

836. ? *ko 'whereas, but, also; doch' (adversative-thematic enclitic conjunction) > IE *g^we (adversative enclitic conjunction) 'but, whereas' > Gk δε' (postpositive adversative-copulative pc.) 'but, whereas' || pSl *z'e 'whereas, as for; as you know; same' (enclitic pc. with adversative-thematic function, as well as with the functions of reminding the logical\causal connections of the event [like NHG doch: R Он же знал; Это же делат?]) and indicating the similarity\identity: 'same', e.g. R тот же 'the same') > OCS, OR же z'e, R, Uk же, P -z'e, Cz z'e ¶ Delb. VS II 502ff., F I 353, ESISJ-SGZ II 759-60, Vs. II 39, SJSS 592-8 || ? K: OG uk.ue 'же, уже' (cnjc. of causal reminder, adversative cnjc.), {Fn. in Shan. G} 'denn, folglich' (ray-me uk.ue qopad ars c'uenda 'Это же нам делат?' ('If so, what shall we do?'), vitar uk.ue ac. hxedavs 'wie sieht er denn nun?' [Ioh. 9.19], s'en uk.ue xara 3eу ymrtisay 'bist du denn Gottes Sohn?' [Lc. 22.70], uk.ue-tu 'but if, if' (uk.uetu s'en xar 3eу ymrtisay '[but] if thou art God's son' [Mt. 4.3], uk.uetu ara 'but if not'); OG uk.ue is probably a *cd*, the glottalization belonging to the first component ¶ Ser. 169, Shan. G 169 || HS: Ag *-k'a > Bln {R} -ya- 'nun, also, aber' (R: "wird an Worte angefügt welche als besonders bedeutungsvoll im Satze hervorgehoben werden sollen") ¶ R WB 131 || U: FU *-k_lV_l 'also, the same, too': F -kin, -kaan / -ka'a'n, Es -ka 'also' || Er -gak / -kak / -yak id. (сон-гак сы вечерс 'he, too, will come to the party', сонзү-лк примиз комсомолс 'they accepted him, too, to the Komsomol') || Chr L -гак -yak in тугак tu-yak, тыгак ть-yak 'also'; ? -ак -ak 'same' after dem. pronominals (тѣхъ-ак 'of the same kind\quality', ту-к-ак 'to the same direction') || ? Vt uk 'вед, же' (cnjc. of logical reminder) (бере кылеед ук 'вед, останешсе позади \ опоздаеш', 'don't forget that you will remain behind \ be late'), ?? ik 'same' (сьнее ик sic'e ik 'of the same kind\quality', отчы ик otc'ik 'to the same direction', тунне ик 'just today, not later than today') || Vg Ss -k^we, pc. of emotional attitude towards the event ('unfortunately', 'I don't care', etc.): wos-k^we mini 'let him go, I don't care' (wos mini 'let him go'), kan'ikol ti-k^we oyixpi 'unfortunately, the vacation are just about to end' ¶ RERs 372, RMarS 172, 751-2, RUDS 242, Rmb. 198 || A: T *-k_{gu} > ET -yu (pc. of logical reminder, 'вед, же') ({BN} u-yu 'да он же!, это же!, это вед', ba(r) yu 'вед, ест') ¶ BN 57, 160 || Tg *-ka / *-ke / *-ko (a focalizing pc. that emphasizes the theme): Ewk -ka/-kz/-ko id. (bi-kz 'ѣ-то, as for me'), Nn -ka/-kz id. (n'oani-ka didesi 'as for him, he will not come', 'он-то не придет') ¶ Vas. 758, Pt. 60 ¶¶ Ktw. PLA 71-3 || ? M *ku, pc. emphasizing the preceding word [x N *k. 'u' (dem. pr., q.v. ffd.) x N *?o'ke (= *?o'ku?) 'self', q.v.].

837. 2 *kU, pl. particle (used mostly with pronouns) > K: GZ *tkwen 'you' (pl.), 'vos' > OG tkuen, G tkven, Mg, Lz tkva(n)-; GZ *tkwen- 'your, vester' > OG tkuen-, G tkven-, Mg, Lz tkvan- id. || *Sk... > Sv: UB sga'y, L sgay, Ln sga- 'you' (pl.), UB isgwey, L isgwe, LB isge, Ln isk.ue 'your, vester', most probably from K *tkwen influenced by K *sen 'thou' ¶ K 176, K² 75-6, Chik. 223-4, TK 299, 703 ¶ This prn. goes back to a *cd* *t.u- 'thou' + *kU of plurality + *nu of genitive; this suggests that the original meaning of *tkwen- was 'voster = of you, yours' (pl.), but later it was generalized as the prn. of 2p without case distinctions (cf. a parallel change in the prehistory of G s'en 'thou' < 'thy' [cf. s.v. N *t. 'u' and its assimilated variant *s' 'u' on K *si] || U *-k_lV_l, marker of pl. (x N *qV collectivity particle): [1] with nouns: pLp {Krh.} -k > Lp: N -k, S/L -h, -h-, -Ø, I -h (pLp {Krh.} *k₅de-k 'houses' > Lp N goade-k, Rr goa'tieh id., pLp {Krh.} *tuntere-k > Lp N duod'darak 'mountains' || Hg -k, pl. ending of nouns || [2] with pers. pronouns: BF (nom. case) *-k: Lv me-g ~ meg 'we', F, Es me (< *me-k); but in the oblique cases the marker of pl. is *i- rather than *-k: F gen. meida-n, acc. meida-t, prt. meita-, iness. mei-ssa-, Krl K: gen. mi-a'n, acc. mia't, prt. mei-d'a-, Vp gen. m'id'e ~ m'id'en, iness. m'is-, Vo gen. mei-ye-n, prt. mei-d-a-, iness. mei-z- Es prt. mei-d, iness. mei-s || Os (verbal pers. ending of 2p): V -təy/-təx, D -tə, O -ti || OHg XII miv miu-, Hg mi, Δ mu-^d mu- 'we', OHg XII tiv [tiu-], XVI thew, XVIII thu-, Hg ti 'you [pl.]' (if OHg -u- < *-y < *-k); cp. also Hg Δ mik^d mu-k^d miḡk^d mu-ḡk 'we' || [3] with possessive pers. endings of nouns: BF {Mark} (sg. possessi) *-me-k 'our', *-te-k 'your (vester)', *-se-k 'their', (pl. possessi) *-nnek (< *-n-me-k) 'nostri', *-ndek 'vostri', *-nsek 'their' > Ing Hv tei_yen valassanneg 'in eurer Macht', hei_yen yumalasseg 'their god', F (with loss of the final *-k) isa'mme 'our father', isa'nne 'your [pl.] father', isa'nsa- 'their father'; Vo E -mmag 1p, -ttag 2p, F Δ -me? 1 pl., -te? 2p (palamme? 'we burn'), Es V -mi?, -d_e? || pLp {Korh.} *-mek 1p (> Lp N -mek), *-de-k ~ *de-k 2p (> Lp N -dek) [see s.v. N *t. 'u' 'thou']: Lp N ac'c'amek 'our father', ac'c'adek 'your [pl.] father', ac'c'esek 'their father' || Mr: Er BI -mok/mek 'noster, nostra, nostrum' (sg. possessi),

-nok/-nek 'nostri, -ae, -a (pl. possessi); in StEr and Mk the opposition of sg. ↔ pl. possessi is lost: StEr nok/-nek 'our', Mk -n'ka' 'our' < pMr {Srb.} -n-mV̄k :: OHg -mk ~ -ḡk 'our' (uromc ~ uronc 'our Lord'), Hg -nk 'our', -tok / -toḡk / -tek 'vester', -V̄k 'their': Hg ha'zunk 'our house', ha'zatok 'your [pl.] house', ha'zuk 'their house' 𐌿𐌿 [4] with pers. endings of verbs: amb FU *-k as marker of pl. in pers. endings of 1p and 2p: 1p *-me-k ~ *-maḡ-k, 2p *-te-k ~ *-taḡ-k > Vo E -mmag_ 1p., -ttag_ 2p, F Δ -me? 1p, -te? 2p (palamme? 'we burn'), Es V -mi?, -d_e? : pLp {Krh.} *-mek 1p (> Lp N -mek), *-deḡk ~ *ḡeḡk 2 pl. (> Lp N -dek) [see s.v. N *t.ḡuḡ 'thou'] : Mr Δ -mok, ending of 1p (Er/Mk -nok id. may go back to *-n-mok) :: OHg -mok 1p (vogmuc 'sumus'), Hg -tek / -tok 2p : Os: (sbcj.): pOs {Ht.} *-ḡw 'we' [> V {Trj.} -oḡḡ, -ḡ, -x, -oḡḡ, Vy {Trj.} -əw]; pOs *-tḡḡ / *-təḡ 'you' pl. [> V {Trj.} -ḡtḡḡ / -ətəḡ, MO {Stn., Trj.} -(ə)tə, Kz {Stn.} -(ə)ti] ¶ Laan. 154-6, 228-30, Krh. 280-3, Rv. N 67-9, 72, Wkm. FOUL 43, Ht. ChrO 38-9, Srb. IMMJ 52-4, Ber. GVF 325, Fkt. EJ 181. Fkt. MJ 203-4 ¶ The FU ending *-k is ambiguous, because it may belong together with FU *-kkV̄, suffix of collectivity [> F -kko / -kkoḡ id. (koivikko 'birch forest', maḡnnikko 'pine forest'), Hg -k, pl. suffix of nouns] (cf. N *qV̄ collectivity particle), but the close parallelism with the usage of K *tkwen- 'ye' suggests that the U - K comparison is more plausible ◇ ÷ (for phonological and other obvious reasons) the Arm pl. marker -ḡ -kḡ in nouns, pronouns and verbs (am-kḡ 'years', me-kḡ 'we', dukḡ 'you' pl., beri-m-kḡ 'we carry', berri-kḡ 'you [pl.] carry'). But other explanations of this ending are not plausible either (cf. Me. EAC 56-7, 66-72, 91-2, 117-9) ◇ ▢ Gr. I 101-6 ["dual KI(N)" (partially → pl.) in U, Gil, CK, EA and Arm], 115-6 ("plural KU" in EA, CK, Gil).

838. *kV̄ 'out of, from' > **HS:** EC: Sa {R} -ko 'from' (Man'dar-ko 'from Mandara'), used also in the system of verbal cases: ablativus-conditionalis -m-ko ~ -n-ko 'since, if'; Sa causalis (a verbal case) -k 'because', Sml ka 'from' (pv. with functions comparable with the abl. case of nouns: Sml N {Abr.} waḡn **ka** tēḡey 'I parted **from** him/her/it/them', lit. [indic. pc.+] 'I from parted'), 'away' (ka duḡrug 'move away from it!'), Bn J kḡ, Bn K ki' ~ kḡ 'from, out' (pv.: Bn J muḡḡ-ka a-**kḡ**-bah-a 'I come **from** this house, lit. 'house-this I-from-come', Bn K miḡḡ-ka wo-ho-**kḡ**-bah-a id.), Rn ka' postp. 'from' (koḡr ka 'from Korr'), ka' pv. '(her-/hin-)aus-', probably also Sd {Mrn.} -kaḡe 'when' (ra'we-kaḡe wiḡdi'ra ful'tu 'on finishing [their work] they crossed to the other side of the river' ¶ AD KJ 34, 86-7, 89, Abr. S 143, Hb. BD 43, 67, PG 168-9 || K *-ka 'from' > Sv UB -ka 'out, through', Mg -k, -ki, -kḡ, -ku, Lz -k, -ko (erg. case ending, presumably from an abl., as in NHG von: agens marker in passive sentences ← 'from') ¶ K S 48-52, 111-3, Kiz. ZJ 66-9, Q O21-2, O133, Marr 16, GP US 93 || **A:** Tg *-du-ki_ / *-tu-ki_ ({Bz.} *-du-ki) 'from' (ending of abl.) > Ewk, Lm -duk/tuk, Sln -dusi/-tuxi, Neg -dukkoy, Ud -digi, Orc -duy(i), Nn -duy; the element *-du/-*tu seems to go back the Tg dat.-loc. *-d'Uḡaḡ 'to, in' [< N *dḡoyḡa 'place (within, below), inside' and possibly N *ḡadV̄ 'up to, until' + N *kV̄ 'out of, from'] ¶ Bz. 79, Ci. 256-7, Sun. S 160-2, 210-25.

839. *kV̄ ~ *ḡV̄ 'thee, thy' > **HS:** [1] *ku 'thee' > S: Ak ku(w)aḡti > kaḡti ~ kaḡta 'thee' acc., (ana) ku(w)aḡs'im > kaḡs'im 'to thee' || C *ku 'thee' > EC {Ss.} *ku ~ *ki 'thee' (no gender distinction) > Sa, Sml, Bn ku, Af koḡ, Rn ki, Dsn ko, Or si, Kns ke, Sd heḡ, Brj s'eḡ, Elm ki- pv., Dsn ku'o 'thou' (subject); Arr ke' 'thou' nom., ke'he 'thee' (the variant *ki may go back to HS *k-i 'thee', see below [3] :: Ag: Aw {Hz.} ko'-wa 'thee' (with the acc. marker -wa) || ?? Ch: WCh: Sy gu/ga (ga belongs to [2]) 𐌿𐌿 [2] *k-a 'thee' m. > S *-ka id. (verbal sx.) > BHB -kaḡ, Ar, Gz -ka, Ak -ka || B *-ək id. (sx.) > Tw -ək, Shl -ək ~ -k, Kb {Han.} -ik, Shw -ik' ~ -k'ək, Gd -s'ək, Si -(i)k 'te' acc., Si -a-k, -ka 'tibi' ¶ Pr. M I-III 172-6, La. CBM 78-80, La. S 108-15, Lf. I 352, Han. GK 192-3, Aj. SKBJ I 39 || C *ka 'thee' m. > Ag: Bln {R} -kaḡ (verbal sx.) :: Bj -hoḡ-k(a), verbal sx.] || Ch *ka 'thee' m. > Hs ka, Bl kaḡ, Ang/Su {Kr.} ya, Gm ga, Bl ka, Krkr kaḡ, Mu {Lk.} ka (Kr. RChP ṽ, AD AD EPCChL ṽ); probably (with loss of gender distinction): Sy gu/ga (gu < HS *ku?), Gv ḡa, Nkc ḡa 'thee' || possibly Eg kw ~ cw 'thee' m. (< *kV̄-w, where *-w is a sx.) 𐌿𐌿 [3] *k-i 'thee' f. > S *-ki id. (verbal sx.) > Ar -ki, BHB -k., Gz -kḡ, Ak -ki || Eg cw 'thee' f. [encl.] (< *ki-w) || C *ki 'thee' f. > Ag: Bln {R} -kḡ (sx.) :: Bj -hoḡ-k(i), verbal sxs. :: SC {ḡE} *ki 'thou' (← *'thee') > Irq ki, kiḡ, Alg ki, Brn igi 'thou'; the object prn. 'thee' f. in Irq (Mous} is i (< *ki?) || Ch *ki 'thee' f. > Hs ki, Bl s'ḡ, Ngm c'ḡ, Su yi, Mu {Lk.} ki (Kr. RChP, AD EPCChL) 𐌿𐌿 [4] *k-am 'thee' f. > B *-kam 'thee' f. > Tw -kaḡm, Kb -(i)kəḡm, Si -im, Gd -(i)kaḡm ¶ Pr. M I-III 172-6, La. CBM 78-80, La. S 108-15, Lf. I 352, Han. GK 192-3, Aj. SKBJ I 40 || Ch *kV̄m > Ngz, Du kiḡm, Bade ḡḡm, Bdm {Lk.} -ḡem || Eg cm 'thee' f. [encl.] 𐌿𐌿 [5] *ku 'thy' > C: EC: Hr {AMS} -aḡhu 'thy' (masc. possessoris), Arr -ko, Dsn ku' / kuḡ (no genus possessoris) :: Ag {Ap.} *kḡḡ- > Bn ko- kḡḡ- (px.) 'thy', kuḡ-t [kḡḡt] 'thee' (-t is a sx. of acc.), Xm {Ap.}

kʰ-t 'thee' acc. (→ kʰt 'thou' nom.) || SC: Brn {Wh.} og(u'), {E} -g/-og, Irq {Wh.} ok, Alg {Wh.} o'g, Irq/Alg {E} -k/-ok 'thy' (no gender distinction) || Ch: Gj gʷa', Sy wa, Gude -ku/-kʷa', Mln -gu 'thy' (no genus possessoris); Bl (k)ku', Tng ko', Bdm {Lk.} -gu 'thy' (m. possessoris) || Eg amb -k 'thy' m. > Cpt -k -k id. || B amb *-ək 'thy' m. > Tw -(ə)k, with kinship nouns: Si -ək, Gd -ik, Shl {La.} -(i)k ¶ Pr. M I-III 164-70, Lf. I 351, La. CBM 47, La. S 114-5, Aj. SKBJ I 39 ¶¶ Eg -k and B *-ək are ambiguous: they may alternatively go back to HS *ka 'thy' m. [see (6)] ¶¶ [6] *k-a 'thy' (masc. possessoris) > S *-ka id. > Hb -k-a, Ar, Gz -ka, Aram -k-, Ak -ka || C: Bj -ka id. || EC *-ka 'thy' (without genus possessoris) > pSam {Hn.} -aħa 'thy' > Rn -aħa, Bn -aha, Sml -a- || WCh: Hs -ka, Su -ya-, ? Bl -ko id. || Eg amb -k id. [> Cpt -k -k id.] || B amb *-ək id. ¶¶ Eg -k and B *-ək may alternatively go back to HS *ku || Ch: Hs -ka, Su -ya 'thy', Krf ka~id., Pdk ma~ka, Glv ya', Klb -ña/-ka~ 'thy' (no genus possessoris) ¶¶ [7] *k-i 'thy' (fem. possessoris) > S *-ki id. > Ar -ki, Hb, Aram -k-, Gz -kī, Ak -kī || EC: Hr {AMS} -a'hi id. || Ch: Hs -ki, Krf c'ī, Bl (s')s'ī id. ¶¶ [8] *k-vm 'thy' (fem. possessoris) > B *-vm ({Pr.} *-əm) > Tw -(ə)m, with kinship words: Shl -m, Gd -im ¶ Pr. M I-III 64, La. CBM 47, Lf. I 351, Aj. SKBJ I 39-40 || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} -(g)um, {Kr.} -əm 'thy' (fem. possessoris), Ngz (-a)-kəm ¶¶ AD PP 71, Br. SS § 151, Sd. G § 41-2, AD SF 77-8, 260, Ss. PEC 13, Ss. B 172, Bl. 130-1, R BilS 618-20, 685-8, Ap. Kh I 263, Ap. ACA 202-11, Hz. NSA 134-5, Hn. S 30, Hw. A 185, 213, 228, AMS 91, To. DL 211, E SC 243, 245-6 (SC *ki i 'thee' f., *ku i 'thy' m., though the extant ev. point to a subject prns. *ki 'thou' f. and *ku 'thou' m.), Mous 113-7, Wh. IC 17, 58, Blz. PPCh2 v, Brq. PS v, Kr. RChP v ¶ K *g- 'thee, to thee' (verbal px.) > OG, G, Lz g-, Mg g- ~ r-, Sv 3~, 3'~ ¶ K 57, FS K 68-9, Top. SJ 84 ¶ A: T (after vowels) *-g, (after cnss.) *-ug / *-u'g 'thy' > OT (after vowels) -g / *-g, (after cnss.) -uḡ / -u'g / *-iḡ / *-ig, Az Δ -y / -x / -uy / -u'x ~ -w / -uw id. (gen. go'z-u'x-u'n 'of thy eye', baba-y-in 'of thy grandfather', acc. at-uw-i 'equum tuum'), Chv L -u / -u'. The Chv sx. -u / -u' may go back only to rounded allomorphs *-ug / *-u'g, hence I am inclined to assume that the OT unrounded allomorphs *-iḡ / *-ig are secondary. They are due to labial harmony of vowels, which is a rather recent morphophonemic phenomenon. Acc. to Tekin GOT 63, "in Orkhon Turkic the labial harmony is at its first stage of development". Side by side with the allomorphs *-g / *-ug / *-u'g, there are nasalized allomorphs *-(u/u')ḡ (~ *-iḡ/*-iḡ?). In OT we find both unnasalized and nasalized variants of the sx.. In most later lgs. of the NaT branch, the allomorph *-(v)ḡ is the only one in use. Acc. to Bz. Tsch 726-7, the nasalized variant is represented by the Chv optional allomorph -ḡn-, used in the oblique cases side by side with the usual *-u/*-u': the genitive -ḡn-ḡn 'of thy ...' alongside with -u-n. This suggests that Chv reflects the pT distribution: the allomorph *-(v)ḡ was originally used in the oblique cases only, and it may be conjectured that it resulted from nasalization of the sx. *-(u/u')g by the adjacent genitive ending *-n ¶ CafD A 302, Kon. GJTRP 148, Lvt. IM 14-5, Shch. OSMI 73, Shir. VL 44-5, Tekin GOT 122-4 ♦ AD PP 71-4, 112.

840. *koʔi 'to call' > HS: Ar ʔkʔy (pf. ÁaḷK kaʔaya) {Fr.} 'verbis dolorem affecit', {BK} 'causer à q'un de la peine par des paroles dures' ¶ Fr. IV 2, BK II 480 || Eg fNK k3 v. 'say; invoke the name (of some deity)', Eg fXXII k3 'name', ? Eg fP k3 (> Akk MB ku, Gk -κε- in Μυκερινοῦ, χοι- in Χοιακ, name of a month) 'Ka (soul, spirit, essence of a being, personality)' ¶ EG V 85-92, Fk. 283, Vc. 74 ¶ IE: NaIE *gʷe(i)-/*gʷo(i)-/*gʷi- v. 'call, shout' (→ 'sing') > OI ga-: ga-yati ~ ga-ti 'sings', ga-tu-, ga-ti- 'Gesang', gī-ta- 'sung', ga-tha-, 'ga-tha- 'song', Av ga-da 'sacral song' || Gt qainōn 'to mourn, bewail' (κο'πτεσ'αι, πένειν), ON kveina 'jammern, klagen', AS cwa-nian 'to lament, mourn'; cwiðan 'be-an-klagen', OSx quithian 'wehklagen' || pSl *gaj-, *gaja-ti > OR гаҗаҗи gayati (prs. гаҗо gayu) v. 'shout, croak', R Δ 'гайт' 'to shout, speak'; pSl *gaji-ti 'to shout, produce noise' > R Δ 'гайт' id., Cz Δ ha'jit 'cheep plaintively' (of birds); pSl gajъ n. 'cry, shout' > R Δ гай id., 'noise' ¶ WP I 526-7, P 355, M K I 333-4, M E I 482-4, Fs. 385-6, Vr. 336 (no IE et. of kveina), Ho. 64, 66, Ho. S 59, Bern. I 291, ESSJ VI 84-6, Ped. TIE 183, 263, ¶ EI 519 [ignores Gmc; *geh₁(i)- 'sing'] ¶ U *koḷa√ > Sm {Jn.} *ka°, {Hl.} *ka- v. 'call, ask for' > Ne T d ханз, Ne O {Lh.} хаn'c', En B {Cs.} d (1s obj. aor.) kaḡabo, Slq Tz {KKIH} qəri-qo to call (for so.), Mt {Hl.} *kaḡ- v. ? 'ask for' (Mt M {Sp.} каґна̄мъ 'I ask for, пропѹ') ¶ Jn. 56, KKIH 160, Hl. M #424.

840a. ?? *keSi 'make, do' > A: M *ki- 'do, act' > MM [S] ki-, [PP] k'i- id., WrM ki-, HIM хий-(x), Kl {Rm.} ki-, ke(-), MMgl {Iw.} kī- id., Mnr {SM} g-i- 'do, act', Mgl {Rm.} ke.na', kina 'power' ¶ Pp. IM 36, Iw. 112, MED 462-3 || pJ *ki-tu'k- v. 'build' > OJ ki'iduk-, ItOJ [RJ] ki'tu'k-, J: T ki'zu'k-, K/Kg ki'zu'k- ¶ S QJ #1185, Mr. 710 ¶¶ DQA #791 (A **k'ḷi 'do, make'; incl. M, J) ¶ D {tr., GS} *key- 'do, make' > Tm

cey, Ml ceyka, Kt gey- ~ key-, Td kiy-, Kn key ~ kai- ~ gey, Kdg, Gdb key-, Tl ce-yu, Klm (prs.) ka-, Gnd, Knd, Png, Mnd, Kui, Ku ki-, Brh (prs. indef.) ke- (other variants of the stem in the paradigm [kar-, kannig] are due to borrowing and contamination from Blc kan- and Sin J kar-) ¶¶ D #1957, GS 59-60 [#171], 66 [#209], Bray I 155 ¶ K: GZ *g- 'build' > G, Mg, Z *g- id. ¶ K 57, K² 24, FS E 72 ¶ HS: B *_gH 'do, make' > Ah əg' (pf. ig'a), Gh əɜ́ (pf. iɜ́'a), Mzb əɜ́ (pf. iɜ́'u), BSñ, Izn əgg, Mtm, BSlh əɜ́ɜ́ 'do', CM {NZ} əg^d əy^d əz' 'do, act', SrSn {Rn.}, Rf Wr/A {Rn.} əɜ, Kb əg₂, Shwy, Nfs əg, Gd əg' (pf. ig'w) ¶ NZ 694-7, Fc. 374-82, Dl. 246, Dlh. M 67, Rn. 350, Lf. II #469 ¶ In most B lgs. there is a homonymous verb *_gH 'put' (possibly a *sd* of *_gH 'do') || Ch: CCh: Gzg ge 'do, make', ? Lgn ɣɜ́n id., 'work', LmP {ChC} gi 'do' || ECh: ɜ Smr {OS<-?} giya 'build' ¶ Lk. G 122, Lk. L 95, ChC ¶¶ □ OS #912 (HS *gayV; incl. B, Ch) ♦ The K and B cognates are valid if K, B and Ch *g- are from *kɜ (as). If they are not, the N rec. (based on A and D only) will be *~~k~~**K.eyV**. But even the latter rec. is valid unless M *i-, pJ *-i- and D *-ey- may go back to *-oy- (ass. palatalization of the vw.?) and the M, J and D words may be traced back to N ***.qoyV** 'to heap up, build, make' (q.v. ffd.) ♦ IS I 309 [#182] (*Keya 'делат' in D and A [T, M]).

841. ??? ₂ ***kE0u** 'to pour, flow' (alternative to ***gEqu** 'to pour, flow', q.v.) > IE: NaIE *g^heu₂-/*g^hu₂- v. 'pour', *g^heu₂-mn₂ 'sth. poured, libation' ¶ WP I 563-4, P 447-8, EI 448 (*g^heu₂-), M K I 442, M E II 821, WH I 563-4, Ad. H 37 ¶ The absence of traces of the expected Ir. (< N *q or *ɣ) is still puzzling. One may suggest a *mt* + loss of the Ir.: *gEqu > eIE *g^hHeu₂ > *g^heu₂- ¶ HS: S *^o/kɜw (or *^o/kɜw?) > Gz ₂kɜw v. (js. yəkɜaw) 'pour' ¶ L G 272 || SC: Irq {MQK} kuɜu-s- 'spill', Brn {E} kuɜus-, Alg {E} kuɜumis- v. 'spill, pour'; SC -b Mb {E} -ku 'draw water' ¶ E SC 248 [#57] (pSC *kuɜ- or *kɜf- 'draw water'), MQK 63 ♦ *Qu.*, because NaIE *g^heu₂-/*g^hu₂- is phonetically better explained as belonging to N ***gEqu**.

842. ?? ***kfu''0a** 'to go, advance, follow' < (?) 'to track (game)' > IE *g^weh-/*g^wh₂- > NaIE *g^wa₂-/*g^wa₂- 'go' > OI 'jiga-ti (P: ÷ Gk βι'βησι*) 'goes', aor. 'a-ga-m 'I went (away)' (= Gk ἔβην), OAv ga-t₂- 'soll hingehen', Av ga-man-, MPrs ga-m, NPrs ṛg ga-m 'a step', OI ga-tu-h. 'Gang, Weg, Raum, Ort', Av ga-tu-s₂, OPrs ga-thu 'place, seat' || Arm kaj kay 'there is', kam kam 'stand, be' || Gk ἔβην 'went', βημα 'a step, pace', βαί'vow 'I go' || Blt (× N ***gUhwlyV** 'to go\drive away'): Lt Δ go'ti 'to go', Ltv ga-tu 'I went' (-d> present stem *ga-y- with the present tense sx. *-y-) ¶ WP I 676-7, P 463-4, σ EI 115 (*g^weh₂- 'come'), M K I 432, M E I 482-3, Vl. II 943, Horn 198, F I 208-10, Frn. 161, Kar. I 337-8, Tum. 407 ¶ HS: S *^o/kɜy > Ar ØtKa ka-ti-n 'qui prend la fuite' ¶ BK II 909 || C: Ag: Aw {Beke} ka-, Aw Kk {Fl.} ka- v. 'walk', Aw {Wldm.} ka- 'go', Aw {Bnd.}, Dmt {CR, R} kas v. 'walk' || s SC {E} *kaw- v. 'advance, go forward' > Irq {MQK} kaw 'go to' ¶ E l.c., Blz. CWL, MQK 60 ¶ U: [1] FU *ku-yV 'follow, follow the tracks of' > Z Ss kiyad-, Z Δ {SZ} kiyad-^d kiyed- 'lie in wait for, 'to track (game), follow the tracks of' || Os V {Trj.} ko-y- 'scurry about, dart about, run to and fro'; Vg: T ku-y-, UK k^wa-y-, K/MK/NV/SV/LL k^wa-y-, P *k^wa-y-/k^wa-y-, UL/Ss koy- vt. 'track (game), follow, pursuit' ! OHg ko-vet- 'follow', Hg ko-vet- 'follow, go' || [2] ? FU *k^uyV- v. □pursuit, hunt' > Vg: K/Ss xuyt-'lead astray, drive on', P kuyt-'entice (a beast)' ! ? Hg hajt- v. 'drive, propel' ¶ UEW 155, 858, SZ 185-6, Trj. VD 141, Ht. #745, LG 151, MZsFUE 203, 244-5, 378-9, EWU 826-7 ¶ The variant *k^uyV (if valid) seems to have resulted from vw. harmony (depalatalizing regr. as caused by a final back vw.) ¶ A: T *Kob- 'follow the tracks of, follow, pursue' (× ***gUhwlyV** '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Pp. VG 49, Rs. W 275 (both equate T and M *guyu 'ask, implore', cf. N ***gXi?iyV** v. 'wave one's hand, point with one's hand\finger' (-> v. 'wave to so., beckon') and N ***k.uyE** 'be hungry, desire, want' ¶ D *ka- 'go' > Krx ka- 'go', Mlt (Drs.) ka'le 'o, come to', Brh ka- (prs. indef. ka-v, ka-s, ka-e, ka-n, ka-re, ka-r, prs.-ft. ka-va, ka-sa, ka-ik, ka-na, etc.) 'go, depart' ¶¶ D #1419 ♦ D *-a- < *-fu''0a- (contraction). FU *ku-yV seems to represent the primary meaning of the √ ('follow the tracks of').

843. ₂ ***kabV** 'sheep, goat' > IE: NaIE *gab^h- 'goat, lamb' > Clt (× IE *kapro- 'he-goat'): OIr gabor, Nlr gabhar, W gafr 'he-goat', OBr {Flr.} gabr, MBr gaffr, Br {Hm.} gavr 'goat', OCrn [VC] gauar, MCrn gaver || Um habina(f) 'lambs' (acc. pl.) ¶ WP I 553, Bc. G 336, LP § 48, SB 105, Flr. 173, YGM-1 230, Hm. 310, EI 229 ¶ HS: S *^okabas- 'ram, lamb', *^okabas-at- 'ewe' > BHb Bb3f3 'keb.es' ~ (mt) bB3f3 'kes'eb₂, SmHb 'ka^oba^os' 'young ram', pl. BHb kab_a^os^o-im, SmHb ka^oba^os^o-am 'lambs', Amr {G} kabs^o(a^o)um (f. kabs^oatum, kibs^oatum) 'lamb', SmA sbk kbs^o 'lamb' (← SmHb?), Ar Bb0Ka kabs^o- 'ram' (← Sr '3ob'e keb's^o-a^o id.), Mh {Jo.} 'kabs^o, Hrs, Jb E kabs^o 'lamb', Jb C kabs^o 'male lamb', Sq {Jo.} kubs^o '(?) lamb', Ak kabsu 'young

ram'; S *¹kabas^ˆ-at- 'ewe' > BHB eβ1b6f5 kib₋'s^ˆa⁻ (pl. kəb.a⁻s^ˆo⁻t₋), SmHb ka^ˆba^ˆs^ˆa id., Amr kabsatum p.n., Jb C {Jo.} keb's^ˆet 'female lamb', Ak kabsatu 'young ewe' ¶ KB 438-9, KBR 460, 501, G A 22, BH IV 134, Tal 377, Br. 317, Jo. M 202, Jo. H 66, Jo. J 125, Sd. 418 ¶ S *¹kabas^ˆ- goes back to a N *cd* (word group), accounting for the *ext.* *s^ˆ || B *kvb^ˆVH 'he-goat' > Dmn ikbi, NdA akbu (pl. ikba) id., ? Gnc TEGUEVITE, TEQUIBITE, TEOFUIVITE = (Wlf.) tegebite sheep, female goat' ¶ Wlf. 489-90, Wlf. EAW 58 ♦ Wlf. l.c.; the B cognate was suggested to me by Blz. (p.c.).

844. *kabV 'to rise, stand up' > **HS:** S *^o√kbw > Ar √kbw (pf. kaba⁻, ip. -kbu⁻) 'rise' (of dust) || C: Ag *kib- 'stand up, rise' > Bln {R} kib-, kibb y- id., Xm {R} c^ˆib-t- 'remain, wait, stand', Xm T {CR} c^ˆ.ibic.˘u⁻ 'si levò in piedi' ¶ R WB 211 || **U:** FU *kawa- 'rise' > F kavua-, kapua- 'climb (a tree, over a fence), clamber (over the fence)' (-p- on the analogy of -p-/v- stems) || Os: Vy qayayəl-, D xowət- 'mit dem Wasser aufsteigen', O xowlə- 'rise to the surface (e.g. fat in a cooked soup, sweat)' ¶ UEW 131-2 || **A:** AmTg *kab- v. 'stand still, stop' > Ork qaw- ~ qav- v. 'stop, stand still', Ork qaw ~ qav, Nn Nh qawqa ~ qaoqa adv. 'immovable', qawun- vt. 'stop', Nn Nh kaoʒ'arac'a- 'remain standing still' ¶ STM I 358.

845. ₂ *kabV 'calabash, gourd' > **HS:** Ch: WCh □*kabV id. (× N ***K.abʔiʔV** 'wickerwork, bag, vessel?') > Hs ka⁻bo⁻ 'a small calabash for load carried on the shoulder', ka⁻b.a⁻ki⁻ '∈ large calabash of food', Ngz {Sch.} ka⁻mbi⁻ 'small calabash bowl used especially to store grain' ¶ □ Stl. ZCh 205 [#561], Brg. 513, 515, Sch. DN 92-3 || C: Dh1 {EEC} ki⁻bo 'gourd', {To.} ki⁻bo 'gourd, calabash' ¶ EEN 11, To. D 140 || Eg N kb 'vessel for wine and other liquids' ¶ EG V 117 ¶ OS 307 [#1407] (HS *kab- 'gourd, calabash vessel' > Eg kb, Dh1, Hs) || **A:** NaT *Ka₋ḥb 'pumpkin' > Tk Δ kap, QrB qab id.; -b NaT dim. *Ka⁻bak 'pumpkin, gourd' > OT qabaq 'pumpkin, gourd', MQp XIII æBQ, XIV [CC] qabaq 'pumpkin', Tkm (as⁻)qa⁻baq, Δ qa⁻vaq, Tk kabak, Az gabag, Ggz kabak, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg qabaq, Uz qawaq, ET qapaq, qava, Ln qava 'pumpkin' [as⁻ 'food' is added in some lgs. (Tkm, Qrg) to distinguish the word from its homonym for 'eyelid'] ¶ Cl. 582 & DT 173 [interpreting *kabak as 'small container', as if derived from *ka⁻b 'bag, skin' (cf. N ***K.abʔiʔV** 'wickerwork, bag, vessel'), but this is a scholarly "folk et.", which is phonetically untenable: *k⁻abak with a lax *k⁻ (cf. Az gabag)] cannot be derived from *k⁻ab 'with a tense *k⁻ (cf. Az qap)], ET KQ 162-3, TL 143, TAG 87.

846. *kibV 'hump, bent' > **IE:** NaIE *gei₋b⁻ 'hump, bent' > L gibbus 'hump, hunch' (P: "expressive" gemination < *gībus), gibber / -a / -um adj. 'hump-backed' || Nr Δ kei₋v 'schief, gedreht, verkehrt', kei₋va 'left hand' || Lt Δ giebu⁻s 'awkward, clumsy (plump, ungeschickt)', Ltv g⁻ei⁻ba ~ g⁻e⁻iba 'awkward, clumsy person' ¶ P 354, WH I 597, Frn. 143 || **HS:** S *√kpp v. 'bend' (× N ***K.upE** ~ ***K.u⁻pV** 'to bend') > JA, MHb, Sr, Ak √kpp id., Sr kəp₋i⁻p₋a⁻ 'hump', JA, Sr afk₋p₋ √kpw₋y v. 'bow', ? OA Htr kpp? '∈ architerctural form (vaulted room?)', ?σ Ar √kff 'wrap (the foot) in a rag' ¶ Sl. 596-7, Js. 661, Br. 339-40, HJ 531, BK II 909 || **A:** M *^oko⁻bu⁻re- v. 'bend, bow down' [× N ***K.upE** ~ ***K.u⁻pV** '↑' (q.v. ffd.)] ♦ In many lgs. N ***kibV** contaminates with N ***gubpE** 'heap, hump, hunchback' [q.v.]. This merger may be responsible for S *p (instead of the expected *b).

847. *kobV 'to hew, cut' (→ 'to plane') > **K:** G kwab- 'in Felsen hauen (z. B. Behausung)' ¶ Chx. 1551 || **HS:** B: Ah ta⁻ku⁻ba 'sword' (pl. ti⁻ku⁻ba⁻in), Gh {Nh.} takuba id. (pl. c^ˆikubawin); Tw -b Songhai {Sk. <-?} takuba, Hs ta⁻ko⁻bi⁻ 'sword' ¶ Fc. 726, Ba. 981, Sk. HCD 250 || C: Bj √k^wbb pcv. 'cut' ({R} 1s: p. 'a-kbub, pqp⁻. 'i-kbub, prs. ak^wa^om⁻bib id.), n. ag. k^wabib || Ag {Ap.} *kab-/ka⁻b- 'cut' > Xm {Ap.} k.a⁻b-, {R} kab-, Km {Ap.} kab-, {CR} kav-, Aw {Ap.} kew-/kep-, {Plm., Hz.} kew- (1s kep- < *keb-?), Bln/Q {R} kab- ¶ Ap. AV 12, R WBd 135 || ?? Ch: WCh {Stl.} *kabi 'long knife' > Su {J} kəp 'knife', Ang {Flk.} ku⁻p '∈ long knife' ? μ Hs ta⁻ko⁻bi⁻ 'sword' (if ta- is a px.) ¶ Cp. also Ch √gb 'cut' > WCh: AG: Ang H, Mnt gap, Gmy {ChL} gip, Kfr {Nt.} ga⁻p, Chip {ChL} gəp || CCh: Nz gibadi id. ¶ The comparison with Ch √gb is highly *qu.*, because the Ch √ has more reliable connections with S *^ogu⁻p- 'cut' (> Ar √gwf) ¶ ChL, ChC, Stl. ZCh 205 [#557], 214 [#641], Ba. 981, Abr. H 843, Nt. 14, Flk. s.v. ku⁻p || **A:** {ADb.} *kob- 'to plane' > Tg *kuba- v. 'plane wood (срporат)' > Ewk kuwa-, Neg koa- ~ kowa- ~ koya-, Orc koa- ~ ku(w)a-, Ul kua- id., Lm quwun 'planing-knife, shaving-knife, скобел', Nn KU qoatamsa 'shavings, chips (стружка, щепки)', WrMc quwatixiya, xuwatixiya 'scrape off, plane off' ¶ STM I 421 || ? NaT *Kob₋Vl'a- > Qrg qops⁻o- 'plane around, scrape off, clean the surface [with a knife, etc.]', ?σ OT [MhK] qovs⁻a- ~ qoys⁻a-, OT U qovus⁻a- 'polish' ¶ DTS 452, 462, Jud. 405 || **Gil:** Gil A k₋3v/k⁻3v- v. 'hew' ¶ ST 414, ST RN 374.

[[847a.]] ***ko.bV** (– ***ko.pV**?) 'frog, toad' > **HS**: [EC ***kUp** > Kns kup-a-ta, Hr/Gln {AMS} hup-e 'toad'; HEC: Brj ko-p-i {Ss.} 'toad', {Hd.} 'frog, toad' ¶ Ss. B 117-8, Hd. 204 ||] Om [1] Bdt koppe 'toad' (4b-EC?) [2]: SOm: Dm {Fl.} gofur 'frog' || NrOm: Bsk {Fl.} gofra 'toad', gob3r-si 'frog', Kf {C} geppec'c'-o-, geppec'c'-e id. ¶ Fl. OO 318, C SE IV 447 [4 ¶ The Om voiced cns. ***g**- still needs elucidation] [II-K ~~***g**webu > Mg z'vabu 'frog', Lz A m3'vabu, Lz X (m)z'vabu 'toad' ¶ K IEK 110-2~~] II IE: NaIE ***g^we^b-a^h** / ? ***g^wəb^h** 'toad' [(~~***N** ***ko^lq^lpV** 'mucus, slime' > 'toad' as 'a slimy animal', whence ***g^w** for ***g^{hw}** ?~~)] > Pru gabawo id. (Tr.: < ***g^wəb^h**-) ! Sl ***z'a''ba** (< pre-Sl ***ge^h-ba^h**) 'toad' > OCS жаба z'aba, Blg, R, Uk жаба, SCR z'a''ba, Slv z'a'ba, Cz z'a'ba, P z'aba id. || ? L bufo^h 'toad' ({Ert.}: 4b- OscU < ***g^wo^b-o^h**) [4 ¶ IE 4b > K (GZ?) ~~***g**webu > Mg z'vabu 'frog', Lz A m3'vabu, Lz X (m)z'vabu 'toad'~~] ¶ P 466, Vs. II 31, Glh. 704, En. 174, En. APG 62 (on the derivational form of gabawo), Tr. 8, Tp. P E-H 124-7, WH I 121, Ert. ED 130 [4, K IEK 110-2 II D ***k'a'pp**- 'frog' > Kt kepak 'frog, toad', Td kopin, Kn kappe, Kn Hv keppe, Tu kappæ, Tl kapp, Gnd kappe, Knd kapoki, Ku kappa 'frog', Kdg kappe'toad' ¶¶ D #1224(a)] ♦ NaIE ***e⁻** (/ ***ə**?) points to a N Ir., that in the light of the K zero reflex must be weak (*). L -f- and K -b- suggest a pN ***-b-**, while Bsk and Dm -f- and Kf -pp- seem to favour ***-p-** (but the devoicing may also be due to the Ir.) [4 ♦ Blz. DA 158 [#64] (suggested to add the EC and D data).]

848. *k'a''c^h.u 'skin' > K ***kic^h**cw- > G kicv-i 'fish-scales' ¶ Chx. 1561 II **HS**: AdS of S ***^oks^hr** > Ar kasr-at- ~ kisr-at- 'crust (of bread)' [< N ***k'a''s^hV(RV)** 'scales, crust'] || CCh: BM: Br, Ngx kisim, Chb k^wuci^h, WMrg k^wu'c'i^h, ku'c'e^h 'skin' ¶ ChL II U: FP ***k'a''c^hc'a** (> ***ka^hc^hc'a^h** / ***ka^hc^hc^hV**?) 'skin, hide' > pLp ***ka^hc^hc^he^h** > Lp N {N} gac^hc'e / -c^hc^h 'skin of porpoise or whale' ! Prm ***kuc^h**- 'skin' > Z кучик kuc'ik id., Prmk куч'к kuc'ik, {W} kuc^h 'skin, hide', Yz ku'c'ik 'human skin', Vt {W} kudsi (= kuc'i?) 'skin' (-k is a sx.) ¶ LG 148, N II 4 ¶ Lp N gac^hc'e goes back to FU ***ka^hc^hc'a^h**, while Prm ***kuc^h**- points to a back vw. (***a** or ***o**) in the first syll. of pFU; the discrepancy may be accounted for by vw. harmony: an early [pre-harmonic] stem ***ka^hc^hc'a^h** with subsequent *as* : ***ka^hc^hc'a^h** > ***ka^hc^hc'a^h** and ***ka^hc^hc'a^h** > ***ka^hc^hc'a^h** II A ***ka^hc^hc^hu** > Tg ***ka^hc^hu**(-ki) 'leather clothes' > Nn Nh/KU qac'o^h ~ qac'o^hy ~ qac'u^h ~ qac'u^hy, Nn Δ qac'iki 'leather garment for men', Ul qac'vi ~ qac'vy 'fur coat (made of dog fell)', Orc qac'ui, Orc X ka^hc'uki 'garment made of elk skin', WrMc qaciki 'old coat from shabby hide (of deer or saiga antelope)' ¶ STM I 386 || pKo {S} ***ka^hc** 'skin, leather, hide' > MKo ka'co'k, ka'c^h (ka's), NKO казук (Rm.: = ka3'ok id., Ko Sl ka3'uk, Ko N {Rm.} ka3ugi, Ko {S}: Ph sal-gat, Chs/Ks ka3'u'k, Hm ka^h3'u'k, Kw ka3'uk id., NKO sal-gat (sal-gac^h-) 'skin surface', NKO † kat (/ka^h- 'fur, leather, hide' ¶ S AJ 254 [#77], Rm. SKE 102, S QK #77, MLC 25, 63-4, 896 ¶¶ Rm. l.c., S AJ 296 [#573] (***ka^hc^hV** || T ***k^hja^hca^h** ({DQA} ***Ka^hc**(g)a^h) > OT {Cl.} qac'a^hc^h 'silk fabric' ¶ Cl. 590 || ??φ M ***quci**- v. 'cover, wrap' > MM quci- [MA] {Pp.} 'wrap (with a coat, a turban, leather)', [S] {H} 'einpacken, herumrüllen', WrM quci-, HIM хучи- vt. 'cover, cover up; cover oneself with a blanket, WrO хучи- vt. 'cover, dress, wrap up', Kl хуч-, {Rm.} хуч'и-, Brt хуи- id., v. 'roof', Ord {Ms.} g^huc^h-i-, Dg {T} xoci- ~ koc'i- vt. cover', Mnr H {SM} xoz^h-i- 'pack\wrap up, wrap' ¶ Problematic because of the unexpected ***u** (*as* ***a...u^h** > ***u...u^h** and later ***u...i**?) ¶ Pp. MA 307, H 70, MED 979, SM 169, Ms. O 518, Krg. 29, KRS 617, KW 200, Chr. 60, T DgJ 178 ¶¶ DQA #695 [A ***ka^hc^hu** 'covering, skin (шкура, кожа)'] ♦ Lp proves that the medial cns. is emphatic (***-c^h**). In K, S and CCh the word-medial cns. was deglottalized (in K due to *dis*, in HS deglottalization is a typical phenomenon - positional change dependent on supersegmental factors such as tones or stress?).

849. *kEc^h.ʔU^h ~ *k'f'u^hc^h.ʔU^h (or ***-c^h**?) 'knife' > **HS**: C: Bj {R} 'ko^h-sa ~ 'ku^h-sa id. || Ch: CCh: Dgh {Frk.} ki'c'a^h, Ngs {ChC} k^hi'c'a^h id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'knife', ChL II U: FU ***kec^hV** ~ ***ku^hc^hV** 'knife' > pChr {Ber.} ***ku^hc^hʔ** ({BBer.} ***ku^hc^hə**) id. > Chr: L кезое 'ku'zo^h, U/B ku'zo^h, M ku'z'u^h, H кьэзье 'kəzə || pObU {Ht.} ***ke^hc^həy** 'knife' > pVg {Hl.} ***ka^hs^hke^h-j**, {Ht.} ***ka^hs^hka^h-y** > OVg: S SSs kotschljaj, N SoG ke^h-sche, E TM ka^htschi; Vg: LK/MK ka^h-si ~ ka^h-si, UL/Ss kasay id.; pOs {Ht.} ***ko^hc^həy** > Os: V/Vy ko^hc^həy, Ty ko^hc^həy, Y ko^hc^həy, D/K kec^hə, Kz kes'i^h, O kes'i id. ! Hg ke's id. ¶ UEW 142, Sm. 545 (FU ***ka^hci**, FP ***ka^hc^hi**, Ugr ***ka^hc^h-**), Ber. 28 [#138], MRS 257, 276, Ht. 145 [#220] II A: Tg ***ku^hce(n)** 'knife' > Ul kuc^h3(n-), Ork ku^h3(n-) ~ ku^h3ə3 ~ kuti ~ kuti3, Ud kusig3, Nn Nh kuc^h3^h, Nn B kuc3(-), Mc Sb kus'i id., Ul kuc^h3l3-, Ork ku^h3l3-, Nn Nh kuc^h3l3-, Nn B kuc3li- v. 'prick with a knife', Mc Sb kus'il3- v. 'cut with a knife', cp. Tg ***x^hjuci** 'knife' > Ewk uci, Sln usx3^h-, {Iv.} yu^h кан, учик^h, уч' ко' id. ¶ The variant with ***x-** (< N ***K^h**-) may be due to *as* (***k...c^h** > ***k...c^h**) ¶ STM I 441 & II 296, Krm. 253 II ?σ K: G K kie^h.o 'meat-hook (of a butcher)' ¶ Chx. 1562 ♦ If the K cognate is valid, the N affricate is ***-c^h**-, otherwise it is ***-c^h**-. It is

tempting to adduce here (in spite of the semantic distance) Bj {R} ko's 'tooth' and Dsn {To} ka'c'u id.

850. ?₂ *k'u'c'.V or *K'u'c'.V 'ant' > HS: EC: Gwd kuc'.a'c'ite' 'ant' ¶ AMS 229 || NrOm: Kf {C} k.a'c'.o' 'red ant', Wl {LmS} k.a'c'.uwa id., {C} k.a'c'.oa' 'ant', Zl {C} k.ac'.o', Kcm {LmS} k.ac'.o 'black ant' ¶ C SE IV 483, C SO 33, LmS 428 || Ch: CCh: Nkc {Kr.} ku's'e's'e' 'termite' || ECh: Ll {Grgs.} gu'si' id. || ? WCh: Hs ki'ya's'i' (pl. ki'ya'su') 'small ant' ¶ Ba. 615, ChC, ChL || U *kuc'.V 'ant' > ObU {Ht.} *ko'c'ya'y 'ant' > pVg {Ht.} *ka's'yay > Vg (partially within cds): T kas'qa'y, LK xos'xat, pl. xos'it, UK kosi, P kos's'iy, NV/ML kos's'i, UL xo'ssuy, Ss xo'swoy; pOs *koc'hay ({Hl. *ka'c'hay-) id. > Os: V/Vy qoc'ni, Ty qa'c'ni, Y qac'ni, D xa's'na'y, K xa's'ya'y, Nz/Kz xa's'na, O xa's'na || Sm {Jn.} *k3cV (- *kicV?) 'ant' > Slq d: Tz {KKIH} kita, Tm {KD} q3'3_a id.; -d Sm *k3cVmka° ~ *kucVmka° id. > Ne T W xuduma, Ne O xu'dumgæ, Kms {KD} k'e'dəmgə, Koyb {Sp.} கடuma id. ¶ UEW 192-3, Ht. #221, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 65, KKI 123 ♦ If the N etymon is *k'u'c'.V, NrOm *k- is due to as, otherwise the EC and Ch initial cns. is due to HS deglottalization.

851. *k'a'diV 'rock' > A *kada 'rock, hill' > M *qada 'rock, cliff' > MM [S] qada 'Abhang, Felswand', WrM qada(n), HlM хад(ан) 'rock, cliff, crag', Kl {Rm.} xada 'rock, mountain', {KRS} хад xadъ 'rock (скала, утес)', Dg xad(a), Mnr H {SM} g_ad_a, {T} gada, Dx {T} gada id. ¶ H 55, MED 902, SM 114, T 324, T DnJ 115, T DgJ 172, KW 158, KRS 565 || Tg *kada > Ewk, Lm kada'r, Sln xada'r, Neg kada, kada(y)a 'rock (скала, утес)', Ud kada 'large stone, stone', Ul qadah, Orc kada 'rock, mountain', Ewk kadaya, Ork qada 'rock (скала)', WrMc xada, Mc Sb xada 'rock, peak' ¶ STM I 153-4, Krm. 244 ¶¶ DQA #699 (incl. M, Tg) || D (in GnD) *ka'ti > Gnd ka'ti d k'ha'ti 'cliff, bank', Ku ga'ti 'precipice'; D b InA *g'at.t.a ¶ D #1449, Tu. #4414 || HS: ECh: Jg{J} kokode stone hill' ¶ J J s.v. || B *ka'tVr ~ *ga'dir: [1] *ka'tVr > Mz t-c'atər-t 'petit lever de terre, petit talus', Wrg t-katər-t 'lever de terre', ? Ah tə-ka'tər-t 'petit bourrelet de terre (naturel ou artificiel) retenant des eaux'; [2] *ga'dir > Izn, Rf B a-z'dir 'falaise, rocher à pic', Kb a-gad.ir 'talus; terrain en forte déclivité, escarpement', Tmz a-gadir 'talus', CA {NZ} tagudirt 'colline' ¶ Rn. 351, Dl. 251, Fc. 943, MT 147, Dlh. M 25, Dlh. Ou 158, NZ 735 ¶ The variants *ka'tVr and *ga'dir my result from different directions of assimilation from the original **/kdr || EC: ??? Sa {R} kudo' 'glatt ausgewaschener Felsen über welchen ein Wasserfall geht' [unless derived (acc. to R) from ku'd- 'laufen, fliehen'] ¶ R S II 208 || ??σ,φ S: Gz katama' 'extremity, summit' ¶ LG 298 ♦ The rec. may be both *kadV and *katV.

852. *kudV (or *K.udV) 'to plait' > U: FP *kuda- v. 'plait, weave' > F kuto- id., Es kudu- id., 'knit' i pLp {Lr.} *koðe- 'weave, knit' > Lp: S gu'rr'edh, U gu'ddeet, L ka'te't, N godde-, K {Gn.} kott'e- i Er, Mk кода- weave, plait' i pChr {Ber.} *kuə- > Chr: H кое- (inf. Ø коаш), L inf. куаш B/Uf kue- 'weave' i Prm {LG} *ku- > Z кы ki-(ni) 'weave, knit, plait', Prmk {Rog.} inf. кыи-ны, Yz inf. ku'-na, 1s prs ku'y-a 'weave, plait', Vt inf. ку-ыны 'weave' ¶ UEW 675, Sm. 552 (FP *kuda-), It. #183, Lr. #440, Lgc. #2512, Ber. 23, MRS 201, 235, LG 152-3, Lt. J 138 || D *kut- ({GS} *k-) v. 'plait' > Krx kud- v. 'plait, braid, twist', Prj kud.p- v. 'weave baskets, etc. out of bamboo', Gdb kurp- v. 'plait split bamboos to make baskets', as well as words for wickerwork: Tm kut.alai 'basket of palmleaf', cover of palmleaf (against rain)', Kn kud.pu 'small basket', Tu kud.upu 'a strainer made of wickerwork' ¶¶ D #1653 || HS (× N *k.adV 'to wicker, wattle', q.v. ffd.): Ch {Stl.} *kod.a < *k.oda 'pot' || AdS of S *kadd- 'jar'.

853. {IS} *ku'da 'male person of the opposite moiety' (→ 'male relative-in-law') > U: FU {IS} *ku'du id. > F kuty 'husband's\wife's brother', Vp ku'du, Es ku'di, Δ ku'du 'husband's brother' || ObU: pOs *ku'IV 'wife's sister's husband' > D kitə, O kili 'wife's sister's husband'; Os *ku'IV (× N *ka'luu 'a woman of the opposite moiety') > Os: V ku'li 'wife's sister's husband', niŋ-ku'li 'wife's sister' (niŋ- means 'woman'), Ty kitə, Nz ki'tə, Kz ki'ti 'wife's sister's husband, wife's sister', Kr kitə 'wife's younger sister, wife's younger brother's daughter'; Os b Vg: UL kil 'wife's brother', {Reg.} 'wife's sister; sister's husband', Ss kil 'wife's sister', N {Mu.} kil 'wife's brother, sister's husband; wife's elder sister' ¶ UEW 154, Trj. VD 143, Trj. S 125, Stn. D 620, MK 213 || A: T *k'u'da-gu 'younger sister's husband, daughter's husband' (-gu is an adjectival sx.) > OT ku'da-gu ({Cl.} k'u'da-gu), Chg ku'ya'v, MXwT ku'da-gu, MQp ku'ya-gu 'bridegroom', [CC] ku'ya-gu 'daughter's husband', Tkm giyew, Blq, Nog kiyew, Uz kuyaw, Qrg ku'yo, Alt ku'yu, Tv ku'de, Δ ku'to, Tf hu'da, SY ku'zegr, Xk kizo id., ET ku'yoğul id. (cd with oğul 'son'), Tk gu'vey, Ggz gu'va, Az go'yu-m (with

1s ppa. -m), Δ kiyaːw ɖ ʒːiyaːw, Qmq giyev, Qzq, Qq kuːyew, VTt kiyaːw, Bsh к̑а̑аːw, Chv к̑а̑аː id., 'bridegroom', Yk kuːtuːoː 'daughter's husband; sister's\cousin's husband, mother's younger sister's husband', Chv к̑а̑аː (gen. к̑а̑аː-ы́) id., 'younger sister's husband; bridegroom' ¶ Cl. 703, ET VGD 43-6, TL 297-8, Ra. 192, Jeg. 109, Fed. I 283, Pokr. TR 60-3, TvR 268 || M *quda ({Pp.} *kudaː < *kuːda) 'father of one's son-in-law or daughter-in-law' (in pl.: 'the heads of two families related through the marriage of their children') > MM {S} xuda, {HI} guda id., WrM quda, HIM худ, Brt худа, Mnr H {SM} q̑ud_a id., Kl {KRS} худ xudъ 'father of the son-\daughter-in-law (сват)', {Rm.} xudъ 'people related through the marriage of their children'. Poppe (Pp. PLVM 8) reconstructs a long *a in the second syll. of this M word: *kudaː and supposes that originally this *aː goes back to a stressed vw.: *kuːda. Poppe's rec. is right if his accentual theory of pM is justified ¶ MED 979, H 70, Ms. H 59, KW 194, KRS 607, SM 123 ¶¶ DQA #905 (*kude 'relative-in-law') || ?? K *kwisː-l̥- 'wife's sister's husband' > G kvisl-, G Mt/M kviseli, Mg kvisːil- ({IS} < *kwisːol- < *kwisːal-), Sv {TK} d : UB me-ksːwel (pl. laː-mkosːla), L meksːol, Ln moksːaːl (pl. lamoksːala), Sv {K} me-kwsːel ɖ me-kwsːoːl ɖ mo-ksːaːl (mo < *me- due to the infl. of the lost stem-final *w, i.e. K *kwisː-l̥- yields eSv *kwsːw- > Sv ksːw-) ¶¶ K 198, K² 217, FS E 377 (*kwisː-, TK 217 ¶¶ Acc. to sound laws we expect K *kwid-. The observed pK stem *kwisː-al- may have originated from the genitive **kwid-isː- + sx. *-al- (with a contraction *-dsː- > *-sː-). This can be understood if we take into account the K tendency of inflexion based on case sxs. added to the genitive form, like in the case of OG t̥pil-is-i 'Tbilisi' (stem + gen. sx. + sx. of casus rectus) ♦ IS I 302-4, AD NM #110, S CNM 8 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn).

854. *koðdʰeː ~ *kodʰeː 'filth, dirt; abominable' > IE: NaIE *gʷoːdʰ- / *gʷeːdʰ- id. > Gmc *kʷaːd- > AS cweːad, OFrs quaːd 'dung, excrement, dirt', OHG quaːt ~ koːt 'dirt, manure', MHG quaːt ɖ quoːt ɖ koːt ɖ kaːt, NHG Kot 'dirt, filth, mire, mud'; MHG quaːt 'wicked, abominable', MLG quaːd, Dt kwaad 'wicked, ugly', ME cweːd 'bad' || Sl [1] *gaːdъ (< *gʷoːdʰ-) 'reptile, vermin, sth.\so. abominable' > OCS гадъ gadъ 'animal reptile, serpens', Blg гад 'vermin', SCr gaːd 'disgust, nausea; snake', Slv gaːd 'adder (Vipera)', Cz, Slk had, P gad, OR, RChS гадъ gadъ 'reptile, snake', R, Uk гад 'reptile; abominable person'; [2] *zːadati seː (< *gʷeːdʰ-) > OP zːadacː sieː 'loath, be disgusted at', *zːadъnъ-(jъ) > OP zːadny, Slnvz zːadni 'ugly' || Lt geːda 'feeling of) shame', Pru acc. gr̥dan 'Schande', nigr̥dings 'shameless' ¶ Ho. 64, Kb. 577, KM 397, ESSJ VI 81-2, Bern. I 289-90, Glh. 225, Frn. 142, En. 177, 215, Tp. P E-H 231-3 || HS: S *°/kd̥ > Ar kud̥-at- 'vil et méprise' ¶ BK II 875 || ? B *°/kyd̥ (and secondary *°/Hkd̥) 'détester, mésestimer' [x N *K.aHdV 'grief, sorrow, anxiety' (→ 'care'), 'anger, hate', q.v. ffd.] ¶ GhA 89, 104, Fc. 749, 769-71, Msq. 87 ¶ The emphatic *d̥ seems to go back to the cluster *d̥s̥ || D (in SD) *kott- ({GS} *k-) 'dirt' > Tm kottai 'rottenness, blot, blemish', Ml kotta 'dust, dirt as on the clothes of a traveller', Tu kottæ 'trash, dirt' ¶ D #2094 ♦ D *-tt- (regularly from *-t- rather than from *-d-) may be accounted for by the N cluster *-d̥-.

855. ?? o *k̑k̑EdV's'c'ʷu 'to sneeze' > HS: S *°/kds̥ id. > Ar /kds̥ G 'sneeze' (of animals) ¶ BK II 874-5 || IE: NaIE *skeuː-/kseuː- (~ *skeuː-/°skeuː-) v. 'sneeze' > OI 'ks̥aːuti 'sneezes', 'ks̥ava-h., 'ks̥ut, ks̥uta-m n. act. 'sneezing' || Sl *к̑ха-ti, momentaneous *к̑х-noː-ti 'to sneeze' > ChS к̑хн̑хти к̑хноːti id., SCr Δ kaːxnuti, kaːxnuti 'to cough, sneeze' (phonetic irregularities due to onomatopoeia); Sl *c̑ixa-to 'to sneeze' > Blg 'чихам 'I sneeze', Slv c̑íhati, ULs c̑ichac̑, LLs ts̑ichas̑, P czchac̑, R чиːхат̑ 'to sneeze' || ? Lt c̑iaːudeːti 'to sneeze' || The metathetic variant *ske(ː)uː- is represented by Lt skiaːudeːti (prs. skiaudz̑iu), Ltv s̑k̑auːt, s̑k̑iauːd̑ȓt̑ 'to sneeze' ¶ P 953, M K I 287, 291, 295, M E I 429-30, Frn. 74, ≠ ESSJ XIII 176, 110, EI 133 (? *skeuː- or *kseuː- 'sneeze') ¶ ESSJ and M consider the OI and SI verbs to be pure onomatopoeia and reject any attempts of etymologizing them || U: [1] (+ext.) FU *kic̑naː- v. 'sneeze' > pLp {Lr.} *k̑sneː- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} gasn̑edh, L {LLO} kasneːt, N {N} gaːs̑tet, Kld k̑s̑n̑eːd̑ id. || Er kes̑n̑aː, kes̑n̑eː-, Mk ks̑n̑aː- || Vt киз̑ны̑ kiz̑ni-, Vt Sr kȋz̑ni- id. ¶ UEW 662, Lr. #329, Lgc. #1982, Hs. 573-4 || [2] *keːt̑iV̑s̑V̑ or *keːt̑iV̑c̑V̑ 'sneeze' > Sm {Jn.} *kaːc̑V̑- ɖ *kaːc̑y̑ȓ-, {HL.} *kaːc̑iȓ- id. > Slq Tm {KD} q̑aːc̑ag̑ (1s aor.) id.; d̑ (augmentative) verbs: Ne F {Lh.} s̑aːtaȓs̑ (< *kaːc̑ȓ-), Ng {Mik.} katirs̑a, En (1s aor.: En X {Cs.} seːrȋaȓoː, En B {Cs.} seːdȋaȓadoː id., Kms {KD} qaːd̑oȓl̑aːm 'I sneeze', Mt {HL.} *kaːd̑aȓ- 'sneeze' (Mt M {Sp.} кады̑ра̑мь 'I sneeze') ¶ Jn. 63, Hl. M #448.

856. *k̑gog̑ʒʰȆV̑ 'to set fire to, burn sth.' > K: GZ *g(u)z- v. 'kindle, set fire' > OG, G gzn-, gz- id., G ma-guz-al 'charred log', guzguza cec̑li 'flame (пыла̑щий огон̑)', ma-guz-, ni-guz-al- 'Glut', guzguz- 'Knistern

des Feuers', Mg rz-, Lz gz-, z- v. 'kindle' ¶ K 62, K² 30, FS K 80, FS E 84, Ser. 40, Chik. 260, Q 305 ¶ IE: NaIE *ksV̄- (or *k^wsV̄-) v. 'burn' (× N *k.os'ṽ' to kindle', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP I 500, P 624, M K I 288, M E I 430 (no IE et. gor OI) ¶¶ The qu. Arm cognate (çay c^haw 'pain', çasnum c^hasnum 'lose one's temper, put oneself in a passion'), if valid, points to IE *k^hs-. N *z' > IE *s; *g^hz' > *g^hs > IE *k^hs (as) ¶ WP I 500, P 624, M K I 288, M A I 430 ¶ ?? HS: S *gawzVl- v. 'kindle' (att. in Aram lgs.) > Sr √gwzl (pf. ʕΩew@a gaw'zel) v. 'kindle, set on fire', gawza⁻l-a⁻, gawzal⁻t-a⁻ 'flame, fiery coal, fire, heat', NENA {Orh.} go^hzalta⁻ id. (4b-Sr?), ? TA {Rt.} gizlayle 'Festakt am Weihnachtsabend, bei dem ein Holzhauften in Brand gesteckt wird' ¶ Br. 111, PS 697-8, JPS 63, Rt. 177, Orh. 75, DC 107 || Ch {Stl.} *gu^hz- 'kindle' > WCh: Tng {J} kōze 'light a fire, strike a light' || ECh: MfG {Brr.} m³-g³d,ey 'allumer le feu', Mkl {J} go^hze⁻ 'activer\attiser le feu' ¶ Stl. IF 184, J T 102, J LM 105, Brr. MG II 279 ¶ ¶: M *ko^hgzi- v. 'begin to flame, blaze up' > WrM ko^hgzi-, HIM x' rжи- id., MM [MA] ko^hg^hzi- vi. 'burn, shine' ({Pp.} ko^hg^hze sara 'the moon shone'), Kl {Rm.} ko^hg^hzi- 'auflodern, zu brennen anfangen' ¶ MED 481, KW 236, Pp. MA 220 ¶ D (in NED) *ko(c)c- v. 'catch fire, inflame, burn' (× N *k.os'ṽ' 'ḥ', q.v. ffd.) ♦ S, Ch and K *g- is either original (< N *g-) or due to as (*k...g > *g...g). M *k- point to a N *k-.

857. ? i *k^hak^hE (or *k^h.-?) 'angry, bad' ('böse') > K: G kik- v. 'blame, reprimand' ¶ Chx. 1561 ¶ IE: NaIE *k^hak^h- 'bad' > Gk κακοῖς id. || NPhr κακο(υ)ν id. (?) (unless a loan from Gk) ¶ Ch. 482, F I 758-9 ¶ ¶ {ADb.} *kak^hi- '(to be) angry' > NaT *Kak- (~Ka^hk?), *Kak^h- > OT qaki- ({Cl.} qaki⁻) v. 'be angry' and prob. {Cl.} ka^hk 'a desire for revenge' (← *malice, spite, secret hatred'), Osm {Rh.} qaqi- v. 'scold', Tk kak^h- v. 'blame, scold' ¶ Cl. 609, ET KQ 223-4, Rh. 1419, Dr. TM III 1400 || ppM *qaki > M *qaki- {ADb.} v. 'be angry' > WrM qaki-, HIM хахи- v. 'despise' ¶ MED 915 || Tg {ADb.} *kaxi- 'angry' > Ewk kaki- 'angry, ferocious', WrMc xaxi- 'hot-tempered, irascible' ¶ STM I 363 ¶¶ ADb. SR-D 16 ♦ In most lgs. (except G and Ewk) the initial cns. is due to as (e.g. IE *gg^hak^h > k^hak^h-). The alt. rec. *k^hak^hE fails to account to the G cognate.

858. *k^hEho^hk^ha 'green\blue, green plants' > HS: ? WCh {Stl.} *gaki 'grass' > Hs ha^hki^h 'grass' : Ang gak 'high grass on river banks' : ? P^h h^hak^ha 'stalk' : ? Klr {J} ?ak^he^hn 'Busch, Wildnis' ¶ Stl. ZCh 223 [#727], J R 350, ¶ Sk. HCD 102 ¶ ? IE *k^hehko- ({EI} *k^heh,ko-m) 'edible greens' > NaIE *k^he^hko- 'green fodder, greenstuff' > OI s'a^hka-m, Pali sa^hka 'pothard, vegetable' || Lt s'e^hkas 'fresh-grass fodder', Ltv se^hks 'fresh green forage', ? Pru schokis 'grass' || Gmc: [1] {Vr.} *xag^wo⁻ > ON, Ic ha^h 'aftermath, after-grass', NNR ha^h, Δ ha^hv, hov id. || [2] ? *xag^wi⁻a 'hey' (× d> Gmc *xawwan 'to hew' < NaIE *kaw-/ka^hw-/ku^h- v. 'strike, hew' < N *k^haxu⁻ – *k^haxyU 'to strike\push', q.v.?) > Gt hawi, ON hey, OSx ho^hi, ho^hgi, OHG hewi, NHG Heu, AS hiez^h 'hay', NE hay || Ht kikla- 'greenery, grass' (< *k^heko-lo-) ¶¶ WP I 381, P 544, M K III 320-1, M E II 628, Tu. #12370, RhDS 701-2, Mn. 607, Vr. 199, 226, Fs. 252, OsS 377, Kb. 462, KM 306, Ho. 158, Ho. S 35, Frn. 970-1, En. 244, Pv. IV 174, EI 620 ¶ ¶ *ko^hk^he 'green\blue' > M *ko^hke id. > MM [MA, IM] ko^hke, [HI] ko^hko^h, WrM ko^hke, HIM x' x, Brt x^hxy, Klm ko^hko^h, Dgr kuke, Mgl {Rm.} ku^hka^h id., Dx kugi^hz, Ba {T} koge, Mnr M {Pot.} кyкo, Mnr H {SM} k^huguo 'blue'; MM [MA, IM] ko^hke 'sky' is a sd^h influenced by the T word for 'sky' (pT *k^ho^hk); this particular direction of infl. is suggested by the phonetic shape of the words for 'green\blue' and 'sky' in some M lgs.: MMgl ko^hke 'blue' and ko^hk 'sky' (the latter obviously from ET ko^hk 'sky') ¶ MED 482, KW 236, Rm. M 31, Pp. MA 220, 440, S AJ 243 [#213], T 340, T DgJ 151, T BJ 141, T DnJ 123, Ms. H 72, Iw. 112, Pot. 412 || T *k^ho^hk 'blue\green' (→ 'sky') > OT ko^hk 'blue, blue-green, sky', MT [IM] go^hk 'blue, sky', Tk go^hk, Ggz go^hk, Az go^hy, Blq ko^hk, VTt, Bsh ku^hk 'blue, sky', Tkm go^hk, CrTt kok^h, Qmq go^hk, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET ko^hk, Uz kōk 'blue, green, sky', Alt, Ln, Xk, Tv ko^hk, Tf kōk 'blue, green', Yk ku^ho^hχ 'blue', Chv k^hvak, Chv MK ku^hak 'blue, green, gray-blue (cи́зый)'; T ʔ> Hg ke^hk 'blue' ¶ Cl. 708-9, Rs. W 287, ET VGD 66-8, TL 60, 604, Jeg. 96, Fed. I 245-6, Ra. 204, Dr. TM I 64Off., Md. 48, 169, EWU 721, Gomb. BTL 21 || ?? Tg *kuku 'blue\green, gray' > Ewk kuku 'blue\green', Ewk I kuku-xin 'stone, from which green dye-stuff is produced', WrMc {Hr.} kuku 'grün, blau, grau', {Z, Hr.} kuku ihan 'a grey cow', kuku fulan {Hr.} 'blaugraues Pferd', {Z} 'dark-blue horse, grey horse', Mc Sb kuku 'gray' (kuku unihan 'gray cow') ¶ STM I 426, Z 289, Hr. 599, Klz. MS 214 ¶ Both the Ewk and the Mc words may be of M origin ¶¶ IS AG 340-1 (A *ko^hke), DQA #897 (A *ko^hk^hid.) ¶ ?? E: MEI, AchEI ki-ik 'sky, heaven' ¶ HK 465 ♦ The etymons *k^hUkE 'dark, black' and *k^hEho^hk^ha 'green\blue, green plants' (even without taking into account the doubtful details of their reconstruction) cannot be identical for two reasons: (1) both roots are represented in M (M *ko^hge 'soot' < N *k^hUkE and M *ko^hke 'blue\green' < N

*kʰEhoʰk.a id.), and in M there is a phonological difference between them, which must go back to a difference in pN, (2) there is a semantic difficulty: if the basic meaning is 'dark, black', it hardly can change into 'green plants', and viceversa ♦ IE *kʰ- (for the expected *gʰ-) may be due to as (*gʰ...k > *kʰ...k).

859. *kʰaʰla 'vessel, boat' > **K**: G {Chx., DCh.} kila 'clay pot', G {Chx.} I/G kila '€ a unity of dry measure (for corn and flour)', G {DCh.} 'weight measure (■ 1 pud ■ 16 kg.)' ¶ Chx. 1558, DCh. 1339 ¶ One cannot rule out the possibility of borrowing from some Aram dialect **HS**: CS *kalyi- ~ *kalay- '(?) vessel' > Hb il5f6 kəʿlī 'vessel, receptacle; piece of equipment; instrument' (pausal form il5f3 'kelī, pl. [+ppa.] unil4f4 keʿle-nu- 'our vessels\utensils', MHb pl. Mil5f4 keʿlīm), Pun kl, Mʿb ʿkʿly 'vessel', EpJA pl. klyn 'vessels', Ar O {Rnh.} kela-w 'Krüge', Tgr {Mnz.} kle keʿle- 'marmite' ¶ KB 456, KBR 478-9, LH 389, Rnh. 170, Vlr. rRnh. 514, HJ 512 || Eg MK k3y '€ boat of Nubian type', Eg NK kr 'small ship', ■'boat' ¶ EG V 101, 132, Fk. 283 || EC: Or {Grg.} killa 'small bowl for roasted coffee and butter', {Th.} killa (nom. killa-n ~ kill-i) 'piatto, coppa, piccolo piatto rotondo', Or Wl {Brl.} killa 'scodella di legno per conservarvi burro e vivande; coppa; conca; piatto' ¶ Grg. 247, Th. 63, Brl. 232 || Ch: WCh: Dr {Nw.} kiʿleʹ, Ngm kʿelle, Krkr k3li 'pot' || CCh: Bdm {Nacht.} kaʿloe- 'Gefäß, Ware' || ECh: Brg {J} koʿli- 'pot' ¶ ChC, ChL, Nw. K 127, Lk. B 108 ¶¶ Coh. #192 (S, Eg k3y), OS #1423 (S, WCh, Bdm, Or; pHS *kalVy 'vessel') **II A**: Tg *kala(n) 'cauldron, vessel' > Ewk kalan id., 'iron bowl', Ewk Brg kalan 'vessel, cup', Ewk kawa-kan (dim.) 'kettle', Ud kala(n-), Ul qala(n-), Nn qala- id., 'saucepan' ¶ STM I 364-5, Krm. 244 **II D**: [1] *kal- ({GS} *k-) > Tm kalam 'vessel, plate, utensil, earthenware, ship', Ml kalam 'pot, vessel, ship', Kt kalm 'clay pot in the making', Kn kala 'pot, vessel', Kdg kala 'big pot', Tu kara 'earthen vessel', Tl kalamu 'ship', ? Brh kalland 'broken earthen pot, old pot' || [2] *kall- ({GS} *k-) > Tm kallai- 'plate made of leaves sewn together', Kui kali, Mlt kale 'leaf-cup', Knd kala id., 'cup', Png kala 'leaf-plate'; D b Prkr khallaga-, khallaya 'leaf-cup' ¶¶ D ##1301, 1305.

860. *kalV 'to lie' (→ 'to spend the night') > **IE**: NaIE *gol- / *goʰl- / *gʰl- 'lie (down)' > Lt guliu- / gulʹti 'to lie down, go to bed', Ltv gulʹt 'go to sleep' (P: < *gʰl-); Lt guleʹti 'to lie'; Lt guoʹlis 'bed, couch; lair, den (of animals)', Ltv goʹla 'Nest, Lager' (< IE *goʰl-) || Arm {P} ka-a- kaʹat 'cave, lair or some other sleeping place of wild animals' || Gk γωλεοʹ 'hole', {F} 'Höhle, Schlucht' || OSw kolder, Sw kull, Nr Δ kold, kuld 'litter\brood\nest of young ones; children of the same married couple' (P: < 'from the same bed') || ¶ P 402, Frn. 175-6 (IE *gwol-), Hlq. 522, F I 336, Slt. 310 **HS**: EC: Gdl {Fl.} kel-ad- v. 'lie' ¶ Blz. CWL **II U**: FU *kalV 'stay overnight' > Prm: Vt коеʹлыны k3lini 'sleep, stay overnight', Z voykov / voykol- '24 hours; time including one night' (< voy 'night' + kol- 'spending the night'), Z US o,yk3l-, Prmk oyk3l- id. || ObU {Ht.} *kuʹl- 'spend the night' > pVg kuʹl- id. > Vg: T/P/SV koʹl-, LK/UL/Ss xuʹl-, MK/LL *kuʹl-; pOs *kal- id. > Os: V/Vy qal-, Ty/Y qaʹt-, D/K xot-, Nz x3t-, Kz x3t-, O xal-; Hg haʹl- id., 'sleep' ¶ Coll. 80, UEW 120-1, Sm. 545 (FU *kaʹla- 'stay overnight' > FP *kala-, Ugr *kaʹla-), MF 251, Ht. #247, LG 61.

861. *kal,ʹV 'to bark, remove vegetation' (→ 'bare, naked?'); the etymon has two semantic variants, the second one ('bare, naked') may either be a *sd* from the first one ['bare' as 'peeled, barked'] or represent a separate N word: [1] *kal,ʹV 'to bark, remove vegetation' > **D** {tr., GS} *kal- v. 'weed' (× N *.qal,ʹV 'break, tear, pluck') > Tm kal id., Ml kaʹa 'weed, tares', Kt kaʹ, Kdg kaʹe 'weeds', kaʹv- 'take\scoop out, flick away dirt from (semi-)liquid (e.g. clay)', Kn kaʹe 'weed', Brh xallij v. 'uproot (vegetables)'; but *kalVp- (> Tu kalepini, kalepuni v. 'strip off, remove' and Tl kalupu 'weeds') is likely to belong to N *.qalʹruʹPV 'to bark (a tree), cut off', 'bark, peel' (q.v. ffd) ¶¶ D #1373, GS 167 [#420] **III** [2] *kal,ʹV 'bare, naked' > **IE**: NaIE *goʹal- 'naked, bare' > Gmc *kal-wa- 'bare, naked' > OHG calo (aadj. calawe-r) ʹ chalo, NHG kahl, AS {Sw.} calo (gen. calwes) 'bald', {Ho.} calu, MLG kale 'bald, bare', NE callow; AS calwa, OFrs kale, MLG kalewe, OHG cal(a)wa 'bareness, mange' || Ltv {ME} gaʹle, Δ gaʹla 'thin ice crust (not covered by snow); ice on the ground (in springtime)' (today in: ledus gaʹle 'ice crust') || Sl *golʹъ (dadj *golʹъ-jъ) 'naked' > OCS голʹъ golʹъ, Blg гол, SCr goʹl (f. goʹla), Slv goʹl, Cz, Slk holyʹ, P goʹly, R 'гоʹлый, Uk 'гоʹлий id. ¶ Sw. 32, Ho. 43, OsS 469-70, Kb. 526, KM 339, P 349, Kar. I 283, ME I 617, Turk. 168, ESSJ VII 14-5, Glh. 236-7, ■ EI 45 (err. adduction of the BSl word for 'head' and rec. of IE *gol(H)wo-s 'bald, bare') **II ?? U**: FV: F kalju, kalja, kalea 'bare, naked, bald, smooth' || ? Mk {Ahl.} kali-sʹ 'naked, bald', kali-sʹgada 'get bald, remain naked' (unless < R гоʹлыш 'naked person\thing') ¶ Ahl. MM 155, SK 148 **II D**: Td koʹt, 'without leaves' (of tree in winter), 'half dry, half

green (when tree is being killed by stripping bark)' ¶ D #1373 ♦ IS I 289 [#156] (IE, D, A, C; i ÷ U *ka'l'v [i.e. U {UEW} *ka'l'wv] 'film, thin skin', M *qali- 'bark', Or k.o'la 'skin, hide' [on all of them cf. N *K.al'ru' 'skin, film, bark'], Or ka'le- 'skin, hide', A: T *Ka'l'-ka 'bald' [see N *K.al'fu 'bare, naked'])).

862. *ka''lu 'a woman of the opposite moiety' (→ 'female relative-in-law', 'bride') > **HS:** S *kall-at- 'daughter-in-law, bride' > BHb el'k'2 kal'la, Ug {OLS} klt, JA at11-6k'2 kallə't-a-, Sr '4ol'a kallə't-a-, Ak kalla-tu, Ak A kallatu - kallutu id., Eb {Frnz.} kallatum 'wife, son's wife (sposa, nuora)', Ug klt {OLS} 'bride', (?) 'son's wife', {A} 'Braut, mannbare Tochter', Sb hkl'n inf. 'to marry (a wife)', Mh kəlo'n, Jb C/E 'kə'lun 'bride, bridegroom', Hrs kəlo'nət 'bride', kəla'nin 'bridegroom', Sq {Jo} 'kəlan 'bridegroom' ¶ KB 455, KBR 477-8, OLS 216, Js. 645, Sl. 584-5, JPS 216, OLS 216, A #1321, Sd. 426, Frnz. MLE 168, BGMR 77, Jo. M 209 ¶ The origin of the element *-n- in SES is not clear (the hyp. of a *dis* *-ll- > -ln- is too speculative) || Ch: WCh: SBc {Sh.} > Gj Mg, Zem D kə'li, Gj G ki'li, Gj B kə'li, Zem Z ka'l, Zem Ch ka'lə'η, Sy Zk k'e'l, Sy B kə'l, Sy Z kə'l 'woman' : ? Hs Kc ko'lo- 'daughters' ¶ Sh. SB 13, ChC, ChL, Ba. 620-1 || ?? EC: Dsn {Fl.} gal'iet 'woman' ¶ Blz. CWL ¶¶ OS #1419 (S, Ch) **IK** *kal- 'young woman, maid' > OG kal-i 'daughter, maid' (asa mok'uda kali ese 'this maid has not died', Mt. 9.24), kala 'maid' (kala ... aydeg 'damsel, ... arise!', Mark 5.41), G kal-i 'woman, daughter', (c'emi \ s'eni \ misi) kal-i '(my \ your \ his) wife' ¶ Chx. 1534, Ser. 165 **IE:** NaIE *g'lo'u-/*g'elu- 'brother's wife, husband's sister' > Gk A γα'λω 'husband's sister' || L glo's id., 'brother's wife' (secondary reinterpretation as an -s-stem, hence gen. glo'ris) || Phr [Hs.] γε'λαρο - γα'λλαρο (ce. : -p- for -f-?) 'brother's wife' || Sl *z'li (gen. *z'lye) 'husband's sister' > ChS з'льва з'льва, Blg ѓзльва, SCr za'ova, Slv zo'lva, OCz zelva, P zelwa, zolwa, R Δ ζολβα; ds : R зо'ловка, Uk зол'вищ id. ¶ ≠ P 367-8, F I 286-7, IS I 295, WH I 610, Glh. 692-3, □ EI 521-2 (*g'lo-h₃-wos 'husband's sister' with an *unj.* morpheme boundary) **II U:** U (or ppU) {Coll.} *ka''lu, ({}It., UEW} *ka''IV-wv, {Jn.} ka''li-w) 'female relative-in-law' > F ka''ly 'daughter-sister-in-law' ('Schwägerin, Frau des Bruders, Schwester des Mannes od. der Frau'), Es ka''li, Δ ka''lu 'husband's brother, husband's brother's wife' : pLp {Lr.} *ka''lo-y- 'källy', *ka''lo-y-e-nne- [*e-nne- 'mother'] 'sister-in-law' ({}Lgc.} 'gegenseitige Verwandschaftsbeziehung der Frauen zweier Brüder') > Lp S {Hs.} gaalu- 'in-law' (in cds : gaalu-jeen'edjeh 'ianitrices, wives of brothers or cousins'), Lp L {LLO} ka''lo-ji(e)tne- 'wife of husband's brother or cousin', Lp N {N} ga''lo-jædne 'sister-in-law' (of husband's brother's wife) : pMr {Ker.} *ka''lə > Mk кел k'el, Δ kiyal 'Schwägerin', Er k'iyalo кило 'brothers' wives (in relation to each other)' (Ker.: Er k'iyalo < *kyalo < *kya''ly < OMr *k'a''ly < pMr *ka''lə) : Prm {LG} *keli 'wife of husband's brother' > Z Ud/Lu kev, Z Ss/Le kel, Prmk K, Yz kelya id., Vt N kal'i 'wife of husband's brother (older than ego)' (address of a younger daughter-in-law to an older one) || Os: Ty kili 'wife's sister', Kr kitə 'daughter of wife's younger brother'; [× N *ku''da male person of the opposite moiety' (→ 'male relative-in-law'))]: Os: Ty kili, V ku''li, D kitə, O kili 'husband of wife's sister'; Vg: Ss kil 'wife's sister', UL kil 'wife's sister, wife's brother' || Sm {Jn.} *kelə (= {}Jn.} *kelə) 'relative-in-law' > Ne O {Lh.} s'e't, Ne F {Lh.} s'i_e't 'husband of wife's sister, wife of husband's brother', En X {Cs.} se'ri, B se'ri 'Schwager', Ng {Cs.} s'alun, sealun 'Schwager (die Männer zweier Frauen)', Slq Tz {KKIH} s'eli 'husband of wife's sister', Slq Nr {Cs. ms., Ps.} s'a'l 'своѣк, Schwestermann, Mann der Schwester des Mannes, Schwager' || pY {IN} *kel- 'relative-in-law' > Y K {IN} kel-il id. (-il is a nominal sx.), Y T {Ku.} kel'il 'male relative-in-law (своѣк)', {Coll.} kelil 'the husband of the wife's sister or female cousin; the wife of the wife's brother or male cousin; the husband of the husband's sister or female cousin; the wife of the husband's brother or male cousin'; cp. also OY O {Mat.} калѣмо 'maid (дѣвка)' ¶ UEW 135-6, Coll. 23, Coll. CG 406 (U *ka''lu), Coll. JU 78-9, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *ka''la''w, Ugr *ka''la'', Sm *kelo- 'in-law'), Lr. #354, Lgc. #1902, N II 38, Hs. 517-8, Ker. II 52-3, ERV 269, LG 120, UR 121, Jn. 67, KKI 174, Cs. 67, 90, 277, Ps. B 148, Ku. 107, IN 226, □ 245, □ Rd. UJ 37 [#19] (Y < U) **II R** *kelin, kel- 'female relative-in-law, bride' > T *k'elin ({}Md.} ke.li'n) 'bride, son's wife' > OT ka''lin id., Chg kelin, OXwT ka''lin, MQp [CC] kelin, Az g'a''lin, QrB gelin 'bride', Qmq gelin, VTt, Bsh килен kilen, Alt kelin, Xk кил'н kil'n, SY, Ln kelin 'daughter-in-law, young brother's wife', Tk gelin, Tkm, Ggz gelin, CrTt, Blq, Nog, Qq, Qrg kelin, Qzq кел'н keli'n id., 'bride', Uz kelin 'recently married young woman, daughter-in-law, brother's wife', Tv kelin 'daughter-in-law', Chv kin 'young brother's wife' (≠ VTt kilen?), Chv {Ash.} kiləntə's 'young female relatives-in-law in a household' ¶ Cl. 719, DTS 296, Rs. W 250, ET VGD 16-8, □ TL 302, Jeg. 113, Fed. I 295-6, Md. 91, 167, Ash. VI 216-7, 223]

The same $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ with a different sx. is found in T: VTt kaˈlaːsˈ 'bride, young wife', Brb {RL}, SbTt Tb/Tm {RL} kaˈlaːsˈ id., 'bride, sweetheart (Geliebte)'. Acc. to Xak., the word without sxs. is attested in OBlgh -yaKi 'wife' (possibly with vowel breaking: *kii_aˈl or *kii_al - cp. Chv a < pT *aˈ). M. Erdal (Erd. v) does not confirm Xak.'s hyp. ¶ Xak. 79, RL II 1114 || Tg *kelin > Ewk Ag/Skh/Chmk kəlin, Ewk Urm kəli, Lm kəli (pl. kəlin-il), Orc, Nn kəli, Ul, Ork kəli / kəlin- 'husband of the wife's sister', Neg kəli 'husband of a woman from wife's clan', WrMc keli 'husband of wife's elder sister', 'male relative-in-law', xexe keli 'wife of the husband's brother' (xexe means 'woman') ¶ STM I 446 ¶¶ DQA #755 (A *kelejo 'daughter-in-law, bride') || D (in NED) *kallij 'female relative-in-law' > Krx xalli 'father's younger brother's wife', Mlt qali 'mother's sister' ¶ D #1318, Pf. 189 ♦ The meanings 'bridegroom', 'male relative-in-law' are demonstrably secondary and are due either to broadening of meaning (by eliminating the semantic element of female sex) or to *bf.* (as in Hrs) ♦ The narrowing *aˈ > *e in the pre-history of T (or already of A?) is still to be elucidated (cp. N *kaˈlˈhˈv 'to walk' > T *kˈel(uˈ)- 'come, arrive') ♦ IS I 295-6 (with further bibliography), AD NM #109 ♦ Gr. II #338 (*kal 'sibling-in-law') [IE, U, Y & A (all ← IS), Gil., CK].

863. *kˈoˈlˈv 'bough, stick' > **HS:** C: *kal- 'stick' (× N *kˈaˈlˈhˈu 'stick, hook, bar') > Kns xal-itta 'crutch, stick', Gdl hal-itt 'stick', Sml labada kal 'the ulna and radius bones' (← *'the two sticks'), ? Dbs kal-te 'door-pole' ¶ Ss. B 114 || NrOm: Bdt/Zs {C} kalloˈ 'stick', Shn {CR} kulloˈ 'wood (Holz)' (× N *kˈaˈlˈhˈu '†?') ¶ C SE III 204 || **IE:** NaIE *gˈwˈol- 'bough' > Arm koˈr koˈr (pl koˈeaˈ kotea-kˈh) 'bough, branch' || OR голъ golъ 'branch', Cz huˈl 'wand'; dˈ *golъje > R Δ голѣ, Uk гˈлѣл 'bough, branch', Blr голѣл 'brushwood', Slv goljeˈ 'boughs without leaves' (× Sl *golъ 'naked, bare') ¶ WP I 640, P 403, Slt. 423, Vs. I 434, Ber. I 326, ■ ESSJ VII 16-7 (does not distinguish it from *golъ 'nakedness' < N *kalˈlˈv 'to bark, remove vegetation' → 'bare, naked', q.v.), Srz. I 546 || ? **A:** NaT *°Koluṇa > OT qoluṇa 'the young shoot of a plant or tree' ¶ Cl. 623-4 (supposes that the OT word is a loan from some IE lge.) || D *koˈl 'thin twig, stick', {GS} *koˈl- 'stick' > Tm koˈl 'stick, staff, branch', Ml koˈl 'staff, rod, stick', Kt koˈl, Td kwˈsˈ, Kdg koˈli, Gnd koˈlaˈ, Klm kolaˈˈd koˈla 'stick', Ka koˈl, koˈlu, Tu koˈlˈ - koˈlu, Tl koˈla 'stick, staff', Prj koˈl, Gnd koˈla 'shaft of arrow', koˈl 'big wooden pestle', Png koˈl, Mnd kuˈl, Kui koˈdˈu, Ku koˈlˈˈd koˈlu 'pestle' ¶¶ D #2237, Zv. 64, GS 69-70 [#226].

864. *kˈoˈlˈi 'to smear' > **IE:** NaIE *gleiˈ- 'to paste, smear' > Gk γλῖα 'glue', γλοιόϛ 'glutinous substance, gum' || L gluˈs / gluˈtis, gluˈten 'glue', glis / glitis 'humus tenax' || OIr glen(a)id (< *gli-naˈ-ti) 'sticks fast' (p. -grˈuil), W glynu 'adhere', MBr en-glenaff 's'attacher' || MLG klei 'glue', Frs klay, AS clæˈz 'clay', NE clay; Dn klæg 'viscous loamy mud', OHG klenan 'to paint, glue', ON klīna 'to smear' || Lt gliejuˈ / glieˈti 'to smear, putty' || Sl *gljъ > Cz Δ, Slk glej, R Δ глей 'clay', Uk глей 'sticky clay', SCr gleˈj '∈ clay' || the IE $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ with *exts.* : *gleiˈbˈ- (> OHG kleˈbeˈn, NHG kleben 'to paste, glue'), *gleiˈdˈ- (> OIr glōeˈd 'glue', NE Δ clite 'glue, mud'), *gleiˈmˈ- (> AS clām 'glutinous substance, glue', {Ho.} 'Leim, Mörtel, Klei; Pflaster', clæˈman 'to smear', Lt gléimeˈs 'mucus, slime'), *gleiˈnˈ-/glinˈ- (Gk γλῖν 'glutinous substance', Sl *gliˈna 'clay' > Blg, R, Uk глина, SCr, Sln gliˈna, Cz hlina, Slk hlina, P glina), *gleiˈtˈ- (> AS clīpan 'to adhere, stick to', L glittus 'sticky, adhesive', Lt glituˈs 'viscous, sticky, slimy'), *gleiˈwˈ- (Gk γλοιόϛ 'glutinous substance', Lt gléiveˈs 'mucus, slime', Sl *gleˈvъ > R Δ глеев 'slime of fish, slime on beverage, гле'ва 'slime on fish') (ffd. cf. P 363-4 and ESSJ 125-6) ¶ WP I 612-4, P 362-4, Sw. 6, Ho. 50, 52, OsS 496-7, Kb. 547, Vr. 317, KM 375, F I 312-3, WH I 611-2, LP §§ 34.2, 459.2, Thr. 45, YGM-1 236, Ern. 211, 259, Frn. 156-7, ESSJ VI 121, 125-6, 162, Glh. 231, ■ EI 108 (*gloiˈwo-s 'clay') || **HS:** B *√kIH (*kulIH) > Sll kˈwˈli (pf. ikˈwˈla) 'to smear with soot' ¶ Ds. 109 || Ch: Ngz {Sch.} kiˈlbˈuˈv. 'plaster, smear on' ¶ Sch. DN 87 || **A:** M *qoluga- 'rub' > WrM qoluga- ~ qolgu-, HIM холго- 'to injure\damage by constant rubbing', Kl {Rm.} χολυα-χα ~ χολˈˈqqa 'reiben, einreiben' ¶ MED 958, 960, KW 182 || ?σ D (in SD) *kulˈi- ({GS} *k-) v. 'wash onself, moisten' > Tm kulˈi- v. 'bathe, wash one's body', Ml kulˈi 'bathing, ablution', Kdg kulˈi take bath', Tu kulˈunˈkuri v. 'wet, moisten', kolˈambæ 'bath' ¶ D #1832.

865. *kulˈv 'to work' > **HS:** Eg fP k3.t n. 'work, construction', Eg fMK k3w.ty '∈ worker (builder's workman, porter)' ¶ EG V 98-102, Fk. 283 || S *°√kll > Ar √kll D 'faire des efforts, agir avec zèle et empressement dans qch.' ¶ BK II 918 || **A** {S} *kuˈlˈv 'servant, slave' > NaT *kˈul id. > OT, MQp qul '(male) slave', Tk kul, Tkm, Az gul, Qzq lˈvˈl quˈl, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Uz, ET, Shor, Tv qul, Qzq

qu¹, VTt, Bsh q¹ 'slave', Xk xul, Yk kulut 'slave, servant', Tf hul 'hired farm labourer'; T b NPrs {Dr.} ÒvQ yu¹ 'slave', G quli 'slave, hired servant' (× G quli 'coolie' < R 'кули < NE coolie < Tl ku¹l¹ 'hired labourer, coolie') ¶ Cl. 615, ET Q 120, TL 318, Ra. 191, TvR 263, Rl. II 966, Dr. TM III ##1519, 1572 ¶ Tf h- is obscure, it hardly points to a pT *k⁻ (⇒ IS's hyp. [IS AG] of Tf h- from T *k⁻, that is not supported by recently recorded lexical stock of Tf [not yet known to IS]), cp. Tv qul (Tv q- suggests pT *k⁻) || Tg *kelu⁻me, *ke¹le 'servant, working person' > Ewk kəlu⁻mə id., Lm Ol/Al kəlmə 'servant, slave', Lm A kəlmə, Ork kələ 'industrious, hard-working, assiduous' ¶ STM I 447 || ? M: Kl {Rm.} keln. 'slave, prisoner' ¶ KW 224 ¶¶ The origin of Tg *e, Kl e of the first syll. and of the length of T *u is obscure. Do they suggest something like N *kuwəlv? ¶¶ S VL #84, DQA #942 (A *ku⁻lv 'servant, slave') || D *ku⁻li ({GS} *k-) 'working for wages' > Tl ku⁻li 'wages, hire, working for wages, ku⁻li 'hired labourer, coolie', Ml ku⁻li 'hire, wages (esp. daily)', Tm ku⁻li 'wages, pay', ku⁻likka⁻ran, ku⁻liy-a⁻l 'hired labourer, cooly', Kn ku⁻li 'hire, wages, day-labourer, coolie', Kdg ku⁻li 'wages', Tu ku⁻li 'hire', Prj, Gnd ku⁻li 'labourer's wages', ?φ Kt ku⁻z 'daily wages' ¶¶ D #1905 ♦ In T and D there may be coalescence with N *Kul⁻a⁻ 'clan, village' (→ 'subordinate member of the clan' → 'slave') and N *kul⁻a⁻ 'boy' → 'slave, servant'.

866. *kUL⁻V 'snake, worm' > HS: Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} kwol 'male snake'; ? Dr {J} kə⁻ro⁻l 'cobra', ? Bl {Mch.} kuredi 'snake' || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} kuli, Br {ChL} kuləmn'a⁻ 'worm' || ECh: Smr {J} k⁻a⁻la⁻, {Nacht.} ku⁻la, Ll {Grgs.} ka⁻lo⁻ 'snake' ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. B 23. Lk ZSS 79, Flk s.v. kwol || U *kXL⁻V 'worm' > Prm {LG} *kol 'intestinal worm' > Z kov/kovy-, Z Lz kol, Z US s⁻ko⁻l (LG: "with a prothetic s"), Vt коел kə⁻l id. (LG: < **kul; broadening of the vw. due to the infl. of *l) || Os V qul⁻ 'tape-worm' || Sm: Ne T халы a long worm' (лѣ халы 'earth-worm', сарееѣ халы 'rain-worm'), Ne O ха⁻l⁻ 'Angelwurm, Regenwurm', Slq Tz {KKIH} qo⁻, Tz/Tm/Ch {KD} qā⁻ 'intestinal worm' || pY {IN} *kel- 'worm' > OY K {Bil.} kalnindsha, {Merk} kelnynscha, Y K {IN} kel-iz⁻ə id. ¶¶ Coll. 25, UEW 227, LG 125, Ter. 728, KKIJ 164, IN 226, 30, □ Rd. UJ 39 [#30] (Y < U) || A {IS} *kuli, {DQA} *kUL⁻V > Tg *kul⁻n 'snake', with the dimin. sx. *-ka⁻n: *kuli-ka⁻n 'worm' > Ewk kul⁻n, Ewk Th kulunay 'snake', Ewk kuli-ka⁻n, Ork qola ~ qolixa ~ qolta 'worm, insect', Neg kolixa⁻n 'worm, intestinal worm', Ud kuliga, Orc kula⁻, Nn Nh qola⁻ 'worm, caterpillar, snake', Ul qol⁻ 'an insect (living on water)', qola 'worm' ¶ STM I 428 || pKo {S} ku⁻ryə⁻ŋi⁻ 'adder, viper' > MKo ku⁻ryə⁻ŋi⁻, NKO kurə⁻ŋi ¶ S AJ 172 [#180], Rm. SKE 132 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 132, S AJ 293 [#438], DQA #912 (A *kul⁻V 'snake, worm') || ?φ K *gwel- 'snake' > OG guel-, G gvel-, Mg gwer-, ngwer-, Lz mgwer- id., Sv: UB/Ln {TK} u⁻z⁻a⁻r, L {TK} u⁻z⁻-ar pl. 'snakes' (whence the *bf.* sg. Sv UB/Ln/L wi⁻z⁻ < *u⁻z⁻ < *u⁻z⁻-i), Sv Δ sg. hi⁻z⁻-w- id. ¶ K 61-2 (adduces the Sv cognate), K² 29, FS K 79-80, FS E 83 (rejects the Sv word), TK 744, GP 103 ¶ The voicing N *k- > K *g- is obscure || IE: it is tempting to adduce Gk χα⁻λ-υδρo⁻ 'amphibious serpent' (the second component from υδρo⁻ 'water?') and L colubra 'snake', but the comparison is prevented by the initial Gk χα⁻ and L c- [k-] that cannot go back to the expected IE *g⁻. ¶ Cp. WH I 248, F II 1087 ♦ IS I 308 [#179] (Ch, K, U, A), AD GD 18 (K, U, A).

867. *kul⁻V (or *kaw⁻l⁻V?) 'glowing coals; to [⊕ heat\roast\ fry\cook] > IE: NaIE *gg⁻eu⁻lo⁻/*gg⁻ou⁻lo⁻ 'glowing coals', {EI} *geu⁻lo⁻ ~ gulo⁻ ~ *gulo-m 'fire, glowing coals' > ON kol 'charcoal', OHG kolo ~ cholo, col, NHG Kohle 'coal', AS col id., 'glowing coal', NE coal; NGr Sw cholle 'glimmen' || Clt: OIr {WP, P} gu⁻al 'charcoal', NIr gual 'coal' (< *geu⁻lo⁻ → *gou⁻lo-) || Tc B s⁻oliye 'hearth' ¶ □ WP I 563, P 399, EI 104, Dnn. 387, Ho. 56, OsS 50, Kb. 554, KM 388, Ad. 635 || HS: C: Bj {Rop.} kalo⁻ 'fry', kalona 'frying-pan', {R} kilo⁻y- scv. 'roast, cook' || SC ({E}*ka⁻l-) > Kz kalemuko, C b Mb ikale 'charcoal' [⊕ || EC *kul⁻ > pSam {Hn.} *ku⁻la⁻i⁻l 'heat, warmth' > Sml kulayl id., Rn ku⁻le⁻l 'heat', Bn {Hn.} ku⁻le⁻l 'heat, pain'; Sml {DSI} kul 'calore', Dsn {To.} kulla⁻? 'hot', Arr {Hw.} kuld⁻a⁻ 'hot', kulil- 'warm oneself', Elm {Hn.} 'ku⁻lla⁻? 'Hitze' ¶¶ R WBd 142, Rop. 203, E SC 242, E K 12 [⊕, Hn. S 67, Hn. E 280, DSI 373, PG 204, To. DL 513, Hw. A 375, Blz. RL 261, Blz. DL s.v. 'warm', HL 118] || A *k⁻u⁻jo⁻LV > Tg *xu⁻ldu⁻ 'warm, heat', (?) 'flame' > Nn xulz⁻i⁻ 'be warmed', Ul xuldu⁻ 'hot', Ork xuldu⁻ 'warm', Ud ugdi 'to warm, be warmed', Ewk uldi, acc. uldi-w⁻z 'flame'; Nn xul tay, xulu⁻ tay 'warm' (of water) ¶ STM II 260 || M *ko⁻lci- vt., vi. 'warm, become worm' > MM [MA] ko⁻lci⁻ 'warm oneself', WrM ko⁻lci⁻--ko⁻lci⁻ 'warm, become warm\flushed', IM {T} xo⁻lci⁻ vt. 'heat, warm (one's hands)', WrO ko⁻lce⁻ 'heat up', Brt x⁻лu⁻-, Ord g⁻o⁻lc⁻i⁻ ~ g⁻o⁻lc⁻o⁻ 'warm oneself by the fire'; d⁻: WrM ko⁻lci⁻ge-, HIM x⁻лч⁻ -, Kl

к' лч' - ko'lc'a'~, {Rm.} ko'lc'e'~ id. ¶ Pp. MA 222, MED 484-5, T VM 24, Krg. 740, Ms. O 270, KRS 315, KW 238, Chr. 619 || T *k'u'1 'ashes, cinders' [× N ***qULpV** 'hot ashes, embers; to fry\heat on embers or hot stones', N ***kuz'mV** ~ ***kuz'V mV** 'smoke, ashes' and\or N ***K.Eyia,la** 'to burn (vt., vi.), heat, be heated, roast'] > OT ku'1 id., MQp XIII, [CC] XIV, XwT XIV, Chg XV ku'1, Tkm ku'1, Tk ku'1, Az к*л ku'1, Ggz, ET, Ln, Kr Cr, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, ET, Qmn, Tb, Ln, Xk, Yk ku'1, Uz кул kul', SY kul', Xlj ku'1 ~ kul, Slr kul, VTt, Bsh к' л кь'1, Tv xu'1, Tf hu'1, Chv кеӕл кь1, Chv H кь'1 'ashes' ¶ Cl. 715, DTS 325, Rs. W 307, ET KQ 137-8, Md. 43, 171, Jeg. 104, Fed. I 269-70 ¶¶ ▢ DQA #1140 (*k'ulie 'to heat, burn': Tg, M, T), S AJ 281 ¶¶ A *k'- for the expected *k- may be due to the infl. of the reflex of the abovementioned N ***qULpV** and\or N ***K.Eyia,la** || D (in SD) *kol,1- ({GS} *k-) 'firebrand, fire' > Tm kol,1i id., Ml kol,1i 'firebrand, firewood', Kt koyl 'burning firewood', Td kwil,y 'firebrand, embers', Kn kol,1i, kol,1e, Tu kolli, kol,1i 'firebrand' ¶ D #2158 [⊕ ⊕ Blz. LB #4a and ▢ Blz. LBNA #29 [both: IE, T + *unc.* : FU *kuz'mV 'ashes' (in fact from N ***kuz'mV** 'smoke, ashes', q.v.) and MKo ki'ri'-m 'soot'].]

868. *ka,hjIV 'power, force, be able' > IE: NaIE *g₁al- 'be able' > W gallu, Crn gallos 'ability, power', 'be able', OBr {Flr.} *gal 'acte violent, activité, passion, force' (in proper names, *cds* and *d* words, e.g. im-ro-galou 'orgium' [= 'activité, travail actif']), Br gallout v. 'pouvoir', galloud n. 'pouvoir, puissance', Olr gal 'bravery', Gl б> VL {Wb.} *galia, {Gml.} *gala 'force', {Diez} *gala 'bravery' [> *ds*: (?) Prv galhart ▢ 'brave, jovial fellow' б> Fr gaillard, Port galhardo, Sp gallardo, It gagliardo] || Lt galiu' / gale'ti 'be able, be allowed', go'le', galia' 'might, power', ga'lti 'bei Kraften sein, sich wohl befinden' ¶ WP I 539-40, P 351, SB 107, LP § 35.7, YGM-1 231, ECCE 245, Flr.173, 220, Hm. 306, Dtn. 258, Bally 76-8, Wb. IV 30-1, ML ##36511, 3657, Diez 151, Frn. 131, EI 3 (*gal- 'be physically able') || HS: WS: [1] *-w-kal-, *√wkl 'be able' > BHb lki √ykl id. (3m ip. yu'k_al) 'be able\capable of; endure, comprehend; prevail', BA (TV) lk5i' yə'k_il, (BbV) yə'k_ol 'be able, prevail', IA √ykl id. (ip. 1s ?-kl, 2m t-kl, 3m y-kl), ChrPA {Schlt.} yə'kol 'be able, have the right to', Nbt ykl id., JA {Dlm.} √ykl *G* (3m yik'kol), JEA {Sl.} √ykl *G* 'be able'; *√wkl (originally *D* and *Sh*) 'entrust to' (← 'make so. be allowed to') > Ar √wkl *Sh* 'se confier dans quelqu'un', *G* (*bf* from *Sh* ?) √wkl 'confier \ racommander une chose\affaire à quelqu'un', OSA wkl (*D* ?) 'entrust', Mh √wkl [caus. stem] (pf. awo-kəl) 'entrust with', Jb C {Jo.} √wkl (pf. o-kəl) v. 'trust with, entrust to', Sq {Jo.} √wkl (pf. 'okəl) id.; [2] *√khl 'be able' > OA, IA √khl 'be able, have the right to, be allowed', BA prtc. *D* le4f1 ka'he1 'able', Ar D -eiKa kahil 'be able, können', -EiKa ka'hil 'powerful', Ar √khl (pf. kahala) 'reach maturity' (i.e. 'be in position to do things'), -Ue0Ka kahl(-un) 'grown up', JA, Gz √khl 'be able, can', OSA √khl 'be successful, réussir', khlt 'power', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} √khl 'be able (to do sth.)', Sq {L} khel 'be able, know' ¶ KB 392-3, KBR 410-1, HJ 456, 489-90, Dlm. 183, Sl. 534, Schlt. G § 137, Schlt. 83, BK II 1598-9, Lb. III 2590, Lb. LAD 60, 66, Nld. rLb 417, BGMR 77, 160, L G 277, Jo. M 205-6, 426, Jo. J 128, 290, Jo. H 67 || C: Ag: Bln {R} kahal- 'be able' (б- EthS?), Aw {Hz.} kal(i)-, {Plm.} kal- 'be able, can' || D *kali ({GS} *k-) > Tm kali 'strength, force', Kn kali 'man noted for valour & prowess, hero', EpTl kalitanamu 'bravery'; D б> EpOI kali 'hero' ¶¶ D #1308.

869. *ka1'V 'to approach, come' > HS: WS *√kl? id. > Ar √kl? *D* (pf. kalla?a) 'aborder quelqu'un, s'approcher de quelqu'un', Mh √klw (pf. kəlu-, sbjn. yəklī) 'come, bring home (animals, a wife)' ¶ BK II 920, Jo. M 209 [⊕|| C: EC: pSam {Hn.} *ka'le'i ~ *ka'le'i'a imv. 'come!' > Sml ka'lei, Rn 'kale(y), Bn 'ka'le / ka'li'a id. || SC: Rft ± *k₁al- (× N ***k.Ul'f'u'lu** 'track(s), way; to go, travel') > Irq {MQK} q'ala'ḡ imv. 'come!', Brn {Dempw.} kwale~ id. ¶ Hn. S 65, MQK 89, Blz. SCL s.v. 'come'.] || U *kV1V > ? Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} qa'1- v. 'run', qa'ltir(i)-, qa'limpi- 'walk, stroll (ходит, идти, гул\т\)' || pY {IN} *kel- 'come' > Y K/T kel-, K {Jc.} kel- 'come, arrive', OY xvii {Wts.} kaltei 'come' ¶¶ Gy. USz 304, KKI 159, UEW 134, Krn. JJ 273, 282, Ku. 106, AD KY, Ang. 112, 122 || A *k' a1u'1- (with the type of length based on pre-A lengthening in an open syll.) > M *qal(u)- 'come near, approach' > WrM qal(u)-, HIM хала-(x), Kl {Rm.} χala- 'nahe kommen, anfallen, sich über einen stürzen', ? MM [S] qalit- 'sich annähern, anschließen'; M б> WrMc χala- ¶ MED 916, KW 162, H 58 || AmTg *ka1- > Nn Nh qa1- 'come near, approach', Ul ka1- id., 'attack', Ork qal- 'sneak up to' ¶ STM I 369 || T *k'el(u'1)- 'come, arrive' [× N ***ka'1'h'V** 'to walk' (accounting for the front vw.), q.v. ffd.] || pJ {S} *kə3- 'come' > OJ ko-, J: T/Kg ku'-, K/Ht/Y ku'-, Ns k'y-, Sh c'- ¶ S AJ 265 [#13], S QJ #13, Mr. 616 ⊕ In some lgs. there may be coalescence with *gUIE 'to go (away), set out' (q.v.) ⊕ The front vw. of the T cognate *k'el- 'come,

arrive' may have resulted from contamination with ***ka'lhV**. Alternatively, effect of vw. harmony cannot be ruled out: A ***k'alu** > T ***k'el(u)**- and M ***qal(u)**-, although in this case we would have to expect ***k'a'lu(u)**-, because under the palatalizing infl. of vw. harmony ***a** usually becomes ***a'** rather than ***e** ♦ Gr. II #71 (***kel** 'come') [A ***k'el**- and Yk **kel**- 'come, go' + *err.* U ***ka'la** 'wade' (< N ***ka'lhV** 'to walk, make one's way (with an effort), wade') + *err.* IE ***keleu**- 'road', as well as Gil., CK, ? Ai [Gr.'s neglect of sound laws does not allow him to distinguish between three N roots, which proves that his method of impressionistic comparison is wrong].

870. *kolza 'to die; end' > IE: NaIE ***g^wel**- v. 'die, feel pain' > Lt **ga^hlas** 'death, end', Pru **golis** 'death', acc. **gallan id.**, **galintwei** v. 'kill' || AS **cwelan** 'to die', **cwellan** 'to kill', OSx **qualm** 'death, murder', OHG **qualm n.** 'ruin, pain, torture' || OIr **at-bail** '(he) dies', OCrn [VC] **bal** 'pestis', MW **baluent** 'peste, fléau', W **ball** 'plague, death', **ballu** 'to die' (< ***g^wl_o-n-**) || Arm **ke-em kelem** v. {Slt.} 'peinige, quäle', {Bedr.} 'wound, hurt' ¶ P 470-1, Ho. 64, Ho. S 59, OsS 692, Kb. 577, Vn. A 98, Frn. 145, En. 174, Tp. P E-H 142-5, 275, YGM-1 39, Slt. 380-1, **σ EI** 349 (***g^wel**- 'strike, stab') || HS: S ***^o/kl?** > Ar **√kl?** v. 'come to the end' (of life) ({BK} 'toucher à sa fin, arriver à son terme [se dit de la vie d'un homme qui meurt]') ¶ BK I 919 [⌈+ || SC: Irq **qa^c** {MQK} 'die (of many)' ¶ MQK 85, Blz. SCL s.v. 'die' || U ***ko^hla**- v. 'die' > FU ***ko^hla**- > F **kuole**-, Es **koole**-: pMr {Ker.} ***ku^hla**- > Er **kulo**-, Mk **kulə**-: Chr H/L/E **kole**-: Prm ***kul**- > Vt **kuli**-, StZ **kuv**-, Z **Δ kul**-: || ***ko^hl**/***ka^hla**- id. > pVg ***ka^hl**/***kal**-a- > Vg: T **ka^hl**/***ka^hl**-a^h, LK/UL **xo^hl**-, MK/UK/SV **ko^hl**-, P/NV/LL **ko^hl**/***kol**-, Ss **xo^hl**-, pOs {Ht.} ***ka^hla**/***kol**- ({**HL**.} ***ki^hla**/***ka^hl**-) > Os: V/Vy **qa^hla**/***qol**-, Ty **qa^hl**-, **qa^hla**/***qo^hl**-, Y **qa^hl**/***qo^hl**-, D/K/Nz **xa^hl**-, Kz **xa^hl**-, O **xa^hl**- & **xa^hla**- id. || Hg **hal**- || Sm ***ka^ola**- ({Jn.} ***ka^ola**-), {Hl.} ***ka^ola**- v. 'die' > Ne T **xa-c** v. 'die', **xa-buy** 'dead', Ne F Ks {Lh.} **ka^hs** 'to die', **ka^hpi** 'dead', Ng {Ter.} **код** **kuod'a** v. 'die', {Cs.} 1s aor. **ku^ham** ({**CS**.} **ku^ham**) id., **kua'bua** 'dead', En X {Cs.} 1s aor. **ka^hro**?, En B {Cs.} **ka^hdo** id., En X {Cs.} **ka^hbe**, En B {Cs.} **'kabe** 'dead', Slq Tz {KKIH} **qu-qo** 'to die', Kms {KD} 1s prs. **k'u^hem** 'I die', {Adl.} **ku^hbe** 'dead', Koyb {Sp.} **cmpd.** **кулгандамь** 'I die', **кайма** 'dea', Mt {Hl.} ***ka^h**- v. 'die' (Mt: M {Sp.} **хадайбага** 'death', K {Pl.} **chaa'sigaani** 'to die') > Mt {Hl.} ***ka^hl**/***juma** 'dead' (Mt: T {Ml.} **kchai'ma**, K {Ml.} **ga'i'ma**, {Pl.} **ga'ha'ima** 'dead', **kaima** 'мертвечина', M {Sp.} **кайма**, {Ml.} **khaima** 'dead'); Mt > Xk **хама** **хама**, **хама** **ха^hма**, Qc {Rl.} **qa^hma**, **qam** 'carrion' ¶ Coll. 28, UEW 173, Db. OS xxiv-xxv, Sm. 538 (U ***ka^hxli**- 'die' > FU, FP ***kooli**-, Ugr ***ka^hl**-, Sm ***ka^ola**-), It. #155, LG 143, Ht. #253, Ht. rHt 71-3, Jn. 56-7, Hl. M ##367, 399, KKI 165, Rs. W 228, Ker. II 79 ¶¶ The vowels of the first syll. in Mr, Chr and Prm suggest a FU stem-final ***a**, while -e in F and Es is an innovation (the verb was transferred to a different class of conjugation) ♦ IS SS #7.4 & IS MS 370 (IE, U; i ÷ K ***qwil**- & D ***kol**- v. 'kill', which actually belong to N ***qola** 'to kill' [q.v.]) ♦ Gr. II #96 (***kola** 'die') [IE, U, J, CK].

871. *kolV₁lV (or ***kol₁V₁lV**) 'to peel, bark' > U: [1] FU ***koz^hV** 'skin, peel' (× N ***K.oz^hV** 'to skin, bark' [q.v. ffd.]) || [2] If F **kolo**- (inf. **koloa**, **kolota**) 'to bark, strip, peel' is etymologically different from F **kolo** 'hole', it may belong here as well; in this case FU ***koz^hV** represents a variant with elision of an internal vw.: N ***kol^hV₁lV** > ***kol₁V₁lV** > FU ***koz^hV**, while F **kolo**- represents a var. without syncope ¶ Coll. 89, UEW 165-6, LG 14, SK 212 || HS: S ***^o/kl?** > Gz **√kl?** **G** 'pull out (the weeds), peel off, undress, strip off', Amh pf. **kella** 'take off the clothes' ¶ L G 282 || A ***kolV**- 'to bark, skin' > Tg ***kola**- id. > WrMc **qola**- v. 'take off the skin (of an animal's body), bark (a tree), break off (tile from the roof)', Mc Sb **qoləmə** - **qolumə** 'to peel, pare, shell; peel off, pare off', Ewk **ko^hlu**- 'to take off a film from sth.', Sln **xo^hl**-, **xo^hli**- 'tear off, rip off', Lm **qolq^h**- 'to take off the skin from jerked fish' ¶ The Ewk and Sln forms may result from coalescence of the inherited Tg word with Mongolisms (× M ***qayula**- > HIM **хуула**- 'bark a tree') ¶ STM I 407, Y ##1166, 1716, Z 281 || M ***qol**-t-ul- v. 'peel off' > WrM **qoltul**-, HIM **холтло**-(x) 'peel off, free from covering', Kl {KRS} **холтл-х** **холтл-х^h** v. 'bark, peel'. {Rm.} **холт^hci^h-i-χa** (< ***qolta**-ci-) 'die Rinde abschaben, wegkratzen, losreißen'; M ***qoli**-: ***qoli-sun** 'fish-skin' [× N ***k.olV** 'fish' (q.v. ffd.) × N ***K.oz^hV** '↑']; M ***qolta**-sun 'tree bark' > WrM **qoltasun** ~ **qoltusun**, HIM **холтос**, WrO **холтосun**, Kl **холтхсн** **хлтх^h-с^hн**; ? M ***qoli**-bar- > WrO **хolibar**- 'fall off, peel off' ¶ MED 959-60, KRS 594, KW 183, Krg. 275, 277 || ? K: G **kil**- 'scale off, remove the skin' (× N ***kez^hVE** 'skin; to skin' [q.v. ffd.]) ♦ IS I 171 (U, A), AD LZL 363 (HS, U, A).

872. *ka'lhV 'to walk, make one's way (with an effort), wade' > HS: B ***√kly** v. 'walk' (× N ***k.√l^hu^h** 'track(s), way; to go, travel') > Ah **te'kle** ({Fc.} **te'kle**) (pl. **ta^hkliwīn**) 'marche au pas (marche sans courir)', Kb **t^himli** (pl. **t^himliwin**) 'marche; allure; action de marcher'; cp. B ***√wkl** 'to

***kalwV** or to both N etyma together **II A**: Tg *^okalbV (< **kalwV) 'together' > Ewk Ald/Ucr kalbuldī v. 'gather (reindeers), Ewk U kalo-kalo (interjection used to gather reindeers in a flock) ¶ STM I 365 **II D** *kal- ({}GS} *k-) 'to unite, meet' > Tm kala v. 'unite in friendship, form friendly\matrimonial alliance with, copulate', kalakku 'joint', Ml kalappu 'the whole, sum', Kn kali, kale vi. 'join; come together, meet', Tl kalayu, kaliyu vt., vi. 'join, unite, meet, copulate', Gnd Ks/RSr kali-, Gnd DM ka'liya'na' v. 'meet', Knd kali- 'meet, come together', Ku kalvi a- 'be united together' ¶¶ D #1299 ¶ The √ is to be distinguished from D *kal- 'to mix' [D #1299] (unless 'mix' is not a secondary meaning developed from 'join') [{}≠φ IS SS 349 [#13.12] [HS ÷ K *q(w)l 'all' (i.e. *qowEl- 'all, one'), see N *qaywE(-LV) 'exclusively one's own' (→'alone', 'entire')]]].

874. *k'a'ḷX'o' 'to call (appeler), shout' > **HS**: S *^o√klh > Gz √klh (pf. kalha) v. 'cry (out), shout, howl', Har √klh (pf. kelaḥa ~ kalha) v. 'call so. by shouting' -b> Sa {R} kallah- id. ¶ L G 282-3 || ? B *^o√wkl (× N ***k.aL₁V₁hV** 'to shout, cry, weep, make noise') > Ah səkkələl 'pleurer bruyamment' ¶ Fc. 785 || C: -b> Mb {E} -kala'ʔe v. 'shout' (E [SC 268]: ī ÷ Irq kʷalaʔ- ~ qʷalaʔ- v. 'be joyfull\glad', Kz k.ʷaʔaliko 'voice') ¶ E PC #513 [ī ÷ Bj {R} kʷali 'singing', Ya -qe'l- v. 'sing' and Sml qayli v. 'shout, cry'; on the latter cf. N ***K.a'yLa** 'to shout')] || This N etymon may be an *AdS* of HEC *kul- v. 'tell' (< s.v. ***qU₁ʔ₁L₁V** 'to speak') || Ch (pCh {JS} *k'a'ḷ- v. 'call') > Ech: EDng {Fd.} ko'le v. 'call (appeler)', ? ko'le v. 'shout (crier)', Brg {J} ko'le v. 'call', ko'le v. 'shout', Jg {J} kol- 'nennen, rufen' || ??φ CCh: Glv {Rp.} xul-, Dgh {Frk.} xw'la v. 'cry' ¶ ChC s.v. 'call' and 'cry', J J 114, Fd. 301-2 **II IE**: NaIE *gal- v. {EI} 'call out, speak' > W galw v. 'call, summon' ({Flr.} 'appel'), OBr galu 'clameur' (< *gal-w-), MBr {Flr.} galu 'appel', {Ern.} galver 'celui qui appelle', Br galv 'appel, cri', Olr {SB} gall 'famous' (< *gal-no-s), gleter da'la 'die Versammlungen sind vorgeladen' || Gmc [× Gmc *kal'za 'calling (Ruf)' < NaIE *gaol'so-s < N ***kaLc**V 'voice; to speak\cry'] > ON kalla 'rufen, nennen, sagen' (-b> NE call), AS ceallian 'to call', OHG kallo'n 'to chatter, talk' || Sl *golgol-ъ (< *gal-gal-) 'speech' > OCS глаголь glagolъ 'speech, word', Blg Δ 'glagulъ, McdS Δ glagol 'speech, conversation', SCr † глагоу ~ глагоу, OCz hlalol 'speech', Cz hlalol 'noise'; Sl *golgoli-, *golgola- v. 'speak' > OCS глаголати glagolati, Blg † глаголѣ, SCr † глаголити ъ глагоути 'to speak', Cz hlaloliti, hlalolati 'to produce sounds, speak' ¶ P 350, ¶ EI 89, SB 107, YGM-1 231, Flr. 173, Ern. 252, Hm. 307, LP § 256, Vr. 298-9, Kb. 526, ESSJ VI 204-5 **II D** ?σ *ko'l- 'slander, tale-bearing' (× N ***K.ohl'u** 'to hide, deceive, tell a lie', q.v. ffd.) **II A**: NaT *k'ol- v. 'ask for, beg' (× N ***gol**V 'to look, look for, wish?') > OT, Chg, OXwT, MQp [CC], Kr qol- v. 'ask for', MQp xv qol- v. 'pray', Kr qol^d kol-, SY qol- ~ q'ol- 'beg, beg one's pardon', Tv d qoldan- v. 'ask for, beg', qoldanc'i 'beggar' ¶ Cl. 616-7, Rs. W 277, ET Q 36-7, Rl. II 584-5, TvR 246 || ???φ Tg *ke'l₁e₁- v. 'call, ask' > Ewk PT kə'ləz-, Orc kə'ləgi- v. 'invite, call', WrMc xelne- v. 'go to ask, ask\call\invite' ¶ STM I 447, Z 411 ¶¶ The front vw. of the Tg √ has not yet found explanation (*as*, vw. harmony?) ♦ The IE guttural *g- points to the N vw. *a, while D and T suggest *o. A possible solution may be connected with vowel *as* (*o of the second syll.). The long vw. in D may be due to compensatory lengthening (loss of the original lr.).

875. ? *kol₁V₁yV 'lumbar region' > **HS** ¶ *kulay- 'kidney' > S *kulay-at- id. > BHb pl. t&il1k'6 kəla'y-o't₁, MHb (BbV) e'il1k (ce. for e'ilōk?) kol'yə 'kidney' (cf. Yv. II 905; the Masoretic sg. eil16k'5 kil'ya is a *bf.* from the pl. form), Ug klyt, Sr ko'li't₁-a, Ar éya'10Kuu kuly-at-, Gz k'wəli't, Mh {Jo.} kəlyit, Hrs {Jo.} kəli't, Jb C {Jo.} ku'z'ε't, Sq Δ {SSL} kə'lə'yəz, Ak kalit-um id., JA kul'ya id., 'testicle' ¶ AD PSH 48, KB 479, OLS 217, Js. 620, Br. 329, BK II 926, WKAS I 337, L G 284, Jo. M 209, Jo. H 8, Jo. J 131, SSL LSNP 1460-1, ¶ MiK I #1.156 (S *k'aly-at-) || C {AD} *(m-)k'wVlV₁? 'kidney' > Bj {R} a'n'k'wə'lə'a ~ un'kul'ə'a, {AD} haŋk'wə'lə-yt id. || EC ¶ *kal(al)i id. > Sml kelli, Rn {Bl.} kalasi, {PG} ka'la'ssi ({Bl.}: < *kalal-ti), Elm kal, Kns xalla, Gwd xalle, Brj kala'tte, Or kale, Or M {AD} kulalit₁, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} kale, Or Wt {Sr.} kale-tti id., Or Wl {Brl.} kale' id., 'side of body', Arr kalan-te' f., kalan-o' pl. 'kidneys' || Dh1 {EEN} kallu pl. 'kidneys' || SC: pRt {E} *k'al- 'lumbar region' > Irq karutome 'second stomach', Kz koli-ngayo 'backbone' ¶ AD SF 77, 195-6, E SC 333, 373, Ss. B 113, Ss. PEC 12, Bl. 16, 192, PG 177, Hw. A 371, Brl. 225, Sr. 343, EEN 10 || Som: Ari G {Fl.} kela 'kidney' || NrOm: Wlt {LmS} killahuwa, Gm {Hw.} kila'ho 'kidneys', Dwr {C} kille 'liver' ¶ Bnd. AL 153, LmS 410-1, Hw. EG s.v. 'kidneys', Blz. OLBP s.v. 'kidney' || CCh: Br {ChL} kuls'i 'kidney(s)' : G'nd ku'lku'la'ra, Hw ku'lis'a id. || ? Ech: Ke {Eb.} mo-kora' id. ¶¶ AD SF 77, AD SEC 133, Tk. SCC 90 [#19.8], E PC #95 **II D** *ko'l- 'belly, entrails' (× N

***gol₂V** 'belly, entrails', q.v. ffd.) || ??ϕ **R**: Tg *kalda- '∈ internal organ' > Ul qaldam '∈ part of stomach of the "kaluga"-fish (used as a medicine)', Ork χαλδα 'diaphragm, peritoneum', WrMc halda 'spleen of fish; fish-sound; epiploon of sturgeon (used for curing furuncles)' (→ WrM qalda 'spleen of sturgeon') ¶ STM I 361, Z 390, MED 918 ♦ The D length of *o- is compensatory (due to the loss of *y (*oly > *o1) ♦ Blz. DA [±156 [#20]-#19].

876. ***kaLcV** 'voice; to speak\cry\weep' > **HS**: S *°/klθ v. 'speak, tell' > Mh, Hrs /klθ v. 'tell, speak', Jb /klθ v. 'tell' ¶ Jo. M 209, Jo. J 130-1 || Ch: DfB {J} kalas v. 'weep' || B: Si gals id. (× N ***gol₁L₁V** → ***-L₁L₁L₁'** 'to weep?') ¶ La. S 279, NZ 786 || **IE**: NaIE *gaol'so-s, -m 'voice, a cry' > Oss: I хѣлъѣс qa'la's, D ȝa'la's 'voice, throat (**глотка**)' || Sl {IS} *gol'sъ (gen. *gol'sa) 'voice' > OCS гласъ glasъ, SCr gla's (gen. gla'sa), Slv gla's, Blg глас, df. гла'сѣт, R, Uk 'голос (gen. 'голоса)', Cz, Slk hlas, P głos || Gmc *kal'za n. (× N ***k'a₁L₁X'o₁** 'to call, shout') > ON kall 'calling (Ruf), name' → Gmc verb: ON kalla 'to call', AS ceallian id., 'shout' (> NE call), AS calla 'Rufer', OHG kallo'n - challo'n 'to chatter, talk', MHG kallen 'to speak much and loud' ¶ WP I 538, P 350, Ab. II 288-9, ESSJ VI 219-20, IS IABS 111, Glh. 230, Vr. 298-9, Ho. 43, 45, OsS 470, Kb. 526, Lx. 103, ≠ EI 89 (Sl and Gmc < IE *gal- v. 'call out, speak').

877. ***kol'u** 'to fly; wing' > **IE**: NaIE {Dv.} *g^welw- v. 'fly' > L vola- v. 'fly', volucer adj. 'flying, winged', volucris 'bird' || OI garut'mant- '∈ bird', garud.ah. '∈ a mythical bird'; but OI *garut 'wing' (mentioned in traditional Indian lexicons) is not an attested word, but a philological abstraction from garut'mant- ¶ Cu. GGE 474, Dv. #356a, WH II 828, M K I 325, M E I 471, WH II 828 || **HS**: C: EC *ko-l- 'wing' > Bn ko-l-i, Dsn ku^ol, Elm ko-l, Or ko-l-a, Kns xo-l-a, Brj 'ko-l-i, Gwd xo-l-akko, Gln ho-l-o 'wing', Arr kolla' 'wings' (→ 'leaves?'), Hr ho-l-o 'feather', Or {Bl.} ko-l-a id., Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} ko-la id., 'feather', Or Wt ko-le 'feather' || DhI ko-l- v. 'fly' || ? Bj {R} -kil v. 'fly' (1s p. a'-kil, prs. aḡkīl), ke'la-y 'bird'; but hardly here Bj {R} -kil v. 'kreisen' ¶ Ss. B 117, AMS 162, 202, 242, Sr. 346, Hw. A 374, To. D 140, E SC 245, R WBd 13, To. DL 513 || **R** *ko-l'V 'bird' > T *k'u^l > NaT *k'us' 'bird' > OT quš, Tk kus, Tkm, Az, Slr gus, Ggz, Uz, ET, Qrg, Tv quš, VTt кош q^oš, Bsh 'ош q^oš, Qzq quš, Nog, Qq quš, SY gus, Xk xus 'bird', Xlj gus ~ quš 'Sperling, Spatz', Yk kus 'duck' ¶ Cl. 670, Rs. W 305, ET Q 180-1, TL 168, Dr. TM III #1561, DT 122 || ? M *quladu₁ '∈ bird of prey' > WrM quladu sibagun {Gl.} "white kite" (**бѣлый коршун**), {Kow.} 'Falco buteo (buse, busard, cassard, **мышелов**)' (sibagun is 'bird'), Kl {Rm.} xulda 'Sumpfwiehe oder ein weißer Falke', {KRS} хулд xulda, Brt хулда 'herrier (**луно**)'; M → Brb quladi 'vulture', Shor qiladi, Chv {Rm.} хылат 'Mäusefalk', {Ash.} хылат, Chv Δ хъ^olat d хылас^o d хылас^o '∈ bird of prey (∈ hawk or kite)' ¶ Gl. II 169, Kow. 924, KRS 609, KW 195-6, Chr. 600, Rs. W 298, Ash. XVI 316-7, Jeg. 290, Fed. I 321-2 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'u^la₁ou 'a kind of big bird' (T, M + err. Tg *xo^li 'raven, crow', see N ***K₁uol₁V** 'raven, crow').

878. ***ku^li^lE** 'cold; to freeze' > **IE**: NaIE *gel- id. > L gelu- 'frost, icy cold', gelidus adj. 'cold, icy-cold, frosty, icy', gela- v. 'cause to freeze', Osc {StB} γελαν · πα'χνην (acc.?) 'hoar-frost' || ? Gk [Hs.] γελανδρο'ν · ψυχρο'ν 'cold' (but {EI}: γελανδρο'ν "is widely discredited") || AS calan 'grow cold, cool down', ON kala 'freeze, make cold'; Gmc prtc. *kald- 'cold' > Gt kalds, ON kaldr, NNr, OFrs, OSx kald, Sw kall, Dn kold, AS ceald, NE cold, OHG, NHG kalt, MDt cout 'cold'; Gmc *ko-lja- > OHG kuoli, NHG ku'hl, Dt koel, AS co1 'cool, cold', NE cool; OHG kuoli n. 'coolness', ON ko'lina 'grow cold' ¶ P 365-6, EI 113, WH I 585-6, Pln. II 683, F I 294, Vr. 297-8, 325, Fs. 306, Ho. 42, 45, 56, Ho. S 40, OsS 470, 525, Schz. 179, 187, Kb. 526, 573, KM 343, 411 || **K** *k₁w₁VI- > Lz kor- ~ kir- v. 'cool', Mg kir- v. 'stiffen with astonishment (gaßeBeba, **обомлет**)', ? Sv: UB {GP} li-kwe-le 'to cool off (food)', be cooled off' (of food), Ls {Dn.} li-kwe-le 'to cool, let catch cold (**о-/про-студит**)', Ln {TK} li-kwele id., Sv {Ni.} χwi-kwel-i 'become cold', χwi-kwa^l-le 'make cold' ¶ Chik. 338-9, GP 173, Ni. s.v. **холодѣт**, **холодит**, Dn. s.v. kwe^l, TK 453 || **HS**: C: Bj {R} ku^liⁿfe, ku^lu^lmfe 'rainy season' ¶ R WBd 142 [± || Ch (× ***K₁EL₁H₁V** 'cold?'): ECh: Kwn {J} ka^li, Kbly {Cp.} ka^liz, Dng {Lk.} ku^lu^l-t 'cold' ¶ JI II 80-1, Blz. LECh s.v. 'cold' || **U**: FP *ku^lma^l 'cold' > F kylma^l adj. 'cold, cool', n. 'cold', Es ku^llm adj. 'cold', n. 'cold, frost' : pLp {Lr.} *k₁lme- v. 'freeze' > Lp: S {Hs.} galm^ledh, L {LLO} kal'me- 'to freeze' (of humans), (imprs.) 'the ground is frozen', N {N} ga^l'bme- / -lm- (imprs.) 'freeze, cause a frozen crust\ice to form on snow\water', Kld {TI} kel^lme- 'become cold, freeze'; L {LLO} kalmas, attr. kal'ma, Kld k₁lm^las 'cold', N {N} ga^lma^s / -l'bm- 'frozen' : Er kel'me, Mk kel'ma^l adj. 'cold', n. 'cold, frost' : Chr: L кѣлме кѣлме, Uf/B кѣлме, Н кѣлмы кѣлмъ 'frozen' : Prm **ku^lnm- > *ku^ln 'frozen', *ku^ln / *ku^lnm- 'frost, cold' > Z, Vt кын kin 'frozen', Vt Sr kin, Vt K кэн/kənm-, Vt G кін/kin- 'frost, cold', Vt, Z Ud kinmas feels cold' (a

person), Vt kinmini 'be frozen, congealed' ¶ It. #408, LG 152, UEW 663, Sm. 552 (FP *kuˈlmaː), SK 254, Lr. #307, Lgc. #1903-4, Hs. 555-6, TI 105, MRS 267, Ep. 55 ¶¶ In FU the palatality of N *l' was lost in precon. position II A *k'l'oːl'v > M *koːlde- vt. 'freeze, congeal' > WrM koːlde- ~ koːlduː-, HIM x' лд' -(x), Brt хулд-, Kl κ' лд-х koːldəχə id.; M бх Ewk Nr kuldə- 'freeze' ¶ MED 485, KRS 314-5, KW 238, STM I 428 || T *k'oːl' > NaT *k'oːs'ʔuːgːl- 'feel cold, freeze' > VTt κ*uer- kuːs'ʔg- vi. 'feel cold, be chilled, suffer from cold\dampness, become numb with cold' (of a person), Bsh kuːs'ʔg- 'get drenched to the skin', Yk koːhuːy- (koːsuːy-) 'become numb with severe cold', Tv koːz'uː- id., 'freeze', Tf kə's'uː- id., v. 'stiff', Qrg koːs'uː- 'become calm, be serene\untroubled', koːs'uːp uyquya kirgen 'he fall asleep peacefully', {Rl.} koːs'uː- 'zittern, beben' ¶ ET KQ 127, TatR 345, JkR 182, Pek. 1172, Jud. 434, Rl. II 1306, 1151 ¶¶ Posch AAL 383, DQA #845 (A k'l'iːul'e 'freeze') ¶ A secondary connection with T *k'il' 'winter' [< N *gUl'v 'season without vegetation' ('draught, dry season', 'winter')) II D (in SD) *kul- ({GS} *k-) > Tm kul.ir 'feel cold, be cool, get numbed', Ml kul.ir, kul.ur 'coolness, cool, refreshing', kul.ukul.u 'intense cold', Kt kul.ak in-, kul.kul in- 'feel cold' (of hands, feet, body)', Kn kul.ir vi. 'be cool\cold', n. 'coldness, coolness, cold, snow, frost', Kdg {D} kul.i- 'cold feeling is' ¶ D #1834 ♦ IS I 304-5 [#176] ♦ If the N vw. was *u (or *uː), the lack of reflexes of this vw. in IE *gel- may be explained by the law ruling out any sequence of two sonants in a √, i.e. N *kuluːl'e > pre-IE *geuːl- > IE *gel-. In U the precon. *l' lost its palatality; i ÷ T *k'il' 'winter', for phonetic reasons it is better to refer it to N *gil'v#jʔv'd'v 'ice, frost; to freeze' (q.v.) (whence Tg *gil'd'v 'cold') ♦ □ Gr. II #168 (*kul ~ *kel 'freeze') [IE, U, A, Ko, CK].

⌈+ 878a. *kUl'v 'to flow, gush, leak' > HS: ECh: Mu {J} kiːl/keːl 'pour' ¶ J Mu II IE: NaIE *gˈwel- > OI 'galati 'drops (träufelt herab), falls down' ¶ Gk βλυω 'quelle hervor' ¶ OHG quellan, NHG quellen 'to gush, well', NHG Quell(e) 'a spring' ¶ M E 329, KM 572, □ P 471-2 II U: FU *kul'kv- v. 'stream, leak' [× U *kulke- 'swim, move (sich bewegen zu Lande und zu Wasser)'] > Er, Mk kol'ge- 'triefen, rinnen, sickern' ¶ Lp N goːl'gaː-/lg- 'run' (of liquids: water, tears, blood, etc.) ¶ ObU {Ht.} *kuːl'əy- > pOs *kul'əy- 'rinnen\fließen (Schweiß), fließen (Wasser in einem kleinen Bach)' > Os: Vy kul'əy-, Kz χοῦῖι-, O χυλι- id. ¶ UEW 198, It. #176, LG 149, Ht. #264, Stn. D 491, Trj. S 189 II D (att. in CD) *kuːl- v. 'leak', 'run from a punctured vessel' (of water) > Nkr kuːl- id., Klm kuːl- (p. kuːl-) '(wasser) run from punctured vessel or tap' ¶ D #1919.]

[Moved to 867] 878. *kul'v (or *kaw'v?) 'glowing coals; to ⌈+ heat\roast\fry\cook' > IE: NaIE *gˈeuːlo-/gˈeuːlo- 'glowing coals', {EI} *geuːlo- ~ gulo- ~ *gulo-m 'fire, glowing coals' > ON kol 'charcoal', OHG kolo ~ cholo, col, NHG Kohle 'coal', AS col id., 'glowing coal', NE coal; NGr Sw cholle 'glimmen' ¶ Clt: OIr {WP, P} guːal 'charcoal', NIr gual 'coal' (< *geuːlo- ~ *gouːlo-) ¶ Tc B s'oliye 'hearth' ¶ □ WP I 563, P 399, EI 104, Dnn. 387, Ho. 56, OsS 50, Kb. 554, KM 388, Ad. 635 II HS: C: Bj {Rop.} kalo- 'fry', kalona 'frying-pan', {R} kiloːy- scv. 'roast, cook' ¶ SC ({E}*kaːl-) > Kz kalemuko, C бх Mb ikale 'charcoal' ⌈+ EC *kul- > pSam {Hn.} *kuːlaːl 'heat, warmth' > Sml kulayl id., Rn kuːleːl 'heat', Bn {Hn.} kuːleːl 'heat, pain'; Sml {DSI} kul 'calore', Dsn {To.} kullaː? 'hot', Arr {Hw.} kuld.aː 'hot', kulil- 'warm oneself', Elm {Hn.} 'kuːlla? 'Hitze' ¶ R WBd 142, Rop. 203, E SC 242, E K 12 ⌈+, Hn. S 67, Hn. E 280, DSI 373, PG 204, To. DL 513, Hw. A 375, Blz. RL 261, Blz. DL s.v. 'warm', HL 118] II A *k'uːl'v > Tg *xuːlduː 'warm, heat', (?) 'flame' > Nn xulz'i- 'be warmed', Ul xuldu 'hot', Ork xuldu- 'warm', Ud ugdi 'to warm, be warmed', Ewk uldi, acc. uldi-wə 'flame'; Nn xul tay, xuluṯ tay 'warm' (of water) ¶ STM II 260 || M *koːlci- vt., vi. 'warm, become warm' > MM [MA] koːlci- 'warm oneself', WrM koːlci- ~ koːlci- 'warm, become warm\flushed', IM {T} xoːlci- vt. 'heat, warm (one's hands)', WrO koːlce- 'heat up', Brt x'лч-, Ord g_oːlci- ~ g_oːlci'oː- 'warm oneself by the fire'; бх WrM koːlci-ge-, HIM x'лч' -, Kl κ'лч' - koːlci'aː-, {Rm.} koːlci'e- id. ¶ Pp. MA 222, MED 484-5, T VM 24, Krg. 740, Ms. O 270, KRS 315, KW 238, Chr. 619 || T *k'uːl 'ashes, cinders' [× N *qULp'v 'hot ashes, embers; to fry\heat on embers or hot stones', N *kuz'mv ~ *kuz'v mv 'smoke, ashes' and/or N *K.Eyːaːl.a 'to burn (vt., vi.), heat, be heated, roast'] > OT kuːl id., MQp XIII, [CC] xiv, XwT xiv, Chg xv kuːl, Tkm kuːl, Tk kuːl, Az κ'л kuːl, Ggz, ET, Ln, Kr Cr, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, ET, Qmn, Tb, Ln, Xk, Yk kuːl, Uz кул kulʷ, SY kulʷ, Xlj kuːl - kul, Slr kul, VTt, Bsh κ'л кьːl, Tv xuːl, Tf huːl, Chv кьːл кьːl, Chv H кьːl 'ashes' ¶ Cl. 715, DTS 325, Rs. W 307, ET KQ 137-8, Md. 43, 171, Jeg. 104, Fed. I 269-70 ¶¶ □ DQA #1140 (*k'ul'e 'to heat, burn': Tg, M, T), S AJ 281 ¶¶ A *k- for the expected *k- may be due to the infl. of the reflex of

the abovementioned N ***.qULpV** and/or N ***K.EyiaIa II D** (in SD) ***kol.L-** (⁷GS) ***k-** 'firebrand, fire' > Tm kol.L.i id., Ml kol.L.i 'firebrand, firewood', Kt koyl 'burning firewood', Td kwily 'firebrand, embers', Kn kol.L.i, kol.L.e, Tu kolli, kol.L.i 'firebrand' ¶ D #2158.

879. ***kol'pV** 'pair, one of the pair' > **HS:** S ⁷kl? 'pair, both' > Ug kl₂at du. f. 'both (hands)', BHB Mi%a2l6f5 kil'ayim 'of two kinds; both', Ar kil-a-, kil-a-ni 'both, the two', Gz kəl?e-, kəl?-ettu- 'two', Mh {Jo.} kəlo-(h), f. kəlayt, Hrs {Jo.} kəlo-, f. kəlayt, Jb C {Jo.} 'kəl'lə(h), Jb E {Jo.} 'kə'lə(h), Sq {Jo.} 'kala 'both (of)', Ak kila-n, f. kilat₁t₂a-n 'both' ¶ KB 453, KBR 475-6, A #1312, OLS 214, Rb. AWA 69, Jo. M 207, Jo. J 129, L G 282, Sd. 475, CAD VIII 353ff. || SC: Brn {E} kalel- 'be similar' ¶ E SC 366 ¶¶ Ro. 139, 245 [#240] reconstructs pMM ***kal-** 'be equal', which is (even if reconstructed well) is a loan from Fulani kala 'pareil' (Zb. 289) || ? Eg fP ky 'other' ¶ EG V 110-4 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 90 [#19.9] **II R:** T ***k'ol'** > NaT ***k'os'** 'a pair, one of the pair' > OT {Cl.} qo-s' id., Tk Δ kos, 'pair of horses', Tkm gos' 'pair (yoke) of oxen\horses for ploughing', gos'a 'pair, two; double', Kr Cr, ET qos', Nog, Qzq, Qq qos, Xk xos 'pair', SY qos' 'forming a pair', Uz qos', VTt, Bsh qus' id., 'double', Qrg qos' id., 'pair', Tv qos', Tf qo's', VTt, Bsh qus', Uz qos' 'double; twin, consisting of two similar parts', Yk xos 'additional, the second one (of a pair)'; ET Q 91 mentions VTt qu₂s and Bsh q₂w₂s ('double?') that are not registered in standard dictionaries and have a strange change of the reg. u into u₂, w₂ that resemble processes in Chv; d₂ ***k'os'** 'to link to' > Tk kos-, 'add, harness', Tkm gos-, Qzq qos-, Qrg, Alt qos- 'add, link to', Tv qos'/qoz- 'to add a new part (to the garment, footwear); to unite in pairs', Tf qo's'- 'to add a new part (to the footwear)'; NaT b₂ M: WrM qos ~ qous, HIM xoc, Kl xos' 'pair' ¶ Cl. 676, ET Q 90-3, Ra. 221, TkR 191-2, ≠ Shch. SF 194 (T ***ko-s'** with unjustified ***o-**), MED 970, 974 || M ***qolba-** v. 'couple, unite, combine, link to' > MM [MA] qolba- 'be combined to, add', WrM qolba-, qolbu-, HIM холбо-, Kl {KRS} холбх холбъ-(хъ) 'unite, combine, link to', {Rm.} xolwa- 'paaren, vereinigen', WrO {Krg.} xolba- v. 'couple, join', Ord {Ms.} xolbo-, Mnr H {SM, T} xulo- 'lier ensemble, joindre, unir'; M b₂ WrMc qolbo- id.; M ***qolbu₂a** 'pair, coupled' > WrO xolba- id. ¶ MED 957, KRS 593, KW 184, SM 181, T 377, Pp. MA 301, Krg. 276, H 65 [MM qolba(va)ra-vereinigen, zusammentun] || Tg ***xulbu-** '(Indian) file\string of objects; move in Indian file, be bound together' > Ewk ulbu-, Lm ulbu₂ci-, Neg ulbul- 'move in Indian file (following one another)', Nn Nh xuelbi- 'bind together, wrap', Ewk, Lm ulbult- 'Indian file, line\string of objects', Lm ulbuk₂ 'vertebral column', Ork ulbum₂i adv. 'in Indian file', Nn KU xulbi₂, Nn Nh xulbik₂ 'bundle' ¶ STM II 258 || pKo {S} ***ka-rb-** 'compete, match, compare, line together' > MKO ka-rp- (karw-), NKO kalp- kap-, karu- id.; ***ka-rb-** > d₂ MKO ka-r'o'- 'form a couple' d₂ MKO ka-r'o'-ki', NKO karogi 'twins' ¶ S QK #348, Nam 21, 23, MLC 12, 48 ¶¶ □ DQA #1115 (A ***k'o'-i**ba 'couple; to couple, combine'; incl. T, M, Tg, Ko).

880. ? ***kol'Ha** 'oak' > **IE** ***g^welh-/g^wleh-** > NaIE ***g^welə-/g^wla-** 'acorn, oak' > Arm ka©-in katin 'acorn, hazel-nut', ka©-ni kañi 'oak, hazel-tree' || Gk βα'λανοῖ 'acorn' || pBl₂ ***gīl-s** (< ***g^wl₂-s**) [gen. ***gīl-es**] d₂ ***gīliya-** ~ ***giliya-** > Ltv zīle, † dzīla 'acorn', Lt gīle', gyle-, Pru gile id. || +ext. ***nd-** > L gla₂ns (gen. gla₂nd-is) 'acorn' || BSL: Lt gile₂ndra, gile₂ndre 'reiche Ernte an Eichen, Nüssen, Beeren, Pilzen' || Sl ***z'elo₂dy** 'acorn' > ChS же₂л₂ды z'elo₂dy, Blg же₂л₂ды, SCr z'e₂lu₂d, Slv z'e₂lod, Cz z'alud, Slk z'alud', P z'ola₂dz', R же₂луд ¶ Acc. to P, the primary meaning was 'oak' ¶ P 472, Dv. #870, EI 407 (***g^welh₂-** 'acorn'), Slt. 166, Kar. II 560. ME I 556 & IV 732, F I 213, Frn. 151, En. 177, Tp. P E-H 234-5, Vs. II 44-5, Glh. 707, Frdr. PITA 131-2 **II R:** [1] A ***ku'ap₂V** 'oak-tree' > AmTg ***kolopo-(kta)** '∈ tree' > Orc † kolobo-kto, kopolo-kto '∈ fir-tree', kopolo 'log', Ud X kofolo-kto '∈ tree', Ud I/Sm kofolo-kto 'dry thin trunks of fir-tree or larch' ¶ STM II 407-8, Krm. 251 || pKo {S} ***ka-ra₂p** 'oak' > MKO ka-ra₂p, NKO karam-namu ¶ S QK #896, Nam 3 || pJ {S} ka'si₂pa 'Quercus dentata (∈ oak)' > OJ ka'si₂pa, J: T ka'si₂wa, K ka'si₂wa, Kg kas'i₂wa ¶ S QJ #974 ¶¶ DQA #1113 || [2] A {ADb., SDM97} ***k'ol'a** 'oak' (the deviant ***k-** is due to the infl. of N ***k.UR₂V₂3₂V** 'oak?') > AmTg ***xolo₂kv** 'oak' > Nn Nh xoro₂qola, Orc olo₂ka₂- ~ olo₂k₂i, Ud olo₂ko₂ id. ¶ STM II 16, Krm. 275 || pJ ***kasi** 'Quercus acuta (∈ oak)' > OJ ka'si₂, J: T ka'si₂, K ka'si₂, Kg kas'i₂ ¶ S QJ #976, Mr. 441 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. ***k'ol'a** 'oak' ♦ S NSShS #30 (A, IE).

881. ***kama** 'peel' (> 'dandruff, scab') > **HS:** S ⁷km₂y > Ar ⁷km₂y (pf. îmaKa kama₂) 'se mettre une cuirasse sur le dos ou une casque sur la tête', pf. îamiKa kamiya 'être tout couvert d'une armure' ¶ BK II 932 || ? C: Aw {Beke} kama₂d 'skin', Knf {TBZAC} ga₂ma₂d 'bark' (× N ***kom₂V₂t₂V** 'to cover; lid, cover') ¶ Blz. CWL **II U** ***kama** 'crust, rind, peel' > F kamara 'crust, scalp, callus', Es kamar 'rind, crust'

!Chr: L/B kom 'crust (as of bread)', Uf kom id., 'peel (of fruit\vegetables)', H kom id., 'shell' ! Prm *komeľ, ({**OLG**} *ko,meľ) 'peel, crust; > Z Lu komil', Yz 'kumil' 'peel of potatoes \ turnip \ radish \ swede', StZ komzľ, Z US ko,mzľ 'lump of heavy dough (for baking a crust of pies, etc.)', Vt kumel' 'bark of lime bast'; ? Prm *k'o'm > StVt коем kэм 'crust, peel of fruit\potatoes, (egg-\nut-)shell', Vt Sr/G kэм, Vt Kz ko'm id., 'bark' || Hg ha'ml- v. 'peel, scale', OHg ha'mt-, Hg ha'nt- v. 'strip, peel off (bark)', OHg ha'mcs, Hg ha'ncs 'inner bark' ! ? Vg {Kn.}: LK pō'ksa'm-kō'mtol, P nā-r-kamtul 'nut-shell' (pō'ksa'm, nā-r 'nut') || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *ka'mъ- '(fish-)scales' > Ne T cлв, Ne O {Lh.} s'a'β 'fish scales', Ng {Mdd.} kamu; Sq LTz {KD} qa'm 'scales', Slq Tz {Prk.} d komta' 'fish scales' (innacurate spelling for qomta'?) → ??σ {KKIH, Prk.} qomta' 'mint, money'; Kms {KD} q'a'm - q'a'm 'scales (e.g. fish-scales), money' || pY *kimer 'inner side of hide' > Y K kimer id. ('мездра') (-r is a nominal sx.) ¶¶ Coll. 23. UEW 121-2, Sm. 545 (FU *ka'ma° 'skin' > FP *kama-, Ugr *ka'ma-), LG 132, MRS 212, RMarS 274, Ü 73, Ep. 46, Lt. J 135, U3S 216, EWU 522, Jn. 63, Erl. 76, 99, KKIИ 162, KD 25, Hl. M #465, IN 227-8 || **Я**: M *qama- 'be mangy' > WrM qama- id., M *qamaуу 'scab, mange' > MM [IM] vvмQ qama;у, Brт хамуу id. ('парша'), WrM qamaуу, HlM хамуу id., 'scabies, itch', WrO хамуу - хамуу 'itch, scab, mange', Kl хамуу 'Krätze', Ord хамуу 'gale' ¶ Pp. MA 444, MED 923, Krg. 251, KW 165, Chr. 544, Ms. O 332.

882. *kam'o' 'to grasp, press' > **IE**: NaIE *gem- v. 'press, squeeze, squeeze together' > Arm 4mlem c'mlem v. 'press, squeeze, trample' || Gk [Hm] aor. γε'ντο 'he grasped' (< *gen-to) || ?σ Um gomia 'pregnant' || OIr {SB, P} gemel, W gefyn 'fetter' || ON kumla 'to squeeze', NNr kumla 'to knead, press together' || Ltv gu'mt (1s prs. gu'mstu) v. 'grasp' ! Sl *z'ьm-o / z'e'-ti v. 'press, squeeze' > SrChS жьмъ z'ьmo / жати z'e'-ti, SCr z'mē'm / z'e'-ti, OCz z'mu / *z'ietī, Cz Mr, Slk z'mu (inf. z'mat', *bf.* from prs.), P z'me / z'a'c', R жму / жати, Uk жму / жати ¶ P 368-9, EI 450 (misquotes Ltv gumstu as Lt), F I 297-8, SB 111, YGM-1 232, Vr. 334, Kar. I 125, Vs. II 36, 59, Ma. CS 591 || **HS**: B *√kmm > Ah əkmə'm 'serrer, presser' ¶ Fc. 810 || ?? S *√kmmw: Ak kamu' 'fetters(?)', ?? √kmmw (inf. kamu') 'to capture an enemy' (if ← *to bind' or 'to grasp') ¶ CAD VIII 128-31 || Ch: Hs ka'ma' 'seize, catch' ! Dr {Nw.} kэме 'pick (e.g. beans) one by one' || Bu {Hf.} kimta 'wegnehmen' || ? EDng {Fd.} ga'me' 'arracher par force (des mains de qn.)' ¶ Sk. HCD 134, Nw. K 128, Hf. B 286, Fd. 310 || C {AD} *√kmm 'seize, take possession of, possess' > Ag: Q {R} kamə'm 'possess', Bln {R} kim 'Besitz, Macht', kim- 'sich in den Besitz setzen, erwerben, bekommen; haben, besitzen', Xm {R} kim- 'possession', Km {CR} kema' 'wealth', Aw {Plm., Hz.} kim- 'steal' || SC: Irq {Wh., Wd.} -ko'm- 'possess' ¶ AD SF 217, R WB 220-1, Wh. SI, Wd. #1865 || **Я**: Tg *kama- v. 'press (теснит, прижимат)' > Ewk kama-, Ork, Nn kamalı- id., 'oppress', Lm kam- 'squeeze, grip in a vice', Neg kamalı- 'oppress, forbid', Ul qamawlı - qamaalı 'tightly (тесно)', qamolǝv- 'press (теснит)', encicle (hunted animals)' ¶ STM I 369 || ?σ NaT *Kama- v. 'surround\encircle\besiege (enemies), drive (cattle, horses) into an enclosure, capture' > Uz qama- 'drive (cattle, horses) into an enclosure, arrest', Qzq, Qq, Qrg qama-, ET qami- id., 'surround (enemies), VTt, Bsh, Qmq qama- 'surround, encircle, besiege', [x NaT *Ka'ba- < N *ga'fbV (or *gaybV?) 'to hold, seize; collect']: Chg [Rabg.] qaba- 'umfassen, umgeben, belagern'; NaT *Kamtr- > Qq, Nog qamtr- 'grasp', Qzq qamtr- 'intercept, borrow, snatch' ¶ RI. II 435, 479, Jud. 335, KrkR 366-8, Sht. 256, Nj. 590, ¶ ET KQ 159 || **D** *kam- ({GS} *k-) > OTI kamucu 'hold, seize; occupy, seize by force', TI kamucu- 'hold, seize', ? Mlt {Drs.} kam- 'gather one by one' ¶ ≠ D #1326, Km. 325 [#255] (both derive the TI word from *kav- 'seize') ◆ IS I 290-1 [#157] (*kamu; S, B, C, Ch, IE, ?D, T, Tg; i ÷ U, M and Ko). U *komV(rV) 'hollow hand' belongs not here, but to N *goomV - *gomØV '(hollow\closed) hand' (q.v.) ◆ ¶ Gr. II #332 [IE, A, CK + *err.* U].

883. *kamV 'full, whole, all' > **IE**: NaIE *gem- '(be) full' > Gk γε'μω v. 'be full' (of a ship, etc.), γεμ'ζω v. 'fill full of, load' || Sl *z'ьmьнь 'handful' > R, Blr, Uk жмєн, Slk z'men' id., Cz z'emne' 'bundle of two handfuls of flax' || Um GOMIA, kumiaf acc. f. pl. 'gravida's'; Um б- L gumia 'glutton, gourmand' ¶ F I 296, WH I 626, Bc. G 336, ≠ P 368-9 (considers it a *sd* from *gem- 'grasp'), Vs. II 58, Mikl. E 408, Ma. CS 593, Mul. 194, Pln. 737, ≠ EI 450 (γε'μω < *gem- 'press') ¶ Coalescence [esp. in Sl] with IE *gem- 'to grasp' || **HS**: C: EC: pBn {Hn.} *komo'm 'all' > Bn Bi komo'm, Bn Ba/J komo'mo; Cm {Bnd.} xumme 'all' (if in Cm, like in other Dullay dialects, x- < EC *k-) ¶ Hn. BD 90, Blz. CWL || B *√kmm 'gather (amasser)' > Kb цəmmə'm, Tmz kəmmə'm id., ETwl/Ty k'əmmə't 'ramasser' ¶ MT 334-5, Dl. 404, GhA 93 || Eg fMK km v. 'complete; total up to, amount; put an end to' ¶ EG V 128-30, Fk.

286 || S *+ext.* */kml > Ar kamal- 'the whole, totum', Sb hkml caus. v. 'complete (a work), be successful', Mh √kml (pf. kōm̄l) v. 'finish', kōm̄l id., Jb √kml: Jb C kōl 'be finished, complete', caus. v. ekūl 'finish', ekml v. 'finish', Hrs kēm̄l v. 'finish' ¶ Fr. IV 59-60, BGMR 78, Jo. M 210, Jo. H 68, Jo. J 131 || Ch: Pr ke'mo' v. 'fill' ¶ Ftz. P 36 ¶¶ Tk. I 43 (Eg, Pr) || A *kamV 'together, all' > M *qamu- 'gather together' > MM [HI] qamu-, WrM qamu-, HlH xam̄-x id.; M *qamug 'all, whole; everyone, everything' (<b- or >b- T?) > WrM qamug, HlM xamar id., MM [HI] qamuy 'tous'; M qamsu- > WrM qamsu-, HlM xam̄ca- 'be united\combined, come\be together'; M *qamtu > MM [MA, HI] qamtu, WrM qamtu, HlM xam̄ 'together, jointly', Mnr H {T} xamdu, {SM} xamd_i, xamd_u, Mgl {Rm.} qamtu, Dx hantu, Ba hamte 'together' ¶ Ms. H 87, MED 924-5, T 373, T DnJ 140, T BJ 150, SM 153 || ? NaT *k̄l'jamag 'all, whole' > OT qamay 'all', Chg qamug ~ qamig, MQp qamuy 'all', OOsM qamu 'all, the whole', Tk †, Δ kamu 'all', StAlt qamıq 'much, multitude, Xk xamıx, Tv xamıq 'all', Yk xamıy-, xomuy- {Pek.} 'gather', {JkR} 'arrange, put in order' ¶ Cl. 627, ET KQ 243-4, Rh. 1473, DTS 414-6, TvR 467, Rs. W 229, Pek. 3291-2, JkR 478. 496 ¶ The word belongs here unless it is an early loan from MPrs hm?g [hama-g] (as Cl. believes), which is unlikely in view of its presence in Tv and Yk. It may also be a loan from M *qamug (≠ above); the latter hyp. may explain the cns. x- in Tv xamıq 'all, whole' || Tg *kamurıı 'together' > Ul, Ork qamur ~ qamuri, Nn qamor ~ qamur 'together'; d: Ork qamur- 'be united', Nn qamorıgo- 'be united'; Tg *kamci- > WrMc qamci- 'unite, gather together' ¶ STM I 371, Z 259-60 || ?? U *°k'a'mE > Sm *k'z'm- > Ng {Hl.} kamsu'r- 'be united with', kamsəru- vt. 'add, join (присоединит)', kamsu'ʔmalədesa 'to unite with oneself (объединит с собой)' ¶ Hl. US 118.

884. *k'a'mV 'blood' > U *kaḷ:ıme 'blood' > Sm *kzm ({Hl.} *ke_m), {Jn.} *kzıḷ_m id. > Ne T xy'm̄, Ne O {Lh.} xz'm̄, Ne F {Lh.} kīe'm̄, Ng {Ter, Mik.} ka'm id., En {Hl.} keʔo 'coagulated blood', En X {Cs.} ki'z̄, En B {Cs.} ki'z̄, Slq Tz {KKIH} kzm, Kms {KD} k'zm̄ ~ k'em̄, Koyb {Sp.} камь, Mt {Hl.} *kzm id. (Mt M {Sp.} кемь id., Mt K {Pl.} гомь 'his blood') ¶ Jn. 65, Hl. TO 43, Hl. M #477, KP 90 [#491], Cs. 81, KKI 116 || A: Tg *kem- > WrMc kemin 'coagulated blood; brain covered with blood' || HS: Ch: WCh: AG: Tal {IL} k̄h̄em̄, {Sch.} k̄h̄e'm̄ 'blood' || Ech: Smr {J} m. k̄w'a'mge', f. k̄o'mwı'n, pl. k̄w'a'mgad̄, ko~m 'red' || CCh: Bdm {Cyffer} k̄z'm̄ 'red' : ʔHigi {ChL}: HgF x̄z'm̄, FlG x̄z'm̄(i), Kps x̄u'm̄, HgG x̄u'm̄ 'red' || ? Eg fP cms 'red, ruddy' ¶ EG V 369, Fk. 304 ¶¶ NrOm: not here Anf {Gt.} word 'kima' 'menstruazione' (Gt. 354), it is identical with Anf {MYTY} k̄immo 'dirt' (MYTY 118) and belongs together with Shn k̄ima 'Dreck' (Lm. Sh 326) || ʔµ D *kem- ({GS} *k-) 'red' > Tm, Ml cem-, Tu kem-, Tl kem- (in a few composita) ¶¶ D #1931 ¶ The D cognate is valid unless *kem- is an extension of D *ke- 'red' > Tm, Ml ce-, etc. (D #1931) ♦ The comparison with D was suggested by Blz. (Blz. C). But D *kem- is a *qu.* cognate both for phonetic reasons (*e instead of *a < N *a) and because it seems to be an extension of D *ke-, *key- 'red' ♦ n Gr. II #45 (*kem 'blood').

885. *kEmV (or ***kEmHo**) 'to give birth' (→ 'kin, family') > IE {Pv.} *g̃emh̄- (= {n̄Pv} *g̃em-A₁W-), {El} *g̃emH- 'marry' (of a male) > AnIE (× IE *g̃emH- 'give birth' < N *ka'n̄hV id.) > NaIE *g̃em-/g̃eme- ({Pv.} *g̃emə-) 'to marry; relative, relative-in-law' > Vd ja'mi-h. 'related' (brother and sister), OI (post-Vd) ja'mi-h. 'daughter-in-law', Av za'maoya- 'son-in-law's brother', OI 'ja'ma-ta- / ja'ma-tar-, Av za'ma-tar- 'son-in-law', NPrs d'm'd da'ma'd {VL, BM} id., 'bridegroom', {Sg.} 'son-in-law; wooer, lover' || Gk γαμε'ω (aor. ἔ-γημα, Gk D ἔ-γαμα) 'marry' (of males), γαμε'τη 'spouse', γάµο 'marriage, wedding', γαµπο' 'son-in-law' || AdS of L gener / -i id., Ltv zno'ts, Lt z'e'ntas 'daughter's husband', Sl *zeḹ id., 'bridegroom', AnIE: Ht kaena 'a relative-in-law, kinsman' (mainly 'male ego's son-in-law or brother-in-law, wife's brother'), Ld ka'na (a kinship term, possibly 'daughter's husband') [all from N *ka'n̄hV '†', q.v. ffd.] ¶¶ WP I 574-5, P 369-70, EI 369, Szem. KT § 20.3.1, M K I 430, VL I 796-7, Horn 117, F I 287-8, WH I 590, Frn. 1301, Kar. II 566, Vs. II 112, SJSS XII 692, Pv. IV 12-4, Ts. E I 459-60, Gsm. LW 150-1 || HS: S *°kim- > Ak fOAK, OB kimtu ~ kimatu ~ kintu 'family, kin', Ak LB k̄imu 'family' ¶ CAD VIII 375-7 || C: Ag: Aw {CR} kaman-, Bln/Q {R} kabən-, Km {CR} kabən- 'give birth' || DhI ke~m- id. || SC: Asa komit- id. ¶ E SC 243, AD SF 65 ♦ Identical with *k'a'mV 'blood'? ♦ If Pv.'s rec. of IE *g̃emh̄- (*g̃em-A₁W-) is right, the N rec. must be *kEmHo. But in this case the absence of an Inlaut vw. in Ak kimtu is strange. The only lr. conceivable here is *h (it is regularly lost in Ak, but yields *ə in NaIE).

886. ?? ***ko**_u**m**∇ 'sth. hollow' > **HS:** S: Ar kumm-at- 'round cap', ? kumm- 'sleeve', kimm- 'calix of a flower, envelope of the palm-blossom' || **U:** FU ***kXm**∇ 'hollow' (n., adj.) > F komi, komo id. : Chr H {Rm.} kom in palkom 'sky, the vault of heaven', koman 'with vaulted surface' || Os: V ko~m in ritkom 'Raum unter einem umgestülpten Boot', D xom, Kz xow~m 'hollow\concavity (e.g. under an overturned boat)', V ko~mər 'hollow under ice', Vy ko~mäl 'concavity' : Hg homoru' 'hollow, concave' ¶ UEW 227 || **II A** {DQA} *ku'o~mi 'hollow, cavity, inner angle' > Tg *kum- > Ewk kumqa 'hollow (in a tree); hole, burrow (of an animal)', WrMc {Hr.} kumdun 'Leere' ¶ STM I 431, Hr. 600 || pKo {S} *ku~m- 'cavity (впадина), hole' > MKo ku~mk, ku~mu' (ku~mu'k), NKO kuməŋ ¶ S QK #196, Na, 59, 63, MLC 201 || pJ {S} *ku~ma 'inner angle, cavity' > OJ ku~ma', J: T kuma', K ku~ma ¶ S QJ #255 || ?σ M *ko~megi- > WrM ko~mu~g, ko~mu~gei 'shed, roof' (esp. 'roof over a portico'), 'eaves; awning, canopy; overhang of a mountain', Brt x~mγ 'hollow\empty place; gorge, ravine, cleft (успелсе, теснина, расценина)', ?σ Ord k'o~mo~gi 'le penchant est d'une montagne\colline' ¶ MED 487, Chr. 620, Ms. O 427 ¶¶ DQA #918 (M, Tg, Ko, J) ♦ Resh. NNE #4 (A, U).

887. ***k'u**_u**m**∇(L∇) '(stinging) insect' > **U:** FU ***kum**VL∇ ~ ***kam**VL∇ > ObU *ko~mVL∇k ~ *ka~mälək 'beetle' > pVg {Ht.} *kə~mla~k > Vg: P komlax, Yk {Vxr.} xomlax ~ xow~mlax, NV komla~k^d komla~k, SV komla~k, LL kamla~k, Ss xomlax id.; pOs {Ht.} *kamälkay > Os: V/Vy qamälqi, Ty qa~mälqi, Y qa~mälqi, D xo~mälxay^d xa~mälxay, K xo~mälxa'y, Nz xo~mälxa, Kz xo~mälxa 'small insect, beetle' ¶ Ht. #269, BV 137, Trj. VD 146, Trj. S 144, Stn. D 496-7 || **II A:** T ***k**_l'**u**_u**m**l'uy > OT {Cl.} qums'uy 'louse' or 'tick' ¶ Cl. 629 || NrTg *ku~mi~r, *kumi-ke~n > Ewk kumikə~n, Ewk Brg kumir, kumirkə~n '(small) insect', Sln xumixə 'ant'; Tg *kum∇(-ke) 'louse' > Orc kumə, Ewk, Lm, Neg kumkə, Sln xupkə, Nn kupkə, Ud X/A kumugə, Ud A kumuə 'louse' ¶ STM 430 || pKo *kə~mə~ri' 'leech' > MKo kə~mə~ri', NKO kə~mə~ri ¶ S QK #972, MLC 84 ¶¶ i ÷ (⇔ S AJ 272) pKo {S} *kə~mi~ 'spider' and pJ {S} *ku~mu~a~id. ¶¶ T ***i**' and Tg ***r** for the expected ***i** still need explanation ¶¶ S AJ 290 [#378] (A *ku~u~m∇), DQA #847 (A *ki~u~oma~o 'blood-sucking insect') || **HS:** S ***√**klm ~ WS ***√**k.lm ~ WS ***√**k.ml: [1] ***√**klm > Ak kalmatu 'parasite, louse (on animals, plants and human beings)', JA am1l6f2 kal'ma~, at1m6l6f2 kalmə't_a~ 'vermin', (as *-lm- > -nm-): Mh {Jo.} kənəmu~t (pl. kə~nawm), Bth {Jo.} kənəmit, Jb E {Jo.} 's'init, Jb C {Jo.} 's'init, Sq {L} 'konəm 'louse', BHb Mn'1f5 kin'na~m 'gnats' ([acc. to the versions in LXX, Vulg., Philo, Origen] or 'lice' (acc. to Psh. and Trg.), MHb em'1n5f6 kə~nim'ma~ 'worm'; [2] ***√**k.ml ~ ***√**k.lm > OA k.ml 'louse', JA at1m6l6q@ k.almə't_a~ 'vermin', Sr {PS} 'moləa k.al'ma~ 'louse', Ar qaml-at- 'louse', coll. qaml- 'lice, louse', Sb k.mlt, k.lm, k.lmt 'insect pests, (?) locusts', Gz k.~əma~l ~ kəma~l 'louse' ¶ CAD VIII 86-7, HJ 1013, Js. 645, 1378, Sl. 1021, PS 3635, Fr. III 500, BGMR 105, L G 432, L LS 221, Jo. M 212, KB 461, KBR 483, BDB 487-8 [#3654] || ? Eg kmy 'ε snake' ¶ Mks. III #4395 || C: EC {Ss.} ***kilm**- 'tick (insect)' > Af {PH} kilim, -i 'ticks', Sa {R} kilin, Brj 's'ilm-a~, pSam {Hn.} *c'ilm > Sml N s'i'li~n (pl. s'i'limo~), Rn {Oo.} c'i'lim, {PG} c'i'li~m, Bn s'i'lm-i~ 'tick', Arr silme~, Or 'silm-i? ~ s'ilm-a / s'ilm-i, {Grg.} silmi, Or Wl {Brl.} silmi id., Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} s'ilmī 'small tick (on cows)' ¶ Bl. 156, 190, Ss. PEC 13, Ss. B 173, Hn. S 77, PG 85, Abr. S 232, PH 147, Oo. 72, 393, Grg. 358, Brl. 374, Sr. 389 || Ch: CCh: Bdm koma~li 'black ant' || WCh: Hs k.u~ma~ 'flea (of rats, dogs)', Gw {Mts.} kuma 'flea of dogs' ¶ ChL, Ba. 637, Mts. G 68 ¶¶ In S and WCh there is secondary glottalization (*k- for the expected *k-) of tabuistic and "expressive" origin and/or due to contamination with different roots ♦ IS I 308-9 [#180] (? *kama~ 'stinging insect'; HS [S, C, Ch], A).

888. ***ku**~**mX** 'man, person' > **K:** GZ {K, FS} ***kmar**-, {GM} ***km**~ar- ~ ***kmar**- 'husband' > OG, G kmar-i, Mg, Lz komo~i ~ komon~i, Lz kimo~i 'husband', Lz i-komo~i-u 'married' (of a woman); K ***km**-l~ > Mg komoli ~ kumoli, Mg BM komoi 'man (male person)', Lz komoli ~ kimoli 'husband' ¶ K 198, Chik. 34-5, FS K 337-8, FS E 379, GM S 462, Q 345 [¶II ? **HS:** ECh: Kbl {Cp.} ku~ma~, ? Mgm {J} gi~mu~, ? Bdy {AJ} ge~ŋ, ge~mo~ 'man (person)' ¶ JI II 267, JA LM 87. AJ 77 || **IE:** NaIE ***g**~hom-/ ***g**~hm- 'man (person)' > OL hemo~ 'person', acc. hemo~nem (preserved in L ne~mo~ 'nobody' < **ne-hemo~), L homo~ / hominis 'person', Osc humuns 'homines', Um homonus 'hominibus' || Gt guma 'ανρ, man', ON gumi, OSx gumo, AS zuma, OHG gomo 'person, man'; OSx bru~di-gomo, OHG bru~ti-gomo, NHG Bra~uti-gam, AS bry~d-zuma 'bridegroom', NE bridegroom || Olt z~muo~, acc. [Dk.] z~mu~ni, Lt pl. z~mo~ne's 'men', sg. d z~mogu~s ~ z~mo~gus 'person', d z~mona~ 'woman', Pru smu~ni [zmu~ni] 'person' (acc.), smoy ([z-]; P: to read smoa?) 'Mann' ¶ But pTc *s'a~u~mo > Tc A s'om 'young man', Tc B s'aumo (pl. s'a~mna) 'person. man'] is better interpreted (after Wn. and Ad.) as d from Tc *s'a~u~ 'live' < IE ***g**wi~ou~ 'live' ¶ P

415, WH I 654-5, Bc. G 337, Fs. 225-6, Vr. 194, Ho. 140, Ho. S 10, 29, Kb. 399, Schz. 103, 152, KM 97-8, Frn. 1319-20, En. 251, Ped. T 108, Wn. 486, Ad. 636, Ad. H 118 ¶ The irreg. *g^h- for the expected *g^h- is due to folk-etl. connection with a different word, possibly with *g^hdem-/ *g^hdom- ({EI} *d^hg^hom-) 'earth', like in Hb: ʔa^hd a^hm 'person' linked by folk et. with ʔa^hd a^hma^h 'earth' (in fact both going back to the S root *ʔdm 'red') ¶ In IE the labial element of N *u^h disappeared due to the law ruling out sequences of two sonants in a √ (*ku^hmV > **g^heu^hm- > *g^hem-), ≠ EI 366 [*d^hg^hm_o-on 'man' <d- *d^hg^hom- 'earth'], 248 [*d^hg^hemon 'man' <d- *d^hgg^h(e)men 'on(to) the ground'] II R: M *ku^hmu^h-n (pl. *ku^hmu^h-s) 'person' > MM [MA] ku^hmu^hn, [ISV] ku^hmu^h, [HI] gu^hʔu^hn, WrM ku^hmu^hn (pl. ku^hmu^h-s), HLM x^h m^h x^h m^h, MMgl ku^h, Dx {T} kun, Mnr H {T} kun, {SM} k'un, Dg {Mr.} xu^h, {T} ku^h ~ xu^h, Ba {T} ku^h ¶ Pp. MA 441, Ms. H 59, Lg. VMI 52, Iw. 114, MED 501, Mr. D 25, SM 211, T 341, T DnJ 123, T BJ 141, T DgJ 150 || ? Tg *komX > Neg komo 'relatives, kinsmen', Nn B qomoh 'grand-grand-grandson' ¶ ¶ ≠ SDM97 s.v. *ki^hjo 'person; people, country' and ≠ DQA #849 (A *ki^hu^hne; *unc.* comparison of M *ku^hmu^h-n with T, Tg and J *K-n-roots) II U *komV 'man, person' > pZ *kōm- ({pLg} *ko^hm-) 'person' > Z, Prmk komi, Yz 'komi 'a Komi person [= Ziryene, Permyak and Yazvian]'; Vt kum in set phrases: viz^hi kum 'a kinsman' (viz^hi 'root, kin'), {W} sara kum 'Ziryene people' :: Vg: T kom, LK xom, Yk {Vxr.} x^h m x^h m, P kum, Ss xum 'man (male person)', P kim 'husband' : OHg hr^hm 'male (animal)', Hg hr^hm id., adj. 'male' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} qum / qup 'person' (morphophonemic variants; on their distribution cf. KHG 143-4), Ke qum, Tur qup id., Tm {KD} kop 'person, man, husband' ¶ ¶ Coll. 14, UEW 168 (reconstructs *koy(e)-mV without any direct ev. of *-y-, only on the basis of a supposed derivational link with *koye 'man, person'), LG 132, BV 143. EWU 559, KKIH 165 ♦ The U and Tg back *o is probably due to the infl. of the stem-final back vw.: *ku^hmX > *komX ♦ AD LRC #154 (IE, K, M, ??U), ≠ SNSShS #5 [*unc.* comparison of M *ku^hmu^h-n (allegedly from *k^hi^hju^hi) with IE *genā- 'be born' (cf. N *ka^hn^hhV 'to give birth') and K (GZ) *gen- 'calf (suckling); to make suck'] ♦ □ Gr. II #292 (*kum ~ *kun 'person') [IE, U, A, CK + *err.* Ko, J].

889. 2 *kVmc.V (or *K.VmcV) 'to jump' > K *kVnc^h- > Mg kenc^h- v. 'jump' ¶ Q 342 II HS: WS *√k.mc. ~ *√k.mz > Ar √qms^h v. 'galoper, aller au galop', IA [Frh.] k.ms. 'grasshopper', Gz √k.ns. 'leap, spring away', Jb C/E √k.mz 'jump': Jb C pf. ku^h-z, 3m sbjn. yku^h-z, prs. yō^hkmoz 'jump', Jb E kəmze^ht 'a leap' ¶ L G 435, Di. 450, Jo. J 132, Jo. M 212, HJ 1013, BK II 813 ♦ In the descendant lgs. there is progressive (*k...c. > *k...c) and regr. (*k...c. > *k...c.) *as*.

890. ? 2 *kamc^h.V (or *K.amc^h.V) 'hand, ∈ part of arm' > HS: S *√k.m^hs^h.^h ~ *√k.ms^h 'handful' (different directions of *as* from *√k.ms^h?) > [1] *√k.m^hs^h.^h > BHb čm37q 'k.omec. 'handful', Ak NB k.ens^hu id. (?) (<b- Aram?), ?σ Ug k.ms. 'un montón de' (a measure); BHb, JA √k.mc. G 'enclose with the hand, take a handful\ fistful', JEA {Sl.} √k.mc. G 'take a handful'; [2] *kum^hV^hs^h > Ar kums^h-at-un 'handful' ¶ KB 1036, BK II 929, Js. 1386, Sl. 1026, HJ 1036, OLS 368, CAD XIII 209 II R: M *qamcu^hi^hn 'sleeve' > MM [MA] qanc^hu(n), [IM] qanc^hu, [ISV] qanc^hin, WrM qamcui ~ qancui ~ qancu, HLM ханцуй, Brt хамсы, WrO ханца(n), Kl ханцн, {Rm.} ханца^h, ханцн^h, MMgl {Iw.} qamc^hi, Mgl {Rm.} qamc^hi ~ qamc^hu, Mnr H {SM} ханз^h.i, {T} ханз^hi, Dx ганз^hun, Ba ганз^hon, Dg {Pp.} хан^hc^hi id. ¶ Pp. MA 291, 444, Lg. VMI 42, MED 921, 927, Chr. 543, Krg. 233, KRS 576, KW 166, Iw. 122-3, SM 156, T 373, T DnJ 116, T BJ 137.

891. *kom^hi^hdE '∈ basket, vessel' > U: FU *konte 'knapsack of birch-bark' > F kontti id. : Prm *kudV > Vt kudi 'bast-basket', Vt Sr 'eine Art großer Korb', Z kud 'bent basket of bast, [wickered] bast-basket (лукошко)', Z Vm kuda 'large wooden box for flour and corn, пудовка' :: ? amb ObU {Ht.} *ku^hnt ~ *ki^hnt 'large basket carried on the back' > pVg *ku^hnt > Vg: T ko^hnt, LK xu^ht, MK kut, UK ku^ht, P kunt; pOs *kint > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y qint, D/K xent, Nz xi^hnt id. (× ObU *ku^hnt- ~ *ki^hnt- 'to carry on the back' < U *kanta- to carry') ¶ Coll. 90, UEW 124, 177-8, Ht. #292, Wc. TLP 76 and LG 741 (both sources suppose a Chv origin of the Prm word) II R: NaT *Komt^ha > QuK {Rl.} qomda 'box', Qb {Rl.} qomda 'coffin', SbTt Tb {Rl.} qumta '∈ ein Schächtelchen', SbTt Bkl {Tm.} qumta, SbTt Ltm {Tm.} qunta 'box, bag (коробка, сумка)', Bsh qumta 'small box\case'; Volga Qp *qumta > Chv L кунгаÄ kund^h 'bast-basket' ¶ Rl. II 671, 1050-1, Tm. 133-4, BR 347, Fed. I 307-8, ≠ Jeg. 118 (supposes a FU origin of the Chv word) || M *qobdu 'case; box; quiver' [× *K.up.V 'log'??] > MM [MA] qobdu 'quiver for arrows', WrM qobdu, HLM ховд 'case; long & narrow box; quiver', Kl {KRS} ховд 'long & narrow box; case

(**футлѣр**), quiver', {Rm.} *χobda* 'quiver', Brt *хобто* 'box, chest (**сундук**)' ¶ Pp. MA 299, MED 949, KW 181, KRS 591, Chr. 574 || ?? Tg **komtV* > Neg *komtaxan* 'birch-bark box for keeping small objects' (unless *d* from **komta* v. 'close, cover', 'lid' < N ***kom₁V₁t.V** id., q.v.) ¶ STM I 409 || ?σ pJ **ka'ma'ti* 'door frame' > OJ *kamati*, J: T *ka'mac'i*, K *ka'ma'c'i'*, Kf *kama'c'i* ¶ S QJ #869, ▢ Mr. 431 ¶¶ DQA #876 (A **ko'mtV* 'box, frame') || HS: ? S **kand* 'jug' > Ug *knd* 'jug', Ak NB *kandu* '∈ a container of earthenware or silver, mainly for wine' (≠ WS?) ¶ A #1337, CAD VIII 148-9, ≠ HJ 487-8 (Ak *kandu i* ≠ WS **kadd*-) ♦ UEW 177 (FU, T, M, Tg).

892. *kom₁V₁t.V 'to cover; lid, cover' > U: FP **komta* 'lid, cover' > F *kansi* (gen. *kannen*) 'cover, lid, deck', Lv *ko_n'c'* (pl. *ko_ndad*) 'lid (Deckel)', Es *kaas* (gen. *kaane*) 'lid, cover (of a book)' : Lp: K {Gn.} *koamplo-s* 'lid (Deckel)', T {Gn.} *ki'o-mte* 'outer surface', N {N} *goaw'de* / -wd- 'projecting roof' : Er *kundo* 'lid (of a trunk, tub)', Mk {Ps.} *kunda* 'lid' : Chr: L/H *комдыш комдыс*, Uf *комдыс* 'lid' : Z *kud* 'cover, outer surface' ¶ UEW 671, Sm. 552 (FP **komta* 'lid'), SK 157, Kt. 150, ERV 314, MRS 213, Ü 73, Ep. 46, LG 143-4, Db. OS x (FU **kamto* > **kamte* / **komta*-) || A: Tg: Orc *kumta* v. 'cover'; Tg **komtan* 'lid (of a vessel, basket)' > Neg *komtan*, Orc *qumta(n)*, Ul *qo'mta(n)*, *qumta(n)*, Ork *qupta(n)*, Nn Nh/KU *qomta*, Nn B *qon̄ta(n)* id.; ≠ **kumta-la* 'cover with a lid' > Ul *qumtala*, Ork *quptala*, Nn Nh/KU *qomtala* id. : Tg **ku₁mbV-kte* 'upper eyelid' > Neg *kumbukt*, Ul *kumbikt* ~ *kumt*, Nn *kumukt* 'eyelid', Lm {Pp.} *k3md3mk3* 'eyelids'; Nn B *kumul-kumul ta* 'to close the eyelids tightly' ¶ STM I 409, 447 || M **ko'mu'sge* 'eyebrow(s)' > WrM *ko'mu'sge*, HlM x' mē r, WrO *ku'mu'ske* ~ *ku'mu'sku* ~ *ko'mu'sku*, Kl k* mē r *ku'msæg*, {Rm.} *ku'mskā* ~ *ko'mskā*, Ord *k'o'mo'sk'o*, Mnr *k'u_omosg_u_o*; M ≠ WrMc *χumsun* id. : WrM *ko'mu'g*, *ko'mu'gei* 'shed, roof', esp. 'roof over a portico' : Brt x*мудху 'superciliary arcs; eyebrows', Dg {Mrm.} *kumr_k* 'eyelid' ¶ MED 487, Krg. 741, 754-5, KRS 324, KW 239, 246, Ms. O 428, SM 213, Chr. 620, Klz. D II 117 || ?σ pKo {S} **ku'mi't* 'hair on temples' > MKo *ku'mi't* ~ *kumis* id.; MKo *ku_i mit*^h (reinterpreted as 'roots of the ears') > NKO *ku_i mit*^h *ku_imit* 'roots of the ears' ¶ S QK #315, Nam 59, 65, MLC 228 || ?? T: OT [MhK] *qum-*: *su_v qomdi* 'the water as covered with waves' (legitimate cognate only if it is a *bf.* from ***komT*- through forms like **kom-d i* < **komT-d i*) ¶ Cl. 615 ¶¶ Pp. VG 19, 68 [M & Tg words for 'eyelid'], ▢ DQA #877 **ku'mu* 'to wrap up, cover' [Tg equated with OT *qum-*, M **qumi* 'fold, gather up, close tightly', pKo **ka'm* 'to wind around' and pJ **ku'm* 'plait, interwine, combine'], DQA #917 (A **ku₁omje* 'eyebrow, hair on temples': M, Tg, Ko) || HS: S (*mt* and *as*) **√ktm* v. 'cover, close' > Ak *√ktm* (inf. *kata-mu*) v. 'cover, conceal', *katammu* 'cover, lid (for a kettle or oven)' ¶ CAD VIII 297-303 || ?? C: Ag: Aw {Beke} *kama'd* 'skin', Knf {TBZAC} *ga'ma'd* 'bark' [× N ***kama** 'peel' (> 'dandruff, scab'), q.v. ffd.] ♦ Coll. 149 (FU, Tg) → UEW 671 (id.) ♦ Cp. Gr. II #82 (**kom* 'cover') [A, Ko, J, Ai, Gil, CK].

893. ?₂ *kanV 'pair, couple; one of a pair, comrade' > U: FP (att. in FL) **kansa* 'pair; one of a pair, comrade' > Prm **ko'z* ({*u*LG **ko'z*) 'pair, couple' < Z *goz* / *gozy*, Z US *go_z*, Yz 'guz', Vt *kuz*, Vt B *ko'z* ({*u*LG} *ko-z*) 'pair', Z *gozya* 'married couple' : Es *kaasa*, Δ *ka's* 'comrade; spouse' : Lp: N {N} *ga3'ze* 'household' (⇔ 'a single individual'), Vfs {Lgc.} *nuo'r3 g_a'cc'e* 'young couple' (*nuo'r3* 'young'), Kld {TI} *ka'n'c* 'comrade' ¶ It is not yet clear if F *kansa* 'people' and Lp N *ga3'ze* 'assembly of people' belong to the same √ (with the semantic change from 'couple; married couple' to 'household' to 'folk, people'), or it is a homonymous word of a different origin [maybe a loan from eGmc **xansa* (> Gmc **xanso* > Gt *hansa* 'troop, multitude', OHG *hansa*, AS *ho's* 'troop', MHG *hanse*, *hense* 'society')] ¶ UEW 645 (FP **kansa* 'Volk, Leute; Genosse, Freund'), LG 77, Fs. 245, Kb. 431 || A **k₁'jan* > M **qani* > WrM *qani*, HlM хан *friend, companion, partner*, Ord *χani*, WrO *χani* 'friend, comrade', Kl {KRS} хан *'fellow-traveller, companion'*, {Rm.} *χan'i*, Brt хани, Dg {T} *χani* 'friend, companion'; ? MM [S] *qanilqa* 'vergleichen, gleichstellen' ¶ MED 930, Ms. O 334, Krg. 232, KRS 576, KW 165, Chr. 546, T DgJ 173, H 60 || pJ **ka'na p-* v. 'match' > OJ *ka'na p-*, J: T/Kg *kana'*, K *ka'na'* ¶ S QJ #761, Mr. 703 || ??φ T **k₁'jo₁u₁i* 'neighbour' (unless a *d* from T **k'on-* 'settle down') > OT T *kon'us₁* (= *qo₁us'u?*) 'neighbour', OT, MQp XIII, XwT XIV, Chg XV *qo₁s'i*, MQp XIV [CC] *qo₁s'i* ~ *qo₁s'u*, OOSm ≥XIV *qo₁s'i-qo₁s'i*, Tk *ko₁s'u*, Ggz *qo₁s'u*, Qrg *qo₁s'u*, Nog, Qq *qo₁s₁*, Uz *qo₁s'ni*, Δ *qo₁с'с' d qo₁s'с'*, Az *гону g_ons'u*, Qmq *χons'u*, ET *qos'na* ~ *χos'na*, Xk *χon3'ix* id. ¶ i ÷ (⇔ DQA) T **Konak* ~ **Konuk* 'guest' (obviously derived from T **k'on-* 'settle for the night on a journey, settle down', see ET Q 55-6, Cl. 634, 637) ¶ Cl. 640, ET Q 66-8, BIG 286 ¶¶ i ÷ (⇔ DQA) Tg **xangi-*, which means not 'other', but 'side' (so in Ul, Ork, Nn),

while Lm aṅḡl and Neg aniskı ~ aṅiskı 'other' belong to a different root (N ***HanV** 'other') ¶¶ □ DQA #985 (A ***k'a**-no 'match, other side'; incl. M, J) ¶ HS: S ***kVna**ı:wat- 'comrade, person of equal social status' > Ak kina-tu ~ kinattu id., 'colleague', IA knt 'companion, colleague', BA Et4v!n!f6 (pl. +ppa.) kə'na-w-a-t-e'h 'her colleagues', {GB} 'her comrades', Sr 4no° kə'na-t, A4ono° kəna-t-a- 'companion, fellow-servant, colleague' (Zimmern, Sd., Kaufman a.o. suppose that the Aram word is a loan from Ak) ¶ CAD VIII 381-3, Sod. 479, HJ 520-1, KB 1725, GB 910, JPS 220 || B ***√knw** 'be a twin' > Ah əknu, Kb ***√knw** (imv. iṁniw) id.; Ah e-kne, Sll i-kni ~ i-kinnu, Mz a-c'niw (pl. a-cniwən), Kb i-ṁən, Wrg i-kin, akniw, Izn ix'ən, ax'niw, SnSr ak_ən 'twin', Mz tac'niwt, Kb t_i-ṁən-t, Wrg tikint, takniwt 'female twin' ¶ Dl. 411, Fc. 831, Ds. 163, Dlh. M 23-4, Dlh. Ou 147, Rn. 346 ¶¶ In B and S this ***√** coalesced with the reflexes of N ***kun**i 'woman, wife' (whence the meaning 'co-wife').

894. *kannV(-t.V) 'stalk, trunk of a tree' (→ 'log') > HS: S ***kann-** 'stem' → 'basis' > Ak kannu 'slip (of a plant), stalk, shoot (of a tree)', Sr kan'n-a- 'stem (of a tree), stalk, root (of a plant)', JA kan'n-a- {Js.} 'base, stand', JEA {Sl.} kan'n-a- 'stem, stalk, original position', ? BHb Nf4 ken 'shoot; stand (base of a wash basin kiy'yo'r)' (the vw. e is puzzling), Md kana 'base, fundament', Tgr nT kan-ət (pl. K~N kənan) 'rowing-pole' ¶ Br. 333, JPS 217. KB 460, KBR 483, Js. 648, Sl. 587, DM 198, LH 416, CAD VIII 157 ¶ There is probably contamination of the S word in question with a different word, meaning 'place' || C: Ag {Ap.} ***kan-** 'tree' > Bln, Xm, Q kana, Aw kani ¶ Ap. AV 12, R WB 221-2 [± || ?? WCh: Buli {IL} k'yinde, {ChL} ki'ndi 'tree' ¶ ChL, ChC ¶¶ D: [1] (in McTm) ***kan**n- 'sprout, shoot' > Tm kan'n-i id., Ml kan'n-i 'shoot of betel vines' ¶ [3] D ***kan**Vkk- 'stick' > Kt kan'k 'thin dry sticks', Kn kan'ike, kan'uku 'stalk of millet', kan'd'ike 'stalk, stem', Tu kan'aku 'firewood', Tl kan'ika 'stick', ? Ku kandi 'stick, twig', Krx kaṅk 'wood, timber', Mlt kanku 'wood' ¶¶ D ##1165, 1185, 1454-5 ¶ U: FU ***kanta** 'tree stump, tree-trunk' (→ 'basis; Stand, Ständer, Halter') (× N ***gurand**V 'log, trunk of a tree'?) > F kanta (gen. kannan) 'tree-trunk, stem; base; standpoint; heel', kannas (gen. kannaksen) 'tree-trunk; end of sleigh-runner; neck of a land, isthmus', F kanto (gen. kannon), Es kand (gen. kannu) 'stump' ¶ pLp {Lr.} ***ko**-ntō-y 'tree-stump' > > Lp: S {Hs.} goodde, Kld ku3nd- 'windfallen tree', L {LLO} kuotto-i id., 'stump', N {N} guod'do 'stump' ¶ Er kando, Mk kanda '(wind)fallen tree' ¶ ObU {Ht.} ***ki**-ntV > pVg ***ki**-nt(V) 'wooden pillar functioning as the vertical support of a storehouse' > Vg: P/NV/LL k3nt, UL xa-nta id.; pOs ***kant** > Os: Vy (c'oməl-)qant 'each of the two horizontal beams, fixed upon the pillar of a forest storehouse and serving as its base', Ty/Y {Trj.} qa'nt, Kz χont 'pillar of the storehouse', D χont 'lattice base at the bottom of a storehouse (support of its floor)' ¶ UEW 123, Coll. 85, Sm. 543 (FU ***kinta** 'tree stump', FP ***ke**-nta, Ugr ***kinta**), Lr. #522, Lgc. #2865, TI 166, Ht. #293, Trj. 144 ¶ A {DQA} ***ke**-ntV 'threshold, floor' > Tg ***kende-** 'threshold' > Neg k3nd3, Orc k3nd3rku ~ k3nd3r(3)xi, Ul k3nd3rxi(n-), Nn Nh k3nd3rxi, Nn B k3nd3tix3(n) ¶ STM I 448 || T ***k**'at 'layer, storey (of a house)' > OT qat, Az gat, Chv χut d χot 'layer, fold, storey (of a house)', Tkm gat, vz qat 'layer, fold, row', Tk kat, Ggz kat, Tv qa't, Tf qa't 'layer, row, storey', ET, SY qat 'layer', Kr Cr, Qrg, Alt qat, χq χat 'layer, row', Qmq, Qq, VTt, Bsh qat 'layer, storey', Xlj qa't 'fold', Yk χat 'again' ¶ Rs. W 241, Cl. 593, ET KQ 335-6, Jeg. 310-1, Ra. 219, TvR 223 ¶¶ □ DQA #764 (incl. Tg) ¶ ? AdS of IE: NaIE ***genb**h-/***gonb**h-/***gnob**h- 'peg, stick, piece of wood' (< N ***ga**-nVj'p.V 'stick, stake, picket', q.v. ffd.) ♦ The postalveolar or palatal ***n** is reconstructed on the ev. of ***n** in D ***kan**n- and ***kan**Vkk-; in precons. position (U ***kanta**, D ***ka**mp-) the postalveolarity is lost due to neutralization ♦ □ AD NM #87, S CNM 4-5 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST).

895. *k'onE 'to touch' (→ 'knead, work up') > U: FU ***kon**V- v. 'touch' > ObU {Ht.} ***ka**n- 'anrühren' > pVg ***ka**n- > Vg: T/O kan-, MK ka'n-; pOs {Ht.} ***ka**n- ({HL.} ***ki**n-) > Os: D/K/Nz/Kz χa'n- ¶ Ht. #276, Hl. rHt 71 ¶ A: M ***ko**-nde- v. 'touch' (× N ***kond**E 'to harm, spoil', q.v. ffd.) ¶ K: G (amo-)kn- {Chx.} 'rühren, schlagen (z. B. Eier), einrühren; bearbeiten\gerben (Häute); zerquetschen\drücken', {DCh.} vt. 'full (woolen cloth), roll (dough), dress (hides)' ¶ Chx. 1566, DCh. 31 ♦ The K cognate is valid if its primary meaning is 'to touch'. If it is the case, the N initial cns. is ***k**-. Otherwise we cannot distinguish between ***k**-, ***k**.- and ***q**.-

896. *kun-a- 'hair' > IE: NaIE ***gou**n-/gun- 'hair' > Av gaona- 'hair, colour of hair', Psh yu-na 'hair of the body', KhS ggu-na- 'hair', Oss D yun, Oss I хъуьн qw3n id., 'wool', OI gu'n,ah, 'thread, string, sinew, chord, kind, quality' (OI -n- is still obscure: a prakritism?) ¶ ? Gt kuna-wida 'fetters' (αλυσι), OHG kuna-wid 'chain, fetter', cuonio-wid 'fetter', [γ] khuna-withi, chun-widi 'catenae' ¶ ? Sl ***guna** ~ gun'a > SCR

gu''nja 'body hair of a domestic animal', 'ε garment', Blg øryha 'furcoat', Cz Δ hun'a 'woolen cloth with nap', Cz houn'a, P gunia 'ε cloak of woolen cloth', R Δ øryhu 'worn-out garment' † 'furcoat', Uk øryhu '(caftan of) coarse heavy woolen cloth' ¶ M K I 338, M E I 489-90, Mrg. 25, Bai. 86, Ab. III 326-7, Fs. 315-6, Kb. 569, 573, ESSJ VII 175-7, ¶ EI 252 [*'gowr / *gu'n-os '(animal) body hair'] ¶ U: FU (att. in FP) *ku''nh'a'' 'hair, wool, feather(s)' > F kynā 'feather' : pPrm {LG} [1] *gu'n > Z гьн gin, Z Vsh gu'n 'felt', [2] {LG} *go'n > Z роен гзн 'feather(s), wool of horses\cattle', Yz go'n 'woolen mittens, felt', Vt gon 'wool, dough, hair of the body' ¶ LG 80, Lt. J 107, ¶ UEW 664 (equates BF *ku''na'' with Z kzyns 'small long coop') ¶ D (in SD) *ku''ntal ({GS} *k-) 'human hair' > Tm ku''ntal 'long flowing tresses of a woman', Ml ku''ntal 'woman's hair', Kn ku''dal 'hair (of the head or body)', Tu kuzaľ 'hair of the head', Krg ku''dlu 'hair'; D бOI kuntalah. 'hair of the head, lock of hair' ¶ D #1892, M K I 229.

897. *kun'i 'woman, wife' > IE *g^wen(-eh) ({EI} *g^wenh_A / gen. *g^wneh_A-s) 'woman' > NaIE *g^wen(-a-) / *gun(-a-) id., gen. *g^wn-a-s > OI gna- 'goddess, divine female', Av gəna-, ɣna- 'wife, woman', OI 'jani-h., Av j'aini, NPrs 'z za'n id. ¶ Arm kin kin 'woman' ¶ Gk γυνή 'woman', Gk B βαυα- (< *g^w.na-) ¶ Clt: OIr ben (< *g^wena-), gen. sg. mna' (< *g^wn-a-s 'woman, female', Brtt {RE} *bena- > OW ben 'women', benyw id. (← 'féminin'), OCrn, Crn benen, MBr ben. 'woman', Br e-ben 'his wife' ¶ ??? Al zonje'' 'lady, woman' (if from *g^wen-ya-, as suggested by Ped. GA 324.; but O 526 derives it from IE *wik'-pot-ny-a-); but Al G grue, Al T grua 'woman, wife' cannot belong here (⇔ My. 132 and P 473). because IE *-n- did not rhotacize in Al G ¶ Gmc: (IE *g^weno-n >) Gt qino-, OSx quena 'wife', OHG quena ~ kwena, MHG quene 'woman, wife', AS cwene 'woman, female serf, whore', NE quean; NaIE *g^we-ni-s > Gt qe'ns 'wife', ON kvæn ~ kva'n ~ kvo'n 'woman', OSx qua'n 'woman, wife'; ON kvinna 'woman, wife', NNr, Sw kvinna, Dn kvinda 'woman', AS cwe-n 'wife, queen', NE queen; ON kona 'woman', NNr kona, Dn kone 'wife, woman' ¶ Pru genno 'woman' : Sl *z'e'na 'woman' > OCS, OR жена z'ena, Blg же'на, SCr z'ě'na, Slv z'ě'na, Cz, Slk z'ena 'woman, wife', P z'ona, R же'на 'wife', Uk жo'на 'woman' ¶ pTc {Ad.} *s'a''na > Tc: A s'a''m (pl. s'nu), B s'ana (obl. s'no) 'woman, wife' ¶ AnIE: Lv wanatti † unatti 'women' ¶ WP I 681-2, P 473-4, EI 648, M K I 351, 418, Vl. II 44, Horn 148, F I 333-5, Vn. B 31-2, RE 147, Hamp AIEW 143, Huld 66, 136, Ped. GA 324 (Al zonje'' < *g^wen-i_a- or < d *g^wia- 'life'), Fs. 388, Ho. 64, Ho. GEW 78, Ho. S 59, Sw. 38, Kb. 582, AHD 1070, Vr. 325, 336-9, Schz. 189, Sl. 168-9, En. 176-7, Tp. P E-H 207-10, Glh. 708-9, Vs. II 46, StSS 216, Wn. 476-7, Chrn. I 298-9, Ad. 620, Ad. H 31, 34, 42 ¶ HS: C: Ag {AD} *k^wɔin- ~ *ʔɔk^win- (pl. *ʔɔk^win-), {Ap.} *ʔəx^win-/*ʔəx^wən- 'woman' > Dmb {R} k^wina-, Knf {TBZAC} kuna, Aw {Hz., Bnd.} ɣuna, Aw D {CR} ɣuo'na-, Bln {Plm.} ʔəx^wina (pl. ʔək^win), Xm {R} iwna (pl. uk^wn ~ iok^wn), Xm T {CR} eq^wen (pl. aqnu), Km {CR} yəwina ~ wina (pl. yəwīn) 'woman' ¶ AD SF 213-4, Ap. AV 6, R WB 18, Blz. CWL ¶ NrOm {Blz.} *k^wn- 'woman' > Cha {C} kontira- 'woman', ʔσ Kf {C} kenes'o-, {Msr.} keneso 'cognata', {HHM} kenes'o 'brother-in-law' ¶ SOM: Hm K, Ari G {Fl.}, Ari {Bnd.} kan 'sister' ¶ C SE III 170 & IV 462, Blz. OL #62, HHM 295, Msr. 247, Bnd. AL 158 ¶ B: Ah te-kne (pl. te-knewīn), Tmz ta-kna (pl. ta-kənwin), ta-s'na (pl. ta-s'ənwin), Kb t.anna, Rif, SrSn t.ak^wna, Izn t.ax'na, Wrg takna, Sll ta'kna (pl. ta'kniwin), Mz ta-c'na (pl. tac'niwin, tic'niwin), Izn t.ax'na, Rif, SnSr 'co-wife', Izn ta-was'un-t 'wife', Ah əknu, Kb /knw 'be a co-wife' ¶ Fc. 831, MT 339-41, Dl. 409, 411, Ds. 68, Dlh. M 24, Dlh. Ou 148, Rn. 346 ¶ S: Ak YB {Sd.} kinītu 'Nebenfrau (?)' ¶ Sd. 480 ¶ Ch: WCh: NrBc {Stl.} *kina 'co-wife' > {Sk.}: Wrj kinai, Jmb kina, My, Kry kin, Mbr kina-, Cg kīne id. ¶ Sk. NB 16, Stl. ZCh 256 [#120] ¶¶ In S, Ch and B there may have been coalescence with the reflexes of N *kan- 'pair, couple; one of a pair, comrade' (> B *√knw 'be a twin') ¶ A: NaT *k'u'ni 'co-wife' [x N *K_in-ʔ'u' (> as *K_iu'n-ʔ'u') 'to exercise magic', → 'be jealous'] > OT, XwT ku''ni, Tkm gu''ni, Az g'u''nu, Qrg ku''nu'' 'co-wife', MQp [incl. CC] ku''ni 'concubine', Tk Erz gu''nu'' 'Freundin'; a cd with *-tas' (> -das'/-da's') 'fellow-': Uz кундош kundas', Qq ku''ndes 'co-wife', ET ku''nda's', Qrg ku''ndo's', Nog, Qzq ku''ndes, VTt, Bsh к' ндәш кь'nda's' 'co-wife, rival' ¶ Cl. 727, ET VGD 105-6, Tkr 222, SD 688, Jud. 467, BR 280, Nj. 664, UzR 224, Pokr. TR 66 ¶ Og g- points to a pT *k' ¶ pJ {S} *ku_ianami 'first wife (in polygamy)' > OJ ku_ianami_i id. ¶ S QJ #1518, Mr. 456 ¶¶ DQA #921 (*kune 'one of several wives') ♦ IS I 306-8 [#178]. The meaning 'co-wife' in HS and A obviously reflects the polygamous system of marriage. But it is not necessary to share IS's hyp. (IS I 308) interpreting it as traces of the archaic kinship system in which women of one exogamous moiety were potential collective wives of men of the opposite moiety - cf. the traces of this system preserved among the Gilyaks (Shtr. GO 129-284, Krn. N 259-93) ♦ Gr. II #431 (*kun 'woman') [IE, A, J + qu. EA].

⌈+ 897a. *ku^hu^hn^h or *K^hu^hn^hH^h 'bee' > HS: EC {Ss.} *kinn~*kann- 'bee' > Or kann-i-sa, Or B kinn-i-sa, Kns xan-ta, Gdl han-t(a), pSam {Hn.} *c^hinn-i > Sml s^hinn-i, Rn c^hinn-i ¶ Ss. PEC 6, 24, Hn. S 77 || ? B: [1] *^hkn^hw > ETwl/Ty {PGG} känd^həwi 'miel végétal, jus d'anizan mûr (fruit de l'arbre tādant)' || [2] ± *^hzn^hzw^h > Tmz {MT} ti-yinz^hgg^ha 'guêpes (vivant dans les trous)', Zn {Loub.} ayz^h(n)z^hugg^hwi 'guêpe' ¶ PGG 158, Loub. 532, MT 496 || D *ku^hon^h'n^hi 'bee' > Irl, PaK kunni, Kt kun'y id., Tu kon.i, kon.d.i 'a sting' ¶ D #1867 || ?? IE {EI} *^hkn^h 'honk-s (gen. *^hkn^hhn^h 'k-os) {AD} 'honey, honey-coloured' (× N *K^h.on^hh^h 'yellow', q.v. ffd.) > Gmc *hunanga- 'honey' > ON hunang, Sw honung, Dn honning, OHG hona(n)g ~ honig, NHG Honig, OSx huneg, honeg, hanig, Du honi(n)g, AS hunez id., NE honey || ?? AdS of Tc B {Ad.} kro(n)ks^he 'bee' (< N *k^h.ER.V3^h 'hornet, wasp') ¶ EI 271, KM 315-6, Ad. 217 ♦ If IE and B ± *^hzn^hzw^h belong here (which is dubious), the initial N cns. is *K^h-, otherwise it is more likely to be *k^h-. N *H may be reconstructed only if the IE cognate is valid and has inherited the lr. from the N etymon in question rather than from N*K^h.on^hh^h 'yellow' ♦ Blz. DA 159 [#69] (EC, D, Gmc).]

898. *kayn^h (mainly in cds) 'wing, feather' > HS +ext. (← cd?) *kVnVp⌈+(Vr)⌋: S *ka^hnap- 'wing' > Hb Fn!f1 ka^hna^hp^h, Ug knp, (AkSc) {Hnr.} kanapu, JA Fn@f6 ka^hnap^h, em. afIn^hf2 ka^hna^hp^ha^h, JEA {Sl.} ap1n6k^h2 ka^hn^hp^ha^h (pl. if4n6k^h2 ka^hna^hp^he^h), Sr 'fon^ha ka^hna^hp^ha^h, Ar fnaKa kanaf-, Gz kənf (pl. kənaf), Tgr, Amh kənf, Tgy kənf, Ak kappu (× kappu < *kapp- 'palm of hand') 'wing', Yd, IA {HJ} knp 'skirt of a garment'; EthS → Bln {Plm.} kanfi 'wing', {R} 'kanfə 'feather', Aw {CR} kenfi, Qbn {L} ka^hnf^ha 'wing' ¶ Brst. 184, KBR 486, GB 353-4, A #1345, OLS 220, Hnr. 138, Sl. 589, Js. 651, L G 287, HJ 519, R WB 224, MiK I #1.145 || C: Ag *kVnp- (unless <b- EthS): Xm {R} kiff 'wing', Q {R} kamb, kemb id., 'feather', Km {CR} kambī || ??φ Bj {R} ?anbu^hr (pl. 'zanbir ~ zanber), Bj A {AD} (hu) ?anbu^hr [pl. h^h ?anbir] 'wing' ⌈+ || EC {Ss} *kimbir 'small bird' > Rn c^himbi^hr id., Sa, Af {PH} kimbir-o, Bs {Ss.} kimbir-i, Dsn {To.} kimiri 'bird', Arr {Hw.} kirmate^h 'bird(s)', Sml s^himbir, pBn {Hn.} *s^himmi^hr (> Bn s^himir^h s^himmi^hr^h simmir), Or s^himbi^h-a^h simbi^h-a^h s^himpi^hirre^h 'bird' || ??φ SC: Irq {Wh.} ha^hmpa (pl. hampe^hri), {MQK} hampa 'wing' ¶ AD SF ⌈+ 3O (*kEmpVr- 'bird'), J65 (pC *kanp- 'wing, feather'), [Ss. PEC 13, 15, PG 85, Hw. A 373, To. DL 511, PH 147, Hn. BD 95, JE PC #381 (pC *kanf-/kinf-, MQK 48 || ? SOM: Ari G {Fl.} ka^hfi (< *kanfi?) 'wing' ¶ Fl. OO 321 || ? Ch: CCh: Db {Lnh.} kəpə^hk, {Sb.} kəpə^hk 'feather' ⌈+ || WCh: Fy {J} ka^hma^hk id. || EC: Mkl {J} ka^hmbira^h (pl. ka^hmba^hri^h) 'wing' || ¶ ChC, J LM 118, J R 87 ¶¶ AD SF 65 (S, C), OS #1426 (S, Ag) || H *k^hayna 'wing, large feather' (→ 'leaf of a door\gate') > M: [1] *qana '∈ feather' > WrM qana {Gl.} 'the feathers (in a wing) immediately behind the "hairy feathers"', {Kow.} 'les petites plumes des ailes des oiseaux, c. à d. celles qui sont après les quatre ou cinq premières dans la même rang', Kl {Rm.} xana 'die grossen Federn der Flügel, die ebene Fläche der Flügel' || [2] 'section of lattice wall of a yurt; lath; wall' (infl. of T?) > WrM qanan, HIM xana id., Kl xana 'lattice wall of a yurt', {Rm.} xana id., 'Wandstücke', Ord xana 'treillis de tente, mur', Brt xana 'wall' ¶ MED 927, Kow. 719, Gl. II 68, KRS 575, KW 165, Ms. O 332, Chr. 544 || pT {Md.} *ka^hi^hnatV or {AD} *kai^hnat or *ki^hanat 'wing' ({^hπAD}: < **kEanat < **ka^h.nat) > NaT *k^ha^hnat- 'wing' > OT qanat, Tk kanat, Az ganad, Tkm ga^hnat, Ggz kanat, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, ET, Ln qanat, Uz qanat, SY {Tn.} qana^ht (with preaspirated t) ~ qii^hnat, {Mal.} qanat ~ qii^hnat, Xk xanat, Tv {Ra.} qanat, Tf hanat (Md.: < *ka^hnat) 'wing', Yk kinat ~ kiy^hat 'wing' (Yk i < *a in this position is reg.) || Chv L s^hunat 'wing' | sd: Tk kanat, Az g^hanad^h, Ggz, Nog qanat, Uz qanat 'leaf (of a door>window)', Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Qmn/QuK/Tb qanat, Xk xanat 'a section of lattice wall of a yurt' ¶ Cl. 635, ET KQ 252-3, TL 504, Ra. 186, Rs. W 520, Md. OJ 72, 217-8, 274, Rl. II 111-3, ESSJ KQ 252-3, S AJ 194-5 [#216], Jeg. 218, Fed. II 137, Tn. SJJ 199, Mal. ZhU 52, 63, AD AltAD || pJ {S} *ka^hntu^ha^h 'gate' > OJ ka^hdwo^h, J: T ka^hdo^h, K ka^hdo^h, Kg kado^h id. ¶ S QJ #898, Mr. 431 ¶¶ □ STM97 s.v. A *kenta 'elbow, angle' (T, Tg + unc. pJ *ka^hntu^ha^h 'angle, corner', cf. N *k^h.amc^h.E 'bend, corner'), □ DQA #826 (A *ke^hn^ha 'elbow, angle'; incl. T) || D □ kent- ({^hGS} *k-) 'feather' > Gdb kendut^h (pl. kendukul^h), Gdb P kendit^h 'feather', Gnd kendi, Gdb K kendit^h, Png ke^hndid (pl. ke^hndil) 'hair' ¶¶ D #2002 ♦ The A and D vowels may be explained by two alt. conjectures: [1] acc. to Md's hyp. (Md. OJ 72), the correlation of NaT *k- and Chv s^h- is accounted for by a following diphthong: pT *kai^h- yields NaT *ka^h- and pre-Chv *ki^ha^h- > *xi^ha^h- > Chv L s^hu^h-; [2] acc. to AD's hyp. (cf. Introduction, § 2.4.1), in pre-T there was a long vw. *a^h with a special (broken?) tone (going back to compensatory lengthening, possibly *ay > *a^h) that brought about a vowel breaking *ka^h-nat (= *ka^ha^hnat?) > **kEanat > *ki^ha^hnat. In my opinion the D data (the vw. *e^h) support this latter hyp., but are compatible with the first one (N *kayn^h > pT *kai^hnat) as well (supposing that N *ay contracted

into GnD and Gdb *e-. [[+ HS *kVnVp[+(Vr)]- may go back to a *cd* (*kayn-V 'p. 'urlyV, see N *p. 'urlyV 'wing, feather(s)') ♦ Blz. LB #53c.]

899. *ku-n'u-isa 'a joint in a limb (knee, elbow); to bend in a joint' > HS *√knf (× N *rk. 'unigU 'to bend, incline, bow?') > CS *√knf n'be bent, bow, incline' > Ar √knf G: act. prtc. ka-niṣ- fractam habens manum, exorbitans vel declinans a via ad aliam', ṯaknaṣ- 'manu mutilus', √knf (pf. kaniṣa, ip. -knaṣ-) 'contractus et corrugatus fuit (digitus)', kanaṣa ṯala- v. 'submit to', BHb N pf. on@k6n% ni-k-naṣ 'have to submit, be humbled, humble oneself', SmA √knf G vi. 'yield, submit, be humble', JPA √knf pp. 'depressed, modest' ¶ Fr. IV 64, KB 461-2, KBR 484-5, Tal 397, Hv. 667, WKAS K 388 ¶ The Hb and Aram verb may go back to N *rk. 'unigU '↑' or to result from coalescence of both roots || ? B *√knH v. 'incline' (× N *rk. 'unigU) > Izd pf. ikna, Sll knu (pf. ik'na) '(se) courber', Kb əṣṣnu (pf. yəṣṣna) 'se pencher, s'humilier, se courber', Gd eknu (pf. yekna, Lcj. 22) '(se) courber' ¶ Dl. 409, Ds. 79, Mrc. 65, Lf. I 264 (on Lcj. 22) & II #0775 II IE *g^henu-/*g^honu-/*g^hneu- ({EI} *g^honu / gen. *g^henu-s) 'knee' > OI 'ja-nu, KhS ysa-nua-, Sgd z?nwk, MPrs za-nu'k, NPrsvnu"z za-nu- 'knee' :: Arm cunr cunr (pl. cunk° cunk-k^h) id. :: Gk γο'υο id. :: L genu- (gen. genu-s) :: Clt *gnu-nes (*dis* > *glu-nes) > OIr glu'n, Nlr glu'in, Brtt {RE} *glu-nos > MW, W, Br glin, Crn glyn :: Gt kniu, OHG knio^d kniu, NHG Knie, AS cne'o 'knee', NE knee :: pTc {Ad.} *kenw- > Tc: A kanw- (du. kanwem'), B keni (du.) id. || Ht genu, gkinu-, gkanu- id. ¶¶ P 380-1, EI 336, M K I 429, Vl. II 107-8, Horn 144, F I 321, WH I 592-3, RE 107, LG § 268, Fs. 313, Kb. 551, Schz. 182, KM 382, Ho. 54, Slr. 165-6, Wn. 187, Ad. 193, Ad. H 137-8, Pv. IV 146-51 II U: FU *ku-yn'a--(ra'-) 'forearm, elbow' > F kyyna-ra', kyyna's, Δ ku'i-na-ra' 'ell', kyyna-rpa-a' 'elbow' (pa-a' 'end'), kyyna-rvarsi 'forearm' (varsi 'shaft'), Es ku-u-nar 'forearm, ell' : pLp {Lr.} *kərn'e-le- 'elbow' > Lp: S {Hs.} garnj' ere, L {LLO} kar'nel, N {N} gar'dnjel, Kld kar'nel : Er кенере k'en'er'e, Mk кенер k'en'er id. : Chr: L кьнервуй к'н'ер'wuy 'elbow', H кьнервуй к'н'ер'wuy 'elbow joint' (вуй 'head'), H кьнер к'н'ер 'ell' : Prm *gu'r 'forearm' > Z Ud gir 'unity of length for measuring linen (ell)', Z girz'za, Vt girpum 'elbow' :: ObU {Ht.} *ku-n- > pVg *ku-nxal > Vg: LK k'a-nxal', UL konlo-wl, Ss konlo-wl 'elbow'; pOs {Ht.} *ko-n'na-y ({dHL} *ku-n'na-y) id. > Os: V/Vy ko-n'ni, Ty ko-n'ni, Y ko-n'ni, D ko-s'na-y, K ko-n'na-y : Hg ko-nyo'k id. ¶ Coll. 94, UEW 158-9, Sm. 544 (FU *ku-na-ra' 'elbow', FP *ku-na-ra', Ugr *ku-n-), SK 257-8, Lr. #322, Lgc. #1957, Hs. 565, MRS 269, 276, Ep. 55, MF 372-4, It. #415, SSK 257-8, LG 85, SZ 97, Ht. #281, Hl. rHt 71 II A: ? Tg *xu-n'cen 'elbow' (× N *K. onc' E 'e part of leg', q.v. ffd.; this merger accounts for Tg *x-) ¶¶ The Tg root is unconvincingly equated by DQA #824 (A *ke-nV 'elbow, angle'; n {SDM} A *ko-yna, *k'i, oyna) with M *kai, *kan-cu 'fronte legs, sleeve' and pJ *kanai 'rule, gusset' ♦ DQA l.c. mentions T *Kaynat 'wing' that goes back to N *kayn-V 'wing, feather' II ? D *ku-n_ ({GS} *g-) 'a bend, curve, hump on the back' (× N *k. unigu '↑?') > Tm ku-n_, ku-n_al id., Ml ku-n 'a humpback', Tm ku-n_an_, Ml ku-nan 'humpbacked', Td ku-n 'hunchback', Kn ku-nu, Tu, Tl gu-nu 'a hump', Kn ku-na, gu-na 'a humpbacked man', Kdg ku-n, Tu gu-nae 'hunchback', Tl gu-ni 'humpbacked', Ku gu?u 'hump of cow', cp. also Kt ku-n- v. 'be in bowed position', Tm ku-n_u- v. 'curve', Gnd gun- v. 'bend' ¶¶ D #1927 ♦ IS I 304 (*ku-yn'A = *ku-yn'A), n S NSShS #28 (IE, Tg + *unc.* M and J) ♦ Gr. II #128 (*ken 'elbow') [IE, U, A + *unc.* J, EA].

900. ??? *ka-n'hV 'to give birth' > IE *g^henh-/*g^hneh- 'give birth' ({EI} *g^henh-, 'beget a child; be born') > Ht kaena 'in-law, kinsman' (← 'male ego's son-in-law') (× IE *g^hemH- < N *kEmV or *kEmHo 'to give birth?') > NaIE *g^henā-/*g^hne-/*g^hno- > [1] thematic present: OI 'janati 'gives birth', OL gen-o-, Gk γενε'σ'αι 'give birth', 3p ip. OI a-jan-anta, Gk ε-γεν'ν-εντο, cp. Arm aor. cnaj cnay (1s prs. cnaanim cnaanim 'I give birth, am born'), OIr gain- 'be born' (-ga(i)nethar 'is born), cnj. -genathar, as well as W geni 'be born', Br genel 'give birth'; [2] reduplicative present: (athematic) OI jajanti, Av zizanti, (thematic) Av zizananti 'they give birth'; (zero grade): Gk γι'γνομαι 'I become, appear', L gigno-, -e're 'bear, beget, bring forth', OI fut. gignethar; [3] pfc.: OI jaj'n'e- 'I am born', 3s ja'ja-na, Gk γε'γονα 'is born', OIr roge'nar (*g^he-g^hn-) 'natus sum'; [4] *-sko-present: L na-scor 'I am being born'; [5] NaIE *g^henH-o/es- ~ *g^honH-o/es- ntr. 'birth, kin' > OI 'janah. / janas- 'race (Geschlecht, Abkunft)', Av (in *cds*) zana- 'people (Volk), human race', Gk γε'νοϋ (G γε'νεοϋ) 'race, stock, family', L genus (gen. generis) id., 'birth, descent, origin; kind', Arm cin cin 'birth, origin', cp. OIr ganet 'birth'; [6] *-to-prtc. and sim.: *g^hn_o-to-s, *-a-, *g^hno-to-s, *-a- > OI ja-ta-h., Av za-ta- 'born', L na-tus (co-gna-tus, a-gna-tus) [< *g^hn_o-tos] id., 'son', Plg CNATOIS 'na'tis', Gl GNATUS (with a long *a-) 'son', GNATHA (with *a-) 'daughter', ON

kundr 'son', Gt -kunds 'descending from', Gk γυνωτοῦ 'a relative, brother', Ltv zno^{ts} 'son-in-law'; *g^{en}ə-to-s, -t-a⁻ > L genitus 'born', W geneth 'girl' (< 'daughter'), [x IE {Pv.} *g^{emh}-] < N ***kEmV** (or ***kEmHo**) 'to give birth' → 'kin, family': BSl: Lt z'éntas 'daughter's husband', Sl *ze^{ts} id., 'bridegroom' > OCS зѧтъ ze^{ts}, Blg зет id., SCr ze^t, Slv ze^t OCz ze^t, Cz zet', Slk zat', P zie^c, R, Uk зѧтѧ 'daughter's husband'; Al: T dhe^{nde}rr, G dha^{nde}rr 'groom'; AnIE: Ht kaena 'a relative-in-law, kinsman' (mainly 'male ego's son-in-law or brother-in-law, wife's brother'), Ld ka^{na} (a kinship term, possibly 'daughter's husband') ¶¶ Pv. IV 12-4 [suggests that the words for relatives-in-law belong to the IE √ *g^{emh}- (= {Pv.} *g^{em}-A^w)], P 369-70, 375-7, EI 56, ¶ 369 (L gener & Al dhe^{nde}rr < NaIE *g^{em}- 'to marry'), M K I 415-6, M E I 567-8, YGM-1 233, Hm. 312, Billy 83-4, LP § 431.19, 554, Thr. §§ 549, 597, 737, 756, F I 297, 306-8, WH I 597-600, Frn. 1301, Kar. II 566, Vs. II 112, SJSS XII 692, Slt. 97-8, Pv. IV 12-4, Ts. E I 459-60, Gsm. LW 150-1, II D: [1] *kan⁻ ({GS} *k-) 'bear, bring forth' (x N ***K.anV** 'to begin, originate, be new') > Tl kanu id., 'beget', Brh xaniṅ 'give birth to'; [2] D *kan⁻ 'child, young of animals' (x N ***k.anE** 'young, child', q.v. ffd.) II ? HS: S *kann- > Ar kann-at- 'son's wife, brother's wife' ¶ ≡: Ltv znots and Sl *ze^{ts} 'son-in-law' || ?? Eg XX kn (an epithet of the Sun-god as creator) ¶ EG V 131 ♦ The vw. *E may be identified as *a⁻ if the D cognate is accepted ♦ My preliminary working hyp. (for the time being) is that the basic meaning of this √ was 'to acquire new relatives' - both through birth (whence the meaning 'to give birth, beget') and through marriage; the latter meaning may be discerned in the IE *-t-derivates meaning 'son-in-law' and in Ar kann-at- 'daughter\sister-in-law' ♦ ≠ S NSShS #4 (equates the IE √ with A *kⁱuni 'person; people, country' and K *gen- 'calf; to suck the udder').

901. *kin^hU - *kihn^U 'to see, observe, examine, trace, know' > IE *g^{enh}-/*g^{neh}- [= {EI} *g^{neh}-] ~ *g^{neh}- ({Pv.} *g^{ne}E⁻) 'know' > [1] NaIE *g^{en}ə-/*g^{no}- ~ *g^{ne}- > OI jn^a- 'know', ja^{na}-ti 'knows', Av paiti-za^{nanti} 'sie nehmen sich jemandes an', thematic: 2p paiti-za^{nata} 'you (pl.) recognize', OPrs 3s ipf. a-da^{na}- 'he knew (kannte)', Av zana^{-t}, zanaⁿ, Psh pe^{-z}anⁱ 'recognizes', NPrs dNa^d daⁿ-a^d 'is able; it is possible', d^{tsN}daⁿestaⁿ 'to know, be able', 'N^dda^{na}- 'learned' || Gk ἔγνων 'I knew' || Arm caneaj caneay 'I recognized', ancan an-can 'unknown', canay^t canaw^h 'known' || OIr itar-gnim, asa-gnaim 'sapio' || Gt, OSx, OHG kunnan 'know, understand, be able', ON, OFrs kunna, AS cunnan 'to know', NHG kōnnen 'be able', prt/prs. (< IE pfc.): Gt, ON kann, AS can(n), NE can, OFrs, OSx, OHG kan, NHG kann 'can'; d : Gt (ga)kannjan, ON kenna 'bekannt machen', AS cennan 'to explain, determine', OSx ke^{nnian} '(er)kennen', OHG ir-kennen, NHG erkennen 'recognize', OHG bi-kennen, NHG kennen 'know' || Lt z^{inau} / z^{ino}ti, Ltv zinu / zina^t 'know, be aware', Ltv zr^{stu} ~ zinu / zr^t 'know, recognize, perceive', Pru posinnat 'bekennen' || Tc A {Ad.} kna^{na}- 'know' || [2] NaIE pp. *g^{no}-to-s 'known' > OI jn^a-ta^h, Gk γυνωτοῦ, L no^{tu}-s id., OIr gnath id., 'accustomed', W gnawd 'customary', Gl Eposognatus n. pr. ('accustomed to horses'), Pru pa-sinna^{ts} 'known'; [2a] variant pp. *gⁿo⁻to-s 'known (bekannt)' > Lt pazⁱntas, Gt kunp-s, ON kunnr, kuðr, AS cu^ð, OSx kuth, OHG, NHG kund || [3] NaIE n. act. *g^{no}-ti- > OI 'pra-jn^a-ti-h. 'knowledge (of the way to...)', Gk γνῶσις, L no^{ti}-o⁻ 'knowledge', Sl *znat^ь 'the known people, aristocracy' [> OCS знать znat^ь, R знат^ь] and inf.: Sl *zna⁻-ti 'to know' [> OCS знати, SCr zna^{ti}, Slv zna^{ti}, Cz zna^{ti}, Slk znat', P znac', R знат^ь, Uk 'знати], Lt z^{ino}ti, Ltv zina^t 'to know', Pru ersinnat 'to recognize (erkennen)' || [4] NaIE *g^{no}-sk- > OL gno^{sc}-o⁻, -e^{re}, L no^{sc}-o⁻, -e^{re} 'become acquainted with, get knowledge of', cds : co-gno^{sc}-o⁻, -e^{re} id., 'get to know, learn', a-gno^{sc}-o⁻ 'recognize' || Gk Epr γνῶσκω, Gk (rdp) γιγνώσκω learn to know, perceive, mark' || OPrs cnj. xs^{na}-sa^{tiy} 'daß er erkenne' || Ht ganes(s)-, kanes(s)- ({EI}: < *g^{ne}h³-s-) 'recognize, discern, identify; acknowledge' ¶¶ P 376-8, Dv. #117, EI 337-8, M K I 429, M E I 599-601, Sg. 500-1, Horn 118, Mrg. 105, Me. VP 60, 103, F I 308-9, WH II 176-8, LP §§ 9.1, 431.3, 456, YGM-1 236, Fs. 316-7, Vr. 334, Ho. 46, 63-4, Ho. S 41, 44, Schz. 180, 185-6, Kb. 535, 569, 571, KM 364, 392, 412, SGGJ IV 412, Slt. 96-7, Frn. 1310-1, En. 232, Tp. P E-H 86, Glh. 698-9, Pv. IV 42-6, Ts. E I 478-80 II HS: WS *√khn 'be clever, foretell' > Ar √khn (pf. kahana) v. 'foretell, soothsay, be a priest', Mh 'kath³ⁿ v. 'pretend (illness, etc.) to attain one's object', Jb C 'kōth³ⁿ id., 'be cunning'; act. prtc. *ka^{hin}- 'clever person, foreteller' > Ph, Pun, Ug, IA, Nbt khn, Sr ka^{hna}, Md kahna, Gz ka^{hən} 'priest', BHb Ne47f ko^{he}n, JA Ne4f1 ka^{hen} / anle9k¹ ka^haⁿ-a⁻, JEA {Sl.} anle6k¹ ka^h.na⁻ 'priest, kohen (member of the hereditary clergy)', Ar nEiKa ka^{hin}- 'foreteller, diviner; pre-islamic priest; businessman', Mh ko^{hən}, Jb E 'kuhun 'cunning, cheat', Hrs ke^{hən} 'grown up, adult, clever' ¶ A #1294, HJ 490-2, KB 440-1, KBR

461-2, OLS 212, Js. 615, Sl. 554, Br. 419, BK II 940, L G 278, Jo. M 206, Jo. J 129, Jo. H 67 || C * $\sqrt{k}t'n$ > Ag {Ap.} *kin-/kan- 'see, learn' > Bln, Xm k3n-t- 'learn', Q kin-t-, Aw kan-t- 'see'; Aw {Hz.} a-q3n 'I know', ya-q3n '(he) knows' || EC: Sml (past tense stem) -iqin- 'know': Sml N p.: 1s >iqi-n, 2s >tiqi-n, 3m >yiqi-n, 3f >tiqi-n, 1p >niqi-n, etc., prs.: 1s aqa-n, 2s taqa-n, 3m >yaqa-n, etc.; Brj ak.an-d- 'learn', ak.an-s- 'teach', ? HEC: Ged ege?n-, Sd egenn- 'know'; Ya -qe-no? 'know' || Bj {R} -ka-n pcv. (formally md.) (1s: p. a-'ka-n, prs. ak'te-n) 'know (kennen, wissen)', {Rop., Alm.} -kan id. ¶ The cnss. k and q (< *k) in Aw, Sml, Brj and Ya cannot be explained without postulating a glottalizing factor, which may have been a glottal stop *-ʔ- that clustered with *k- in the prefixe-conjugated verb forms: 3s *yV-kʔVn > *yV-k.Vn; that is why the cns. *k (> q) has been preserved just in such verbal forms (in Aw and Sml), as well as in Brj and Ya forms presumably going back to similar prefix-conjugated verbs ¶ AD SF 63-4 (* $\sqrt{k}ʔn$), R WB 222, R WBd 142-3, Ap. 13, Hn. Y II 128 || ? ϕ Eg N cnh 'blicken auf ...' ¶ EG V 384 ¶¶ Tk. p.c. (1998) (adduction of Eg) || A: M *kina- 'examine carefully, observe, trace' > WrM kina-, HlM хина- id., 'investigate', Kl {Rm.} kin- $\chi\alpha$ 'forschen, durchmustern, sorgfältig durchgehen', {KRS} кинх 'be diligent, assiduous', Brt хина- 'observe; check, revise', Ord k'ina- 'faire qch. avec soin, avec circonspection, avec prudence' ¶ MED 469, KW 231-2, KRS 301, Chr. 572, Ms. O 421 ♦ N *i > pre-IE *ei > IE *e (loss of the glide before a sonant) ♦ □ IS I 296-7 [#163] (*KENV; C, IE + K *gen-/gn- 'understand, feel' [which to my mind belongs to N *gAn^hnV 'see, perceive']; i ÷ S * $\sqrt{k}ny$ 'to name', Eg cny 'distinguish', ? T *Ko-n(a)- 'agree'), ≠ S NSShS #5 [NaIE *g^henə-/g^hno- equated with K *gen-/gn- and to T *Ko-ne- 'agree, admit, acknowledge' (actually T *k'o-n- 'be straight', cf. Cl. 726-7, ET VGD 74-5)].

902. *kan₁y₁ju (or ***kan^hVyu**) 'cheek, side of the face' > IE: NaIE *gg^henu- id. > Gk γε'vυθ, -υοθ 'jaw; side of the face, cheek' || L gena 'cheek' (instead of *genu on the analogy of mala 'cheek, cheek-bone') || Clt (× IE *g^henu- < N *genu 'jaw, cheek'): OIr gin (gen. geno) 'mouth', W ge'n 'cheek, chin' (pl. genau) 'jaw, chin', OBr {Flr.} gen 'jaw', MBr {Flr.} guen 'cheek'; Brtt {RE} *genowes (ancient pl.?) > W, OCrn genau, MCrn ganow, OBr, MBr, Br genou 'mouth' || Gmc (-nn- < *-nw- of obl., generalized throughout the declension paradigm): Gt kinnus, ON kinn 'cheek', OSx kinni, OHG cinni^d chinni, NHG Kinn, AS c'inn 'chin', NE chin || Tc A s'anwem du. 'jaws' (× NaIE *g^henu- due to the Tc merger of IE *gg^h- and *g^h-) ¶ No cognate distinguishes between reflexes of *g- and *g^h-, hence rec. of unequivocal *g^h- is *unji*. ¶ WP I 587, P 381-2 (*g^henu-), EI 322 (*g^henu- 'jaw'), F I 298, WH I 589-90, Fs. 312, Vr. 309, Kb. 551, KM 369-70, Ho. 49, LP § 72, RE 113, Flr. 174-5, YGM-1 233, Hm. 312, Wn. 470-1 (Tc s'anw- < *g^he-nu-), Ad. H 110, EI 322 || U: FU (att. in FV) *ko'n'a > F kuono 'muzzle, snout, nose, mouth', Vo ko'no 'muzzle, snout', Es koon (gen. koonu) id., 'chin' ({W} 'Kinn, Rüssel, Schnauze') || Mk kon'a, Er kon'a 'forehead' ¶ Db. OS xxv, SK 240, W EDW 358 ¶ FU *o- < pre-U *a- (there is no *a- in FU) || D (in SD) *kan_n_- ({GS} *k-) 'cheek' > Tm kan_n.am 'cheek, ear', Ml kannam 'cheek, jaw', konni 'cheek', Kn kanna 'the upper cheek' ¶ D #1413, #1989 (Ml konni) || N *kan₁y₁V-dV (originally a *cd*?) id. > NaIE *g^honəd^h- (~ *g^honəd^h-) / *gnəd^h- > Lt z'a'ndas 'cheek, jaw', Ltv zo'nds 'chin' || Gk γνα'οθ, γνα'μοθ 'jaw' || Mcd κα'ναδοι · σιαγο'vεθ, γνα'οι 'jaws' ¶ Tr. 365, F I 316, Frn. 1289 ¶ The palatalized *g^h- in the variant stem *g^honəd^h- (att. in Blt) is due to contamination with IE *g^henu- 'jaw' < N *genu ¶ P 381-2 || HS: Ch: Hs ku'nc'í 'cheek, side of the face' (pl. ku'ma-tu with m on the analogy of words having the alternation of a precon. n [< *m] and prevoc. m), ku'ndu'kuki 'cheek-bone' ¶ Ba. 641 ¶¶ ≠ Sk. HCD 152 || A: Tg: Neg koṇtovkī- koṇtopkī- 'nose (of a deer\elk\bear)', Nn B koṇtoro 'nose (of a wild boar)', Ewk PT kaṇtaka-, kaṇtarat- v. 'grin, bare one's teeth', kaṇtarga- v. 'grin (скалит^сцѣ)' ¶ STM I 375, 413 ♦ D *n_n_- and IE *-n- suggest that FV *-n'- does not go back to N *-n'- . The source of FV (actually Mr) palatality is probably a N *-y- (lost in IE, HA and D), which is also responsible for the long vw. in FU (complementary lengthening due to the contraction of the N cluster *-n-y-). A different solution is to suppose that Mr -n'- is due to language-specific Mr processes (a y-sx.?) ♦ □ Blz. DA 153 [#6] (D, IE, HS *gin, gun 'face, cheek, forehead' without distinguishing between the reflexes of N *kan₁y₁ju and N *genu '𐀀').

903. *ken₁V₁c'VdV 'joint (articulation), shoulder joint' > HS: S * $\sqrt{k}$ nsd 'top of shoulder' > Mh k3nsid (pl. k3nsō-d) id., Jb C/E k3n'sed (pl. k3'nabs3d), Sq {Jo.} 'kozi (pl. 'k3zho) 'shoulder', Gz k3sa-d ~ k3s'a-d 'neck' (s^h is purely graphic, due to the merger of OEtH s and s^h in the new EtHs lgs.), Ak kis'a-du 'neck, throat, necklace' → Md ks'ada {DM} 'throat', {Kfm.} 'neck ornament' ¶ Jo. M 212,

Jo. H 69, Jo. J 133, CAD VIII 446, Sd. 490, DM 224, L G 296, Kfm. AIA 64, MiK I #1.147 || ? ϕ K: G I {Chx.} kinc'-i 'Nacken, Widerrist', G I/Rch {Ghl.} kinc'-i 'neck (k'iseri)' ¶ Chx. 1559, Ghl. 571 ¶ -c'- < *-ct-?? || A: Tg *kende(-ke) 'shoulderblade' > Ewk k3nd3k3-, Lm k3-nd3t, Neg k3nd3x3, Ork k3nd3 id. ¶ STM I 448 || [+ AdS of M *qonda- (< N *K'U'n'V 'back, rear', q.v. ffd.)] ¶ KW 185, MED 962, Kow. 869, KRS 596, H 66 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1103 [A *k'i_u-nc'o 'sleeve, elbow; top of boot (голенце)'] || D *ken't_-, {GS} *gen't_- 'joint (articulation), ankle' > Tm ken.t.ay 'ankle', Ml ken.ippu 'joint (articulation)', Kn gin.n.u, gen.n.u 'joint (as of a finger), knot (as of sugar cane)', Kdg gm'n'r 'joint in wrist/fingers, knot in cane', Tu gan.t.ɤ, gan.t.u 'ankle, knot in string/reed/cane', Tl gan.t.u, gan.t.a 'knot', Nkr kand.e 'joint in bamboo'; D → OI gan.'d.a-h. 'joint' and pInA *ge-n'd.a- ¶¶ D #1946, Tu. #3998, ≠ M K I 318 (supposes a different D source for the OI word) ◇ In most lgs. a contraction *-nCd- > *-nd-. D *n' has its postalveolarity from the following *t_, which is the reg. reflex of N *d.

904. *kondE 'to harm, spoil' > IE: NaIE *g^wendh- 'push, injure, destroy' > OI [Dhat.] gan'dh-ayate- 'injures', OI [A] gandhana- 'Verderben', Pali gandhana- 'injuring' || Gk δε'vvo 'reproach' (< *g^wendh-no-) || Lt gendu- / ge'sti 'spoil; deteriorate', Ltv g'instu / g'int 'be ruined; spoil, damage' ¶ P 466, Frn. 149-50, Tu. #4016; ≠ M K I 321 and M E I 461 (no etl. connections of the OI stem outside InA), F I 366 and Ch. 263 (no et. for δε'vvo) ¶ The IE √ *g^wendh- was reinterpreted in some descendant lgs. (in Lt and probably in some others) as a present stem with a nasal infix, whence (bf.) Lt p. gedau-, inf. ge'sti and some ds, e. g. Lt pagadas 'damage', gadinti 'to spoil' || HS: NrOm: Kf {C} gond- v. 'harm, damage; be bad', gondo- 'bad', {Cc.} gat- 'destroy (demolire)', Mch {L} gondo 'bad', Shn {Lm.} go'nda 'bad' ¶ AD SF 71, C SE IV 446, R K 42, Lm Sh 309 || ? C: Ag *g^wa'd- > Bln {R} g^wa't- 'berühren, angreifen, Schaden zufügen', Q {R} g^wad- ~ god- 'harm; touch, attack', Km {CR} gad y- 'damage, harm (Schlechtes antun)', Aw {CR} g^wad- 'touch, attack; destroy'; Ag → Amhgoð g^wedda v. 'damage, injure, harm, ruin' || EC: Or {Grg.} gad.e- 'bad' ¶ AD SF 71, R WB 165, L CAD 217, Grg. 61 || A: M *ko'nde- 'touch, irritate, hurt' (× N *k'onE 'to touch') > MM [S] ko'nde- 'anrühren', WrM ko'nde-, HIM x' hɪ- 'touch, irritate', WrO {Krg.} ko'ndo- 'bother, injure, offend', Kl {KRS} κ' hɪd- ko'ndə- 'touch, irritate, cause pain', {Rm.} 'sich fühlbar machen' (s'arχa ko'ndɪɤ'ina- 'die Wunde macht sich fühlbar, schmerzt wenn man sie betastet'); M *ko'nu'xe- > WrM ko'nu'ge-, HIM x' h' - v. 'harm, injure, hurt; torture, mistreat', WrO {Krg.} ko'no- 'torment, torture, bother' ¶ H 104, MED 490, Krg. 733-4, KRS 316, KW 239 ◇ The voiced initial *g^w- in Om and C and the absence of *d in M *ko'nu'xe- are not yet clear ◇ IS MS 356 s.v. 'попрѣ' (*k'o'ndV in IE and Om).

905. ?? ***Kun'yaHl'E** ~ ***Kuyñ'aHl'E** ~ ***Kun'aHl'E** 'sunshine, daybreak' > A: T *Ku'n'a'l' (or *Kuya'l') {Cl.} 'blazing heat of the [midday] sun' > OT quya-s id., Chg, OXwT quyas- 'sun', MQp quya-s- 'sun's rays', Tkm Δ quya-s 'sun, blazing heat of the sun', Tk Δ guyas, Kr Cr, Qq, Qmn quyas, Uz quyas, VTt, Bsh qɤ'yas 'sun', Nog qıyas 'blazing heat of the sun', Yk kuy-a-s 'hot weather, intense heat (Sonnenglut, зной)' (synharmonic variant of *Kun'a'l'- with infl. of T *k'u'n 'sun, day'): T *k'u'n'a'l' ~ *k'u'na'l' 'sunshine' > OT ku'na-s 'sunshine, sunny place', Chg ku'na-s ~ ku'na-s, Tk gu'nes, Δ ko'ves, Az Ø*H ш g'u'na-s, Ggz, Qmq gu'nes, Kr Cr, Tlt ku'nes 'sun', Tkm gu'nes 'sun; blazing heat of the sun (солнцѣнѣ)', Chv хе'Авел хьvel, Δ xo'l 'sun' ¶ Cl. 679, 734, Rs. W 307, 309, ET Q 112-3, ET KQ 103-4, Jeg. 297, Fed. II 341 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #531 [A *gi_o'yn'u 'dawn, daylight'; incl. T] || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *koynVl'V 'glow in the sky' (× U *koye 'Morgenröte') > Hg hajnal 'dawn, daybreak' (with loss of the palatality of *l') || Os {Ht.} *kun'al' 'redness light in the sky' > Os: V qun'al, Vy qun'al, Ty qun'al, Y qun't'al, D/K χun't, Nz χun't'al, Kz χo' n't'al ~ χun't'al (D/K/Nz t' < pOs *l', -t'al d -t'al in Nz, Kz and O may be due to inter-dialectal borrowing) ¶ Ht. #742, EWU 514-5, UEW 167 (Hg-ObU word < U koyV 'dawn' + an unknown sx.) ◇ ***Kun'yaHl'E** ~ ***Kuyñ'aHl'E** (or ***Kun'aHl'E**?) is probably a (Uralo-Altaic?) d from (or a cd with) N *K_u'n'V or *K_u'nE 'sun, day' (q.v.). An alt. hyp.: the FU word is derived from FU *koya 'dawn', while T *Ku'n'a'l' ~ *k'u'na'l' is derived from T *k'u'n, so that the resemblance between T *Ku'n'a'l' ~ *k'u'na'l' and FU *koynVl'V is casual. DQA #531 tries to derive the T word from an unc. A i gi_o'yn'u 'dawn, daylight' ◇ ≠ Blz. LNA #16 (A i ÷ U *kuje 'moon, month')..

906. *kaNpV 'a soft excrescence (lip, mushroom)' > IE: NaIE {IS} *gemb- 'excrecence, lip, mushroom' > Psh yumba 'tumor, swelling', MPrs gumbad 'dome, fire-temple' (< convexity) || Lt gum-bas 'bump; lump, knob; growth, excrecence, tumour', Ltv gum-ba 'tumour, swelling, heap' || Sl

*go₀ba 'agaric, sponge, mushroom', 'lip' > OCS гѣба go₀ba 'sponge', Blg гѣба 'agaric, mushroom', Slv go₀ba, Cz houba, Slk huba 'sponge, mushroom', SCR gu⁰ba id., 'tinder; tetter, leprosy', Hls huba 'mouth, muzzle', Lls huba id., 'lip', P ge₀ba 'mouth, face, muzzle', OR, RChS r₀ba guba 'sponge, mushroom', R, Uk ry⁰ba 'lip', Blr 'ry⁰ba 'lip, mushroom' ¶ McK 38, Mrg. 25, Frn. 176, ESSJ VII 78-80, Glh. 252, ≠ P 396 (includes the reflexes of this √ in an amorphous pool of different *geu-, *gəu-, *gu⁰-roots) || HS: B *√knf > BS_n {Bs.} t a⁰-s⁰na⁰-f-t⁰ 'lip'; B *√knfr 'lip, muzzle' > Kb {DL.}, Kb Z {La.} as⁰ənfir 'lip', Shnw {La.} ac⁰ənfir 'large lip', Ntf {La.} kənfur 'muzzle'; B → Ar Mgr ʁanfo⁰r₀a⁰ 'muzzle' ¶ DL. 98, La. MChB 110 || C *kVmpVr- 'lip' > Ag *kVmpVr- > Km {CR} kəmbər (pl. kəmbər-tən), Q {R} kanper, Xm {R} ki⁰fir (pl. ki⁰fir-t) 'lip'; Ag → EthS: Gz kNfR kanfar (pl. kana⁰fər), Tgr, Tgy, Amh kNfR kənfər 'lip'; EthS → Bln {R} kanfər ~ ku⁰nfu⁰r (pl. ka⁰na⁰fər ~ kə⁰na⁰fər), Sa {R} 'kamfer (pl. kana⁰-fer) 'lip' (the EthS form of pl. prove that these words are Semitisms) ¶ R S II 217, R WB 224, R Q II 85, CR K 214, L G 286-7, LH 418, Bsn. 608 || S *kVnpVr- > Ar kinfir-at- 'tip of the nose' ¶ Fr. IV 65, □ MiK I #1.146 || U: FV *kampV(rV) 'mushroom' > pLp {Lr.} ko⁰mpər id. > Lp: S {Hs.} guobbere, L {LLO} kuoppar, N {N} guobba⁰r, Kld ku⁰mbar, T kimber id. : Chr (lost) *ku⁰mba → OBlgh *ku⁰mpa⁰ → Chv каѡма кѡмб_а 'mushroom', VTt, Bsh r⁰ mə⁰gə⁰ mba⁰ 'mushroom' and Prm *go⁰bE ({DLG} *go⁰,bE) > Z ro⁰b gob, Z US go⁰,b 'Bolletaceæ (ry⁰batay⁰ r⁰mb)', Vt gubi, Vt Ur gu⁰bi 'mushroom' ¶ Lr. #519, Lgc. #2852, Hs. 680-1, SZ 81, LG 76-7, Fed. I 253, ≠ Jeg. 99 (Chv → OR go₀ba), Sm. 552 (? FP *ko⁰ampV).

907. *ku⁰n⁰c⁰E (or ***ku⁰n⁰c⁰E**) '(finger)nail, claw' > IE: [1] NaIE *g⁰wisti-s (or *g⁰wisti-s) 'finger' > Brtt: W bys, OCrn [VC] bis, bes, OBr (in *ds*), MBr bis, bes, Br biz 'finger'; Brtt → OIr *biss in biss ega 'icicle' (lit. 'finger of ice') || ON kvistr, NNr, Sw, Dn kvist 'branch' ¶ P 481, Vn. B 53, Flr. 83, Ern. 68, Hm. 84, Vr. 339 || [2] NaIE *gwozd⁰h₀o-, *gwozd⁰h₀i- 'nail, penis' > W both 'nave of a wheel, boss of a shield', Gl *bottos 'nave of a wheel' (→ VL Gl *bottos > Fr Δ bout id., *d'* bouton, boutil, boutin, boutel id. and possibly Fr bouton 'button'); ? Brtt → OIr bot 'tail, penis', Nlr bod 'penis' || Sl *gvozdь (~ *gvozdь?) 'nail' > OCS гвоздь gvozdь 'nail' (ἄνθος, clavus'), Blg гвозд, Hls ho⁰zdz', Lls go⁰zdz', P gwo⁰z⁰dz', RChS гвоздь gvozdь ~ гвоздь gvozdь, R, Uk гвозд 'nail', Blr гвозд 'wooden nail' ¶ P 481, Vn. B 73, LP § 25.5, YGM-1 51, 65, Dnn. 73, ML #1239b, Vr. 339, ESSJ VII 185-6 (i ÷ Sl *gvozdь 'forest') ¶ Here we should have expected NaIE **y (< N *n'), which possibly really existed before elimination of **y due to laws of root structure || U *ku⁰n⁰c⁰e 'fingernail, claw' > FU *ku⁰n⁰c⁰e > F kynsi / kynte- 'fingernail, claw, hoof', Es ku⁰u⁰s 'fingernail, claw' : pLp {Lr.} *kəncə id. > Lp: S {Hs.} gadsse, L {LLO} kaddsa id., N {N} ga⁰z⁰za⁰, Kld {SaR} k⁰u⁰h⁰h⁰, {TI} kəncə 'fingernail, claw, hoof' : pre-Mr {Ker.} *kincə > pMr *kinzə > Er кенже kenz'e, Mk кенже ken⁰zə id. : pChr {Ber.} *ku⁰c⁰ id. > Chr: L к⁰у⁰ч ku⁰c⁰, H к⁰ѣч kəc⁰ : Prm {LG} *gu⁰z⁰V id. > Z г⁰ж⁰ giz⁰ (/giz⁰y-), Z Vsh/EV gu⁰z⁰, Yz g⁰az⁰ (gen. g⁰az⁰an), Vt г⁰ж⁰ giz⁰i, Vt Δ giz⁰i || ObU *ku⁰n⁰c⁰ 'claw, fingernail' > pVg {Ht.} *ku⁰ns⁰ id. > Vg: T ku⁰ns⁰, LK/UL k⁰wa⁰s⁰, MK k⁰wa⁰ns, UK k⁰wa⁰s, Yk {Vxr.} ka⁰ns, P ka⁰s⁰, NV/SV k⁰wa⁰ns⁰, UL/Ss kos, Ss {BV} k⁰os, k⁰os, N {Mu.} kwass; pOs {Ht.} *ko⁰n⁰c⁰ id. > V/Vy ko⁰n⁰c⁰, Ty ko⁰n⁰c⁰, Y ko⁰nc⁰, D/K ko⁰nc⁰, Nz/Kz ku⁰s⁰, O qus || Sm {Jn.} *k⁰ta⁰ 'fingernail, claw' (× N *k⁰u⁰t⁰a 'fingernail, claw, nail' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ UEW 157, Coll. 30, Sm. 544 (FU *ku⁰nci, FP *ku⁰nc⁰i, Ugr *ku⁰nc⁰r), It. #409, Lr. #311, Lgc. #1870, Hs. 543, TI 102, SaR 147, Ker. II 55, Ber. 26, LG 84, Lt. J 107, Ht. #287, BV 40, Jn. 55-6 || ? HS: S *kin⁰m⁰θ₀c₀- 'shin' > Ak kims₀u ~ kins₀u ~ kis₀u 'shin, calf of the leg' (→ 'knee'), ? Gz k⁰wəys₀ 'leg, shin' ('shin' ← 'hoof', like in Sl *noga 'leg, foot' < BSl *noga⁰ 'hoof' < IE *ong⁰- 'fingernail' or in OI 'an'ghri 'foot' from the same IE √ *ong⁰- 'fingernail'); Gz k⁰- for **k- is due to glottalizing as ||??? S *g⁰θw/y > Ar g⁰θw/y (pf. g⁰aθa⁰, ip. -g⁰θiy- ~ -g⁰θuw-) 'stetit in extremis pedum digitis' ¶ CAD VIII 373-5, Sd. 478-9, L G 457 (does not accept any connection between the Gz and the Ak words), Fr. I 244, BK I 253 ¶ In the highly *qu*. Ar cognate the cns. *g- for the expected *k- may be accounted for by neutralization of the opposition vd. ↔ vl. within a cluster of two obstruents (*kθ- ~ *gθ-) || ?? Ch: Kwn M {J} ki⁰n⁰z⁰i⁰gi⁰ 'fingernail' (and Kwn {J} ki⁰n⁰i⁰rki⁰ 'finger') ||+, Grm {J} k⁰wanc⁰a⁰ 'fingernail'; but hardly here Cg {Sk.} k₀in, Mnt {J} k₀a⁰n-sa⁰y id. and other words for 'fongernail' in WCh lgs. without the expected sibilant and especially those with the initial k₀-, unless some contamination with a different word can explain the phonetic irregularities || ¶ ChC, JI II 137 ||+, □ Stl. 212 [#628] || ? R: Tg *xosi⁰-kta 'fingernail, claw' > Ewk osikta, Lm ost⁰, Neg o⁰-tta, Ork xosiqta id., Ul xusta id., 'nail', Sln us⁰ikta ~ us⁰ikta 'fingernail, hoof', Nn Nh/B xosiqta, Nn Nh xosaqta, Ud {Krm.} wahikta ~ wai₀kta 'fingernail', WrMc

wasixa(n), os'oxo 'claw' ¶ STM II 26-7, Krm. 219 ¶ The unexpected *x- (for *k-) and *-s- (for *-c-) are due to the association of the noun with the Tg verb *xosi- 'scratch' (STM II 26-7) || pKo {S} *koc 'spit (for roasting), skewer; awl, gimlet' > MKo koc id., Nko kot kos 'a borer, awl, gimlet', k:osi 'skewer' ¶ S AJ 257 [#170], S QK #170, Nam 54, MLC 164, 174 || pJ {S} *ku'si 'spit, skewer, comb' > OJ ku'si id., J: T/Kg kus'i, K ku'si id., 'broach, prod' ¶ S QJ #201, Mr. 466, Kenk. 1120-1 ¶¶ S AJ 16 and 280 [#347] and DQA #1073 [pA *k'i_u'cu 'to scrape; claw, sharp stick'] [Tg, Ko, J; proposes a connection with the A verb for (A *k'ic'v) 'scratch'] ♦ If the S cognate *kin|mo|c.- is not accepted, the reconstructed affricate may be either *c̣. or *c̣'. The NaIE cognate *gwisti- seems to confirm the rec. of *c̣.- (cp. N *yUc̣.v 'bone' > IE *x'est₁H₁- ~ *x'ost₁H₁-) ♦ The IE reflex of the N nasal cns. suggests that before *c̣'-affricates the neutralization of the nasal cnss. was not complete: N *ṇ- (*ṇh) was still distinguished from *ṇ'.

908. 2 *kaŋv 'to wrap, tie' > IE: NaIE *gengh- 'to wind, tie, spin, plait, weave' > ON *koŋgur 'winding, wicker-work' -> koŋgur-va-fa ~ koŋgul-va-fa 'spin', MHG kanker '∈ spider', NGr Δ Kanker id.; ? ON kinga 'Brustschmuck, Brosche'; NrGmc -> F kangas 'web', kankuri 'weaver' || Sl *gozъ > Blg гѣжм. 'bandage, turban', Slv gozъ f. 'leather strap (used to fasten the flail to the handle, the yoke to the pole)', OCz hu'z'e 'rope', Cz Δ houž, houž'e 'tight plait (жгут)', OR rожъ guzъ, R rуж 'tug, leather strap or loop (used to fasten the shaft of a cart to the shaft-bow, etc.)', R Δ rуж 'rope, strap of a flail' ¶ P 380, Vr. 309, 342, SK 155-6, Lx. 103, ESSJ VII 93-4 || R: ? T: Osm {Rh.} -'9nQ qangal, Tk kangal 'a coil, a skein', Chg, Osm {RL.} -'9nQ qanya 'ein in Form eines Rades zusammengelegter Strick, ein gewundener Bündel', Osm {Rh.} qangalla-, Tk kangalla- v. 'coil, wind in a skein', {RL.} qanyalla- 'zusammenrollen', as well as possibly Tkm ганъга ganž'ya, StAlt {BT} кандага qanz'aya, Alt {RL.} qanz'ya, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qanz'ya, Uz канжа qanz'ya 'топока, der hintere Teil des Sattels, wo etwas zugebunden wird', Osm {Rh.} qanz'ya 'breast-strap at the front of a saddle', Xk Δ хан'аула- 'to tie to the топика' and Chg {RL.} qantar- 'die Zügel des Pferdes an den Sattelknopf festbinden' ¶ RL II 119-22, Rh. 1424-5, TkR 151, Jud. 340, BT 71, UzR 603.

909. 2 *kaŋv '∈ waterfowl' > R: Tg *kangu id. > Ewk Tng kangalas 'gosling', Orc kangu 'wild duck', Nn {Pt.} ka-ngo, Ul qangul 'merganser (∈ wild duck)', WrMc qangu n'exe 'loon (Gavia)' (n'exe 'duck'); Ewk -> Yk xanalas '∈ goose' ({Pek.} 'гусь-стервятник') ¶ Vas. 191, Pt. 62, Sun. UJ 202, Z 252, Pek. 3310 || ? pKo {S} *ko'n 'swan' (unless a loan from Chn) > MKo ko'n, Nko koni ¶ S QK #292, Nam 50, MLC 136 ¶¶ DQA #721 [A *ka'nu 'swan'; incl. Tg, Ko), Rm. SKE 123 || D *kaŋkan'am ({GS} *k-) '∈ waterfowl' > Tm kan'kan.am id., Tl kan'kan.amu 'a large bustard with a red head' ¶¶ D #1083 || ?? HS: Eg P knm.t '∈ ein böser Vogel' ¶ EG V 132.

910. 2 *koŋ'3v 'crotch' > HS: Eg Md kns (< *knz?) 'body part between the anus and the genitalia (= perineum?)', {DW after Dawson} 'hypogastric region', {Fk.} '(?) pubic region' ¶ EG V 134, DW II 907-8, Fk. 286 || R: M *qoŋzu-sun 'junction of the two thighs, crotch; back part' > MM {S} qonžiya-sun 'Ausscheidungsorgane', WrM qonžusu 'junction of the two thighs, crotch', Kl {Rm.} xondasn id., Mnr H {SM} g_u-a'nž_i_a'sz 'la derrière (hommes, animaux)', {T} goŋžose 'back part'; behind' ¶ H 66, MED 96, KW 185, SM 123, T 325.

¶ 910a. 2 *kup.v (*K.-?) 'bird' > HS: Om: NrOm: Kf {C} kafo-, {Msr.} ka'fo, {HHM} kafo, Amuru {Fl.} ka'ffa, Zl {C} kafo-, Zs {Si.} ka'פו, Zrg {Si.} 'kapo, Wl {LmS} kafuwa_, {C} kafo-, {Fl.} kafo, Gf {C} kafa-, Gm {Hw.} kapo', Omt {Mrn.} kap.o ~ kafo, Bdt {C} kabo-, {Fl.} kaffo, Anf {Gt.} kafo, {C} kafo-, Cha {Fl.} kafa, Shn {Lm.} kafa', {C} kafa-, Dwr {LmS} kafwa ~ kaffo, Bnc {Wdk.} ka'p, Gnj {Si.} ka'ho, Gcm ka'פו, Hz {Siw} k3bbi, Sz 1 kawi?, Sz II kawi?, Malo {Fl.} kafo', Bsk {Fl.} kafa! Mj {LmS, C} ke'bi, Na {C} kap'hu, {Fl.} kab., Shk {Fl.} kebi, {LmS} kafo ¶ C SE IV 460 & III 204, , C SO 31, 44, 50, 61, 69, Lm. Sh 325, LmS W 409, Wdk. NY §43, Si. ACh 12, SiW BA 10, Fsl. OWL s.v. 'bird', Gt. 354, HHM 11, Msr. 195, Hw. EG s.v. 'bird', Mrn. O 148 || Ch: CCh: Kola {Sb.} ka'b.a'ra'm, FlJ xu'bwa'ti 'bird' || WCh: Zul kib.uri, Kir kuk'a'bir, Buli kubir 'dove' ¶ ChC, JI II 23, ChL || ? Eg fMK k.bh.w 'waterfowl' (pl.) ¶ EG V 30 ¶¶ A connection of this root with with S *ka'nap-, C {AD} kanp.- 'wing' and C *kVmPv 'bird' is not convincing enough (cf. s.v. N *kayn'v 'wing, feather', AD SF 65) ¶¶ Blz. OL #159 || D: SD *kuppul- 'bird' > Kn Hv kuppulu 'a bird', Tu kupulu ~ kup(u)lu 'crow-pheasant' ¶ D #1735 || ? IE: NaIE (+ext.) *kops- 'blackbird' > Gk κο'φ- id., Sl *kosъ id. > RChS косъ kosъ, Blg, McdS кос, SCr, Slv ko's, Cz, Slk, P kos, Uk Δ k°c id. ¶ The loss of the reflex of N *u in IE is reg. (*-u_p- > *-p-, see AD NVIE) ¶ P 614-5, EI

70, F I 930, ESSJ XI 175-8, Glh. 335 || ??σ K: G {Chx.} k_{ap}oeti^d k_{ap}ueti 'a bird older than 1 year', 'ε bird of prey', {Chx.} k_{ap}oeti 'a year-old bird' ¶ Chx. 550, DCh 593 ♦ The glottalized -b- in Kola and Zul and the geminate *-pp- in D may be accounted for by a N emphatic *p-. The voicing *p- > Eg b defies explanation [a reflex of the second component of the underlying cd [voiced cns. + *Vh(?)]]. If the K cognate is valid, the N initial cns. is *k_l- ♦ The equation between Om, Ch and D was suggested by Blz. (Blz. LB #12b).]

911. *kohp.E 'cave, pit' > **HS:** S *^okahp- > Ar kahf- 'cave' ({Fr.} 'specus, spelunca larga et ampla' → 'asylum, locus effugii') ¶ Fr. IV 67 || ? Eg fP cpt.t 'burrow, hole in the earth' ¶ EG V 364-6 || ? Ch: WCh: Hs ka'fe' {Ba.} 'hut made of wood (or corn-stalks) and grass', {Ba., Abr.} 'verandah fixed to a house wall', Hs {Abr.} ka'fi 'hut of cornstalks' || CCh: Pdl {ChL} kɪ'pɪ, Tr {Nw.} kɜba, {Mch.} kɪba, Gude {ChL} ku'v'w'a, {Mch.} kuva, FIM {ChL} ku'vu', FIB {ChL} ku'vu'n 'hut' ¶ Ba. 524, Abr. H 447, ChC, ChL ¶¶ ≠ OS #1430 || **K** *kwab- 'cave, hollow in the ground' > OG kwab- 'cave', G kvab- 'cave, cauldron', Mg kvib- 'cave, hollow in the ground (котловина); small cauldron', ? Sv (⊂ G?): UB/Ln {TK} kwa'b (pl. kwaba'r), L {TK} kwab, Sv {K} kwa'b, kwaba 'cave' ¶ K 197, K² 216, TK 788 || **U:** FP *ko⁻ppE or *ko⁻ppa 'pit; hollow' (× N ***go_lw_lp**.^fu^u 'hollow, empty, hole', q.v. ffd.) || **fl:** T *Kobu 'hollow\depression between hills\mountains' [⊂ [1] *Kobuk 'a hollow; hollow, empty', [2] T *kobu-l' 'hollow, a hollow'] (× N ***go_lw_lp**.^fu^u, q.v. ffd.) || M: [1] *qo^ou-sun 'empty' (× N ***go_lw_lp**.^fu^u) > MM [HI, S] qo^oosun id., WrM qogusun, HIM хоосон 'vacuum, emptiness; empty, void', WrO xo⁻son ~ xo⁻sun 'empty, void', Kl хоосн, {Rm.} xo⁻sn_o, Brt хоохо(н) 'empty', Mnr H {SM} xo⁻z₃zn 'vide, désert, inhabité', {T} xo⁻zen, Ba {T} xoson, Dg {T}, Ord {Ms.} xo⁻son 'empty', [2] M *qobi- ⊂ WrM qobil, HIM ховил 'groove'; WrM qobiki, HIM ховхи 'ε chisel with a grooved blade' ¶ Ms. H 90, Lew. II 45, H 66, MED 949, 953, Ms. O 361, Krg. 272, KRS 597, KW 191-3, Chr. 574, 587, SM 169, T 375, T BJ 150, T DgJ 178 || Tg: [1] WrMc qobi 'hollow, depression' ({Hr.} 'konkave Stelle, Einbuchtung, Aushöhlung, Vertiefung') ¶ STM I 402, Z 280, Hr. 692 || pJ {S} *ku^uṁpu^a 'cavity' > OJ ku^ub^uṁ^o, J T kubo ¶ S QJ #669, Mr. 461 ¶¶ DQA #859 (A *ko⁻bu 'hollow, cavity'; incl. T, M, Tg, J) ♦ Eg p and U *-pp- suggest a pN *-p-, which is at variance with K *-b-; the apparent controversy may be accounted for by the deglottalizing (de-emphatizing) infl. of the Ir. *h.

912. *ko^qpV 'mucus, slime' → 'saliva', 'filth\dirt on the surface (mould, soot)' > **IE:** NaIE *^og^we^bh-/*^og^wəb^h- 'slimy, wobby' (→ 'slimy fish') > Gmc: Nr Δ kvapa 'to secrete liquid', Sw Δ kvabba, NLG quabbeln 'von Fettigkeit zittern', NE quab; OSx {P} quappa 'burbot (Lota)' [not in Ho. S], MHG quappe id., NHG Quappe 'burbot and other slimy fish (e.g. rock ling, Enchelyopus)', OHG Δ ({OsS} OMG) quappa 'cappedo, ein Fisch mit breitem dickem Kopfe' || [× N ***go.bV** (or ***go.pV**?) 'frog, toad', q.v. ffd.]: BSl: Pru gabawo 'toad' and Sl *z'a^uba (< pre-Sl *ge^uba⁻) 'toad', as well as L bufo⁻ 'toad' ({Ert.}: ⊂ OscU < *g^wəb^ho⁻) ¶ P 466, KM 572, OsS 692, Vs. II 31, Glh. 704, En. 174, Tr. 8, Tp. P E-H 124-7, Ert. ED 130 || **HS:** S: Ar kafz-at- 'écume abonfante' ¶ BK II 913 || B *^u/kfH ~ *^u/kfs (partially ^u) 'foam, saliva, slime' (× N ^u ***K_upa** 'to boil (vi.), swell, bubble?') > Wrg {Dlh.} t-kuffi 'mousse, écume, tissu graisseux et floconneux dans les entrailles d'un animal qu'on écorche', ETwl/Ty {GhA} təkəffe 'mousse, écume', Ah {Fc.} ta⁻-kuffe 'mousse blanche (de lait qu'on vient de traire; de savon), Kb Z {La.} t_ikufft_a 'mousse', Tmz {MT} a-kuffi (pl. akuffan) 'écume, masse blanchâtre des liquides', Gh {Nh.} takufit, Gd {Lf.} təkəffe, Kb i-kuft_{an}, BSn {Bs.} a-kuffu, a-kufkuf, Rf Wr {Rn.} kuffi, Izn, Rf B/A {Rn.} tkuffi, Kb {Dl.} imuft_{an} (pl.), Zng {Bs.} ikuffan 'foam', Shenua {La.} ixufa, BMn {La.} t_ixuffa 'salive', Btw {La.} kufu 'crachat', Izn {Rn.} t_ikuffa, Rf Tz {Rn.} ikuffaⁿ, SrSn {Rn.} ikufaⁿ, Ntf {La.} təkufas, Wrg tikufas 'saliva', Zng {Bs.} akuffo (3s pf. ikuffo) 'écumer'; ⊂ Wrg {Dlh.} -kkəfkəf-, Ah sə-kkəfkəf v. 'foam' ¶ GhA 89, Fc. 754-5, MT 327, La. MChB 121, Dlh. Ou 140-1, Rn. 341, Dl. 395-6, 399, Lf. II #0736, Bs. MS I 231 || **U:** FV *k^oppV 'mould' > pLp *ko⁻ppz id. > Lp: S {Hs.} guoppe, L {LLO} kuohpa, N {N} guoppa^u, Kld ku^ubbⁱ pChr {Ber.} *kup^u- (⊂ Ber.} *kup^u-) 'grow mouldy' > Chr Ch/YO/V ku^u-pa-, K k^u-pa-, Chr E {Ü} kupa- id., Chr L kupaš ku^u-pa-s⁻, Chr H kupaš 'k^u-pa-s⁻ 'to grow mouldy, be overed with mould' (of water); Chr B {Trc.} kup 'mould' ¶ UEW 680 (FV *kXppV), Lr. #528, Lgc. #2904, Hs. 691, Ber. 24 [#109], MRS 246, 270, Ep. 52, Ü 85 ♦ The Gmc verb and the B ^u have ideophonic associations, which have influenced their form.

913. *keypV ~ *ku^uypV 'light (not heavy)' > **U** {Coll.} *keypa^u id. > FU *kepa^u > F kepea^u, kevea^u 'light, easy', Es {W} kebja, kebi 'light, quick, weak' | pLp {Lr.} *ke⁻ppe⁻ 'light (levis)' > Lp: S {Hs.}

g' o' o' ppe-ke, N {N} gæp'pa'd, Kld kīep'p'es id., L {LLO} kiehppe- 'light, easy', N {N} gep'pis 'easy' !? Vt Sr kapc' i 'leicht, mild' :: Hg keve's 'few' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *keypV- 'light (levis)' > Ne Т си-би, Ne O {Lh.} sīb ī, En {Cs.} se'bi, Slq Tz {KKIH} s'e-pi ~ s'e-pi, ?? {Prk.} sɜpen, Slq Tm {KD} s'abə'ga id., Slq Nr {Cs.} sa'beak 'I am light', Mt {Hl.} i *ku'ha'', i *kiha'' 'levis' (Mt {Pl.} ku'he ~ kii'he) ¶ UEW 146-7 (U *kepa''), Coll. 24, Coll. CG 406 (*kepa''), W EDW 258, Lr. #385, Lgc. #2272, Hs. 644, Jn. 67, Lh. 447-8, KKIH 174, Hl. M #570 II A: M *ku'bki- > WrM ku'bki- 'be very light (of weight)' ¶ MED 195, Kow. 2582 || pKo {S} *ka'p'ā'i- 'light (of weight)' > MKo ka'p'ā'i-ya'p-, NKO kabyəp- ¶ S QK #499, Nam 5, MLC 17 ¶¶ DQA #929 [unc. comparison of the Ko root with M *ko'bu- 'rise to the surface, float, drift' and Tg *kepu- ~ *kopu- id.; reconstructs pA *kup'e 'light (of weight), floating on the surface'] II HS: Ch: WCh *k'w'f- > NrBc {Sk.}: Wri k'w'o'fu'ra', Cg ko'fa'fa', Kry k'w'a'k'fa'na' 'light (levis)' :: ECh: Ke {Eb.} kɜfaŋ id. ¶ ChC, Eb. 67 ♦ If the etymon is *keypV, the labialised *k'w- in NrBc and *u- in M may be explained by ass. infl. of *p. If we accept the rec. *ku'ypV, the U vw. *e remains obscure.

914. *kep.L.V (= *kep.ſV?) 'jaw, chin' > IE *g'ep_LH_J- > NaIE *g'ep^h- ~ *g'eb^h- 'jaw, mouth' > Irn (< *g'ep^h-): Av zafar-, zafan- 'mouth, jaws of animal (Maul)', Phl daha-n, NPrs 'Eda da'ha-n ~ ñEaDa da'ha-n 'mouth', Orm za-nbɔ 'jaw' :: OIr gop 'bill (of birds), mouth', NIr gob 'bill, protruding mouth, snout', Gl b> VL Gl *gobbo- (with "expressive" gemination) > Fr gobet 'gobbet, mouthful', gober 'to gulp down, swallow (with greed)' :: Gmc: MHG kiuwe^d kiwe 'jaw, jaw-bone', 'throat (Rachen) [of animals and the devil]', kiuwel, kivel 'jaw, jaw-bone', NHG Kiefer, NLG keve 'jaw', ON kjaþr-kjoþr 'jaw, jaws (of animals)' (Maul, Kinnbacke, Kiefer)', NNR kjæft, Dn kjæft ab 'mouth, throat', Sw ka'ft 'mouth (of animals)', ab 'throat' :: Sl *zobъ > R zob 'crop, craw (of birds)', LLs zob, P dzio'b 'beak'] but NGr Δ kiefe 'gill (of fish)', NLG keve, ON ka'fi id. and Gmc *ke-fala id. (> AS ce'afl, NE jowl, jole, OSx kaflos) [⇔ EI] belong together with Sl *z'abra 'gill' < NaIE *ge-b^h- 'gill', which seems to be a different IE √ ¶ P 382, Vl. I 944, Horn 131, Bai. 222-3, Brtl. 1657, Thr. KR 60, ML #3814, Kö. #4289, Dnn. 375, Vr. 311, Lx. 108, KM 367, Vs. II 31-2, IO, pσ EI 173 [*g'ep- 'eat, masticate' (usually of animals)] II K *k.ap.- 'chin, 'jaw' > Sv: UB/LB k.ap.ra''-y, U/LB k.ap.ra'', Ln/L k.ap.ray {TK} 'chin', {GP} 'lower jaw, chin', Sv {Ni.} k.ap.ra'' 'jaw'; d: *ni-k.ap.- 'chin' > OG dat. ni-k.ap-sa 'to the chin' (p < *p. by as), G ni-k.ap.-i ~ ni-k.ap-i id., Mg nɜk.ɜ-^d nik.u^d nuk.u- 'chin', Lz nu(n)k.u 'mouth, face', Sv Ln nik.p.a, Sv L nik.ba 'chin', Sv {Ni.} nik.pa 'jaw' ¶ K 148 & K² 142 (*ni-k.ap.- 'chin'), FS K 169, FS E 184, Abul. 329, Q 291, Chik. 49-50, Ni. s.v. подборо́докъ and челѣстѣ, TK 342 II HS: Ch: DfB {J} ka'pa'k (pl. kapa'k) 'cheek', Ch {Stl.} *gobi 'chin, cheek' (× N *qa''bV 'jaw', q.v. ffd.) II A: Tg {pADb.} *kefe ({S} *keve) 'lower jaw' > Ewk kɜwɜ id., Lm kɜwɜ, Lm Sk kɜbɜ id.. 'chin' ¶ STM I 442-3 ¶ The rec. of Tg *-f- is based on A. Dybo's version of the Tg historical phonology (ADb SR), where Ewk -ɜwɜ- and Lm -ɜwɜ-^d -ɜbɜ- go back to pTg *-efe- II D *kepp- 'cheek, temple' ({GS} *k-) > Ml ceppi 'cheek', Kn keppate id., keppe 'temple', Tu keppæ, kebbu 'cheek, temples', gebbu 'temples', ? Tl ce-pa cekkulu 'gills' ¶¶ D #1989 ♦ NaIE *-p^h- ~ *-b^h- suggests the presence of a lr. The absence of any lr. in K suggests N *, *ſ or *h. Among these three the most plausible is *ſ, because only *ſ can account for the voicing in IE *-b^h- ♦ Cp. N *qa''bV 'jaw' and *k.ʼa'wɜp.E or *k.ʼa'wɜp.VyV 'skull' (→ 'head'). In the descendant lgs. semantic and phonetic infl. of some of these roots cannot be ruled out.

915. *kopVrV (or *-b-?) 'many, big' > HS: S *kbr 'many, big' > Amr {G} kbr 'be great', BHb kbr (caus. verb) 'increase' (ip. 3m riB5i@ y-a-k_bir 'will multiply [words]'), Yd, IA kbr 'be plentiful', Yd kbr 'might (?)', OA kbr 'abundance', Sr kab'bi'r 'much', BHb kab'bīr 'strong, mighty; great, much', Ar kbr 'be big, increase', kabīr- 'great, big', JA, Sr kbr (pf. kə'b_ar) 'abound, increase', Sb kbr 'great', Gz kbr 'be honoured, great', Ak kbr (inf. kaba-ru) 'be big, thick' ¶ KB 438, KBR 458-9, BDB 460 [##3624, 3627], JH 115, HJ 486-7, 531, G A 22-3, Fr. IV 3-4, BK II 909, BGMR 75-6, L G 274, Sd. 415 || WCh: Hs Skt/Kc kabri, StHs ka'u.ri', Gw {Mts.} keberi 'thickness' ¶ Ba. 589 ¶¶ OS #1410, p Sk. HCD 140-1 II D *koppVr- ({GS} *k-) p'increase' > Tl kop(pa)ramu 'increase, rise, swell', kopparinta 'increasing', Krx xopo~rxola~, xoporka- 'abundant, swarming' ¶¶ D #1731a II A: M *ko'bu're- > WrM ko'bu're-, HlM x'bpɜ-x v. 'grow, sprout, germinate' ¶ MED 477 ♦ The comparison with D is *qu.*, because the D words may alternatively go back to pD *kupp- 'heap' < N *k.uP.V 'heap, hill' (q.v.).

916. *kuP.sa 'to extinguish, exhaust' > IE *g'wes-/g'wo's- id. > OI 'jasate' 'is exhausted' :: Gk σβε'ννυμι 'I extinguish' (aor. σβε'σ-σαι) :: ?σ Gmc: Gt qistjan 'to ruin', fra-qistnan 'be ruined', OHG quist 'torment',

fir/ir-quisten 'to destroy' || Lt ge'sti id. (1s prs. Olt, Lt Zh ge'su), Ltv dze'st 'to extinguish' || Sl caus. *gas-i-ti (caus.) id. > RChS гасити gasiti, Blg га'сї, SCr ga'siti, Slv ggasi'ti, Cz hasiti, Slk hasit', P gasic', R га'сиг□, Uk га'сиги id.; vi. *gas-no-ti 'be extinguished' > Blg 'гасна, SCr ga'snuti, Slv ga'sniti, Cz hasnouti, Slk hasnu't', P gasna'c', OR gasnuti, R 'гаснут□, Uk 'гаснути || pTc *ka's- > Tc A ka's-, Tc B ka's-, kes- {Wn.} 's'éteindre', {Ad.} 'come to extinction, be extinguished' || Ht {Pv.} kest-, kist-, gist-, {Ts.} kist- (md. v.) 'be extinguished, die out, perish' || IS I 311 adduces here IE *k^wsep- 'dark' (presumably *mt* from *g^wpes- with *as* *g^ws- > *k^ws-) > IE 'ks.ap- 'night', Av xs'ap- 'darkness', Gk κε'φαλ id. (with an obscure & [Specht UID 11 supposes a tabuistic replacement]), Ht ispan- 'night' ¶ P 649, EI 188, M K I 285, 425, F II 685-6, Fs. 388-9, Kb. 583-4, Schz. 189, OsS 696, Frn. 149, ESSJ VI 104-5, Ts. E I 409-11, 592-4, Pv. I-II 431-5 & IV 167-8, Wn. 210, Ad. 177, Ad. H 67, 70 II ?? HS: CS *kbw: BHb ebk /kby|w G 'go out' (of fire), D (pf. eBf5 kib'ba-) 'extinguish', JA /kby|w D id., JA {Js.} /kby ~ /kbw G, JEA {Sl.} /kby G 'be extinguished, go out', Ar /kbw 'smoulder in the ashes' (of fire) ¶ KB 435-6, KBR 457, Sl. 550-1, Js. 608, BK II 857 ¶ The absence of the expected *-s'- may be explained by weakening *-s'- > *-h- > zero, as in grammatical morphemes and pronouns || U *kupsa- 'extinguish; die out (of fire)' > Lp T {Tl} kops- id. || Es kustu- 'be extinguished, die out', Lv kis:t-^d ku's:t- id. (-i- ~ -u'- [normally from BF *-u'-] is irreg.; UEW supposes *dis*) || Prm *kus- 'go\die out' (of fire) > Z, Vt kus- || ObU: Os: V qa'wla-, Ty *ko'pəł- id.; d (with a *t-sx.): V/Vy qowəł-, Ty/Y qopəł- vt. 'extinguish' || Sm {Jn.} *kəpta°, {Hl.} *kəpta- vt. 'extinguish', i {Jn.} *kəpta- 'go\die out' (of fire) > [1] vt.: Ne T ха'бтас□, Ne O {Lh.} хapta-, Ne F kapta-s', Ng {Ter.} kaptu-d'a, En {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. ko'tabo, Slq Tz {KKIH} qapti-qo, Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. qab_tab_, Kms {KD} 1s prs. q'uptəra'ł'a'm ~ qu?btəra'ł'a'm, Koyb {Sp.} 1s prs. кубдремь, Mt {Hl.} *kabta- vt. 'extinguish' (Mt M {Sp.} капестъ 'I extinguish'), [2] vi.: Ne: T ха'бтеес□, O {Lh.} хapt'о-, F kap'c'о- (< *kəpt-у-), Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. kaptua-m (? < *kəpta-y-), En X {Cs.} kotiaro?, Slq Tz {Prk.} qaptey- 'go\die out (of fire), Kms {KD} qu?bdo'ł'a'm ¶ Coll. 29, UEW 214-5, Sm. 537 (U, FU *kupsa°, FP *kupsa-, Sm *ko-pta°), It. #180, Kt. 130, LG 147, Trj. S 159, 176, Jn. 54, KKI 158, KD 33-4, Hl. M #372 II ??? A: AmTg *gu'p- > Nn gu'puv-, Ork gupu-, Ul gu'pu-, go'kpi- 'extinguish', Nn gu'p-, gu'kpu-, Ork, Ul gu'ptu- 'go out' (of fire) ¶ STM I 159 ¶ The cluster -kp- is obscure (*mt* from *-p-k-, where *-k- is a sx.). The voicing **k- > *g- in Tg is still puzzling ¶¶ DQA #540 (pA *gi_u'p'aļu 'extinguish'; incl. Tg) ♦ In IE the cluster *-Ps- contracted to *-s-; IS suggested (with a query) that in Tg this cluster may have been contracted to *-p-, which is *unc.* ♦ IS I 311 [#185] (*KuPs'a, i.e. {AD} *KuPsa; IE, U, Tg), AD SSh 297 [#1] (N *kup.sa, adduces S; an attempt to explain the √ with a sibilant as a d from that without sibilant, as in Tg and S) ♦ Gr. II #134 (←IS) [*kupsa 'extinguish'] (IE, U, A + *unc.* EA)

917. ? *karV 'to twist, turn around, return' > HS: WS *√krr 'turn, twist' > Ar D {Lb.} √krr rWka 'faire un tour, rouler', Ar √krr rWka 'come back, return to the charge upon (revenir à la charge en se retournant)', 'follow by turns' (of night and day), yafurru wa-ya-kurr-u karr-an 'he wheels round in battle', karr-at- 'time (mal), repetition of an action', Ar SL pf. karr 'he rolled, rolled up', Sb krr 'return'; with root *rdp*: WS *√krkr 'turn round' > Ar √krkr 'turn the millstone', Ug krkr 'tanzen lassen', {OLS} √krkr 'torcer, retorcer', BHb prtc. rf4r'k2m6 mə-k_ar'ke'r 'dancing', MHb √krkr (p. kir'ker) 'auf- und abgehen, tanzen', rufrf5 ~ rufrif kir'ku'r {Js.} 'circle, circuit, round about way; whirl', JA [Trg.] Nr!f1r'f5 kirka'ra'n 'dance', Tgr √krkr (pf. kerkere) 'roll', Gz na-k'ark'wər, na-k'ark'wār 'rotation, rolling, whirl-pool', √k'rk'w'r N ?ank'ark'wara 'roll, roll around' ¶ OLS 223, Ln. III 2562-3, BK II 878-9, 888, Hv. 648, L G 292, A #1383, KB 476, KBR 500, Lv. II 407, Js. 669-70 II D *kar_- ({GS} *g-) 'whirl, turn around' > Tm kar_an'ku v. 'whirl', n. 'whirling, gyration', kar_akku vt. 'spin (as yarn)', Ml kar_an'n'uka v. 'turn around, whirl', Kt gar_a, gar_agar_a 'whirlingly, around and around', i Tu garъ, gara, garagara, garranæ 'a whirling noise', Kn gar_a, gar_agar_a 'whirlingly, around and around', ?φ kor_i, kor_e v. 'whirl' ¶ D #1387 II A: M *qari- vi. 'return' > MM [HI, MA, IM] qari id., WrM qari-, HIM хари-, Ord {Ms.} хari- id., 'go back', Mnr {SM, T} хari-, Mgl {Rm.} qarina, Dx qari-, Ba хare- id., Kl {KRS} хəp-x хa'r-хе, {Rm.} хa'r'-χα 'return' ¶ Pp. MA 293-4, 444, Ms. H 88, MED 937, SM 162-3, T 374-5, T DnJ 125, T BJ 149, KRS 590, KW 177, Rm. M 31 ♦ Not here WP's and P's erroneously reconstructed IE *ger- 'drehen, winden', based on an *unc.* comparison of ON karmr 'Brustwehr' and Sw karm 'Rückenlehne aus Flechtwerk' with OI gartah, 'high seat in a chariot' (WP and P arbitrarily: ← *'wicker-work') and with OI gun_ah, 'thread, string' (which cannot belong here, because in the light of the Ilr ev. its

original meaning is 'hair', ɸ N ***kũn̄a** 'hair') (ɸ M K I 327, 338), as well as on adducing stems with extensions: *gerg-, *gerk-, etc., some of which have their own N connections (ɸ N ***k'a'RkV** 'turn, plait, wrap').

918. *kaRV 'to rise, get up, jump up, wake up' > IE: NaIE {P} *ger- / *grěǐ- 'rise' > OI 'jarate' 'wakes up, is awake' (pfc. 'ja-gara, ja-ga-ra), (rdp) ja-garti 'is awake, awakes', Av gahre 'zu wachen über...', pfc. j'aḡa-ra || Gk 'εγειρω 'awake, rouse, stir up', fut. 'εγερω || pAl *en-gradā > Al: T ngre 'lift, raise' ¶ WP I 598, P 390, M K I 421, 427, F I 437, Hamp AIEW 145, O 296 || HS: S *°√krr 'jump' > Mh √krr (pf. kər, sbjn. yəkre-r), Jb C √krr (pf. kerr, sbjn. 'yəkku), Jb C √krr (pf. 'ker) 'jump, jump on to so.' ¶ Jo. M 212, Jo. J 131 || B: [1] *√wkr (< **√w-kr, with the px. *w- of vi.) > Izn {Rn.}, Si {La.} əkkər, SrSn {Rn.} əkkər, Gd {Lf.} ekkər (pf. ikkər, Lcj. 8), Kb əmmər, Tmz AH {MT}, Izd {Mrc.} (pf.) kkər 'get up, rise, stand up', Nf {La.} əkkər vi. 'awake, wake up'; [2] *√nkr (< **√n-kr, with the px. *n- of vi., reflexivity, etc.) > Thg {Fc.}, Gh {Nh.} ənkər 'get up, awake', Izn, Rf, SrSn ənkər 'se relever', Sll nkər, Tmz AH ns'ər 'get up, rise, stand up', Zng {TC} enkur / pf. yunker 'se lever' ¶ Dl. 412-3, Mrc. 155, Rn. 394, La. S 252, MT 486-7, Fc. 1377-82, Ds. 169, Lf. I 242-4 & II #0789, DCTC 289 || A: M *qarayi- 'jump, leap, skip' > WrM qarai-, HlM xaray-, WrO qarai- id., Ord xara- 'monter (une monture)' ¶ MED 233, Krg. 264, Ms. O 339.

919. ?*kirX or ***girX** 'to scratch' > A: NaT *k'ir- 'scrape, scratch' (× N ***K.ir'X'V** 'to scrape, scratch', q.v. ffd.) || D {tr.} *k'ir-, {GS} *g'ir- v. 'scratch, draw lines' > Tm k'ir_u id., v. 'scribble, write', Ml k'ir_u 'a stripe', k'ir_uka v. 'scratch, draw lines', Kn g'ir_u id., 'scrape', k'ir_u v. 'scratch, scrape', Tl g'ir_u id., Kt k'ir 'a mark, line', Tu k'iruni, g'iruni v. 'scratch, wound slightly by nails', k'ir, g'ir, g'iru 'a scratch, superficial wound', Nk k'ir, Gdb g'iri, Ku giri 'a line', Prj g'ir 'a line, mark', Gnd kirwa'nə 'a scratch', Knd g'ir, Kui g'ira 'line, mark, scrape'; D b-OI kiraka- 'a scribe' ¶¶ D #1623, GS 190 [#483] || HS: B *√krkr v. 'scratch' (→ 'itch'), 'rake' > Thg kərkar 'gratter [une chose] (pour en retirer un objet qui y est enfoncé)', ETwl, Ty √krkr (imv. k'ərkr with secondary uvularization of r) 'gratter, être gratté', Wrg {Dlh.} kərkar (pf. yəttkər_kur) 'démanger, éprouver du prurit, donner des démangeaisons \ du prurit', Shw {Hy.} a-kərkar (pl. i-kərkar-ən) 'rake' ¶ Fc. 874-5, GhA 98, Hy. 36, Dlh. Ou 149 || ? IE: NaIE *g'ir- v. 'rake' > Lt z'eriu / z'er-ti 'glühende Kohlen zusammenscharren', Lt E nu-z'erti 'wegwischen, wegscharren' ¶ P 441 (*g'ir- 'kratzen, ritzen, scharren'; i ÷ Gk χαράδρα 'Erdriß\spalte, Schlucht', χαράσσω, A χαράττω 'spitze, scharfe, kerbe, schneide ein'), Frn. 1302 ♦ The absence of Ir. after *r is suggested by the D cns. *-r- and by the accentuation in Lt.

920. *korE ¶ ∈ deer, antelope' > ?? K: G kurcik 'Gazella subgutturosa' ¶ Chx. 1588 || A: Tg *ko_rbe 'male reindeer' (< N ***korE bA**) > Ewk ko_rbe d korbo, Neg ko_rbo, Ork ko_rbo ~ kurbo ~ kurbu 'male reindeer', Ewk PT/Urm kurbə 'female elk, female sable' ¶ STM I 414 ¶ The long *o- is of positional origin: it is a reg. reflex of a N vw. in an open syll. ¶ Tg *-be apparently goes back to the N pc. ***bA** used in animal names (q.v.) || D *kor_r_e ({}GS} *g-) '∈ deer' > Tl gor_r_e in: kukka-gor_r_e 'barking deer, Cervulus muntjac', kon.d.a-gor_r_e ~ kon.d.a-gorre 'deer, antelope', Klm gorra 'deer', Gnd KM gorre 'four-horned antelope', Gnd Mrd {Lind} gore 'deer' ¶¶ D #2165b, BB CVG #1209.

921. o? *kurV ~ *karV 'crane' > IE *geriHj- ({P, El} *ger-) id. > Arm k@unk kr'unk || Gk γεράνοϛ, Gk [Hs.] γερόν id. || L gru-s (gen. gru-is) || W, Crn, Br garan || MLG kran(e), kro'n, OHG cranuh ~ cranih, MHG kran(e), kruon, kranek 'crane', NHG Kran 'lifting crane, hoist'; NHG Kranich, MLG kranek, AS cran, cranoc ~ cornuc 'crane', NE crane || Lt gé'rve, Ltv dzer've, Pru gerwe 'crane'; cp. also Lt garny's, Ltv ga_rnis 'heron' || Sl *z'eravъ > Blg 'жеpав, SCr z'e`rav, Slv z'erja`v, Cz z'era`v, P z'o`raw, Blr 'жopов 'crane'; d-Sl *z'eravъjъ > ChS, OR жepавль z'eravль, R жу`pавл, R Δ, Uk жуpавел, SCr z'dra`lj > z'dra`l id. (← adj. 'of a crane') ¶ P 383-4, EI 140-1, F I 299 (no et. of the Gk words), WH I 624, Ho. 59, Flr. 173, Kb. 561, OS 510-1, Lx. 114, KM 400, Ho. 58-9, Slt. 171-2, Frn. 137-8, En. 177, Tp. P E-H 223-7, Vs. II 67-8, Glh. 705, IS I 292 (supposes heteroclicy in IE), P 383-4 || HS: S (WS?) *kurkVvy- 'crane' (unless d-Ak d-Sum kur.gi 'goose') > JA {Lv.} ai!f6r^uf kurkə'y-a- ~ ai!f5r^uf kurkiy'y-a-, Sr 'jo°.w^u kurkə'y-a- (pl. kurkawa`t\_a-), Md kurkia, Ar kurk-iy-at- (pl. kura`kiy-) 'crane', Gz ko`rki id., k`ara`ki id. (Ls: d-Ar pl. kura`kiy-); Ar (or EthS) b-Sml {R} 'kurki id. ¶ Lv. II 405, Br. 346, Fr. IV 28, L G 291, R SS II 247, CAD VIII 561-2 || U [1] *karkV 'crane' > Lp: L {LLO} kuor'ka, N {N} guor'ga / -ra-!Er kargo, Mk karga || Sm {Jn.} *kьrъ, ? d *kьrъyъ 'crane' > Ne T xāppee, Ne O {Lh.} xar'w, Ne F {Lh.} kar'w, En {Ter.} kori (all

< *kъгъуъ), Slq Tz {KKIH} qa'ra, Slq Tm {KD} qara, Kms {Cs.} kuro, (*kъгъуъ >) Kms {KD} k'uru'y-u, Koyb {Sp.} курьерокъ; Mt {Hl.} *ko'ruo'...h (Mt M {Sp.} курой, Mt K {Pl.} koru'h, koru') || [2] *kurkV 'crane' > F kurki (gen. kurjen), Es kurg (gen. kure) || pY {IN} *kur- > Y K {IN} kur-c'ej 'white crane (сѣрѣхъ)' (-c'ej is a nominal sx.), {Ang. < Jc.} kurcej 'Storch' ¶ UEW 128, Jn. 54, KKI 158, Hl. M #557, IN 230, Ang. 129, ¶ Rd. UJ 37 [#18] (Y < b U) || A: Tg *karV 'crane' > Ewk karan, Ewk Δ karawul, karal, kraw 'gray crane'; *k'orV > Nn {Prtd.} kopu 'crane' ¶ STM 379 (does not distinguish between the word for 'crane' and that for 'black') || D [1] *kUruk- ({GS} *k-) 'heron, crane' > Tm kuruku 'heron, stork, crane', Ml kuriyan, Td kos'k 'heron', Tu korn'gu 'crane, stork', Tl pegguru - begguru (< peru-kuru) 'adjutant crane', Gnd Mr koruku 'crane' || [2] ? *kokk- (< **kork-) ({GS} *k-) 'crane' > Tm, Kn kokku, Tl kokkera, Prj kokkal, Gdb kokalin, Ku kokor'a 'crane', Ml kokku, Gdb kokkale 'heron' ¶¶ D #2125 ¶ Both *kUruk- and *kokk- go back to pre-D *kork- with different development of the cns. cluster. D *-r- < N *r in a cns. cluster ♦ IS I 292-3 [#159] (*karV/*kurV) ♦ The variability of the vw. is due to the onomatopoeic association of the word.

922. *kUrV 'thick, fat' > **IE** (+exts. only): [1] NaIE *g^wretso- 'thick, large' > L grossus 'thick' || Clt: W bras 'thick, large', Crn bra's 'great, large', Br bras 'big, proud', OIr {Vn.} bras 'grand; vaniteux, violent' || [2] NaIE i^wrendh- 'big', (→) 'proud' > L grandis 'full-grown, great, large' || Gk βρε'v'oj 'haughty carriage, arrogance', βρε'v'oj 'bear oneself haughtily' ¶ P 485, EI 574, SB 183, WH I 617-8, 623, F I 266 (no et. of βρε'v'oj), Vn. B 79, Hm. 103 || K *kur- 'thick, stout' > G kur-i 'a thick cheek of a child', G Xv/P kur-i 'cheek, thick cheek', G kur-ul-a 'heap, multitude', Sv kwr-iw {FS} 'beleibt' ¶ FS K 340, FS E 381 || A: ? M *qur- > WrM qur-la-, HlM хурла- 'accumulate fat in the course of a year' (of animals), 'grow in clusters' (of plants), Ord xurlu- 'laisser engraisser (un animal)', WrM qurtai 'having fat accumulated during the preceding year' (of animals) ¶ MED 991, Ms. O 372 ¶ Apparently a merger with M *qura- 'gather'. The cognates are valid unless they are ds from *qura- 'gather' || T *k_t'u'r 'thick (dicht), dense' > Tkm gu'r 'thick, bushy' (esp. of hair, eyebrows), Tk gu'r, Az gu'r, CrTt gur id., 'abundant', VTt, Bsh κ'p κ'g 'fat' (cattle), Tlt {Rl.} ku'r 'fat, stout', Xk ku'r ot 'thick quick-growing grass', Tv xu'r 'well-fed', Tf {Cs.} k'u'r - hu'r 'grob', Chv kər 'abundant', 'fat' (cattle), 'thick' (grass); T < K1 {Rm.} ku'r 'dick, fest' ¶ Cl. 735, Rl. II 447, ET VGD 106-7, Rs. W 309-10, BIG 97, ChVS 84, Cs. KKS 101, KW 246 || Tg: Ewk I kur 'swelling, tumour', Ewk Uc korodop- v. 'be swollen and cause pain' ¶ STM I 416 || ? pKo *ku'rk- 'thick' > MKo ku'rk, NKO kulk- kuk- ¶ S QK #445, Nam 63, MLC 219 ¶¶ DQA #569 [A *gu'ri 'wide, broad, thick'; incl. Ko, T) || D *kor- ({GS} *k-) 'fat (adj., n.), stout' > Tm koru adj., n. 'fat', Ml koru adj. 'fat', Td kwalp 'fat, in good circumstances', Kn korvu, korbu 'grow fat\thick\stout', Tl k(r)ovvu 'become fat, fatten', Klm, Nkr koru, Gdb kor'kut_u kod_ukut_u kod_ukut_u, Gnd kor'winz_u kurwinz_u kor'venz_u kor'vonz_u, Png, Ku kor'va, Mnd kr'uva, Kui kr'o'ga 'fat', Gnd koru- 'become fat', Knd kor'vu, Ku korowa 'fat of animals', Prj kor'-_u kor'v-, Png kr'o- 'be fat', Kui kro'ga 'fat, tallow, suet' ¶¶ D #2146 ♦ Fn. KD #87 (K, D).

923. *k'o'ORV ~ ***k'o'RØV** [(probably *k'o'yRV ~ *k'o'RyV)] 'be heavy, stout, thick' > **IE** *g^wreHu-/ *g^wr_u- > NaIE *g^wer(ə)-, *g^wru- 'heavy' > OI gu'ru-h. 'heavy, important, venerable' (cmp. 'gariyan, sprl. ga'ris.t.ha-h.), Av (in cds) gouru, NPrs ~r©i gera'n 'heavy' || Gk βαρυ' id. || L gravis (< *g^wrə-w-is) 'heavy, important', L (b OscU) brutus 'heavy, immovable' || OIr *bair ([γ] acc. pl. bairi), 'heavy', W bryw 'strong, vigorous' || Gt kau'rjo's 'heavy' (nom. pl. f. of *kau'rus) || Ltv gru'ts 'difficult', 'hard' (e.g. gru'ti laiki 'hard times'), ¶ WP I 684-5, P 476-7, EI 264 (*g^wreH-u-/ *g^wr_u-H-u-), M K I 340, VI. II 959-60, F I 221-2, WH I 620-1, Vn. B 8, YGM-1 59, Fs. 310, Kar. I 321 || HS: S *o^wkr > Ar /kr G (pf. kašira, ip. ya-kšar-u) 'be big-bellied' (of a child), 'be fat-humped' (of a camel), kašir- 'big-bellied' ¶ Hv. 658 || ?σ A *KURV > pKo {S} *korā-~*koro- > MKo korā'oi-, NKO ku_uerop/ku_uerow- v. 'suffer, be troublesome\haard\painful', MKo koro'om, NKO ku_uero-um 'suffering' ¶ S QK #176, Nam 46, MLC 189 || pJ {S} *ku'ru'-si- 'hard, difficult, agonizing' > OJ ku'ru'-si, J: T/Kg kurus'í-, K ku'ru'sí- ¶ S QJ #217, Mr. 833 || Tg *xurge- 'heavy' > Ewk urg₃, Lm urg_ə, Sln urg₃rdi, Neg uyg₃gdi, Orc ugg₃, Ud Sm {Krm.} ug₃hi, Ul xu₃zsi, Ork xu₃d₃, Nn Nh/B xu₃y₃, WrMc u₃en ¶ STM II 283-4, Krm. 300; Tg *-rg- may go back to N *ry (cp. Tg *bi_ulga 'throat' < N *bal_ui_uy'U 'to swallow; throat', q.v.); the initial *-x- (the reg. reflex of A *k'-) may have resulted from Altaic secondary aspiratization (*kH- > *k'-) ¶¶ DQA

#1091 (A *k'i_u'ru 'heavy; hard, difficult'), ■ SDM97 s.v. *k'UrV (both adduce Tg *xurga-) ◆ ■ S NSShS #18 (IE ÷ A *k'ure 'heavy, difficult' [*k'- based on Tg *x-]).

924. ?? ₂ *ko_lw_rV 'embers, hearth' > HS: S *kawr- 'kiln' (→ 'furnace') > Ak OB/OA/MA ku_r- 'crucible (for metal and glass), kiln, brazier' ([?]b> BHB ru_f ku_r, JA ku_r (em. ku_r-a-) 'small smelting-furnace', Sr ku_r, -a- 'a fire, furnace, kiln, crucible, refining-pot', Ar rvKu ku_r- 'Esse, Blasbalg'), OSA {Mü.} kwr 'furnace (?)', Gz kawr 'furnace'; Aram b> G kura 'forge-hearth, furnace, cooking-stove' ¶ CAD VIII 571, KB 445, KBR 466, Br. 323, JPS 211, WKAS K 431, Müller WMT 98, L G 300, Kfm. AIA 65, Chx. 1586 || ?? C: Ag *°kVkvH- 'hearth stone' > Bln {R} ka'g'al id. ¶ R WB 215-6 || ■ *k' o_rX 'embers, burn' > NaT *Ko_r 'embers' [× N *k_{ar}.U₁ 'to burn (vt.), heat?'] > Tkm go_r, Osm rvQ qor, Tk kor, Az {Äz.} gor, Ggz koop ko_r, Uz İyÄp qor, Qrg qor 'glowing coal within ashes'; but T *Ko_lr (> Bsh 'y& quð, Qq qoz 'live coal', StAlt qos id., embers') belongs to N *gor'E 'hot; to heat; embers', q.v.) ¶ ET Q 74-6, Tkr 189, Hüs. 84, Äz. 110, GRMS 281, Jud. 405, UzR 637, Rl. II 548-9 || Tg: Ewk PT koro₋vi. 'burn down', Ewk Nk korowka_n- vt. 'burn down' ¶ Vas. 912, STM I 416 ◆ ■ IS I 239 [#95] (includes this T √, together with several others, into the etymon *gUrV 'embers').

925. ₂ *koyRV 'male animal' > HS: [⊕ C: EC *korm- id. > Sml korme 'stallion', Or B korma 'male (animal), bull' || SC: Irq/Brn {E} karama 'steer', Alg {E} karama 'bull', Irq {MQK} kara_ma (pl. karmu) 'castrated animal' ¶ [⊕ DSI 371, Sr. 347,] E SC 262, MQK 39 || Eg P, DEg k₃ 'Stier' > OCpt ko ko 'taureau' ¶ EG V 94-6, Er. 555, Vc. 71 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 90 [#19.5] || ?σ U *koyra 'male animal' (× *guyrE 'beast' [q.v.] and possibly a *d* of U *koye 'male, man' < N *goyV 'man, people') > F koira 'dog', koiras (gen. koiraksen) 'male animal', Es koer, Vp koi_r 'dog' : Prm *ku_r > Z кьр kir 'male' (of carnivorous animals), StZ, Z UV/I {SZ} kir pon 'male dog' (pon 'dog'), Z I {Wc.} kir, Yz k_{ar} 'male dog', Z UV {FF} kir-k_{ar} 'male reindeer', Prmk kir 'male' (of mammals and birds), Z Ud {Wc.} kir_{3s} 'tom-cat' || ObU {Ht.} *ki_rV 'male animal' > pVg {Ht.} **ki_r id. > OVg E TM ka_r, OVg W P кер, OVg S SSs ka_rhr, Vg: T ka_rr, MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML k_{3r}, LK/UL/Ss xa_r id.; pOs {Ht.} *kar id. > Os: V/Vy qar, Ty/Y qa_r, D/K x_{or}, Nz/Kz x_{or}, O x_{ar} || Sm {Jn.} *kora_o 'male animal' > Ne T xopa id., 'male reindeer', Ne T O {Lh.} xo_ra_o (gen. pl. xo_r < *kor₃-), Ne F {Lh.} ko_rra_o id., En B {Ter.} kora, {Cs.} 'kura, En X {Cs.} kula 'non-castrated male reindeer', Ng {Cs.} 'kuru id., {Hl.} kuru 'bull', Slq Tz {KKIH} qo_ri 'male reindeer, sire bull', Kms {Cs.} kura 'bull (Ochs)', {KD} k'ora - q'o_ra id., 'male animal', ku_ra t'o 'male reindeer' (t'o 'reindeer') ¶¶ UEW 168-9, LG 153, Lt. J 132, TmK 358, SZ 188, Wc. SW 109, KPR 213, FF 435, Ht. #319, Jn. 74, KP #600, Cs. 50, 81, 181, Hl. US 120, KKI 163, KD 32, 34, 72, ≠ Sm. 543 (F koira, etc. belong to FU *koi 'male').

926. *ku_r'r'V 'to shine; flame' → 'to produce heat' > IE: NaIE *g^hwer(ə)- 'shine; be hot' > OI ju_r'n.ih. 'blaze, glowing fire', 'jvarati 'is feverish', jva'rah. 'fever', ju_r'r.tih. 'fever' || ? MDt coorts, Dt koorts, MLG korts 'fever' || Ltv zve₋ro_t 'to glow, glare, flash' ¶ WP I 647, P 479, M K I 443, 450, Vr. N 350, Kar. II 571-2 || HS: S: Ak StB kararu_o 'brilliance of the sun at midday; midday' ¶ CAD VIII 207 || C: Ag {Ap.} *k_war- 'sun' > Bln {Plm.} k_wara, {R} k_wara, Xm {R} k_wara 'sun, day', Xm T {CR} x_wara, Q {R} k_wa_ra₋, Km {Bnd.} k_wa_ra 'sun' || ?? EC: Sml {DSI} qorra_h, Sml N {Abr.} qo_rra_h (secondary glottalization?) ¶ AD SF 77, Ap. AV 14, R WB 225, R Q II 86, R Ch. II 63, DSI 503, Abr. S 205, [⊕, Blz. CL 180,]≠ Ss. B 156 (Sml qorra_h i < EC *qorra_h) || Ch: WCh: Bele ka_ra_r' 'sun' || ECh: Kwn {J} ka_rpa₋, Kwn M {J} ka_rpa_n 'morning'; Mu {J} ke_re 'be hot', ke_ri_t 'hot' ¶ Sch. BTL 30, ChC ¶¶ OS #1433 (Ak, Bele) || D *kur(-) ({GS} *k-) 'glisten; shining (glänzend)' > Tm kuru v. 'glisten', kuru n. 'brilliance, effulgence', kurumai_o 'lustre, brightness', Kt kur₃ 'beautiful\handsome person', Klm, Nkr, Gnd kuro, Nk k_hura 'silver' ¶¶ D #1782 || ??σ ■: Tg *ku_rgi 'flame', *ku_rgi-vi. 'burn' > Ewk kurgi 'flame', kurgi-vi. 'burn', 'scorch' (the sun), Sln xudji-vi. 'flame up', Neg kurgi-sin- 'blaze up, catch fire', i Ul kur₃i-vi. 'crackle and buzz' (of burning firewood) ¶ STM I 435 || T: [1] T *Ko_rre- 'catch fire, flame up' > Tkm ko_rre- id., Oosm {Zaj.} ko_rr-, VTt k₃i_re- 'catch fire', Bsh k₃i_re- vi. 'burn, glow', Tk Δ d ko_rre- vi. 'start burning' || [2] T *Ko_re- vt. 'poke a fire' > OT {Cl.} ko_rze-, Qb {Rl.} ko_rze- 'poke a fire'; ? Tkm ko_rde- vi. {Cl.} 'burn up', {Tkr} 'carbonize' (unless <d> *ko_r-z 'burning embers'; in any case, *-r- is due to the infl. of *k'o_r-) || [3] T *k'o_r- (~ *k'o_r-?) 'burning coal\embers' (× N *gor'E 'ho; to heat; embers', q.v. ffd.); T *-r- < N *-r- in *gor'E ¶ ET KQ 85-6, Zaj. S II 87 || ??? M *kira_y'a > WrM {Gl.} kiraga, u_r-u_n kiraga 'at\before dawn', WrM {MED} kiraga, HIM {MED} хираа, {Luv.} **рийн хираа 'dusk

before dawn', **p хҗраалах 'be dawning' (u'r, **p 'daybreak, dawn') ¶ Gl. III 608, MED 470, Luv. 597 ¶ The M stem is a valid cognate unless the meaning 'dawn' is based exclusively on u'r, **p, while kiraga has an auxiliary semantic function (sth. like 'border', cp. kira, хҗр 'summit, ridge', so that the literal meaning of u'r-u'n kiraga is 'dawn's ridge') ♦ D *-r- (regularly from N *r̥- clusters, but not from N intervoc. *-r̥-) and the traces of the lr. in IE point to a N lr.; since the only lrs. lost in Ak and not transforming *a into e are *h and *ʔ, the N lr. is likely to be *h̥ʔ. An alt. rec. is N *ku̯r̥iʔʔV, whence later: [1] **ku̯riyV > **ku̯ryV > T *Ko̯r̥e- and *k'o̯r̥, [2] (elision of *i): **ku̯r̥iʔʔV > T *Ko̯r̥e- and D *kur- ♦ □ IS I 239 [#95] (includes this T √, together with several others, into the etymon *gUrV 'embers').

927. *kor̥V 'eat (greedily), drink, swallow' > IE *g^wer(H)- > NaIE *g^wer(ə)- 'devour, eat, swallow' [× N *ku̯r̥h̥V 'throat, neck' (q.v.)?] > OI gi'rati, gr̥. n̥a'ti 'swallows, eats', Av j̥araiti 'swallows' ('schluckt'), OI ga'rah. n. 'drink, poison' || Arm ker ker (gen. keroj keroy) 'nourishment, food, prey', eker e-ker 'ate' || Gk βιβρω̑σκα (aor. ἔβρω) 'devour', βορᾶ 'food (of a predator)' || L voro-, -a're 'eat greedily, swallow up' || OIr tu'arae 'food' (*to-g^wr-ya?) || ON kra's 'dainty morsel', AS {Vr.} cra's id., 'nourishment', OHD querdar, NHG Ko̯der 'bait, lure', || Lt geriu / ge'rti, Ltv dzeru / dzer't v. 'drink' || Sl *z'bro / *z'erti 'swallow, devour' > OCS пожрѣти po-z'bre'ti 'swallow', RChS жьрж z'bro / жьрѣти z'bre'ti 'deglutire', SCr Sr жре̑м / жре̑ти, SCr Cr z'drȇm / z'drije'ti 'eat greedily\much, fressen' (and SCr d z'dèrati id.), Slv z'rȇm / z'rȇti, OCz z'ru / z'rieti, Cz z'eru / z'ra'ti, Slk z'erem / z'rat', P z're / z'rec', Uk жру / жрти ~ жрати, Blr жру / жриц id., R жру / жрат ab 'to eat' ¶ P 474, EI 175 [*g^wer(h)- 'swallow'], M K I 325, 335, F I 235-6, WH II 836, Vr. 329, OsS 64, KM 387, Vn. T 162, Frn. 148-9, Vs. II 62-3, Glh. 706, Srz. I 890 || **HS:** S *√kr̥f > Ar √kr̥f 'to sip in (liquid), drink by sipping in, drink with the mouth without holding the vessel' ¶ BK II 886 || **D** *ko̯r- ({GS} *k-?) 'eat (greedily), drink' > Ml ko̯ruka 'eat greedily', Kn kol̥l u v. 'drink', Tl kro̯lu 'drink, eat', Ku gron3- v. 'drink, guzzle' ¶¶ D #2233 || **A:** pJ {S} *ku̯ra'-p- 'to consume, eat' > OJ kura-p-, ItOJ [RJ] ku̯ra'φ-u, J: T ku̯ra-, K ku̯ra'-, Kg kura'- ¶ S QJ #361, Mr. 716 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'u̯r̥go, DQA #1088 [pA *k'i̯u̯r̥go 'to feed, eat', that does not belong here (except for the J cognate) because of the initial *k̥- and because its meaning in T, M and Ko is 'belly, stomach'].

928. *kor̥Vj̥hV 'be angry\embittered' > **HS:** [1] with loss of *h: CS *ku̯r̥-, *√krw̥y 'be distressed, be in depression' > BA √kry TD 3f pf. ti@r̥f2t6a5 ~ ti@r̥f2t6a3 ʔi/et_-kar'y-at_ 'was distressed', JA {Dlm.} ai:r̥f2 kar'y-a- adj. 'suffering', Sr √kry (pf. Æro̯ kə'ra- ~ Ōri̯ kə'ri̯) 'be sad \ displeased \ annoyed, grieve', Md √kr̥? 'betrübt sein'; [2] with preservation of *h: WS *√krh 'dislike, hate, be angered' > Ar √krh (pf. kariha, ip. -krah-) 'disprove, dislike' (→ Mh √krh [pf. ko̯r̥h] 'dislike'), Mh √krh (pf. kəru'h), Hrs √krh (pf. kəro'h), Jb C √krh (pf. 'ker̥h) v. 'hate', Mh karh ~ kerh, Hrs 'ker̥h, Jb E/C kərh 'hatred', Jb C e'kor̥h v. 'anger'; [3] S *ku̯r̥h̥j̥- > Ak fOB ku̯ru 'daze, depression, stupor', inf. ka̯ru 'be in depression, in a stupor' ¶ BDB #3735, Br. 342, Dlm. 197, JPS 224, DM 222, Nld. MG 365, CAD VIII 240, 570-1, BK II 891-2, Jo. M 214, Jo J 134, Jo. H 69, □ KB 1727 (*√kry'w̥ 'be distressed' ← *√krw̥y 'be short') || C: Ag: Xm {R} k^war- ~ kar-, Dmb {R} kar- 'be angry', Q {R} ka̯ri̯h̥ 'anger'; Ag → Tgy H {R} √k^wry (pf. kory k^wer̥ey̯e) 'be angry' → Sa {R} ku̯ra'y ~ ku̯ra- (i.e. k^wəra'y ~ k^wəra-) 'Zorn, Ärger, Betrübnis', ku̯ra'y- (= k^wəra'y-) 'zornig sein, sich betrüben, traurig werden' || DhI {EEN} kor- 'be in trouble' ¶ R Ch II 62-3, R Q II 86, R S II 223, EEN 12 || NrOm: Kf {C} ka̯r- v. 'anger (adirarsi)', ka̯ro̯n. 'anger (ira)', ? Anf {MYTY} ka̯ro 'fight' ¶ C SE IV 462-3, MYTY 117 ¶¶ OS #1482 (HS *kor- 'be angry') || Ch: Su {J} k^war 'hassen, ablehnen, nicht wollen' ¶ J S 71 ¶¶ OS #1482 [S *√krh, WCh, Ag, Om, DhI + err. Sa [in fact → EThS → Ag)] || ? **IE:** NaIE *g^wer(ə)- 'scold' (× N *ku̯r̥h̥V 'to shout, cry') > Gk Lc [Hs.] δειπιδ̑ν · λοιδορει̑σσαι 'to abuse, revile' ¶ □ WP I 585, □ P 578, □ F I 358-9 (no et.) || **A:** [1] *k̥ o̯r̥V > NaT *Ko̯r̥j̥r- 'feel\be humiliated, be angry' > Qzq {RL} qor, Qrg, Qq, Qmq qor 'despised \ humiliated by the society', Qzq {RL} 'Schande', Nog qor 'humiliation, abuse', SbTt Tb {RL} qor 'shame', SbTt B {RL} qor 'Angst, Qual, Trauer; Tadel, Beleidigung' ¶ RL II 549-50, Jud. 406, KrkR 401, Grøn. 200, TvR 484, Ra. 190 || M *qoruda- > WrM qoruda-, HIM хордо- 'be chagrined, be grieved\sad, repent, hate', Kl хорд- 'bear malice, be resentful'; WrM qoora 'embitterment, hate'; M → Tv xorada-, Ewk koro̯da- 'be angry' ¶ MED 968, KRS 599-600, Krg. 282-3, Z 282 || Tg *ko̯r̥u̯ 'anger, resentment' > Ewk I koru 'angry', Ul qoru(n-), Nn Nh qo̯ro 'resentment', Ul qoroc̥t-, Nn Nh qo̯rost- v. 'resent', WrMc qoro- 'be

grieved\sad, anger', qoro 'grief, offence', (M б?) 'harm, damage' ¶ STM I 415-6, Z 282 ¶¶ But we cannot adduce here (for lack of reliable semantic proximity) A*k'o-rV 'harm' > T *k'o-r 'harm', M *qo-r_{1a} 'harm', *qo-ran 'poison' (ffd. see ET Q 73-4, Ra. 190, MED 968, 973) || D *kor₋ ({GS} *k-) 'anger' > Tl kor_{alu} 'grow angry', kor_{akor} 'angrily; anger, angry look', Tm ₁ kor_{ukor} v. 'bubble with anger' ¶¶ D #2166, Km. 337 || U: FU *kurV 'anger' > Er/Mk kor {Ps.} 'Verdruß, Gram, Ärger', Er XVIII {Dms.} kop 'reproach (укоризна)', ? Mk {PI} kop 'disposition\temper, envy', ? Er kop {KC} 'disposition, temper', (ERV) id., 'self-respect' || ObU {Ht.} *ko-r- > pVg *ko-r- > Vg: LK xor-, MK k^wa-r-, P kor-, NV k^wor-, SV k^wo-r-, LL k^wa-r- 'scold (zanken)', SV k^warrakat-, LL k^warkat- id., {Mu} MK kha-rj-, kho-rj- 'be annoyed\angry, become enraged'; pOs {Ht.} *koram- > Os: Vy qoram-, qa-ram-, Ty qo-ram-, D/K/Nz xuram-, Kz xow-ram-, O xoram- 'take offence at, be sulky', 'refuse to eat from grudge' (of children) : OHg harag 'anger, angry', Hg harag 'irritation, resentment, grudge, anger' ¶ UEW 220-1, Ps. M 81, PI 126, ERV 292, Fkt. RMS 296, Ht. #308, Kn. WV 72, Stn. WV 132, Mu. AKE 297, Trj. S 173, EWU 527 ♦ IS I 301 [#172] (all relevant families) ♦ The Ar and NES forms point to a lr. *h. D *-r₋ goes back regularly to a N intervoc. *-r-, which suggests either the presence of a vw. between *r and *h or the loss of *h in pre-pD before the change *-r- > D *-r₋ (in this latter case the hyp. of an internal vw. is superfluous). In A there is complementary lengthening of the vw. *o due to the loss of N *-₁Vjh-

929. *kur₁Vh₁V 'hill, mountain' > IE {P} *g^wer-, {EI} *g^worH-/g^wr₁H- > NaIE {Wtk.} *g^werə-/g^worə- 'mountain' > OI gi'ri-h. 'hill, mountain, elevation', Av gahri-s- 'mountain(s)' || pAl {O} *gura > Al gur 'rock, stone' || BSl (× N *gUr₁V n'mount, hill'): pSl *go'ra (acc. *go'ro₁, accentual paradigm C) 'mountain' > OCS ropa gora, R, Uk ro'pa, SCr go'ra, Cz, Hls hora, P, Lls go'ra id., Slv go'ra id., 'mountain forest', Blg ro'pa 'forest, wood(s)', Slk hora id., 'woody mountain' : ? Lt giria, Lt Z gi're 'forest, wood(s)', Ltv † dzir_a, dzire id. ¶ P 477-8 (i ÷ Gk δειρα / -α'δο, Gk Cr δηρα 'ridge of a chain of hills', F I 358), Dv. #801, EI 270, AHDI 25, M K I 335, O 127, ESSJ VII 29-31, Db. SA 24, Glh. 238, Kar. I 291-2 (adduces Ltv gars 'long'), Frn. 153 || HS: C: Bj {R} ka-r (pl. kar) 'hill, height' [÷ EC *kUr- > Sa {R} ko-ro 'Berg, Gebirge', Sml {ZMO} kur 'hill, mound', Sml N {Abr.} ku'r(-tī) 'hill, mountain', Rn {PG} ku'r 'small hill, hillock', Elm ko-ran 'mountain', ¶ R S II 220, PG 204, ZMO 243, Abr. S 155, AD SF 80] || S: [÷ [1] S *kawr- > Sb kwr 'hill', Ar Hdr {Mü.} kawr 'mountain' ¶ BGMR 80, Mü. WMT 98] [2] Gz karir '(round) hill' (unless < d-kr 'round'); ? Mh k3r'mayn (pl. k3rmo'm) 'mountain'; Ug {OLS} krk 'pico', [Ak. sc.] ku-re-ka-at[?] ¶ L G 294, Jo. M 214, OLS 223, Hnr. 140 || Eg fN krkr 'heap of stones' ¶ EG V 136 || CCh: Nz ku'ro'mo' 'mountain' ¶ ChL || U: FP *kurV 'hill, steep slope' (× N *K₁urV 'rock, isolated mountain') > ? Es Δ kuruk (gen. kuruka) 'small ridge of hills (väike kõrkustik)' : Lp L {LLO} ka'rra 'long ridge of woody hills' : Chr: H {Ep.} кърк, L курк 'kurk, kьrk, Uf курк 'mountain', B {Ps.} kuruk 'hill' : Prm *ku'r > Z кър kir 'high abrupt river bank, precipice (обрыв); mountain', Yz ko'r-yo'lo'n 'auf der Höhe' (yo'l 'top, summit') ¶ UEW 677, MRS 249, Ep. 53, Ü 86, 97, Ps. OT 52, LG 153 || D *kur₋ ({GS} *k-) 'hill country' (× N *K₁urV '↑') > Ml kur_{icci} id., Tm kur_{am} 'Kurava tribe of the mountains', kur_{inci} 'hilly tract', Kn kur_{umba} (name of a caste of mountaineers), Tl kor_{ava} (name of a tribe of mountaineers), Gnd kurmal 'shepherd' ¶¶ D #1844 || ?? R: amb NaT *k'ir 'crest of the mountain, mountain, high ground; foothills, slope' [× N *K₁irHV (= *q'i'r₁V?) 'top, summit, crown (of the head)' (q.v. ffd.) × (in some lgs.) N *K₁irV 'edge, end'; ?? × N *gUr₁V n'mount, hill; edge, slope of a hill\mountain] ♦ ≠ S NSShS #7 [IE *g^wer-/g^wor- i ÷ A *k'ori 'hill, embankment, boundary' (actually < N *K₁urV) i ÷ K *gora 'small mountain, hill' (in fact < N *gUr₁V)], ≠ S NSR 4-6 (the same *unc.* comparison and rec. of N *g^w-), [÷ Blz. LB #111 #c (suggested to add Sb, Ar Hdr and EC), Blz. DA 161 [#89] (dubious equation of this N root with D *kur₋ 'island' and Elm ko-ran 'island')] ♦ If the rec. of a lr. in IE (as in AHDI and EI) is right, the N rec. may be *kurVhV with loss of *h in S (where *-h- is sometimes lost); the root-medial vw. is suggested by D (because *-r₋ is from intervocalic *-r-). Otherwise (if pIE is *g^wer-), N rec. is *kurV.

930. ?σ *kuRhV 'to shout, cry' > IE *g^werH- > NaIE *g^wer(ə)- 'shout, sing, praise; cry from sorrow' > OI gr₁.n₁ti, gr₁.n₁ti- 'calls, invokes, praises', Av ahbi-gər₁.nte 'praises', garah- 'a praise, praise song' || OIr bard, W bardd 'bard', MBr barz 'village fiddler (ménétrier)', Gl б>L bardus id. (< *g^wr₁-d₁h₁o-s) || pAl *grisa > Al prs. ge'r'shas, aor. grisha 'invite, beckon to come' || Lt giriu / gi'rti v. 'praise, commend', Ltv (rf.) dzir₁tie's 'boast', Pru girtwei v. 'praise'; ? Lt ge-ras 'good' : Sl *gornъ, *gorno > горнъ gornъ, горно gorno

'verse', Cz hrany pl., Slk hrana 'funeral knell', Hls hrano 'phrase, dictum', Lls grono 'speech, conversation; tale; proverb' || OHG queʀran^d chueʀran [xweran] 'to sigh, moan, lament' || Gk Lc [Hs.] δειριᾶν · λοιδορεῖσθαι 'to abuse, revile' (× N ***kor₁VjhV** 'be angry, embittered') ¶ Not here (⇔ EI) Gk γῆρυς, Gk D γάρυς 'voice, speech' (cf. F I 305) ¶ WP I 585, P 578, ¶ EI 449 (*g^{wer}H- 'praise'), M K I 343, Hamp AIEW 145, O 115, Vn. B 18-9, Frn. 154, En. 17, Tp. P E-H 247-9, ESSJ VII 49, ¶ F I 358-9 (no et. of δειριᾶν), OsS 694, Kb. 582 || **HS**: B *-w-kur 'scold' (× N ***kor₁VjhV** '↑', q.v.) > Thg {Fc.} ækʷær, Gh ækʷær 'injurer', Izn/Rf {Rn.} akkær 'insulter', Izn t₁yukkʷra, Rf t₁yukkʷar 'an insult' ¶ Fc. 876, Rn. 345 ¶ There may be coalescence with || WCh: Ngz {Sch.} kuʀuʷaⁿ act. 'shouting' ¶ Sch. DN 100II **D** *kur- v. 'bark, shout, groan' (× N ***qurʰhV** 'to bark, howl; cry, noise', q.v. ffd.).

931. *kUriʰh'u 'throat, neck' > ?? **IE**: [1] NaIE *g^wriwa⁻ ~ *g^werwa⁻ 'nape of neck' [× N ***gub₁VjRE** id. (q.v.)?]: [1a] NaIE *g^wriwa⁻ 'nape of the neck' > OI grīva⁻, Av grīva⁻ id., Phl grīw 'neck, throat', NPrs {VL, Sg.} ʰbYrgi gerībaⁿ, {BM.} ʰbYrga ga⁻ribaⁿ 'collar, opening\breast of a garment', Psh gre⁻wa, grawa 'collar-bone, collar' || Ltv grī⁻va 'mouth (of river), estuary' (← *'throat') || SI *grī⁻va 'mane' > RChS, OR грива griva, Blgr, R, Uk грива, Blr грыва, SCr grī⁻va, Slv grī⁻va, Cz hrī⁻va, Slk hriva, P grzywa id.; the ancient meaning '[part of] neck' is better preserved in OR гривънъ grivъnii adj. 'of the neck', грива griva, Slv grī⁻vna and Cz hrī⁻vna 'necklace' || [1b] NaIE *g^werwa⁻ 'nape, back' > Gk A δερῆ, Gk I δειρη⁻, Ls δερρα⁻, δε⁻ρα⁻, Gk D δη⁻ρα, Gk Ar δερ⁻α 'neck, nape of the neck' ¶ P 475, EI 391-2 (*g^werweh_A- ~ *g^wriHw-eh_A-), M K I 353-4, M E I 509, Vl. II 990-1, BM 422-3, Sg. 1086, Mrg. 24, F I 367-8, Kar. I 317-8, ESSJ VII 129, Glh. 247 || [2] NaIE *g^wer(ə)- 'throat' (× N ***korØV** 'eat, drink, swallow'?) > OI galah 'throat', Av garəman 'throat, neck', NPrs viṭu golu⁻ ~ viṭa ga⁻lu⁻ 'neck, gullet, throat', Psh yarai⁻ 'windpipe, throat' || Gk βάρ⁻αρον, Gk Hm βε⁻ρε⁻ρον 'gulf, pit' (← *'throat') || Tc B kor 'neck, throat' ({Ad.}: unless to IE *kuHr- 'hole, opening') ¶ P 474-5, EI 391-2 (*g^werweh_A- ~ *g^wriHw-eh_A- 'neck'), M K I 353-4, M E I 509, Mrg. 26, Vl. II 1026, Sg. 1096, Horn 207, F I 219 (no et. of the Gk words), ESSJ VII 129-30, Glh. 247, Wn. 23, Ad. 203-4 || **HS**: S *^o/krh > Ar ka⁻rih-, ka⁻rih-at- 'gosier, gorge' ¶ BK II 882 || B *^o/krm 'neck, nape of the neck, back (dos)' [× N ***K.æm₁u₁rV** 'shoulder, shoulder-blade' (→ 'nape, upper arm'), q.v. ffd.] || C: Ag {AD} *^o/krm 'throat, nape' > Bln {R} kir⁻ma⁻, kr⁻ma⁻ id. ¶ R WB 227 || **D** {tr.} *kUral-, {GS} *koral- 'throat, voice' (in Tm and Ml: × N ***guRØE** or ***gu⁻RØV** 'throat, neck') > Tm kural, Ml kural, kural., Kn koral, koral., kor₁u, kol., kol₁u 'voice, throat', Kdg kora 'gullet, windpipe', Tu kurel⁻ 'nape of the neck', Tl kro⁻l(u)cu v. 'sing, read out' ¶¶ D #1774, GS 221 [#539] ♦ NaIE *i⁻ (< *iH) and Ar *h suggest a N lr. Among the two possible lrs. (*h – *χ > S *h), the first one is preferable because it is more compatible with the loss of the lr. in B, Eg (?), C and Ch. The expected sonant *i/i⁻ was lost in the IE variant stems *g^werwa⁻ and *g^wer(ə)- probably within clusters of two sonants (ruled out by IE morphophonemic laws). In the prehistory of D we must suppose a syncope: ***kUriʰh'u** > *kurHu > D *kur- (D *-r- is a reg. reflex of *r-clusters) ♦ FU *kur₁k₁V 'throat' (UEW 676) is better equatable with Tg *gorka 'uvula, palate' (STM I 161) and hence does not belong here (cf. N ***guRK⁻U⁻** 'throat'). Neither does D *kur⁻Vñk- 'throat' (D #1370) belong here, because *-r- goes back to N *-r- (cf. N ***guRØE** or ***gu⁻RØV** '↑') ♦ ≠ Gr. II #390 (*kur 'throat') [IE + *err.* A, U, Gil].

932. *kU₁u₁wa (or ***kar₁u₁wa?**) 'to fade, rot, decay', 'to coagulate' (of blood, etc.), 'get sour, rancid, bitter' (of food) > **IE**: [1] NaIE (in Ilr only) *g⁻er- 'decay' (× IE *g⁻ern- 'grow, age, mature' < N ***kir⁻Ha** 'old', hence the palatality of *g⁻-) > OI 'jarati 'decays', jar'jarah 'decayed, divided, dull', Av zahrina 'aufreibend', Oss la⁻-za⁻rən 'to wear out' (of cloth) ¶ M K I 420-2, Ab. IV 305, ¶ P 390-1 || [2] NaIE *greu₁- 'curds' > OIr, Nlr gruth 'coagulated milk, curds' || ME cruddes, curdes pl. 'curds', NE curds, NE Sc croods id. ¶ ¶ P #406, Dnn. 386, SB 119, AHD 323, Skeat 149, ¶ EI 451 (? *greu₁- 'compress') || **HS**: B *^o/krw > Thg a-kru 'coagulated milk', kərət 'be(come) coagulated' (of milk, blood), ETwl k₁ʷr̥w, Ty k₁ʷr̥w 'be(come) coagulated' (of milk) ¶ Fc. 842-4, GhA 100 ¶ In ETwl and Ty there is secondary (non-phonemic) emphatization of k (typical of these dialects – ʃ GhA VIII) || S +ext. *^o/krz > Ar kariz- 'sour milk; soft sour curds' ('caseus mollis acidusque; lac accidum') ¶ Fr. IV 24 || WCh: Jmb kə⁻r...u⁻wa⁻ 'decay, rot' ¶ ChC, Sk. NB 18 || **K**: Sv {Ni.} -kwer, Sv UP {GP} kwer-/kwr- vt. 'rot' ¶ Ni. s.v. гниѣ, GP 174, 266-7 || **U**: FU *ko₁arwa 'bitter' > F karwas (gen. karwaan) 'bitter, acrid' || pPrm *kurit 'bitter' > Z курьд kurid, Z курьг kurit || pObU {HL.} *korəw₁ > pOs *korə₁ ({HL.} *ka⁻rə₁) > Os: V qorəy- 'become sour', V qorəy-, Vy qorəy- 'be sharp\pungent (taste of sour or spicy food, strong vodka), be biting (salt in a wound)', qorəyt(ə) ul 'sour berry' ¶ UEW 128-9, LG 147, Stn. D 551, Trj. S 173, Hl. rHt

71-4 (on the pOs vowels and on the problem of pObU *w and *y) **II A:** NaT *Kor > OT qor (Cl. qo-r) 'the residue of sour milk used to make yoghurt; (baker's) yeast, leaven', Tkm gor 'ferment (residue of sour milk) used to prepare cjal (beverage of mare's sour milk)', Qzq qor {MM} 'ferment for kumiss (fermented mare's milk)', {Sht.} 'yeast, leaven, ferment for kumiss', Qq qor id., Qrg qor 'ferment for buza (alcoholic millet beverage) and kumiss', Bsh qur 'ferment for kumiss; malt', SbTt B/Tr {Tm.} qo-r, {Rl.} qor 'yeast, leaven', ET qor ~ qo 'sorrel', Uz qor-qut 'accumulated wealth, treasure' ¶ Cl. 642, ET Q 72-3, TkR 188-9, MM 449, Sht. 267, Jud. 405, BN 125, Nj. 601, Tm. 131, Rl. II 549 || M *quru-: [1] d> *qurusi- 'become rancid' > WrM qurusi-, HIM хурши-х 'to be(come) rancid' (chiefly of fats and meat), Kl хуршх 'become rancid' (of fats); probably also [2] M *quru-sun '∈ cheese' > WrM {Rm.} qurusun '∈ cheese (?)', WrO {Krg.} qurusun 'cheese', Kl {KRS} хурсн хурсн 'dried curds', {Rm.} хурсн 'trockener Käse aus saurer gekochter Milch'; [3] *quru-d 'serum, sour milk' > MM [IM] quru-d 'serum', [HI] qurut (= qurud), WrM qurud, HIM хурууд '∈ Mongolian cheese' ¶ Pp. MA 446, Ms. H 92, MED 991, Krg. 298, KW 199, KRS 612-3 **II D** *kor-app- ({GS} *k-) 'sour milk, curds' > Tu koyapu id., nir-kuyelъ v. 'curdle, coagulate', Gnd korop^d korrop^d kurrop^d korrop 'buttermilk' ¶¶ D #2162 ♦ The cnss. *-t- (in IE, Prm, B), *-z- (S), *-s- (M) and *-pp- (D) seem to go back to the second elements of N cds (some of them functioning as derivational sxs. in the daughter lgs.) ♦ From the history of culture we may infer that this N word was originally applied to coagulating blood, to fat, meat and possibly food made of corn, but only later (in the independent neolithic history of IE, HS and D) it was applied to milk ♦ If the original vw. of the first syll. was *o, BF (or FU?) *a may be due to partial contamination with N *k.ar₁V₂V 'pointed, sharp'. If the vw. was *a (N *k.ar₁u₂wa), the rounded vw. in most lgs. may be due to the labializing infl. of *₁u₂w- of the following syll.. The existence of the internal vw. (*u) is suggested by D *-r- (< N intervoc. *-r-) ♦ An alt.: two N etyma: [1] N *k₁u₂RV 'to fade, rot, decay' (> IE *g₁er-, Sv -kwer, WCh: Jmb kə₁r...u₂wa 'decay, rot') and [2] N *k₁u₂ar₁u₂wa 'coagulate, get sour\rancid' (all the rest).

¶ 933. *kor₁Vw₂V '∈ a gallinacean' > HS: S *₁krw > Ar karawa₂n- (pl. kirwa₂n-, kira₂win-) '∈ partridge' || Ch: WCh: SBc {Stl.} *k₁wa₂r / *k₁Vw₂Vr 'hen' (or 'chicken = hen\cock') > Zar {Sh.} k₁wa₂r id., Gj {ChL} kowu₂, Buli {ChL} kor, Plc {ChL} koro 'hen' : Tng {J} k₁arte ~ k₁atre 'guiney-fowl' || CCh: Mkt {Ro.} k₁wa₂ta₂-ku₂ru₂k 'francolin', Gude {Hsk.} ku₂r₂ki₂n₂ 'chicken house', ? Gude {Hsk.} ku₂r₂ku₂ta₂, Gudu {ChL} ku₂rku₂to₂ 'dove' : ? Lame {ChL} ko₂ro₂ku₂, LamP {ChL} kuruk 'dove' ¶ J T 109, Ro. 256 [#293], Stl. ZCh 264 [#24], ChL, Sh. BZ 28, Hsk. 217 || ??φ EC: Brj go₂r(r)-itte (pl. go₂r-o₂na) 'hen', Arr goro₂ri coll. 'partridges, francolins' ¶ Ss. B 84, Hw. A 362 ¶¶ OS #1505 (CCh *kurak 'dove, francolin' - S *kurk- 'crane') **II A:** M *qoru (× N *K₁Ur₂i₂E '∈ a gallinacean', q.v.) > WrM qoru, {Rm.} qora 'hazel grouse, gray hen', {Rm.} 'Auerhahn', WrO xoru id., Kl xop 'capercaillie', {Rm.} xoro 'Auerhahn'; M *qoru b> the T lgs. which are or were adjacent to the Mongols: Qzq {Rl.} qur 'wild gallinaceous fowl (generic): Auerhuhn, Birkhuhn, Rebhuhn', {RKazS} qu₂r 'black grouse, wood-grouse, partridge', qara qu₂r 'wood-grouse', Qrg {Jud.} qara-qur 'male black grouse', Qq qaraqur 'black grouse' (qara 'black'); later the stem was re-borrowed from T into M in the narrowed meaning 'black grouse': WrM qur, HIM xyp, Kl xyp хуръ, Brt xypa 'black grouse', WrO xur 'heathcock' ¶ MED 968, 987, Krg. 284, 297, KW 187, KRS 597, 610, Chr. 601, Rl. II 918, Jud. 347, RKazS 131, 307, 812 || NaT *Ku₂r-tu₂k 'black grouse' > Alt, Shor ku₂rtu₂k, Xk ku₂rku₂ ~ ku₂rtu₂, Chl ku₂rtu₂, Kü ku₂rta₂, Tv ku₂rtu₂, Tf hu₂rt₂u₂, Yk kurtuyax id. ¶ TvR 269, Ra. 192, Rs. W 311 **II D** *kor₂- 'fowl' > Klm kor 'hen', {SR} 'cock, fowl', Nkr kor, Gnd korr, Knd kor₂u 'hen', Prj korr 'cock, hen, fowl', Gdb kor^d korru 'cock', Png kozu ~ kuzu, Mnd kuy, Kui kozu, Ku koyu^d koi₂yu₂ 'fowl' ¶¶ D #2160 ♦ Blz. DA 158 [#60] (HS, D + unc. φ IE *kerko- 'cock').]

933. *ka₂ry₂V 'to dig' > HS: WS *₁kry > BHb, MHb ₁kry₂w (pf. er!f₁ ka₂-ra₂) 'dig, hollow out', ? Pun 3m pf. kr₂ (√kry) 'cut out, hew', Ug {OLS} ₁kry G 'cavar, clavar', JEA ₁kry₂w (pf. ar@f₆ kə₂ra₂ ~ ir\$₆ kə₂re₂) 'dig, drill', Md kr₂ (√krw₂) 'dig out, excavate', Ar ₁krw (pf. "raKa ka₂-ra₂) 'dig (the earth), dig a canal', ₁kry (pf. ʔariKa kariya) 'dig a canal (recreuser un canal)', Sb kry 'pit for trapping game', Gz ₁kry (pf. karaya) 'dig (a well, in the ground), make holes, dig up, excvate' ¶ KB 472, KBR 496, BDB #3738, HJ 535, OLS 225, Lv. II 399-400, DM 222, BK II 892, BGMR 79, L G 294-5 **II U:** FU *kara 'dig' > Er/Mk kara- v. 'dig; peck, pick; hollow' : pChr {Ber.} *korə- 'ausgraben' > Chr: L kope- kore-, H {Wc.} kare- v. 'make small gutters for drainage; furrow', Uf kore- id., 'to flute' : Prm *ku₂r- 'dig, break

through (a dam), wash away (a bank)' > Z Le kir- 'dig (a gutter)', Z V kir- 'dig around', Z кыр- kir- 'be broken through', 'be washed away, collapse' (of banks)', Vt кыр- kir- 'break through the dam' (of water) || Os: D хер-, O хир- 'dig' ¶ UEW 221-2, Coll. 85, SZ 188, LG 153, ERV 234, PI 102, Ber. 19 ¶ UEW 221-2 reconstructs either *kurV (if Mr & Chr are excluded) or *kara (if they are not) || A: T *k'ar'- ~ *k'ar'-r- 'dig' > OT qaz-, Tk kaz-, kazı-, Tkm gað-, gaða-, Az gaz(i)-, Ggz kaz(i)-, CrTt, Qmq, Blq, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Xlj qaz-, Nog qazi-, Tt qazъ-, Bsh qað(ъ)-, Uz qaz-, qazi-, StAlt, Tv qas-, Tf qas-, Xk, Yk xas- ¶ The lenis *k'- is reconstructed on the ev. of Tv and Tf q- ¶ Cl. 806ET KQ 185-6, Ra. 219, TvR 218, DT 176 || D (in GnD) *ka-r- ({GS} *k-) 'dig' > Gnd HMB/DM ka-r-, Gnd Mu {Bh.} ka-r--ka-r-, Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku ka-r-, Kui ka-rpa / ka-rt- id. ¶ Most relevant lgs. and ds. provide ev. for D -r-, against the ev. of Gnd Mu, where a variation -r- ~ -r'- is observed ¶ D #1467 ♦ T *-r'- and D *-r- may be explained if a N *-ry- is reconstructed. D *-r- < N *-r-clusters (in this case of *-ry-). The original cluster accounts also for the D long vw.

934. ² *kURcV 'scales, bark; to remove scales, to peel' > K: GZ *kURc'- v. 'peel, remove husk' > OG na-kurc-eni 'peel (of fruit)', G kurc- v. 'peel, remove husk', {DCh.} na-kurc-eni 'scales', Lz do-kurc'-ol-a 'removing maize husk', Mg *kurc'- b> G G {Ghl.} kurc'-el-a 'peel of onion\garlic\maize, shell of nuts, pod of beans', {K²} kurc'-al-a 'maize husk', G I {Ghl.} kurc'-na to peel maize, remove tassels from maize-cobs', G (b> Mg ?) {Chx., DCh.} na-kurc'-ali {DCh.} 'peel (of onion, garlic, etc.)', {Chx.} id., 'involucral leaves of maize-cob' ¶ K² 220, FS K 340-1, FS E 382, DCh. 966, Chx. 931, Ghl. 193 || HS: S *kursV, Vm- > Ak fOB kursimt- ~ kursimt- 'scale (of snakes, of scale-cuirass)' | S *°/ks|sr > Ar kasr-at- ~ kisr-at- 'crust (of bread)' [x N *k'a''sV(RV) 'scales, crust'] ¶ Sd. 511 || ? IE: Ht kursa/i- 'skin, fleece, hide' || (x N *K.orE 'to flay, bark', 'crust'): NaIE *°kru's- > L crusta 'crust, rind, shell', ?? Osc krustatar {P} p'crusta (gleba) tegitor' (but Pln: p'cruentantor', Bc.: 'cruentetur' ?) || (x NaIE *kreu's- 'to freeze, congeal' < N *K.a''Ri2jussV 'congeal'): OHG (h)roso {WW} 'ice crust' ('Eisrinde'), {Kb.} 'crust' ¶ Pv. IV 270-5, Ts. E I 656-7, WH I 295-7, Bc. G 314, Pln. II 690, EI 112-3 (unc.: EI 113 [crusta < IE *k'rus'te'n '(freezing) cold'], Kb. 803 ¶ NaIE *k- for the expected *g- is the heritage of *K.orE '↑'.

935. ?? ² *kVRc'V 'tie together, plait' > IE: NaIE *gg'ers- id. > Gk γε'ρρov 'anything made of wicker-work: oblong shield, wicker body of a cart', pl. γε'ρρα 'wattled screens\booths' || Sw Δ kars, karse 'basket of willow-twigs, small sack', ON kass(i) 'Weidenkorb', Sw ka'rsa 'basket for fish, net sack', NNR kjessa 'basket, basket-work of bast' ¶ F I 300-1, P P 392-3 (*g'ers- 'drehen, winden'; *g'- on the ev. of the unconvincingly adducted Arm ca® car- 'tree' and cu® cur- 'crooked, bent'), Vr. 303 || HS: S *°/kr's' > Ak OB √krs (inf. kara-su) 'tie, fasten' ¶ CAD VIII 209.

936. *kiRuHgE 'to gnaw' > IE: NaIE *g'reu^h- / *g'ru(:)g^h- id. > Lt gra'uz'ti (1s prs. gra'uz'iu), Ltv grau'zt v. 'gnaw' | Sl *griz- v. 'gnaw' > OCS грызѣ grizo / грызти grizti v. 'gnaw, bite', грызати grizati 'to gnaw', Blg гри'за v. 'gnaw', SCr gri'sti, gri'zati, Cz hry'zti, hryzati, Slk hry'zt', P grys'c', R грывт, Uk 'гризти 'gnaw', Slv gri'sti / gri'zem 'gnaw, eat, bite' || Arm krcem krcem v. 'gnaw, nibble' || Gk βρυσ'κω ~ βρυσ'χω 'I eat greedily, gobble' ¶ WP I 697-8, Sl. 447-8, Frn. 164-5, ESSJ VII 160-1, F I 272-3 || K: G I kirkn- v. 'chew (with a toothless mouth)' ¶ Chx. 1560 || A: Tg *kirge- v. 'gnaw' > Ewk kirgз- 'gnaw (a bone), Lm qurgъ, Ul kirkic'u-, Ne B kзrkз- 'gnaw', Ne Nh kзrkizli-, kerleli-, qarqal- id. (of mice, rats) ¶ STM I 398.

937. ? ² *k'a'Rka 'turn, plait, wrap' > IE: NaIE ? *gerg--*gerk- 'bend, plait' > Gk γυργα'ο' ~ γεργα'ο' 'wicker-basket, creel', NGk γεργα'ι' 'basket' || ON kro'kr 'Biegung, Bucht, Haken' || Sl *gъrc'- 'be bent, crooked, writhe', *gъrcъ, *gъrc'a 'cramp' > Blg Δ гърчыл 'sth. bent\crooked', Blg XIX {Gerov} гpч 'writhe, convulsion, cramp', Blg гърч, McdS гpч, SCr gr'c' 'cramp', Slv gr'c'iti se 'to writhe with pain', SCr gr'c'a, Slv gr'c'a, Slk hrc'a 'knot (cук) within wood' (a merger with Sl *kъrc'- 'squirm, writhe') ¶ WP I 593-8, P P 375-80, F I 335, Vr. 331, ESSJ VII 201-2, Glh. 245 || HS: S *°/krk v. 'turn round, wind, wrap' > Ak √krk (inf. kara-ku) 'interwine', Sr √krk 'encircle, roll\wrap round' ¶ CAD VIII 199, Br. 345, JPS 226-7.

938. ² *ka'rimV 'wall, walled\enclosed enclosure' > HS: S (WS?) *karim- 'vineyard' (← *'fenced garden') > Hb Mr3f3 'kerem, SmHb 'ka'rēm (pl. ka'°re-mēm), Ph, Amn, Ug krm, JA [Trg], JEA amlr^f2 kar'm-a-, Sr 'μor'a kar'ma-, Ar karm- id., Gz karm 'vine, grapevine'; ??σ Ak karmu 'ruin, ruin heap'; Ak karmu belongs here if its meaning goes back to 'ruined settlement' ← 'walled\enclosed settlement'

(which is suggested by the contexts in the Ak literature) ¶ AD SNSE 78, KB 474, KBR 498, BH IV 144-5, OLS 223, Sl. 603, Js. 671, Br. 347, L G 293, HJ 53, CAD VIII 218 ¶ S *i of the second syll. is evidenced by SmHb pl. and Gz || Eg P/OK k₃nw 'vineyard' ({Vc.} = *ka₂naw < *karmaw - *karnaw), Eg fXIX k₃m 'garden (with vine, flowers, vegetables)' ({Vc.} [= *ka₂mu < *karmu] > DEg k₃m 'garden' > Cpt Sd/B 6w₃m co₃m 'garden, vineyard, field', pl: Sd 6o₃m coom, A 6o₃me coome id. ¶ EG V 106, Fk. 284, Vc. 340, Er. 557 || B *-yVrVm- 'walled settlement, village' > Ah a-y₃r₃m (pl. i-y₃r₃m-a₃n) 'village, ville, bourg; tout lieu habité par des sédentaires', ETwl, Ty a₃y₃r₃m (pl. i-y₃r₃man) 'ville', Ttq a₃y₃r₃m (pl. i-y₃r₃man) id., ta₃y₃r₃amt 'village', Tmz {MT} i-y₃r₃m (pl. i-y₃r₃man), Dmn {La.} 'village, ksar, village fortifié', Mz a-y₃r₃m 'cité, ville, village entouré de remparts \ de murs', Dmn {La.} i-y₃r₃m, Ntf {La.} tiy₃r₃amt 'maison flanqué de tours; forteresse' ¶ Fc. 1758-9, GhA 72, MT 204, Dlh. M 154, Msq. 357, La. MChB 1-2 II A: M *kerem 'mound, wall, rampart; walled enclosure' > WrM kerem, HIM x₃pp₃m id., WrO {Krg.} kerem, Kl Ö {Rm.} kerm₃ 'wall (Mauer), fortress', Kl {KRS} † k₃erm, Brt x₃pp₃m 'wall of a fortress, fortress', Ord {Ms.} k₃erim 'rampart, grande muraille'; M b₃Sln x₃r₃am 'town wall', WrMc keremu id., 'rampart (of a military camp)', {Hr.} keremu 'krenellierte Stadtmauer, Zinne, Lagermauer' || NaT *Ka₃rma₃n 'fortress, town, city' > MQp [CC] kermen 'civitas', OOsM [AH] ka₃rma₃n 'town, city', Kr Cr kerman, Kr G k₃ermen 'town, city'; T b₃Chr L karman, Chr H ka₃rma₃n 'fortress', T b₃NPrs ñ₃mrKi kirma₃n kerma₃n 'castle, emporium', {Vl.} 'urba munita, castrum, emporium' b₃Tk † kirman 'fortress'; T b₃OR керемень keremень 'fortress' ¶ Rs. W 256, ET KQ 52-3, TAG 97, Nm. ET 12ff., Rl. II 1108, Ash. VI 102, Dr. TM III #151 = 2096 & IV 300-2 (supposes that the Tk word is derived from T *kir-'umspannen'), Vs. II 224, Vl. 822, Sg. 1024, Grøn. 149, Fed. I 230, Vl. II 822 || Tg *keren 'fence' > Nn Nh k₃r₃z₃, Nn KU x₃r₃z₃ 'stall for cattle, stable, shed', Ork k₃r₃z₃(n-), Neg k₃y₃z₃(n-) 'fence', Ul k₃r₃z₃(n-) id., 'stall', 'border, frontier', Ork, Ul k₃r₃z₃n-, Neg k₃y₃z₃n- v. 'fence in', WrMc heren 'stable (for horses)' ¶ STM I 482-3 ♦ N *a₃ is evidenced by Chv a (< T *a₃ < N *a₃). B *y₃- suggests a N emphatic cns. (*k₃l₃q₃), but *k₃- in S, Eg and Tg point to a plain vl. *k₃-.

¶ 938a. *kirVP.V '(=?) fish' > HS: Ch *kirVp- 'fish' > WCh: Hs k₃i₃f₃i₃! AG: Tal {IL} k₃y₃e₃ˈp, Ywm {IL} k₃h₃ra₃p₃h! Kl₃r {J} k₃i₃r₃i₃f₃! BT: Dr s₃u₃ru₃w₃ˈ, Krkr c₃arafu₃, Bl {IL} kerwo, Gera {ChL} k₃i₃rfa₃, Ngm {ChL} k₃e₃ru₃w₃ˈ! NrBc: Krf {Sk.} k₃ā₃r₃f₃i₃! SBc: Bg {Sh} k₃ip, Kir {Sh.} c₃ir₃z₃! CCh: Skr {IL} k₃h₃i₃r₃z₃f₃! Gudu {ChC} xir...fu, Gude {ChC} h₃z₃r...fin, {ChL} x₃ur...fi₃n! ZmB {J} k₃e₃rfe₃ id. † (infl. of N *k₃olV 'fish?'): CCh *k₃i₃ul₃ip- 'fish' > BM *k₃ul₃if₃ > Kl₃b ka₃lfi, Br kilfa₃, Mrg xilif, WMrg ku₃lfa₃ ~ ku₃lfa₃, Ngx kulfu, Hld kal₃fi, Wmd ka₃lfi! Higi sb.: HgNk ki₃li₃pe₃, HgB ki₃li₃po₃, Kps ku₃lu₃p₃e₃, HgG ku₃lu₃bi₃, HgF ku₃lu₃pu₃! McMDr: Mdr ku₃lfe₃, Glv ku₃lfa₃, Dgh ku₃lfe₃, Gv kilifa, Nkc k₃z₃l₃te₃! Mtk klef, pMM {Ro.} *kilif > Mada, Zlg kle₃f, Myn, Gzg, Mofu ki₃li₃f, Mkt kli₃fi, Mlk ki₃le₃f! Db {Lnh.} ki₃li₃f, Kola {Sb.} kili₃f! Ms kuluf-fa, {Kr.} kulufna, Bnn ku₃lu₃va₃ 'fish' ¶ Ba. 636, ChC, ChL, Ro. 252 II A: Tg *kirp- > Nn Nh kirpu, Nn B/KU kirfu, WrMc kirfu 'sturgeon' ¶ STM I 399 II ?? IE: NaIE *g₃g₃ˌVrb- > Gmc *karp- 'carp' > OHG karpfo, NHG Karpfen, MDu carpe(r), Du karper, Ic karfi, Gmc (Gt *karpa?) b₃Late L carpa [first attested in Cassiodorus (a Gothic writer, 6th. c.)], Sp, Port, It, Prv carpa b₃Fr carpe b₃ME carpe > NE carp ¶ KM 354]

939. *karTV (-*gVrdV?) 'to scratch, scrape' > IE: NaIE *g₃red-/°g₃rod- v. 'scratch' (pointing to N *kartV) > Gmc *kratto₃n (with intensivity gemination): OSw kratta, MLG kretten, OHG krazzo₃n ˢchrizzo₃n, MHG, NHG kratzen 'scratch'; Gmc b₃It grattare, Fr gratter id. ¶ Vr. 331, Schz. 184, OsS 511, Diez 222, KM 401, Kb. 561, a P 405 II HS: B *√krd₃ 'scratch, scrape' (suggesting N *kVrt.V) > Thg ækræd₃ 'être raclé, se racler', Gh ækræd₃ 'racler', Sll kær₃d₃ (pf. ik₃æ₃d₃), Kb æmr₃æð₃, Izd kær₃d₃ 'gratter', Tmz kær₃d₃ ˢs₃ærd₃ '(se) peigner; racler', Tmz AH s₃ærd₃ 'gratter' ¶ Fc. 854, TM 345 || WS *√grd 'scrape, scrape off' (pointing to N *gVrdV) > BHb TD dr4G1t6e5 hit₃-ga₃-re₃d₃ 'scraped himself', Pun mgrd 'scraper, scratcher', JA, Sr √grd G 'scrape\scratch off', JEA √grd G 'scrape', MHb √grd G v. 'scratch, scrape, comb', Md grida 'scanty, scraped, mere', Ar drJ √g₃rd G (pf. g₃arada) 'strip (a branch of its leaves, a tree of its bark, a skin of its hair, the land of its herbage)', Jb C √grd (pf. g₃o₃r₃d) vt. 'strip (a tree of its branches), strip so. of his uniform, disarm', Mh √grd (pf. g₃æ₃o₃d) vt. 'undress, strip so. of everything, cut (a branch of a tree)' ¶ KB 194, KBR 202, HJ 594, Js. 265, Lv. I 356-7, Sl. 299, Br. 132, DM 96-7, Ln. 405-6, Hv. 84-5, Jo. J 78, Jo. M 123-4 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} ku₃rti₃v. 'rub', Mu {J} ko₃ro₃d₃e₃ / ku₃ru₃t 'scratch' ¶ ChC, Eb. 75 II ?σ A: NaT k₃art a₃scab, eczema' > OT qart 'ulcer', Qrg qart 'scab on a wound', sar₃ qart 'eczema' (sar₃ 'yellow'), Tv kart 'crust', Tf qa₃rt 'bark (of shrubs), bast, nut-shell, peel' ¶ Cl. 647, ET KQ 314-5, Jud. 316, 353, TvR 230 ♦ The variation of the glottal features

(*t ~*t, ~*d, *k- ~*g-) still defies explanation (different directions of *as*, ideophonic influences - so called "expressivity" & "intensivity"?).

940. *ka'RtV 'to cut (off), notch' > **HS**: S */krt 'cut off' > Hb */krt (pf. tr@f1 ka'rat_, ip. t7rk6i% yi-k_rot_) 'cut off\down, fell', Ph, M'b */krt 'cut', Tgy */krt G 'cut', Tgr */krt id., Ak */krt G 'cut off, break off' (but Ak */krt 'strike' does not necessarily belong here) ¶ KB 476, KBR 500-1, GB 364, BDB #377, HJ 538-9, CAD VIII 215, L ESAC 27, LH 401, Bsn. 592-3 || ??φ **K**: G I/R {Chx.} kirc'n- 'in kleine Stücke\Brocken zerteilen, zerstückeln', G Mt karc'n- 'umhacken' ¶ Chx. 1561 || **A** *k'a'rt-i- > T *k'a'rt-v. 'notch' (× N ***k.ERT.V** 'to crumble, chop\cut into small pieces?') > OT {Cl.} ka'rt- v. 'gash, cut a notch in', Ggz, Nog, Qzq, ET, Alt, QK, kert-, VTt, Bsh, Xk kirt-, Tf k'ert-, Chv kart- 'cut a notch', Tk kert-, Tkm, Uz, SY kert-id., 'make an incision', Tv kert- v. 'notch, carve (by chopping, cutting)', Az ka'rtik, Tkm kertik n. 'notch', Qmq kert, Az ka'rt, VTt kirt 'incision', Chv kart 'notch'; the Og words (Tk, Tkm, Ggz, Az) have a vl. k-, which goes back (acc. to IS's theory [IS AG 338-41] of Og k- < pT *k-) to N *K-, hence these words formally belong to N ***k.ERT.V**, but it is better to suppose here a partial coalescence of N ***ka'RtV** and ***k.ERT.V**, the meaning of both represented in different T lgs. ¶ Cl. 738, ET KQ 54-5, RL II 1102, Rs. W 257, BT 81, RAltS 267, B DLT 162, B DChT 127, TvR 238, Jeg. 91, Fed. I 231, Md. 168 ({MD.} *k'e'rt- = *k'a'rt-) ¶ Chv a points to a T *a', while VTt and Bsh i suggest a pT *e; this conflicting ev. may be accounted for by the merger of two N roots. Tv k- provides ev. for pT k-, but the Og lgs. seem to suggest pT *k- (acc. to IS' theory [IS AG 338-41] of Og k- < pT *k-); this and other cases of pT *k' > Og k- suggest that IS's hyp. of pT *k' > Og g- needs revision (positional limitations?) || M **kerti- > *kerci- v. 'make incisions, notch' > WrM ker-ci-, HIM хүрчи-х, Kl kerc'- id., ↳ Neg kərtci- id.; but M *ker-ci- 'cut' (> WrM ker-ci-, HIM хүрчи-, Kl kerc'-, etc.) (× N ***k.VRC.V** 'to cut', q.v.) ¶ MED 455, KRS 296, KW 228, STM I 453-4, Cl. 738 ◇ i ÷ Ht kartai- 'cut, clip, severe', because it is obviously related to IE *ker-t- 'cut' (Vd kr_n'tati, Av kərəntaiti, Lt kertu- / kir's'ti, OCS c're'sti) ¶ Ts. E I 523-4, Pv. IV 109-10.

941. ??₂ *kertV 'to tie, (?) plait' > **IE**: NaIE *g[gerd- > Gk γε'ρδιοϝ ~ γε'ρδιοϝ 'weaver', γε'ρδιο id. || L (↳ Gk?) gerdus id. ¶ F I 300, WH I 594 || **HS**: B */krd 'to tie' > Ah, ETwl, Ty əkrəd v. 'tie', Gd əkrəd v. 'tie, knot' ¶ Fc. 850, GhA 97, Lf. II #0799 ¶ The voiced *d is probably due to the infl. of the reflexes of N ***gEardV** 'to plait, tie, gird' (q. v.) || **U**: FU {It.} *kertitV 'tie together' > Lp I {It.} kor't'vəd 'anbinden (mit Schlingen)' || Prm *ka'rt- 'tie together' ({LG} *kert-) > StZ kərtav-, Z Δ kərtal- 'tie, attach', Vt kertt-ini 'tie, tie together' || ??φ Os V ka'rt-, Os Ty ka'rt- v. 'sew' (unless ↳ pOs {Ht.} *kir- 'sew, put on shoes') ¶ It. #346, LG 142, UEW 139 (attaches the Prm word to the FU √ *ka'rV 'tie'), Ht. #310 ◇ On the connection between the Gk word and CS */grd 'weave', 'web (tela, textura)' see s.v. N ***gEardV** '↑'.

942. *kuṛVt|dV 'worm, parasytic insect' > **HS**: B *kuṛtVjd- 'flea' > Kb a-murəd_ (pl. imurəd_an), Tmz akurdu ~ agurdu (pl. ikurdan), BMn {Bs.} k_uṛəd_, Shl {Bs.} akurd, SrSn {Rn.} ak_uṛdu, {La.} ak_urd_u, Rf Wr/B/A k_ord_u, Izn s'urd_u, Nf kurdi ¶ Rn. 343, La. S 284, Bs. NLB II-III 82, DL 416, MT 344 || Ch: WCh: Hs k'wark'w'a'ta' (~ k.'ark.'wata), Gw {Mts.} k'wark'w'a'ta 'louse' || NrBc: Mbr {Sk. HCD} kurtu- '(?) flea, louse' (not mentioned in Sk. NB, ChC and ChC) || SBc: Bg {Sh.} k'w'a'ri', Grn {Hrn.} ku'rya', Buli {ChL} ko'rgu'do' id. || ? Pr {ChL} ko'ro'mo' id. (or to N ***K.uRmV** 'worm, insect?') || ECh: Mgm {JA} ku'rgi'ti'ne 'worm', EDng {Fd.} ku'rgi'ta' 'ε worm', as well as (??) Ll {Cp.} kara 'louse', Bdy {JA} ku'ra'ne 'flea of fowls', Mkl {J} ku'ri'le 'larva of locust' ¶ Ba. 690, Mts. G 72, AlJ 92, J LM 129, JA LM 102, Hrn. GP #156, Sh. BZ 30, ChC, ChL, Sk. HCD 162 ¶ The words of Ll, Bdy and Mkl may alternatively belong to N ***K.uR'E** 'worm, maggot' || ? S (*mt* and regr. *as*?) */gdr: Mh gəde'rət (pl. gəda'rtən), Hrs gədo'r 'worm', Jb E gədi'rət, Jb C 3z'di'rət 'small insect that eats wood\clothes' ¶ Jo. M 114 || **A**: T *k'ṛt- 'worm', (?) 'beetle' (× N ***K.uR'E** '↑') > OT, Chg, OXwT qurt, Tkm gu'rt, Az gurd, XT gurt d go'rt, gurda'q d go'rdaḡ, NrXT Shi gurt da'ha, Qzq, Qq, QrB, CrTt, Qrg, Uz, Tv qurt, ET qurut, Yk ḡurt, Tv qurt, Xlj {DT} qu'ṛt 'worm', VTt, Bsh qṛ't 'worm, bee', Tf qu'rt 'worm, beetle', Yk kurjaya 'vermin', Chv xypr ḡurt d ḡort 'insect, worm' ¶ Cl. 648, ET Q 167-8, TL 181-2, Ra. 222, Rs. W 313-4, DT 180, DH ChT, Fed. II 367-8, Md. 68, 170 and Md. OJ 153, 280 (T i *k-) || **D** (in CD) *kurVt... 'leech' (× N ***k.ṛu'R'ṛV'dV** ~ ***k.uRt.VṛV** 'stinging insect') > Prj kurt_ubi, Gdb kurt_um 'leech' ¶ D #1798.

943. ?? ***k'a'r**∇ 'hawk, ∈ bird of prey' > **K**: GZ *kor- 'hawk' > OG, MG, G, Mg kor-, Lz kur-, mkur-, mki(r)-id. ¶ K² 218-9, Chx. 1576, DCh. 1344, Chik. 103 || ? **A** *k'k'art'∇ '∈ bird of prey' > T: [1] NaT {Cl.} *Kart'a1 > OT qartal 'eagle, vulture', Osm {Rh.} qartal 'Arabian vulture, Vultur monachus', Chg qartal, Tk kartal, Ggz 'kartal, Az, Tkm Δ gartal 'eagle', SY qaltar '∈ bird of prey (living in the mountains)'; [2] Yk kīrt 'hawk' ¶ Cl. 648-9, ET Q 316-7, TL 169, Rh. 1445, Rl. II 200, Rs. W 239 || Tg: WrMc qarc'in {Z} 'vulture' ('**коршун**'), {Hr.} 'kite' ('Milan') ¶ Z 263, Hr. 575, ≠ STM I 379 || M [1] *qarci (< **qarti?) > WrM {Gl.} qarci 'cormorant (Phalacrocorax, **баклан**)', Kl Ö {Rm.} χarc'i 'Wasserrabe'; M ⇨ Sg/Qc {Rl.} qarc'ıyay 'hawk', Uz qarc'ıyay, Tkm гарчыгай qarc'ıyay 'goshawk (Accipiter gentilis)', Tlt/Kr {Rl.}, Qrg {Jud.}, VTt, Qmq qarc'ıya, Bsh qars'ıya, Qzq, Qq, Nog qars'ıya, QrB кьартджыга qartı'ıya, ET {BN} qa(r)c'ıgu, Alt {Rl.} qarc'a- 'hawk'; the ppM form **qartıgay is evidenced by loans in T lgs.: Sg/Qrg {Rl.} qartıya 'hawk', Qmn qartaq, QrB qartıya, Xk, Tv χartıya, Tf hartıya 'falcon', Shor {Rl.} qartaya 'hawk, vulture', QK dim. {Rl.} qarta'ı'ıaq (Rl.: < qartaya + -ı'ıaq) 'small hawk' ¶ KW 170, Rs. W 237, ET KQ 317-9, Pp. MA 293, Ms. H 88, H 61, MED 936, Kow. 850, Gl. II 135, Krg. 267, KRS 581, Rl. II 200-4, Jud. 354, TL 169 ¶¶ pA lax *k' is evidences by WrMc qarc'in, unless the latter is a Mongolism. M *qarcıgay may be analyzed as *qarti- + *-gay, possibly a nominal sx. of quality bearers which may be identical with the sx. *-gay/*-gey forming poss. pronouns from the gen. of pers. pronouns: WrM minu- 'of me' ⇨ minu-gey 'mine', manu 'of us' ⇨ manu-gay 'ours', etc., as well as with *-gay/*-gey of nomina imperfecti (performer of an action that has been and still is: *yabu-gay 'one who has been walking\going'), Pp. IM 219-21, 73. T *Karta1 is *qu.* as a cognate, because it may go back to a *cd* with the first element T *kara, M *qara 'black' (cp. NaT *kara kus- 'eagle', lit. 'black bird') ¶¶ For more details on the word in A lgs. see ET KQ 317-9 (with further literature) ¶¶ The word was borrowed by some Sl, U, Irn and Caucasian lgs. (cf. Dr. TM I #278), incl. Chr H kars'u-ıngas- 'hawk' and R қоршун 'kite' (Rm. BT 47, Vs. II 342-3) ¶¶ i ÷ Tg: Neg karaxı- 'game (ducks, geese, etc.)', Nn qarqay '∈ bird' and qarmor 'sand martin (Riparia)' [STM I 379], which are better explainable as onomatopoeic and/or derived from Tg *kara 'black' (⇨ M, cf. N ***K,arh'a** 'black') || **D** (in SD) *kar'(-) ({GS} *k-) '∈ bird of prey' > Tm karu, karuku 'griffin vulture (Gyps indicus), eagle (Aquilina falconida), Ml karu, karuku 'eagle, vulture', Td kor'ı. 'kite', Tu karu d kal u 'vulture' ¶ D #1362.

944. ***kor'u** (or ***koRıVıyu**) 'stick, log' > **IE**: NaIE *g^weru- 'spike, roasting-spit' > L veru- (gen. veru-s) ntr. 'javelin, spit', Um berva pl. 'spits (verua)', berus abl. pl. 'veribus' || Oİr bir (acc. biur) 'spit, spear', Nİr bior, MW ber, W be'r 'spear, lance', OCrn [VC] ber, Br ber 'roasting-spit' || Gt qar'ru 'σκο'λοϑ (thorn, pointed stake?) || ?σ Gk {Hs.} βαρ'υεϑ · δε'νδρα 'trees' || ?σ Pru garian ~ garrian acc. 'tree' ¶ But Av grava- 'stick, cane', Phl graw 'cane' and Tc A kru 'reed' belong rather to a different etymon ({Ad.} ? *g^hırewo-m 'reed, rush') ¶ WP I 689, P 479, Mn. 357, Brtl. 529, McK 37, LS 307, F I 253 (no et. of βαρ'υεϑ), WH II 766-7, Bc. G 330, Pln. II 729, Vn. B 51-2, YGM-1 44, Fs. 386, En. 175 (Pru ÷ Lt giria', Ltv dzir'a 'forest', cf. N ***kurV** 'hill, mountain'), EI 481 (*g^hırewo-m 'reed, rush'), 536 (*g^weru 'spear, spit') || **HS**: B: Sll a-kur'ay 'large stick for beating'; ? Thg a-ka-ra 'petite tige de bois (qui se place dans la bouche des chevreux pour les empêcher de téter)', Gd {Lf.} a-kraru 'bâton à remuer\tourner les sauces\bouillies etc.' ¶ But B *yari- 'stick' is to be kept apart, it rather belongs to N ***K,arV** 'sharp stick' (q.v.) ¶ Ds. 34, Lf. II #0793, Fc. 848 || ?? WS *√krk > Mh kars'ıdu't (pl. kars'ı'e'd), Jb E kər's'ı'dōt, Jb C kər's'ı'dōt (pl. ko'ros'ud) 'knobbed club'; ? amb Ug {OLS} krk 'pico' ¶ Jo. M 215, OLS 223, Hnr. 140 || **A**: Tg *kori 'to build (out of logs)', 'building' (← ** 'log') [× N ***K,urV** (or ***K,oru**u?) 'to plait\wattle\tie together?'] > Nn qorı- v. 'build out of logs', Ork qorima, Neg koyma 'made of logs', Ork qoruma, Neg koyça 'wall made of logs', Ul, Orq, Nn Nh qorı, Neg koyçan 'log cabin (**спуб**) for a bear', Ul qorı 'shed (**хлеб**), stable; cage for birds', Nn qorı 'storehouse for food', Orc koi (< *koyi < *kori) 'wooden storehouse for food; sepulchral cabin (**могилный домик**)', Neg koy (< *kori) 'log house' ¶ STM I 415 || **D** (in SD) *kor'- 'bar of metal' > Tu koru, Tm koru id., Tm, Ml koru 'ploughshare', Kn kuṛa, kuṛu, guṛa, guṛu id., 'iron use in cauterizing', ? Kt kov 'iron point of plough' ¶ D #2147.

945. ?₂ ***korV** 'fig tree' > **HS**: B: Izd {Mrc.} a-kurr (pl. i-kurr-an), {MT} a-kurıı (pl. i-kurıı-an) 'figue précoce' and with secondary emphatization k- > q-: a-qurııı, a-qurııu (pl. i-qurııı-an) id.; in other B dialects (with emphatization): {La.} Zmr, Tmz Iz a^oqorııo (pl. iqorııı-an), ASgr qorııo, Tfl taqorrit 'green

fig' | a Wanderwort presumably of B origin: B $\text{□}^{**}\sqrt{k'rm}$ 'fig-tree' (> Kb a-s'amlal 'a kind of fig-tree?') → AfR *karmus → Ar Mgr {Gass.} éMraKa karama (pl. kiram) 'fig-tree', BUvMrK karmu-s 'fig', Ar Mrc {DMA} ker_mus 'fig' → Kb lkər_mus, akər_mus, t_akər_must 'figuier de Barbarie, figue de Barbarie' ¶ Gass. 808, DMA-ME 65, Mrc. 291, MT 538, La. MChB 421-2, Dl. 95, 419, ≠ Zav. LS 99 (in Ar kərmu-s an AfR ending *-us was added to Ar karm- < HS $\sqrt{krm}$ 'vine') || D: Tm korin'ci 'trees or plants, as the figs, which bear without blossoming' ¶ D #2254.

¶ 945a. ?? ± *k'o'r'v 'onager, wild ass (?)' > HS: S *kurr- > Ar SL kurr- {Shrn.} 'young donkey, donkey colt', {Hv.} 'ass'; S *kurr- may be the source of the NaIE loanword *k^hoar- 'donkey' (> OI 'khara-h., Av h_aro-, KhS khara-, Prs rXa xa'r, Oss xa'ra'g id.; pAl {O} *kara > Al T/G ke'rr 'donkey, foal'); this IE word cannot be an inherited cognate of the S word (⇔ Blz. DA), because there is no genetic correspondence between S *k- and IE *k^h-, while borrowing (S *kurr- → IE *k^hor-) is phonetically plausible (the non-glottalized S *k- is likely to have been slightly aspirated, cp. Kartvelian: Georgian /k/ = [k'] ¶ Shrn. 1048, Hv. 648, □ M K I 302-3, Ab. I 57, GI 562 (fn. 2), O 183 ¶ i ÷ Jb C/E 'k.e'rah 'male donkey', Jb C 'k.e're'hēt 'female donkey' (possibly from /k.rh 'be bald, hornless') [Jo. J 149, Jo. M 235] || NOm: Kf {C} kuro-, Mch {L} ku'ro, Cha {C} kura-, Anf {Gt.} kuro, She {CR} kur, Hz {SiW} ku'rup ¶ C SE III 171 & IV 463, L M 37, Gt. 355, SiW BA 11, CR NGS 621 || Ch: WCh: BT {ChC}: Krkr koro, Ngm ko'ro : Ngz {Sch.} k^wa'r...a', Bd {ChC} koro : CCh: Tr {Nw.} ko'ro : BM {ChL}: Bu, Ngx k^wzra, Cb, Wmd, Mrg k^wara, WMrg k^wzr3 - k^wara, Hld k^wara' : McHigi {ChL}: HgNk, HgG k^wara', HgB, Kps, FlK k^wara, HgF k^wzra : BB: Gudu {ChL} k^wa'ra, Bcm {Sk.} k^wa're-to- : Ktk: Bdm {Cyffer} ko'ro : Msg {GKrs.} kure'k : McMs {ChL}: Ms korota, Lame ka'ro', LamP koro, Bnn k^wzrda, BnnM korora : Kwn {ChC} ku'ra-, Kwn M {J}, Kbl {Cp.}, Smr {J} ku'ra', Ng D {J} ku'ro-, Tmk {Cp.} ko'ra ¶ ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 196, ¶¶ OS #1480 (pHS *kor- > S, Ch, Om) || IE *g^worde'b^ho-s {EI} 'wild ass (Equus hydruntinus)' or 'onager/kulan (Equus hemionus)' > OI garda'bha-'ass', garda'bhi 'she-ass, jenny, Tc B kercapo 'ass' ¶ EI 33-4, □ M K I 327-8, P 214-5. Bc. #3.46, Ad. 195-6 || D *kar'ut- ({GS} *g-) 'ass' > Tm karutai, Ml karuta, Kt kar't, Td katy, Kn kar'te - katte, Kdg katte, Tu katte, Tl ga'd.ida, Klm ga'd.di, Nkr gar'di, Prj gade^d garad, Gnd ga'r'di, Ku ga'r'de ¶¶ D #1364 ♦ The IE element *-b^ho- in *g^worde'b^ho- goes back to the N adjectival pc. *ba (q.v. ffd.). If the NaIE initial stop is labiovelar (*g^w-), it points to a N *o, while if it was velar (*g-), it may suggest a N *u with pre-IE reg. diphthongization of the vw. (N *u > pre-IE *au.) and subsequent regular loss of the glide before the sonant *r ♦ In the light of the history of the ass and its domestication (in the light of archaeological data) it may be supposed that the word originally denoted the wild ass or the onager. On the history of the wild ass, onager and on domestication of the ass cf. EI 33-5, GI 562-4, Zeuner HDA, Mason EDA, ClB NHDA, Bgl. 464-7, Bökönyi 299, Vogel 119 ♦ □ Blz. DA 157 [#55] [suggested the equation between D, HS and the IE root of OI khara- (considered to be a genetic cognate)].]

946. ? *kUr'v 'foetus, young of an animal, child' > IE: NaIE *g^werb^h-/*g^wreb^h- 'babe, young of an animal' > Gk βρε'φοϋ 'babe in the womb, foetus; new-born babe; young of animals (foal, whelp, cub, etc.)' || OIr bro(m)mach 'foal' (< *g^wromb^ha'kos), Nlr bromach 'colt' || Sl *z'er'b-e. / *z'erb-e.t- 'foal' > OCS жр'ѣа z're'be, Blg жре'бе, OScR z'drije'be, SCr жре'бе^d z'drije'be, Slv z'rebe', Cz hr'ý'be', Slk z'rieba', P z'rebie, Uk жреб'ї, Blr 'жребе id., R pl. жре'бїта 'foals', sg. (originally dim.) жре'беенок 'foal' || amb Ht kurka- 'foal, colt', which may be alternatively equated with Phl kurrag, NPrs %orΣKu korre ~ %oraKu kore {Sg.} 'colt of a horse\camel\as (1 or 2 years old)', Arm (4b-Irn) 'u@ak k^hur'ak 'colt, foal', and Mcd [γ] {LS} κυ'ρνοϋ 'bastard' ¶ WP I 689, P 485, F I 266, LS 1014, Vn. B 95-6, Dnn. 90, Vs. II 48, Glh. 705-6, BER I 554, Ts. E I 651, Pv. IV 267-8, Vl. II 826, Sg. 1026, EI 615 || HS: C *k^wvr 'young of an animal', {AD} *k^wvrk^wvr 'puppy' > EC: Sa {R} k^warku'r id., Arr ke'r 'dog', ke'r 'bitch' || Ag: Xm {R} coll. k^wark^war, sgl. k^wark^wara id., krwur id. || A: ?φ T *k' i'r 'daughter, girl' > OT {Cl.} qī'z, Tk kīz, Δ gi'z, Ggz kīz, Az gīz, Tkm gi'δ, Xlj qī'z, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qīz, VTt qīz, Bsh qīδ, Uz qīz, Alt, Tv qīs, Tf qīs, Xk χīs, Yk kī's id. || Blgh ryE {Erd.} hīr id. + ppa. (iryE 'his daughter'), Chv xe'āp xīr id. ¶ Cl. 679-80, ET Q 190-1, Rs. W 269, TL 195-6, TkR 227, TvR 280, Ra. 223, DT 176, Erd. 46-9, 115 (Blgh h is an "alternant" of x; OBlgh ī < pT *ī), Jeg. 298, Fed. II 344, Md. 70, 168 || D: [1] D {tr., GS} *kor'- 'young, tender', 'infant', (→?) 'daughter, bride, daughter-in-law' > Tm ku'ra 'young, tender', ku'ra'ku 'youthfulness, beauty, infant', ?σ Tu koræ 'weak, small', Tl kod'uku 'son', ko'd.alu 'daughter-in-law', Klm, Nkr kovve 'young of a bird\animal', Klm koral 'younger brother's wife', Nkr koral,

'daughter-in-law, bride', Gdb kor'al, Gnd B kor'ia-r' 'son's wife, younger brother's wife', Nk kola id., 'bride', Gnd M kor'ia-r', Ku kur'ia^d ku'ria 'daughter-in-law', Gnd Nr kor'iyar'id., 'sister's daughter, younger brother's wife', Prj kor' 'very young', kor'ol 'bride', Knd kor'o (pl. -k) 'female child', (pl. -r) 'male child', Mlt {Drs.} qo'ro 'infant', Brh xarruni 'wife' ¶¶ D #2149, GS 174 [#439] ¶¶ The D cognate is acceptable on condition that the meaning 'sprout' (present in most D lgs.) is either secondary or represents a different homonymous D √ [2] D *kur- - {tr., GS} kur- 'young of an animal' [× N *gur_{i,j}w∇(-TV) 'young of a (carnivorous) beast?'] > Tm kuruku id., Kt kurl 'young cow (up to three years)', Tu kurulæ, kurlæ 'young pig; a baby', Png kurnza 'young male child', kurnzi 'young female child', Klm, Nk, Prj kurra, Gnd kurra^d kurra^d kura, Knd kur_a, Ku kurra d_alu 'male calf', Krx kuru- 'colt' ¶¶ D ##1791, 1801, GS 154 [#391] ¶¶ D *-r- for the expected *-r'- may due to the merger with N *gur_{i,j}w∇(-TV) ♦ The length of the T vw. *i- is still obscure. If this N etymon is genetically identical with *koyRV 'male animal' (q.v.) ['male' ← 'young male' ← 'young (animal), child'] (their common rec. will be *kUyr'∇), this will solve the problem of the T long *i- (*i- < *Uy) [i- ÷ Bj ?o-r 'child, boy' and Ag *q^w3t-/*?3q^w3t- v. 'beget, child', that underly my own *err.* pC rec. *k.^wVr- 'child, son' (AD SF 82-3) [see N *hor'fī 'conceive', 'newborn, a young' on Bj ?o-r and N *f'logUIV (or *o.qUIV) 'offspring, child; to beget' on Ag *q^w3t-/*?3q^w3t-] ♦ Blz. DA 156 [#45] (incl. D and T + *err.* C i k.^wVr)].

947. *kuhr'∇ 'rain clouds, rainy weather, rainy season' > HS: S *°/khwr > Ar kahwar- 'big black cloud'; +*ext.* : WS *°/krm 'to rain; rainy season' > Ar √krm (pf. karuma) 'to yield rain' (of clouds), Ar D el-karama-t 'the rainy months', Gz kəramt 'rainy season (Juny-July to September)' (→ 'year'), Tgy kəremti (> Bj {R} ke'rinti), Tgr kərem, Amh kəremt 'rainy season'; EthS ɓ: Sml N {Abr.} ka'ra'n, ka'ra'n-ti 'the lesser rainy-season (in the autumn) in Western Somaliland', Sml {R} ke'ran (pl. ke'ramo) 'lesser rainy-season in October', Sml {DSI} karan 'pioggia di fine estate', Sa {R} √krm (3m p. 'yi-krima) 'befeuchten die Erde der Regen', kar'ma- (pl. 'karma'm 'rainy season from July to October', Af {PH} karma (pl. karmo-mi) 'autumn rainy season' ¶ Fr. IV 28, 67, BK II 888-9, 939, Lb. II 1455, L G 292-3, L CAD 157, LH 398, Bsn. 590, DSI 359, Abr. S 148, R SS II 247, R S II 222, PH 144 II? K: G kurux- 'to get covered with rainclouds', (→) 'darken, grow gloomy' (of a person's face) ¶ Chx. 1587 II A *k' u-r'E 'autumn; rain, storm' > T *k' u-r' 'autumn' > OT ku'z, Tk gu'z, Ggz, Qmq, Qq gu'z, Tkm gu'i,δ, VTt κ'з кь'з, Bsh κ' & кь'δ, CrTt kuz', Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qrg, ET ku'z, Uz kuz, Alt ku's id., {Pek.} ku's orto 'mid autumn' (orto 'middle') ∥ Chv кеӓр кьр, Δ кь'р ¶ Cl. 757, Rs. W 312, ET VGD 94-5, Ra. 204-5, Dom. 66, BT 101, TvR 269, Fed. I 277, Md. 171, JkR 201, Pek. 1339-44 || M *qura 'rain' > MM [MA, IM, IsV, HI, P] qura, WrM qura, HIM, Kl xyp, Dx, Ba gura, Dg xwar, Mnr {SM. T} xura- ¶ Pp. KP 156, Pp. MA 310, 445, Lg. VMI 47, Ms. H 91, MED 987, KW 197, T 377, T DnJ 116, T BJ 138, SM 184, Mr. D 29 || Tg *ku_{i,j}re- 'storm, strong wind' > Lm kur id., Ewk kurgsku'n 'strong wind', Ul ku'r3(n-) 'storm' ¶ STM I 436 ¶¶ S AJ 294 [#510], DQA #943 (A *ku'r'e 'autumn; rain, storm').

948. *kir'Ha 'old' > IE *g^herH- > NaIE *g^herə- 'old, (?) grown up' > OI ja'ra- 'old age', KhS ysar- 'be old', OI 'jarati 'makes old, grows old', jaran 'decayed', jari'man 'old age' (heavy base), Av a-zar.s'ant 'nicht-alternd', zarəta- 'altersschwach', Phl zarma-n 'old man; old age, decrepitude', NPrs rza za'r 'old person', Psh zo-r', Oss I za'r, Oss D za'ra', za'rwa- 'old age', Oss I/D za'rond 'old' ∥ Gk γε'ρων / γε'ροντ- 'old man', γραι̃ξ 'old woman', γηρα'σκω v. 'age, grow older' ∥ pAl {O} *gra-wa- 'old woman' > Al: T grua, G grue id. ∥ Arm cer cer (gen. ceroj ceroy) 'old, aged; old man' ∥ Gmc: ON karl 'man, old man', OHG karl^d karal^d charal 'man, husband, beloved', MLG kerle 'free man, strong man', NHG Kerl 'fellow', AS c'eorl 'man, free man of the lowest rank; husband', NE churl ∥ Sl *zre'-ti (1s pres. *zre'jo.) 'to ripen' > OCS зьрѣти зьре'ти (1s pres. зьрѣхъ зьре'jo.), Blg (1s pres.) 'зрег, SCr zre'ti, Slv zre'ti, Cz zra'ti, Slk zret', OP zrzec', R зретѣ, Uk 'зр'ти id. ∥ pTc *kwa'-r- > Tc: A, B kwa'-r- c. 'age, grow old', B adj. pl. s'ra-n' 'old' (of people) ¶ M K I 420-2, VI. II 122, Sg. 612, Horn 146, Bay. 346, Ab. IV 299, 304-5, McK 98, Mrg. 103, F I 301-2, O 125, Slr. 164, Vr. 301, Schz. 179, Kb. 530, KM 365, Ho. 46-7, Glh. 700-1, Vs. II 106, P P 390-1, Ad. 236, 644, EI 248 (*g^herhA- 'grow, age, mature'), 409 II D (in SD) *kir'- ({GS} *k-) 'old, aged; old age' > Tm kir'am, kirat_u 'old age', 'aged person\animal\thing' (contemptuous), kiravan, 'old man', kiravi 'old woman', Ml kiravan 'old man', kiravi, kiratti 'old woman', Kn ke'ava, ke'iva 'old man', Tu kīr̃ 'ancient, old' ¶ D #1579; on i/e alternation in SD cf. Zv. 65-70 II? HS: WCh: Hs K kī'ri'ba 'anything old', ?? ı Hs k'a'ra'ra'b.e- 'become old, infirm, decrepit, delapidated' ¶ Ba. 609,

703 It is tempting to adduce here the HS root $\sqrt{\text{kur}}$ (or $\sqrt{\text{kUr-}}$) > SC: Irq kuru, Brn kori, Alg k^{wari} 'year'; Ch: Zala {ChL} $\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{z}^{\text{r}}\text{si}$ 'old' (person), Jg {J} korm- 'aufwachsen', but the HS rounded back vw makes the comparison too shaky; it is more plausible to equate it with T $\sqrt{\text{Kurt-ga}}$ 'old woman' II **A**: The A reflex of this N $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ may have influenced the reflexes of T $\sqrt{\text{k'ar}}$ 'old' (< N $\sqrt{\text{gar'Ø'i}}$ 'old') in some T lgs., namely ET qeri, Xk kir° kiri 'old', ET qeri-, Tv, Tf qiri- , Xk kir° - kiri- , Yk kirry- 'grow old' $\diamond$ **IS** I 297-8 [#165] ($\sqrt{\text{kirH}}$ 'old': IE, D) $\diamond$ Cp. N $\sqrt{\text{gar'Ø'i}}$ '↑' (q.v.).

949. ?? $\sqrt{\text{ko'r'lwjV}}$ 'external ear' > **A**: Tg $\sqrt{\text{kora-hta}}$ 'external ear (ear conch)' > Ewk, Orc korokto, Ul, Ork, Ne Nh qoroqto id., Lm qorɔt id., 'ear'; $\sqrt{\text{koro-}}$ > Ork qoro-lon- v. 'move one's ears' (of animals) ¶ STM I 416 II **U**: FU $\sqrt{\text{korwV}}$ 'ear, leaf' (× N $\sqrt{\text{quRlwjV}}$ 'ear' [q.v. ffd.]) II ? **D** $\sqrt{\text{kur-}}$ 'ear-ring, ear' (× N $\sqrt{\text{quRlwjV}}$) $\diamond$ Qu., because two of the three cognates have an alt. explanation.

950. $\sqrt{\text{k'a''sV(RV)}}$ 'scales, crust' > **HS**: S $\sqrt{\text{ks|sr}}$ > Ar kasr-at- ~ kisr-at- 'crust (of bread)' (× $\sqrt{\text{kURcV}}$ 'scales; to remove scales, to peel') II ?? ϕ **K** (*mt*) $\sqrt{\text{kercl-}}$ (or $\sqrt{\text{kercl-i-?}}$) 'scales' > G {Chx.} kercl-i ~ {DCh., Chx.} kertl-i 'scales, dandruff', Sv {TK}: UB/Ln ka''rc , LB karc id., Sv {Fn.} ka''rc 'Schale', {Ni.} ka''rc '(fish) scales' ¶ Sv LB karc and Sv ka''rc point to pK $\sqrt{\text{c}}$, but Sv ka''rc suggests pK $\sqrt{\text{c'}}$ ¶ Fn. KW-4 #32, TK 780, Ni. s.v. $\sqrt{\text{remy}}$, K² 215, Chx. 1548-9, DCh 1333 ¶ Epenthesis $\sqrt{\text{rs'}}$ > K $\sqrt{\text{rc}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{rc'}}$ (affricatization in a cluster like in Yid unz 'us' < [unz]) and *mt* of $\sqrt{\text{s}}$ (< N $\sqrt{\text{s'}}$) and $\sqrt{\text{r}}$; the *mt* may have been induced by the infl. of K $\sqrt{\text{kurc-}}$ 'to peel' (< N $\sqrt{\text{kURcV}}$ '↑') II **A**: NaT $\sqrt{\text{k'as}}$ (or $\sqrt{\text{k'a's-}}$) 'bark of a tree' > OT {Cl.} qa's , OT U qas id., Xlj qa's 'skin\peel (of plants)'; d- : [1] NaT $\sqrt{\text{k'as-}}$ >> It qaza- {Vrb.} vt. 'bark, peel', {Rl.} vt. 'husk, peel', Tb qas- , Tv qaz- , Tf qa's- 'crack (nuts)'; [2] NaT $\sqrt{\text{Kasuk}}$ > [MhK] qasuq 'bark, water-skin', OT U qasuq 'small piece of bark, peel (of fruits, garlic), qasiq 'skin (of a snake)'; [3] NaT $\sqrt{\text{k'asirik}}$ ~ $\sqrt{\text{k'astirik}}$ 'bark, scales' > ET Tr {Rl.} qastiriq 'hard peel (of fruit), pod', Tv kazьpьk id., 'fish scales', Qb {Rl.} qastiraq 'bark of trees', Xk xastirx id., '(nut)shell, hard peel, fish scales', SY {Ml.} qasdiq 'bark of trees, shell of eggs' ¶ Cl. supposes here a long a- (in OT) on the frail ev. of the Arabic spelling of MhK, but this and the *qu.* ev. of Xlj are not enough to reconstruct a pT long $\sqrt{\text{a-}}$ ¶ Cl. 665-6, DTS 430-1, ET KQ 328, DT 173, TvR 219, Tf. 219, Rl. II 349, 358, 363, BIG 279 || AmTg $\sqrt{\text{kesi-}}$ 'remove scales from fish' > Orc kəsi- , kəsikt , Ul kəsu--i- ; $\sqrt{\text{kesi-kte}}$ 'scales of fish' > Orc kəsikt , Ul kəst ¶ STM II 442-3 || pJ {S} $\sqrt{\text{ku'sa-}}$ ~ $\sqrt{\text{kə'sa-i}}$ 'eczema' > OJ ku'sa , ko'se ¶ S QJ #1193, Mr. 458, 465 ¶¶ **DQA** #1063 [A $\sqrt{\text{k'i-o's'e}}$ 'scrape, shave'; incl. T, J] II (?) *AdS* of **IE**: NaIE $\sqrt{\text{kru's-}}$ > L crusta 'crust, rind, shell', Osc krustatar {WH $\Leftrightarrow$ Bc., Pln.} $\sqrt{\text{crusta}}$ (gleba) tegitor' (< $\sqrt{\text{kURcV}}$ '↑') ¶ ≠ WH I 295; Bc. G 314 & Pln. II 690 (a different interpretation of Osc krustatar , ≠ EI 112-3 [crusta < $\sqrt{\text{k'rus,te'n}}$ '(freezing) cold'] ¶ IE $\sqrt{\text{k-}}$ for the expected $\sqrt{\text{g-}}$ is still puzzling $\diamond$ T $\sqrt{\text{a}}$ < $\sqrt{\text{a''}}$ is probably due to vw harmony. A postulated N $\sqrt{\text{a''}}$ accounts for K $\sqrt{\text{e}}$.

951. ? $\sqrt{\text{k'k'u''juSV}}$ 'mouse' > **HS**: Ch $\sqrt{\text{kusVm}}$ > WCh: Hs ku'su , Gw {Mts.} ku'su 'rat, mouse' : Su {J} k'wuzum , Ang {ChL} gu'zu'm , Kfr {Nt.} kə'zu'm , Gmy {Kr.} gisim , {Sh.} kesem , Chip ki'z'im {ChL} 'rat' : Krkr {ChL} c'a'səŋ , Gera {Sch.} ka'səmi , Krf ko'to'mu , Bl {ChL} k'wə'su , Dr ko'm 'rat' : DfB {J} ku'su'm 'mouse', Bks {J} ku's'im 'rat' : Kry {Sk.} ku'sa'm , Mbr {Sk.} ku'səŋ 'rat', My {Sk.} ku'sa'm-kusə'm , P' {MSK.} ku'sa'nc'iki 'mouse' : Bg kusam , Kir {ChL} k'a'sim , Zul k'w'u'su'me , Plc {ChL} ku'su'm , Gj {ChL} ku'səŋ , Zar K {ChC} ku'suŋ 'rat' : ?? Bd {ChL} ku'mə'n 'rat' : CCH: pMM {Ro.} $\sqrt{\text{ho-ku'h'um}}$ 'mouse' > {Ro.} : Zlg ko'ho'm , Mofu h'o'm , Hrz, Vm k'a'm , Mada o'ko'm , Myn a'kfu'm id.; ? Mtk {ChC} k'wəm 'rat' : Msg Nh {Trn.} gusu'm , Msg {GKrs.} kusu'm 'mouse', Msg D {Mch.} ku'sum 'rat' : ? ϕ ZmB {ChC} gwa'ʒi'n (= g'wa'z'in ~ g'waz'in) id. : Gzg {Lk.} goz'omo 'Hausratte' : Tr {Nw.} yum 'rat' : ECH: Brg {J} kumo , Mb {J} ku'mo , EDng {Fd.} ku'mno , Ke ko'mo'm (pl. ka'ma'm) 'rat' ¶ ChC, ChL, JI I 137 & II 270-1 (Ch $\sqrt{\text{ksm}}$ 'rat', incl. 'mouse'), Ba. 658, Nt. 19, Sch. BTL 151, Ro. 295 [#485], Lk. G 123, Fd. 303, Eb. 73, ≠ Sk. HCD 157, **Stl.** IF 99-100 (pCh $\sqrt{\text{ku-h'asami}}$ 'rat'; the *err.* rec. was induced by Kfr {Jl} ko'ezu'm , which reproduces Nt.'s spelling with *oe* for *ə*, see Nt. 1: "*oe* = *ə*") II **A**: NaT $\sqrt{\text{k' u'ske}}$, $\sqrt{\text{Ku'sE}}$ 'rat, mouse' > OT {Cl.} ku'sku id., SbTt {Rl.}, Tlt/Tln {Rl.} ku'sku , Sg/Kü/Qc/Qb {Rl.} ku'ska , Qzl {Dom.} ku's'ke 'rat', Xk, Tv ku'ske 'mouse', Tk Δ ko'sku 'mole'; VTt κ'ce kə'sə 'rat', ET ku'sa'tka , Δ ku'so'tka 'field mouse' ¶ Cl. 750, ET KQ 153-4, Rs. W 312, Rl. II 1501, TatR 342, TvR 269, Shch. Zh 150.

952. $\sqrt{\text{k'geHsV}}$ 'warm, hot, hot season' > **HS**: B $\sqrt{\text{(w-)kHs}}$ 'be warm, hot' (× N $\sqrt{\text{K.ejz'E}}$ 'warm, warm weather'?) > Ah ukas (pf. yəkkus) 'être chaud, avoir chaud', (caus.) s-ukəs vt. 'warm, heat', Gh {Nh.}

əkkus (pf. ikkus) 'be warm, heat' ¶ Fc. 900-2 || Ch: ECh: Skr {Nc.} go'ssuṇo 'heat', Mgm ga'za'ní 'heat', ga'za'nta ~ ga'sa'nta 'hot (as fire)' || WCh: Zul {ChL} gisi, Buli {ChL} ki's 'dry season' ¶ Lk. ZSS 33, JA LM 86, ChL II U: FV *kesa- 'summer' > F kesa- id. | pLp {Lr.} *ke-se- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} giesie, L {LLO} kiesse-, N {N} gässe, Kld kîes-s- | pEr *kizə 'summer' > Er кизə kize id., Mk киза kiza ^d kizə 'year' ¶ UEW 660, Lr. #393, Lgc. #2294, Hs. 603-4, Ker. II 62.

953. *kasw 'to grow, increase, (become) big' > **HS:** S *^o/ks^hs^hw^hy ~ *^o/ks^hs^hʔ^h > OAk kas'a-um inf., Ak kas'u inf. {Sd.} 'stark zunehmen', {CAD} 'to yield profit', D kus'su- {CAD} 'make profit', 'make strong' ¶ Sd. 463, CAD VIII 294 II U: FU *kaswa- 'grow, increase' > F, Es kasva- vi. 'grow, increase' | Er kaco- kaso-, Mk kaco- kaso- id. | Chr: L кушка- kus'ka- id., H {Rm.}, Uf/B kus'ka- vi. 'grow' || OHg haszon 'Fruchtertrag, Ertrag von Nutztieren; (materieller usw.) Vorteil, Nutzen; Gewinn', Hg haszon 'advantage, benefit, profit, gain' ¶ UEW 129-30, Coll. 86, Rm. BT 59, Ker. II 50-1, LG 91, MF 273-4, EWU 535 II D *kac- ({GS} *g-) 'great, big' > Tm kaya 'great', Ml kaya, Png gaza 'big', Tl gaja 'large', Ku kaza ^d каза 'big, great' ¶¶ D #1093.

954. ±*k^hu^hs^hʔ 'gravel, (coarse) sand' > **IE:** NalE *g^hei^hs- 'pebbles' (× N ***k^h.E^hŋ^hc^h.V** ~ ***k^h.En^hc^h.V** [?] 'gravel, pebble(s), coarse sand') > MHG kis, NHG Kies 'gravel'; AS ciosol, cisel id., OHG ksil ^d chisil, NHG Kiesel 'pebble', NLG keiserling, keserling, kieserling 'pebble, small stone' || Pru sixdo ({En.} [zigzdo]) 'sand', Lt z'iezdra 'gravel, coarse sand', {Frn.} 'grain of sand \ of coarse sand', z'ie zdras 'sand' || Phr [StB] γί'σσα 'stone' ¶ P 356, Ho. 49, OsS 492, Kb. 546, KM 368, Frn. 1307, En. 248 II K *kwis- > OG kwis'a, mkwis'a, G kwis'a 'coarse sand, pebbles'; G → Sv {Ni.} kwis'e 'sand', {TK} kwis'a- r adj. 'of sand, sandy' ¶ Abul. 459, Chx. 1558, DCh. 1339, Ni. s.v. **п^hчокъ**, TK 790 II **HS:** B *^h/kwz ~ *^h/kz^hz 'coarse sand' (× N ***k^h.E^hŋ^hc^h.V** ~ ***k^h.En^hc^h.V** [ʔ]) > Ah e-kəwəz 'coarse sand', Tmz {MT} əkz^haz 'sand'; B *^hyz > Ah tayəzzit 'sable gros' ¶ Fc. 838, , Crt. 430, MT 358 || ?? CCh: Bdm {Nc.} ke'sa 'sand' (unless < Knr c'e'sa id.) || ECh: Smr {J} ku'srain' 'pebbles' ¶ Lk. B 112, ChC, Lk. KL 191 || ?? C: Ag: Bln {R} 'qu-s'a- (pl. qu-s') 'sand' (× N ***k^h.E^hŋ^hc^h.V** ~ ***k^h.En^hc^h.V**) ¶ R WB 245 [± II U: FU {UEW} *kXc^hV 'sand, gravel' > Prm *gō'z'a 'gravel' > Vt гыбы, гыже 'grain of sand', Z k3z'a, Yz 'ku'z'a 'gravel' || pOs *kic^h id. > Os: V/Ty qic^h, Kz/Sn χis^h, O -χis ¶ Coll. 80 (FU *kac^hV), UEW 226, LG 139, Stn. D 429 ♦ FU *-c^h- is likely to go back to *-c^h- < *-s^hʔ- ♦ Blz. KM 135 [12] (equates the FU root with reflexes of N ***k^h.ec^h.V** 'clay, earth' and ***k^h.E^hŋ^hc^h.V** (~ ***k^h.En^hc^h.V**?) 'gravel, pebble(s), coarse sand'].

955. *ka^hʔs^hV 'vexation, anger, quarrel' > **HS:** CS *^h/kʔs^h ~ *ks^hʔ > BHb Bo2f2 'kaʔas^h ~ (after the change s^h > s) xo2f2 'kaʔas 'vexation, anger', JA ax1o9f2 kaʔa's-a- 'anger', Hb, IA, SmA, JA ^h/kʔs 'be vexed\angry', JEA ^h/kʔs 'be angry', Ar ^h/ks^hʔ (pf. kas'ʔa, ip. -ks'aʔ-) 'be anxious' ¶ KB 467-8, KBR 491, HJ 528, GB 357Js. 656, Sl. 594, Tal 402-3, Fr. IV 38 II U: FU *^h/kaʔa^hs^hV > OHg ≥XIV ke'sa 'Kampf, Streit' ¶ EWU 740-1, ≠ UEW 162 II D *kac- ({GS} *kaʔs^h-) 'quarrel' > Ml kayakka v. 'quarrel, abuse', Kt kac 'party in a quarrel', Tu kacca't.a 'quarrelling', Tl kayyamu 'quarrel, dispute', Prj kayri 'enemy', Gdb kayar 'anger, sorrow', Kui ka-se 'hostility, enmity, blood feud' ¶¶ D #1089 II A *ka^hʔesV 'suffer' > Tg *kese- id. > Ewk k3s3-, Ud k3s3- id., Nn B k3s3- 'repent', d (caus.) Ul k3s3uc^h- 'make suffer, torment', ? WrMc kesemburu 'squandrel' ¶ STM I 454-5 || pKo {S} *ki^h3s- v. 'suffer, undergo, experience' > MKo ki^hə's-, NKO ki^hə'k- ¶ S QK #745, Nam 44, MLC 114 || ?σ pJ {S} *kasika- 'exhausted, wasted' > OJ kasika-, J T ka3'ike- ¶ S QJ #1690 ¶¶ DQA #777 [pA *kesa 'suffer'; incl. Tg, K], Rs. W 258 (T, M, Tg) ♦ Cf. N ***k^h.a3^h.V^hχ^hV** 'to scold'. The phonemic distinction between -s- and -yy- in Tl kasaru 'scold, rebuke' (< N ***k^h.a3^h.V^hχ^hV**) and kayyamu suggests that this distinction is of pD origin, i.e. that there was a pD phonemic distinction between the D reflexes of N *-3χ- and *-s^h-.

956. *kis^hʔV 'to tear (off), pinch, pluck' > **HS:** S *^h/ks^hʔ (× N ***kez^hʔE** 'skin; to skin', q.v. ffd.) II U: FU *kis^hʔs^hkV- v. id. > F kisko- 'jerk, twitch; pluck; tear; pull (by)' ('abziehen, los-zer-reißen'), Es kisku- 'tear, pull, pluck' | pLp {Lr.} *k3s^hk3- 'tear, pull, jerk' > Lp: S {Hs.} ga^hjku- 'abreißen, abbrechen', L {LLO} kai'hko- 'zer- \ entzwei- \ los- \ nieder-reißen', N {N} ga^hi'ko- / -ik- 'tear, pull (sth. or at sth.)', Kld кышкы, K {Gn.} ki's^hke- 'tear, tear asunder' | Mk кис-корп- kis'kər'a- v. 'pinch', {UEW} ks't'er'a- 'zwicken, kneifen', Er скирп- s'kir'a- 'pinch, nibble' || ?σ Hg Δ kisa'l- 'ärgern, aufreizen' ¶ UEW 162, Lr. #331, Lgc. #1884, Hs. 547, SaRS 144, PI 114, ERV 591, MF 366-7 ¶ ÷ FU *kes^hV- v. 'tear' (UEW 151-2) [see N ***K^h.Es^hU** ~ ***K^h.u^h's^hV** 'to skin, tear'] II D *kicc- ({GS} *kic^hc^h-) v. 'pinch, pluck' > Tl giccu v. 'scratch, pinch', Klm kism-, kisen, Nk kis-/kic^hc^h-, Prj kīk-, Gdb kisk-, Gnd kisk-, kism-, kicc-, Png, Mnd kic-

Kui kisa, Kui, Ku kicc- v. 'pinch', Prj kicc- v. 'pluck (strings with finger)', Knd kis- v. 'pinch, nip, squeeze with fingers', Krx kicc- v. 'break into very small pieces with the fingers', ? Mlt kise v. 'dig out a thorn from the flesh', Brh kis'kiŋ v. 'pluck, break off' ¶¶ D #1513, Km. 343 [#363] ¶¶ A: M *kisu- > WrM kisu- ~ qusu- 'scrape, shave' (× N ***K**.**Es**U – ***K**.**ʔ**uʔsʔV 'ʔ', q.v. ffd.).

957. *katV 'speak, think' > **IE**: NaIE *go(:)d- (~ *gʰo(:)d-?) 'speak, think' > OI 'gadati 'says, speaks' ¶ Sl *gadati 'to guess, talk, speak' > OCS гадати gadati, Cz ha'dati, Slk ha'dat' 'to guess, think (be of the opinion), suppose', OR гадати gadati id., 'think (meditate), discuss', Uk га'дати 'to think', R га'дат 'to guess', Slv ga'dati id., 'chatter', Blg га'дај v. 'guess', Cz Δ gadat', R Sml га'дат 'to speak', Slvnz {Lrz.} ga'dač 'to speak, talk', P gadac' 'to talk' ¶ ?? Lt z'a~das 'speech, language', z'o~dis 'word, speech', Ltv zadina~t 'to speak to'; the Blt words have an apparent reflex of IE *gʰ-, which still defies explanation ¶ M K I 319-20, ESSJ VI 77-8, Vs. I 381, ¶ Bern. 288, Frn. 1283-4, 1321-2; ≠ EI 535 [OI < *gʰet- say', cf. **kut.V** (magic) utterance'] ¶ **HS**: B *√ktH ~ *kty 'think, remember' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} ʔkʔtu id., Thg, Gh ʔktu (pf. ikta), Gd ʔktat 'remember', Sll {Ds.} ʔkʔti (1s pf. kʔtiy, 3m pf ikʔti), Tmz {MT} ktay (pf. kti) id. ʔ sʔtay (pf. *sti) 'recall, think', Izd {Mrc.} kʔti 'recall, remember', Zn {Rn.} ʔkt.i 'recall', Zng √kty: {MH→Nic.} uktaɣəg-dəh 'je me rappelle (vers) ici' ¶ Fc. 923, Nh. 208, Ds. 216, 267, MT 355, Lf. II #0835, Mrc. 214, 240, Rn. 341, GhA 207, Nic. 329 || ?φEC: Arr ged- 'say' (× N ***kut.V** (magic) utterance and its results') ¶ Hw. A 360 ¶ **U** *kʔaʔtʔV (or *kʔaʔsʔV) > Sm kʔt- ~ kʔtV, d' kʔttV 'say, relate (erzählen)' > Ne: T xy'ta-c, O {Lh.} ʔʔt'a, F {Lh.} ki_ɛ'ta- id.; En {Mik.} k'ita-s; 'relate (erzählen); Slq Tz kʔti-qo 'say', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. kʔ~da id. ¶ Jn. 66, Ter. 803, KP 92, KKI 117.

958. *kʔiʔtʔV ~ *kʔiʔtʔV 'to tickle', ? 'to itch' > **IE**: NaIE *gei_d- > ON, NNr kitla, Sw kittla, Dn kildre, AS c'itelian, OSx kitilo~n, Dt kittelen, OHG {KM} kizzilo~n ʔ kuzzilo~n, {OsS} chizilo~n, chuzilo~n, NHG kitzeln 'to tickle' ¶ ? Arm kcem kcem, kcanem kcanem v. 'sting, prick, nip, itch' ¶ P 356, EI 451, Vr. 310, Ho. 50, OsS 494, Kb. 543, 577, KM 372 ¶ **A**: t *Kitik- 'to tickle' > Tk gıdık, Ggz gıdıq, Az gıdıq, VTt qʔtʔq, Qzq qıtiq, Qq, Nog, Qmq qıtiq, Qrg qıtiy, Uz qitiq, ET qittiq, Chv каҖраҖк kʔd_ʔk n. 'tickling', VTt {Rl.} qʔtʔq-la- v. 'tickle' ¶ Rl. II 787-8, Jeg. 102, MM 467 || ??σ,φ Tg *xutu- 'to itch, tickle' (× N ***k**.**UdhV** ~ ***a**- 'to pierce', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cp. DQA #1038 (A *k'i_a~da 'itching, pungent') ¶ **D** [1] *kit- (ʔGS) *k- > Kui kiti 'tickling', Mnd kiti ki- id., Tu kidʔkilʔ, kid(ʔ)kelʔ, kidkʔʔ 'armpit, tickling' ¶ [2] Kt kut_ 'clitoris' (× N ***K**.**Ut**.**ʔ** – ***kUʔUt**.**E** 'membrum muliebre, anus?') ¶¶ D ##1551a, 2049 ◆ IE *-d- and Kt t_ suggest N *-t-, while T and D *-t- point to a N *-t-. The variation is accounted for by the ideographic association of the word. The vw. u in Tg and Kt may point to a labial element (rounded vw.) at the end of the stem.

959. ?? *ka~ytV 'to suck, (?) to eat liquid food' > **IE**: NaIE *gʰei_d- 'suck' > Lt z'i~ndu / z'i~sti, Ltv zı~z'u / zı~st (3s prs. zı~d) v. 'suck' ¶ Gk Hm νεο-γίλλοϝ [or νεο-γίλοϝ] 'new-born, young' (of animals) (acc. to Scholia Odysseæ, γα'λακτι τρεφομε'νῃ 'nourished by milk'), interpreted by Schw., F, P and other scholars as 'recent sucker' ('seit Kurzem saugend') and reconstructed as *νεο-γίλοϝ ¶ Frn. 1314, Schw. GG I 323, F II 304, Ch. 744, P 356 ¶ **HS**: C: Bj {R, Rop.} kad- (= kad_) scv. 'suck' ¶ R WBd 137, Rop. 202 ¶ σ **D** (tr., ʔGS) *kat.t_ 'soup (of pulses)' > Kn kat.t.u 'the water in which pulses have been boiled, decoction of pulses', Tl kat.t.u id., 'dal-soup', Tu kat.t.ʔ 'essence', be'leta kat.t.ʔ 'decoction of pulses', Prj kat_ 'soup' ¶¶ D #1150.

960. ??? *koytV 'filthy liquid, filth' > **IE**: NaIE *gʰei_d- id. ({EI} 'be foul \ purulent') > Gk δει~σα 'slime, filth' (P: < *gʰeid-s-a) ¶ ? Gmc: ON, NNr kveisa, Sw kvesa 'bump, tumour (Beule, Geschwulst)', Sw Δ kvisa, kvesa, MLG que~se 'blood blister' ¶ Sl *z'id-ʔkʔ 'watery' (of liquid) [× IE *gʰei_d-/ *gʰoi_d- > Arm géf ge~z' / gen. gifoj gi~oy 'humid, moist'] > ChS жид~к~ z'idʔkʔ 'υδαροϝ, (too) watery', SCR z'i'dak, Slv z'i'dek, Cz z'idky', R 'жидкий 'watery, liquid'; Sl *z'idja > R 'жидка 'slush, filthy liquid; liquid part of soup', d: Blr 'жыжка 'slush; liquid food' ¶ P 469, EI 490, F I 359, Vr. 337, Vs. II 53-4, Glh. 709, Chrn. 302, Ld. A 74-5 (Sl ÷ Arm) ¶ **HS**: CS *√ktm 'be dirty, stained' > BHb (N prtc.) MT1k6n% ni-k_ 'ta~m 'stained', JA [Trg.] Mit5f6 kʔt_ĩm id., MHb Mt3f3 'ket_ẽm, JA am1t6f5 kit_ 'ma- '(blood-)stain', Sr √ktm G v. 'stain, defile', Ar katam- 'Isatis tinctoria as a dye for hair' ¶ KB 480, KBR 505, BDB #4387, Br. 352, WKAS I 53 ¶ σ **A** {DQA} *kut_ 'ti 'bog, marsh' > ¶ NrTg *kuta > Ewk kuta 'peat-bog, quagmire', Ewk Nr kuta 'clay', Lm kuta 'quagmire, marsh (топн)', Neg kota 'swamp, quagmire' ¶ STM I 439 || NaT *Ko~ter ~ *Ko~tre id. > VTt Mn/I, Bsh ku~tʔr 'quagmire', Bsh Δ ku~tʔr 'swamp, puddle', Sg

ko'dre 'quagmire, marsh', Shor {Rl.} ko'dra~ - ku'dra~, Alt {Vrb.} ku'dre, Chv (⚡- VTt) ku'tar 'swamp' ¶ ET KQ 154-5, T[+T]DS 286, Ash. VII 89, Rl. II 1286, 1488, Vrb. 189 || pJ {S} *kutai~ 'bog' > OJ kute ¶ S QJ #1383 ¶¶ DQA #938 II D (in GnD) *kot.t.Vr- ({GS} *g-) 'dirty' > Kui got.ri 'muddy, dirty', Gnd M g'hont.o, Ku grot.a 'turbid' ¶ D #2067 ♦ Qu., because P's IE rec. is far from being reliable, and the S cognate has an unexplained extension *m.

961. *ku'tHE (or ***ku'tHV**) 'to rise; (?) high place' > A {DQA} *ko'ti 'lift, raise' > NaT *k'o't- 'lift up, carry (on the back)' > OT U {DTS} ko'ti- 'rise' (not mentioned in Cl.), Az {Rl. → Rs.} g'o't- 'aufheben, abnehmen' (not registered in Hüs., Äz., AzRL and AzDDL), Az Kz {Dzh.} g'o'tu~ 'raise', Slr {Tn.} k'o'ht- ~ ku'ht- ~ ku't- ~ kut- 'carry in the back', Yk ko't- 'fly', ko'to'χ- 'lift up'; ⚡ caus. *k'o'ta'r- ~ *k'o'tu'r- 'lift up, raise' > OT {Cl.} ko'tu'r-, ET {Nj.} -r'tvK ko'ta'r-, Uz kyÄrap- kōtar-, Qmq go'ter-, Blq ko'tu'r-, Nog, Qzq, Qq ko'ter-, VTt, Bsh ku'ta'r-, Qrg ko'to'r-, StAlt ko'du'r-, Qmn/Tb {B} ko'du'r-, ko'do'r-, QK {B} ko'do'r-, SY ko'htir-~ko'htir-~k'o'htir-, Xk κ'δ'p- ko'dur-, Tv ko'du'r- id., Tkm go'ter- 'lift up, carry', Tk go'tu'r-, Ggz go'tu'r- 'carry (away), bring' (the meaning dependent on the case of the adverbial modifier of place), Az ⚡ τ'p- g'o'tu'r- id., 'take'; T (or NaT) *ko'ta'r- ⚡ M *ko'ter- 'lift up' > ζ WrM {Rm.} ←? ko'tu'r-, Kl {Rm.} ko'tr- 'aufheben, heben' ¶ DTS 319-20, Cl. 706, ET VGD 86-8, Rl. II 1279-85, 1602, Rs. W 294, Dzh. 48, Pek. I 1174-8, Tn. SJ 397, Tn. SJJ 189, Nj. 646, Tkr 204, TvR 256, TrR 352, Hüs. 187-8, KW 239 || M *ku'tu'gu'r > WrM ku'tu'gu'r 'elevation, hilly country', {Kow.} 'élévation, hauteur, lieu élevé; une bosse sur la poitrine' | ?σ M *ko'tu' 'hill, mountain pass' > Kl κ'τλ, {Rm.} ko'tl-, Brt x*τγλ 'small height, hill; low mountain pass', WrM ko'tu'l, HlM x'τ'λ 'mountain pass, low pass' ¶ MED 493, 509, Kow. 2596, KRS 319, KW 242, Chr. 633 || Tg *ku.te- > Lm ko'təx n. act. 'ascent, climbing (a mountain)', ko'təx id., 'hill', ko'təpki 'on the top (of a mountain), uphill', ko'tər- v. 'climb (a steep mountain)' ¶ STM I 421 ¶¶ S AJ 288 [#288], DQA #893 [incl. T, Tg, ⚡ M], Rm. EAS I 147 (T, M + *unc.* Ko kət- 'aufsammeln, aufrollen, vollenden') II U: FU *ku'δv (or *ku'IX) > pObU {Ht.} *ku'l- 'stand up' > pVg *k'a'l- > Vg: T k'a'l-/k'a'l-, LK/MK ko'l-, NV k'o'l-/kal-, P ko'l-/k'al-, kal-, LL ko'l-/kal-, UL/Ss k'a'l- id.; pOs {Ht.} *ku'l/*ko'ləy- > Os: V/Vy ku'l-, Ty kiḏ-, Y ku'ḏ-, D/K kit-, Nz ki't-, Kz ki'ḏ-, O kil- id. ¶ Ht. #249 II ?σ,ϕ D *kut.t- ({GS} *gud.d.-) ~ *kunt. ({GS} *gunt.-) 'hill, high place' > Kn gud.d.a, gud.d.u, Gnd gut.t.a 'mountain, hill', Tl gut.t.a id., 'heap', gud.d.e 'field on mountain slopes, a high field', Knd gud.e 'hill field', Gdb gud.iya 'small field for cultivation of vegetables', Ku gud.ia 'field of dry cultivation', Png, Mnd gut.i 'bank of river', Kdg gud.d.e 'heap'; a nasalized variant is present in Tm kun.t.u 'small hill' ¶¶ D #1682 ¶ Both the phonetic shape (presence of a nasalized variant) and the meaning (esp. 'heap') raise doubts about the validity of this cognate II ? **HS:** C: SC: Irq {E} kutuw- v. 'swell' (of wound, etc.); SC ⚡ Mb -ku'tu 'climb' ¶ E SC 247 [#43] ♦ The fortis *t'- in A and the geminated -d.d.- in the D lgs. suggest a lr. after the dental stop.

962. *kot.e 'belly' > **IE:** NaIE *g'wet- 'belly' > L botulus 'gut, sausage' (⚡- OscU) || Gt qipus 'stomach, womb', ON kviðr 'belly, womb', AS cwið(a) {Ho.} 'Bauch, Leib', {Sw.} 'womb', OHG quiti 'vulva, womb', d: MHG kutel 'intestines' || Gk [Hs.] βυττον 'pudenda muliebria' || pTc {Ad.} *ka'cān- > Tc: A ka'ts, B ka'tso 'belly, stomach, womb' ¶ WH I 113-3, EI 2 (*g'wet- 'stomach, womb'), Ert. ED 27, 68, Fs. 390, Vr. 338, Ho. 66, Sw. 39, Kb. 584, OsS 691, ⚡ WP I 560, 671, ⚡ P 481, ≠ F I 278, ≠ Ch. 203, Ad. 156 II **HS:** Ch: WCh: Dir {Sk.} k'a'ts'n, Tala {Sh.} ka-du 'belly' || CCh: BuP {Mk.} kuta id. | Lmn {Mk.} xudi id., {Lk.} xud.i '(?) my belly' | Mdr {Eg.} hu'd.e', Glv {Rp.} xu'da, Gdf {Sh.} x'oda, Dgh {Frk.} xw'd.e' | Suk {Mk.} xut | Mtk {Sb.} h'a'd., pMM {Ro.} *h'od. > Mlk {Ro.} h'o'd., Mkt {Ro.} hu'd., Mada/Myn {Ro.} ho'd., Mofa {Ro.}, MfG {Brr.} h'a'd. 'belly' || ECh: Mb {J} ha't, ? Ke {Eb.} gīd3, Nd D {J} gu'3^h id. ¶ JI I 9 (pCh *√kt and *√k.d. 'belly') & II 20-21, Ro. 210-1, Brr. MG II 132 II ?? AdS of U: FU *ku'te 'middle, middle of the body' [⚡(x N *g'f'u'dv or *g'f'u'tv 'belly, middle', q.v. ffd.).]

963. ?σ₂ *kot.fu' 'to drip, exudate' → 'sap, pitch' > **IE:** NaIE *g'wet- 'pitch' > OI 'jatu 'lac, gum' || L bitu'men 'asphalt, bitumen' (⚡- Clt or OscU) || OHG quiti, cuti 'glue, resin' > MHG ku't(e) > eNHG Ku'tt, NHG Kitt 'cement, mastic cement', AS cwīdu, cwīodu, cwudu 'mastic (a gum)' ({Ho.} 'Gekautes, Baumharz'), NE cud; with apophony: ON kva'da, Sw ka'da 'pitch', ODn kvade, Nr Δ kvæde 'birch sap', ko'da, kvæda 'beestings' ¶ P 480, EI 500, M K I 415, WH I 107, Vr. 335, Hlq. I 542, Ho. 65, Lx. 120, Kb. 584, KM 372 II **HS:** WS *√k.t.r 'to drip; pitch' > Ar √qt.r (ip. -qt.ur-) 'to drip', qat.r- 'resinous juice of the dragon's blood', qa't.ir- 'dripping; gum', qat.r-at- 'drop', qat.ra'n- ~ qit.ra'n- 'wood-tar' (⚡ Gz

k.ət.raːn, Sq {L} k.at.raːn, Fr goudron 'tar, pitch', Sr {PS} k.aːt.raːn 'oleum picinum'); a merger with N ***K.UtV(-RV)** 'smoke' (q.v.): JA √k.t.r *Sh* (pf. ʔak.t.ar) 'let the incense rise', Ar r6Q √qt.r *D* (pf. qat.t.ara) 'to perfume (clothes) with the smoke of burning aloes-wood', JEA {SL} ar!y!q^ k.ət.aːraː 'incense', BHb tr#7yq6 k.ət.oret_ 'incense', JA at!r^y8q6 k.ət.urːt-aː 'incense', SCn *k.at.aːr-oːtu/i pl. (< **k.at.uːroːtu/i on the analogy of other segolate nouns) → Eg (EgSSc) k.a-da-ruː-taː 'incense'; Sb mk.t.r 'incense altar' ¶ Fr. III 463-5, BK II 765-7, KBR 1095-6, L G 454, L LS 373, PS 3597, KB 1022-4, Js. 1352, 1357-8, SL 1008-9, BGMR 109, Hlk. #239, SivCR 46 || C: Ag {AD} *k.wət- 'be humid, wet, fresh', {Ap.} *q.wət- 'be wet' > Bln {R} q.wet.-~quːt.- (= q.wət.-) 'be humid, moist', 'be green, fresh' (of grass)', Xm {R} quːt.- (= q.wət.-) id., 'be raw' (of meat), 'be unripe' (of fruit), Q {R} h.wet.- ~ wet.- 'be humid, moist, raw', Km xotaːm ~ x.waːtaːm 'humid' || ʔφ EC: Or {Th.} ʔid.a 'humid, soft, fresh', ʔid.u 'be humid\soft\fresh', {Grg.} ʔid.aː 'wet, fresh', Or H {Ow.} ʔid.aː 'wet', Or Wt {Hn.} ʔid.- 'be wet', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} ʔidaː 'wet, humid' ¶ R WB 247, R Ch. II 69, R Q II 78, CR K 209, Ap. AV 17, AD SF 256, Th. 165, Grg. 235, Ow. 265, Sr. SO 340, Hn. W 64 ♦ Ag *k.wət- may have resulted from *mte* (*k.w...t < *k.w...t.).

964. ? *kut.V 'magic utterance and its results' (→ [1] 'public utterances', [2] 'be fortunate') > **HS:** S *^o√k.t.t. > Ar qit.t.- 'sentence, arrêt (d'un juge)' ¶ BK II 764 || C: Bj {Rop.} kwatī 'fortunate, happy', {R} 'k.wati 'happy (glücklich)', {Rop.} k.watim- 'be fortunate\happy' || ʔφ EC: Arr ged.- 'say' (× N ***katV** 'speak, think?') ¶ Hw. A 360, Rop. 209, R WBd 150 || **II** *k'ut.V > T *k'ut 'good luck, happiness' > OT {Cl.} qut 'the favour of heaven, good fortune, happiness', Osm ʔvQu qut, Tk kut, Tkm gut, Qzq, Uz qut 'good luck, prosperity, happiness', Alt qut 'vis vitalis, foetus', Xk xut, Yk kut, Tv qut 'vis vitalis, spirit, soul', Tlt {Rl.} qut id., 'spiritual life', Nog, Qq, Qrg qut id., 'happiness', VTt, Bsh qəːt 'soul, spirit, good fortune, happiness' || Chv kət 'good fortune, happiness' ¶ Cl. 594, Rs. W 305, ET Q 175-7, Rh. 1480, Rl. II 990-1, Jud. 452, BIG 294, TvR 82, Pek. 1261-3, Ash. VII 194 || M *qutug > MM [HI] {Ms.} qutuq qutug 'happiness', [S] qutuy ({H} h.utuh) 'holy', WrM qutug, HIM xyraːr 'sanctity, holy rank; happiness, bliss; benediction', WrO {Krg.} xutuq 'holyness, sanctity', Kl {Rm} xutuq_ 'Glückseligkeit, Heiligkeit'; MM [MA] {Pp.} qutuqtu 'happy', [IM] vn96Qu (misspelling for vt96Qu) qutuytu 'blessed', [S] qutuytu ({H} h.utuhtu) 'holy, blessed', WrM qutugtu, HIM xyraːr, Mnr {SM} xud.ug.t'u 'saint, holy', ∈ title of the highest clergy ¶ Ms. H 92, Pp. MA 313, 446, H 73, MED 992, Krg. 291, KW 200, SM 174 || Ko {Rm.} kut 'magic, sorcery' ¶ Rm. SKE 132 || ʔφ pJ kaːntu.aː 'ability, talent' > OJ kaːdwoː ¶ S QJ #886, ▢ Mr. 432 ¶¶ In Tg (Ewk kutu 'fortune', WrMc xuturi id., 'happiness' and Jrc hutur 'happiness', cf. STM I 440, Z 438-9, Hr. 475-6 and Kiy. 116 [#343]) the sound corr. are not regular, and the words are likely to go back to loans from M ¶¶ ▢ DQA #937 (A *kuːt'aː 'fortune'; incl. T, M, J) || ʔσ **IE:** NaIE *g.wet- 'proclaim, utter' (→ 'ban') > L vet-oː 'forbid' || ON kwiða 'poem', kveða 'say, speak', Gt qipan, OSx quethan, AS cweðan id., OHG quedan id., 'talk', ON kveðja 'anreden, begrüßen, aufordern', ON kvirðr 'Mitteilung, Aussage, Urteil', AS cwide 'what is said, expression, statement; proverb, saying; decree', OSx quidi 'speech, word' || Arm koçem kocːhem (aor. koçeci kocːheːcːhi) 'I call, I name' || ? Irn: Sgd zːut 'says' (× N ***katV** 'speak') ¶ P 480-1, Mn. 358, WP II 776, Fs. 389-90, Vr. 337-8, Sw. 38, Ho. 65, Ho. S 59, Schz. 187, Kb. 576, Slr. 381-2, ▢ EI 535 (? *g.wet- say'; + *unj.* : OI gadati 'says', in fact < N ***katV** 'say') ♦ **IE** *g.wet- and Ar qit.t.- belong here if their meaning goes back to something like 'magic utterance'. Otherwise (e.g. if the original meaning of **IE** *g.wet- is 'to say') we have to do with two homo- or paronymous N roots, one of them meaning ▢ 'to say', the other one 'be fortunate'.

965. *k'uːːt.a (or ***k.-?**) 'fingernail, claw, nail' > **HS:** S *^o√k.ut.t.- (× N ***K.otV** 'tip, end, sharp point') > Gz k.wət.t., k.wət.t.aː 'butt end of spear, spear with squared iron part, slender spear' (ass. glottalization of the initial *k-) ¶ L G 452 [¶ **II** **K:** GZ *k.it- 'finger' (and 'finger-nail?') > Mg, Lz k.it-i 'finger', G {KEGL} k.it-i ~ kit-i 'thickened bottom part of a stalk\trunk near the root', ? G Kzq {FS} k.it-i 'stick', ??σ G {FS} k.it-i '∈ kind of vine-branch' ¶ FS K 184, FS E 202, Fn. KL 179-80, KEGL IV 1219] || ?? **U** *kuːt.t.a > Sm {Jn.} *kətaː, {Hl.} *kəta 'claw, fingernail' [× U *kuːnːcːe 'fingernail, claw' < N ***kuːnːcːe** or ***kuːnːcːe** '(finger)nail, claw?'] > Ne T хаАда, Ne T O {Lh.} xaːdaː, Ne F {Lh.} kattaː 'finger-\toe-nail, claw', En X {KD} koːda, {Ter.} koda id., {Cs.} 'kora, En B {Cs.} 'koda 'fingernail', Ng {Cs.} 'katu id., Slq Tz {KKIH} qati 'finger-\toe-nail, claw, hoof', Slq Ch {Cs.} 'kacːe ({Jn.'s interpretation} kːacːe), Kms {KD} kːaːda 'claw, hoof, nail', Koyb {Sp.} кода 'fingernail', куда 'hoof', Mt {Hl.} *kada 'fingernail, hoof' (Mt: M {Sp.} кадамь 'my fingernail', кадые 'its hoof', K {Pl.} chadada

'his fingernail') ¶ Sm *ъ may go back only to U *u (cf. Sm. 484 ¶ Jn. 55-6, Ter. 714, Lh. 160-1, Ter. SILSJ 286, KP 97 [#541], KKI 158, KD 24, Cs. 48, 80, 114, 221, Hl. M #377 II A: Tg *°kita-kun 'finger-toe-nail' > WrMc χitaχun ~ χitχun, Mc Sb ki_ataχon id. ¶ STM I 466, 384, Y #76, S AJ 208 [#22], SDM97 114 (Tg i°ki_ata-kun; i ÷ Ne B qataχi 'брысок, large bar') ¶¶ The delabialization **u° > *i still needs explanation ¶¶ S AJ 290, □ DQA #740 (incl. Tg) ♦ The rec. of N *k- (rather than *K-) is based on the ev. of Tg. In S *k- < **k- is due to regr. as [k], in K pne may suppose shift of glottality *k...t. > *k...t? An alternative hyp.: N *k- and de-emphatization (due to an unknown cause) *k- > *k- in Tg. ♦ Blz. KM 135 [#13] (adduces K {Fn.} *k-it-i 'finger'))

966. ? *k'a₁ft. ▽ 'hard, dry' > HS: ? S *°k.ft. > Ar √qft. G (qafat_a / yaqfat_u) 'être sec, desséché, aride; être dur envers son débiteur' ¶ BK II 782-3 II A *k'at' ▽ 'hard' > NaT *k'at id. > Tk Δ qat 'hard, dry', Qmn {B} qat 'firm'; NaT *k'at- 'be\become hard\firm\tough' > OT qat- id., Chg qat- 'be hard\tough', Tkm gata-, Nog, Qq, Qrg, VTt, Bsh, ET qat-, Chv χit- 'harden', Uz İor- qat-, Alt, Tv qat-, Tf qa't-, Xk, Yk χat- id., 'dry up', Qmq qat- id., 'freeze', Qzq qat- 'harden, freeze'; d *k'at'ig 'hard, firm, tough' > OT qatry, Tk katr, Tkm gatı id., Az gatı 'dense, hard, tough', Uz, ET qattiq, VTt, Bsh qatъ, Qzq qattı, Qrg qattu, StAlt qatu, Xk χatry, Tv кадыг, Tf qa't'ıy 'hard, tough' ¶ Cl. 395-8, ET KQ 334-5, Ra. 219-20, Hüs. 76, TkR 163-4 || M *qata- vi. 'get dry, dry up; become hard' > MM [HI] qada- 'get dry', WrM qata-, HIM, Brt xata-, Ord {Ms.} g_at'a-, Kl {KRS} хатх χатъ-χъ, {Rm.} χатъ-χα 'get dry\hard', 'get tempered' (of steel)', Mnr {T} χada- 'get dry', {SM} χad_a- 'devenir dur\sec\robuste, se raidir, s'affermir', Dgr {T} χata-, {Mr.} kate- 'get dry', MM [HI] d qatavar 'manque de pluie, sécheresse', [MA] qata-qsan adj. 'dried', MMgl {Iw.} d qata-d 'unobtainable'; d : M *qata'y'u 'hard' > MM [MA, HI] qatavu id., WrM qatagu, HIM xaryy 'hard, steadfast, tight', Ord g_at'u- 'hard'; *qatan, *qatangu 'hard, strong' > MM [S] qatan 'steel', qatangu ({H} h.atangh_u) 'hard as steel, firm', WrM qatan, HIM хатан 'hard, strong', Brt хатан 'made of steel', WrM qatangu, HIM хатанга 'strong, hard, harsh', Brt хатанга adj. 'dried, dry', Mnr {T} χadon 'hard, firm', {SM} χad_o'η 'dur, ferme, fort, constant'; M б> Yk χatan ~ χatan 'hard, firm'; M *qata-ya- vt. 'dry (make dry), harden' > MM [HI] qada- vt. 'dry, make dry', WrM qataga-, HIM, Brt хатаа-, Mnr {SM} χad_a- id., Dg {Mr.} kata- id., {T} χata- id., 'harden', Kl {KRS} хата- χata-, {Rm.} χata- 'make dry', 'temper' (of steel) ¶ H 63, Ms. H 85, 89, Pp. MA 295-6, Iw. 124, MED 943-4, Chr. 560-1, KRS 582-3, KW 172, SM 146-7, T 372, Mr. D 181-2, Pek. 3399 || Tg *kata- > Ewk Ald/Z kata 'dry, meager', Ewk K kata 'firm (крепкий)', Ewk PT/Np/Nr kata- 'sharp' (of a knife)', Orc kata 'hard, firm', Ork qata, qatta 'firm', Ne Δ kata~, Ne Nh/KU χata~ 'firm'; Ewk Ald/SB/Tng/Ucr kata- vt. 'get dry (from draught)', WrMc qata- (prs, qata-mbi) vi. 'harden, get dry' (Z: 'засыкат□, тверд□т□ посл□ сырости и просушки, вьсыкат□, был□ провѣлень'), Mc Sb qatə-mə 'become bone-dry'; there is partial contamination with loans from M [e.g., Neg kata- 'temper (metal), Ul χata(n)- 'sharp, firm', Ne χata~ 'firm', as can be seen from their meaning ('to temper') or from their phonetic shape (χ-)] ¶ STM I 383-4, Z 255, Y #1819 || pKo {S} *ku't- 'hard' > MKo ku't-, NKo kut- ¶ S QK #614, MLC 216 || pJ {S} *ka'ta- 'hard' > OJ ka'ta- id., J: T ka'ta-, K ka'ta-, Kg ka'ta- 'hard, firm' ¶ S QJ #560, Mr. 831 ¶¶ S AJ 70 (A *k₁'jat'a 'hard'), □ DQA #1020 [A *k'e't'o 'hard'; incl. T, M, Ko, J] II D *kat.t.- ({°GS} *gat.t.-) 'hard' > Tm kat.t.- vi. 'harden, consolidate', Ml kat.t.i 'what is condensed, solid, ingot', Kt kat.y 'solid lump', Kn gat.t.i 'firmness, hardness', Knd gət.t.i, Gdb gat.t.in 'hard', Tu gat.t.i, gad.ъъ 'firm, hard', Tl kat.t.u 'become hard', gat.t.i, gad.usu 'hard', Klm gat.t.i 'thick (density)', ked.k 'hard', Kui d.r'ahpa 'be hard', d.rai 'hard, stiff', ? Krx kar'a~r-, kad.r- v. 'congeal, freeze' ¶¶ Km. 321 (D *kat.-/*kat.-), □ D #1148 (does not distinguish between the √ in question and homonymous roots meaning 'tie, bind', etc.) , □ An. SG 132 (Tm -t.t.- < *-n't.t.-) ¶¶ D *-t.t.- (rather than *-t-/*-tt- as the reg. reflex of N *-t.-) may be accounted for by the preceding N lr.

967. ? *kaw ▽ 'to call (exclaim), shout' > IE: NaIE *gow-/*gw- 'shout' > OI 'gavate- 'sounds', redupl. 'jogu- (gen. pl. 'joguv-a~m) 'praising' || Gk γο'ο (< γο'φο) 'weeping, wailing', γοα'ω v. 'groan, weep', γο'η 'incantator'; Gk βοη', Gk D βοα' 'a loud cry, shout' (β- < NaIE *gw-) || OIr guth 'voice' (< *gutu-s) (× NaIE *g^hau(ə)- 'call, invoke', pp. *g^hu(ə)-to- 'called, invoked' < N *ga''wft ▽ or *ga''wy ▽ 'to call') || OHG gi-kewen 'to call, vocare', AS crēzan 'to call, call out, name' ¶ WP I 634-5, P 403, M K I 331, 445, F I 247-8, 317-8, Schz. 180, Kb. 539, OsS 485, Ho. 47, □ LP § 62 (OIr guth < NaIE *g^wow- [> Gk βοη' 'a loud cry, shout']) II HS: ? C: Bj {R} ikuw-, ikw- scv. 'lament, wail, shout', 'utter a cry' (of animals) ¶ R

WBd 13 ¶ Initial i- is probably a rest of the personal px. that remained after restructuring the former prefix-conjugated verb into a suffix-conjugated one || D *kauv- ~ *kav(v)- ({GS} *k-) 'sound', v. 'call' [× N *ga^wƿV ~ *ga^wyV '↑'] > Tm kauvai_~ 'sound, noise, roar', kavar v. 'call, summon', Tu hauji 'noise, tumult, alarm', Prj kavd_~ v. 'curse, abuse', Krx kauwa_r 'tumult of angry voices, roudy shoutings', Mlt kawye v. 'use vile language'; here also pseudo-onomatopoeic (secondary interpretation as onomatopoeia): Kn kava pseudo-imitative ideophone for the sound of angry language, Tl kavakava 'aloud (of laughter)' ¶¶ D #1341.

968. *kiw₁V₁hE 'stone' > HS: Ch *√kw ~ *√gw (or *k^wV? ~ *g^wV?) 'stone' > CCh: Mtk {ChL} k^wa? 'stone', Mf {BLB} k^wa, {Sb.} k^wa^ˆ! Bdm {Cfr.} ka^ˆu^ˆ, {Lk.} kau_~, Ktk Af {ChC} kao! Nz {Mch.} kwa^ˆa, {Mk.} kwaa id. ¶ ChC, ChL, BLB 198 || ? WS □*√kwh > Gz k^wak^wəh (pl. kawa^ˆkəh) 'stone, rock, stony ground', Ar ka^ˆh-, ki^ˆh- 'rugged face of a mountain, side of a valley consisting of the hardest and roughest stone' (in the prehistory of Ar *VwV > V) ¶ L G 280 || K: GZ *kwa- 'stone' > OG kva-y, G kva, Mg kua ~ kwa, Lz (n)kva, mkva id. ¶ K 197, K² 215-6, FS E 376-7, Q 346, Chik. 187 || U: FU *kiwe 'stone' > F, Es kivi! Er/Mk кев k^ˆev! Chr L/H kye ku^ˆ, Uf ku^ˆ, B ku^ˆy! Prm *ki 'stone, millstone' > Vt koe k₃, Vt SW ko^ˆ 'millstone', Z iz-ki id. || ObU {acc. to Hl.'s theory} *ka^ˆw 'stone' > pVg {Ht.} *ka^ˆw > Vg: T ku^ˆw, LK/MK/P ka^ˆw, UK/NV/SV/LL/ML ka^ˆw, UL/Ss kaw; pOs {Ht.} *ko^ˆy 'stone' > Os: V/Vy ko^ˆx, Ty/Y ka^ˆx^w, Y ka^ˆw, D/K/Nz/Kz/O kew! Hg ko^ˆ (acc. ko^ˆvet) id. || pY *qay- 'stone' > Y T qay-^ˆid. (nominal sx. -^ˆ!) ¶¶ Coll. 89, It. #180, UEW 163-4, Db. OS xxx, Sm. 543 (FU *kiwi, FP *kivi, Ugr *ki^ˆwi^ˆ), Ht. #235, Ker. II 58, LG 123, IN 244 || ?? IE: Ht ku(wa)nnan 'copper; ornamental stone' (× N *K_{on}h₁V 'yellow?') ¶ Ts. E I 688-92, Pv. IV 308-11 ♦ AD GD 16 (K, U), IS I 298 [#166] (Ch, K, U), AD NM #83, S CNM 8 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST), Uch. p.c. [May 14, 2000] (drew my attention to the Ht word).

969. *koyV 'to draw (schöpfen)', 'scoop, spoon' > U *koyV 'spoon, scoop' > Lv {Kt.} ko^ˆi^ˆ d^ˆ ka^ˆi 'spoon'! Prm *koy (□LG) *ko_y 'shovel' > Z LV koy 'small shovel for throwing in hot stones into the brewery tun', Z USs ko_y, Yz koy 'hunter's shovel', Vt M kuy 'spade'; Prm *koy- (□LG) *ko_y- v. 'draw (schöpfen), shovel' > Z koy- 'to draw liquid (from a vessel) and pour it out' (a merger with *koy- v. 'throw'), Z I koy- v. 'shovel snow' || Sm {Jn.} *kuy 'spoon' > Ne: T Y/E xy, O {Lh.} xu^ˆ; Ng {Mik.} ku^ˆ; En d : X {Cs.} ku^ˆri, B {Ter.} ku^ˆde; Slq: Tm {KD} ku_{yag} 'spoon', ? q^ˆu^ˆya^ˆ > 'hāv (landing-net)', MKe {KD} ku^ˆy:an 'puukuppi (wooden cup or dish)'; Kms {Cs} d^ˆ kuigu 'spoon' ¶ UEW 117, LG 128 (s.v. кой and койны), Jn. 74, KP 103-4, Ter. SSJ 205, ≠ Sm. 552 (Vt kuy, Z koy < FP *ka_{oj}wa 'dig, spade') || R: Tg *ku_{yE} (= □Bz. *ko^ˆyV) > Neg kuy₃mi ~ kuy₂ni, WrMc {Z} к^ˆуй и, к^ˆуй ни (= □Sin. kuy-i- kuy-ni), {Hr.} kuili 'spoon' ¶ STM I 425, Z 288, Hr. 599, Sin. TM 358 (on the value of Mc □Sin. ku) || M *qayiba > Ord {Ms.} xa^ˆwa t^ˆogo^ˆ 'marmite à large ouverture et dont le bord s'avance en dehors' (t^ˆogo^ˆ 'chaudière, mamite'), WrM qaiba 'large kettle, frying-pan' ¶ Ms. O 347, MED 911 || D (in SD) *kayyil ({GS} *k-?) 'spoon, ladle' > Ml kayyil, Tu kai₁l₇ 'ladle, spoon', Krb kili 'ladle' ¶ D #1257.

970. ?? *ka^ˆr^ˆi^ˆyU '(small) bird' > HS: Eg fXVIII k_y 'bird' ¶ EG V 17 || Ch: WCh: Hs Δ k^ˆa^ˆwa^ˆ 'e a bird'; AG: Ang {Flk.} ki^ˆ 'fowl', {Brq.} ki^ˆ 'hen', Su {J} k^we^ˆ, Mnt kiye id., Gmy {Hf.} ke^ˆ, Kfr {Hf.} ko^ˆ 'hen, chicken', cp. also {Nt.} k^wo^ˆm 'bush fowl', Su {J} k^wo^ˆm 'partridge' || ECh: Kwn {J} ko^ˆyo^ˆ 'bird' || CCh: ??? Mdr kuye 'hawk' ¶ Ba. 705, JI II 23, J S I 71, Flk. s.v. ki^ˆ, Hf. AG 24 [#197], Nt. 22, Brq. AP ¶ OS #1598 (*koy-) (Eg, AG, ECh, Mdr) || U *ka^ˆyV '(small) bird' > Prm *kay id. > Z kay kay id., Vt к^ˆыйкай kiy-kay '(hunter's) game, wild birds and mammals' (< *kiy 'catch, hunt' + *kay 'bird') [not kiy 'snake' + *kay, as in UEW 133] || ObU: Vg Ss {Kn.} koy 'young bird (Vöglein)', wa^ˆs-koy 'duckling', lunt-koy 'gosling' (wa^ˆs 'duck', lunt 'goose'), Vg N {MK} koy, koyi 'Sprößling, Kind'; Os Kz qu^ˆy 'young of a fowl (duck\hen\goose\swan)' || Sm: Mt {Hl.} *kay 'goose' (Mt: M {Sp.} kay, {Mll.} khai, T {Mll.} kai, K {Mll.} gai, {Pl.} ray, ghai) ¶ UEW 133, LG 115, Ht. #743, WVD VII 327, 464, MK 217, Stn. D 597, Hl. MTKV 21, 65, □ Hl. M #383 (unc.: Mt *kay < T *kar 'goose') || R: Tg *kuyu^ˆ-ken 'young bird' > Ewk kuyu^ˆk₃n 'young fowl (duckling, gosling, chicken)', Sln xuyu^ˆx₃^ˆ, Lm kuyuk₃n 'young bird', Neg kuyix₃n ~ kuyux₃n^ˆ d^ˆ kuyuk₃n 'duck', WrMc xoyxo 'tailless chick'; *^ˆkuyu^ˆ-ki > Ewk kuyuki ~ kuyzki 'goose' (*-ken/kan is a dim. sx., *-ki is a sx. of animal names, f Vas. 761) ¶ STM I 425 ♦ The discrepancy between the words pointing to N *k- (Tg, AG, ECh) and those suggesting N *K_~- (Eg, Hs) may be resolved by postulating a lr. (most probably *?), lost in most lgs., but producing a cluster *k? (> *k.)

in the prehistory of Eg and Hs. The labial element in the first syll. (in some Ch lgs. and in Tg) is probably due to regr. *as*.

971. *kUʹʹyV 'larva, worm' (→ 'moth') > **U:** FU {UEW} *koye ~ *koya id. > F koi, koja 'moth, maggot, mite', Es koi 'moth' : Lp Nt {TI} kuā̃.i.yə̃, ku.ã.jẽ, ku.ã.i.ja 'grub that gnaws clothes and food', ? Lp Kld {TI} kõ.i.χə̃, K {Gn.} ku.ə̃.jχ 'moth' : Er ki 'clothes-moth' : Chr L {Ü} , B {Wc.}, M kiye 'moth' : Prm *kã.y {DLG} *key 'moth' > Vt кей, {W} kõ.i id., Z UV kəy 'small white hard worm (in meat)' : ObU: Vg T {Kn.} kiỹ^d kã.y 'moth'; Os V {Stn.} key id. || ?φ Sm {Jn.} *kiwã 'worm, snake' > Ne: Т сибл̃, O {Lh.} s'ib'̃.e 'larva of the gadfly under reindeer's skin', F {Lh.} s'ib'̃:ə̃ã id.; Slq Tz {KKIH} s'ū̃ 'snake', ũt-s'ī 'leech' (ũt 'water') ¶ UEW 167-9, TI 141, 159, Gn. 125, Ü 67, LG 139, SZ 170, Stn. D 596, Jn. 72, KKI 177, 193 **II A** {ADb.} *kuyV (= *kuyV) 'noxious and parasitic insect' > T *k' ũ.yã 'moth' > OT {Cl.} kũ.yã ' (clothes-)moth', Tk gũ.ve, Tkm r̃.e gũ.ye, Az Ø*вə g'ū.wã, Uz kuya, ET kũ.yã, Qmq r̃.e gũ.ye, VTt, Bsh k̃.yã, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, StAlt kũ.ye, Qrg kũ.bõ, Uz kũ.ya, Xk kõ id., Yk d' k' ĩ* p kũ.yũ r̃ b̃ HIM, Brt x̃.ĩp 'moth', Ewk kuyur 'moth', Lm kuyur 'larva of a beetle' : Chv k̃.ye, Δ k̃.ye 'moth' ¶ Cl. 756, ▢ Rs. W 297, ET VGD 94, Hüs. 189, RKumS 413, RAltS 303, Jeg. 103, Fed. I 267-8, OMT I 489, STM I 425 || Tg *kuyi-hta 'larva of a gadfly (under reindeer's skin)' > Ewk kuyikta ~ kuwikta ~ kuyakta ~ kuyiktə id., Lm kõ.yit, Neg kuyiktə, Ork kũ.n'iktə ~ kun'ittə 'gadfly larva'; d̃ (bf.) Ewk kuyi- v. 'penetrate under reindeer's skin' (of gadfly larvae), Lm kõ.yin- v. 'lay eggs' (of a gadfly); Ewk b̃ Yk kuyukta 'gadfly larva' ¶ STM I 424 || pKo *kũ.ĩ.tə'ki 'maggot, worm, grub' > MKo ¶¶ ADb. KL, Rs. W 297, Rs UAW 19 **II ? IE:** NaIE *gʷõ-ũ- (× *gʷõ-ũ- 'disgusting, filth') > Sl gav-ẽd̃, *ẽda coll. 'small creeping animals (lizards, frogs, vermin)' (*ẽ.d̃ is a sx. of collective and uncountable nouns) > Blg 'гавед' 'small creeping animals (гавды)', SCr gã.vẽd coll. 'wild animals', Cz Δ havẽd 'parasitic insects', 'poultry', Slk havẽd id., 'rabble', P gawiedz 'small animals' (→ 'kiddies', 'gaping crowd'), R Δ 'гаведа' 'creeping animals (lizards, frogs, etc.); disgusting insects' ¶ P 484, ESSJ VI 110-1, SBR 186 **II HS:** EC: Af {PH} kã'fay 'flies', {R} qã'i, Sa {R} 'qã'e n. 'fly' ¶ R S II 230, R A II 74, PH 140 ♦ IS MS 349 (*gʷõ.yã 'moth' in U and A) → Gr. II #268 (*koya 'moth') [U, A, Ko, Ai], Rs UAW 19 (U, A).

972. *koyʹʹo 'fat, healthy' (→ 'to fatten, nourish') > **HS:** Eg fMK k̃ 'nourishment, food', ?? Eg fP k̃ 'the Ka (spirit as part of personality), strength' > Eg (AkSc) ku, (GkSc) χοι (in the month name Χοιῶν) [unless from k̃ 'name', cf. N *koʹʹi 'to call']; Vc.'s vocalization of k̃ 'the Ka' is *ku ¶ EG V 86-91, Vc. 74 **II IE** *gʷeĩ-h̃-/ *gʷeyeñ- 'be healthy, live' ({EI} *gʷeĩ-h̃- 'live') > OI 'gayah. 'vital strength, life', Av gayõ 'life, lifetime' : Arm keam keam (aor. keçi kec̃i) 'I live, am alive' (< *gʷiy-ã) : Gk Hm ζω̃ω (aor. εβίωv) 'live' : OIr {Vn.} biad, biad 'nouriture, tribut de vivres' (the unexpected b- due to a loan from Brtt and/or infl. of OIr betha 'life'); W bwyd, OCrn [VC] buit, OBr {Flr.}, Br boued - boed (< Clt *gʷei-to) 'food, nourishment' : Lt gỹti 'to get better, recover', Ltv dzĩt 'recover'; Lt ãr-gajus 'rest, Erholung' : Sl *z̃'ĩ-ti 'to live, recover' > OCS жити z̃iti id., SCr z̃ĩti, Slv, Cz z̃iti, Slk z̃it, P z̃yc̃, R жити 'live'; (caus. >) Sl *goji-ti vt. 'fatten, cure' > Blg rõi vt. 'fatten', SCr gõjiti vt. 'to bring up (a child), nurse; to fatten', gõjiti se 'be well fed, fatten', Slv gojĩti vt. 'to nurse, fatten', Cz hojiti, P goic̃ vt. 'cure', Slk hojit̃, R Δ 'гоити, Uk робити 'hojiti 'cure (wounds)', OR гонити goiti {Sr̃z.} 'живити' (= 'give life?') : L ṽita, Osc bir̃tam 'life' : pTc {Ad.} *s'ãw- ~ *s'ãy- > Tc: A s̃o-, B s̃ãy-/s̃ãw- 'live' ¶ d̃ IE *gʷiH-wo- > NaIE *gʷi(:)-wo- 'alive, living' > OI j̃ĩva-, OPrs j̃ĩva-, Av j̃uua-, YAv j̃uia- : L ṽivus, Osc (nom. pl.) bivus id. : OIr bẽu, bẽo id.; Brtt {RE} *biwos id. > W byw, Crn bew, Br bev id.; d̃ verb: W byw, Crn bewa, MBr beva, Br bevañ 'live' : Lt gỹvas, Ltv dzĩr̃vs 'alive, living', Pru gĩwu, giwīt 'live', gi(j)wan 'life' : pSl *z̃'ĩṽ 'alive, living' > OCS живѣ z̃iṽ id., Blg жив, SCr, Slv z̃ĩṽ, Cz, Slk z̃iṽ 'alive', R жив 'is alive', R жи̃в-ой, Uk жи̃в-ий, P z̃ywy 'living' : (with shortening *ĩ > *i) Gt qiwa- (att. in obl. cases) : Gk βίω̃ 'life' ¶ P 467-9, EI 356, M K I 324, 439-40, M E I 467-8, 594-5, F I 237-9, 618-9, Fs. 390-1, WH II 808-10, Bc. 313, Sl̃t. 98, Vn. B 37, 47-8, RE 110, Flr. 88, Hm. 95, Fr̃n. 154-5, ESSJ VI 119-21, Vs. II 51-2, 57, Gl̃h. 710-1, Db. SDKI (on shortening *ĩ > *i in Celto-Italic and Gmc), Wn. 484-5, Ad. 627, Ad. H 31 **II U:** FU *kuye 'fat' > F kuu 'tallow, fat' : Er kuya, Mk kuya, {Ahl.} kuyã n., adj. 'fat', Er/Mk kuya- 'grow fat' : pChr {Ker.} *koya > Chr: L kõ kõ.ya, B koya 'fat, tallow', adj. 'fat', U koya, H {Ep.} kaya n. 'fat' : Prm *kõ.y ({DLt.} *kõ.y) > StVt коей кзы, Vt Sr̃ кзы, Vt Kz kõ.y 'tallow, fat', adj. 'fat', Vt G кзы n. 'fat'; Prm *koy { {DLt.} *kõ.y-) is represented in Vt куайыны kway-ini 'grow stout' : Hg hãj n. 'leaf-

lard, fat' ¶ UEW 195-6, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *kuji, Ugr *ku'ji- 'tallow'), Ber. 18, Ker. II 70, MRS 229, Ep. 36, Ü 70, U3S 218, 220 II ? R: M *°qoya > WrO {Krg.} xoyota- 'sated', xoya u'gei 'unsated' (u'gey 'not'), Kl {Rm. ← Gl.} xoyo, xoyote- 'nahrhaft, reichlich' ¶ KW 181, Krg. 279, 281 ¶¶ i ÷ A *k_l'guv {DQA} 'thick, saturated' (i.e. 'thick, dense') > T *Koyu-g id., pJ *ku_a'-id., pKo *ks_{-r}- 'be thick, fertile' (DQA #908) II K: GZ *gw- vt. 'feed, fatten' > Mg gv- id. (v-o-gv-an-u-an-k 'ich füttere, mäste', i-b-gv-an-u-n-k 'ich werde fett'), Lz gv- (gv-an-er-i adj. 'fat', Sv gw-/gu- (lu-gw-ar adj. 'fat', li-l-gw-ar-i 'to feed (animals), fatten') ¶ FS 76-7, FS E 80 ♦ The K vd. *g- suggests that the N Ir. must have had a voicing effect in the pre-history of K. It must have been *ʃ (because the other voiced "lr." *ɣ would have been reflected in K as a pharyngeal). In Eg *ʃ must have been changed to ʒ due to an incompatibility law (k_l- is not attested in any word in Eg) ♦ IS I 299 [#168] (IE, U, M); S NSShS [A, IE, K].

973. ? *koyHV 'skin, bark' > IE *g^wei_H- (*g^weHi₋?) / *g^wiH- 'skin' > NaIE *g^we_i- / *g^wi- > OI jī-na-m, jī-la-h. 'leathern bag' :: Mlr {P} bian 'peau' ¶ WP I 666, P 469, M K I 437-9, Vn. B 48-9 (Ir bian ī < IE *b^hei- 'couper') II U: FU *koya 'bark, fruit-skin, fur' > F koja, Krl koja 'bark' : Lp Vfs {Lgc.} g_uo_o'ye- v. 'bark (a tree)', ku^oy^oz 'bud (of a tree or grass)' : Z {W} kzya 'agaric (on a tree)' :: Os Ty qo'y 'fur from the forehead of an animal (reindeer, cow, bear, etc.) used to make soles of footwear' : OHg haj 'bark, fruit-skin', Hg Δ haj, Hg he'j 'fruit-skin, shell, bark, eye-lid, pillow-case' ¶ UEW 166, Lgc. SL #817, KrT 280, Stn. D 440, EWU 543-4 II R: NaT *k^uy-ka 'skin' (*-ka is a sx.) > OT {Cl.} quyka- 'skin, fur', ET quyqa 'skin on a person's head; singed and cooked skin of a sheep's head', Nog quyqa 'tetter, mange', Bsh 'ой а қъ уқа, Qq quyqa 'singed skin', Qzq İyīla qu^uyqa 'singed head of an animal', Tv куйга quуға, StAlt куйка quуқа, Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} qui_uya, Tlt {Rl.} quyuqa 'skin of the head', Qrg куйка quуқа id., 'skin of a singed head (of sheep/goats)', Xk хуйға quуға 'skin of the head (with hair)', Yk kuy^uaxa 'skin of the head, singed hide' ¶ In ET and Qrg there is contamination with N *k.æ'h^uyV 'to heat, singe (tr.)' ¶ Cl. 676, ET Q 113 || M *quyīqa- [x N *k.æ'h^uyV] > WrM quīqa, HlM хуйх 'animal skin from which the hair has been singed; scalp', Brt хууха 'skin of the head, scalp', ?σ Kl хуух 'thick skin'; M *quyīqa-la- > WrM quīqala-, HlM хуйхла-, Kl хуухл- 'to singe, burn (hair, feathers, grass, etc.)', Brt хуухал- 'singe (legs and head of an animal before cooking)' ¶ MED 983, KRS 615-6, Chr. 607 ♦ AD MR 261 (IE, U), IS I 299-300 (*koyHa; IE, U, ? T).

974. *koyhV 'be strong, overpower, take possession of' > IE: NaIE *g^weyə- 'to overcome, ruin; violence', *g^wiya- 'violence' > Gk βί_α, βί_η 'bodily strength, force' :: ON kveita {P} 'to overpower', {Vr.} 'ein Ende machen, umbringen', ? Gt qistjan 'destroy' :: Ilr: OI jya-, jia- 'power, violence', parama-jya_{-h}. (-ji'a_{-h}) 'having the greatest power', jya- (prs. ji'na'ti) {MW} v. 'overpower, oppress, deprive so. of property' ¶ The supposed Irn cognates (YAv {M} zinat₋ 'bringt jemandem um etwas, beraubt', {Brtl.} zinaka adj. 'schädigend?', OPrs adīn- 'entreißen, rauben', KhS ysa_{-n} 'carry off') and OI jya- in the meaning 'deprive of property' belong here if the meaning 'deprive, carry off' is secondary (← 'overpower, ruin') ¶ WP I 66-7, P 469-70, EI 158 (*g^wyeh_A- 'physical power; overcome, oppress'), M K I 448, M E I 602-3, MW 426-7, Brtl. 1697, Hinz 43, Bai. 350, F I 235, Vr. 337 II HS: CS *√kwh 'be strong', *kawh- 'strength' > BHb h@7f 'ko^h 'power, strength', EpHb kh. 'strength', Md √khw 'be strong', Ar √kwh (pf. ka^ha) 'overpower, n. act. kawh- ¶ KB 446-7, KBR 468-9, BK II 941, DM 195, 205, HJ 496 II K *kw-, *kwn- (*kun-) 'have, possess' > OG kw-, kwn-, G kv-/kon-/kn- 'have, possess', Mg, Lz kun- put on: Lz dolo-kun-u 'to put on; clothes', Mg mik_a-kun-ali, ge-kun-al-oba 'clothes' ¶ FS E 381, Fn. G 236, Chx. 1571-4.

975. *ka^uywV 'to chew' > IE: NaIE *g^uyew-/gyew- 'chew' > Irn *z^uyav- (< *gyeu₋) > NPrs {Horn} ḏYvJa z^ua^uvī-daⁿ, {BM} ḏYvJa z^ua^uvī-daⁿ, Psh {Mrg.} z^uo^u-v-ul ḏ z^uo^uyəl 'chew' :: OHG kiuwan ḏ chiuwan, MHG kiuwen, MMG ku^uwen (b> NHG kauen), MDt cauwen ḏ couwen, Dt kauwen, AS c'e'owan 'to chew', NE chew; OHG {OsS} chuwa^u ḏ chiwa^u ḏ che^uwa^u, MHG kiuwe, kiwe, ke^uwe 'jaw' :: Lt z^uia^uuna 'jaw', Ltv z^uau^unas f. pl. 'jaw-bone(s)', z^uauna^u-t 'to eat quickly and greedily; to eat slowly' : pSl *z^uuj-o_u / *z^uva-ti 'chew' > OCS жѡѡж z^ujo_u / жьвѡти z^uvati, OCz z^uvu / z^uva^uti, Slk z^uujem / z^uvat', P z^uuje_u / z^uuc^u ~ z^uwe_u / z^uwac^u, R жу'□ / же'ват□ id.; Sl {BER} *z^uuna > Blg жѡна 'lip' :: pTc {Ad.} *s^uuwa^u- 'eat' > Tc A/B {Ad.} s^uuwa^u-, {Wn.} s^uwa^u-, B s^u- id. ¶ P 400, EI 175 (*g^uyeu_H-; *unc.* adduction of ON tyggja 'chew, eat', with *-H-reconstructed probably on the ev. of -ggi-; on tyggja cf. ON tugga 'bite', Vr. 600-2), BM 157, Horn 93, Mrg. 106, BM 157, Vr. N 309, Ho. 47, Schz. 181, Kb. 543, OsS 493, Lx. 109, Frn. 1302-3, Vs. II 39-

40, Chrn. I 294, BER I 559, Wn. 490, Ad. 631-2, Ad. H 65 || **A** *k' a⁻bi- 'chew' > T *k' a⁻b(a⁻)- 'chew' (the stem-final *a⁻- is evidenced by the OT aorist ka⁻va⁻r) > OT ka⁻v- id., Osm {Rh.} gev- 'chew; mumble in the mouth, as a beast its cud', Tk {TrR} gev- 'chew by a mouth without teeth'; d *k' a⁻bil' 'chewing; cud' > Tk gevis, id., Tkm ga⁻vu⁻s, Az g'o⁻yu⁻s, Bsh к*йшкь уь⁻s, Qzq к*й⁻с ку⁻ji⁻s 'cud', d *k' a⁻bil'a⁻ 'ruminant, chew' > OT ka⁻vs'e- 'chew the cud', Chg ka⁻vs'a⁻, Az Ø' вш- g'o⁻vs'a⁻ - Ø' jш- g'o⁻ys'a⁻ 'chew', Tkm ga⁻wu⁻s'e-, Tk Δ gevs'en-, Uz kaws'a-, ET ko⁻ys'i- ~ ko⁻s'i-, Δ ko⁻s'a⁻, Qmq gu⁻ys'e-, Bsh кь⁻ys'a⁻, Nog ku⁻ye-, Qq gu⁻ye-, Qzq ku⁻ye-, Qrg ku⁻ys'o⁻, Qrg, Alt keps'e-, Tv kez'en- 'ruminant', Ggz gevs'en-, VTt ku⁻s'a⁻ 'chew, ruminant', Xk kipsen- 'eat\ruminate (while walking)' || Chv kavle- 'ruminant' (or < *k' a⁻bilE-?) > Chr kavlem 'I chew', Er kav'a-ms, Mk kavi'a-ms 'to chew (slowly)'; *k' a⁻bilE- > Tk gevele- 'ruminant', etc. ¶ Cl. 687, 692, Rs. W 244, ET VGD 5-7, S AJ 196 [#245], Rh. 1602, TrR 333, Tkr 239, UzR 197, TvR 294, Jeg. 84, Fed. I 210-1, Fed. ChM 187 || M *ke⁻bi- v. 'ruminant, chew the cud' > MM kebi-, WrM kebi-, HLM хуву-х, Kl кеb- kew-, Mnr {SM} k'e⁻yi-, {T} keyi- id. ¶ Pp. MA 212, MED 439, T 338, KRS 288, KW 229 || Tg *ke⁻bi- > Lm kə⁻wri- v. 'gnaw' ¶ STM I 442-3 || (??σ) Acc. to Starostin, pJ *ku⁻p- 'eat' > OJ kup-, J: T ku⁻, K/Kg ku⁻, Ht ho⁻, Y qu⁻ id. ¶ S AJ 269 [#119], S QJ #119, Mr. 718 ¶¶ S AJ 69 (*ka⁻bi ~ *kebi), S VL #230 (*ga⁻bi), KW 229, DQA #787 (A *ke⁻pu 'chew'; incl. T, M, Tg) || ? **HS**: C: Ag: Bln k⁻wa⁻ 'chew, bite' ¶ R WB 224 ♦ IS I 293 [#160] (IE and A [T, M, Tg]), Mng. E-1 ♦ Not here D *kavul- 'cheek' (D #1337), because the OI loanword kapola 'cheek' (Tu. #2755) suggests an eD stem with a labial stop (*kabul-, whence later *kavul-) and thus favours an etl. connection of the D stem with N ***qa⁻b⁻** 'jaw' or (less plausible) N ***gab⁻** (L⁻l⁻v) 'head' (> 'top', 'skull') (q.v.).

976. UA ₂ *koyw'a⁻ 'birch tree' > U *koyw'a⁻ id. > F koivu, Es ko⁻iv (gen. ko⁻ivu) id. || ? Lp P {Set.} ko⁻a⁻ye⁻vu⁻ ~ ko⁻a⁻ivu⁻ id. || pMr {Ber.} *kiy-/*kuy- + *l-sx. > Er килей kil'ey, Δ kil'e⁻, Mk келу kелu 'birch-tree'; *kiy-ker'/*kuy-ker' (*ker' 'bark') 'birch-bark' > Er кигор kigor, гигер giger, Δ kiv-ger', Mk кевгор 'kevgor, куйгор 'kuygor 'birch bark' (-gor, -gər-, -ger' 'bark') || pChr {Ker.} *ku⁻ 'birch-tree' > Chr: L куу kue, Ug/B kue, H куги куҫи ~ коги коҫи || Vg: T ke⁻l⁻ d ke⁻l⁻, LK/So ха⁻l⁻ id. || ?? Hg hajo⁻ 'ship', Δ hijjo⁻, hijjo⁻ 'small trough-like boat, made of a tree-trunk' (< *'boat of birch-bark'?) || Sm {Jn.} *ko⁻u⁻ 'birch-tree' > Ne: T хо, O {Lh.} хо⁻, F d ku⁻γək.u id.; Ng {HL., Mik.} ku⁻ā, {Cs.} 'kua; En {Ter.} koa⁻ d 'kua; Slq Tz {KKIH} qa⁻, {Prk.} qa⁻, qwa⁻; Kms {KD} d k'u⁻i⁻u⁻, k'oi⁻u⁻, {Cs.} ku⁻yu⁻, Koyb {Sp.} d ку; Mt {HL.} *ku⁻gja (Mt: M {Sp.} ко, {Mll.} ku'a, K {Mll.} ku'ga, {Pl.} куга, T {Mll.} ku'o) ¶ UEW 169-70. Coll. 25, Set. FUS 42, Ker. II 60, Ber. 22, Ps. OT 50, Rm. BT 52, Jn. 73, Hl. US 120, Hl. M #565, KP 95, KKI 159 || **A** *k'a⁻i⁻lv (ADb.) *k'aw- 'birch-tree' > M *qu-sun (ADb.) *kuu⁻-sun, i.e. *quβ-sun id. > WrM qusun, HLM хyc, WrO xusum, Kl хycм xusm, Brt xyha(н) ¶ Rs. UAW 27, KW 199, MED 991, KRS 613, Krg. 291, Chr. 608-9 || NrTg *kibe (< *ka⁻i⁻be?) > Ewk kiwz d kiwz 'birch-bark', Ewk Nr/K kiwz 'birch-tree', Lm kiwz, Lm Sk kibz 'birch-bark' ¶ STM I 390-1 ¶¶ ADb. KL ¶¶ J kaba 'birch-tree', although phonetically resembling the A word, does not belong here, because it goes back to OJ kaniqa < *kanipa id. (Mrt. J 431); Pröhle: the U √ (*koywa) i ÷ OJ kupa, J kuwa 'mulberry tree' (Prl. JUA 171) ♦ IS I 300 [#170]. The word may have been borrowed by the N dialects underlying U and A from aboriginal lgs. of Northern Eurasia.

977. *kez⁻ʔE 'skin; to skin' > **HS**: S *ks⁻ʔ? (× N *kis⁻ʔV 'to tear (off), pinch, pluck') > Ar √ks⁻ʔ v. 'peel': qas'aʔa / yaks'aʔu 'écorcher, dépouiller d'écorce ou de la peau supérieure, de coque', qas'iʔa / yaks'aʔu 'être pelé\écorché de manière que la peau de dessous paraisse sous la peau extérieure' (se dit d'un outre), 'avoir la peau dure et gercée au point qu'elle s'écaille' (se dit des mains) ¶ BK II 900 || **K**: G kil- 'scale off, remove the skin (from cooked tongue), remove bristles\hair (from the hide\skin of an animal)' (× N *kol⁻lv⁻ʔV 'to peel, bark?') ¶ Chx. 1558 || **U**: FU *kez⁻e 'skin, leather, peel (of fruit)' > F kesi (gen. keden) 'membrane, pellicle, film, scale', kesi- v. 'scale off, peel off', Es kesi (gen. kee) {W} 'leere Hilde\Schote; abgeworfene Schlangenhaut' || Lp I -katt (gen. -ka⁻da) in sarve-s-katt 'reindeer skin', Lp T {Gn.} katt 'Fell' || pMr {Ker.} *ked⁻ā > Er кед, {Ps.} ked⁻ ~ ka⁻d, Mk кед кед⁻ 'hide, skin, skin of fruit' || Prm *kil⁻ (× U *ka⁻lv < N ***K.al⁻ru⁻** 'skin, film, bark', q.v.) > Z kil⁻ 'seed-coat, surface film, outer [scaling off] layer of birch bark, dandruff', Vt kil⁻ 'scales that come off from the bark, dandruff' || Vg: LK -k⁻a⁻l⁻an 'hide' (in ya⁻l⁻pənyk⁻a⁻l⁻an 'deer hide', lit. 'hide of a holy beast'), P -ka⁻l⁻an 'hide' (in wuyka⁻l⁻an 'bear hide', lit. 'beast hide'), NV k⁻a⁻l⁻am 'bear hide', UL -kol⁻na 'hide' (in pupak⁻kol⁻na 'bear hide' [pupak⁻e is 'bear']) ¶ UEW 142-3, W EDW 269, Ker. II 58, ERV

247, LG 124 || **A**: ? Tg *^okel... > Ewk Tk/Tmt k3lk3- 'fur overshoes', Ewk Ucr k3lk3- id., 'fur boots (**унты**) for children (made of hide on reindeer legs)' ¶ STM I 446.

977a. ₂ *kuz^hmV or (*kuz^hV mV) 'smoke, ashes' > **IE**: NaIE *^og^welm- > Gmc: NHG Qualm 'smoke', NGr Gtn Quulm 'thick smoke', MLG quallem, NLG, Dt kwalm 'smoke', Dn kval 'steam' ¶ KM 572, Vr. N 373 || **U**: FU *kuz^hmV 'ashes' > pre-Mr {Ker.} *ku^hmt > pMr *ku^hlǝw > Er кулов kulov, Δ kulow^d kulon, Mk кулу kulu || ObU {Ht.} *ku^hz^hmV id. > pVg {Ht.} *ku^hl^hmV > OVg: W P ку(л)ма, S Tr хулма, W Sol ку́лмь, Vg: T ko^hl^həm, LK/Ss xu^hl^həm, MK/UK/LL ku^hl^həm, P/NV/SV ku^hl^hl^həm; pOs {Ht.} *kayəm > Os: V/Vy qayəm, Y qa^hyəm, D/K xoyəm, Nz/Kz xoyəm; Hg hamu id. ¶ UEW 194-5, Ht. #229, MF 259, It. #239, Ker. II 70-1 [† || **A**: T *k^hu^hl 'ashes, cinders' [× N ku^hlV 'glowing coals' (q.v. ffd.), N ***qULpV** 'hot ashes, embers; to fry\heat on embers or hot stones' and N ***K.Eyɿaɿla** 'to burn (vt., vi.), heat, be heated, roast'] || ? **HS**: S *^okus^hs^h- > Ar kus^hs^h- 'pollen du palmier' (← *'dust' ← *'ashes') ¶ BK II 494 [† || Ech: Kwn {J} ki^hse', Ll {WeibP} ku^hsa', {Grgs} ku^hsa' 'smoke', Ke {Eb.} ké^hse' id., 'vapour' ¶ ChC, Eb. 65, Blz. LECh #77 ♦ Sauv. 92 (U, T), ▢ Blz. LB #4a and ▢ Blz. LBNA #29 (both: U, T + *unc.* IE *geu^hl- 'coal', cf. N *ku^hlV – *kaw^hlV 'glowing coals')].

978. ?? ₂ *ka3V '(young) dog' > **HS**: Eg MK czm (< Eg O *czm – *csm) 'hound, dog' ¶ EG V 409-10, Fk. 308 || B *-KVzīn- ~ *-KVzzu^hn- (*-kVzīn-, *-kVzzu^hn-...) > *as* *-gzīn- and [with secondary emphatization] *-qzīn- ~ *-qVzzu^hn- '(young) dog' > Sll {Ds.} ikzin, Nfs ugzin, Skn gzīn, Tmz ikzin – Δ iqzin, Izn {Rn.} aqzin, Rf A/B {Rn.} aqəzzun id., Kb {Dl.} aqz^hun (pl. iq^hz^han) 'dog' (insult); Si agurzəni 'dog' (a re-borrowing from a Berberism in a local d. of Ar, to judge from the pl. əlgurazən?) ¶ Dl. 657-8, MT 357, Beg. N 222, Rn. 370, La. S 114, NZ 935 || C: Ag {Ap.} *g3z3η- 'dog' (*-η- < *-m-) > Bln g3d3η, Xm, Q g3z3η, Aw gse^hη, g3se^hη, Knfl {TBZAC} kassan ¶ Ap. AV 11, R WB 143, TBZAC 102 || amb SOM [× N ***goK.Vs^hl^hc^hV(-RV)** '∈ canine' × N ***K.ac^hØV** 'young dog\wolf']: Ari {Bnd.} (?)aksi 'dog', Ari B {Fl.} aks, aksi (pl. aks3n), Ari U {Fl.} aksi, Ari G {Bnd.} aks^hi, Hm B {Fl., Ldl.} k^haski, Hm K {Fl.} kaski ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'dog', Blz. OL #124, Ldl. H || Ech: Brg ka^hz^ha^hη 'dog' ¶ JI II 107 ¶¶ Tk. I 186, Blz. OL l.c. (Om, Ag, Eg, B), Ap. AV 11 (Ag, Eg) || **A**: Tg *kaçl- 'young dog' (× N ***K.ac^hØV** 'young dog\wolf') > Ewk kaçi-ka^hn, Sln xas-xa^h: id. (-ka^hn, -xa^h: is a dimin. sx.), Lm qaça, Neg kaçi, kaçi-xa^hn, Ud kas^han^hz^higa, {Krm.} kasan^hz^higa, Nn B qasqa, Nn KU qac^hqa id. and possibly (in spite of the aberrant vocalism) Ork k3çik3, Nn Nh k3yc^hz^h, k3yc^hz^hk3 ¶ STM I 385, Krm. 246 ¶¶ Tg vl. *-ç- for the expected voiced *-j- is puzzling ♦ Tg *k- and Eg c-point to a N plain vl. *k-. The voiced *g- in Ag and in some B lgs is due to regr. *as* (*kz > *gz). But the emphatic q- in several B lgs. remains unexplained; in any case, it cannot be ancient (pB), because HS *k., unless geminated, yields B *γ and never *q.