools\utensils' ¶ EG I 79 ♦ If the Eg word belongs here, the N rec. must be *ʔ[~]e[~]mVn[~]∇.

807. *Han[~]∇ 'other' > IE: NaIE *a_{on}- (× N *ha 'ille') > [1] NaIE *a_{on}-yo-'other' > Ilr *ani_o-s 'other, different' > OI an[~]ya-h., Av anyo⁻, OPrs aniya id., Oss anna[~] 'the other (of two, of many)' || ? Gk [~]ενη 'the day after tomorrow' (ellipsis from [~]ενη [~]ημε[~]ρα 'another day'); [2] NaIE *a_{ontero}-s 'the other [from two]' (built on the analogy of *al-tero-s?) > OI 'antara-, Oss a[~]nda[~]r || Gt an[~]par, ON annarr (pl. a[~]ðrir), OHG ander, AS o[~]ðer, NE other || Lt an[~]taras ~ an[~]tras, Ltv o[~]trs, Ltv E u[~]tors 'other', Pru antars ~ antars 'other, second' ¶ Brg. KVG 401, Me. OSJ 352-3, ▣ P 37-8 (unc. : *anios and *anteros <d̥- *an 'there, on the other side'), ▣ EI 411 (*h_{en}- ~ *h_{ion}- 'that', *h_{ion}-tero-s 'other'), Frn. 12, En. 142, M K I 35-7, Ab. I 545, Fs. 53, Vr. 10, Ho. 243, EWA I 241-2 || U: Sm {Jn.} *a[~]nV- 'other' > Ne T [~]ани, Ne T O {Lh.} ηα[~]n[~]i 'other, different', En {Cs.} an[~]i[~] 'aufs neue', Ng {Mik.} ηonə 'and', {Cs.} ηanai 'aufs neue, noch' ¶ Jn. 1, Ter. 383 || R: NrTg *a_q- (unless it is *xa_q-) > Lm a_qli 'other, different', Neg anisk[~]- ~ a_qisk[~]- id., 'otherwise' (may have been influenced by Tg *xa_qgi 'side', whence Neg an[~]li[~] ~ a_qli[~] 'aside, far') ¶ STM I 46 || ??σ HS: WS *han (dem. prn.) (× N *ha 'ille') > IA/EpJA hn {HJ} 'this', BHb ha- +gmc. 'the', Mo, Ph h- 'the', Ar {Nld.} han 'der da, das da' ¶ HJ 287-8, KB 225-6, ▣ Nld. NB 119 (unc. :Ar han 'iste' ← han- 'thing') ♦ If WS *han belongs here, the N rec. is *han[~]∇, otherwise we remain with an unspecified *H- (N *Han[~]∇) ♦ ▣ Gr. II #288 (*ena 'other') [IE, U, ?? Gil + err. J, A + unc. CK, EA].

808. *hin[~]∇ (= *Xin[~]∇?) 'other' > IE: NaIE *ei_n- > Sl *jъnъ(jъ) (f. *jъna, ntr. *jъno) 'other, different' > OCS инъ inъ (f. ina, ntr. ino), OR, RChS инъ inъ, R и[~]ной, Uk 'иний, SCr i[~]n, i[~]nī, Cz jiny[~], Slk iny[~] id., Blg 'иний, ин (f. ина, ntr. ино), Slv in, OP iny, P inny 'different' || Ilr *ai_n- > Oss I иннъ inna[~] 'the other one (from two)', the other (from many)', Xwr inī 'other' ¶ Brg. KVG 401, Me. OSJ 352-3, Frn. 12, En. 142, ▣ ESSJ VIII 233-4, Glh. 277, Bern. I 432, Me. MSL X (1898): 254-5, M K I 35-7, Ab. I 545, Fs. 53, Vr.

10, Ho. 243 || **D** (in SD) *^en- 'other' > Tm ^en-ai- 'other, the rest' ¶ **D** #919 || **Gil**: Gil A/ES ena- 'other, belonging to another person, strange', A ena-j, ES ena-nd 'be other, belong to another person, be strange' ¶ ST 482-3, Krn. N 493 || **HS** ? *(i)hEn- within the *cd* *ʔanihEn-nV 'we' [aut. prn.] (*ʔan- [focalizing topic pc., forming autonomous pers. pronouns] + *(i)hen- + *nuV 'we, our' < N *n-V 'we' excl.) (× *XAn₁V₁ʃV 'together, with' [q.v.]?) > S *ʔa'nihnua 'we' [aut. prn.], Bj {RHD.} hi'nin, {Rop.} he'nnen 'we, us', {R} ha'nan, han'in, he'nin 'we', etc. This is one of two alternative etymologies of *ʔanihEn-nV 'we'. It presupposes that *ʔanihEn-nV originally meant 'we others' (like Sp *nosotros*, Ctl *nosaltres* 'we' < L pl. acc. *nos alteros* 'we others', cp. also Fr *nous autres*). The other alternative explanation presupposes that *ʔanihEn-nV originally meant 'we together', with *-hen- going back to N *XAn₁V₁ʃV '¶' [q.v. ffd.] (> Eg fP hnʃ 'together with, and').

809. o *HaN'g'V(t,V) 'duck' > **IE** *Hn₂Hti- / *HenHti- ({M} *h₂n₂h₂ti-, {EI} *hAn₂h₂ti- / *h₂anh₂ti-) > NaIE *anəti 'duck' > L *anas* (acc. *anatem* ~ *anitem*) id. || Gmc *anud- ~ *anid- 'duck' > ON *oṇd*, OHG *anut* (~ *aneta*), nom. pl. *enti*, NHG *Ente*, Dt *eend*, OSx *anad*, AS *e'ned* || OI m. a'ti-h., f. a'ti 'duck', KhS a'ce 'aquatic birds, geese', Oss acc 'wild duck', {OsR} id., 'male duck' || Gk I νῆσσα, Gk A νῆττα, Gk B νᾶσσα 'duck' (< *νᾶττῐα ÷ OI a'ti-h.) || BSL *a'nt- (< *anət-) > Lt a'ntis, Pru *antis* || SI *o'ṭi (gen. *o'ṭve) 'duck' > ChS 𐰽𐰺𐰍 oṭi (gen. 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰽 oṭve), OR 𐰽𐰺𐰍 uti (gen. 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰽 otove), SCR u'tva, R Δ γτ'βα, Slv {Vs.} o'tva, {Glh.} o'tva, Uk γτ'βα, Blr вутва, уц, (dim. →) R 'утка ¶ P 41-2, EI 171, M K I 72-3, M E I 163-4, Bai. 16, Ab. I 27, OsR 61, WH I 44, F II 317-8, Vr. 687, EWA I 291-3 & II 1075, Kb. 39, 200, KM 167, Frn. 11-2, En. 142, Tr. P A-D 95-6, Vs. IV 174, Glh. 568 || **U** *aṇV 'e aquatic bird (duck or sim.), e game bird (Tetraonidae, Phasianidae)' > Lp: N {N} ha'ṇṇa-ṇṇ- ~ ha'ṇṇja 'long-tailed duck; Harelda glacialis', L {LLO} haṇṇa- ~ haṇṇe-k ~ haṇṇo-k 'ice duck, Harelda hiemalis', Kld {TI} aṇṇ-ṇonṇ:ṭ:ṭa- 'polar duck (Harelda)', U {Schl.} aṇṇa'lahka 'domestic duck' || ObU {Ht.} *i'ṇk 'partridge, ptarmigan' > pVg *i'ṇka- id. > OVg S SSS *ango*, *anka* (¶) id., Vg S: Vg T {Mu.} a'ṇgha², Vg MK эṇkə, OVg N BerG 'anga, Vg Ss a'ṇxa 'ptarmigan', Vg P a'ṇka id., 'partridge'; pOs *i'ṇk > Os: V/Vy i'ṇq, D/K eṇx 'partridge, ptarmigan' || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} *a'ṇo ṇa'ṇo 'diving duck (нырок), long-tailed duck (утка-морфнка)', {Lh.} ṇa'ṇu 'polar duck, Anua hiemalis', En {KD} ṇau 'duck', Ng {Mik.} ṇaṇoja 'duck', Slq Tz {KKIH} u' 'partridge', {Prk.} u 'ptarmigan', Slq Nr/Yel/Kar {Cs.} u' id., Kms uṇa 'partridge', Koyb {Pl.} angat 'Anas rutila', Mt {HL.} *oṇṇiḡo 'Schneehuhn' or 'Rebhuhn' (Mt: K {Pl.} onho 'кыропатка', [in Pl. Z] 'Tetrao Lagopus') ¶ UEW 13, Schl. 6, TI 15, Ht. #45, Ter. 392, KKI 191, Cs. 108, Erl. 282, Hl. M #811, ≠ Jn. 19 || **A** {ADb.} *aṇḡi-, {DQA} *a'ṇatV 'e duck' > NaT *aṇit {Cl.} 'ruddy goose, Anas casarca' (→ names of other large birds) > OT aṇit {Cl.} 'ruddy goose', OOSm xv aṇit id., MQP xiv aṇit 'a bird called 'al-unaysa (in Ar)', Chg [San.] aṇkud, Tk Δ ankut, Qmq hankut 'e wild duck', SY aṇit {ML.} 'wild duck with yellow feathers', Xk aar a't 'black diver (турпан)', ? Yk andi ~ anni 'e 'black duck', 'scoter, diving duck' (unless Yk <b- Ewk aṇir) ¶ Cl. 176, TL 172, Ml. ZhU 16, Tn. SJJ 172 || Tg *aṇḡi (~ *andi?) 'e aquatic bird' > Nn Nh a'ṇḡi id., Neg anṇ, Ewk anni² andi ~ aṇir, Neg anṇ 'bluebill, Aythya' ¶ STM I 43 || M *aṇḡir [≠ (unless it is *ṇaṇḡir)] > WrM aṇḡir, HIM aṇḡir 'e yellow duck' [× *aṇḡir 'yellow?'] ({Cl.} 'black diver'); M > Alt {RL.} aṇar 'an aquatic bird (smaller than a goose, with a red-yellow breast)', {BT} aṇir 'варнавка', Qrg aṇir 'Anas todorna', Tv aṇyir, Brt aṇḡir, Ewk Brg aṇir 'scoter, Melanitta (турпан)', Ewk I aṇir 'hazel-grouse', Mc aṇḡir n'exē 'scoter; e yellow duck' ¶ MED 445, Cl. 176, Rl. I 184, BT 19, TvR 62 || pJ {S} *anti > OJ adi 'e duck' ¶ S QJ #757 ¶ [≠ S AJ 71,] ADb. KL, DQA #40 || **D** (in McTm) *an_r-il (= *an_t-il) 'e bird' (= 'e duck?') > Tm an_r-il 'e aquatic bird [OI cakraṇa'ka (= Anas casarca?)]', Ml annal 'e a bird of stately walk' ¶ D #331.

810. *HoNka (= *hoNka ?) 'angle, joint\ bend (of a limb, etc.)' > **IE**: NaIE *oṇḡ- 'joint (of body), angle' > OI 'an'gam 'limb' || Arm ankiyn ankiwn 'angle, corner' || L *angulus* id., Um **ANGLOM-E** 'ad *angulum*' || ON *ekkja* 'heel', dim. →: ON *oḡkla*, OHG *ancala*, *ancla*, *anchla* 'ankle, ankle-joint; talus', AS *ancle*ow 'ankle', NE *ankle* || SI *oḡḡḡḡ 'angle, corner' > OCS 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰽 oḡḡḡḡ, Blg 'ḡḡḡ, SCR u'ḡao (gen. u'ḡla), Slv voḡḡol (gen. voḡḡla), Cz u'hel, Slk uhol, P weḡiel (gen. weḡḡla), OR 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰽 ug(ḡ)ḡḡ, R 'угол, Uk 'вугол ¶ P 45-7, ¶ AHDI 3 [both do not distinguish between NaIE *ank- 'bend' (see N *xḡan₁V₁K.V 'bend') and NaIE *oṇḡ-], M K I 21, M E I 48, WH I 48-9, Ho. 5, Vr. 99, 686, EWA I 260-1, Kb. 33, ¶ OsS 20, EWA I 260-1, Sl. 286-7, Vs. IV 145, Glh. 650-1 || **A**: NrTg *oṇḡ- 'corner', *oṇḡi- 'to bend as to form an angle' > Ewk o'ṇṇa'n 'internal corner', oṇḡi- v. 'bend\ break a stick in order to form an angle, bend a

board (to make a ski with an arched front part)', Lm onit--onit- v. bend (together)' ('гнѣтѣ, сгибатѣ'), Neg onḡi--onḡi- 'bend a board (to make a ski)', Ork o, omi 'angle, corner' ¶ STM II 19 || M *o'ncu'g (unless with *φ-) > WrM o'ncu'g, HlM ' нѣ г, Kl ' нѣг o'ncæg, {Rm.} o'ncog'g 'external corner, angle' [⊕, ? Dg {MYC} no'c'oko id.] ¶ MED 636, KRS 417, KW 296 [⊕, MYC 546] ¶ The element (sx.?) *-cu'g is obscure ¶¶ DQA #1598 (A *o'ni'e 'angle') || HS: C: Bj {R} 'ank'wa 'hump', {Rop.} ank'wa 'hump of camel' ¶ R WBd 24, Rop. 152 || ?σ S: Ar ékanaha hanak-at- 'colline très élevée qui se dresse comme un tour' ¶ BK I 505.

811. *HoNVmV (= *h'oNEmV, *h'oNVmE, *h'on'EmV, *h'on'VmE?) 'take hold of, have, own' > IE: NaIE {WH} *enm-/nem-/i-em- 'take, acquire, have' [× N *?aemV – *?omV 'seize, hold' (q. v. ffd.) × N *q'a'mV 'grasp, seize']: [1] *enm- > *em- > L emo-, -e're / e'mpsi / e'mptum 'take', Osc PERTEMEST 'perimet', PERTEMUST 'peremerit', PEREMUST 'perceperit', Um emantu(r) accipiantur, 'emptus' || OIr ar-fo-emat 'they take' || Lt imu / im'ti 'take', Ltv jemu 'I take', Pru imt 'take' : Sl prs. *ym-o / inf. *je-ti 'take' > OCS нѣм imo / ѣти je'ti, нѣмѣ imamъ / нѣмѣ imē'jo / нѣмѣти imē'ti 'have' and the cognate forms of other Sl lgs.; the Sl form *ym-o is proved by the OCS compound verb вѣзѣмѣ вѣзѣм-o 'I [shall] take', R вѣзѣмѣ ѣти [2] *i-em- > OI 'yamati 'holds' [3] *nem- > Gt, AS niman, ON nema, OHG neman, NHG nehmen 'take' || OIr nem 'gift' || Lt nu'oma, Ltv no'ma 'rent, lease', Ltv nem't 'take' ¶ WH I 400-2, WP I 207, Kb. 719-20, Frn. 512, ¶ EI 564 (*h'em- 'take, distribute', *nem- 'take\accept legally') || HS: Eg fP x'nm (= h'nm) 'put one's arm around, touch; join' ¶ EG III 377-81, Fk. 202 || U: FP *oma 'own, property' > F, Es oma id. || pLp {Lr.} *ō-me 'property; a thing belonging to smb.': Lp OSw {LÖ} a'me 'res', Lp N {Fri.} oabme 'res, pecus, proprietas', {N} oabme/-m- 'sth. which belongs to so., property', Lp L a'pme 'property, thing', Lp I {SK} oami 'own, property' || ? Vt умой umoy 'good, fit' (← *'proper to...'), Vt G {Wc.} umoy 'good' ¶ UEW 717, Lr. #830, Lgc. #4572 ♦ It is hard to explain the palatalized lr. in Eg and IE (the latter suggested by the NaIE vw. *e-) in NaIE, which apparently contradicts the ev. of FU *o-. Was there a vw. *o' in pN? Can a palatal nasal *n' be helpful? It is tempting to tie in M *o'mcin > WrM o'mci, HlM ' мѣ 'inheritance, share of property; property', Kl ' нѣн o'nc'an 'inheritance', {Rm.} o'mc'i - o'nc'i 'Erbteil, Anteil' (MED 635, KRS 417, KW 296), but it belongs here only if the meaning 'property' is ancient in M (which is doubtful).

812. *Ha'ntV 'kernel' > IE: NaIE *endr- 'egg, kernel' > Vd a'n.'d.a- 'egg', du. 'testicles', a'n.'d.i- 'testicles, OI an.d.a- 'egg, testicle', Kls 'o'nd.rak 'egg' || Sl *e.dro 'kernel' > OCS ѣдро je'dro, McdS јадро, SCr, Slv je'dro, Cz ja'dro, Slk jadro, P ja'dro, R, Blr ј'дро id., Uk ј'дро 'grain of corn, kernel, testicle', Hls jadro 'kernel, testicle' ¶ ESSJ VI 65-6, EI 507-8 (IE *h₁en'dro-s 'egg, scrotum', *err.* : <d *h₁en- 'in'), ≠ P 774 (*unc.* : Sl < IE *oid-), ≠ M K I 26 (rejects the connection of an.d.a- with Sl and supposes its Munda origin), M E I 162-3 (considers the OI - Sl connection "überlegenswert") ¶ NaIE *-r- may go back to a sx. || D (in SD) *an.t.i- 'kernel, stone of a fruit' (× N *xa'n'Vt.V 'kernel, grain') > Ml an.t.i 'kernel, stone of mango, etc., nut', Tm an.t.i-kkot.t.ai 'cashew-nut', Tu an.d.i 'stone of fruit (mangoes, etc.)', Kdg ma'nge a'n'd.i 'mango stone'; D б'Prkr an.t.hi, Hnd a~t.t.hi, Bngl a~t.t.(h)i 'kernel', Ori a~t.t.hi id., Hnd Bhj a~t.t.hi 'kernel\pip of fruit' (× OInA *as.t.i- [> Sk as.t.i-] 'kernel'); NInA б'Krx at.hu 'mango stone', Mlt at.i 'stone\seed of a fruit' ¶ D #126, Tu. #955 ♦ The positional neutralization of the opposition *n ↔ *n' ↔ *n' is denoted here by the symbol n.

813. *Huḡ'dV (= *Hu'ḡ'dV?) 'root' > HS: ?φ EC *HundV 'root' > Or {Grg.} hunde id. (but not Or Wt {Hn.} hidda 'root', Brj 'hiddi 'root of big trees; bloodvessel, tendon', that is from EC *hizz- id.) ¶ Grg. 218, Brl. 219, Th. 206, Hn. W 62, ¶ Ss. B 95 || U: FU (att. in FV only) *ontV 'root' > pLp {Lr.} *ō'nte id. > Lp: L {LLO} a'tte's 'the main root of a tree' ('die größte, dickste, unververzweigte Wurzel, Hauptwurzel', ? S {Hs.} viddie, N {N} væd'de, Kld vu'en'd, {SaR} vu'en'tes 'root' : Mk ункс unks id., Er Δ {Ps.} unduks ~ undoks 'root, stalk (of a cucumber, etc.), sprout' ¶ UEW 719, Lr. #834, Lgc. #4541, SaR 62-3, Ps. B 130 || R *iḡu'ḡt|de 'root' > M *u'ndu'-su'n, {ADb.} *u'nde-su'n 'root' > WrM u'ndu'su'n, HlM *ндѣс, *ндѣсн, Kl {KRS} *ндѣсн, {Rm.} u'ndüsn, Dg {Pp.} u'nd.u's, u'ndu'su', {Mrm.} undusun, {Mr.} unduse, {T [⊕, MYC]} undus [⊕, Ba {MYC} undusun] ¶ MED 1007, KW 458, T DgJ 171, Klz. D II 141 [⊕, MYC 693] || Tg *ḡu'ḡte 'root' > Ewk ḡiḡt3 d ḡiḡt3, Lm ḡeḡtə, Neg niḡt3 ~ ḡiḡt3, Orc, Ud X/I/Sm {Krm.} ḡiḡt3, Ud B iḡt3, Ul munkt3 ~ ḡunkt3, Ork, Nn munkt3 id.; in Ul, Orl, Nn the word is reinterpreted as having a derivational sx. -kt3 ¶ STM I 662, Krm. 272 || pJ {S} *m3't3 > OJ mo'to 'root, foundation', J: T/Kg

moto', K mo'to' id. ¶ Valid only if pJ *m- is a reg. reflex of pA *ŋ- (which is not indicated in S's sketch of the J phonetic prehistory, cf. S AJ 67-82) ¶ S QJ 209. Mr. 486 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *ŋu'nte 'root', S AJ 18, 39, 92, 291, ADb. KL (A *ʔuigte), DQA #1543 (A *ŋi_u'nt'e) ♦ Tg *ŋ- and pJ *m- (< *ŋ-) are likely to result from *as* (*Ø...ŋ > *ŋ...ŋ) ♦ ADb. NN 34 (N *ŋiUynt_ŋ > A, U, IE) ♦ i ÷ NaIE *wei_t- 'dyer's woad, Isatis inctoria (a plant used to produce blue dye)' [> L vitrum 'woad' :: Gmc *wai_da- id. > OHG weit, NHG Waid, MLG we'd, Dt weede, AS wa'd, NE woad ¶ WP I 236, WH II 806, KM 833, Kb. 1164, Ho. 378], because such connection is semantically *unj.* [the most important part of the woad (used to produce dye) is its leaves, not its root].

814. ¶ *Ha'ŋkU ¶ *Ha'ŋkV 'fire' > HS: Ch {Nw.} *aku - *ak'wa 'fire', {Stl.} *ʔakuw- id. > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} a'ka', Bd {IL} a'ka' : Cg {Sk.} a'k'e', Kry {Sk.} a'ku', My {Sk.} a'ku', Jmb {Sk.} ak'wa', Dir {Sk.} aku'wa', Wrj {Sk.} kə'wa'y, Sir {Sk.} ku'wi', Mbr ku'wa' :: CCh: Db {JI} ku : G'nd wa-ta : ? BM: Mrg {IL} ʔi'ʔi' (= {IL} ʔu'ʔu'), Cb u'ʔu' : Mtk {Nw.} ak'wa, Mada {BrrB} okk'wo, {Ro.} a'k'wa', Mofu {Brr.} a'wo'w, MfG {Brr.} a'wa'w, Gzg D {Lk.} ʔavo; {Ro.} Mkt a'ka'l, Myn a'ku', Hrz, Vm a'k'wa', Zlg a'k'wa', Mlk a'ko' : Msg {Trn.} a'fu' : Lmn {Lk.} u'u'v : Suk {IL} k'hu' : Ms {Nw.} aku-da, {J} ku'da, ZmD {KND} ku', {Srp.} ku, ZmB {J} ku', LamP ku, Lam k'wu, Bnn ku-da :: ECh {Stl.} *ʔakow- > EDng {Fd.} a'ko', Bdy ʔa'ko, Mgm {JA} o'kko', Mkl {J} ʔu'wwo' : Skr {Sx.} o'ko', {Nw.} o'ko' : Jg {J} ʔo'k, Brg {J} ʔa'ku', Mu {J} ke'wi' id. ¶ JI II 138-9, Nw. 26 [#48], Stl. IF 124, KNC 13, Ro. 252 [#271], Brr. MG II 149, BrrB 151, Fd. 14 [ʔ, Blz. LECh. #27 || C: EC: Arr {Hw.} ʔe'g, Elm 'e'k, Yk iku, ʔs Dsn ʔe'ge 'ashes' :: DhI ʔe'ga 'fire' :: SC: Asa yogot 'fire' ¶ Blz. CL 178, BlzT D 2, To. D 132, Hw. A 338, To. DL 481, Hn. NBLK 204 || ? B: Ah uku '¶ II IE {EI} *Hn.g'ni-s > NaIE *n.gni-s, {P, Dv.} *egni-/ogni- 'fire' > OI ag'nih. :: L igni-s :: Lt ugni's, Ltv uguns : Sl *ognь 'fire' > OCS ognь ognь, Blg ognь, SCr ognj, Slv ogenj o'gan', Cz, Slk ohen', P ogien', R, Uk o'rohn 'fire' ¶ P 293, EI 202, Dv. #33, M K I 18, WH I 676, Frn. 1158-9, Vs. III 118-9 II U: FU {UEW} *a'ŋV, {IS} *eŋkV 'fire', vi. 'burn' > Chr {Szl.} eŋ 'fire', {Ü} eŋdem vt. 'I incandence on fire, roast, burn (bricks)', Chr: L ʔ'ŋ-as' vi. 'smoulder' ('тлетѣ, ислетѣ'), Uf/B eŋa-, H əŋga- 'schwelen, anbrennen, angesengt werden, verkohlen' : Z {Savv.} ʔn 'flame', {W} in'al- 'flammen, entbrennen', in'-ed- 'entzündeten' :: Os: Vy ya'ŋləl-, Kz yaŋəl- v. 'roast on fire' : Hg e'g- vi. 'burn' ¶ UEW 26, Ü 297, MRS 774-5 II D (in SD) *an_al 'fire' > Tm an_al, Ml anal 'fire, heat', Kn analu 'heat' ¶ D #327 ♦ IS I 245-6 [#106] (*Henka) [ʔ, B. 162 [#103] [suggested to add the B cognate to the HS comparison; *unc.* : ÷ IE *au_g- 'shine' ({Blz.} 'light, warmth') (in fact from N *h'awk'fa' 'light, bright', q.v.) and D {Blz.} i ak-/avk- 'to warm by the fire, in the sun' (i.e. NED: Krx axr- 'warm oneself', Mlt awgr- id., awg- 'expose to the heat of the sun/fire')] ¶.

815. ??φ₂ *HUp.V-(tVkgV) or *HUp.VtVkgV - -VgV 'stalk (of a tree), haft' > IE: NaIE {P} *aol:jd(e)g₁jo- 'haft, stalk' > OI [AthV] 'adga-h. 'cane, stalk' (× N *qXtV 'tail, hind part' [q.v.]) :: ??φ Lt vedega 'adze' ({Frn.} '∈ Axt zum Aushauen, Zimmeraxt'), ?? Ltv ve_dga 'Brechtstange (mit hölzernem Griff)' ¶ WP I 175, P 773, M K I 29, M E I 63, Frn. 1164-5 II HS: ? Eg hpw.tj 'Art Gestell, Kletterbaum (auf dem die göttlichen Vögel zu sitzen/hocken pflegen)' ¶ EG II 489 || C: Bj {R} 'ʔabka 'Stiel, Handhabe' :: Or hofa {E} 'stalk, stem', {Brl.} 'lancia con punta di legno', {Grg.} hofa- 'spear made of sharpened wood' :: SC: Brn {E} hopi-na 'handle, haft' ¶ E SC 309, Brl. 21, Grg. 211 || B ({Pr.} *ʔwdg > Sll tadda'gt (pl. tadda'gin) 'tige ligneuse', Shl {NZ} addag 'arbre, branche' ¶ Ds. 278, NZ 298 || S: Ak YB {Sd.} udugu - edigu 'ein Stock z. B. zum Walken' (but {CAD} edigu - 'meaning uncertain') ¶ Sd. 1402, CAD IV 33 ¶¶ Tk. I 147 & Tk. SCC 98 [#28.4] (Eg, C) ¶¶ The initial HS cns. is uncertain: Eg hpw.tj (if it belongs here) seems to point to *h-, while Or h- usually reflects heavier lrs. or uvulars (*χ-, *q-?) ♦ Qu.

816. *erU (or *orE) 'go upwards, rise' > HS: B *ʔwHu'ir 'be above' (× N *ʔur'E 'top', q.v. ffd.) II IE *her- (or *h'wer-), *h₁w₂eru- ({IS} *h'wer-) 'go upwards, rise' (× N *ʔur'E '↑') > AnIE: Ht arai-, ariya- '(a)rise, lift; raise, (a)arouse', Lw ari(ya)- 'raise'; Ht aru- 'high'; Ht arriya 'rouse, stir (from sleep), awaken' [ʔ, ar- 'stand (by), remain standing'] || NaIE *er-/or- 'rise, move, stir' > Gk ʔopvu'µi v. 'make arise, awake, stir (up)', md. ʔopvu'µai (pfc. ʔopopa) 'arise, start up; stir in oneself', [Hs.] ʔepeto · ʔopun'ŋ 'was set in motion' :: OI r_o-n_o-ti vi. 'arises, moves', Av ər.naohti vt. 'moves' :: Arm ja@nem yar_nem 'I rise, stand up' (aor. jareaj yareaj) :: L orior v. 'rise, arise' :: MW dy-gyf-or 'hight, high place' ¶¶ IS I 254 (*H'wer-, in spite of Gk ʔopvu'µi), Pv. I [ʔ 104-8,] 123-7, 138-9, 177-8, WP I 148-9, M K I 122, WH I 64-5 & II 222-3, F II 422-4, Vn. A 87, Sl. 103-3, ≠ EI 506 (orior < *h₁er- 'set in motion') II D *e_r_-, [GS] *e_r_d_ > Tm e_r_u 'v. 'rise, ascend', Ml e_r_uka, Kn e_r_u v. 'rise, increase', Kt er, e're'r, e_rr 'up', Td o'r-r- v. 'rise high', Kdg

ər- '(liquor) rises to head', Tu e_r- v. 'ascend, climb, rise', Knd e_r-asi 'steep, steeply rising' ¶¶ D #916, GS 217 [#532], 61 [#184] ¶ ?ϕ **R**: NaT *o_r- 'rise' (× N ***p**.orEFU 'summit, top', q.v. ffd.) ¶ M *o_rni- > WrM o_rni-, HlM 'p_H' -x v. 'grow, increase, rise' ¶; & WrM o_rnilte, HlM 'p_H' лт, Mnr E {MYC} o_rnielt 'development' ¶ MED 242, Pp. ICML 54 [†, MYC 548] ¶ Tg: Ewk Brg oro- v. 'climb on sth.' ¶ Vas. 327 ¶ pKo {S} *o_rā'- v. 'rise' > MKo o_rā'-, o_r-, Nko ori- id., {Rm.} ori- ~ oru- v. 'go upwards, rise, go up to' ¶ Rm. SKE 178-9, S QK #991, Nam 380, MLC 1199 ¶¶ The labial vw. of the first syll. is probably due to the infl. of *U of the next syll. ¶¶ ¶ Rm. SKE 178-9 (Ko, Tg + *unc.* Mg *oru- 'enter' & T orun 'place, site, bed') ♦ The reflexes are sometimes hard to distinguish from those of ***ʔ**ur'E 'top' [q.v.] ♦ IS I 116-7 (*Hora_r with *o in spite of D *e_r-). ¶ Gr. II 9 (*or 'arise').

817. *H₁wurV 'male person\animal' > **HS**: NrOm: Wl/Zl {C} ura_r 'man (vir)', Zl {LmS} u_ra, Gf LmS} ura 'man', Wl {LmS} issi-₂ura 'someone', Kf {C} u_ro_r ~ wuro_r 'man (vir), 'person, male', & u_r-e_r 'woman', Mch {L} wuro_r 'male animal' ¶ C SE IV 403-4, C SO 25, L M 57, LmS W 292 ¶ CCh: Mdr {ChL} ₂ura_r 'man, person' (unless -r- < *d-, which is reg.) ¶ **U**: FU *urV 'man, male animal' > F uros (gen. uroon ~ urhoon) 'adult man, brave man, hero', uros (gen. uroksen) 'male animal, two-years-old male reindeer' ¶ ? Lp: N {N} va_rres -r_ras- ~ va_rres -rras- 'male animal, a male', va_rrek '2-years-old male reindeer', I a_re_k ~ vare_k id., a_re_s 'male animal', Kld or_res id., adj. 'male' ¶ OHg u_r 'powerful person; lord, God; husband', Hg u_r (acc. urat) 'lord, mister; husband'; & OHg orsza_rg 'reigning (uralkodás); country, empire', Hg orsza_rg 'country, state' ¶ Coll. 121, UEW 545, Sm. 542 (FU *ura_r 'male' > FP *ura, Ugr *u_ra), MF 653-4, MTE II 1095, EWU 1070, 1579 ¶ **A** {SDM97} *urV {AD} 'male; young male relative' > Tg *_ur > Ewk ur (ur-w₃) 'man (vir), male animal' ¶ Vas. 450, STM II 281 ¶ M *u_rre_re 'young stallion' > MM [S] {H} ur_rve 'three-year-old horse', WrM u_rrege ~ u_rriye, HlM *p_{yy}, Ord u_re_r '3- to 5-year-old stallion', Brt *p_{yy} '3- to 4-year-old horse', Kl *p_r u_ra_r '3-year-old horse', {Rm.} u_rre_r 'dreijähriges Hengstfüllen' ¶ H 166, MED 1011-3, KW 459, KRS 553, Chr. 512, Ms. O 760 ¶ NaT *uri 'male child, son' [× A *p_ruri 'child, offspring(s)' < N ***p**.or*f*i 'child' × N ***hor***f*i 'conceive', 'newborn, a young'] > OT uri id. ¶ Cl. 197 ¶ pKo {S} *o_rāpi_r 'brother' > MKo o_rāpi_r, Nko {S} orabi id., {Rm.} orabi ~ ora_rbi 'brother (used by and in relation to a sister)', or-əmi 'brother's wife' ¶ Rm. SKE 177-8, S QK #791, MLC 1197 ¶ ? pJ {S} *₃t₃ 'younger brother' > OJ oto, otopi_i, [R] o_rto_rto_r, J: T/Kg oto_rto, K o_rto_rto_r ¶ S QJ #368, Mr. 513 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *urV (T, M, Tg, Ko), ¶ DQA #650 (A *i_ro_re 'male, young male' > incl. Tg, M, Ko, pJ), Rm. SKE 177-8 & Rm. EAS I 107 [in both sources Ko, T + M *ori 'young' (cf. N ***hor***f*i 'f')] ♦ ADb. NN 34 adduces here Tg *_ur (Ewk _ur 'male dog') [{ADb} < A *_urU 'young male animal') and reconstructs N *_uIrV 'male' ♦ ≠ Gr. II #259 (*er 'man') [U + *err.*: IE *_rsen, T, M, Ko, Gil; cf. N ***he**_r₁_rE_r 'male'].

¶ **817a. *HoryV** (or ***Hor**_rV, ***Xoyr**V?) 'place' > **R**: M *oru, *orun 'place, trace' > WrM oru, HlM op id., 'bed', WrM orun, HlM op_H 'place, land', MM [HI] {Ms.} oro 'thrône', oro 'à la place de', [S] {H} oro(n) 'Sitz, Thron, Lager', [MA] {Pp.} ora(n) 'place', Kl op_H or_H, {Rm.} or_n, Brt op_H 'country, bed', Ord oron, Mnr Nr {SM} oro_r 'place, lieu', Mnr H {MYC} uron, Mnr E {MYC} uron, Dg {MYC, T} or, Dx {MCCY, T} oron, Ba {MCCY, T} oron 'place, land (местность)' ¶ MED 620, 623, Cl. 233, SM 478, Ms. H 81, H 126, Pp. MA 269, MYC 531, T DgJ 160, KRS 403, KW 289, Chr. 362 ¶ T *orun (& M??) > OT orun 'place; high place, throne', Tk orun, Tkm, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, ET, Tv, Yk orun, Ln oyun, Qzq, Nog, Qq, SY, Alt, Xk orin, Uz orin, VTt, Bsh ur_rn, Chv vir_rn 'place' ¶ ET Gl. 477-9 ¶ **D** *ur_r- > Tm ur_ri place, site, side', ur_ri 'place', Ml ur_ri 'circumstances', ur_ra 'place' ¶ D #684 ¶ ?_σ,ϕ **HS**: S: Ar hayr- 'enclosed plot of land' ({Ln.} 'an enclosure', {BK, Hv.} id., 'garden') ¶ Ln. 685, BK I 525, Hv. 152 ♦ The N medial cns. is either *-r'- or *-ry- (on the ev. of D *-r'-). If the N etymon was ***Hor**_rV, the T word must be a loan from M, because the inherited T *-r- is not cognate with D *-r'-. If the Ar word be;pngs here, the N rec. is ***Xoyr**V ♦ ¶ Blz. DA 163 [#107] (incl. a suggestion to equate A with D).]

¶ **817b. *X₂Vr_rV** (***ʔ**a₂ur_rV?) 'long, big' > **IE** *_Hā₁r- or *_ʔā₁r- 'long'. (?) 'far' > OI a_r-re_r loc. 'in die Ferne', a_r-ra_r abl. 'from a distant place' ¶ Tc A {Wn.} aryu 'long' (of time) ¶ AnIE: Lv {Mlc.} a_rrray(a)-, {Lar.} ara-, a(r)rai-, ari-, HrLv {Mer.} ara- 'long' ¶ Wn. 150-1 (with *unc.* IE etymology of Tc aryu), Mlc. CL 26, Lar. 30, Mer. HHG 30, IvN. SANA 153 (Lv aryu-), WP I 79 (IE *a_r-ro- 'die Freie, Weite, Raum'), ¶ M K I 78 ¶ **D**: SD *ar_r- 'great' > Tm ar_ruvam 'greatness, abundance', Kn al_rumba 'excess, greatness' ¶ D #287 ¶ **HS**: S *_ʔr_k 'be long' > BHb, Ph, Ug, Aram, Ar _ʔr_k, Ak ara_rku id., BA Kir₂a₉

ʔarīk, Sr ʔarīk, Md arika 'long', Ar ʔrk 'substitut', 's'arrêter longtemps (quelque part)', Sb ʔrk '(?) duration of time' ¶ HJ 108, KB 85-6, 1674, OLS 49, Br. 49, Ln. 50-1, BK I 26, CAD I/2 223-, Sd. 83-5, BGMR 7, BIL 27, DRS 33 || ECh: Mgm {JA} ʔarro'adv. 'loin, lointain' ¶ JA 66 II ʔϕ ʔ *ur'X > T *ur'a- 'be(come) long' > OT uza- 'be(come) long, long drawn out' (usually of time, less often of space), XwT XIV uza- 'be long drawn out', Chg ≥xv uza- 'be(come) long', Tk uza- 'be(come) long, last long, be\go far away', CrTt, Uz, Ln, Tv uza- 'be(come) long', Tkm uða-, Yk uha- 'become elongated', ET uzay-, Qzq ʔza- uʔza-, Qq, Qmq uza- 'become longer, go away far', Kr G uza- 'be(come) long, last long', Alt uza-id., 'move far away', Qrg uza- 'go away far'; -d-: [1] *ur'atı (gerund?) ~ *ur'ata > ET uzatı 'for a long time', Qrg uzata, Alt uzada, Xk uzada id., 'further', Tv uzadı 'prolonging' (gerund), Tf uzadı 'in a drawling manner (протяжно)'; [2] *ur'ak 'long' > OT uzaq 'long drawn out, long lasting', 'far away, distant', MOsm xv uzaq 'long' (of time)', Chg ≥xv uzaq 'far away, distant', Qrg uzaq, VTt oʔaq ʔ ʔaq, Bsh ʔ ʔaq 'long' (of time), 'for a long time', Tkm uðaʔ, ET uzaq, Qzq uʔzaq id., 'lasting; distant, remote', Tk uzak 'remote', Xlj {DT} uzaʔq, Chv ʔaʔaʔax vʔ ʔax 'long' (of time); [3] T *ur'u:in 'long' (of time and space) > OT, XwT XIV, Chg ≥xv uzun, MQP XIII {Cl.} uzu'n, Tk uzun, Tkm uðu'n, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Uz, ET, Qrg, Alt, Ln, Xk, Tv, Tf uzun, Qzq ʔʔʔʔ uʔzin, Nog, Qq uzın, VTt oʔʔʔ ʔ ʔzin, Bsh oʔʔʔ ʔ ʔʔʔʔ, Yk uhun, Chv ʔaʔaʔam vʔ ʔʔʔʔ id. ¶ Cl. 281-3, 288-9, ET Gl 570-2, Sht. 279, Naj. 123-6, Jud. 798-9, TkR 657, BR 411, Ra. 238, DT 307, Md. 59, ʔ Rs. W 518 (*unc.*: T *ur' < *pur-) || M *ur-tu 'long' > MM [L, MA, IM] urtu 'long', [S] {H} urtu 'long, distant', WrM urtu, HIM урт, Brt ута, Δ урта 'long' (in time and space), 'length', Ord {Ms.} uʔrtʔuʔ 'long, length', Dg {Pp.} orʔt - orʔtʔoʔ 'long' {MYC} ortu, Mnr E {MYC} rdʔ 'long'; M *uri-da 'before' (with locative *-da?), *uridu 'former' > MM [S] {H}, [HI] {Ms.} uridu 'der frühere, antérieur', [MA] {Pp.} urida 'before (vor, avant)', IM {Pp.} urida 'прежде', 'передний' (mistake for 'прежний, former?'), WrM uridu, HIM урд 'former, past, old', Br урид, Kl {KRS} урд urdʔ 'before' (adv., postp.), Kl {Rm.} uridaʔ 'vor, vorn; früher', MMgl, Mgl urtu, Dg {MYC} ordoʔn, Mnr E {MYC} urda 'before, former'; but hardly here (⇔ S, DQA) Mnr H {T} fudur, Mnr Nr {SM} fudur, Dx {T} fudu, Ba {T} fdu 'long' [see N *P_UdV(-RV) 'long, broad'] ¶ S AJ 23 [#53], H 166, Pp. L I 1255, Pp. MA 366, 449, MED 883-5, KRS 536, KW 450, Chr. 475-9, Iw. 141, Rm. M 41, MYC 680-1, SM 101, T 370, T DJ 138, T BJ 149 || pKo {S} *oʔraʔ 'late, long ago' > MKo oʔraʔ, NKo oraʔ ¶ S AJ 256 [#146], S QK #146 ¶ S AJ 23 [#53] ¶¶ S AJ 34 (*unc.* adduction of Mnr ʔudur), 283 (A *ur'A), DQA #2545 [A *i_uʔo 'long, late'; *unc.* adduction of Mnr ʔudur and Tg *i_xiʔuʔr- (actually *xuʔiʔr-) 'be ripe, cooked'] ♦ The S cognate is not certain because of the cns. *k (from a sx., cp. T *ur'ak 'long?'). If the S cognate is valid, the initial N cns. was *ʔ-. The A cognate is dubious because of the deviant vw. *u. A possible solution is to suppose a N *ʔaʔurʔV with a syncope (loss of the internal *-u-) in IE and D and the loss of *a in A ♦ Blz. LB #104c (IE, D, S).]

818. *Ha₁wVjsʔV (= *OawisʔV?) 'male, male person' > **HS:** NrOm: Zl {CR} asʔo, {C} asaʔ, Shn {Lm.} asʔsʔaʔ 'person, man', Bdt {Fl.} acʔe, Hrr {Fl.} acʔi, Cha {C} asaʔ, acʔcʔaʔ, Gmr {Fl.} ac, {Bul.} aʔʔ, Bnc {Wdk.} aʔc, Ym {Wdk.} aʔsuʔ 'person, man (vir)', Kf {Fl.} asʔ(sʔ)o, {C} asʔoʔ 'person', Mch {L} ʔasʔo 'man', Amuru {Fl.} aso, Anf {MYTY} asʔo, Doka {CR} ass, Wl {C} asaʔ, Drz/Malo {Fl.} asa, Oyda {Fl.} aʔsiʔ ass, Male {Fl.} asi, Bsk {Fl.} asʔ, BMa {Fl.} eʔse 'person' ¶ The forms with cʔ, c may be due to the addition of a snglt. sx. ¶ C SE III 68 & IV 406, Wdk. BY 97, 117, 164, Fl. OWL s.v. 'person', Lm. Sh 272, MYTY 116 || ?? C: Ag: Xm {R} aʔs-aw / as-ʔoʔ adj. 'male' (asoʔ wiʔdīl 'ein männliches Junges', aʔsoʔ duʔχaraʔ 'male ass') [x (?) N *ʔinʔAsʔeʔi 'person, man' [q.v.], cp. Bln {R} naʔs-aʔuʔχ adj. 'male'] ¶ R Ch II 28 || CCh: Msg {Mch.} awus 'man, male', Mbara {TrnSL} wuʔs 'husband, male' ¶ TrnSL M 281, ChC ¶ The Ch cognate has been suggested by Blz. || ʔσ S *ʔʔaysʔs- > Ar ʔays- 'sperm of a male' ¶ BK II ¶¶ ʔ Blz. OL #51 (HS *aw₁ujs- 'male, strength'), C SE III 68 (Om, C) II U: FP *ʔʔosʔV 'male animal' > Chr: L oʔʔ 'ozʔo, U/B ozʔo, H oʔʔʔ 'ozʔʔ 'stallion', L {Ü} ozʔo soʔsnaʔ 'boar' (lit. 'male swine') || Prm *uzʔ > Z, Vt uzʔ 'stallion' ¶ UEW 607-8, Sm. 552 (FP *osʔʔ 'stallion'), MRS 371, Ü 140, LG 296 II ʔ: Tg *as- + sxs.: *as-iʔ 'woman' [*as-*'male' + *-iʔ, probably a fossilized marker of female sex < N *ʔʔaʔʔyʔV 'mother' (→ 'female', marker of fem.), q.v.]: Ewk asī, Sln asʔeʔ - asʔiʔ, Lm, Ork asī, Neg asī, ? Orc asa id., Ul asī- (with a pps.) 'wife', Nn asī 'female (animal), asī- (with a pps.) 'wife'] *as- + other sxs.: *asaʔtkaʔn 'girl' > Ewk asaʔtkaʔn, Lm asatqan, Neg. asatkaʔn id., *asanta > Orc asanta 'woman', Ul aʔanta 'girl, maiden', etc. ¶ STM I 55 ♦ If Ar ʔays- belongs here, the N rec. must be *OawisʔV, otherwise it is *Ha₁wVjsʔV.

819. *H₁e't.∇ 'make' (> causativizing morpheme) > **Н** *et'∇ > T *et-, {Md.} *e-t- (*e-t-) v. 'make' > OT et-, {Cl.} e-t- v. 'make, create, perform, organize' (acc. to Cl., v. 'organize, put in order' is the primary meaning; but this impression may have resulted from the specific genre limitations of the existing OT texts), Tk et-, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, ET, Ln, Alt, Tv et-, SY yet- ~ it-, VTt, Bsh it-, Chv † at- v. 'make, perform', Chv MK e.t- v. 'make' ¶ VTt/Bsh i- and Chv MK e.- suggest pT *e-, while Chv a- points to a T *a'- ¶ Cl. 36-7, DTS 186, ET Gl 312-3, Tkr 795-6, Md. 91, 164 ¶ ?? **HS** (with de-emphatization) **√t > Ch {JS} *ta?- v. 'make' > WCh: DfB/Bks {J} ta? 'build' ¶ CCh: Bcm {Sk.} d.a, Bt {Mch.} ta 'make' : Msy {Mch.} da, Db {Lnh.} dı'ya', Kola {Sb.} ...d.i... id. ¶ Ech: Kwn {J} de' id. ¶ d. < *?t ¶ JS (Ch. *ta? 'build'), ChC, ChL, J R || ? S *√ty > Ar √ty (pf. itaa'ata-) 'undertake (a thing), make (it)' ¶ Fr. I 11, Hv. 2 ¶ The N word was grammaticalized in U, A and D to a causativizing sx. of verbs: **U** {Lh.} causativizing verbal sx. *-tt- > F -tta-/tta-: istutaa 'setzen, pflanzen' (↔ istua v. 'sit, sit down'), ela'tta'a'' 'ernähren, unterhalten' (↔ ela'a'' v. 'live'), Lp N -t-/d-: goasta'tit v. 'send' (↔ goas'ta't v. 'reach'), dus's'a'dit v. 'destroy' (↔ dus's'a't v. 'deteriorate, be destroyed'), ? Lp S {Hs.} -dh- (caus., e.g. baakkedidh vt. 'warm' (↔ baakke 'warmth', baakkes adj. 'warm'), Er/Mk -t(V)- id.: Er kas-t-oms vt. 'rear, grow' (↔ kas-oms vi. 'grow'), sim-d-ems v. 'give to drink' (↔ sim-ems v. 'drink'), Mk үжөмөс 'ez'-d'-əms v. 'heat, warm' (↔ үжөмөс 'ez'-əms v. 'warm oneself'), Chr woltem v. 'make descend' (↔ wolem v. 'descend'), Z -t-: pirt-ni v. 'carry in, bring in' (↔ pır-ni v. 'go in, come in'), Os Shr {Gu.} qawər-t- v. 'cook' (↔ qawər- v. 'be cooked'), ayəm-t- v. 'glue (sth.)' (↔ ayem 'glue'), Hg ko'lt- v. 'rouse, wake up' (↔ kel- v. 'get up, rise') || Sm: Slq Tz {KHG} c'u-ti-qo v. 'melt sth.' (↔ c'u-qo vi. 'melt'), qal-ti-qo v. 'leave, verlassen' (↔ qali-qo v. 'remain'), Ng {Ter.} ko-tu-ja v. 'kill' (↔ kou-ja v. 'die'), ɣətum-ti-si v. 'show' (↔ ɣətum-si v. 'become visible'), n'aləm-ti-si v. 'make glad\happy' (↔ n'aləm-si v. 'be glad\happy'), StNe T хав(а)-да-с□ v. 'fell' (↔ хава-с□ v. 'fall') ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 322-5, Srb. IMMJ 230-1, Laan. 281-2, It. LC 102, 115, Hs. 178, Gu. MOUJ 330, KHG 211, Ter. NgJ 222-4, Ter. OGNJ 172-4 ¶ **А**: T *-t-, causativizing and transitivizing sx.: OT -t-: {Cl.} oqr-t- 'make so. recite\read' (↔ {Cl.} oqr- v. 'recite\read'), arta-t- vt. 'damage\spoil' (↔ {Cl.} arta- v. 'putrefy, ferment, go bad'), Tk -t-: so'ylet- v. 'make so. speak, let speak' (↔ so'yle- v. 'speak'), Chv тинеÄr tib-ыт v. 'dry sth.' (↔ тип tip- v. 'get dry') ¶ SIGTJM 285-7, Cl. 79, 81, 208, Ash. MI 269-70 ¶ **Д** *-tt-, causativizing sx.: OTm selutt- v. 'make so. enter' (↔ sel- v. 'enter'), Kt kar'-t- v. 'make so. cross a river' (↔ kar'-v- v. 'cross a river'), vert- v. 'cause to be afraid' (↔ vern'- v. 'be afraid'), Td nar'-t- v. 'make so. walk' (↔ nar'- v. 'walk'), Kdg kad,a-t- v. 'take across' (↔ kad,a- v. 'cross'), Png re-t- v. 'let fall' (↔ re- v. 'fall'), Png, Ku u'-t- v. 'give to drink' (↔ un- v. 'drink'), Krx on-d- v. 'cause to drink' (↔ o-n- v. 'drink'), Mlt on-de v. 'cause to drink' (↔ one v. 'drink'), pun-de v. 'make so. put on' (↔ pune v. 'put on') ¶ Bloch S 48-50, SKD 60-1, Sbr. DVM 1-50, 77-84 ♦ If the S cognate is valid, the initial N *H- = *?- . Bang and some other Turkologists supposed that the T caus. verbal form with *-t- goes back to an analytic construction with the verb *et- ¶ Bang SVG I 925, Rs. MTS 155, cp. Shch. OSMG 119, Br. OTG 207-8; ≠ IS I XIII (caus.-rf. *t.Λ) tried to find a common origin between the causative sxs. in A, U and D and the markers of reflexivization \ passivization *-t-, *-t- in HS and BF (which is doubtful both for semantic reasons and because of a structural difference: in U, A and D these are postverbal sxs. which may go back to a N aux. verb, while in HS the affix *-t- is preverbal, which is harder to explain as an aux. verb in view of the syntactic structure of N).

820. *Hut.∇ (= *O₁ut.∇?) 'hand' ('palm of hand with fingers?') > **HS**: S *ʕʕʕut.ʕwɿ > Ak u't- 'span, half ell', ? Ar √ʕt_w G (ip. -ʕt_w) 'take\receive with the hand' ('manu accepit') ¶ Sd. 1447, Fr. III 179-80 ¶ **U** *utta (or *-tʕʕʕ-, *-ksʕʕ-, *-ʕʕʕk-) > Sm {Jn.} *uta°, {Hl.} *uta 'hand' > Ne: T ʕуда, {Lh.} ɣuḍa, F {Lh.} ɣuttaʕ; Ng {Mik., Hl.} ju'tu'', {Cs.} ju.tu.; En: X {Cs.} u'ra, B {Cs.} u'da; Slq: Tz {KKIH} uti 'hand', B/Y/Kar {Cs.} ut, O {Cs.} ud, Ke/NP {Cs.} utte, Chl {Cs.} uto'', UO {Cs.} ude; Kms {KD} uda, Koyb {Sp.} ода 'hand'; Mt {Hl.} *uda id. (Mt: M {Sp.} удамь 'my hand\arm', K {Mll.} uda 'arm', {Pl.} удада 'his hand\arm', T {Pl.} u'dada, udada id., {Mll.} udu'da 'his arm', A {Msr.} udam 'my hand') ¶ Jn. 30, Cs. 55, 79, 232, Hl. US 115, Hl. M #1109 ¶ ? **А**: T {Adb.} ady_w-t_l (with a dim. sx. [?] *-c > OT U adut 'a handful', 'palm of the hand' (< *... + *Hut.∇?) (-d adutla- v. 'take a handful', MU adut 'handful', as well as possibly with *-w-: OT Δ [MhK] avut, Chg avuc', MQp [CC] ouc', Tk avuc', Tkm awuc', Nof uwis, Qmq uvuc', Blq uuc', Xk o's, SY os' id. ¶ Cl. 44-5, Adb. SR 179-82 || ?? pJ {S} *u'nta'i_w 'arm' > OJ u'de', J: T/Kg ude', K u'de' ¶ S QJ #1081, Mr. 560 ♦ **Г** Gr. II #193 (*ute 'hand') [Sm, J + err. A].

821. *Haya 'pursue' > ?? **HS:** Ch **√?y v. 'hunt' > NrBc: P' {MSk.} ndʒr ʔi'ya', Sir {Sk.} ʔi'ya' v. 'hunt' ¶ ChL, Sk. NB **IE** *Hai₋ (= *Hei₋/*Hi₋ > OI i'no₋ti, 'inva-ti'advances upon, presses upon, drives', Av inaohti 'vergewaltigen, kränken' :: ? Gk α'ivo' 'terrible' ¶ P 1O, M K I 27, 128, F I 41, Ch. 35 **II U:** FU *aya-v. 'drive, pursue' > Faja-v. 'drive, chase, pursue, hunt; ride', Es aja-v. 'drive, pursue', pLp {Lr.} *vo₋je₋ > Lp N {N} vuoggje-/j-v. 'drive (a horse, reindeer), drive on\over', Lp L {LLO} vuodje₋ 'fahren (mit Rentier oder Pferd)', Lp Kld vujje-, Lp Nt vu₋ajje- 'fahren, lenken' : pPrm *{LG} ɔy-v. 'pursue, run, rush' {≠ LG: v. 'run, rush'} > Vt Cuyi-v. 'pursue', Vt N [URS] uyi-v. 'overtake (догнать)', Z вой- voy- 'run downhill without restraint' (of a horse with a rider), Z Vm/I/Le voy-li- 'бегать, носить' :: pObU **i_wuyt- > pVg *i_wuyt > Vg: MK {Kn.} woyt- 'verfolgen', UK {Mu.} vuyt-id., 'jagen' ¶ Coll. 129, UEW 4-5, Sm. 542 (FU *a^oja^o- 'drive' > FP *aja-, Ugr *a^oja-), LG 61, Lr. #1423, Lgc. #8751, MK 744, Mu. AKE 622 ¶ IS (I 243) is right in rejecting the alleged Aryan (Iir) origin of FU *aya- (presumably from the stem, represented by OI aj- and Av az- v. 'drive'), because the Aryan stem was *az'- > *aʒ'-, hence the expected FU stem should have been ias'- or the like rather than *aya- **II R:** M *aya-n 'hunt' > MM [S] aya(n) 'hunt, military expedition, campaign' ('Jagd, Kriegszug, Jagdzug'), WrM ayan, HIM аян 'travel, journey, expedition', Brt ayan 'long journey', Kl аян 'military expedition', {Rm.} аяно-ayno 'Reise, Weg, Richtung' ¶ H 1O, MED 23, Chr. 4O, KRS 6O, KW 4 || ?σ pJ {S} *a_yu_m- 'walk' ({AD} 'step, walk') > OJ a_yu_m- {Mr.} 'step, walk', J: T ayu_m-, K a_yu_m-, Kg a_yu_m-id. ¶ S QJ #153, Mr. 679, Kenk. 7O || Tg *a_y-: [1] Nn {On.} a_i- v. 'step (on sand\snow, entering deep in it)' [2] ?σ Tg *ay_ia_i- 'run quickly' > WrMc aya- 'run fast' (of a horse), 'take wing, fly', Ewk ayu_i 'swift-footed', 'fast' (of running, walking), Ork ayamapu(n)- 'беговой (fast-running?)' (a reindeer, horse, dog), ayamunʒ_i adv. 'fast' ¶ STM I 2O-1, Vas. 44, On. 3O, Z 1O, Hr. 62-3 ¶ ¶ DQA #62 [A *a₋'ya 'go, walk'; *err.* comparison with IE *ei₋- 'go' (< N *?eyfo¹ 'come', q.v.)] ◇ Cf. IS I 243: IE, U, A (N {IS} *Haya 'pursue, chase').

822. ? *hoγV (= *hoγV?) 'by me, my' > **K** *h₁w-, agentive px. of 1s in verbs > OG v-/w- (after the px. χ- of 3s objecti), OG X χw-, OG H hw- (in the "absolute passive" forms: OG X χw-i-mal-v-i 'I hide myself', χw-i-qav 'I was'), G v-, G In h-u₋ (÷ G v-i-), Mg, Lz v- (before vowels), b-/p-/p- (before cnss.), Sv χw- ¶¶ The initial lr. is probably identical with what Mach. (Mach. K 71-3) reconstrtd as *h- ¶¶ Dt. 25-7, Fn. GAS 79, Marr 44-5 **II HS:** [1] **?uyV > Eg wy 'I' (enclitic prn.) (× N *wVγV 'we'??) ¶ [2] S *o_ya₋ 'me' (stem of the prn. in oblique cases): Ak ya₋ti 'me', ana ya₋s'im 'to me' || C: Ag: Xm {Ap.} yi-t 'me', Bln {R} yi-t 'me, to me' :: Bj {RHd.} -e₋ (-h-e₋-b 'me', sx. of verbs) :: EC: Sml N i' 'me', i' 'to me', Rn i- (verbal px.) 'me, to me', Elm {Hw.} ye-se, yo-lo 'I', Dsn {Hw.} ye absl., yu nom. 'I', {To.} yu₋ absl., ya₋ (subject), ye 'me', Arr ye₋ 'I', Sd -e₋ 'me', as well as probably Hd. i- 'my' ¶ [3] *?Vya 'my' > C: HEC *-ʔiV_iya 'my' > Sd {Hd.} -ʔya, Kmb -e, -i₋ha m. / -i₋ta f.; LEC *-ya 'my' > Sml -k-ay(-gu) / -t-ay(-du), Rn {PG} -ka₋ya / -ta₋ya, Or -k-i(y)a / -t-i(y)a (in Sm, Rn and Or -k- and -t- are gender markers of the noun, Sml -gu and -du are gender-dependent determiners [n_ithe']) :: SC: Irq {Mous} -e₋ʔ, Alg -i₋, Brn -ay_i 'my' :: Ag: Aw {Hz.} yi₋ my' || B *y / *i 'my' > Kb, Shl, Tw, Si, Tmz, Wrg -i, etc. (ffd. see Pr. M I-III 164 and AiM 215-7) || S *-ya 'my' (> *i after stem-final cns.) > Ak -ya / -i, Hb, Aram -i, Ug -y, Ar -ya / -i, Gz -ya ¶ Lip. 3O6-7 || Eg -y 'my' ¶ Lpr. 63-4 || Ch: Mrg -a_yu₋, Msg -a, -ya, Hs -a 'my' ¶¶ Ap. Kh I 259, 263, Hd. HEC 258-9, Ow. 1O5, Sr. 121-3, Ss. D 2O7, RHd. B 112, AD EPCChL, AD KJ 29-31, Abr. S 125, PG 4O-1, Hw. A 14, 215, To. DL 21O, Mous 92 ¶ [4] *?V-, marker of 1s subiecti: S {Hz.} *ʔa- in active G-verbs > Ak a-, WS (in prefix-conjugated tenses): Hb ʔe- (before cns. clusters) / ʔa₋ (before single cnss.), Ug ʔa-, BA ʔe-, JEA ʔi- (before cns. clusters), Sr W ʔe-, Ar ʔa-, Gz ʔa-, Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq ʔa₋; in the ps. verbal forms and in derived stems the marker of 1s is *ʔ- + the vw. that is dependent on the prehistory of the S ps. voice and derived stems (mostly *-u-) ¶ Hz. VP || C *ʔV-, 1s marker of prefix-conjugated verbs > Bj *ʔa-, Ag: Aw a-, EC: Sa, Af ʔu/i- (p.), ʔa- (prs.), Sml, Rn Ø- (Sml N iqin 'I know' ↔ t-iqin 'thou knowst' & y-iqin 'knows', id_i 'I say' ↔ 2s t-id_i, 3m y-id_i, Rn amit 'I am coming' ↔ y-amit '(he) is coming', t-amit 'thou art coming') ¶¶ Dk. SHL 8O-1, Lip. 37O-1, Rsnt. GBA 44, Jo. MSA 15, AD KJ 5O, 118, AD IPCV, PG 43 **II IE:** [1] pIE stative marker of 1s *-xe > Ht -hi, NaIE *-Ha, e.g. *woid-Ha 'I know' [← 'seen by me'] > OI ve₋da, Gk φοι₋δα, Gt wait ¶ [2] pIE marker ({Bks.} *-h₂) of 1s in md. (with a more complicated and obscure development, yielding Ht pres. -ha(ha)ri, p. -ha(ha)ti, L prs. o-r, etc.) ¶ [3] NaIE *o₋ (< *-o-H), 1s marker in the prs. tense of the thematic verbs (*-o- being the thematic vw. of

the stem) > OI -a⁻(-mi), Lt -u⁻, Gk -ω, L -o⁻, OIr -u (biru 'I carry'), Gt -a ¶ Kur. Ap 41-8, Kur. IC 61-2, Watk. GIV 105-6, Bks. 238-42, Bks. OH 72-6, ¶ EI 467 (1s *-h₂ei₋, thematic 1s *-o-h₂) ¶ D *y^ha¹ > Brh ī 'I', NaD *ya⁻n₋ / (stem of the obl. cases) *yan₋ 'I' > OTm ya⁻n₋ / en₋, Ml n^ha⁻n₋ / en₋, OKn a⁻n₋ / en₋, Tu ya⁻n₋ - ye⁻n₋ / en₋, Tl e⁻nu, Klm, Prj a⁻n₋ / an₋, Krx, Mlt e⁻n₋ / eng₋. The NaD element *-n₋ (< N *nu, marker of gen. → marker of obl. cases) is due to the levelling within the case paradigm of the prn. ¶¶ Zv. 35-6, 128, Zv. CDM 40-4, An. DL 68-74, D #5160 ¶ E: MEI, LEI u 'I' < {Dk.} *hu id.; MEI -h (> AchEI -Ø), verbal subject sx. of 1s (MEI hutta-h > AchEI utta 'I do'); Dk.'s hyp. is based on comparison of u 'I' with this postverbal -h 'I' (h > Ø regularly in the history of Elamite) ¶ Dk. JDPa 108, Rnr. EL 76, 89-90, Paper RAE 93-7 ♦ The pK (> OG, G, Sv) syntax (at least in the past tenses) was ergative, the agens of the transitive verb being expressed by a noun in the agentive (ergative) case. This fact suggests that the agentive px. of 1s *(h)w- goes back to a N prn. meaning 'by me'. The existence of etymologically identical 1s px. (*?V-) in HS suggests that in the prehistory of HS there was an ergative period, with the ergative construction being predominant in the language, hence the prevailing verb structure with *?V- as the marker of 1s subiecti. But it is likely to have coexisted with a HS nominative construction, as far as one can judge from its scarce traces: [1] the verb yom-mi 'I am' / yon-ti 'thou art' in Kmb, the form of the dependent verb in Hd: 1s 'yo⁻-m-o, 2s 'yo⁻n-t-o, ending *-mV / *-tV of certain tenses in HEC (going back to the analytic construction of a verbal noun + the aux. verbum substantivum *yon-mi / *yon-ti, ≠ AD PLOG 103-10), suggesting that verbs with *-mi as the subject ending of 1s (similar to and etymologically identical with verbs in IE and U) still existed in e-PHS, [2] the accus. ending *-mV that survived in SOm, unlike in all other HS lgs., where its absence may be explained by the predominantly ergative syntax, where patiens (later acc.) is the unmarked actant of the sentence ("actant" in I. Mel'c'juk's terminology). The preverbal position of the agentive subject markers in K (*^hh¹w-) and in HS (*?V-) corresponds to the syntactic rules of pN: agentive pronouns do not occupy the post-predicative (sentence-final) position (as the subject pronouns *mi and *^ht¹.u¹/*^hs¹.u¹ do), but are placed before the predicate (as all object words do). In apparent contradiction to this rule, the pIE stative marker of 1s *-xe and the other abovementioned endings of 1s follow the verbal stem rather than precede it. The contradiction can be explained away by supposing that these IE verbal forms go back to a pre-IE analytic construction of a verbal nominal + a prefix-conjugated aux. verbs (as in C) ♦ For ffd. see AD PP 67-74, 82-7, 93-103, 112 ♦ ≠ Gr. I 67 (connects IE *-H of 1s with "EurA" K 'I' > Hg. -k 1s, etc.).

823. ?? *^hU¹w¹c¹.V (or *^hUw¹Vc¹.V) 'loins, lap' > ? HS: WS *^huc¹.an- id. > Hb Nc37h 'hoc.en 'fold of garment, bosom', Amr {G} √hs.n v. (?) 'embrace', Ar {Fr.} ^50Hi hiδ¹.n- 'pars corporis sub axillis usque ad hypochondrium *aut* pectore et brachiis et id quod inter brachia est', Gz !*N hās¹.n (pl. hās¹.an) 'bosom, womb, lap, embrace', Tgr !CN hās.n 'lap'; Aram (*dis* *^h...f > *^h...? > ^h...Ø): JA [Trg.] an¹lih4 henna⁻ 'gremium, sinus', {Js.} 'lap, bosom', Sr 'no≈a hanna⁻ 'lap, privy parts', Md hana 'lap, loins, embrace, privy parts'; hardly here Ak χis.nu 'protection' (⇔ KB and other authors) and χus.anu 'sash' (⇔ MiK) because of the initial χ-: these are rather derivatives from the verb √χs.n 'to shelter, receive in a friendly way' ¶ *d-emp.*: ?? S *^has¹- > Ar hās¹.a-n, hās¹.wat-, hīs¹.wat- 'viscère (toute partie intérieure du corps)', ??φ Ak χas¹.u⁻ {CAD} 'human lungs, belly, entrails' ¶ KB 330, KBR 344, GB 252, G A 20, Js. 481, Lv. T I 269, Br. 242, PS 1317-8, BK I 435-6, DM 124, Fr. I 394, L G 226, LH 102, CAD VI 129-30, 143, 203, Sd. 335, MiK I ##1.128-9 ¶ ? K *^oac¹.- > Mg oc¹.is¹i 'back (of the body)', oc¹.is¹ə 'waist of a garment'; Mg -is¹- (< K *-is¹-) is a sx. of gen., -i is the nom. ending, so that oc¹-is¹-i means literally dors-ali-s ¶ Q 295 ¶ A: T *u¹.ca 'loins' or the like [× N *^hUc¹.V 'bone', (?) 'backbone' × N *^hp.oqE3¹.V- *^hp.o3¹.VqV 'thigh, haunch', q.v.] > OT uc¹.a {Cl.} ¶ 'loins, haunches, rump', MQp xiv u¹.3¹a⁻, [CC] uc¹.a 'back', OOSm xv u¹.3¹a 'buttocks', Chg *^hv¹, *^hv¹ uc¹.a 'back (dos)', Tkm u¹.3¹a 'rump; dock (part of animals' body adjacent to the base of the tail); sacrum', Osm {Rh.} u¹.3¹a 'a stump, the bottom part of a thing', Tk uca [u¹.3¹a] 'coccyx', VTt oca ɓ¹.s¹.a, Bsh oca ɓ¹.sa 'pelvis, buttocks', StAlt yca uc¹.a 'back (dos), haunch, loins', Alt/Tlt {RL.} uc¹.a uc¹.a, Shor/Sg {RL.} uc¹.a Hinterteil, Kreuz, Rücken (bei Tieren und Menschen)', Qrg, QK {RL.} uc¹.a, u¹.3¹a 'rump', QK {RL.} i¹.3¹a, Tb uc¹.a, Qmn {RL.} i¹.3¹a 'back (dos)', ET uc¹.a 'rump, back (dos)', Ln uc¹.a 'rump, back (dos)', StAlt uc¹.a 'thigh, rump, meat of the hind part of the animal, back', Sg uc¹.a 'rump, back, hind part of the animal', SY u¹.3¹a-uc¹.a, Nog us¹.a, VTt ɓ¹.s¹.a, Bsh Δ ɓ¹.sa 'loins', Tv uz¹.a 'fatty tail (of a sheep), rump', Yk uha 'hind part of the animal', Chv {ChVS}

ьса шл̣амми iz_a s'ʔṃmi 'sacrum, rump', {Ash.} 'thigh-bone', {ET} ьса iz_a 'rump' ¶ Cl. 20, ET Gl 566-7, Rh. 239, Bu. I 116, TkR 656, Rl. I 1384, 1721-3, 1734, BT 169, B DChT 162, Ash. V 337, TvR 435, Rs. W 509, Pek. 3075, ChVS 288. Tkm u⁻ provides ev. for a long pT *u⁻, while Yk u points to a pT short vw. (unless this is a shortening in uncertain conditions [before an open second syll.?] mentioned by Poppe - ƒ Pp. J 55) ¶ T b→M: MM [LV, MA, IsV], MMgl [Z] as u⁻c'a, WrM as uguca 'croup, sacrum, loins', HlM u⁻c id., Brt u⁻sa 'croup, sacrum', Kl u⁻c_a 'sacrum, back (dos), hind quaters', Ord u⁻c'a 'hind quaters of animals', Mgl uc'a 'back (dos)' (on the borrowing see N *yUc'.V) || Tg *u⁻ca 'hind part of the body' > Orc uc'(c)a 'hind part, stern of a boat', WrMc uc'a 'hind part, sternum, sacral bone', {Hr.} 'weichgekochter Rinder-, Schaf- oder Hirschschwanz' ¶ STM II 290, Z 165, Hr. 942 ¶¶ DQA #2720 (A *u⁻c'V 'behind, rump, fish fin') [see N *yUc'.V'¶] || D *Ut⁻ 'groin, lap, waist' or the like > Ml ot.i, ot.uku 'groin', ut_a id., 'testicle of oxen', Kt or' 'waist', Kn ud.i, ud.a, ud.u, ud.e 'hip, waist', ud.i, ud.alu 'pouch made in front by folding or doubling a part of the lower garment', Tl od.i 'lap (part of body or of the clothing', Nk od.d.i 'lap' ¶¶ D #947.

824. *hæḷu (or ***hæḷwV**) '∈ a tree (poplar or sim.)' > **HS**: S *^o/hlw > Ar ʔal-hula⁻wa⁻(y) '∈ a small tree' ¶ Fr. I 421 || **K**: G alva, alvis-ʒe 'poplar' || **IE** *Helis- 'alder' > L alnus (*als-no-s) || Gmc *aluz, *aliso > OHG elira ~ erila > NHG Eller, Erle, Dt els, ON o⁻lr, AS alor > NE alder'; Gt *alisa b→ Sp aliso id.; Gmc lgs. b→ Bsq (s)altza, It Cl au⁻zinu id. || Lt al⁻ksnis id., Ltv a⁻lksnis, Pru *al(i)skande (attested as abskande) || Sl *e⁻lxa (~ *o⁻lxa) 'alder' > SrChS кѡлѡха jеlѡха, Blg елѡха, SCr jo⁻ha, Slk jelcha, P olcha, R олѡха; d→ *e⁻lxs'a (i.e. *e⁻lxs-ya) id. > Slv je⁻ls'a, Cz ols'e, Slk jels'a, P olsza || Mcd [Hs.] *αλιζα 'white poplar' ¶ P 302-3, WH I 31, Vr. 686, Ho. 3, EWA II 1049-53, OsS 132, Gml. 27, ¶ ML #345a, Frn. 8, En. 136, Tp. P A-D 53-4, Vs. III 137-8, EI 11 (*^haeliso- ~ *^haeliseh⁻ 'alder'), 599-600.

825. *halilV 'flower, a plant with flowers' > **IE** *hle⁻l- > NaIE *lei⁻l- ~ *dis* *lei⁻r- ¶ 'flower' > Gk λειρίον 'lily' || L lilium id. (b→ Al lil id., NHG Lilie id. b→ Es lill 'flower', etc.) || Lt {Mn. <?} lielis 'spearwort, ranunculus lingua', lielius 'water crowfoot' || Cz lilek 'nightshad, Solanum nigrum' (may be connected with 'lily' due to the colour if its flowers) [{Ma.}: a loan from L through Gmc] || Ht {Pv.} alel- 'flower, bloom' ¶ Pv. I-II 32-3, Mn. 673, ¶ WH I 801 (believes that L lilium and Gk λειρίον are loans from an East Mediteranean lge., like Eg hrr.t 'flower', B alili 'Oleander', but Vc. 310 rejects the Eg origin of the L and Gk word), F II 100-1, ≠ Hub. MS 37-9 (ascribes the word for 'lily' to the "Mediterranean substrat"), Masson ESG 58-9 (Gk λειρίον < S), O 228, Ma. CS 270, Vc. 310 || **HS**: Eg fXVIII hrr.t 'flower, bloom', DEg hrry 'flower', Cpt: Sd ʒhrrē hire, B ʒhrrī hriri id. (*dis* *hḷl > *hḷr > *as* hrr?) ¶ EG 149, Fk. 176, Er. 326, Vc. 310 || B *-li⁻li⁻ 'oleander, rose-laurel' > BMn/Grr/Wrs {Bs.}, Sll {Ds.}, Tmz {MT}, Izd {Mrc.} a-lili, BSn {Ds.} a⁻-lili, Izn {Ds.} a-lili, {Rn.} a-lili, Mtm {Ds.} a-lili, SrSn {Rn.} i-lili, Rf {Rn.} a-rir'i id., Kb i-lili, Gh {Nh.} i-lel, Ah {Fc.} e-lal id. (coll.) ¶ Ds. 167, Ds. B 174, MT 366, Dl. 441, Fc. 1071, Rn. 337, Mrc. 153, Bs. ZOu 151, Nh. 172 ¶ || EC: Or {Th., Bṛl.} ililli 'flower' ¶ Th. 213, Bṛl. 249 || **D** *alli 'a water plant and its flower (waterlily?)' > Tm alli 'waterlily (Nymphæa lotus), inner flower petals', Ml alli 'pericarp of lotus', Tu alli, allige 'waterlily, flower of Nymphæa speciosum', Tl alli 'Nymphæa alba (a water plant)' ¶¶ D #256] ◇ Cp. also Bsq lili 'flower' ◇ *Qu.*, because some of the connections may be due to borrowing [b→ Blz. DA 160 [#81] (suggested to add D and EC to the IE-Eg-B equation)].

826. ?₂ *hEmVdV 'to desire, covet' > **HS**: WS *^o/hmd id. > Ug, BHb, IA, JA ^o/hmd *G* id., Ph hmd *G* id., 'try to secure a coveted object', IA hmd 'sth. valuable, precious object', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} at1D6m6h3 hemda't_a⁻ ~ at1d6im5h9 h^amīd_a't_a⁻ 'Lust, Gelüste', MHb eD1m6h3 hem'da⁻ {Lv.} id., {Js.} 'sexual desire', JEA {Js.} aD1m6h2 ham'da⁻, {Lv.} aD1m6h3 hem'da⁻, {Sl.} admh (unk. voc.) id., OCn (AkSc) ʒamudu [*hamu⁻du] id. (pp., a gloss = Ak iapu 'beautiful', ÷ BHb ha⁻mu⁻d 'darling'), Ar ^o/hmd *G* 'praise', Sb ^o/hmd id., 'thank', Mh ^o/hmd (pf. h^amu⁻d) v. id., Mh haymād, Hrs s⁻h^amo⁻d v. 'thank', Jb. C ^o/hmd (pf. ho⁻d) id. ¶ HJ 380, KB 312-3, KBR 325-6. Siv. GAG 171, 223, A #936, OLS 177, Js. 475, Sl. 468, Lv. II 70, Ln. 638-40, BGMR 168, Bll. 178-9, Jo. M 180, Jo. H 59, Jo. J 111 || **K**: OG, G imed-i n. 'hope', G imed- v. 'hope', OG, G imedeuli 'voller Hoffnung', {DCh.} 'обладуженный' ¶ Abul. 188, Srj. 96, Chx. 525-6, DCh. 580.

827. *h'oNc'a '(front) end, extremity, edge, tip' > **U**: FU *on⁻c'a 'front end\part, forehead' > F otsa 'forehead', Krl oc⁻c'a id., 'front side', Es ots 'end, extremity, tip, forehead', Lv vu⁻o⁻nca 'forehead' || Chr: L онѣкс, Н анѣкы 'анзѣкъ 'forward', postp. 'in front of', L онѣл, Uf он'зъл, Н анѣл 'анзъл n. 'front side\part', adj. 'front' || Prm *o³ (¶ LG *o⁻3⁻) 'front, front part' > OPrm u⁻o³, Z водз vo³, Z US o³, Yz

'u3', Vt a3□ a3' :: ? OHg agy 'skull, head, brain', Hg agy 'brain, marrow' ¶ UEW 339, It. #113, LG 591, MRS 28, 383, EWU 12 ¶ **H**: T *u⁻c 'tip, end' > OT u⁻c⁻, Tkm u⁻c⁻ id., Tk uc⁻ id., 'summit, edge', CrTt, Kr, Qrg, Uz, SY uc⁻, Alt uc⁻, Chv beÄ⁻ vbs⁻ 'tip, end', Az u3⁻, Qq, Tv us⁻, ET uc⁻ id., 'tip', Ggz, Ln uc⁻ id., 'edge', VTt o4 t⁻s⁻, Bsh t⁻s⁻ id., 'summit', Xk us 'sharp edge' ¶ Cl. 17-8, ET Gl 611-2, TL 578, TkR 665-6, Fed. I 119-20 ¶ **HS**: Eg G x'ss 'corner (Ecke)' ¶ EG III 400 ¶ The cns. h₋ [x'] may be explained by reg. sound changes: N *h_o > pre-Eg *h_u > *hi₋u > Eg [x'u] [¶|| SC: Irq {MQK} hayso⁻, {Wh.} hayi⁻so, Grw {Wh.} ha⁻yso, Alg/Brn {Wh.} hayso, {E} hayisi, Kz {E} hayisowa, Asa {E} hesa 'tail' ¶ Wh. 25, E SC 379, Blz. SCL s.v. 'tail' ¶ ♦ IS I 253-4 [#115] (U, T).

828. ? *h₁alpndV 'shade, darkness' > **IE** *hend^h- > NaIE *and^ho- 'blind, dark' > OI an⁻dha-h₋, Av ando⁻ id. ¶ Gl b> L anda-bata 'a gladiator who fought with a "blind" helmet (that had no openings for the eyes)' ¶ Dv. #320, M K I 36, M E I 78-9, Billy 11, EI 70 (*h_Aen⁻d^ho-s 'blind') ¶ **HS**: C: Bj {R} 'andala 'shade' ¶ R WBd 22 || ?? S: Ar √hnds 'be(come) very dark' (of a night), hindis- '(intense) darkness, very dark night' ¶ BK I 502, Ln. 655-6 ♦ NaIE *a- suggests a lr. different from *?- . If Ar √hnds belongs here, the N lr. is likely to be *h₁ or (less plausibly because of Bj zero) *χ. A comparison with Ht antara ({Pv.} = andra) 'blue' and Sl *modr⁻ 'blue' (proposed by Machek) is hardly possible, because the absence of reflexes of *a- in Sl rules out an IE stem *hm₁d^h-ro-; but if this difficulty is explained away, the N etymon will be *h₁alpndV (≠ Pv. I-II 77-8, Ma. HS 131-2, Ma. CS 304).

829. ? *h₁U₁N₁p₁V[?]V[?] 'navel' > **K**: GZ *u₁m₁p₁.e₁, {K} *o(m)p₁.e- 'navel' > G up₁.e, Lz omp₁.a id., Mg omp₁.a 'upper log of a roof' ¶ K 186, K² 146, IS I 248 ¶ **HS**: Eg P/BD/Md x₁p₁ 'navel' ¶ EG III 365; ≠ Ebb. MÄW 61-3 (Eg x₁p₁ 'genitalia' rather than 'umbilica; cord' or 'navel') ⇔ DW 62 (note 2), 682 (x₁p₁ did mean 'navel') || CCh: MsgP {Trn.} hif-na 'navel' : Ms {J} hif-da⁻, {Mch.} hi⁻fa⁻, ZmB {J} u⁻fu⁻, {Sa.} u⁻fu⁻ id. ¶ JI II 251, Trn. LM 256 ¶¶ Tk. I 40 (Eg, CCh) ¶¶ **HS** c₁d S □*h₁VNPV[?]V[?]-t.Vb₁b₁u⁻r-(at)- 'navel' (the second component identical with CS *t.Vbbu⁻r- 'navel' > MHb t.ab⁻bu⁻r, BA t.ib⁻bu⁻r) > EthS (≠ C??): Gz hānbārt id., Tgr hāmbār ~ hānbār, hānbārt, Tgy hāmbārti, hānbārti, Amh, Argb āmbārt ~ ānbārt id. ¶ L G 236 || C □*h₁Vnt.VpV⁻ id. > Ag: Bln {R} eteba ~ itiba⁻; Xm {R} her⁻bir and Q {R} gumbra⁻ 'navel' may result from (re)borrowing from EthS :: Bj {R} te⁻fa 'navel' (< *tV hefa [*tV < article of f. gender]), Bj A {AD} 'to⁻fta (pl. 'te⁻fta) :: EC *h₁un⁻d₁ubV⁻r ({Bl., Ss.} *h₁und₁.u₁:r-) 'navel' > Af {PH} hundub, Sa {R} hāndub : pSam *h₁and₁u⁻r ({Hn.} *hand₁u⁻r) > Sml hund₁ur, Rn {PG} hā⁻nd₁u⁻r, {Hn.} han⁻d₁u⁻r, pBn {Hn.} *ha⁻'nu⁻r (> Bn: Bi hanu⁻r, J/Kj/K hanu⁻r) : Arr {Hw.} henc⁻ur ~ hend₁ur, Dsn ōō⁻n⁻ir, Elm un⁻ur, Or {Grg.} (h)and₁u⁻r-a⁻, Gdl hund₁u⁻r-t, Gwd hund₁ur-te, Hr hund₁ur-c⁻e, Ya hendero : Brj {Ss.} han⁻?u⁻r-a, {Hd.} han⁻dura, Ged {Hd.} ha⁻nura ¶ AD SF 236-7 (C *xVntVp₁-(Vr)-), R Ch II 58, L G 236, Bl. 107, 114, 196, Ss. PEC 24, 30, 39, Grg. 199, Ss. B 91, PH 131, Hn. S 62, Hn. BD 119, 145, PG 136, Hd. 104, 196, 244, Hw. A 366, R WBd 222-3, To. DL 507 || B *-Hanbu⁻t₁- (< *Hanbu⁻?-t₁-?) 'navel' > CA tahanbut, Ah tābu⁻tut (pl. tibu⁻tu⁻tin), ETwl tābu⁻tut, Iz n t₁afabbutt (pl. t₁ifabbud₁in), Izd tabut₁, abud₁ 'navel', ETwl ābutu, Ty ābutut 'gros nombtil en saillie', Sll {Ds.} abu⁻d₁ (pl. ibu⁻d₁an), Shl {NZ} abud₁, tabut₁ 'navel, navel string' ¶ Fc. 108, Rn. 378, Ds. 199, Mrc. 176, PrGG 18, NZ 29, 136, Coh. #123 ¶ EG III 365, DW 62 (note 2), 682 ¶¶ Coh. #123, OS #350, *err.* #1071 ¶ **IE** *h^wemb^h- ("base I") / *h^wneb^h- ("base II") [{EI} *h₃nob^h- 'navel'] > NaIE *omb^h-/*neb^h- > Gk 'ομφαλο⁻ 'umbilical cord' :: OI 'nabhyam 'nave of a wheel', 'nabhi-h₋ 'nave, navel, central point', Pali na⁻bhi 'navel', Av na⁻fa- 'navel; family, relatives' (with -f- from an anomalous *-p^h-), naba⁻-nazdis⁻ta- adj. 'closest (relatives)', MPrs na⁻f, NPrs ĩN na⁻f 'navel' :: L umbilicus id., umbo⁻ / -o⁻nis 'the boss\centre of a shield' :: OIr imbliu 'navel' (< *emblio⁻n- < NaIE *emb^h-, based probably on *bf*, i.e. reinterpretation of *omb^h- as an *o-grade of apophony) :: OHG naba, NHG Nabe, AS nafa ~ nafu, NE nave, ON no⁻f 'nave'; ON nafli, OHG nabalo, NHG Nabel, AS nafela 'navel', NE navel; (*omb^h- >) OHG ambon 'belly' :: Pru nabis 'navel, nave', Ltv naba 'navel' ¶ P 314-5, EI 391, M K II 135, M E II 13-4, Brtl. 1040, 1062, Vl. II 1280, WH II 814, F II 201-2, Vr. 403, 414, KM 498, Kb. 710, Schz. 218, Ho. 231, Kar. I 613, En. 213 ¶¶ The anomaly in the Irn reflex with -f- (Av na⁻fa-, MPrs na⁻f, NPrs na⁻f) may suggest the presence of some reflex of N *? II ??φ **H**: NrTg: Ewk uy 'umbilical cord; aorta, vein', Lm O uy 'blood vessel', ?σ Sln o⁻g 'heart' ¶ This is a valid cognate only if NrTg *-g₁- may go back to a labial stop (through the stage of hiatus: *up₁V > *uwV > *uV > *u₁V?) ♦ IS I 248-9, AD MRV, K 186 (K, IE). The expected triple cluster **Np₁? (with elision of the stem-internal vw.) was simplified by losing the nasal cns. (in G and Eg) or the lr. *? (in EthS and IE).

830. *~~hi~~NVrimPV or *~~him~~VrimPV 'eyelid, eyelash' (cd ?) > HS: C: EC *hinrib- id. > Sml hirrib, Sml N hi'ri'b 'corner of the eye', Sml C hirrib 'eyelid', Kns {Bl.} hi'rip-a- (b> Gln hirrip-e), Gdl hi'rip-itt 'eyelash', Yaku hereban 'eyebrow', Brj imbi'r-o- 'eyelid', Or {Grg.} hirrib-a ~ irriba 'a sleep', Or B/O/W {Sr.} (h)irriba 'a sleep, a nap' ¶ Bl. 165, Ss. B 105, Abr. S 121, DSI 635, ZMO 431, Grg. 210, Sr. 326, ¶ AD SF 156, Blz. DA #14 || ? B *√nHr (mt ?) > Ah ənər (pl. aːnaːrən), Gh anar, TnsI {ABs.} inhər, anhar, ETwl, Ty {GhA} anˌar (pl. anˌarən) 'eyebrow' ¶ Fc. 1399, Pr. H #560 (*√nH₂r), GhA 149 || **IE:** Ht {Pv.} enera-, enira-, inira-, innari-, inniri- 'eyebrow' ¶ Pv. I-II 271-2 || **D** *ir_app-(ai_) ~ *ir_amp- 'eyelid' > Tm irappai_, rappai_, reppai_, Kn r_epper, r_appe, Tl r_eppa, reppa, Knd r_epa id., Knd r_ema, Ku reppa 'eyelash', Kdg reppe 'eyelid, hair of eyelashes', Tu reppæ 'eyelid, eyelash', rampæ 'eyelid', (with kand_ 'eye'): Klm kand_-repa id., Nkr kand_ le reppa 'eyelash', Gnd kand_ reppa 'eyebrow' ¶¶ D #5169 || **U** (the second element of the N cd ?) FL *rim_lpvise > F ripsi, Es ripse 'eyelash' : pLp *r₃m₃s 'eyelid' > Lp: Ar ramaš, L {LLO} ramaš, N {N} raːmaš, Kld peːmac r₃mas id. ¶ ¶ SSA III 81, ¶ SK 809, Lr. #1006, Lgc. #5477, SaR 292 ♦ The first element of the compound (*~~hi~~N_lVJ-) may be discerned in SC: Irq {Wh.} haːmhamo (pl. haːmhaːma) 'eyelash', {MQK} hamhamoː 'eye-brow\lid\lash' (MQK 48). If this is true, the N rec. must be *~~him~~VrimPV. The second element of the cd may be somehow connected with N *ribV 'to cover' (q.v.) ♦ ¶ Blz. DA [± 154 [15] #14-] (D, C, FU [BF + err. Lp L rapsa 'membrane, napkin'])).

831. *hop_lVJlE 'flow down' > HS *√hp.l v. 'flow, flow out (abundantly)' > S *√hpl > Ar √hfl G 'be copious (milk, water); to pour torrents of rain (sky); to flow abundantly (tears)' ¶ BK I 460-1 || Eg P x'p v. ¶ 'flow abundantly', Eg fP x'p.t 'Unwetter' ¶ EG III 362 || **K** *opl_ - 'sweat' > OG, G opl-, Mg up(u), Lz up-, Sv wep-, wop- id., 'perspiration' ¶¶ K 151, K² 146 || **A:** NaT *oːpuːl- v. 'be sucked in, swallowed' > OT oːpuːl- id., (??) VTt yбьл- ubьл- 'tumble in, collapse (в-/об-валитсѧ)' ¶ DTS 387-8, Cl. 10, TatR 582; reinterpreted as the ps. of *op- v. 'devour, suck in' (ET Gl 464-5) || ? **U** *wopta (or *wopsa, *wops'a) > Sm {Jn.} *waːptaː - v. 'pour' (× N *wop.V 'pour, strew', q.v. ffd.).

[[+ **831a.** ??? *h'oRV '∈ bird of prey' > HS: S *hur- > Ar hur- 'falcon, hawk' ¶ BK I 401 || ???σ Eg XVIII h̄y.w {Fk.} 'carrion-birds', {EG} Bezeichnung der Raubvogel; but Eg h̄y.w may be alternatively connected with C: DhI {EEN} heːle '∈ hawk' and {???} pWRt {E} *hulungay > Alg {E} hungulay 'kite' ¶ EG III 16, Fk. 161, EEN 27, E SC 302 || **K** *orb 'eagle' > OG, G orb-, Mg obr-, Sv: HB/LB werb-, L worb- id. ¶¶ Goes back to N *h'oRV bV (with the formative of animal names *bV, q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ K 150, TK 742 || ??? **IE:** NaIE *er-/or- 'eagle' (× IE *x̂er-/x̂or- < N *yer?V 'eagle', q.v. ffd.) ♦ ¶ BK 157-8 [57] (HS, K + unc. the HS reflex of N *yer?V '↑' and D *oːr- '∈ bird').]]

832. *h'uːrxcVcˆV 'scratch, comb' > K: GZ *warcx-wn- v. 'comb' (× N *warːcˆVlxcVJ 'to rub, scrape', q.v. ffd.) || **HS:** S (CS?) *√hrsˆ dv. 'scratch oneself' > Ar √hrsˆ G 'scratch (gratter)', Ak Λ √xrs G 'itch' ~ √xrsˆ id. (?); b> CS *har_lVJsˆ - n. 'scab, itch' > BHb ˈheres, JA har's-aː, Sr her's-aː ~ h̄ara's-aː id. ¶ The unexpected Ak x̄- and the variation -s- ~ -sˆ- suggest that the Ak verb is a loan (from Aram?) ¶ KB 341, BK I 558, CAD VI 92, 96 || **D** *ir_lVc- v. 'scratch, comb' > Gnd irsaːnaː ˌir's- v. 'comb the hair', Krx irc- 'scratch and turn over (as fowls do), poke, dig into', Mlt irce 'scratch the ground (as fowls do)', Brh iris 'a comb' ¶¶ D #493 ♦ K *c for the expected *cˆ defies explanation (a special development in a cns. cluster?).

833. *h'uːrel_lV 'reed' > K: GZ *leːl- 'cane, ∈ rush' [× N *Li_lV 'reed, ∈ water-plant'] > OG lel-i 'cane', G lel-i 'cane, rush (Phragmites communis)'; cd {K} *lel-cˆem-, {K²} *ler-cˆem-, {FS} *lel-cˆam- 'Arundo donax (cane, rush), reed' > OG lerc.am- 'reed (καːλαμοϛ)', G lerc.am-i ~ lelc.am-i 'Phragmites communis', Mg larcˆ.am-i ~ larcˆ.em-i 'reed' ¶ K 120-1, K² 108-9, FS K 199-200, FS E 218-9, Abul. 208, Ser. 82, Chx. 677-8, Q 270; *lel-cˆ.am- is a cd with the √ *cˆem- ({FS} *cˆ.am-) 'grass' (see K 249, FS K 457-8, FS E 518-9) || ? **HS:** S *hUrVll- > Ak OB/YB urull- '∈ eine Rohrrart', Ar hall-at- 'grand panier en jonc ou en roseau', hill-at- 'natte oblongue' ¶ BK I 474, Sd. 1436 || ? **D** *vr_el_l- 'reed' > Kn rel_lu 'a reed used to write with, Saccharum sara', Tl r_ellu, rellu 'a reed, Saccharum spontaneum', Ku relli tuppa 'bulrush' (D *tuppa '∈ small bush' - see D #3322) ¶¶ D #5171 ¶ The initial vw. is supposed because an initial *r_ (as well as *r-) is ruled out by D morphophonemics ♦ Fn. KD #50 (K, D).

834. *hE_lYsU 'faeces, filth' > HS: Eg P hs 'excrement, faeces' (= {pVc.} [h̄is-y]) > Cpt Sd 2ac has, Cpt B 2oc hos, Cpt F 2ec hes 'fumier, excréments' ¶ EG III 164, Vc. 313 || C: Bj oːsˆ'a, uːsˆ'a(y), {Rop.} isˆ'a 'urine', {R} oːsˆ- v. 'urinate', {Rop.} osˆ- 'urinate, defecate' :: ??ϕ EC *?us- 'contents of stomach (of

ruminants)' (highly doubtful as cognate because of *ʔ- for the expected *h-) > Sml u⁻s id., Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} us-ko id. ¶ R WBd. 33, Rop. 156, DSI 597, Ss. B 185, AMS 227, 261 || NrOm {Blz.} *ʔays⁻ 'dung' > Kcm {CR} oys⁻a⁻ 'cowdung', Gn^j ʔa⁻s⁻a⁻ 'dung' || SOM: Dm {Bn^{dd}.} ʔus⁻ 'faeces, dung' ¶ Blz. OLBP #27 || Ch {Stl.} *h⁻esaj⁻ 'faeces' > WCh {Stl.} *ʔesa id. > Su {J} j⁻iyes. Ang j⁻i⁻e⁻s, Gmy ʔye⁻s, Cp e⁻s, Kfr {Nt.} e⁻s : Krkr {Kr.} is⁻e⁻, Dr ʔis⁻e⁻ : Gj ʔi⁻s⁻i⁻, Buli ʔis⁻, Bgm yis, Zar yis id. || CCh: ZmB ʔi⁻si 'dirt, dregs' || ECh: Smr ʔi⁻s⁻i⁻n⁻, Nd ʔi⁻si⁻n⁻, Skr {Lk.} issi⁻, Jg ʔis⁻, Mu (pl.) ʔa⁻se⁻, Mkl ʔi⁻zi⁻, Ke k-usi, Kwn k-u⁻si⁻(n⁻) 'faeces' ¶ Stl. ZCh 230 [#786], JI II 128-9, ■ JS 97, Stl. IF 116-7, ChL, J LM 111 ¶■ ■ Tk. PAA 14 (Ang, Eg; he sees here a reg. corr. of Su gy- with Eg h-) || IE: Ht isuwan 'residue, sediment, refuse, scraps, waste, remains' ¶ Pv. I-II 486-7, Frd. HW 92, Ts. E I 440 || ? D (in SD) *ecc-, {ʔGS} *ec⁻c⁻ 'faeces, excretions of the body, remains of food (defiled by contact with the mouth)' > Tm eccam 'remains of food, spittle, dung (of birds, lizards)', eccil 'whatever defiled by contact with the mouth (saliva, spittle, remains of food), excretions of the body: faeces, urine, sperm', Ml eccam 'dung of lizards and flies', Kt ecl 'water that has been used to wash hands after eating, remnants of food', Td icil 'pollution of food by being left as a remnant, pollution caused by death or birth', Kdg ecci 'scraps of food that falls to the floor during meal'; × D *enc- v. 'remain' ¶ D #780, Zv. 115 || ? A *ʔys⁻ 'soot, smoke' > T *ʔys⁻ 'soot, smoke' > OT ʔis 'soot, dirty smoke', Tk is, Az his, Uz is, VTt ʔs, Bsh ʔθ ~ yθ, Qzq, Nog, Qq is 'soot', Qrg is 'yellow dirt from smoke; smoking', SY is 'soot, smoke', ET, Ln is 'smoke', Yk i⁻s 'smoking', Qmq iyis-pus, Chv yʔs-pʔs {Jeg., ChVS} 'smoke, fumes' ('чад, угар'), {Fed.} 'bad smell', Chv yʔslʔn- v. 'smoke (emit smoke)' ¶ Cl. 254, ET Gl 379-380, TL 370-1, Jeg. 76, Fed. I 186-7, ChVS 58, Rs. W 167 || M *isu⁻ (unless with *ʔ-) 'soot' > WrM isu⁻, HIM ʔc 'soot, black', Kl {Rm.} is⁻ 'Ruß, Kienruß' ¶ MED 417, KW 210-1 ¶■ Rs. W 167, KW 210-1, Pp. VG 116, SDM97 s.v. *ijsa 'soot, smoke' ◆ Ht and M suggest a final *-U. The labial vw. in Bj, EC and SOM needs explanation (traces of an internal *U in a supposed *hEyUs⁻U or infl⁻ of the final *-U?) ◆ Blz. DA [ʔ 156 [#39]#38] (D, C, Om, Ch).

835. *hU³E(-qV) 'look, see' > HS: WS *hzy⁻w v. 'look' > BHb hzy⁻w G 'see, behold', Ph, OA, IA, Plm, SmA hzy G, DA hzw G 'see', Ar hzw v. G 'augur (sth.) from the flight of birds', {Fr.} hzy 'excitans aliquo loco aves ex earum volatu hariolari et omen capere', ha⁻zi(n) 'qui ex membrorum et faciei signis hariolatur', Tgr ʔΩ haza⁻ [haza] 'looked for'; ? Ug {A} h⁻d⁻w⁻ G 'nachsehen, prüfen', {OLS} hdy G 'look, watch' ('mirar, contemplar') [apparently reflecting S *hōw⁻ with an enigmatic *δ for the expected *z] ¶ KB 288-289, KBR 301, HJ 357-61, Tal 259-60, Js. 443, Fr. I 376-7, BK I 422, A #905, OLS 174 || K: pGZ *uc⁻.q- v. 'see, know' > OG uc⁻.q- 'know', Mg orc⁻.q- v. 'see', Lz oc⁻(k)- v. 'look' ¶■ K 186-7, K² 196 || IE: Ht aus- v. 'see' and uski- v. 'see' (within the framework of the Ht morphology uski- is interpreted as iterative); the verb aus- was reinterpreted as a variant of au- v. 'see', which has a different origin ¶ Frd. HW 236, Ts. W 10, 97, Ts. E I 95-98, Pv. I-II 234-244 || A *u⁻ʔe- > M *u⁻ʔe- v. 'see, look' [× N *gU³V 'feel, smell (sth.)'] > MM [HI, IM, IsV] u⁻ʔe-, [MA] (h)u⁻ʔe- id., WrM u⁻ʔe-, HIM *ʔy-, Mnr H {SM} u⁻ʔia⁻, {T} u⁻ʔe-, Dx u⁻ʔe-, MMgl o⁻ʔa⁻, Mgl {Rm.} u⁻ʔa⁻ v. 'see', Dg u⁻ʔi-, u⁻ʔi- v. 'see, look' ¶ Ms. H 108, T 368, T DnJ 137, Pp. MA 190, 377, 499, SM 465-6, Lg. VMI 72, Iw. 121, Klz. D II 140 || ? NaT *o⁻(y)- v. 'think, remember' > OT o⁻, Cl. o⁻ id., Yk u⁻o⁻y- 'remember, notice' ¶ Cl. 2-3, Rs. W 368, ■ ET Gl 429, Pek. 3137-8 || ?? Tg *eje- v. 'understand, remember' > Orc ʔʔʔ- v. 'understand', Ul, Nn ʔʔʔ- v. 'rememeber', Ork ʔdʔmu 'get accustomed', WrMc eʔe- v. 'notice, remember' ¶ STM II 439 ¶■ SDM95 s.v. "?*u⁻ʔV ? v. 'see'", ■ SDM97 s.v. *eʔo⁻ 'see, understand' (unc. rec.).