

1351. ***ma** ({IS} *-ma) pc. of marked accusative > IE *-m / *-m_o, accus. case ending of nouns of the animate (active) gender > AnIE: Ht -n / -an, Lw, Hrlw, Pal, Car -n, Ld -v id. || NaIE *-m (acc. of m. and f.) > OI, L -m, Gk -v, OLT nasalization of the stem-final vw.; after stem-final cnss. *-m_o > OI -am, Gk -α, L -em, Lt -i, ¶ Bks. 172-92, Szem. IEL 160-92, Rsk. 54-5, Kmh. HPL 193-7, 301, Hb. L 406-9, KrlSh. XLJ 19, 25, 62 || HS: Om: SOm {Fl.} accus. ending *-m > Ari {Hw.} -m, Dm {Fl.} -im, Hm {Ldl.} -(d)am / -(d)an (positionally conditioned allomorphs, in which, acc. to Hw. CO 28, -m/-n go back to *-m) :: NrOm: Krt {Hw.} -m- within the predicative forms of pers. pronouns: ta-m-akko 'it is I', ne-m-akko 'it is you [2s]', nu-m-akko 'it is we' (pred. ← acc., as in NE it is me and Fr c'est moi), Bnc {Brz.} -m as a dative-benefactive ending of pers. pronouns: ta-m 'to me' (dat.-ben. ← generalized oblique case ← acc., as in M *ci-ma- obl. of 'thou' < N *t.^u 'thou' **ma** 'thee', see below); but, acc. to Hw. CO 26-9, hardly here the NrOm acc. ending *-n (> Kf/Bsk/Ym {C} -n, Mj {All.} -n) [see N *nu 'from, of'] ¶ Bnd. MO 167-8, Hw. CO 26-30, Fl. OO 316, Fl. D 518, Hw. NAL 443, Ldl. H 412, All. D 390, Zab. CO 625 || U *-m, *-mV, accus. of definite nouns > FP -m, accus.: F -n, Lp J -m, Lp S {Hs.} -m^d -b, Chr L/H -m (F kala-n, Lp J guole-m, Chr kolə-m 'pisces') :: Vg {Lml. ← Kn.}: SV/LL/ML -ma', -m, LK/MK/UK -mā, -m, T -m3, -mi, -m, acc. marker of definite object || Sm: acc. ending: Ne T -m?~, Slq Tz -m, Kms -m, Mt M {Sp.} -m ending of definite accus.: Ng -m ¶¶ Wkm. FOUL 11-2, 24-5, 56, 63-71, 145-9, Coll. CG 284-6, Hs. 97-103, Lml. HFW 24-41, Beronka II 146-7, Mu. VNYJ II 56, III 363, IV 158, Lav. TJM, Rmb. MJ-93 290, Srb. PGS 70-2, Ter. NJ-93 332, Ter. NgJ 80-2, Hl. SelJ 364, Hl. MTKJ 377, Kü. KJ 383 || A: pTg *ba/*be / (after a noun-final *n) *ma/*me, postp. of accus. of definite nouns > NrTg and AmTg accus. ending *-ba / *-be, (after a stem-final n) *-ma/*me-: Ewk -ba/-b3, (after a vw.) -wa/-w3, (after a nasal) -ma/-m3, Lm -w, -m, Neg -wa/-w3, -pa/-p3, -ma/-m3, Nn, Ul, Ork, Sln -ba/-b3, (after a vw.) -wa/-w3, Ud {Krm.} -wa/-w3/-wo/-ma/-m3/-mo, WrMc [-]be (postp. [marker] of accus., still preserves [traces of] the original analytical status of N ***ma** [evidenced by the lack of vowel harmony]) ¶ Ci. 256, Bz. 78-9, Hrl. 35, 74-5, Krm. 86 || pJ {S} *b3, {Vv.} *bo- > OJ, CIJ wo, accus. and emph. (focalizing?) pc. > J o id.; b- is still preserved in some Ryukyu ds. (Rbt., p.c., 2003) ¶ Vv. LDROJ 106, Mur. KAJ 130, Mill. JAL 25-7, BBl. 52, 57, 96, Hag. W ∇, Syr. DJ 106-8 || M *-ma- in the accus. and other oblique cases of pronouns: M *ci-ma-yi 'thee' [originally accus. *ci-ma 'thee' + nominal accus. *-yi that was added by analogy (see under N *h'a'ya 'for')] > MM cimayi, WrM cimai, etc., M *i-ma-yi 'him' accus. (demonstr. *i + accus. *ma + M nominal accus. *-yi). The prehistory of these forms may be reconstructed as follows: N *t.^u 'thou' **ma** 'thee' (= *t.^u 'thou' + *ma accus.) > ppM *t'ima 'thee' > pM *ci-ma-yi 'thee', the form *ci-ma- being generalized as the stem of oblique cases, whence the dative *cima-dur, the ablative *cimaca, etc. ¶ AD PP 78-9, Pp. IM 209-14 ¶¶ Mng. JA 11, 14 || D *-n (if < *-m), accus. case ending > Kt -n_u, Td -n, -n_u, OKn -a(:)n, Tulu -n_u, OTI -n_u (-v), -in_u (-iv) -n_u, Klm -(u)n, Prj -(i)n, Gdb -(i)n ~ -(i)ṅ, Knd -ṅ, Png -iṅ, Krx -in, -an, -an, Mlt -e(n), -i(n). Traces of the former ending *-m may be discerned in OKn accus. ending -am ¶¶ Zv. CDM 27-30, MhS 165, Shanm. DN 370-1, Kittel GKL 43, Gai 42, An. SG 202-5, Rmn. 191 ◆ IS II 48-51 (*-ma > IE, U, A, D), AD PP 92, Mng. MP 21-36, Coll. IUS 21, Coll. HUV 130, Ivn. VNZN 148 (on the original analytical status of this accus. marker), Gr. I 129 (IE, U, A, incl. J). I am grateful to Blz. for drawing my attention to the Om cognate. In IE the nouns of the non-animate (neuter) gender do not distinguish between nom. and accus. (and hence have no acc. ending), because there is no syntactic necessity for it: nouns of the non-animate gender do not usually appear as subjects of a trans. verb, therefore in sentences with trans. verbs they always function as their object. In other words, in IE (as in many lgs.) the accus. marker is used only when it is necessary for syntactic distinctions. It is a trace of an old N syntax that had no obligatory grammatical categories (unlike in later IE lgs. with their grammatical categories of compulsive usage - even when not necessary for communication). In F this morpheme is not used after the inv., which reflects the same original situation: the form is not used wherever the syntactic function (object of the verb) is obvious from the context. In Sm and Tg this case marker denotes a definite object. All this suggests that originally *ma denoted a marked accusative.

1352. ***ma**, marker of nominalized syntactic constructions (≈ subordinate sentences), nominalizer (originally a prn.) that formed analytic equivalents of nomina actionis, nomina agentis and other derived nouns > HS *mV - prefix of derived (mainly deverbal) nouns: S: [1] S *mV- as a px. of prtcs.: (α) *mu-1a2'2i3-, act. prt. of the D -stems > Akk mu1a22i3-, Ar mu1a22i3-, BHb mē1a2'2e3, Aram mē1a2'2e3, Sr mē1a2'2e3 (on the meaning of e in Sr see below *Transcription*), Gz ma1a22a3 id., (β) *mu-1a2'2a3-, ps. prt. of the D -stems > Ar mu1a22a3-, Sr mē1a22a3, BHb (with an analogical u) mē1u22a3, (γ) *mu-s'a1'2i3-, act. prt. of the Sh-stem (causative) > Ak mus'a12i3-, Ar mu12i3-, BHb ma2'2i3, Sr ma2'2e3, etc. || [2] S nomina actionis *ma12a3- > Ar ma?kal- '(act of) eating', BHb lk1a9m2 ma?a'k_a'l 'food', ox'1m2 mas'sa'f 'trip' (< d- √nsf 'fahren'), Gz mans.ar 'the front part exposed to view' (← 'looking at' < d- √ns.r 'look [at]'), whence nomina loci *ma12V3- > Ak mas'kanum 'place, tent', BHb Nf1S6m5 mis'ka-n 'dwelling(-place)', Sr marba'f 'womb' (< d- √rbf 'lie down'), Ar maqbar 'grave' (< d- √qbr 'bury'), Ak mu-s'abum 'seat, dwelling place' (√ws'b 'sit, reside'), BHb bS1&m mo's'a'b.; nomina abstracta *mV12V3-at- > Hb em1h1l6m5 milha'ma 'fight, war', Ar éoajir0Ma marg'ifāt- n. act. 'return', Gz mangas't 'government, kingdom', JA mē12a3 - inf. of the G-stem., Ak mu'rakum 'length' (√rk 'be long'), etc. || [3] S *ma12i3- ~ *ma12a3-at- - patterns of nomina instrumenti > BHb h@T4f6m2 map.'te-ah 'key' and Ak nipte'tum id. (both < d- √pth 'to open', Ak n- < *-m-), BHb eb1f1rm3 merka'ba-, JA aTb6f2r'm2 markab_t-a-, Sr markab_t-a- and Ak narkabtum 'chariot' (*√rkb 'to ride, voyage') || [4] ? possibly a S sx. *-m-: Ar fushum- 'wide', s'adqam- 'wide-mouthed' ¶ Br. G I 375-82 [§§ 195-203], JB NB 233-

73, Sd. G 64-6, Js. 844, Br. 731, MSUS 80-3 || Eg mV-, px. of derived (deverbal and denom.) nouns (nomina loci, instrumenti): mzw̄t 'food made of wheat' (<d- zwt 'wheat'), msχ̄n 'abode (of gods)' and msχ̄nt 'bearing-stool, necropolis' (<d- sχ̄ny 'descend'), mχ̄zt 'balance (Waage)' (<d- χ̄zy 'to measure'); mV-, px. pf prtcs. and nomina actoris: mn̄hzyw 'bewachende' (<d- nhzy 'wake'), m̄h̄nk 'Beschenker' (<d- h̄nk 'to present so. with') ¶ Ed. 109-10, Fk. 119 || C: Bj {R} ma- / me- / (before sibilants) mī-, px. of n. act.: ma-'dir ~ ma-'de-r̄ n. act. 'killing' (<d- -dir 'kill'), 'ma-fnik ~ ma-f'ne-k ~ mefnek 'Biß, das Beißen' (<d- -fnik 'bite'), mī-'sa-? ~ mī'sa? 'seat, sitting' (<d- -sa-? 'sit, sit down') || Af m-, px. of derived abstract nouns (n. act., etc.): ma'baka 'birth, being born' (<d- o'boke 'be born'), mabul 'observation, sight' (<d- uble 'see'), midir 'possessions' (<d- eddere 'possession') || Ch: Hs ma-...-ī (m. pl. ma-...-a-, f. sg. ma-...-iya-, f. pl. ma-...-iyai-) - circumfix of nomina agentis [madink̄-ī 'tailor' (<d- d̄inka 'sew'), maginī 'builder' (<d- gina 'build'), mak̄e-rī 'smith' (<d- k̄e-ra 'forge'), maž̄iyī 'ear' (<d- ž̄i 'hear')], ma...-ī (pl. ma-...-ai-) - circumfix of nomina instrumenti [mabu'd̄-ī 'opener, key' (<d- bu'd̄-a 'to open'), mad̄au_kī 'handle' (<d- d̄au_kā 'to lift')], ma-...-ī and ma-...-a- (both pl. ma-...-ai-) - circumfixes of nomina loci [mas'igī 'ford' (<d- s'iga 'to enter')], mak̄wanc̄-ī 'lair' (<d- k̄wanta 'lie down'), mafita- 'exit' (<d- fita 'come out'), makaranta- 'school' (<d- karanta 'read') || Mrg m̄z-, px. of nomina loci: m̄z'c'ī'b̄, 'corral, fence' (<d- c'ī'b̄, 'to fence [in]'), m̄z'-nd̄z'la' 'escape-hole' (<d- nd̄z'la' 'go/break through'); *m̄z-...-i, circumfix of nomina agentis: m̄z's'z'z'z'b̄, 'pupil' (<d- s'z'z'z'b̄, 'learn, teach'), Msg/Gdr {Mch.} mu-, Pdk {Mch.} ma-, sx. of derived nouns ¶ Taylor 63-4, Hf. M 48-9, Mch. VCQP 67-8 ¶¶ Zab. HSP 35-8 ¶¶ HS *-mV, nominalizing suffix > C *-mV > EC: Af {Hw.} nominalizing sx. -m / -im, e.g. yo- h̄ate-m 'the one(s) who helped me' (<d- h̄ate 'help'), fasa'm 'the red one(s) thing(s)' (<d- fasa 'red'), iyyī nim 'whose one(s) thing(s)' (<d- iyya 'who'), namma'm 'two, the two, both' (<d- nammay 'two'); it functions as nominalizer of sentences (≈ infinitive, gerund): is ka' digibta-m ma'fad̄, d̄a 'she doesn't want to marry him', yama'te'-m ka'k̄ fad̄, en 'they wanted him to come', ḡirisa'm duddah 'she can (is able) to swim', u'suk yo' yuble-m a'd̄, igeḥ 'I know that he saw me'; Sml -mo-, sx. of nomina actionis (and nouns denoting the result of an action): d̄id-mo(-da) 'refusal' (<d- d̄id-i v. 'refuse, deny'), h̄ir-mo(-da) 'bundle, sheaf' (<d- h̄ir- v. 'tie'), deg-mo(-da) 'settlement, camp' (<d- deg- v. 'live [in a place], reside'); Sd {Gs.} -umma ~ -imma, sx. of nomina abstracta: danc'umma ~ danc'imma 'beauty, goodness' (<d- danc'a 'good, beautiful') || SC: Irq {Mous.} -īma sx. of denom. abstract nouns (dak̄, ari?īma 'prosperity' <d- dak̄, a-r-mo 'rich person'), -e-ma sx. of abstract nouns from adjectives (c̄, e-re-ma 'length' <d- c̄, e-r 'long') ¶ R BedS IV 15, R WBd 80, 194, PH 157-68, 236, 287-8, Dbn. 70, ZMO 89, 93, 431, Gs. 67, Mous 77, 81-2 || K: [1] *m-, *me-, px. of prtcs. and nomina agentis > OG m- (m-c, e 'helper', m-dgom-i 'who stands'), G m- (da-m-c, er-i 'author', m(e)-br̄z̄ol-i 'fighter', prtcs. 'fighting'), Lz m- (me-m-ž̄yon-i 'leader'), Sv m̄ə- id. (m̄ə- qer 'striker', m̄ə-c, ed 'who sees', UB m̄ə-ma-re 'who prepares', Sv m̄ə-s'k̄ id. 'smith'); GZ *me-c, 'wel- 'milch (cow, etc.)' (<d- *c, 'wel- 'to milk') > G mec, wel, Mg mac, wal-, Lz manc, wal-u; [2] *m-...-e, me-...-e, circumfix of prtcs. > OG m-žl-e(-y) 'mighty one', G m-c, ip-e 'ripe', Lz m-s'in-e 'who remembers', Sv m̄ə-tr-e 'who drinks', m̄ə-gc, -e 'who catches'; GZ *me-up-e- 'owner, possessing' (<d- *up- 'possess') > OG meupe-, G mepe-, Mg mapa- 'king', Lz mapa- 'king' (in a place bame); [3] GZ *m-...-el-, circumfix of prtcs. (OG m-c, ap-eli et lisa 'driver of the chariot', G m-c, ed-eli 'smith', Mg m-c, k̄, ad-u id., Lz m-s'um-u 'drinker'); [4] GZ *m-...-el-, circumfix of gentilicia > OG m-egwip, t-eli 'an Egyptian (person)', G m-ruv-eli 'bishop of Ruisi', m-egr-el-i 'a Megrelian', Mg m-arg-al-i id.; [4] *ma-, derivational px. (px. of nomina agentis, nouns/adjectives of quality bearers, etc.) > OG ma- (ma-ryw-i 'destroyer'), G ma- (mar-r̄z̄v-e 'geschickt, geeignet', etc.), Mg, Lz mu- (Mg mu-r̄z̄gv-i 'successful'), Sv ma- (ma-qa'd̄ 'harvest', ma-s'a'd̄ n. 'helper', ma-zwa'b̄ 'spring of water') ¶ K 123-4, 131-3, K² 111-3, Dt. 224-5, FS K 204-5, FS E 224-8, Chx. 225, 738-44, Q 094, Top. SE 220, GM 322, GP US 96 || IE *-mo-, sx. of denom. and deverbal derivatives: NaIE *d̄h̄u-mo-s 'smoke' (<d- *d̄h̄u- 'to blow') > OI 'dhu'mah, Gk̄ 'v̄mo, L fu'mus, Lt pl. du'mai, Ltv pl. du'mi, Pru dumis id., Sl *d̄im̄ id. (> OCS, OR дѣмъ d̄im̄, Blg, Uk дим, SCr, Slv dr̄'m, Cz dy'm, Slk, P dym, R дѣм id.); Tc B -mo (pa'lka-mo- 'brilliant, splendide', F Wn. 357), Tc A -m(o) || AnIE: Ht {Ts.} werite-ma n. 'fear' (<d- werite 'be afraid') ¶ Brg. KVG 343-8, P 261-2, Ts. W 105, Kron. EHS I 177-81, Glh. 196 || U *-ma/*-ma'', derivational sx. of deverbal and denom. nouns/adjs. and of prtcs. (e.g. FU *oda-ma n. 'sleep, dream', *s'ur(e)-ma 'death') > F juo-ma 'beverage', kalja-ma 'skating-rink' (<d- kalja 'smooth'), kuole-ma, sur-ma 'death', Es surm id., sure-ma inf. 'die' : Lp N ællem (< *ela''-ma'') 'life' : Et нилима n̄ili-ma n. act. 'swallow', udomo, Mk udoma n. 'sleep' : Chr H kay-m̄ (p. prtcs.) 'gone away', Chr U o'm̄, Chr L udomo n. 'sleep' : Vt kule-m, Z kul̄z-m 'dead', Vt um n. 'sleep' || OHg almu ~ alom, Hg a'lom n. 'dream, sleep' : ObU {Ht.} *wu'd̄am/*wu'd̄mV 'dream' > pVg *u'lmV id. (> OVg S: Kg олм̄, Vt олм̄; Vg S: T o'lm̄; Vg E: Lk/MK/UK u'lm̄; Vg W: P wul̄m, NV/SV/LL ul̄m; OVg N Chd улм̄, Vg N: UL/Ss u'lm̄ id.); pOs *wul̄m 'dream' > Os: V/VY ul̄m, Ty ul̄m, D/K ot̄m, Nz ut̄m, Kz wō'̄l̄m, O wul̄m 'dream'; pOs *al̄m n. 'sleep' > V/Vy/O al̄m, Ty/Y a'̄l̄m, D/K ot̄m, Nz ot̄m, Kz ot̄m id. || Sm: Nn T O {Lh.} χa''eβ̄a' n. act. 'going away', T F NI {Lh.} ka''e, m: a'̄ id., Ng {Cs.} matu-mu-naḡ firaḡ 'I can chop', En {Hl.} badi-ma n. act. 'hunt for wild reindeer', adj.: Slq Tz {KKIH} c'o'̄ri-m/p 'thick' (<d- c'o'̄ri 'thickness'), Koyb {Sp.} дж̄р̄л̄м̄ 'thick' ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 82-113, Sz. 87-8, Coll. CG 266-9, Srb. IMPJ 114, 153-4, UEW 489-90, MF 85-6, EWH 30, Ht. #664, KKI 107 || A: T *-m / *-im / *-im / *-um / *-u'm, sx. of n. act.: OT o'l̄u'm 'death', ic'im 'a single drink', Tk bil-im, Az, Tkm, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Qrg bil-im, Qz bi'li'm, VTt, Bsh бѣлм̄

'knowledge', Yk ku¹l-u¹m 'a smile', Chv -aÄm-ъm (sx. of n. act.); T *-ma / *-me- > Chv inf. ending -ma/-me; the same sx. is preserved in NaT *-mak / *-ma¹k (> OT -maq/-ma¹k, etc.), sx. of n. act. (in most lgs.) and inf. (in the Og lgs., in Qmq, ET, Uz, etc.) ¶ Cl. XLII-XLIII, Cl. TMS 148, 154, Rs. MTS 133-4, ET B 139 || M *-m in n. act.: WrM nagadum 'play, game' (<d- nagad- v. 'play'), barim n. 'grip' (<d- bari- v. 'seize'); M *-ma / *-me, sf. of deverbal adjectives and nouns: WrM gaiqa-ma, HIM га́йхам 'wonderful, astonishing, surprising' (<d- WrM gaiqa-, HIM га́йха- v. 'wonder, marvel'), MM daqa-ma 'menstruation' (<d- daqa- 'follow'), Mnr H {SM} g_urma 'braided hair' (<d- g_uru- < *gu¹ru¹- v. 'braid, weave') ¶ Pp. IM 261-2, Pp. WM 48, MED 345, SM 143-4 || Tg *-ma / *-me, sf. of deverbal and denom. adjs. > Nn nay-ma 'human', Ewk girku-ma 'pedestrian' (<d- girku- v. 'walk'), ğulama- 'green' (<d- ğula- v. 'be green'), Tg *mo¹-ma 'wooden' (<d- *mo¹- 'wood') > Ewk, Neg, Ul, Nn Nh mo¹-ma, Ork mo¹-ma ~ mo¹-mo, Orc, Ud mo¹-mo 'wooden' ¶ Bz. 91, Vas. 769, STM I 540-1 || Ko unproductive sx. of deverbal nouns: cugəm 'corpse' <d- cug- 'die' ¶¶ Rm. NM 255-64, Rm. KhK 94-5, Rm. VAJ 192-4, Pp. NSM 102, 120-1, Grz. 44-5 || D *-may, sx. of derived abstract nouns > Tm -mai_ (por_u-mai 'patience, self-control' <d- por_u v. 'bear, sustain, endure'), Ml -ma (por_u-ma 'patience'), OKn -me ({Gai} mudi-me 'dominance' <d- {D} mudi- 'advance in growth, increase'), Tl -mi (mudi-mi 'old age' <d- mudi 'old') ¶¶ ≈ Cald. 541, D ##4565, 4954, Gai 96, Ktl. G 200-1 ¶¶ D *-may- may go back to N *m¹a¹ + N *yi 'he, (?) that' (pc. forming construction with adjectival meaning) [q.v.] (cf. IS II 47) ♦ The nominalizer *m¹a¹ may be etymologically connected with the N prn. *mu¹wV¹ 'this, that' [q.v.] (cp. Af namma¹-m 'the two' and the S determiner *-m) ♦ U, A and D provide evidence for a final *a or a¹ ♦ IS II 45-8 (*mA), Gr. I 169-73 ["nominalizer M" in IE, U, A, ChK, EA, Ai].

1353. *ma¹ ~ *ma¹h¹o¹ 'do not' (prohibitive pc.) or 'not' (negative) > HS: S *ma¹ 'not' > Ar ma¹ 'not'; ? √mhmh (pf. mahmaha) v. 'prevent from', TD (pf. tamahmaha 'abstain from' ¶ Br. G I 500 [§ 253e], BK II 1052, 1163, Hv. 737 || Eg √m 'do not!', prohibitive pc.; survives in Cpt as the initial element of the negative Cpt Sd pc. mnpw mpo¹r and B mfw mpo¹r 'do not!' and some negative verbal pxs.: Cpt Sd mnp- mpr-, Cpt B mnp- mper- 'do not...!', the px. mne- mpe- of the negative perfect I, the px. mpu- mpu- 'you [f. sg.] did not', the Cpt Sd px. mpat- mpat- (and Cpt B mpat- mpat-) 'not yet', Cpt Sd mare- mare- ~ mere- mere- ~ ma- ma- ~ me- me-, B mpare- mpare- ~ ma- mpa- (px. of the negative aorist) ¶ EG II 3-4, Vc. 118-9 || ? B: Tz 'amia 'nothing' ¶ Stm. 100, 164 || C: EC: Af ma- and Sa ma¹- - negative px. of verbs (incl. the prohibitive form: Af ma-...-in, Sa ma¹-...-in), Sml ma (Sml N ma¹) 'not', ma- - negative px. of verbs, Bn {Hn.} m3¹- (negative verbal px. of the pfc.), Elm {Hn.} ma¹-/-m- (negative px. of verbs), Rn {PG} ma¹ 'not, is not', Arr {Hw.} ma (with allomorphs m- a. o.) (negative pc. of verbs: ma¹ yek(k)eni¹ imv. 'do not swallow!', ma ye k(k)eni¹ 'he did not swallow', ma-na ne k(k)eno 'we did not swallow') || SC: Irq {Wh.} ma (/m- before a vw. of the next morpheme) 'do not!' prohibitive (e.g. ma¹ da qawar 'don't go!' sg., ma¹ da qawara 'don't go!' pl., m-i ga¹ sar 'don't kill me!'), {Mous} m- proh. pc. (m-u aminus-a¹r 'don't believe him!') ¶ PH 258-78, TB LA 548, Abr. SED 168, 271-2, PG 214, Hn. BD 55, Hn. NBLK 190-5, 232-6, Hw. A 261-5, Wh. IC 47, Mous 151-2 || Ch: Tng {J} -m 'not' (negation of verbs and nouns: na we¹-m 'I shall not see', na sa¹ni¹-m 'I am not eating', mu-m 'not a man, nobody', wa-m 'not a thing, nothing', Ang {Flk.} man(ta) 'don't, let not' || Mrg {Hf.} ma¹i¹ 'not' ¶ J T 61, Flk. s.v. man(ta), Hf. M 22, 178-80, 233, RK 123 || IE *men¹ ({M} *meH¹), {EI} *me¹ > NaIE *me¹, prohibitive pc. (with the imv.): OI, Av, OPrs ma¹, KhS, Oss ma id. || GkA/I/D μη¹, Gk EI μᾶ¹ 'not' proh. || Al ↓ mo id., StAl mos id. (< pAl {O} *ma¹c¹ < *me¹-k¹w¹e 'and do not') || Arm mi mi 'not' (neg. pc.) || pTc {Ad.} *ma¹ > Tc A/B ma¹ id. (neg. and proh.) ¶ P 703, EI 395, Brg. KVG 612-4, M E II 343, F II 222, O 274, KT 172, Slt. 399-400, Wn. 282-3, Ad. 445-6, Ad. H 19 || K *ma¹- ~ *mo¹-, prohibitive pc. (or {K} *mad id.) > Lz {Marr} mo id. (mo c¹, arem 'don't write!', mu mec¹am 'don't give him!', mo muler 'don't come!'; {FS, K} <-?) mot id.; Sv L {Shr.} ma¹ ~ mo¹, {Dn.} ma¹ - pc. of negation, Sv UB {GP} ma¹d - pc. of modal negation, mo¹d(e) - pc. of negation ¶ FS K 206-7 and FS E 227 (*ma), K 124-5 & K² 113 (*mad, a verbal prohibitive pc.), Marr 168, Shr. UNS 289-327, Dn. s.v. ma¹, GP 209, 221 || A: T *-ma-/*-ma¹-, negative infix in verbal forms > OT, Az, Bsh, ET -ma- / -ma¹-, Tkm, QrB -ma-/-me-, Qzq, Xk -ma-/-me- (with positional allomorphs -ba-/-be- and -pa-/-pe-), Tv -ma-/-me- (with positional allomorphs -ba-/-be-, etc.), Uz -ma(-), VTt -mV-, Qrg -ba-/-be-/-bo-/-bo¹-, Chv -ma-/-me-/-m- ¶ Rm. supposes that the T negative forms with *-ma-/*-ma¹- go back to a verbal noun with *-m + negative verb *e- (cp. U and Tg negative verb *e-, N *e-se-, see N *?e 'not') ¶ Lvt. IM 53, Rm. VAS 210-1, Rm. VAJ 101, Pp. L 1266, Pp. MA 87, 169 || M *bu¹ 'do not' (prohibitive pc.) > MM [LM, IM, MA] bu¹, WrM buu (Lg. reads it as bu¹) ~ bu¹u¹ (-b> Ord {Ms.} b_u¹<), HIM 6¹** ({P.} bu¹), Dg {Pp.} bu¹, Brt 6¹* ({Pp.} bu¹), Mgl {Leech} bi¹, bey, {Rm., Wr.} bi ¶ The delabialization *m- > *b- is reg. in M monosyllabic words (without an additional nasal cns.) ¶ Pp. IM 290, Rm. VAS 198-9, Rm. M 24, Lg. VMI 22, Lg. NVMI 135, MED 141, 153, Chr. 119-20, Wr. 143, Ms. O 88 || STg *ume 'do not' (proh.) > WrMc ume, Mc Sb emā, Jrc {Kiy.} ume id. ¶ STM II 272, Z 163, Hr. 960, Y #3005, Kiy. 123 [472] || Ko {Rm.} neg. mo- 'not, un-', pKo {S} *mo¹-t > MKo {S} mo¹t 'impossible' ({Rm.} Ko mo¹t 'no'), NKo mo¹s mo¹t 'not (possibly), definitely not' ¶ Rm. SKE 150, S QK #631, Nam 215, 217, MLC 647 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1234 [pA *ma (a negative pc.), incl. T, Tg, Ko] || D: Gnd {Grr.} -ma¹ (prohibitive sx.: ke¹-ma¹ 'don't do!' sg., ke¹-ma¹-t, 'don't do' pl. <d- ki- 'do'; a¹yi-ma¹ 'don't be ...!' <d- {Grr.} a¹ya¹, {D} aya¹- 'be' [aux. verb], man-ma¹ 'don't be... \ stay!' <d- {Grr.} ma¹ya¹- 'be, stay') || ? Tm -mal in negative adverbial sx. -amal || NED: Krx mal 'not', mal-na¹ 'not to be (so)', mal?a 'not, no', Mlt mala 'not, no',

mal- 'be not' ¶ Gr. 487, D #4743, Pf. 194 [#184] ✧ AD GD 2 (HS, K, IE), IS II 56-7 (*ma^h prohibitive in HS, K, IE, D, A), Gr. I 213-4 ("negative M" in IE, T, ?? Ai). ✧ In IE, K, D (Gondi), Irq and M the particle functions as prohibitive, in Ar it is negative (of the indicative mood), while in C, Ch and T it fulfills both functions, so that we have no definite ev. to determine which of the two functions was primary, though it seems preferable to suggest that originally it was prohibitive. The length of the vw. in Ar, NaIE, K, M and D (Gondi) suggests the presence of a lr.; the only lr. that may have been lost in S is *h, hence we tentatively reconstruct a *h of the second syll. (suggested also by the Ar reduplicated verb √mhmh). The ev. of most lgs. suggests *A (i.e. *a or *a^h) of the first syll., but M points to a front vw. (probably *a^h). The labial vw. in M *bu^h and in the Sv variant mo^h, mo^hd(e) point to infl. of a labial factor (final *o?), but the IE e-coloured lr. *H^h (for the expected labialized *H^w) still needs explanation.

1354. ***mi** 'I' > IE: [1a] *-mi 'I', "primary" verbal ending of 1s subiecti (in the presence tense of the athematic verbs) > OI -mi, Gk -μι, L -m, Gt -m, Lt -mi, OCS -мь -мь, Ht -mi [1b] *-m 'I', "secondary" verbal ending of 1s subiecti (in the past tenses): aorist OI -m, Gk -v, L -m, OCS -ъ -ъ, Ht -n [2a] *me(:)-, stem of the obl. cases of the prn. of 1s, e.g. acc. *me^h, *me(:)-m (with the acc. case ending *-m): OI ma^h, ma^h-m, Gk με, L me^h, Gt mi-k, OHG mi-h, Sl *me ~ *me^h > OP mie, OCS ма me^h; there is a variant *h^he-me (with an additional element *h^he-): Gk εμε^h acc., Ht ammu-k acc. 'me', Arm im im gen. ('of mine, my') (≠ below at the end of the entry); Gt -k, OHG -h and Ht -k are likely to go back to the enclitic [focalizing?] pc. *ge ~ *g^he (> Gk γε in εμε^h-γε, ? OCS же z^he); in Clt this prn. is used as aut. prn. (nom.): OIr me^h, Brtt {RE} *me > OW, MW, W mi, Crn me, my, OBr, MBr, Br me, Br V mi [2b] gen. *me-ne ~ *mei^h-ne 'of me, my' (< N ***mi nu**, i.e. ***mi** 'I' + gen. pc. ***nu**) > Gt meina, OCS мене mene, Av mana, OI 'mama (< *mana) gen. 'of me', Gt meins, NGH mein, NE mine, Lt ma^hno 'my, mine' [3] the N postnominal usage of ***mi** as a poss. prn. 'my' survives in AnIE: Ht -mi- ppa. 'my' [nom. com. -mis, nom./acc. ntr. -met, voc. -mi, acc. com. -man, gen. -mas, gen. anim. -man, dat./lat. -mi, etc.], HrLw (enclitic poss. prn.) (a)mi- [nom. com. (a)mis, acc. com. (a)min, nom./acc. ntr. amaza, dat./lat. (a)mi, etc.], Lc, Ld e^hmi-¶ Brg. KVG 407-13, 589, Bks. 207-11, 222 (on the pc. *g^he), 232-57, LP §§ 337-49, RE 105, Rsk. 66-72, Mer. SGA 316-21, Mer. HHG 18-22, ≈ EI 454 (*h₁eme / encl. *h₁me 'me') || U: [1] *mi nom. 'I' / *minV (obl. that is based on N ***mi nu** 'of me' - form of gen., that was generalized for all oblique cases) > Prn: Z/Prmk/Yz me 'I' / obl. [stem of obl. cases] men- :: Os {Vrt.}: nom. V/Vy ma^h, Y ma^h, Ty/Kz ma^h, Nz ma^h, Sh ma^h, Cng/O {KrT} ma^h 'I' / obl.: V/Vy ma^h-n- (acc. ma^h-n-t, dat. ma^h-n-a^h), Y ma^h-n- (acc. ma^h-n-t, dat. ma^h-n-t-e^hm), Kz {Vrt.} ma^h-n- ~ ma^h-n- (dat. ma^h-n-em), Nz ma^h-n- (acc. ma^h-n-t, dat. ma^h-n-e^hm), Cng {KrT} ma^h-n- ~ m(ə)n- (acc. ma^h-n-t, dat. mən-e^hm ~ mn-e^hm), O {KrT} ma^h-n- (dat. ma^h-n-em); in Vg the stem is {Ht.} nom. *a^h-m / obl. *a^h-m(a^h)-n- (mt > *a^h-nm-) > Vg: T nom. em / acc. e^hma^h-n ~ e^hna^h-m / lat. e^hma^h-n, P nom. am / acc.-lat. amna^h, UK nom. om / acc. o^ha^h-nəm / lat. omna^h; a similar development may be supposed for Hg: FU *a^h-mi-nV (stem for the obl. cases), whence (acc. to MF) pre-Hg *emEnE > *emne > *enne > *enn > OHg en en ~ e^hn e^hn > Hg e^hn || pY {IN} *mæt 'I' > Y K/T mæt, OY Ch {Mat.} mōra id. [2] In most U lgs. the stem of obl. cases was generalized for the whole declension paradigm: F nom. mina^h, gen. minun, acc. minut, prt. minua, Vp nom. m'in'a^h, gen. m'inun, Es nom. mina ~ ma, gen. minu ~ mu, prt. mind || pLp {Wk.} nom. *munna, *mun, ill. *mun- + case ending, gen.-acc. *mun (> *mu^h in the Northern and Southern dialects, probably as a bf) > (1) nom.: Lp: N {N} mon ~ mo^h-n, L {LLO} ma^hnne, {Wk.} mon, monno, Ar/M {Wk.} mon, Kld {Kert} monn ~ munn, T/Nt/A {Wk.} munn ~ mun, (2) gen.-acc.: Lp: Kld {Kert} mone, T {Wk.} muni^h, N {N} mu ~ mu, L/Ar {Wk.} mu^h, muwwa, L {Schl.} mu^h, M/Nt/A/I {Wk.} mu^h, (3) in other cases *mun (with or without traces of *n), e.g. Lp N ess. mu^hnen, Kld {Kert} ess. monen^h || Er/Mk nom. mon, gen. mon^h || Chr H nom. мѣн мѣн, gen. мѣнѣн мѣнѣн, acc. мѣнѣм мѣнѣм, Chr L nom. мѣн мѣу, gen. мѣнѣн мѣуѣн, gen. мѣнѣм мѣуѣм (y < pChr *n'), Chr B nom. min^h || Vt nom. mon, gen. mone, acc. minam || Sm *m^hn 'I' > (partially from compound forms) Ne T ма^h man^h, Ne F {Lh.} man^h, En {Ter} moji, moj, Ng {Mik, Ter.} 'mənɜ, Slq Tz nom./gen. man (~ mat from a sandhi variant), Kms {KD} nom. man / obl. mana, Koib {Sp.} мѣн 'I', ма^h 'my', Mt {Hl.} *mɜn 'I' (Mt M {Sp.} мѣн, {Mil.} men, Mt T {Mil.} men) || Y: OY O {Mat.} мѣн 'I' [2] U {Coll.} *-m ~ *-mi, verbal ending of 1s subiecti > F -n (palan 'I burn'), Es -n (maga-n 'I sleep'), Lp N -m (buolam 'I burn' < *pala-k-mi), Lp S {Hs.} -m^h -b (b'issem^h b'isseb 'I wash'), Er/Mk -n (vanan 'I see'), Chr -m (widem 'I lead'), pVg *-iV^hm id. (Vg: Ss {Rmb.} te^h-s-əm 'I eat', te^h-s-əm 'I ate', LK {Vxr.} wə^hra^hm 'I do, shall do', wə^hrsəm 'I did'), pOs *-m id. [Os: V tuləm ({Trj.} tulə^hm) 'I bring', tuyəm ({Trj.} tuyə^hm) 'I brought', Vy we^hləm 'I take', we^hyəm 'I took', D wəxtam 'I ask/call', wəxtəm 'I I asked/called', K pa^hntam 'I put/do', pa^hnəm 'I placed/did', Sh ma^htəm 'I give', ma^hsəm 'I gave'], Hg -Vm (in the -ik-conjugation, in the t-p.: eszem 'I eat', ettem 'I ate', in the conjugation with a definite object: ismerem Pe^htert 'I know Peter'); Sm *-m'i^h, -m: Ne T -m'i, -β, Ng -mə, Slq Tz -m (qoŋam 'I find', qo^h-sam 'I found'), Kms {Kü.} -m (nuŋam 'I stand', nub^ham 'I stood'), Mt {Hl.} *-(V)m (Mt T {Mil.} chandijum 'I sleep'); Es -n and Lp N -m suggest the presence of a final vw., because the FU word-final *-m is regularly lost in these two lgs. [3] U {Coll.} *-mi 'my' > F/Es -ni (< *-n-mi), F I -mi, F Δ -m (poi^hkam 'my son'), Vp -m ~ -i^h-n (tatam ~ tatai^h-n 'my father'), Lp N -m (c'æccam 'my uncle [younger brother of my father]', ak^hkum 'my grandmother'), Lp S {Hs.} -me / -mme (vie^hlleme 'my brother'), Lp Kld -m ({Kert} pu^hazam 'my reindeer'), Er -m (kudom 'my house'), Chr L -m (knigam 'my book'), Chr H -m, -em (sola-em 'my village',

ta^hng-em 'my friend'), Vt acc. -me 'my' (↔ acc. -de/-te 'thy', acc. -ze/-se 'his'), loc./ill. -am 'my' (↔ -ad 'thy', -az 'his'), pOs *- (V)m 'my' (> Os: V/Ty qut-^hm, Kz xot-em, O xat-am 'my house', V qatqam, Ty qa^htlam, Kz xot^hlam, O xatlam 'my houses', V ko^hx-a^h-m 'my stone', ko^hxla^h-m 'my stones', ku^hr-im 'my axe', D xot-em 'my house', xottam 'my houses', Sh {Trj.} mis-em 'my cow', mis-ta-m 'my cows'), Hg -om/-am/-em/-o^h-m 'my' (madar-am 'my bird', etc.), pl. possessi -i-m/-ai-m/-ei-m (madar-ai-m 'my birds'; -i/-ai/-ei- is a pl. marker); Sm *-m'i, {Hl.} *-m / *-mā > Ne T -mi ~ -β 'my' (sg. possessi), Ng -mā, Slq Tz -mi id., Kms -m (tura-m 'my house'), Mt M {Hl.} -m (after vowels), -ma/-ma^h (after cns.) ¶ Vrt. ∇, UEW 294, Stn. WV ∇, Coll. CG 299-302, 308-10, Wkm. FOUL 19, Laan. 181-3, 191-4, Hs. 118-20, 141-56, Wk. EUL 278-86, It. LC 46-9, 144, Schl. 554, Kert 156-60, 173, Fkt. EJ-66 181-5, Fkt. MJ-66 208, Kov. LV 227, 230, Kov. G 244-6, Ber. 37, Lt. KPJ 308, Lt. J 61-2, Tepl. UJ 265, Rmb. 115-44, BV 208-21, Ht. CO 107-40, Trj. XJ 324-7, MF 154, Jn. 86, Ter. NJ-66 333-4, Ter. SJ 324, Ter. EJ 447, Ter. NgJ 96-102, 161, KHG 288-9, Hl. SelJ 365-9, Hl. M 164-5, 298, Hl. MTKJ 377-8, Hl. M 141, 164, #627, Kü. KJ 383-7, ≈ UEW 294 (*mX^h [i.e. *mE] 'I'), IN 234-5, 310, 329 II A: M nom. *bi (< N *mi) / gen. *minu^h (< N *mi nu) 'I' > MM nom. bi / gen. minu ~ mini, WrM nom. bi / gen. minu, HlM nom. би bi / gen. миний mini^h, Brt nom. би / gen. минии, {Pr.} me^hn^hi ~ me^hn^hi, Kl nom. би / gen. мини, Mnr H bu 'I' / H mune, {SM} muni 'my', Mnr M bi 'I' / mini 'my', Dx nom. bi 'I' / gen., acc. mini ~ miyi, Dg nom. bi^h 'I' / gen. mini^h, Ba nom. be 'I' / gen. mene, Mgl {Wr.} nom. bi 'I' / gen. mini (> -mini ~ -mni ~ -mi 'my', ppa. 1s). In Brt, Kl, Dg and Mgl the pers. prn. *bi, when used in a postpredicate position as a marker of 1s, has turned into an ending of 1s (of both verbal and nominal predicates): *bi 'I' > Brt -b (epyx^h-б 'I shall come', багша-б 'I am a teacher'), Kl -в -w (йов-на-в 'I go', багш-в 'I am a teacher'), Dg {T} -bi ~ -b'e^h (ic^him-b'e^h 'lich fahre, werde fahren'), Mgl -bi (ira^h-na^h-bi 'I come, am coming') ¶ Pp. IM 208, MED 101, 539, GBJ 139, Snz. GKJ 57, 83-5, T 319, 347, SM 30, 247, T DnJ 28, 112, T BJ 43, 79, 135, T DgJ 53, 63-8, Rm. M 24, 56-7, Wr. 121-37 || Tg nom. *bi 'I' / obl. *min- > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Lm, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn B/KU nom. bi 'I' / obl. min-, Nn Nh nom. mi 'I' / obl. min-, WrMc nom. bi 'I' / obl. min- ¶ Tg *bi in postnominal position meant 'my' and in the NTg and AmTg lgs. became a ppa.: {Bz.} Ewk, Neg -w, -bi 'my', Sln -bi, Ud, Nn -i ~ -bi ¶ In the NTg and AmTg lgs. (but not in Mc) there is a verbal ending of 1s, reconstructible as *-bi (Lm bu^h-ri-w 'I gave' < *bu^h-ri-bi), with the tense sx. *-n-: *-n-bi > *-mbi (Sln, Ud wa^h-mi 'I kill', Neg wa-m id., Nn wa^h-ja-mbi, Ewk wa^h-jā-m 'I shall kill') ¶ Ci. 270-1, Bz. 108-10, 129-41, STM I 79, Krm. 90, Avr. GNJ I 145, 248-250 || pT nom. *(E)mi (> *(E)bi) / obl. *ma^hn(-) (*ba^hn(-)) > Chv nom. үпәӘeb^h / gen. маһаҺан man^h ~ маһ man, dat., acc. маһ mana :: NaT (with generalization of the stem of obl.) *ma^hn > OT {Cl.} ma^hn^h ba^hn, Tk ben, Az, LN, ET ma^hn, Tkm, Uz, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Alt, Shor, SY, Tv men, Tf m'en, VTt, Bsh, Xk, Yk min, Slr men (~ ma^hn ~ me^h) 'I'; the same stem is in gen. (OT mba^h-niq) and later in other obl. cases, except dat. > NaT acc. *mini > OT mini ~ bini; the same stem in OT loc./abl. min-ta^h ~ mindida^h (f Gbn. 91, Rs. MTS 13, 16) ¶ NaT dat. *ma^h-a (< **m|ban-ga?) (*-a- under the ass. infl. of *-a of the case ending?) > OT baṇa ~ maṇa, Tkm, ET maṇa, as well as Nog, Qmq, Qrg, Xk, Shor maṇa (restructured on the analogy of the nominal dat. ending -ya) ¶ NaT *ma^hn 'I' as a postpredicative subject prn. was a separate word in OT (ma^hn) and still is in Tv (men), but in most lgs. it has turned into an agglutinated ending of 1s of verbs and predicative nouns (the so called "full" ending), e.g. ET -ma^hn, Uz -man, Qmq -men/-man, VTt -mьn/-mьn (today in verbal forms only), Bsh -mьn/-mьn/-mь^hn/-mь^hn, Qzq -min/-mi^hn/-bin/-bi^hn/-pin/-pi^hn, Qrg -min (with synharmonic allomorphs), Alt -min/-min/-bin/-bin/-pin/-pin, Xk -min/-min/-bin/-bin/-pin/-pin, Yk -bin/-bin/-pin/-pin :: In a similar way Chv eb^h has been agglutinated to the verb (prs. and ft.) as a 1s ending -ьp/-əp ¶ pT *- (V)m 'I', old ("short") ending of 1s in verbs > OT -im/-im/-um/-u^h-m (with the t-pret. of verbs), in most T lgs. -im/-im/-m or -im/-im/-um/-u^h-m/-m, ET -m, -Vm, VTt/Bsh -m/-im/-ьm/-ьm/-ь^hm, Qzq/Qrg/Xk -m, Tv, Yk -(V)m, Chv -ьm/-ьm (1s ending in -t/-r-pret. & in imv.); in some lgs. this ending *- (V)m has spread to the function of 1s marker of nominal predicates (partially through contamination with the reflexes of *-m|bVn 'am'), whence Tk -(y)im / -(y)im / -(y)um / -(y)u^h-m, Az -(y)am / -(y)a^h-m 'am' (cp. Deny OMTT 199; Kon. GTJ 222 tries to trace Tk -(y)Vm back to Tk ben 'I'), Tkm -in, -m (Bazin T 313) ¶ pT *-m / *-im / *-im 'my', postnominal possessive affix > Chv (after vowels) -m / (after cns.) -ьm/-ьm :: NaT (after vowels) *-m / (after cns.) *-im / *-im / *-um / *-u^h-m > Tk, Tkm, Qmq -m / -im / -im / -um / -u^h-m, ET -m / -im / -um / -u^h-m, Uz -m / -im, VTt/Bsh -m / -ьm / -ьm, Qzq -m / -im / -i^hm, Qrg, Alt -m / -im / -im, Xk -m / -im / -im ¶ The ancient vw. *i (of N *mi) was preserved in the OT acc. mini ~ bini and in loc.-abl. mintā^h; in pT gen. *ma^hn-in (> Chv man(ь)n, OT ma^h-niq) and in NaT nom. *ma^hn the ancient vw. *-i- was replaced by *-a^h- due to unknown factors (hardly due to the "reduction of the final vowel", as supposed in IS II 65, because this NaT reduction is younger than the pT change i > *a^h) ¶ Cl. 346, Isx. M 208-35, Tn. SJ 127-8, Tn. SJJ 76, B SS ∇, JN II ∇, Dmt. IAS ∇, Dmt. GBJ 51-7, 140-57, Gbn. ATG 90-9, 112-3, Rs. MTS 9-26, Lev. IF 14, 29-30, 57-8, ChVS 314-7, Kon. GTJ 222-51, 387-8 ¶¶ Ktw. PLA 4-6, Rm. EAS II 79 || OJ {Mill.} mī 'I' ¶ Mill. JAL 158 ¶¶ A nom. *bi 'I' < N *mi with the reg. change *b- < *m- in monosyllabic CV-words (cp. N *mu^hwV^h 'this' > *mu^h- > A *bu^h-, N *ma^h prohibitive > A *bE- > M *bu^h- id.) (IS II 56-7, 65, 70-1) ¶¶ DQA #126 [A *bi/*mi-ne 'I'] II K: [1] K c. rect. *omi / *me (< *mi / *mi^h-e < N *mi) / obl. *men- (< *mi nu) 'I' > Mg ma / obl. *man-, Lz ma, Lz Ch man, OG men ~ me, G me, G P/Mt/Ing/ArX men(a), Sv mi 'I', mi-s'gwi^h mi-s'gu 'me'. The ancient distribution of the allomorphs *me and men- survives in Mg, while in OG and Lz Ch the form *men has spread to the c.

rect. 𐌹𐌹 [2] K *m- 'me, to me', verbal px. of 1s obiecti > OG, G, Sv m-, Mg, Lz m- / p- / p.- / b- (allomorps conditioned by the following phoneme) 𐌹𐌹 [3] K *c̣(w)e-m- 'my' (< N *c̣'ru' 'that of..., that which' + *mi 'my') > OG c̣em- (deday c̣emi 'my mother') ~ c̣eym-, G c̣em-, Mg c̣kim-, Lz c̣kim-^d ṣkim- 'my', Sv: LB/L mi-ṣgwi, UB mi-ṣgu ~ mi-ṣgwi, Ln miṣk,wi 'me' 𐌹𐌹 K 123, 132 (*me(n)- 'I'), K² 119, 255, FS K 203-4, 212-3, FS E 223-4, 233-4, Dt. 28, Gm. SSh 44, GImn. AXK 324, Fn. GAS 80-1, TK 570-1, Top. SJ 83, GP US 45 II HS: C: N *mi survives in HEC as a sx. of of 1s subiecti: Kmb {Mrn.} yom-mi 'am' (↔ 2s yon-ti ↔ 3s yo?i ↔ 1p yom-mi ↔ 2p yon-ta); this verbum substantivum (with *-mV as an ending of 1s) functioned as an aux. verb within an analytical construction underlying HEC tenses of indicative (prs. and p.): HEC 1s *it₁V₁ 1y₁Vn-mV 'I eat' > Alb itam, Sd {Mrn.} itemmo, itam, Kmb, Hd itommo (↔ 2m *it₁V₁ 1y₁Vn-tV 'edis' > Alb ittanti, Sd itatto, Kmb ittanti, Hd itotto), HEC *it₁V₁ yVn-mV 'I ate' > Sd itommo, Kmb ic̣c̣em(i), Hd itammo 𐌹𐌹 AD PLOG V, Mrn. ApCA 269-79, Mrn. S, L K V, C SE II 228-9, 237-8, Coh. VS V, Sim DHEC 434-5 || ? Ch: SBc: Tala L/Sh/Z mi 'I', Zar K/GL/L mia-, Gj Mg ami, Gj G a'mi, Gj B ami, Sy Zk/B/Z ami- 'I' 𐌹𐌹 Sh. SB 41 𐌹𐌹 AD PP 73, ≠ Ap. ANH IO IIII On N *mi ?a 'we' (*mi 'I' + *?a of plurality) cf. below N *mi ?a. On Ch {Kr.} *mu-n ({Blz.} *muni) 'we, us, our' incl. (probably < N *mi n'a''), cf. N *n'a'', prn. of collectivity and plurality. On *mi t, 'u'' 'we' incl. (*mi 'I' + *t, 'u'' 'thou') see below s.v. *mi t, 'u'' 𐌹𐌹 In IE, FU and Chv there is a variant form N *HE-mi (> Gk 'εμε', Ht ammu-k 'me', Arm im 'my', pVg *a''m [obl. *a''m(a'')n], Hg e'n 'I', Chv ҃неÄ eb_ 'I'). IS II 64 identifies the additional element *HE with the deictic pc. *h'e' (his *?e) (indicating the nearest object), which is not obvious and poses a phonetic problem: Vg *a''- suggests U *a'', which is not the reg. reflex of N *e 𐌹𐌹 IS II 63-6 [#299] (*mi 'I'), 52-6 [#290] (*ma'' 'we'), AD PP V, Gr. I 61-7 ("first-person M" in IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA).

1354a. *mi ?a 'we' (*mi 'I' + *?a of plurality) > IE: [1] *-me, verbal ending of 1p; OI and Clt have preserved the ancient distinction between the "primary" ending *-mes ~ *-mos [-s is originally a pl. marker] and the "secondary" ending *-me (specialized for different verbal tempora): "primary" in OI -mas(i), Av -mahi and in the Ir absolute -mi (*-mesi), "secondary" in OI -ma, Av ma, Ir conjunct -m; in other lgs. the functional distinction is lost, but the form *-mes is still preserved in Gk D -μεῖς, L -mus, OHG -me's; in other daughter lgs.: Gk A, I, Ae -μεν, Al -mi, -me'', Gt, ON, OHG -m, Lt -me, Sl *mъ (> OCS -мъ -мъ, R, Blg -м, Cz, OP -m) ~ *-mi [on the analogy of *mi 'we' or (acc. to Meillet) being originally a positional variant of *-mъ before *j- of the next word] and *-me ~ *-mo [possibly from the "primary" *-mes ~ *-mos] (> Cz -me, SCr, Slv, Slk -mo, Uk -мо, e.g. Cz jsme, SCr jesmo, Uk ҃с-мо jes'mo 'we are') 𐌹𐌹 [2] NaIE Δ *me-f's, pers. prn. of 1p > Arm me' mek'h 'we' (if Arm -k'h is connected with IE *s-) || Blt *me-s 'we' > Pru mes, Ltv Δ mes, with secondary lengthening [due to the infl. of Lt/Ltv ju's 'ye']: Ltv me's (gen. mu'su, dat. mums, acc. mu's), Lt mes (gen. musu, dat. mu'ms, acc. mu's) | Sl *mi' 'we' (with *-i induced by *vi 'ye') > OCS мѣ ми, Blg, Uk ми, R мѣ, SCr, Slv mi', Cz, Slk, P my 𐌹𐌹 In ppIE the prn. *me-s 'we' probably lost its status of a separate word (displaced by synonyms), but survived as a verbal ending; later it was reintroduced as a separate word (on the analogy of the verbal ending) in Arm and BSl 𐌹𐌹 BD II/3 616-23, Brg. KVG 591, the table to the p. 596, ≠ 408, Szem EVS-70 216-7, Frn. 441-2, En. LG 377-8, En. CG § 305, En. APG 133, Me. EAC § 59, Me. SC §§ 339-41, 516, Glh. 407-8, Bks. CIEL 208-9 II K: GZ *m- 'us' > OG m- id. (s'e-m-i-c, qalen c'uen 'have pity on us!'), Mg, Lz m- (with positional allomorps: p-, p.-, b-) (Mg c̣'ki m-iṽuna 'nobis est') 𐌹𐌹 K 123, Q O8O II U: **m'ia'' 'we' > *me ~ *ma'' ~ *miyV ({It.} *me ~ mi) > Lp: Rr miye, N {N} mī, L mij, S {Hs.} mijjeh (gen. mijj'en), Kld miy 'we' pl. | Er, Mk мин' min' | pChr {Ber.} *meОшибка!, B/M me, H мае ма'' (gen. маемнан ма''mnan, acc. маемнанма''mnam) | Prm *mi 'we' / gen. *miyan > Z ми mi (gen. miyan), Z Δ miyз^d miз, Prmk miyз ~ mi (gen. miyan), Yz 'meyaz (gen. mi'yan), Vt ми mi (proc. miya, gen. mi'am); Vt -mi, Z, Prmk -ni-m, Yz -ni-m (-ni-, -ni- is the marker of pl. possessoris for all persons) || ? Sm *me- (and *me- + sx.) 'we' > Ng {Mik.} miṽ, Slq Tz me'', Kms {KD} mi? ~ me'', {Kū.} mi?, Koyb {Sp.} me; but Ne T man'a? 'we' [pl.], En B {Ter.} 'mod'ina? and Mt {HL.} *menda'' (Mt M {Sp.} мундү, {Pl.} мѣндү id. are derivatives from the prn. of 1s (Ne man', En mod'i, Mt {HL.} *mэн) 𐌹𐌹 Lp Rr miye, Lp Kld miy, Prmk/Z Δ miyз and Prm gen. *miyan (and possibly Es meie) are likely to go back to the bisyllabic (and conservative) variant *miyV (< *m'ia' < N *mi ?a) 𐌹𐌹 -n, -n', -ṽ in different lgs. are accounted for by generalization of the stem of obl. cases (with the N *nu, pc. of gen.) 𐌹𐌹 [2] The U prn. **m'ia'' in postnominal position means 'our [pl.]' > Vt -mi, Z, Prmk -ni-m, Yz -ni-m (-ni-, -ni- is the marker of pl. possessoris for all persons) || ??? Sm ({HL.} *-mat/*-met 'our' [pl. possessoris]) (ffd. see below s.v. N *mi t, 'u'' 'we' incl. (*mi 'I' + *t, 'u'' 'thou') 𐌹𐌹 The element -N in Mr min' goes back to the N genitive pc. *nu (it represents the stem of obl. cases < *mi ?a nu, best preserved in Prm gen. *miyan); in some lgs. the stem of the obl. cases was generalized throughout the case paradigm of the prn. 𐌹𐌹 [3] The same U prn. **m'ia'' 'we [pl.]' (sometimes together with additional affixes) is used as a personal sfx. of verbs (1p of the subject) > Mk (sbcj.) -ma -ma, -me -m'e | Prm: Z -m, Prmk -m, -mз, Yz -ma, -m, Vt -mi id. || Sm: Slq Tz {KHG} -mit/n (1p ending), Ng {Ter.} -mu?/-mu''?/-mi?/-mi? (1p ending, sbcj. and s/obj. with sg. obiecti), Ne T {Ter.} -wa- id. (prs. -wa-?, p. -wa-c'), En {Ter.} -ba- / -a- id. (prs. -a-? / ba-?, p. -ba-c), Kms {Kū.} -be? 𐌹𐌹 The Chr nominal possessive ending -na (Chr L -na, Chr H -na/-na'') 'our' and the verbal ending -na 'we' may either go back to *-mnV [also + sx.?] or be connected with N *nV 'we' incl. [q.v.] 𐌹𐌹 UEW 294-5, ≈ IS II 54-5, Hs. 118, Ber. 36-7, Kov. LV 227, 230-3, Kov. G 244-9, LG 171-2, Lt. J 61, Lt. KZJ 287-92, Lt. KPJ 305-9, Tepl. UJ 265-72, Jn. 91-2, KHG 184-7, 258-64, 288-93, Ter. GNJ 342-57, 364-5, 371-9, Ter. NJ 381, 386-8, Ter. EJ 444-51, Ter. NgJ 96-7, 161, 185, Ter.

NgJz 423-31, Hl. M 144, 303 [#655], Kü. KJ 383-6 || A nom. *bu'a / gen. *m'u'a'nu (or *bia / *m'ia'nu) 'we' pl. excl. > Tg nom. *bu_e ({Bz.} *bu'a) / obl. *mun- id. > Ul bu ~ bu3 / obl. mun-, Nn Nh bu3 / obl. bun-, Nn B bu, Nn KU mu / obl. mun-, Orc, Ud, Sln bu / obl. mun-, Ewk, Lm bu / obl. mun- ¶ STM I 98, Bz. 108, Krm. 91 || M *ba / gen. *manu / dat. *man-a 'we' excl. > MM nom. ba / gen. manu / dat. mana, WrM nom. ba / gen. manu / dat. mana id., Dg ba / gen. ma'n'i id., Mgl -u' 'we' (sx.), mo'ni 'of us, our', HIM маһай {Pp.} man'e' 'of us' excl., Ord {Pp.} mani, Brt {Pp.} mana, Kl {Pp.} mana, man' id. ¶ Pp. IM 215-8, 220 || pJ {S} *ba' - 'I, we' > OJ wa-, a-, J: Ht ba'nu, K wa'te, Kg o'i, Ns/Sh wa'no, cd : ltOJ [RJ] wa'ta'ku'si, J T wa'tas'i id. -d> OJ wa(re) 'we', K wa'te're, Ht ba'i ma, Y ba'n'ta' id. ¶ S AJ 266 [#38], S QJ #38, Syr. DJ 90-1, Mr. 569, Mchz. ∇ (J watakusi < *wa-tu-(a)ku si 'my place direction') ¶ But pKo *u'ri' 'we' is likely to go back to a combination of N *mi with the plural marker *r'i' (see s.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ S AJ 57, 276 [#36] (pA *ba' 'I'), DQA #126 (A *ba/*mi_u-n- 'we') || HS: ? C: HEC *-mV, verbal ending of 1p > Sd -mo, Hd -mo, -miya, Hd Lb -mina, Kmb, Alb -mi ¶ The ending may go back either to N *mi 2a or (acc. to Blz.) or to the HS *(2an)muni 'we' with *-muni as a compound form parallel to the 2p *(2an)tunV 'ye' ¶ Blz. PPCh 1-4 ¶ IS II 53 tried to adduce here the Ch pers. prn. of 1p incl. *mun (reconstructed by IS as *m(n)). But in the light of Chadic comparative ev. and the existence of the Ch prn. *kun 'ye' it is more likely that Ch *mun is a pCh (or pHS) innovation based on *m (1 person) + *-un (pl. ending). The pCh system may be reconstructed as follows:

	sing.	pl.
1 pers.	?	*munV
2 pers.	*ku (2m)	*kunV

This suggests a prn. of 1s *mV (< N *mi [q.v.]) and the composite origin of Ch *munV 'we' incl. ¶ Blz PPCh, Kr. RChP, Brq. PS, AD EPCChL || D *ma--ma- 'we' excl.: > Tl ma- ~ man- obl. 'we' excl., ma-namu / obl. mana- 'we' incl.; Gnd ma- obl. 'we' excl., Knd ma-n / obl. ma- 'we' (no opposition incl. ↔ excl.), Kui, Ku ma- obl. id. ¶ An. DJ (table 10 after p. 60), D ##3647 and 5154. ◇ Cf. N *2a, pc. of plurality ◇ ≈ IS II 52-6 (*ma', 1p incl.) ◇ Unlike IS, I do not believe that this prn. (*mi 2a) was originally specialized as either incl. or excl. In my opinion, it started being used as inclusive or exclusive (in descendant lgs.) by contrast with other pronouns for 'we'. In M and Tg it was opposed to the inclusive M *bidanu and Tg *miti ~ *minti [both from N *mi t. 'u' 'I + thou' and *mi nu t. 'u' 'I + genitive pc. + 'thou'] (Pp. IM 220, MED 102, Bz. 107, STM I 539) and therefore acquired the meaning of an exclusive 'we', while in K it was opposed to *nV (the original 'we' incl.) and therefore got the meaning of exclusive.

1354b. *mi t. 'u' 'we' incl. (*mi 'I + *t. 'u' 'thou') is found in M, Tg, Gil and probably in Y: A: M *bida (~ *bide?) 'we' incl. > MM bida, WrM bide ~ bida, Ord bida, Dg {Pp.} b'a da id.; in most modern lgs. the opposition excl. ↔ incl. has been lost, so that the extant forms mean 'we' without this opposition: HIM бил, {Pp.} bid:ə, b'addə, Brt биду, {Pp.} be'd'e, Kl bidə - and билн (< gen. *bida-nu), Mgr {Pp.} buda; gen.: *bida-nu > MM bidanu, WrM bidan, Dg b'a danī 'our' incl., HIM {Pp.} bidnī ~ biddānī 'our' ¶ The final *-a is on the analogy of M *ba 'we' excl. (< *mi 2a) ¶ Pp. IM 215-7, Pp. MA 118, MED 10, KRS 97, SM G 36-8 || Tg *mibiti (gen. *minti) 'we' incl. > Ewk mit(i), Sln mīti, Lm mut, Neg bitta ~ bit, Orc bitī, Ud minti, WrMc muse (-s- on the analogy of si 'thou' [or a trace of the ancient var. *mi s' 'u' 'we' incl.]) ¶ *-n- in *minti is from N *nu genitive, but the detailed history of the form is still obscure ¶ Ci. 270-1, Bz. 1057 (Tg *mu'nti 'we' incl.), STM I 539 || Gil: Gil A mer ~ mir 'we' incl., Gil ES mirn ~ mern id. (r and R are reg. reflexes of *t and *t.), ¶ Panf. I 231-40 || ? U: ? pY {IN} *mit 'we' > Y K/T mit, mit- (before a noun), mit-ī'e 'our'; OY xvii {Wts.} mitsje', mitin ¶ Krm. JJ 72-80, Krm. JJ-T 440-1, Krm. JJ-K 354, Ku. 144, IN 235, 310 || Sm {HL.} *-mat/*-met 'our' [pl. possessoris]: Ng {Ter.} rect.-gen. -mi? / acc. -ni? (pl./du. possessi nom. -nu? 'nostri' / gen. -nu?), Ne T rect./acc. -ba' -wa? / gen. -ha' -na? 'noster' (pl. possessoris), En B {Ter.} rect./acc. -ba? ~ -a? / gen. -na? id. (du. and pl. possessi: rect.-gen. -na? 'nostri'), Slq Tz {KHG} (-mit2) = -min/t 'our', Kms {Kü.} -wa? / -ba? 'our' (pl. possessoris), Mt {HL.} *-ma1? / *-ma'1?; benefactive forms of 1p of nouns: Ng -mu? (taðə-mu? tu?o 'the reindeer came for us', lit. 'cervus-nobis venit'; satəɾəta-mu? koda?amu? 'we obtained [preyed on] a polar fox for ourselves', lit. 'vulpem-nobis praedati sumus') ¶ This Sm morpheme belongs here if Hl.'s rec. of Sm *-t is justified. Otherwise it belongs to *mi 2a ¶ For references see above s. v. *mi 2a 'we'.

1355. *mi 'what?' > HS: S *mī 'what?' > Ak mī-n(u/a/i-m) :: Gz mī 'what?'] CS *mah 'what?' > Ug mh ~ m, Hb -m2 ma +gmc. ~ m1 ma- 'what', Pun m? [= mu] (< *ma-) 'what' (attested as rel. prn.), [Poen.] MU, DA, IA, Plm, Nbt mh, Htr m?, JA em1 ma- (< *mah), Sr 'mo ma-, Md ma, Ar mah ~ ma- 'what?' ¶ CS *mah goes back to N *mi 2a'h'a 'what thing?' (= N *mi + *2a'h'a 'thing(s)') ¶ The pronouns for 'who?' go back to cds : S *miyV 'who?' (either from N *mi yi = N *mi 'what?' + *yi 'he' or from N *mi yV = N *mi 'what?' + *yV 'which' [as a rel. prn.]) > Hb im5 mī, Ug my {Dk.} = [mi1:ya]?, {Siv.} = [mīyu/a/i], OAk mīn, Ak mīn-um (declined as an adj.); S *man1n-1 (< N *mi ma'n-nu lit. 'what man?', ɸ N *ma'n-nu 'man') > Ak mann-u(m), Amr {Dk.} manna, BA Nm2 man, Sr Nua man, Ar nMa man, Gz nom. mannu / acc. manna, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} mo'n, Jb E/C {Jo.} mun, Sq {Jo.} mon 'who?' (cp. It cosa 'what?' < *ke 'koza' 'what thing?'); this etymological explanation is more plausible than to suppose a semantic change 'man' → 'who?'; cf. also Ug mn 'what? which?' (adjectival function), rel. 'that, which'

¶ KB 522-3, 1732-4, HJ 599-600, OLS 266, 281, 310, Siv. U 42-3, Br. 372, Br. SG 50, FrdH 54, Sd. G 48 [§ 47], Dk. AkJ 91, Dk. XAU 115, Jo. M 267 || Eg fOK m 'what?', m 'who?' ¶ EG II 4, Lopr. 70, Ed. 90 || B *maH ({Pr.} *ma-) 'what?' (< *mi ʔa'h'V 'what thing?', cp. above CS *mah 'what?' > Ah {Fc.}, Ty {GhA}, Gh, Wrg {Dlh.} ma, Tz {Stm.}, Tmz {MT} ma (in cds like ma + prep. + mi); ≈ *ma+tta ({MT}: lit. 'what he?'): Tz mat, Zkr matta, Kb {Hann.}, Shw {Hy.} mata, Mz {Dlh.} matta, Jrb, Snd mata 'who?', Tmz {MT} matta 'which?', 'who?'; B {Pr.} *mī 'who?' > Ah, Ty, Gh mī 'who?' (cp. S *miyV id. < N *mi ya), Tz mīt id.; Mz {Dlh.} man-t 'lequel?', man-ay-u ~ man-ay-ən 'who?', Ah manəkk 'lequel est?' (cp. S *man₁n-₁ 'who?' < *mi ma-nV (lit. 'what man?'), as well as Tmz man, manī, Shw mən, Jrb, Snd man 'who?' (unless <b- Ar man) ¶ Pr. M I-III 216-21 (analysis of the interr. pronouns at the pB and Tw level), Fc. 1140-3, Dlh. M 113, Dlh. Ou 181, MT 394-5 || C: EC: Brj 'miya 'what?' (cp. S *miya 'who?' < N *mi yV or, as suggested by Ss., *maʔ + *ya- 'it is'), EC {Ss.} *maʔ 'what?' > Kmb, Alb, Sd ma, Ged ma- < maʔa (cp. CS *mah 'what?' < N *mi ʔa'h'a 'what thing?'); EC {Ss.} *maħa 'what?' (< {Ss.} *maʔ waħa 'what thing?') > Af maħa, Sml maħa-, Arr me'h (/ sentence-final me), Rn {PG} ma'ħa- ~ me'ħe-, Bn maha-, Bs me (-e < *-ah), Hd maha {ʔ}, Dsn {To.} me-ʔe 'what?'; Dsn {To.} ma-yya 'who?' (< *mi ʔayy-a, with N *ʔayV 'which?', 'what?', q.v. ffd.) || Dhl ma'ka 'what?' (cd with -kV, cf. i'ko 'who?') || SC: Irq {Mous} m-, a px. that turns a statement into a question asking 'what?' [la-ri' m-a ʔay-a-ʔ 'what are we eating to-day?', m-i kahi 'what does he say?', ma-t(a) kahi 'what do they say?'] [ʔ, Alg mi 'what?'] || Ss. B 146, PG 217, 222-3, Hw. A 232-3, HL 126, Mous 150-1 [ʔ, E SC 158, To. DL 517, To. D 40, Blz. SCL s.v. 'what?'] || Ch *mi 'what?' > WCh: Hs me-ʔ : Dr mi', Krkr mi'ya', Ngm mi'ya' : Fy {J} mi', Bks {J} *ʔa'-mi', Klr {J} *ʔamuʔ, ? Sha ma', ma' : CCh: Tr sb.: G'nd, Gbn, Boka mi' : Mrg, Klb mi', Bu mi'...ri; cd : Bu {Hf.} man 'what?' : Gzg, Mtk {ChC}, MfG {Brr.} me, Mofu {Ro.} me'y, Mf {BLB} me', Mada/Mkt {Ro.} ma', Myn {Ro.} ma'm, Hrz a'ma', Mlk {Ro.} ma'y, Glv {Rp.} m3-r : Mdr me : BB: Gude mi' : ? Msg ma' : McMs: Lame mi' : ECh: Mb {J} mi-ʔ, [ʔ, Mjl {DB} mi-ʔ] Jg {J} me-ʔ 'what?' : Ll me' : ? McDng.: Bdy ma', EDng ma-, Mkl {J} mo-ʔ : 'what?' : Mgm me-ʔ-me-ʔ 'what?' : Ke {Eb.} ma (.....moʔ) 'what?' (where moʔ is a general marker of question, which is used in all interr. sentences), mi'nti' (.....moʔ) 'who?' ¶ ChC, ChL, J R 259, J J 115, Eb. 78, Lk. G 42, Hf. M 93, Hf. B 168, 182, RK 92, 163, Ro. 358-9 (pMM *ma), BLB 219, Brr. MG II 419, J LM 141, Fd. 108, AIJ 96, JA LM 161 [ʔ, Blz. LECh #96] || U *mi 'what?' > F mi-ka- (gen. mi-n-ka-, prt. mi-ta-, ill. mi-hin, iness. mi-ssa-) 'what?', 'which?', Krl K mi (gen. mi-n, prt. mi-d'a-), Vp mi (gen. mi-n', prt. mi-d'a-), (gen. mi-n-ka-, prt. mi-ta-, Es mi-s [with additional -s, as in ke-s 'who?'] (prt. mi-da), Δ mi d me, Es SW mea- 'what?', Lv mi-s: (prt. mi-da) [cp. ki-s: 'who?'] : Lp: N {N} mī / obl. ma- 'what?', 'which?', 'what kind?', L mij id., S {Hs.} mij, Kld mī-, {Kert} m'i (obl. me-, e.g. gen. mēnn) 'what?' : Er mēze 'me-z'e, Δ meye, mēicy mey-se 'with what?', 'in what?', mēh- men' 'which?', 'what kind?', Mk mēze 'mez'a- 'what?' : Chr: L mō mo 'what?', Uf/B mo, H ma id. : Prm: Vt mā ma 'what?', Z m̄y miy, Δ mzy d muiy d muiya, Yz may id. || ObU {ʔHl.} *me- (a reg. reflex of FU *mi) 'what?' (or 'which?') > pOs {Ht.} *me- > Os: V/Vy mo-ʔ xi, Ty me-ʔwə, Y me-ʔwə, D me-ʔy, Nz/Kz mu-ʔy 'what?', V/Vy me-tta-, Ty/Y me-tta-, D/K me-ta-, Nz/Kz ma-ta, O ma-ti 'which?'; pVg {Ht.} *ma-ʔ-na-ʔ 'which?' > Vg: P/NMV/SV/LL ma-n, UL man, Ss mana id. : OHg, Hg mi 'what?' ¶¶ Chr mō ~ mā, Vt mā and Z miy d mzy d muiy are likely to go back to N cds (possibly *mi ʔa'h'a 'what thing?', cp. CS *mah and B maH 'what?') || Sm {Jn.} *m3- 'what?' > Ng {Ter.} mā, {Cs.} maʔ id., En {Cs.} miʔ (gen. miʔo) id., Kms {KD} mo, mo-ʔ 'weshalb?', Koyb {Sp.} мола 'what for?', Slq Tz {KKIH} mi 'something'; also possibly Ne T {Ter.} мѣ T O {Lh.} mī 'something to eat', Ne F {Lh.} mī id., 'merchandise', Ne T d мѣм 'a useful thing' ¶¶ Coll. 34-5, UEW 296 (*mV 'what, thing'), Laan. 200-2, N 654, Hs. 127-8, SaR 188-9, Kert 174, ERV 371-7, LG 181, MF 445-6, EWU 975, Ht. #375, ≈ Jn. 91 (+ unc. *m3- 'give, be'), KKIH 134 || A *m'i 'what?' > T *m̄in > Chv mēĀn m̄n 'what?', d : mī'e miz'e, Δ {Rm. ← Ash.} mīn'e mins'e 'how much, how many?' ({Rm.}: < *mic'a-), mēĀnte m̄nle 'what kind, which?', mēĀ(n)скер m̄(n)sker 'what?'] Chv mā ma 'why?', 'what for?', 'what (do you want to say)?' [in a dialog: Ивaн! - M? 'Ivan! - What?' ¶ Ash. VIII 151, 249, 334-48, Lvt. IM 35, Jeg. 133-4 ¶ Chv mā may be akin to Chr mō ~ mā, Vt mā, CS *mah and B maH 'what?' (< N *mi ʔa'h'a 'ʔ') ¶ S AJ 255 [#99] || pKo {S} *mī 'what?' > MKo mī id., in modern Ko cds : PhN m̄ot, Ph mūot, Chs mūot, Ks mūot, Hm m̄wot, Chj m̄oingā, Sl b̄uot, Kw m̄ot 'what?'; NKo m̄i_et 'how many?' ({Rm.}: < *mi-c'a) ¶ S QK #99, Nam 225, MLC 663 || ??σpJ {S} *m3'-si ({S} "interrogative-dubitative pc.") > J mos'i 'if' ¶¶ The A suffix *-ca in Ko m̄i_et and Chv mī'e miz'_e d minz'_e 'how many/much?' (Jeg. 134) is identical with NaT *ka-č 'how many?' ¶¶ The comparison with pJ {S} *m3'-si is legitimate because the latter means 'if (provided that)' (possibly from 'when') ¶¶ ≈ Rm. EAS II 79 [§ 43] (pA *mi 'what?'), ≈ Rm. SKE 147, ≈ S AJ 297 [#581] [A *mV (interr. stem)], DQA #1379 (A *mV id.), Hmb. 75 || D: Brgd mī 'what?', Kkd mida id. ¶ Grr. 334, 343 || K: [1] *may 'what?' (< *mi ʔay- < N *mi 'what?' + *ʔayV 'which?', 'what?' [q.v.]) > Mg, Lz mu-, Sv: UB/LB ma-y d ma-, L may, Ln ma 'what?'; ? in the OG and G cd rome-l- 'which' ¶ K 124, K² 112 || [2] K (att. in Zan) *min 'who?' > Mg, Lz mi / (before a vw.) min ¶ Q O47, Marr 28, ≈ K 135, ≈ FS K 124 and FS E 135, Mrtr. N 183, TK 554-5, GP 211, Dn. s.v. may || IE {Ped., IS} *mo- ≈ 'what?' > NaIE: Clt: MBr ma 'which' (rel. prn.: ar guchenn arc'hant m'oant denet da glask 'la somme d'argent qu'ils étaient venus chercher', bon tat ... ma emañ en Én 'pater noster qui es in cœlo', 'that' (cnjc.)), (possibly also the obscure OBr ma in tre ma > Br dre ma 'par ce que'; Br Vn

tre me viw 'tant qu'elle vit'), Br ma 'where?', ma 'that' (cnjc.), Olr ma, ma' 'if', Br mar, {Vn.} ma 'if', Crn mar 'if' !? Tc: A ma'nt, B ma'kte 'how?', A ma'ksu 'who?' || Ht masi- 'how many?' ({Ped.}: < gen. *mo-syo-), mahhan 'how?', cnjc. 'when, as', ma'n 'how?', cnjc. 'when, if, as', Lw {Mlc.} ma'n 'if, when(ever)', {Lar.} man 'if', ? Lc {Mlc.} me' 'if' (condition), {Carr.} mei id. ¶ Acc. to AD, not here Tc: A ma'nt, B ma'kte 'how?' and A ma'ksu 'who?' (the element ma~me- being akin to Gk με'v and not to an interr. stem) ¶ Flr. DVB 248, 319-20, Ern. 382-3, 711, ≈ Vn. M 1, Hm. 537, 547, KT I 168, Wn. 286-9, Ped. H 38, Ivn. OPA 193, Ts. E II 86-9, 116-7, 158-9, CHD L-N 100-11, 143-61, 205, Lar. DLL 67, Mcl. CL 135, Mlc. L 43, Carr. SP 76, Ad. 186-8, 439-40, 451 (denies connections of the Tc words with an interr. stem), EI 457 (*me/o, interr.\rel. prn.) ◇ ï ÷ (⇔ Rm. EAS II 79, DQA #1379, IS) the T interr. verbal sx. *-mi-(a typologically improbable semantic change 'what?' → general interr. indicator 'does [he] ...?'). The same is true of the Sml interr. indicator ma ◇ IS II 66-8 (*mi 'what?' in HS, K, IE, U, A and D), Schrđ. DU 107 (D, U), Gr. I 229-31 ("interrogative M" in IE, U, A, ChK, Ai, qu. EA).

1356. ?? LI ***ma'ʔ'a(-yV)** 'mother' > IE: NaIE *ma-, *ma-ya- 'mother' > OI Λ {MW} ma- id. || Gk μα' 'mother!' (μα' γα' 'mother Earth' [Aischylos]), 'nurse', Gk I/A μα'ια 'mother, nurse' || MLG mo'je 'mother's sister', OHG holz-mo-wa ~ holz-mu-wa 'female wood-goblin, wood-witch' (← *'wood-mother') (holz 'wood') || NaIE *ma-ter 'mother' > OI ma-tar- (nom. 'ma-ta'), Av ma-tar-, KhS ma-ta-, NPrs rda'M ma-da-r || Arm majr mayr (gen. mōr mo'r < *mawr < *ma-tr-os) || Gk A μη'τηρ, Gk D μα'τηρ || L ma-ter (gen. 'ma-tr-is), Osc gen. maatreis, Um gen. MATRER id. || Gl {Billy} MATIR, OIr ma'thir id., W modrydaf 'beehive' (with bydaf 'nest of wild bees') || Lt mo'te (gen. moter's) 'wife, mother', Ltv ma'te, Pru mu'ti, mothe 'mother' || SI *ma'ti (gen. *ma'ter-e) id. > OCS мати mati (gen. матере matere), Blg 'мати, SCr ma'ti (gen. ma'tere), Slv ma'ti (gen. ma'tere), Cz ma'ti (gen. mater'e), Slk mat' ~ mati (gen. matere), OP, P † mac', R мат- (gen. 'матери), Uk 'мати (gen. 'матер') id. || Gmc *mo'ther > ON mo'dir, OHG muoter, NHG Mutter, OSx mo-dar, AS mo-dor id., NE mother || pTc {Ad.} *ma-c'er > Tc: A ma-car, B ma-cer id. || pAl {O} *ma-ter > Al mote'r 'sister' (← *'elder sister', because elder sisters assumed the role of child-rearing in the household {My.} or because in the framework of certain kinship systems of ancient Albanians the word for 'mother' was extended to [elder] sisters and female cousins {Huld.}) ¶ WP II 221-2, 229-30, P 694, 700-1, EI 385-6 (*meh_Ater), M K II 619-20, M E II 345-6, Horn 213, MW 771, Bai. 328, F II 154, 159, 232, WH II 49-50, Bc. G 317, 338, Me. EAC 81-2, Billy 104, Vn. M 25, Vr. 391, Ho. 224, Ho. S 53, Kb. 477, 704, OsS 415, 629, KM 497, Tr. 168, 170f., Frn. 465-6, En. 212, ESSJ XVII 237-69, Glh. 400-1, O 275, My. 287-8, Huld 95-6, Slr. 50-1, Wn. 283-4, Ad. 447, Ad. H 20, 44, 124 || HS: Eg ∇ mw.t 'mother' (= {Spg.} *ma;wet, {Vc.} *ma-wi-t [possibly acp.]) > DEg mw.t > Cpt: Sd maaw, B maaw id. ¶ Eg -t is a sx. of the fem. gender ¶ EG II 54, Vc. 126, Spg. LMS 104-5, Crn. 95 || B *ma- (< *ma'ʔ'?) > Gd ma-, Ah ma, matt 'mother'; but Izd mma 'mother', Awj {Prd.} mma-, Snd yamma, Zww imma id. and similar forms are likely to represent pB *yV-mma- 'my mother' (*yV- 'my') with the element *-mma- which may go back either to the √ in question or to N *ʔema 'mother' [q.v.], or to a merger of both roots; the possessive sx. may be added after the √: Si ummai- 'my mother' ¶ Fc. 1434, Lf. II #0950, La. S 259, Prd. 168 || C: SC: Asa {Fl.} mai- 'wife', mayito 'woman' ¶ Fl. AA 13, Blz. CWL || Ch: WCh: NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} ma'ha'i-, Kry {Sk.} ma'h3, My {Sk.} ma'x3, Sir {Sk.} ma- 'mother' || Ngz {Sch.} ma'i- || CCh: Gudu {ChL} mzi- || HgB/Kps {ChL} ma' || Tr {Nw.} ma'nki- || Mdr {Mch.} mu- || Gzg {Lk.} ma- || Db {Lnh.} ma- || Gdr {Srp.} mo-ko- || Bdm {Lk.} ma-, Lgn {Lk.} ma'- || ECh: Mgm {J} me-de' id. ¶ The element xV ~ hV-hV in the NrBc lgs. is a sx., cp. the words for 'father': Kry ba'h3, My ba'x3 and probably Wrj ba'x3na' ¶ Stl. ZCh 259 [#159] (pNrBc *ma'h'a 'mother'), ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 32 || D *ma:ij > Gnd mai d ma'i d ma'yi 'woman, wife', Krx mai- 'female child', way of addressing girls, ? Kdg mayma 'cross-niece, daughter-in-law' ¶ D #4791 and p. 513 [#53] || ? A: T *be- ~ *bEyE (< *mayiEj) 'mare' (← *'female, mother animal', cp. Mutterlamm 'ewe-lamb') [× A *beyV 'an ungulate animal' < N *beŋiVj3V 'ungulate animal (deer and sim.)', q.v. ffd] ◇ The variant ***ma'ʔ'a-yV** (> Gk I/A μα'ια, MLG mo'je, D *may, Ngz {Sch.} ma'i- and possibly T *be- ~ *bEyE) may be a form with an endearment morpheme ('Mütterchen') or a form with a possessive of 1s ('my mother').

1357. ***maʔV** 'ruminant (deer, antelope?)' > HS: Eg fP m3 'antelope' ¶ EG II 11 || D {Pf.} *ma-, *ma-kk- '∈ ungulate (deer, antelope?)' > Tm ma- 'animal, beast' (esp. 'horse, elephant'), ma-n 'deer, beast', Ml ma-n, Kt ma-v, Td mo-f, Klm ma-g 'deer', Tl ma-vu 'horse', Gnd mau d ma-v(i), Knd ma-v, Png ma-nges, Mnd ma-ngeh, Ku ma-yu 'sambar', Kui ma-zu (pl. ma-ngga) 'elk', Krx ma-k 'antelope, red deer', Mlt ma'ku 'stag' ¶ D #4780, Pf. 23 [#93] || ??φ A: Tg *o-men- 'deer' > Ewk m3ɣ3tu (d m3ɣ3ti d m3ɣ3tu d m3ɣ3ku- d m3ɣti d m3ɣ3ti) 'wild reindeer', Ewk Ald m3ɣ3tu, Ewk Skh m3ɣti 'elk' ¶ Alternatively, Tg *men- may have developed from Tg *men 'gray' (of animals) [> Lm m3ɣti, Ork m3ɣguri id.] ¶ STM I 570-1 ¶ If Tg *men- belongs here, the vw. was *a-. Did Tg *-n- go back to *ʔ-n- (*ma'ʔV nu with genetival *nu > marker of obl. cases > generalized part of the stem)?

1358. ***muʔE** 'cut, reap (→ 'mow')' > HS: Eg m3 (phonetic meaning of the character H that represents a sickle) ¶ EG II 6 || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} ma' 'cut', ? Lgn {Bou.} mī yo' 'knife' ¶ ChC || IE: NaIE *me- v. 'mow, cut' > Gk 'αμα'ω 'I reap, cut (reeds, etc.)' || OHG ma'en 'to mow, cut', NHG ma'hen, MDt maeyen, Dt maaen, AS ma-wan 'to mow', NE mow ¶ WP II 259, P 703, F I 88, Kb. 649, OsS 584-5, KM 453-4, Ho. 216, Vr. N 419, Mn. 474, GI II 691 [*meH(i)-, ≈ EI 258 *h₂meh₁- 'mow'] || A:

Tg *m^hu, i_h- ({Bz.} *mu^h-) v. 'cut' > Nn Nh mui- 'cut oneself, cut one's hand with a knife', Ul, Nn ñui-, Ewk, Neg, Ork mī-, Orc mi-, Ud {Shn.} min₃-, Ud Sm Krm.} mind₃- 'cut', WrMc meyle-, meyele- id., meyte- 'cut an animal's carcass into parts' ¶ STM I 535, Krm. 260 || pKo {S} *m^hi_h- 'tear a hole', 'to get torn' > MKo mī_h- 'to get torn', NKO mii_h- id., mī- id., 'tear a hole' ¶ S QK #1137, Yu 344, MLC 687 ¶¶ DQA #2758 (A *mu^h-yV 'to cut, tear') ◇ ï ÷ T: OT bī ≈ 'knife', which belongs to N *P^hi^hʔV 'point, blade, sharp edge' [q.v.], unless Chn p^hi 'split' [as supposed by Cl. 291] ◇ In IE the labial glide (< *U) was lost after the sonant *m (*meʔ- < **mu_heʔ-, cf. AD NVIE) ◇ ≈ BmK #517 (*miʔ/*meʔ- 'to reap, harvest': Eg, IE) ◇ On N and IE *- see Introd. § 2.2.

1359. *ma^ho^hga 'good' > HS: C: LEC {Bl.} *ma₁ʔ- > Af {PH} meʔe 'be good, be right', Sa {R} ma^h-e^h 'Güte, Edelsinn; Schönheit', ma^ham 'was gut/schön ist', -ma^h 'Gutes erweisen, edel/gut sein', Sml ma^h-a^hn-, Dsn meʔ 'sweet', pOr {Bl.} *meʔ- > Or {Grg.} miʔ-aw- 'be sweet/flavoured', Or H {Ow.} miʔaw- 'be sweet', Or B {Sr.} mia^h / mio^hfta id., mia^h 'sweet, tasty', Kns/Gdl {Bl.} meʔ-a^hw-, Bss {Bl.} miʔ-aw-, Turo {Bl.} me-ay- 'taste good' ¶ Bl. 111, 136, 203-4, PH 167, R S II 254-5, Grg. 28, Ow. 264, Sr. 366, To DL 517 II IE: NaIE *ma^h- 'good, in due time', (?) 'great', d *ma^h-no- 'good, early' > OL ma^h-nus 'good', ma^h-ne, ma^h-nī 'in the morning' (< *early'), ma^h-nic-o^h / -a^h-re 'get up early'; d *ma^h-tV- > L Ma^h-tu^h-ta 'the goddess of the early morn', ma^h-tu^h-tinus 'pertaining to the morning', ma^h-tu^h-rus 'timely, ripe, mature; grown up' :: OIr maith, Gl {Evn.} mati- (in proper names), Brtt {RE} *mati-s > OCrm mat, Crn ma^h-s, OBr, MBr mat 'good', Br mat 'good, well', mad 'well', MW mad 'happy, lucky', W mad 'good, seemly, lucky' :: ? unspecified lge. (Gk Δ?) [Hs.] ματῖ μὲγαλ 'great' ¶ FBS II 199, WP II 220-1, P 693, EI 235-6 [? *meh_A(t)- 'good'], WH II 25-6, 53-4, F II 185, Vn. M 12-3, Evn. 228-32, Billy 104, RE 100, Flr. 251-2, Hm. 537, 554, YGM-1 320 II ?? D (in SD) *ma^h- 'bravo!' (an exclamation of admiration) > Tm ma^h- (an expletive), Ml, Kn ma^h- 'bravo!' (interjection of wonder) [unless an interjection without etymology or a sd from D *ma^h- 'great' < (?) N *mEkʔe - *mEʔke 'big', q.v.] ¶¶ D #4787.

1360. *mUc. V v. 'press, squeeze' > HS: S: [1] WS *√mc.wy 'squeeze out, wring out' > BHb ecm √mc.y G 'wring out (wet fleece), slurp (from a cup)', IA, JA √ms.y G, D 'squeeze/wring (esp. blood)', Sr √ms.y G 'draw/suck out (esp. blood)' [× S *√ms.s. 'suck'], D 'squeeze out', SmA √ms.y T 'be drained' (blood), 'expire', ? G 'shed (blood)', Ar √ms.w D ~ √ms.s. 'schlürfen', Tgy √ms.y G v. 'suck'; [2] S *√mw|y^hc.¹ v. 'squeeze out' < BHb çim₅ mīc. (< *ma^hwic.-) 'pressing (for milk), pressing the nose for anger', MHb çim₅ mīc. 'juice, sap' ¶ KB 547, 587, KBR 578, 621, Js. 825-6, Lv. III 209-10, Sl. 699, Br. 398, JPS 293, Tal 482 II K *muc^h |c.- > G I/G muc.- 'zusammenknäufen, zusammenpressen (Lippen)', ? G (Zan?) muc^h.- 'ballen (Faust)' ¶ Chx. 859 ¶ If the G verb muc^h.- is a loan from Zan, the pGZ rec. must be *muc^h.-, ergo N *mUc. V II U: FP amb *mUc. V v. 'squeeze; fist' (× N *mu₃lVjyV 'fist; to squeeze with a fist', q.v.) > F musertaa v. 'crush, smash', Krl A mu^hʔuo v. 'press, crumble', Vp muc^hoida v. 'twist (fingers)' ? > Lp Sw {SK <?} moc^hetec, moc^hc^hot v. 'break, be breaking off' ? Z Δ m₃ʔir 'clenched fingers, fist', {W} m₃ʔirt- 'clench one's hand/fist' ¶ LG 176, SK 353 II ?? D (in SD) *muc(c)- v. 'be torn, crumpled' > Tm muc^hi v. 'be torn/crumpled (as a garment)', Ml mus.iyuka v. 'frow faint, weary, be worn out', Tl musincu v. 'be spoiled' ¶¶ D #4903.

1361. *muc. V(-kV) v. 'immerse, wash' > HS: S *√mu^hc.- (*√mwc.) ~ ? *√msH (= *√ms^hh?) v. 'wash, clean' > Ar √mws_h (ip. -mu^hs_hu) id., ?? Ak A masa^h-u(m), Ak B mesu^h(m) id. ¶ BK II 1168, Sd. 647-8, CAD X/2 30-5 || C ({AD} √myc^h) > EC: Sml {ZMO} mayd_o 'wash, bathe', Sml N {Abr.} mayd_h- v. 'wash', Or {Grg.} mic^h.c^ha v. 'wash (clothe, objects)', Or B/O/W {Sr.} mīc^h.a id., v. 'squeeze', Kmb {L, Hd.} mec^h.c^h-, Qbn {L} mec^h.c^h.iyo^h, Sd {Hd.} me^hc^h.- v. 'wash', ? Ged mīc^h.- v. 'squeeze', ?? Or {Sr.} mic^h.īra- v. 'wring out [clothes], squeeze' (Brj {Hd., Ss.} mic^h.ir- v. 'wring out') ¶ AD SF 308, Grg. 285, Sr. 366-7, Hd. 164, 212, 255, 333, 385, Ss. B 144 || NrOm: Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.}, Wl {C} mec^h.-, Kf {C} ma^hc^h.- v. 'wash', Ym {C} meʔ-, {Wdk.} me^hʔu^h / me^hʔu^h, ma^hso^h / ma^hso^h id., Bnc {Wdk.} ma^hs(k)- vt., vr. id. ¶ AD l.c., Wdk. BY 107, 131 (the verbs in Omt [= Gf?], Wl, Kf may be loans from Or) || Ch: CCh: Msg {Lk.} mas-, {Mch.} ma^hs id., {J} mu^hsna^h v. 'wash (things)' ? Ms {Caīt.} m_us, BnnM {ChL} mbusa, Azm {Pc.} mbu^h-sa^h v. 'wash' ? Mrg {Hf.} ncu_o v. 'immerse, plant' ¶ ChC, ChL, Hf. GML 126, 131, Caīt. 109 s.v. m_us 'laver', Pc. 292-3 II IE: NaIE *mesg- v. 'immerse', {EI} 'dip under water, dive' > OI 'majjati 'sinks' :: L merg- v. 'dip, plunge [into liquid], immerse' ? Blt iter. *mazg- v. 'plunge in, wash' > Lt mazgo^hti, Ltv mazga^ht v. 'wash' ¶ P 745-6, EI 160, WH II 76-7, M K III 548-9, M E II 291, WH II 76-7, Frn. 421 II U *mus^h'ke v. 'wash' > FP {UEW} *mus^h'ke > Es mo^hske id. ? pMr {Ker.} *mu^hs^hkā > Er myc^h-ke- mus^h'ke-, Mk myc^h-ko- mus^h'kā- v. 'wash (clothes)' ? pChr {Ber.} *mus^h'k- > Chr: L μυικ- mus^h'k-, H μυικ- m^hʔs^h'k- v. 'wash' ? Prm {LG} *mu^hs'-, *mu^hs^h'k- > Z mis^h'kini v. 'wash', mis^h's^hini v. 'wash (oneself)', Vt mis^h'kini v. 'wash, bathe (so.)', mis^h'tas^h'kini v. 'wash (clothes, oneself)' (Vt i for *i due to the infl. of s') :: Hg mos- v. 'wash', mos(ako)d- v. 'wash oneself' || Sm *ma^hs^h- v. 'wash' > Ne T maca^h-c^h-, Ne T O {Lh.} ma^hs^h-a^h id., Ne F {Lh.} inv. 2s ma^hs^h?, En {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. masuabo, Slq Tz {KKIH} musiltiqo v. 'wash, wash oneself', Slq Tm {KLD} muz-, mus-, Kms {KD} ba^hza^hl'a^ho^hm id., Koyb {Sp.} бѣла 'washes', Mt {Hl.} *masə- 'wash' (Mt: M {Sp.} 1s m₃ʔ ~ j m_h, K {Pl.} maa^hsisin 'I wash') ¶¶ UEW 289, It. #189 (*mus^h'ke), Coll. 35, Sm. 538 (U *mos^h'ki-, FU *mos^h'ki-, FP *mo^hus^h'ki-, Ugr *mosk^h-, Sm *ma^hso- 'wash'), MF 450-1, Ker. II 91, Ber. 39, MRS 337, 343, LG 184, Jn. 89,

KKIH 133, Hl. M #642 II ??? D {IS} *muc(c)- v. 'wash' > Kui musa v. 'wash the head', mīspa v. 'bathe, wash (another person)', ? Krx mu⁻3- v. 'wash the face of', Gnd micna⁻, mīh- v. 'bathe another'; the D cognate is valid unless this is a derivate from D *mī- 'wash' (< N ***muhi** 'water, fluid', q.v.) ¶¶ D 4878, Pf. 41 (Krx mu⁻3- < D *mī-nc-) ◇ Cf. IS II 71 (*muc^ˈ.Λ v. 'wash'), UEW 189 and P 745-6 (both draw attention to the U-IE parallel). U *s' for the expected *c' is due to its preconson. position. In IE mesg- the element *-g- belongs together with U *-k- in *mus'ke (a N sx.?).

1362. ? ***mVc. 'VwV** '∈ rodent' > HS: C: pAg *ʔɜnc.ɜw 'mouse' > Bln {Ap.} ʔɜnsɜwa, Xm {Ap.} ɜc^ˈ.wa 'mouse', Q/Km {Ap.} ɜnsɜ'a^ˈ.wa id., 'rat'; Ag -b> EthS: Gz ʔans.awa⁻, ʔans.e⁻wa⁻, ʔanso⁻wa⁻ 'mouse, weasel', Tgy aN(Σ ʔanc^ˈ.ɜwa, Tgr aNɕY ʔans.ay ~ 0NɕY ʔans.ay; EthS -b> Sa {Wlm.}, Af ʔandawa ∥ ? EC: Or {Grg.} hantu⁻ta, {Brl., Th.} antuta 'mouse, rat', Or B/O {Sr.} hantu⁻ta 'rat' ¶ R WB 41, Ap. AV 3, Ap. WLQ 13, AD SF 142, 222-3, G L 32, LH 476, Brl. 24, Th. 20, Grg. 200, Sr. 323 ∥ NrOm: pGng {Ap.} *inc^ˈ.- > Kf {C} ic^ˈ.c^ˈ.o⁻, Mch {L} ic^ˈ.c^ˈ.e, Anf inc^ˈ.o 'mouse', Shn {Lm.} i^ˈnc.a^ˈ id., 'rat', Bnc {Wdk.} u^ˈc., She uc., Hrr e⁻re⁻c^ˈe⁻, Cha {C} uc.a⁻, Wl {C} ec^ˈ.a⁻re⁻, Zs {C} ec^ˈ.ere⁻, Dwr {Ap. ←?} ec^ˈ.ere, ec^ˈ.eria, Bdt {C} erēc^ˈ.e⁻ 'mouse' ¶ Ap. AV 3, AD SF 142, Wdk. BY 112, Lm. Sh 269-70 ∥ ? CCh: Gzg D {Lk.} mocod., Gzg Mj {Lk.} moc^ˈod. 'mouse', MfG {Brr.} ma^ˈc^ˈad., mo^ˈc^ˈod. '∈ mouse', ? Db {Lnh.} mas^ˈay 'mouse' (× N ***muks'a^ˈ** ~ ***mugz'a^ˈ** '∈ rodent') ¶ Lk. G 130, Brr. MG II 163 II K: G {DCh.} mc.av-i '∈ beaver, otter', c.av-i, c.vav-i 'beaver, otter', {NCh.} mc.avī, c.avī, c.vavī 'otter', {GL, Chx.} c.av-i 'otter, Fischotter' ¶ DCh. 927, 1629, NCh. 306, Chx. 2099, SSO I 534 & II 362, GL 570.

1363. ***mec. 'XA** 'forest, tree, wood (Holz)' > HS: Eg MKL m3h v. 'hew timber', Eg OK m3h(w) 'carpenter', Eg XXVI m3h.t 'behauenes Holz' ¶ EG II 189-91, Fk. 124 ∥ EC: Kns {BISO} mīssa 'bush, bush country', ? Hr, Dbs, Gwd mand.o 'forest' (acc. to Lm. Sh 360, mt from *mid.-an-) ¶ BISO 116, AMS 174, 278 ∥ Om ({Blz.}): NrOm: Kf {C} mit.o⁻ 'tree, wood (albero, legno, legname)', Mch {L} mī^ˈt.o 'wood, tree', Anf {C} mic^ˈ.c^ˈ.o⁻, mis.s.o⁻, Shn {Lm.} mī^ˈta⁻, Omt (= GF?) {Mrn.} mīt.a ~ mic.a (miz.a) 'tree, wood (legno), firewood', Bdt {C} mitse⁻, mitsi, Wl {C} mitta⁻, Cha {C} mitsa⁻, Gf/Bdt {C} mitse⁻ ~ mitsi 'tree, wood (Holz)', Zl {C, CR} mic.c.a⁻, Malo mic.a⁻, {Lm.} micci, Male {Si.} 'mic.i, Dwr mit.ī, Gnj {Si.} 'mic, Krt {Si.} mīce, Zrgl {Si.} 'minca 'tree', Zs {Si.} mīn^ˈc.a 'tree', {Lm.} minc.a 'tree, firewood', Kcm {Si., Lm.} 'mici id., Dumo {CR} mic.e⁻ 'plant, tree, wood (Holz)', Dc {Lm.} mic.c. 'tree', minc.a⁻ 'wood (Holz), firewood' ¶ Blz. OL #117 (Om. *mit.- ~ *mic^ˈ.- 'wood'), AD SF 250, C SE III 172 & IV 475-6, C SO 33, 44, 62, Mrn. O 152, L M 43, Si. ACh 21, Si. M 11, Lm. Sh 360 ∥ ??σ S ***maish** > Ak me⁻s-u '∈ a native tree and its wood' ¶ CAD X/1 33-4 ¶ The deglottalization *c. > Ak s may be due to regr. as (caused by *h) ¶¶ AD SF 250 (Om, Eg; i ÷ S: Hb mat.^ˈ.t.e⁻ 'stick'), Blz. OL #117 II ? K ***mic^ˈ.c.a** > OG mic.a-y, G mic.a 'land, earth' ¶ Ser. 101, Chx. 782 II U: FU {Coll.} *mec^ˈ.c'a⁻, {UEW} *mec'a⁻ 'forest' → 'remote place' > F metsa⁻ 'forest, wood (Wald, Forst)', Es mets 'forest' ∥ Lp {Lr.} *me⁻c^ˈ.c'e⁻ 'far away; go far way' > Lp: L {LLO} mieht^ˈ.je⁻n, A mieh^ˈ.tijen, I {It.} mec^ˈ.c'in 'weitweg', S {Hs.} miett^ˈ.jie- ~ mietts^ˈ.e- 'sich entfernen' (× miettsene 'behind, far in the northern side?') ∥ OHg, Hg messz-e 'far off/away' (-e is a sx. of lat.) ¶ Coll. 98, UEW 269-70 (semantic interpretation of the FU word as 'Rand'), Lr. #654, Lgc. #3811, Hs. 925, EWU 970.

1364. ***muc^ˈ. 'V** 'damage, (physical) defect, illness' > HS: S ***moθ** > Ar √mθf (ip. -mθuf- ~ -mθaf-) 'avoir une démarche disgracieuse' (se dit d'une femme qui marche comme une oie) ¶ BK II 1060 II U: FU *muc^ˈ.V '(physical) defect, illness' (→ 'guilt') > pChr {Ber.} *muz^ˈ.b 'evil spirit causing illness; illness' > Chr: L **мужо** 'muz^ˈ.o, H **мъж** 'm^ˈz^ˈ id. ∥ Prm {LG} *mu^ˈ.z^ˈ 'illness as punishment' > Z **мыжмиз^ˈ** 'guilt, fault (**проступок**), crime', Yz {Gn.} m^ˈaz^ˈ 'guilt', {Lt.} m^ˈaz^ˈ.a 'guilty', Prmk mīz^ˈ.a 'punishment \ illness sent by God \ by the deceased parents', Vt S mīz^ˈ 'unkept sacrifice vow; illness inflicted by deities as punishment', mīz^ˈ.tini v. 'send illness' ∥ pObU {Ht.} *ma^ˈ.c^ˈ ~ *mo^ˈ.c^ˈ > pVg *ma^ˈ.s^ˈ 'illness, defect' > LK ma^ˈ.s^ˈ, UK ma^ˈ.s, LL mas^ˈ, Ss mos id. ({Mu.} 'scrofula, illness, deficiency', {BV} 'illness'); pOs *m^ˈoc^ˈ 'illness, wounds' ({Stn.} "general name for illnesses and visible wounds") > Os: V m^ˈoc^ˈ, Ty moc^ˈ, Nz mus^ˈ, Kz mo^ˈ.s^ˈ, O mos id. ∥ ? OHg ma^ˈ.z 'epilepsy', Hg Δ hagyma^ˈ.z 'hitziges Fieber, wobei man immer phantasiert', 'typhus' ¶ Coll. 97, UEW 283, It. #225, ≈ Sm. 553 (FP *mus^ˈ.V 'illness'), Ber. 40 [#202], MRS 333, 340, Ep. 73, Ü 124, Lt. 194, Lt. J 148, LG 181, Ht. #378, MK 315, BV 56, Stn. D 890-1 II D (in SD) *muc- > Tm mucī v. 'faint', Ml mus.iyuka v. 'grow faint', Kn muccur⁻u v. 'become torpid \ stupified, lose consciousness, faint away' (× D *muc(c)- v. 'be torn, crumpled' (< N ***mUc. 'V** v. 'press, squeeze', q.v.) ◇ IS II 72 [#305] (*mUc^ˈ.Λ, i.e. *muc^ˈ.c^ˈ.V **порча, недостаток**: U, D).

1365. ***mu^ˈ.c^ˈ. 's^ˈ.V^ˈ** 'cut, cut into pieces, tear off' > HS: Eg XX ms^ˈ.s^ˈ 'cut off (abschneiden) [?]' ¶ EG II 156 ∥ S ***mo^ˈ.s^ˈ** > Ar √ms^ˈ.f G (ip. -ms^ˈ.af- ~ -ms^ˈ.if-) {Fr.} 'eripuit', {BK} 'arracher \ enlever violamment', {Hv.} 'steal (a th.) away', 'cord (cotton)' ¶ BK II 1262 ∥ C: EC: Sml N {Abr.} mud^ˈ.h- 'strip off, undress, despoil', Sml {R} mud^ˈ.ah- 'strip off the skin' ¶ The devoicing *f > h id probably due to as (pC *t.f > *t.h) ∥ Bj {R} √ms^ˈ.? pcv. (1s: p. 'ams^ˈ.a^ˈ, prs. aman.s^ˈ.i^ˈ?; prtc. 'mes^ˈ.?a) 'tear to pieces, split, divide', {Rop.} √ms^ˈ.? pcv. vt. 'split' ∥ SC: Irq musa {MQK} 'pestle, mortar stick', {Wd.} 'mortar', Kz {E} musiko 'pestle' ¶ Abr. S 182, R WBd 175, Rop. 219, E SC 159, Wd. #611, MQK 75 ∥ NrOm: Kf {C} mac^ˈ.c^ˈ.- 'tagliare, incidere', Gm {Hw.} mu^ˈ.c^ˈ.o ¶ C SE IV 468, Hw. EG II U ***muC^ˈ.C^ˈ.a** > Sm *m^ˈca^ˈ - 'cut' > Nn: T ma^ˈ.da- v. 'cut', T O {Lh.}

ma₂ḏa₂- 'durchschneiden', F NI {Lh.} matta^o-s' id.; Slq: Tz {KKHI} ma^o-ti- v. 'chop, cut, cut to pieces', Tm {KD} ma^oz'a^o b₂- 'cut'; Kms {KD} 1s prs. ba^oḥ^oom ~ ba^oḥ^oom ~ buḥ^oom 'cut' ¶ Jn. 84, KKHI 129, KD 7 II D (in NED) *mo^o-c- 'cut into pieces' > Krx mo^o-c-na- 'cut up into convenient pieces any object too large for use, give a cut in/through', Mlt {Drs.} mo^o'ce 'cut (as meat)' ¶ D #513O, Pf. 195 [#194] II A: Tg *mo^o-sa- v. 'grind' > Nn B mo^o-so 'millstone', Nn B/KU mo^o-sola-, WrMc mosela- v. 'grind (cereals)', Nn Nh mo^o-solaqu, Ul mosoloqu ~ maysalaqu, WrMc moselaqu 'mill' ¶ STM I 547 || ?σ T *bi^o- ~ *bi^o- v. 'cut; cut out a garment' (× N *bic^o. V 'cut, crumble, crush', q.v. ffd.) ◇ SC, Bj and Tg seem to suggest *-s^o-, while EC, Om and U suggest an affricate. The exact sound corr. are still to be elucidated.

1366. *muc^o. V 'cupped/clenched hand (fist)' > HS: B *₁w₁mVZ₂- > fist, cupped hand' > Kb {Dl.} t₂ummaz₂t₂ (pl. t₂ummaz₂) 'fist', Sll {Ds.} amaz₂ id., tummaz₂t₂ (pl. tummaz₂-z₂) 'cupped hand (poignée)', Izd {Mrc.} tummizt₂ (pl. tummaz₂), Gd {Lf.} tammaz₂t₂ (pl. tammaz₂-z₂, tammaz₂-n₂) id., ω₂maz₂ 'prendre à poignée' ¶ Dl. 529, Mrc. 196, Lf. II #1054 II K *^omuc^o- > G muc^o.a 'hollow of the hand, handful', muc^o-.i id., 'fist', muc^o-. 'ballen (Faust), eine Handful von et. nehmen, in der Hand halten' ¶ DCh. 911-2, Chx. 859 II U: FU *muc^okV 'fist' > pMr {Ker.} *mus^o'k^o id. > Er мoкшнa moks^o'na, Mk мoкшнeндa moks^o'enda (i.e., acc. to Ker., the *mt* occurred in the prehistory of Mr) : pChr {Ber.} *mus^o'k^ond^o id. > Chr: L мушкнeндo 'mus^o'k^ondo, H мышкнeнды m^o's^o'k^ond^o : Prm {LG} *mu^o'z^oik id. > Vt мышк мiz^o'ik id., Z LV miz^o'ik n. 'blow with the fist, cuff, punch (удар кулаком тумак)' : pOs *me^o'c^oak ({fHl.} *mi^o'c^oak) 'fist' > Os: Ty/D me^o'c^oak, O ma^o's^oak id. ¶ UEW 704 (unc. : Os <b- Z), Coll. 99, It. #221, Sm. 553 (FP *muks^o'V 'fist'), Ker. II 89, Ber. 39, MRS 338, 343, LG 181, SZ 230.

1367. *muc^o. ØV 'end' > HS: S *^o/mθ.ŋ > Ar éoa70Ma maḏ.ŋ-at- 'la fin, le reste du discours' ¶ BK II 1125 II U: FU *muc^o'V 'end' > pChr {Ber.} *muc^o-aks^o (*-aks^o is a nominal sx.) > Chr: L мучаш mu^o'c^oas^o, V muc^oaks^o, H мынаш m^o's^oas^o 'end (Ende, Spitze)'; pChr muc^o- with a locative ending > Chr H мыны m^o's^o-n^o 'at the end of' : pObU *m^o o^o 'c^o (/ *moc^o- ?) 'up to' > pVg *m^o a^o 'c^o id. > Vg: T mis^o, LK ma^o's^o, MK/UK ma^o's^o, P/NV/SV mos^o, LL mas^o, UL mos, Ss mus; pOs *moc^o'a ({fHl.} *ma^o'c^oa) id. > Os: V/Vy moc^o'a, Ty/Y mo^o'c^oa, Km ma^o's^oa, O ma^o's^oa' ¶ Coll. 99, UEW 283, Ber. 38, MRS 330, 342, Ht. #780 II A {DQA} *m^o'u^oc^o'i > AmTg *mu^o-ca 'end, edge' > Ul mu^o-c^oa, Ork mu^o-tc^oa ~ muc^o'c^oa, Nn moc^o'a id. ¶ STM I 561 || T *mu^o-gak, *mu^o-mak {DQA} 'external angle' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} buc^o'yaq 'corner', MQp xiv, Chg xv, OOsM xiv bu^o'aq, Tk bu^o'ak id., Az bu^o'ag, ET Δ bu^o'ek^o bu^o'ek, Chv p^o's^omex id. ¶ ≈ Cl. 294, ET B 282-3 || pKo {S} *ma^o'c^o- v. 'finish' > MKo ma^o's^o, ma^o'c^o-, ma^o'c^o'a^o, NKo ma^o'c^o- id.; pKo {S} *ma^o'c^o- n. 'finish, end' > MKo ma^o'c^o'a^o m ¶ S QK #661, Nam 198, 205-6, MLC 568 ¶¶ S AJ 76, DQA #1372 (pA *mo^o'c^o'a^o 'end, edge') ◇ Resh. NNE #5 (U, A).

1368. ?? *m^o'a^o'c^o. VgV 'be foolish, mad, intoxicated' > HS: S *^o/ms^o.ŋ > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} é(a'5WMa maḏ.ḏ^o-a^o-y-at- 'fatuus', {BK} é(a'5WMu muḏ.ḏ^o-a^o-y-at- 'sot, imbecile', {Bel., Hv.} é(a'5WMa maḏ.ḏ^o-a^o-y-at- 'mad, insane' ('fou, insensé') ¶ Fr. IV 188, BK II 1120, Bel. 774, Hv. 724 || EC: Or {Grg.} mac^o'c^oa^o(w)a 'be/get drunk', mac^o'c^o'i 'drunkenness', Arr mac^o'c^o'é id., mac^o'c^o-ow- 'get drunk', Ged {Hd.} (<b- Or?) mac^o'c^o'o^o- 'be drunk', Sd {Gs.} mac^o'c^o'arara 'be mad/crazy', Hd/Kmb {Hd.} mac^o'c^o'a^o- 'be crazy'; Or (?) Kf {C} mas^o-, Mch {L} mas^o'a 'be drunk' ¶ ≈ AD SF 305-6, Grg. 272, Brl. 286, Hw. A 383, Gs. 217, Hd. 45 (HEC *mac^o'c^o'ara^o- 'be crazy'), 254, 293, 331, 384 II A: Tg *mo^ocV 'awkward, stupid' > WrMc moco 'slow-witted, dull, awkward', Ul moc^o'o 'it is awkward, uncomfortable', Nn Nh/KU moc^o'o 'awkward', B moco nai 'an awkward, clumsy man', Orc mo^oola^o- 'be unable, clumsy', Ork mot^o'c^ooul 'awkward, uncomfortable' ¶ STM I 547 ¶ The vw. *o may be due either to the infl. of the second syll. (a rounded vw.?) or of the initial *m- II D *mac- 'be intoxicated; intoxicating beverage' (× D *may- 'mix, be/make unsteady' < N *magy^o'E^o 'to swing, wave, sway', q.v.) > Mlt me^o'ca 'an intoxicating beverage prepared of corn', Krx ma^o-ya^o 'malt prepared for making beer, beer in its preparatory stage, arrack made of rice', Tl mai^o-kamu 'intoxication, inebriation', mai^o-da 'intoxication', Tm macakku vt. 'charm, bewitch, confuse, perplex', macakkam 'dullness, swoon', macakkai^o 'morbid longings of a pregnant woman', mayakku v. bewilder, make one swoon', myakku n. 'mental delusion', mai^o-yal 'infatuation of love, madness', Ml mayan^oguka 'be drowsy, giddy' ¶¶ D #4706.

1369. *madu [*(or *maz^o [Vq]u??)] 'honey' > IE: NaIE *med^oh^o- 'honey' > OI madhu- 'honey, mead', Av maḏu 'berry wine', Sgd acc. mḏw 'wine', Oss I m3d, D mud 'honey' : Gk με^o'u 'wine, alcoholic drink' : OIr mid (gen. medo), W medd, Br mez 'mead', OCm medd Γ 'sicera (∈ alcoholic drink)' : ON mjoḏr, AS medu ~ meodu, NE mead, OHG me^o'tu^o mito, NHG Met 'mead' : Lt medu^o-s, Pru meddo 'honey', Ltv me^o-dus id., 'mead' : Sl *me^o'd^o (gen. *medu) 'honey' > OCS медъ med^o, Blg мед, Cz, Slk med id., SCr me^o-d, P mio^o-d, R мед id., 'mead'; the ancient root-final *u is preserved as *v in derived and compound words [as ChS медвнъ medv^on^o, R мед'внъий 'made of honey', Sl *medv^o-e^o'd^o 'bear' ('honey-eater'), etc.] : Tc B mīt [mit] 'honey' ¶ P 707, M K II 570-2, M E II 302-3, Bai. 340, Ab. II 134-5, F II 191-2, Vr. 390, Ho. 218-9, Kb. 680, KM 476, Frn. 425, En. 209, ESSJ XVIII 62-72, Vs. II 588-9, Glh. 402-3, Vn. M 48, Wn. 298, Ad. 461, Ad. H 17, ≈σ EI 271 (**med^oh^o 'mead') II D (in SD) *mat^o.t^o 'honey, sweetness' > Tm mat^o.t^ou 'honey, toddy, sweet juice', Ml mat^o.u 'sweetness, honey', mat^o.t^ou 'nectar', ? Tu mit^o.t^oi 'sweetness' ¶ D 4662 II HS: ECh: Mkl {J} ma^o'dde^o 'bee, honey' ¶ J LM 136 || NrOm {Blz.} *mat^o/t^o.C^o- 'bee, honey' > Shn mac^o.c^o.a 'honey', Kf ma^o't^o.o 'bee', Mch mat^o.i 'bee, wasp', Anf mac^o'c^o.o ~ mas^o.s.o, Zs,

De mac.c. 'bee', Gm {Hw.} ma'cci, Wl matta, Cha meca id. ¶ Lm. Sh 363, C SE III & IV 475, Blz. OL #177, Hw. EG [|| 22 S: [Ar iw3i'Na ma-δiy- 'miel blanc' Ar maδax- 'substance sucrée sur les fleurs des abricotiers sauvages' ¶ BK II 1080, 1166 4082] i ÷ Ar iw3i'Na ma-δiy- 'miel blanc, vin' (BK II 1080, 1166), which is likely to go back to an Iranian source (cp. Phl maδ 'wine') [◆ If Ar [ma-δiy- maδax] belongs here, it suggests a N rec. *maz-u *maz-Vqu. Alternatively (and rather plausibly), Ar ma-δiy- may go back to an unattested Aram word **maṭ-d- < S **maṭ-d- 'honey'] ◆ The S root *√mtk. 'sweet' does not belong here (against the opinion of some scholars) and seems to be connected with Ht mitgaimi- 'sweet, sweetened' [acc. to Ts. E II 221, originally a Lw word [<d- Lw *mitga(i)- 'sweeten'] ◆ AD NM #79, ≠ S CNM 14 (IE *mad^h- 'honey' i <b- NrCs *hwmī 3-u- 'honey'; therefore S rejects the N et. in question) ◆ In the chart "Main phonetic correspondences in the Nostratic languages" in AD NM 102 and in AD NMI 21 there is a misprint: the IE reflex of N *-d- is misprinted as *d for *d^h, which caused Coleman's remark (CIm. R 117): "The derivation of PIE *medhu- 'honey' from PN *madu is incompatible with the table of reflexes".

1370. ***mAdU** 'lake, pond' > HS: B *-md(w)- id. > Sll {Ds.} 'tamda (pl. timdu_in), BMn t_amd_a id., Kb t_amd_a (pl. t_i-məd_w-in) 'mare, réservoir, bassin', Tmz {MT} amda ~ anda (pl. imdwan ~ indwan) 'pond (étang), lake', tamda^d tanda (pl. timdwin ~ tindwin) 'small pool, puddle' ('mare, flaque'), mdu (pf. mdi ~ mda) v. 'be filled with water' (of a basin, well, pit, ditch), 'stagnate' (of water) ¶ Ds. 165, Ds. B 190, La. S 234, Dl. 486, MT 402-3 || ? CCh: Bu {ChL, Hf.} manda, Ngx {ChL} ma'nda 'lake' ¶ ChL, Hf. B 76 II D *mat_u ({'GS} *-d,-) 'pond, lake' > Tm mat_u 'lake, pond', Ml mat_u 'deep place, pool', Kt mar'v 'deep pod in a stream', Kn mad_u ~ mad_a 'water', Tl mad_uqu 'pond, tank, lake' ¶ D #4658.

1371. ***muda** 'finish' (vi.) > HS: B *√mdH (most probably *√md?) > Ah {Fc.} əmdu (3m pf. imda~, Fcj. 14 = Pej. 1 A 8) 'finir, achever', 'être fini, se finir', Ty ʔmdu (= {'GhA} a~mdu) 'être complet \ entier \ fini \ achevé', ETwl ʔndu id., Kb t_immad_ 'le fait d'être entier', Gd {Lf.} əmdu (3m pf. imda) 'achever, compléter', Izn {Rn.} əmd_a 'être passé \ terminé' (secondary emphatization of *d?), Sll {Ds.} S sməd / pf. isməd 'vt. 'achever', Zng {Nic.} 3m pf. i-mad_ 'was finished' ¶ Acc. to Pr.'s morphonological rec., verbs of this conjugation have a final lr. (here *-mduH / pf. *-mdaH); the S cognate (*√mdy) suggests that the lr. was secondary, most probably *? (as in Ar mīda~?) ¶ Fc. 1154-7, 2000, Pr. M VI-VII 118, Rn. 385, Lf. I 265 & II #0966, GhA 123, Nic. 206 || S *√mdy > Ar éYad0Ma mady-at-, idAMa mada(n) 'terme, limite', YU"dayMi mīda~? 'terme, limite extrême' ¶ BK II 1079 ¶¶ ≈ Coh. EC 180 II A: Tg *mudan 'finish' > Ewk mudan, Ewk Tkm/Hng mo~dan, Neg modan, Sln muda~, Lm mvdən^d mudon^d mudon, Nn moda~, Ud muda(n-), Ul muda(n-) ¶ SDM I 550, Vas. 258 ¶¶ ≈ Rm. SKE 139 (Tg. Ko mac^hi-da 'finish', but SDM97 rejects the Ko cognate as containing *-s- [MKo ma's-ta]) II D *mut_uī- ({'GS} *-d,-) vi. 'end, terminate, be completed' > Tm mut_i (p. -v-) id., 'to die', mut_i (p. -pp) vt. 'end', Ml mut_iyuka 'come to an end', mut_ikka vt. 'finish, spend, destroy', Kt mur'c° v. 'fiish (work)', Kn mud_i vi. 'end, come to an end, become extinct', Tu mud.usu- vt. 'eat up, consume', Tl mu~d_u, mu~d_u vi. 'end, terminate', Gnd mur'i 'end, termination', Ku {Isr.} mut_-, {Slz.} muth'nai v. 'complete' ¶¶ D #4922 ◆ In Tg and D (due to the merger of N *-d- and *-t-) the √ merged with the reflexes of N ***mutV** 'go away, die' [q.v.] ◆ IS II 72-3 (*mudΛ in B, D and A [Tg + Ko ma_tci-]), ≈ IS MS 344 (*mutΛ 'finish' [vi.] in A, D and HS) ◆ ≠ Gr. II 4 (*muta 'all', untenable comparison of Tg with forms of other lgs., like MM mo~ci 'just enough').

1372. ***mV'h'udV** 'speak' > HS: Eg ∇ mdw v. 'speak', mdw 'word, speech', md.t 'spoken words, speech', DEg mt 'speak; speech', Cpt: Sd moγte mute, B moγt muti v. 'call, speak' ¶ EG II 179-82, Er. 184, Vc. 124 ¶ Probably positional loss of the expected lr. (*h?) || B {Pr.} *mu~h2ud- / pf. *-mu~h2ad- 'prey' > Ah muhəd 'réciter en priant' (Fcj. 39, Pej. XII A 1), ETwl mud_ (Pej. XII A 4), Ty {ABs.} mud, Gh {ABs., Nh.} muhəd, Gd, Awj mu~d 'prier' ¶ Fc. 1137-8, 2003 (on Fcj. 39), Pr. H #516, Pr. M VI-VII 242, GhA 122-3, 268, Lf. II #0965, Prd. 172 || Ch: WCh: P' {MSk.} mu~nde', Dir {Sk.} nda~ (< *mdV) 'say' || CCh: Mdr {Eg.} nda'ha' id. : Msg G {MB} mud_ ~ m3d.- id., Msg P {Trn.} inf., pl. mid_i / sg. m3d_a 'say, speak', Mlw {Trn.} mi~d_i (√m~d_) id. : Mrg {Hf.} nd3' (< *mdV) id., Br {Hf.} ndir 'word' || ?σ ECh: Jg {J} ma~d- 'ask (a question)' : ? EDng {Fd.} i~nde' 'ask for, ask (a question)' ¶ ChC, ChL, Hf. M 226, Hf. B 57, 151, Trn. LM 106, Trn. MVM 306 ¶¶ OS #387 (*mud- 'speak' in Eg, EC, Ch, B) II IE: NaIE *me~u_d^h-/*mæu_d^h-/mu~d^h- 'speak' (→ 'think') (semantic infl. of NaIE *med- 'think' < N ***metV** 'feel, realize?') > Gk μo~o~ 'speech, word, talk; tale', μo~ε~ο~μo~ 'I say, speak' || Gt (ga)maudjan 'remind' || Lt mau~sti (prs. maudz'iu) 'long for', 'miss' (× mau~sti 'to ache') : Sl: Cz mdlr'ti (po...) 'desire (sth.)', Sl d *misľ f. (gen. *misli) 'thought' (< *mu~d-tli-s) > OCS мѣслъ misľ, Blg 'мисъл', SCr mi~sao (gen. mi~sli), Slv mi~sel, OCz, Cz mysl, Slk mysel, P mys'l, R 'мысл', Uk 'мисл' id. ¶ WP II 255-6. P 743, ≈ EI 158 (? *mou~d- 'desire strongly'), F II 264-5, Tr. 171-2, Fs. 350, ≠ Frn. 420, ESSJ XXI 44-51, Vs. III 25, Glh. 412 ¶ The intonation in Lt mau~sti (suggesting an IE short diphthong) is probably secondary (due to the merger with mau~sti 'to ache' of a different origin?) II ? U (possibly) *omuδV > Sm: Slq UTz {Hl.} muli-mpi- 'speak' ◆ The primary meaning may have been 'speak' (whence 'think', as in Hb & B15B6 rm3a7lv@ way'yo~mer bəlib'bo~ 'and he said in his heart' → 'he thought') ◆ ≈ IS II 76-7 (*mUdΛ 'think' in Eg, Ch, IE, Sm + unc. S *√md > Ar ʔamad- 'extreme point', Aram √ʔmd 'form an approximate estimate, guess', etc.)).

1373. ₂ ***med₁V₁XV** '∈ fig tree' > HS: S: Ar mudah- 'Ficus religiosa' ¶ BK II 1077 II D *me₁t₁i₁ ({{GS}} *-d₁-?) '∈ fig-tree' > Kn me₁d₁i 'glomerous fig tree (Ficus racemosa Wall. = Ficus glomerata Roxb.), opposite-leaved fig tree (Ficus oppositifolia)', Tl me₁d₁i, Klm me₁r₁i 'glomerous fig tree' ¶¶ D #5090.

1374. ₂ ***magE** 'earth, land' > IE: NaIE *mag^h₁ 'land, earth' > OIr mag 'plain, free field, field', Nlr mag 'earth', Gl n. l. Argantomagus, d *magestu > W maes 'field', Crn me₁s 'open field', Br maez 'champ, campagne' ¶ ? OI ma₁h₁ 'earth, ground, soil, land; earth (as substance)' (× adj. ma₁h₁ 'magna') ¶ ≠ P 709, M K II 610, M E II 337-9 (OI ma₁h₁ 'earth' ← ma₁h₁ 'magna'), MW 83, Vn. M 8, Hm. 540 II U *maye 'earth, land' > F, Es maa 'land' ¶ ? pChr {Ber.} *mu₁y 'ground, earth' > Chr: M mu₁-no₁ ~ mu₁-no₁ ~ mu₁y-no₁ 'unten, auf dem Boden, auf der Erde', mu₁-xo₁ 'auf die Erde, auf den Boden hinunter', K mu₁la₁n₁ð₁, U m₁lan₁ðe 'earth, ground', B m₁lan₁ðe, melan₁ðe 'land' ¶ Prm {LG} *mu 'earth' > Z, Vt mu 'earth, ground, land' ¶ ObU *mVγ- 'earth, land' > pVg {Hl.} *m₁z₁ > Vg: T ma₁z₁, LK/UL/Ss ma₁, MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML m₁z₁ id. 'place'; pOs {Hl.} *me₁y₁ > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K me₁y₁, Nz mi₁y₁, Kz mu₁w 'earth, ground, land' ¶ Sm {Jn.} *m₁ya₁ 'Erde, Gelände', {Hl.} *m₁ya₁ 'land, landscape' > Ng {Ter., Mik.} m₁z₁u, {Cs.} mou 'earth' ('Erde, föld'), Slq Tz {KKIH} mac₁'i 'forest', {Pr.} mac₁'i 'forest, tundra', Slq Nr/Yel/B/Tz {Cs.} mac₁, Slq Kar mat₁, Slq Ke matt₁'e, Slq Ch matt₁'ea₁ 'forest', Kms {KD} m₁z₁ y₁e, {Cs.} mija 'mountain', Koyb {Sp.} m₁ya, {Pl.} muija, Mt {Hl.} *biya₁ id. (Mt: A {Msr.}, M {Pl.} bia, M/T {Mll.} bi'e, K {Mll.} bu'ie) ¶ Coll. 33, UEW 263-4, Sm. 546 (FU *mixi, FP *me₁'xi, Ugr *migi 'earth, land'), Ber. 41, LG 177, Lt. 203, Ht. 202 [#775], Hl. rHt 74, Hl. MTKV 57, Trj. S 272, BV 50, Jn. 85, Cs. 75, 172 (equates Slq mac₁' 'forest' with F metsa₁), 192, Hl. M #124 (misprint: *bija₁ for *bija₁) ♦ IS SS 334 [#6.25], IS MS 342 (*mag₁ **землѣ**) > IE, U) ♦ Gr. II #118 (*mag 'earth') [IE, U, Ai, EA + err. Y + qu. Gil].

1375. ₂ ***magu** 'bad' > HS: C: Bj {R} -ma₁g (1s p. a-'ma₁g, prs. at'mig) pcv. md. 'schlecht, böse werden', caus. -so₁-mig 'Schlechtes zufügen' ¶ Ag: Bln {R} mu₁q₁la₁ (= m₁x₁.w₁la₁) 'Vergehen, Verbrechen; schlecht, unbrauchbar, verdorben' ¶ EC: Or {R} ma₁g₁, magu₁ 'schlecht sein', {Brl.} mog-ac₁c₁u 'avvilirsi, corrompersi, guastarsi', ?σ: Or O {Sr.} mo₁ga 'idiot', Arr {Hw.} mo₁k₁ 'stupid, ignorant' ¶ R WBd 163-4, R WB 268, Brl. 307, Sr. 369, Hw. A 385 ¶ WCh: Hs mu₁gu₁ 'bad, evil', Gw {Mts.} mu₁gu 'bad' ¶ NrBc (← Hs?): Cg {Sk.} mu₁gunti₁, Kry {Sk.} mu₁gu₁n₁z₁h₁z₁, Jmb {Sk.} mu₁gu₁nta₁z₁u₁ 'bad' ¶ Ba. 797, Abr. H 680, ChC s.v. 'bad' ¶¶ OS #1705 (*mag- 'be bad'; forms of Bj, Or and Hs quoted earlier in IS) II A: M *mayu 'bad' > MM [LV] {Pp.} mayui, [HI] ma₁vu 'bad', [S] ma₁vu(n) 'schlecht, übel', [IM] {Pp.} ma₁vu₁ 'stingy, damned; bad', WrM magu, HIM myy mu₁, Ord, Brt, Kl, Mnr H {SM} mu₁, Dx mau 'bad, evil' ¶ Pp. IM 83, Pp. MA 441, Pp. L III 69, KW 269, Ms. H 74, H 107, MED 520, SM 243, T 346, T DnJ 128 ♦ IS II 38 [#275] (*magu > HS [C, Ch], M).

1376. ***migV** 'give as present' > HS: S *mgn 'give as present' > Ph √mgn D 'offer', BHb √mgn D (pf. NG4m5 mig'gen) 'give up, hand over', Ug √mgn G 'give as present, donate', {OLS} id., 'show hospitality', Ug, Pun, Plm mgn 'gift, present', Pun mgnh 'gift, offering', JPA, SmA, MHb NG1m2 mag'ga₁n 'undeserved' gift, present; gratis', Ar 'jaMa mag'g'a₁n- 'gratuitous, jolly', 'NA'jaMa mag'g'a₁n-an 'free of charge, gratis', Ak NA/NB/Bg/Nz magannu 'gift, present', ana maganna 'gratis' (the unexpected -nn- may be due to reborrowing, possibly pre-Ak or Archaic Ak *magan- → Hur {Lar.} maganni 'gift, present' → Ak magannu); the hyp. (Sd., CAD) of an Ilr origin of the word [cp. OI magha-] is hardly acceptable (Laroche is right to reject it and to suggest that the word is of S origin), also because no word resembling *mag^hann- is known in Ilr ¶ KB 517, A #1513, OLS 264, HJ 593-4, CAD X/1 31-2, Sd. 574-5, Lar. GLH 164, Speiser H 39 II IE: NaIE (att. in Ilr) *meg₁h₁ 'present, gift', *^omeng^h prs. (with a nasal if. of prs.) 'give as present, grant' > OI ma₁gha₁-h₁ 'gift', Av maga₁- 'gift, grace', OI 'mam'hate₁ 'gives, grants, bestows', Av ma₁za.raii- 'Reichtum spendend' (the variation *g^h ~ *g₁h₁ is not yet explained, though it has many parallels in IE) ¶ M K II 538-9, 545-6, ≈ M E II 286, 289-90 II U *mive- (Jn. *mexi-) 'give, sell' > F myy-, myo₁-, Es mu₁u₁- 'sell', Lv {Ktn.} m₁i₁- d₁ mu₁- id., m₁imaz, Lv I {Ktn.} m₁im ~ mu₁-m 'gifts of a bride to the retinue of the bridegroom' ¶ pLp {Lr.} *me₁k₁z₁ 'sell' > Lp: Kld m₁rk₁, {TI} m₁rk₁, Nt {TI} m₁rk₁z₁ id. ¶ Er, Mk m₁e- miye- 'sell' ¶ Prm d *med (LG) *me₁d > Vt m₁ed med 'wages', Z m₁ed med id., 'reward' ¶ ObU {Ht.} *mi₁-, *mi₁y₁/*mi₁y₁- 'give' > pVg *mi₁-, *mi₁y₁-, *ma₁y₁- > Vg: T ma₁- / ma₁y₁- d₁ ma₁w₁- / ma₁y₁-, LM/MK/LK mi₁- / mi₁y₁- / ma₁y₁-, P mi₁- / ma₁y₁- / ma₁y₁-, LL mi₁- / ma₁y₁-, UL/Ss mi₁- / mi₁y₁- / may₁-, pOs {Ht.} *me₁- / *me₁y₁- > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K me₁- / me₁y₁-, Nz/Kz ma₁- / mi₁y₁-, O ma₁- / miy₁- id. ¶ Sm {Jn.} *mi₁- 'give, sell' > Ne: T d inf. m₁-u₁, T O {Lh.} m₁'i-c₁, F m₁'i₁z₁; Ng d 1s aor. obj. m₁ji₁ema, p. m₁isi₁ema; En inf. m₁-t₁, {C} d 1s aor. obj. m₁i₁ebo; Slq Tz {KKIH} inf. mi₁-qo; Kms {KD} 1s p. me₁l₁em d₁ m₁o₁l₁em d₁ mi₁l₁em, Koyb {Sp.} 1s prs. m₁eli m₁ id; Mt {Hl.} *mi₁- 'geben, hingeben' ({Sp.} m₁l₁ m₁ 'I give') ¶¶ Coll. 37, UEW 275, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *mexi-, Ugr mig₁-, Sm *mi₁- 'give, sell'), SK 356-7, Ktn. 226, Lr. #663, SaR 189, TI 250, LG 171, Ht. #378, Jn. 94, KKIH 130, KD 40, Hl. M #667 ♦ BmK 636 (IE, S, U) ♦ ≠ Gr. II #194 (*ma₁-n ~ *ma₁-k ~ *ma₁-r 'hand/give/mrasure') [U, Gil + err. IE, A, Ai, Y, Ko, J, CK].

1377. ₂ ***mU₁i₁gV** 'snake' > HS: C: LEC *ma₁-g-a > Kns {BIO} ma₁-k-a₁, Gdl {Bl.} ma₁-k-a 'snake', Or {Th.} ma₁-ga, {Brl.} maga 'intestinal worm(s)', {Grg.} ma₁-ga₁ 'ascaris (roundworm)' ¶ BIO 104, Bl. GD 77, Th. 231, Brl. 287, Grg. 270 ¶ NrOm: She {CR} ma₁-g '∈ snake' ¶ CR NGS 621 ¶ CCh: Lgn {Lk.} ma₁-xi 'snake, worm', {Mch.} ma₁-gi 'snake' ¶ ? Msg {Mch.}

wa.la, mo' go id. || WCh: ? Ngz {Mk.} mikd.a, {Sch.} mbí'kd.a' id. ¶ ChC, ChL, JS 242, Lk. L 106, Sch. DN 114 ¶¶ Blz. OL s.v. 'snake' || A ≈ *mUyKV 'snake' > M *mogayi id. > MM [MA, IM, IsV, LM] moyai, WrM mogai (pl. mogas), HIM, Brt moyoi, Ord mogo', Kl moha moyā, {Rm.} moyā ~ moyā, Mnr H {SM} mu'g_ue', {T} mugue, MMgl {Iw.} moyāi, Mgl {Rm.} mayōi, Dg mog'o, Dx mogi, Pa mogui id. ¶ Pp. MA 238, 442, Pp. L III 70, Lg. VMI 54, MED 541, Chr. 297, SM 244, T 346, T DnJ 128, T BJ 142, Iw. 116, KW 263, Rm. M 33, Mr. D 183 || T *mo'ka'e > OT QU [MhK] {Cl.} bo'ka' 'a big snake' ¶ Cl. 324, TL 180 || Tg *mui_ki ({DQA *mu'ku'}) 'snake' > Neg L mīxi, Neg {PSchm.} miyki, Orc mīki, Ul mui, Nn Nh/B/KU muyki, WrMc meyxē, Mc Sb mei_xē 'snake', Ork mui ~ muyi id., 'worm', Ud miki {Shn.} 'small snake', {Krm.} 'adder' ¶ S AJ 217 [#181] (pTg *mu'ku'), ≈ STM I 537-8, Krm. 260 || pJ {S} *mu'ka'tai ~ *mu'ka'ti_a 'centipede' > OJ mu'ka'de, J: T mu'kade, K mu'ka'de, Kg muka'de ¶ S QJ #344, Mr. 487 ¶¶ S AJ 36, 257 [181], 293 [437] and DQA #1332 adduce Ko Ph mək-kuri '∈ big black snake' (NKO mək kurəŋi), but the latter is obviously a *cd* of mək '[black] ink' and kuri, kurəŋi 'snake', cf. Rm SKE 145 and MLC 609 s.v. mek kwulengi [mək kurəŋi] ¶¶ ≈ S AJ l.c., SDM97 (A *mu'k'o 'snake'), DQA #1332 (A *mi_u'ko id.) ♦ The long vw. in C and the Tg diphthong *ui_ point to the presence of a *lr*, while the glottalization *-g- > *-k- underlying Tg *mui_ki suggests that the *lr* was *ʔ.

1378. 2 *mEhgE 'young, small' > IE: NaIE *me'g^h-/*mo'g^h-/*mæg^h- 'young (person), little, small' > Clt *magus > Gl *magu- 'young', magulus 'servant', Oglr maguno- ≈ 'slave, servant (?)', Olr mug (gen. mog-a) 'boy, servant', {IEC} 'male slave/servant', Crn maw 'youth, servant', MW meu-dwy *cd* 'God's servant, ascetic, hermit'; f.: Crn mowes 'maid-servant, girl', Br maouez 'woman' || Gmc: Gt magus, OSx magu 'son', ON mo'gr 'son, young man', AS ma'zo (pl. mæc'z'as) 'son, man, servant'; d: AS mæ'z 'wife, mother, maiden', NE may; Gmc {Wt.} d *magadi- (< NaIE d {Wt., P} *mag^ho-ti-) > Gt magap-s 'young woman', OSx magath, OHG magad 'maid, girl, virgin', NHG Magd (-d dim. Ma'dchen 'girl'), AS mæ'z(e)ð 'girl, maiden, wife', NE maid; dim. *magadin- > AS mæ'z'den 'virgin, maiden, female servant' > NE maiden || Lt ma'z-as 'small, few', Ltv maz-s 'small', Pru massais 'less', Lt mo'z'is 'smallness'; Sl *me'zinъ / *me'zinъ-jъ 'small', 'young' (of a child) > OR мѣзинъ me'zinyj 'smallest, youngest', R Δ 'мизин 'small, little (klein)', Ouk мизиный 'youngest (младший)', Blr Δ 'мезиный 'little finger, smallest, youngest', Slk Δ me'z'eni pal'ec 'little finger' (pal'ec 'finger'), OCz me'zeny' prst 'the fourth finger (adjacent to the little finger)' (prst 'finger'), P † mieziny 'smallest' (of fingers); -d [1] *me'zinъkъ 'youngest son', 'little finger' > SCr mezi'nak, Slv mezi'nek 'favourite son (the youngest one)', P Δ mizynek id., 'little finger', Uk мизинюк 'little finger', Δ м'зинуок 'youngest child'; [2] *me'zinъcъ 'youngest child, little finger' > OR мѣзинъць me'zinycъ 'youngest son', R м'зинец 'little finger', SCr me'zamac 'youngest son', mjē'zinac, mē'zinac, Slv me'zinec id., 'little finger' ¶ Not here (↔ Jokl and P) Al T makth 'leveret' [{Or.}: Al T makth, Al G ma'kth id. <-d Al mang 'small (of animals), urchin' (supposedly <-b L mancus 'maimed, infirm')]; i ÷ Av mayava- 'unmarried' ¶ WP II 228 (*ma'g^h- 'sth. small', *mag^hu- 'boy, unmarried'); AHDI 38 (*mag^hu-), P 696 (*mag^h-os, f. *mag^h-a), EI 656 (*mag^hus 'young man', *mag^hwih_A- 'young woman') [all of them do not take into account BSI]; Vn. M 70-1, Billy 102, Vr. 400, Fs. 339, Ho. 210, 214, Ho. S 49, Kb. 649, OsS 582, KM 452-3, Frn. 422-3, En. 208, ESSJ XVIII 227-31, Srz. II 240, Vs. II 620, O 242-3 || HS: S: Ar mahk-at- ~ muhk-at- 'young age' (-hk- < *-hg- [Ll]); less probably ?amhaqu 'petit, qui n'a pas grandi' (presumably ← ?amhaqu 'unprosperous' from √mhq 'efface, deny blessings of God' ¶ BK II 1068-9, 1162 || B *mīk (< **miHk- < **miHg-??) 'few' > Sll {Ds.} imik(k) (imikk wama'n 'un peu d'eau'), Izd imik 'few' (originally 3s m. of the verb *mīk-), ? Tmz imiq 'peu, un peu, un peu de' ¶ Ds. 218, Mrc. 191, TM 415 || ? Eg XVIII mgz 'young warrior' ¶ EG II 164 ♦ i ÷ D *mak₁a 'young person, child', which is likely to be connected with N *mak₂U 'bay, son' [q.v.] ♦ ≠ Bm. 443 (IE, D).

1379. *mu'yga 'mist, fog, cloud' > IE: NaIE *mei_g^h- / *mig^h- id. > OI me-'gha- 'cloud, cloudy weather', 'mih- 'mist, fog', Av mae'ya- 'cloud', Phl, CINPrs {VL, Sg.} *yM me'χ, NPrs {BM} *yM mīχ 'mist, fog, cloud', Oss I mīχ, Oss D me'χa' id. || Arm 'még me'g (gen. migi migi) 'mist, fog, haze' (<- Irn?) || ON mist-r (Gmc *mixstaz) 'cloudy weather', NNr mistr, mœstr, Sw, Dt mist, AS mist (< *mihsta-) 'fog, mist', NE mist || Sl *mъga > 'mist, cold fog' > R Δ m'ra 'hoar-frost, snowstorm, cold mist', 'fog in warm summer', SCr Δ m'ra 'drizzle', Cz mha 'mist, fog', R Δ m'ra, P Δ m'z'yc', Cz m'z'it'i 'to drizzle' || d NaIE *mig^h-lV₁la- > Gk 'ομι'χλη (d Gk A 'ομι'χλη) 'mist, fog' || pAl {O} *meg₁u₁la- > Al mjegull 'cloud' || BSI: Lt migla, Ltv migla 'fog'; Sl *mъ'gla 'fog' > ChS, OR м'гла m'gla, R, Uk м'гла, Blg м'гла, SCr ma'gla, Slv m'gla, Cz mlha, Δ mhlā, Slk hmla, P mglā 'mist, fog, haze' || here?: Gmc: Dt Δ miggelen, miegelen, NGr WF miggelje v. 'drizzle' ¶ ≈ WP II 246-7, ≈ P 712, ≈ EI 110 (*h₃mei_g^h-, *h₃mig^hleh_A- 'drizzle, mist'), M K II 680-1, M E II 374-5, MW 831-2, Horn 226, Vl. II 1256, Ab. II 117, Bai. 341, F II 387, O 269, Vr. 389, Vr. N 446-7, Ho. 223, Vs. II 587-8, ESSJ XXI 92-7, 182-3, Ma. CS 301, 315, Glh. 394, Slt. 186 || ?? U: FU *omu'kV > Es SVI {W} mu'gar 'large thin clouds' (unless ← Es mu'gar 'protuberance') ¶ W EDW 704 || HS: C: Bj {R} 'mag^{wa} 'cloud, rain-cloud' || ??σ EC: pSam {Hn.} *mu'gdi 'darkness' > Rn mu'gdi, Sml {ZMO} mugdi 'darkness, dark days of the month (period of the waning moon)', pBn {Hn.} *mu'gtz 'darkness' (> Bn: Bi mu'tt3, Sa mu'gti, J/Kj mu'gt3, K mu'utt3) ¶ R WBd 164 [+], Hn. S 91, Hn. BD 101. ZMO 295, PG 228 || A *mU'kV 'cloud' > M {S} *mo'ki > Ba {BuL} mokz 'cloud' ¶ S AJ 239 [#125] || T *mu'g 'steam, fog, cloud' > Tkm bu'g 'steam', Osm {Zen.} buy, Tk Δ buy d boy 'cloud,

steam', ET {Nj.} buḡ, Qrg ɓyy bu̇, Nog ɓyɓ buw 'steam', Qzq ɓy buw, Chg {Rl. ← VZ} ·vM muḡ 'steam, perspiration (Dampf, Audünstung)' ¶ ET B 229-30, Rl. 1799, 1804, 2174, TkR 116, Jud. 163, Nj. 220 ¶¶ S AJ 295 [#532], SDM95 (A *mȯk̇V 'cloud' > Ba) and DQA #1341 (A *mok̇V > Ba) II D *mukVl- ({'GS} *-g-) 'cloud' > Tm, Ml mukil, Tu mugal̃ ~ mugal̃.ɓ, Tl mogulu ~ moyilu, Klm morgar, Prj malgur, Gnd moyol̃ moyol̃ moyyel id., Td n̄is̄ muxul̄m 'mist on hills in morning', Kn mugil, Gdb mogul ~ moggul 'cloud; sky' ¶¶ D #4892 ♦ The cns. *k in FU and M is accounted for by their original postcons. position (postcons. *g > *k). The element *-lV in IE *mig̃h-l̄V̄lā and in D *mukVl- may belong to the ancient heritage: a derived (< compound?) word ***mu̇yga-lV** ♦ On N and pIE '- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 [♦♦ Blz. LB #63 (suggested to adduce Sam *mugdi)].

1380. ***mag̃iɟa** 'liver' > HS: Eg fP myz.t 'liver' ({DW} id., {EG}: 'ein innere Organ, neben Lunge und Milz; vermutlich die Leber') > DEg mys 'liver' > OCpt μαοϣε maus id. ¶ DW I 357-8, EG II 44, Er. 187, Vc. 127 || NrOm {Blz.} *mayz- 'liver' > Bnc {Wdk.} ma'y 'heart, liver', She {Fl.} may 'liver', Cha {Fl.} mayya, Bdt, Kcm mayye, Gdc māyye, Gn̄j, Zs, Zrg maye, Male māyzi, {Fl.} mayz, Bsk māyɟz, {Fl.} mauz, Dk mayz 'liver' ¶ Blz. OLBD #78, Wdk. BY 107 ¶¶ Tk. I 80 ¶¶ The origin of *y for the expected guttural is not clear II U *maksa 'liver' > F maksa, Es maks̄ pLp {Lr.} mȯksē > Lp: S {Hs.} mu̇ȯksie, U {Schl.} mu̇eksē, Vfs {Lgc.} mu̇ȯk̇sī pMr {Ker.} *maks̄ > Er makso, Mk макса maks̄ pChr {Ber.} *moks > Chr: L/H мокшmoks̄, E/U/B moks̄, M moks̄ pPrm {LP} *musk- > Z, Vt мус mus̄ pObU {Ht.} *mīx̄əθ > pVg *mīȳəθ / māyt- > OVg S Vt ма̄т̄, OVg S Ss maat, OVg N SoO ма̄ ӣт̄, OVg W Sol ме̄ т̄, Vg: T maȳəθ, LK ма̄т̄, MK/UK/SV/LL ма̄т̄, P mat, NV ма̄т̄ moyt, UL/Ss māȳəθ, nom. pl.: LK/P moyt-əθ, MK/UK māȳəθ, NV/LL maȳəθ; pOs *muḡəθ > Os: V/Vy muḡəθ, Ty muḡəθ, Y muwəθ, D/K/Nz muḡəθ, Kz mȯx̄əθ, O māx̄əθ Hg māj̄ id. || Sm {Jn.} *mit̄ id. > Ne: T мѣд, T Sd {Lh.} mīδ, T O {Lh.} mūδ, F {Lh.} mīt̄; Ng {Mik.} 'mit̄; En X {Cs.} muro, En B {Cs.} mudo; Slq Tz {KKIH} mīti, Slq Tm {KD} mī: d̄; Kms {KD} mit̄, Koyb {Sp.} ме̄т̄ ¶ UEW 264, Coll. 33, Db. OS xxxi, Sm. 538 (U, FU *miksa°, FP *mēksa, Ugr *mik̄θa, Sm *mito- 'liver'), MF 417-8, It. #27, Lr. #688, Schl. 98, Hs. 950, Ker. II 83, Ber. 37, MRS 328, Ep. 70, PsS 72, Lt. 208, LG 179, Ht. 163 [#382], Jn. 93-4, Lh. 266, KKI 134 ♦ ī ÷ T *bagir 'liver'. It is not clear if the √ is connected (through mt) with N ***mVs̄s̄/Cka'h̄V** 'marrow, brain' [q.v.].

1381. ***magȳE'** 'to swing, wave, sway' > HS: S *ȯ√mym̄ > Ar √mym̄ D (+ prp. fi) 'shake sth. in (water)' ¶ Hv. 727 II IE *meH(ī)-/*moH(ī)- 'wave, swing' > Lt mȯ-ti (1s p. mȯjau) 'to wave (one's hand, etc.)', Ltv mā-t 'to wave, beckon' ī Sl *majā-ti (1s prs. *mājō) 'to wave, beckon' > SCr mājati 'to beckon (with the hand, head), move quickly to and fro', Slv mājati 'to move to and fro, swing, shake', OR ма̄ати maati 'agitare, vibrare', ма̄ати majati id., 'to wave (hand)', Uk 'ма̄ти vt. 'to wave', vi. 'to flutter'; Cz māvati 'to wave' ī Gk μῑμο̄ 'imitator, mimic; actor, mime' ¶ IS III 35-44 (with further details), ≈ ESSJ XVII 132-4 (against distinction between Sl *majati 'to wave' and *majati 'to linger' [in fact from NaIE *mājō(ī)- 'be/make tired/exhausted' < N ***maXyV** 'to lose force, weaken, be worn out']), Frn. 466-7, F II 241 (no decision about the et. of μῑμο̄) II A {AD} *māyi-, {IS} *mayi- > M *mayi-: *mayimar > WrM maimar, HIM маймар, Kl {Rm.} māmr̄. 'unsteadily' (of gait), *mayimari- > WrM maimari-, HIM маймара-, Kl м̄'мр- māmr̄. - v. 'walk unsteadily, reel'; WrM maimagar, HIM маймарар, Kl {Rm.} māmāȳr̄ adj. having an unsteady gait'; *mayiga > WrM maiga, HIM майга 'bandy-legged, crooked-legged, intoed', Kl м̄'hr̄ māȳr̄ 'crooked' (of legs), {Rm.} 'kuhbeinig'; Brt майзагар 'bent, crooked' ¶ MED 522-3, KRS 346, KW 259, Chr 290 || T: [1] *māy- 'bend, swing' > Tkm māȳp 'cripple', adj. 'crippled', maym̄iq 'curved/bent', Qzq mayr̄s-, Qrg mayr̄s- vi. 'bend oneself/itself'; [2] *may-r- vt. 'bend, sway' > Tkm mayr̄- vt. 'cripple, mutilate', Qzq mayr̄- vt. 'bend', **за-с-рибат̄**, Qrg mayr̄y- 'get crooked/bent' (**кривит̄-с̄**); [3] *may-la- vi. 'bend, get unsteady'; [4] *may-ba- 'to walk unsteadily, have an unsteady gait' > Qrg maypay- v. 'waddle, walk slowly', maypar 'having sick legs, stumble' (of horses); [5] Qrg maytar- vt. 'bend (a point/spike)' (**зарнут̄**) ¶ ≈ Cl. 348, 772-3, MM 233-4, Sht. 139, Jud. 511-2, TkR 439-40 || Tg *māyi ~ *mēyi- 'sway, swing' > Ewk m̄zy- vi. 'swing, rock', Lm m̄z̄i- ~ m̄zyi- vt. 'swing', WrMc maymada- ~ maymida- vi. 'stagger, hobble', miyax̄ude- ~ miyex̄ude (STM) m̄ax̄ude ~ m̄ex̄ude vi. 'frisk, jump' (of animals), 'rush about, rush (to attack sb.)' ¶ STM I 543, 564, Z 863 || pK {S} *mūī-/mūī'ū- v. 'shake, sway' > MKo mūī-/mūī'ū-, NKo † mūī- ¶ S QK #563, Nam 224, MLC 685 ¶¶ DQA #1270 (A *meyu 'to shake, sway') II D *ȯmay- 'mix, be/make unsteady' > Kdg mēk- vt. 'mix thoroughly' || D (in SD) *may- 'be bewildered, confused' (< D *mac- 'be mad, intoxicated' < N ***m̄āc̄.VgV** id., 'be foolish', q.v.) > Tm maya v. 'mistake, misunderstand', Ml mayakku 'perplexity, doubt', Kn mayamu, maymu 'bewilderment, perplexity' ¶ D #4706 ♦ IS III 35-48 (*mah.y'ē in IE, D, A + [with a query] S roots *√my + cns.) [with detailed information on the reflexes in individual lgs. within IE, A and D]; the D cognate (absent in IS MsN) was proposed by the editors of IS III.

1382. ***muhi** (or ***maWhi**, ***muhyV**) 'water, fluid' > HS: S: [1] with loss of *h: S *may- ~ *māy- (~ *maw̄āy-??) 'water' > Oak {G} nom. pl. t. māū, Ak OA {Sd., CAD} māū, Ak B/fMA mū nom. pl. t., Eb (SumSc) {Co., Rnb.} ma-ū (= {Co.} [māyū], ma-wū ({Frnz.} [māwū]), OCn (AkSc) abs. du.t. or pl. t. mēma, mumi, BHb Mi5m2 'mayim pl. t. (cs. im4, mē), Ug my, pl. mym, OA cs. my (+ ppa. 3m mwh), IA abs. myn, IA, Nbt em. my?, JA, Sr em. may'y-ā, Md mia, mai, Ar nom. sg. māū (~ māh-un) (-? < *-y- reg., cf. Br. AG § 64e), Sb mw sg. (< *māū?), -d̄ (?) Sb/Mn pl. mwy, Gz māy, Mh

{Jo.} *he-mo^h* (dim. *mīya^h*hen), Hrs {Jo.} *hə-myo^h*, Jb {Jo.} C *'e-mih*, Jb E {Jo.} *'e-mi*, Jb C/E dim. *'miyo^h*, Bth {Jo.} *muh* ¶ The alt. S reconstructions **mawy-* and *ma'way-* are highly *qu.*, because the reg. reflexes of **aw* or **a'wa* are at variance with those attested (e.g. the reg. Gz reflex of **mawy-* and **ma'way* is *i mo^y* rather than *ma^y*) ¶ G OA 166-7, Sd. G §§ 54b, 61a, CAD X/1 149-56, Co. SQF 172, Frnz. EL 145, 156, Rnb. 92, KB 546, HJ 620-1, A #1559, OLS 266-7, Sl. 662-3, Br. 383, DM 242, 265, BK II 1169, BGMR 88, MA 63, L G 376, Jo. M 274-5, Jo. H 92, Jo. J 176 ¶ In several lgs. the word was reinterpreted as du.\pl. due to its stem-final **y* (resembling the sx. of du.) [2] with preservation of **h*: WS **√mhw* 'be watery\clear' (of a liquid) > Ar *√mhw* G (pf. *vaaeuMa mahuwa*) 'be watery' (of milk), (pf. *'eaMa maha^h*) 'be white-haired' (of a beast), *ve0Ma mahw-* 'clear milk', Gz *√mhw* G (pf. *məhwa ~ mahawa*, js. *yəmhaw*) vi. 'melt, be liquefied \ dissolved', ? Ug *mh* 'water' (a variant form) ¶ L G 334, Hv. 738-9, OLS 266-7 || Eg *√*, DEg *mw* ({Vc.} < **mwy*) (= {Vrg.} **mawy-*), *myw* 'water' (originally pl. t.) > Cpt: Sd *mooy* *mou*, B *mooy* *mo^u* [= {Vc.} *mow*], F *ma^y* *maw* id.; Eg Md *mwy* 'be wet' (of a wound), Eg fMd *mwy.t* 'moisture, wetness', possibly also Eg Md *mwy*, *mwy.t* 'urine' (which is uncertain, because the reflexes in DEg *m³* and Cpt: Sd/B *ma^h* *me^h*, Cpt Sd *mi* *mi* 'urine' are different from those of *mw* 'water') ¶ EG II 50-3, DW I 353-68, Er. 147, 154, Vc. 107, 126 || C: DhI {To., EEN} *ma^hʔa*, {E} *ma^hʔa* 'water' || SC: Irq {Wh.} *ma^hʔay*, {E, MQK} *ma^hʔay*, Grw {Wh.} *ma^hʔay*, Brn/Alg {Wh., E} *ma^hʔay*, Kz {E} *ma^hʔaya*, Asa {E} *ma^hʔa*, {Fl.} *maya* 'water'; SC *ba^h* Mb {E} *ma^hʔi* id. || Bj {R} *mu^hʔ* (pl. *mi^hʔ*) 'Feuchtigkeit, Nässe', {Rop.} *mi^hʔa* 'damp', {R, Rop.} *mi^hʔ* scv. 'feucht\naß\flüssig sein', 'be\become damp' || ? Ag: Xm {R} *maw-* 'fließig werden' (← EthS?) ¶ R WBd 161, R Ch II 83, Rop. 213, Wh. IC 26, E SC 156, MQK 68, EEN 36, To. D 142; Sml *ma^h* 'water that accumulates in a well; spring' (ZMO 266) [adduced in IS II 62-3 in R's inaccurate transcription *ma^h-i* 'fresh flowing water' (R SS II 289)] hardly belongs here because of its lr. *h*; it may rather belong together with Ar pf. *ma^hha* (ip. *yamīhu*) 'descend into a well for drawing water' (Hv. 741) || Ch: WCh: SBc: Grn {Sh.} *ma^h* 'water' | AG: Ang {Flk.} *mwe^h* 'sap, milky juice', *yitmwe* 'tears', Su {J} *yī^ht-mwa^h-n* 'tears' (in both lgs. *cd* with *yī^ht*, *yī^ht* 'eye[s]') || CCh: BB: Gude {IL in ChC} *ma^hʔi^h*, FIM {ChL} *ma^hʔi*, FIB *ma^hʔi^h* 'water' ¶ Flk. s.v. *mwe^h* and *yit*, J S 89, JI II 340-1, ChC, ChL ¶ It is tempting to adduce here the B word for 'water' (Ah *ama^h-n*, Kb, Shl etc. *aman*), but in the light of the Gnc glossas *AHEMON*, *AEMON* 'water' (where H is a sign for hiatus, acc. to the spelling norms of Sp and Fr) the stem is not **m-* **maH-*, as reconstructed by Pr. (Pr. M IV 146), but **-ʔamaN-* (i.e. **-ʔamaH^hwy-*) related to S **yamm-* 'body of water' and Ch **Ham-* 'water' < N **yamV* 'body of water' [q.v. ffd.]; but the HS *√ma^hy^hw-* may have contaminated with **yam-* and is likely to account for the long *vw.* of the last syll. (as reflected in Pr.'s rec. ***Ha-ma^h-an*, that in the light of the Gnc data we modify to **ʔa-ʔamaN-an*) || IE: NaIE **meu^h-* / **mu^h-* ≈ 'plunge, wash' > BSl: Sl **mi^h-ti* (1s prs. **m^hjo^h ~ *m^hjo^h*) 'to wash' > OCS *мѣти* *miti* / *мѣх* *mījo^h*, SCr *mi^hti* / *mi^hjem*, Slv *mi^hti* / *mi^hjem*, Cz *my^hti*, P *myc^h*, R *my^h-* / *mo^h* id., Blg *my^h* v. 'plunge, wash' | Ltv *mau^ht* 'to plunge, swim', Lt *ma^hudyti* 'to bathe', Pru *aumu^h-snan* 'Abwaschung' || Arm -mojn -moyn 'plunged in' || Gk Cpr *μολα-σασ^hαι* vi. 'to wash oneself' || ? MDt *moy*, Dt *mooi*, LG *moi(e)* 'beautiful' (← **clean* ← **watery, clear*) ¶ ≈ WP 249ff., ≈ P 741, F II 268, Frn. 417, ESSJ XXI 76-9, Vs. III 26, Glh. 413, Kar. I 573-4, Vr. N 453-4, EI 108 [**m(e)uH-* 'wash (in urine)'] || A: Tg **mu^h* 'water' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Orc, Ork *mu^h*, Lm *mo^h*, Ul *mu^h* ~ *mu^hz*, Nn Nh *mu^hz* 'water', Ud *mu-* 'water' in *ds mud^hz* 'inundation', *mud^hz sin^hz* 'water-rat', Jrc *mu* ({Lg.} = [mu^h]) 'water', WrMc *d muke* id. ¶ STM I 548, Krm. 262, Kiy. 100 [#051] || ?? JK: Kgr {Lee} **mie* 'water' || pJ {S} *mi^h (-n-tu^h)* 'water' > OJ *midu*, J: T *mi^hzu*, K *mi^hzu*, Kg *mi^h*, Ns *mu^hz^hi*, Sh *mi^hz^hi*, Ht *mi^hz^hi*, Y *mi^hz^hi*. ¶ Lee GKS 37, S AJ 268 [#87], S QJ #87, Mr. 483 ¶ S AJ 28-9, 69, 86, 278 and SDM97 (s.v. **mu^hri*) suggest to connect the Tg and J words with M **mo^hren* 'river', which is hardly convincing. On the M *√* see N **moRE* 'body of water' || D {GS} **mī-* 'wash' > Td *mi^h-y* v. 'bathe', Kn *mī*, *mīyu* v. 'take a bath, bathe', Tu *mī-pini* id., v. 'wash oneself', Prj *mī-*, Gnd *mi^h-*, *mī-* to bathe', Kui *mīva* v. 'lave\bathe\anoint oneself', Ku *mīali* 'bathe (oneself), *mī-* 'bathe', ? Krx *mu^hz-* v. 'wash the face of' (Pf.: < D **mī-nc-*), Mlt *munze* v. 'wash another's face', *munze* v. 'wash one's own face' ¶ GS 49 [#121], D 4878, Pf. 41 ◆ IS II 62-3 (**mEwV* 'water, moisture': HS, IE, Tg), AD GD 1 ◆ An alt. hyp. is to distinguish between N **mUyV* (**mAwyV*?) 'water' and **muhi* 'clear liquid', the second *√* being represented in HS (S, Bj), in D and IE only.

1383. **ma^hke, -te* 'top, head, hill' > HS (× N **mukV* id.): CCh: McMsg: Msg {Rlf.} *ma^hge-ni* 'his head', {Ov.} *muk* 'head', Mnj {Trn.} *mok* id. ¶ AMS 253, Ss. B 148 || ?? C: EC **mug-* 'head' (unless to **mukV*) > Cm {Hw.} *mu^hga^h-te*, Brj {Ss.} *mu^hg-a* id. ¶ Blz. CWL, ≈ Ss. B 148 || U: [1] U **ma^hke* 'hill' > F *ma^hki* (gen. *ma^hen*) 'hill, mountain', Es *ma^hgi* (gen. *ma^he*), Krl, Vp *ma^hgi* id., Lv *ma^hg^h* 'mountain' || Os: Vy *mu^hz^h*, Ty *mi^hz^h*, Y *miw* 'grassy hummock' ('Bülte, kleiner Rasenhügel', *'кочка'*), as well as Os Sl *məxəstə* id. (× *məx* 'earth') || ? Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} *makka* 'small woody hill', Slq {Cs.} Tz/Ke/Ch/NP/UO/B *makka*, Nr *maka* 'grassy knoll (Rasenhügel)', d Tz/Ke/Ch/NP/UO/B *makka*, Nr *makal* 'hügelig, mit Rasenhügeln versehen' || Y: OY Ch {Mat.} *ma^hka* 'stone', ?? (× N **mukV* 'hill?'): pY {IN} **mug-* 'hill, (?) rock' > K T *mug-il* 'high ground, eastern side of a ridge of hills' || [2] U **ma^hkte* 'hill, grassy knoll' > F *ma^hta^hs* (gen. *ma^htta^ha^hn*), Es *ma^htas* (gen. *ma^htta*) 'hummock, tussock' | Lp N {N} *miek^hta^h* 'a species of Carex which forms tussocks and grows on bogs' || Sm {Jn.} **mek^hz* 'small hill, grassy hillock' > Nn F Nl {Lh.} *mī^hz^h-t* id., Slq Tz {KKIH} *me^hkti* 'hummock, hill', LTz {KD} *ma^hkte* 'small hill', Slq Tm {KD} *me^hgd^h-ə* 'grassy hillock (kleiner Rasenhügel), Slq Ke *ma^hktə* 'heap, pile', Kms {KD} *mek^h,te*.

'grassy hill, hillock (Rasenhügel, Erdhügel)', ? Koyb {Sp.} бакты 'hillock', ? Mt M {Sp.} һеҥтее 'grassy hummock' ¶ UEW 266 (FU *ma''ke 'Hügel, Berg', U *ma''kte 'Rasenhügel, Hügel'), Set. FUS 37 (equates BF with Slq mak(k)a), SK 358, ZM 342, Ktn. 238, Stn. 903-4, Trj. S 259, KKI 128, 130, Cs. 171-2, 261, Jn. 92, KD 88, Hl. M #769, IN 236 ¶ A: Tg *megdin 'steep river-bank' > Lm mɜyɖin, Neg mɜgdin, Orc, Ul, Ork mɜgdi(n-), Ud {Krm.} mogɜ'oʔ, Nn Nh/KU mɜgɜ'i, Nn B mɜgɜ'i(n-) id., Ewk mɜgdin 'terrace bank', WrMc mudun 'mountain slope with a low ridge' ¶ STM I 553-4, 563, Krm. 260 ♦ Rs. UAW 33 (U, A), IS MS 371 (*ma''ka 'hill' > Tg, BF), IS MSn s.v. *ma''ka (BF, Slq, Tg).

1384. 2 ***miku** 'bring, give in exchange' > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} mu_k-r- (mæk^w-r-) 'carry', mu_x.ra⁻ (pl. mu_k.ər) 'load, burden' || NrOm: Kf {C} miy-, Mch {L} mi'ya- 'carry on the back', Kf miyo⁻, Mch miy⁻o 'load' ¶ C SE IV 476, L M 43 ¶ IE: NaIE *mei_g^w- 'exchange' > Gk ἁμείβω v. 'exchange', ἁμοιβή n. 'requital, recompense' ({Ch.} 'don en retour') || L migr-o⁻ / -a⁻re (<D *mig^w-ros 'wechselnd') 'change' (omnia migrant 'all things change' [Lucretius]), 'remove from one place to another' ¶ WP II 245, P 712, F I 90, Ch. 73-4, WH II 86-7 ♦ On N and pIE '- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1384a. ***mukV** 'top, head, hill(ock)' > HS: C: EC *mug- 'head' > Cm {Hw.} mu'gaʔ-te, Brj {Ss.} mu'g-a id. ¶ Blz. CWL, AMS 253, ≈ Ss. B 148 || CCh: McMsg: Msg {Ov.} mok, Mnj {Trn.} mok 'head' ¶ ChC, Lk. DQM 102, Trn. LM 106 ¶ U: pY {IN} *mug- 'hill, (?) rock' > K T mug-il 'high ground, eastern side of a ridge of hills' ¶ A: Tg *mu_ku_lj > Lm O mukul 'steep slope, precipice (on the seashore)', WrMc muχu 'hill'; NrTg *muk- 'grassy hillock' > Ewk mu'kɜɜ id., Lm muqɜlɜ id. ¶ STM I 563 ¶ D *mukat₋, *mukal₋ 'top' > Tm mulat₋u 'top, highest part, ridge of roof, hump of a camel', Ml mukat₋u 'head-end of a cloth', mukal₋ 'top, summit, ridge', Kt moyl₋, Td muxul₋, Kn mogad₋u, mogal₋u, Tl mogad₋u 'ridge of roof', Tu mugili 'turret, top as of a temple', Gnd mukur 'comb of cock'; D -b> Sk mukut₋a-, OI BHS, Pali makut₋a, Prkr maula 'crest, diadem' ¶¶ D #4888, Tu. #10144 ♦ Is this etymon a var. of N ***ma''ke**, -tE 'top, head, hill' with the vw. *u due to the labializing infl. of ***m**-? ♦ Blz. DA #153 [#5]-4] (D, HS).

[+ 1384b. 2 ***muU'kV** 'tree, (piece of) wood' > HS: EC *mukk- > Or muka {Grg.} 'tree, bush, woody plant', {Th.} 'tree, wood (legno), plant', Sml {DSI, ZMO} mukay '∈ large tree that grows along a stream/river' || Bj {E [← Mz.??]} mok^wa 'curved tent pole' || SC: pRt {E} muka 'stem, stalk' > Brn muka 'chaff', Asa mogengera 'root' ¶ Grg. 293, Th. 249, ZMO 296, DSI 445, E PC #101 (pC *muk^w- 'stick'), E SC 343 || ?φ Eg P mɜc.t '∈ plant, ∈ tree' ¶ EG II 34 ¶ D *mokk- 'piece of wood' > Tm mokkai₋ id., 'stump', Tl mokka 'stub of wood', Gnd meka 'stump' ¶¶ D #5109 ¶ A: Tg *mu_k- (+ sxs.) 'stick, club' > Neg mukoçan, Sln muxs'a⁻ 'club (weapon)', Ul mukc'a 'stick (part of fishing device)', WrMc {Z} muqs'an 'stick, cudgel, fishing-stick (лѣсна)', Lm moqol, muqam 'harpoon haft' ¶ STM I 553, Z 901 || T: ? Qrg buqa 'stick (of wood or horn) used to untie knots' ¶ Jud. 156 ♦ EC *-kk- (evidenced by Sml -k-), Tg -k- and D -kk- and Eg -ɜc- suggest the presence of a lr. (*?) within a cns. cluster (*-?k-?) ♦ Blz. DA #159 [#76 (incl. EC, SC, D).]

1385. ***muUke** 'press' > HS: S *√mɜk 'press, squeeze' > BHB √mɜk G (inf. -mɜok₋) 'press, squeeze', MHB √mɜk G, D, JA √mɜk D 'crush, dissolve by rubbing', Ar √mɜk G vt. 'rub' ¶ KB 579, BDB 590, Js. 816, Fr. IV 193, Hv. 727 ¶ IE: NaIE *mæg⁻ / *mo⁻g⁻ 'knead, smear' > MBr meza⁻ff 'knead (pétrir pâte)', Br mezan⁻ 'pétrir, faire du mortier', W maeddu 'beat, foul, mix by pushing', OIr maistr- v. 'churns' ('il baratte') || Gk μαγ- (prs. μα'σσω, aor. ps. 'εμα'γην) 'knead dough' || Sl *ma''za-ti (prs. *ma''z'-o₋) 'to smear' > OCS мазати mazati, SCr ma''zati, Slv ma'zati, Cz mazati, Slk mazat', P mazac', R 'мазат⁻, Uk 'мазати 'to smear', Blg 'мажа 'I smear' ¶ ≈ WP II 226, ≈ P 696-7, ≈ Mn. 725 (all of them include here Gmc *mak- 'make', cf. N ***meihjke** 'make, work'), F II 180-1, Vn. B 11-2, Flr. 256, Ern. 414, Hm. 567, YGM-1 321, F II 180-1, Ch. 670, ESSJ XVIII 21-37, Vs. II 557-8, Glh. 401-2, ≈σ EI 649 (Sl, Clt, Gk < ? *mag⁻ 'work with the hands, form, shape', cf. N ***meihjke** '↑') ¶ D {tr., "GS"} *mukk- v. 'strain, make great efforts, press' [x ***munK.aU** (= ***munK.aU**?) 'make great efforts, (?) be heavy?'] > Tm mukku, Kt muk- v. 'strain as a woman in travail, make great efforts', Ml mukku⁻ v. 'strain, grunt, make an effort as in travail or when easing nature', mikuka v. 'press, strain at stool', Kt muk- v. 'make a strenuous effort, strain to deliver child', Td muk- v. 'grunt when defecating when constipated', Kn mukkir₋i, mukkar₋ v. 'strain, make violent efforts in pain', Tu mukku⁻ v. 'snort, grunt, growl', Tl mukku- 'strain', Png mu'k- v. 'lift with effort' ¶¶ D #4896(a) ¶ A: T *bog- (*mog-) v. 'strangle, choke (so.), tighten (a knot), squeeze' > OT boχ- 'strangle, choke', MQp xiii boχ- 'strangle', Chg xv boχ- 'strangle, squeeze (the throat)', Osm {Rh.} boχ- 'choke, strangle, suffocate; constrict by binding', Tk bog⁻, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, ET, Ln boχ-, Alt b₋u⁻, Tf b₋oχ-, Xk poχ- 'strangle, suffocate', VTt bu-, Bsh bɜw- id., 'tie up', Tv b₋oχ- 'strangle, choke, tighten (a knot)', Nog buw- id., 'fasten (a loop)', Qzq buw(i)-, Qq buw- v. 'tie, tie together, pack', Qrg bu⁻ 'tie up, constrict by binding', Chv паӔв- pɜv- 'strangle, suffocate' (with irreg. -ɜv- due to morphological generalization [ffd. Md. 44]), pi-mak 'constricted \ narrowed place (перехват, сужение)' (with a reg. -i- < T *-og-) ¶ Cl. 311, Rs. W 78, Rh. 404, ET B 164-5, TvR 112, Ra. 163, Sht. 58, Jud. 163, Md. 44, 174.

1386. ***meihjke** 'make, work' > IE: NaIE *mæg⁻g⁻ > Gmc *makk-o⁻n 'to make' > OHG mahho⁻n, NHG machen, OSx mako⁻n, Dt maken, AS macian 'make, build', NE make || ?? Gk μαγ- (prs. μα'σσω, aor. ps. 'εμα'γην) 'handle' [unless ← μαγ- 'press' < NaIE *mæg⁻ < N ***muUke** 'to press'] ¶ ≈ WP II 226, ≈ P 696-7, ≈ Mn. 725, ≈ Ho. 209 (all of them do not

distinguish this √ from *mag^h- [their *mag^h-] 'press', cf. N ***mUØkE**, F II 180-1, Vr. N 424, Ho. S 49, Kb. 652, OsS 585, KM 451, Hth. AE 209, ≈ EI 649 (? *mag^h- 'work with the hands, form, shape'; includes reflexes of NaIE *mag^h-/*mo^h-g^h- 'knead, smear' < N ***mUØkE** 'press') || U *meke- v. 'make, do, work', n. 'work, thing, deed' > OHg miu 'Handlung, Arbeit, Werk', Hg mu'' (acc. mu''vet), Hg Δ mi'v 'work', Hg mu''vel- v. 'work' || Sm *mey- 'make' > Ne T mi-c-, Ne T O mi-s-, Ne F {Lh.} m'i'ed'za~, Ng {C} 1s aor. obj. me''a'ma, En {C} 1s aor. obj. me'bo 'make', Slq Tz me~- 'make, build' ¶ UEW 270, MF 454-5, EWH 1009, Jn. 92, KKI 129 || ? HS: CCh: Mdr {ChL} mǝ'gu namǝ'ga 'do' ¶ ChL || ?? S *√mhk > Ar √mhk TD (pf. 'aeWmaTa tamahhaka) 'perform the work becomingly' (unless derived from √mhk G v. 'pound, bruise') ¶ Hv. 738 ◆ ≈ BmK 670-1 (*mak'-/*mæk'- 'to handle, work with the hands': IE, U + err. HS: Hd mik.ess- 'to touch', Kmb mek.ess- 'to snatch', Irq minqis- 'to squeeze') ◆ The meaning of Gmc *makko-n 'make' is usually explained by a semantic change 'knead, press' → 'make, build' in the history of IE (or Gmc), but the exact parallel in FU and WCh make that hyp. less probable (presupposing either a parallel semantic change in Gmc, FU and WCh or a casual coincidence).

1387. ***mEkSE** (or ***mEfkE**) 'big' > IE *meg^h-/*meg^h-o^h-/*meg^h-h_o- 'big' (acc. sg. m. *'meg^h-o^h-m, nom.-acc. sg. ntr. *'meg^h-h_o, gen. sg. *'me'g^h-h_o-os, in cds : m_og^h-h_o-) > NaIE *meg^h- / *meg^h-h_o- 'big' (acc. sg. m. *'meg^h-o^h-m > Vd acc. sg. m. maha-m; nom.-acc. sg. ntr. *'meg^h-ǝ > Vd 'mahi, Gk με'γα; gen. sg. *'me'g^h-h_o-os > Vd ma'ha-h. ÷ Av G mazǝ- [ffd. Rsm. AT 84]). Representation in lgs: Vd 'mahi ntr. 'great, big'; Ilr {M} d *maz'ha-nt- / *maz'ha-nt- > OI ma'ha-n / acc. sg. ma'ha-nt-am / nom.-acc. ntr. ma'hat 'great, large', Av acc. m. maza^hnt-ǝm, ntr. mazat_{id}. || Gk m. με'γα, ntr. με'γα, f. μεγαλη 'great, big', sprl. μεγιστο || Arm mec mec 'great, large, big' || L magnus 'big' (< NaIE *meg^h-no-s), magis, [Plt.] mage 'bigger' || pAl {O} *maza > Al madh 'big, large, tall' || OIr maige 'great, large', mochtea 'big, powerful' || Gt mikils, ON mikill, OHG mihhil, OSx mikil 'big', AS mic'el, myc'el 'big, much' > NE much || pTc {Ad.} *ma'ka > Tc: A ma'ka, B ma'ka 'many, much' || Ht mekk(i)- 'much, numerous' (< IE *meg^h-h_o-i^h-) (nom.-acc. ntr. mekki, adverbial abl. meqqayaz), mekki adv. 'greatly, much', √ Lw {Lar.} maia- id. ({Lar.}: IE *-g^h-, *-g^h-h_o-, *-g^h-H- > Lw -Ø-; Mlc. CL 145 rejects the existence of the word), ? Hrlw {Ts.} man (< *mayan-) 'much' (not in Mer. HHG) ¶¶ WP II 252, P 708-9, EI 344 (*meg^h-h_o-), M K II 609-10, M E II 337-9, F II 189-9, WH II 10, EM 378-9, Vn. M 58, Fs. 358-9, Vr. 386-7, Kb. 684, OsS 608, Schz. 212, Ho. 221, Ho. S 52, Huld 88-9, O 240, Slr. 70-1, Ad. 446-7, Ts. E II 181-5, CHD L-N 245-9, Lar. DLL 65 [†, Iv. SA 153 (accepts Lw maia)] || HS: S *√mfk > Ar √mfq 'be deep' (of a well), 'be far away' ¶ BK II 129 || Ch: WCh: Jmb {Sk.} ma'kǝ 'long (a long time)' || CCh: Msg G {BM} mogo, Msg P {Trn.} mogo (f. muguwi, pl. mogo-kay ~ mogoway), Msg Ng {Ov.} mo'go 'long', Msg {GKrs.} mo'gwa (f. mugu'ī, pl. mo'gwa-kai) 'long, high', {Rlf., Röd.} 'mogo 'large, big (groß)', a-na 'mogo 'it is large/big', Mlw {Trn.} mu'go- (f. mu'gu-wī, pl. mu'go-ka'y) 'long, deep', ? Msk {Trn.} ma'wa 'large/big (grand)' ¶ JS 169, Lk. DQM 68, ChC s.v. 'long', ChL, Trn. LM 106, Trn. MVM 286, Trn. Musk. 22 || ? EC: Rn mī'g 'strength, heaviness' (× N **manVga** ~ ***manga** 'strong, numerous') ¶ PG 224 || A: Tg *me'kV > Lm A mǝkǝ 'big' ¶ STM I 566 || D [1] {tr., "GS} *mik(k)- 'exceed, grow, great; increase' > Tm miku v. 'exceed, grow; increase', mikka 'great, much', Ml mikuka v. 'surpass, abound', mikka 'the greater part', Kn mikku 'grow abundant, increase', Tu migguni, mikkuni 'surpass, exceed', Tl mikkili 'great', Knd mis- 'increase' ¶¶ D #4838; or [2] ?? *ma- 'great' > Tm, Ml ma- id., Ka ma- id. in: ma-gelasa 'great work', ma-ma'yi 'great mother', Kn Hv ma- 'big, great', Gnd Δ ma-y(i) 'very big', mayali 'big' ¶¶ D #4786 || ?φ K *mak.e- ~ *mank.e- 'heavy' [{IS}: < **mwank.-] (× N ***muqK.aU** 'make great efforts, (?) be heavy'?) > Mg mok.a- ~ monk.a-, Lz monk.a- 'heavy', G mak.e 'heavy with young' (of a female animal) [× N ***mak.U** (= ***mak.U**) 'baby, son; (?) be pregnant', q.v.]; > GZ *mak.en- 'get heavy/pregnant' > OG, G mak.en-/mak.n- 'be conceiving', Mg, Lz monk.an- 'grow heavy' ¶ The additional *-n- in Zan may have been induced by contamination with N ***manVga** ~ ***manga** '†' [q.v.] ¶ K 125, K² 113-4, FS K 207, FS K 228, DCh. 662, Chik. 242, 304, Q 281, Schm. 122 ◆ N *fk ~ *kf > S *fk, K *k. (positional glottalization?) ◆ ≈ IS MS 331 (*maga 'big' > IE + K *magar 'strong', D *ma~), ≠ IS SS 334 [#6.24] (K *magar-, D *ma~).

1388. ***mXkVjha** 'nape, back' > HS: C: Bj {R} mo'k '(pl. maka) 'nape, throat', {Rop.} 'front side of the neck' || Ag: Bln {Lm.} mǝkk'a, {R} ma'k'a- 'buttocks', Ag b> Amh {R} mak'a 'id. (?)' || EC: Af {PH} maku^h ~ muku^h 'spine, spinal cord', Ya {E} muk 'lower side of the body', Rn {PG} mo'kko'lo' '(bones of) the lower spine; small of the back', Bn J/Ba {Hn.} mu'kkǝ 'buttocks' ¶ R WB 267, R WBd 167, Rop. 215, Hn. BD 97, PH 162, 171, PG 227 || Eg fXVIII mkh 'occiput, hind part of the head' > DEg mk.h. 'Hinterkopf, Nacken, Hals' > Cpt Sd **makz** makh {Vc.} 'nape, neck', {Crn.} 'neck' ¶ EG II 159, Er. 183, Vc. 111, Crn. 80 || U *muka 'back (dorsum)' > FP *muka 'back, hind part, back side, following (seuraaminen)' > F muka- in fossilized case forms: mukaa 'according to', mukaa 'accordingly', mukana 'with, together with', muassa 'with, accompanying', d : mukainen 'agreeing with, in accordance with' || Sm {Hl.} *mǝka, {Jn.} *mǝka 'back (Rücken)' > Ne T mǝxa, Ne T O {Lh.} ma'za~, Ne F {Lh.} mǝza~, En {Cs.} maha, Ng {Ter.} mǝku, Slq Tm {KD} mǝ-y, Slq Tz {KKIH} d moqal id., Kms {KD} d be'gǝl, Koyb {Sp.} d бгаль, Mt {Hl.} *baga id. (Mt: K/M {Mll.} ba'ga 'dorsum', T {Mll.} бага'da 'his neck') ¶ Jn. UK 223 (U *muka°), Sm. 538 (U, FU *muka°, FP *muka, Sm *mo-ka°), SSA II 175-6, ≈ SK 350, Jn. 85, KKI 131, KD 9, Hl. M 213 [#90] [† || A: pKo {S} *mo'k 'neck' > MKo mo'k, mo'ka'ī, NKo mok id. ¶ S QK #987, Nam 214, MLC 821 || Tg:

Ewk muka n. 'hide from reindeer's neck' ¶ STM I 551 || T *^obakan > OT baqan 'necklace'; ???σ NaT *bogmak 'necklace' [> OT, Osm XIV boymaq] (unless derived from *bog- 'choke, tie around', as supposed by Cl.) ¶ Cl. 315-6 ¶¶ DQA #1242 (A *mi_a'k'u 'neck': T, Tg, Ko + *unc.* pJ *mu'k- 'turn one's head'), Rm. SKE 15, STM I 551 (Tg, Ko) ¶¶ D (in CD) {tr., "GS"} *makk- 'neck' > Klm mak, Nkr makk id. ¶ D #4622 ¶ IE: Irn: [† Pmr:]Shgh, Wx ma`k, Srk mok, Ish mak 'nape of the neck, neck' ¶ Mrg. EShG 44, Blz. LNA #38 (supposes that the Pmr word is due to "a Dravidian-like substratal influence") ♦ The equation between D, HS, U and A was suggested by Blazjek [† (Blz. DA 154 [#22]-AD #21 and Blz. LB #6a (Eg, C, U, Ko, D + T *bogmak), ≈ Blz. LNA #38 (N *muk_ka ~ *mak_ku 'neck')).]

1389. 2 ***mAks'a** 'give, reward' > HS: S *^omik_l∇_{js}- ~ *^omak_l∇_{js}- 'tribute' > Ak miksu 'tribute', BHb xk3m3 'mek_{es}, Sr mak 's-a', Md maksa id., IA, Plm mks 'tax', JA mik 'sa' 'toll, tax', SmA mks 'toll', Ar (←b- Aram) maks- 'market-tax, custom-duty' ¶ KB 550, Js. 783-4, Sl. 676, Tal 468, Sd. 165, Hv. 730, HJ 625 ¶ The Aram and Hb words may be (but not necessarily are) loans from Ak (cf. Zmr.² 10, Kfm. AIA 72) ¶ U: FV *maksa 'give, pay' > F, Es maksa- v. 'pay, reward'; BF b→ pLp {Lr.} *ma'kse- v. 'pay, cost' > Lp: N {N} mak'se- / -vs-, S {Hs.} maaks'edh, L {LLO} makse- 'pay, reward', Kld {SaR} ma`kk-cy v. 'pay', ma`kkc 'payment' ; Er, Mk makco- 'give' ¶ UEW 698, Lr. #644, Lgc. #3747, Hs. 888, SaR 180-1.

1390. ***muks'a** - ***mug3'a** '∈ rodent (mouse, mole, or sim.)' > IE: NaIE *mu's 'mouse' > OI mu'h. (obl. mu's,-) id., Blc mus`k, MPrs, NPrs vM mu's` {VL.} id., {BM} id., 'rat', Psh maz`ak 'mouse, maz`a 'rat', Oss: I m3st, D mista` 'mouse' ; Arm mukn mu-kn (gen. mkan mkan) 'mouse' (on the nominal sx. -kn [dim.?] see Ld. A 82-3 and Mn. 821) ; Gk μυ` (gen. μυο` ) id., 'rat' ; pAl {O} \*mu(s) > Al: T mi, G mi` id. ; L mu's (gen. mu'r-is) ; ON mu's, OHG, OSx, AS mu's, NHG Maus, Dt muīs 'mouse', NE mouse ; Sl *mi-`s` f. (gen. *mi-`s`i) id. > OCS мѣшь mis` f. (gen. мѣши mis`i), Blg мишf., R мышf., Uk мишf. (~ 'миша), SCr mi`s` (today m.), Slv mi`s` (gen. mi`s`i), Cz, Slk mys`, P mysz ; Tc B pl. mas`ciṣi 'mice, rats' ¶ WP II 312-3, P 752-3, EI 387 (*mu's ~ *mus-s / gen. *mu's-os), M K II 668, Mn. 821-2, M E II 369-70, Horn 223, VI. II 1228, BM 542, Ab. II 142-3, Bai. 337, F II 275-6, WH II 132-3, Ho. 227, Ho. S 54, Kb. 708, OsS 631-2, KM 469, Vr. 396, Vr. N 458, O 265, Huld 91-2 (O and Huld: the Al G nasalization is secondary), ESSJ XXI 55-72, Glh. 412-3, ZVSZ 258, Vs. II 27-8, Slr. 189-90, Ad. 143 ¶ The compensatory lengthening of the vw. *u is due to the loss of the velar stop in the cluster *-g3- ¶ U: FU *^oma_oksa > Er максазей maksa-z'ey, максака maksa-ka 'mole', Mk максака 'maksa-ka 'hamster' ¶ ≈ Coll. 97, ≈ UEW 264 (*maksa; adduces Os may`d max` 'beaver', but he does not mention Os Δ-ηq ~ -ηχ and does not take it into account; cf. N ***mVηKV** 'beaver'), ERV 358, KC 128, PI 154 ¶ A: Tg *muktu-_l/n_l 'mole, ∈ mouse' > Neg muktuy 'short-tailed mouse', Ork muktuli 'mouse, mole', Nn KU muktur 'mole', WrMc muq_{du}n ~ muqtun 'tailless field mouse, mole' ¶ STM I 552 ¶ Tg *-tu- seems to be a derivational sx. (cf. Ewk -do in nouns for insects: lore-do 'butterfly' related to lorukī 'small butterfly [мотылек] - see Vas. 239, 754) || pJ {S} *mu`nkura 'mole' > ItOJ [RJ] u`gu`ro`-mo`ti`, ugura-, J: T mo`gura, mu`gura, K mu`gu`ra, mu`gu`ra, Kg mugura` ¶ S QJ #1459, Mr. 484, 560 ¶¶ DQA #1362 (A \*mu`k`V 'mole') ¶ K \*<sup>o</sup>mu3- > Sv {Ni.} muz`ulid 'bat' (a cd ?) ¶ Ni. s.v. летучаѣ мышl ?? HS: CCh: Db {Lnh.} mas`ay, ? Gzg D {Lk.} mocod., Gzg Mj {Lk.} moc`od. 'mouse', MfG {Brr.} ma`c`ad, mo`c`od. '∈ mouse' (× N ***mVc**, **VwV** '∈ rodent' [q.v.]) ¶ ChC, Lk. G 130 ♦ The unexpected FU vw. *a (unless it was *^o) may be due to the ass. infl. of the final vw. If Sv muz`ulid belongs here, the N rec. is ***mug3'a**, otherwise it must be ***muks'a**. Tg *-kt- and pJ *-k- (reflexes of N *-ks- or *-g3-?) are still to be explained.

1391. ***maK,U** (= ***mak,U**?) 'baby, son', (?) 'be pregnant' > IE: NaIE *^omak^w- > Clt: Ogr gen. maqq^wi, OIr macc, Nlr mac 'son'; Gl MAPO- 'son' (in proper names: Mapo-no-s, etc.), Crn map / mab 'son', OBr {Flr.} mab, map 'child', OW map, MW, W, Br mab 'son, boy' ¶ ≈ P 696, Vn. M 1-2, Dnn. 454, Billy 103, Flr. 249, ECCE 268, SEv. 31, Loth 180, YGM-I 320, Schm. KGP 244 ¶ ?? K: OG, G mak- 'make/get pregnant/conceiving', MG, G mak_e 'heavy with young' (of animals), Mg monk_{-at-al-a} 'pregnancy' [× K *mak_e- (or *mank_e-) 'heavy' < ***mEk₁E** (or ***mE₁ke**) 'big', q.v. ffd.] ¶ HS: S *_l/mk_k, > Ar _l/mqq G (pf. œWMa maqqa, ip. -muqq-) 'impregnate (a female palm-tree)' ¶ BK II 1134, Hv. 728 ¶ D *mak(k)- 'child, son' > Tm maka 'child, infant, young of animals; son/daughter', Ml makan 'son', makkal. 'children; the young of animals', Kt mog 'child', Td mox 'child, son/daughter', EpOKn makan 'son', Kn maga 'son, male person', Kdg makka 'children', mo-vən 'son', mo-va 'daughter', Tl maga, moga 'male', Gnd maga sind_u 'boy child' (sind_u 'son'), Kng moga kor'o 'boy child', Mnd ga-r' (< *mga-r') 'daughter', na-mga-r' 'my daughter', Krx maka (voc. used to daughters/sisters), Mlt maqe 'boy' ¶¶ D #4616, Zv. 120 ¶ ?φ,σ A *muk`u 'male' > Tg \*muke- ~ \*muka- 'male person, male animal' > Neg mux3ti`d muk3ti 'male (dog, fox, sable)', Orc muz3ti, Ud mug3ti, muz3ti 'male' (of some animals), Nn B moxa(n-) 'male animal, male person', WrMc muḫan 'male (tiger, leopard)' ¶ STM I 543, 554, Krm. 262 || pJ {S} *mu`ku<sub>a</sub> 'son-in-law, bridegroom' > OJ mu`kwo', J: T mu`ko, K mu`ko, Kg muko` id. ¶ S QJ #933, Mr. 487 || M \*muqa- > WrM {MED} muqali, {Gl.} muquli, WrO muḫala, muḫalai, muḫuli, Kl мухла, {Rm.} moḫla` 'slave, serf'; the variant bugul id. (Gl.) is a re-borrowing of the M word from some ancient T lge., where m- > b- and the final vw. is lost [cp. Chg {Rm.} bulyun 'slave, servant']; ⇔ SDM97, not here Kl {Rm.} muḫur 'penis' (← muḫur 'blunt, blunted') [Rm.: "Penis, eig. abgerundet"] ¶ MED 553, 1209, Krg. 611, KRS 363, KW 263, 268, Gl. III 314 || ?? T *buka 'bull' (× N ***buK,a** 'bovines' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ S AJ 293 [#452], DQA #1375 (*mu`k`V 'male' > T, M, Tg, with

unjustified long *u⁻ in T) ♦ If the K √ belongs here, we reconstruct pN *-k⁻, otherwise it is *K. (= *k⁻ | q) [† ♦ i ÷ (↔ Tromb. CL) OHg magw, Hg mag 'Nachkomme, Nachkommenschaft', which is obviously from mag(w) 'seed, kernel' (see EWU 920-1, MF 414) ♦ [† ≈ Blz. DA 156 [#43] (incl. D, IE),] ≈ BmK # 545 (IE, D).

1392. ² *maK.V ~ *mVOK.V 'plain, steppe, field' > HS: Eg XVIII-XXII mk.k. '∈ arable land' ¶ EG II 159 || ? S *°maſk⁻ > Ar maſq- 'a tract of land without vegetation (terra omni carens planta)' [unless sd from maſq- 'distance'] ¶ Fr. IV 193 II IE: NaIE *ma⁻kk⁻o- ~ *mæk-/°mo⁻k⁻ 'plain, steppe' > ON mo⁻r (< Gmc *mo⁻xa-z) 'sandy plain, open woodland', Nnr mo 'sandy land', Sw mo 'sandy heath' :: OIr macha 'pasture land (pâturage pour le bétail), fenced field (champ clos)', in nomina loci macha 'plain, field', Nlr macha 'lawn; a field where cows are kept at night' ¶ WP II 226, Vr. 392, ≠ Torp N 429, Hlq. 654-5, ≈ Vn. M 3-4, Dnn. 454.

1393. ?? *ma⁻K.V (or *ma⁻K.V¹XV¹, *ma⁻XaK.V¹) 'bend, turn' > A *mak⁻V > M *makiyi- > WrM {Cev.} makii-, HIM махий- vi. 'bend, curve (гнут-сѡ, из-выгибат-сѡ)', Kl m⁻ki- ma⁻ki⁻ id., 'be bent', Kl D {Rm.} ma⁻ki- 'verrenkt \ verdreht \ ungelenkt sein' (Kl -a⁻ - due to the infl. of t⁻ ki- ta⁻ki⁻ 'huddle oneself, скупчиват-сѡ') ¶ Cev. 335, Luv. 239, KRS 346, KW 258 || Tg *makti- > Neg makçinda-, Orc makçinda-, Ul maqtula-, Nn B maçç'ura- v. twist a rope', Orc makç'i, makç'ixi, Ul makti(n-), Ud maktigi, Nn B {Sem} maxç'ixi, Neg makçixin 'rope-twister (a device)', ? WrMc maci- 'tuck up (roll up) one's clothes' ¶ STM I 523, Sem BD 172 || pJ *mak- v. 'wrap, wind around, tie into' > OJ, J K/Kg ma⁻k-, J T ma⁻k- ¶ S QJ #675, Mr. 720 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *mak⁻a > M, Tg, J) and ≈ DQA #1263 (A *ma⁻k⁻'o 'wind, twist, bend', incl. M, Tg) ||| A ≈ *mEak⁻V (*mE⁻ak⁻V?) > M *°meku⁻yi- v. 'bow, incline, bend' > WrM meku⁻i-, HIM мухий-, m⁻хий- id.; WrO d mekelze- v. 'tuck up, bend the neck under the load' ¶ MED 534, Krg. 598 || Tg *mi⁻aku-r- 'bow (before so.)' > Neg {PSchm.} mi⁻açuru- 'kneel', Neg L miçzr3t/c- 'bow (before ...), pray', Orc ma⁻xurana- id., {PSchm.} mi⁻açurana- 'kneel', Ud {STM} ma⁻ula(si)- 'bow (before...), Ul m⁻eçorac⁻i- id., m⁻eçoron-, {PSchm.} m⁻akurandi- 'kneel', Ork me⁻çoran- id., Nn Nh miçoran(go)- id., miçorac⁻i-, Nn KU miakora- 'kneel before so.', WrMc n⁻akura id., n⁻akun n. act. 'kneeling', Chj miyakuru v. 'kneel' ¶ STM I 536, Kiy. 123 [#466] || ???σ pJ {S} *ma⁻nka⁻ v. 'bow, bend' > OJ ma⁻ga⁻-(r-), J T magaru id., J Sh {Mr.} magar-, J Ht {Mr.} mankgar- 'bend, turn' ¶ S QJ #927, Mr. 719 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *ma⁻k⁻'o 'to bow'), DQA #1301 (A *mi⁻o⁻k⁻'u⁻ id.) II D *mak⁻k⁻, {GS} *mag- 'turn' > Tm makit⁻i 'be overturned', Kt mavn⁻ vi. 'overturn', mavt⁻ vt. 'overturn, roll over', maki⁻r- '(tree) is unrooted and falls', Kn magur⁻, mogar⁻ vi. 'turn round', Tu magъpu-, magupu-, magucu-, mogapu- vt. 'turn round', Tl magud⁻u 'turn back, return', Klm magud⁻ magur⁻ magul⁻, Nkr magur⁻ 'vomit', Knd mak- 'turn over/upside down', Ku meg- 'fall down/off, (of a tree) fall' ¶¶ D #4617, GS 188 [#480], 31-2 [#36, 40] II HS: C: Af {PH} make scv. 'bend, distort, twist' ¶ PH 161 || ?σ Eg fXVIII m3h v. 'tie (a band/diadem/garland) round one's head', Eg OK/MK m3h 'girdle', Eg fMK m3h 'head-band' ¶ EG II 189-90 ♦ The rec. *ma⁻XaK.V¹ explains better the diphthong *i⁻a in Tg, but involves mt in Eg. If the Eg words belong here, the N rec. includes final *-XV, otherwise the etymon is *ma⁻K.V ♦ Cf. *muK.E, *muK.E-rV 'a bend, corner, hump'.

1394. ² *moK.V 'blunt' > A: M *moqu- 'be/become blunt' > WrM moqu-, HIM, Brt мохо-, Dg mogo- id.; d M *moquur- 'blunt' > WrM muqur ~ moqur, HIM мухур, Ord {Ms.} mu⁻çur, Mnr H {SM} mu⁻g⁻ur, Kl {Rm.} moçr⁻ muçur⁻ id., Kl {KRS} moçp moçar 'short, blunt', Brt мухур '-less' (x*л мухур [a person] without legs); d M *moqudag 'blunt' > [HI] {Ms.} moqodaq, [MA] {Pp.} æ⁻d⁻qvM moqadaq, WrM moqudag, HIM мохдор id.; d M *moquya- 'make blunt' > WrM moquga-, HIM мохоо- id., WrO {Krg.} moço- 'get dull'; d M *moquya 'blunt' > WrM moquga, HIM мохоо, WrO мохо, Brt мохоо, Dg mogo⁻; d Dx mogutu 'blunt'; MM d {S} {H} d muqutqa- 'abschneiden' ¶ Ms. H 76, H 111, Pp. MA 238, MED 544, 553-4, KRS 356, KW 263-4, 268, SM 244, T DnJ 128-9, Krg. 602-3, Chr. 301, 304 II D {tr., °GS} *mokk- > Tm mokku, mokkai⁻ 'bluntness', mokat⁻t⁻ai⁻ 'that which is blunt', Tl mokka 'blunt, pointless, not sharp' ¶¶ D #5106.

1395. *muK.E, *muK.E-rV 'a bend, corner, hump' > HS: S: Ar {Fr.} æi⁻Ma ma⁻qi(n), ma⁻qy-at- 'internal corner of the eye', {Fr., BK} ma⁻q- id. (× √m⁻q 'weep'), Ar ma⁻qi⁻ ~ mu⁻qi⁻ 'the front/back part of the eye' ¶ Fr. IV 197, 199, BK II 1053 II U: FP *m⁻u⁻'kkV(rV) [= *mEku(rV)?] 'hump; bent' > F Δ {Lnr.} mykky 'hump', Es mu⁻gar 'protuberance, tuber' : Chr: L муҕыр муҕыр, Н мыҕыр мѣҕыр 'hump' : Prm {LG} *mu⁻kir > Z мыкыр mikir n. 'humpiness, stoop', mikira 'stooping', Vt мыкырес mikires id., Z Izh/Ud, Vt mikirt- v. 'incline, bend' ¶ LG 182, SK 355-6, ≠ UEW 705 (considers Chr мѣҕыр and similar words to go back to onomatopœia) II A: Tg *mu⁻ke- > Ewk mukç⁻ 'humpbacked, hump', mukç⁻ vi. 'stoop, arch one's back', WrMc meçu- id., 'bow one's head, be bent'; d Tg *mu⁻kçe- v. 'stoop, bend (under a load)' > Ewk mэкçзлз- vi. 'bend under a load', mэкçзмз 'hump', Lm mo⁻ktçl- v. 'stoop', Ul moqç⁻oç⁻u⁻ ~ muqç⁻uç⁻ 'stoop, bend one's back', Ork moqç⁻oron- ~ muqç⁻urçn- id., Nn Nh mukç⁻urçn-, mukç⁻urçngu- id., Nn KU mukç⁻urçnç- vi. 'bend oneself' ¶ STM I 553, 565 || pJ {S} *ma⁻nka⁻ v. 'bow, bend' > OJ ma⁻ga⁻-(r-), J: T ma⁻gar-, ma⁻eg-, K ma⁻ga⁻r-, ma⁻ge⁻-, Kg maga⁻r-, mage⁻- id., J Sh {Mr.} magar-, J Ht {Mr.} mankgar- 'bend, turn' ¶ S QJ #927, Mr. 719 || T *bu⁻k (*mu⁻k) 'corner' (× N *bu⁻K.V¹a⁻ 'to bend, bent') > OT bu⁻k id. 'the corner post of the house', Tk Δ bu⁻k, Alt Δ {Verb.} pu⁻k id., StAlt боек b⁻u⁻k, Yk bu⁻k 'bend of a river'; T *bu⁻k- v. 'bend' > OT {Cl.} bu⁻k- id., etc. (× N *bu⁻K.V¹a⁻ 'q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (s.v. *ma⁻k⁻'o 'to bow' (A

*maˈk'o 'to bow'), DQA #1301 (A *mi_oˈk'uˈ1 id.) [equates the Tg and T roots with M *mekuˈyi-, Tg *mi_aku-r- and pJ {S} *maˈnkaˈ-, cf. N *maˈK.U 'to bend, turn')] || D {tr., ʔGS} *mukk- 'corner' > Ml, Tu mukku 'corner, lane', Tm mukku id., 'hook', Td muk 'edge', Kui mudgu 'corner', Krx muˈxaˈ 'edge, brink, margin' ¶¶ D #4898.

1396. 2 *m'aʔiVJ.K.V 'cry' > HS: S *oˈmʔk. > Ar ʔmʔq G 'sob' ¶ BK II 1053, Hv. 705 || A: T *maˈkir- 'shout, bellow' (× N *waK.U 'to call'?) > OT {Cl.} baˈqir- id., Osm XVIII bayir- 'shout', Tkm baˈyir-, Tk bagˈir-, Ggz barr-, Az bayir-, Bsh, Qrg baqir- 'shout, bellow', CrTt bayir-, Alt b_ayir-, Qmn mayir-, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt baqır-, Uz baqı ˈr-, Kr baqır- ˈd maqır-, Chv макаӑр- mag_ır- 'shout' ¶ Cl. 318, ET B 20-2, B DK 231.

1397. ʔʔ 2 *mU.Ha.K.a 'frog' > A: M *mekeleyi ~ mt *melekeyi id. (× N *mæ.qURV 'reptile/amphibian') > WrO {Krg.} mekele, Kl мекл̑ meklaˈ, {Rm.} mekleˈ 'frog', WrM melekei, HlM мүлхий 'frog, toad', Ord meleˈhˈxi, Dg {T} melek, {Mr.} meleke 'frog', ? Brt мүлхүй 'tortoise'; WrO {Krg.} melekei 'frog, amphibian' (← WrM) ¶ Krg. 597-8, MED 534, Ms. O 461, KRS 348, Rm. 260, T DgJ 154, Chr. 311 || ʔʔ Tg: Ewk Brg mokoloˈi 'bat' ¶ STM I 544 || T *baˈka (*maˈka) 'frog, tortoise' ({ADb.} *baˈkka 'frog') > OT baqa, MQp, XwT baqa, Chg baqa ~ baqqa, Tk bagˈa, Az baqa id., Tkm gur-baˈga 'frog', Xlj {DT} baˈqa 'tortoise', Uz, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, VTt, Qrg, Qmn baqa, QrB maqa, ET baqa ˈd paqa, Alt b_aqa, Ln paqa, CrTt, Kr baqa ˈd baqa, Xk paqa, Yk baqa, Tf b_aqa, Tv p_aqa, SY, Slr paqa 'frog' ¶ The vw. aˈ in Tkm gur-baˈga and Xlj baˈqa suggests pT *aˈ (but cp. Yk baqa with a short a) ¶ Cl. 311-2, Rm. W 58 (pT *baˈka), ET B 40-2, TL 179-80, TkR 211, HüS. 30, Shch. Zh 152-3, Ra. 72, Pek. 323-4, DT 86 || pKo {S} *mæˈkuˈri 'toad' (× N *mæ.qURV 'frog', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *moˈk'o 'frog') & DQA #1299 (A *mi_aˈk'o id.) (both: T, M, Tg, Ko) ¶¶ The vw. *e in M (and *ə in Ko?) is due to the merger with N *mæ.qURV (in NED) *muˈk- 'frog' > Krx muˈxaˈ, Mlt muˈqe id.; ? D -b> OI muˈkaka- id. [unless an independent onomatopœia] ¶ D #5023, Pf. 194 [#185], M K II 662 ♦ The long vw. in T and NED suggests the presence of a l.r.; the pM vw. *e points to an adjacent front vw. (after *H?), while the quality of T *aˈ may be due to vowel harmony (infl. of the final *-a).

1398. ? *maˈX.K.E 'thin/lean and long' > IE *mehkˈ-/ *mhˈkˈ-/ *mhekˈ- 'thin and long, slender' > NaIE *maˈkˈ- / *mækˈ- / *makˈ- > Av mas- 'long' (cmpr. masyaˈ, sprl. masiˈsta); masah- 'Länge, Grösse', masita 'groß, umfangreich', OPrs maˈbisˈta- 'greater', KhS maˈsta- 'great', mase 'in size/greatness/amount' (acc. of reference) (÷ Av masoˈ 'in size') :: Gk A μηˈκο, Gk D μαˈκο 'length', Gk μαˈσσον cmpr. 'longer, greater' (-σσ- < *-k-y-) :: L macieˈs 'leanness, thinness', macer 'lean', maceˈ- 'be lean', macer 'lean, meager, thin' :: ON magr, OHG magar 'meager', NHG mager, AS mæger 'lean', NE meager || Ht mak-l-ant- 'thin, meager' (of animals) ¶¶ WP II 223, P 669, Bks. IELG 183, Bn. CH 140, 295, Brtl. 1154-5, Bai. 325-6, 333, F II 164-5, Ch. 660-1, WH II 2, Vr. 375, Ho. 21, Kb. 650, OsS 582, KM 453, Ts. E II 98-9, CHD L-N 121-2, Kron. EHS 265, Elc 357 (*mehAk-), 574 (mh_Aˈkro-s 'thin, long') || HS: ? S *oˈmhk. > Ar mahiq- 'very sharp, sharpened' (Fr.: 'extrematus et acutus') [× acp. of ʔmhq 'efface, erase'] ¶ Fr. IV 155, BK II 1069 || ʔʔ A: M *megde- > Kl {Rm.} megdä- 'be/become lean', {KRS} мегдä- 'be lean (был подтѣнутым худым); bf : WrM {MED ← Rm.} meg 'lean' (of domestic animals), WrO meq teq 'thin, scrawny', Kl {Rm.} meg_ 'ganz abgefallen, mager (vom Vieh)'; M *megde- may have been influenced by the homonymous verb, represented by WrO meqde- 'to suffer, hunger' ¶ MED 533, Krg. 598, KW 260 ♦ If Ar mahiq- belongs here (i.e. unless it is derived from ʔmhq 'efface, erase'), the N l.r. was *X, otherwise the N rec. must be *maHK.E (with an unspecified l.r.).

¶ 1398a. *mUK.VJHV 'mouth' > HS: C: Ag *mVkyV 'mouth, lip' > Xm {R} 'mīk-aˈ, Dmb {R} makiyaˈ, Q {R} makiyaˈ, Km {CR} mekey 'mouth, lip' ¶ R Ch II 392, R Q II 98, CR K 228 || CCh: Gdr {Srp.} mokoˈ, Mln {ChL} maˈgiˈ, Msk {Lk.} maˈgu 'mouth' ¶ JI II 245, Lk. ZSS 143, Trn. LDM 18 || IE: NaIE: Ilr: OI mukˈb- 'mouth, face' (infl. of D?), Orm, Pre muχ, Psh ≈ M m3χ 'face', Oss: I muˈk.uˈ (usu. pl. muˈk.uˈtaˈ), D mok_o ab 'face, snout' (possibly infl. of NC lgs., like Gunzib mok_o 'beak') ¶ M K II 648-9, Asl. 801, Mrg. 48-9, Ab. II 131 || D *mok- 'face, mouth' > Tm mukam, Kn moga id., Ml mukam id., 'front', Tu moga 'the front', Tl moga 'the front part, mouth of a river', Klm, Nkr mokam, Prj, Knd mokom, Gnd mukam ˈd mukum ˈd mokom, Png muˈm, Mnd muˈmb, Ku muˈkaˈ 'face' ¶¶ D #4889 ♦ Blz. DA 153 [#9] (Ag, CCh, D, IE), LB #112f (Ag, CCh, D) || Another semantic var. of this N etymon (or a different etymon?): N *mUK.VJHV 'eat/drink (greedily, in large mouthfuls)' > HS: S: Ar ʔmqʔ G 'avalir avec avidité (un liquide), têter sa mère (un petit)', D 'boire tout le lait qui se trouvait dans le pis' ¶ BK II 1135-6 || A {DQA} *mˈuˈkˈeˈ {AD} ± 'fill one's mouth with fod/water' > T *boˈk- (= *m_oˈk-) 'eat one's fill' > OT {DTS} boˈk- id., 'be fed up with', {MKD} buˈk- 'be fed up with, be filled to nausea', Tv poˈk-, SY pek- 'eat one's fill', Qrg boˈk-, Tf poˈk- 'be sated with fat food', Qzq, Nog boˈk- 'eat too much', Bsh buˈge- 'overeat' ¶ DTS 117, ET B 211, MKD 83, BR 124 || Tg *muku- 'fill one's mouth with water' > Lm muq-, Neg moxo--mokun-, Ud mukun- id., Ewk muku-, WrMc muku- 'hold water in one's mouth', Ewk muku- 'swallow', Sln moxo- 'swallow water' ¶ STM II 552 || pKo {S} *mæˈk- 'eat' > MKo mæˈk- 'eat', NKO mæk- 'eat, drink' ¶ QK #19, Nam 211, MLC 609 || pJ {S} *maˈkaˈ-naˈp- 'feed, provide meals' > OJ makanap-, J: T makanaˈ-, K maˈkaˈnaˈ-, Kg maˈkaˈnaˈ- ¶ S QJ #1233, Mr. 719 || ʔʔʔ M: Dg {T} mekeˈ-, {Pp.} mekeˈ- 'suck' (unless derived from Dg {Pp., Mr.} meke 'woman's breasts') ¶ T DgJ 154, Mr. D 190, Klz. D II 120 ¶¶ DQA 1384

(*m^fu^lk^e 'suck') || D *mukk- 'eat in large mouthfuls' > Tm mukku 'eat in large mouthfuls', Kn mukku 'put food into the mouth with the hollowed hand and gobble', Tu mukku- v. 'gobble, swallow, devour', Kui muka 'cast food into the mouth with the hand'; D *mukkV_L- 'mouthful' > Kn mukkul(e) 'mouthful of water for rinsing the mouth', Tu mukkul_i ~ mukkul_i 'mouthful of liquid', Kui mukal 'mouthful' ¶¶ D #4897 || ? E: ma-ak-, ma-kV 'verzehren', ma-qa 'Verzehrtes' ¶ HK 848-50, 875, 861-3 ♦ The semantic pre-history of the latter root var. may be: 'mouth' → 'mouthful' → 'eat/drink in large mouthfuls'.]

1399. ₂ ***muK.c'**.₁**Vh₁V** 'arrive' > HS: S *₁√mθ.y ~ *₁√mθ.ʔ ~ ? *₁√mθ.h 'arrive', ? 'go' > Ug √myy G 'arrive, come to', BA √mt.y (pf.: 3m aylm6 ~ eyl6 mət.a⁻, 3f tylm6 mət.a⁻.t₁; ip. ay4m6i% yi-m⁻t.e⁻) 'reach, come, arrive', IA mt.ʔ (i.e. *₁√mt.y₁w) (2m pf. mt.t), JA √mt.y G (pf. iy4m6 mət⁻.e⁻, aylm6 ~ eyl6 mət.a⁻, SmA √mt.y G 'arrive, reach', Sr √mt.y G (pf. 'to^u mət.a⁻, acp. m. '999te^u ma⁻.t.e⁻, acp. f. 'jot^u ma⁻.t.ya⁻) 'come, arrive, reach', Md √mt.y G (pf.: 3m mt.a, 3f mt.iat) 'arrive, reach', Sb {BGMR} √mθ.ʔ G 'go, proceed, march', Mn √mθ.ʔ 'se trouver dans un endroit', √mθ.ʔ Sh (pf. s⁻mθ.ʔ) 'arrive', Qt {Rk.} √mθ.ʔ G (b-mθ.ʔ) 'enter, go through', Gz √ms.ʔ G 'come, happen to', ? Ar [Qam.] √mδ.h G (pf. 'a7aMa maδ.aha) {Fr.} 'abiit (per terram)', {BK} 's'en aller et s'enfoncer dans l'intérieur des terres' ¶ A #1627, OLS 265-6, KB 1735, BDB 1100, HJ 616-7, Js. 767, Sl. 658-60, Br. 381-2, JPS 266, Tal 462-3, DM 264, BGMR 89-90, MA 64, Rk. D 140-1, L G 369-70, Fr. IV 191, BK II 1125 || U *mukc'a- v. 'walk, cross (a river, a place)' > pLp {Lr.} *mokse- (~ *mokce-?) > Lp: L mok'se- / movse- 'come, arrive, take one's course', I mo⁻hce⁻, Kld {TI} mo_xse- 'cross rapids (rowing), T {Gn.} mok:se- 'cross a water' ('über ein Wasser fahren') || Sm: Ne T мада- 'cross (a place, water-course), go through', Ne T O {Lh.} mada⁻ 'cross (a water-course)', Kms {Cs.} ma⁻kte⁻l'am 'schreiten' ¶ Coll. 35, UEW 284-5 (*mukc'a- 'über das Wasser fahren'), Lr. #674, Ter. 214, Cs. 192 ♦ The rec. of N *h is valid only if the Ar root √mδ.h preserved the ancient lr., which was lost in Ug, in the Aram and SS lgs., but replaced in SS by a hiatus-filling ? ♦ IS MsN (S, U).

1399a. ??? ₂ ***m'a^lK.VRV** 'big, long' > IE: Gk μακρο^l 'long, large' ¶ F II 164-5, Ch. 660-1 || HS: B *myr > Izd √myr id., maqqor 'grandir', Gh əmyər 'be big', məqqər 'big', Gd {CM} meqqur 'be big', {Lf.} əmqor (pf. meqqor) 'être grand, vieux, notable', Ah √myr (imyar) 'be big', Kb √myr (imyar) vq. 'be big, grow', Zng {TC} pf. yem⁻u⁻r₁ (aor. yum⁻u⁻r₁) 'grandir' ¶ Mrc. 130, Fc. 1235-8, Dl. 508-9, Ds. B 156, CM 124, Lf. I 288 & II #1019, DCTC 296 ♦ Highly doubtful. Valid unless Gk μακρο^l is a *d* that goes back to IE *mak⁻ / *mak⁻ 'thin, slender' (cf. N ***ma^lX^lK.E**) and unless B √myr goes back to N ***K.ERV** 'to grow, be(come) big'.

1400. ??? ***malE** 'another, second' or 'two' > HS: C: Bj {R} 'mallo^d 'malo, {Rop.} 'male 'two', {R} before m. nouns mal⁻le⁻; construct forms: {Rop.} 'malo-b 'two' m., 'malo-t 'two' f., Bj A {AD} 'malo⁻-b m., 'malo⁻-t f. 'two', Bj {R} 'maly-a, {Rop.} 'mali-a 'the second', Bj {R} malho⁻-ya⁻n 'two of us', malho⁻-ya⁻k 'two of you', malho⁻-ya⁻s 'two of them' || ?? EC: Af {PH} malh⁻in, Sa {R} malehan 'seven' (if derived from the word for "two" in the framework of the quinary numeric system) ¶ R BedS III 6-11, R WBd 168, Rop. 21-3, PH 162, R S II 266, AD SF 196 || D *mal 'other, next, second' > Kn mala id., Tl malu 'next, second' ¶¶ D #4732 || ? EA ≈ *mallaQ- 'two' > Esk: SbY malx(u⁸), CSbY {Rb.} maly(uk), CAY, WGI maly(uk), Mkl malləy(ok) || Ale {Men.} allax 'two'.

1401. ***malV** 'incline, bend' > HS: WS *-mīl- > Ar pf. ma⁻la / ip. ya-mīl-u 'lean, incline to', Jb E/C {Jo.} √myl (pf. mē⁻l, sbjn. yīl) 'turn sidewise, incline to one side', Mh {Jo.} √myl (pf. mzyu⁻l, sbjn. yzmyē⁻l) id., 'look sideways', Hrs {Jo.} √myl (pf. mzyo⁻l) 'turn away\aside' ¶ BK II 1174-5, Jo. M 276, Jo. J 179, Jo. H 92 || A: Tg ma⁻l⁻lt- v. 'bend, fold' > Ewk maltu-, Lm malt⁻ id., Sln malta-, Neg malti- v. 'fold', Ork *d* ma⁻ltuma 'folding knife' ¶ STM I 524-5 || D (in SD) ma⁻l- 'bend, turn/look sideways' > Kn ma⁻lu 'bend', ma⁻la, ma⁻lu 'sloping, slanting', ma⁻lisu 'look obliquely, bend to one side', Td malf- 'look sideways' (of a buffalo), Tu ma⁻lu- v. 'lean, incline' ¶ D #4825 ♦ The long vw. in Tg and D may suggest the presence of an additional element, which in the light of the S ev. is likely to be identified as *y (N ***maylV**?).

1402. ***m'a^lLV** (= ***m'a^lLV**?) 'to hide' > K: MG [VTq.], G mal- v. 'hide, hide oneself' ¶ Chx. 708-9, DCh. 662-3 || HS: ? EC: Sml maldah- v. 'hide, veil, conceal', ?σ Rn {PG} ma⁻lla⁻d⁻a⁻ (imv. ma⁻lla⁻w) 'get/be lost', Or {Brl.} millik-, {Th.} milik-, 'schivare, evitare, usar sotterfugi' ¶ ZMO 274, PG 218, Brl. 304, Th. 244-5 || IE: NaIE *mel- (*₁(s)mel-?) v. 'deceive; be mistaken' (possibly × N ***me₁yl⁻V** 'mind, be clever' [q.v.]) > Av mairya- 'betrügerisch, tückisch, schurkisch' || ? OIr mellaid 'il flatte, séduit, trompe' (unless <d- mell 'pleasant' [acc. to Vn.]) || Lt me⁻las, Lt Z ma⁻las 'lie, falsehood', Ltv me⁻li n. 'lie', Lt melu⁻oti, Ltv me⁻lo⁻t 'to lie' || Sl *militi 'to involve in error, mislead' > P, Hls mylic', Cz my⁻liti, R Δ 'μυλιτ', LLs mylis' id., P mylic' sie⁻, Cz my⁻liti se, Uk мѣлитисл 'to err, be mistaken' ({Frn.:} the irreg. *i is due to the infl. of the synonymous verb *xib- [> Cz chybiti 'to err', P chybiac' 'to miss, fail']?) || Arm me⁻me⁻l 'sin, fault' || ?? Gk βλασ- (*'falsehood') in βλα⁻σ-φημο⁻ 'evil-speaking, slanderous', βλασφημε⁻ω 'speak ill, slander' (φη- 'speak'), ? με⁻λεο⁻ 'miserable, fruitless, vain' || ? Tc A smale 'a lie', sma⁻lok 'liar' ¶ ≈ WP II 291. ≈ P 719-20, Brl. 1151-2, F I 241-2 (no et. of the Gk words), Vn. M 31-2, Frn. 430, Ma. CS 314, ESSJ XXI 39-40, Vs. III 23, Sl. 181-2, Wn. 431, ≈σ EI 155 (*mel- 'fail', *melos 'bad', *meles- 'fault, mistake') || A: Tg *mel- vi. 'hide' > WrMc mele- vi. 'hide', steal away', Ewk PT māltilz- vi. 'hide, shrink into one's shell' ('прѣтат-сѣ, съечѣт-сѣ, уйги в себѣ') ¶ STM I 567 ♦ If the Tc words smale, sma⁻lok belong here, they suggest an IE *₁(s)m- and

therefore a palatal element with the N $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ (hence ***m'a''l'V**) $\diamond$ It is tempting to adduce here the obscure FP word, represented by Z млѡес $\text{ml}\ddot{\text{a}}$ 'a piece of bark used to cover the load of a boat (to protect it from the rain)' and Chr $\text{mel}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{z}$ $\text{ml}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{z}$ 'lid of a beehive (in a hollow of a tree-trunk)' (LG 182, $\approx$ UEW 289-80). If the FP word belongs here, the original meaning of the N etymon must be 'cover' (whence 'to hide').

1403. ??? ***m'æ'L'V** $\approx$ 'eye' > HS: Eg fKD mr.t 'eye(s) (of a god)' ¶ EG II 107 II IE: NaIE $\text{*m}\ddot{\text{V}}$ > Clt: OIr mala (gen. malach) 'eyebrow', Nlr mala id. , π mala-porc 'eye', MBr {Ern.} malvenn 'eyelid' ¶ Vn. M 14, 33, Dnn. 461, Ern. 386-7 II ? A: M: WrM hon melmei 'eye(s)' (unless $\leftarrow$ melmei- 'be full, shine') ¶ MED 535 $\diamond$ Qu. because of the honorific (hence originally metaphoric?) character of the WrM and Eg words.

1404. ***mol'V** 'to pound, gnaw/smash into pieces' > IE *mel- , *melh- 'to grind, pound' > Ht malla/i- , malliya/i- v. mill , 'grind' || NaIE: Arm malem malem vt. 'bruise, mash, crush, break to pieces' || Gk $\mu\upsilon\lambda\eta$ 'mill' || pAl {O} *melwa > Al miell 'flour' || L mol-o- , -e-re v. 'grind' ($\leftarrow$ Al bluanj id.) || OIr mel- , W malu , MBr malaff , Br, Crn mala v. 'grind' || Gt malan to 'grind', OHG malan id. , 'rub', NHG mahlen , ON mala 'to grind'; Gmc *mulwi-an > ON mylja 'to grind, crush', OHG mullen 'to oppress, break into small pieces, grind, destroy' || Lt ma'lti 'to grind' || Sl *me''l-ti id. > OCS мѣти mle'ti (1s prs. meljo), Blg мѣл , SCr Cr mlje'ti / me''ljem , SCr Sr мѣти / мѣѣм , Slv mle'ti , Cz mle'ti ~ mli'ti , P mlec' / miele , OR молоти , R молот- / мѣл || pTc {Ad.} *mel'w- > Tc: A malyw- , B mely- {Wn.} 'presser fortement, broyer, écraser', {Ad.} 'crush, squeeze', {JGH} 'press' || ? OI $\text{mr}_n\text{a'ti}$ 'crushes, grinds' ($\times$ IE *mer- 'crush' < N ***murV** 'to break, crush') ¶¶ P 716-7, EI 247 (*melh_2), F II 268-70, WH II 104-6, M K II 673, M E II 319-20, Ch. 721, Vr. 377, 397, Schz. 206, 216, Kb. 654, 699-700, OsS 586, 625, KM 454, Vn. M 32, Hamp AIEW 147, O 30, 265-6, ESSJ XVIII 89-91, Vs. II 597, Glh. 417, Wn. 278-9, Ad. 470, Ad. H 73, JGH 203, Slr. 99-1, CHD L-N 125-6, Ts. E II 102-3, IvN. OPA 108-9 II HS: CS *mll 'crush, squeeze (e.g., for husking the grain)' > MHb, JA, Md $\sqrt{\text{mll}}$ v. 'crush, squeeze, rub ears for husking the grain', BHb elil5m6 māl'i'la- , JA $\text{at1l6il5m6 māl'ilā't-a-}$ 'ears of corn for rubbing, Reibähren', MHb {Js.} elil5m6 māl'i'la- 'ripe ear of corn', Ar $\sqrt{\text{mll}}$ D 'presser, activer' ¶ KB 558, KBR 598, Js. 790-2, BK II 1141 II U *mol'V 'to crumble, break to pieces', 'crumble' > pLp *mo'IV > Lp N {N} moallo 'crumb, little, bit, piece, morsel', moalla'ni- ~ mo'lla'ni- vi. 'crumble away' || Sm {Jn.} *māIV- v. 'break' > Nn T Ym мѣш Ä-c- , Nn T BZ мѣш-е-c- , Nn T O {Lh.} mal'a- v. 'break, smash'. Slq Tz {KKIH} mala- v. 'gnaw (грѣтъ-)', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. mala'ab id. , Kms {KD} bo'däl'a'm ~ bu'däl'a'm vt. 'break', Koyb {Sp.} блаламь 'I gnaw', Mt {Hl.} *balā- v. 'gnaw, bite' (Mt M {Sp.} баламь 'I gnaw', балымь 'I bite') $\leftarrow$ Mt {Hl.} *bilabtā- v. (?) 'break' ¶¶ Coll. 35, UEW 278, Jn. 86, KKI 128, Hl. M #97, 125 II A *moIE ({IS} *mo'IV , {DQA} *mo'le) 'to bite, gnaw' > M *mo'izi- (< *mo'li-di-) 'gnaw, eat the bones clean' > MMgl mo'iz'i- 'gnaw', WrM mo'izi- , HIM млж- , Brt млж- , Kl мл- mo'iz'i- 'gnaw, eat the bones clean' ¶ MED 546, Chr. 305, KRS 357, Iw. 116 || Tg *mul- > WrMc mulian 'jaw', ?σ {Z} muliya- v. 'swallow' ¶ Z 908, Hr. 677 || pKo {S} *mri- v. 'bite' > MKo mri- , NKo mul- ¶ S QK #7, Nam 229, MLC 677 || ?φ,σ pJ {S} *mu'si-r- v. 'pluck out, pick out' > OJ mu'si-r- , J: T mu'siru , K mu'si-r- , Kg musi'r- ¶ S QJ #844, Mr. 720 ¶¶ DQA #1343 $\diamond$ In the light of the S cognates the Ir. in IE *melh- cannot belong to the N $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ and is likely to be a root-extension $\diamond$ IS II 69-70 (*moLa **раздроблѣти**, AD NM #63, S CNM 7 (suggests the Mc, Ko and J cognates; $\pm$ ST), Vv. AEN 18 (the segmentation of M *mo'izi- as *mo'li- + *zi- is considered a "teleological rec.", $\neq$ AD NMI-2 § 7.7), Glh. 417. J *s- seems to suggest pA and N *l' , which is at variance with the U evidence. Hence our N rec. is with ***l'** (= *ll') $\diamond \approx$ Gr. II #186 (*meli 'grind') [IE, U, EA + *unc.* Ko, CK + *qu.* A {Gr.} *mo'li 'cut', J].

1405. ***m'a'hl'V** (or ***m'a'yl'V**) 'little, young' > IE: NaIE *mo'lo- ~ ?? *smelo- 'small, little' > Sl *ma''l' adj. (dadj. *mal'j) 'small, little' > OCS, OR малъ mal' , Blg d малък , SCr ma''o (f. ma''la), Slv dadj. ma'li , Cz, Slk dadj. maly' , P dadj. mały , R dadj. малый , pradj. мал (f. мала) || ?? Gmc *smal- 'small, narrow' > Gt smal-ista sprl. 'smallest', OSx smal 'small, little' ('klein, gering'), OHG smal 'small, narrow', NGH schmal 'narrow', AS smæl id. , 'slender, small', NE small || ?? Lt smu'lkus , smulku's 'small, fine, thin', Ltv smal'k-s 'fine, thin' ¶ $\approx$ WP II 296, $\approx$ P 724 (does not distinguish it from *me'lo- 'sheep and goats', cf. N ***mUwl'VyV** '€ meat, animals'), ESSJ XVII 167-83, Bern. II 13-4, Vs. II 564, Vr. 519, Ho. 301, Ho. GEW 93, Ho. S 68, Fs. 439, Kb. 916, Sw. 156, Kar. II 238-9, Frn. 849-50, $\approx$ EI 23 ($\text{*meh}_1\text{-}$ 'small animal') II HS: SC: ? Brn {E} mela 'house of unmarried young men', ? SC b Mb {E} milo 'child', mi'li 'heifer' ¶ E SC 17 II U: FU *mo'o'l'V *child or 'little' > ObU: Vg K mo'li 'boy, dear boy'; pOs *mo'l'V ({JHL} *mu'l'V) 'little' (in *cds*): Os: Ty mo'l'i , K/Kr -ma'lā , Nz -mo'lā , Kz mo'l'i , e.g. Os: Ko/K ewā-mā'lā 'little girl', pa'χ-malā 'little boy', K moχ-mā'lit 'children', Nz ay peη-mō'lā , Kz peη-mō'l'i 'kleiner, eben ein wenig aus dem Zahnfleisch hervorgekommenner Zahn' ¶ Ht. #777, Stn. D 927 II A: T *ba'la (*mā'la) > NaT *ba'la 'young bird, nestling; young of an animal' > XwT xiv, Chg xv bala 'young of an animal', Tk bala , Tk Δ, Tkm, Uz Δ, ET Δ ba'la , CrTt bala id. , 'child', Az, Qmq, VTt bala , Uz бола bala , Slr b_ala id. , 'nestling, young bird', QrB, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Bsh, Qrg, ET bala 'child, baby' ¶ Cl. 332, Rs. W 59, ET B 47-9, TL 306-7, TkR 69 $\diamond$ The N vw. *a (suggested by T) becomes *o' in FU due to the labializing infl. of *m- $\diamond$ If the Gmc and Blt roots (and hence IE *smel-) belong here, it suggests a palatal element in the N $\sqrt{\text{ }}$, which cannot be *l' (on the FU and T ev.), hence the N rec. ***m'a'yl'V**. If so, the long *o' in IE does not go back to a

vw. + lr., but represents the apophonic L- gr. (Dehnstufe), the element *y being lost in IE due to its presonantic position. If IE *smel- does not belong here, the rec. is ***m'a'HLV** [corroborated by the long vowels in NaIE *mo'lo- and T *ba'la].

1406. *mUHLV (~ **-Lh-**) 'slow, quiet' > HS: WS *√mhl 'be slow, quiet' > Ar √mhl {BK} id., {Hv.} 'act at leisure, without haste', Mh √mhl Sh (pf. amo'h3l), Jb √mhl Sh (pf. o'h3l) vt. 'ease, lighten', Mh GT (pf. m3thu'l) 'become easier/lighter', Sq {L} 'muhele 'delay', {Jo.} 'meh3l 'delay, respite' ¶ BK II 1162-3, Hv. 738, Jo. M 262, Jo. J 169, L LS 239 ¶ IE: NaIE *mel- 'linger, delay, be slow' > Gk με'λω 'delay, intend to do' ¶ L [Fest.] pro-mell-o- / -e're 'litem promovere, adorn a (legal) action', [Pl.] re-meligo- 'delay (Verzögerung)' ¶ OIr mall (< *ml_o-so-) 'slow, lazy', W {Vn.} mall 'lent, mou, flétri' ¶ WP II 292, P 720, F II 202-3, WH II 370, 427-8, Vn. M 15 ¶ A: Tg: Ewk mulu- 'be silent' ¶ STM I 555.

¶ **1406a. *meH'a'l V** 'a person (of ego's generation?) from the other moiety' > HS: C: Bj {R} me'2a'li ~ 'm2a'li, {Rop.} m2ali 'brother/sister-in-law' ¶ R WBd 162, Rop. 216 ¶ ECh: Kwn M {J} mo'lo- ~ mo'lo', ? Kbl {Cp.} mag3l3n', Ll {Grgs.} malgyi 'female relative-in-law', Mkl {J} ma'lsa', Tmk {Cp.} m3'la' 'sister-in-law', Kwn M {J} ku-ma'le' ~ k3-ma'li', Kbl {Cp.} ka-m3l3n', Ll {Grgs.} ku-ma'li' 'male relative-in-law', Mkl {J} me'le' 'brother-in-law' ¶ ChC, J LM 211, Cp. 105 ¶ D (in NED) ± *melk- > Krx melk'o- 'husband's brother's wife; concubine', Mlt melqo, melqor 'two or more contemporary wives' ¶ D #5081, Pf. 195 [#190] ¶ A: T: [1] *bo'la' 'cousins' (children of two sisters) > Qzq, Qq, Tv Tj bo'le, Qrg bo'lo' ~ bu'lo', Xk, Shor po'le id., Nog bo'le, Uz bōla, Δ bo'la', Tk Δ bola^d bulla^d bu'lem^d bele, Qmn bo'lo' 'cousins', Alt {BT} b_o'lo' 'children of sisters; cousin', Yk {Pek.} aymax-bila' 'relatives, neighbours' [Tk Δ bola^d bulla^d bu'lem^d bele, Ggz bu'lu', Bsh bu'la', Nog, Qq no'lo', Qzq bo'le, Qrg bo'lo' ~ bu'lo', Alt b_u'lo', b_ile, Uz bōla, Δ bo'la', Xk, Shor po'le, Tv b_ile, Tv Tj bo'le, Yk bile id.]; T b> M: WrM bu'lu' ~ bo'le, HIM б*л 'cousins' (of children of two sisters only) ¶ [2] T: Tk Δ {THDS} bal 'girl; brother'; d> T *ba'l-t'ir' 'wife's younger sister' > OT, Qzq, Qq, Qrg baldız, Bsh baldıd id., Tkm ba'ldıd 'husband's sister', Tk baldız 'wife's husband's sister', Az, CrTt, Kr Cr baldız, Uz baldız, Chv puld_ır 'wife's sister' ¶ ET B 53-4, 217-8, TL 293-4, BT 34, Pek. 463. MED 14, Cl. 334, THDS II 495, Jud. 104 ♦ The equation between D, Bj and Ch was suggested by Blazjek (Blz. DA 157 [#48]).

1407. *mihLi ~ *milhi 'be weak' > HS: CS *√mhl > Sr √mhl G 'weaken', Ar √mhl G 'be barren (land, year)' ¶ Br. 381, BK II 1069-70, Hv. 710 ¶ IE: NaIE *mle-i-/*mli- / ? *mle₁:i_u- ≈ 'weak' > W blin (< *mli-no-) 'tired', OBr blin {Flr.} 'mou, uncertain, négligent', MBr {Ern.}, Br {Hm.} blin 'faible, débile' ¶ Ltv Δ {ME} blīnis 'a tired person who cannot move' ¶ Sl *mlit- 'weak, flabby' > McdS мпигав 'flabby, languid, apathetic', SCr mli'tav, mli't, mli'tak 'feeble, slack, lax', mli'tati 'be lazy' ¶ ? Gk 'αμβλυ' 'blunt, weak' and possibly 'αμαλο' 'soft, weak, feeble' (× N *mejil' V 'soft' [q.v.]) ¶ Ht malisku- ~ milisku- 'weak; light, unimportant (?)' ¶ P 716-9, Flr. 86, Ern. 71, Hm. 87, YGM-1 47, ME I 316, ESSJ XIX 68, F I 85, 89-90, CAD L-N 130, Ts. E II 106-7 ¶ A: M: WrM milmere- 'grow weak \ feeble' ¶ MED 539 ♦ The N etymon in question may be identical with *mejil' V 'soft' (which in that case must be reformulated as *mejilhi).

1408. *mUwl Vvy 'in animals, meat' > HS: C *ma'l- 'livestock, meat' > HEC {Hd.} *ma'la 'meat' > Brj, Ged, Kmb, Sd ma'la, Hd ma'ra id. ¶ Rn {PG} ma'li 'female camel on loan', Sml N {Abr.} ma'li 'livestock', Sml {ZMO} ma'l 'goods, wealth' (× <b- Ar ma'l- 'flocks, wealth?') ¶ Hd. 98, 210, 257, 292, 331, 383, Ss. B 137, C SE II 213, Abr. S 172, ZMO 264, PG 214-5 ¶ NroM: Bdt {C} ma'le ~ ma'li 'cow' (<b- or b> HEC?) ¶ C SO 62 ¶ B *ma'lvy (pl. *mu'lvy) > Ah a-ma'li (pl. i-mu'lay), ETwl ə-maləy (pl. i-mulay), Ty əmelay (pl. imulay) 'male (non castrated) domestic animal' ¶ The long vw. goes back either to *VH or to *Vw ¶ Fc. 1199, GhA 128 ¶ S *-mVl- (*-mu'l-?) > *ma'wal- 'having flocks' > Ar ma'l- 'a rich \ wealthy person', √mwł G (pf. ma'la, ip. -mu'l-) 'be rich in flocks', ma'l- 'flocks; wealth, personal property' (originally a n. coll., derived by means of the -a-infix) ¶ BK II 1168 ¶ IE: NaIE *me'lo- 'sheep and goats, young domestic animal' > Gk Ep, D, A μη'λα pl. id., → sg. μη'λον 'sheep, goat' ¶ OIr mī'l 'animal, small animal', Nlr mī'ol 'louse', Brtt {RE} *milon > MW mil-eit, W -mil, OCrn, OBr, Br mil, Crn myl 'animal' ¶ Gmc: OFrk [LxS] ma'la 'cow', Dt maal, Dt G maole 'young cow' ¶ Arm mal mal 'wether, mutton' (× <d- malem v. 'castrate, geld' ← 'bruise, break') ¶ Ht {Ivn.} miluli- 'meat' ({Ts.} miluli--maluli- 'Körperteil, Weichteile') ¶ But not here (⇔ P 724) Uk мал- 'sheep and goats, young sheep' (coll.) and R Δ мал'лич 'a Crimean sheep', which are loans from a Turkic lge., most probably from CrTt mal 'livestock' (<b- Ar ma'l- 'flocks') [see Rl. IV 2035-6] ¶ P 724 (*me'lo- 'kleineres Tier'; + err. Sl and Gmc words for 'small, little' and L ma'lus 'bad'), F II 226-7, Vn. M 51, Flr. 256-7, RE 79, Vr. N 419, Bern. II 13-4, ≠ ESSJ XVII 156, 176 (Uk мал-, P Δ мал'лич <d- Sl *malъ 'small'), EI 23 (*meh₁- 'small animal') ¶ Ts. W 53, Ivn. SL 153 ¶ A {DQA} *mula 'in deer' > T *bulan 'elk' > OT bulan ({Cl.} bula'n) 'in large wild animal which is hunted' (Cl.: obviously 'elk'), MQp xv bulan 'wild ass, onager', Qzq бълан bu'lan, VTt, Bsh болан б'lan, Xk pulan, Qb {Cl.} bulan 'elk', Tv b_ulan, Qrg f bulan 'elk, deer', Uz hist bulan 'wild horse', No, Qrg bulan 'in gazelle', Chv L па'лан р'лан, Chv H р'lan 'stag', Δ 'elk' ¶ Cl. 343, ET B 260, TL 154, BT 35, Rl. IV 1374, Shch. Zh 141, Dr. TM II #810, Jud. 157, NogR 90, BT 35 ¶ Nrtg *mul- (dim. *mul-kan) 'deer, elk' > Ewk mulkan 'castrated reindeer (of 1.5 to 2 years), mul-kaçan 'male reindeer, elk, Manchurian deer (of 2 to 3 years)', Lm mulqan 'domesticated/wild reindeer (of 1 year), mulqaçan 'wild reindeer, elk' (of 2 to 3 years)', Neg molka'n 'wild reindeer' (of 1 to 2 years)', Ewk mul-ta 'herd of wild reindeers, a wild

reindeer', Ewk PT melele, Ewk Nr me^llan 'young elk, ∈ small reindeer' ¶ STM I 534, 555 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1363 (A *mula, incl. T, Tg) ¶ ?σ U: FU *mXl^lYX 'breast; breast (meat)' (semantic infl. of the paronymous U √ *ma^ll'ye 'breast' < N *ma^llge id., 'udder' [q.v.]) > Vt m3l'a, m3l' 'breast, breast (meat) of an animal (ox, etc.), Vt S m3l'a, K mu^ll'a 'Bauchteil unter den Rippen' :: OHg XII-XIII malos, maly 'breast', Hg Δ ma^ll d ma^j d ma^lly 'Bauchfell eines Pelztiers' || pY {IN} *mol- > Y K mol-il 'trunk of body' (nominal sx. -il) ¶ UEW 289-90, MF 418-9, EWU 928, IN 246, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#75] (Y ← U) ♦ The factor of lengthening in B has been interpreted as a N *w (rather than a lr.) on the ev. of S (absence of a lr. and presence of *u^l/w). The palatalized l' in Vt and OHg points to the presence of a palatalizing element, but T *-l- rules out a pN *l', so that a N *-LVy- remains the best solution (supported by the B ev.): in T the former intervoc. *-y- was lost, while in U the cluster *-Ly- yields Vt l' and Hg -ly-.

1409. *me^lyl^lV 'mind, be clever' > HS: EC *mal- > LEC {Bl.} *mal- > Sml ma^l-e 'a thought, guess', mal-ay- caus. v. 'think (about sth.), Rn {PG} ma^l 'thought, idea', mal-d-a v. md. think, plan', Bs {HL} ma^l:ll- 'reflect, think about', Or {Grg.} mal- vt. 'plan, design', Or Wl mal- {Bl.} 'come up with a plan', {Brl.} 'pensare, escogitare, ordire, macchinare', Kns {Bl.} mal- 'apply a tactic', Gdl mal- 'prepare a plan of action' : HEC: Sd {HL} mal- 'give advice, ponder, consider' ¶ Bl. 163, Brl. 291-2, Grg. 275, ZMO 274, Abr. S 172, PG 217-8, HL 127 || EthS *√myl (<- C?) > Tgr µε^l mela 'trick, wile, artfulness', Tgy µε^l mela 'prudence, habilité' [(?) <- Bln {R} mil- 'zum Besten halten, in schalkhafter Weise hintergehen, betrügen; geringschätzig behandeln'], Amh mela 'prediction, opinion, occasion' (× EthS √, represented in Gz mly malaya v. 'separate, divide, distinguish' <- le^llaya 'separate, disjoin?'); Amh ? <- Or {Th.} mala 'avviso, parere, opinione, idea'; Har {L} mela 'ways and means', Grg Ez/Gt/Mh/SI/So mela, Grg Ch mella, mela, Grg Wl mēle, Grg Ed male, Grg En mala 'chance, guess, ways and means' ¶ LH 138, CS 123, R WB 269, Th. 233, L CAD 15, L G 346, L EDG III 401 ¶ IE: NaIE *mel- 'deceive' ¶ WP II 291, P 720 (× N *m^la^lLV 'to hide' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ U: FU *me^lle > FP *me^lle 'mind, sense' > F mieli, Es meel id. : pLp {Lr.} *me^lls 'mind, sense' > Lp: S {Hs.} mie^lle, Vfs {Lgc.} mīz^ll.3^l 'wish, will, sense', N {N} miella^l / -l- 'disposition, temper; desire, wish; opinion', (pl.) 'sense', L {LLO} miella 'mind, temper; understanding; opinion', Kld мѣлл mīll 'mind' : Mk мѣл^l ma^ll 'wish, opinion', Er мѣл^l mel^l id., 'thought' : Prm *mu^ll > Vt мѣл mil 'wish'; Prm cd *mu^ll-ku^d > Z мѣлкѣл mīvkid, Yz mal^lkat 'mind', Vt mīlkid 'temper, desire' (*ku^d 'mind, conscience'); Prm (d ?) mo^llp- v. 'think' > Z Δ m3vpav- d m3lpal- d m3po^l-, Vt малпаны malp- ¶ The Prm vw. *u^l (unlike *o^l) is irreg. and still unexplained ¶ UEW 701-2, Sm. 553 (*meeli 'mind'), LG 173, 180, Lt. J 148, It. #356, Lr. #665, Lgc. #3875, Lgc. SL 85, Hs. 920-1, SaR 189-90, ERV 374, PI 170-1.

1410. *ma^ll^lV 'full, much' > HS: S *√ml? G 'be full' > BHb, Ug, Mh, Hrs, Sq √ml? G id., Jb E/C √ml? G (pf. 'mis^l.i) id., Ar √ml? G (pf. mali?a) id., √ml? G (pf. malu?a) 'be rich\wealthy', √ml? G (pf. mala?a), BA √ml? G 'fill', JEA √mly G 'be full\complete; fill', Md, Gz √ml? G 'be full, fill', Ak √ √ml? G (inf. malu^l) 'be full'; <- S *√ml? D 'fill' > Ug, OA, IA, BHb, JA, Sr, Ar, Ak √ml? D id.; <- S *ma^lli^l- 'full' > BHb al4m1 ma^lle^l, Ug ml^lu, JA [Trg.] il4m6 mēle^l, JEA il4m6 ~ al4m6 mēle^l, Sr vēm mēle^l id., Ar pf. (< pred. adj.) mali?a 'was full', Sb ml? n. 'total sum (of money)', Ar NY T malaⁿ 'much', Ak √ malu^l 'full, covered, complete'; Qt d ml?t 'period, duration' ¶ KB 552-4, 1735, A #568, OLS 273, Lv. II 118-20, Lv. T III 39, Sl. 678-9, Br. 388-9, HJ 627-8, DM 272, BK 1141-2, Hv. 731, Bns. NJ I 171, BGMR 85, MA 60, Rk. 96, L G 342, Jo. M 265-6, Jo. J 171, Jo. H 88, CAD X/1 173-89 ¶ IE *mel^l2^l- 'much, very, (?) strong' > NaIE *mel- 'much, very' > Gk μα^lλα 'very', cmpr. μα^lλλον 'more', sprl. μα^lλιστα 'most' :: L cmpr. melior / ntr. melius 'better', mult-us / -a / -um / pl. mult-i / -ae / -a 'much, many' (< {Mul.} *ml^l 'to-'), Osc MOLTO nom. sg. f. 'multa', MOLTAS gen. sg. f., MOLTAM gen. sg. f. 'multam', Um MOTAR gen. sg. f. 'multae', muta nom.-acc. sg. :: Ltv Δ {ME} milns 'very much' || ?? Ht {CHD} ma^llant- 'powerful (?)', vigorous (?)', mal n. (a quality desirable for men in combat, such as boldness, ferocity, skill) ¶ WP II 292, P 720, ≈σ EI 235 (*mel- 'good'), F II 165, Bc. G 320, 338, WH II 63-4, 124-5, Mul. 274, ME II 627, Ts. E II 100, CHD L-N 124-8, Frd. HW 133 [mal 'viel' (?)], 'Fülle' (??)] ¶ A: [1] ? M *mel > WrO {Krg.} mel 'complete, whole', Kl мѣл 'completely, quite', {Rm.} mel 'gerade, ganz' (unless < *men-l <-d men 'gerade', as suggested by Rm.), Ord {Ms.} me^llu^l ~ me^lle^l 'beaucoup, très, en grand nombre, en grande quantité'; M *melmei- > WrM melmei-, HlM мѣлмѣй-, Kl {Rm.} melme^l- 'become very\completely full', WrO {Krg.} melemeleze- 'be full, overflowing' ¶ MED 534-5, Krg. 597, KRS 349, KW 260, Ms. O 462 || pJ *m3^lr- 'fill, heap up' > OJ mo^lr-, J: T mo^lr, K/Kg mo^lr- ¶ S QJ #1152, Mr. 277 || Tg: Nn B malda- v. 'fill' || ?σ T *mol^l 'abundant' > Tkm Δ, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg, ET {Rl.} mol, Tk bol, Tkm, Az Ggz, CrTt, Qmq bol, Uz mōl, VTt, Bsh mul ¶ The T rounded *o is due to the infl. of *m- ¶ ET B 184-5, Rl. IV 1669, 2125, Bu. II 287-8 ¶ [2] d ? : A *milt^lV (DQA *mi^llt^lej) or *melt^lV > M *melteyi- > WrM meltei-, HlM мѣлтий-, Kl мѣлт^l - melta^l - 'be full to overflowing', Ord me^llc^lirme 'rempli jusqu'au bord' || Tg: Lm miltəz 'full, whole', Ork milt3-milt3 id. 'full' (<- M?) || pJ *mi^lt- 'full' > OJ mi^lt-, J: T mic^li-, K/Kg mi^lc^li-, Ns mic^l-, Sh mī-, Ht nc- ¶ S AJ 111, 268 [#94], S QJ #9, Mr. 725 ¶¶ ¶ S AJ 111, 278 [#88] (A *milt^lV 'full, to fill'), SDM97 [A *mil(t)e 'full, fill'], ≈ DQA #1312 (A *mi^lo^l 'full, to fill, thick'; incl. M, J, T) and #1294 (A *mi^llt^lej 'full, fill') ¶ D (in SD?) *mal- v. 'abound, become full' > Tm malar- id., mali- 'abound, be full\plentiful', Ml malika 'v. 'abound, overflow', Kn malya, Tu malla 'great, big', ? Tl malayu 'spread' ¶¶ D #4729 ♦ The vw. *i in Tg and J still defies explanation ♦ (⇔ IS): Ar √mlh 'be good' hardly belongs together with IE *mel- 'much, abundant', it is most probably a sd of √mlh 'be salty' (from pS *milh- 'salt'), cp. Ar

malīh- 'salty, good'. Neither does Eg mnχ 'convenient' belong here ✧ ≈ IS II 41 [#273] (*malA 'numerous, abundant': IE, D + *unc.* HS: Ar √mlh, Eg mnχ); [✧ ≈ IS MS 331 (*malV 'big' > IE, D + *unc.* HS *√ml'h¹ 'good'),] ≠ OS #1816 (Ar √mlh, Eg mnχ) ✧ ≈ Gr. II #262 (*mel 'many, much') [IE, A, Gil + *qu.* J + *unc.* Ko, CK, EA].

1411. ***mal**₁Ø₁V 'hill, mountain, sth. protruding' > IE *mel₁H₁- ≈ 'high bank, mountain' > NaIE *mel- > pAl *mala > Al mal 'mountain' and b> Rum mal 'bank'; pAl d *mal-ya- > Al maje- 'summit, peak' :: Ltv mala 'bank, river\lake-side, beach; edge, rim', Lt † mala- 'Land, Landschaft', d pa-mal-is 'edge', Lt ju-r-mala, Ltv ju-r-mala 'sea-side, sea-shore' (Lt, Ltv ju-ra 'sea') : ? Sl: RChS измолѣти iz-mol-e'ti 'to protrude', Slv moleti mole, 'ti 'to project, jet out, overhang' :: ??σ OIr mell (< *mel-no-) 'round object (hill, ball, etc.)' [semantic infl. of OIr mul {Vn.} 'masse ronde, boule'?]; ? (× N ***m**'æ¹L¹V ≈ 'eye'): OIr, Nlr mala 'eyebrow', MBr {Ern.} malvenn 'eyelid' [possibly from 'protuberance'] ¶ ≈ P 721-2, Bc. 219, Vn. M 14, 33, Ern. 386-7, O 243, Frn. 400-1, ≈ ESSJ IX 49, ≈ Bern. II 74 II D *mal, mal-ay 'hill, mountain' > Tm malai₁ id.. Ml mala 'mountain, raised land, hill-land', Kt mal a-r', Td mas₁ o-r' 'high downs on western half of Nilgiri plateau', Td mal 'the Nilgiri mountains', Kn male 'mountain, forest', Tu malæ 'forest, hill overgrown with forest', Tl mala 'mountain', Klm ma-le ~ ma-le- 'hill', Prj malang 'forest', Gdb mare^d ma-re 'hill(ock)', Brh mas¹ 'hill, mountain' ¶¶ D #4724 II HS: B *^omu¹- > Mz a-mul (pl. i-mul-ən) 'crête (supérieure, d'un coq, etc.)' ¶ Dlh. M 118 || Ch: Kwan {J} mo¹ld^o 'mountain' ¶ ChC || Eg MK/XVIII m³ 'bank of river\lake' ¶ EG II 25, Fk. 102 ✧ IS II 51 (*malA; IE, D) ✧ The long vw. in B and the lr. ¹ in Eg suggests a N lr. *Ø.

¶ 1411a. ***mel**₁Vy₁χ₁V 'lizard, small reptile' or sim. > HS: EC *mulVf- > Af {Clz.} mu₁l¹u¹ita- 'worm', {R} mul¹lu¹it 'ē lizard', Sml {ZMO} mula¹ 'ē small lizard', Sml N {Abr.} mu¹la¹ 'ē lizard', {Lm.} mu₁la₁, Sml My {Lm.} mu₁la₁?, Sml Db {Lm.} mu₁lu₁?, Sml T {Lm.} mu₁l₃? 'lizard', Rn {PG} mulu¹h 'small grey lizard', possibly also Sml malow, Sml N ma¹low 'ē lizard' ¶ Clz. 127, R A II 89, ZMO 275, 296, Abr. S 172, 182, Lm. SD 270, PG 228 || WCh: Bks {J} mulu¹su¹s 'lizard' :: CCh: ? Nz {Srp.} ma¹lawa 'chameleon' ¶ ChC, J R 144 ¶¶ i ÷ (⇔ Blz.) the B word for 'green lizard' (Kb a-mulab₁, BMn/BSlh {Ds.} mu¹la¹b₁ id.), which is likely to be a loan from Ar Mgr (cp. Mz cd bu-lab 'ē green lizard', Mtm bu¹-la¹b 'green lizard' with bu¹-, bu¹- from Ar ?abu¹ 'father of' → 'having the quality of') (see Dl. 496, Ds. B 198, Dlh. M 102, Bs. NLB V 174) ¶¶ OS #1792 (HS *mulu¹- > EC, WCh) II K: GZ (mt ?) *mχul- 'lizard' > OG, G mχuliv-, Mg χvi(l)ar-, χolar-, χvelar-, Lz mtχola(r)-, χolura- ¶¶ G mχlux-i G mχlux-i {Chz.} 'caterpillar (Raupe)', {DCh.} 'worm that eats leaves' [× N ***mal**an₁k₁V 'eel', (?) 'worm'] ¶ K 144, K² 134, FS K 232, FS E 255, DCh. 912, 939, Chx. 861 II IE: NaIE *mol- /? *mel- > Arm mo¹-éz mole¹z 'lizard' :: Gmc: OSx, MLG mol, OHG mol, molm, molt, MHG molle 'salamander', NHG d Molch id. :: (× N ***mal**an₁k₁V 'eel'): ??σ OI malu¹ka-h. 'ē worm' ¶ Kb. 695-6, KM 485, ≈ P 717, M K 600 (no et. of malu¹ka-h.) II A: M *melek(eyi) 'frog, toad' > WrM melekei, HIM мѣлхѣй id., Kl мѣкл' mekla¹ id., {Rm.} mekle¹, Ord {Ms.} meleχ¹ī 'frog', WrM lag melekei, Ord lag₁ meleχ¹ī, Kl {Rm.} yag₁ melke¹ 'tortoise' (lit. ± *firm frog?), Brt мѣлхѣй 'tortoise', Dg {MYC} m₃l₃g 'frog, toad', {Lg.} m₃le¹g₁, {Mrm.} meleχ, {Mr.} meleχe 'frog'; the M word was probably influenced by the paronym *menekeyi 'frog, tortoise' (> MM menekei₁ id., [HI] nag menegei₁ 'tortoise') ¶ MED 534, MYC 484, Klz. D II 120, Mr. D 190, KRS 348-9, KW 2650, Chr. 311, Lg. VMI 53, Ms. H 75, Pp. MA 235, Ms. O 442. 461 || pJ {S} *mu¹na¹nki¹ 'eel' (× N ***m**En¹ī 'ē fish', q.v.) > OJ mu¹na¹gi₁ī, J: T u¹nagi, K u¹na¹gi¹, Kg unagi¹ id. ¶ S QJ #340, Mr. 562 II D *mal₁an₁k₁- 'eel' > Tm malan₁ku 'eel', Tl maluga 'ē eel', malanj(i) 'eel-like fish', ?φ: Kui mra¹u (pl. mra¹nga), Ku mn¹iya, Krx min¹z 'eel' ¶¶ D #4737 ✧ D *mal₁an₁k₁- and pJ *mu¹na¹nki¹ 'eel' suggest a common derived etymon *m¹a¹l¹an₁k₁V 'eel'] ✧ The equation between K, HS, Arm and Gmc was suggested by Blz. (Blz. KM 137 [#19]); ≠ Blz. DA 158 [#66] (*unc.* adduction of D *mal₁an₁k₁- 'eel', see N ***mal**an₁k₁V 'eel').]

1412. ***me**l₁i¹r¹V 'soft' > IE *mel¹h¹- > NaIE *melə- 'soft' > OI 'mla¹-ya-ti 'withers, fades', Vd pp. mla¹-ta- 'made soft by tanning', Av mra¹ta- 'tanned' :: Gk ὀμολο¹ 'soft, weak, feeble' (× N ***mi**h₁Li ~ ***mi**L₁hi 'be weak' [q.v.]), μαλακο¹ 'soft' :: Arm me¹-m me¹lm 'soft, mild, gentle' :: Gmc: OHG mol(a)we¹n 'to dwindle, decay, pine away; tabere', MDt malsch ~ mals 'reckless, soft', MHG molwic 'weich, staubartig', NHG mollig 'soft', molsch ~ mulsch 'too mellow, over-ripe' (of fruit) :: ? σ OIr mle¹n ~ ble¹n 'groin' (≡σ: NHG Weichen) :: ? L molli-s 'soft' (× NaIE *ml₁dwi-s 'soft, tender' < ***m**V₁L₁dV 'young, tender') || ?? Ht mīluli ~ maluli ~ melu₁li₁- 'soft tissue' (?), 'skin' (?), 'flesh'(?), {Gtz.} 'Weichteile' ¶¶ P 716-9, EI 532 (*mel₁- 'soft'), M K II 698, M E II 388-9, WH II 103-4, F I 85 & II 165, Vn. M 56-7, Kb. 695, OsS 619, KM 480, CHD L-N 130, 253-4, Ts. E II 210-1, Gtz. T 77 II D *mel(l)- 'soft, tender' > Tm, Kn mel id., Tm mella, mel₁l₁a 'softly, slowly, gently', Ml mel 'slender, tender', Kt melg- vi. 'soften', Td mes₁x- 'become soaked and softened', Kdg melle 'lightly, slowly', Tu mella 'slow, soft, gentle', Tl mella, melamella 'slowly, gently', Gdb mellaga, Knd meleka 'slowly', Kui mr¹e¹rna 'soft, quiet, gentle' ¶¶ D #5078 II A: ? M *^omelmeyi- > Kl мѣлм' - melma¹- 'be quiet' (of a person)' (unless ← M *melmeyi-, Kl {Rm.} melma¹- 'be full'), ?? M *milcayi- > WrM {MED} milcai-, HIM млцай- 'become soft/wet' (unless ← M *milcayi- 'become flat \ flat-faced' [> WrM {Kow., Gl.} milcai- id.]) ¶ MED 539, KRS 349, Rm. 260, Kow. 2025, Gl. III 308 ✧ If the Ht words belong here, they suggest an IE weak lr. (*h) and a N *. If we adduce here some roots for 'weak' (S *√mhl, NaIE *mle¹-/*mli¹-, Ht malisku- 'weak' and M *milmere-), we may reformulate the N rec. as ***me**l₁i¹hi 'soft, weak' (cf. N ***mi**h₁Li ~ ***mi**L₁hi 'be weak').

1413. ***mVLdV** 'young, tender' > IE: NaIE *mald^h- id. > Pru maldai nom. pl. 'young men, adolescents', maldian acc. sg. 'foal', malduⁿin acc. sg. 'youth' ('Jugend'), maldenikis 'child' : SI *mo^hld̥ m. (*molda^h f., *mold̥j̥ dadj.) 'young' > OCS **младъ** mladъ, Blg **млад**, SCr, Slv mla^hd, Cz dadj. mlady', P dadj. mlody 'young', R dadj. **молодой** id. / pradj. 'молод' 'is young' :: Clt: W blydd 'tender, juicy, soft' :: Gk μα^hλ^hων (gen. μα^hλ^hονοϝ) 'weakling' (of a person), μα^hλ^hακοϝ 'soft', μα^hλ^hα^hσσω 'I soften' (× μα^hλακοϝ 'soft', μα^hλα^hσσω 'soften' < N ***meil̥**.¹⁹ 'soft'), but not βλαδουϝ 'slack' ¶ ≈ WP II 284-90, ≈ P 716-9, ≈ EI 532 (*ml^hdu-s with unj. rec. of *d on the ev. of Gk βλαδουϝ), F II 167, En. 207, ≈ ESSJ XIX 174-9, ≈ Glh. 415-6 [all of them do not distinguish IE *mald^h- from similar stems (*melə-, *meld-, etc.) for 'soft', 'weak', 'crush', etc. that go back to different N roots] II HS: S *^o/mld > Ar mald- 'tender, delicate (youth), soft (bough)', √mld G (ip. -mlad-) 'be tender', {Fr.} maladaⁿ- 'iuventus, adolescentia' ¶ Fr. IV 205, Hv. 732-3.

1414. ***ma^hlge** (or ***ma^hlke**?) 'breast, udder' > HS: S *^o/mlg > Ar ΔIM √mlg^h v. G 'suck' ¶ BK II 1143 ||? Eg √mn̥z 'female breast, breast', Eg RT/G 'udder' > Cpt B **мнот** əmnot, **мнот̥** əmnoti 'breast'; but Vc. p.c. and Tk. EAAT suggested alt. etymologies: Vc. interpreted Eg mn̥z as *m-yнк. (cp. S *^o/ynk, 'suck'), Tk. connected it with C *nug 'suck' ¶ EG II 92-3, Fk. 110, Vc. 117, Crn. 86, Crum 176 || EC: Sml, Rn ma^h-l v. 'milk' ¶ Abr. S 172, DSI 396, ZMO 264, PG 215 ¶¶ Cal. 64, ≠ Tk. EAAT 232 II IE: NaIE *^hmelg^h- v. 'milk' > Gk ἄμε^hλγω 'I milk' :: pAl {O} *melga > Al mje^hl (aor. mola) v. 'milk' :: L mulge-o^h- / mulge^h-re v. 'milk' :: OIr mlig^h- ~ blig^h- v. 'milk', pfc. do-om-malg :: OHG me^hlcan, me^hlchan, NHG, Dt, NLG melken, AS meolcan 'to milk'; Gmc {Zlz.} *meluk^h- ~ *melik^h- > Gt miluks 'milk', ON mjo^hlk, OHG miluh ~ milih, NHG Milch, Dt melk, OSx miluk, AS mioluc ~ meolc, AS A milc id., NE milk; -d̥ ON molka v. 'milk'; Gmc -b̥ Sl *melko > OCS **мѣко** mje^hko, Blg **мѣко**, SCr mje^hko d̥ mlije^hko, Slv mje^hko, Cz mje^hko, ml̥^hko, P mleko, OR **молоко** moloko, R, Uk **молоко** 'milk' :: Lt me^hl̥z^hu / mi^hl̥z^hti v. 'milk' : SI *melzti / prs. *melzo^h v. 'milk' > RChS **мѣлѣ** mje^hs^hti / **мѣлѣж** mje^hlzo^h, Blg **мѣлѣж**, SCr mu^hs^hti / mu^hze^hm, Slv mje^hs^hti / mo^hlzem id., Slk mlzt^h 'to suck' :: pTc {Ad.} *ma^hlk^h- v. 'milk' > Tc A ma^hlkune n. act. 'milking'; pTc *melk-a^h > Tc: A malke, B malk-wer n. 'milk' ¶ P 722-3, ≈ EI 381 (*^hh^hmelg^h- 'to milk'), O 270, Huld 94-5, Frn. 434-5, F I 91, Vn. M 57, Fs. 360-1, Vr. 389, 392, Vr. N 436, Ho. 219, 223, Ho. S 52, Kb. 673, 686, OsS 601, 610, KM 473, 478, Zlz. II #30.31, WH II 121, ≈ ESSJ XVIII 84-8 (tries to deny the Gmc origin of Sl *melko), 95-6, Glh. 416, 429, Wn. 284, Ad. 442 ¶¶ IE *g^h for the expected *g^h is obscure; on the prosthetic vw. in Gk and on IE and N *- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 II U *ma^hl̥ve 'breast' > FU *ma^hl̥ve id. > F ma^hl̥vi, Es ma^hl̥vi 'breast of a bird/fowl' : pLp {Lr.} *me^hlk̥z 'breast of an animal' > Lp: L {LLO} miel^hka 'breast-bone, breast of reindeer', N {N} miel^hga^h 'breast/chest of an animal' : Er mel^hkt^h 'lungs', Mk ma^hl̥ka^h 'breast' : Chr: H/Uf/B mel id., L mel 'Brustöffnung des Hemdes' : Vt m̥al 'breast' : ObU {JHl.} *me^hl̥x̥al 'breast' > pVg {Ht.} *ma^hl̥x̥al > Vg: T ma^hl̥w̥l, LK m̥l̥x̥l, MK ma^hl̥x̥l, LL ma^hl̥x̥l, NV/SV/UL/Ss ma^hl̥x̥l; pOs {Ht.} *mo^hl̥x̥al id. > Os: V/Vy mo^hl̥x̥al, Ty ma^hl̥x̥w̥l, Y ma^hl̥w̥l, D/K me^hx̥at, Nz mew̥at, Kz mew̥at, O mew̥al : Hg mell 'chest, breast, bosom' || pY {IN} *mel^h- > Y K {IN} mel-ut 'breast' (-t is a nominal sx.), {Jc.} me^hlu, me^hlut id., OY: K {Bil.} me^hlud, {Lind.} me^hlut, Ch {Mat.} **мѣлѣ**, O {Mat.} **мѣлѣ** ¶¶ UEW 267, Sm. 546 (FU, FP *ma^hl̥ki, Ugr *ma^hl̥kr̥ 'breast'), Ht. #383, IN 234, 310, IN RJ 9, Ang. 152-3, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#75] (Y < b̥ U) II D (in SD) {GS} *mo^hl̥ai^h 'female breast' > Tm mulai^h 'woman's breast, teat', Ml mula, Td m̥is^h id., 'udder', Kt mel, Kdg mole 'breast', Kn mole 'female breast', Tu mir̥e 'breasts, nipple, teat of animal' ¶¶ D ##4985, GS 79 [#252] ¶¶ The unexpected vw. *o is due to contamination with D *mol^h- 'waist' (D #4986, GS 74 [#241]) ◇ If Sm.'s phonological hyp. and his rec. of FU *ma^hl̥ki are accepted, it may point to a N ***ma^hl̥ke**, whence regularly IE *melg^h- and FU *ma^hl̥ki and a secondary voicing in Ar √mlg ◇ IS II 57-8 (*ma^hl̥gi 'breast, udder' > HS, IE, U) ◇ On N and pIE *- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #281 (*melk^h 'nurse' v./ 'breast') [IE, U, Y, EA + err. A, Ko, J, CK].

1415. ***muLVkX** ≈ 'think, deliberate, come to a decision' > HS: S *^o/mlk G > Ak fOAK √mlk (inf. mala^hku) 'give advice; ponder, deliberate, come to a decision', IA √mlk G, DA √mlk T, Plm √mlk Sh 'promise', JA {Dlm.}, ChrPA √mlk G 'decide', JEA √mlk T, JPA Bz √mlk G 'consult', T (Nvklmtia ʔytmlkwn) 'reconsider', Sr √mlk G 'persuade, promise'; → S *^o/mlk G v. 'rule, hold power, possess' > Ug, BHb, M^hb, Ph, Amr, Yd, OA, IA, JA, JPA Bz, Md, Tgr √mlk G 'reign', Ar √mlk G 'possess', Sb √mlk G 'become king; own, possess', Gz √mlk G 'own, possess, rule', Mh √mlk G (pf. m̥zlu^hk, sbjn. y̥zmle^hk) 'possess, keep for oneself', Jb C √mlk G 'own', Ak RS √mlk G (< b̥ a WS lge.?) 'rule, hold power'; -d̥ S *^hmalik- 'ruler, chieftain' (→ 'king') > BHb Kl3m3 'melek^h', SmHb 'ma^hl̥ək (pl. ma^hl̥e^h-k-əm), BA Kl3m3 'melek^h, em. af116m2 mal^hk-a^h, Ed, Ph, Pun, Yd, OA, IA mlk, Ug mlk, (AkSc) {Hnr.} malku, JA [Trg.] Kl3m3 'melek^h, JA [Trg.], JEA em. af117m2 mal^hk-a^h, Sr 'kolma mal^hk-a^h, Md malka, Ar ^oliMa malik-, Qt mlk, Sb, Mn mlk (pl. ʔmlk) 'king', Gz d̥ aM-K ʔamla^hk 'Lord, God' (← pl.), Ak fOAK malku 'king, (foreign) ruler', Eb ma-li-gu^h-um or (cs.) ma-lik = malik-(um) 'king' ¶ CAD X/1 154-8, 166-9, Dlm. 226, KB 558-61, 1736-7, HJ 633-44, G A 25, Hff. 230-1, OLS 275-6, Hnr. 147, T II 41, Schl. 112, A #1577, Sl. 680-1, Sl. P 310, Br. 391-2, DM 243, AD PSH 93, 101, 107, 114, BGMR 85-6, MA 60-1, LH 109, Jo. M 266, Jo. J 171, Krb. EG 3, Frnz. EL 145, 155 II A: NrTg *mulgX 'thought, quick-wittedness, wisdom' > Ewk PT mulg̥it/- 'use/be cunning', Lm mu^hlg̥n 'thought, quick wits', Lm A mu^hlg̥n 'wise', mu^hlg̥n- v. 'invent' ¶ STM I 554-5.

1416. ?? ***mVLK.X** ≈ 'erase, undo, not to do' > HS: WS √mlk. > Ar √mlq vi. G (ip. -mluq-) 'erase', {BK} 'effacer', N (pf. ʔinmalaqa) 'escape from', Tgy √mlk.^w G (pf. mēlēx.^w) 'get loose, get disintegrated' ¶ BK II 1150, Hv. 734, ≈ L G 345 II IE: NaIE *^oml_ok_lˀ- > Sl *mьlc'а"-ti 'keep silence' > OCS мьлѣати mьlc'ati, SCr mu'c'ati, Slv mo'lc'ati, Cz mlc'eti, Slk mlc'at', P milczec', HLs mjelc'ec', LLs m'elcas', R мол'чат, Uk мов'чати id., Blg мьл'ча 'keep silence'; Sl *mьlk-no_o-ti 'get silent' > ChS мьлѣнѣти ml'ekno_oti, SCr mu'knuti, Cz mlknouti, Slk ml'knut', P milknac', HLs mjelknuc', Blg † {Gerov} ѿмьлѣнѣ, Blg 'мьлѣна, cds : RChS ѿмьлѣнѣти u-molknuti, R y'molknut, Slv za-mo'lnuti id. : ?? Lt mu'lkis 'fool' ¶ Vs. II 643, 648, ESSJ XXI 99-108, Glh. 427, Frn. 471 II ? A: M *mo'ltu're- (**mo'lk-tu're-?) v. 'undo, detach, loosen' > WrO mo'ltu'r- 'undo, unsnap, detach', WrM mo'ltu're- 'loosen, detach; escape'; M *mo'ltu' > WrM mo'ltu', mo'ltu's, HIM м лт 'slightly, somewhat, superficially', ? in a set phrase: Brt халта м'лту 'slightly, superficially' ('чут-чут-, поверхность, бегло'), Ord g_o-alt 'u< malt 'u< 'à moitié, incomplètement' ¶ MED 546, Krg. 606, Ms. O 290, Chr 539.

¶ 1416a. ***m'EI'V** ∈ small predator' > HS: Ch: WCh: Bg {Csp.} muli, Tala {ChL} ma'ma'le', Zul {Grgs.} mamal, Buli {ChL} mu'ma'li', Sha/DfB/Bks {J} mu'ru'm, Sir {Sk.} m_o'bā'li', ??μ Tng {ChL} a'mi'to'mi 'hyena' :: ECh: Skr {Nc.} mela- 'cat' ¶ ChC, ChL, Csp. 55, J R 145, 219, 287, Lk. ZSS 36 II K: GZ *mel- (< K *me_oˀl-) 'fox' > OG mel-, G mel-i, mela-i (-b> Mg mela-, Lz mel- id.), eMg *mal- -b> Sv: UB/L ma'l, LB malw, Ln maul id. ¶ K 125-6, K² 119, DCh. 699 TK 559 II A: M: WrM malur, HIM малар 'striped wild cat, Felis sylvestris', -b> ET molun 'wild cat'; d : M *malu-qayi (> WrM {FLD} malu-qai 'wild cat') -b> WrMc malaxi 'wild cat', {Ha.} 'gefleckte gelbliche Wildkatze' ¶ The back vw. *a may be due to vw. harmony ¶ MED 525, Kow. 1995, Nov. IE 122, FLD III 4919, Nj. 712, Rs. W 326, Z 871, Ha. 636, STM I 523 || T *m_o'u'li' > OT QU mu'liˀs' {Cl.} 'wild cat', SY mis' d mis', T -b> Kl мис, {Rm.} mīs, Kl ō mīs' 'cat'; -d> NaT *mis'ik ~ *pīs'ik 'cat' [with a dim.(?) sx. *ik] > MOsm, Chg pis'ik, Tk Δ pis'ik d pīs'ik d pus'uk d mis'ik, Xlj pus'uq, Az, Tkm pis'ik, Δ mis'ik, Slr mis'ix d mu's'u'k d mes'ux, Qmq mis'ik, VTt Δ m'z'z'q, Bsh bās'a'y, Nog, Qzq mīsiq, Qq pīsiq, Qrg mīs'iq, Uz mus'uq, ET mo's'u'k, SY mis'ik d mīs'iq, Chl mīziq d mīz'iq 'cat' ¶ The variations may be due to the infl. of the child lge. and to foreign influences (cf. Sgd mws'kys'c' 'wild cat') ¶ ET 191, Rs. W 332, Cl. 774 (supposed that OT mu's' is a loan from an unidentified lge.), KRS 353, KW 263 ¶ ≈ DQA #1243 (A *ma'le 'wild cat': T, M, Tg + unc. pJ *mu'sa'sa(m)pi 'flying squirrel' II IE: NaIE {EI} *meli- > L me'le's ~ me'lis 'marten, badger' :: Sl *melěs' > Kshb {Lrn.} mēlc 'badger' ¶ Blz. IZT 15-7, EI 45 (Sl. *melici-), ≈ WH I 474, EM 394 (no et. of me'le's), Lrn. P I 501, Ma. C I 225 ◆ If ET molun is not a Mongolism, but an inherited cognate (while NaT *m_o'u's', *m_o'is'ik do not belong here), the N rec. is likely to be ***mVI'V**. The short *e in the Sl root suggests that IE *e was short (the L long e' representing the L-grade of apophony?), hence tehre was no Ir. in teh N word ◆ ≈ Blz. KM 136-7 [#17]].

1417. ***maI'Ho** (+ ...) 'head, (?) skull' > HS: B *√mlyy > Ah taməlyiq (pl. timəlyay) 'part of the skull over the forehead', Kb a-məlyiy 'sommets de la tête, os de la crâne' ¶ Fc. 1204, DI. 500 II IE: NaIE *m_olo'dh-/*molədh- 'head, top' > OI mu'r'dha- (/ mu'rdhan-) 'head', Av ka-məṛəda- 'head of a supernatural being (dae'va-)' (lit. '[sth.] like head ...') :: Gk με'λα'ρον 'ceiling of a room, beam that bears the ceiling', ? βλω'ρο' tall, stately' (of trees) :: OFrs melde-ke 'head' (with dim. sx. -ke), AS molda 'top of the head', NE mould † id. :: OIr mul {Vn.} 'masse ronde, boule, tête', mul-lach 'top of the head', Br {Vn.} melle 'sinciput', mellenn an penn 'top of the head', MBr {Ern.} melle-gouzouc 'cervix', mell-gouzouk, Br {Hm.} mell-ar-c'hil 'nuque', mellenn(-gein) 'vertèbre' :: Tc A malto 'at first' ({Wn.} 'en premier lieu, d'abord') ¶ WP II 295, P 725, M K II 666, M E II 368, F I 246 & II 198 (no et. for με'λα'ρον), Ch. 182, 680, Ho. 225, Vn. M 74, Ern. 402, Hm. 558, Wn. 278 II A *mal'V ~ *m'a'li'V > T {Md., DQA} *bal'c 'head' > NaT *bas' > OT, Az, ET, Ln, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Qrg bas', Tk bas, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Yk bas, Alt, Slr b_oas', Uz бош bas', Tv ba's', Tf b_as' id. :: Chv L ny' pus' 'head' ¶ Cl. 375-6, ET B 85-8, Ra. 159, Md. 30, 173, TL 194 ({ADb.} *bal'c 'head') || M: [1] M *mala-gayi 'headgear; head (of a nail, pin, etc.)' (derived with the M sx. *-gayi / *-qayi) > WrM malagai, HIM малгай, Ord {Ms.} malaga id., Brt малгай, Kl ō {Rm.} malxa', WrO {Krg.} malaḡai ~ malaḡa ~ malaḡai, MMgl {Iw.} malḡay 'cap, hat', Mgl malḡey ~ malaḡay id., with mt : MM [IM] {Pp.} 'la9aMa maḡala, [S] {H} maḡalay 'headgear', WrO {Krg.} maḡalai ~ maḡala' 'hat, cap', Kl махла, Kl D/Ō {Rm.} maḡla', Mnr H {SM} marg_a, Dg {Pp.} maga'1 id., possibly also M {Rm.} *malayi- > Brt малай-, Kl {Rm.} mala'--χα 'be bald' || [2] M *malzan 'bald spot (on the forehead of a horse), broad forehead' (semantic infl. of the rhyming stem *qalzan 'bald-headed, blaze on the forehead' < N *K_oal'ṣu 'bare, naked' [q.v.]) > WrM malzan, HIM малзан id., Ord ḡalṣ'--a' malṣ'--an 'having a bald spot on the forehead' (of a horse \ camel \ ox \ goat), Dg malṣ'in 'bald' ¶ MED 524-5, KRS 344, Ms. O 327, T DgJ 153, Pp. GMPJ 101-2, 109-10 (on the sx. -gai / -qai), Pp. MA 441, H 106, Iw. 115, Krg. 589, 591, KW 254-5, Chr. 291 || pKo {S} *mə'ri' 'head' > MKo mə'ri', NKO məri, Ko Δ: PhN məri, Sl məri', Chs mə'ri, Ks mə'ri, Hm mə_ori id. ¶ S AJ 253 [#40], S QK #40, Nam 210, MLC 608 || Tg *meli- 'sinciput, nape of the neck, spine' > Lm mēlimki 'jugular vertebra', Ork mēlimu id., "orifice of the skull" (= 'foramen magnum?'), 'nape of th neck', Ul mugṣ'e 'sinciput', Nn Nh/KU mulgiktə, Nn B mēygiktə, Orc muggikta 'skeleton

of a fish' ¶ STM I 549-50, 567 ¶¶ S AJ 31-2, 282 [#174], SDM97 s.v. *meI'A (T, M *mal3a-, Ko, Tg; A *e is reconstructed on the ev. of Tg), ≈ DQA #1274 (A *me~'I'3u|a 'head'; incl. T, M *mal3a, but does not explain Ko, Tg, M *mala-gayi & *malay-).

¶ 1417a. ***mAlaŋkV** 'eel', (?) 'worm, snake' > D *ma|aŋkV- 'eel' > Tm malaŋku 'eel', Tl maluga 'ē eel', malanj(i) 'eel-like fish', ?φ: Kui mra~u (pl. mra~nga), Ku mn~iya, Krx min~'3 'eel' ¶¶ D #4737 II A: pJ {S} *mu~na~nki~' 'eel' (× N ***mEn~i** 'ē fish', q.v.) > OJ mu~na~gi~i~, J: T u~nagi, K u~na~gi~, Kg unagi~ id. ¶ S QJ #340, Mr. 562 II IE: ?φ OI malu~ka-h. 'ē worm' (× N ***mELVγχV** 'lizard, small reptile' or sim.) ¶ ≈ P 717, M K 600 (no et. of malu~ka-h.) II HS (mt): B: Skn i-məkləm 'worm' || ?? Eg G mk.r.t 'ē a holy snake' (× N ***mæ.qURV** 'ē reptile/amphibian', q.v.?) ¶ EG II 159 II K: ??φ G muχluχ-i {Chz.} 'caterpillar (Raupe)', {DCh.} 'worm that eats leaves' (× N ***mELVγχV** 'l') ¶ Chx. 861, DCh. 912 ◇ ≠ Blz. DA 158 [#66] (suggested to equate the D word with the reflexes of N ***mELVγχV** 'l') ◇ The eel is likely to have existed in South-West Asia (proto-Nostratic habitat), to judge from the presence of words for 'eel' in JEA {Sl.} ahlb&lc6 cəlo~b~h-a, {Lv.} ahlb6llc6 c.əla~b~ə~ha~, MHb hfl&lc6 c.əlo~p~a~h and Ar s.ilba~h-, g~iriy- 'eel', see Ln. 401, Sl. 964 and Lv. IV 190.]

1418. ***mAn~V** 'herd/flock, gregarious animal(s)' > HS: Eg fMK mnmn.t 'herd, domesticated animals (Herdenvieh) and birds', {Fk.} 'cattle' ¶ EG II 81, Fk. 109 || NrOm: Kf {C} mīmō~, Mch {L} mī~mī~ 'cow', {Lm.} mīn~3~o 'cow, bovine cattle (Rindvieh)', Shn {Lm.} mīn~za~ id., Anf {MYTY} min~3o 'cow', {C} min~co~ 'bovine cattle', Kf {C} mīn3~o~ id. (in mīn3~o~ifō~ 'cowdung'), Wl {LmS} mīza 'livestock, cattle', Bsk {C} mīza 'bull', Gm {Hw.} mī~zi, Zl/Dwr {LmS} mīza, Gf {LmS} mīzza, De {LmS} mīzzi 'cow' ¶ Lm. Sh 355, LmS 477-8, C SE IV 471-3, L M 41, MYTY 118, Hw. EG II U: FU (att. in Ugr) *ma~n~V 'herd, gregarious animal(s)' > Os Nz man~əŋ 'herd (of reindeer, horses, bovines)' : OHg xiv, Hg me~n 'stallion', OHg me~nes 'horse', Hg me~nes 'stud(-farm)', Δ mines id., 'horse' ¶ UEW 869, Stn. D 937, MF 433, EWU 959-60 II A: Tg *man~V 'flock of birds' > Ewk, Neg man, Orc man~i, Ud mani, Ul mandv, Ork mandt, Nn Nh/B mando ~ mandv id., Ewk Skh 'crowd' ¶ STM I 526, Krm. 259 II D *manta|yJ ({}GS; *-nd-) 'flock, herd' > Tm mantai., Tl manda, Prj, Gnd, Ku manda id., Kn mandī, mande 'flock of sheep/goats, herd of cattle/buffaloes', Knd manda 'herd' ¶¶ D #4700 (a) ◇ ÷ Km {CR} miyən 'young cow' (CR K 235); obviously not here Eg mn~t. 'Milchkuh' [mistranslated in OS #1773 as 'cow'], which is derived from mn~t 'to milk'.

1419. ***ma|on~V** 'many, much' > HS: C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} me~nc~ 'many, much', Knf {TBZAC} mēnc~i 'many' ¶ Hz. NSA 139, TBZAC s.v. mēnc~i ¶+ || ECh: Mgm ma~ni~, Bdy ma~n~(i) 'beaucoup' ¶ AIJ 97, JA LM 105, Blz. LECh s.v. 'many' ¶ II U: FU *mon~n~e 'much, many' > F moni (gen. monen) 'many a, numerous', pl. monet 'many', Es mo~ni 'some, a few' : Lp: N {N} pl. moana~k 'more than a couple, a good many', L {LLO} ma~nah 'some, a couple', Klt mu~anas 'some' : Prm *mu~n 'quantity' > Z, Vt мѣнда min~da 'about (approximately)', in cds : Z кѣмѣн ki~mīn 'how many?', сѣмѣн si~mīn 'so many', комѣн ko~mīn '30', нѣлѣмѣн '40', вѣтѣмѣн '50', кѣйтѣмѣн '60', Vt куамѣн kua~mīn '30', Prmk mun~da 'how many?' :: ObU: Vg: (in cds) -mən~d -man / -pən, e. g. LK/P na~lmən, Ss naliman '40', K/P a~t~pən, N atpən '50', etc. : ? Hg -van / -ven in compound numerals: negyven '40', o~tven '50', hatvan '60', etc. ¶ FU *o < *a (labializing effect of *m~?) ¶ Coll. 133, UEW 279-80, It. #103, TI 262, LG 182-3, Kn. WV 147 II A: pKo {S} *ma~n~h~j- 'many, much' > MKo ma~n~h~l~-, NKo {MLC} ma~nh~(ta) 'be many/much', manh~i 'many, much', ma~n~, Ko {Rm.} manhi id., man~t~ha 'be many' ¶ Rm. PKE 106, MLC 578, S QK #52, Nam 199, MLC 578 || pJ {S} *manai~ - 'many' > OJ mane- ¶ S QJ #47 || T: Chv ма~н тѣп, ма~н а~н тѣпъ, Δ {Md.} тѣ~пъ~ 'big, great' [× N ***man~Vga** (or ***manga?**) 'strong, numerous'] ¶ Jeg. 130 || ??? M *mandugur > WrM mandugur, HIM ма~ндугар 'big, fat, stout', Brt ма~ндугар 'large, big' [unless <d- M *mandu- 'rise, become higher', *'grow' (> WrM mandu- 'rise, become higher'), cp. MM [HI] caus. manduyul- 'faire croître', WrM mandugul-, HIM ма~ндуул- 'raise, lift up'] ¶ MED 526, Ms. H 74, Chr. 292 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 106 (Ko, Ch) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1249 (A *mana 'many, big', incl. Ko, T, M) II ?φ D *men~t~ - 'much, full' > Tm men~d~u 'abundance, plenty, much', Gnd me~nd. 'full' ¶¶ D #5060 ¶ The D vw. is puzzling ◇ The N vw. of the first syll. may be either *a (in this case FU *o is due to the infl. of *m) or *o (in this case A *a is due to the partial merger with N ***man~Vga**, q.v.) ◇ ≠ Coll. IUS 13 & Coll. HUV (U ÷ IE *mengh~**m.nogh~ 'numerous'), ≈ IS II 41-2 (*manga > HS, IE, K, A) → Glh. 418; in all these sources there is no distinction between this etymon and N ***man~Vga**; DQA #1249 (A, D, U + unc. IE).

1420. ***mAn~V** 'house, dwelling' (sd of N ***ma~n~V** 'remain, stay'??) > HS: C: EC {Ss.} *min~/*man~ 'house' > pSam {Hn.} *min > Sml N † min 'bridal house', Sml S {Ss.} min 'room', pl. minan 'house', Sml C {ZMO} min 'house, hut, room', Sml J {Hn.} mīŋ 'house', Rn {PG} mī~n, pBn {Hn.} *mī~ŋ (> Bn: Bi/Kj/K mī~ŋ, J mu~ŋ) id.; Bs, Elm min, Arr {Hw.} mī~n, pOr {Hn.} *mana ~ *mina~, Or {Grg.} mana 'house', Or B {Sr.} mana, Or B/O {Sr.} mina id., 'hut', Or Wt {Hn.} mina~, Kns, Gdl mana, Gwd, Gln, Dbs, Grs mano 'house', HEC {Hd.} *mine > Sd, Ged, Hd, Kmb mine, Alb mino, Brj mina id. ¶ Ss. B 145 suggests that *man- goes back to the pl. form with an *-a-infix (cf. Or AM {Hw.} mina 'house' ↔ man 'houses') :: DhI {To.} mini 'house' :: ?? SC: Kz {E} mun3alimo 'young man's house' :: Ag {Ap.} *ŋ3n- 'house' > Xm, Km ŋ3n, Aw ŋ3~n, Bln (dis) l3ŋ ¶ Ss. PEC 24, Ss. B 145, ZMO 291, Hn. S 69, Hn. BD 113, PG 225, Grg. 276, Sr. 364, 368, Hn. W 60, 68, HL 128, Hw. A 385, Hd. 81, 212, 255, 294, 386, AMS 247, To. D 143, E PC #436, E K 4, Ap. AV 16 || WCh: BT: Tng {J} ma~na 'house, home', Dr {J} m3~na, Pr {Frz.} mī~na~, Kwm {Leg.} ma~na~, Kpt {Leg.} ma~n 'hut, house' ¶ JI II 202, J T 119, Frz. P 42, Leg. KK 21-8, Leg. KYB 172 || ??σ Eg P ymn 'create; bilden, schaffen' (if ← *'build a house') ¶ EG I 83 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 99 [#29.5], OS #1723,

Tk. I 395 (C, Ch ÷ Eg ymn) || D *man₋ 'house' > Tm man_{ai} 'house, dwelling', Ml mana, Kdg mane 'house', Kt man devr 'household god', mantanm 'affairs of household', Td man 'family, household', Kn mane 'habitation, abode, house', Tu manæ 'house, home', Knd pon'd_{ej} mane 'cowshed' ¶¶ D #4776 || A: T *^oman 'fence, enclosure' > StAlt {BT} man 'fence', QK/Tb {Rl., B} man id. ('Zaum'), QK/Tb/Sg {Rl.} mana- v. 'fence in' ¶ BT 108, Rl. IV 2015-6, B DChT 136, B DLT 177, Rs. W 325 || pKo (< d) *mā n'ā rh 'village, vicinity' > MKo *mā n'ā r (*mā n'ā rh-), NKo maī ¶ S QK #383, Nam 196, MLC 564 || ??pJ (< d) *mu'ra 'village' > OJ mu'ra, J: T mura', K mu'ra, Kg mu'ra ¶ S QJ #394, Mr. 488 || ?φ M *mayi-qan 'tent' (unless <b- Chn, as supposed as a possibility in KW) > WrM maiqan, HIM, Brt майхан, WrO {Krg.} maiḡan, Kl m' xh ma⁻⁻⁻ḡan, Kl Ö/D ma⁻⁻⁻ḡan, Dg {T, Mr.} maikan id., Ord ma⁻⁻⁻ḡuⁿ 'tente de voyage'; M-b> WrMc maykan 'tent' ¶ MED 523, T VM 166, Chr. 290, Krg. 592, KRS 346, KW 259, T DgJ 153, Ms. O 45, Z 862 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1279 (A *men'ro¹ 'dwelling place, village'; incl. Ko, T, J) ¶¶ Ko *-n'- and M *-y- ({DQA}: < *n'-) go back to *-n-y- with *-y- of a sx. Acc. to DQA, the Ko and J stems are derived with a *-r[-]sx. || ? K: MG [VTq], G {DCh., SSO} mena 'dwelling, abode' (xul^{le}) (unless a loan from an Iranian lge) ¶ DCh. 702, SSO I 463 || ? IE: Psh {Mrg.} me⁻na 'house', Ygn {ALP} mayn, meyn, men 'village', KhS mu⁻na 'abode' ¶ Mrg. 44, ALP 285, Bai. 335.

1421. *ma⁻n'a 'remain, stay' > HS: Eg ∇ mn 'remain; be firm \ established \ enduring; reside', DEg mn 'bleiben', Cpt Sd/B moyn mun 'stay, remain' ¶ EG II 60-2, Fk. 106, Er. 159, Vc. 114 || ??σ NrOm (× N *^{man}Vga 'strong, numerous'): Hrr {Abb.} mo⁻no 'forte', Gf {Mrn.} min- 'be strong \ firm (essere forte)', mino 'forte', Dk {CR} min'n'-ire⁻ 'forza, fu forte', Malo {CR} mino⁻ 'forte' (unless exclusively from *^{man}Vga) ¶ Mrn. O 152, CR H 654, CR LLR s.v. || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} mun 'sit down, reside, live; remain', Sha/Klr {J} mun n. 'place' (× N *^{ma}AnV 'house, dwelling'), ? Bks te⁻mun 'sit down' (te 'an einem Platz sitzen, leben') || CCh: Msg Ng {GKrs. → Lk.} mine 'sich befinden' ¶ J R 146, 219, 287, 354, Lk. DQM 67 ¶¶ Coh. 83, ≠ Cal. 63 (Eg, S *√ymn 'be faithful, true') || IE *men- (prs. *mimne/o-) 'remain, stay' > Vd man- 'wait, stay, hesitate', {EI} 'delay, stand still', Av man- 'bleiben, warten', OPrs ama⁻naya 'er erwartete', MPrs ma⁻n-dan, NPrs ⁻dan'M ma⁻n-da⁻n 'remain', KhS ma⁻n'a⁻ta⁻ 'he stays', ma⁻nda- 'remained' || Arm mnam mnam 'I remain, wait' || Gk με⁻vō, μι⁻μvō 'stand, stay fast, abide' || L maneo⁻ / mane⁻re 'remain, stay' || OIr ainmne, MW anmynedd, W amynedd 'patience' (F: all < *an-meni⁻a⁻?) || ? pTc *ma⁻sk- > Tc A, B ma⁻sk- (< *mn⁻-ske/o-) 'be, become' || Ht mimma- (< *mimne/o-) 'refuse' ¶ WP II 267, P 729, EI 482, M K II 573, M E II 306-7, Horn 215-6, Bai. 327, F II 208-9, WH II 26, Slr. 262, Vn. A 37, Ad. 458-9, CHD L-N 263-5 || D *man₋, {GS} *man- 'remain, be permanent, stand fast' > Tm man_nu 'be permanent, endure, remain long, stay', Ml mannuka 'stand fast, ersevere', Tl manu 'live, exist', mannu v. 'last, be durable', Nkr, Png, Mnd, Ku man- 'be', Prj men-, Gdb man- 'be, stay', Knd man- id., 'dwell', Gnd man-, Kui manba 'remain, abide, be', Krx man- 'become, come off, be', Mlt mene 'be, become, grow or be produced', Brh manning 'become, be' ¶¶ D #4778, Pf. 108 [#814], GS 34-5 [#54] || A *ma⁻na- > Tg *men- 'remain, lead a settled life' (↔ 'nomadize') > Ewk m³n³- 'lead a settled life', 'remain in the same place for a long time' (of a nomad camp), m³n³- adj. 'settled' (↔ 'nomadic'), Lm m³n³wj³k id., m³n³ 'a settled Lamut', Ork m³n³z³i- 'remain', Neg m³n³j³- id., caus. m³n³w- vt. 'leave, abandon', Ud {θShn., Krm} m³n³z³- 'remain at home, remain working in the settlement' (↔ 'go hunting to the forest'), 'домовничат' ¶ STM I 569, Shn. 50, Krm. 264 || ?σ M *mana- 'keep vigil' > MM [HI] mana- 'veiller', WrM mana-, HIM ма⁻на-, Ord mana- 'keep vigil, hold a night watch', WrO mana- v. 'guard, watch', Dg mana- v. 'guard, keep watch over' (стереч-, охранит-, караулит-), Brt ма⁻на- id., 'graze herds in the night', Kl ма⁻н-х id., {Rm.} ма⁻н- 'Nachtwache halten' ¶ Ms. H 73, MED 525, KRS 342, Krg. 586, T DgJ 153, Ms. O 452, Chr. 292, KW 256 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1279 (A *men'ro¹ 'dwelling place, village': equates Tg with M, Ko and J roots that belong to N *^{ma}AnV 'house, dwelling', q.v.) ◇ ≈ IS II 51-2 (*ma⁻na 'оставатсѣ на мѣсте, прочно стоѣт' > HS [Eg, Om, Ch], IE, D, ? Tg, ? G mena 'dwelling' [cf. N *^{ma}AnV 'f']; + err. S *√ymn 'be faithful, true').

1422. *ma⁻n'u 'man, male' > HS: B: Zng {MH→Nic.} mīn (pl. ma⁻n), man 'person', {Bs.} min 'homme', man 'gens', ? B *ma⁻n 'soul, oneself' (× N *^{me}ynU 'oneself, one's own', 'body' [q.v.]) ¶ Nic. 205, Bs. MS I 245, Msq. Z 515 || EC *mVn- 'man, male' > HEC {Hd.} *mana 'man, person' > Sd, Hd man-c'o, Kmb man-c'u, Ged man³o), pl. *manna 'men, people' (> Sd, Hd, Kmb, Tmbr manna id., Brj {Ss.} 'me⁻na 'people', {Hd.} me⁻na 'people, man, person'; Sml {DSI} mu⁻n '(adult) male monkey, (young) male ass', Sml Hw {C} mun 'male (animal)' ¶ Hd. 96, 212, 254, 293, 384, Ss. B 143, ≠ 133, ≠ Ss. PEC 24 (unc. : *man- < EC *nam-), DSI 453, ZMO 300, C SE III 80 || NrOm {Blz.} *man- 'male; people' > Wl {C} mino⁻ 'warrior', Ym {C} mono⁻ 'people (gente)'; not here Kf {C} mano⁻ 'brother' and Ym {Lm.} manó⁻ 'male twin' (probably loans from Nilotic, cp. Masongo {C} maḡa 'brother') ¶ Blz. OL 85, C SE III 80, C SO 33, Lm. Y 365, C SE IV 472 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Zul mo⁻ni 'man', Plc m³ni, Grn {Sh.} ma⁻nda⁻n, Gj mma⁻ni, Tale ma⁻ḡ³, Dw ma⁻ni (pl. min) : Krkr {Lk.} mu⁻n 'people, persons', Pr {Frz.} ma⁻nna 'spouse' : Ngz {Sch.} ma⁻na mi⁻n (term for Hausas, Kanuris, Fulanis used in order to conceal their commonly known names when speaking to other Ngizim) [cp. MHb Mii5&G go⁻yim 'gentiles', Modern Hb Mii5&G go⁻yim and Yid 'goyim 'non-Jews' ← 'peoples'] || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} me⁻ni id., {Mch.} me⁻ni 'man' : BB: FIM {ChL} mundu, FIB {ChL} mu⁻ndi⁻n, Gudu m³ndu, Nz {ChC} munde 'person' : Ms: ZmD {ChC ← Srp.} ma⁻nyi, ca⁻-ma⁻nyi 'person', {ChL} sou-manji 'man' ({KNC}

su' 'un homme') ¶ JI II 266-7, ChC, ChL, KNC 23, Frz. P 41, Sch. DN 110, ≈ Stl. ZCh 232-3 [#801] ¶¶ OS #1722, Blz. BKTA 105 ¶¶ ? sd HS *man- 'who?' (< *mī man- 'what [for a] person?', cp. Itl cosa 'what?' < che cosa 'which thing?') > S *man₁n₁- 'who?' > OAk man, Ak ∇ mann(u/a/i-m) 'who?', Sb mn rel. prn. 'who, whosoever', Qt mn 'he who, whoever', Mn {MA} mn rel. prn. 'qui, quiconque', Gz mann-u- (acc. mann-a), Tgy mēn ~ m3n, Tgr mēn, Amh man 'who?', CS *man₁nV₁ > DA, Yd, OA, IA, Plm, Nbt mn, BA, JA, Sr, Ar man, Md man, pCn *man > Amr {G} manna 'who?', ? Ug mn 'which?', 'that, which, who' rel. ¶ ≈ Lip. 328-9, CAD X/1 213-8, G A 24, G OA 177-8, L G 348, HJ 648-9, KB 1738, OLS 281-2, Lv. T III 45, Sl. 636, DM 246, BGMR 86, MA 61, Rk. 97 || Acc. to Ai. MCB 50, there is a B prn. (reconstructible as *mVn 'who?' opposed to *matta, etc. 'what?') > Mz man, manai₁n, Shw m3n, Jrb, Snd man 'who?', although there are alt. possibilities of analysis of these pronouns. For the time being, the question of B interr. pronouns remains open II IE: NaIE *mo₁anu- 'man, person' > OI 'manu-, 'manus-, 'person, man', Av, MPrs Manus' 'Manush, ancestor of mankind' || Gmc *manwaz 'man' > Old Gmc [Tacitus] Mannus p.n. ('ancestor of the Germans'), Gt manna, mann- (gen. mans, dat. mann), ON maðr ~ mannr, OHG man, NHG Mann 'man', OSx, AS mann 'man', NE man; d : Gt mann-isk-s, ON mennskr, AS me₁nnisc', OSx me₁nnisk, OHG mennisc adj. 'human, of a person', OSx me₁nnisko, OHG mennisco 'man, person', NHG Mensch 'person' || Sl *mo₁zъ (< d) 'man' > OCS мѡжъ mo₁zъ, OR мѡжъ muzъ, Blg мѡжъ Slv mo₁zъ, OCz, Cz, Slk muzъ, P ma₁z 'man, husband', SCr mu₁zъ, R мѡжъ 'husband', † 'man (vir)' ¶ WP II 266, P 700, M K II 575-6, M E II 309-10, Fs. 344-5, Vr. 374-5, 384, Ho. 215, 219, Ho. S 50-1, Kb. 656, 675, OsS 587, 590, KM 459-60, 471, ESSJ XX 158-61, Glh. 429-30, Vs. II 670-1, EI 367 (*manu- 'Man, ancestor of mankind') II U: FU (att. in Ugr) *man₁c'e 'man, person' > pObU {Ht.} *ma₁n₁c' ~ *ma₁n₁c' 'a person (man?) of ego's tribe \ moiety' > pVg *ma₁n₁s'i 'a Vogul' > Vg: T ma₁n₁s'i, LK/MK mō₁n₁s', P/LL mō₁n₁s', UL/Ss ma₁n₁s'i id.; pOs {Ht.} *man₁c' (name of one of the Ostyaks' phratrias) > Os: V man₁t', I mon₁t', Kz mōs', O mas' || OHg, Hg magyar 'Hungarian'; the var. Megyer (in n. l.: Be'ka'smegyer, Pusztamegyer, Megyerics, Megyered) goes back to the name of an old Hungarian tribe known in Byzantian sources as Μεγυρῆ ¶ The variant with a palatal vw. (pVg *ma₁n₁s'i, Hg Megyer) is due to vowel harmony ¶ Coll. and UEW unconvincingly suppose an Ir origin of the word (cf. Av Manus') ¶ ¶ ÷ (≠φ) F mies and Es mees 'man (vir)', that can be traced to N √ *meXaz'V 'male' [q.v.] (⇔ Tv. → Coll., SK, IS a. o.) ¶ Coll. 99, UEW 866-7, MF 415-7, Ht. #398, SK 345 II D: [1] D *man₁ 'man (vir), warrior, chief (of a family \ clan \ tribe)' > Tm man₁ 'king, kshatriya, warrior, chief, husband', man₁n₁an 'king, lord, chief, husband', Ml mannan 'king', Kn manneya 'chieftain, commander', Tl manniya 'lord, suzerain, chief(tain)' ¶¶ D *4774 ¶¶ [2] D *mant₁i 'persons, people' > Kn mandi, mande, Tu mandi, mandæ id., Tl madi 'crowd, collection of persons', Klm mandi 'men' ~ mandi 'man', Png mananakar 'people belonging to the same side or party', ? Krx me₁t ~ me₁t 'adult man, husband', ? Tm ma₁ntar 'persons, male persons' ¶¶ D #4700 (b), ≈ D #4791 ¶¶ [3] D *man₁cV > Prj man₁za₁ d man₁n'a 'man', Gnd manza 'man, person' ¶¶ ≈ D #4791 ◇ In FU *manc'e, D *man₁cV, Ged man₁z'o (and OI 'manus,-') one may see reflexes of an ancient cd (≈ *ma₁n₁u CE) possibly with an adjective-forming (or individualizing) pc. *CE, cf. above Gt mann-isk-s and NHG Mensch ◇ IS II 58-9 (*ma₁n₁a 'man, male') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #294 (*mon 'person') [IE, U + unc. J, Ai].

1423. *mene 'walk, go' > IE: NaIE *men- 'go, walk, tread' (× N *m₁'a₁'n₁l₁V 'to rumple, bend', q.v.) > OIr men-, W myned, Crn mones, OBr (in a cd) -minet, MBr monet, Br mont v. 'go', Br tre-men 'passer', W tre-myn 'walk, wander', Crn tre-mene, MBr tre-men v. 'pass' || ? L mino₁-, -a₁re vt. 'drive (cattle)', ltL [LxS] mino₁-, -a₁re 'to lead' (> Fr mener, Prv, Ctl menar, It menare 'to lead', Rum mī₁na 'drive [cattle]') [× NaIE *mei₁- 'go, pass' < N *mV₁V 'come' or 'go, pass', whence L -i-] ¶ For the semantic var. 'tread' cf. N *m₁'a₁'n₁l₁V ¶ Vn. M 35-6, Flr. 257, Hm. 578, WP II 263, ≈ ML #5585 & Kō. # 6185 (Romance lgs. < L minā₁re 'drive cattle'), ≈ P 726 II HS: pCh ({JS} *√mn 'come'): WCh: pAG *mwa₁n 'go, walk' > Gmy mwa₁n, Kfr {Hf.} mwa₁n id., {Nt.} mwa₁n 'go', Mpn {Frz.} mu₁an 'walk', Ang {Hf.} mwe₁n 'go, walk', {Brq.} mwe₁n, Su {J, Hf.} mwa₁n v. 'travel' || SBc: Zar {IL} m₁an, Zar K/L {Sh.}, Sy Zk/B/Z {Sh.} man, Sy {Csp.} ma₁n 'come' ¶ JI II 82, ChC, JS 74, Hf. AG #54, J S I 76, Nt. 28, Frz. DM 38, Sh. SB 34, Csp. 45 II U *mene- 'go' > F mene-, Es mine- 'go' || pLp {Lr.} *m3n3- 'go' > Lp: S {Hs.} m₁innedh, Vfs {Lgc.} ma₁nnat 'go, walk', L {LLO} mannat, N {N} ma₁nnā₁- / -n- 'go, journey', Kld m₁nnh₁, {TI} inf. m₁nnā₁- / m₁na₁- 'go' || pChr {Ber.} *miyā₁- 'go, come' > Chr L мѡм / inf. мѡшми₁y-as' 'come, arrive', Chr H inf. {MRS} мѡш {Ep.} мѡаш 'mia₁'s', {Rm.} mia₁'s id., Chr {Ü} miyem 'I go (gehe, fahre)', Chr E {Ps.} miyem 'I go, visit, come' || Prm {LG} *mEn- (Lt. 220-3: Prm *E < *u₁?) > Vt min- (Lt. 222: unstressed i < *u), Z, Yz mun- 'go', Z Ud mun3 'goes' (Lt. G: Z Ud -3 suggests FU *e) || ObU {Ht.} *mi₁n- 'go' > pVg *mi₁n- > Vg: T min', LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL, UL/Ss min-; pOs {Ht.} *me₁n-, {Hl.} *mi₁n- > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K me₁n-, Nz/Kz ma₁n-, O ma₁n- id. || Hg me₁n- (3s pres. me₁gy) 'go (gehen, fahren), pass' || Sm {Jn.} *min- 'go' > Ne: T мѡн-3, T O {Lh.} m₁'in₁-c', F {Sm.} m₁'in₁-s', Ng {Ter.} мѡнсы {C} 1s aor. 'mendem id. || Kms {KD} mængem 'I go' || d (?) Sm {Hl.} *mentV- 'go past/by' > Ne T мѡне-и₁ 'to pass' (of a misfortune, danger), 'dwell for a long time (in one place)', Slq Tz {KKIH} d me₁nti- 'go past/by, overwalk', Mt {Hl.} *mindā₁ 'pass, elapse' (Mt T {Mll.} o₁p₁ha m₁ndunga 'annus' (← 'one year has passed', cf. o₁p₁ 'one', ha 'year') || ? pY {IN} *men- > Y K men-mā-gā-y- inst. 'jump up (подпрыгнут)', men-3₁'i-n₁- iter. 'jump, leap' ¶ Coll. 34, UEW 272, Db. OS xxxii (*mene-), Sz.

31, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *meni-, Uhr *mini-, Sm *min-), SK 340, Lr. #636, Lgc. #3692, Lgc. SL #1188, Hs. 930-1, LLO 493-4, SaR 201-3, TI 246, MRS 323, 325, Ep. 70, Ü 119, Rm. BT 78, PsS 71, LG 178, Lt. KG 56, Ht. #392, MF 428-9, EWU 954, Jn. 92, 94-5, KD 40, Hl. M 306 [#677], 425, ≈ Rd. UJ 40 [#33] (Y <b- U) II A: T *maṇ n. 'running, trot' > Alt {BT, Rl.}, Tlt/QK/Shor {Rl.} maṇ id., Tv maṇ 'running, speed' ¶ Rl. IV 2006, BT 108, TvR 288 || Tg *meṇ- 'hurry' > Lm mən- vi. 'hurry', caus.: Lm mənū-, Ewk mənūw-^d mənūw- vt. 'hurry\hasten (so.); ?φ *munḡ- (or *mulḡ-): Lm munḡən-, Lm Al mulḡən- 'run around', 'run away from its owner' (of a dog), Lm Okh munḡənən 'run away to look for a game', WrMc munḡire- ~ muḡre- vi. 'gambol' (of cattle) ¶ STM I 556-7, 569 ¶ ≈ DQA #1281 (A *meṇa 'to run, trot', incl. T) ¶ A *-ḡ- may go back to *n-K- (*K belonging to a sx.) ♦ AD GD 1, IS II 61 (*mene 'ступат' > IE, U) ♦ ≈ Gr. II #410 (*men 'walk') [IE, U, Y, A, CK, EA].

1424. *mEn-i '€ fish' > IE: NaIE *m_oni- '€ fish' ({EI} *mn_oH- ≈ minnow, small fish) > Gk μαί'νη '€ a small sea-fish, which was salted', {EI} 'Maena vulgaris' (L maena id.) μαίνυ' 'sprat' || SI *mънь 'burbot, Lota lota' > SCr Δ ma''nj, OCz, Cz men'', Slk mien'', P Δ mien'', OR мень мень, R, Uk, Blr мѣн- id. : ?? Blt d : Lt me''nke 'cod' (unless a fem. form of the adj. men''kas 'poor, small'), Ltv me''nca, men''ce 'cod' || ? Gmc d : OHG {Ho., KM, Vr.} muniwa, munuwa, MHG {KM} mu''nwe, NHG Mu''nne, Dt meun, AS myne 'minnow', NE minnow ¶ WP II 367-8, P 731, EI 205, F II 160, WH II 8, Ho. 228, Vr. N 441, Kb. 701, KM 494, ESSJ XXI 117-9, ≠ Frn. 438, Kar. I 581-2 ¶ II HS: B *mVn > ETwl e-m_oṇ (pl. i-m_oṇ-an), Ah e-mən (pl. i-mən-a-n) 'fish', Shl Sm {Ds.} a-mun '€ gros poisson comestible' ¶ PG 218, Fc. 1207, Ds. 225 ¶ II D *mīn_o 'fish' > Tm mīn_o, Ml, Kn mīn, Kt, Td, Gdb, Gnd, Knd mīn, Kdg mi''nī, Tu mīn_o, Tl mīnu, Prj mīni, Png, Mnd min, Kui, Ku, Mlt mīnu; D OI mīna- id. ¶ D #4885, Zc. CDPH 50, 175, Tu. #10140a II ?? U: FU *ma''NV ({Coll.} *ma''nV) > Lp Klt {TI}: Lp Pa ma''n'nī<, Lp Snk ma''n'e'k 'Coregonus, lavaretus (big white-fish)' ({TI} 'siika; Schnäpel, Felch'), Lp Klt {Coll.} moanji 'Coregonus' ¶ Coll. 99 mentions Mr, Chr and Hg nouns for 'Lota lota': Er ment'uk, Chr H men 'Lota lota', Hg me''ny-hal, me''ny-hal id., 'Namacheilus barbatulus' (hal 'fish'), but they are certainly loans from SI (Er ment'uk R Δ мѣнт'к [Dal II 318], etc., Chr H men R мѣн, Hg me''ny-, me''ny- SI source of Slk mien'' and Cz men'') ¶ Coll. 99, Ü 131, MRS 321, TI 238, EWU 963 II A {DQA} *man'uk'V [† (< ± *man-yuk'-)] '€ fish' > T *man'ak- > Yk mayagas ~ may'aḡas 'white-fish (сѣт, Coregonus), *окып (Salmo lavaretus Berg)' ¶ Pek. 1507 || M {SDM97} *munig 'Alburnus [bleak, ablet (a kind of fish)]' > WrM munig, HIM муниг, Kl муунт mu''n'æg id. ¶ Luv. 249, Cev. 350, KRS 363 || Tg [1] {SDM97} NrTg *ma''n'ma 'trout' > Ewk mayma, Lm manma ~ manma, Neg manma id., Tg Yk mayba '€ salmon'; [2] Tg *ma''n'ḡu 'ленок' (€ 'trout') > Ewk ma''ygu, Ud мэзу; [3] Nn menəksə '€ fish', [4] WrMc moṅgoš'un 'crucian (carp)', [5] WrMc muṅku 'frozen сѣткѣ (€ fish)' ¶ STM I 531-2, Z 892, 898 || pKo {S} *mṡi_yu'ki' 'trout' > MKo {S} mṡi_yu'ki' id., NKo {S} megi id., {MLC} megi 'catfish, wels, horned-pout' ¶ S QK #291, Nam 213, MLC 616 || pJ {S} *mu'na(n)ki' 'eel' [† (× N *ma''IVyḡV 'lizard, small reptile, eel' or sim., q.v. ffd.)] ¶ DQA #1254, S CNM 8 (suggested to adduce the A word to the N et.) [† ♦ IE *-n- rules a N *-n'-, hence A *-n'- is likely to go back to *n-y- (with *-y- of the sx. ± *-yuk'-) ♦ [† AD NM 62-3]#75] (IE-D-U), ¶ Blz DA 158 [#67] (added B to the D-I-U equation), S l.c. (± ST *maḡi:n 'eel, shark', Yn *boḡ 'herring').

1425. ?? *mEn-V 'front' > IE *men- ≈ 'front' > Ht meni-, mena- 'face, cheek', cd me''nahhanda ~ menahhanda adv., prep. 'before, against, in front' [< *mEn-V qant.V 'face to face, vis à vis' [see N *qant.V 'forehead, front']]; Ht meni- 'cheek' may have been influenced by *ment- 'chin' < N *mAnt.V 'jaw, skull, chin' [q.v.] || NaIE *men- v. 'protrude, project', ?? 'mouth' > L e''mineo' / -e're vi. 'project, stand out', pro''mineo' / -e're id., 'jet out' || ON mœna 'stand out, project (emporragen)', ON mœnir, NNR mœna, BNR mœne 'ridge of a roof' || Av {Brtl.} fra-man- 'Vorsprung gewinnen' || ??? Clt: Olr me''n 'opening of the mouth, open mouth', Crn myn 'mouth', Br min 'museau, mufle' ¶ CHD L-N 274-90, Ts. E II 194-8, WP II 263, Vn. M 36, P 726, WH II 108-9, Brtl. 1125, Vr. 400, Ark. 557, ≈ Po. LmanE (Ht meni/a- ÷ Lw mana 'see') II D *mun_o 'front' > Tm mun_o 'in front, precious', mun_{ai} 'front, face', Ml mun, munnam 'priority in space and time; first, former; before', Kt mun- 'front, fore', Td mud-k 'in front' (-k, sx. of dat.). muda'l 'first', Kn mun 'that which is in front \ before', Kdg min'n'a 'in front', Tu mundan'a 'priority, first', Tl muni 'first, former, front', Klm mut, Nkr mund 'before', Nk mur', Knd munggal, mundala 'in front (of)', Prj mundi id., muna vanda 'forefinger', Gdb munde'l 'the front', Gnd munne' 'before, in front', Ku muu 'point (of needle, etc.)', Krx mundd^h, mund 'first, ahead of, before', Mlt mundi 'formerly' ¶ D #5020(a), Zv. 51 II HS: EC: Rn {PG} mī'n 'forehead', Kns {Bl.} mīn-ta' 'forehead, face', Gwd {AMS} mīn-te', Hr/DBs {AMS} mīn-c'e' id., 'front', Cm {Hab.} mun-te, Alb, Kmb mīne 'face', ? Ya maṇa 'eyebrow', ? Af minin id. ¶ PG 223, Lm. SKE 533, BIO K s.v., AMS 175, 244, 271, 278, PH 169 || CCh: Db H {Srp.} maneno 'forehead' ¶ Blz. DA #7 II ? A: M *maṇlayi 'forehead' (d or cd with the vw. *a [of the first syll.] due to as to the vw. of the next syll.) > MM [LM, IsV, HI, S] maṇlay, [MA] maṇqlay, [IM] manlay 'forehead', WrM maṇlai, HIM маṇлай id., 'front', Mnr H {T} manlī, {SM} ma''ḡlay, Dg {Pp., T, Mr.} maṇgil, Dx {T} manleu_o 'forehead', WrO {Krg.} maṇlai ~ maṇnai id., 'top', Klm ма''на маṇna, {Rm.} maṇna'', Kl Ō {Rm.} maṇna' 'forehead' ¶ Pp. MA 233, 441, Pp. L III 70, Lg. VMI 53, H 107, Ms. H 74, MED 527, T 344, T DgJ 153, T DnJ 128, Mr. D 183, Krg. 588, KRS 342, KW 257 || J Y mi'mbu'ru 'head'; but pJ {S} *mi'mi' 'ear' (> OJ mi'i mi'i, J T mimi') cannot be reliably adduced here (the semantic is too

distant) ¶¶ Not here (⇔ DQA) T *beyŋi 'brain' (see N *ba'n'ØE ≈ 'head') ¶¶ AED1239 (A *ma'yni 'temple, forehead, ear'; incl. M, J Y mi'mbu'ru'') ♦ WP and P suggest (at the pIE level) that *men- 'protrude' is the √ of the stems *mn̥-ti, *moniyō- 'mountain(s)' (i.e. N *mUn'V 'mountain, hill'). If they are right, both N etyma are identical. In that case the semantic development may have been: 'hill' → 'hillock' → 'protrude as a hillock' → 'front'. The vw. *u in D may be due to the labializing infl. of *m- ♦ [±≈] Blz. DA [± 153] [±7] (D, C, Ch, IE), ≈ BmK #533: *mun-/mon- 'protrude, stand out'; 'be first', etc. [IE, D, + err. Eg mn 'mountain, stone hill' (in fact, from N *mUn'V '¶'); adduces words with highly doubtful semantic ties, such as L mentum 'chin'].

1426. ??? 2 *men'V 'tear, tear into pieces, divide' > U: FU (in Ugr only) *men'V 'tear, tear into pieces' > ObU *mēn'- ({Ht.} *me-n-) v. 'tear' > pVg *ma~n- > Vg: ML ma~nit-, UL maniyt- id., T ma~nəm, Ss manəm- id., T/MK ma~nəmt-, LK ma~nəmt- id.; pOs {Ht.} *men'-, {HL.} *ma~n'- > Os: D me~nemə-, K ma~nimə-, Nz/O menəm-, Kz men'əm- 'abreïßen', D me~nc'-, K ma~nc'-, Nz ma~ns'ə-, Kz ma~n's'ī- , O {HL.} ma~nsi- 'zerreißen' ! Hg Δ ki-me~nyu'l- 'verrenkt werden, sich verrenken', ki-me~nyr't- 'ver-/aus-renken' ¶ UEW 870, Ht. #391, HL rHt 71, 75 ¶ HS: S *manay-, *manat- 'share' [x S *√mny 'count'] > BHb en!m1 ma~na-, Ug mnt, IA/Plm mnh 'share, part, portion', JEA em. at!n!m6 mənā~t~a- (cs. tn!m6 mənā~t~a) 'share', Ar inAMa mana-n 'fate' (→ 'death'), du. manawa~ni ~ manaya~ni 'two pounds (unit of weight)', Ak fOAK manu^ ~ mana?u 'mina (unit of weight)', Ar √mnw TL (pf. in!maTa tama~na-, ip. in!mataYa yatama~na-) 'se partager qch. en séparant avec les doigts', Ak √mnw|y G (inf. manu^), D 'assign', BHb √mny|w D (pf. en!m5 min'na-) 'assign (a share), zuteilen', Mn {MA} √mnw 'attribuer', ? Sb mn 'bénifice' ¶ KB 567, A #1600, OLS 264, HJ 657, Lv. T III 49, Js. 802-3, Sl. 688-9, BK II 1158-9, Hv. 735, CAD X/1 219-27, MA 62 ♦ The comparison is valid unless the S words are derived from S *√mny 'to test, count' (< N *mon'V 'to test, think' [q.v.]).

1427. *mENV (= *mEn'V?) 'from' > HS: S *min (or *minu?) 'from, out of' > BHb, BA, JA min ~ mi-+gmc., Ph mn ~ bn, OA, IA mn, IA (AkSc) mi-in, Sr Nue men, Md mn, min-, Ar min, Sb mn, Tgr mən, ? Gz əmənna ({Rgr.}: < rdp *minmin), əm, Mh {Jo.}, Jb E/C {Jo.}, Sq {Jo.} mən, Hrs {Jo.} mən, m, Eb {Krc.} min|u, {Lmt.} minu id. ¶ Br. G II 494, 497-8 [§ 252], KB 565-7, 1738, Br. 393, Js. 796, Sl. 683-5, BGMR 86, LH 126, L G 22, 25, Rgr. B 22, Jo. M 267, Jo. H 89, Krc. 72-8, Lmt. 69-70 || Eg fP m 'aus etw. heraus, von einem Ort an', ?? Eg fP m 'in' ¶ EG II 1 ¶ K *-man, ending of the ergative case > OG -man, G -m, -ma, Sv -m id. ¶ K SKJ 49-67 ¶ IE: NaIE *-mos, ending of abl./dat. pl. > Lt -mus, -ms, ? Pru -mai ({En.}: -ai from sg.), Sl *-mъ (> OCS -mъ, etc.) id.; NaIE *-mis instr. pl. > Lt -mis, Sl *-mъ (> OCS -mъ, etc.); NaIE *-mis x *-mos > Gmc dat./abl./instr. pl. *-miz > OWGmc {Kluge} -m(i)s (in n. pr. Vatvims 'Vatviabus', Aflims 'Afliabus', Saitchamim(i)s 'Saithamiabus'), Gt, AS -m, ON -mr ¶ Brg. KVG 396-8, Bks. 117-8, 173, Kluge U 197, En. APG 159 ¶ The final *-s in *-mos, *-mis may go back (through the infl. of other cases of pl.) to IE *(e)s of pl. (see N *?I'Vs'a 'they') ♦ The loss of *-N- in IE may be accounted for either by the reg. change N *n' > IE *i_ (if the N etymon is *mEn'V) or by reduction in a grammaticalized (hence unaccented) word → morpheme ♦ Gr. I 139-44 ["locative M" in IE, Y, Tg, Gil, CK + err. U *mave 'earth' and qu. the Vg -ma sx. for place of action, that probably belongs to the U derivational sx. *-ma/*-ma~ of deverbal nouns (see N *mA, marker of relative constructions, nominalizer) and is cognate to the *m-sx. of the same meaning in IE and other lgs.].

1428. ? 2 *min'V 'tell a lie, deceive' > HS: WS *-mīn- 'tell a lie, deceive' > Ar √myn (pf. ma~na, ip. -mīnu) 'tell a lie', mayn- n. 'a lie', Gz mīn 'cunning, fraud, trickery, ruse', √myn TD (pf. tamayyana) 'deceive' ¶ BK II 1175, L G 376 ¶ IE: NaIE *men- 'tell a lie, lure' > L menda~x / -a~c-is 'lying, mendacious' ! Sl *manī~ti ~ as *mamī~ti 'to deceive, lure, entice' > ChS manīti 'decipere' ~ mamīti 'to lure, deceive', SCr ma'miti, Δ ma'niti 'to lure, entice', Slv ma'miti, Δ ma'niti id., 'to tempt', HLs manis' 'to deceive', P Δ manic' 'to delude, beguile', P mamic' id., 'to dazzle', Cz ma'miti, Slk ma'mit' 'to deceive, entice', Blg 'mam 'I beckon' AdS of Pru me~ntimai 'we lie (lügen)' and L mentior / mentīri 'to tell a lie' (both from IE *ment- < N *men'ft, 'V 'to miss one's aim', q.v.) ¶ WH II 68-9, Vs. II 569, ESSJ XVII 197-9, Chr. I 508, Mikl. E 182, Glh. 397-8, ≈ Frn. 454-5, En. 210.

1429. *mon'V 'to test, think' > HS: S *√mny ~ *√mnw vi. 'test, reckon, count' > Ar √mny ~ √mnw G (pf. 'naMa ~ inaMa mana~, ip. yamnu~ ~ yamni) vt. 'test (so. by sth.)', Ak √mnw|y (inf. manu^) 'consider (sth., so. as belonging to a certain class), count', Sr √mnw G (ip. 'nemfe nem'ne~) 'reckon (be of the opinion), count', BHb, BA √mny G (BHb pf. en!M1 ma~na-, ip. en#m6i% yi-m'ne~, BA pf. en!m6 mənā~, JA [Trg.] in#m6 mən'ne~ ~ an!m6 mənā~), Md mn? vi. 'count', Qt {Rk.} mtn-n 3p 'agree, consent'; Ug mnt {A} 'Aufzählung', {OLS} 'repartición, recuento, lista'; Ak fOB mīn-u 'number, amount'; IA, ChrPA mnyn, JA [Trg.] Ni!nm5 min'ya~n, JEA {Sl.} an!i!n^m5 minya~na-, Sr 'nojonue menya~n-a~, Md miniana, MHb Ni!n^m5 min'ya~n 'number' ¶ BK I 1158-9, KB 567, 1739, A #1600, OLS 284, Lv. T III 47-8, Js. 801, Sl. 687, DM 268, 274, Nld. MG 176, 179, Dlm. 240, Br. 394, JPS 281, CAD X/1 221-7 & X/2 96-7, Rk. D 142 || B *mVn- > ETwl/Ty {GhA} te-men-t (ann. t~men, pl. ti-men-en) 'esprit, intelligence' ¶ GhA 129 || EC: Sml ma~n, Sml N ma~n (pl. ma~na~n) 'mind, intelligence' ¶ Abr. S 172-3, ZMO 265 || Ch: WCh: pAG *man 'know' > Ang {Brq.} ma~n, Gmy {Hf.} man, Kfr {Nt.} ma~n id., Su {J} man id., 'recognize (so.)', Mpn {Frz.} ma~n 'know, be able to' ! BT: Krkr {Lk., J} ment-, Bl {Lk.} mon- 'know' ! SBC: Buli {Sh.} man, {ChL} mənī, Zem {Sh.} -manī, ? Bot {Sh.} mins'ī id. || ?? CCh: Lame {Sa.} ma~n 'observer, analyser (pour le devin)'; ???σ: Lame {Sa.} mu~n 'hear, understand', ZmD {KNC} mu~n 'hear, understand, listen' ¶ JI II 216, ChC, ChL, Hf. AG #41, J S I

73, Nt. 26, Sh. SB 36, Sa. L II 317, KNC 17, ≈ Stl. ZCh 153 [#84] (combines WCh *√mn and *√bn and reconstructs pWCh *m-ban-; a view rejected later by Stl. in OS) ¶¶ OS #1721 (*man- 'know, test': S, Ch, Sml) II IE: NaIE *men- 'think', {EI} id., 'consider' > OI 'manyate', manu'te, Av mahnyete 'thinks', OPrs maniyaiy 'ich erwäge', MPrs me'nītan 'think' ¶ Gk μνήμη 'remembrance, memory', μμνήσκω 'remind, put in one's mind', Gk A μνήμα, Gk D μνάμα 'memorial, remembrance' ¶ Arm imanam i-manam 'I understand, know, conceive' (< *m_ona-mi) ¶ L memini 'I remember, recollect' ¶ OIr men- 'think', menme 'spirit, mind', do-moiniur 'I believe, think (am of the opinion)', cuman, cuimne, MW covein 'memory', W co-f (*kom-men) id., mynnu v. 'will, wish' ¶ Gt inf. munan / p. munda 'believe, be of the opinion', munan, ga-munan 'remember', ON muna id., OSx munan prt/prs. 'think', AS munan prt/prs. (prs. man, p. munde) 'be mindful of; think, esteem', 3e-mun 'remembering'; Gt muns 'thought, opinion, ON munr 'mind', AS myne 'memory'; Gmc d *mai_n-j-an > MDt me_nen, Dt menen 'to mean, think', OSx me_nian, OHG meinen 'think, have an opinion, mean', MHG, NHG meinen, AS mæ_nan 'have an opinion, have in mind', NE mean ¶ Lt min_{ti} (prs. menu) 'to recall, remember', many_{ti} 'to think', me_nas 'memory' (→ 'art'), Ltv mine_t 'to guess, mention' ¶ Sl *mьne_{ti} ~ *mьniti (1s prs. *mьn_o, 3s prs. mьni-_{ty}) 'to think (esteem)' > OCS, OR мьнѣти mьne_{ti} / мьнѣ mьnjo, SCr mni_{ti}, Slv mne_{ti} ~ mni_{ti}, Cz † mne_{ti} id., R мнит_ь 'to imagine', Blg мл, мн 'I think (esteem)'; Sl *po-mьne_{ti} 'to remember' > OCS помьнѣти romьne_{ti}, R 'помнит_ь, P pomniec', Slv po_niti id., Blg 'помни 'I remember' ¶ Tc: A mnu ≈ 'spirit, appreciation, desire', B man_u 'desire' (× IE *men- < N *mAyn_V 'ask, desire' [q.v.]) ¶¶ NaIE d *men-os / *men-es- > OI 'manas- 'mind, intellect, understanding, thought', Av manah- 'mind' ¶ Gk με_{vo} (gen. με_{veo}) 'spirit (Geist), intent, purpose' > δυσ-μενη_ι 'full of ill-will' ¶ ? pre-L *menes-wa_o > OL Menerva, L Minerva (name of the goddess of handicraft) ¶¶ d *mn_o-t-s (~ *men-ti-s) 'mind, thought' > OI ma_{ti}h, 'thought', Av -mahti- id. (in anu-mahti- 'in Gedanken Wiederholen') ¶ L me_ns (gen. me_nt-is) 'mind' ¶ d : Gt gamunds 'remembrance, memory (μνημοσύνη, μνε_iα)', OHG gimunt 'memory', AS 3_{emynt} 'intention' ¶ Lt minti_s 'thought' ¶ Sl d *pa_{me}ty 'memory' > OCS памѣть pame_{ty}, R 'памѣт_ь, P pamie_c, Cz pame_t, Slk pama_t, Blg 'памѣт id., SCr pa_{me}t, Slv pa_{met} 'intellect, sense, mind' ¶¶ Lw {EI} mimma- (< *mimne/o-) v. 'regard, favour' ¶¶ NaIE cd *mens-d_{he}-/*mn_o-d_{he}- 'learn, become wise' (lit. 'to put the mind') > Av/OPrs {M} mazda_o, Av ma_zdra- 'wise', Av maz-da_o ~ ma_z-da_o 'to notice, bear in mind' ¶ OI me_idha_o 'wisdom' ¶ Gk μα_nα_o (aor. μα_ει_v) 'learn' ¶ Sl *mo_o-dr_{ty}(j_{ty}) 'wise' > OCS мѡдрѣ mo_odr_{ty} 'φο_oνιμο_o, σοφο_o¶, OR мѡдрѣ mudr_{ty}, R pradj mudr, dadj ѡмудрѣ, Blg ѡмьдѣ, SCr mu_{dar}, dadj. mu_{dr}i, Slv moder mo_{dar}, P ma_{dry}, Cz moudry, Slk mu_{dry} 'wise' ¶ ≈ WP II 270-1, ≈ P 730 (*mend_h- < *men-d_{he}- 'seinen Sinn worauf richten, lebhaft sein', *m(o)nd_h-ro 'munter'), EI 575, M K II 583-4, 685-6, M E II 296-7, 305-9, 378-9, Brl. 1160-1, 1181, F II 170-1, 208, 238-41, WH II 65-70, Vn. M 35, 37-8, YGM-1 95, 340, Fs. 194, 366-8, Vr. 395-6, Ho. 211, 227-8, Ho. 51, 54, Kb. 361, 669, OsS 258, 599-600, KM 472, Trt. 181, Frn. 455-6, ESSJ XX 126-34 & XXI 112-5, Vs. II 633, 670 & III 195, Glh. 417-8, 427-8, 466, Ad. 437 II U *mon_h > FV *mon_V > pLp *mo_nz- 'suppose, guess' > Lp: L {LLO} ma_{nna}- id., S {LÖ} muone- 'nominare', {Hs.} muonedidh v. 'guess', {Fri.} moanna- 'guess (conjecture, divinare = udytyde, sinde Udytningen paa, gjettye)' ¶ pMr {Ker.} *mu_nā_o (i.e. *mu_nā_o?) > Er му_n- mun_a-, Mk {Ker. ←-?} mun_a- (Mk {UEW} *mān_a-) 'conjure, bewitch' ¶¶ UEW 290-1, Coll. 33, Szin. 33, Lr. #690. Lgc. #4013d, Fri. 436, Hs. 950, Ker. II 91 II ? A *man_V 'try, learn' (× N *mAyn_V 'ask, desire', q.v. ffd.) > pJ *ma_{na}im_p- 'learn', Tg *man_fs_u- 'try, attempt' ¶¶ DQA #1250 (A *ma_{na} 'to learn, try') ♦ IS II 42-3 [*manu 'think' > HS, IE, U, ? D] → ≈ BmK #519 (*man-/mān- 'divide, apportion': IE *man-/mon-/mn_o- 'reckon, consider, think', U *mana- or mona- 'consider', S *man-/mān- [i.e. √mnyw] 'divide, count, reckon']) ♦ Gr. II #127 (*men 'think/say') [IE, U, A, J + err. Y, CK] (< *mon_V × *man_iVy_iV 'speak').

1430. *mun_a-(_{id}V) 'egg' > U *mun_a 'egg, testicle' > F, Es muna 'egg' ¶ pLp {Lr.} *mone_o > Lp: S {Hs.} mu_nnie, L {LLO} ma_{nne}, N {N} mā_{nne}, Kld {SaR} мннѣ me_nn_o(ā) 'egg' ¶ Er/Mk mona 'testicle' ¶ Chr: H мьны mēnā, L/Uf muno 'egg', B muno id., 'testicle' ¶ ObU {Ht.} mo_n 'testicle' > pVg {Ht.} *ma_n id. > Vg: T/LL man, LK/MK mā_n, P/UL mon, Ss mu_ni id.; pOs {Ht.} *mon_o 'penis' > Os: V/Vy mon_o, Ty/Y mo_n, D/K/Nz mun, Kz mō_n, O mon id. ¶ Hg Δ mony 'egg, testicle' ¶ Sm {Jn.} *mā_nā_o, {Hl.} *mā_nā_o 'egg' > Ng {Mik.} mēnu, En {Cs.} mona, Kms {KD} mun_{ai} ~ mun_{ui}, Koyb {Sp.} муны 'egg', Slq Tz {KKIH} man_i, Slq Tm {KD} man_o, Slq B {Cs.} mā_nē, Slq Y (Cs.) man 'penis' ¶ Coll. 36, UEW 285-6, Db. OS xxx, It. #191, Sm. 538 (U, FU *muna_o, FP *muna, Ugr *mu_nā, Sm *mo_{na}), Lr. #677, Lgc. #3690, Hs. 949, SaR 182, MRS 334, 341, Ü 125, Ht. #394, MF 449-50, Jn. 86, KKI 129, KD 41, Hl. M #639 II HS: CCh: i Msg {Rlf.} mu_n 'testicles' (unless a faulty transcription [1856] of a word identical with Msg G {Trn.} mo_{hom} id. [= Msg {Röd.} mohom, {Mch.} mo_{ho}m; but Rohlf's record may represent a dialect different from Msg G recorded by Trn. and probably by Röder and Mouchet); on the other hand, Msg G mo_{hom} may belong here as well ¶ Lk. DQM 99, ChC, Trn. LM 107 ¶ EC: ? Or {Grg.} mundo_o 'penis' (× N *mAyn_{Vy} or *mA_nV 'genitalia') ¶ Grg. 295 II D (in SD) *mon_o ~ *mot_o, {GS} *mon_o-ai_o 'egg' > Tm mun_o ~ mut_o, Ml mut_o, mot_o, Kt mot_o, Td mut_o, Kn/Tu mot_o, e 'egg', Kdg mut_o id., 'testis' ¶ D #4939, GS 83 [#258] (err. *mot_o-ai_o), 195-7 (on the reflexes of pD *-n_o~) ¶¶ The D cognate is valid only if the variant *mon_o is original; in this case *-t_o is likely to go back to a sx. equatable with Sl *-d- in *mo_{de} 'testicles' II IE: NaIE *mond_h- > Sl

*mo_o-d-o 'testicle' (du. *mo_o-d-e-) > ChS **мѣдо** mo_odo, Blg **мѣдо** (new spelling **мѣдо**), SCr mu_o'do, Slv mo_o'do, OCz mu_o'd, Cz moud, HLs/LLs mud, OP ma_odo, me_odo, P † ma_odo, OR **мѣдо** mudo (du. **мѣдо** mude'), R Δ my_o'do (du. my_o'de), Uk 'мудо id. ¶ ESSJ XX 123-5, Glh. 428 II A: Tg: Lm A ma_oja 'testicle', ? (mt) Ewk Y na_o-ma id. ¶ STM I 530, 581 ◆ Glh. 428 (IE, U, D) ◆ Gr. II #127 (*mun 'egg') [IE, U, CK, EA + unc. A, Ko, Ai].

1431. ***mun**-V 'defect, damage, deformity' > IE ***mend-** ≈ 'defect' > L menda, mendum 'fault, bodily defect' :: OI min_o'da id. (M: < *man_o'da dur to contamination with nin_o'da-'), Kshmi mi_oond_o 'leprous, leprosy' :: ? OIr mennar 'stain, defect' ('macula', {Vn.} 'tache, faute', W mann 'stain on the skin' || AnIE: Lc me_o-te- 'damage, harm' ¶ WP II 270, P 729-30, EI 155 [***mend-o-**, -eh_A- ≈ (bodily) defect], M K II 637, M E II 356, Tu. #10122, WH II 69, Vn. M 39 II ? HS: WCh: Hs mu_o'ni 'ugliness; vice, evil', {Ba.} mu_o'na_o'na_o' 'render ugly, spoil', mu_o'na_o'na_o' 'be[come] ugly \ unpleasant \ spoiled' :: Su {J} mwe_o'n 'stupidity' (× N ***men**h_o't. V 'miss one's aim' [q.v.]) ¶ Ba. 800-1, Abr. H 683-4, J S 207 II A: [1] T: (a) NaT ***mu**_o'n > OT {Cl.} bu_o'n 'defect', Qzq m_o'n mi_o'n 'shortage, deficiency, defect, roughness', Qq, Nog min min, Qrg mu_o'n ~ mu_o'n 'defect, deficiency' ¶ Cl. 347, Sht. 145, Jud. 543-4 || M ***munda-** 'lack, be(come) insufficient, come to an end' > WrM munda-, HIM munda- 'become insufficient; come to an end', WrO munda- 'exhaust oneself, finish off', Kl {Rm.} munda- 'fehlen, mangeln, zu Ende sein' ¶ MED #551, Krg. 610, KW 268 || pJ {S} ***ma**'ntu_o- 'poor' (× N ***man**-Øa 'to cease, delay (tr.), finish') > OJ ma_o'du_o-si, J: T/Kg ma_ozu-s_o'i_o-, K m_o'zu_o's_o'i_o- ¶ S QJ #1334, Mr. 834 ¶¶ DQA #1365 (A ***mu**'ne 'defect, lack') || [2] ?? pJ {S} ***mu**'na_o-si- 'empty, useless' (× N ***man**-Øa '↑', q.v. ffd.) || [2] ?σ A {DQA} ***mu**'nu 'wrong, mad, uneasy', {AD} 'stupid, mad' (× the A reflex of N ***men**h_o't. V '↑') > T ***mun-** 'be mentally deranged \ disturbed' > OT mun- (***mun-**) id., 'be senile, feeble-minded, lose control of oneself', MQp bun- 'be senile', Tk Δ bonul- 'be feeble-minded', Yk mun- 'lose one's way, roam'; T d ***mun**-dur > OT {Cl.} munduz 'senile, feeble-minded', [QB] munduz 'ignorant, stupid man', [MhK] {Dnk.} bunduz 'simpleton', MQp xiv [CC] munduz 'simple-minded' ¶ Cl. 348, 767-8, Pek. 1620, MKD 119, Rs. W 344 || M ***munu-** > WrM {Kow.} mono- (i.e. munu-) 'become weak \ senile', {MED} munu-, HIM муна- 'become weak \ feeble-minded', Ord {Ms.} mu_o'nu_o- 'become stupid', Kl муна mun-χъ 'become senile', {Rm.} mun_o-χα 'become stupid, old'; WrM {Ms. ←-?} ζ munuq, Ord mu_o'nu_o-q 'stupid, qui a l'intelligence obtuse', Kl {Rm.} munag_o 'altersschwach (körperlich und geistig)'; M ***mu**qag 'stupid' > MM [HI] {Ms.} muqag, [S] {H} munh_oah [munhag] id., [IM] {Pp.} æ9nM munag 'ignorant', WrM muqag, HIM мунаг, Ord. {Ms.} mu_ohag 'stupid, stupidity', WrO muhag ~ muhag 'stupidity, ignorance', muhag 'ignorance', Brt мунаг 'ignorant, stupid', Kl му_oхг muhag id., {Rm.} muhag 'stupid', Kl Ö {Rm.} muhag 'dumm, blödsinnig', WrO muhag- 'get disturbed', WrM muqara- 'be[come] stupid \ ignorant, become dull' (of the mind), Ord mu_ohara- 'be disturbed \ perplexed, lose memory' ¶ H 112, Ms. H 76, Ms. O 475-6, Pp. MA 442, Kow. 2028-9, MED 551-2, Krg. 610-1, KRS 362, KW 268-9, Chr. 302 || Tg: Ewk monon 'stupid', Ul mont, Nn Nh/KU mont_o 'uncomfortable (unbequem, **неудобный, неловкий**)' ¶ STM I 544-5 || MKo {Lee} m_oh_o'i 'stupid' || ???σ pJ {S} ***mu**'ntu_o-ka_o- 'difficult' > OJ mu_o'tuka_o-si, J: T mu_o'zukas_o-i ~ mu_o'zukas_o'i_o-, K mu_o'zu_o'ka_o's_o'i_o-, Kg muzukas_o'i_o- ¶ S QJ #942, Mr. 835 ¶¶ The M (and T?) forms may have been influenced by MChn {S} ***mu**-h 'dark, stupid, ignorant' ¶¶ DQA #1366, KW 268, Pp. VG 35 ◆ IS III 55-6 (***mun**E 'drawback, defect, deformity').

1432. ***mUn**-V (or ***mUn**-V_oT_oV?) 'mountain, hill' > IE: NaIE ***mn**_o-t-, ***moniyo-**, {EI} ***men-** 'mountain' > Av mati (< ***mn**_o-ti-), {Brtl.} matay 'foothills', {Brtl.} 'promuntorium, Vorsprung des Gebirges' :: L mo_o-ns (gen. mo_o-ntis) 'mountain' :: Brtt {RE} ***moniyos** id. > W mynydd, OCr menit, Crn meneth, OBr monid, MBr mened, menez, Br menez ¶ WP II 263, P 726, EI 270, Dv. #802, Mn. 781-2, RE 113, Flr. 259, GI 666, Brtl. 1112-3, WH II 108-9 II HS: Eg G mn_o.ty du. 'the two mountain ridges on both sides of the Nile valley', ? mn_o.t 'sky' (← 'height, high place') ¶ EG II 69, Fk. 108 II A: Tg: WrMc mungan, r. munga 'hill, burial mound' ¶ Z 898, STM I 557 || ? M: WrM {Kow.} mondaga 'high ground, steppe, ?? {MED} mu_o'ndu_o'rge 'embankment, bank', {Koz.} ζ mondug 'mountains, peaks', Brt мунарга 'woodless rocky summit (**ролец**)' ¶ Kow. 2028, MED 551, 554, Gl. III 310, Chr. 302, KW 268, Ms. O 475 ◆ WP and P suggest (at the pIE level) that the √ in question is identical with IE ***men-** 'protrude' (i.e. N ***mEn**-V 'front' [q.v.]) ◆ ≈ BmK #533: ***mun-**/***mon-** 'protrude, stand out'; 'be first', etc. > IE, Eg, D (adduces words with very loose and doubtful semantic ties, such as L mentum 'chin', as well as ghost-words like ī Eg mn, mny 'mountain, stone hill' [Bm.'s interpretation of Eg MK {Fk.} mn 'kind of stone', {EG} 'Art kostbarer Stein']?).

1433. ?? ***mAyn**-V 'ask, desire' > IE: NaIE {Vn.} ***mei**_o-n-/****moi**_o-n- > OIr m_o'an 'desire, object of desire', W ar-o-fun 'avoir l'intention, se proposer', go-funed, damunav (< ***do**-am-mun-) 'wish', ? mwyn 'pleasure' || NaIE ***men-** (loss of the glide ***i**_o preceding a sonant) 'wish eagerly' (× ***men-** < N ***mon**-V 'to test, think' [q.v.]) > OI ma_o'na 'devotion, zeal', manah, / manas- ntr. 'will' :: Gk με_oμονα 'wishes eagerly, yearns', μενοινη 'eager desire', μενοινάω v. 'desire eagerly', ? μνάωμαι 'woo for one's bride, sue for, solicit' :: AS myne n. 'desire, love', OFrs minne, OSx minnea, OHG minna, NHG Minne 'love', MHG, NHG † π meinen 'to love', ? ON munr 'pleasure, joy' :: Tc A mnu ≈ 'esprit, appréciation, désir', B man_o'u 'désir' (cf. N ***mon**-V '↑') :: ? OIr menme n. 'wish' (unless ← 'mind, thought' < N ***mon**-V '↑') ¶ WP II 264-6, P 726-8, M K II 583-4, F II 206-8, 238-41, 247, Ho. 228, Kb. 687, KM 472, 480, Vn. M 37-8, 47, Wn. 301, ≈ EI 410 (Cl_o ***mei**_o-no- < IE ***mei**_o-no-/****moi**_o-no-

'opinion'), ≈ EI 575 (words for 'desire' ← *men- 'think, consider') || HS: S *√mny 'wish, desire' (× N *monV '↑') > Ak menu^h inf. 'to love, be(come) fond (of so.)', Ar √mny G 'let flow sperm (as in copulation)', √mny G ps. (pf. ʔaniMu muniya) 'be favoured in', TD (pf. inWmaTa tamanna^h) 'desire, wish', Gz √mny TD (pf. tamannaya) 'wish, desire, be eager for', mānuy 'who wishes ardently; wished for, desired', Mh pf. 'matni, Hrs pf. amto^hni, Jb E/C pf. 'mutni (Jb C sbjn. yzm^htin), Sq {Jo.} pf. 'mōtēne^h (sbjn. l-im^htēn3^h) v. 'wish' ¶ L G 352-3, CAD X/2 19, Sd. 645, BK II 1158-9, Hv. 737, Jo. M 268, Jo. H 89, Jo. J 172, MiK I #2.41 || CCh: Ms {Caīt.} mīn 'wish, desire, love', Azm {Pc.} minda v. 'will, desire, like' ¶ Caīt. 104, Pc. 296 || D *man^h 'petition, request' > Tm man^hu 'petition, request, prayer', Kn manave, manuve 'petition, request, solicitation', Tl manavi 'humble \ respectful representation, request, prayer' ¶ D #4775 || A *manV > pJ *ma^hna^h(m)p- 'learn' (× N *monV '↑') > OJ mana^hb-, J: T ma^hnabu, K ma^hna^hbu^h, Kg mana^hb- ¶ S QJ #935, Mr. 720 || Tg *man^hs'u- 'try, attempt' > Ewk mannu^hw- ~ mandu^hw-, Lm manru- ~ mandu-, Ork mandu- ¶ DQA #1250 (A *ma^hna 'to learn, try') ◇ Cf. also N *mAndV 'excitement, wish, desire' ◇ BmK #541 (IE, S + qu. D *man^h- 'be united, mingled' → 'marry').

1434. *me^hy^hn^hU 'oneself, one's own', 'body' (→ 'alone, one') > IE: NaIE *monwo-/?*menu- 'alone' > pGk *mo^hv^ho^h > Gk A mo^hv^ho^h, Gk I mo^hv^ho^h id. || ḫ Ht minu {Frd., Ot., Neum., Ts.} 'alone' ¶ Frd. HW 143, Ot. T 48, Ts. E II 212-3, CHD L-N 290-1 (rejects the meaning 'alone' for Ht minu without proposing anything instead), F II 253-4 || HS: ¶ ECh: *mVn 'one' > Kwn {Mch., J} mīn, mīn, m3^hn, Ke {Eb.} m3^hna^h, Smr {J} m3^hn, Nd D {J} ma^hn, Tmk {Cp.} m3^hn ¶ JI II 263, Eb. 81, Cp. 83 || ¶ Eg fP mn 'a such and such' ({Vc.} 'un tel') (× N *ma^hn^hu 'man, male') > Cpt B -man in παφμαν παρ^hman, πα^hman pat^hman, etc. 'a certain person \ thing' ¶ EG II 64-5, Vc. 114 || C: DhI {To.} mo^hni 'self' :: EC: Sd mann-imma 'body' ¶ Hd. 384, To. D 142 || ? B *-ma^hn 'soul, person' (× N *ma^hn^hu '↑') > Ah ima^hn pl. 'soul, person', ima^hn in 'myself', Kb ima^hn, Nf ima^hn +ppa. '-self' (myself, himself, etc.), Gd {Lf.} iman (reinterpreted as grammatical pl.) 'person', '-self' ¶ Fc. 1138, DI. 503, Lf. II #1007, Beg. 300 ¶ The B form is conceived as pl. because the final -n is reinterpreted as sx. of pl. But if this final -n is a genuin ending of pl., B *-ma^hn does not belong here || S: [1] ? S *-ma (emphatic enclitic pc.) (× N *mu^hwV^h 'this, that', dem. prn.?) > Ak {Sd.} -ma 'and then', 'only', Ug -mV (emphatic pc.), Amr {G} -ma, -mi, Sb -m. -mw, -my (enclitic pc., {Bst.}: "which is facultatively added to the end of a word, without perceptibly modifying the sense of the word or the sentence"), Gz -mma 'precisely, quite' (emphasizes the word to which it is attached) ¶ OLS 251-2, G A 24, Sd. G § 123, Dilm. 142, L G 323, Bst. 47-8 || [2] ? S *m3^hn 'kind' > BHb m3^hn n. 'kind (of)' (att. with ppa: &nim5 m3^hn-o^h 'his kind', En!im5 m3^hna^h 'her kind'), MHb Nim5 m3^hn 'kind (of)', Ug {Drv.} mn 'kind', {OLS} 'especie (animal)' ¶ KB 547, DrG CML 161, OLS 282 || A: Tg *me^hn 'oneself, one's own' > Ewk m3^hn 'one's own', m3^hn3k3wn 'oneself', Sln m3^h: id., Lm m3^hn 'one's own', Neg m3^hn id., m3^hn + ppa. 'oneself (sich, себе)', Orc m3mi id., m3^hn 'one's own, to oneself', Ud m3niḡ, Ork m3n3^h 'one's own', Ud, Nn m3n3, Ul m3n(3) id., 'oneself (selbst, сам)', WrMc meni meni 'anyone, each, by oneself (всѣмъ, каждый, сам по себе)' ¶ STM II 568 || M *mo^hn 'the very same, real, true' (× *mo^hu^hn 'this, that', dem. prn. < N *mu^hwV^h id., q.v. ffd.) || pKo *mo^hm 'body' > MKo mo^hm, NKO mom ¶ S QK #137, Nam 218, MLC 645 || ?σ pJ {S} *m3^hn3 'thing, method, being' > OJ mo^hno^h, J: T/Kg mono^h, K mo^hno^h ¶ S QJ #1102, Mr. 485 ¶ ≈ DQA #1293 [A *me^hno^h 'self, body'; incl. Tg, M, Ko, J], S AJ 280 [#125] || D *me^hn^hi 'body' > Tm me^hn^hi, Ml me^hni 'body, shape, beauty', Tl me^hnu, Klm me^hn, Nkr, Nk, Prj men, Gdb me^hnu^h d me^hn, Gnd me^hndur, Krx me^hd^h - me^hd, Mlt me^hθ 'body', Knd me^hndol 'human body' ¶ D #5099 || This N rot may underly reflexive-passive formatives in the IE and HS verb: IE: NaIE {Brg.} meno-/*-mno-, sx. of medial-passive participles > OI bo^hdha-ma^hna-h, 'wachsam', Gk πευ^hο^h-μενο^h 'aware', participia praesetis mediopassivi from OI bodh-, Gk πευ^h-; L fe^h-mina 'woman' (← *'sucked one'), alu-mn-us 'nursling, foster-child' (← *'fed one'), as well as 2p passivi -mini (finite verb for, ← participle); Sl *-m^h m., *-ma f., *-mo ntr. (OCS везомъ vezo-mъ, prte. praesentis passivi 'transported'), Lt nes^ha-ma-s 'carried'; possibly AnIE: Lw kes-ama- 'combed', HrLw asīma- 'loved' ¶ Brg. 316, M K II 449, Szem. IEL 320-1 || HS: C *m-, prefix of the passive-reflexive (and collaborative) form (stirp) of verbs: Sa -umu^hug- 'be burried' <d- u^hug- 'bury', -imfiteh- 'be untied' <d- ifteh- 'untie', -ommoko^hm- 'take part in a race' <d- ukum- 'win'; in Bj it means 'do together with sb., help doinf sth.' (← reflexive): -mo^hla^hw- 'burn sth. together (with sb.) ↔ -liw- vt. 'burn', -mdaba^hl- 'gather together (with sb.) ↔ -dbil- 'gather'; in Af this affix is a sx.: fiyyīme 'be swept' <d- fiye 'sweep', kamadime 'be tied tightly' <d- kamade 'tie tight;y' ¶ PH 247, AD KJ 94-5 || B *m-, px. of the reciprocal-reflexive-passive stirp: Rif m-z^harn 'ils se sont vus' <d- z^har- 'see', Tw {Pr.} m3^hnk3d^h 'être coupé' <d- 3nk3d^h 'couper', m3^hks^h 'be eaten' <d- 3ks^h 'eat', mak3^hr 'be stolen' <d- ak3^h 'steal', with the meaning of reciprocity: m3^hg^h3n 'faire halte' ('kneel together with the camels') <d- 3g^h3n 'kneel' (of camels) ¶ Cadi 48-50, Pr. M VI-VII 61-2 || A: NTg *m- > Ewk Δ -m-, verbal sx. of the passive voice: Ewk 3uk3a-m- 'be broken' <d- 3uk3a- 'break', Ewk PT yangu-m- 'be broken' <d- yangu- 'break', Lm -m-, sx. of the passive voice ¶ Vas. 769 :: Gr. I 237 mentions M sx. of reflexivity -βen, that I have not been able to find in the available literature ◇ The long vw. in Tg, D and B may be due to the loss of *y. Lack of lengthening in IE rules out the presence of a lr. (i meHn^hu^h) ◇ Cf. Gr. I 237 ("reflexive M" in Tg, M reflexive marker *-βen, EA refl. possessoris -mi/-mi-k).

1435. ***mʼaʼnʼʔV** 'rumple, bend' (tr.) > IE: NaIE *men- 'squeeze, press, tread' (× N ***mene** 'walk, go' [q.v.]) > W mathru v. 'trample', W {Vn.} mantalon, Gl *mantalo- 'road' [← *trampled (ground)] [in n. l. Petro-mantalon ('four roads') and Mantalo-magus ('road field')], MBr, Br mantra- 'accabler, navrer', ζ Br {Mn. ←-?} mantra 'way, road' ∥ Ltv mī-t (prs. min-u) 'tread, tan', Lt mī-n-ti (prs. min-u-) 'tread, trample down', 'brake (flax, hemp)', Pru mynix · "Gerber" 'tanner, leather-dresser' ∥ Sl inf. *me-ti /prs. *mъn-o vt. 'rumple, crumple; tan' > ChS МАЛТИ me-ti / МЪНЖ мьно, Slv me-ti / ma-n-em, OCz mieti / mnu, Slk ma-t' / mnem, P mia-c' / mne, R мт- / мну, Uk 'МЛТИ / мну ∥ OI carma-mnah. 'tanner' (carma 'leather') ∥ Gk ματεω* 'tread': Gk Ae [Sph.] ματῆσαι prs. prtc. pl. f. 'those who tread', Gk [Hs.] ματεῖ· πατεῖ 'treads' ¶ WP II 263, P 726, Mn. 756 (adduces here Ht minu-, mienu- {CHD} 'make mild \ pleasant; heal', interpreted by him as meaning 'to soften', but Ts. E II 214 believes that this is a factitive d of miu- 'mild, weich'), Vn. M 35-6, Billy 103, Frn. 454-5, En. 211, Ern. 392, Hm. 546, Vs. II 634, F II 184-5; ≠ M K I 379 & M E I 537-8 (rejects the connection of OI carmamnah. with this √), CHD L-N 291 ∥ HS: B *√mnd > Sll √mnd M (mmunnd, pf. immunnd) 'be rumpled', Tmz {MT} √mnd (imv. munnnd) 'être tordu, enroulé, entortillé' ¶ Ds. 125-6, MT 423 ∥ S *√mn? > Ar √mn? 'macérer la peau avant de la tanner', mani?-at- 'peau qui reçoit la première préparation; la macération' ¶ The meaning 'soak hide' is likely to go back to 'soften the hide by pressing' (cp. below Tg) ¶ BK II 1156 ¶ B *√mnd (< *√mnt) may go back to *√mn? + sx. *-t-II U: FU *mʼaʼnʼV- 'bend' or 'be bent' > Er men'e, Mk ma_n'e- vi. 'be bent' ∥ pOs *maʼnʼəy- v. 'bend' > Os: V/Vy maʼnʼi, Ty frq., Kz, Sn maʼnʼi-, D maʼnəy-, Kr maʼnəy- ~ menəy-, K menəy-, Nz maniy-, O maʼni- 'be bent' ('sich biegen, sich [ber]beugen', Os *min' > Os V/Vy/Ty min' 'Krümmung, Knick (an einem Baum)', Kz men'a 'Krümmung, Biegung' ∥ ? Hg Δ me'n, me'ny 'Brunnenschwengel' ∥ Sm {Jn.} *munV ~ *minV- 'bend' > Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. muniʼema, p. munijuama, En {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. 'munuabo d munabo 'bend sledge runners', Slq {KKIH} minni- 'be bent' ('СОГНУТ-Ц'), Kms {KD} muʼn'am vi. 'bend', d muʼn.uʼi-oʼm vt. 'bend', Koyb {Sp.} муныблмь vt. 'I bend' ¶ Stn. D 932-3, PD 126, ≈ Ht. 101 (Os *maʼnʼəy 'be bent' <d- *min' 'Krümmung' + *-əy-), ≈ UEW 275-6 (*minV with *i based on the Os E forms like Os V min' 'Krümmung', which to my mind is the secondary [high-vowel] grade of the East Ostyak apophony, cf. Ht. 73-103), Jn. 95-6, KKI 134 ∥ A: Tg *monɪŋ- 'soften (hide) by pressing, rumple, knead' > Ewk moni- v. 'mash (berries)', m3-ŋɪ- d monɪ- d monɪ- vt. 'soften hide or sinews by pressing (preparing leather and threads)', Lm monɪŋ-, Orc mon(n)icʼi-, Ul monɪŋʼicʼi- ~ monɪŋʼucʼi- ~ m3ɪŋʼicʼi- 'soften hide by pressing (to dress leather)', Nn monɪŋʼicʼi- id., m3ɪŋʼicʼi- 'be rumpled', Neg monɪ- ~ monɪ- 'soften hide by pressing, rumple', Lm monɪ- ~ menɪ- 'soften (hide) by pressing, rub, knead (dough), trample' ¶ STM I 545 ∥ pJ {S} *m3m- ~ mu_a'm- knead, rumple' > OJ m1u_ʼoʼm-, J: T moʼm-, K/Kg moʼm- ¶ S QJ #576, Mr. 726 ∥ ?σ M *muna 'wooden club, mallet' > WrM muna, HIM, Kl муна id., Kl Ō munu 'Keule, Streitkeule', Brt муна 'mallet, pestle' ¶ MED 551, KRS 362, KW 268, Chr. 302 ∥ ?σ T *moŋ 'mallet' (<b- M?) > Tv moŋ 'mallet used to beat skin in order to soften it (to dress leather)', Tf moŋ 'mallet, stick used to knock down cedar cones' ¶ TL 383, Ra. 207 ¶¶ The M and T words belong here if their primary meaning is 'a mallet for beating skin (in leather-dressing), for pounding, etc.' ¶¶ TL 383 (T, M, Tg), ≈ DQA #1346 (A *moŋ 'to knead, press, stroke'; incl. Tg, M, J) ♦ The rounded vw. in A and *-u- in Sm *munV may be due to the labializing infl. of *m- ♦ The OI, Ar and Tg ev. suggest that this √ was used, i.e., to denote the first phase in preparing leather (softening by pressing) ♦ If Ar √mn? belongs here, the N rec. is ***mʼaʼnʼʔV**, otherwise it is ***mʼaʼnʼV**. Tg *-ŋɪ- may represent pN *-nʼ? - ♦ IS MS 350 s.v. **МТ** *maʼnʼa (IE, U).

1436. ?σ ***manʼŌa** 'cease, delay (tr.), finish' > HS: WS *√mnʼ 'withhold, refuse' (partial merger with N ***mEnʼŌa** 'hold, carry', q.v.) > BHb, Yd, IA √mnʼ G 'hold back, withhold, refuse', JA [Trg.] {Js.} √mnʼ G 'withhold, refuse, refrain', JEA {Sl.} √mnʼ G 'deprive, prevent, refrain', Md √mnʼ G 'keep away, withhold, refuse', Ar √mnʼ G 'hinder (so.) from, deny (sth.) to', Sb {BGMR}, Mn {MA} √mnʼ G 'prevent, ward off', Tgr √mnʼ D 'withhold, refuse' ¶ KB 570, HJ 61, Js. 802, Sl. 687-8, DM 274, BK II 1157, LH 129, BGMR 86, MA 61-2, Jo. M 267, Jo. H 89, Jo. J 172 ∥ A: Tg *mana- 'spend all, come to an end' > Ewk, Neg, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn mana- 'spend all, wear out', Ewk mana n. 'end', Sln mana- 'come to an end', WrMc mana- 'be worn out, come to an end', Jrc manala 'destroy' ¶ STM I 526-7, Kiy. 144 [#839] ∥ pJ {S} *maʼntu- 'poor' (× N ***munʼV** 'defect, damage, deformity', q.v. ffd.) ∥ [2] ? pJ {S} *muʼnaʼ-si- 'empty, useless' (possibly also a merger with ***munʼV**) > OJ muʼnaʼ-si-, J: T muʼnasʼi-, K muʼnaʼsʼi-, Kg munasʼi- ¶ S QJ #923, Mr. 835 ¶ ≈ DQA #1267 (A *maʼnʼuʼ 'useless, insufficient'; incl. Tg, J *muʼnaʼ-si-) ∥ D *maʼnʼ- > Tm maʼntu 'be ruined, perish, die, be extinct', Kn maʼndu 'stop, cease; stop, ward off', Tl maʼnu 'cease, stop' ¶¶ The stem-final cns. *-n- (required by D morphophonemics) yields Tl n and Tm/Kn precon. n ¶¶ D #4811 ♦ IS II 41 (*mana **прекраат-, задерживат-**).

1437. ?2 ***mEnʼŌa** 'hold, carry' > HS: WS *√mnʼ id. > Jb E/C {Jo.} √mnʼ G (pf. 'minaʼ) 'hold, take hold of', Mh {Jo.} √mnʼ G (pf. muʼna, sbjn. y3mne-) 'catch, get, take', Hrs {Jo.} √mnʼ G (pf. moʼna, sbjn. y3mne-) 'take, catch, hold', ? σ Sr √mnʼ G 'bring, lead, arrive' ¶ Jo. M 267, Jo. H 89, Jo. J 172, Br. 395, JPS 282 ∥ Ch: WCh: pAG *maŋ- 'take' > Gmy/Ang {Hf.} maŋ, Kfr {Nt.} maʼŋ 'take, grasp', Su {J} maʼn 'auf-über-nehmen, in Besitz nehmen', Mpn {Frz.} maʼŋ 'pick up, carry' ¶ Hf. AG #42, Nt. 26, J S I 73-4, Frz. DM 35-6 ¶¶ OS #1725 (HS *manʼV- 'hold, take': SES, WCh) ∥ A: NrTg *men- > Ewk NB m3n3z- 'bring', Sln m3n3u- 'carry, carry\drag over' ¶ STM I 569 ∥ ??? IE: NaIE: it is tempting to adduce here L mino-, -a-re vt. 'drive

(cattle)', ItL (= proto-Romance) [LxS] mino⁻, -a⁻re 'to lead' (> Fr mener, Prv, Ctl menar, It menare 'to lead', Rum mî⁻na 'to drive [cattle]'); the L word has no satisfactory IE etymology, but a connection with NaIE *men- 'go' (represented in Clt) and N *mene 'walk, go' [q.v.] is rather plausible ¶ ≈ WH II 90, ≈ EM 403-4, ML #5585 ♦ The cns. *-ŋ- in AG *maŋ- suggests that the N lr. was *y (*mEn⁻yV) rather than *ŋ.

1438. *man'y⁻u⁻ 'paw, foot/leg of animals' > HS: Eg fP {EG} mn.t 'Schenkel' (mostly du.), Eg MK mnt {Fk.} 'thigh of man' (usually du.), Eg Md {DW} mn.t 'Oberschenkel' [← *leg?], {EG} mny du. 'die beiden Oberschenkel' ¶ EG II 68, 76, DW I 370-1, Fk. 107 || SC: Asa {E} mongok 'arm' ¶ E SC 160, Blz. CWL s.v. 'hand' || IE: NaIE *man₁u₁- (or *mən₁u₁-) *'hand' > L manu-s (gen. manu⁻s) 'hand', Osc acc. sg. MANI-M, Um abl. sg. MANI, mani, loc. sg. MANUVE id.:: W mu⁻n 'hand' (Ped.: < du. *menu⁻) || ON, AS mund, OHG munt 'hand' || ??σ Ht maniyyahh- 'hand over' ¶ WH I 34-59, 338, Mul. 256 (L -u- is secondary), Bc. G 125 (abl. sg.: Um -i, Osc -īd), 132 (Osc -l- for *-u- on the analogy of abl. *man-īd), 319, 338, Ped. VG I 384, Vr. 395, Ho. 227, Kb. 702, WW 205, ≈ WP II 272, DEv. #270, Mn. 732, CHD L-N 163-7, ≈ EI 254-5 (*meh_{Ar} / *mh_A 'n-os 'hand') || A: Tg *mana ~ *man'a 'paw, leg of animals' > Ewk mana^d man'a id., Lm ma⁻na^d mana id., 'flipper (of seals, walruses, etc.)', Neg man'a 'bear's foreleg', Orc ma⁻n'aka, Ul mat ~ man'a, Nn Nh ma⁻ī ~ ma⁻ya 'bear's paw', Ud mana 'paw of waterfowl'; some Tg lge. (or lgs.) -b> Ne T ма⁻на 'bear's foreleg, front flipper of seals and walruses', T O {Lh.} ma⁻n'a⁻ 'paw, foot (of wolves, bears, etc.)', T Δ {Lh.} ma⁻n'æ 'flipper' ¶ STM I 526, Krm. 259, Ter. 226, Lh. 253 || T *man' 'foot' > ds : Xk maymaχ, Sg/Qb {Rl.} maymaq 'footwear', Tkm maytīq 'lame', ET {Nj.} maytuq 'bow-legged', maymaq 'in-toed, bow-legged', tas⁻ maymaq 'walking with toes outward', ic⁻ maymaq 'walking with toes inward and heels outward', ET Tr {Rl.} maymaq 'mit auseinandergespreizten Beinen', Qzq {Rl.} maymaq 'beim Gehen auf die Sohlen tretend' ¶ The rec. of *-n' (rather than *-y) is suggested by the preservation of *m- as m- (conditioned by the presence of a nasal cns. in the stem) ¶ TkR 440, Rl. IV 1991, Nj. 699-700, Rs. W 323 ¶¶ DQA #1252 (A *ma⁻n'a 'paw, thigh') || D *man⁻i₁- *'forefoot or *'hand' (in a compositum with *kat₁t₁ 'knot, bundle' [D #1147], =σ: NHG Hand-gelenk 'wrist'): *man⁻i₁-kat₁t₁ 'wrist, ankle' > Tm man⁻ikkat₁t₁u, Ml man⁻ikkan₁t₁am, man⁻ikket₁t₁u, Kn man⁻ikat₁t₁u, Tl man⁻ikat₁t₁u, manikat₁t₁u 'wrist', Tu man⁻igan₁t₁u 'ankle', Klm menekt₁i, Gdb mand₁a, Gnd mat₁t₁a, Krx mulgut₁a⁻ 'wrist', Tl man⁻d₁a id., 'back of the hand'; D -b> Mrt man⁻gat₁ 'wrist, ankle', OI man⁻i-bandhah⁻, Pali man⁻ibandha- 'wrist' (bandha- is an OI translation of D *kat₁t₁), OI (late) man⁻ī, A man⁻i- 'wrist' ¶¶ D #4673, M K II 555-6 ♦ IE *-n- rules out a N *-n⁻. Therefore T and Tg *-n⁻ must go back to a N cluster *-n⁻y-. D *-n⁻ suggests a N *-n⁻. The original meaning is likely to have been 'animal's foot/leg' (whence 'hand' in one dialectal area of IE and possibly in D) rather than 'hand' (that would have involved a semantically implausible change 'hand' → 'thigh'). The anatomy of animals was sometimes more important for ancient hunters than that of humans ♦ ≈ Gr. II #194 (*ma-n ~ *ma-k ~ *ma-r 'hand/give/measure') [IE, A + qu. Ai + err. : U & Gil (both from N *migV 'give as present'), Y, Ko, J, Gil, CK].

1439. ? *man⁻i₁Vy₁V 'speak, call, invoke magic forces' > IE: NaIE *mon- 'warn, admonish; remind' (× IE *men- 'mind' < N *monV 'to test, think' [q.v.]) > L moneo⁻ / mone⁻-re 'admonish, warn, remind' || Gmc: OHG mano⁻n 'admonish, remind, call', NHG mahnen 'remind', AS manian id., 'claim, advise' ¶ ≈ WP II 265, ≈ WH II 107, KM 454, WW 190, Sw. 11, ≠ EI 575 (L moneo < *men- 'think, consider') || U *man⁻i₁V 'say, call, invoke magic forces' > F manaa- v. 'summon (to appear), conjure, exorcize, swear', Es mana- 'evoke, call up; exorcize, conjure, curse' : Chr L/H ма⁻на- mana-, Uf/B mana- 'say' || Hg mond- v. 'say, name', Hg Δ mond- 'speak' || Sm *ma⁻n⁻ > Ne: T ма⁻нз⁻, cngt. ма⁻н⁻ man?, T O {Lh.} ma⁻nc⁻, F {Lh.} ma⁻ns⁻; Ng {Ter.} -мунца in ky-мунца 'what to say'; En ма⁻д- ма⁻з⁻, cngt. ма⁻н⁻ man? : Slq Tz {KKIH} mompa pc. 'they say, man sagt' : Kms {KD} 1s prs. mal'em, mal'em 'I say' ¶ The variant stem *ma⁻ (in Slq and Kms) may be due to the loss of the precon. *n || pY {IN} *mon- 'say' > Y K {IN, Jc.}, T {IN} mon- id. ¶¶ ≈ UEW 290-1 (does not distinguish this √ from FU *mon⁻i₁V (cf. N monV 'f') and therefore fails to reconstruct the U vw. of the initial syll.), Coll. 33, SK 332-3, Szin. 33, MF 448-9, Jn. 88, KKI 130, IN 235-6, Ang. 164-5, ≈ Rd. UJ 40 [#34] (Y < b- U) || D (in SD) *man⁻i₁v. 'talk, speak' > Irl man⁻i id., Kt mayn⁻ v. 'talk, scold, abuse', Tu man⁻ipuni, manipuni 'speak, utter' ¶ D #4671 || ? HS: Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} ma⁻nte⁻ 'call, require' ('rufen, verlangen') || CCh: Gdr {Mch.} mna 'talk' ¶ Eb. 79, ChC || A: T (< cd ?) *maŋra- 'shout' > OT {Cl.} maŋra⁻ id., MQp XIV [CC] maŋra- v. 'bleat', Chg xv maŋra⁻ v. 'to low, bleat' (of a cow, sheep, etc.), Osm XIV baŋla- 'shout, call to prayer', Uz ма⁻ра- ma⁻ra- v. 'bleat, low', Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog maŋira-, Qrg, Alt ma⁻ra-, Xk mara- 'bleat', Yk maŋira- v. 'low' ¶ The meaning 'low, bleat' is due to the infl. of the paronymous verb *mu⁻ŋra⁻ id. ¶ Cl. 770, Rs. W 327, UzR 256, Jud. 507, KrkR 446, BT 107, Pek. 1526 ♦ D *-n⁻ < *-n⁻ < *N -n₁V₁y- ♦ Gr. II #127 (*men 'think/say') [IE, U, Y, CK + err. A, J] (cp. *monV 'to test, think').

1440. 2 *manVyV or *manV 'in genitalia; copulate' > HS: EC: Bs {Hw.} man-to 'penis', man-titi 'vagina', Ged {Hd.} mī⁻no 'penis', Or {Grg.} mundo⁻ id. [× HS ≈ *muNd- 'testicles' (> Msg muŋ id.) < N *mun'a(-t₁dV) 'egg'], Brj 'munna- 'vagina', ? Or {Grg.} munne⁻ 'anus'; ¶ Ss. B 149, Grg. 295 || ? B *√mny > Ah {Fc.} mənəy v. 'copulate' (× mənəy 'meet together' < d- əni [< B *√nHy] 'see') ¶ Fc. 1357 || S *√mny (*minay-?) > Ar înaMi ~ înaMi mina⁻(n) 'sperme; liqueur de la

femelle qui se mêle au sperme', manīy- id. ¶ BK II 1159 II D (in SD) {tr., ⁹GS} *ma-n'i 'penis' > Tm, Ml, Ka ma-n.i id. ¶ D #4805 ♦ S *°minay- (?) and B *°mny and the long vw. in D suggest N ***mAnVyV** ♦ Blz. DA [155 #33] #32 (D, EC).

1441. ***min-ṭiya** (or ***min'a**) 'woman, female relative' > HS: C: EC *m'e'nt- 'woman' (< **m'e'n- + *-t- [sx. of fem.], (partially) × *man- 'man, person') > Dsn {To.} min-ni (< *min-t-i) 'woman', Brj {Ss.} man'd-e-, {Hw.} man'd-ay (pl. man'd-anna-) 'virgin, young unmarried girl, young woman', HEC {Hd.} *mento 'woman' > Hd mento id., ment-ic'c'o ~ {Hd. 294} ḫ [misprint?] me-nt-ic'(c') 'female', Kmb ment-ic'c'u(-ta) (pl. me-nto) 'woman', Sd pl. me-nto 'women', Alb {L} menc'u'-ta, Qbn {L} manc'u'-ta 'woman' ¶ Ss. B 140, Hd. 170, 254, 294, 385, L M 39, To DL 518 || NrOm: Bnc {Wdk.} ma`yn 'woman', She {CR ← Mnt.} mainn, Shn {Abb.} ma-n id. ¶ Wdk. BY 107, CR NGS 621 || Ch: WCh: BT: Bl {IL} mōndu, {Mk.} mundu, Krkr {Lk.} me`ndo, {IL} mendau, Ngm {ChL} ma`ndu, {Mk.} mēndu ~ mandu 'woman', Gera {Sch.} mu`ndu, Grm {Sch.} ma`na, Bele/Krf {Sch.} mo`ndo, Glm {Sch.} ma`ndi (pl. ma`nna) id., 'wife'; ḫ Ngm {IS ← ?} mīno 'one of the wives (in polygamy), mano woman' (addressing one's wife or female relative) || CCh: Gude {Hsk.} mi`n3 (pl. makin3) 'woman, wife', {Mk., IL} min, {Srp.} mina 'woman' : Msg P {Trn.} m3niy, Msg Ng {GKrs.} muni' 'woman', Mlw {Trn.} mu`ni' id., 'wife' ¶ JI II 346-7, ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 30, 57, 86, 118, 137, 157, Mk. II 283, 286, Lk. DQM 69, Trn. LM 105, Trn. MVM 200, Hsk. 243 ¶¶ Gr. LA 64 II U *miNṭiya 'daughter-in-law, young woman' > FU: F minia, Es minia 'daughter-in-law' : pLp {Lr.} *m3n'e- 'daughter-in-law' > Lp: S {Hs.} ma`nnjaa, Vfs {Lgc.} ma`ṇ'ṇ'a 'younger brother's \ son's wife', Kld m3nḥ man'n 'son's wife', N {N} ma`nnje / -nj- 'daughter-in-law, wife of one's sibling's son', L {LLO} mannje- 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, nephew's wife' : Prm \*mo`n' ({LG} *mo`n' ) 'daughter-in-law' > Z m3nḥ mon', Z U mo`n', Yz 'mun' id., Vt ичимен- ic'i-men' 'younger brother's wife' (lit. *'little daughter-in-law') || ObU {Ht.} *me`n' 'daughter-in-law' > pVg \*ma`n' > Vg: T min', LK ma`n' / +ppa. Is ma`n'əm, MK ma`n' / ma`n'əm, UK/P/NV/SV/LL ma`n', UL/Ss man'; pOs {Ht.} \*men', {HL} \*ma`n' > Os: V/Vy, D/K/Nz/Kz/O men', Ty/Y ma`n' id. : OHG me`ny 'daughter-in-law, bride, young woman', Hg me`ny 'daughter-in-law' || Sm {HL.} \*men'a, {Jn.} \*men'ja 'daughter-in-law' > Ne T m3j, Ne T O {Lh.} m'e`y'e id., Ne F L m'i`e`d'æ; Ng {Cs.} meai, meae; En {Cs.} me` id., 'son's wife'; Kms (d ?) {Cs.} me`ji id., Koyb {Sp. ?} мѣимь; Mt {HL.} *ma`n'a, \*ma`ya 'daughter-in-law' (Mt M {Sp.} маемь 'my daughter-in-law') ¶ Coll. 35, Db. OS xxxi, UEW 276 (*min'a), Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *min'a, Ugr *mi`n'a, Sm \*men'a), Lr. #637, Lgc. #3695, Lgc. SL #1225, Hs. 906-7, SaR 182, It. #373, LG 174, Ht. #396, Hl. rHt 68-9, MF 436-7, EWU 962-3, Jn. 92, Hl. M #650 (misprint: \*ma`n'a, ma`ja with a for a) II A: pKo {S} \*mi`ə`n'ri, OKo {Lee} \*mi`a`n'ri, MKo {S} mi`ə`n'ri ~ mi`ə`nari, NKo myenuli mi`ə`nari ({Rm.} mi`ə`nari ~ mi`ə`neri), Ko Ks S {Mazur} minuri 'daughter-in-law' ¶ S QK #894, Nam 213, MLC 619, Rm. SKE 147, Mazur KD 212 ¶¶ IS II 68-8 ({IS}: Tg *bene < **mene) II D *min't,- ({GS} *-n'd,-) 'woman of nubile age, lusty female' > Kn mind.i id., Kdg mun'd.ə id., mun'd.igarati 'mistress', Tu min.d.i 'incontinent woman', Tl min.d.ata 'unchaste woman, adulteress', Brh {Bray} min'd. 'female dog'; derived words of this √ denote libertine men as well: Kn min.d.a 'man who does not restrain the animal passion, libertine', Kt min'd.n, mun'd.n, Tl min.t.hu`du 'paramour'; D → OI 'me`na- 'concubine' ¶¶ D #4858, Bray II 206, ≈ M K II 686, ≈ M E II 379 ♦ The dental (rather than postalveolar) *n in ancient D (as suggested by the OI Dravidism 'me`na-), the forms of BF (F minia), of Ko and of some HS lgs (Msg P m3niy, Bnc ma`yn) point to the presence of *y (pN ***min-ṭiya**) rather than of *-n' (***min'a**); the cns. -n'- in most FU lgs. goes back to contraction of the cluster *-Ny- ♦ The cns. *d (> Ch *d, D *t.) in some Ch and D lgs. may represent a sx. or the second component of a cd ♦ IS II 68-9 (*min'a: HS, U, D, Ko + err. Tg *bene '(male/female) relative-in-law', which is most likely to belong to N ***wa`n'V** 'relative of the opposite moiety' [q.v.]).

1442. ***mAndV** 'excitement, wish, desire' > IE: NaIE *mendh- 'be excited, wish' > OHG mendi 'joy, pleasure', menden 'to rejoice', mendo`n 'be glad', ON munda 'to aim (with a weapon)', Gt mundrei 'goal' || W mynnu 'to want', Crn mennaf 'I want' ¶ i ÷ Gk μα`ν'α'vω (aor. μα`ει'v) 'learn' and Sl \*mo`dgr 'wise' (cf. N ***monV** 'to test, think'), as well as NaIE *men- 'wish eagerly' (see N ***mAynV** 'ask, desire') ¶ WP II 270-1, P 750, F II 170-1, Fs. 367-8, Kb. 674, ≠ EI 348 [Gmc & Clt < *men(s)-d^h(e)h₁- 'learn' ← place in the mind] II D *ma`n't,- ( {GS} \*man'd,- v. 'like, wish' > Gnd ma`nd,- v. 'like', Kui ma`nd.a 'intend, aim at, desire, wish', Ku ma`nd.inai v. 'profess', ma`ndinai v. 'agree, sanction, wish', ma`n'd,- 'marry', ? Krx ma`n'd,- v. 'select' ¶¶ D #4807 II ? K: Sv: UB {TK} mand, L {Dn.} manda n. 'wish, will (желан'е, волѣ)', Sv {Ni.} mand 'love' (unless px. ma- + nd- 'wish', cf. N ***NidV** ≈ 'eye, to look') ¶ Ni. s.v. л'бм, Dn. s.v. manda, DCh. 977-8.

1443. ***manVga** (or ***manga**?) 'strong, numerous' > HS: C: EC *°mang- > Af {PH} mango 'be many/much', Sa {Bnd.} mango 'many', {R} man'go ~ ma`n'go 'Fülle, Menge', -mang- pcv. (p. 'a-menga) 'be full, numerous', ???σ,φ Rn {PG} mī'g 'strength, heaviness'; ?? EC {Ss.} *mig-/°mug- 'full(ness)' > Sa mige 'fullness', Sml {R} mug 'Fülle, Vollheit', {ZMO, DSI} mug 'capacity, volume, amount a vessel can contain', Bs {HL} mig- 'be full', {Ss.} mig-i 'full', Or {Ss.} moga 'fullness', {Ss.}, Or B {Sr.} mi3-u', Or M {LLC} mi3'u 'full'; ? EC {Ss.} *-mg- pcv. 'fill'; (× N ***mEkfE** ~ ***mEfke** 'big' [q.v.]) > Sa {Ss.} -meg- id., Or Wt {Hn.} ime`k-, Kns immak- 'fill'; the loss of the stem-medial \*-n- may be due to morphological levelling in the system of EC verbs; Ya {Hn.} -mok (pl. -'mo`3'e?) 'many' may belong either to EC *mang- or to EC {Ss.} *mig-/°mug- ¶ PH 163, R S II

258-60, R SS II 288, Ss. PEC 25, Sr. 333, 367, LLC 82, DSI 444, ZMO 295, PG 224, HL 127, Hn. W 59, Hn. Y II 129 || NrOm: Shn {Lm.} manga', Anf {MYTY} mango, Kf {C} maggo, Mch {L} maggo 'heavy', Kf magg-, Mch ma ggi- 'be heavy'; (x N ***ma|on** V 'many, much'): Hrr {Abb.} mo'no 'forte', Gf {Mrn.} min- 'be strong \ firm (essere forte)', mino 'forte', Dk {CR} min'n'-ire- 'forza, fu forte', Malo {CR} mino- 'forte' ¶ Mrn. O 152, CR H 654, CR LLR s.v., Lm. Sh 349-50, MYTY 118, C SE IV 470, L M 40, ≈ AD SF 256-7 II ? K: Mg mangar-i 'firm, strong', mt marg- v. 'strengthen', OG, G magari-i 'strong, firm', magr- 'be strong, firm, steady' ¶ DCh. 358, Abul. 211-2, Chx. 701-4, Q 275-6 II IE: NaIE ***meng^h-/*m_o.neg^h-/*m_o.nog^h-** 'numerous' > OIr me(i)nic adj. 'abundant, frequent', W mynych, Crn menough 'frequent; often' || Gmc: Gt manag-s, ON mangr, Sw ma'ngen, Dn mangen, OSx manag, OHG manag, manīg 'numerous', AS maniz id., pl. manize, maniza 'many', NHG pl. manche 'several', NE many; Gmc ***managīn** 'multitude, great number' > Gt manag-ei 'Menge, Volk', OSx menigi 'Menge, Schar', OHG managī(n), menigī 'multitude, crowd', NHG Menge 'great number', AS me'niio, ON mengi id., 'crowd' || SI ***mъnogъ**(jъ) 'numerous' > OCS **мъногъ**(и) mъnogъ(i), SCr, Slv mno'g, Cz, Slk mnohy', R 'многоий; adv. ***mъnogo** 'much, many' > OCS **мъного** mъnogo, Blg, R 'много' ¶ ≈ P 739, EI 3 (***meneg^h-** 'abundant'), Vn. M 37, Fs. 343-4, Vr. 378, 384, Ho. 214, Ho. S 50-I, Kb. 656-7, KM 458, 471, Vs. II 633-4, Glh. 418 II A: Tg ***maņa** 'strong, firm, hard; very' > Orc maņa 'strong', Ud {Krm.} maņa ~ maņa 'strong, firm; strongly, very much', Ul maņa id., 'difficult', Nn maņa id., 'firm', Ork maņa id., 'hard', Ewk maņa, Lm maņ 'hard, firm', Sln mande-, mandī 'difficult (adv.), very', mandīj 'very', WrMc maņa, menge 'hard, strong', Mc Sb {Y} maņa, {Mrm.} maņa 'difficult, hard to', Jrc {Kiy.} maņa 'difficult' ¶ STM I 529-30, Krm. 259, Y ##1845, 2516, Kiy. 136 [#702], Klz. MS 221 || pJ {S} ***manki-** 'big' > J: Sh ma'gi-, Y ma'i- ¶ S QJ #151 || T: Chv ма'н mъn, ма'на mъn, Δ {Md.} mъ'пъ' 'big, great' (x ***ma|on** V 'many, much') ¶ Jeg. 130 ¶¶ DQA #1256 (A ***maņa** 'big, strong': Tg, J) II Gil: Gil: A {ST} maņg-j '(be) strong, firm, difficult', ES {Krm.} maņg-d '(be) strong, vigorous' (x-b Tg?) ¶ ST 175, Krm. N 677 ♦ Coll. IUS 13 and Coll. HUV (IE, U), IS II 41-2 (***manga** > HS, IE, K, A) → Glh. 418; in all these sources there is no distinction between this etymon and ***ma|on** V 'many, much' ♦ Gr. II #260 (***manka** 'many') [IE, A, Ai, Gil, EA + qu. Ko + err. U].

1444. ***mint'u** 'to jump, run away' > A: NTg ***mundu-** 'jump' (as < ***mindu-**?) > Ewk mundu- id.; d ***mundu-ka** 'hare' > Ewk munnuka n d munduka n, Lm munnuka n d munnuka n d munnuka n, Neg monoxa n d monoka n 'hare' ¶ STM I 556 II D ***min't_u-/*mit't_u-**, {GS} ***min't_u-** 'jump' > Kn mīn.t.u v. 'jump, bounce', mud.i v. 'leap, bounce, hop', Tl mid.iyu v. 'jump, leap forward, flashfly off (as a chip), mit.t.u v. 'jump, leap', Klm mit.t. v. 'leap', Nkr mit.t. v. 'jump', Gnd mirr- d mir- 'run, flee' ¶¶ D #4850 (a) II ? HS: S ***o**/mtn > Ar ***mtn** G 's'en aller, s'éloigner pour un voyage' ¶ BK II 1058.

1445. ? ***mVntV** ~ ***mVtnV** 'to last, be slow' > IE: NaIE ***me|ondo-** > OI manda-h, {MW} 'slow, tardy, moving slowly, idle, lazy', OI A mandara- 'slow, tardy' || SI ***mo_o.d-** > OCS **мѣдънъ** mѣdъnъ 'slow', **мѣдити** mѣditi 'to delay, linger, tarry' (unless a secondary variant of OCS **моуѣдънъ** moudъnъ 'slow', **моуѣдити** muditi 'be slow', as suggested in ESSJ XX 167-70) ¶ WP II 305-6 (Ary, SI), StSS 341-2, MW 787-8; M K II 581 & M E II 312 (no IE et. for OI manda-) II HS: CS ***o**/mtn 'stay, be immobile, slow' > MHb ***mtn** G 'be slow \ long; wait', Sh (pf. NiT5m6e5 him'tīn) v. 'last, wait', Sr NA4.iṃa mat'tīn, 'noA4.iṃa mattīn-a- 'slow, sluggish, dull, inert', Ar ***mtn** G (pf. matuna) 'être ferme, solide', (pf. matana) 's'arrêter dans un lieu' ¶ Js. 803, Br. 410, JPS 319, BK II 1058-9 II ?? D ***mo_o.t_u-/*mot_u.t_u-** ({GS} ***mon't_u-**?) 'dull' (of a person) > Tm mo_o.t_u, mot_u.t_u 'stupidity, dullness of intellect', mon.n.ai_uyan 'dullard, idiot', Ml mo_o.t_u 'obstunacy', Kt med_u 'dullness of senses', med_u 'dull man', Kn mo_o.t_u 'stupidity', Tu mo_o.d_u 'ignorant man, silly fellow', Tl mo_o.t_u 'rough, rude, dull, stupid', Brh mo_o.t_u 'foolish' ¶¶ D #5135.

1446. ***mAnt.V** 'jaw, skull, chin' > IE: NaIE ***mento-** 'chin' > L mentum id. || OIr mant {Vn.} 'gum, jaw', {P} 'the place of a tooth that has fallen out; gum', W mant 'jaw-bone, mouth' ({Vn.}: x-b OIr) || Gt munps, ON muḍr, munnr, OHG mund, NHG Mund, AS muḍ 'mouth', NE mouth ¶¶ Connection with Ht me'ni- {CHD} 'face, cheek' [not 'chin' (⇔ EI)] is not plausible enough ¶ i ÷ the √ of L mand-o- / -e're 'chew, bite' and Gk μασα'ομαι id. (P's unjustified rec. ***ment^h-** v. 'chew', 'mouth', based on the err. comparison of these words with OI math- 'entreißen, rauben' [that P translates as 'fressen']) ¶¶ ≈ P 726, ≠ 732 (Gmc ***munθ-** 'mouth' < i ***ment^h-**), ≈ EI 107 (?***men-** 'chin'), 453, WH II 72-3, Fs. 868, Vr. 396, Ho. 227-8, Kb. 700, KM 493, Vn. M 17, CHD L-N 289-90 II U: Sm {Hl.} ***munt**coyktcVn, {Jn.} ***munt**cъyktcVn or ***nc-** 'beard' (cd or d) > Ne: T муноц-, T O {Lh.} mu'n'o'c', F Nl munnu's':əṇ; Yr {Pl.} му'дут-, En {Cs.} muddut'e?, Ng {Mik.} mu'ndu's'a, {Cs.} munduis'aṇ; Kms {KD} mu'z_en, {Cs.} mu'izzen; Mt {Hl.} ***munduc**Vn 'beard' (Mt: M {Mll.} mundutschen, {Sp.} мундучен-, Mt K {Mll.} mundutsjin, {Pl.} mu'ndutin id., Mt T {Mll.} mundutsche_nda 'his beard') ¶ Jn. 96, Hl. M 311 [#703] II D (in SD) ***man't_u-(ai_u)** 'skull, cranium' ({GS} ***mand_u-** 'cup, vessel') > Tm man.t.ai_u id., 'head, begging bowl', Ml man.t.a 'skull', Tu man.d.æ 'skull, head, large earthen vessel', Kt man'd_u, Td mad_u, Kdg man'd_u, Krg man'd_u, d man'd_u 'head', Kn man.d_u id., man.d.æ 'big jar'; D b> OI A man.d.a- 'head' ¶ D #4682, ≈ GS 28 [#18] II ? HS: EC: Bs munz'e {Hw.} 'mouth', {HL} 'lip, mouth' (unless akin to Sa/Af {R} min'ga_ga- 'jaw, cheek') ¶ HL 128, Hw. B II 127, R S II 269 ♦ The apparently irreg. D ***t_u** (for the expected ***t** < N ***t_u**) still needs explanation (a special development within a cns. cluster?).

1447. ***men^ht. 1V** 'to miss one's aim' (→ 'pass by', 'be mistaken') > IE: NaIE ***ment-** '(in) vain; liar, deceit' > Gk **μα'την** 'in vain, fruitlessly', **μα'τη** 'fault' ||| (× N ***min 1V** 'tell a lie, deceive'): L **mentior** / **mentīri** 'to tell a lie', **mentītus** 'false' || Pru **me^hntimai** 'wir lügen', **epme^hntimai** 'wir belügen' || IS II 52, ≠ WH II 68-9, F II 185, Frn. 455, En. 210 || U ***menta-** > FU {UEW} ***menta-** v. 'miss one's mark, be mistaken' > pLp {Lr.} ***mente-** id. > Lp: Lp N {N} **mæd'det** v. 'miss (not hit), mistake (one's way)', S {Hs.} **mieddedh** 'fehlen, irren, sündigen', L {LLO} **miedde-** ~ **ma'dde-** 'fehlen, Fehler machen, fehlgreifen, sich irren', Lp Kld {TI} **me'a'nda** 'weg, fort' (← ***vorbei**) || Os V/Vy **mintəxtə-** v. 'miss one's aim (in shooting)'; ? Vg: ML {Mu.} **ma'nt** ~ **ma'nta** ~ **ma'nti**, K {Mu.} **ma'nt** ~ **mo'nt**, P {Kn.} **ma'n'tl** 'längs, entlang', Vg {IS without specifying the dialect & source} **a'm ma'ntsəm** 'passing by me' (**прохождение мимо меня**) || pY {IN} ***mo'nte** > Y K {IN} **mudedə-** 'pass (away), elapse' (**проходит, миноват**), {Jc.} **mudede-** 'elapse' (**malijelokun pozer'xo mudedeige** 'when 8 days will elapse' || Coll. 97-8, UEW 272, Lr. #657, Lgc. #3812, Hs. 917, TI 244, Trj. S 256, MK 298, WVD VII 197, IN 235, Ang. 167, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#76] (Y <b- U) || ? HS: Ch ***√mnt** ({Nw.} ***√mn**) 'forget' > WCh {Stl.} ***mant-** v. 'forget' > Hs {Ba.} **ma'nc'e-** / **ma'nta-**, Gw {Mts.} **mo'c'i** || Gmy **men**, **Mnt mun**, Su {J} **mander** || Bl **mont-**, Krkr **mantau**, Bele **mo'ntu'**, Krf **mu'nd-**, Gera **mo'nə-**, Grm **mu'n-**, Ngm {ChL} **mə'ntə't**, Glm {Sch} **nu'nd-** || My {Sk.} **man-** || CCh: Tr {Nw.} **mo'na'**, Pdl {ChL} **m'o'ne'ha** || Bcm {Nw.} **myentə** || Ba. 767-9, Stl. ZCh 233 [#802], Nw. 26 [#53], ChC, ChL || ?φ A: M ***meŋde** > WrM **meŋde-**, HIM **мүндү-**, MҮГДҮ- 'be(come) excited \ worried \ embarrassed; become stupid', Brt **мүгдү-** 'get excited \ embarrassed, lose one's head', Ord {Ms.} **meŋd_e-** ~ **meg_d_e-** 'avoir des soupçons', **d** caus. **meŋd_e-** 'faire perdre contenance', Kl {Rm.} **meŋdə-** 'aufgeregt sein (über etw.)', {KRS} **d** † **мэ'дк*р** **meŋdəku'r** 'sorrow, distress' (the unexpected voiced *d [for *t] needs explanation; M ***mene-** > WrM **menere-**, HIM **мүһүрү-** 'become stupid \ dull, faint', Kl {Rm.} **menr_** - 'lose consciousness, faint', {KRS} id., 'grow numb', Brt **мүһүр-** 'grow dull, lose sensitivity'; WrM **menen** ~ **meneg**, HIM **мүһүн**, Kl {Rm.} **menəg_** 'stupid', Ord {Ms.} **menen**, **menek** (in **menen t'anan** 'stupid', **t'enek menek** id. [infl. of MChn {S} ***mu'ŋ tu'ŋ** 'stupid']) || MED 536, Ms. O 462, Chr. 309, 312, KW 261, KRS 350 || T ***ma'n-** > Chv **man-** 'forget' || ≠ Jeg. 128 < IS MS 357 s.v. **промахнут-сѣ** (***menta**; IE, U), IS III 52 [#357] (***mena** id., **пройти мимо, быт-т'етным \ безрассудным \ ложным** > IE, U, Ch, M ***meŋde**, ***men-**; ÷ A ***mun 1V** 'be mistaken, mad' [actually belonging to N ***mun 1V** 'defect, damage', q.v.]) < If M ***meŋde-** belongs here, the N rec. is ***meŋt. 1V**, otherwise it is ***men't. 1V**.

1448. ? ***mowE'n 1V** 'intestines, belly' > HS: C {AD} ***mVn-** 'intestines' > Bj **'mana** {Rop.} 'viscera, bowels, intestines', {R} 'Darm, Gedärme, Eingeweide', Bj A {AD} **'mana** 'guts' || EC: pSam {Hn.} **mind.i'qar** 'intestines' > Sml Δ {Hn.} **mind.iqir** id., Sml C {ZMO} **mind.i'fir** 'viscera, part of the intestine', Sml N {Abr.} **mi'nd.i'fi'r** 'the large intestine', Rn {PG} **mi'nd.a'ga'r** 'intestine', Bn {Hn.} **mini'ʔi'r** id., mineʔer 'part of intestines', Bs {Hw.} **menʔe'r**, {HL} **minʔe'r** 'intestines'; Arr {Hw.} **merd_e** id. || DhI {EEN} **ma'ni** 'large intestine' || EEN 37, AD SF 182, To. D 142, R WBd 170, Rop. 217, ZMO 291, Abr. S 180, PG 225, Hn. PS 69, HL 128, Hw. B II 125, Hw. A 384 || CCh: ?? FIB **manʔ'evin** 'intestines' || U ***m'u'n 1V** 'belly' > Sm ***m'u'n 1V** > Ne T **мын** 'fish belly (**брюшко част-рыбы**)', 'smoked belly of sturgeon (**тҭшка**)', {Klp.} **мын** 'Bauch', T O {Lh.} **mun** 'Fischmagen', **mun'c'** 'stomach', {Klp.} **mun** 'Bauch', En B {Cs.} **'munedi**, En X {Cs.} **'munori** 'Magen', En T {Klp., Pl.} **mu'nuri**, En M {Klp.} **mu'na'de**, {Pl.} **munjade** 'belly', En {B} **mun'obo**, En X {Cs.} **mun'abo** 'Fischmagen', Ng {Cs.} **mina**, **minaiku** 'Fischmagen', **minada** 'Magen', {Klp.} **mino'wa** 'Bauch' || pY {IN} ***mon-** 'belly' > Y T {IN} **mon-il** 'belly' (*-il is a nominal sx.), {Ku.} **mon'il** 'belly', {Krn.} **mon'il** 'belly; stomach (Magen)', {Jc.} **monił** 'Magen', OY Ch {Mat.} **манило** 'belly' || Coll. JU 83, Ter. 266, KP 130, Klp. SA vii, SWV 36, Cs. 75, IN 236, 311, Ku. 150, Krn. JJ 275, Ang. 165 || A: {DQA} ***mo'bina** > NaT ***mo'ga'n** ({DQA}: < ***mo'ben**) 'entrails, ∈ intestine' > OT [MhK] **bu'ka'n** (= [**bo'u'ga'n**])? '∈ part of the entrails, coecum', XwT XIV **bu'ken** (= [**bo'u'gen**])? 'entrails', Tkm **bo'wen**, Qq **bu'yen** 'large intestine', Qrg, Alt, Tv **mo'n**, Bsh **bu'ḡ'a'n** 'duodenum', Xk **po'n** 'coecum' || Cl. 328, ET B 205, DTS 132 || NrTg ***mo'man'a** (as from ***mo'ban'a**) '∈ intestine' > Ewk **mo'man'a** 'large intestine, stomach (Magen)', Lm **mo'muna** 'sausages (reindeer's intestines filled with suet)', NrTg -b> Yk **momunai** 'suet on guts' || STM I 544 || ???φ Ko **ma'nhwa** 'spleen and pancreas' || MLC 578 || DQA #1349 (A ***mo'bipin 1V** 'large intestine' > T, Tg) < U and Tg point to a N ***-n'**, while T suggests ***-nḡ-**. In U and Tg there is infl. of the reflexes of N ***meʔawun 1V** 'chest, heart' < IN 236 (Y, Ko), Blz SNE I #16 (C, U, Ko) < ≈ Gr. II #37 ('man belly').

1449. ≈ ***meʔawun 1V** (or ***mUn 1V**)? 'breast, chest, heart' (→ 'middle') > HS: SC: Irq {Wh.} **mu'na** (pl. **mu'ne**), {MQK} **mu'na'**, {Mgh.} **mu'na**, Brn {Wh.} **mu'na** 'heart', {E} **munaʔi** 'chest', Grw/Alg {Fl.} **mona**, Kz {Fl., E} **munako**, Asa {E} **munok** 'heart'; SC -b> Mb **mu'na** id. || Ag: Bln {R} **ma'ngu** (mang^w) n. 'middle' -b> Tgy **μNì** 'mango 'middle, centre' || E SC 159, Mgh. 115, MQK 75, R WB 271, Blz. ADB 21, AD SF 182, CS 161 || S: Ar **maʔan-at-** (pl. **muʔun-**) 'part of the belly surrounding the navel; fat covering the inner surface of the peritoneum' (← ***middle**?) (× N ***mowE'n 1V** 'belly, intestines') || BK II 1054, ≠ MiK I #1.183 [Ar **maʔan-at-** < S ***mV**(ʔ)n(-at)- 'tendon, sinew, muscle'] || But Eg **mnʔ** 'breast' is more likely to go back to N ***ma'lge** 'breast, udder' (q.v. ffd.) || A: Tg ***mi_a'ban** 'heart' > Ewk, Neg **me'wan**, Lm **ma'wun**, Orc **ma'wa(n-) ~ mi_awa(n-)**, Ud **ma'wa(n-)**, Ul, Ork **me'wa(n-)**, Nn **mi_awa** ~ **mi_av** 'heart', Sln **m'e'ya** ~ **miya** id., {Iv.}

m'a''wan' ~ m'ewan 'breast' ¶ The depalatalization *n' > Tg *n is still puzzling ¶ WrMc n'aman 'heart' hardly belongs here (unless one reconstructs pTg ≈*mi₁aban'am), but is more likely to be akin to MKo ni₁ə'm-t^ho'ŋ 'heart' (acc. to Lee) and possibly to FU *n₁'jime- 'to suck the breast' (Coll. 15-6, MF 153, It. #368) || pKo {S} *m₁l' n' a' m 'heart' > MKo m₁l' n' a' m, NKo maim ¶ S QK #42, Nam 196, MLC 564 || pJ {S} *m₁u' na' -i 'breast' > OJ mu' ne', J: T mune', K mu' ne', Kg mu' ne' ¶ S QJ #202, Mr. 488 ¶ ≈ DQA *1315 (A *mi₁o' n' u' 'heart, breast'; unjustified rec. of the Tg root as *mi₁an'am) || D (in SD) *mUn' n' i, ({GS} *n' c' -?) > Tm mon₁ n₁ i, mon' ci 'breasts', Tu mun' n' a, mun' n' æ 'breast' (as called by children) ¶ D #5111 ♦ If Ar maʔan-at- and Tg *mi₁ a' ban do not belong here, the N rec. may be *mUn' V.

1450. *moy₁V₁ŋ ¶ 'neck, nape' > HS: ECh: Kbl {Cp.} muŋgo 'nape' ¶ ChC II IE: NaIE *mon- 'nape, neck' > OI man'ya' 'nape of the neck', Av manaoθri- 'neck, nape', pañri-ma'nya- 'Nackenschutz'; d : OI ma'n.ih. 'necklace, pearl, jewel', Irn *manya-ka- 'necklace' [-b> Arm maneak maneak id., 'collar', Gk [Pol.] μανιακή 'necklace, torc (worn of gold by Persians and Gauls)', JA [Trg.], JEA ak1in5m6 māni'k-a' 'necklace'] || OIr muin 'neck, upper part of the back', muine'1 'neck', muin-torc 'chain for the neck', Brtt {RE} *mon- 'neck' > OW [γ] minci 'necklace, collar', MW mwn, W mwnwgl, mynwgl, OBr mun 'neck' || L monīle 'necklace, collar' || Gk D μα'vvoθ, μο'vvoθ 'necklace' || d : Gmc *mani₁a- > ON men, OHG menni, AS me₁ne 'necklace'; Gmc *mano' 'mane' > OHG mana 'mane, neck', ON mo₁n, Sw man, NHG Ma'hne, MLG mane, OFrs mona, mana, AS manu 'mane', NE mane || d : Sl *monisto 'necklace' > OCS, OR монисто monisto, Blg {Gerov} ма'нисто, McdS, R, Uk мо'нисто ¶ WP II 305, P 747-8, EI 391 (*monis ~ *moneh₁- 'neck'), M E II 556-7, 584-5, Dlm. 230, Js. 801, Sl. 687, Vn. M 72, RE 114, Loth 190, WH II 108, F I 171, ≈ Ch. 664-5 (μα'vvoθ, μο'vvoθ <d [bf.] μανιακή), Vr. 384, 401, Kb. 656, 675, KM 454, Ho. 215, 219, ESSJ XIX 209-11, Vs. II 650 II A {SDM97} *mo' y₁o₁ŋV, {DQA} *mo' y₁ŋo 'neck' > T *mo₁y₁in ({DQA, TL} *bo'yn) 'neck' > OT boyin ~ boyun 'neck', MU, MQp XIII, XwT XIV, OOSm ≥XIV boyun, Chg xv boyin ~ boyun, MQp [CC] boyin or boyun, Tk boyun, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, ET boyun, Uz бу'йин boyin, VTt муен мууън, Bsh мууън, Alt, Xk moyin, Qrg, Ln, Tv moyun, Tf мо'ён id. (+ppa: mōyn- 'his neck'), Yk moy 'mo' y (+ppa: moyun-um 'my neck'), {Md.} mo' y' / mon' n' - : Chv: L/MK ма'й m'ъy, Chv H m'ъ y, Chv V mry ~ muy 'neck' (< *mo' y₁u₁n < as *mo' y₁u₁n) 'neck' || (< d ?) T *moynak > OT boynaq 'narrow pass', Qrg moynoq 'camel's neck; mountain pass', Qzq moynaq 'skin of camel's neck', Qq moynaq 'sand-hill in a desert' ¶ Cl. 386, Rs. W 80, ET B 180-2, TL 233-4, Ra. 207, Pek. 1580-1, Jeg. 129, Md. 46, 174 (pT *bo' y' u' n'), Jud. 529-3, MM 242, KrkR 462 || ???σ M *mundaya 'withers, place between the shoulder-blades (of animals)' > WrM mundaga {Gl.} id., {Kow.} 'withers of a horse/mule', {MED} 'withers of a horse', HIM, Brt мундаа, Ord mu'nd a', Kl Ö {Rm.} munda' id. ¶ MED 351, Kow. 2028, Gl. III 310, Ms. O 47, KW 268, Chr. 302 || Tg *moŋa(n) 'neck' > Ewk, Neg moŋon, Nn Nh/KU moŋgo', Orc moŋo(n-), Ork, Ul moŋgo(n-), WrMc moŋgon ¶ STM I 546 || Ko: [1] pKo {S} mi₁ə' -k 'neck, throat' > MKo, NKo mi₁ə' k id. (≠ T *mo₁y₁-nak); [2] MKo mə'ŋ-ə' i₁ 'yoke, harness' (σ≡: pT *mo₁y₁untirik 'yoke', cf. ET B 182) ¶ S QK #58, Nam 213, MLC 619 ¶ SDM97, ≈ DQA #1336 (incl. T, M, Tg, Ko).

1451. ?? *maŋ'g'V ~ *maN₁i₁'g'V 'monkey' > HS: ECh: Mu {J} mo'ŋgo' 'small black monkey' ¶ J Mu, ChC II A: Tg *mon'o > WrMc mon'o (spelled moniyo) {Z} '€ yellowish monkey with a short tail' ('обез-ѣна, желтоватаѣ съ короткимъ хвостомъ'), {Hr.} 'kurzschwänziger Affe', but on p. 511 Zaxarov refers to mon'o as 'common monkey' ('обыкновеннаѣ обез-ѣна'), Mc Sb {Y} /moni/ [mɔn'] 'monkey', {Mrm.} mon'u, Mc N {Rdn.} м'н'у mɔn'u 'monkey'; Mc -b> Sln mon'o-, Orc, Ud, Ul, Nn mon'o 'monkey'; there is also a variant STg word *bon'o 'monkey' > WrMc bon'o {Z} 'large monkey', {Hr.} 'monkey', Jrc dobi bonon 'monkey' ¶ STM I 94, 545, Krm. 260, Z 510-1, 890, Hr. 111, 665, Y #2212, Klz. MS 226, Rdn. 7, Kiy. 105 II D (in SD) *maŋk- -{GS} *maŋg- 'monkey' > Ml moŋŋa, Kn maŋga, Krg maŋgi 'monkey', Tu mange id., 'ape' ¶ D #4666 ♦ The origin of NE monkey and of the Romance word *monna (> Sp, Port mona, -o 'monkey', OIt, It monna, Fr mone 'female monkey') remains obscure. They may be loans from an unknown source [but hardly from Prs (i.e. CINPrs maymu'n, NPrs ma'yumu'n) 'monkey', as believed by ML #5242]. For other unconvincing etymologies (e.g., < It madonna) cf. Pian. 872-3. Nothing is known about their possible connection with N *maŋ'g'V 'monkey' ♦ AD NM #6, ≠ S CNM 12, ≠ Vv. AEN 7 (rejects the Tg cognate because of the irreg. Mc -n', which, however, may be explained if we assume pN *maN₁i₁'g'V).

1452. *muŋK₁aU (= *muŋk₁aU?) 'make great efforts, (?) be heavy' > IE: NaIE (att. in Sl) *monk₁'w- > Sl *mo''ka 'torment, hard work' > OCS мѣка mo'ka, Cz, Slk muka, R, Uk 'myka, Slv mu'ka ~ mo'ka 'torment', Scr mu''ka, P me'ka id., 'work', R Ps/Sml/Tmb 'myka 'hard work', Blg 'мѣка 'torment', 'property' (← *result of hard work'); Sl -b> Rum munca', Hg munka 'work' ¶ ESSJ XX 136-8, Vs. III 7, EWU 1004, ≠ P 731 II D {tr., GS} *mukk- 'strain, make great efforts' (× N *mUØke 'to press', q.v. ffd.) II A: T *muŋk > [1] T *muŋ > OT {Cl.} buŋ d muŋ 'grief, sorrow', MQp XIV muŋ ~ bun, Osm buŋ 'pain, distress', Tk bun 'crisis, difficult situation', Ggz bun- 'be tired (of travelling), be discontented', Qzq мѣ' mu'ŋ, Qq, Nog, Qmq, Qrg, Uz b, ET {Nj.} muŋ 'melancholy, sadness, sorrow', ET {Rs.} muŋ 'Mühe, Leiden, Sorge, Kummer, Trauer', Yk muŋ 'torment, suffering' ('мука, мучение, страдание'), d muŋ-na- v. 'torment' (-b> Ork muŋna- vt. 'torment', Ewk muŋ-, muŋan-, Neg moŋnan- vt. 'torment, beat'), ? Xk d мѣнь'с мо''ŋis 'sorrow(ful), sad(ness)', мѣнек мо''nek 'sad, sorrowful';

[2] ? T *muk > Qrg бук buq 'melancholy, depression' (**тоска, угнетенное состояние**), Alt/Shor {Rl.} muqan- 'sich abquälen, abmühen, sorgen', Xk {BIG} мухан- мухан- 'suffer (e.g. from an illness)' (**мучит-сѣ, страдает**), Osm {Rl.} æmY'QvM muqay-(maq) 'to suffer, toil, fatigue oneself'; here the initial m- suggests the (former?) presence of a medial *n (*munk?) unless these words are loans from unknown source ¶ Cl. 347, Rs. W 344-5, Sht. 146, GRMS 97, Nj. 719, BIG 110-1, Jud. 156, 538, Rl. IV 2171-2, Pek. 1625-9, STM I 557 || ? M: MM [S] {H} муң 'Schwierigkeit, Not' (muң tani-qu 'Not erfahren, in Schwierigkeit sein'), WrM муңда-, HIM муңда- 'be in trouble or in difficult circumstances' (unless ← muңda- 'become insufficient, come to an end') ¶ MED 551, H 112 ¶ The monosyllability of MM муң suggests a possible loan from T ¶ Pp. VG 71 (T, M + *err.* Ewk муңнаја- 'suffer' [in fact, a loan from Yk]), Nm. UT 79 II ?ф K: GZ (or Zan?) *mank,- 'heavy' ~ ? *mak,- (× N ***MEkʰE** or ***MEʰkE** 'big' [q.v. ffd] ¶ {IS}: K *mank,- < *mwank,- ◇ For the semantic connection between 'work' and 'torment' cp. L trepalium '∈ instrument of torture' < VL {ML} *tripalia-re 'to torture' > Fr travailler, Prv trebalhar, Sp trabajar, Prt trabalhar 'to work' (ML #8911) and, on the other hand, travail 'labour of childbirth' ← Fr travail 'work', as well as the history of NE labour ◇ {IS}: the cognates without a medial nasal (in K, D, T) may be accounted for by *dis* ◇ IS MS 369 (*mu(n)k.Λ **труд**: IE, T, D, ?K), IS II 73-4 (K, D, T).

1453. UA ₂ ***mVŋKV** 'beaver, mole' (a substratum word?) > U: pOs *maŋk 'beaver, mole' > Os: V/Vy/Vrt maŋ, Ty ma°y (+ppa. 1s muŋəm), Y ma°y 'beaver', K maŋ, Nz mōŋ, Sh muŋx-, O maŋx-, {Ahl.} moŋk 'mole', Kz mō°ŋx, Sn mōx 'rat, mole' ¶ For *ŋk > V/Vy/Ty/Y -y/-x, K -x/-x cp. Ht. 's reconstructions: pOs *mōŋk 'Aextrücken' (> Os: V/Vy mōy, Ty moy°w, K moyx), pObU *c°V:ŋk 'Eiskruste' (> Os V/Vy t°oy, Ty t°a'ŋ°w 'thin ice'), pObU *c°u°ŋk 'fog' (> Os V/Vy c°u°x, Ty c°ix°w), pObU *θo°ŋkəl [i.e. *θo°ŋkəl] (> Os V l°oyəl, Vy yoyəl), pOs *c°ōŋk- 'ausschlagen' (> Os V/Vy c°oy-, c°oy-, Ty/Y c°oq-), etc., cf. Ht. ##80, 107-8, 149. 401 ¶ Stn. D 897, ≠ UEW 264 (equates Os maŋ°d maŋ 'beaver' with Mr maksa- 'mole' and reconstructs FU *maksa without taking into account the Os Δ forms with -ŋx) II A: M *miŋzin 'beaver' > WrM miŋzin, HIM миѣж minž°, Kl mi°u miŋž°ə id., Brt f мѣжѣн хал°уѣн 'water mole, desman' (хал°уѣн 'otter') ¶ MED 539, KRS 352, Chr. 312 || ?? T: Tv mo°ndelee 'young of a marmot' ¶ TvR 301, Shch. Zh 148.

1454. ***muŋiH'or'K.V** (or ***muŋi Øar'K.V?**) 'gristle, horn' (→ 'muscle', 'sinew') > HS: EC murk,- (~ *morg-) 'gristle, tendon, sinew' (× N ***m'ur'rk.V** 'root, root-crops, edible roots', → 'sinew') > Or {Brl.} morga 'tendon', {Th.} morg-aya id., 'nerve', Or B {Sr.} morga- 'tendons, muscles', Kns murq-a 'tip of the nose', Gdl {Bl.} mork,-a 'bone of nose, kneecap, soft part of ensete', Sml muruq- 'muscle', Arr {Hw.} morgi° 'tendon, sinew', Brj mor'ganka 'mic°a 'ankle', Rn {PG} mo°ro°go 'string', Ya {Hn.} morž°-i? (pl. morž°-ei) 'sinew of neck' ¶ Bl. 198, Ss. PEC 54 (EC *murk,- 'gristle'), Ss. B 148, Th. 248, Brl. 309, Sr. 369, PG 227, Hw. A 385, Hn. Y II 133 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Zar {Sh.} K/GL mo°ri, Zar L {Sh.} n°eri°, Sy {Csp.} n°e°ri, Grn {Hrn.} mya°w, {Jgr.} m°a°w, {Gw.} miyaw 'horn' i ?ф NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} mu°wi°i ?ф Ngz {Sch.} ma°ki°m 'horn blown in hunting to call other hunters; trumpeting with horn' i ?ф CCh: Msg P {Trn.} miyok, Msg {MB} a°mi°yo°k, Mlw {Trn.} a°mo°k, Msk {Trn.} mi°yo°t i Ms {Caît.} mi°yok (df. mi°yo°k-ŋa°), {J} myo°gga°, {Mch.} myo°k, ZmD {KNC} mi°e°k, ZmB {Sa.} me°ke°, {J} me°k 'horn' ¶ JI II 192-3. MB 59, ChC, ChL, Sh. SB 25, Sch. DN 109, Csp. 54, Hrn. #141, Jgr. 185, KNC 17, Caît. 115, Trn. LDM 20, Trn. LM 106 II U: FU *n°o°rke, {Db.} *n°orke 'gristle' (× ***n°axiirU(-KE)** 'cartilage of the vertebra', q.v. ffd.) II A: T ***muynur** 'horn' > NaT ***muynuz** (> ***mu°ŋ°u°z**) > OT {Cl.} mu°ŋu°z°d mu°yu°z°d bu°yu°z, MQp/MOg XIII buynuz, Chg xv bu°ŋu°z, Tk boynuz, Ggz, CrTt boynuz, Tkm buynud, Az buynuz, Uz mugiz ~ muguz, Kr, ET mu°ŋu°z, ET Δ mun°uz, Slr {Kk.}, SY moŋus, Ln mu°gu°s ~ mu°yu°s, VTt m°re°z m°b°g°z, Δ m°b°ŋ°s, Bsh m°r° & m°b°g°δ, Qzq m°ŋ°z mu°yi°z, Nog, Qq, Qrg mu°yu°z, Tb mu°nu°s ~ mu°s, Alt, Xk mu°s, Tv miyis, Tf mīs, Yk muos°d moyu°os (°Md.) moy°o°s) id. i Chv m°yrag_a, Chv Δ: V {Md.} mir°aga ~ mu°r°aga, MK {Md.} mir°aga 'horn' ¶ The variant with back vowels suggests the rec. ***muynur** (with the front-voweled NaT variant ***mu°ŋu°z** due to the infl. of y) ¶ Cl. 352, Rs. W 347, ET B 243-5, TL 148 (NaT ***buynuz**), Jeg. 130, S AJ 179 [#42], Ra. 207, Md. 46, 174 (pT ***bo°ŋn°or°**), Pek. 1584 || M ***mo°(ŋ)gere-su°n** 'cartilage' > WrM mo°gersu°n, HIM m°r°' pc°(°h), Ord mo°ro°s(u°), Brt {Chr.} мѣжѣфѣ (h), Δ {SM} mo°ŋo°ro°ho°n, WrO mo°rsu°n, Kl m°' pch mo°rsən, {Rm.} mo°rsn°, Mnr H {SM} muŋg°ir°z°z, Dx {SM} muŋo°rso°n id. ¶ MED 545, Ms. O 471, Chr. 312, Krg. 608, KRS 358, KW 268, SM 248 ¶ Pp. VG 73, S AJ 282 [#177] || Tg: Ewk muŋi 'sinew at the end of a muscle; muscle' ¶ STM I 557 || ???ф (adduced by DQA) pKo ***mi°i°i°m** 'gums' > MKo ni°-s-mi°i°i°m ~ ni°-s-mi°i°o°m ~ ni°-s-mi°im ~ ni°-s-mi°i°om 'gums' (ni° 'tooth') ¶ S QK #316, Nam 127 ¶¶ DQA #1359 (A ***mu°yŋi** 'horn; cartilage, tendon'), Rm. EAS I 120, Pp. VG 73, S AJ 282 II Gil: Gil A (murgi) murk_i 'horn' ¶ ST 107 ◇ The presence of a word-medial velar element (surviving in M *-g- ~ -ŋg-, T *-ŋ'- and Ewk -ŋ-) rules out an intervoc. *-n'- (i.e. ***mun°orK.V**) and points to a combination of a velar nasal and palatal elements (*-ŋy- or more plausible *-ŋiH-) that later (in U) contracted into *n°. The unusual length of the etymon suggests that it goes back to a compositum, e. g. ≈***muŋi Øar'K.V** with the second component ***Øar'K.u°** 'sinew' [q.v.], which may account for the semantic variant 'sinew' in some descendant lgs. In such a case the vw. *o in U *n°orke must be explained by ass. infl. of some adjacent phoneme. In Tg the second component of the original *cd* was lost either by *bf.* or (in prehistory) by ellipsis.

1455. ***miqU₁ʔV₁** 'to push, fell' (→ 'to overturn') > HS: CS $\sqrt{m\chi h}$? 'push, strike' > BHb $\sqrt{mhy|w}$ - $\sqrt{mh}$? (pf. eh1m1 ma⁻hā⁻, ip. 3pm uah9m6i% yi-mh^{a1}ʔ-u⁻) 'push, strike, clap (hands)', OA, IA ahm $\sqrt{mh}$? ($\sqrt{mhw|y}$) 'beat', JA ihm $\sqrt{mhy}$ -ahm $\sqrt{mhw}$ G 'smite, wound', JEA {Sl.} ihm $\sqrt{mhy}$ 'strike, hit', Sr 'xμ $\sqrt{mhw|y}$ G 'strike, smite, beat' ¶ KB 537, HJ 610-1, Js. 756, 760, Sl. 655-6, Br. 380-1, JPS 263 || Eg G mχ₃ {Vc.} v. 'pierce a prey or parts of its body' (of a spear) > (× Eg mχy 'fight') DEg mχy - myχ v. 'strike, fight' > Cpt: Sd **мице** mis^ʔe, B **мици** misⁱi id. ¶ EG II 131, 176, Er. 176, Crn. 96, Ws. 108, Vc. 128 || SC: Irq {MQK} mu⁻x- v. 'fight, beat, spank', {Wd.} mux- 'fight' ¶ Mgw. 115, MQK 75, Wd. 42 [#403] ¶¶ Tk. SCC 99-100 [#29.7] || K ***mqw-** 'overturn, overthrow' > OG mqu- (aor. da-a-mqu-a, prs. da-mqu-eb-a), G mχ- / mχv- id., Mg χu- / χv- id., 'lay, lay face down', Lz χu- 'throw, splash out', Sv nqw- v. 'overturn; fall' [msd. li-nqw-e; 3s prs. {TK}: UB/L χ-a⁻nqwem, LB χ-anqwe, Ln χ-a⁻nqwe vt. 'overturns (apirKvevebs, igada₁-abrunebs)] ¶¶ K² 134-5, FS K 233, FS E 256-7, Chx. 885-6, ≈ K 149 (*nqw-), Q 396, TK 136 || IE ***meu₂H-** > NaIE ***meu₂(ə)-**, ***mi₂eu₂ə-/miū₂-** 'push away' > OI mīvatī 'moves, pushes', Av ava-mīva- 'remove', Oss I mi, Oss D miwa⁻ 'deed, work, affair' ({Bn.} < *mīva-) || Gk D ἄμευ'ομαι 'surpass, outstrip; pass over' ({P} ← *vi. 'push ahead'), Gk ἄμυ'ω 'keep off, ward off' ({F, P} ← *vi. 'push off') || L move⁻ / -ē re / pfc. mo⁻vi / pp. mo⁻tus 'move, set in motion, stir', Um COMOHOTA (abl. sg.) 'commota (brought, offered)' || Lt ma⁻uti (1s prs. mauti) {PiesS} 'to put/get on, don; to rush, dash', Δ move⁻ti, mu⁻ve⁻ti 'to wear (clothes)', Ltv Δ {ME} mau⁻t (prs. mauju, maunu) 'an-lauf-ziehen, zäumen' || MLG mouwe 'muff', NHG Hemds-mauen 'shirt sleeve' || pTc ***miw-** > Tc: A mew-, B miw- vi. 'shake, quake' || ???σ,φ Ht mau- / mauss- / mu- v. act. & mp. 'fall' ¶ WP II 252-3, P 743, EI 388 [***meu₂(H)-** 'move'], M K II 645, Ab. II 112-3, Bn. ELO 89, F I 92, 97, WH II 116, Bc. G 331, Frn. 421, ME II 570, Ad. 463, ≈ Ts. E II 166-8, CHD L-N 211-3 ♦ The absence of Ir. in the Ht v. (if it belongs here) is puzzling ♦ On N and pIE *- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1456. ***ma₂qa** 'humid, wet' > HS: B $\sqrt{wm\chi}$ (> *-mmVχ) > Izd mməχ (pf. imməχ) v. 'wetten (mouiller)', Tmz mməχ 'se mouiller, être mouillé \ trempé' ¶ Mrc. 171, MT 407 || ? S (+ext.) $\sqrt{mk}$ > Ar $\sqrt{mq}$ l, -mqul- 'plunge (sth.) into water', maql- 'urinatio, descensus in aquam; quidam lactandi modus' ¶ Fr. IV 198, Hv. 729 || K: G -m₂qa q- 'faulig/moderig werden', m₂qa qe 'stagnierend, faul(ig), moderig' ¶ Chx. 865-6 || IE: NaIE ***ma(:)k-** 'wet; to moisten' > pAl {O} ***maka⁻** > Al make⁻ 'film that forms on a liquid; scum/skin (on milk, etc.)' || ? Arm mør mo⁻r 'mud, mire, slime' (< *ma₂:k-ri-) || Lt makone⁻ 'Pfütze', make⁻nti, makno⁻ti 'durch Kot waten' || Sl ***mo⁻** 'krъ(-jъ) 'wet' > OCS **мокръ** mokръ, Blg **мокър**, SCr mo⁻'kar, Slv mo⁻'ker, Cz, Slk mokry⁻, P mokry, R **мокрый** id., Sl ***moc⁻** i⁻-ti vt. 'wetten, moisten' > OCS, OR **моуити**, Ser mo⁻c'iti, Slv mo⁻c'iti, Cz moc⁻iti, P moczyć⁻ id., Sl ***mok-no₂-ti** vi. 'get wet' > SCr † moknuti, Slv mo⁻'kniti, Cz moknouti, P mokna⁻c', R **мокнути**-id., L-gr.: Sl ***makati** (prs. ***makayo₂**) vt. 'dip' > ChS, OR **макати** makati, SCr ma⁻'kati, Cz ma⁻'kati, R ma⁻'kat⁻-id., Blg **макам** 'eat by dipping sth. in a liquid' ¶ P 698, Frn. 339-40, ESSJ XVIII 138-9 & XIX 81-2, 129-30, 144-7, Glh. 419-20, O 242.

1457. ***ma₂qURV** 'frog, toad' (or 'e reptile/amphibian') > K: OG m₂qvar-i 'toad' [Ex. 8.3], G m₂qvari {GL} id., {Chx.} 'spade-footed toad (Pelobatidae, Krötenfrosch)' ¶ DCh. 916, GL 374, Chx. 866 || A: pKo {S} ***mə₂ku⁻ri** 'frog, toad' (× N ***mU₁Ha₂K₂a** 'frog') > MKo {S} mə₂ku⁻ri⁻ id., Ko {Rm.} məgiri 'frog' ¶ Nam 209, S QK #179, Rm. SKE 144 || M ***mekeleyi** - mt ***melekeyi** id. (× N ***mU₁Ha₂K₂a**, q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A ***mo⁻k'o** 'frog') & ≈ DQA #1299 (A mi₂a⁻k'o 'frog') (both SDM97 and DQA incl. Ko, M), ≈ Rm. 144 (Ko, M) [† || HS: ?σ Eg G mk₂r.t 'e a holy snake' (× ***mAləjkV** 'eel', (?) 'worm, snake', q.v.) ¶ EG II 159].

1458. ***marV** 'sand, dust, earth' > HS: SS: Gz mare⁻t 'earth, dust of the ground, dirt', $\sqrt{mrt}$ G 'become soil/rusty', Sb {Bll.} mrt 'clay, clayey soil', Qtb {Rk.} mrt 'limestone, gypsum' ¶ L G 361, Bll. 285, Rk. 99 || A: pKo ***mo⁻r'a₂i₂** 'sand' > MKo mo⁻r'a₂i₂, Ko: Sl/Ph/PhN/Kw mora⁻, Chs mora⁻, Ks mo⁻re, Hm mo⁻ra⁻, Chj molla⁻ id. ¶ S AJ 254 [#70], S QK #629, Nam 218, MLC 629, Rm. SKE I 151 || ?φ T ***bo⁻r** 'e (barren) soil/ground' [× ***barE** 'earth, land; (?) dust'] > Tk bor 'virgin soil', Tkm Δ bo⁻r 'lime(stone)', CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qzq, Qq. Nog, Qrg bor, Uz bōr, VTt, Bsh bur, Chv pur⁻g 'chalk', Brb {RL.} aq por, Tv por 'clay', Yk buōr 'clay, ground', Tf b⁻or 'sulphureous ground (**сернистые солонцы**)' ¶ The long vw. finds no explanation so far ¶ ET B 192-3, Ra. 72, 164, Jeg. 165, TL 100, 375-6, RI. IV 1269 || M ***maraya** > WrM {Rm.} ← ?] maraga, Kl Ö {Rm.} mara⁻ 'Sodaerde, Salzsteppe', Brt Δ **мапаа(н)** **солонцы** (salty ground/land) ¶ KW 257, Chr. 293 || ? Tg: Ewk Ald/Urm mar 'peat-bog' -b> Yk ma⁻r 'moss-grown swamp, swampy tundra' ¶ STM I 531 || ??φ pJ {S} ***mana-n-ku₂a** 'sand' ({S} ass. nasalization from ***mara-n-**) > OJ mana-gu₂o ¶ S QJ #134 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 288 [#291] and ≈ Rm. SKE I 151 (Ko, T ***bo⁻r** 'chalk'), DQA #1268 (A ***ma⁻ro** 'sand, stony earth, marsh').

1459. ***ma⁻r'u⁻** 'trace, path; to follow, trace' > A: {SDM97} ***mo⁻'ri** 'road, track; to pursue' > M ***mo⁻'r** 'trace, trail, way, path' > WrM mo⁻'r, MM (ChSc, ArSc), HIM, Brt m⁻p 'path, trail', Kl m⁻p mo⁻'r 'trail, path', Ord mo⁻'r 'trail', Mnr H {SM} mo⁻r (the length is secondary), Mgl {Rm.} mo⁻r, {Wr.} mor, Ba mor 'way, path'; ***mo⁻rde-** v. 'trail, trace, follow' > WrM mo⁻rde-, HIM m⁻pd⁻ -, Brt m⁻рдү-, Kl m⁻pd⁻ ¶ SM 240, T 345-6, T BJ 143, MED 548, Chr. 307-8, KRS 358-9, KW 206, Rm. M 34, Wr. 173, Pp. MA 239, H 110, Ms. H 76, S AJ 237 [#73] || pKo ***mo⁻r-** v. 'pursue, follow, chase' > MKo mo⁻r-, NKo mol- ¶ S AJ [#126], S QK #126, Yu 325, MLC 641 || pJ ***mi⁻ti** 'road' > OJ mi₂i⁻ti, J: T mi⁻c'i, K mi⁻c'i, Kg mi⁻], Ns

mi'c'i', Sh mi'c'i', Ht mi'ci', Y a mi'ti' ¶ S AJ [#61], Mr. 481 || T *ba'r 'go' > Xlj b3r T *bar- v. 'walk, go' ({Md.} *ba'r--*ba_r) (× N *bar_qV 'to go, go away, step', q.v. ffd.) ¶ S AJ 277 [#59] (A *mi_o-rV), SDM97 (A *mo'ri 'road, track; follow'), DQA #1319 (A *mi_o'ri 'road, track; follow') || D (in McTm) *mar_uk_ '∈ road' > Tm mar_uku 'street, narrow street, lane', Ml mar_uku 'street' ¶ D #4770 || HS: Eg fMK mrr.t 'street', Eg G mr.t 'way' ¶ EG II 108, 110, Fk. 112 || S *√mrr v. 'go away, pass' (× N *muRV 'go away, perish, die', q.v. ffd.) || CCh: Pdl {Mk.} mirvi 'path' || ECh: Jg {J} morφ-morb 'way, path' ¶ ChC s.v. ♦ Cf. AD AltAD #17.

1459a. ? *ma''R_kV 'to think, believe, be clever' > HS **/mrk > Eg fOK m3c 'erdenken, ersinnen', Eg MK m3c 'preisen' ¶ EG II 35 (m3c 'erdenken': "eigentlich m3wc zu lesen") || U: FU (in Ugr only) *ma''rV- 'believe, trust' > Vg {MK}: Vg T/P/K ma''r-, LL ma'r-, ML ma'r-, mar- 'glauben vertrauen' || Hg mer- 'dare, adventure' ¶ UEW 869, Gomb. ES 74 || A: Tg *merge- 'think' > Ewk m3rg3-, Lm m3rg3-, Neg m3yg3- 'think', Ork m3rg3 'conscious (сознательный), clever', WrMc merki- {Hr.} 'sich besinnen auf, sich bewußt sein' ¶ The WrMc vl. k needs explanation ¶ STM I 571, Hr. 653 || M *merge-: *mergen 'wise, sagacious' > MM [hP] {Pp.} mergen id., WrM mergen, HIM мурҫун 'a good marksman; wisdom; wise, learned, sage; apt', Mnr H {SM} miērg_a'n 'habile, adroit, sage, intelligent', {T} mergen 'wise, good marksman', Dx {T} mergen id.; WrM mergezi-, HIM мурҫҭҭ- 'become learned\wise', WrM {Pp.} merge 'Treffsicherheit' ¶ MED 537, Pp. PP 127, SM 23, T 345, T DnJ 129 ¶ Pp. VG 35, 88, 125 ♦ The loss of *k in Ugr (or pFY, pU?) still defis explanation.

1460. ?? *merV 'to flash, sparkle, shine' > HS: B *√mry > Sll a-mərruy (pl. i-mərruy-ən) 'spark', s-mur_r_i v. 'sparkle (briller)', ? Izn t_a-miri 'moonshine' ¶ Ds. 46, 118, Rn. 386 || IE: NaIE *mer- v. 'sparkle, glitter', {EI} 'shine, shimmer' > OI 'marīci-h. 'particle of light, shining mote, ray of light' || Gk μαρμαίρω, μαρμαρίζω v. 'flash, sparkle' || L merus 'pure, unmixed' (← *'clear') || AS (a-)me_rīan 'to purify (esp. melted metals), test' || ? Sl *marъ (× *marъ ≈ 'mirage, dream') > R Sib map 'blaze of the sun (солнечный жар, солнечный зной)', d Blg mapa'ni 'very hot weather', Δ marina 'heat', R 'marevo 'mirage in hazy and very hot weather; haze' ¶ WP II 273-4, P 733, EI 514, M K II 589, WH II 78, Ho. 220, ESSJ XVII 215-8, SRNG XIII 367 || ?φ A: Tg: Ul mu'r3n- v. 'glitter' ¶ STM I 560 ¶ The unexpected vw. u- needs elucidation (ass. infl. of m-?) || D {tr., GS} *mer_- 'shine, glitter' > Kn mir_uḡu v. 'glitter, flash, sparkle, shine', mir_u 'shining, sparkling', mer_e v. 'shine, gleam, glitter', Tu merepi-, mereyu-, merevu- v. 'shine', Tl mer_acu v. 'glitter', Prj marp-, Klm merp- v. 'lighten', Klm mirḡu_d, 'spark', Nkr merp-v. 'flash, lighten', Gdb merc(i) er- 'glitter', mers 'lightning' ¶ ≈ D #5074 (ties in D *mer- > Tm meruku 'smoothness', etc.), GS 153 [#388].

1461. *moRE 'body of water' > HS: Eg fP mr 'canal, artificial lake', Eg M mryy.t 'Uferdamm am Fluß\am Meere; Stelle am Ufer, wo Schiffe landen können', DEg mr 'Hafen, Uferland', mry.t 'Hafen' > Cpt Sd mρω 'landing stage, port' ¶ EG II 97, 109, Fk. 111, Er. 169, Vc. 119 || IE: NaIE *mor-, *mori / *m_o'ri 'sea' > L mare 'sea' (< *m_o'ri-, generalization of the originally unstressed stem variant, as in gen. sg. *m_o'r'i-es; the pure root stem is found in OL gen. pl. mar-um, f EM 689) || Clt *mori- 'sea' > OIr muir (gen. mora), Brtt {RE} *mori > OW, MW, OCm, MBr, Br mor, W mo'r, Crn mo'r id. || Gmc: Gt marei 'sea', OHG {Kb.} meri, {OsS} marei, NHG Meer 'sea', ON mar-r (gen. mar-ar), AS mere 'sea, lake'; the L-gr. *mo'r- means 'lake, swamp': OSx mo'r 'swamp', OHG muor 'lake, swamp', NHG Moor 'bog, fen, swamp' || Pru mary 'the Curonian Lagoon (Kurisches Haff)', Lt pl. mā' re's (gen. mā' rios) id., 'sea', Ltv mare (gen. mar_a) 'the Curonian Lagoon' (and 'lake' in names of lakes, e.g. Tuosmare); Blt b→ F, Es meri 'sea' || Sl *mor'e 'sea' > OCS морѣ morje, Blg mo'pe, SCr mo're, Slv morje, Cz mor'e, Slk more, P morze, R 'mope' || Oss mal 'deep standing water; deep place in a lake\river', {OsR} 'омут, лужа' || Ht marmar(r)a- {Ot. → EI} 'swamp, marsh' (if Ot.'s interpretation is right) ¶ P 316, EI 503-4 (*'mori 'sea'), WH II 38-9, Vn. M 73, RE 126, Fs. 346, Vr. 379-80, Kb. 676, OsS 591-2, 628, Schz. 216, Frn. 409-10, En. SPV 208, En. 208, Kar. I 557, SSA II 160, SK 341, ESSJ XIX 227-32, Glh. 422-3, Ab. II 68-9, HCD L-N 192 [Ht marmarr(a)- '∈ terrain'] || K *moaer- > Zan *moar-ey > Mg mere 'lake' || A: M *mo'ren 'large river, lake, sea' > MM [MA] {Pp.} gen. mo'renu' 'of the sea, of a large river', [IsV] {Lg.} mo'ren 'large river (fleuve), stream of water', [HI] {Ms.} mu'rīn 'river (fleuve, rivière)', WrM mo'ren, HIM m'p' h 'large river or lake', Kl {KRS} m'p h mo'rən 'river (falling into a sea)', {Rm.} mo'r_n. 'breiter Fluß', Ord mo'ro'n, Mnr H {SM} muro'n 'river', Mnr M {Pot.} murun 'the Huanghe', Dgr mu'r(u) 'river' ¶ MED 548, Pp. MA 240, Ms. H 76, Lg. VMI 55, SM 250, T 347, T DgJ 155, KRS 360, KW 267 || pKo {S} *mi'r 'water' > MKo ml, NKO mul ¶ S QJ #97, Nam 229, MLC 675 || ?φ pJ {S} *mi'(-n-tu) 'water' > OJ mi'í du', J: T mi'3u, K mi'3u', Kg mi', Ns mu'3'í, Sh mi'3'í, Ht mi'3'í, Y mi'n' ¶ S QJ #87, Mr. 483, Vv. AEN-d 2-3 (< *mi- < *mi_rī) ¶ S AJ 28-9, 69, 86, 278, SDM97 (s.v. *mu''ri), DQA #1335 (A *mi_u'ri 'water'), Vv. AEN-d 2-3 [all of them: M, Ko, J + unc. Tg *mu' 'water' (cf. N *muhi 'water'); in addition, Vv. adduces Tk *mur in *jaymur 'rain'] ♦ IS II 60-1 [#294] (*ma''r_a' 'moisture, moist'; does not distinguish between this etymon and N *ma'rV 'rain' [q.v.]) → S CNM 3. The presence of the specific meaning 'body of water (sea, lake, river, pool)' in Eg, IE, K and M suggests that this is not an independent parallel semantic change, but is the ancient meaning of the √, so that it must be distinguished from *ma'rV 'rain, cloud'. Connecting words for 'sea' and 'cloud' is hardly justifiable ♦ ≈ Gr. II #415 (*mor 'water') [IE, A, Ko, J + unc. CK]

1462. ***muri** ≈ 'to twist, roll, turn round' > HS: C: LEC {Bl., HL} ***mar-** {HL} 'be round \ wrapped, turn \ twirl' > Or {Grg.} mara vt. 'wrap', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} mara 'go round, turn, spin a tread, wrap', Or Wl {Bl.} mar-ata 'cloth wound around head and waist', Gdl {Bl.} mar- 'coil, roll up', Kns {Bl.} mar- 'roll up, meander', Sml {ZMO} ku mar- 'tie sth. up with sth. else', mar(-ta) 'woman's belt', {Bl.} mar-m-ad- (caus. + ben.) 'put on clothes', Rn mar- {PG} v. 'go round, circle, revolve', {HL} 'be round', Bs {HL} mara-mut- vi. 'turn', Arr {Hw.} mar- 'be wrapped \ wound round, Af {PH} maro, marmar-ru 'circle', marro-we- v. 'encircle', marrow 'encirclement', marmarite- 'go round' ¶ Bl. 156, PG 219, HL 129, Grg. 278, Sr. 364, ZMO 277-8, Hw. A 383, PH 164, ≈ Ss. B 140-1 || Om: SOM: Ari {HL} mar- 'to twirl' || NrOm: Ym mar- {HL} v. 'gird', {Lm.} 'einen Verband anlegen' (← Or?) ¶ HL 129, Lm. Y 366 || CS ***-mur-** > Ar ***mwr** G (ip. ***-mur-**) vi. 'move to and fro', 'move within a wounded person' (of a sword), 'be in commotion' (sea), BHb inf. N r&m'e5 him'mo-r 'schwanken', N pf. (paus.) r&EmIn! na''ma-r vi. 'he altered', Sh pf. rim5ie4 he-mir vt. 'he exchanged, altered', JEA ***mwr** Sh (pf. rm4a1 2a-me-r) vt. 'exchange' ¶ KB 531, Js. 748, Hv. 739 || Eg fMd, DEg mr v. 'tie', Cpt **μωρ** mur, **μερ-** mer-, **μορ** mor- id. ¶ EG II 105, Er. 106, Vc. 119 || WCh: Pr me'ru'-rō-, Su {ChL} muyer, Ang {ChL} myer, Gmy {ChL} mi'yo'r 'twist' | Possibly Ch ***√mrđ.** ~ ***√mrkd.** 'twist' > Hs mu'rd.a- / mu'rd.e-, Gw {Mts.} mi'ri'n'a, Klr {ChL} mo'r-u'ji, Krkr {ChL} mu'rdu', Ngm ma'rd.i't, Bl {Lk.} markud-, My a murd.uszy, Jmb {Sk.} m3'rg3'd., Dir (← Hs?) m3'rd.a', Zar {Sh.} (← Hs?) mu'rd.i', Bd m3'r'da-tu id. ¶ ChL, ChC II K: G mor- {DCh.} 'round off (округлѣт)', {Chx.} 'zu Rundholz machen' ¶ DCh. 831, Chx. 809 II IE: NaIE ***mer-**, (+ext.) ***merəḡh-~*merḡh-** 'tie together, twist': [1] ***mer-** > Gk **μηρυόμαι** (Gk D **μαρ-**) 'zusammen- \ aufwickeln, winden' ({LS} 'draw up, furl [sails]; wind up [the strands of a torsion-engine]'), **με'ρμυ'ο** (gen. **με'ρμυ'ο**) 'cord, sting, rope' || MDt marren. MLG mo-ren 'to tie', ON merðr, OSw mierder, mia'rdhe, Sw mja'rd, Δ mja'rde 'fish-basket (Fischreuse)' || [2] NaIE ***merəḡh-~*merḡh-** > Gk **βρο'χο** (< ***μρο'χο**) 'noose', **μο'ροττον** 'basket made of bark' || Ltv mar'ga 'Geländer, Bäume zum Anbinden der Pferde', ? Lt ma'rs'ka ({P} < ***merəḡh-ska**) '(bed)sheet, fishing net' | Sl ***merz'a** > OCS **мръжа** mre'z'a 'net, snare', Blg 'мрежа' 'net', OR **мережа** merez'a, R Δ **м'реежа** ^d **м'режа**, Uk **м'режа** 'fishing net', R dim. **м'реежа** 'drawn-thread-work', SCr mre'z'a 'net; trap, snare', Slv mre'z'a 'net', Cz mr'r'z'e, Slk mre'z'a 'grating, lattice', OP mrzez'a '∈ (hunting \ fishing) net' || OIr bra'ga 'prisoner, hostage' ¶ P 733, EI 64 (***mer-** 'braid, bind'), F I 272 & II 211, 231, Frn. 412, ESSJ XVIII 102-3, Glh. 425-6, Vr. 384, ≈ Vn. B 76 (OIr bra'ga 'prisoner' ← bra'ga 'throat, neck') II ?? U: FU ***m'o'r-** > Er мурда- murda- 'turn aside, return from (свернут-, возвратит-сѣ)', {Ps.} 'um- \ zurück-kehren', Mk мрда- m3rda- vi. 'return' || OHg xvi marjul- 'become sprained \ dislocated (verrenkt werden)', xix ki-maritt 'sprain, dislocate (verrenken)' ¶ ERV 394, PI 169, Ps. M 97, MTE II 846, EWU 938, IS II 74 II A ***murV** > M ***mura** > MM [MA] mura 'bent', ? Kl {Rm.} mur 'uneben'; M ***muruyi-** > MM [IM] muruy- 'be bent/crooked', WrM murui-, HlM мурый- v. 'bend, be crooked, turn, meander', Ord mu'rui- 'être courbe \ tortu' Mnr H {SM} muri- 'être incliné d'un côté, être sinueux \ tortu'; M ***muruyi** > MM [MA] muru-, [IM] vrvM muruiy 'bent', WrM murui, HlM мурый 'awry, slanting, bending', Ord {Ms.} mu'rui, Mnr H muri 'incliné d'un côté, sinueux, tortu', Kl T {Rm.} mur'u- 'schief, sich schlingernd, biegend' ({Rm.} < ***muruyi** or ***muri-gu**) ¶ Pp. MA 241, 442, MED 552, Ms. O 476, KW 269, SM 249-50 || Tg ***mu-r-** 'go round, turn aside' > Ewk ***muru-** id., Lm m3rak- v. 'return', Ul muru adv. 'in the shape of a circle/sphere (кругло, шарообразно)'; Tg ***mu.rui.ki**, ***mu.rg-** 'round' > Ewk muruku, muruk3- 'circle', WrMc murgiyeken, murgiyen adj. 'round', murki- v. 'make round'; other derivatives: Ewk mur3li 'around', Lm m3r3ti 'circle', Ork "moroliqtu 'round; circle', morolim3 adj. 'round' ¶ STM I 559 || T ***bu'r-** (= ***mu'r-**) ~ ***bur-** (= ***mur-**) v. 'twist' (× N ***buUrV** 'to turn round, rotate', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The variants with -u- ~ -u'- are due to contamination with different roots, e.g. N ***bu'ryi** 'to cover' [q.v.] and N ***bur'a** 'to pierce, bore' [q.v.] || Ko: [1] (acc. to DQA) pKo {S} muri 'halo, ring (around the sun or moon)' > NKO muri ¶ S QK #842, MLC 658 | [2] ? pKo {S} ***mi'ri-** v. 'return' > MKo mi'ri-, NKO muri- id. ¶ S QK #129, Nam 226, MLC 657 || pJ {S} ***ma'rz'** 'round' > OJ maro, J: T ma'rui, K ma'rui, Kg ma'ri, Ns ma'ru-, Sh ma'ru', Ht mu'ru-, Y ma'ru-'nka' ¶ S AJ 269 [#98], S QJ #98, Mr. 834 ¶¶ SDM97 [A ***mure** (or ***-r-**) 'round; turn, return'], DQA #1369 (A ***mu'ra** id.; rejects the adduction of pKo {S} ***mi'ri-**) II D (d ?) ***mur_ukk-** v. 'twist, twirl' > Tm mur_ukku v. 'twist (as a rope), twirl, spin (as a potter his wheel)', mur_uku v. 'wriggle, twist', Ml mur_ukku n. act. 'twining, twisting, writhing', Kn mur_uku 'twist (the face) out of its natural shape, distort (it), give a different shape (to it)', Tl mur_akat_amu 'turning', Klm murgad_ileḡ v. 'twist (a limb)', Krx murka?a- v. 'sprain' ¶¶ D #5012 || ??? D ***muri-** 'bend, curve' > Tm muri v. 'bend', muri-muri v. 'curve, bend', Kn muri v. 'bend, be bent, grow crooked', Tu muri n. 'curve, circle', Tl murincu vt. 'turn', Prj murg- 'be bent', Gdb murg- 'bend (while peeping); bend down', Gnd mur'itana 'be dislocated'; D -b Prkr muria- 'twisted', OMrt murad- v. 'turn, twist' ¶¶ The variant ***mur-** (if it belongs here) must go back to an extended stem (< ***mur-Hi-**, ***muwri-**?), because D ***-r-** goes back to ***-r-** clusters rather than to an intervoc. ***-r-** ¶¶ D #4977 ♦ IS II 74-5 (***muri** 'скручиват-' > HS, IE, U, A, D, K).

1463. ***murV** 'to break, crush, cut' > HS: EC ***mur-** 'cut' > Dsn mu'r-, Or B, Kns, Msl, Sd, Kmb mur- id., Hd mur- 'cut, reap', Brj mur- 'cut, castrate', Gdl mur- 'cut person's genitalia to take trophy', Elm, Arr d mur-i 'short', Arr muras- 'shorten' ¶ Bl. 294, Ss. PEC 23, Hd. 214, 294, 334, 387, 418, Grg. 295, To DL 519, Hw. A 386 || ?? NrOm: Kf {C} murec'c'o 'eunuche' II K G

mor- v. 'trim (fallen trees)', Sv UB {IS ←-?} mur-in- v. 'break' (-in- is a caus. sx.) ¶ IS II 74, Chx. 809 II IE *mer- v. 'crush, crumb' > L morta-rium 'mortar' (< *mr̥ -'tos 'rubbed away, pulverized') || ? Gk μαραινω 'make so. waste away, wear sth. out', ps. 'die away, waste away, decay' || ON merja (p. marða) 'schlagen, zerstoßen' ({EI} 'prick, sting'), OSw morþ 'bröckelige Masse, Abfall', Ic mor 'dust', ζ OHG {Vr.} meren 'zerschlagen' (not in Kb. and OsS) || SI *mьrva 'crumb(s), small bit(s)' > Blg 'мрѡва' 'piece of meat', Δ 'мрѡва' id. 'мрѡва id., 'fine dust', McdS мрѡва 'crumb, small piece of meat', SCr mr̥'va 'crumb', Slv mr̥'va 'crumb, small bit', OCz mr̥va 'fragment', Cz mr̥va 'small pieces, litter', Slk mr̥va 'hash, litter', P mierzwa 'short-straw, straw litter', OR мѣрѡва merva 'small waste of flax\cereals', R 'мѣрѡва' 'small waste of flax' || OI mr̥. 'n. a-ti ~ mr̥. 'n. ati 'crushes, grinds' (× IE *mel- 'grind' < N *mol̥V 'pound') || Ht {Ts.} marriya- 'zerstückeln, zerkleinern' (not in CHD) ¶ P 735-7, EI 142, WH II 112, F II 174 & Ch. 666 (in both no clear et. of μαραινω), Vr. 385, ESSJ XXI 151-4, Glh. 427, M K 672-3, M E II 319-20, Ts. W 51 II U *mura- v. 'crumble away, crumble to pieces', *mura 'small bit, crumb' (× N *muhrV 'part, piece') > F muren(e) 'crumb, particle, bit', fragment', muru 'crumb', murea 'crisp', murakka 'crispness', Es mure (gen. mureda) 'crumbly, friable' : Lp: N {N} moarra- / -r- 'break to pieces (ice or frozen surface of snow)', moarre / -r- 'crumb, small bit (e.g. bread)', L {LLO} muor'hka- 'become brittle \ friable' (of wood, etc.) || ObU {Ht.} *mu-r- vi. 'break, be broken' > pVg *mu-r- > Vg: LK/MK mor-, UK/Ss mur- id., d : LK/MK morl-, UK/Ss mur- vt. 'break partly, murtaa'; pOs {Ht.} *mor̥y- ~ *mar̥y- > 'break to pieces (zerbrechen)' > Os: V/Vy mori-, Ty mori-, Y mori-, D/K mor̥y-, Kz mō'ri̇ -, O mari- id., Ty mort- ~ inv. mirta id., d : V/Vy mo'rayal- id., Ty mo'raqint- id. : Hg mar- v. 'bite, corrode, mill' || Sm {Jn.} *m̥r̥l̥- vt. 'break' > Ne: T d ма'рда-, T O {Lh.} ma.rda- id., F {Lh.} vt. marta- 'stark schlagen', d T ма'рда- id., T O ма'рк'æda- vi. 'plötzlich durchbrechen', F maro_ka'tt̥e vi. 'zerbrach plötzlich'; Ng {Cs.} 1s ocj. maru'ama, p. marajuama; En X {Cs.} mo'e'ibo?, En B {Cs.} more'ebo 1s ocj. 'break'; Slq MTz {KD} mura'lta- v. 'crumble', Tm {KD} mor̥nnab_, Slq Ch {KD} mo'rnau_ 1s aor. id.; Kms {KD} б̥ру'ja'ba'Í am 1s prs. 'I break, break to pieces' ¶ Coll. 36, UEW 288, SK 352-3, Ht. #406, Jn. 87-8 ¶ The variability of the vw. (Lp N o_ < *u, but oa < *o_l:) may be somehow connected with the merger of two N roots within this U / II A: T *mor- > VTt m̥p- mur- 'become rotten (as wood)' ('трухл̥вет'), {RI.} 'mürbe werden, verrotten', ? ET {RI.} rvP pur 'verdorben, verfault'; (+ sx. *-t) T *mort̥ 'fragile, brittle' > Tkm port, Uz му'рт mort id., Bsh murt, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qmq, Qrg mort 'fragile, frail, brittle', StXk, Sg/Qb {RI.} port, VTt murt id., VTt {RI.} murt, SbTt Tb {RI.} mort 'mürbe, morsch', d StAlt bortiq, QK {B} portiq 'fragile', Chv L му'ртak murd_ak id. ¶ TatR 379, Jeg. 135, TkR 532, Jud. 532, BT 33, B DLT 189, BIG 158, RI. IV 1271, 1365, 2125, 2190, 2194, Cl. xliii (on the sx. *-t), Jeg. 135 || ?σ Tg: Ewk PT murdun3- v. 'bark (a tree)' ¶ STM I 558 II D: [1] (in SD) *mur- 'break' > Tm mur_i (p. -v-) vi. 'break, give way as a branch', mur_i (p. -pp-) vt. 'break (as a stick), cut', Ml mur_i 'fragment, piece of cloth', mur_ikka vt. 'break, cut', Kn mur_i vt. 'break (off/down), crush, severe by fracture', Tl mur_iyu 'be broken, severed', n. 'piece, crumb' ¶ D #5008 I [2] D *mur- 'break' (× N *muhrV 'part, piece' [q.v.]) > Tm muri (p. -v-) vi. 'break off, snap off, perish', muri (p. -pp-) vt. 'break off, snap off', Ml mu'ruka vt. 'cut, cut up (a hog, etc.), reap', Kt mury vi., vt. 'break' (of stick-like things), Td mu'ry vi. 'break in two (a stick)', vt. 'break', Kdg muri 'make a cut', Tu muri 'an incision, notch', mu'runi vt. 'mince, cut up', Tl muriyu v. 'break', Klm murk- 'split (wood), break', Nkr vi. 'break', Png mur- 'cut (horizontally)', Kui mroku inba 'snap off, be broken off', Krx mur_uk- v. 'abscind, amputate, cut in twain', murcr- 'get broken', Mlt murke 'cut in bits, cut across' ¶ D #4975 ♦ IS II 75-6 (*mura 'break, crush' > HS, IE, K, U, D, A; ties in some reflexes of N *muhrV '¶' and *mVR_lV_lCV 'to crumb' [q.v.]), UEW 288 (U, IE).

1464. *l'jmuRV 'go away, perish, die' > HS: S *√mrr G 'go away, pass' (× N *ma'r'f'u' 'trace, path; to follow, trace') > Ug √mrr G 'go away', {OLS} 'partir, marchar', Ar √mrr v. G (pf. rWMa marra) {Fr.} 'transivit, præterit; abiit', {Hv.} 'elapse' (of time), 'pass', Jb C √mrr v. G (pf. mirr, sbjn. 'yummur'), Jb E √mrr v. G (pf. mir), Mh √mrr v. G (pf. m3r) v. 'pass', Hrs √mrr (pf. mar) 'continue, go', Ak √mrr v. 'go away' ¶ A #1658, OLS 292, Fr. IV 163-4, Hv. 713, Jo. M 268, Jo. J 173, Jo. H 89, Sd. 609 || C: EC *mar- 'pass, go' > Sml mar- 'pass (through/by/along)', Rn mar- 'move across (to one side of the house)' (of a woman after childbirth); Af {PH} mare scv. 'continue, live'; HEC {Hd.} *mar- 'go' > Brj {Ss., Hd.}, Ged/Hd/Kmb {Hd.}, Sd {Gs., Hd.} mar- 'go' ¶ ZMO 277, PG 219, PH 164, Hd. 71, 211, 254, 293, 332, 385, ≈ Ss. B 140-1 (err. : *mar- 'go' < 'go round' [cp. N *muri ≈ 'to twist, roll, turn']) II IE *l'jmer-/ *l'jmr̥ - 'die' > OI mri'yate- 'dies' (aor. a-mr̥ -ta, pf. ma'ma-ra), OI BdSk marati, Av miriyeite (= m̥hryehte) id., OPrs a-mariyata- 'he died' || Gk Δ [Hs.] *εμορτεν id. || Arm me@anim mer'anim 'I die' || L morior / inf. mori 'die' || Lt mir̥ti (prs. m̥rs'tu), Ltv mir̥t (prs. mir̥stu) 'to die', Lt d me'ris, m̥re 'death', m̥re 'dead' : Sl inf. *mer-ti (1s prs. *mьr-o_) 'to die' > OCS мрѣти mre'ti (prs. мьрж мьро_), SCr мре'ти mrije'ti (prs. mre'm), Slv mre'ti (mre'm), Cz mr̥'ti, Slk mriet', P mrzec', OR мѣрети mereti id., R мѣ'пет- 'to die' (of many people) (prs. мпу), with pxs.: умѣ'пет-, помѣ'пет- 'die', Uk 'мерти (мпу) 'to die', Blg мрѡ > мрѡ 'I die' | d> caus. *mor-ei- 'cause to die' > OI 3s prs. ma'-raya-ti || SI *mori- 'ti id. > SCr mo'riti, Slv mori'ti, Cz mor'iti, Slk morit', P morzyc', R мо'рит-, Uk мо'рити, OCS cd оуморити u-moriti : Lt mari'nti vt. 'starve (verhungern lassen), exterminate; attend a dying person' | NaIE d (pp.) *mr̥ - 'to-dead' > OI mr̥ -ta-, Av m̥r̥eta, OPrs marta- id. || Lt mirto'ji diena- 'day of death' | NaIE *mr̥ -t-u-o (<

*mr_o-to × *mr_o-u_o-o) 'dead' > L mortuus || SI *mьртvъ (jъ) > OCS мьртѣ mьртѣ, Blg мьртѣ, SCr mьrtav, Slv mьrtav, Cz mrtvy', Slk mьrtvy', P martwy, R 'мьертвѣй, Uk 'мьертвий || NaIE *mr_o-to- ~ *mor-to- 'dead', 'mortal' → 'human being' (× N *mari?V 'young man?') > Gk βροτοῦ 'human being' (← *'mortal'), [Hs.] μορτοῦ (or μοῖρτοῦ) id., 'dead', d : [Hs.] ἔμωρτεν aor. 'died', OI 'martah, 'man, mortal', Av mar.ta id., Sgd mrt_mrt_ 'jedermann', NPrs drM ma'rd 'man', Arm mard mard 'person' || NaIE *n_o-mr_o-to- 'immortal' > OI a'mr_o-ta-, Av aməs'a-, Gk ἄμβροτοῦ || d *mr_o-to-m 'death' > OI mr_o-ta- id., ON morð, OHG mord, NHG Mord 'murder', AS morð id., 'death' || d *mr_o-ti- 'death' > Vd mr_o-tyu-h., OI mr_o-ti-h., Av mərəti- || L mors (gen. mort-is) || Lt mirti's || SI (cd) *sь-мь'rtъ id. > OCS сьмьрътъ sьмьрътъ, Blg смьрт, SCr, Slv smr't, Cz smrt, Slv smrt', P s'mierc', R, Uk смьрт- || d *mr_o-u_o-o- 'dead' > Clt: OIr marb, NIr marbh 'dead', Brtt {RE} *marwos id. > Crn marow, MBr maru, marf, Br marv id., W marw 'dead, die' || d *'mor-o-s 'death' > OI ma-ra- ~ mara- id. || Gk μοῖρτοῦ id., 'corpse', (here?) 'doom' || Lt ma-ras 'plague, pestilence' || SI *morъ id. > OCS моръ моръ, Blg, R мор, Uk м'р, SCr мо'р, Slv mo'r, Cz, Slk † mor, P mo'r || Ht {CHD} merr-, mirr-, mar- 'disappear, go away, vanish, be/get lost, cease to exist', {Ts.} id., 'die off' || WP II 276, P 735, EI 150 (*mer- 'die', *mr_o-to-s 'dead, mortal', *'moro-s 'persdon, mortal', *mr_o-ti-s 'death', *mr_o-to-m id., *'moro-s id.), M K II 594, 674-5, 696-7, M E II 318-9, 327-8, 371-2, MW 811, 827, F I 270-1 & II 257, Ch. 197-8, 713, WH II 112-3, Kb. 696, KM 487-8, Ho. 226, Vn. M 19, RE 88, Hm. 552, Frn. 409, 457-9, ESSJ XVIII 101-2, XIX 250-1 & XXI 140-51, Glh. 423, 426-7, 567, Vs. II 602, 606, 651, 655 & III 685-6, Slit. 180, CHD L-N 293-5, Ts. E II 199-201 || U: FU (att. in Os only) *murV- > pOs *murV > Os K {PD} mu'r- 'be starving, starve almost to death' || PD 1303, Stn. D 953 || ?? D (in SD) *mur_- > Tm mur_i 'perish, cease to exist', Kn mur_i 'destroy, put an end to, do away' (unless ← D *mur_- v. 'break') || ≈ D #5008 ♦ If SD *mur_- belongs here, the N rec. must be *murV ♦ In IE the glide *u_ (< N *u) was lost due to phonetic laws: *mu_- > *m- and *u_ > zero before a sonant (ffd. AD NVIE and AD NGIE) ♦ The phonetic discrepancy (vowels) and the semantic difference between this √ and N *mæR_l_h_jV 'wound, illness' prevent us from identifying them as the same etymon, as long as we cannot explain Os *u as cognate with M and Sm *e ♦ ≈ IS 59-60 (*m'a''r_l 'be ill, die'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of the N √ in question, N *mæR_l_h_jV '↑' [q.v.] and N *m'f'e'R_l_V_jc^_V 'be ill, wounded [q.v.]), ≠ BmK #525 (*mir-/mer- 'to stab, pierce, cause pain', etc.: unc. equation of IE *mer-/mor-/mr_o- 'to die' with S *mar-at¹ [i.e. √mrs^_] 'be[come] sick, fall ill', Eg mr 'be ill; i die [a ghost-meaning]' and D *mer_- 'oppress, pierce').

1465. ?? *mVRu 'ant' > IE: NaIE *morwi- 'ant' > Av {Brtl.} maurvay- (/maori-), Sgd ?m?wrc', NPrs rvM mu'r id. || OIr moirb, MW myr, pl.: MW myrion, MBr merien, Crn muryon id. || SI *morvъ 'ant' > Blg Δ мрaф McdS Δ мрaв, SCr, Slv mra^v, R Δ 'мурав 'ant', Blr 'мупаyÄ 'anthill'; d SI *morvъjъ 'ant' > OCS мравини mравii, Blg мравей, R мупа'вей, Δ мрa'вей || mt *mou_ro- / *meu_ro- > Gmc: ON maurr, Dn myre, Sw myra, Dt mier 'ant', ME mīre id., NE mire id. (in pis-mire) (← ON?), Gt Cr miera || *morm- ({P}: tabuistic transformation) > Gk μύρμου, μύρμουξ id. || ? L formica ({WH}: dis from *morm-?) || Arm mrēiyn mřz'iwñ ~ mrēimn mřz'imn 'ant' || WP II 306-7, P 749, EI 24, Brtl. 1152, Horn 222-3, Vn. M 60, Vr. 380, Vr. N 442, Fs. 357, ESSJ XIX 241-50, Glh. 425, Blz NSS 361-2, F II 272-3, WH I 531-2, Bedr. 489 || ? K *mVrs^_- > Sv: UB {GP} mərs^k_, UB/LB/Ln mərs^k_ 'ant' (× N *mu's^V 'insect, fly, ant', q.v.) || TK 594, GP 223, Ni. s.v. муравей || HS: Ch: P' {MSk.} mama'ri 'black ant' || MfG {Brr.} ma'mbərza'y 'ant' || Brr. MG II 177, ChC.

1466. ? *mVRV '(hollow) hand; to grasp' > IE: NaIE *mar- 'hand', *mar-n- 'to grasp' > Gk μαῖρη 'hand' || pAl {O} d *mar-na- > Al marr (aor. mora) 'take, grasp' || Vd mr_o-n.a'ti, mr_o-n.ati 'robs, seizes' || ≈ P 740 (IE *mā-r / gen. *mā-n-es, mn_o-tos 'hand'), F II 175, Ch. 667, O 246, Huld 89-90, Dmr. 257-8, ≈ M K I 673 & ≈ M E II 320 (i + Gk μαῖνασ'αι 'fight'), ≈ EI 254-5 (*mehAr_ / *mh_A'n-os 'hand', cf. N *man'y'u' 'paw, foot/leg') || HS: S √mwr (*-mu'r-) *'acquire' (< **'grasp by hand') > Sr √mwr (ip. -mu'r_) G 'buy (corn)', Aram b> Ak NB ma-ru 'to buy' || Br. 377, CAD X/1 317, JPS 259, HJ 605 || C: Bj {R} √mry (~ √mrw?) G pcv. (imv. meri ~ meru, 1s: p. 'amri ~ 'amru, prs. aman'ri; prtc. 'merya, 'me-ra) 'take', {Rop.} miri, meri pcv. 'find, get' || R WBd 171-2, Rop. 218 || ??? Eg G m3w.ty (?) 'arms' (-ty is a sx. of f. du.) || EG II 28 || U: FU (in Ugr only) *mVrV 'hollow hand' > OHg XIII marok 'hollow hand, handful', Hg marok, Δ mare'k^d morok^d mara'k^d '(hollow of the) hand', Hg markol- v. 'grasp, grip, clutch, seize' || pOs *murəs > Os: K {Ps.} murəs 'distance between the lower edge of the palm of hand to the tip of the thumb (as a unit of length)', D murəs 'vershok (a Russian unit of length)', Ty/Y f {Trj.} murəs 'distance between stretched fingers, четверт' (a unit of length)' || UEW 872, EWU 940, PD 1296, Stn. D 964-5, Trj. S 270 || E: ma(r)-ri 'grasp, hold, catch' || HK 881, 884-8 ♦ ADb. MRS 22 (IE, U + err. D).

1467. *muTra 'emit vocal sounds (shout, sing)' > K: MG, G myera 'song, singing (Singen, Gesang); play', G myer- {Chx.} 'sing', si-myer-a 'song' || DCh. 914-5, Chx. 863-4 || U: FU *mura- 'shout, sing' > Er moro, Mk mor 'song', Er/Mk mora- v. 'sing, play music' || pChr *murъ ({Ber.} murə) > Chr: L мупаш mu'r-as', H мьраш 'mьr-as' 'to sing', B/Uf mure- 'sing', L муро 'mur-o, H мьры 'mьrъ, B muro 'song', Uf muro 'Gesang' || Os: Vy mora- v. 'shout (at the arrival in the village of rowers, bringing an official)', V morəx- 'make big noise' (of people)' (× N ≈ *mur^V 'make loud noise' [q.v.]) || Coll. 99, UEW 287-8, It. #272, Ber. 39, MRS 334-5, 342, Ep. 73, Ü 129, Stn. D 956-7, Trj. S 262 || A: AmTg *mura- v. 'shout' > Ork mura-, Ul, Ork

mura-, Nn Nh/B/KU mora- id.; × Tg mo^lura- v. 'low, roar, bellow' (of animals) [< N ***murV** '↑?'] ¶ STM I 546-7 II D ***mur-** > Tm mural v. 'emit sounds, cry, sing', Kdg morad_u- v. 'weep', more 'lamentation', Tu moræ v. 'cry', muriya n. 'cry, weeping', KLlm moray- v. 'produce musical sound' (bell, etc.), morp- v. 'play (flute), ring (bell)', Mlt mure v. 'speak, say yes or no', possibly also Tl morayu, Nkr moray- v. 'sound', Ml muraluka, muruluka, Kn moral v. 'hum, grunt, growl' ¶ D #4973 II ?? HS: ?? S *^o/mry Sh (pf. ?amraya) v. 'chat' (× ← Ar ?amraya v. 'slaver') ¶ BK II 1094 ◆ IS MS 345 s.v. **кричат** ***mur** (U, D) ◆ If the Ar verb belongs here, the N rec. is ***murga** > ***mugra**.

1468. ***muh^rV** 'part, piece' > HS: WS ***muh₁V₁r** 'dowry, marriage portion; property' > Ar mahr- 'dowry, nuptial gift', √mhr G (pf. mahura, ip. -mhur-) 'assign a dowry to a woman', BHb re27m 'mohar 'dowry, bride price', Ug {OLS} mhr 'dowry' ('dote, precio\compensación por la esposa', {Grd.} 'marriage price'), IA arem mhr? 'dowry', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ar@e6um muhra- 'bride price; the wife's settlement, widowhood', JEA {Sl.} ar@e6um muh'ra- 'an endowment pledge collectable upon the dissolution of the marriage', Sr mahra- 'marriage portion, gift from the bridegroom to the bride; marriage dowry', Sb mhr̥t 'wealth, possessions', √mhr Sh (pf. hmhr) (?) 'levy payment, impose un paiement', Mn {MA} √mhr 'fixer le dot', Qt {Rk.} mhr̥t 'possessions' ¶ Fr. IV 216, BK II 1160-1, KB 525, HJ 601-2, Grd. UT #1441, ≈ A #1531, OLS 267-8, Br. G I 194 [§ 74b], Js. 739, Sl. 646, JPS 256, Ln. 2740, MA 60, Rk. 94 || B ***-muHr-** > ***-mu^r-** 'part, portion' > Kb, Izd a-mur (pl. i-mur-ən) id., Tmz a-mur (pl. i-mur-n.) id., 'share' ¶ DL 513, MT 427-8, Mrc. 186 ¶ The long vw. (reflected in B lgs as u) suggests the presence of a lr. II D ***mur-** 'piece' (× N ***murV** 'to break, crush' [q.v.]) > Tm muri 'piece, bit broken off', Kt mury 'small piece', Tu murku 'fragment, piece, bit', Tl muri, muriya 'a bit, piece', ? Nkr murnd_e 'a quarter (of bread)', ? Ku muka 'small piece' ¶¶ D #4975 ¶¶ D ***-r-** is a reg. reflex of ***-r-** clusters (in this case of ***-hr-**) II U ***mura** 'small bit, crumb' (× N ***murV** '↑' [q.v. ffd.]).

1469. ***mari^rV** 'young man, young male' > HS: S ***ma(:)ri?** 'man, male person' (→ 'husband, lord', 'boy') > OA, IA, Nbt, Plm arm mr? 'lord'; the var. ***ma^rri?** (> ***ma^rriy-** with a ***-y-**, appearing in hiatus after the loss of **-?**) > BAR ar4m1 ma^rre⁻ 'lord', +ppa. ia5r6Æm1 ma^ri⁻?-i⁻ 'my lord', Sr Ḥeroomo ma^r-r-a⁻ ~ Ḥorpo ma^r-r(ə)y-a⁻ (with the former marker of definiteness **-a⁻**, which lost its meaning), Hmr {Rb., Slw.} ma^rriy- 'lord'; the variant ***mari?** (whence, due to the law of posttonic syncope, ***mar?**) > Ar ḤUr0Ma mar?- (un) 'man, husband', Ak: OAk mar?-um ~ mer?-um, Ak OA mer?-u(m) ~ mar?-u(m), Ak OB ma^r-u(m) 'son, boy', OAk mar?-at-um 'girl' (d with the fem. marker **-at-**); denom. verbs: Ar √mr? 'den Männchen spielen', √mry v. 'be male' ¶ JH 166-7, HJ 682-9, Sd. 615-6, CAD X/1 308-16, KB 596, Br. 401, BK II 1085, Rb. AWA 28, Slw. 197-8 || ? Eg fOK mr.t 'Hörige, Untertanen' ('so.'s men'), Eg MK/XVIII mr 'Angehörige jemds., seine Anhänger, seine Parteigänger' ¶ EG II 98, 106 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} ***mar^ri** 'slave' (← ***so.'s man**) > NrBc: Mbr mar, Sir mar-c3ki, Jmb mar3'u 'slave' ; Ron {J}: DfB mo^rḥ, Klr maho^r (-h- is secondary?), Sha moḥ (-ḥ regularly from ***-r**) 'slave', ? DfB ma^rḥa 'male', ma^rḥ 'boy' ; CCch: ? BB: Nz mu^rre', Bt {Mch.} mure 'man, male animal', FIM mur...v, FIB mu^r...iⁿ, Bcm {Sk.} mu^rre', Mln mu^rro', Gudu {IL, JI} mir..., {ChL} m3f ¶ Stl. ZCh 233 [#805], J R s.v., JI II 230-1, J R 218-9, 353, ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 40 II IE: NaIE ***meryo-**, ***mer-** 'young man' (→ 'husband') > OI ***marya-h.**, Av mairya- id., OI ***marya'kah**, 'Männchen, Jüngchen', MPrs me^rrag 'young man, husband', Bct μαργηο 'servant' ; Gk μεῖρακιον ntr. 'young man, lad', μεῖραξι 'young girl, lass', (later) 'lad' ; L marītus 'married man, husband', lit. 'one possessed by a wife' (< ***mr_o-i** 'wife', **ἄμυξ-η**) ; W merch 'girl, daughter', Br merc'h 'girl, woman', pl.: W merched, Crn myrhes, Br merc'ed 'maidens'; OBr, OCrn moroin (< ***morigna**) 'virgo = girl', Crn moren, W morwyn 'maiden, virgin' ; ? Gt Cr marzus 'wedding' (< ***marθ-hu-s** ≈ 'marriage house?') ; Lt marti^r, Pru ma^rti-n (acc. sg.), ma^rrtan 'bride'; ?? +ext.: Lt merga^r 'peasant girl', dim. merge^rle', merga^rite 'girl', Ltv me^rga 'girl', Pru mergo, merga 'virgin' ¶ WP II 281, P 738-9, EI 656 (***meri_o-s** 'young man', ***merih_A-** 'young woman'), Mn. 760, IS II 39, M K II 596-7, M E II 329, F II 195-6, WH II 40-1, YGM-I 331, Fs. 348, Flr. 260, ECCE 105, LP § 271, Frn. 412, 439-40, En. 208 II D ***mar_i-**, {GS} ***mad_i-** 'son, child, young of animals' > Kn mar_i 'young of an animal, child', Tm mar_i 'young of ungulate (sheep, horse, deer, etc.); female ruminant; deer', Ml mar_i 'offspring, young of animals, young deer', Kt mayr, Td mar_y, Tu mari 'a young animal', Tl mar_{aka} 'kid', Gnd mar_i^d mari^d mar_i/mar_u^d maxi 'son', Knd mar_{in} 'son', me⁻-mari 'husband, man', Png mazi 'son', Kui mri⁻en3u^d mrienzi, Ku mir⁻esi^d mri⁻esi 'son', Brh ma^r-r 'son, boy, lad' ¶¶ D #4764, GS 157 [#392] II ? K: Sv amb^{*}ma^r-a-i 'person, man' (***-i nom.**) > Sv L/UB ma^rre, Sv LB ma^rre, unless a loan from the Nakh lgs. (Chechen ma^r, Batsbi mar 'husband') ¶ GM S 166, Dn. s.v. ma^rre, GP 212, Dn. s.v. ma2re, IS II 40 II A: Tg: ? Nn Δ marin- v. 'marry a man' (STM I 539); cf. also the Tg stem ***mi⁻re⁻n-** v. 'marry' (of a woman) > Ork mi⁻r3n-, Ul mir3n-, Ewk mir3n- and Lm m^rer3n- v. 'marry a man' (≠ Ci. 109, Mng. TS 34). If it belongs here, its ***i** may be accounted for by regr. as caused by the N vw. ***i** of the second syll. IS reconstructs the √ as ***mayrV**, which is based on an untenable rec. of the Tg √ with ***ay**. Closer examination proves that there is not enough ev. to reconstruct here a cons. ***y**. The only apparent ev. is the diphthongoid **ie** in Lm in the verb m^rer3n- v. 'marry' (of a woman) and in the related Lm nouns m^rer3n 'marriage (of a woman)' and m^rer3nn3 'bride' (STM I 538-9, LW 690-1). But acc. to the sound laws established in Tg historical phonology (Ci. and Mng. TS), the Lm diphthongoid **ie** goes back not to the pTg diphthong ***i_a** (which, acc. to IS, goes back to N ***ay**), but to the pTg vw. ***i**, hence the Tg verb in question must be reconstructed not as ***mi_aarV-**, but as

*mī-r3-n- 'to marry' (of a woman) (whence the abovementioned reflexes in Ork, Ul, Ewk and Lm) (F Ci. 109, Mng. TS 34). As to the Tg diphthong *i_a, it regularly yields quite a different vw. in Lm, namely ³æ (i.e. æ with palatalization of the preceding cons.) (Mng. TS 34) ¶ ≠ DQA #1305 (A *mi_a r'ra' 'male, mature': *unc.* comparison of the Tg √ with pJ *ma'ra' 'penis') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #63 (*mer 'child') [IE, U, Ai].

1470. ***mæR₁h₁V** (= ***mæR₁h₁V**?) 'be wounded, ill' > HS: Eg fMd mr {EG, DW} 'be ill, ache; illness', {Fk.} 'sick, ill, diseased; painful', Eg fP mr.t {EG} 'krankhaftes, Krankheit; Böses, Schlimmes' ¶ EG II 96, DW I 376-82, Fk. 110 || S *^o/mr₁h₁ > Ar %UriMa marih-un 'ill, sick', marihu-l-fu?ā-di 'affected with heart-disease', √mrh G (pf. mariha, ip. -mrah-) 'be weakened' (of an eye) ¶ Fr. IV 173, Hv. 717 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} me'ro' 'illness', {Lm.} mero' id., 'pain' ¶ Wdk. BY 131, Lm. Y 366 II U *m'e'rV > Sm {Jn.} *mer'byu' 'wound' > Ne: T mēpee, T O {Lh.} mē'r'w, F Nl m'ir'r'w 'wound, sore'; Ng {Cs.} 'mearun, mearu id., {Mik.} 'meru 'pimple (pattanás)'; Kms {KD} mē'ro' 'wound', mē'ra'lam vt. 'I wound' ¶ Jn. 93, Ter. 249 II A: M: MM [S] mer 'wound', HlM m'p adv. (indeclinable word) denoting dull pain: m'p r'γx 'bd' x 'feeling of dull pain within one's body (cheat, stomach, etc.)', ? WrM (< d or cd ?) mermerki- 'feel a slight pain at the pit of the stomach or in the chest' ¶ H 109, MED 537, Luv. 253 || Tg: Ewk murdul- v. 'slaughter (a reindeer)' ¶ STM I 558 || ?σ,φ pJ *mi_ar- ∼ *mai_r- v. decrease, diminish, drain away' > OJ m₁i_ jer- id., J: T meri n. 'loss, waste, leakage' ¶ S QJ #1200, Mr. 475, 723, Kenk. 1213 ¶ ≈ DQA #1317 [A *mi_ore 'to hurt, damage, wound'; incl. M, Tg, J] II ?? IE: ζ NaIE *(s)mer- (+ ext.) 'pain, sickness' > L morbus (< *mor-b^ho-s) 'disease, sickness' :: Gmc *smert- 'pain' > OHG sme'rzo ~ sme'rza, NHG Schmerz, MLG, MDt sme'rte, smarte, NE smart 'pain' ¶ ≈ WH II 110-1, Kb. 917, OsS 833, ≈ KM 663-4 ◇ At the present state of research we cannot yet establish any genetic relationship between this √ and N ***muRV** 'go away, perish, die' ◇ If NaIE *(s)mer- 'belongs here, the N rec. must be ***mæR₁h₁V**, otherwise we remain with an unspecified *R (***mæR₁h₁V**) ◇ ≈ IS 59-60 (*m'a'ra' 'be ill, die'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of the N √ in question, N ***muRV** '¶' [q.v.] and N ***m'e'R₁V₁c^h.V** 'be ill, wounded' [q.v.]), ≠ BmK #525 (*mir-/mer- 'to stab, pierce, cause pain', etc.: *unc.* comparison of Eg mr 'be ill' with IE and D [see above s.v. ***muRV**]).

1471. ***ma'riqV** 'spot, stain, (?) dirt' > HS: S *^o/mrχ > Ar ?amraχu 'bigarré, tacheté de taches rouges et blanches' ¶ BK II 1088 II IE: NaIE *mer₁ə-/mor(u)- 'dirty, dark' > Gk μορυχ- v. 'soil, defile' (attested prtc. pf. μεμορυχμε'voθ 'soiled, blackened'), μορυχ'ερον adv. cmpr. 'more obscurely' :: Lt morai' pl. 'mould' : Sl *marati 'to soil, stain' > Hls marac', mo'rac', P Δ marac', OR **मारति** marati, R ma'pat- id. :: Arm m@ajl mr'ayl 'mist, darkness, obscurity' ¶ WP II 279-80, P 734, F II 257, Frn. 464, ESSJ XVII 207-9 II A: Tg *mer- '(be) motley, spotted' > Ewk mērīmz, mērīl3, mērīkt3 'spotted, striped, skewbald, motley', mērīk3- 'make (sth.) motley', Lm Ol ma'rgi- 'be motley', Lm Okh mergi- vt. 'ornament', WrMc mersen 'small spots on feathers (**пѣтныки, пестринки**, freckles', mersenge 'motley, freckled' ¶ STM I 571-2 || M *meriyen > WrM {Pp.} meriyen 'bunt, scheckig, Schecke', Ord ere'n mere'n id. [unless a secondary M *m-rdp of *eriyen 'motley, variegated'] ¶ Pp. VG 35, MED 327 || T *ber'a'- v. 'ornament, adorn' > OT bea'za'-, Tk beze-, Tkm beðe-, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qzq, Qq beze-, Az ba'za'-, Uz beza- ~ be3'a-, VTt biza'-, Bsh biða'- ¶ Cl. 390, 392, Pp. VG 35 (on the NaT d *bea'za'-n-), ET B 105-6 || pJ {S} *mu'ra' 'spot(ted)' > ltOJ [RJ] mura, J: T mu'ra, K mu'ra', Kg mu'ra' ¶ S QJ #1083, Mr. 488 ¶ S AJ 74, DQA #1286 (A *mer'u 'spot = **пѣтно**; doubts about the adduction of T *ba'r'a'-, i.e. *ber'a'-), Pp. VG 35 (T, M, Tg) II D *mar_- 'dirty spot, stain' > Tm mar_u 'stain, blot, spot (esp. on the moon), stigma', Ml mar_u 'spot, freckle', Tl mar_aka 'stain, blot, spot', Gnd marro- d marror 'black mole' ¶ D #4767 ◇ T *r'- < *ry- < N *-riq-. If the T cognate is rejected, the rec. will be ***ma'rVqV** ◇ IS II 52 (*mArA 'spot, dirty': IE, D) → BmK #539 (IE, D).

1472. ***m'a'rwe** '∈ tree' > HS: CS *^o/mar₁V₁w- '∈ tree' > Ar marw- 'silex'; S b> Eg fOK mrw, Eg fXVIII mry '∈ red wood of a coniferous tree from Syria' ¶ BK II 1097, EG II 108-9 || Eg OK/NE mr.t ≈ 'desk', Eg NE mr.y '∈ a useful kind of wood (Holz)' ¶ EG II 108 || EC: pKns *mu'r-a 'forest' > Kns, Gato mu'ra, Gdl mu'r id. ¶ Bl. 255 || WCh: DfB {J} me'r 'tree' ¶ J R 218 II U: FU *m'o're '∈ tree' > pLp {Lr.} *mo-r3 'tree, wood (Holz)' > Lp: L {LLO} muorra, Kld m'pp mu'rr id., S muore id., 'board', N {N} muorra' / -r- 'tree, wood, stake, pole' :: OHg mo'ra'gy, ζ mora'gy '∈ wood (Wald) \ forest' (preserved in OHg XIII and modern Hg toponymy) : pOs *mo'rV 'bush, shrub, thicket' > Os: V mo'ri 'Busch', D mo'ra'y id., 'Strauch', Ty mo'ri id., 'Dickicht, junger Nadelwald', Nz mo'ra 'Haufen, Menge (Bäume u.a.)' ¶ Lp may go back to *o or *a, the Hg vw. may be from *o, while Os *o seem to point to *u (< *o due to the infl. of some labial phonemes of the word) ¶ Coll. 97, UEW 281, ≈ 291-2, Lr. #92, Lgc. #4020, LLO 536-7, Hs. 951, SaR 198, MF 450 II A: pKo {S} *mo'ro' 'wood, forest; mountain' > MKo mo'ro' id. ¶ S QK #55, Nam 215 || pJ (S) *m3 ri' 'forest' > OJ mo'ri', J: T mo'ri, K mo'ri, Kg mo'ri ¶ S QJ #213, Mr. 485 ¶ ≈ DQA #1377 (*mu'ro 'tree, forest'; incl. Ko, J) II D *mar-, {GS} maran- 'tree, wood' > Tm, Ml maram id., 'timber', Kt marm, Td me'n, Kn, Tu mara, Kdg mara, Tl m(r)a'nu, m(r)a'ku, Klm ma'k, Nkr mak, Prj meri, Gdb mar d marin d ma'ren, Gnd mara d mar'a d mar'a d ma'ra, Knd maran, Png, Mnd mar, Kui mrahnu d mra'nu, Ku ma'runu d marnu d mara, Krx mann, Mlt manu 'tree' ¶ D #4711, GS 224 [#549] II ?? IE: Ht marmarr(a)- {CHD} '∈ terrain', {Frd.} 'Dickicht' (acceptable if Frd.'s interpretation is true; but Ot. and EI interpret it as 'swamp, marsh', cf. IE *mor- < N ***more** 'body of water', q.v.) ¶ Frd. HW 137,

Frđ. HW EH III 24, Ts. E II 140-1, CHD L-N 192 ◆ IS II 45 (*marʾ 'tree' > U, D, ? S) ◆ D *-r- suggests a cns. cluster (*-rw-?); U *o (for the expected *a) points to the presence of a labializing factor (*w?). The cns. *w survives in S ◆ ≈ Gr. II #207 (*mor 'hill') [U, A, J + *unc.* Ai, Gil, CK].

1473. ***mar₁y₁V** '(mul-, black-) berries' > IE: NaIE *mor- 'mulberry, blackberry' > Arm mor mor 'blackberry, mulberry' :: Gk μο'rov id. :: L mo'rum id., mo'rus 'mulberry-tree' (o' proves that it is not a loan from Gk) :: OIr mer (pl. mera) 'mulberry' ({Vn.}: <b- Brtt?), W merwydd 'mulberry-trees', sgl. merwydden (*cd* with gwydd 'tree?') || ? Ht muri-, muri(ya)n- 'cluster of grapes or other fruit' ¶¶ ≠ P 749, EI 388 (*'morom 'blackberry'), F II 256, Bois. 645, EM 738, WH II 114, Vn. M 40, YGM-1 331, CHD L-N 333 II HS: ȷ Eg {Budge} mr 'mulberry tree (morus tree)' (Palermo Steele, f Schäfer BAA IV 1149) ¶ Budge I 314; the word is not confirmed by EG, Mks. and other reliable sources and is therefore *qu.*; Tk AAN 2 identifies the word with Eg mr.w 'Lebanese cedar (cedrus Libani)' (Hng. 348) [= Eg fOK {EG} mrw ~ mry ∈ 'coniferous tree?'] II K *marc..qw- 'strawberry' > eNG {SSO} marcqy marc..qw-i, eNG, G marcqvi marc..qv-i, Sv UB/Ln ba's.qi, UB/LB ba's.q id. ¶¶ K 127, K² 115, FS K 209, FS E 230, SSO I 444, Chx. 675, TK 147, GP 91 ¶¶ This is a *cd* of ***mar₁y₁a** + ***c'Vm.qU** [a √ represented by K {FS} *cim.qw- 'strawberry or bilberry' > G cm.qva, Mg cəmſwa, cimſwa 'strawberry', Sv UB {TK} cīn.qa, UB {GP}, LB/L {TK} cin.qa, Ln {TK} cina.qa 'bilberry' - f K 224 (*cin.qwa), FS K 400, FS E 450 (*cim.qw-), TK 838, GP 277] II U: FU *marya 'berries' > F marja, Es mari id. : pLp {Lr.} *mo'rye' id. > Lp: S {Hs.} muo'rjie, L/N {LLO, N} muor'je, Kld {TI} mu'ry : Er/Mk mar' 'berries' (in *cds*) : Chr: H mo'r 'berry', B mo'r, Uf mo'ro' 'garden strawberries' :: ObU *mV:r- > pVg *ma'ri- > ML {Mu.} moa'ri, N {Mu.} ma'ri 'Stengel der Beere', N moriŋ/p pil 'büschelige Beere'; pOs *murəp 'bunch of berries' > Os: VK murwa, Ty/Y/O murəp, K/Kr mu'rəp, Nz/Kz mu'rəp id. ¶ Coll. 97, UEW 264-5, It. #28, Ht. #407, Trj. S 270, Lr. #693, Lgc. #4018, Hs. 952-3 II A: pKo {S} *mə'r'u'i_ 'grapes', {Vv.} 'wild grapes' > MKo mə'r'u'i_, NKo məru, Ko SW {Mazur} mora' 'grapes', ? Ko Chl {Vv.} melgwu, Ko Chj {Choy} melguy 'wild grapes' ¶ S QK #246, Nam 212, MLC 608, Vv. AEN 10-1 || ?? T *bu'ru'-lga'n '∈ Rubus (berry)' (analyzed by IS as *bu'ri- + sx. -lig- + ancient plural parker -Vn) > Qmq bu'ru'lgēn 'blackberries', VTt qara bē'rl̥ga'n id., q̥ʒʒyl bē'rl̥ga'n 'bramble', Chv пeÄpлeÄxēn p̥rl̥x_en id.; Az Qb mu'ri 'strawberry' (quoted in IS II 44 and in AD NM #59) is rejected by Starostin [S CNM 4] as a loan from Lezgian and by Pp. [Pp. rISOS-II 223] which "is certainly not Altaic" ¶ TatR 93, KumRS 89; Jeg. 157, Dm. NRTAJ 175, 186, Rs. W 93 || Tg {ADb.} *meruŋ > Ewk moroŋo 'cloud-berries' (b> Ne T māÄpa'raÄid.), Nn {On.} mīrʒ-ŋkulʒ 'mountain-ash tree (Sorbus)' ¶ STM I 547, On. 263, Ter. 235 || ? M: WrM {Cev.} maril, HIM марил '∈ red round fruit of a plant' ¶ Cev. 333 ¶¶ DQA #1285 (A *me'ra '∈ berry'), ADb. {p.c., 2002: drew my attention to the Nn cognate} ◆ AD GD #2 (IE, U, K), IS II 43-5 [#282] (*marja 'berry' > IE, K, U, A), Bm. NM #432 (IE, Eg, U), Pp. rISOS-II 223 (rejects the adduction of M *bu'rilgene 'Viburnum, калина', proposed by IS), AD NM #59, Vv. AEN 10-1.

¶+ ?? 1473a. ***mar₁y₁V** 'horned animal' > HS: Eg MK mr 'Kampfstier' ¶ EG II 106 || S *°√mry > Ar rI'Ma ma'ri-n 'jeune veau tout blanc', mariy-at- 'jeune veau femelle au pelage blanc', éyWri'Ma mariy-at- 'antilope blanche' ¶ Qu. because of the semantic component 'white' (infl. of Ar √mry 'to milk; abundant milk?') ¶ BK II 1097-8 || EC: Sa {R} 'ma'ru' 'sheep, ram (Schaf, Schafbock, Widder)', ma'ru' 'ewe', Af {PH} maruw ~ maruy 'ram'; Af marʾa 'male lamb' ¶ R S II 271, PH 164 || NOm {Blz.} *mar₁r₁- 'buck, ram' > WI {LmS} mara 'lamb, kid', Omt {Mrn.} ma'ra- 'giovine d'animale', Bdt {C} marre- 'pecora', Gm {Hw.} ma'ra 'calf', Shn {LmS} mere'ra 'sheep' ¶ Blz. OL #154, LmS 465, Hw. EG, Mrn. O 151 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Zul {ChL} ma'ri, Plc {ChL} ma'r, Buli {ChL} mar, {Grgs.} maro, Tala {Csp.} ma'r 'goat', ?σ Sy {Crm.} ma'riya 'harness antelope' :: CCCh: Mtk {ChL} mari 'bull' ¶ ChC, ChL, Csp. 19, 40 || ?? HS *mVrg- > EC *mirg- > Or mirg-o' 'half-grown male calf' (b> Hd mirg-o'o id., Brj mirg-o-'ox'), Gdl mirk-ot 'young bull trained for farming', Gln mirk-ia 'gazelle' ¶ Ss. B 145 || CCCh: Gdr {Mch.} mu'rgo, 'he-goat' ¶ ChC II D *mar- '∈ deer' > Tm marai_ ;sambar, Indian elk; bison, wild cow', Kn mare '∈ deer', Gnd marama_m 'sambar', OI b> OI maru'ka- '∈ deer' ¶¶ D #4724 II A: M *maral 'female deer' > MM [S] {H} maral id., WrM maral, HIM марл, Brt марал 'red deer (Cervus elaphus sibiricus)', Kl марл marl_ {Rm.} 'female deer'; M b> Tkm, ET, Qrg maral 'female deer', Shor paral 'deer', Qzq maral, R маðрал 'red deer' ¶ H 108, MED 529, KW 257, Chr. 293, Rs. W 327 ◆ N *-r₁y₁- is very tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of D (D *-r- suggests a N *-r-cluster), Eg (the absence of lr. in Eg mr rules out N *-rH- or *-Hr-), S *°√mry and Af maruy (suggesting the presence of *y) ◆ An additional hyp.: there was another N root, reconstructible as ***mVrgV** > HS *mVrg- '¶' and D *mu'r- 'bovine' > Tm mu'ri 'budffalo; ox, bullock', Ml mu'ri 'bullock, ox', Ln muri 'bull, ox', Gnd mura ~ mute ~ mu'ra ~ mu'r'a 'cow' ¶¶ D #5041 ◆ Blz. DA 157 [#53] (HS, D).]]

1474. ?? ***mVR₁V₁CV** 'to crumb, crush' > HS: S: [1] *°√mrθ > Ar √mrθ v. D 'crumb with fingers', or [2] ? *°√mrs' > Ar √mrs' G 'scratch and tear with fingernails' ({BK} 'gratter et déchirer avec les ongles') ¶ Fr. IV 166, 169, BK II 1091, 1986 II IE: NaIE *mers- 'crush, grind' > OI mas.am' ka'r-, mas.ma's.a'kar- 'grind to powder' :: OHG morsa'ri 'mortar' (reshaped from L morta'rium id.), MHG zermu'rsen 'to crush, squash (zerdrücken, zerquetschen)', MDt zermorschen, NGr Sw morsen, mu'rsen 'to bruise, crush, pound (in a mortar)', MHG, NLG mursch, murs, NHG morsch 'decaying, frail', Dt morzelen 'rub away, crush' ¶ P 737, M K II 604, ≈ M E II 335, Kb. 697, OsS 621, KM 488-9 II U: FU: Hg morsa 'crumb, breadcrumb(s);

morsel, bit', morszol- v. 'crumble' ¶ MF 421-2 ♦ If the legitimate Ar cognate is √mrθ, the N sibilant is *-c-, which rules out the Hg cognate. If, however, Ar √mrs and Hg morsza belong here, the N sibilant is *s or *c, but in this case the semantic connection is less plausible.

1475. 2 ***m'eRlVjC^** ∇ 'be ill, wounded' > HS: S *√mrs^, 'be(come) sick, fall ill' > Ug √mrs, G 'be sick', mrs, n. 'illness', Amr {G} √mrs., OA ~Ó mrk. (= mrχ), IA mr^ 'illness', JA √mr^ G (pf. or@m6 mǝ'ra^s) {HJ} 'be ill', {Js.} 'fall sick, be(come) weak', or@m6 mǝ'ra^s adj. 'sick, suffering', JEA {Sl.} aolr^m2 mar'^a- (cs. or@m6 mǝ'ra^s) 'illness', Sr √mr^ G (ip. ramne nem'ra^s), SmA √mr^ G 'fall ill, become sick', BHb prtc. N çr!m6n% nim'ra^c. {BDB} 'sore, greivous' (← 'made sick'), {KB} 'schlimm, schmerzhaft', Ar firM √mrδ^ G 'be sick', Sb √mrs^, 'suffer from disease', Mh {Jo.} √mrs^ (= {Jo.} √mrz') (pf. me-rǝs^, sbjn. yǝmro-s^.) 'be ill', Jb E/C √mrs^ (pf. 'mirs^, sbjn. yǝm'rǝs^, = {Jo.} mi'rz' / yǝmro-z') id., Hrs {Jo.} √mrs^ (pf. {Jo.} me'rez') 'be unwell, ill', Sq {L} √mrs^, Sh (pf. hemro-s^.) 'guérir', Ak ∇ √mrs, G 'fall ill, have a disease' ¶ A #1683, OLS 292-3, HJ 694-5, G A 25, Js. 845, Sl. 710, Br. 405, JPS 302-3, Tal 486-7KB 604, BDB 599, Fr. IV 169, BGMR 87, Jo. M 271, Jo. J 174, Jo. H 9, L LS 271, CAD X/1 269-76, Sd. 609, MiK I #2.42 II U: FP: Chr: L merc'e-, H merce-, inf. L мѣрчаш mer'c-as, H мѣрцаш 'merc-as' 'be\grow ailing\sickly', {MRS} '(за)хирет-, (за)чахнут-', H {Ep.} мүрцѣк 'mercæk 'chronic disease; disabled person, invalid', {Ü} 'sickly (болезненный)', {Ps.} merc'e- 'kränklich \ gebrechlich sein' ¶ MRS 322, Ep. 70, Ü 131, PsS 71 II ?? IE: NaIE: Lt merde'ti 'to agonize' (if Lt d may be a reflex of *c^ after a sonorant) ¶ ≈ Frn. 457 ♦ ≈ IS 59-60 (*m'a''ra 'be ill, die'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of the N √ in question, N ***muRV** 'go away, perish, be dying' [q.v.] and N ***mæRlhjV** 'be wounded, ill' [q.v.]), ≠ BmK #525 (*mir-/mer- 'to stab, pierce, cause pain', etc.: *unc.* comparison of S *√mrs^ with Eg mr 'illness', IE *mer- 'to die' and D [see above s.v. ***muRV**]).

1476. ***mur12jVgE** 'animal fat, brain, (?) marrow' > IE: NaIE *mreg^h-/mr^g^h- 'brain; skull' > Gk βρεχμοϋ, βρεχμο ~ βρεγμο ntr. 'forehead, top part of the skull' :: MLG bregen ~ bragen, OFrs brein, AS brægen ~ brezen 'brain', NE brain :: Av {Ch. ← Bnv.} mǝrǝzav-, mǝrǝzu- 'vertebra of the neck and nape', Awr mo''l, Krd mo''l(l), Luri mul 'nuque', Psh {Mrg.} warme-z^ (with the px. *fra-), {Asl.} or'mez^ 'neck' (semantic prehistory: *'brain' → *'skull' → *'nape of the neck') ¶ ≈ WP II 314, ≈ P 750, ≈ EI 79-80 [*'mreg^hmen- ~ *mreg^h(m)n-o- 'brain' with *unj.* *g^h], Brtl. 1173-4, F I 266-7, Ch. 195, Ho. 32, Bn. AM 80, Brtl. 1174, Mrg. 89, Asl. 87 II HS: S *muk, Vr- 'marrow, brain' > JA {Trg.} ar!q^&m mok 'r-a- id., JEA {Sl.} ar!q^um muk 'ra- 'cranium, brain', Sr æroœwmu muk 'r-a- 'yolk of the egg', Md muk.ra 'marrow, sperm, brain, gelatinous matter, living substance, plasma', Ak {Sd.} muk.a.ru(m) 'eine weiche Masse (?)' [{CAD} "meaning uncertain"] ¶ Lv. III 56, Lv. T III 18, Sl. 649, Br. 400, PS 2047, JPS 259, DM 262, Sd. 674, CAD X/2 212 II ? A: Tg *bu.rgu. (< *burge) 'fat' > Ewk burgu 'subcutaneous fat', Ewk, Sln burgu adj. 'fat', Lm bǝrgǝ d bo'rgo d burgǝ, Lm A burgǝ, Neg boygo ~ bǝygǝ, Orc boggo, Ud bogo, Ul boz'o(n-) ~ buz'u(n-), Ork bod(d)o(n-), Nn Nh buygu id. ¶ STM I 112, Krm. 213 ¶ The denasalization *m- > Tg *b- has not yet been explained II D: [1] *mu-r- > Tu mu-r^ 'fat, stout, corpulent' [2] ?φ *mu-l- (~ *mu-r-?), {GS} *mu-l- 'brain, marrow' > Tm mu-l.ai, Ml mu-l.a id., Kt mi-l, Tl mu-laga, Klm mull, Prj nulli, nu'lgum, Gnd mur'e, mur'gonzi, Knd mur'va, mut.i, Krx murma- 'marrow', Kui nīli id., ka-d.a-mu-la, mu-la, Tu mu-l.e 'brain', Brh milī 'marrow, brain, kernel of nut' ¶¶ D ##4970, 5051, Pf. 40 [#233], GS 52 [#130] ¶ The origin of D *-l- (< *-r-?) is still obscure ♦ The glottalization *-g- > *-k- in S and D *-r- (regularly from a *-r-cluster) suggest the presence of a glottalizing cns. (i.e. *ʔ). Cf. N ***ma'r'i2V** 'animal fat'.

1477. ***marʔokE** 'side (of the body), side, edge' > IE: NaIE *morg^h-/mrog^h-/mr^g^h- 'edge, border' > Av marǝza 'border country' ('Mark, Grenzgebiet'), NPrs zr0Ma ma''rz 'border\boundary of a country; region, country' :: L margo / margin- 'border, edge' :: OIr mruig > bruig 'territory', OBr bro 'pays, région', W, Crn, Br bro 'district', Gl BROGA 'country' (in *Scholia ad Juvenalem*) :: Gt, OSx marka 'border, frontier', OHG marca d marcha 'border', NHG Mark, OFrs merke 'boundary, frontier, border-country', ON mo.rk 'forest, wood' [forests served as frontiers between countries], Sw mark 'district', AS mearc 'mark (district); end, limit of given space, boundary', NE mark (← 'boundary, landmark') (< *morg^a-) ¶ WP II 283-4, P 738 (*mereg^h-), EI (*morg^h- 'border'), Brtl. 1153, Horn 218, Vl. II 1160, Sg. 1214, WH II 39-40, Vn. M 67-8, Billy 35, Flr. 90, Fs. 347, Vr. 401, Sw. 114, Ho. 217, Ho. S 50, Kb. 662, OsS 593, KM 462 II HS: Ch: ECh: Kwan mo'rgo 'bank of a river' :: WCh: Sir {Sk.} ma'rǝn 'side of body' ¶ ChC || S *o/√mrk. (< **/mrʔk?) > Ar √mrq G (ip. -mruq-) 'miss the goal' (of an arrow), 'stray from the orthodox religion', GT (pf. ʔimtarāqa) 'go out quickly from' ¶ BK II 1094-5, Hv. 717 II D *maruŋk- 'side, side of the body' > Tm maruŋku id., 'limit', Ml maruŋgu, Kt magl, Kn maggal, maggil, maggul, Png marŋgar 'side', Td magil 'slope of hill', ? mar- 'side', Tu margil^ 'side, flank', Tl makka 'side of the part of the body just above the hip', Prj makka 'burrock', Gnd marŋg 'side', maruŋ 'ribs of mat', mar'gi 'rib bone' ¶¶ D #4717 II U *marV ~ *m'o'rV 'side, side of the body' (loss of *-V-k- due to *bf.* ?) > Hg Δ mart 'bank, shore; edge\side of a ditch; hillside' || ?φ Sm *mǝra 'edge, bank', {Jn.} *mǝra^ 'edge' > En: X {KD} mo-ra, {Cs.} 'mořa, B {Cs.} 'mora 'bank, beach, shore'; Ne: T mapa, T O {Lh.} mar'a 'low sand beach, sand'; Ng {Hl.} mǝru 'bank, shore', {Mik.} 'mǝru 'part'; Kms {KD} ma^ra 'edge, end' ¶ Coll. 34, Coll. CG 124, ≈ UEW 280-1 (unconvincingly rejects the Hg cognate and reconstructs U *mortV), 288 (*unc.* comparison of Hg mart with mar- 'bite' < U *mura- 'Stück'), Jn.

88, Hl. US 121, KP 125 ¶¶ Ugr *-t- is likely to go back to a sx. Sammallahti's historical phonology of Uralic (Sm. 484-5, 500, 513-5) suggests a pU vw. *i in a closed syll. (sth. like pU *miHrV or *mīrHV), the latter alt. being compatible with pN *mVr?V
 ♦ The labial vw. of the second syll. is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of D ans S; it was probably *o rather than *u, because *u would have yielded a glide in IE. This *o may have had labializing effect on the U (>₁ Sm) vw. of the first syll. The lr. is reconstructed on the indirect ev. of S (glottalization of *k), D (D *-r- goes back to cns. clusters rather than to an intervoc. *-r-) and IE (any other lr. would have yielded NaIE *ə in the intercons. position) ♦ It is tempting to adduce here NrOm: Kf {C} mallekko- 'side of body', Hrr {CR} mīlle- id., but there is no proof that Kf and Hrr -ll- may go back to *-r-.

1478. *mʰuʳk.V(-ŋK.V) 'root, root-crops, edible roots', (→?) 'sinew' > K *^omurk- > G murk- 'stump of cabbage' || IE: NaIE *mr_ok- (~ *br_ok-) 'edible roots, carrot' > AS more, moru 'edible root, carrot, parsnip', OHG moraha, NHG Mohrru²be, Mo²hre 'carrot' || Sl *m²rki / *m²rki²v- 'carrot' > SCr mr²kva, Slv mr²kev, mr²kva, OCz mrkev, Cz mrkva, OR морковь morkov², морква morkva, R мор'ков- ? Blt {IS} *burku² > Lt burku²-nas id., Ltv bur²ka²-ns id., 'Aetusa cynapium' || Gk [Hs.] βράκανα τὰ ἄγρια λαχανα ("wild vegetables") ¶ P 750, EI 620, Sw. 120, Ho. 226, Kb. 696, OsS 620, KM 484-5, IS MT 16-20, Vs. II 564-5, ESSJ XX 247-9, Glh. 426, F I 263, Ch. 192, ≈ Kar. I 155 (Ltv bur²ka²-ns < b-Frs E bura, bure 'a conical root' + dim. sx. -ken- < *-kan) || HS: EC *murk²- (~ *morg-) 'tendon, sinew, gristle' (× N *muŋi²H'or²K.V 'gristle, horn', q.v. ffd.) || D *murVŋk- > Tm muruŋkai² 'Moringa pterygosperma, Indian horse-radish tree', Kn nugga, nuggi, Tu nurige, nurge, Tl munaga, Prj muŋga, mulŋga, Gnd Δ mulge², munge² id., Knd muŋna maram, muluŋa mara id. (mara, maram is 'tree'), Ml muringa 'Hyperanthera moringa, Indian horse-radish', Krx muŋga² '∈ a shrub, the fruits & leaves of which are eaten as curry'; D b- OI muruŋgi-, murungi- 'Moringa pterygosperma' ¶¶ D #4982, Tu. #10209
 ♦ The same N word is used both for the root and the sinew, which is explained by their common technical functioning as ropes. D *-r- suggest an ancient cns. cluster with *r (here most probably *-rk, -) ♦ ≈ AD NM #62, S CNM 7 (≈ NrCs & ST).

1479. *mʰu²"ʳl.VʳK.a 'moist, liquid, to moisten' > IE: NaIE {P} *mer_lak- v. 'soak, soften; become wet', *mr_oku- ({P} *mraku-) 'swamp' > OIr mraich ~ braich, W, Crn brag 'malt' (i.e. 'soaked corn'), Gl BRACUS 'marais' b- VL Gl *braku-s / -m 'morass' (> It braco, brago, Fr brai, Prv, Ctl brac), W brag-wellt '∈ swamp-grass', Gl b- L mercasius 'swamp' (> OFr marchais), Gl [Hs.] εμβρεκτο²v ({WH} 'Brühe zum Eintunken') b- L imbractum ~ embractum '∈ sauce'; *mrakno- > OIr (Mlr) bre²n (< older *mre²n) 'fetid, rotten', W braen 'decayed, rotten', MBr breyn 'rotten' || MHG me²r(e)n, MDt meren 'to dip bread in wine\water' || Lt mer²kti (prs. merku²) 'to soak (flax)', mir²kti (prs. mirkstu²) 'to soak, be steeped in water', Ltv me²rkt, me²rce²t 'to soak, steep', me²rka 'moisture', me²rce 'sauce' || Sl *mork-/ *m²r²k- '(be) moist, soaked' in derivatives: [1] *m²r²k-no²-ti, *m²rka-ti > Cz za-mrknouti 'to soak and be spoiled' (of wood), Uk Δ мєрчит 'it drizzles', Uk P mīr²c²ati 'to drizzle', R Ks mara²kun 'light rain', Blg Δ 'мрѣкам v. 'dip (sth. small) in water\liquid'; [2] *morc², *merc² > R Δ 'мороч² 'light rain', 'мєреч² '∈ swampy ground', мєреча 'swamp'; [3] *morki, *morka > Uk Δ морок²ва 'quagmire, swamp', Blg Δ мpa²ка 'wet lowland' ¶ ≈ P 739-40, Vn. B 84-5, M 66-7, Billy 33, 71, Ern. 80, YGM-I 52, WH I 681, EM 310, ML ##1258a, 5515a, OsS 603, Lx. 138, Frn. 440-1, ESSJ XIX 218, 231, 234 & XXI 135, Ma. CS 310, Ma. C 380 || HS: WS *ma²rak²- 'broth' (*← 'liquid?') > BHb k qr@m1 ma²-rak², q qr1m1 *ma²-ra²k², Ar ĞeraMa maraq², Gz marak², Tgy mærex², 'broth', Tgr mærek² 'gravy soup' ¶ KB 603, Fr. IV 171, L G 359, L ESAC 32, LH 114 ¶ The vocalic pattern of this stem (*Ca²CaC-) is typical of adjectives, hence the original meaning is probably 'liquid' || B *^o√mry > Tmz i-məry-an pl. 'bouillon pour arroser le couscous' (the cns. y suggests that it is hardly a loan from Ar maraq-) ¶ MT 431 || A: ? T *bu²rk- (or *pu²rk-?) v. 'spurt, sprinkle' [× N *bur²u(-K.U) 'to spurt, gush forth, boil' (of water, liquid), q.v. ffd.] ♦ If in the NaIE √ there was *ə (which is doubtful), the N rec. must be *mʰu²"ʳl²"ʰVʳK.a (because *h is the only lr. that is liable to disappear in S, but yields *ə in NaIE). But, in my opinion, it is preferable to reconstruct both the pIE and the pN √ without lr.

1480. *mʰAr²V 'rain' [← or → 'to drop?'], 'cloud' > HS: S: BHb {GB, KB} rm2 mar 'drop' (?) (h. l. in Is. 40.15) ¶ GB 457, KB 595, ≈ KBR 629-30 (rm2 'myrrhe') || ECh: Smr {J} ma²-ri 'rain' ¶ ChC ¶¶ OS #1733 (HS *mar- 'drop, rain') || D (in SD) *mar²-ay- 'rain' > Tm marai² 'rain, cloud, water', Ml mara² 'rain', Kt may, Td maw, Kn marē, Kdg mal²e, Tu mal²e 'rain' ¶ D #4753 || ? K: Sv: UB/L {TK, GP, Dn.} me²-re, LB/Ln {TK} mere, Ln {TK} meri 'cloud' ¶ TK 570, GP 217, Dn. s.v. me²-re, Ni. s.v. облако (ma²-re), ≈ IS II 60 (Sv L mare, UB ma²-re < *mar-ei² or *mar-ai² 'cloud') || ? A: pKo {S} *mī²r 'water' > MKo mī²r, Ko: Sl/Ph mul, Ks mu²l, Hm mu²l ¶ S AJ 255 [#97], S QK #97, Nam 229, MLC 575 ♦ IS II 60-1 (does not distinguish between this etymon and N *moRE 'body of water' [q.v.], reconstructs *ma²-r²a² 'moisture, moist') → S CNM 3. It is too shaky to adduce here forms with an additional cns. (↔ IS), such as CS *√mrθ (Ug mrθ 'grape juice', Ar √mrθ 'to soften') and Ltv {ME} me²-rka 'Feuchtigkeit'.

1481. ??? ₂ *mʰAr²V 'to pluck out hair, make bald\bare' > HS: (+ext. ?) S *√mrt. id. > BHb √mrt. G 'make bare, polish', JA, Sr √mrt. G 'pull out/off (feather, hair)', Ar √mrt_o G (pf. 6araMa marat_oa) 'pluck out hair', (pf. 6ariMa marit_oa) 'have little hair', Ak √mrt. 'abschaben' ¶ KB 600, Br. 404, Sl. 706, BK II 1092, Sd. 610 || D *ma²r²- 'shave' > Tm mar_i 'shave (esp. the

head), Knd man'- v. 'shave' ¶¶ D #4748 ◇ Qu., because there is no good explanation for the S *t. (except for postulating an extension in S or formulating an *ad hoc* rule of N *-r't, -yilding D *-r'-).

¶ 1481a. 2 *mer'V 'hoe' > HS: S *marr- 'hoe, spade' > Ak fOB marru 'spade, shovel', JEA {Sl.} ar'm2 mar'r-a- 'spade', {Js.} hoe, rake', Sr æroʊa mar'r-a- ~ æo'ʊa maɪʔɪ-r-a- 'mattock, hoe, mallet', Ar marr- 'iron-shovel, spade'; S b> L marra 'a hoe for rooting up weeds' ¶ CAD X/1 287-90 (Ak Sum), Sl. 703, Js. 834, Br. 400, JPS 247, WH II 43 || Eg mr hier. {Gard.} *'hoe', {EG} *'holzerne Hacke' ¶ EG II 98, Gard. 516 || ECh: Smr {J} mΛ'ra' 'hoe' :: WCh: Bl mar, Ngm mira v. 'hoe', ??σ Ngm marra, Glm {Sch.} ma'ra' 'farm' : Ang {Flk.} ma-r 'to farm, a farm', ??σ pAG {Hf.} mar 'farm' > {Hf.}: Gmy ma-r, Kfr mar, Su, Ang ma-r id. ¶ ChC, Stl. ZCh 233 [#804], Hf. AG 18, Flk. s.v. ma-r, Sch. BT 86 ¶¶ OS #1738 (S, E, ECh + err. i Hd mora-ra 'hook of the plough' for mofa-ra 'type of plough', see. Hd. 213), ##1735, 1739 II D *me-r'- 'plough' > Tm me'ri 'plough', Ml me'ri, Kn me't.i, me'n.i 'plough-tail', Kt me-y 'handle of plough', Knd me-r'i id., 'plough-tail', Tl me'd.i d me':d.i 'hund part or handle of a plugh', Ku me-ri 'plough handle' d meer'i 'plough' ¶¶ D #5097 II Cp. Sum mar hoe' ◇ Borrowing (from Sum?) cannot be ruled out ◇ Blz. DA 163 [#108].]

1482. ?? *mur'V 'make loud noise' > D (in SD) *mur'- > Tm mur̄anku v. 'roar, thunder, make loud noise', Ml mur̄an̄juka v. 'roar, reverberate', Kt mor'v 'a child's continuous crying', Kn mor̄agu v. 'sound' (certain musical instruments), 'roar, thunder' ¶ D #4989 II U: FU: Os Ty/Y mir- v. 'low' (of cows), as well as [x N *muIra 'emit vocal sounds (shout, sing)'] Os V mor̄ay- 'make big noise' (of people) ¶ Stn. D 953, 956-7 II A: Tg moIura- v. 'low, roar, bellow' (of animals) (x N *muIra) > Ewk Np moro-, Ewk Np/Nr m̄ar3- v. 'roar, bellow' (of beasts), Ewk Y/Np/Uc m̄ar3w- v. 'low' (of cows), Ork mura- v. 'roar, bellow', WrMc mura- id., v. 'low' ¶ STM I 546-7.

1483. *muqIer'i 'shoulder' > K *mqar- id. > OG mqar-, G m̄xar- id., Mg xu3-, Lz (m) xu3-, pxu3- id., Sv UB {GP, TK}, Ln {TK} meqa-r, LB {TK} meqra, L {TK} meqer, {Dn.} meqar {Dn., K, FS} 'part of the arm between shoulder and elbow' ({TK} 'arm'); ? eNG [SSO] mqare, G m̄xare 'side, side of the body, edge' ¶ K 144, K² 134, Chik. 57-8, FS K 232-3, FS E 256, Q 409-10, SSO I 552, DCh. 935, NCh. 308, TK 569, GP 220, Dn. s.v. meqar II U *mVrkV > Sm {HL} *m̄rki' 'shoulder' > Ne: T maApI-, T O {Lr.} marc', F Nl mar̄a's' id.; En {Ter.} mod'i; Ng {Ter., Mik.} m̄arsi; Mt {HL} *margV id. (Mt: M {Sp.} m̄arom̄ 'my shoulder', K {Pl.} ma'rahada 'his shoulder') ¶ HL. M 300 [#640], ≈ Jn. 88 (Sm *m̄rka'') ¶ U *-rk- < N *-qr-? Or U *-k- goes back to a sx.? II A: M *mo-rin 'shoulder' > MM [MA] mo'ri, [HI] mu'ru id., [S] muru id., 'shoulder-blade', WrM mo'ru''(n), HlM m'p' (n), Ord mo'ro'', Brt m̄py, m̄p, WrO mo'ri, Kl {Rm.} mo'rn, Dg {Pp.} mu'ru'', {T} mur(u), {Mr.} mure 'shoulder' ¶ Ms. I 77, H 112, Pp. MA 240, MED 549, Ms. O 471, Chr. 308-9, Krg. 608, KW 267, T DgJ 155 || Tg *mu.yre, {ADb.} *mu'yre id. > Ork muyr3, Orc miy3, Ewk m̄r3, Lm m̄r 'shoulder, shoulder bone', Sln m̄ri, m̄r3, Neg m̄iy3, Ul ɣuyr3, {PSchm.} m̄uyr3, Nn Nh/B/KU m̄yry3, WrMc meyren 'shoulder', Ud {STM} mu'o', {Krm.} mo'' ~ mu'o'' 'neck' ¶ STM I 538, Krm. 262 || pKo {S} *m̄i- 'carry on the shoulder' > MKo m̄i-, NKo me- ¶ Nam 212, MLC 616, S QK #600, Nam 212, MLC 616, Rm. SKE I 145 || ??σ pJ *m̄3-t- 'carry, hold' > OJ mo't-, J: T mo't-, K/Kg mo't- ¶ S QJ #1204, Mr. 728 ¶¶ Pp. VG 35, 142, SDM97 (A *mu're 'shoulder'), DQA #1331 (A *mi-u'yre id.), S AJ 291 (A *mu're), ADb. MSR 11 (A *mo'i_re id.), Rm. l.c. II D *mur'i 'elbow, shoulder, joint' > Tm mur̄i 'joint as of the body', mor̄i 'joint as of wrist, knee, ankle, etc.', Tm, Ml mur̄am 'cubit', Ml mur̄i 'knuckle, joint', Tu mora, mura, Tl mu-ra, Prj mu-ra 'cubit', Kn mor̄a id., 'joint', muy 'upper part of the arm, shoulder(blade)', Klm mu-ra, Gnd mor'i 'elbow', Knd mir'va 'knee', Kui miru, mriu, med,u 'knee-joint', mireka 'a cubit's length', ?? Kt mol,m, Kdg mol,a; D *mur'i-mpo 'shoulder' > Tm moympu, Ml mur̄ippu, Krb mirpu, Knd mipi, Mnd mu-pa id., Kui mo-po 'upper arm', Kn muy(i)vu, mud,upu id., 'shoulder(blade)', Kt mur, Tu mud,u 'shoulder joint', Tl mu-pu 'upper part of the back, shoulder', Ku mo-pa 'outer edge of the shoulder' ¶¶ To judge from the derivate *mur'i-mpo, the original meaning of D *mur'i was 'shoulder' ¶¶ D ##4990, 5122, ≈ Pf. 41-2 [#241] ◇ ADb. MSR 11 (U, A, D).

1484. 2 *ma'r'i?V 'animal fat' > HS: S *√mr? v. 'fatten' > Ug √mr? G vi. id., Ak √mr? (inf. mara-ʔu, maru') id., BHB d air%ml ma'ri 'fatling' (< pp. 'fattened one'), Ar √mr? G 'be wholesome' (of food) ¶ A #163, OLS 288, KB 600, CAD X/1 306-8, 316-7, Sd. 617, Hv. 714 || EC: Or {Grg.} mo-ra 'fat, cattle fat', ¶ Kn {BISO} mo-r-a 'abdominal or kidney fat', Brj {Ss.} mo-r-i id. ({Ss.} Amh), Alb mo-r-a '∈ fat', Gdl {Bl.} mo-r 'stomach fat', Sml mo-r 'sealing-wax', ¶ Rn mo-r 'fat around the intestines and stomach', C b> Amh ~® mora 'animal fat, subcutaneous fat covering the ventral region' ¶ Grg 291, PG 237, L CAD 19 ¶, Ss. EDB 147, ZMO 94, BISO 118, Bl. G 83, Blz. RL 258] || Ch: CCh: Bt {Srp.} ma-re'n. 'fat', {MCh.} ma-re id., 'oil', Bcm {Mch.} mare n. 'fat', {Sk.} ma-re' 'oil', Gude {Hsk.} ma-ra', {IL} mar-a, Gudu {IL, ChL} mar, Nz {Mk., ChL} mare, FIM {ChL} mi-r-u, FIB {ChL} ma-r-i'n 'oil' : Tr {Nw.} mar 'oil':: WCh {Stl.} mawrV ~ miwra 'fat' > pAG {Hf.} *mw'3'r 'oil' > Su {J} mwō-r, Ang {Brq.} mwī-r, {Hf.} mwir, Gmy {Hf.} mu-or, Kfr {Nt.} mwo-r, Cp {ChL} mo'r id. : Klr {J} ma-r, DfB/Bks {J} b-a-r id. : Kkr {J} maru, {ChL} m̄3ru, Gera {Sch.} mori, Grm {Sch.} mo'ri, Ngm {CgL} mō-r, Krf {ChC} mu'ru', Bl {Mk.} m̄or id. : Kir {Sh.} ma-r, Tala {Sh.} m̄r, Zul {Sh.} miri, Buli {Sh.} m̄r, Zem D {Sh.} mi_er, Zar {Sh.} m̄r : Ngz {Sch.} m̄r'a k (pl. m̄r'a ri'n) id. :: ECh: Suk {IL} m̄r id. ¶ JI II 133, ChC s.v. 'fat' and 'oil', ChL,

Hsk. 233, Stl. ZCh 233 [#803], Hf. AG #53, J S I 76, Nt. 28, J R, Sch. DN 105 II A: M *mariya- > MM [S] mariya(n) 'flesh (of a person), body', WrM mariya, miriya, HIM *мариа* 'body, flesh; corpulence, pudginess', Brt *мап а(н)* 'corpulence, stoutness, fatness', WrM *mariyaži-*, HIM *мариажи-*, Mnr H {T} *maraz'a-* 'become fat, pudgy, or stout', {SM} *maraz'ia-* 's'engraisser, prendre de l'embonpoint', mara 'chair, corpulence', marad_u adj. 'fat' (esp. of animals), {T} mara 'stout' (*полный, дородный*) ¶ H 108, MED 529, Chr. 294, SM 233, T 344 II IE: NaIE *smeru- n. 'fat, ointment' (× N *Sa''mirV 'fat, grease' [q.v. ffd.] and possibly *mer'u'u''qV 'to smear' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ≈ IS II 61-2 (? *mer'Λ 'fat, to smear': HS [including an *unc.* comparison with some S roots], ? M; does not distinguish this N √ from *mer'u'u''qV) ◇ ï ÷ D *mu(:)r- > Tm *muran'cu* 'be full, abundant', *mu'ri* 'strength, greatness', Tu *mu'gr* 'fat, stout, corpulent', Tl *mu'ru* 'increase, be full'. This √ (or at least Tu *mu'gr*) may be connected with N *mur₁?₁VgE 'animal fat, brain' [q.v.]. If nevertheless (in spite of the semantic distance) the D √ belongs here, the N rec. may be ≈ *maw'r'i'V (for *-w- cp. WCh *maj₁wrV) ◇ NaIE *s- may be either original (i.e. pointing to a N *-r-) or due to the contamination with *Sa''mirV and *mer'u'u''qV '¶' (in such case the N rec. must be *maRi?V).

1485. *mer'u'u''qV 'to smear' > HS: WS *√mrχ v. 'smear' > BHb √mrh G 'smear, anoint, rub', JPA {Lv.} √mrh D '(ein Gewand) reiben, glätten', JEA {Sl.} √mrh G 'plaster, level a pile' (←b- Hb?) Ar √mrχ (pf. *UaraMa maraxa*, ip. -mraχ-) 'anoint (the body)', Jb C √mrχ (pf. *mirzχ*) 'throw sth. sticky on sth., smear (paint, etc., on sth.) with one's hands' ¶ KB 599, BDB 598, Lv. III 248, Sl. 705-6, Jb. JL 174 ¶¶ But not here Eg *mrh* and *mrh.t* 'Salböl' (←d- wrh, salben', cf. EG II 110-1) II IE: NaIE *smeru- 'ointment' (× N *Sa''mirV 'fat, grease' × N *ma'r'i'V 'animal fat') > Gk (σ)μρι'ζω v. 'rub with ointment/unguent, anoint', ? σμυ'ριϕ 'emery powder (used by lapidaries for rubbing and polishing)', as well as probably μυ'ρον 'unguent, perfume, sweet oil' (× Gk μυ'ρρα 'myrrh' ←b- S *murr- id. [> OCh, Ak *murru*, BHb *r7m mor*, Ug *mr*, JA *arum mu'ra*, etc.]) ¶ ON *smyria*, *smyrya* 'bestreichen, salben', Sw *smo'rja*, Dn *smøre*, NNr *smyrja* id., OHG *smirwen* 'to smear, anoint', NHG *schmieren* 'to smear, grease', AS *smierwan* 'to anoint', NE *smear* ¶ WP II 690-1, P 970-1, F II 273-4, 751, Ch. 723-4, 1028-9, Vr. 521, Sw. 15, Ho. 302, Kb. 918, OsS 834, KM 663-5, ≈ EI 194 (*smeru- 'oil, grease'), Js. 748, Sl. 649 II D {tr., GS} *mer'-'smear' > Tm *me'ulu*, Kt *mek-* v. 'cleanse floor with cowdung solution; smear as the body with paste; varnish', Ml *me'ru*, *me'uku* 'wax', *me'ukuka* v. 'anoint', Irl *mækku*, Td *mo_s_k* 'wax', Kt *mek* 'bee-wax', Td *mo's_k*, Klm *me'g-* v. 'smear with dung of buffaloes as a ritual purification', Kdg *mukk-*, Tl *m(r)e~gu*, *mre~vu* v. 'smear', Nkr *me~gh* 'apply', Knd *mir'is-* v. 'rub and clean utensils with ashes', Kui *mra'nda* v. 'plaster, smear', Ku *mriski kīnai* 'polish', Brh *miring* v. 'plaster'; it is not clear if one may adduce here Prj *mer-*, Gdb *mar-* and Gnd *marehtana* ~ *marahhtana* v. 'rub' (-r- < D *-r-, *-r_ or *-r'?) ¶¶ D ##5082, 4709, GS 65-6 [#203] ◇ IS II 61-2 (? *mer'Λ 'fat, to smear': HS [including an *unc.* comparison with some S roots], D, ? M) → ≈ BmK #536 (IE, HS + *qu.* D *mar- 'rub').

1486. *ma'r'VC.V 'contents of animals' stomach/intestines' > HS: C: EC: Arr *me'rd.e'* 'intestines' ¶ Hw. A 384 || ? S *√mc.r > Ar *mas'ir* {BK} 'intestins où s'élabore le chyle', {Hv.} 'intestin, gut', ? {BK} *mas'r-* 'reste de lait dans les pis d'une femelle' ¶ BK II 1116 II IE: NaIE *smerd- 'dung; stinking' > L *merda* 'excrement'¶ Lt *smirde'ti* 'to stink', Ltv {ME} *smir'de't* id., 'to smell'. Lt *smā'rdas* 'stench, smell', Ltv *smā'rds* 'smell', Pru *smorde* 'Faulbaum' (called so because of the smell of its wood) ¶ Sl *smā'rdeti (1s pres. *smā'rdjo_) 'stink' > OCS *смръдѣти* *smr̥de'ti*, SCr *smr'djeti*, Slv *smrde'ti*, Cz *smrde'ti*, Slk *smrdet'*, P *s'mierdziec'*, R *смърѣдет*, Uk *смърѣд* ти 'to stink', Blg *смърѣд* v. 'stink'; Sl *smo'rdъ 'bad smell' > OCS *смрадъ* *smradъ* (←b- R *смрад*), Blg *смрад*, df. *смрадѣтъ*, SCr, Slv *smra'd*, Cz, Slk *smrad*, P *smro'd*, R Δ *смород*, Ук *сморѣд* ¶ Gk [Hs.] σμo'ρδωνεϑ pl. [acc. to Hs., an abusive nickname of the μoρι'oi (members of the council?)] (if ← 'stinkers') ({Ch.}: "an obscure erotic term") ¶ WP II 691, P 970, WH II 74-5, Frn. 840, 847-8, En. 251, Vs. III 685, 691-3, Glh. 566-7, F II 75, Ch. 1028 II U: FP *ma'rV₁c'V₁ 'cud, to ruminate' < 1 F Δ *ma'rhe*, *ma'reh*, *ma're* 'Wiederkäuen, Kauen bis zum Wiederkäuen', Es {W} *ma'letse-* ~ *ma'litse-* 'chew the cud' ? Lp: N *smi'rizi-* id., L *smieriti-*, *smietitji-* ^d *smieritsi-*, T {TI} *mīrede-* ¶ ≈ UEW 700-1 (FP *ma'rV-, no rec. of the sibilant), It. #256, SK 359-60, W EDW 585, TI 559 ¶ Thr initial s- in Lp is puzzling. The quality of the sibilant is not clear: Es and Prm suggest *-c'-, while F Δ and Lp point to *-c'-.

1487. *mus'V v. 'cover, conceal, clothe' > K *mos- v. 'cover, get dressed, put on' > OG *mos-* v. 'get dressed, put on' (Mt.11.8, Lc. 16.9), v. 'conceal' (Jud. 8.5), G *mos-* 'bekleiden, bedecken', s'e-mos 'be dressed', Sv {FS} *li-msw-i* msd. 'to conceal, cover (oneself with), get dressed' ¶ K² 124, FS K 221, FS E 244, Chx. 811-2 II HS: Eg N/G *msy* ({EG} *ms'j*) '∈ garment' (←b- BHb *mes'ī* 'fine cloth for garments'), Eg XVIII mss {EG} 'Panzerhemd', {Fk.} 'tunic', Eg N mss.t '∈ garment (shirt or sim.)', ? Eg G msd ({EG} *ms'd*) 'bekleiden' ¶ EG I 143, 149, 152, Fk. 118, KBR 645 II IE: NaIE *mus-/mou_s- v. 'steal, conceal' > Vd *mus*. 'n.ati (he) steals, robs', *mus.a'yati* 'robs, takes away', OI *mo's.ati* 'steals', KhS *mus's'a* (< *mus'ya-) 'robbers', Wx *mu's'-*, *mo's't* v. 'conceal' ¶ Gmc: OFrn [LxS] *chre'o-mo's-ido* 'grave-robbery' ¶¶ Not necessarily here Tc A, B *mus-* 'lift, move aside' (may be akin to IE *meu_- 'fortschieben', Av *ava-mīva-* 'put aside, remove') ¶ EI 543 (*mus- 'steal'), M K II 658-9, M E II 383-4, Bai. 338-9, Gnt. AM 193, ≠ P 743 (*meu_-s- <d- *meu_- 'fortschieben'), Ad. 463, 466 II D *mucc-/muc- v. 'cover' > Tm *muccu*, Kt *muc-*, Td *mu'c-*, Nkr *mus-* id., Tu *muccuni* v. 'shut, close', cover', Kn *muccu* id., v. 'conceal', Tl *mu'yu* id., Kdg *mucc-* v. 'close', *mucci* 'lid, cover', Klm *muns-*, Nk *muc-*, Kui *musa* v. 'close, cover', Prj *muy-* v. 'cover oneself',

Gdb muy- v. 'cover oneself with wrapper', Gnd mucca-na- v 'cover; wrap sth. round one's body', muc- v. 'cover', Knd mus- id., v. 'close with lid, bury', Mnd muc-, Ku muh-, mu'ssali v. 'bury', Krx mucc- to close door/lid, shut', Mlt muce- v. 'close, shut up', Brh must 'shut, closed' ¶¶ D #4915, Pf. 35 [#176] (*muc-/muy-); Km. 468-9 [#1016] (*muy-) and GS 52-3 [#132] (*muy-, *muy-c-); if Km. and GS are right, either D *-y- may go back to N *-s'- or the D √ does not belong here.

1488. ***mu's'V** 'insect, fly, ant' > IE: NaIE *mus-/mou-s- 'fly' > Gk μυῖα (< *mus-i-a-) 'fly' ¶ L musca 'fly' ¶ Gmc: Gtl mau-sa (< *mu-sa), Dt Fl meuzie (< *musi) id. ¶ Lt muse-, musi's, Ltv mu-sa, mus'a, Pru muso 'fly' ¶ Sl *mu'xa id. > OCS му҃ха muxa, Blg му'ха ~ муха, McdS мува, SCr му'ha, Δ mu'ha, Slv mu'ha, Cz moucha, Slk, P mucha, R, Uk 'муха id., d : OCS му҃шница мѣс-ic-a 'gnat', R 'мошка 'small insect', мошка 'mosquitoes, gnats' ¶ ? Arm mun mun (gen. mnoj mnoy) 'flash-worm; gnat, midge' ({Mn.}: < A of *mus-i-a) ¶ ≈ P 752, F II 265-6, EM 424, WH II 133, Frn. 474, En. 212, ESSJ XX 170-2, Glh. 428, Mn. AIE 15, ≈ EI 207-8 (mus-~*muH- 'fly, gnat, midge') ¶ A {SDM97} *musV > pJ {S} *mu'si' 'worm, insect' > OJ mu'si', J: T mu's'i, K mu'si, Kg mu's'i, Ns mu's'i, Sh mu's'i, Ht mu'si, Y mu'c'i' id. ¶ S AJ 269 [#106], S QJ #106, Mr. 489 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *musV) ¶ D: [1] *muc- ({GS} *mus-?) '∈ ant' > Ku muh'iri id., Kui mucu tra'ku id., muzor'i d murar'i 'large red ant', Tm mucir_u ~ muyir_u 'red ant', Ml mīru id.; [2] ??φ (in SD) *mucan't_- ({GS} *-z'-?) '∈ small bee' > Tu mujan.t.æ, mujjin.t.i, mojan.t.i id., Kn mujan.t.i '∈ honey (very small bees)' ¶¶ D ##4906, 4908 ¶ ? K *mV's'- (or *mVr's'-) > Sv: UB/LB/Ln mäs'k., UB {GP} mäs'k. 'ant'; the origin of UB -r- may be connected with infl. of the √ ***mVRu** 'ant' [q.v.] ¶ ¶ TK 594, GP 223, Ni. s.v. **мѣрѣѣ II** ??? HS: Eg L mstt '∈ scorpion' ¶ EG II 152 || Ch: ECh: Mu {J} mi'sé'n'i'n 'ant' (for the meaning cp. D and K) ¶ ? WCh: Cp {Kr.} nsi', Ang ~s'i 'fly' ¶ ChL, ChC ◇ Sv s' goes back to K *s' < N s. Eg s < N *s, *s' or s' reg. If the Sv word belongs here, the N sibilant was *s ◇ ≈ Gr. II #163 (*mus 'fly' n.) [IE, J, Ai + unc. U].

1489. ***maOisV** ≈ 'to rub, polish' > HS: S *o/√mfs|s > Ar √mfs 'rub (leather, etc.) strongly'; the variant root √mfs' 'rub slightly' (registered in the Qa\mu's, but absent in the classical lge.) may be due to borrowing from a related lge or dialect that preserved pS *s' as s' ¶ Fr. IV 192, BK II 1127, Hv. 727 ¶ U: FU (att. in FV) *maysV '(be) polished' (→ 'beautiful') > Lp N {Fri.} muoissa- 'speciem pulchram habere (de re obsoleta polita)' ¶ Er мазы mazi ~ maze, Mk мази maz'i ~ мазы mazi 'beautiful' ¶ UEW 697, Fri. 447, ERV 357-8, PI 154 ¶ D *ma-c- / *mac- v. 'rub, polish, sharpen' > Kn mase 'rub, grind, whet, sharpen', Tm ma-y v. 'grind and sharpen', Tu masiyuni, masevuni, mas'evuni 'whet, sharpen', Krg маза d мазе, Klm, Nkr, Nk may- 'sharpen', Prj, Gnd mayp- id., Prj maykip- 'rub', Gnd mesita-na- v. 'polish', masita-na- 'sharpen a razor\knife', mesi- 'whet' ¶¶ D #4628.

¶ 1489a. ***mAHVSV** 'snake' > HS: EC: Sml mas, Sml N {Abr.} ma's 'snake', Or {Th.} maska 'horned boa snake' ¶ ??φ HEC {Hd.} *hamasa id. > Brj {Ss.} hama'si ~ {Hd.} homasi, Hd {Hd.} hamas's'a (< *hamas-c'a), Sd hamas's'o id., Kmb hama-su 'roundworm' [{OS}: HEC *hamasa < *maHas- (mt); it may also go back to a cd] ¶ ZMO 282, Abr. S 176, Th. 239, Hd. 137-8, Ss. B 90-1, Ss. WOKS 127 (EC *hVmas'-) || Ch: WCh: Hs me'sa', Gw {Mts.} me's'e, Tng {J} mī'zo' 'python' ¶ ? ECh: Bdy ma-zila 'serpent rouge' ¶ Ba. 790, Mts. G 81, J T 120, Sk. HCD 200, AIJ 96 ¶¶ Budge I 323 quotes Eg Gr ms ({Budge} mes) 'serpent', but EG's interpretation of this hieroglyphic orthographeme is only "von der Brut des Apophis" (EG II 140) ¶¶ OS #1757 (HS *mehas- > EC, Hs + unc. σ Eg mzh 'crocodile') ¶ D *ma-c- 'python' > Tm ma-cun.am, Prj ma-yond, bam id., Gnd ma-sul d ma-sor' id. d ma-su'l 'rock python' ¶ D #4793 ◇ Blz. DA 158 [#63] (EC, ECh, D).]

1490. ***mV's'|Cka'h'V** 'marrow, brain' > IE: NaIE *mosg-o/en- ~ *mosgho- id. > OI maj'ja- /maj'jan-, KhS ma'jsa- 'marrow', Av mazga- id., 'brain', MPrs mazg, NPrs z9Ma ma'yz id. ¶ ON mergr, NNr merg, Sw ma'rg, Dn marv, OSx, OHG marg, NHG Mark, AS mearg 'marrow', NE marrow ¶ Sl *mo'zgъ (gen. *mozgu) id., 'brain' > SrChS, OR мо҃згъ mozgъ, Blg 'мозѣк, SCr mo'zak (gen. mo'zga), Cz mozek (gen. mozku), Δ mozg, Slk mozog, P mo'zg (gen. mozgu), R мoзг (gen. мoзга), Uk 'мoзoк, 'M' зoк id., Slv mo'zg (gen. mo'zga) 'marrow'; Sl d *mozge'нъ > OCS d adj. **мoжданъ** mozd'anъ ¶ Pru musgeno 'marrow' ¶ Tc A ma's's'unt 'marrow' ¶ WP II 309 (*mozgh-), P 750, EI 370 (*mosgho-s), M K II 549-50, M E II 291-2, Horn 221, Vl. II 1198-9, Sg. 1280, Bai. 332, Vr. 385, Kb. 663, , OsS 592, KM 462, Ho. 217, Ho. S 50, En. 212, Vs. II 638, Glh. 424-5, ESSJ XX 94-7, ≈ Wn. 293 ¶ IE *gh (for *g) in the var. *mosgho- may be due to the N Ir. ¶ HS: EC: pSam *mīzskah ({Hn.} *misqaḥ) 'brain' > Sml C {ZMO, DSI} maskaḥ, Sml {R} mas'kaḥ, Sml N {Abr.} ma'ska'ḥ, Sml {Hn.} masqaḥ (is q a mistake?), Sml J {Lm.} massihz, pBn {Hn.} *mā'ska'h > Bn: Bi māska(h), Sa/Ba māska'h, J mskā'h, K maka'h ¶ Hn. S 69, Abr. S 176, ZMO 283, DSI 425, Hn. BD 96 || S Om {Blz.} *makc- 'brain' > Ari {Bnd.} makca id. ¶ Bnd. AL 146 || ?σ Ch: Hs ma'sk.i' {Abr.} 'greasiness' ¶ Abr. H 664, Ba. 779 ¶ ??σ D: Knd musku 'topmost part, upper side (of sth.)' ¶ ≈ D #5128 ◇ If Hn. is right in recording q in Sml and in reconstructing pSam *misqaḥ, the ancient cns. must have been *k. If this is so, we have to suppose that in pre-IE the cns. *k, was de-emphatized (= deglottalized?) due to as to *h (*k,h > *k > IE *g) ◇ Blz. DA #5 (D, C, Knd). Cf. pLzg {StN} *mas.q_l'V 'brain, marrow'.

1491. ***me?is'V** 'hide', (→) 'clothes' > HS: S *ma?is|s'V 'hide, leather' > Gz ma?s ma?s, Tgy ma?si, Tgr me?as, Amh mas 'hide, leather'; EthS b→ Sa {R} ma?as 'tan hide' ¶ ?? Ak ma?is'- '∈ a breed of sheep' ¶ ? +ext. : S *o/√ms'r > Ar mas'r-at-

'vêtement, habits', mas's'ara v. 'clothe so.' ¶ CAD X/1 116, L G 324, BK II 1109-10 ¶ The Gz spelling with the letter s rather than the expected s' may be due to infl. of the new EthS lgs. (mother tongues of the scribes) that lost the distinction between Old EthS *s and *s' ¶ The alt. spelling ma's of the Gz word may be a mistake of Amhara scribes caused by the loss of OEth *ʔ or *ʕ in Amh which is suggested by the presence of ʔ in Tgr and Tgy which preserved the ancient lrs. ¶¶ But Bj {R} mesik 'hide of an animal' and Eg fXVIII msk. 'skin of an animal, leather' (EG II 149, Fk. 118) are likely to belong to a different HS etymon, which explains Eg s rather than s' (the reg. reflex of N and HS *s'). Sa {R} -m'es-/-m'is- (pf. 'a-m'esə, inv. em'is) v. 'tan hide' and Ar √m's ~ √m's' v. 'rub' seem to belong to a different etymon, too (≠ BK II 1127, R S II 257) ¶ IE: NaIE moai-so-s 'hide, fleece' (× *moai-so-s 'sheep' < N *mi3'ØV 'sheep, goat' [q.v.]) > Vd me's.a-, me's.i- 'fleece, fell' (× me's.a- 'ram', me's.i- 'sheep' < N *mi3'ØV) ¶ BSL: Lt ma'is'as '(large) sack', ma'is'e 'bag knitted of cords, large sack for hay', Ltv ma'iss 'bag, sack', Pru moasis 'smith's bellows' : Sl *me'xъ (gen. *me'xa) 'fur; animal's skin used as bag; bellows' > OCS мѣхъ me'xъ 'pellis, uter', 'fur, wine-skin', Blg mīx 'animal's skin used as a bag; bellows', SCr mēx^d mije'h, SCr Δ mī'jex, SCr W mī'h, Slv me'h 'sack, wine-skin, bellows', Cz me'ch 'leather-bag', Slk mech 'bag, sack', pl. mechy 'bellows', P miech 'bag, smith's bellows', OR мѣхъ me'xъ 'whole hide of an animal, tanned hide with fur, fur; belows; skin', R mēx 'fur', pl. мѣхи 'smith's bellows', Uk m'x 'bag, wine-skin, smith's bellows' ¶ ON meiss 'basket', OHG meisa {Kb.} 'Gefäß, Tragkorb', {OsS} 'Gestell zum Tragen auf dem Rücken', MLG me'se 'Tonne' ¶ WP II 303, P 747, ≈ EI 511 (*moi-so-s 'ram, sheep; fleece, skin'), M K II 689, ≈ M E II 380 (Vd me's.i 'sheep's fleece' ← me's.i 'sheep'), Tr. 165, UEW 703, LG 171, MRS 320, 323, Ep. 70, Frn. 397, En. 212, ESSJ XVIII 156-9, 220-1, Chrn. I 528, Glh. 408, Vr. 382, Kb. 671, OsS 600 ¶ U: FU *mes'V 'clothes; to wear clothes' > Lp: N {Fri.} ma'ccu 'palium', T {TI} ma'ca'g, Kld {TI} ma'cex 'ein hemdförmiges, äußeres Sommerkleid aus grobem Wollentuch oder Leder' ¶ pVg *ma's'- > Vg: T ma's'-, LK/P ma's'- 'kleiden', So mas- 'anziehen, ankleiden' : Hg meztelen, meztelen, Δ mestelen 'naked, bare' (lit. 'clothe-less') ¶ UEW 869-70 (rejects the relationship between Lp and Ugr for alleged semantic reasons: "stößt auf semantische Schwierigkeiten", which is not convincing), MF 444-5.

1492. ?? *metV 'to feel, realize' > IE: NaIE *med- 'think' (× NaIE *med- 'to measure' < N *maTvdV → *maDvtV 'to stretch, measure' [q.v. ffd.]) > Clt: OIr mid- 'juger, adjurer, estimer', Brtt *medami 'say' (← *'think') > W meddaf 'I say', C meth, MBr emez 'say', Br eme / emez- 'inquit', MW meðlyeist 'you thought', W meddul- 'think' ¶ WP II 259, P 705, Vn. M 48-9, RE 138 ¶ HS: C: EC *°√m't' > Sml mo'd- 'think, guess, suppose' ¶ Abr. S 181, ZMO 293-4 ¶ U: Y: Y K {IN} medī-, Y T {IN} merī-, OY K {BM} moedik 'hear', Y & {Ku.} metu- 'let know, inform' ¶ IN 309-10, Ku 163 ¶ A *mete- 'feel, know' > M *mede- 'know' > MM [LV, MA, IM] mede-, [IsV] me.de- 'know', WrM mede-, HIM, Brt мѣд- 'know, understand, perceive, find out', Ord mud_e-, Mnr H {SM} mud_īe-, {T} mude-, Mnr M {T}, Ba {T} mede-, Dx {T} me3'īe- 'know' ¶ Pp. L III 70, Pp. MA 234, 441, Lg. VMI 53, MED 531, SM 244, T 346, T DnJ 129, T BJ 143 || Tg *mede- 'feel, recognize' > Ewk, Neg m3d3-, Lm m3d- 'feel, guess', Sln m3d3- 'learn (erfahren, узнат)', Orc m3d3- 'feel', Ud m3d3-, Ork m3dd3- ~ m3'd3- 'feel, notice', Orc m3'd3, Ud, Nn m3d3, WrMc mede 'news, information', Jrc medige 'tidings' ¶ STM I 563-4, Krm. 264, Kiy. 124 [#483] || ? pKo {S} *mi't- 'believe' > MKo mi't-, NKO mit- id. ¶ Rm. SKE I 149, S AJ 257 [#184], S QK #184, Nam 234, MLC 695 ¶ STM I 503-4 ¶¶ i ÷ (⇒ DQA) T: Yk bit ~ bu't 'sign, omen', because it is obviously derived from T *bit' 'draw (lines)' → 'write; determine the fate' (Pek. 478-9, ET B 155-8) and because T *t is from A *t' rather than A *-t (< N *t) ¶¶ S AJ 15, 294 [#498] → SDM97 s.v. *m'u'tu 'to know, believe' → DQA #1383 (A *m'i_u'ti 'know, believe'; incl. M, Tg, Ko) ¶¶ An alt. et. of Ko *mi't- 'believe' is a possible N root ≈ *mu'', [Hjt. ∇ > D *mu't- 'establish with ev., confront with proof' (D #5040) ◇ IS II 62 (*metA 'o'lyat-, co3h3bat- > IE, A [M, Tg]) ◇ Gr. II #387 (*met 'think') [IE, Y, A, Ko, Ch + unc. Gil, EA].

1493. *mUtV 'man, person' (→ 'people, tribe') > HS: S *mut- 'person, man' > OAk mutum, Ak ∇ mutu(m) 'husband, man, warrior', Eb mu-tum = mutum, Ug mt 'husband, man; hero', Amr {Hff.} mutum 'man', BHb pl. Mit5m6 māt-tīm, pl. cs. it4m6 māt,te 'men, people (homines)', Gz māt 'husband' ¶ CAD X/2 313-6, Sd. 690-1, Krb. PE 97, KB 617-8, A #1705, Grd. UT #1369, OLS 305, Hff. 234-5, L G 371 || Ch: Hs mutum [mu'tu] (pl. mu'ta-ne') 'man, person', Gw {Mts.} pl. n_o'ta'ni 'men, persons' ¶ CCh: Mrg {ChL} mdu', WMrg {ChL} mda 'person'. Br m_o'da id., 'man (vir)', HgNk/HgF {ChL} m_o'di 'person', FIJ {ChC} mdi', Nz {ChC} mī'de ¶ Ech: Skr {Lk.} mā'ti, {Sx.} mā'ti 'man (vir)', EDng {Fd.} me'ta 'person', mī'ti ko 'man (vir)', Bdy mīdo', Mgm {J} mī'di, Brg {J} mī'di wo', Jg {J} mī'to id. ¶ Ba. 807, Abr. H 690, JI II 231, ChC, ChL || Eg G mt 'man', adj. 'male', ??σ (× N *mot, E 'sprout, stem, penis?') Eg fP mtw.t 'sperm, son' ¶ EG II 168-9 & V 144 (s.v. t_3j) || ?φ B {Pr.} *mīdid-an 'homines' > Ah {Fc.}, Gh {Nh.}, Tmz (MT), Izn, Rf A {Rn.}, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} middān, BSn/Izn/Mtm {Ds.} midden ~ mid'd'en, Ty/ETwlm meddān, Rf Wr/T/B {Rn.} midān 'homines', SrSn {Rn.}, Izd {Mrc.} maddān, Kb mād_d_ān, Sll {Ds.} 'maddān, Tz {Stm.} mād'dān ~ mu'ddān ~ middān, Gd {Lf.} mēdde_n, Awj {Prd.} midde_n 'les gens' ¶ Pr. M IV 414 reconstructs here a form *mīdid-an; an alt. rec. may be *mīd-wan ~ *med-wa'n (with a typical pl. sx. *-wan and with the reg. change *-dw- > *-dd-). The voiced cns. *-d- (for the expected *-t-) still needs explanation ¶ Fc. 1124, GhA 123, DI. 487, Pr. M IV 242, 414, MT 404, La. S 244, Rn. 307, Stm. 208, Ds. 141, Ds. B 150, Dlh. M 115, Dlh. Ou 184, Mrc. 128, Lf. II #0971, Prd. 166 ¶¶ ≈ OS #1806 (S, Ch) [unc. connection with HS {OS} *mawut- 'die'] ¶ ?φ D *mut 'aged man' (→ 'old') > Tm mutu

'old, ancient', Ml mutu 'old, prior', Kt mud, mudk 'old age', Td muθ, muθy 'old', mu-t π 'old age', Kn muttu, mudi id., Kdg mudi 'old', Tu mudu, mudu 'old, aged, ancient', Tl mudu 'old age, old'; Tl mutta, muttu 'old person', d : Tm mutiya(va)n_u, Ml mutukkan, Kt mudkn, Kn mudaka, muduku, Kdg mudikə, Tu muduke, Prj, Gdb muttak, Gnd muytor^d muytond_u 'old man', Nkr mudgan 'husband', Brh mutkun 'old, old thing' ¶¶ D #4954 II A: NaT *boδ 'self' (× N *bodV 'body, belly') > Alt {BT} boy [+ppas.] '-self', Qzl {Jk.} po⁻s_u, Tf {Ra.} bot_u, Tv b_uot 'self' [+ppas.: bodum 'myself', boduŋ 'yourself' sg., etc.]; NaT *boδ 'clan' (against Cl. and in accordance with DTS, hardly identical with *boδ 'stature, the size of a man, body') > OT boδ 'clan, people', [QB] qalin boδ qara bas^v 'a dense mob, common people', MOg bo_uly 'clan, tribe; the people', OOsM xiv boy 'clan'; d→ NaT *boδun 'people, populace' ({Cl.}: ← 'clans') > OT boδun id., SbTt boyun 'servant' [but Qzq *bodan 'subject (Untertan), prisoner, slave' cannot belong here (⇔ Musajev in TL 316)] ¶ Cl. 296-7, 306, DTS 107-11, ET B 176-9, TL 316, Rl. IV 1282-3, Ra. 164, BT 32, MKD 75, Rs. W 77, Dr. TM II #812, S AJ 196 (#247), Jeg. 170-1, Fed. I 416 || M *muzi (< *mudi) 'people (Volk), province, region' > Kl Ö {Rm.} mu³_i 'people (Volk), province', WrM muzi, HIM мѡж'province, region, area', Brt мѡж 'a party in a conflict', † 'region', WrO {Krg.} mu³_i 'province, district', Ord {Ms.} mu³_i 'province', Dg {T, Mr.} mo³_i 'province, region' ¶ KW 268, MED 554, Chr. 298, Ms. O 473, Krg. 612, T DgJ 155 ◆ D *t (for the expected *t_u) is obscure (a [not yet discovered?] positionl change, or *t < *t_u + *t of a sx.?) ◆ =σ of the semantic change 'person' → 'people': [1] Nlr daoine 'people, public' ← daoine 'homines', pl. of duine 'man, person', [2] Lt P {Krsch.} z³mone's 'people, nation' ← z³mone's 'homines', pl. of z³mogus 'man, person' (Bc. 1314) ◆ An alt. et.: *mUt_u.V 'man, male' > HS *mut- 'person, man' ÷ D *mut 'aged man' ÷ A: T *mot^uU¹ or *bot^uU¹ > OT botu_u 'camel colt', MQp, Chg bota, XwT boda, Tk pota, Δ potuk ~ putuk, Qq, Qzq, Nog, Kr, ET bota, Qrg boto, Qrg S bodo, VTt, Bsh buta id., Uz bōta id., 'child', ET {Zn.} bota 'boy', Chg {Bu.} buta 'son' ¶ Cl. 299, ET B 198-200, TL 448, Bu. I 272, Shch. Zh 106 || ? M *botugun 'camel colt' > WrM botugu(n), HIM ботго, Kl ботхн id., 'young camel in its first year', Brt ботгохн 'camel colt' ¶ MED 125. The latter et. accounts better for the D *t, but is less plausible, because in T *mot^uU¹ the meaning 'child, boy' is relatively late, and the most widespread (obviously primary) meaning is 'camel colt, young of an animal', which is hardly derivable from 'man, person'; if nevertheless this et. is right, the M word must be borrowed from T (otherwise M *b- cannot be explained).

1494. *mutV ≈ 'go away (?), die' > HS *mu⁻t- 'die' > S √mw⁻t, prm. *-mu⁻t- G 'die' > Ak, Ug, Ar, Gz -mu⁻t- (Ak 3m p. imu⁻t, Ar 3m ip. yamu⁻tu, Gz 3m js. yəmu⁻t, etc.), BHb, Aram -mu⁻t- (BHb 3 m ip. ya⁻mu⁻t_u) id., Pun, Amn, OA, IA, JA, Sr, Sb, Mn √mw⁻t id., Mh, Hrs √mw⁻t (pf. mo⁻t, sbjn. Mh yəmit, Hrs yəmet); S *⁻mawt- 'death' > Ak mu⁻tu(m), BHb tv#m1 'ma⁻wet_u (originally a pausal form), cs. t&m mo⁻t_u, BA, JA t&m mo⁻t_u, at1&m mo⁻t_a⁻, Sr əw=owma maw⁻t-a, Md muta, Ar †v0Ma mawt-, DA, Sb, Mn mw⁻t, Gz mo⁻t, Mh mawt, Hrs he-mo⁻t, Jb E/C 'mit id., Sq {Jo.} mayt 'mortal illness' ¶ KB 532-4, A #1703, OLS 303-4, HJ O5-7, 707, Js. 751-2, Sl. 650-1, Br. 378, DM 263, Nld. MG 337, BGMR 89, MA 64, L G 375-6, Jo. M 275, Jo. H 93, Jo. J 176, CAD X/1 421, Sd. 634, MiK I #2.43 || Eg ∇ mt, mw⁻t v. 'die' > Cpt Sd/B/A/F mo⁻y mu 'die', qv. Cpt Sd mo⁻y⁻t mout, Cpt B mo⁻y⁻t mo⁻ut, Cpt A/F mo⁻y⁻t mawt 'be dead'; Eg ∇ mt, mw⁻t 'death' > DEg mw⁻t, Cpt mo⁻y mu 'death' ¶ EG II 165-7, Er. 157, Vc. 107 || B*_umw⁻t 'die (mourir)' > Ah {Fc.} əmmət v. inv. (3m pf. yəmmut), Tw {Pr.} a⁻mma⁻t imv. (3m pf. ya⁻mmut) 'die', Ty/ETwl {GhA} ʔm_um_ut (3m pf. im_um_ut), Gd {Lf.} əmmət (3m pf. yemmu⁻t), Awj {Prd.} mmut (3m pf. im⁻mut), Gh əmmət (3m pf. immut), Izd {Mrc.} mmət (3m pf. immut), Nf əmmət (3m pf. immət), Sll ə⁻mmət (3m pf. immu⁻t), Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əmmət_u (3m pf. immut_u), Kb {Dl.} əmmət_u (3m pf. yəmmut_u), Nf {Beg.} 'əmmət (3m pf. yəmmət) 'die', Si {La.} immu⁻t 'is dead', Zng {TC} aor. int. yitmetteh 'to die', n. act. iməttənt, ?ϕ yem_uih 'il est mort' ¶ Fc. 1131-3, 2026, GhA 134, Lf. I 270 & II #0959, Rn. 389, Dl. 524-5, Pr. M VI-VII 197-8, Beg. 288, Prd. 169, ABs. LBV § 167, TC Z 308 || EC: Rn {PG} ip. -amu⁻t(-) (3s ya mu⁻t) / p. -umuy and -uma⁻t- (3s yu mu⁻y, 1p nu mu⁻y, 3p yu ma⁻te⁻n) 'die', Gdl {Bl.} mu⁻t- v. 'become very weak and close to death'; Sml mo⁻tan 'dead' ¶ Hn. R 214, Hn. S 35, 52, PG 64, 284, Bl. GD 85, ZMO 294, AD SF 246-7 || Ch: WCh: Hs mu⁻tu⁻ 'die' : Su {J} mu⁻t, Tal {IL} mu⁻t, Ywm {IL} mwot^h id. : Fy/DfB/Bks/Klr {J} mot : Tng {J} mude, Krkr {J} me⁻t, Grm {Sch.} mo⁻tu⁻-ko⁻, Krf {Sch.} mu⁻k-ko⁻ (vb. n. mu⁻to⁻), Glm {Sch.} mə⁻z-a⁻la⁻, Gera {Sch.} mu⁻du⁻-mi⁻, Glm {Sch.} mu⁻t-a⁻la⁻, Bl {Lk.} mot- id. : Dir {IL} mōtu⁻, {Sk.} matu : Ngz {Sch.} mi⁻tu⁻, Bd {IL} mu⁻tu⁻ : CCh: Tr {Nw.} mə⁻d_i, vb. n. mə⁻ta⁻ : Mrg {IL} m_u⁻t^ho⁻u⁻ id. : HgNk/FIK {Kr.} mte id. : Nz {Kr.} mute : Lmn {Lk.} mt- : Mdr {Mirt} mc-a, Glv {Rp.} mc-, Gdf {IL} mc_u(3)gana, Dgh {Frk.} m_u⁻c⁻a⁻, {IL} mca⁻ya⁻ : Mtk {Sb.} mə⁻ca, Myn {Ro.} mt-, Mkt {Ro.} mə⁻c, MfG {Brr.} 'mə⁻c⁻, me⁻-mə⁻c⁻ey, {Ro.} mə⁻c⁻e⁻, Mf {BLB} mə⁻ca, Gzg D {Lk.} moc, {Ro.} mu⁻c⁻, Mada {BrrB} a⁻-mat, Mada/Mlk {Ro.} ma⁻t : Db {Lnh.} mi⁻c⁻, Kola {Sb.} mu⁻ty : Bdm {Cfr.} ma⁻tə⁻, Lgn {Lk.} mti : Msg {Trn.} m⁻r⁻ : Ms {J} mi⁻tna⁻, ZmB {J} ma⁻t : ECh: Skr {Sx.} mi⁻te⁻ : EDng {Fd.} ma⁻te⁻, Mgm {J} ma⁻to⁻ : Jg {J} ma⁻t, Brg {J} ma⁻ti⁻, Mb {Lk} ma⁻t, {J} inf. ma⁻de⁻ id. ¶ JI II 102-3, ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 30, 57, 86, 118, 137, 142, Sch. DN 106, BLB 235, Brr. MG II 163, 175, BrrB 194, Ro. 237 (pMM *mac) ¶¶ OS #1751 (*mawut-), Tk. I 227 II D *mut_u- 'die' (× D *mut_ui- vi. 'end, terminate, be completed' < N *muda 'to finish' (vi.) [q.v.]) > Tm mut_ui (p. -v-) v. 'die' ¶ D #4922 II ?σ IE: Ht mutai- v. 'remove (evils)', ?? mudan(s) 'garbage, scraps' (← 'sth. removed') ¶ CHD L-N 335-7, Ts. E II 235-6 ◆ Because of phonetic circumstances (coincidence of N *-t- with either *-d- or *-t_u- in most cognate lgs.) the N √ in question was doomed to contaminate with paronymous roots, such as *muda '¶' [q.v.].

1495. ***matʔV** ~ ***maʔʔtV** 'to approach' (> 'to meet, enter') > HS: CS $\sqrt{mt.ʔ}$ > IA $\sqrt{mt.ʔ}$ G 'arrive at, reach' (ʔ is a real lr. rather than a mater lectionis, as confirmed by forms such as 3p pf. $mt.ʔ$ [$*m\dot{a}t.a\dot{2}u$]), Plm $\sqrt{mt.ʔ}$ G 'come', Ar $\sqrt{mt.ʔ}$ G (pf. $\dot{a}6aMa mataʔa$) 'inivit (feminam)'; the $\sqrt{}$ was transformed in $\sqrt{mt.wy}$ in BA (3m pf $aylm6 \sim eylm6 m\dot{a}t.a$, 3f pf. $tylm6 m\dot{a}t.a\text{-}t.$) and in later Aram: JA [Trg.] $\sqrt{mt.wy}$ G ($aylm6 m\dot{a}t.a$), JEA {Sl.} $\sqrt{mt.y}$ G, Sr $\sqrt{mt.wy}$ G (3m pf. $tO\mu m\dot{a}t.a$) 'come, arrive at, reach'; in Aram the verb contaminated with $\sqrt{mt.ʔ} \sim \sqrt{mt.wy} < S \sqrt{m\theta.ʔ}$ 'find', but the meaning 'arrive, come' is still present ({KB} 'kommen über' and 'eintreten, da sein' in BA [Daniel], in JA and Sr ¶ HJ 616-7, KB 1735, Lv. T II 26-7, Sl. 658-60, Br. 381, JPS 260, BGMR 88, Fr. IV 189, BK II 1121 || EC $\sqrt{mt.}$, $\sqrt{-mt\dot{i}}$, $\sqrt{-(i)mit-}$ 'come' > Af {PH} pcv. 1s pf. $eme\text{-}te$ 'come', Sa {Wlm.} pf. $-eme\text{-}te$ / ip. $-amate$ id.; pSam {Hn.} $\sqrt{i-mit}$ 'arrive' > Rn {PG} ip. $-am\dot{i}t(-)$ (3m $ya\text{-}m\dot{i}t$, 3p $ya\text{-}m\dot{i}t\dot{i}n$) / pf. $-imiy$ and $-ima\text{-}t$ (3m $yi\text{-}m\dot{i}y$, 1p $ni\text{-}m\dot{i}y$, 3p $yi\text{-}ma\text{-}t\dot{e}n$), Sml C pcv. p. $-imid-$ [3m $yimid(ey)$] / prs. $-ima\text{-}d$ [3m $yima\text{-}da$] 'come', pBn {Hn.} pf. $\sqrt{-imid-}$ / ip. $\sqrt{-ima\text{-}d}$ 'come' (> Bn: K $-imid-/ima\text{-}d \sim -ibid-/iba\text{-}d$, Bi/J $\sqrt{-id-}$ / $-iya\text{-}d$); Bs {HL} $\sqrt{e\text{-}met-}$ 'come, arrive', Dsn {To.} $\sqrt{-i(:m\dot{i})-i(:m\dot{e})d-}$ 'come'; HEC: Brj {Ss.} $\sqrt{int-ay}$ 'come' (< p. $\sqrt{imt-}$), Alb {HL} $\sqrt{e\text{-}?}$, Kmb {Hd.} $\sqrt{ame\text{-}t}$ id. ¶ Ag {Ap.} $\sqrt{ʔ\text{-}nt-/*-Vnt-}$ 'come' > Bln $\sqrt{ʔ\text{-}nt-}$, Km $\sqrt{3nt-}$, -t-, Aw -nt-, d- Ad $\sqrt{ʔ\text{-}nt-a\text{-}t}$ id. > Bln $\sqrt{ʔ\text{-}nt-er-}$, Xm (3)t3r- ¶ Ss. B 105, Hn. S 65, Hn. BD 99, PH 96, PG 42-4, Vg. rSimO 165-7, HL 69, Ss. OKSV, Ss. Hd. 307, AD IPCV, AD SF 246, To. DL 201 ¶ Ag. AV 5 ¶ IE: NaIE $\sqrt{ma\text{-}d/*m\dot{a}d-}$ (or $\sqrt{mo\text{-}d/*m\dot{a}d-}$) 'approach, meet' > Arm $\sqrt{mat\dot{c}im\text{-}matc\text{-}im}$ vi. 'gain access, approach, draw near' (aor. $mateaj\text{-}mateay$), $\sqrt{matu\dot{c}anem\text{-}matuc\text{-}hanem}$ vt. 'draw/bring near' ¶ ON $\sqrt{mo\text{-}t}$, MHG $\sqrt{muo\text{-}\hat{O}}$, AS $\sqrt{mo\text{-}t}$ n. 'meeting, assembly', NE moot; Gt $\sqrt{ga-mo\text{-}tjan}$, ON $\sqrt{m\dot{o}eta}$, Dn $\sqrt{m\dot{o}de}$, Nr $\sqrt{m\dot{o}ta}$, Sw $\sqrt{mo\text{-}ta}$, OSx $\sqrt{mo\text{-}tian}$, AS $\sqrt{m\dot{o}etan}$ 'to meet', NE meet ¶ WP II 304, P 746, Fs. 193-4, Vr. 393-4, Ho. 225-6, Ho. S 53, Skeat 370 ¶ U (att. in Prm only) $\sqrt{mattV}$ > FU: pPrm $\sqrt{matin}$, $\sqrt{mate}$ 'near' > Z, Vt $\sqrt{matin}$ adv. 'near', Z $\sqrt{mat\text{-}3}$ 'near' (adv. of direction), Z LL $\sqrt{mat\text{-}3d}$ vi. 'approach', Vt $\sqrt{mate}$ 'approximately' ¶ LG 170 ¶ A: NrTg $\sqrt{mata}$ 'newly arrived person' > Ewk, Lm $\sqrt{mata}$ id., 'guest; foreigner' ¶ STM I 533, Vas. 29 || ??? Ko {Rm.} $\sqrt{mat}$ 'mate, friend', $\sqrt{manna-da}$ 'meet' ¶ Rm. SKE I 142 ◇ S $\sqrt{mt.ʔ} \sim \sqrt{mt.wy}$ and U $\sqrt{mattV}$ suggest a N rec. ***matʔV**, while IE $\sqrt{ma\text{-}d}$ (with a long vw.) seem to point to a N rec. ***maHtV** (= ***maʔʔtV**).

1496. ***matVʔʔV** 'moisture' > IE: NaIE $\sqrt{mad-}$ 'wet, moist, liquor; to drip' > Gk $\sqrt{\mu\alpha\delta\alpha'\omega}$ 'be moist \ sodden' (of diseased fig-trees), $\sqrt{\mu\alpha\delta\alpha\rho\acute{o}}$ 'moist' ¶ L $\sqrt{madeo}$ / $\sqrt{made\text{-}re}$ 'be wet \ moist' ¶ Not here OI $\sqrt{mada-}$, 'madya-, Av $\sqrt{ma\dot{d}a-}$, $\sqrt{mah\dot{o}ya-}$ 'exhilarating \ intoxicating drink' (<d- $\sqrt{mad-}$ 'exhilarate, intoxicate') ¶ WP II 231-2, P 694-5, ≈ EI 638-9 [$\sqrt{m(e)h\dot{A}d-}$ 'become wet/moist/fat'], M K II 568, M E II 299-300, F II 157-8, WH II 6-8 ¶ HS: Eg NE $\sqrt{mt.y.t}$ 'flood' ¶ EG II 169 || C: SC: Brn $\sqrt{madi\dot{n}}$ 'rainy season' ¶ HEC: Qbn, Kmb {Hd.} $\sqrt{mut.a}$ 'wet', Kmb {Hd.} $\sqrt{mut.}$ 'be wet', $\sqrt{mat.o}$ 'rainy season' ¶ E SC 153, Hd. 332, 334 || Ch $\sqrt{mVd.}$ 'dew' (× N $\sqrt{mut.V}$ 'drop', q.v. ffd.) ¶ A: T $\sqrt{mat}$ 'thick liquid' > OT bat 'thick juice of pressed dates', Qrg {Jud.} bat 'glue, paste, starch' ¶ Cl. 296, Jud. 116 ¶ III d or cd ***matVʔʔV** 'rainy season' > HS: S $\sqrt{ma\text{-}t.ar}$ 'rain' > BHb $\sqrt{rylm1}$ $\sqrt{ma\text{-}t.a.r}$, Ug $\sqrt{mt.r}$, IA $\sqrt{mt.r(ʔ)}$, Htr $\sqrt{mt.rʔ}$, JA [Trg.] $\sqrt{arly6m5}$ ~ $\sqrt{arly6im5}$ $\sqrt{mit.r-a}$, Sr $\sqrt{a\text{-}rot\dot{u}e}$ $\sqrt{met.r-a}$, Md $\sqrt{mit.ra}$, Ar $\sqrt{r6aMa}$ $\sqrt{mat.ar}$ id., Ak LB $\sqrt{mit.ru}$ 'small canal, ditch', Ak fOB d $\sqrt{mit.irtu}$ '∈ canal, ditch; ∈ field \ orchard'; WS $\sqrt{mt.r}$ v. 'rain' > Amr, Ug $\sqrt{mt.r}$ G, Ar $\sqrt{mt.r}$ G, BHb $\sqrt{mt.r}$ N id.; WS b- Ak RS $\sqrt{mit.ar}$ 'field irrigated by rain' ¶ KB 544, A #1555, OLS 308, HJ 619, Js. 769, DM 265-6, Sd. 663, G A 26, CAD X/2 144-7 || Eg fAm mtr 'flood, water' (Eg G 'inundation water') ¶ EG II 174 ¶ K: GZ $\sqrt{za-mtar-}$ 'winter' > OG, G $\sqrt{zamtar-i}$, Mg $\sqrt{zoton\dot{z}-i}$ id.; $\sqrt{za-mtar-}$ is a cd with the component $\sqrt{za-}$ (originally 'year') used in names of seasons (cp. G $\sqrt{za-p\dot{x}ul-i}$ 'summer'); the pK stem $\sqrt{-mt(ar)-}$ may be discerned in Sv UB/Ln li-ntw and Sv L lu-nt 'winter' ¶ K 86-7, K² 56, Q 228, FS K 128, 217, FS E 138, 239, TK 443, GP 162 ◇ The lr. was lost in IE, Eg and K, but preserved (as glottalization or its traces) in S, EC, Ch and T ($\sqrt{ʔt} > \sqrt{t}$, > S $\sqrt{t}$, HEC $\sqrt{t}$, Ch $\sqrt{d}$, T $\sqrt{-t}$) ◇ ≈ BmK #537 (IE, HS [S, HEC, NrBc, but not Eg]; the Eg cognate is not mentioned deliberately, because it is at variance with Bm's preconceived theory about IE $\sqrt{d}$ [his $\sqrt{t}$] < N $\sqrt{t}$). ◇ The semantic change 'rain' → Eg 'flood' is easily explained by the special grographical conditions of Egypt (absence of rains, importance of the Nile flood), while the change 'rain(y season)' → K 'winter' provides ev. for the climate of the Nostratic original habitat (Southwestern Asia with the rainy season in November-February, cf. AD NM).

1497. ***metVha** 'head, top, summit' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} $\sqrt{math-}$ 'head' > pSam {Hn.} $\sqrt{matah}$ > Sml $\sqrt{mada'h}$, Sml J $\sqrt{ma'diʔ}$, Rn {Hn.} $\sqrt{ma'tah}$, {PG} $\sqrt{ma'ta'h}$ (cs. $\sqrt{ma'ta'kki}$), pBn {Hn.} $\sqrt{ma'da'h}$ > Bn {Hn.}: Bi $\sqrt{ma'da(h)}$, J/K/Kj $\sqrt{ma'da}$; Bs {HL} $\sqrt{mete}$, Or $\sqrt{ma'taʔ}$, {Grg.} $\sqrt{mata}$, Kns {Bl.} $\sqrt{matta}$, {Lm.} $\sqrt{matta}$, Msl {Lm.} $\sqrt{matta}$, Di/Mos {Lm.} $\sqrt{mas's'a}$, Gato {Fl.} $\sqrt{ma'tta}$, Gdl {Bl.} $\sqrt{mas's(a)}$, Dsn $\sqrt{me'}$ (pl. $\sqrt{met-u}$), Bs {Lm.} $\sqrt{mete}$, Elm $\sqrt{me'teʔ}$, Arr {Hw.} $\sqrt{mette'h}$, Ya {Ss.} $\sqrt{mi'teh}$ ¶ Bj {R} $\sqrt{mat}$ 'crown of the head' ¶ ??φ Ag: Bln {R} $\sqrt{ma\text{-}d}$, $\sqrt{mad-}$ 'auf den Kopf schlagen, den Kopf blutig schlagen' (× $\sqrt{mu\dot{z}l.VjyV}$ 'fist, fingers; to squeeze/hit with a fist') ¶ AD SF 182, Bl. 157, 185, 250, 317, Ss. PEC 5, 8, 10, 36-7, 57, 63, HL 131, Grg. 282, Hn. S 69, Hn. BD 111, PG 221, Lm. SKE 532, Hw. A 384, R WB 263, R WBd 175, Blz. EDB 21-2, To DL 517 || Om: SOm: Dime $\sqrt{met}$, {Fl.} $\sqrt{m\dot{3}t}$, Ari U $\sqrt{ma'ta}$, Ari {Bnd.} $\sqrt{mata}$, Ari G {Bnd.} $\sqrt{mata}$, Hm $\sqrt{ma't}$, Hm K $\sqrt{met}$, Banna {Blz.} $\sqrt{ma'te}$ 'head' ¶ NrOm: Dz d {Blz.}: Na {Fl.} $\sqrt{mot}$ id., Shk {Fl.} $\sqrt{mo\text{-}to}$, $\sqrt{mu\text{-}tu}$ 'head, brain' ¶ Blz. OLBP #60, Blz. EDB 21-2, Bnd. AL 152, Fl. OWL s.v. 'head' || CCh: Pdk {Blz.} ← Mch.} $\sqrt{mudara}$, Msg P {Trn.} $\sqrt{m\dot{3}diy}$ (cs. $\sqrt{midi-}$), Msg Ng {Lk.} ← GKrs.} $\sqrt{ma'da}$, $\sqrt{maid}$, $\sqrt{mi'di}$, Msg {Mch.} $\sqrt{mada}$, Mlw {Trn.} $\sqrt{ma't}$ 'head' (with pos. prns.: $\sqrt{mi'da'a}$ 'my head', $\sqrt{mi'di'ni}$ 'his head', $\sqrt{mu'du'ku}$ 'thy [m.] head', etc.), ? Mbara {TrnSL} $\sqrt{mbo't}$ 'head' ¶ Lk. DQM 65, Trn. LM 105-6, Trn. MVM 186-7, TrnSL M 299 ¶ Blz. OLBP

#60 and Blz. EDB 21-2 (C, Om, Ch + *err.* Ak muttu [Holma NK 35: i 'front, forehead', but in fact 'front side']) || K: OG mta-y, G mta 'mountain' ¶ Ser. 92, DCh. 719-20, Chx. 765 || A: Tg *mi_ata 'hide from the animal's head; skin of the head' > Neg, Ork me_ṭa, Ul me_ṭa ~ mīata id., Lm ma_ṭṭ t d me_ṭ t d mīat, Orc mīata-ksa, Ul me_ṭa-ksa, Nn Nh mīata 'hide from the animal's head', Ewk me_ṭa id., 'scalp', Sln m'e_ṭa 'face' ¶ STM I 535 ¶ Tg *i_a < *e due to vowel breaking (as of the second part of the vw. to the vw. of the next syll.) || T *bet 'face' > OT [TT] bet, Tk bet, Az ba_ṭt, Tkm Δ, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, ET ba_ṭt, Δ bet, Alt b_et, ET ba_ṭt, Chv pit 'face', Chg, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, Uz bet, VTt, Bsh bit, SbTt pit 'face, cheek', Tv b_eti 'this side', Tf b_e_ṭ 'front side', Yk ba_ṭṭa_ṭ 'here, on this side' ¶ DTS IO, ET B 121-2, TrR 111, Ra. 162, ≈ TL 207 (*ba_ṭt 'face'; the rec. of *a_ṭ is *unc.* because of VTt and Bsh i) || M *metu_ 'similar(ly), as' (< *face of?) > MM [S] {H} metu_ 'such as, as', [HI] {Ms.}, [PP] {Pp.} metu_, WrM metu_, HIM MṬ, Brt MṬY 'similarly, as', Kl MṬ, {Rm} met_ṭ, met_ṭ, MMgl [Iw.] metu_, Dg {Mr.} me'tu 'similar(ly), as', Ord {Ms.} mo_ṭt'u, Mnr H {SM} mad_u, {T} madu, Dx {T} mutu 'as (comme)' ¶ H109, Ms. H 75, Ms. O 472, Pp. KP 153, MED 538, Chr. 313, KRS 351, KW 262, Mr. D 172, Iw. 115, SM 229, T 343, T DnJ 129 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 79, KW 262, DQA #1307 (A *mi_at'i 'head skin, face') || D: [1] *meitt_ 'top, upper part of the house' > Td midy 'upper storey', Tm mettai_ id., 'storied house', Ml metta 'terrace', Kt med 'upstairs room', Kn metti 'the upstairs', Tu mettigæ 'pavement \ boards of the floor of an upper storey', Tl middiya, midde 'flat roof, terrace', Knd mide in me_r'a mide 'terraced building' || [2] *me_t_ 'raised place' > Ml me_t_a id., 'tower, upper storey', Tm me_t.ai_ 'platform, raised floor, terraced house', Png me_r_ 'storied house', Tl me_d.a id., 'upper chamber', Gnd me_r'a_ 'large house', Knd me_r'a in me_r'a mide (see above), Ku me_r'a 'upstair building', D -b> OI λ met_a_, Prkr med_aya 'whitewashed storied house'; [3] *ma_t_ 'upper storey, terrace' > Tm ma_t.i 'terrace', Tm, Ml ma_t.am, Tl ma_d.ugu 'house with an upper storey', Kn ma_d.a, ma_t.a, ma_d.i 'upstair house', Kdg, Klm ma_d.i, Gnd ma_d.i 'upper storey', Tu ma_d.ṭ 'roof', Nkr ma_r'i 'large house', Nk ma_r'a 'raised platform', D -b> OI λ ma_d.i 'palace' ¶¶ D ##4796, 5069 ♦ Tg -t- and D *-tt- (usual reflexes of *-t_-) are likely to represent the cluster *-th- (< *-tVh- with elision of the vw.); D *-t_- goes back to N *-t- (probably from *-tVh- without vowel elision) ♦ The vw. after *t is reconstructed on the indirect ev. of D *-t_-.

1498. *mAtVdV - *mAdVtV 'to stretch, measure' > HS: S *√mdd 'stretch, measure (the length)' > Ak √mdd v. G (inf. mada_du, 3m pret. i-mdud) 'measure (using a measure of capacity/length), pay, measure the length', BHb √mdd (pf. dd2m1 ma_d.ad_, ip. -mod_) v. G 'measure (length/surface)', Pun mdd acp. 'measurer', Ar √mdd v. G 'spread (a carpet), stretch (one's arm), strain (a rope), lengthen by stretching', madda ʔumra (fula_nin) 'lengthen (sb.'s) life' (of God), Gz √mdd v. G (pf. mdd madada) 'spread, level', Tgr √mdd G (pf. md mēdde) 'stretch, spread', Mh √mdd (pf. m3d, sbjn. y3mde_d) 'stretch out, stretch (one's limbs)', Hrs √mdd (pf. mād), Jb C √mdd (pf. midd, sbjn. 'yummud ~ yu_d), Jb E √mdd (pf. mid) id.; d CS *madd- 'stretching', (→ *measure of cloth' →) 'garment' > Ar dwMa madd- 'reach of the sight, prolongation (of vowels \ voice)', BHb mad_ / madd- * 'garment' (att.: sg. +ppa. &Dm2 mad'd-o_ 'his garment', pl. +ppa. viD1m2 mad'da_w 'his garments'), Ug md {A} '∈ garment', {OLS} 'capa, cubierta', JEA aD1m2 mad'd-a_ {Sl.} 'garment', {Js.} 'priest's cloak'; WS *mudd- > Ar dwMu mudd- '∈ measure [of various standards]', Tgr MD m3dd '∈ measure of corn'; WS *midd-at- > Ar ÉdWMu mudd-at- 'length, space of time', BHb eD1m5 mid'da_ 'measurement (of length)' ('Meßstrecke'), Sb mdt 'period', Tgr MdT m3ddet 'spice of time, period', Jb C m3d'det 'period' ¶ CAD X/1 5-9, KB 518-20, HJ 595, A #1516, OLS 259-60, Js. 731, Sl. 642, BK II 1075-7, Hv. 711-2, L G 329, BGMR 83, LH 141-3, Jo. M 260-1, Jo. H 87, Jo. J 168 || IE: NaIE *med- v. 'measure', {EI} id., 'weigh' (× NaIE *med- 'think' < N *metV 'to feel, realize' [q.v.]) > OI Λ 'masti-h. (< *med-ti-s?) n. 'measuring, weighing' || Arm mit mit (gen. mti mti) 'mind, intellect, sense' || Gk με'δομαι 'think on, provide for, am mindful of, bethink one of' (hardly connected with με'δων 'guardian, lord') || L modus 'a measure, standard of measurement', modo adv. 'by measure, according to a limit', medit-or / -a-ri 'think over, consider', modius '∈ a Roman corn-measure (16 sextarii, rather less than 2 gallons)', Um mer's, MERS 'ius' (< *med-os), mersus 'ex moribus', Osc med-dr'ss 'magistrate' (< *medo-dik^-s), gen. medr'ker's || OIr midiur (p. ro-mr'dar) 'cogito, judico', aimed 'measure', mess 'judicium', med 'balance', W meddwl 'animus, me\ns, cogitatio'; on Brtt *medami 'think, say' see N *metV '¶' || Gt mitan, OHG me_ (Ô) Ôan, NHG messen, AS metan 'to measure', ON meta id., 'evaluate, count', met 'measurement, weight', OSx met, OHG me_Ô, NHG Maß, AS met 'measure', AS mitta '∈ a corn-measure' (÷ L modius) ¶ WP II 259-60, P 705-6, ≈ EI 374 (includes reflexes of IE *med- 'think'), M K II 607, ≈ F II 191, WH II 55-6, 99-100, Bc. G 319, 338, Vn. M 27, 42-3, 48-9, Fs. 363-4, Vr. 25-6, Ho. 220, 224, Ho. S 52, Kb. 682, OsS 606, KM 465, 475-6 || D (tr., 'GS') *mat_t_- v. 'measure' > Tm mat.t.u 'measure, quantity, standard', mat.t.am 'measure, evenness, flatness', Ml mat.t.u 'measure, limit', mat.t.am '∈ measure of length', Kt mat_t_m (obl. mat_t_-) 'level place, all', Kn mat.t.u, mat.t.a, mat.a 'measure, extent, height', Tu mat.t.u 'measure, extent, limit', mat.t.a 'carpenter's \ bricklayer's square, level, measure', Tl mat.t.u limit, bound, measure', mat.t.amu 'level, a levelling instrument' ¶¶ D #4660 || ??φ A: M *badara- v. 'spread, expand' (× N *p.at.hV 'to be open; open', q.v. ffd.).

1499. 2 *matRV - *maRtV 'midday' (→ 'south') > HS: Eg MKL mtr.t ({Vc.} = *mitra-t) 'midday' > DEg mtr id. > Cpt: Sd meepe meere, B mepi meri id. ¶ EG II 174, Er. 192, Vc. 119 || U: FU (att. in ObU) *martV > ObU {Ht.} *ma_rV(y)

'country where migratory birds spend their winter' > pVg *ma-rti- > Vg (partially in cds with m3-^d ma- 'land', sa-m 'region', l'ongk 'way', woy 'beast'): MK mo-rt, LL mort, UL mo-rti, Ss mōrti id., d P mortəm id. :: pOs *marti (in similar cds): Ty/Y ma-rti, D mo-rtā, K ma-rtā, Nz/Kz mōrtā, O marti id. ¶ Ht. #412, KrT 543-4, ≈ UEW 280-1.

1500. ***mat.V** 'to bend' > HS: WS *-mīt- ~ *-mu-t- ≈ 'shake, waver, turn away' > Ar √myt- (pf. ma-t_a, ip. -mīt-) 'turn away, retire from, deviate', BHb √mwt- (pf. ma-t_a, ip. -mu-t_a) 'totter, shake', MHb √mw|yt- Sh (pf. yim5e4 he-t_amīt-) 'bend, shake', JA [Trg.] √mwt- G 'inline, waver, decline; give way, bend', {Lv.} 'wanken, zum fallen neigen', Sr √mwt- G 'totter, lean over, stagger', Gz √myt- G (js. -mīt-) vt., vi. 'turn, turn aside' ¶ KB 526, L G 377, BK II 1173, BDB 536 [#4131], Js. 740, Lv. TM II 14, Br. 376, JPS 207 II A *mat'a vt. 'bend' > M *mata- > WrM mata-, HIM, Brt mata- v. 'curve, bend', Kl {Rm.} mat_a-χα 'biegen, bogenformig machen', ds: WrM matai- matayi-, HIM матий-, Kl мати- matī- vi. 'bend, curve', Kl {Rm.} mat'i-, mat'a-⁻⁻⁻, Kl Ō {Rm.} mata⁻⁻⁻, mata- 'sich biegen, sich schief drehen', Ord mat'a⁻⁻⁻ 'etre contourné \ courbé', WrM matailga-, HIM матийга- vt. 'bend, bow, curve', Dg mat'ien 'bent, curved' ¶ MED 530, Chr. 294, KRS 344, Rm, KW 258, T DgJ 154, Ms. O 456 || Tg *mata- vt. 'bend' > Ewk mata-, WrMc mata- id. ¶ But not here (⇔ DQA) STg *mita- > WrMc mita- vi. {Z} 'turn/bend back, turn over back; give back', {Z, Hr.} 'unbend, zurückschnellen' (of a bow after removing the bowstring), Jrc {Kiy.} mita- vi. 'retreat', because the basic meaning here is 'backward' rather than 'bend' ¶ STM I 533, 539, Z 887, Hr. 659, Kiy. 120 [#414] || ?φ pJ {S} *m3t3r- vi. 'bend, deviate' > OJ motor- vi. 'bend', J: T/Kg moto'r-, K mo'to'r- 'deviate\depart from, run contrary to' ¶ S QJ #929, Mr. 727, Kenk. 1273 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1306 [A *mi-at'e 'to bend'; incl. M, J] II Gil: Gil A (mod-) (prs/p. mot-_c) 'lie with one's head on the cushion' ¶ ST 193 II D: [1] D *mat_aank- vi. / *mat_aakk-, {GS} *mad_aank- vt. 'bend, fold' > Tm mat_aanku 'become bent as the arm or leg, be closed\folded as a knife or table', Ml mat_aanjuka 'be bent \ folded', Kt mar'k, Kdg mad_aak- vt. 'fold', Td mor'y- vi., vt. 'fold neatly', mor'x- vi. 'bend', Kn mad_aate 'folding, a fold', Tu mad_aatæ 'a fold, crease', mad_i 'fold, a quantity added', Tl mad_aaka- 'fold, plait', mad_aagu 'bend, fold, be bent\folded', Prj mad_akip- 'fold, roll up', Gnd mar'p- v. 'fold' || [2] (in SD) *ma-t_a- ({GS} *-d_a-) > Tm ma-t_ai- 'being bent downwards as horns of cattle', Ml ma-t_a 'a cow with horns bent downwards', Kt mat_aet 'bullocks with horns curving back', Tu mo-d_aæ 'ox\buffalo with curved horns' ¶¶ D ##4645, 4799, Sbr. DVM 64 ¶¶ The cns. *-t_a- for the expected *-t- has not yet found explanation (suffixes that were lost due to D sound laws ruling out stop-initial clusters?).

1501. ***mAt.V** 'to increase, make long/broad' > HS: S *^o√mt_a- > Ar √mt_a- G (pf. mat_a-t_a) 'lengthen (by drawing)' ¶ BK II 1121 II K {Fn.} *^omat_a- > G mat_a-ul- / mat_a- (ft. i-mat_a-eba, inf. mat_aul-oba) vi. 'increase, become larger' ¶ Chx. 727-8 II D *mat_a-, {GS} *mad_a- > Tm matippu 'growing fat' (of a person), 'growing leafy' (of a plant), matukay 'strength', Tl madincu 'become fat' ¶¶ ≈ D #4687 (+ err. D *mat_a-, {GS} *mady- 'be furious, excited' - cp. GS 148-9 [#508]) ♦ Fn. KD #25 (K, D).

1502. ***mot.E** 'sprout, stem, penis' > HS: Eg mt (reading of the character representing male genitalia), DEg mt 'phallus', as well as possibly (× ***mUt.V** 'man, person') ? Eg fp mtw.t 'sperm, son' ¶ EG II 168-9, Er. 184 || EC: HEC: Sd {Hd}, Hd {L} muta 'penis', Hd/Kmb {Hd.} mut- v. 'sprout', Hd {Hd.} muta 'awl for basketwork' : LEC: Or {Grg.} mut- v. 'sprout, blade' (of crop) ¶ L rCoh. 315, Hd. 141, 387, Grg. 295 || NrOm: Zl/Dc {Lm.} mute 'penis' ¶¶ Tk. I 227 ¶ II ?? K: eNG {SSO} mut_a-el-i 'membrum muliebre' (× N ***mu₁jt.V** 'woman, female', i.e. an adj. 'that of a woman, muliebre'?) ¶ SSO I 529, Fn. SK 98 [#191] II A *mot'E (or *met'E?) 'pudenda; bird's crop' > Tg: Ewk {Cs.} motoko 'vulva' (unless from N ***mu₁jt.V** 'woman, female', q.v.) ¶ STM I 547 || T: VTt b^ot₃g 'vulva', Qz bo'ta'ka' 'kidneys of animals', Yk bo'to'go' 'bird's crop, crow', Chv {Ash.} пyтeкe pud_aeg_a id., 'kidneys of animals' ¶ Rs. W 8, Ash. X 44 || pJ {S} *mitu_a > OJ mi_aitu_a 'pudenda' ¶ S QJ #482 ¶¶ DQA #1289 [A *me't_ai-(rkV) > incl. T, Tg, J] ¶¶ T and Tg suggest a rounded vw. of the first syll., but in the light of the J cognate the T/Tg rounded vw. may be due to as II D *mot(t)-, {GS} ≈ *modd- ≈ 'trunk, straw' > Tm mutal 'stump, lowest part of stem', Td mīθ 'straw', Kn moddu 'log of wood', Tu madad_a 'log, trunk', mudel_a 'stubble, stump of a tree', Klm modal 'tre trunk', modda 'log', Nkr mod^hal, Prj model, Gnd modol, modal, Knd modol 'tree trunk', Nk maddum 'stem of tree' ¶¶ D #4951.

1503. ***mot.E** 'whole, complete' > A: T *bu-t_a- (= ***mu-t_a-**) 'be complete \ all' > OT bu-t_a- 'be complete', XwT xiv bu-t_a- 'be completed, achieved', Qrg, ET bu-t_a-, Tk bit-, Ggz, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Uz bit-, Qq pit-, Qzq bi-t_a-, VTt бет- b^ot_a-, Bsh б'т- b^ot_a-, Yk but-, Chv L пeÄr- p^ot_a/d_a-, Chv H p^ot_a/d_a- id., 'be finished', Alt b_a-t_a-, Tf b_a-t_a-, Xk pu-t_a- 'be completed, achieved', Tv b_a-t_a- 'come true, be realized, occur', d: Qmn {B} bu-d_a-ir- vt. 'complete, finish'; -d_a T ***mu-tu_a-n** (> ***bu-tu_a-n**) 'complete, entire' > OT, MQP XIII-XIV, Osm xiv bu-tu_a-n id., Tkm bu-t_a-n, Δ mu-t_a-n, Ggz, Az, Kr Cr, Qmq, QrB, Qrg bu-tu_a-n, Qq pu-t_a-n, Qzq б*т_aн bu-t_a-n, ET, Ln pu-tu_a-n, VTt, Bsh б'тeн б^ot_aн, Xk pu-du_a-n, Alt, Tv b_a-du_a-n, Tf b_a-t_a-u_a-n, Chv: L пeÄreÄm p^od_a-m, H p^od_a-m id.; T -b_a M: [1] MM d [S] {H} bu-te_a-e- 'erledigen', [MA] {Pp.} bu-te_a---bu-tu_a-, [IM] {Pp.} bu-te_a- v. 'achieve, complete', WrM bu-tu_a-, HIM, Brt б*т_a-, Kl б*т_a- bu-t_a- 'be(come) formed \ fulfilled \ executed', Ord {Ms.} bu-t_a-u_a- 'se produire, se faire, s'achever, réussir', Dg bute- 'be fulfilled, realized', [2] MM [MA] bu-tu_a-n, WrM bu-tu_a-n, HIM, Brt б*т_aн, Kl б*т_aн bu-t_a-n 'whole, complete, entire', Ord bu-t_a-u_a-n id. ¶ Cl. 298-9, 302-4, ET B 152-4, 302-4, Ra. 167, TvR 125, Md. 64, 175, Pp. MA 128-9, 434, H 24, MED 152-3, Ms. O 107-8, SM 30, T DgJ 128, KRS 131, Chr. 126 || Tg *mu_ate- 'be able' > Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Mc Sb, Nn Nh/B mut_a-, Nn KU m3t_a-, WrMc mute- id. ¶ STM

I 561, Krm. 263 || pKo {S} *mo't- 'all, whole' > MKo mo'ta', Ko: Sl modu', Ph/PhN/Kw modu, Ks/Chs mo'du, Hm mo_du_, Chj mōdo id. ¶ St AJ 245 [#1], 251 [#1], S QK #1, Nam 214, 217, MLC 641 || pJ {S} *muta > OJ muta 'together with' ¶ S QJ #1 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 58, S AJ 27, 70, 86, 274, ≈ DQA #1371 (A *mu'ti 'to complete, gather together'; incl. T, Tg, Ko, J) || D *mott-, {GS} mot- 'all, total' > Tm mottam, Tl mottamu 'sum, total, whole', Ml mottam 'whole, total', Kn motta 'heap, multitude' ¶¶ D #5119, GS 82 [#256].

1504. ***mut.V** (or ***muKt.V?**) 'drop', 'tear' (n.) > HS: B *mVt_t- 'tear(s)' > Ah {Fc.} amit_ (pl. imət_t_ awən), BSn/Sll {Ds.}, Gd {Lf.} amət_t_a (pl. mət_t_ awen), Gh {Nh.}, SrSn {Rn.} amət_t_ aw, Izn/Rf {Rn.} amət_t_a, Kb {Dl.}, Tmz {MT} imət_t_i, Izd amət_t_i, Si {La.} pl. imət_t_ awən, Nf {Beg.} ma't_t_ in (pl. imət_t_ i wən ~ imət_t_ a wən), Zng {Nic.} ənd_ awən, {Bs.} ənd_ awn 'tears' ¶ Fc. 1163, Dl. 527, MT 445, Rn. 385, Ds. 167, Ds. B 193, La. S 252, Beg. 239, Lf. II #1049, Nic. 208, Bs. MS I 134 || Ch *mVd_- 'dew' (× N ***matV?V** 'moisture' [q.v.]) > WCh: NrBc: Wrij {Sk.} ma'd_-a'i_, Kry {Sk.} ma'd_ z, My {Sk.} a' ma'd_i', P' {MSk.} ma'd_a', Dir {Sk.} ma'd_a', Sir {Sk.} mu'd_e', Jmb {Sk.} a' ma'd_a' 'dew' ! Ngz {Sch.} ma'd_a' wa', Bd {ChL} mad_a' wa'n 'dew' :: CCh: Ms {Caīt.} ma'dii [= ma'd_i'] (df. ma'd_i' -na'), {ChC} mad_a_i_ ta, ZmB {ChC} mid_a, ZmD {KNC} mbz_d_a', Lame {Sa.} mbz_d_a', Azm {Pc.} mbad_i_d_a id. ¶ Sk. NB 18, Sch. DN 108, ChC, ChL, Sa. L II 311, Caīt. 113, KNC 17, Pc. 286 || D (in SD) *mutt- (< *mukt-?) 'drop', 'tear' (n.) > Tm muttu 'pearl, tear', Ml muttu 'pearl kernel', Td mut, Kn muttu, Kdg mutti, Tl muttiyamu, muttemu 'pearl', Tu muttu id., 'a drop', Kt mut 'woman's earring'; D b> OI mukta 'pearl' ¶¶ D #4959.

1505. ***mVt.V** 'to pool, pool out (a plant, etc.), uproot, reap' > HS: S *°/mt_w > Ar √mt_w (pf. '6aMa mat_a-, ip. -mt_uw-) 'pool (a rope)' → 'to urge a beast' (of a rider) → 'to hasten, hurry the walk' ¶ BK II 1124, Hv. 725 || EC: ?ϕ Sd mid- {Mrn., Hd.} 'reap', {Ss.} 'mow, cut', Ged mid- v. 'uproot, weed', Brj mid- {Hd.} v. 'pool, uproot', {Ss.} 'uproot, dislocate', 'extract' (of tooth), Kmb mid- 'reap, uproot, drag'; Gdl {Ss.} mit- v. 'snap string, yank leaf off tree' ¶ Hd. 212, 255, 333, 386, Ss. B 144 || IE: NaIE *met- 'reap, harvest' > L met-o- / -e're / messum 'reap, mow, harvest; pluck off (abpflücken)' :: Clt: W medi 'reap, harvest', medelwr 'reaper', OCrn midil 'messor', OIr [γ] meithleorai · "messores", methel, OIr meithel 'a party of reapers', OW medel id. ¶ ≈ WP II 259, ≈ P 703, ≈ EI 258 (*h₂met- 'mow'), ≈ WH I 82-3, Vn. M 45, SB 206.

1506. ***muḡt.V** 'woman, female' > HS: B *mVt_t_uHj- 'woman' > Ah {Fc.} ta_mət_, {GhA} tamət_t_, Gh {Nh.} tamət_ 'woman, wife', Ty tamt_ət_, Gd {Lf.} tamət_ ~ tamət_ 'woman', Kb {Dl.}, Izn {Ds.} t_a-mt_t_u't_ (pl. t_imt_t_a't_), Rf {Rn.} t_a-mət_t_ ut_ d ta-mət_t_ ut_, BSn {Ds.} t_a-mt_t_u't_, Tmz {MT} tamət_t_ ut_t_ 'woman, wife', Mz {Dlh.}, Izd {Mrc.} tamət_t_ ut (Mz pl. timət_t_ at), Nf {La.} tamət_t_ ut, {Beg.} tma't_t_u't_, Skn {Sarn.} taməttut_ 'woman', Wrg {Dlh.} tamət_t_ ut id., 'female', Zng {Bs.} itmT temti 'femelle', {MH→Nic.} təmti (pl. tu_mtaʔn) 'woman, female (animal)' :: Gnc CHAMATO 'woman, wife' ¶ Fc. 1124, GhA 134, Lf. II #0953, Dl. 527, Rn. 385, Ds. B 129-30, MT 445, Dlh. M 125, Dlh. Ou 201, La. S 236, Beg. 230, Bs. MS I 116, Nic. 208, Wlf. 406 || S ? *°/mft_ > Ar maft_aʔ- (pl. muft_-) 'genitalia of a woman' (if the interpretation as a f. from ʔamʔat_- 'shaved, without hair' is folk-etymological) ¶ BK II 1128 || NrOm: Anf {Fl.} ma'c_o, {Lm.} maco, Shn {Fl.} ma'c_u 'woman', {Lm.} ma'ca 'wife', Gm {Hw.} ma'c'c'a, Kcm {CR} ma't_o 'woman', possibly Kf {C} mac'c'e-, Wl {C} mac'c'e-, Zl/Gf/Bdt {C} mac'c'o, Gm {Hw.} mac'c'o 'woman', Anf {Lm.} mac'c'o 'wife' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'woman', ≈ Lm. Sh 360, Hw. EG, Gt. 360 || Ch: ECh: Skr {Sx.} me'd_e' 'woman' :: WCh {Stl.} *mata 'woman, wife' > Hs ma'c'e- (pl. ma'ta-), Gw {Mats.} ma'c'e- (pl. mata) ! Su, Tal {ChC}, Cp {ChL} ma't, Ang {ChL} mat, Gmy {ChL} mət, Grk {ChC} mo't 'woman' :: CCh: Nz {Sk.} mades'i, BtD {Srp.} moic'e', Bcm {Sk.} me'to, Gudu {IL} madt(:)ci id., Gude {Hsk.} ma'd_a'nə 'bride' ¶ JI II 346-7, ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 232 [#796], Hsk. 234 || K: eNG {SSO} mut_-el-i 'membrum muliebre' (unless from N ***mot.E** 'sprout, stem, penis') ¶ SSO I 529, Fn. SK 98 [#191] [⊕ II ?? A: Tg: Ewk {Cs.} motoko 'membrum muliebre' (unless from N ***mot.E** '↑') ¶ STM I 547] || D (in SD) *mut_-/*mut_- ({"GS} *-d_-) 'female' > Tm mu't_u 'ewe', mut_u ku 'female elk', mut_u val 'bitch', Kdg mu'd_i 'girl' ¶¶ D #5036 ¶¶ D *-t_- is a reg. reflex of N *-t- and *-d- (rather than *-t_-); the de-emphatization is probably due to the adjacent lr. (suggested by El and Ar) || E: MEI mu-h-ti-ir-ri 'his wife'. AchE mu-ti 'woman, wife; female', mu-tur 'woman, wife' ¶ HK 948, 961-2 ♦ It is tempting to adduce here NaIE *ma'ter 'mother', but the quality of the vw. *a- suggests lack of labiality (even if *a- goes back to *e_{ah}); therefore NaIE *ma'ter hardly belongs here (*ma- is likely to be a *LI*); cp. Ari/Hm ma 'woman, female' (Bnd. AL 162), Skr {Lk.} ma' id. (Lk. ZSS 35). The N lr. was a weak one (most probably *ʕ rather than *χ, to judge from the absence of *χ in K). Both Ar maft_aʔ- 'female genitals' and K mut_-el-i id. go back to adjectives (lit. 'weib-lich'), because both the Ar pattern 1a23aʔ- and the G sx. -el- are usual derivational devices that form adjectives ♦ Blz. KM 116-7 [#12] (K, HS, E, D) [⊕ & 130 [addition to #12] (added Tg)], McA 105 (E, D).

1507. ***mfa'y't.V** 'earth, land, place, place of residence' (→ 'stay, r4eside') > HS: S *°ma't- > Ak √ ma'tu 'country, land (↔ sea), flat country' ¶ CAD X/1 414-28 || ?? (+ ext.): B *°/md_r > Kb t_a-mō_ir_-t_- ~ t_a-mō_ar_-t_- (pl. t_i-mō_ir_-in) 'parcelle de terre', Tmz tamd_irt (pl. timd_irin) 'parcelle de terrain délimitée par des sillons qu'on doit labourer en une journée'; B b> Ar Mgr {Mrç.} mt_jira id. ¶ Dl. 488, MT 406, WMrç. 488 || IE: NaIE *mei_t(h)- 'stay, residence; place of residence' > Av mae't- (prs. miθna-) 'remain', mae'θanəm 'place of residence of humans and gods, dwelling, house', Phl me'han 'home', NPrs

ñeayM mīhaːn 'one's native soil, home; wife and children'; KhS *cd* par-mihaː- 'village' || Ltv mis-t (1s prs. mīˈt-u) 'live (wohnen), reside, stay, abide', mitinaːt 'give lodging and board', Lt miːsti (1s prs. mintuː) 'feed (on), nourish oneself, live (on), live, exist', Pru maitaː vt. 'feeds'; the meaning 'nourish oneself, earn one's livelihood' is secondary (< 'live', as in NE live on; in Blt there is contamination with NaIE ≈ *meiːt- 'fat' [> OIr meˈth (gen. meˈith) adj. 'fat', Ic meid̂ 'das Fetteste vom Speck des Walfisches?'] || SI *meːˈsto 'place' > OCS, OR мѣсто meˈsto, Blg мѣсто, R мѣсто 'place', McdS мѣсто, SCr мѣсто d̂ miːsto d̂ mjeːˈsto, Slv meˈsto, Cz meˈsto 'place, town', Slk miesto 'place, settlement, town', P miasto, Uk м'сто 'city, town, place' || SI *-st- < IE *-t-t- || WP II 242, P 715, Brtl. 1105-7, Horn 227, Vl. II 1260, Sg. 1365, Bai. 219, BM 549, Tr. 185, Frn. 459-60, En. 207, Vs. II 608, ≈ ESSJ XVIII 203-6, ≈ Glh. 415 || U *maːˈttV 'house, hut' > Chr: H {Rm.} † mæt, U mæt 'house, family' || Prm *mat-in, *mat-e 'near' > Vt, Z мѣтън matin locative adv. 'near', Z мѣтоє matz directive adv. 'near', Vt мату mate 'approximately' || UEW 269, LG 170, Rm. BT 84 || Sm {Jn.} *maːˈt 'tent, home' > Ne T mīˈ m'aː? / мид- m'aːd- id., Ne F L {Lh.} m'əˈaːt id., En {Ter.} mē? / mēδ-, Ng {Mik.} ma? (gen. maδə) id., Slq Tz {KKIH} moːˈt, Slq Tm {KD} maːd- id., Kms {KD} maː? (gen. maːdən), {Cs.} ma?d id., Koyb {Sp.} мѣтъ id., Mt {HL.} *maːt ~ *ma?n 'house, tent, home' (Mt T/M/K {Mll.} mat 'house, tent', {Sp.} мѣнь id., M {Pl.} мѣтъ 'house') || Jn. 90-1, Hl. M 304 || A *mVtˈV 'earth, place' > Ko: [1] *mut 'dry land' > MKo mut, NKO mut^h mut [2] ??? pKo {S} *mat^h 'place, enclosure, yard' (× A {DQA} *muˈgda 'bank, earth') > MKo maːt, maːt^h, NKO † mat (mat, mat^h), NKO matan madaŋ id. || S QK 238, 948, Nam 199, 206, 223, MLC 560, 578, 596, 685, S AJ 256 [#136] || pJ {S} *mita ~ *-u- 'earth' > J: Ns miːc'aː, Sh n̄ːc'aː, Ht n̄ːtaː, Y n̄ːtaː id. || S AJ 259 [#22], 270 [#122], S QJ #122 || S AJ 279 [#44], DQA #1357 (A *miːotˈi ~ *-u- 'land': J, Ko *mut), DQA #1358 (incl. Ko *mat^h) || D *matⁱ, {GS} *madⁱ 'field' > Kn madⁱ 'the bed of a garden, division of a field', Tl madⁱ 'field, garden bed', Knd marˈi 'paddy field' || D #4655 || D *t, for the expected *t has yet not been explained ♦ The cns. *y was lost in S and U (simplification of the cluster *yt, or monophthongization?), in D it was either lost or underwent *mt* (*yt, > *tⁱ).

1508. *m'ayˈt, V 'worm, larva, (?) small insect' > HS: C: EC {AD} *mitː- > Sml {R} mid, 'Würmchen in Wassepfützen', Sml N {Abr.} miːd̂ haːreːdaːd, Sml C {DSI, ZMO} mirahareːdaːd 'mosquito larvae (in water)', Or {Th.} mitːi 'ant', {Brl.} mitːi, {Grg.} mitːi 'tiny black ant', ? {Th., Brl.} minni 'tenia, verme solitario', Arr mīˈnne 'tapeworm' (< Or?) || AD SF 250, R SS II 287, Abr. S 179, ZMO 292, DSI 438, Th. 245-6, Brl. 305-6, Grg. 289, Hw. A 385 || Ch: CCh: Db {Lnh.} maːdaːd 'worm' || ECh: Kwn {Cp.} miːcˈc'aː, Mgm {JA} meːc'eːmeːc'eː 'termite' || ChC, JA 106 || K *matːl̄o- 'worm' (× *maːtːl̄o- 'worm' < *tːl̄o- 'to gnaw') > OG, G matːl̄i, Mg, Lz muntːur- 'worm', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln mæt 'worm (in fruit)' ({IS}: < *mutː < *matːw) || GM 82, K 129, ≈ K 117 (*maːtːl̄o- < *tːl̄o-), Schm. 123, TK 595, GP 223 || IE: NaIE *mat- (or *mot-) 'worm, larva' > Grm *maθa-n 'worm, larva' > Gt маѣа 'worm', OSx matho, OHG mado 'worm, maggot', NHG Made 'maggot, mite, worm', AS maða 'worm, maggot', NE moth; dim. ON маðkr 'maggot'; ? (from a d) MHG matte, motte, NHG Motte 'moth'; Gmc б→F mato 'worm, maggot', Es madu 'snake' || SI *motil'ь (~ *motul'ь) '∈ larva, ∈ insect' > Cz motyˈl 'Lepidoptera', Slk motyˈl '∈ a motley-winged insect', P motyl 'butterfly', R мотыль 'mosquito grub', dim. мотылек 'small butterfly', Uk мотиль id., Slv motuˈlj 'butterfly' || OI matkun.ah. 'bug', ?? Av маѣаха- 'grasshopper' || ?φ Arm mat'il mat'hil 'small louse' (unless from OZan, cp. pK *matːl̄o- 'worm') || EI 650 (*mat- ≈ 'worm, maggot, insect'), M K II 564-5 (no et. for matkun.ah.), Vr. 374, Fs. 349, Kb. 649, OsS 581, KM 452, 489-90, Ho. 216, ESSJ XX 82-6, SK 337, ≠ P 700 || A: T *mryt (*bryt) 'louse, vermin' > OT, MQp, MU, Chg bit 'louse', MQp XIII bit 'bug', OOSm {Zn., Bu.} †Bi ~ †yBi bit 'worm, vermin', Tk bit, Az, Tkm, Uz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq, Qrg bit, Nog biyt, VTt, Bsh бет бѣт, Alt b.iyt, Xk bit, Yk bit, Tv b.it, Tf b.iˈt, SY pisˈt, Slr bisˈt, Chv пѣраÄ pryda id., Ggz bit 'bug' || SY, Slr sˈ < *y (unvoiced before voiceless cns.). The back vw. i in Tv, Tf, Yk and Chv may be due to a final back vw. (vw. harmony) or to ds in front of y) || Cl. 296, ET B 151-2, TL 182, Bu. I 241, TvR 131, Ra. 73, Md. 75, 174 (*brˈtːV; suggests a positional lengthening of the vw. before *tˈ) ♦ IS II 77 s.v. *matːA (K, IE, C).

1509. *meytː, V 'to throw' > IE: NaIE *(s)meiːt-/met- 'throw, cast' > Av maeːθ- [*(s)meitˈ(h)-] 'send' ({Brtl.} 'mittere'), hamista- 'niedergeworfen, unterdrückt', {Bai.} 'change' (P: < *ham-, *hjmista-) || L mitt-o, -eːre 'send, let go', [Fest.] Γ co-smitt-eːre 'committere' || BSl *met- 'throw' > Blt: Lt meːsti (1s prs. metuː), Ltv mest (3s prs. met) 'throw, cast', Lt meːtis, Pru metis n. 'throw (Wurf)', Ltv meːts 'sketch, project, design', Pru pomests 'unterworfen', pomettewingi 'Untertan' || SI *met- (1s prs. *met-o-, inf. mesti) 'throw' (to distinguish from the homonymous verb *met- 'to sweep!') > Slv meːsti / meːtem, Cz † meːsti / metu, P miesˈcː, Slvz m'esc 'throw', OR мѣсти жреѣни mesti z'rebii 'to cast a lot'; d SI *meta- 'cast, fling, throw' > OCS метати metati / мѣж mesˈto, Slv meːtati / meːc'em, Uk мѣтати id., Cz metati, Slk metatˈ, P miotacˈ 'throw', R мѣтат- / мѣчу 'cast, fling', SCr meːtati / meːc'eːm 'put, throw'; SI *met-noː-ti mom. 'cast, fling, throw' > OCS метнѣти metnoːti, Cz metnouti, P miotnaːcˈ, R мѣтнѣт id., SCr meːtnuti 'put' || OFrs smīta 'to throw', MLG, MDt smītan, Dt smijten 'to throw, fling', NNR smīta, Dn smide 'to fling'; sd 'to smite' > MHG smīŌen, NHG schmeißen, NE smite || WP II 687-8, P 968, EI 582 (? *smeiːt- 'throw'), Brtl. 1105-6, 1778, Bai. 219, WH II 97-9, PF 67, Mul. 432, EM 407-8, Frn. 442-3, Kar. I 586, En. 210, 231, ≈ ESSJ XVIII 105-15, 120-1 (all of them do not recognize the connection between

*(s)mei₁-t- and BSL *met₁-), Hlq. 1003, Lx. 200, KM 603, Ho. 302, Vr. N 658-9 ¶¶ The variant stem *met₁- goes back to pre-IE *mi₁-et- (AD NGIE 17-9), so that the relation of *(s)mei₁-t- to *met₁- is that of Bn.'s "state I" to "state II" of IE roots (Schwebeablaut). This legitimate alternation removes the argument against the connection between the verb in BSL and that in L and Av II HS: B (+ ext.) *√md₁r ~ *√mt₁r (< *√mt₁r) 'throw' > Izn {Ds.} əmd₁ər (hab. mət₁t₁ər), {Rn.} əmd₁ər^d ənd₁ər, Mtm/BSlh {Ds.} əmt₁ər, Ntf {La.} ənt₁ər 'throw', Kb {Dl.} ənt₁ər 'jeter à terre', Gd {Lf.} end₁ər 'abattre, faire tomber' ¶ Lf. II #1100, Dl. 583-4, La. S 249, Ds. B 184 II A: AmTg *met₁- (~ *mut₁-?) v. 'throw, fling' > Ork m3t3- v. 'fling a stone', m3t3l(l)3- 'throw', m3t3tc₁i-, m3t3c₁c₁i- 'throw, throw away', Ul mutuka 'a sling (for casting stones)', ? Orc muc₁k3d3- ~ m3c₁k3d3- 'throw/bandy (objects from one to another)' (of several people) ¶ STM I 544 ¶ The vw. u of the first syll. in Ul and Orc may be due to the ass. infl. of m- II D *met₁- 'throw, cast (into an enclosed space)' > Gdb medd-, Mnd met₁- vt. 'plant', Png met₁- 'cast (as a fishing net), put in (e.g. rice into a pot)', Kui mespa- 'cast, put into', Ku met₁- 'throw, put inside' ¶¶ D #5067 ♦ Acc. to IS's hyp., the IE *s- mobile [here in *(s)mei₁-t-] is connected with palatal elements in the N root (here *y).

1510. ***mu₁wV₁** 'this, that', dem. prn. > HS: S *-m, determiner (≈ df. art.) in sg. forms (as well as in *-a₁-t- and *-u₁-t-pl.) of nomina > Ak -m, ending of st. r. in sg. (nom. -u-m / acc. -a-m / gen. -i-m), in m. pl. of adj. (nom. -u₁-t-u-m / acc.-gen. -u₁-t-i-m), in *-a₁-t-pl. [f. pl. of adj., pl. of f. nouns and some m. nouns] (nom. -a₁-t-u-m / acc.-gen. -a₁-t-i-m), Ar -n, ending of the st. idt. in sg. (nom. -u-n / acc. -a-n / gen. -i-n) and in -a₁-t-pl. (nom. -a₁-t-u-n / acc.-gen. -a₁-t-i-n) ¶ AD TPSL, Sd. G 3*-5* || Ch: WCh: traces of the determiner *-m in Hs mutum 'person' (÷ S *mut₁-u-m 'man') : Fy {J} mi₁ / mu₁ 'he' (preverbal subject prn. 3m), DfB {J} ma₁, Sha/Klr {J} ma₁ (genitival linker of 3m of the head noun), DfB ma₁, Sha mi₁, Klr mu₁ (genitival linker of 3p), Sha m. ma₁ / f. mu₁ 'this', pl. mi₁ 'these', m. ma-no₁ / f. mu₁-no₁ / pl. mi₁-no₁ 'that/those' visible, m. mu₁no₁ / f. mu₁no₁ / pl. mi₁no₁ 'that/those' invisible : Su {J} mō₁, Ang {J} mwa₁ 'they' (aut. prn.), Ang mwa₁ [with ip.] / mwa₁ [with pfc.] / mwa₁ [with ft. and sbjn.] 'they' (subject prn.), Cp mu 'they' (aut. prn.), Cp mumu₁, Mnt mō₁ 'they' (subject prn.), Cp {ChL} misi₁ 'this', Gmy {Kr.} mwip 'their', mwipa 'them' : Tng {J} mō₁, mō₁ id., Dr {ChL} me₁ 'this', me₁ 'that', Pr {Frz.} -mu₁ and -mo₁ (dem. pronouns), Bl ma₁te₁ 'they' (aut. and subj. prn.) : Kir {ChL} mi₁ni₁ 'this', mono₁ 'that', Zal {ChL} muntu (mu₁ntu₁?) 'this', mu₁nta₁ 'that' : Buli {ChL} minna 'this' : Bd {ChL} m₁c₁o₁ 'this', m₁c₁i₁yu₁ 'that' : ? CCh: FIB {Kr.} mi₁z₁i(tu) 'they', Boka {Kr.} mul-lan 'he' ¶ ChL, PorS 375-81, J R 370-1, 414, J T 121, Kr. RChP 80, 85, 93-4, Frz. P 42 II K *ma- (< ≈ **mwa-) 'he, she' > OG ma- id.: erg. ma-n, gen. m-is, dat. ma-s (ma-n hrkua ma-s 'he told her'), G ma-, Mg mu 'he, himself', Lz mu-k 'he', pK *a-ma 'this' (hic-deictic *a + *ma-) > G ama-/am-, Lz (h)amu-k id., Mg amu- (in compound adverbs), Sv: LB {TK} ami, LSv {TK} ame 'this', Sv UP/L amən, L aman, UP/L amis 'to this', UB/L ams'a ~ amis' 'of this', amaw 'till here, up to now', pK *i-ma- 'that' > OG, G -i-ma- (erg. i-ma-n, dat. i-ma-s), Lz (h)i-mu, Mg i-mu- (in cds : imu-dyas 'in that day', t-imu-seri 'in that night'), Sv i-m- in Sv {K} i-m-eg 'there' ¶ K 44, 101-2, 124, K² 2-3, 81, 112-3, FS K 206, FS E 226-7, Q 2, TK 40, GP US 47, GP 44-5, Dn. s.v. am, ame, ami II U: FU *mu₁- 'other, that (jener)' > F, Es muu '(an)other' : pLp *nu-mbe₁- 'the other (of two), other' (dis < **mu-mbe₁- with the sx. of cmpr. *-mbe₁-) > Lp: N {N} nub₁be / -bb- 'one (of two), the other, another, the second', L {LLO} nubbe₁ 'the second, another, the other, T {TI} num:p(ε), Kld {TI} num:p₁ 'the second' : Chr: Н μόлы μόλ 'other things', μόλο 'still, more (noch)', L μόλο molo, Uf/B molo '(an)other' : Prm: [1] *mo₁-d ({LG} *mo₁-d) '(an)other' > Vt мѣд mid, Yz 'mu₁d id., Z мѣд m3d 'the second, (an)other'; [2] *mu-ked 'other, (all) the other [pl.]' > Vt мукет muket 'other', Z мукоед muk3d 'another, different' : ObU {Ht.} *mi₁-/*ma₁- > pVg *ma₁-t-/*mi₁-t- 'another, strange (fremder)' > Vg: T ma₁-t, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/LL/UL mo₁-t, Ss mō₁-t 'strange (fremder), other, the second'; T ma₁-t, LK ma₁-t, MK/UK m3t 'a stranger'; pOs {Ht.} *makay- 'earlier' > Ty/Y ma₁qi, D/K/Nz ma₁χα, Kz ma₁χα, mo₁χα id.; another Os stem: Os O {Páp.} mo₁χα- (attested: pl. mo₁χət) 'jene; other people', Kz f {Stn.} mō₁χαḥ 'much', {Páp.} mo₁χol 'more, other' : OHg ma 'now', Hg ma 'today'; OHg ma's '(the) other, next', Hg ma's 'other, another', OHg ma'sod 'the second, next, other', Hg ma'sodik 'the second' ¶ Coll. 100, UEW 281-2, TI 287, MRS 329, Ep. 70, LG 175, 177, Ht. #376, Stn. D 902, 904, MF 424-5, EWU 917, 941-4 II A *bu₁- (< **mu₁-) / obl. *mu₁-n- > T *bu₁- / obl. *mu₁-n- 'this' > OT bu₁- / obl. mun- ~ bun- 'this', Bdot bo₁- / obl. mun- ~ mu₁-n-, MQp XIII bu / obl. mu₁-n-, Tkm bu₁- / obl. mun-, Tk bu / obl. bun-, Az, CrTt, Kr, Uz bu / obl. bun-, VTt by bu / obl. мѣн- m3n-, SbTt B pu- / obl. mun-, Qmq bu / obl. mun-, Qzq bu₁l (x ol 'that') / obl. bu₁-n-, Qrg, ET bu(l) / obl. mun-, StAlt bu / obl. min-, Tv bo / acc. mon-u / dat. maga₁- / gen. mo₁-ḡ, Xk pu / obl. min-, Yk bu / obl. man- ¶ Cl. 291-2, ET B 225-8 || M *mo₁-u₁-n (~ mu₁-n?) 'this/that same' > MM [HI] {Ms.} mu₁-n 'celui-là. ceci même, cela même' (pl. mu₁-t [mu₁-d]), [S, PP] mun 'he, himself, the same one' (pl. [S] mut, [PP] mud), WrM mo₁-n, HIM M H 'real, the very same', Ord {Ms.} mo₁-n 'the very same' (marking the identity), 'that in question', 'precisely', WrO {Krg.} mo₁-n 'is, are, is indeed, namely', Brt M₁H 'real, true; is', Kl M₁H mo₁-n id., 'truly, really', MMgl [Z] muna 'this', muta 'that' ¶ Ms. H 76, H 111-2, MED 547, KRS 357, Chr. 306, Ms. O 469, Krg. 605, Iw. 117 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *mV 'this, that') ¶¶ Altaic *b- < *m- (reg. in monosyllabic stems without other nasal cnss.); in the obl. cases *m- survived due to the presence of *-n-; in M *m- was generalized throughout the case paradigm II ?? IE: NaIE: Crn -ma encl. (→ sx.) 'this', W yma 'here, this', Br ma(n-) 'this' ¶ ECCE 267, YGM-1 43, Hm. 545, LP § 367.2 ¶ LP 272 ♦ IS II 70-1 (*mu, dem. prn.: K, U, A, ?HS, ?IE). In spite of the long vw. in U and A, IS preferred to reconstruct a monosyllabic etymon, because a

bisyllabic form "would have contradicted the typical monosyllabic structure of the non-autosemantic stems [незнаменательные основы]". In fact, the monosyllabicity of pronouns and other non-lexical words in the attested lgs. is not necessarily due to their original shape, but often to the universal diachronic tendency of their shortening (e.g. L *ecce iste* > Fr *ce*, L *illo-rum* > F *leur*, Sl **azъ* > R *я* 'I', AS *to-weard* > NE *toward* [toˈd], pS **s'uʔa* > BHb and Ar *hu* 'he', etc.). In the light of the extant ev., IS was right in supposing that this prn. did not take part in the distance opposition *hic* ↔ *ille*, so that the *hic*-deixis of the prn. in T and the *ille*-deixis in FU must have developed within these daughter lgs. due to the opposition to other dem. pronouns.

1511. ***mojV** 'give, give back, restore' > IE: NaIE **mei*₂- 'exchange' > OI Ep *ni-mayate* 'exchanges', Vd *mi-na-ti* id. || Ltv *mi*^h-t (prs. *mi*^hju) 'to (ex)change' || Possibly (but not necessarily) d **moi*₂-no- 'exchange' > Lt *mai*^h-nas, Ltc *mains* id., Sl **me*^hna n. 'exchange' > OCS, OR *мѣна* *me*^hna, R *мѣна*, Blg {Ger.} *мѣна* > *ме*^hна ~ *м* SCr *ме*^hна ^d *mije*^hna, Sln *me*^hna, Cz *me*^hba, Slk *mena*, P *miana* || Not here Gk *ἀμειβω* v. 'change, exchange' (see N ***mikU** 'bring, give in exchange') || WP II 240-1, P 710, M K II 635-6, ≈ M E II 314-5 (adduces Gk *ἀμειβω* and reconstructs IE **h*₂*mei*₂-), Frn. 395-7, Bern. II 59, ESSJ XVIII 171-4, Glh. 408-9, F I 90 || This N word may underlie the IE postposition **mV* 'to' (dative), preserved [1] in the NaIE ending of dative pl. *-*mus* (reconstructed so by Bks. after Kortl.) > Gmc *-*mus* (> Gt *broþru-m* 'to brothers', *gibo-m* 'to gifts, talents'), BSl *-*mus* (> Lt *dukterī*-ms 'to daughters', OCS *matere-mъ* 'to mothers', Lt *raso*^hms, OCS *rosamъ* 'to dew' [pl.]), as well as in pronominal endings: Lt *tī* ems, OCS *te*^hmъ, Gt *þaim* 'to those', Lt *jums*, OCS *vamъ* 'vobis' dat., [2] in the NaIE ending of dative du. *-*me*^hoH (?) > Lt *vilka-m*, OCS *vľko-ma* 'to two wolves'; the elements *-s in *-*mus* and *-H in *-*me*^hoH (?) are number markers (*-s of pl., *-H of du.) || Bks. OIENI 143-6, Kortl. SA 50, Bks. CIEL 173-91, 204-8, Brg. KVG 386-99, 404-6 || D (in SD) **moy*- 'present(s), gift, requital' > Tm *moy* 'presents', Knd *moy* 'contribution', Kn *muy(i)* 'requital', Tu *muyi* 'gift at a wedding' || D #5121 || HS: WCh: Hs *ma'y da* 'give back, put back, restore' (da 'with'), Cg {Sk.} *ma*^h- 'sell' || Ba. 748, Abr. H 638-9, ChC.

1512. ?₂ ***mujoyV** 'touch, feel (by sense of touch)' > HS: S *^o/myw/ > Jb C /myw/ (pf. 'mi, sbjn. 'yme, ip. 'i'mi) 'touch' || Jo. J 177 || U: FU **mujoya* 'touch, feel' > Vp *muya*- 'touch, feel by touch, taste', Krl A {Gn.} *muya*- v. 'taste', F d *muista*- 'remember, call to one's mind, think of', Es d *mo*^h-ista- 'understand, conceive, realize, see', Lv d *mo*^h-i^h-stъ ({{Ktn.} *mo*^h-i^h-stā) 'verstehen, merken' || Er *mye-mc* *muye*-ms, Mk *my-mc* *mu*-ms 'to find' || Chr: L, U *mua*-, H *moa*- id. || Prm **mod*^h > Z *мйд* *moyd*, Prmk *mod*^h 'fairy' tale', Vt N *мад*- *mad*^h 'song', Vt S *мад*^h 'proverb' || Os: V *muywəti*, D *moyəptə*, Nz *mu'yəptə* 'riddle' || ? OHG d *mut*- 'show, indicate', *mutat*- 'indicate, let see, show', Hg d *mutat*-, Δ *mu'tat*- vt. show' || Coll. 99-100, It. #190, UEW 284, ZM 335, Ktn. 232, ERV 393, PI 169, MRS 326, 332-3, LG 173, MF 453-4, EWU 1007 ♦ *Qu.*, because it is isolated in HS.

1513. ?₂ ***mVjV** 'come' or 'go, pass' > HS: Eg *∇ my* 'come!' inv. || EG II 35 || Ch: WCh: Dr {Nw.} *ma*^hi₂, Pr {Frz.} *me*^h- vi. 'return', Bl {OS <-?} *ma*^h id. || CCh: Mrg {ChL} *məy*, Wmd {ChL} *ma*^hy 'go' || Gzg {Lk.} *me* 'dorthin zurückkehren' || Ms {ChL} *mai*₂- 'come', {Caît.} *m*₂a id. (ka'ma't na'n ma'y' mu'l'ku' 'yesterday I came to Mulku'), ZmD {KNC} *mbu*^h- 'come', Azm {Pc.} *mbeya* inv. 'come!', msd. *mba'd* a 'to come' || Nw. KL 129, Frz. P 41, ChL, ChC, Lk. G 128, Caît. 118, KNC 18, Pc. 285, 288 || ?? EC **amV* 'come!' inv. (unless < **a-mVt* < d **mVt*- 'come') > Sa {R} -*maw*- 'kommen, anlangen' (2s inv. a'mo^h-, 2p a'ma^h-w-a^h), Af am 'come!' 2s inv., Brj 'a^h-mu id. (2p 'a^h-me), Sd 'amu id. (2p 'a^h-mme), Ged 'amo (2p 'a^h-mme), Alb 'ami (2p 'a^h-mmehe), Kmb *ami* (2p *amme*) || R S II 277, PH 96, Ss. B 21, Hd. 43 || OS #1752 (Ch, EC + Eg *nmy* 'go'; mentions Arr *maye* 'come', not confirmed by Hw. A and other available sources; pHS **may* 'come, go') || IE: NaIE **mei*₂- 'go, pass', {EI} **mei*₂-H- > L *mea*^h- (1s prs. *meo*^h-, inf. *mea*^h-re) id., 'wander' || Sl **mьja*₂-ti 'go/pass by' > OCz *mi*^h-je'ti, Cz *mi*^h-jeti, P *mija*^h- id., Slk Δ *mi*^h-jam sa 1s; -d> Sl **mi*^h-no^h,-ti (1s prs. **mi*^h-no^h,-) 'go/pass by, elapse' > OCS *минѣти* *mino*^h-ti 'transire, praeire', SCr *mi*^h-nuti, Slv *mini*^h-ti 'go/pass by, finish', OCz *minu*^h-ti, Cz *minouti*, P *mina*^h-c', R *минут*-, *мино*^h-ват- 'pass by, elapse', Slk *minut*^h id., 'spend'; P *mija*^h-c' 'pass by'; -d> (with the sx. *-mo) Sl **mimo* adv.\prep. 'past, by (vorbei, praeiter)' > OCS *мимо* *mimo*, Blg †, R *мимо*, SCr *mi*^h-mo, Slv *mi*^h-mo ~ *mi*^h-mo, Cz *mimo* ~ *mi*^h-mo, P *mimo* || AdS of L *mino*^h-, -a^h-re vt. 'drive (cattle)' (< N ***mene** 'walk, go', q.v. ffd.), which explains L -i- || P 710, EI 228 (**mei*₂-H- / prs. **mineh*₂- ~ *mei*₂-Heh₂- 'go'), WH II 73, EM 398-9, Bern. II 59, ESSJ XIX 31, 50-3, Vs. II 622, 624, Glh. 41.

1514. ***maXyV** 'to lose force, weaken, disappear, be worn out' > HS: S: [1] *^o/mh/ > Ar /mh/ G 'be worn out' (of garment); ? [2] WS *^o/mh/ > BHB ehm /mh/ G 'wipe out', JA [Trg.] /mh/ id., 'blot out', Ph /mh/ 'efface', Ar /mh/ (pf. 'haMa maḥa') 'efface, be effaced', {Fr.} 'delevit, oblitteravit', Ug /mh/ {OLS} G vt. 'clean, efface (limpiar, borrar)', ?σ Gz /mh/ G 'uproot, pluck out'; but hardly here Ak {Sd.} *ma*^h-u^h 'wegstoßen (?)' (Ak -a- rules out S *^h) || Fr. IV 142, 156, BK II 1066, 1071, Ln. 3018, KB 537-8, HJ 612-3, Js. 759-60, Lv. T II 24-5, Sd. 637, OLS 268, ≈ A #154, L G 337 || IE **me*^hi₂- > NaIE **ma*^h-o^h-(i₂)- 'be/make tired/exhausted' > Gmc: Gt *af-mauips** (att. nom. pl. *af-mauidai*) 'ἐκλυομένο', {Fs.} 'ermüdet' (pp. of **af-mojan* 'to tire out'), OHG *muo*-en vt. labour, urge, tire out' ('anstrengen, bedrängen, abmühen'), NHG *sich mu*^h-hen 'take pains/trouble (about sth.)', d : ON *mo*^h-ðr, Dn, NNr *mod*, OSx *mo*^h-thi, MDt *moede*, muede, OHG *muodi*, NHG *mu*^h-de 'tired, exhausted', AS {BosT} *me*^h-ðe 'weary' || Sl **maja*-ti 'to linger, tire out, make suffer' > R Δ

'**MAIT**' 'to tire out, torment', R '**MAIT**-CJ' 'to suffer, languish', Blg '**MAI** v. 'linger' ¶ Fs. 9, Kb. 703, OsS 627, Schz. 216, KM 491, Vr. 391, BosT 682, ≈ ESSJ XVII 132-4 (against distinction between the above Sl verb and Sl *majati 'wave, swing') II A {IS} *mayV- 'weaken, disappear, vanish' > T ***ma**i:~y- ({DQA} *bAn'i) [× T *bayi- v. 'set' (of heavenly bodies) < N ***wayHV** 'to descend; below?'] > Qzq may- 'be exhausted/weak', Qrg mayi- 'be damaged', Osm {Rl.} æmyY'B bayi-(maq), Kr/Qzq {Rl.} bayi- 'elapse, pass away (vergehen)', VTt {Rl.} bayъ- id., OT mayisъ- (coop. of *may-) ≈ 'collapse', mayil- (ps. of *may-) 'be over-ripe, go bad' (of fruit), Tk bayil- vi. 'faint, swoon (away)', Kr {Rl.} mayisъ- 'collapse', Chg mayruq 'weak, meager', Shor/Sg/Qc/Qb {Rl.} mayiq 'matt, müde, mager', Sg/Qrg {Rl.} mayiq- 'ermüden, ermatten', StXk {BIG} mayıx- 'get tired, exhausted, lose force', mayıl- 'get tired', Qc/Sg/Qb/Qz {Rl.} mayıl- id., 'schwach/mager werden', Sg {Rl.} mayan 'welk, unbeholfen, langsam', StXk mayın 'weak, languid', Qzq maymaq 'clumsy', maymāda- v. 'hobble, toddle, stumble along'; a T lge. (Xk?) -b> Mt {Hl.} *mayə- 'get tired' (Mt M {Sp.} **MAI** MB 'got tired') (unless an inherited Sm word) ¶ Cl. 772-3, Rl. IV 1468-9, 1986, 2011, 2014-5, BIG 101, Sht. 139, MM 233, Rkh. 338, Hl. M #634 || Tg *maya- 'disappear' > Ork maya- 'fail to be caught, disappear' (of game/animals in hunting), Ewk, Neg maya-, Lm may-, Nn Nh man'a- id., 'be unsuccessful', Orc maymaki 'there us not, is absent', WrMc maya- 'disappear', 'be past' (of danger) ¶ STM I 521 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1237 (A *maya 'to miss, fail; bad luck'; incl. T, Tg) II D *ma-yV- 'disappear, vanish' > Tm ma'y id., 'hide, be annihilated, die', Ml ma'yuka 'grow dim, vanish', Kt ma'ym, Kdg ma'yaⁿ, Tu ma'ya 'disappearance', Kt ma'n3- 'disappear' (of menstruation in menopause), 'keep secret', Td mo'3- 'hide (information, secret)', Kn ma-y- 'be hidden, disappear, pass away', Tu ma'yuni 'be extinguished, evaporate', Tl ma-yu 'be destroyed, perish', Prj ma-y-, Gdb ma-yu(g)- 'get lost, disappear', Gnd ma-y- 'be lost', Knd ma'ya 'vanishing, disappearing suddenly' ¶¶ D #4814 II ? U ≈ *mayV 'suffer' > FU: Er майсе- may-s'e- 'suffer, languish, lose time (**мучит-сѡ**, **маѡт-сѡ**, **проводит-времѡ даром**)' (hab. of *may-) ; Z may-isъ in ds : майыт- mayisъt- vt. 'grieve, cause distress', майыс- may'sasъ- 'worry' || Sm {Hl.} {Jn.} *ma'ya- (= {Hl.} *maya-) -dъ *ma'ya-ta- 'make suffer, grieve, cause trouble, kill' > Ne: T mayađa-, T O {Lh.} ma'ye-đa- 'he killed', StNe T **MAI**дpуѡ 'having been tortured, having suffered (from so. strong/mighty); *ma'ya-ntъ- > Ne T **MAI**ндo- vi. 'suffer, be in distress', En maedo 'suffer (**мучит-сѡ**)'; *ma'ya-kko- > En maeku- 'make suffer', *ma'ya-ŋ > Ne T **MAI**ъ / **MAI**-, En mae 'trouble, suffering', Ne F {Lh.} ma-y-a kommi- 'he suffered' (lit. 'found suffering'), En mayan-, mayam- 'be tormented, suffer from an accident'; i ÷ Mt {Hl.} *mayə- 'get tired' (a loan from T, see above) ¶ LG 169, ERV 358, PI 154, TmK 407-8, SZ 215-6, Ter. 245-7, Lh. 250, SamEMGU, Hl. M 299 [#634] ◆ IS III 48-52 (with further details about the reflexes in the IE and A lgs.) [*maHyA: IE, U, A, D; et. and rec. proposed by the editors of IS III].

1515. ? ≈ ***meXaz**^V 'male' > HS: S *^o/mh3d 'young man' > Gz m1Q maħaza- 'young man, adolescent, lover', Tgy m1Q meħaza 'one of the same age', Har m3ħ3z meħa'k, 'best man in a wedding' ¶ L G 338, CS 121 || WCh {Stl.} *mi3'i 'man (vir), husband' > Hs mi'3'i (pl. ma'za-') 'husband', Gw {Mts.} mi'3'i (pl. ma3'a) 'male' ; Su {J} misъ, Gmy {ChL} mi's, Cp {ChL} mis, Tal {ChC} [in cds] mi's 'man (vir)' ; BT: Krkr {Lk.} m3'zi, Ngm {ChL} mi'zi 'man (vir)', Bele mi'hi (pl.mu'ha), Glm mi' mu's'i (pl. m3's'3'na), Gera {Sch.} mi'zi (pl. ma'zi ni), Krf {Sch.} mi'3'3'i, Grm {Sch.} mi'3'i id., 'husband' ; Ngz {Sch.} mi'si'k (pl. mi'sa'ski'n) 'husband' ¶ Stl. ZCh 232 [#799], ChC, ChL, Ba. 791, Sch. BTL 30, 57, 86, 148, Sch. DN 106 II IE ≈ *^omehs / *^omHs- > NaIE *ma's / *mäs- > L ma's (gen. ma'r-is) adj./n. 'male' ¶ WH II 46-7, EM 388 II U: FU (att. in BF) *me'ss'e 'man (vir)' > F mies / gen. miehen, Es mees / gen. mehe, Krl mīesъ / mīehe-, Lv mi'e, z id. ¶ UEW 866-7, ≈ Coll. 99, ≈ SK 345, Kt. 223 II D *ma'c > Klm ma's 'man, husband', Nk ma's 'man', Knd ma'si 'husband' ¶¶ D #4791 ◆ IE *s is likely to result from devoicing of the original voiced sibilant under the ass. infl. of *χh.

1516. ***m'E**χaz^V '∈ berry, fruit' > K: GZ *mχal- 'vegetables' > OG mχal-i, G mχal-i ~ pχal-i 'greens', Mg χul-i {FS K²} '∈ a kind of vegetables' ('ertgvari mxali'), {Q} 'greens, swede', {FS E} 'Futerrübe' ¶ K 143, Q 407, FS E 254-, FS K² 346 II U *mo3ez^V > FU {ðSm.} *mez'i, {UEW} *moz^V '∈ berry of some bush' > Chr H муды мудъ, Chr L/Uf модо модо 'bilberries' ; Prm {LG} *mol'i ({Lt.} *mo'li) 'berry, stone of a fruit' > Vt мул-ы 'stone of a fruit', Vt Sr mul'i, Vt Kz mol'3 'berry, nut', Z n'ur-mol' 'cranberries' (n'ur 'swamp'), mol' 'button, stone of a fruit', Yz tar-'mul'i 'cranberries' ; pOs *wi'r-mal' 'red-currant' (*wi'r 'blood') > Os: Ty wirməł', D we'rməł', Kz wu'rməł' ; Hg me'ggı 'morello cherry (Prunus cerasus) || pY {IN} *mal'- > Y K mal'-3'ə 'cloud-berries' (-3'ə is a nominal sx.) ¶¶ If we reconstruct FU *mez^V, it involves labialization of the vw. in Chr (due to *m-), while FU *moz^V presupposes ass. palatalization in Ugr (due to the following palatal *z') ¶¶ UEW 279, Coll. 98, Sm. 545 (FU, FP *med'i, Ugr *mid'i'), Ep. 72, MRS 327, 333, Ü 120, LG 173-4, Lt. 53-4, Ht. #706, IN 233, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#77] (Y <b- U) II A: Tg *mile-kte ~ (?) *mol'i'-kte 'ashberry' > Ewk Z molikta, Neg miktan, Ul/Ork mil3kt3, Ork mikt3 ~ mitt3 id. ¶ STM I 536 || T ***mele**(l) 'ashberry' > VTt мѡлѡш милъсъ, StAlt bele, QK pele, Tkm {AB} мѡлѡшid.; VTt Δ *bilъсъ -b> Chv пѡлѡшipesъ ¶ Jeg. 160, RAltS 672, Bask. DLT 187, Rl. IV 2159 || M *moyil 'bird-cherry' ({DQA}: regularly from *molil-) > WrM moil, HlM, Brt мѡйл id., Kl Ö {Rm.} mo'' id., 'bird-cherry tree' ¶ MED 542, Chr. 298, KW 267 ¶¶ S CNM 11 (suggested to adduce T), DQA #1277 (A *me'lu '∈ berry') II IE *mexl- > NaIE *ma'l- 'apple' > L ma'lum id. (-b> Al molle'' id.), ma'lus 'apple tree' ; Gk μη'λον, Gk D μα'λον || Ht mahla 'branch of a grapevine \ apple (?)' ¶ WP II 296, EI 25-6

(*meh₂lom 'apple'), WH II 18-9, EM 381 (L <b- Gk), Ch. 694, F II 226 (all of them suppose that the word *ma¹- is a loan from an unknown source), Mn. 730, O 272, CHD L-N 112-3, Ts. W 49.

1517. ***miz¹wjV-(kV)** 'to mix, stir' > HS: [1] S *^o-mīs¹- > Ar ip. -mīs¹u (pf. >a'Ma ma¹s¹a) 'mix (sth. with sth.)' ¶ || B *^o/msy ({}Pr.) *^o-msuy > Ah əmsi / pf. imsə¹i₁ 'mix (fresh milk with sour milk)' (Fcj. 32, Pcj. I A 1), Ty əmsəy 'mix (mélanger)' ¶ Fc. 1249, 2002 (on conj. 32), Pr. M VI-VII 86, GhA 133 ¶ [2] CS (or WS?) *^o/ms¹g ~ *^o/mzg ~ *^o/msk 'mix' > Ar Δ4M ^o/ms¹g¹ (pf. Δa4aMa mas¹ag¹a, ip. -ms¹ug¹u) 'mix, confuse', ÔzM ^o/mzg¹ (pf. mazag¹a, ip. -mzug¹u) 'mingle (a liquid) with', IA ^o/mzg G 'mix', MHb, JA [Trg.] ^o/mzg G 'mix (esp. mix wine with water/spices, temper)', JEA ^o/mzg G 'mix, dilute', MHb ^o/mzg 'pour (liquid)', Sr ^o/mzg G (pf. ©zəp mə¹zag₁, f. mzug₁) 'mix (esp. wine with water), mingle, blend, temper', Md ^o/mzg G 'mix, combine', BHb gz#m3 'mēzeg₁ 'mixed wine, spiced wine', MHb gz#m3 'mēzeg₁ 'mixture', JA [Trg.] aG1z¹m5 miz¹g-a¹ 'mixture, mixed wine\drink', Sr '©ozəp məza¹g₁-a¹ 'a mixture, a drink, wine & water', Md mzaga 'mixing, mixture', Ug msk v. 'mix', BHb ^o/msk G 'mix, poduce by mixing', K6x3m3 'mēsēk₁ 'mixture, admixture of spices', MHb ^o/msk v. 'temper, mix wine; cast metal'; ? Tgy {CS} ^o/msg¹ G (pf. 'mēsēg¹u) 'oignit de beurre frais la tête; enduisit sa tête\chevelure d'une couche graisse' ('anoint' ← 'pour liquid' ← 'mix'); S > Cpt: Sd мовѣх музѣ, B мовѣх музѣ, P мовѣх музѣ vt., vi. 'mix' and possibly DEg m3g '€ vessel (carter?)' ¶ S *s¹g < *z¹g < as *z¹k; S *zg ~ *sk < *zg ~ *ck < as *zk < *z¹k; the delabialization *z¹ > *z may be due to positional factors or to the infl. of a different ^o/A #1611, OLS 295, BK II 1098-9, 1109, Hv. 718, 721, HJ 608, KB 535, 572, BDB 587, Js. 752-3, 807, Lv. T II 19, Sl. 651-2, JPS 261, DM 263, Frnk. 172 (Ar <b- Aram), CS 139-40, Vc. 133, Er. 195 || B *^o/msk 'mix' > Gd əmsək id. ¶ Lf. II #1037 II IE: NaIE *misg¹- / *mei₁sg¹- 'mix' (> as *misk¹- / *mei₁sk¹-) ~ mt *mei₁g¹s- ~ *mei₁g¹- (zero < *Z?) > OI miks₁- 'mix': prs. me¹k's, ayati 'stirs up, mixes, mingles', mis¹'rah, 'mixed, mingled, blended', mis¹rayati 'mixes, mingles, blends, combines', Av minas¹ti 'mixes', mya¹sa¹te¹ 'they mix' (vi.), MPrs hamistak 'mixed' || Gk με¹γνυ¹μι ~ μι¹γνυ¹μι 'I mix' (aor. ps. ἐ¹μι¹γην), μι¹σγω 'I mix' || L misce-¹ / misce¹-re / miscui / mixtum 'to mix' || OIr mesc- v. 'mix, dip in', W mysgu, Crn mysky, MBr mesca, meski, Br meskan¹ 'to mix' || WGmc *miskan (<b- L??) > OHG misken, MLG, NHG mischen, AS misc¹ian 'to mix', NE mix || Lt mie¹s¹-ti 'to dilute', mi¹s¹ras 'mixed', mis¹raine¹ 'salad', mais¹y¹ti / mais¹au¹ 'stir, agitate' (→ 'hinder'), Ltv mā¹is¹ti¹ 'to mix, stir', mistrs 'medley, hotch-potch', Pru maysotan : "gemenget" 'mixed' || Sl *me¹s¹i¹-ti / prs. *me¹s¹-o¹, 'mix, stir' > OCS мѣсити mesiti / мѣшѣ ме¹s¹o¹, Blg 'мѣсѣ, SCR мѣсити / мѣсим¹ d mije¹siti / mije¹sīm, Slv me¹siti, OCz miesiti, Cz mī¹siti, Slk miesit¹, P miesic¹ / miesze¹, R мѣсити / † мѣшу, Uk мѣсити id.; d *me¹s¹a¹ti id. > OCS мѣшати ме¹s¹ati, SCR мѣшати d mije¹s¹ati, Slv me¹s¹ati, Slk mies¹at¹, P mieszac¹, R мѣшати, the latter Sl verb means also 'to hinder' (← 'to mix?') ¶ WP II 244-5, P 714, ≈ EI 394 (*meik¹-, *meik¹-sk¹e/o-), M K II 632-3, M E II 373-4, Brtl. 1190, F II 192-3, WH II 95-6, Vn. M 42, Ern. 409, Ho. 223, Kb. 689, OsS 612-3, KM 480-1, Frn. 431-2, Tr. 175, En. 207, ESSJH XVIII 199-201, 210-7, Vs. II 606-7, 615, Glh. 409 II A: T *bil¹- ~ *bil¹- 'stir up (milk, butter)' > Qrg bis¹-, Bsh bās¹-, Qzq pi¹s-, Qq pis-, Alt, Tv b¹is¹- 'stir', SbTt пѣшъ pās¹- 'churn' ¶ ET B 309-10, Tm. 173 || Tg *melbi- v. 'row' > Ul, Nn m3lbi- id., WrMc v. 'row, boat by rowing'; > Tg *melbi-ken, ? *m3lbun 'short oar (for noiseless rowing during the hunt)' > Ewk m3lbik3, Neg m3lbix3n, Orc m3bbu(ku), Ud {STM, Krm.} m3g(b)u, {Shn.} m3(l)bu, Ul m3lbik3(n-), m3lbu(n-), Ork m3lbi, Nn m3lbiz¹, melbi₁3k3¹, WrMc melbiku id. ¶ STM I 566, Krm. 263-4 || ?φpJ {S} *ma¹nsi¹-(p) v. 'mix' > OJ ma¹zi¹pa-, ma3a-, J: T ma3¹ie¹-, ma3e¹-, K ma¹zi¹e¹-, ma¹ze¹-, Kg ma3¹ie¹-, ma¹ze¹- ¶ S QJ #940, Mr. 722 ¶ pJ *-a- is still to be elucidated ¶ DQA #1275 (A *me¹-i¹bpa 'to stir up, помешиват¹': Tg. J) II ?σD *micuk-, {GS} *mis- 'stir, move from position' > Kn misuku 'move, stir, quiver', Td mix- vi. 'move slightly upward from position, budge', Kt mick- 'yield to importunity' (for semantic cf. Lt and Sl), Tu misku- 'move, venture; interfere with, meddle', Tl misiku v. 'move' ¶ D *-c- seems to go back to a devoiced N affricate (positional devoicing?) ¶ D #4839, Km. 461, GS 42 [#82] > An alt. rec.: ***mic¹V-(kV)**; it does not explain the voiced *z in S *^o/mzg and the IE variant stem *mei₁g¹-. On the other hand, D *-c- < N *-z¹- has not yet been established as a reg. reflex. D *-u- and A *-b- suggest the presence of N *w.

1518. ***miz¹ØV** 'sheep, goat' > HS: S *mVz¹- > Ar ma3z¹- 'sheep and goats', mi3z-at¹ 'she-goat', ma¹3iz¹- 'billy-goat' || B: SrSn {Rn.} i-mz₁i 'kid (chevreau)' (× *^o/mz₁y > SrSn məz₁z₁ey 'jeune, petit') ¶ Rn. 386 II IE: NaIE *^omo3ai₁so-s 'sheep' (× *^omo3ai₁so-s 'hide, fleece' < N ***me3is¹V** 'hide', (→) 'clothes' [q.v.]) > OI me¹s¹a-h. 'ram', Av mae¹s¹a- m., mae¹s¹i¹- f. 'sheep', CINPrs ɕyM me¹s¹, NPrs ɕyM mis¹ 'sheep, ram'; Ary > FU (att. in FP) *mes¹V 'sheep, ram, bock' > Chr L/U mə3 mez¹, Chr H miz¹ 'wool of sheep and goats', Z mez¹ 'ram', {W} 'sheep' (the Chr word is not an inherited cognate, because in an inherited word we have to expect the vw. ь < pFU *e; in Z mez¹ the cns. z¹ may be explained only if the word is a loan) || ? Ht maista- ≈ bale of wool' ¶ The pIE lr. was lost in prevoc. position ¶ WP II 303, P 747, ≈ EI 511 (*moi₁so-s 'ram, sheep'; no distinction from *moi₁so-s 'fleece, hide' < N ***me3is¹V** 'hide'), M K II 689, M E II 380, Horn 226, Vl. II 1255, Sg. 1362, Tr. 165, UEW 703, LG 171, MRS 320, 323, Ep. 70.

1519. ***mu3iVjV** 'fist, fingers; to squeeze\hit with a fist, give a blow of the fist on the head' > K: [1] GZ *m3¹iy- 'fist' > OG m3¹iy- 'fist' (an old loan from Zan?), eNG [SSO] m3iy- 'fist', Mg 3¹iy-, Lz m3¹iy-, n3¹iy- 'fist, handful' ¶ [2] K *mz¹yw- 'press, squeeze, crumble' > Sv {FS} -mz¹y- (msd. li-mz¹y-une) id., G R -mzyvl- {K} 'break': {Chx.} inf. da-mzyv-l-eba vt.

'zerreißen' ¶ K 142, K² 122, 130, Chik. 62, Fn. KW-3 27, FS K 217, FS E 238 ¶ HS: S √mzʃ > Ak OA/MA/LB inf. mazuˆ 'squeeze, produce a liquid', 'auspressen', Ak Λ meˆzuˆ 'beer brewer', Ar √mzʃ G v. 'pick (cotton) with the fingers' ¶ The apparently irreg. a in Ak mazuˆ (for the expected e) may be accounted for by the Assyrian dialectal preservation of a even near pS *ʔ ¶ CAD X/1 439-40 & X/2 46, Bel. 767, Hv. 718 || C *ma3- > EC: Or {Grg.} madaˆ(w)a v. 'wound', madaˆ n. 'wound', {Brl.} mada 'ferita, piaga, ulcera', mad-awu '(im)piagarsi, ferirsi', Arr {Hw.} madaˆ n. 'wound', madeˆss- v. 'wound'; HEC {Hd.} *ma3-, {L} *maz- v. 'wound' > Brj {Ss., Hd.}, Hd {Hd.} mad-, Kmb maz- id.; HEC {Hd.} *ma3a, {L} maza n. 'wound, sore' > Kmb {Hd.} maza-t, Brj {Ss.} maˆdaˆ id., Hd {Hd.} mada, {Ss.} madaʔa, Sd mada 'wound' ¶ ?? Ag: Bln {R} maˆd-/mad- 'auf den Kopf schlagen, den Kopf blutig schlagen jemandem' (× N *metVha 'head, top, summit') ¶ R WB 263, Grg. 223, Hw. A 383, Gs. 278, L Z 121, Hd. 170, 417 ¶ IE: NaIE *mus-ti- 'fist, clenched hand' > OI musˆ.ti-h. id., Av musˆti-(masah-) 'Faust(größe)', NPrs †4Mu mosˆt 'fist, handful' ¶ Tc B masˆce (< *musˆteˆi-s) 'fist' ¶ EI 255, M K II 658, M E II 363, Horn 220, VI. II 1181, Ad. 443 ¶ The absence of any traces of the expected *ə may be accounted for by NaIE derivation: the stem was derived from *mus- that had no traces of lr. because of its stem-final (prevoc.) position ¶ U: FP *mUcˆV v. 'squeeze; fist' (× N *mUcˆ.V v. 'press, squeeze' (q.v.) > Krl KA {SK} mu3ˆuˆ- v. 'press, crumple', Krl Ld mucˆurdada v. 'compress' ('pusertaa kokoon'), F musertaa v. 'crush, smash', Vp mucˆoida v. 'twist (fingers)' ¶ ? Lp Sw {SK} ←?} mocˆetet, mocˆcˆot v. 'break, be breaking off' ¶ Z Δ m33ˆir 'clenched fingers, fist', {W} m33ˆirt- 'clench one's hand/fist' ¶ LG 176, SK 353 ¶ ?φ D: [1] *mutˆ.tˆ-, {GS} *mutˆ- v. 'blow with knuckles of the fist or with the fist' (→ 'to hammer', 'hammer') > Kn mutˆ- v. 'rap the head (of another) with the knuckles of the fist', Tl motˆ.t.u 'give a blow/stroke with the knuckles', Ml mutˆ.t.u 'knocking', mutˆ.t.i 'hammer', Tm mitˆ.t.ikaiˆ 'jeweler's small hammer', Kt mutˆ.t.i 'small hammer', Prj mutˆ.ka 'blow with fist', mutˆ.tˆ- 'to hammer', Png, Mnd, Ku mutˆ.la 'hammer', Krx mutˆ.gaʔaˆ- 'deal a heavy blow with the fist', mutˆ.kaʔaˆ- 'hit/hammer at with the fist', mutˆ.gaˆ- ~ mutˆ.kaˆ 'clenched hand or fist, hammering with the fist'; [2] D (in SD) *mutˆ.tˆ- v. 'press' > Ml mutˆ.t.ikka id.; the meanings 'dash against, butt' (as in Tm mutˆ.t.u, Ml mutˆ.t.uka id., Kdg mutˆ.tˆ- v. 'bump against') may be due either to semantic broadening or to contamination with a different √ ¶¶ D #4932, GS 51 [#126] ◇ ADb. MSR 22 [#27] (K, IE, D + err. FU *mucˆkV 'fist' that in fact belongs to N *mucˆ.V 'cupped/clenched hand [fist]', q.v.).

1520. *me3ˆV 'sun, light; 'to shine' > K *mzˆ-e 'sun' [*-e is a sx. as in *(sˆa-)dyˆ-e 'day')] > OG, G mze, Mg bzˆa, Sv UB/LB/Ln mizˆ, Sv L m3ˆzˆ 'sun', Lz mzˆora ~ mzˆura (with a sx.) id., Lz bzˆacˆʒa, Mg zˆesˆʒa 'Sunday' (< *bzˆa-sˆ dyˆa 'Sun's day') ¶ K 133-4, K² 121, Schm. 124, FS 216-7, TK 571, Dn. s.v. m3ˆzˆ, GP 220 ¶ HS: ? Ch: CCh: HgG maˆsˆeˆ, HgNk, Kps maˆsˆkeˆ, HgF mamaˆsˆki, FlG {ChL} maˆksˆiˆ/ 'morning' ¶ Ech: Suk {Mk.} masˆin id. ¶ ChC, ChL || S: the second element of S *sˆamasˆ- 'sun' < N *zˆomV me3ˆV (≈ hot/burning sun/fire) (with N *zˆomV 'heat, sun', q.v. ffd.) || B *-missi- 'fire' > Ah te-mse, pl. ti-m3ˆs, ETwl te-mse, pl. sˆi-m3ˆss, Ty te-mse, pl. ti-m3ˆssa, Gh cˆi-msi, Kb tˆi-m3ˆss, Si t3ˆ-msi, Skn, Snd, Mz ti-msi, Izn, Rif, SrSn 3i-m3ˆssi 'fire' ¶ Fc. 1247, Dl. 520, GhA 132, Nh. 160, La. S 237, Rn. 85, DlH. M 123 ¶ U: FU (in Prm) *mˆeˆlˆV (or *mˆeˆlˆV) > Prm *mˆoˆlˆ- ({LG} *mˆoˆlˆ-) to shine, beam' > Vt malˆdini v. 'be dazzled (by light)', malˆdimon 'dazzling', Z molˆid 'glossy, smooth', Z Ud usis molˆ3ˆ 'beams with joy' ¶ LG 174 ¶ A: M *meliyi- > Brt m3ˆlii- 'be glossy, shine', ? HIM m3ˆlii- 'be smooth'; M *melmV- > WrM melmeger, HIM m3ˆlm3ˆp 'bright-eyed; the shimmer of a brimming body of water', Ord melmeger 'brillant, qui a les yeux brillants', Brt m3ˆlm3ˆn 'shining (reflecting light)', Brt m3ˆlm3ˆ, Kl m3ˆlm - melmaˆ- 'to shine (of glassy water surface)', Ord melm3ˆ- 'reuire, briller au soleil', Kl b m3ˆlm melmaˆ- 'lustre, glitter (блеск)' ¶ MED 534, Luv. 252, KRS 349, Chr. 311, Ms. O 461-2 || Tg: Ewk milluˆn- 'shine, be bright' (of eyes) ('поблескиват') ¶ Vas. 252 || ? pKo {S} *m3ˆrk- 'clear, transparent' > MKo m3ˆrk-, NKO malk- [mak-] ¶ S QK #69, Nam 203, MLC 587 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1303 [A *miˆali-(kˆa) 'bright; to shine': M, Ewk, Ko], ≠ Rm. SKE 139 (Ko, T) ¶ D (in CD) *mel(Vk)- v. 'lighten', v. 'flash' (of light) > Prj melk- v. 'lighten', Δ malk- '(light) to flash', Gdb mel- '(lightning) to flash', Png malkaˆ- v. 'lighten' ¶ D #5079 ¶ Less plausible: D *maˆtˆ.tˆ- v. 'kindle (as fire), burn' > Tm maˆtˆ.t.u id., Kt maˆtˆ- v. 'make (fire) burn', Td moˆtˆ- v. 'put fuel on fire', Tl maˆdˆ.u, maˆdˆ.u v. 'be burnt', Gnd maˆs- v. 'kindle fire' ¶¶ D #4801 ¶ ??? IE: NaIE *molk- 'fire, firewood' (< *mol- 'fire?') > OIr molc {WP, Vn.} 'fire' ¶ Lt maˆlka 'log, fuel', pl. maˆlkos 'firewood', Ltv malˆka 'firewood' ¶ WP II 308, Mn. 792, ≈ Frn/ 401-2, ME II 558, Vn. M 62.

1521. *may3ˆV 'tasty beverage, sap of trees' (→ 'honey, milk') > K *mzˆV > Lz mzˆa 'milk, buttermilk' ¶ Marr 168-9 ¶ HS: EC: Sd mal(?)ˆ- 'sweet', Af {PH} malab, Sa {R} malaˆb, pSam {Hn.} *maˆlaˆb > Sml malab, Rn {PG} maˆlaˆb, Bn 'maˆlub, Bs {HL} malab(a) 'honey'; HEC *malabo > Hd marabo, Sd malawo, Ged malebo, Alb {HL}, Kmb malabu id., Arr {Hw} muˆl 'liquid part of raw honey' ¶ C SE II 214, PH 162, Mm. S 228, Hn. S 68, DSI 410, Oo. 68, PG 218, Hd. 81, 417, HL 127, Hw. A 386 ¶ IE *mel-i-(t) / *mel-n- 'honey' > Arm meˆr mefr (gen. meˆu mefu) ¶ Gk μεˆλι (gen. μεˆλιτ-οϋ) ¶ pAl {O} *melita > Al mjalteˆ ¶ L mel, gen. mell-is (< *mel-n-) ¶ OIr mil (< *meli) (gen. melo ~ mela), W meˆl, Crn, Br mel ¶ Gt milip id., AS milscˆian 'to sweeten with honey', miliscˆ 'sweet' || Ht milit- 'honey' ¶¶ P 723-4, EI 271 (*melit / *mliˆt-os), Bn. IEIS 31, F II 200-1, WH II 61-3, Vn. M 50-1, YGM-1 329, Fs. 359-60, Ho. 222, Slit. 182-6, O 268, CHD L-N 250-2, Ts. E II 207-10 ¶ U: FP *mayzˆV 'sap of trees' (→ 'milk') > F maito 'milk', F Δ maiˆt 'birch sap', Es Δ maiˆt 'cream (Sahne)' ¶ Vt Δ

m3l' 'tree honey, tree sap' ¶ UEW 697 II A: T *bal (*mal) 'honey' > OT bal ({Cl.} ba⁻l), Tk bal, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg bal, Uz bal, Slr pal, Chv p1l ¶ ET B 47, Cl. 33O ¶ ≈ DQA #1248 [A *male 'honey, vegetable oil' > T] ♦ IS II 38-9 [#276] (*maj^λΔ) (C, IE, U, T), AD NM #21, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts about the T cognate; T <b- IE?) ♦ Gr. II #213 (*mal 'honey') [IE, U, CK].