

2239. *t'a 'away (from), from', ablative (separative) pc. > **HS:** C: Ag: Knf {Hz.} -da and possibly Aw -des and Bl -l3d 'from'; Bln -d 'in' indicates also the cause (qan̄yat-id 'aus Neid') which may go back to a sx. of abl. ¶ Hz. AL 16-7, R BilS 679-80 **II IE** [1] *de- 'away (from), from' > L de- prep. 'from' and de- pv. of separation, Fls DE prep. 'de', Osc DAT id., DA(D)- pv. 'de-', Um DA- id. (DAETOM 'deitum, delictum'), L in-de 'thence, from there', un-de 'whence?' ¶ Clt: OIr di, de 'from ... down, from ... away', OW, Br di, Crn the, pv.: OIr dī-, de-, privative ('without', negative): W, Crn, Br di- [2] *-de / *-T (archiphoneme *d^h | *-d | *-t), separative (abl.) case ending > Gk Cr τω̄-δε 'from here', Gl βρατου-δε 'ex merito'; *-T 'from' > OI 'ma-d, Av ma-t_, OL me-d 'from me', OI 'tvad, Av θwat_ ~ θwa't_, OL te-d 'from thee'; with the *-o-stems *-o-T / *-e-T: OI vr_ka-d 'from the wolf', pas'ca-d 'from behind', Gk Dl φοι'κω 'domo', Gk D ὦτω 'from where?', ὦ 'from which' (rel.), 'whence?', OL -o-d 'from' (Gnaivo-d > L Gnaeo- 'from Gnaeus'), Osc sakaraklu'd 'sacello, from the [small] shrine', toutad 'from the community\people', Gt h̄ap̄ro- 'from where?', Blt *-a- (> Lt -o, Ltv -a) and Sl *-a (gen./abl. of the *-o-stem): Lt to- 'of\from this', vil'ko 'from\of the wolf', diē-vo, Ltv di'eva 'from\of God', ChS Тѣла разлугъити сѧ te'la razluc'iti se_ 'to separate **from** the body', вѣлка vl̄ka 'of\from [the] wolf', R 'волка 'of [the] wolf' ¶ Brg. KVG 383-4, 404, 411, EI 37 [*de- 'away (from)'], WH I 325-6, Bc. G 314, 332, Pln. II 444, LP §§ 344, 431.9, YGM-1 452, Stang VG 181, Vnd.¹ II 240, P 702, IS I 213 **II U** *-tV ({Coll., Hajdú} *-ta/*-ta-) 'from', sep. case ending > FV *-ta / *-ta- id. > BF primary sep. ending *-ta / *-ta- / *-da / -da- > F -ta/-ta- (after cnss.), -a/-a- (after vowels) in F kotoa 'from home' (↔ kotona 'at home') [koto 'home'], luota 'from [smbd.]' ('de chez'), 'from the vicinity of' (↔ luona 'near, bei, chez'), alta 'from under' (↔ alla 'under'), ylta- 'from above' (↔ ylla- 'above'), ulkoa 'from outside' (↔ ulkona 'outside, out of doors'), tyko-a- 'from the vicinity of' (↔ tyko-na- 'near, bei, chez'), whence the BF partitive ending *-ta / *-ta- / *-da / -da- > F -ta/-ta-/-a/-a- (vetta- 'de l'eau', verta 'du sang', lapsia 'des enfants'), Es -t/-d/-Ø (aastat prt. 'year', aasta-i-d pl. 'des années', leiba prt. 'du pain'); the form of primary separative (with *-ta / *-ta-) from d stems with locative sxs. *-s- and *-l- gave rise to secondary case forms: elative *-s-ta / *-s-ta- 'from within' [cp. the secondary inessive *-s-sa / *-s-sa- 'in' < the locative *-s-na / *-s-na-] (> F talo-sta 'from the house', Suomesta 'from Finland', Helsingista- 'from Helsinki', Es linnast 'from [the] town') and delative *-l-ta / *-l-ta- 'from the surface of' (> F po'yda-lta- 'from the table' [i.e. 'from the surface of the table'], tori-lta 'from the market', Es laua-lt 'from the table', po'llu-lt 'from the field') : Lp S {Sz.} -t, -de 'from' (abl. marker), e.g. alle-t 'from the west', yille-de id., pad'd'e-t 'from the top', Lp K -δ 'some, du' (partitive), e.g. sammeδ 'de la force' : Er -do/-de/-d'e, (after vl. cnss.) -to/-te/-t'e 'from', Mk -da, -ta, e.g. Er tolgado, Mk tolgada 'from a\the feather' || Sm *-tE sep. > Ne T {Ter.} -x-d / -gaÄ-d / -kaÄ-d, pl. -x-t / -gaÄ-t / -kaÄ-t, En {Ter.} -h-δ / -go-δ / -ko-δ, pl. -h-t / -gi-t / -ki-t, Ng -gə-tə / -kə-tə, pl. -gi-tə / -ki-tə, Mt {Hl.} *-la_jdu 'from' [Mt K {Pl.} irnjadu 'von vorn', chu'naadu 'von hinten'], Kms -tt- / -tc'-i- 'from' (+ppa.: tura-tt-ə 'from his house' ↔ tura-nd-ə 'in[to] his house', turattan 'from thy house' ↔ tura-nan 'in[to] thy house', turatc'i 'from my house' ↔ tura-n'i 'in[to] my house') ¶¶ Sz. 56-8, 63-8, Coll. CG 287, Serebr. PGSUJ 40-1, Rmb. 50-1, Ter. NJ-93 332, Ter. EJ-93 346-7, Ter. NgJ-93 353-4, Hl. MTKJ 337, Hl. M 140, Kü. KJ-93 384-5, Hajdú US 227-8 ¶¶ i ÷ Ugr *-l 'from' (> Hg -l 'from' (alo'-l 'from below', -bo'-l/-bo'-l 'out of' [relative case marker], -ro'-l/-ro'-l [delative case marker] : Vg: UL -l, -əl, Ss -l, -əl, -n-əl 'out of, from' (relative case)); Hajdú justifiably rejects Ugr *-l as a cognate and tries to find its etl. ties elsewhere (FU d' *-l 'place on', in my opinion probably cds with *l, e.g. BF *-l-ta/a- 'from', i.e. 'from the surface of' and Chr {Sz.} -lec' ~ -lec' 'from') || Y: Y K qada-t 'whence?' (qada 'where?'), tada-t 'from there' (tada 'there'), teni-t 'from here' (teni 'here'), Y T xo-t 'whence?' ¶ Krn. JJ 207-10 ¶¶ The vw. *-a/*-a- in FV *-ta/*-ta- may be due to grammatical analogy with the locative *-na / *-na- within the nominal case paradigm. The Ugr word-final *-l (if it belongs here) points to a pU *-δV, which became *t in FV (a reg. reflex of the postcons. *δ). But if Ugr -l does not belong together with FV *-ta/a- (which is Hajdú's hyp.), the pU case ending may be reconstructed with the cns. *t (as in Coll. CG 287-8 and Hajdú US 227-8), which suggests a N reconstructed etymon ***ta** **II A:** ?? NaT *-ta / *-ta-, sep. (abl.) case ending (functioning as a semantic variant of the locative *-ta / *-ta-?) > Yk -ta/-to/-ta-/-to- (with phonetically conditioned allomorphs -da/-do/-da-/-do-, -la/-lo/-la-/-lo-, -na/-no/-na-/-no-) (partitive case ending), OT Tü -da / -da- / -ta / -ta- sep.: tabyac'-da adırılır '[the Türküt people] separated **from** the Tabghaches' (Toñuquq inscription), men ... tabyac' qayan-ta bedizc'i kelu'rtim 'I have brought stone-carvers **from** the

khan of the Tabghaches' (the small Kül-Tegin inscription), qırqız-da jantımız 'we returned **from** the
 Δ -da/-da id. ¶ The vowels *a/ā are due to contamination with the
 locative *t'a/-t'ā ¶ Kon. GJTRP 157, GJJ 134-5 ¶ D *t_i 'from' > Kui, Ku -t_i, Krx -t_i, Mlt -te, -t_i sep.
 (mann-te 'from a tree', male-n-te 'from a man', naiba^lar-t_i 'from 4 men'), Klm att-at_i 'whence?',
 -n-attat_i (sep. ending ← "increment" -n- [< N *nu] + attat_i), -tanat_i id. (probably < taⁿ 'oneself' + sep.
 *-at_i), Tu {ShanBh} -tti/-t_i 'from' (a uge^li-tti a^lkl_u on³i cen^di_ni getteri 'they removed a ball **from** that
 well', kay-ti '**from** the hand'), {RamR} -d_i 'from' ¶ An. SG 215-6, BB K 247, Shanm. DN 308-9, 357,
 363, 382, ShanBh T 85, RamR SLDT 81, Hahn KG 14-5 ♦ The vw. *-i, *-ī in Sm and D suggests a front
 vw. in the original particle. IE *(-)de 'from' (> Gk Cr τω^δ-δε 'from here', Gl βα^του-δε 'ex merito', L de[̄],
 Olr dī, de, etc.) provides ev. for N *t, while Ugr *-l 'from' (if it belongs here) point to a N *d ♦ IS I 212-
 4 (*da, locative pc.; does not distinguish between the etymon in question and the locative *da, i.e.
 *d_ioy_a place'), Gr. I 157-60 ("ablative T" in IE, U, EA, Yk + *unc.*: Tg, Gil, CK).

2240. *tV - marker of plurality ('together') > K *°-ta, plural ending in the oblique cases > OG, G
 -ta id.; in modern G this so-called "old plural" is used mainly in the written style and is more bookish
 than the form with the pl. sx. -eb- ¶ Fn. GAS 55-61, Vogt GLG 30-2 ¶ K *t, sx. of pl. subiecti in verbs
 of the 1st and 2nd person > OG, G, Mg, Lz -t, Sv -d; the same sx. functions (in all K lgs.) as a verbal
 marker of pl. obiecti (with morphological positional limitations that differ in different lgs.) ¶ For
 more details see Dt. 57-60 ¶ HS *-t, marker of plurality (coalesced with the *-t-endings of different
 origin and functioning, incl. *-t of the fem.-and-inanimate gender, ≠ N *t_iā [dem. prn. of non-active
 objects] [q.v.] and N *ʔatV 'female, woman' [q.v.]) > C *-(V)tV/*-VttV, sx. of pl. > Ag: Bln {Plm.}
 mi^lraw-ti 'snakes' (↔ sg. mira^w-a), kin³il-ti 'ovens' (↔ sg. kin³il-a), ayg-ut 'lakes' (↔ sg. ayig), {R} 'abd-it
 'trees' (↔ sg. ab^l-da), 'ardat 'lords' (↔ sg. ada^r-a), t-adar-at 'ladies' (↔ sg. t-ada^r-a), Xm {R} zin-t
 'brothers', nin-t houses' (↔ sg. zin, nin), ir-t 'eyes' ¶ EC *-Vt(V), pl. sx. > Sa {Wlm.} -it ('d_ia-it 'stones' ↔
 sg. 'd_ia-a; 'santit 'knives' ↔ sg. 'santi; 'loynit 'herdsmen' ↔ sg. 'loyna; 'hod^lit 'trees' ↔ sg. 'had^a), Af {Bls.}
 -it^{te} ('amm-it^{te} 'uncles' ↔ sg. 'ammi; alsit^{te} 'moons' ↔ sg. 'alsa), Af S {Morin} -ti (sa^lol-ti 'elder
 brothers' ↔ sg. sa^lal); Sml *-at > -o / -ad- (+ppa.) (Sml N {Lm.}, Sml B {Mrn.} wala^lo 'brothers' ↔ sg.
 wala^l; Sml B ilko 'teeth' ↔ sg. ilik), Sml Ji {Lm.} -da^l ~ -do^l (lamda^l 'men' ↔ sg. lam; lohodo^l ~ lohoda^l 'legs'
 ↔ sg. loho), Bn {Hn.} -ti (urti 'cheeks' ↔ sg. u^r); Arr {Hw.} -te (ʔarte^l 'bulls' ↔ sg. ʔa^r; ɣaw^l-te^l
 'crocodiles' ↔ sg. ɣa^w?; kac^l-te^l 'chests [of body] ↔ sg. ka^c?); Or -o^la ~ -ota (nama^l-ta 'men' ↔ sg.
 nama^l; ur³-o^la 'stars' ↔ sg. ur³i, Or B n^e-n^c.ota 'lions' ↔ sg. n^e-n^c.a), Kns {BISO} -ad^a ~ -ad^d.a
 (sinad^d.a 'noses' ↔ sg. sīna; iskatad^d.a 'women' ↔ sg. iskatt-eta; afad^d.a 'mouths' ↔ sg. afa; mottad^a
 'friends' ↔ sg. motta), Gdl {Bl.} -ad^a (appad^a 'fathers' ↔ sg. appa; arappad^a 'tongues' ↔ sg. arap^p-at;
 'parad^a 'years' ↔ sg. 'par-at); Hr, Dbs -a(:d^d.e (ka^s-ad^d.e 'shadows' ↔ sg. ka^s-sse; ika^d.d^e 'peoples,
 tribes' ↔ sg. iko), Gln -id^d.e (s^{amp}-id^d.e 'youngsters', ma^{ng}-id^d.e 'corns'); Ya -et, -et (i^l kut-et 'thighs' ↔
 sg. i^l kut; no^l-tet 'lips' ↔ sg. no^l-t.o) (unless a case of pl. reduplication); HEC: Kmb {L} -ta, -te, suff. of
 collectiveness (hol^l-ata 'sheep; pl. ↔ snglt. ho^l-c^u; mik^l.k^l-ata 'bones' ↔ mik^l.ic^l-c^u 'a bone') ¶ DhI {To.,
 Zab.} -u^l-ta, -to, {EEN} -u^l-t_a, -t_o (fa^{nu}-t_a 'heads' ↔ sg. faⁿi; kalat^e-t_o 'incisors' ↔ sg. ka^l-t_i), (here?)
 -addi, -udda (siⁿ-naddi 'noses' ↔ sg. siⁿ; k^o-k^l.addi 'throats' ↔ sg. k^o-k^l; ʔa^l-ludda 'friends' ↔ sg. ʔa^l-le) ¶ SC
 (here?): Irq, Alg -du, sx. of pl. (Irq {Mous} ʔafaydu 'sides' ↔ sg. ʔafay; c^l.a^lkadu 'bridges' ↔ sg. c^l.a^lka,
 Alg {Wh.} daba^li 'arms' ↔ sg. da^l-ba) ¶ Zab. 38-43, 61-76, 90, 115, 137-8, 153-4, 162-6, 179, 196, 207-
 8, 283, 294-5, Plm. NB 387, R BilS § 146, Wlm. S 159-60, Bls. GGA 177-8, Morin NAS 367, Mrn. SS 26,
 Hw. A 336, 371, 388, To. D 136, EEN 10, 13, Mous 53-5, Wh. 19-26 ¶ Ag *-t- goes back to a pC *-tt-
 (while pC *-t- > Bln -r-); the same may be the origin of some sxs. in the EC lgs. ¶ S *a^l-t-plural
 (originally marker of n. coll.) does not belong here (↔ IS I 12) [see N *t_iā, dem. prn. of non-active
 (inanimate) objects] ¶ U *t, pl. of nouns for animate beings > FU *-t, plural ending: BF nom. pl. *-t (F
 kala-t 'fishes', Krl kala-t, Vp kala-d, Lv kala-t_i, Es kalad), in the obl. cases pl. BF *-i_l-te- (*i_l- is another pl.
 marker) ~ *-te-, e.g. pl. gen. *-i_l-t^e-n ~ *-t^e-n (> Vp kaloi^den, F kalojen, Es kalade) ¶ pLp *-k nom. pl. (reg.
 reflex of pFL *-t, e.g. pFL *kala-t 'fishes' > pLp *ko^l-k) > Lp N -k (guolek 'fishes'), Lp S/L -h, -Ø, Lp I -h ¶
 Er/Mk -t/-t^l (tolga-t 'feathers', p^e-t^l 'ends') ¶ ObU *-t > pVg *-t > Vg {Lml.}: T, LK/MK/UK,
 SV/NV/P/LL/ML, UL -(ə)t, Ss -(ə)d_i (T ko^l-ət, LK xu^l-lt, MK/SV/UK ku^l-ll_i-t, Ss xu^l-d_i 'fishes', etc.); pOs *-t
 > Os (all dialects) {Ht.} -t (with allomorphs -ət, -ət_i), pl. ending of the absolute (non-possessive)
 paradigm ¶ Sm {Mik.} *-t, sx. of nominal pl. > Ne, En, Ng -ʔ, Kms -ʔi, (combination with pSm pl.

marker *y) -ye?, -ye?, Slq {Mik.} -T² (= -t/-n) > Slq Tz -t, pl. marker of the non-possessive paradigm: kana-t 'dogs', po-t 'trees'; the same ending is probably present in other ds. of Sq, too (f Cs. GSS 140-54), but for lack of descriptions of these dialects no precise information is available; the same pl. marker -T² is found as a predicative ending of 3p ({Mik.} -T² 'sunt'), within the predicative endings of 1p -mīT², 2 pl. -īT², and in the possessive endings of nouns: 1p -mīT² 'our', 2 pl. -īT² 'vester', 3 pl. -tīT² 'their' ¶¶ Coll. CG 297, Sz. 51, Laan. 148-50, Krh. 197, 208-9, Lml. HFW 11-2, Ht. ChrO 36-7, Ht. XJ 308-9, Mik. GSS 238-9, Hj. SS 11, 19, 23, 26-7, Hl. M 134, Prk. SG 33-8, KHG 169-70 ¶¶ R: M *-d, pl. ending of nouns > MM -d, -ud (e.g. [HI] noyan-d ~ [PP] noya-d 'officers' [↔ sg. noyan], yabiya-d 'equestrians' [↔ sg. yabuyan], [S] ele-t 'sands' [↔ sg. ele-su'n], [MA] bay-ut 'ties' ↔ sg. bay), WrM -d (mori-d 'horses' [↔ sg. morin], gazad 'countries' [↔ sg. gažar], HlM, Ord, Brt -d ~ -t, Kl -d, Mgl -t; M *-d is also found in the interr. prn. *ked (pl. of *ken 'who?') > MM ket, WrM ked ¶ Pp. IM 178-80, 229, Gab. ATG § 172 ¶ Tg: WrMc -ta / -te, pl. ending of some animate nouns: ama-ta 'fathers' (↔ sg. ama), eme-te 'mothers', asiha-ta 'youngster' (↔ sg. asihan), eze-te 'chiefs' (↔ sg. ezen); -t- for the expected *-d- has not yet found explanation ¶ Hrl. 33-4 ¶ ? T: OT -t, -Vt: era't 'men, warriors' (pl. of er), oylit 'descendants' (pl. of oylan), tarqa-t (pl. of tarqan - a title), tegit (pl. of tegin 'prince'), OT {Pel. → Mng.} *tu'rku't 'Turks' (preserved in Chinese transcription); acc. to Br., this sx. is of M origin, but Sin. UAP 212-3 is not sure about it; Kon. suggests that -t is a loan from Sogdian; -a't in MT ba'ya't 'gardens' ↔ sg. ba'y, aymaqat 'stems' ↔ sg. aymaq is of Prs (← Ar) origin ¶ SIGTJM 12-3, Kon. GJTRP 147, Tekin GOT 122, Prl. T 687, Mng. TLP 111, Batm. JJP 102, Ajd. 144, Br. OTG 150-1 ♦ The original meaning of the etymon is hard to determine. One of possible meanings is 'together', which is compatible with its use as a marker of multiple subjects and multiple objects in K ♦ IS's hyp. of the exclusive connection of {IS} *-tV with inanimate nouns is not sufficiently proved; its only argument is S *-a't- as pl. marker of non-active nouns, which is erroneous: in fact S *-a't- is a compound: *-a- as a marker of collectivity (used without *-t- in the pred. case of f.) + *-t- as a nominalizer [allowing to use the construction N (nominal) + *-a- in specifically nominal cases with case endings (*-u of nominative, *-a od accus.-genitive) and with the determiner -m]. The resulting form Na't-um nom. / Na't-um acc.-gen. is not actually a pl., it has the case-and-status endings of sg. and is constructed with predicate verbs in f. sg., because in pS it was a n. coll. (sg. f.). The morpheme *-t- in S *-a-t-u(m)/*-a-t-a(m) goes back to the N inanimate prn. *t.a" (q.v. ffd.) and hence does not belong to this etymon ♦ ¶ IS I 12 (*-tV as pl. marker of inanimate nouns), Sin. UAP 211-4 (U, A), Gr. I 106-8 ("plural T" in U, A, EA, Gil, i Ai).

2241. *tiʔu 'to shine, be bright, be seen' > **HS:** Eg: fOK tʔ v. 'be hot (sky, bread, etc.)', G tʔ 'verbrennen', fMd tʔ.w {Fk.} 'heat', {EG} 'Hitze, Glut', NK tʔy.t 'Glut' ¶ EG V 229-31, Fk. 293 ¶ **K** *te- 'light (lux)' -d: (1) pGZ *na-te- 'light' > OG natel-i n. 'light, ray', OG, G natel-adj. 'light, bright', Mg, Lz note- 'torch, splinter (used as torch, *лучина*)'; -d *nat-/nt- 'shine, give light' > OG nat-eb-a, nat-ob-a n. act. 'to shine, give light', G a-nat-eb-s 'lights up, illuminates', a-nt-ia '(it) shines, gives light'; ?? (2) K *te-n- 'become visible, get lighter' [x N *t'oNV 'to appear', q.v. ffd.] > OG ten- 'be dawning' (da witar gantena yamei igi... 'when the morning was come...' [Mt. 27.1]), G ten-eb-a 'dawn', Lz tan-apa id., 'become visible', Mg tan-ap-a 'to dawn, spend the night' ¶¶ K 92 (*ten-), 145 (*na-te-), K² 68 (*ten-/*te-), 136-7 (*nat-e- 'light', *nat-/nt- 'to shine, give light'), FS K 143 (*tan-/*tn-), 147 (*ten-), Marr 146, Abul. 318 ¶ **IE:** [1] *dei- 'shine, be bright' > OI 'dide-ti 'shines, is bright', 3p didyati ¶ Gk Hm δε'ατο 3s ipf. 'videbatur', aor. δοα'σασατο, Gk δε'ελοϝ 'visible' ¶ IE broken *rdp* *doy-do- and sim. > ON teitr, AS ta't 'glad, merry' (← 'shining'), ON teita 'to gladden, delight', AS tæ'tan id., 'to caress', AS ta't 'glad, merry', OSx te't 'glad', OHG zeiō 'zart, lieb, angenehm' ¶ P 183-4, ES 513, M K II 45, F I 354, Vr. 586, Ho. S 74, Ho. 342-3, Sw. 167, Kb. 1246, OsS 1241 ¶ [2] *dyeu- 'daylight', 'deified daylight, heaven' > NaIE nom. *dye-u-s ~ diye-u-s, acc. *dye-(u)m, voc. *dyeu-, gen. *di'w-es, *di'w-os > OI 'dya'uh. (acc. dya'm, gen. di'vah. ~ dyo'h.) 'heaven, sky, day', Av dyaos' abl.-gen. 'from the sky'; OI 'diva' 'by day', 'divasa' 'heaven, day' ¶ Gk Ζευ'ϝ (acc. Ζη'ν, gen. Δι(F)ο'ϝ), Gk B/Lc Δε'υϝ 'Zeus', 'ε'νδ'ι'οϝ 'at midday' ¶ L gen. lovis 'of Jupiter', Osc dat. Diu'vei', Διο'υ'φει 'to Jupiter', L die's 'day' (for the expected *die-us on the analogy of acc. die'm), L [Plt.] diūs 'by day', L nu-dius tertius 'now is the third day' ¶ OIr die, NIr dia, Brtt {RE} *dii-īu-s (< IE *diye-u-s) > OW did, MW, W dydd, OCrn [VC] det, Crn deth, dyth, OBr {Flr.} ded ~ did, MBr dez, Br L deiz, Br T/Cr/V de 'day' ¶ Arm tiy tiw 'day' ¶ [2a] IE *dye-u-s-pate-r 'father daylight, father heaven'

(name of a god) > OI 'dya-us, pi'ta- || Gk Ζεύς πατήρ || L Iu-piter ~ Iuppiter, Um voc. Iupater, dat. Iuvepatre || Ilr [Hs.] Δει-πα'τυρο || Ht siu- 'god' (||GI|| 'god of sun', 'god of heaven'), siwanna- 'divine', siwatt- 'day', Lw tiwat- (nom. tiwaz), Pal tiyaz 'god of sun' || [2b] *d* with an *o-sx.: NaIE *dei-wo-s 'heavenly' (→ 'god') > OI de'vah, 'heavenly, divine; god', Av dae-va- 'demon, false deity' || OL deivos, L deus 'god', dea 'goddess', divus 'divine, god' (-d̥ dīvinus 'divine'), Osc dei'vai 'deae' || OIr dia (gen. de') 'god', OCrn diuu-(tit) 'Gott(heit)', MW {SEv.} dwyw, dyw, W duw, OCrn duy, Br doue 'god', MW {LP} dwym-awl 'divine' || ON tí'var pl. 'gods', Gmc *tei-waz > ON Tý'r 'war god', pl. tr'var 'gods', OHG Ziu, Zio (gen. Ziwes) 'Mars' (in ziestac 'dies Martis, tuesday'), AS Tīz (gen. Tīwes) id., *cd* tīwes-dæg 'tuesday' > NE tuesday || Lt diē'vas, Ltv diē'vs, Pru deiws, deywis (gen. deywas) 'god' || P 184-6, EI 149 [*dye(u)- 'day'], 230-1 [*dei-'w-o-s 'god', *dyeu-s ph_{oA}'te'r 'sky-father'], Ts. W 77, Carr. P 75, Lar. 128-9, GI II 791, Watk. G, Neu AT 116-131, M K II 42, 63-4, 70-1, M E I 750-2, F I 610-1, WH I 345-6, 349-51, 359-60, 732-4, Bc. G 315, 338, LP §§ 6.2, 16, Thr. § 340, RE 87, SEv. 29, Flr. 132, 138, YGM-1 197, Vr. 603, OsS 1291, Ho. 350, Frn. 93-4, En. 158, Tp. P A-D 321-4. Slr. 60-1 || ? **II**: M: MM [AT] ciu'gen - ceu'gen 'shining' || MED 1200 ♦ Cp. Etr tiu, tiv- 'moon' || Pfiffig 304-5, Pallottino Ew 303 ♦ ≠ BmK 303-4 (equating IE *dyeu- with Sum de' v. 'smelt' and D *tī- 'fire', actually belonging to N *taywa- 'fire' [q.v.]), ≠ S NSR 4-6 [err. : compares IE with K *dye 'day' (in fact from *da_{low}IV 'sun, day') and reconstructs a pN *d^w-].

2242. ±± ??? **2** *to'ʔi'fig' > **HS**: CS *tVʔi'n-at-, *tVʔin- 'fig tree, fig' > BHB en!a4T6 təʃe'na-, Pun (?) Nit tyn, IA tyn, JA [Trg.], JEA atIn'it4 te'n(ə)t_a-, SmA tʔnh, tynh, Sr E æç—æcé teʔtta-, Sr W æçœæi tiʔtta- tit'to, æ4oñ'ei ti<n>tta- tit'to, Md tina 'fig tree', Ar tīn-, tīn-at- 'fig tree, fig', Ak tittu(m) (pl. tina-tu(m)) id. || KB 1544-5, Lv. T II 536, Sl. 1205-6 || EC: Sml {R} dayn 'fig tree, fig', pl. daymo || R SS II 123 || NrOm: Ym {C} teʔa- 'sycamore' || C SE III 85 **II D** {Km.} *to-y-, {GS} *to-y- '∈ fig tree' > Prj to-y 'Ficus glomerata', Gdb to-y marin id. (marin 'tree'), Gdb toia- d̥ to-ya, Knd to-ga, Png to-ga mar, Mnd tu-ge id., Kui to-ga 'fig, fig tree', Ku to-ya 'fig' || D #3537, GS 188 [#478] || The cns. -g- in Knd, Png, Mnd and Kui is still puzzling. Krishnamurti (Km. 33-4) claims that -g- of several D lgs., incl. some lgs. of the SCD, CD and NED branches, may go back to pD *-y-, without formulating a clear phonetic law ♦ ≠ Blz. DA 160 [#80] [equates the D root with Arm t'uz, Gk B τυ'κον 'fig tree' (cp. F II 818) and HS {Blz.} *tik- 'fig'].

2243. *tu'ʔo' 'two' > **IE** *dwo-(u-) 'two' m. (and *dwai- f./ntr., {Huld} *duwai- f.) > OI m. d(u)vaū, f./ntr. d(u)va-, YAv m. duua, ntr. duuae-c'a, KhS duva, NPrs du, Psh dwa, Oss: I dɜwwa- ~ duwa-, D duw(w)a- || Arm erku erku || Gk Mc dwo, Gk Hm δυ' (f.)ω, Gk A δυ'ο || pAl {O} *duwo- (f. *duwai-), {Huld} *du- (f. *du-) > Al: T/G dy du-, SG/Be du-, P du-, f. du- || L m./ntr. duo, f. duae || OIr da'u, da', Nlr da', Brtt {RE} *dwa-u- m. > OW dou, MW deu, W dau, Crn dow, deu, OBr, MBr dou, Br daou || Gt m. twai, f. twos, ntr. twa, OSw Ru tuair, OSw m. twe-r - twe-, f. twa-r, ntr. tu, ON m. tveir, f. tvær, ntr. tva' - tvau, OHG m. zwe-ne-, f. zwo-, ntr. zwei, eNHG (before XVIII) m. zween, f. zwo, ntr. zwei (> NHG zwei & zwo), OSx m. twe'ne, f. twa-, ntr. twe', AS m. twæ-ʒ'en, f. twa-, ntr. tu-, NE two (and † twain); the ON, OSw, OSx, AS and OHG m. forms are due to analogical restructuring within the paradigm of cases and genders (in WGmc based probably on pGmc forms of obl. cases, incl. gen. *twayo-n and dat. *twayiyo-m that preserve the pIE du. morpheme *-oi-, cf. Brg. DK 55ff.) || Lt du' m., dvi' f., Ltv divi, Pru dwai || Sl *d(ɔ)va > OCS дѣва dɛ̌va, Blg, R, Uk два, SCr, Slv dva, Cz, Slk dva, P dwa; Sl f. *d(ɔ)ve' > OCS дѣвѣ dɛ̌vɛ̌, Blg, R две, Uk двѣ, SCr две dvi'je, Slv dve, Cz dve, Slk dve, P dwie || Tc: A wu m. (< *dwo-u-), we f. (< f. *dwa-i-), B wi m./f. (< *dwo-i-) || The initial component of *cds*: NaIE *dwi- 'two-, bi-' > OI dvi-, Av bi-, Arm erki- erki-, Gk δι-, OL dvi-, L bi-, ON tvi-, Lt dvi- || HrLw tu-wa-i 'two', acc. tuwa'zi 'duos', Ht *cd* da-yuga 'two years old', da'n 'for the second time' || P I 228-9, Mn. 174-6, EI 399-400 [*dwoi- ~ *d(u)woi-yos 'two, group of two' (cardinal collective), *dweh₃(u-) ~ *du'weh₃(u-) 'two' du.], M K I 82-4, M E I 761-3, Bai. 163-4, Ab. I 385-6, F I 424-5, WH I 381-3, Huld 56, O 79, Me. EAC 165, RE 141, SEv. 45, LP § 13.3, YGM-1 164, Flr. 151, Fs. 484-5, Vr. 601-2, Ho. 357-8, Ho. S 76, Kb. 1271, OsS 1310-1, KM 896, Frn. 107-8, En. 164, Tp. P A-D 395, ESSJ V 185-8, KT 158, Wn. 585-6, Ad. 598-9, Ad. H 19, 137, Ts. E III 5, Mer. HHG 16, Mer. SGA 283 **II HS**: S *tawʔam-~*tuʔa-m- 'twins, a twin, sth. double': *tawʔam- > BHB Mim5a9&T toʔʔa-m-im pl. 'twins', Ar ʔav0Ta ~ ʔav0Ta tawʔam- 'one of the twins', Ak tuʔ(?)am-tu 'twins; sth. double (double door, double bag, etc.); CS *tuʔa-m- > BHB Mim5aT6 təʔo'm-im 'twins', Ar ʔoʔTu tuʔa-m- 'twins; twin things, a pair'; *d* *taʔʔum- 'twin' > Ar ʔouTa taʔʔum-, OA *taʔʔum(-a-) (-b> Ak NA taʔʔum- 'double, of twins') > Sr W *moægo ta- < ʔ> ma- to-m-o-, JPA *tə-mə 'twin' -b> ωμα' || KB 1561, ≠ Br. G I 384 (an *unc.* hyp. connecting S *tawʔam-~*tuʔa-m- with Ar waʔama 'agree, live peacefully with'), Sd. 1340, 1364 || ?

WCh: AG {Tk.} *to- 'repeat, do again' > Ang {Flk.} to-, tu-to- 'do sth. over and over again', Ang K {J} to- 'repeat (an act)' ¶ Flk. 294, Tk. (p.c., 2002) || U: FU (att. in BF) *to-n'c'e 'second' (*-n'c'e is a sx. marking ordinal numerals) > F toinen (gen. toisen), Es teine (gen. teise), Δ to~ine, Vp toyn'e (gen. toyz'en), Lv t'woy (gen. t'woyz) ¶ SK 1327-8, Kt. 444 || A {SDM97} *tu~wu 'two' > Tg *juwe- 'two' > Ewk, Sln ju~r, Lm jo~r^dju~r, Neg ju~l, Ork, Ud z'u~, Nn z'u~_{3-r} z'u~, Ul z'u~_{3-l}, Ork du~, WrMc zuwe, Mc Sb z'u~, Jrc {Kiy.} z'uwe ¶ STM I 276-7, Krm. 234, Y #2736, Klz. MS 150, Kiy. 132 [#637], S AJ 215 [#132]) || pKo: [1] {S} (in S AJ) *tub|wr, {DQA} *tuburh 'two' > OKo {Lee} tu~pō~r ~ tu~βō~r, eMKo [NR] {Blz.} tufuri, MKo {Lee} turh, {S} tu~rh, NKo, Ko Ph tul, Ko: Sl tu~l, Ks tu~l, Hm tu~l | pKo {S} *tubu- in *cds* > MKo, NKo tu~ ¶ S AJ 255 [#94]), S QK #94, Nam 166, MLC 501, 509, Lee GKS 174, Mr. KJ 245, Blz. N 128 || M *zi_lw_lrin 'two' > MM [S] z'irin 'two', WrM z'irin 'two (women)', Dg z'u~ru~ 'pair', Mnr H {SM} z'u~r 'couple, pair' ¶ H 90, MED 1060, S AJ 238 [#98], SM 96 || ? T: [1] *t' u~l 'equal, counterpart, corresponding to so.\sth.', 'a place opposite to this one' (← *'making a pair to, a second one (just like this one)' > OT tu~s id., OT U tu_l:s 'one of the same age, comrade', 'counterpart', Tkm du~s 'approximately equal' (ol biđ du~s bar 'he is approximately of the same age', lit. 'he our [age]-equal is'), Qrg, StAlt tus~, Tv, Tf t'us~ 'a place opposite to this one' (StAlt tuz~im-da-yi 'one who is opposite to me', lit. 'opposite-my-in-being'), Qrg tus~-tuq 'corresponding, counterpart', Yk tus 'the side in front of so.', Chv: L teÄl täl, H tē~l 'a certain place; just; opposite'; [2] SDM97 and DQA suggests a T etymon {SDM97} *t_ljo~r-, {DQA} *tVbVr 'second' > žž Blgh {SDM97} tvirem (source? - not mentioned in Erd.) and Chv теπεÄp teb_ьr 'another'; but Jeg. and Fed. suggest a more plausible et.: Chv теπεÄp 'another' < тата пеÄp 'noch (тата) ein (пеÄp), теπε 'another' < тата пеÄppe 'noch ein (пеÄppe)' (cp. VTt TYK {TTDS} ta~ьr 'once more' < тауъьr, lit. 'noch ein') ¶ Cl. 558, Rs. W 501, DTS 590, Tz. UIS 102, Rl. III 1508-9, Rh. 922, Tkr 287, BT 159-60, Jud. 774, TvR 184, Ra. 146, Pek. 2854-5, Ash. XV 28-33, Jeg. 243, Fed. II 214, TTDS 435 ¶¶ S AJ 33, 292 [#424] (*di_lu~wV 'two'), ■ DQA #2247 (A *ti_lubu; incl. M, Tg, Ko), Blz. N I 110, 112-3, 118-21, 128 || ? φ K *t_l.qu- 'two' - in extended stems: [1] *t_l.q.u-b- 'pair, twins' > OG, G t_l.qub-i-t_l.qub-i, Mg t_l.qub.-~t.k.ub-, Lz t_l.qub-, Sv UB/Ln {TK} t_l.qub, L {TK} t_l.qub 'twin(s); an equal one; couple, pair', G t_l.qub.-ad 'in twos, in pairs', t_l.qub.- 'zwei Dinge aufeinanderlegen', Sv UB {GP} t_l.qubd adv. 'in pairs', t_l.quba 'one of a pair', [2] *t_l.qu-c~.- > G t_l.quc~i 'pair of joint fruits\nuts, pair' ¶¶ K 184-5, K² 194, Abul. 415, DCh. 1232, Chx. 137, TK 722, GP 261; the K stems may belong here only if the "harmonic cluster" *t_l.q goes back to the cluster *t? [cp. GZ *c_l.qal- 'water, well' < N *c_l.i~l?A 'to be wet\moist, moisture (water, etc.)'] || or there is another source (ext. ?) of K *q ◇ Cf. Mng. E-1 23 (IE, U, Ko), IS MS 338 (IE, U, Ko), AD KJRE 110-1 (IE, S, U, Tg, Ko, K), ■ Blz. IET √ (IE, A, mentions BF, rejects the S cognate [on the basis of Br.'s *unc.* hyp. connecting S *taw?am--*tu?am- with Ar wa?ama 'agree, live peacefully with' - not 'imitate']; mentions similar words in other lgs.: Austronesian *Duwa, Ainu tu 'two', Sino-Tibetan *Tur 'pair' and Cherkas t_lu~ 'two'), Tk. (p.c.) (Ang, IE); √ AD AltAD #4 ◇ Mng. E-1, ■ Gr. II #404 (*tu 'two') [IE, U, A, Ko, Ai].

2244. ■ ? ? *taθ'i 'to tear' > HS: C: Dhl {EEN} d>a~f- v. 'tear' || SC: Kz {E} da?- v. 'bite' ¶ EEN 27, E SC 163 (SC *da~f- v. 'rend, tear') || Ch: WCh: AG: Su {J}, Mntl {J} te~, {ChC} te~, Kfr {Nt.} te~, Mntl {J} te~ v. 'tear' || BT: Glm {Sch.} ta'-(a~la') id. || CCh: BM: Hld tu'wa', Wmd tuwa id. ¶ J S 84, Sch. BTL, ChC, ChL || IE: NaIE *da~/*dō-, *da~i~/*dōi~/*dī- v. 'divide, tear\cut into pieces' > OI 'da~ti, 'dya~ti 'cuts up, divides, mows', 'dayate~ 'divides; participates' || Gk δαι'ομαι 'I divide', δαι'θ, δαι'τη, δαι'τυθ 'portion, sacrifice' || Gl arcanto-dan - argantoda_ln_l 'monetarius' (lit. 'silver divider') || ? pAl {O} *dan'a (from *daya- under the infl. of other verbs in *-n'a) > Al daj (aor. dava) 'divide' ¶ P 175-6, EI 161 [*deh_A(i)- 'cut up, divide'], M K II 20-1, 3, F I 341-2, Billy 13-4, O 54 ◇ ≠ BmK 312 (equating the IE √ with S *t_l.hn v. 'grind', SC {E} *d.ah- v. 'knock' and K *t_l.ex- v. 'break').

2245. *tibV (or *tu~ba?) 'grass, straw; to cut grass\plants' > HS: S *tib_lV_ln- 'straw' > BHb Nb3T3 'teb_en, JA [Trg.] an!b6T5 tib_na~, JEA an!b6iT5 tib_na~, Sr 'no!ŋe teb_na~, Ar tibn- ~ tabn- 'straw', Ak tibnu 'straw, chaff' ('Stroh, Häcksel') ¶ KB 1553, GB 870, Js. 1645, Lv. T II 524, Sl. 1203, BK I 193, Sd. 1354-5 || ? φ Ch: pAG {Stl. VZCh} *d_li~b, {Hf.} *j_lip v. 'harvest' > Gmy {Hf.} d_lip, Ang {Hf.} j_lip, Su {J} d_lip id. || ? CCh: Bcm {Sk.} d_lawo id. ¶ ChC, J S 64, Stl. VZCh ¶¶ The origin of the initial glottalization in Ch is not clear || K: (1) *tib- 'grass' > G tiv-a 'hay' (K: < tib-va, n. act. of tib- v. 'mow'), G Aj tiba-, Mg tib- 'hay', Lz tib- 'grass'; (2) *tib- 'mow' > OG, G tib-, Mg, Lz tip- id. ¶¶ K 94, K² 71, FS K 149-50, FS E 162-3

II A: NaT *^ot_l 'joPan 'straw, husk, chaff' > Nog toban 'straw', Qzq, ET topan 'husk, chaff', Qq topan 'chaff, bran', Qrg topon 'chaff', Shor toban 'dust of grain, dust of rotten wood' ¶ KrkR 648, Rl. III 1232, MM 349, Sht. 202, Nj. 310, NogR 353, Jud. 751 ¶ The vw. of the T form may be accounted for by vowel harmony (regressive *as*): *toPan < **tu^oPan (possibly from **tiPan due to ass. labialization of the vw.)
 ◆ IS MS 367 s.v. 'срезатъ (пастенъ)' *t_lAPa (HS, K).

2246. ? *tebØV 'follow, run, chase' → 'beg hard, demand' > **HS:** WS *_ltbʃ > Ar _ltbʃ v. *D* 'demand instantly', MHb _ltbʃ v. *G* 'search, ask, claim, summon', JA [Trg.] _ltbʃ v. *G* 'ask, demand, inquire', JEA _ltbʃ *G* 'demand, claim, solicit', Sr _ltbʃ *G* 'seek, demand, beg; require, claim', Mh _ltbʃ *G* (pf. tu^oba, sbjn. yətbē^o), Jb E/C _ltbʃ *G* (pf. te^oʔ, sbjn. 'yətbaf) 'follow' ¶ BK I 190-1, Js. 1645, Sl. 1191-2, JPS 603-4, Jo. M 399 **II D** *tev- v. 'beg hard, importune by begging' [x N *t.eywV 'to ask (for), beg'] > Tm tevvu v. 'beg hard, importune', Ml te^ora 'beggar', Tl de^ourincu v. 'beg humbly, importune', Krx temb- v. 'beg for alms' ¶¶ D #3431A **II A** {DQA} *te^oba^o 'run' > [1] T *t_ljabira- 'run at full speed, rush, gallop' > OT {Cl.} tavra^o 'hasten, be in a hurry', Tk Δ dabra- ~ davri- 'galop, run at full speed' ¶ Cl. 443, DTS 542, ET VGD 112-4 ¶ [2] T *t_ljabil^o > Chg {Bu.} tawis^o 'run, jump', *d* *t_ljabil^o-gan 'hare' > OT tavis^ogan, MOg XIII taws^oa^on, MQp XIV dawus^oayan, Chg XV tawus^oqan, MU tavis^oqan ~ tavs^oan, Tki {Cl.} taws^oqan (sic!), Tk tavs^oan, Az dovs^oan, Ggz, Qmq tavs^oan, Tkm tows^oan, Xlj dovus^oyan, Uz (Shch., TL) tōs^oqan, ET tos^oqan, Yk tabis^oxa^on; T b^o M *taulayi 'hare' > MM [PP] t^oavlayi, [LM] t^ov0Ta tawlay, [MA] ta^oulai^o, [S] taolai^o ~ ta^oulai^o, [IsV] taulai^o, WrM taulai, HIM туулай, Ord t^ou^ola^o, Kl туула, {Rm.} tu^ola^o, Dg {Pp.} t^oa^ou^ol^oe^o, {Mr.} tau^ol^oi, Mnr H {T} tu^ol^oi id., {SM} t^ou^ol^oi, MMgl itaula, Brt туулай 'hare, rabbit' ¶ Cl. 447, Rs. W 453, Shch. Zh 136, TL 164, Bu. I 338, Pp. PP 131, Pp. L II 1270, Pp. MA 343, HJ 145, MED 788, KRS 520, Iw. 107, SM 43, T 367, Mr. D 193, Chr. 438 || Tg (in NrTg) *te^ob- > Ewk tə^owul- 'catch up with (догнать)', Lm tə^owut- 'go behind so.' ¶ STM II 226 ¶ Tg *- (for the expected *-d-) may be due to the infl. of Tg *tebe- 'catch' (< N *t.æbV 'to catch, seize') || ?μ pJ {S} *tapasir- 'run' > OJ tapasir- (tabasir-), influenced by pasir- 'run' (unless *d* from it with the px. ta-) ¶ S QJ #744 ¶¶ DQA #2354 [T, M (considered a genetic cognate rather than a loan from T), Tg, J], Vld. 255 (M, T) ◆ *Qu.*, because D *tev- has an alt. et.

2246a. ???σ *tEb_lV_{js}V ▯▯ 'heel; trample, kick with the heel' > **HS:** Eg NK tbs 'heel' > DEg tbs > Cpt: Sd t^obs tbs, B t^obs t^obs id. ¶ EG V 262, Er. 625, Vc. 211 **II A:** M *debse- > WrM debse-, HIM дѣвсѣ-, Brt дѣвѣ- v. 'stamp the feet, trample', Kl {Rm.} dewse- id., {KRS} дѣвс- 'kick with the foot', MM [S] debse- v. 'dance' ¶ MED 239, Chr. 214, KRS 191, KW 90, H 34 ◆ It is tempting to adduce here **U:** ?? OHg f^oxvii, Hg t^oapōs- 'tread (on/down), trample' (¶ EWH 1481), but it is more likely to be a *d* descendant of **U** t^o *tappV v. 'trample' (< N *t.^ofa^oba^o 'to trample, crumple, press') ◆ Highly doubtful (esp. for semantic reasons).

2247. *ta^oʔVga 'rock, mountain; top' > **HS:** B: Ah etəq (pl. itəqqən) 'rocher à pic un peu surplombant' ¶ Fc. 1919 || Om {AD} *d.ak.-/*tak.- 'mountain' > SOM: Hm {Ldl.} d.uk.a 'mountain' ¶ Bnd. AL 135, CR H 420-5, HWH 324, C SE IV 507 || C: Ag: Xm {BSW} təg^oa 'up', {R} adv. and postp. da^og 'up, on', bī-da^og 'im/auf dem Lande', da^oges 'upon', da^og^ose^osa 'upper', Bln {R} da^og postp. 'on, above', Q {R} dig 'über, auf' || Bj {R} 'tagega 'high (Höhe)', ta^ogig 'height', Bj A {AD} ?i ta^ogig 'highland, mountainous region', ta^oge^oga 'high' ¶ Ss. B 61, Ss. PEC 18, Bl. 184, Grg. 118, Brl. 89, Sr. 294, R WB 98, R QW 47-8, R Ch II 352, R WBd 223, BSW KhWL 7 ¶¶ Blz. OL (HS *daguh 'mountain, rock') ¶¶ Since the connection with EC {Ss.} *d.agh-, {AD} *t.agVh- 'stone, rock', B *_ldy 'stone and with Ch *d.Vg- ~ *dVg- 'stone' remains too *qu.* on phonetic and semantic grounds, it has not been taken into account **II A** {DQA} *t^oe^oga 'high, top; mountain' > T *t^oa^og 'mountain' ({ADb.} *-t-) > OT tay, Tkm da^og, Tk dag^o, Ggz da^o, Az, CrTt day, Qzl {Jk.} tay ~ ta^og, Tv дар t^oay, Tf t^oay, Slr da^og, SY, Ln, ET, Xk tay, Uz тоғ tay, CrTt tav, Qmq, Nog, Qz1, Qq, VTt, Bsh taw, Qrg to^o, Alt tu^o, Tv, Tf t^oay, Chv тѣв, Chv L tu id., Yk тѣа id., 'forest' ¶ ADb. Ttd 52 [#18] (neutralization of T *-t- and t^o-), S AJ 180 [#54], Cl. 463, ET VGD 117, Rs. W 454, Ra. 168, Md. 27, 178, Jk. K 31, Dr. TM II 439-40, Jeg. 254, Fed. II 240 || M *dexe-re 'above, up' > MM dexere ([PP] de^overe, [MA, IM] de^ore), WrM degere, HIM дѣгѣ, Kl de^or 'top, on top of', Dx ʒ^oizəz, Dg də^oz, Mnr H {T} dere, {SM} d^ore, Mgl {Rm.} de^ora 'on, on top of', Dg {Iv.} dere 'top'; M *degde-du^o > WrM degedu^o, HIM дѣд 'higher, upper; highest', Mnr H {SM} d^oied^oi 'upper'; M *degde- > WrM degde-, HIM, Brt дѣдѣ- 'rise' b^o Ewk dəgd^oi, Sln dəgdə^o, WrMc dekde- id. ¶ S AJ 239 [#129], MED 242-3, T 328-9, STM I 228-9 || ???σ Tg *deg- v. 'fly' > Ewk, Lm, Neg dəzə-, Orc dšili, Ud dišli-, Ul, Nn dəgdə^o, WrMc deye-, Mc Sb dəyə^o id.;

NrTg: Ewk d3xi ~ d3xī, Sl, Neg d3xī, Lm d3xi 'bird' ¶ STM I 228-9 || pKo *tə 'still more, moreover' > Nko tə id. ¶ S AJ 256, S QK #147, MLC 439 || pJ *ta'ka 'high, mountain' > OJ ta'ka 'high', J: T/Kg taka', K ta'ka' - id; OJ take 'mountain', J: T/Kg take', K ta'ke' id. ¶ S AJ 271[#162], S QJ #162, Mr. 539, 841 ¶¶ S AJ 283 [#188], DQA #2236 II ?? U: Sm {Jn.} *t'a'k'w'ɿ (= *t'c'a'k'w'mV) 'das Obere, Oberlauf' > Ne T Y {Ter.} dat. sg. t'ɿ 'up, to the sides', Ne T dat. sg. {Ter.} t'ɿy'ɿ 'up', {Lh.} t'a'ʔɿu'ʔ ~ t'u'ʔu'ʔ 'up', Ne T t'ɿy'ɿ 'top, upper', Ne F {Lh.} dat. c'i'ʔu'ɿ 'up', En {Cs.} teɿi 'top', Slq Tm {KD} ta'm 'aufwärts', Slq Ch {Cs.} tammel das oben befindliche', Kms {Cs.} tha'wa 'aufwärts' ¶ Jn. 155, Ter. 699, Cs. 146, 186, 200, 257 ♦ If the vocalization hyp. of SDM97 is right, the A vw. *ē corresponds to U *ā and seem to point to N *ā. In A there is compensatory lengthening of the vw. ({SDM} *e) due to the loss of the l̄r.

2248. 𐀀𐀁 ??? 𐀀𐀁.u'g'v 'to listen' > HS: C {AD SF} *√t.g(g) > EC: Arr {Hw.} -tteg/-ttig- 'know' (1s ʔittige, 2s, 3f te'ttege, 3m ye'ttege) (× N *da'ihjU 'to watch, look at?'); EC *d'a'g- 'ear' > LEC {Bl.} *d.a.g- 'ear' > 'Af d.ag 'auricular region', Rn {Oo.} 'd.og(-e) 'ear', {PG} d.o'g 'ear-drum; hearing (ability to hear)', Bn d.eg, Sml d.eg 'ear' (the vw. e on the analogy of the d verb d.eg-ay-sad-); d> LEC *d.a.ga-ay- v. 'hear' > Kns, Gdl d.akay- 'hear', Or {Grg.}, Or H {Ow.} d.agay-, Or B/O d.aga-, d.aga-ta, Or O d.aga-a, d.aga-ta, Elm d.ek-ay-, Arr {Hw.} d.eg(a)y-, Kns d.ak-ay-sad- and Sml d.eg-ay-sad- (both latter forms with sxs. of ben. + caus.) v. 'listen'; ɸ also Rn {PG} d.a'g-, {Sim} d.ag-, Arr d.ed.egad-, Ya dek- v. 'hear'; Brj 'd.aga 'ear' ¶ Ss. B 61, Bl. 137, 248, Grg. 118, Ow. 258, Sr. 294, Sim 19, PG 88, 96, Hw. A 354-5 || Ch [⊕: WCh] *√dkw (or *√dkw) > NrBc {Stl.} *n-dukwy- v. 'hear' > P' {MSk.} nduku', Mbr {Sk.} d3k3, My {Sk.} d3ka'y-, Sir {Sk.} d3hi'wi id. ; Bd {ChL} d3kwa'n, {IL in ChC} du'gwa' id. ; CCh: Tr {Nw. in ChC} t3ki' id. ; ECh: [⊕ Kjk dugiye, Kjk a3'igala, Mnj 3'i'ge'wa',]Mu {J} 3'e'ge'w, [⊕ Jg {J} d.oy-, Brg d.o'yi']id.; ? Ke {Eb.} d.i'gi' 'think' (× N *da'ihjU '↑') ¶ Stl. ZCh 252 [#56], JI II 184-5 [, ChC, Blz. LECh #40] II ? 𐀀 *tugV ({ADb.} *t'uy- [𐀀ADb.} *duy-]) v. 'listen' > M *duyul- > WrM dugul- v. 'hear, listen', HIM, Brt дуула- id., Ord d_u'l- 'hear', ? MM [MA] {Pp.} du'vula- 'emit sounds'; d> M *duyul-ga- > MM [S] d du'vul-gqa-, [PP] du'vulqa 'let know, inform', WrM dugulga-, HIM дуулга- id., 'advise' ¶ H 40, MED 271, Chr. 205, Ms. O 160, Pp. MA 147, Pp. PP 122 || ?? NaT *t'uy- (𐀀ADb.} *duy-) v. 'perceive, hear, fell' > OT {Cl.} tuy- v. 'feel, perceive, notice', Tk duy- v. 'feel, hear, learn', Az duy-, ET tuy- 'feel, learn', Ggz, Tkm duy-, VTt, Bsh tɿ'y-, CrTt, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Uz, ET tuy- v. 'feel'; Qp b> Chv L tuy- 'feel, notice, hear' ¶ Cl. 567, ET VGD 290, Jeg. 255, Fed. II 241, Rs. W 497, ADb. Ttd 59-60 || Tg {DQA} *duya- > WrMc duyle- 'interrogate, investigate a complaint'; but WrMc duyle-, duybule- 'collate' may be influenced by or borrowed from Chn d_uy 'pair; to collate' ¶ STM I 220 || ??σ,ϕ pJ {S} *tu_a-p- 'ask (fragen)' > OJ tu_o'p-, J: T to' ~ to', K to', Kg to' - ¶ S QJ #1171, Mr. 771 ¶¶ Pp VG 139, ADb. SRAE 18, ADb. Tdt 59-60, 𐀀 DQA #2268 [A *tuyu 'listen, perceive' > T, M, J] ¶¶ The loss of N *-g- (or its transformation into *-y-) in T, Tg and J is still to be elucidated ♦ C *t- (or *d-) is likely to go back to a cluster *t- + *ʔ.

2249. *tiyV 'to flow', (?) 'run quickly' > HS: S *t-iʔ- > Ar ʔtyʔ, -t-iʔ- G {BK} 'être liquide et couler', {Fr.} 'fluidum fuit, fluxit'; ?? cp. also Ak ʔtχχ G (inf. taχaχu) 'übergießen' ¶ BK I 212-3, Fr. I 206, Sd. 1301 II ?σ IE *dei_H- > NaIE *deya-/dya-, *dyā-, *di- 'hurry, run quickly' > OI diyati 'flies, soars' ; Gk Hm δι'ον 'I fled', δι'εμαι 'I hurry, flee, speed', δι'εσ'αι 'to flee' ; OIr {Thr.} di'an 'swift', de'ne 'swiftness' ; ? Ltv die't 'to dance' ¶ P 187 (IE 'eilen, nacheilen, streben'), M K II 46, Hofm. 61, F I 389-90, Thr. § 257, 𐀀 Kar. I 217-8, 𐀀 EI 208 [*dih_ (prs. *dih_ye/o-) 'fly; move quickly'] II K *teχ-/tχ- 'pour' > OG, G tχ- 'pour, spill', Sv dətχel 'liquid', Mg (n)tχ-, Lx ntχ- v. 'fall'; ?? (acc. to K²) Sv s'dχ-, s'tχ- v. 'exhaust', s'dex- 'be exhausted' ¶ K 98, K 70, Chx. 508, Schm. 115-6 ♦ Illich-Svitych (IS MS 347 s.v. 'течу' *tA'h_1A) equates K with the extremely doubtful IE √ *da- 'fließen' (P 175) (which is based on an implausible comparison of Ilr *da-na- 'stream' with Arm tamuk tamuk 'moist, humid' and Al dhjame' n. 'fat'). Alternative: N *tiqV > Ak taχaχu 'übergießen', IE and K (as above).

2250. *t'e'lyw'a' 'fire' > HS: C: ? Bj {R} 'dihe 'embers, charcoal' ; EC: ? Sa {R} tata'ɿ d.aḥ-, tata'ɿ -a 'Funken machen; das Feuer sprühen, spritzen'; C b> Tgy tɿ) bl tɿtaʔ bɿle id. (the direction of the borrowing is not clear; but since the word is isolated in S, the C source is more probable) ; C b> Mb -totoxo~-totoko vi. 'boil' ; ??σ,ϕ SC: E adduces Brn c'.axasa 'salt [from ashes of burnt reeds]' ¶ E SC 193 (equates Mb, Dhl and Brn; reconstructs *t.ax-vi. 'burn'), R WBd 64, R S II 358 || Ch: CCh: Bt {Mch.} di'ye, BtG {Srp.} die' 'fire' ; ECh 𐀀√Tw 'fire' > Kwn {J} to'wa', Ke {Eb.} c'3'wa', Kbl {Cp.}, Ll {Grgs.} tu'wa', Smr {J} du'wa', Nd D {J} do'w, Tmk {Cp.} d3u [⊕, Kjk tawe] ¶ JI II 139, ChC, Eb. 6, Lk. ZSS 77, 89-93 [⊕ ,

Blz. LECh #27] **IK**: OG, G day- (aor. -day-) 'brandmarken', G day-i 'Brandzeichen, Brandmal, Brandeisen', G Kzq day- 'braten (Zwiebeln in Fett)' ¶ Chx. 277-8 ¶ *as* *t-y > *d-y? **IE** *deh^w- (= *de_əw) > *da_u- / *d_{əw}- / *du_(i)- (/ ? *de^w-) vt. 'burn, kindle' > OI du-'no⁻-ti vt. 'burns, tortures', du⁻-nah 'burnt', da⁻-vah_~ davah 'fire, Brand' ¶ Gk δαίω (< *δα_h-jō) 'I light up, make burn, kindle', pfc. δεῖνε 'burns' (itr.), pfc. prtc. δεδαυμε⁻vo ¶ OIr {P} do'im 'ich senge, brenne', {P., Vn.} a'tu'd (< *ad-dowth) n. 'kindling', MW deifyaw 'burn, sinfge', W dewy / deifio (v < *w before y) v. 'scorch, singe' ¶ OHG zusen vt. 'burn (up), adurere, exurere, oburere' ¶ Lt dz'ia⁻u-ti 'to hang up for drying', Ltv z'aut id., vt. 'to dry' (Lt and Ltv suggest an *e⁻-grade *de_u-) ¶ pTc {Ad.} *tu- > Tc: B tu-, A, B twa⁻s- 'kindle, ignite, light' ¶ P 180-1, EI 87 (*deh_Au₋ 'kindle, burn, blaze'), M K II 49-50, Hofm. 50, Ch. 248-9, F I 343-4, Vn. A 102, LP § 39.1, YGM-1 166, Kb. 1270, OsS 1306-7, Frn. 117. Ad. 298-9 **II U**: FU *tewV-tV 'fire' (× N ***t.epV** 'to warm, be warm') > Ugr {MF} *ta⁻wV, {UEW} *tu⁻wV-tV > ObU {HL} *to⁻wat 'fire' > pVg *ta⁻wat > Vg: T ta⁻wat, LK tō⁻wt, tō⁻wt, ta⁻wt, MK/NV tō⁻wt, P/SV tō⁻wt, LL tō⁻t; pOs *to⁻wat > V/Vy to⁻wat, Ty te⁻wat, Y te⁻wat, D/L tu⁻t, Nz/Kz tu⁻t, O tut id. ¶ Hg tu⁻z (acc. tu⁻z-et) 'fire' ¶ MF 648, UEW 895-6, Ht. #631 (ObU *to⁻wat) ¶ UEW (l.c.) reconstructs here pUgr *tu⁻xV-tV or *tu⁻wV-tV, Ht. #631 reconstructs pObU *to⁻wat, but Helinski (Hl. rHt 73-74) has shown that in stems with front vowels there is a pObU distinction between pObU *-w- (> pVg *-w-, pOs *-y-) and pObU *-y- (> pVg *-x-, pOs *-x-), hence in the stem in question the pObU (as well as pUgr and pFU) medial cns. is *-w-. In Os dialects *o⁻ changes into e⁻ due to the infl. of the following *w. Acc. to Hl. rHt 68-9, pVg *a⁻ and pOs *e⁻ (HL) *a⁻) correspond regularly to Hg. e, i.e. go back to pFU *a⁻ [in contradistinction to pVg *a⁻ and pOs *e⁻ (*a⁻) which correspond to Hg e⁻ and go back to higher pFU vowels]. In the stem in question we have to reconstruct pFU *a⁻ and suppose that Hg u⁻/u⁻ is here from pFU *a⁻w **II A**: Tg *da- > WrMc da- v. {Z} 'catch fire', {Hr.} 'brennen (Feuer)', WrMc da-bu-, Mc Sb da- v. 'catch fire', da-və- v. 'make fire', ? Ewk dariḡi 'burning', ? Ork darrungatv, darruptangt 'kindling (wood) (πατρωνκα)' ¶ STM I 200, Hr. 168, 176, Y ##479, 481 **II D** {tr.} *ti_{iy}- 'fire' ({GS} *tyi-) vi. 'burn' > Tm ti, tiy, Ml, Kn ti 'fire', Tu tu 'fire', Tm ti, tiy v. 'be burnt', Kt ti-y- v. 'be singed, roasted', Td ti-y- v. 'be singed', Kn ti v. 'burn, scorch, singe', Brh tin 'scorching, scorching heat' ¶¶ D #3266, GS 202 [#511] ¶¶ The quality of the D vw. may be due to the infl. of *y ♦ The initial d- for the expected i- in Bj and G may be due to infl. of other roots (e.g. G dag- 'brandmarken').

2251. *toHo ~ *taHo (= *to⁻Ho ~ *ta⁻Ho?) 'to bring, fetch' (→ 'to give') > **IE** *deH^w- > NaIE *do⁻/*d_ə- (?) *do_u-/*d_{əu}-/*du- v. 'give' > OI 'dada⁻-ti, Av daḡa⁻hti 'gives', OPrs dada⁻tuv 'let him give!' ¶ Gk δίδωσι 'gives', pp. δότο⁻ 'given' ¶ L da⁻- v. 'give', pp. da⁻tus 'given' (m. sg.) ¶ Arm tam ta-m 'I give', aor. etu etu (< NaIE *e-do⁻-m) ¶ OLT du⁻o-mi 'I give', inf.: Lt du⁻o-ti, Ltv do⁻t 'to give', Pru da⁻st 'gives' ¶ Sl da⁻-ti (1s prs-ft. *da⁻m⁻) 'to give' > OCS дати dati / 1s дамь dam⁻, R дат / 1s fut. дам, SCr da⁻ti / da⁻m, Slv da⁻ti, Cz dati, Slk dat', P dac⁻ 'to give' ¶ ? Clt: (*pro-do⁻/ə) > Brtt {RE} *rodīmi 'give' > OW rodesit 'he gave', MW rodi, roi, W rhoddi, rhoi, Crn ry⁻, MBr reiff, Br rein⁻ 'give' ¶ Acc. to P, NaIE *do_u-/*d_{əu}-/*du- is represented by OI da⁻vane⁻, Av da⁻vo⁻i 'zu geben', Gk Cp δούλω⁻ 'er möge geben', inf. δούλω⁻ and L duim, dui⁻ 'dem, de⁻s' || ? Lc M {ABlv.} da-/du- v. 'give [?]', Ld da⁻v 'I give [?]' ¶ P 223-6, EI 224 (*deh₃-), M K II 13-4, F I 388-9, WH I 360-3, Ped. CG II 473 (Brtt < *pro-d-), ¶ LP § 506 (Brtt < *pro- + Clt *to-ber-), RE 99, Sl. 105, Frn. 111-2, ESSJ IV 194-8, SPS II 353-7, Glh. 189-90, Vs. I 485, Ts. E III 5-11, Gsm. LW 94, 96-7, ABlv I 85 **II U** *toxe- v. 'bring, fetch, give' > F tuo-, Es too, tuu- v. 'bring, fetch' ¶ Lp Vfs {Lgc.} tu⁻o⁻kk₃-, Lp S {N} duok⁻ v. 'sell' ¶ pMr {Ker.} *tu⁻x⁻ > Er tye- tuye-, Mk ty- tu-, Δ tuyə- v. 'bring, fetch' ¶ pObU {Ht.} *tu⁻-, *tuy⁻ > pVg *tu⁻-l 'holen' > Vg: T to⁻-l, MK/UL/ML/Ss tu⁻-l, P tu⁻-l--tul- id.); pOs *tu⁻-, *tuy⁻ 'bring' > Os: V/Vy/Ty tu-, tuy-, Y tu-, tuw-, D tu-, te⁻w-, ta⁻w-, K tu-, to⁻w-, ta⁻w-, Nz/O tu-, tu⁻w- ? Hg toj- 'lay eggs' || pSm {HL} *t⁻- 'bring, give', {Jn.} *t⁻- (= {Jn.} *t⁻-) 'give' > Ng tasa, inv. t⁻i, En ta⁻i 'give!', Ne T tac⁻ ta⁻s⁻ v. 'give', ta ta⁻ 'Ersatz, Tausch', Ne F ta⁻s⁻ v. 'give', aor. ta⁻ḡa⁻t 'I gave', Slq Tz {KKIH} tu⁻- 'carry' ('**rackat**'), Kms det-, tet- 'bringen, holen', Mt {HL} i⁻ *ta⁻ 'geben, hergeben' || pY {IN} *tV- 'give' > Y: K/T {IN} tadī- 'give', ? K {Jc.} ri⁻a⁻- id. ¶¶ UEW 529-530, Coll. 64, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *toxi-, Ugr *togr⁻ 'bring'), MF 635-6, Ker. II 171, Ht. #613, Lgc. SL 179, Jn. 145, KKI 188, Hl. M #930, IN 247, ¶ Rd. UJ 44 [#56] (Y < b- U) **II A**: [1] pKo *ta⁻ > MKo ta⁻-ko⁻, NKO ta⁻go, Ko Ph ta⁻(g)ō 'give me' ¶ Rm. SKE 247-8, S QK #947, MLC 378 I [2] AdS of A {DQA} *t⁻u⁻ya {AD} 'offer food to guests' (< N ***t.uhye** 'to eat, feed; food', q.v. ffd.- which is the main source, as evidenced by Tg *t- < N *t.-) ¶¶ DQA #2452 **II D**

{Pf.} *tay--*tey-, {Km.} *tay-*tey- ~ *ta(-) ({"GS"} *t-) v. 'bring', v. 'give (to the 1st\2nd pers.)' > Tm taru/ta-r- (imv. ta-) v. 'give (to the 1st\2nd pers.)', Ml taruk, ta-r- (imv. ta-) id., Kt tar-, ta-, ta', Td tor-, ta-, to', Kdg tar-, ta' id., Kn tar, ta-r, ta-v. 'lead or conduct near, bring, give (to the 1st\2nd pers.)', Tl teccu, te- v. 'bring', Gnd ta-/tar- v. 'bring', Knd ta-, t-, Png, Mnd ta-id., Kui tapa, tat-, Ku ta?-id., Brh tiniṇ, tir-, neg. ti- v. 'give'; Pf. adduces here Krx tay-, te-y- v. 'send a newly marriage girl out of the village' and Mlt teye id. ¶¶ D ##3098, 3418, Pf. 18 [#77], Km. 389 [#598] II? HS: ??amb Eg N thm '(Leute, Vieh) herbeibringen, holen' (unless *sd* of Eg fMd thm 'stossen, drängen') ¶ EG V 321; Eg h may go back to *ɣ < *ʕ and *ʕ (the initial combinations tʕʕ and dʕʕ do not exist in Eg) ♦ ≠ BmK 275 (*unc.* : D √ ÷ S √hdy v. 'convey, take' [interpreted as i day-]) and 305 (*unc.* : IE and U roots ÷ Eg dw / d v. 'put, place' and dj 'present' [interpreted as i d, dw v. 'give, put, place']; in fact Eg dw / d is a cognate of IE dh'e- v. 'put' < N *dēʕ'i 'to put, to place'), S NSShS #19 (IE, A *t'oye-) ♦ *-y- in A *t'oye- and in D *tay--*tey- is a hiatus-filling cns. (after the loss of the lr.). A *t'- is due to the lr. (*tH- > A *t'-) ♦ □ Gr. II #174 (*to 'give') [IE, U, CK + *unc.* A, Ko, EA].

2252. *tawikE 'insect, vermine' > HS: ?? B *ta-wk- 'worm' (metanalysis reinterpreting the form as n. ag. of √wkk) > Ah tawkke, Ty, ETwl tawək_k_e, Gh tawki, Sll tawkk^a, Gd təkəkka, Izd tawkka id. ¶ Fc. 1476, Lf. II #0709, GhA 197, Mrc. 261 II IE *dei_g^- □ 'tick (Ixodes)' > Arm tiz tiz 'tick' ¶ Mlr {P} dega (acc. degaid) [< *diga-t-] 'stag-beetle' ¶ Gmc *tikan- (with intensifying *gem.* *tikkan-) 'tick (insect)' > AS {Ho., Sw.} ticca id. (P: read tiica or ticca), NE tike and tick, NHG Zecke 'tick'; Gmc *tikan- > MLG teke, OHG ze'hho, MHG zeche, zecke 'tick' ¶ P 187-8, EI 257 [*dig^h_l], Sl. 335, Ho. 346, Sw. 172, Skeat 646, WrW 565, Kb. 1243, OsS 1242, Lx. 330, KM 876 ¶¶ IE *-g^h- implied by Arm -z is not clear II ¶ *t_dakV 'snake, lizard' > pKo {S} *to'iri_o'ṇ 'lizard' > MKo to'iryo'ṇ, NKO toroṇ-nyoṇ ¶ S QK #909, Nam 162, MLC 464 || pJ {S} *tə'ka'- 'snake, lizard' > OJ t_u_o'ka'g_i_e', J: T to'kage, K to'ka'ge', Kg toka'ge, Y tu'ga'ra' ¶ S QJ #123, Mr. 548 || ??σ Tg *dakV 'sheat-fish' > Sln da-xi, Neg da-xi^d da'ki, Nn Nh dōaqa id. ¶¶ DQA #2203 [A *t_dake] II ???ϕ K *(s')tagw- 'mouse' (unless akin to ECh: Ke du'gla' 'mouse') > OG tagu, G tagv-, Lz mtug-, mtuy-, Sv s'dugw, s't_u_gw- id. ¶¶ K 175, K^2 66 (*tagw-), FS K 142 & FS E 154 (*tagw-), Abul. 172, Eb. 42 ♦ The K cognate is doubtful (because of the irreg. *-g-).

2253. □□ *ta''kʕV 'to touch' > HS: WS √tk.ʕ > BHb √tk.ʕ v. G 'strike with the hand', JA √tk.ʕ G id., 'clap', Tgr √t.k.ʕ G 'clap hands' ¶ KB 1642-3, Lv. T II 554, Js. 1693, Sl. 1229, LH 614-5, L G 595 || EC: Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} tuk- v. 'touch', ? Af -o'tok- v. 'strike' (× N *t.'u''K.a 'to thrust, stab') ¶ Grg. 380, Sr. 394, ≠ Ss. PEC 48 (adduces Rn taχ- and Dsn ta' v. 'push', cp. N *t.E'ak'a 'to put, set'), PH 177 II IE: NaIE *deg- v. 'touch' > Gt tekan (3s p. tai'tok), MLG tacken 'to touch', ON taka (p. to'k), Dn tage, Nr ta, MDt taken 'to take', Sw taga 'to take, touch, catch'; Scn b̄ ME taken > NE take ¶ Tc B ta''k- v. 'touch' ¶ P 183, EI 595, Fs. 475, Vr. 580, Hlq. 1158-9, Wn. 504-5, Ad. 289, To. DL 529 II ¶ *tege- > T *t'eg-, {"ADb.} *teg- v. 'touch' > OT {Cl.} ta''g- v. 'touch, reach', MT [IM] da''g-, Tk deg-, Az da''y-, Ggz dī-, XT {ADb.} dey-, Qrg, StAlt tiy- v. 'touch', Tkm dev- id., 'hit [the target]', VTt, Bsh тий- tiy-, Uz teg- v. 'touch [undeliberately] (задет, коснут□)', ET ta''g-, Tv t'ex-, Tf t'ex-, Chv tiv- v. 'touch' ¶ Cl. 476, IS AD #A 10, ET VGD 173-5, ADb. Ttd 52 [#4], Ra. 171, Jeg. 249-50, Fed. II 226 ¶ But OT ta''g- v. 'attack' (Cl. 476) belongs to N *t.a''ka 'to attack' (q.v.) ♦ IS MS 369 (*ta''ka 'tporar□' > IE, A, D *tak-). T *-g- < N *-kʕ- (*reg.* , cp. N *hakʕV 'stand, stop, stay, be' > T *a-g- v. 'rise' and N *c'EkʕV 'to step, tramp' > T *cigru- v. 'trample down').

2254. □□ ₂ *taku'n'p'V (or *taku'H'V?) 'bug' > HS: C: pAg *tək^an 'bugs' > Bln {R} tæg^an - təx^an, Xm {R} təx^an, Q {R} tu'ka'n 'bugs', Km {CR} tuxa-n-a 'bug' [†; Ag b̄ Gz {L} tək^a'n 'bedbug'; EthS b̄ Sa, Af {R} tək^an 'bug'] || EC: [†Sa, Af {R} tək^an,] Sml {ZMO} tuχa'n 'bug, weevil, bedbug', Sml N {Abr.} tu'ka'-n, Or {Th.} tu'kan-a (nom. tu'kan-ni) 'bug', Or B {Sr.} tuka-ni [†, Qbn {L} tuha-na] 'bedbug' ¶ AD SF 53, 273, Sr. GBO 222, ZMO 397, Abr. S 155 [†, L G 573 || Dhl {E} t_akk^a?e 'dung beetle' ¶ EEN 8, E 169 ¶ i ÷ (σ) Brn {E} taqambariya 'butterfly' (E 169) || Eg P tkk.t 'Schlupfwespe (?)' ¶ EG V 336 || S: JEA {Sl.} Kkt tkk (without vocalization) 'e worm' ¶ Sl. 1207, Js. 1663 (K6k2T6 tək^a_k_ 'worm of silk'), Lv. IV 642 (K6k1T6 tək^a_k_ 'Motte'), Dlm. 420 [ak1k^6T2 takkə'k_a_ 'Zernager (Motte)'] || II D (in SD) *tak'u'n'V ~ *tak'u'l'V ({"GS"} *t-, *-g-) 'bedbug' > Kn tagun.e, tagan.i, tagan.e, tigan.e, Td tixin'y, Tu tagulæ, cagulæ, Krg M cavn'a, Krb tokki 'bedbug' ¶ D #2996 ♦ If the Eg, S and Dhl cognates are valid (which is not certain), Ag, EC and D *-n(V) may go back to a sx. (whence a N rec. *taku'H'V);

alternatively, S, Eg and Dhl cognates may have lost the *n-element (metanalysis?) ◇ Blz. DA 159 [#70] (suggested to add S, Eg and SC to the Ag-EC-D comparison).]

2255. **aa** ***tAK.E** 'to suit, be appropriate, fit' > **IE** *dek^h- v. 'suit, be fit' > L dece^t 'it is proper \ seemingly \ fitting', ? Um tic^{it} 'decet, is allowed' | d^h n. abstr. *dek^h-os > L dec-us / dec-or-is 'that which adorns or beautifies, distinction, grace' || Vd das^{as}yati 'favours, serves, obliges' (< *das^{as} ntr. ÷ L decus) || OIr dech 'der beste' | other ds : ? Gk δο^κιμο^ς 'trustworthy; approved, esteemed' (unless <δ^δ δοκευ^ω 'keep an eye upon' [so F I 405]) || OHG zehoⁿ, gizehoⁿ 'to restore', gizeh 'richtig', Gt te^{wa} 'order (Ordnung)', gate^{wjan} 'to arrange, anordnen', AS tiohhian - tiozan 'to determine, judge', ?? ta^{wian} 'to prepare, tan' || Ht {Ts.} dakk- 'entsprechen, ähneln' || ? d^h IE *dek^h-s- (× N ***t.ogV** 'straight', q.v.) > OI 'daks,ati 'acts to the satisfaction of', 'daks,ina-, daks,i'na- 'right, southern, able, dexterous', Av daks^{at} ' (?) macht es (einem) recht', das^{ina}- 'right, south' || Gk δεξιτερο^ς 'right (dexter)', δεξι^ο 'right, fortunate, boding good' || pAl {O} *deca 'right (dexter)' > MAI [Bzk.] dja^{the} id. d^h MAI {FB} dia^{te} [di^aθt^Λ], StAl T dja^{the} id., Al {Kf.} dja^{the} id., Al Δ {Huld} SG di^aθt, D di^aθt, A jat, M di^ast^Λ id. || L dexter id., Osc destrst 'dextra est', Um DESTRAM-E 'in dextram', testre e 'in dextro' || OIr dess, Nir deas/deis- 'right (dexter), Gl *dexsiva, dexuae, CltI Dessuaeona, Brtt {RE} *dexsowos 'right (dexter)' > MW deheu, W deau, Crn dyghow, OBr, Br dehau 'right' || Gt tai^{hswa}, OHG ze^{so} 'right (dexter)' || Lt de^sinas id., des^{ine} id. 'right hand' || Sl *desn^ъ (jъ) 'right (dexter)' > OCS десн^ъ desn^ъ, Blg 'десен', SCr de^{sni}, de^{san}, Slv de^{sen} || Ht {Ts.} taks- 'fügen' (im Sinne von 'unternehmen [Kriegszug]', 'bereiten' ¶¶ P 189-91 & Mn. 137 (both do not distinguish this √ from homonymous *dek^h- 'nehmen, aufnehmen', {Mn.} v. 'find, get'), WH I 346-7, M K II 10-1, 27, M E I 689-91, 710, MW 465, F I 366-7, 404-6, WH I 330-1, 346-7, Bc. G 315, 332, 349, Pln. II 730, Thr. § 262, LP §§ 25.4, 323.3, Fs. 471, 476, Ho. 342-3, Kb. 392, 1243, 1248, OsS 1239, 1242, 1252-3, Schz. 333, Frn. 90, ESSJ IV 218-9, Glh. 192-3, Kf. 83, O 67-8, Huld 53 (pAl *di^aθt^Λ), RE 122, Flr. 133, Hm. 147, Ts. W 81, Ts. E III 31-2, 40-3, EI 564 [*dek^h- (prs. *dok^{ei}) 'take\accept graciously or properly'; no distinction from *dek^h- 'find, get', cf. N t^{te}**K.E** 'to take'], 271 [*dek^{es}- 'honor'] || D *takk-/takV ({GS} *t-) v. 'be fit, appropriate, ready' > Tm taku (ft. stem takuv-, past stem takk-/takunt-) 'be fit\excellent', Ml taku v. 'be fit, suit', takka 'fit', Kt takl 'preparation of half the village lands for sowing', Td toko^θ 'suitable', Kn tagu (past stem takk-) v. 'be fit, proper, suit', takka 'fit proper', Kdg takka 'sufficient', Tu takka 'fit, suitable, worthy', Tl tagu - tavu v. 'be proper, fit, suitable' ¶¶ D #3005, ≠ Km. 373 [#522] (+ unc. Kui sanza v. 'be fitting, beautiful', whence unt. rec. of pSD & pCD *ca^y- / *cay-V > *ta^y- / *tak-V) || HS: S *[√]tk.n v. 'be straight, in good condition' (× ***t.iK.a** 'be straight', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 355 ('подход^иий' *ta^k.¹Λ: IE, D), IS SS #2.6 (IE, D) → BmK 313-4.

2256. **aa** ***t'eK.E** 'to take, carry' (→ 'to get, possess') > **HS**: Ch {JS} *[√]tk v. 'take' > WCh {Stl.} *tV^k- id. > Ron {J}: DfB tye^k v. 'take, take out', Sha t^{zk} v. 'take' || CCh: Msg {Trn.} tV^kV^h, Msg G tk-, Msg P tik- v. 'take' || ? Ktk: Lgn {Lk.} zgi^h, zgi^h, zgo^h, Bdm {Lk.} z^ugu v. 'take' ¶ Stl. ZCh 163 [#167], ChC, ChL, JS 261, MB SMSM 112, Lk L 140, Lk. B 140 || ? S *^o-tik- or *^o-tu^k- > Ar ?ita^{kat}- (n. act. from a d verbal stem) 'épilation, action d'arracher le poil et les plumes' ¶ BK I 213 ¶¶ OS #2388 (*tek- > WCh, CCh *tyak-, ÷ Eg tkk i 'grasp, seize', in fact 'to attack') || **IE** *dek^h- {Mn.} v. 'find, get' (→ 'deem, judge'), {P} 'nehmen, aufnehmen' > YAv dasa- 'goods, possessions' ({Brtl.} 'Gegenstand der fahrender Gabe, Vermögensstück'), dasa^θavant 'rich', KhS da^s- v. 'receive, get (possessions)', da^s.t.a- 'rich, happy', NPrs nt4^d das^{ta}n 'have, possess, keep' || Gk I/Ae/Cr δε^{κομαι} 'I take, accept, expect' (Gk A δε^{χομαι} under the infl. of *δε^χω, inf. δε^χω) || ???σ Sl *desi- v. 'find, meet' (× N ***dtefsV** 'to follow the tracks', q.v. ffd.) || ? Ht {Ts.} taks- 'fügen, bereiten' (< *dek^h-s-) (× N ***tAK.E** 'to suit, be appropriate, fit') ¶¶ Mn. 137, Brtl. 702, 740, Bai. 157, BM 207-8, WP I 783, P 189-190 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from the homonymous *dek^h- v. 'suit, be fit', ≠ N ***tAK.E** 'fit'), F I 373-4, Ts. W 81, Ts. E III 40-3, ¶ EI 564 [*dek^h- 'take\accept graciously or properly'; no distinction from *dek^h- 'be in order', cf. N ***tAK.E** 'fit'] || R: Tg *tu^k- (= {Bz.} *to^k-) v. 'carry, hold' > Ewk tuk- v. 'carry on one's back, hold', Lm to^k-^d tuk- v. 'carry on one's back, take', Ud tug³3- ~ tuz³3- v. 'take in one's arms', Ul tu^{wu}, Nn Nh tuxi, Nn KU tuxi ~ tuxiz ~ tux3 'armful' ¶ STM II 206-7, Krm. 296 ¶ as : N *t...K. > **t...K. > Tg *t...k || D (in SD) *tekk-/tek- v. 'take, pull' ({GS} *t-) > Tm tekku v. 'receive, take', ? tevvu v. 'get, take, obtain, seize', ? Kt tev- v. 'pull along or out of', Kn tege, tegu, tegi v. 'pull' ¶ D #3407 ◇ BmK 313-4 (IE, D + tying in IE dek^m. 'ten').

2257. aa *tik. 'u' 'to show' (→ 'say') > HS: S *^o/tyk. (= prm. *-tīk.-?) > Gz √tyk. (*D* pf. tayyak.a) v. 'observe, look at' || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ta-tku' (3s p.) v. 'show, demonstrate' (n. act. ta-tka, sbjn. ta-ta'k), Bd {Sch.} ta-tk3'd.a'n v. 'show' || CCh: BnnM {ChL} takamo, Zm {J} ta'k v. 'show' ¶ JS 227, ChL, ChC **II K** *tkw- v. 'speak, say' > OG tkw-, G tkv-id., Mg, Lz tk(v)- v. 'say', Sv -kw-: n. act. {K} likwisg, {GP} (UB) likwisg 'to say sth.', 3s aor. {Test.} χ-a-kw(in) 'he told him', 3s ft. pfc. {Test.} χ-a-kwni(ne) ¶ K 96-7, K² 75, FS K 153, FS E 166-7, Chx. 736-8, GP 174, Test. S 22 ¶ *tkw- < **tk.w- (*as*) **II IE** *dei_k- v. 'show' (→ 'say') > OI de-s'- (prs. 'dides.t.i, di's'ati, de-s'ayati) 'show, indicate', Av dae-s-id. (dae-do-is't 'shows', imv. do-is'i 'show!', 2s aor. inj. da-is' 'du sollst zeigen') || Gk δεικνυμι 'I show' || L di_c-o- / -e-re v. 'say', Osc dei'kum DEICVM id., dicust 'dixerit', Um teitu, DEITU 'dicito'; *d* : L di_c-o- / dica-re 'consecrate, dedicate, devote to gods; inaugurate' || Gt gateihan 'announce', AS te-on {P} id., {Sw.} 'accuse', ON te'a (> ti'a) 'show, communicate', tega 'show, reveal', OHG zīhan 'to say sth. about so., blame, accuse' > NHG zeihen 'to accuse']int.: OHG zeigo-n > NHG zeigen 'to show' || Ht tekkussai- '(sich) zeigen, präsentieren' ¶ P 188-9, EI 516, Ts. W 89, Ts. E III 302-6, M K II 43, F I 355-6, WH I 348-9, Bc. G 315, 332, Fs. 204, Ho. 345-6, Vr. 585, 590-1, 877, Kb. 1251, OsS 1238-9, 1259-60, KM 877, Me. WB 56-7 ('show' → 'say' in juristic usage) **II A:** Tg *ci_k- + suff. 'to come in sight, appear', 'to be shown' > Ewk cikiltu- v. 'appear, come in sight' (of leaves, horns of reindeer'), WrMc {Z} ciqzala vi. 'sprout' (of shoots, sprouts of plants), rise from the ground' ¶ *as* : N *t...K. > **t...K. (> pre-Tg **tik- > Tg *ci_k-) ¶ STM II 391.

2258. aa *to_aK.E 'to tear' > IE: NaIE *dek_k- (or *dek-) v. 'tear (up), reduce to threads' ({P} 'reißen, zerreißen, zerfasern') > Gt tahjan 'to tear', dis-tahjan 'to destroy', Ic tæja (1s prs. tæ, pp. taði) 'to card (wool)', Nr Δ tæja, taa 'fasern, zerreißen' ||? OI dasa- 'fringe of a garment' (× NaIE √ *dek_k-, *dok_k-lo- 'a single hair, tail' > Gt tagl 'a hair', AS tæzel 'tail', OIr du'al 'plait, tassel') ¶ P 191, M K II 27, Fs. 470-1, Bv. 785, Ho. 341, Thr. 41 **II A:** Tg *tagdV- v. 'tear out' > Ewk tagdī- 'tear out, take away (sth. from so.)', Ewk Urm/Ucr tagdī- 'tear away', Lm ta-d- (STM: < *tagdi-) 'tear to pieces', Neg tagdi- id. 'tear away, pull out\aside', Ul tagdi-, Nn Nh/B tadora- 'tear\pull out', Ud tagdi- id., 'tear out\off', WrMc tadu- 'tear off \ to pieces \ into two parts' ¶ STM II 150-1 ¶ *as* : N *t...K. > **t...K. (> pre-Tg **t...k- > **tak-dV- > Tg *tagdV-) **II D** (in NED) *tok-/ *tonk- v. 'tear off' > Mlt toqe v. 'nip off (as herbs), cut off (as bamboos)', Krx tonk^h- v. 'break a part of a plant with fingers, cull or pluck a leaf' ¶ D #3479, Pf. 192 **II ?? HS:** WS *√ntk. v. 'tear away, pull, draw' > BHb √ntk. *G* (pf. qt2n! na-t'ak.) id., *D* (pf. qT4n% nit'tek.) v. 'tear apart, tear out', Ar √ntq *G* v. 'pull off, draw off', ? Gz √ntk. *G* v. 'pull' ¶ Here there may be contamination with other verbal roots beginning with *√nt-, such as *√nts_k 'ausreißen', *√ntr v. 'tear'). The initial *n- may be a former px. ¶ BDB #5423, KB 695, L G 407.

2259. aa *ta_ayK.V [ta_ayK.V(-twV)] 'finger', → 'one' > HS: C: EC *tV_kV 'one' > Or T {Mrn.} tokko m. 'one', tokka f. 'one', Or {Grg.} tokko, Or B/Wt {Sr.} tokko, Or O {Sr.} to(k)ko, ta(k)ka, Or H {Ow.} tokko, takko, Arr {Hw.} tokko' m., takka' f. 'one', [† Elm to'ko, f. taka, Dsn takaç, tikid.(d.i)], Kns {BISO} takka ~ tokka, Ged {Hd.} takka 'one', ? Sa {R} ti 'one', ? Af {PH} tiya (f. tī) 'one thing, something, anything', ? Af {R} ta'w 'solus, each', Rn ta'kka'y ~ ta'kka'c 'one by one, one at a time' || Ag: Bln {R} tu-, Xm {R} tī 'alone, solus' ¶ Grg. 377, Sr. 391, 393, Ow. 90, Hw. A 396-7, BISO 189, 197, Hd. 107, PH 200, R WB 344, PG 274 [†, To. DL 529, Blz. DL s.v. 'one'] || Ch: CCh *tV_kw- 'one' > Dgh {Frk.} te'k^we', ti'tk^we', Ngs {IL} t^h3'k^{hw}u', Msy {Mch.} takan, Db {Lnh.} ta'ka'w, Gdr {Mch.} ta'ka., Lgn {Lk.} tku' 'one' ¶ JI II 262-3, ChC, ChL ~~**II K:** pGZ *mt.k.aw-el 'span (the distance from the end of the thumb and the end of the little finger of the spread hand)' > OG mt.k.awel, G mt.k.avel, Mg t.k.u, t.k.u-, t.k.ou, Lz mt.k.o, mt.k.u, (m)t.u id. ¶ K 138 & K² 126-7 (*mt.k.awel), FS K 223-4 & FS E 426 (*mt.k.aw) **III IE:** NaIE *dei_k-k(w)- 'finger' > L digitus, EpL dicitus id. || Gmc (< *doi_k-kwa-): ON ta', OHG ze_ha, NHG Zehe, MLG te_we, NGr M/S ce_we, MDt tee, Dt teen, AS ta_he, ta_w 'toe', NE toe || ? amb Gk δακτυλοῦ, Gk B δακκυ'λοῦ 'finger', unless it is from *δα'κυλοῦ < IE *dn_g-t-kulo-s (÷ OHG zinko 'spike, sharp point' > NHG Zinken, as supposed by J. Hofmann) ¶¶ Bc. 239-40, WH I 351, F I 344-5, Ch. 249-50, Hofm. 51, Bois. 164, Vr. 578-9, Vr. N 726, Ho. 341-2, Kb. 1242, 1254, OsS 1236, 1281, KM 877 ¶¶ The IE diphthong *ei_k may be explained by postulating a phoneme *y in N (*ta_ayK.V) or by supposing an infl. of the verb *dei_k- v. 'show' (< N *tik. 'u' 'to show', q.v.); another possibility: *dei_k-k- 'finger' < *deyk_k- v. 'show' **II A:** NaT *t'a_w-k- 'only, alone' > OT {Cl.} ta_w-k 'only', Chg ta_w-k 'only, alone', Tk tek 'only; odd',~~

tekin 'alone', Tkm ta^ˈk 'odd (number)', Az ta^ˈk id., 'alone', Qzq tek 'only' ¶ Cl. 475, Rs. W 470, Hüs. 287, MM 341 [¶ II **Gil**: Gil ES {Blz. ←?} toxən' 'finger'] ♦ N *y is suggested by IE (*ei₁) and by T (length of the vw.: N *a^ˈy > T *a^ˈ). The fortis *t^ˈ- in T (suggesting an earlier *t^ˈ-) may have been influenced by the internal cns. (*-k₁- > T *-k₁-). Another possible solution is to separate the √ for 'finger' (*t^ˈVyk₁ ∇ > IE, K) from that for 'one' (*t^ˈa^ˈK₁ ∇ > HS, T) [¶ ♦ ▢ Blz. KM 137 [#18] (equates Gil toxən' with K, HS and A words for 'span, hand', see N [♦ ▢ Gr. II #150 (*tik 'finger') [IE, A, Ko, Ai, Gil + *unc*. CK, J]].

2260. *tal^ˈ ∇ 'to shake, wave' > **HS**: CS *√tltl id. > Ar √tltl (pf. taltala) 'agiter, secouer', BHb Mil^ˈ5T2l6T2 taltal^ˈl-īm 'waving palm-branches' (?) (Cant. 5.11) (the meaning established on the ev. of some early translations: [LXX] ε^ˈλα^ˈται, [Vulg.] elatae palmarum) ¶ GB 880, BDB 1068, KB 1603-4, BK I 203 II ? **IE**: NaIE *del(d), ?? *doul- vi. 'shake, swing' > AS teal^ˈ 'unsteady, heaving (ship); precarious', teal(r)ian 'schwanken, wackeln, unsicher sein', MDt touteren 'to stagger, reel, swing', Dt touteren id., 'be irresolute', Nr tylden 'shaky, unsteady, tottering', Sw tulta 'to hobble, toddle' :: ?? Lt del^ˈsti (prs. delsiu^ˈ) 'to linger, loiter, delay', du^ˈline^ˈti 'to wander, drag oneself along' :: ?φ OI do^ˈla^ˈ 'swing, litter', do^ˈla^ˈyate^ˈ 'rocks about like a swing, moves to and fro', do^ˈlita^ˈ 'swung, shaken, tossed' (unless borrowed from an Austronesian lge., as supposed by M) ¶¶ WP I 809, P193-4, Ho. 343, Sw. 171, Vr. N 743, ▢ Hlq. 1241, MW 498, M K II 67, Frn. 88 (connects del^ˈsti with IE *del- 'long') II ▢ *t^ˈal-, {IS} *tala- > NaT *t^ˈalb- > OT {Cl.} talp^ˈ- v. 'flutter, palpitate, pulsate' (in *ds* : talp^ˈ- id., 'to struggle', [MhK] talp^ˈ- v. 'flutter': kus^ˈ talp^ˈırdı 'the bird fluttttered its wings'; [MgK] talp^ˈı- v. 'flutter' [cooperative]: kus^ˈlar kamuy talp^ˈırdı 'the bird all fluttered together'), XwT xiv talb^ˈ- v. 'struggle, flutter', Oosm xiv-xvi talb^ˈ-dalb^ˈ- v. 'flutter, palpitate', Tk Kn dalb^ˈ-mak 'to flounder in water' (of so. who cannot swim), Tv t^ˈa^ˈlbay- vi. 'to spread' (of wings), t^ˈa^ˈlbayna- 'to flap wings', Yk talba^ˈ- n. act. 'swinging', talbar- 'take wing' ¶ Cl. 493, IS AD 47, SDD I 396 || M *dalal- > WrM dalal-, HIM дала- v. 'beckon, wave the hand', Kl dall^ˈ- 'winken, schwingen'; M *dalayi- 'wave\swing one's hand/arm' > MM [MA] dala- v. 'make a sign', WrM dalai-, HIM, Brt далай- v. 'raise the hand in order to strike, brandish, swing, wield', M b> Tlt/Alt {Rl.} talay- '(die Hand, die Peitsche) zum Schlage aufheben, schwingen, in der Luftbewegen' ¶ KW 74, Pp. MA 138, MED 224, Chr. 183, Rl. III 879 ¶¶ IS AD 47, Pp. AU 100, Rm. VMT 57 ♦ IS SS 320 [#2.2], IS MS 369 ('**тѣснѣ**(сѣ)') *tala: HS, IE, A). S *√tltl, IE deld- and M dalal- seem to go back to a reduplicated N stem *tal^ˈ ∇-tal^ˈ ∇.

2261. *ta^ˈl^ˈ ∇ 'to cut (split, trim, cleave)' > **K**: pGZ *tal-/ *tl- v. 'plane, trim, shave, hew' (× N *til^ˈ ∇ 'to rough-hew, to chisel, to cut into slices') > G tal-/tl-, Mg tol- ¶ K 90-1, K² 66-7, FS K 143, FS E 155 II **IE**: NaIE *del₁- v. 'cleave, carve' ({P} 'spalten, schnitzen, kunstvoll bebauen') (× N *til^ˈ ∇ '↑') > OI dalati vi. 'bursts, cracks' (semantic infl. of 'phalati 'bursts, splits, springt entzwei'), da^ˈlayati 'causes to burst', dala-m 'part, piece, half' :: Gk (int.) δαι-δα^ˈλλω 'work cunningly, embellish', δαι^ˈδαλω, δαιδα^ˈλεω 'cunningly\curiously wrought' :: pAl {O} *dalna^ˈ-nya (adj. with *-no- <d- IE *del-) > Al dalloj 'distinguish, discern', {BFU} 'scheiden, teilen', {Kf.} 'χωρ^ˈιζω' :: L dola^ˈ- v. 'hew with an axe' (× IE *del- v. 'split') :: ? OIr delb 'form, image', OW delu, W delw 'imago, figura, effigies' (× IE *del- '↑' :: ON telgja 'carve, cut', NLG talter 'Lumpen, Fetzen' :: ? Arm {WP, P} to^ˈ-em to^ˈem 'prägen ein, brenne ein' (if from *d₁- [as WP & P ← Scheft.], unless it is a *sd* of to^ˈem v. 'thread, string, arrange' (→ 'write'), ≠ N *tul^ˈ ∇ v. 'line up') :: Lt dali^ˈs 'part', daliju^ˈ, daly^ˈti v. 'divide', dalia^ˈ 'share, destiny', Ltv da^ˈļa, Δ dalis 'part, share', Lt pu^ˈs-dylis me^ˈ-nuo 'moon in its last quarter' (pu^ˈs is 'half', me^ˈ-nuo is 'moon'), Pru dellieis 'divide' ! Sl *dol^ˈa 'part, share' > RChS, OR **дола** dolja, R, Uk **долл**, P dola id., 'destiny', OCz s doli 'happily, with success' ¶ P 194-6, EI 143 (*del- 'carve, split, cut'), M K II 24-5, F I 339-40, WH I 364-6, Vr. 586, LP § 19, Frn. 81-2, Kf. 75, O 55, Frn. 81-2, ESSJ V 62-3, SPS IV 81-2, ≠ WP I 809-12 II ▢ *ta^ˈleL- v. 'split' > M *delbere- v. 'burst or crack asunder, go to pieces, split, break' > WrM delbere-, HIM дүлбүрү- id., WrM delberkey, HIM дүлбүрхий 'split, cracked; crack, cleft, crevice', Kl делвркэ 'deep scratch', {Rm.} delwr₁ke^ˈ 'tiefer Riss', ¶ MED 248, KRS 196, KW 87 || Tg *delk^ˈi^ˈ- v. 'split' [× N *dæL^ˈk^ˈa 'to prick?'] > Ewk dālki- v. 'split\chop into pieces', Lm dālka^ˈ- v. 'separate, chop into pieces', Lm Sk dālka^ˈ- 'split, chop (a tree) into pieces', Nn dālki- v. 'split (reed in order to plait mats)', WrMc delxe- vi. 'separate', Mc Sb dālyz- 'be disconnected \ ripped off; come off, go off, peel off', Jrc {Md.} delxe-, {Kiy.} telxe- v. 'separate' ¶ STM I 232-3, Y ##1200, 1713, Kiy. 119 [#390], Md. ChF 136 ¶¶ ▢ Adb. 58 [#11], ▢ SDM97 (A *t^ˈl^ˈl(k)a 'to

split, divide, differentiate', incl. M, Tg), **■** DQA #2227 (A *telV 'split, strike' > incl. M, Tg) **■** **D** *tal₁- > Mlt tale- v. 'cut off' **■** **■** **D** #3124 **■** **HS**: d: WS *talam ~ *talujim 'furrow' > BHB M13T3 'telem, JA {Dlm., KB, Js.} am116T2 tal'm-a- (and [Trg.] {Lv., Js.} am111T6 tala'm-a-), Ar μ laTa talam-, Gz talm id. **■** KB 1602, Dlm. 421, Lv. T II 540, Js. 1672, BK I 205, L G 574-5 **■** It is originally a deverbal derived noun with the nominal sx. *-Vm- $\blacklozenge$ M, Tg *e and D *a suggest pN *a- $\blacklozenge$ AD GD #125 & DQA l.c. (IE, A), IS MS 360 ('**pacem** **tr** $\square$ *te¹l¹a: IE, A, ? K, ? HS [C]), IS SS #2.12 $\blacklozenge$ **■** Gr. II #218 (*tel 'hurt') [IE, A + *unc.* CK].

2262. ■■ *tel¹o¹ 'to be\make foolish, deceive' > **HS**: S * $\sqrt{t}l$ > BHB $\sqrt{t}l$ *Sh* pf. 3m l3e4 'he⁻t₁el, 2m T116t2e4 he⁻t alta⁻, ip. 3pm ul¹t4eli¹ yaha⁻t₁el¹lu⁻) v. 'deceive, cheat' **■** GB 879, KB 1602 **■** **IE**: NaIE *del- {P} 'listig schädeln', *del-os 'lure' > Gk $\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron$ 'cunning contrivance for deceiving\catching', $\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\omega$ vt. 'beguile, ensnare, take by craft' $\equiv$ L dolus (G doli) 'fraud, deceit, guile', Osc acc. DOLOM 'dolum' (L and Osc Gk?) $\equiv$ OIr dul 'snare', NIr dol 'snare, fishing net', OIr dolb, dailbe 'deceit', NIr dolbh 'sorcery', W $\dagger$ do¹ (pl. dolau) {YGM} 'loop', {Mn.} 'noose' $\equiv$ ON ta¹n. 'deceit, cunning (Betrug, List)', tæla 'to entice, deceive' **■** P 193, Mn. 154, WH I 366-7, Bc. G 315, F I 407-8, Dnn. 255, YGM-1 193, Vr. 580-1 **■** **A**: NaT *t¹a¹li- ~ *t₁Elba⁻ [{ADb.} *t¹a¹l(w)i-] 'mad, fool' > OT Og [MhK] telu⁻ 'stupid', Tk deli, Tkm da¹li, Ggz, CrTt, Qmq deli, VTt til₁, Qrg teli 'mad', Az da¹li, Nog teli ~ deli, Blq teli, Bsh til₁ id., 'stupid'; NaT *t₁Elba⁻ > OT telva⁻ 'lunatic, mad', Tkm telbe id., Uz telba id., 'stupid', ET Δ {Jr.} tæbe, Qrg delbe 'fool, foolish', Qq delbe 'extravagant, crazy' **■** Cl. 493, MKD 184, DTS 551, ET VGD 214-7, Jr. 302, Tkr 300, Hüs. 102, UzR 422, ADb. Ttd 61 [#16] **■** The variant *t₁Elba⁻ may be due to the infl. of the reflex of A *du¹we 'crazy, stupid' < N *dul₁UHe 'to be mad, stupid' **■** The long vw. in T *t¹a¹li- needs explanation (Ersatzdehnung *t¹a¹li- < *ta¹li-?).

2263. ■ *til¹V 'to rough-hew, to chisel (behauen), to cut into slices' > **K**: pGZ *tal-/t₁l- v. 'plane, trim, shave, hew' ($\times$ *tel₁l₁V 'to bore, pierce', q.v. ffd.) **■** **IE**: NaIE *del₁ə- v. 'cleave, carve' ({P} 'spalten, schnitzen, kunstvoll behauen') ($\times$ N *tel₁l₁V '†', q.v. ffd.) **■** **A**: NaT *t¹il- 'zurechtschneiden', cut into slices\strips' > OT {Cl.} til- v. 'cut into slices', Tk dil-, Ggz dil- 'divide in pieces \ parts \ stripes', Tkm dil- 'cut into segments \ slices \ stripes', MOG [L] dilla⁻ 'cut to pieces', Ggz, Az dil-im 'slice', Bsh t₁l-, Qmq, Qzq, Qrg, Alt, Ln, ET, Uz til-, Qz₁, Xk t₁l-, Yk ta¹l-, Chv c¹l- 'cut into hunks \ stripes', VTt t₁l- id., 'chop sticks, cut up leather to thongs', Tv t¹il- v. 'saw up (a log to boards), cut up (leather to thongs)', Tf t¹il- 'cut up to long narrow stripes \ slices' **■** Chv c⁻ < pT *t- due to the palatalizing infl. of the vw. *i **■** Rs. W 490-1, IS AD 39, ET VGD 230-1, Tkr 270, TrR 232, GRMS 145 **■** $\times$ pA {SDM95} *t¹il(k)V v. 'split, divide, differentiate' (> M *cilu⁻-xen 'space between', Tg *del- v. 'split, divide', pKo *ta¹ra¹ 'be different', pJ *ta¹nka¹p- / *ti¹nka¹p- v. 'differ') **■** SDM95 s.v. *t¹il(k)a.

2264. ■■ *tul¹V 'to tell (a story), pronounce magic\ritual texts' > **HS**: S * $\sqrt{t}wl$ > Ar tuwal- 'magic art, witchcraft', ? * $\sqrt{t}lw$ ($\times$ N *t₁eLV 'to shout, call') > Ar $\sqrt{t}lw$: tala⁻tila⁻w-at-an 'he read (a book), recited (sth.)', tila⁻w-at- 'reading, recital' (unless $\leftarrow$ $\sqrt{t}lw$ G 'follow') **■** **■** Blz. KM 122 tried to equate it with Ak te⁻lu v. 'pronounce distinctly' (untenable because Ak e⁻ goes back to *a, *a⁻ in the presence of * $\sqrt{f}$ or *h) **■** $\parallel$? B * $\sqrt{t}lH$ > Shw {Hy.} utla v. 'speak, talk' $\parallel$? C: Ag: Bln/Q {R} tela⁻, Xm {R} t₁ela⁻, Km {CR} tila⁻ 'medicine, drug (Arznei)' $\equiv$ EC: Sml {DSI, ZMO} talo 'decision, advice, opinion, proposal', {DSI} tali- v. 'decide, advise', {ZMO} rule, govern', Sml N {Abr.} ta¹lo 'decision' $\equiv$ SC: Kz {E} tulatu 'court case' **■** R WB 338, Abr. S 234, DSI 574-5, ZMO 385-6, E SC 325 **■** **IE** *del- 'tell, narrate, pronounce ritual texts' > Ht talliya- v. 'invoke (gods)', Lc M {KrlSh} tali '(heathen) priest' ($\times$ N *t₁eLV '†' [q.v.]) $\parallel$ Gmc *talo⁻ 'narration', *taljan 'to tell, narrate' > ON tala 'speech, conversation', AS talu 'narration' (> NE tale), MLG tale 'speech', MDt tael, ta¹le 'speech, language', Dt taal 'language, speech', OHG zala 'tale'; ON tala 'to speak, talk', AS talian 'enumerate; consider (a thing to be so-and-so)', te¹llan 'to narrate' **■** P 193, Ts. IAH 265, Ts. E III 58-60, KrlSh. XLJ 86, Vr. 580-1, Vr. N 718, Ho. 342, 344, Kb. 1239, OsS 1226, $\neq$ Pol. ONRT 661, GI 808 (fn. 1) **■** **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) *tultV 'witchcraft' > Hg ta¹ltos 'sorcerer, shaman; Zauberpferd' $\vdash$ ObU *t¹Vlt > pOs *tolt/*tolt [{HL.} *tolt/*ta¹lt] > Os: N tolt 'giant' ($\leftarrow$ 'sorcerer'), tolt₁, tolt₁en 'mit Zauberkraft', Vy tolt 'fever', Kz to¹lt 'Hilfe; Linderung (bei einer Krankheit, in der Armut)', to¹hta 'without effort, without noise; suddenly'; pVg *tu¹lt > Vg N tu¹ltan, tu¹ltan¹ 'leicht, einfach' ($\leftarrow$ 'by witchcraft') **■** UEW 895, Ht. 188 [#637] $\blacklozenge$ May be (but not necessarily is) connected with N *tULV 'to line up' (q.v.) $\blacklozenge$ IE *del- has lost its original glide *w due to a law eliminating clusters of two sonants $\blacklozenge$ AD NM #124, S CNM 9 ($\div$ ST) $\parallel$, **■** Blz. KM 122 [#27] [S, C, B, IE + reflexes of *tULV

'to line up' + unconvincingly: Tg *te^hlu^h 'narrating, folk tale' (which should be better referred to N *t.eLV '↑'), Ak te^hlu 'pronounce distinctly' (e^h points to a S *ʔ or *h)].

2265. $\square_2$ *tULV 'to line up' (→ 'to count?') > K: pGZ *twl-/twal- v. 'count' > G tvl(-a)/tval-, Mg tval- (ɬ G?) id. ¶ Fn. KW-2 42 [#6], Chx. 487-8 **II IE:** NaIE *del- $\square$ 'row, thread' > Arm to⁻tol 'row', to⁻em tolem v. 'thread, string' :: Gmc *talo⁻ 'counting, narration', *taljan 'to count, tell' [× N *tulV 'to tell (a story), produce magic\ritual texts', q.v. ffd.] > AS talu 'series', tæl 'number', zetæl 'number, series', OHG zala 'row, number, counting, account', NHG Zahl 'number'; OHG zaloⁿ, NHG zahlen 'to count' ¶ P 193, Vr. 580-1, Kb. 1239, OsS 1226, KM 872, Bedr. 707, Ei 397 (*del- 'aim, compute') ♦ The meaning 'narration, to talk' (as in Gmc) has a double origin: it goes back both to *tULV 'to line up' (cp. compteur - raconter) and to *tulV 'to pronounce magical texts'. An alt. solution is to assume that these two N etymons are identical: *tulV 'to line up' → 'to narrate, tell (a story)' → 'pronounce magic\ritual formulas' [♦ $\square$ Blz. 122 [#27] (*incl.* K, IE; see above s.v. *tulV 'to tell (a story), pronounce magic\ritual texts')].

2266. ??₂ *t^h.VI^hV 'hang' > HS: *^htlyw 'hang' (KB: '(an)hängen') > Hb ^htly G (pf. elIT1 ta⁻la⁻, pp. iulT1 ta⁻lu⁻y), IA ^htly id., JA [Trg.] ^htlyw G 'lift up, hang', JEA ^htly G 'hang, suspend', Ak tullu⁻ D 'behängen' ¶ KB 1601, Js. 1671, Lv. T II 539, Sl. 1208-9, Sd. 1369 || ECh: Ndam D {J} tu^hla⁻, Ll {Grgs.} tu⁻l 'hang' ¶ ChC ¶¶ OS #508 **II A:** pKo *t^hl⁻r- 'hang, fasten' > MKo t^hl⁻r-, NKo tal- ¶ S QK #952, Nam 140, MLC 403 || pJ *ta^hra⁻ vi 'hang' > OJ ta^hra⁻, J: T tare⁻, K/Kg ta^hre⁻ ¶ S QJ #1159, Mr. 764 ¶¶ DQA #2386 (A *t^hi⁻a⁻lo 'hang, strap'; Ko, J + *unc.* σ M *teleyi 'belt for trousers' and Tg *to⁻li 'belt') ♦ $\square$ Gr. II #196 (*tol 'hang') [A, Ko, J, Ai + *err.* IE + *unc.* M, Tg].

2267. *to.I^hV (or *tol⁻.V) 'to fill, pile up; full' > HS: EC *tu⁻l v. 'pile up' [× N *t^hie^hʔa^hl^ho (or *tu⁻lʔa^hl^hV) 'stone, heap of stones'??] > Sml, Or, Kns tu⁻l-, Bs tu⁻l-a- id., HEC *tu⁻l v. 'pile up, stack' (of grain) > Brj {Hd.} tu⁻l id., Ged {Hd.} tu⁻l id., {L} tu⁻le v. 'heap', Sd {Gs., Hd.} tu⁻l v. 'pile up' :: ???σ SC: Kz {E} tal- v. 'grow' ¶ Ss. B 180, Bl. 185, AD GDS #7.19, Abr. S 240, Grg. 381, L M 54, Hd. 113, 223, 263, 396, Gs. 318, E SC 168 || NrOm: Ym {C} tu⁻l 'fare i covoni, ammucchiare', {Wdk.} tu⁻lo v. 'heap up', Mch {L} tu⁻llo 'heap, pile' ¶ L M 54, C SE III 83, Wdk. BY 137 || Ch: WCh: Hs tu⁻li 'heap, crowd', Ang {Flk.} tu⁻l 'a swelling', {J} tu⁻l 'swelling after a bit by a fly' :: ECh: Ke {Eb.} tɛlaŋ 'völlig' ¶ Abr. H 897, Eb. 97, Flk. s.v. tu⁻l, ChC || ?σ B: Ah tawəltwə 'swell, inflate' ¶¶ $\square$ Tk. SCC 79 [#6.2] (C, Om, Ch + *unc.* Eg twɔ 'hochheben, hold up, support', Ar tall- 'hill' and JA təlī⁻a⁻ 'high' [actually pp. 'lifted up, exalted' → 'high', cf. N *t^hie^hʔa^hl^ho '↑']) **II K** *^htwal- > G tval- 'zur Reife kommen, reif werden (z. B. Früchte)' (← * 'become full') ¶ Chx. 474 **II A** *to.IV > T *t^h o⁻l v. 'be filled, be full' > OT {Cl.} tol- id., Tkm do⁻l-, Tk dol-, Az, Ggz dol-, VTt, Bsh tul-, CrTt, Qry, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Ln, Alt, Xk tol-, Uz tol-, Chv L тул- tul-, Tv t^hol-, Tf t^hol-, Yk tuol- id., Tf t^hol- vi. 'come to an end, be done, be filled'; T d^h *t^h o⁻lu 'full' > OT {Cl.} tolu⁻, Tk dolu, Az, Ggz dolu, Tkm, XT {ADb.} do⁻l-, Nog, Qzq, Qq toli, Blq, Yk tolu, VTt, Bsh тулы тул^h, Qrg, Alt tolo, Uz tola⁻, Tv t^holu 'full, filled', Yk tolor- v. 'fill, fulfill'; T ɬ Ewk toli 'full' ¶ IS AD 40, ADb. Ttd 61 [#9], Rs. W 486, ET VGD 257-9, Jeg. 256, Fed. II 242-3, Ra. 173, JkR 389, 402, Pek. 2819-20, Rl. III 1191-3, DTS 172-3 || Tg *do⁻l-Vm- v. 'fill' > Neg dolumɔa 'full, whole', WrMc dolmo- 'pour in, fill the cup, add (wine)' ¶ STM II 195 ||?? pJ *ta^hr- 'be sufficient, full' > OJ tar-, J: T ta^hri-, K ta^hri⁻, Kg tari⁻ ¶ S QJ 158, Mr. 764 ¶¶ ≠ But S AJ and DQA #229 equate the T and J stems with Tg *jalu(-m) 'full' and pKo *cara v. 'be sufficient, enough' and reconstruct pA **c^ha⁻lo 'full, to fill'.

2268. $\square$ *tal.θ^ho^h ' (back of the) neck, shoulders' > HS: S *^htlɪʃ 'neck' > Ar talaʃ- 'longueur du cou, de l'encolure', ^htlɪʃ G (pf. taliʃa, ip. -tlaʃ-) 'avoir un long cou, une encolure longue'; in Ar the semantic component of 'length' is probably due to the infl. of the paronymous ^htlɪʃ v. 'be tall' (as in the word taliʃ- 'tall') ¶ BK I 204, L G 574, Di. 552, Sd. 1369-70 || ???φ C: SLEC {Bl.} *dul 'back (dorsum)' > Kns tu⁻l-ta id., Sml N {Abr.} du⁻l id., 'on', Sml {ZMI} dul 'top, surface; on, above' ¶ Bl. 177, Abr. S 68, ZMI 100 **II IE** (att. in Blt) *^hd^hl^helH-b-/d^hl^hoH-b-/d^hl^hl^hH-b- 'upper arm' > Ltv Δ dal^hba^h dal^hbs 'Stamm des Baums, Stange', Lt di^hl^hbs 'forearm' ({P} 'Röhrenknochen, Schienbein'), Ltv de^hl^hbs 'Oberarm', di^hba^h - di^hl^hbs 'forearm (Oberarm)', Δ 'Schienbein'; (× N *dæLbV 'to gouge, dig, cut through'?): Lt da^hlba^h - de^hlba^h 'lever, crow-bar', Pru dalptan⁻ 'Durchschlag' 'crow-bar (for punching holes)' ¶ P 246, Frn. 81, En. 156, Tp. P A-D 291-4, ME I 434, 454, 466-7, PiesS 128, 144 **II A** *t^ha^hl^hlu 'shoulders, shoulder-blade' > NaT *t^ha^hl^h 'upper part of the back; back (dorsum)' > Tk dal 'back (dorsum)', Δ dal^h dalh, Az dal id., 'back part', Az Tbr/Erz {Foy} dal 'part of the back between the shoulders', Tkm † da^hl^h 'back

part', Tkm Δ {Mux.} dal 'back' ¶ IS AD 47, Rs. W 130, ET VGD 131-2, ADb. SR 141-2, Az. 95, Foy AS II 213, Mux. 234 || M {Lg.} *daˈlu 'shoulder-blade, the hinder part of the shoulder' > MM [MA, IM] vLˈd daˈlu, [IsV] vuL0ˈdaa dalwu (sic!), WrM dalu, HIM дал 'shoulderblade', Brt дала, MMgl daˈlu (Lg. [daˈlu]), Mgl {Rm.} doˈlu, Dg dal id., Dx daleu, Ba dali, Mnr H {SM} d_aˈli 'shoulder (épaule), shoulderblade', Kl дал, {Rm.} dal_a 'sholuderblade'; M → Chg dalu id.; M *dalaŋ ({ADb.} *dalu-n) 'horse's withers (загрьвок); fat under a horse's mane' (ADb.: ← adj.) > WrM {Kow.} dalaŋ 'nuque, le dessus de cou (des chevaux, des mulets)', Kl далъ, HIM далан(г) dalaŋ-dalaŋ 'fat under a horse's mane', Brt далан 'horse's withers' ¶ IS AD 47, MED 226-7, ADb. MSR 9 [#10], Pp. MA 138, 435, KW 73, Rm. M 27, Iw. 97, Lg. VMI 25, SM 42, T 327, T BJ 138, T DnJ 117, T DgJ 134, KRS 178, 180, Chr. 183-4, Kow. 1632, 1635 || Tg: Ewk daluˈ 'shoulder-balde of reindeer\elk' (← M?) ¶ STM I 195 || ?σ pKo {S} *taˈrˈaˈiˈ 'wing of a saddle' (unless d from taˈr- 'hang', as supposed by MLC) > MKo taˈrˈaˈiˈ id., NKo taraˈ 'mudguards hanging on either sides of a horse; two sideboards of a coffin' ¶ S QK #857, Nam 141, MLC 382 || pJ {S} *taˈvi 'hand, arm' > OJ teˈ, J: T/Kg teˈ, K teˈe, Ns tiˈ, Sh tiˈ, Ht sˈiˈ, Y tiˈ ¶ S AJ 266, S QJ #35, Mr. 545 ¶¶ IS AD 47, STM l.c., ≠ ADb. SRAE 445 [M ÷ T *jaˈl 'fat under the mane of a horse'; A iˈ*dalυ ({ADb.} *δalu)], DQA #362 [A *talo 'wing, shoulderblade'] || D (in SD) *toˈl (GS {t-}) 'shoulder, arm' > Tm toˈl 'shoulder, arm', Ml toˈl 'shoulder', Kt toˈl 'upper arm (elbow to shoulder)', Td twiˈlˌfody 'bangle worn on upper arm', Kn toˈl(u), Tu toˈl.u 'arm' ¶ D #3564 ♦ SD rounded *oˈ is probably due to regr. as ♦ IS MS 355 ('печо': A-D).

2269. ¶ *tælˈOE(-ga) 'to be long' > HS: S *ˈtɪlʃ v. 'be tall, long' (× N *tulˈØV 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit') > Ar talīʃ- 'tall', ? talīʃ-at- 'high\elevated land\ground'; a merger of *ˈtɪlʃ v. 'be tall, long' with the homonymous S root *ˈtɪlʃ 'neck' is represented in the Ar verb ˈtɪlʃ (pf. taliʃa, ip. -tlaʃ-) 'avoir un long cou, une encolure longue' ¶ BK I 204 || IE: [1] *delhˈ_ - > NaIE *delhˈ_ 'long' > Sl {ESSJ} *дълъ, {Bern., SPS} *дълъ'a 'length' > OCz, Cz deˈl, Lls del, OP dla id.; Sl *dyliti (1s prs. *dylˈo) 'to prolong, make longer' > OCS продълити prodyliti (prodyliti slovo 'μῆκος ναὶ τοῦ λόγου' = 'to speak long', lit. 'to prolong the speech'), R про-длѣ-ти to prolong, make longer', SCr † dljīˈti id.. Cz dlřˈti, R Δ длѣ-ти to prolong, postpone', R rf. ѿдлѣ-ти to last'; Sl *dylina 'length' > R длѣ-на, SCr † dljīˈna, → R ѿдлѣ-н-ый 'long' || Gmc: Nr Δ tōla 'zögern, warten' || [2] *delehˈgʰ-/dˌhˈgʰ-o- 'long' > NaIE *deleˈgʰ-/dˌhˈgʰ-o- > OI dīrˈgha-, Av darəga-, darəya-, OPrs darga-, Oss I/D даргъ dary 'long' || Gk δολιχόϛ id. || ?σ Gmc: Gt tulgus 'firm, steady', OSx tulgo 'very' || Blt (with unexplained loss of *d-): Lt ilˈgas, Ltv ilˈgs, Ytv ilg 'long', Pru ilga 'for a long time, diu' || Sl *dъˈlgъ (dadj. *dъˈlgъjъ) 'long' > OCS дълъгъ dlygъ - дълъгъ dlygъ, R долгий, Blg дълъгъ, SCr duˌg, Slv doˌlg, Cz dlouhý, Slk dlhý, P długi, R ѿдолгий 'long', R долог 'is long' || Ht daluki- 'long' (of time and space) || [3] *dlongʰo- 'long' > L longus || Gt laggs, ON langr, OHG, NHG, AS lang 'long', NE long || MPrs drang id. || pAl {O} *dlata 'long' (< *dlnˌgʰ-to-) > Al gjateˈ, Δ glatz ¶ P 196-7, EI 357 (*dlˌhˈiˈgʰo-s & *dlongʰo-s 'ling'), F I 406-7, Frn. 183-4, Zink. LJZ I 73, En. 183, Tp. P I-K 40-1, Bern. I 251-3, StSS 189, 520, SPS V 215-6, 219-20, Glh. 209-10, ESSJ V 207-12, M K II 47, Ab. I 344-5, Fs. 482-3, Hs. S 76, Kb. 588, Ts. W 82-3, Ts. E III 61-5, ABIV. II 111-2, Vr. 345, Fs. 318, O 130-1 || A *ˈdeL(e)gV '(to be) wide, broad' > M: WrM deleguˈuˈ, HIM дүл** 'large, vast, spacious, wide', MM [MA] delge- v. 'open wide', delgere- v. 'spread', WrM delge- {Pp.} 'ausbreiten', {MED} v. 'spread', HIM дүлгү- id., WrM delger, HIM дүлгүр 'extensive, vast', Mnr {T} delge- vt. 'spread, unfold', Mnr H {SM} d_ierg_e- 'étendre, déployer, étaler, dérouler'; M → Yk daˈlaˈy, daˈlaˈgaˈy 'abundant, vast', Ewk dɜlɜyɜ, dɜlɜy 'vast' ¶ MED 248-9, Pp. MA 140-1, T 328, SM 52 ¶¶ STM I 233-4, ≠ Pp. VG 22 (considers Ewk dɜlɜy to be an inherited Tg word and a cognate of M delge-, delegey rather than a loan) ♦ ¶ IS MS 339 (*tel(h)ˌa 'long') and IS SS #2.13 (in both: A, IE, S [non-existent Ar ˈtɪlʃ]) ♦ ≠ Gr. II #249 (*del 'long') [IE, CK + err. A *delpˈa 'wide'].

2270. ¶ *tˈaˈlhV 'to hit, to damage, be damaged' > HS: S *ˈtɪlh > Ar ˈtɪlh G (ip. -tlaʃ-, pf. taliha) 'périr; être triste et chagrin' || IE (mt) *dehˈl-/dˌhˈl- > NaIE *deˈl-/dˌhˈl- v. 'damage, destroy' > Gk δηλεˈομαι 'I destroy, damage', παν-δαϛˈλητοϛ 'destroyed', φρενο-δαϛˈλητοϛ 'sinnesgestört' || L doleˈ- v. 'ache' (mihi dolet 'it hurts me', caput dolet '(one's) head aches', dolor 'pain', but not deˈle- 'blot out, efface' (where deˈ- is a px.) || Ltv deˈlɪt 'wear out', Δ {ME} 'quälen', Δ {ME} deˈl, 'es ist eine Schande' ¶¶ ≠ P 194-5, F I 378, WH I 335-6, 364, ME I 463, ¶ Kar. I 208-9 ¶¶ L and Ltv < IE *deˈl-/dˌhˈl- × IE *del- v. 'split' [< N *taˈlˌV 'to cut (split, trim, cleave)'] || U: FU (att. in Vg) *tɪssˈtaˈlˌV > Vg N {Mu.} tal - taˈl 'illness, contagious

disease' ¶ MK 621 ¶??ϕ ¶ *ta-la- > T: [1] T *t_l'ja-la- 'damage, ruin' > OT tala- v. 'damage, pillage', Chg ≥xv tala 'pillage', Tk dala-, Az, Ggz dala- 'bite' (of animals), Chv tula-, Δ tɔvla- id., 'kill (an animal)' (of predators) ¶ [2] Here (?) also NaT *t' a-la- 'bite' (of animals), 'bite to death', Tkm ta-la-, Az, Uz, Qrg tala-, Yk tala- 'plunder', Xk tala- v. 'ruin, destroy', Alt tala- id., 'plunder; scold, abuse' ¶ in several lgs. these two verbs coalesced: MQp XIV-XV, OOsM ≤XIV tala- 'bite, tear; plunder', VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qmq tala- 'plunder', 'bite' (of animals) ¶ T b> M (× N *t.al'h'a 'to lift up, carry', q.v.): MM [S, MA] tala-, Kl {Rm.} tal_a- v. 'plunder', WrM tala-, HlM тала- v. 'take away, confiscate, plunder; ruin', Ord t'ala- 'piller et casser les objets'; M b> WrMc tala- 'confiscate' ¶ Cl. 492, ET VGD 134-7, Rs. W 458, Jeg. 256, BT 140, Pek. 2533, MED 771, H 144, Pp. MA 339, KW 376 ¶ | ?σ pKo {S} *ta'rva'i₋ 'lure, seduce, coax' > MKo ta'rva'i₋, NKo talla₋ ¶ S QK #624, Nam 139, MLC 404 ¶ | ?σ pJ {S} *ta'ra'-s- 'deceive, lure' > OJ ta'ra'-s-, J: T taras- ¶ S QJ #570 ¶¶ DQA #2321 [A *t'a-la 'to plunder, seduce'] ¶¶ If the original menaing of the A root is 'to plunder, seduce' and its from is *t'a-la, its N connection become highly *qu.* (for semantic reasons and because A *t'- does not go back to N *t-) ¶ D *tal- v. 'beat, hit' > Tm tallu v. 'beat, crush', Ml tallu 'a blow, stroke, beating', Tu dalliyuni v. 'slap, beat', Tl Δ talgu v. 'strike', Knd talg- v. 'strike, hit' ¶¶ D #3105 ♦ Cf. Blz. SNE I #7 (IE, ?U + i ÷ HS *dall- 'weak').

2271. ¶¶ *ta'lwA – *talwa₋ 'cold season, rain' > IE: NaIE *del- 'rain, dew' > Arm te-_{te} 'heavy rain', te-am, -em, -um telam, -em, -um v. 'cause to rain heavily, open the windows of heaven' ¶ OIr {P} delt 'dew', MBr, Br delt 'moist' ('humide') ¶ P 196, ¶σ EI 207 (*del- 'flow'), Ern. 151, Hm. 149, Bedr. 697-8, ≠ Ach. IV 392 ¶ U: FU *ta'lwaa₋ 'winter' > F talvi (gen. talven), Es talv, Lv to₋la, Lv W ta₋la | pLp {Lr.} *ta'lvē id. > Lp: N {N} dal've, L {LLO} tal've₋, S {Hs.} daalvie, Vfs {Lgc.} d₋al₋ewi₋e, Kld та₋л₋л₋в та₋л₋л₋в | pMr {Ker.} *ta'lwā > Er теле t'el'e, Mk т₋л₋л₋а t'alā id. | Chr: KB tel, Uf telā, B tele id. | Prm {LG} *tōl > Z tōv, Yz to₋l id. ¶ ObU {Ht.} *tēl(ay) 'winter' > Vg *ta₋l – *tīlī > Vg: T ta₋l, LK/MK/UK/NV tō₋l, P/SV/LL tō₋l, UL/Ss ta₋l 'winter', LK/MK/Ss te₋li 'in winter', P te₋l-pō₋l, UL te₋li-pa-wl 'Winterdorf'; pOs *te₋lōy (¶Hl.} *ta₋lōy) 'winter' > Os: V/Vy te₋lōx, Ty/Y to₋lōx, D/K te₋tō, Nz ta₋t, Kz ta₋t, O ta₋l | Hg te₋l (acc. telet) id. ¶ UEW 516, Coll. 118, Coll. CG 414, Db. OS x, Sm. 550 (FU *ta'lwaa₋, FP *ta'lwaa₋, Ugr *ta'lgaa₋), MF 625-6, It. #271, Kt. 429, LG 283, Lr. #1223, Lgc. #7728, Hs. 403-4, SaR 344, Ker. II 166, Ht. #635 ¶ ? A: NaT *t'olu 'hail' > Tk dolu, Az dolu, Ggz tolu (the vl. t- is still to be explained), Tkm {[+TkR-TkmRS], TDS} dolı (not do₋lı, as in AB and Rs. W), XT {ADb.} dolı, Xl t₋o₋lı, Kü {RL.} tolı, Tv t'olu, Yk tolon ¶ IS AD 42 [#24], Rl. III 1196, Rs. W 486, TkR 278, TDS 264, DT 208, ET VGD 260-1, ADb. Ttd 61 [#5], TvR 170 ¶ IS reconstructs *t'- (¶IS} *t-) on the basis of alleged variations t- ~ d- (observed in Ggz tolu, Tk Rh tolu and MT [L] {presumably Türkmeni} tolu). But the Og lgs. of the Balkans (Ggz and the Balkan Tk dialects) are known to have been preceded in the Balcans by those of the pre-Oghuz Pächänäg-

t'- was lost) [F Mng. TLP 11, 32-4], so that tolu in Ggz and Tk Rh may be a Qp loanword, while the supposed Türkmeni identity of the gloss tolu from the Leiden Glossary is highly *qu.* Hence IS's conclusion referring this word to the *t'-group is hardly reliable ¶ S CNM 6 on my T *tolu: "Turk. *do₋lu [no *tolu]". A misunderstanding: my lax T *t'- = {S} d-. The pT vw. was short, as proved by Tkm dolı (TkR 278, TDS 264) ¶ | ? OJ turara 'icicle' ¶ S CNM 6 ¶?? Attention should be paid to Gil A tilf (/tilv) 'autumn' and t'ulf (/t'ulv) 'winter' ¶ ST 354, 386, SR RN 162, 264 ¶ K: pGZ *towl₋ 'snow' > OG towl-, G tovl-, Mg tōr-, tir-, Lz (m)tvi(r)-, mtur- id. ¶ This K stem belongs here only unless it is d from {K} *(s)to- v. 'snow' (< N *s₋itaw₋ 'cold weather') ¶ K 176, K² 73, FS K 151, FS E 163-4 ♦ The labial vw. *o in T is probably due to as: *alwa > *olu ♦ AD NM #12 ♦ Gr. II #427 (*tel 'winter') [U, Gil].

2272. ¶ *tal'v 'to tread, to pound' (→ 'to thresh') > K *tel-/tıl- 'trample, press' > G tel- 'trample, crush', {Chx.} 'zertreten, zerstampfen', Mg tal- id., Sv tel-/tıl- v. 'press, touch' ¶¶ K 92, K² 68, FS E 159 ¶ U: FP *tal'a- 'trample, tread upon' > F tallaa-, Es talla- id. | Prm {LG} *tal'- > Z tal'-ni, tal'av-ni 'trample down, puddle (clay) with feet' | ?? Mk т₋л₋л₋а t'alā v. 'thresh' ¶ UEW 791, FF 1017-8, LG 278 ¶ D *tal- v. 'pound, thresh' [× N *da₋'r₋z₋v (gk₋v) 'to strike'] > Kn tal₋isu v. 'pound, beat, deprive rice of its bran by pounding', Tu talu 'threshed, beaten', talpuni v. 'thresh', Gnd dalsā-na₋ v. 'pound, thresh' ¶¶ D #3130 ♦ Cf. BmK 293-4 (an attempt to equate the K and the D √ with IE telk- v. 'push', FU *tol'v v. 'shove, thrust in' and SC: Irq cil- v. 'sting', Kz cal- v. 'stab', etc.). It is more plausible to equate IE *telk- v. 'push, strike' with T *t'alk'- v. 'strike, beat', etc. (F N *t.al₋k.a 'to strike, push').

2273. **aa** ***tu**'E 'to be bright, light (hell)' > ? **A:** T ***tu**'i 'noon' > NaT ***tu**'s > OT [MhK] **tu**'s, Chg [San.], Blq, Qmq, Qrg, StAlt **tu**'s, Qzq, Nog, Qq **tu**'s, VTt, Bsh **tu**'s, Kr **tu**'s ~ **tis**, Uz **tus**, Tv **tu**'s, Tf **tu**'s 'noon' ¶ Cl. 559, DTS 600, Rs. W 507 ('noon'), TL 78-9, Ra. 178, Rl. III 1586-7, Jud. 786, BT 163 ¶ Hardly from ***tu**'s 'halt in a journey', as supposed by MhK and Cl. || M: [1] M ***dul** (× N ***dul**'i 'fire; to heat') > WrM **dul**, HIM **дул** 'clear, serene, calm, bright' (of weather), Ord **d_u**l adj. 'sans vent et sans froid', Kl {Rm.} **dul** o'dr. 'summer day; warm windless day' ¶ MED 272, Ms. O 16, KW 101 [2] *AdS* of M ***edu**'r **du**'li 'noon', lit. 'middle of day' (***edu**'r means 'day', pre-M ****du**'li 'noon' coalesced with M ***du**'li 'middle') > MM o'du'r **du**'li [IsV] 'noon', [IM] 'afternoon', [S, HI] u'du'r **du**'li 'noon', WrM **du**'li, HIM **дул** 'noon, middle', as well as Mnr N {SM} **d**_ur, {T} **dur** 'noon, day' (× M ***edu**'r 'day') ¶ MED 280, SM 66, T 331-2, Pp. MA 443, Lg. VMI 28, Ms. H 107, H 38 || NrTg ***do**'la 'clear' > Ewk **do**'lo 'clear' (of the sky), 'evident', Lm n. **deləd** 'clear sky', adj. 'open' ¶ STM I 215 ¶¶ **QQA** #2280 [A ***tu**'i 'clear sky, noon' > T, M ***du**'li, Tg] **II D** ***tu**l-(a)k/-akk-) ({GS} ***t**-) v. 'shine, be bright' (× N ***dul**'i 'fire') > Tm **tu**l.anku v. 'shine, be bright, luminous', Ml **tu**l.annuka v. 'glitter', til.annuka, telannuka v. 'shine, glitter', Tm, Ml **tu**l.akkam 'brightness, splendour', Kn **tol**.agu v. 'shine', n. 'shine, splendour', **tol**.apu 'shine, lustre', OTl {Km.} **tol**~ku v. 'shine, be splendid', Tl **tol**akincu v. 'shine, rejoice', **tol**akimpu 'shining, rejoicing' ¶¶ D #3360, Km. 381 [#560], 395 [#633]; for the history of ***u** see Zv. 65-6 **II ? HS:** Possibly *AdS* of SC: Irq {MQK} **de**'lo-, {E} **delo** 'day', Kz **deles** 'yellow' (pl.), Asa **-dili**'i 'red' (all from N ***dil**'a 'sunshine, daylight, bright') ¶ E SC 346 [#11], MQK 29.

2273a. ??? **2** ***tv**'i (= ***ta**'y|**ti**'i or ***ti**'y|**ti**'i) 'female' > **A:** T ***ti**'i (~ ***ti**'i) > NaT ***ti**'i (~ ***ti**'i) 'female' > OT **ti**'i 'female' (but [MhK] dat. **ti**'i-qa), XwT, MQ, Chg xv **ti**'i id., Cmn **ti**'i id., 'woman', Oosm xv **ti**'i 'woman', Tk **ti**'i, CrTt, Qmq **ti**'i, VTt **ti**'i, SbTt **ti**'i, Alt **ti**'i, Xk **ti**'i, SY **ti**'i, Tv **ti**'i 'female animal', Kr **ti**'i **ti**'i 'female, woman' ¶ Cl. 560-1, ET VGD 244-5 **II D** ***tal**l. (GS) ***t**-) 'female, mother' > Tm **tal**l.ai., Ml **tal**l.a, Tl **tal**(i), Prj **tal**, Knd **tali**, Png **tar**'i, Kui **ta**.ad.i id., Kui **tali** 'female bird\mammal, hen', Gnd Ma **tal**lo 'mother, female of animals', {Mtch.} **talur** 'female of animals', Gnd Mu **tallur** 'mother of animals\birds, hen which has laid eggs more than once', Gnd B **ta**.li 'cow', Ku **tali** 'female of animals', **tal**l id., 'mother'; another possibility is D ***tot**l. 'nipple' > Ml **tottu**, Tu, Kn **tot**l.u id. (if IS's hyp. about N *-l. > D *-l. is right) ¶¶ D ##3136, 3488.

2274. ***ti**l.?**ai**'o (or ***tu**'i|**ai**'i) 'stone, heap of stones' > **A** {DQA} ***ti**o'yl'i 'stone' ({S AJ} ***ti**o:l'a-, {SDM97} ***to**'i:ai, {Vv.} ***ti**o'l'o) > Hun {Prc.} ***tia**l 'stone' ¶ Prc. HsS ∇ || T ***ti**o'al 'stone' ({πAD}: < ****t**'Eal') > ChvL **c**'ul, Chv H **c**'ol id. || NaT ***t**'a-s > OT **ta**'s, Tk **tas**, 'stone', Tk Iç **da**s,agır 'stony land' ('çok tas.l. yer'), Az, Slr **das**, Tkm **da**'s, Ggz, ET, CrTt, Qmq, Blq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt **tas**, Nog, Qzq, Qq **tas**, Uz **tas**, Tv, Tf **tas**, Yk **ta**'s 'stone' ¶ Rs. W 466, Cl. 557, ET VGD 167-9, Ash. XV 220-1, Fed. II 421-2, IS AD # B 15, SDD I 405 || M ***cilayun** 'stone' > MM (ChSc) **c**'ila'un, WrM **cilagun**, HIM **цулуу**, Brt **цулуу**(н), Kl **чолун** **c**'olu'n, Ord **c**'ilu-, Dg **c**'olo- ¶ Ms. H 47, H 27, KRS 654-5, KW 444, Chr. 733, Ms. O 704, Klz. D I 131, T DgJ 182, S AJ 237 [#88]; the voicelessness of the initial cns. ***c**- (for the expected voiced ***z**- < A ***ti**o-) has not yet found explanation || Tg ***jola**, {Vv.} ***jolo** 'stone' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Ork **jolo**, Lm **jol**, Orc, Nn, Ul **z**'olo, Ud **z**'olo 'stone' ¶ STM I 263, Krm. 234 || pKo {S} ***to**-rh 'stone', {Vv.} ***two**lo-k > MKo {Vv.} **tolh**, {S} **to**-r/torh-, NKO **tol** ¶ S AJ 37-8, 254 [#83], S QK #83, Nam 159, MLC 478 || pJ {S} ***idi**'si 'stone', {Vv.} ***idi**so- > OJ {Vv.} **isi** 'stone', ItOJ {Vv.} **i**'si, J: T **i**'i, K **i**'i, Kg **i**'i, Ht **i**'i 'stone' ¶ S AJ 267 [#72], S QJ #72, Vv. AEN 369-70, Mr. 426 ¶¶ S AJ 37-8, 277 [#68], DQA #2246 **II K** ***ti**l.?**ai**l- > G **tal**-i 'flint, fragment of a tooth' ¶ Chx. 1317, DCh. 1214 **II HS:** S ***till**-(~****till**~?**) 'mound, heap of stones' > BHb **tel**, **till** 'mound, hill, mound of ruins, heap of stones', JA [Trg.] **tel**, **till**-a 'heap of stones, mound', JEA **al**'iit **til**'la- 'ruin-mound', Sr **tel**-a 'mound, hill, heap', Ar **tall** 'hill, heap', Ak **till**-, **til** 'mound' ¶ GB 879, Sd. 1359, Ln. I 311, BK I 203, Lv. IV 644, Js. 1670, Sl. 1205, Br. 824, PS 4438, JPS 613 || ?? *AdS* of EC ***tu**l- v. 'heap' [× EC ***tu**l- v. 'pile up' < N ***to**l. - ***tol**l. v. 'fill, pile up; full'] > Sml, Kns, Brj **tu**l- 'heap' ¶ Bl. 185, Ss. B 180, Hd. 396 **II ?φ D** ***call**-(GS) ***33**all- 'broken stone, (stone) chip' > Tm **calli** 'stone chips, pieces of glass', Ml, Tu **jalli** 'chip, postherd', Kn **jalli** 'broken stone\metal', Tu **jalli** 'broken stone', Tl **jalli** 'road metal, broken stone', Prj **z**alub 'stone chips' ¶¶ D #2381, AM 291 ♦ The formula ***ti**l.?**ai**'o reflects two alt. hypotheses: 1) the rec. ***ti**l.?**ai**'o presupposes contraction of a N disyllable in A: N ***ti**l.?**ai**'o > A {S, SDM94} ***ti**o'al ~ ***ti**o'l, 2) the rec. ***ti**l.?**ai**'o presupposes a "vowel breaking": ***ti**l.?**ai**'o > ***ti**o'l'a' (>

*t_io¹a ~ *t_ia¹∇). The first alt. has an advantage: it accounts for the K and D reflexes (K glottalized *t₋ < *t_i? < *ti?, D *ca- < *ti₋a- < *ti?a-, the vw. *-a- both in D and K) and for the length of the Altaic vw. (due to contactation of a disyllable), while the second alt. hyp. presupposes rejection of both the K and D cognate roots and fails to account for the A vowel length. Cf. IS SS #11.25, MS 343: A, K ♦ AD AD #2 ♦ AD NM #82, S CNM 8 (÷÷ NrCs), Vv. AEN 4-5 ♦ Gr. II #368 (*tul 'stone') [A, Ko, J, Etr].

2275. *tul'Ø∇ 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit' > HS: S *^o/tɬ > Ar talɬ-at- 'high\elevated land\ground' (× S *^o/tɬ 'be tall, long' < N ♦ *tæl'ØE(-ga) 'to be long'?) ¶ Ln. 312, BK I 204 || EC: Sml {DSI} tuluh 'hump; large benign tumour on the hind part of the neck', Or {Grg.} tullu- 'mountain, hill', Sd {C} tullo- 'mountain', {Gs.} tullitte, coll. tullo 'hill, heap', {Hd.} tull-o- 'hill' (semantic infl. of tu¹- v. 'pile up'? - ɤ N *to.ɬ∇ ~ *tol'∇ 'to fill, pile up; full' and N *t_iel'ʔaɬ'o 'stone, heap of stones') ¶ DSI 589, Grg. 379, Gs. 318, C SE II 221 || U: FU *tuz'ka 'point, upper end' (÷ FP *tuz'ka-m∇) > F tutka 'Spitze', tutkan (gen. tutkamen), 'Spitze, Ende', Es tutk, tutkem 'Ende, Winkel' : Lp N {N} dut-kum ~ dut-kun, , L {LLO} tur'kum 'leaf-bud (on trees), Lp Vfs {Lgc.} d_ur_z'k_om_z 'Knospe, Kätzchen an Bäumen' : Prm *toɬ' 'sprout, shoot, excrescence' > Vt tul'im 'young shoot on the top of a tree' ('die oberen zarten Sprößlinge der Bäume'), tol'a 'fir-cone', Z LL/MS pon-tol' 'sty on the eye' (pon- 'dog's' → ♦ 'rotten') || ObU {Ht.} *to¹z'/*te¹z', *toz'/*ta:z' 'Gipfel, Spitze, oberes Ende' > pVg *ta¹ək ~ *ta¹ək > Vg: T/LL/ML tal'ək, LK ta¹ək, MK/UK ta¹ək, P/SV tal'k, NV tal'k¹ ta¹ək, UL tal'ək, Ss tol'ək ~ tal'ək; pOs *to¹y, *to¹y ({HL.} *tu¹y, *tu¹y) > Os: V/Vy to¹y, Ty/Y to¹y, D/K te¹y, Nz/Kz ti¹y, O ta¹y id. : OHg to¹lgy, to¹lgy, Hg to¹gy 'udder', {UEW} 'Euter, Gesäuge' ¶ Coll. 120, UEW 533-4, Sm. 550 (FU *tud'ka° 'tip' > FP *tud'ka, Ugr tu'd'ka), MF 643-5, LG 281-2, Ht. #616-7 ¶¶ Cf. N *t_iol'Øa(-ka) 'top, upper end, tip' || D *t_iul'i 'sprout, bud; to sprout, bud' > Tm tul'ir- v. 'bud, sprout, shoot, put forth leaves', tul'ir 'bud, sprout', Ml tul'ir 'a bud', Kn suri 'tender sprout', Kn Hl sul'i, Kn B culi 'sprout', Kn R tol'alu 'mango shoot', Kdg cul'i 'leaf shoot', Tu sul'i 'tender shoot, germ, bud', Mlt {Drs.} cu¹le v. 'sprout', cu¹lo 'blade of grass or corn' ¶¶ D #3362 ♦ AD LZL 359-60 (*tul'Λ HS, U, D + i ÷ T), IS I 222 (*du¹Λ; U, D + i ÷ K) ♦ D *-l₋ usually go back to N *-l' or *-l₋. But since the only known N sources of U *-z¹- are N *-z¹-, *-lØ- and *-l'Ø- (most probably *-l₋ and *-l'Ø-) and not *-lØ- [e.g., N *Øul'fe 'recent' > U *u¹z¹e ~ *wuz¹e, N *P_ol'Ø∇ 'to split' > U *poz'∇ 'split, divide', but N *k_uu¹l_y∇ 'silt, dirt' > FU *k¹u¹l_y∇ > ObU *ku¹l_y∇ 'swamp', i.e. the reg. U reflex of N *-lØ- seems to be *-l₋], I am inclined to reconstruct here N *-l'Ø- rather than *-lØ-.

2276. *tel'Λ∇ 'to bore, pierce' > ? HS: C: Bj {R} √tɬ (1s: p. 'a-tla¹?, prs. a-tanl¹?) v. 'bore, pierce' || ??φ SC: Irq {MQK} c_il- v. 'sting', Kz {E} c_ial- v. 'stab', c_ielet- v. 'drill', ?? Asa {E} ʒ'alas- v. 'bite, sting' ¶ R WBd 226, E SC 193 (SC *t_iel- v. 'prod, poke'), MQK 109 || A: T: [1] *t'el- v. 'pierce, bore' > OT {CL} ta¹s¹-, MOg [L] dis¹-, Tk des¹- v. 'split, pierce', Az, Ggz, Tkm, XT {ADb.} des¹- v. 'pierce', Qmq, Uz, Qrg, Alt tes¹-, ET {BN} ta¹s¹- ~ to¹s¹-, Nog, Qzq, Qq tes¹-, VTt, Bsh tis¹-, Tv t'ez¹-, Tf t'es¹-, Xk tis¹-, Yk ta¹s¹- id., Tki {Zn.} ɤyT tis¹-, ET Δ da¹s¹ 'hole' ÷ NaT *t'a¹s¹ik 'hole' (> Cmn tes¹ik, Tk des¹ik, Tv t'es¹ik, etc.); [2] *t'el- 'pierce' (a secondary variant; it resulted probably from precon. depalatalization *l' > l): OT, XwT, MQp, Chg, Osm del-, Tk del-, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr del-, Az da¹l- ¶ VTt and Bsh i provide ev. for pT *e and hence for A *e ¶ IS AD 39, Cl. 490, 559, ET VGD 185-6, 210-2, BN 152, Ra. 172, Rs. W 471, ADb. Ttd 58 [#11] ♦ SC *c₋ still needs explanation.

2277. ♦♦ *tem∇ 'full, complete' > HS: WS *tamm-id. > BHb MT2 tam 'is complete, has been completed\finished' (pf. of the verb √tmm), √tmm (ip. yit'tom) v. 'be complete', Ph tm, Pun tm 'perfect, undamaged; honest', tm, THEM 'totality, completion, integrity', Sr √tmm D (pf. Muega tam'mem) 'make entire\perfect', Md √tmm v. 'be, become, remain', Ar √tmm G (pf. tamma) 'être fini, achevé, complété; avoir lieu complètement; finir', tamm-, timm-, tumm- 'fin; complément, ce qui complète; perfection', Mh, Jb, Sq √tmm v. 'be finished, finish' (pf. 3m Mh t3m, Jb E tim, Jb C timm, Sq tem 'is finished, has been finished') ¶ KB 1613-5, JH 329, HJ 1216-8, JPS 714, BK I 206, Jo. M 402 || Eg fP tm 'everything, totality', tm 'be complete', Eg NK tm 'vollständig machen' ¶ EG V 303-5, Fk. 298-9 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} tu¹ma¹ 'much filled', tu¹mi¹ 'filled sufficiently', {Lm.} tu¹m- 'be full' ¶ Wdk. BY 137, Lm. Y 379 || ? C: Bj {R} te'mim 'ganz', temim- 'ganz sein' (÷ Ar tamim-?) || CCh: Msy {Mch.} tem, Db {Lnh.} te'm 'all' ¶ ChC || K: G -tamam- 'kühn sein', G Kx -tamam- 'gut gedeihen' (z. B., von Pflanzen) | possibly AdS of G tem-i ('Dorf-, Land-) Gemeinde' (< N *tam¹ɬ'ru¹ 'earthen wall, house', q.v.) ¶ Chx. 450, 472 || U:

Dl. 825, La. MChB 363, Rn. 303 **II K** *^{te}l_im- > G temi '(Dorf-, Land-) Gemeinde; Stammverband; Gebiet, Bezirk' (× N ***temV** 'full, complete' [q.v.]?) ¶ Chx. 472, DCh. 557 **II IE** *dom_ih₁u-, *dom_ih₁o-, *demh- > NaIE *domu-, *domo- 'house', *demə- v. 'build': [1] *domu- > L domus (gen. domu-s) 'house' || Sl *domъ (gen. *domu) > OCS домъ domъ (gen. домоу domu) 'house', Blg, R дом 'house, home', Uk д°м, SCr do^om, Cz du^om, P dom 'house', Slv do^om 'home', OR домовь domovъ 'nach Hause' || OI damu⁻nah. / damu⁻nas- 'householder, master' || Lt namu⁻darys 'Baumeister' (as *d...m > n...m?) || ?φ Arm {Bdr.} tanut'ér tanu-te^h 'master of a house' || [1a] the apophonic grade *dmo⁻u- is represented in Gk I δμω^o (gen. δμω^o) 'prisoner of war, slave (Knecht)' (← *'house servant?') || [2] NaIE *dom-, *do⁻m / gen. *dem-s 'house' > OI 'dam- id. (att.: gen. pl. da'ma⁻m), Av da⁻m, da⁻mi, da⁻n loc. sg. 'in the house', n.mo⁻ gen. 'of the house' || Gk Hm δω⁻ 'house' || Arm tun tun 'house' || [2a] *dems poti- 'master of a house' > Gk δεσπο^oτ^h 'lord, owner', OI 'dam-pati-, Av dāng pati- id., 'ruler' || [3] NaIE *domo-s 'house' (analogical change due to the influence of the more numerous *o-stems?) > OI 'damah. 'house' || Gk δο^oμο⁻ id. || L domi loc. 'at home' (÷ OI 'dame⁻ 'in [a, the] house, at home') || Lt na⁻mas 'house' (as *d...m > n...m?) || [4] NaIE *dem(ə)- v. 'build' > Gk δε⁻μω 'I build', pfc. prtc. δεδμημε⁻νο^o (rdp from *dme⁻ [an apophonic grade of *demə-]), Gk D [Pindar] νεο⁻-δμω⁻-το^o 'new-built' || KhS pa-dim- 'make' || HrLw {EI ←?} tama- 'build' || [5] +ext. *-r- 'building, to build, carpenter' > ON timbr, OSx timbar, AS timber 'timber, wooden building', OHG zimbar id., NHG Zimmer 'room (in a house)', NE timber; Gt timrjan 'erbauen', ON timbra, OHG zimbaren 'to build, timber', MHG zimbern, NHG zimmern 'to build, carpenter' ¶ P 198-9, EI 87 [*dem(h_A)- 'build (up)'], 192 & 281 [*do⁻m / *dem-s 'house, household, nuclear family', *dom(h_A)os- 'house, household'], M K II 18-9, F I 364-5, 402-3, 408-9, 428-9, WH I 369, Vr. 588, Fs. 478, Ho. 348, Kb. 1252, OsS 1261-2, Lx. 336, Frn. 410, ESSJ V 72-3, Bern. I 210-1, SPS IV 98-101, Glh. 203, Slit. 209-10, Bedr. 690 **II A** *t⁻a⁻mV 'wall, house' > NaT *t⁻a⁻m 'wall' > OT {Cl.} ta⁻m, XwT XIII-XIV tam 'wall', MQp XIII, CmN XIV tam 'roof', Chg ≥XV tam 'roof, wall', OOSm ≥XIV dam 'building', Osm dam, Tk dam 'roof, hut, roofed shed', Az dam 'building, house, roof, roofed shed', Ggz dam 'stable, roofed shed', Tkm ta⁻m 'house', Uz том tam 'roof', Uz Δ том 'lodging, room (Zimmer)', Qzq tam 'wall, house, mud hut', {Rl.} 'Aufbau über einem Grabe', Qq tam 'house', Qrg tam 'wall (of mud or brick), house (of mud or brick)', ET {Nj.} ~T tam 'wall, fence, mud building' [↳ Oyr T {Rm.} tam_a 'wall (Wand, Mauer)'], SY tam 'wall, fence', Sg {Rl.}, StXk tam 'Erdschichte', Xlj da⁻m istu⁻ 'roof' {DHST, but not in DT} ¶ Cl. 502, Rs. W 459, TrR 207, Hüs. 96, Sht. 191, Jud. 698, Nj. 283, KrkR 616, Ml. ZhU 110, Rl. III 991, 1648-9, UzR 442, BIG 215, DHST 304, ADb. Ttd 62 (i ÷ *t⁻a⁻m without ev. for *t⁻-), KW 377 (mentions WrM tama '?', not confirmed by other sources) || pJ *ta⁻mu⁻ru⁻a 'plot, camp' > OJ tamura, ItOJ [RJ] ta⁻mu⁻ro⁻, J: T tamuro⁻, ta⁻muro, K ta⁻mu⁻ro⁻, Kg tamuro⁻ ¶ S QJ 393, Mr. 541 ¶¶ i ÷ (≠s,φ) Tg *tamV- 'shed, cover' > Ewk tamana 'folding birch-bark cover for a tent', Nn B tamuxi 'Schirmdach, **навес**' (STM II 159) ¶¶ Rs. W 458, □ DQA #2323 [A *t⁻a⁻ma 'wall, roof'; incl. T, J] ♦ The length of the vw. in T *t⁻a⁻m is likely to reflect the N lr. ♦ The N final vw. is hard to determine: IE *dom_ih₁u- and B*tVmmu⁻ suggest *-u, but Gk νεο⁻-δμω⁻-το^o points to an *a-coloured lr., hence pN *-a ♦ Rs. W 459 (A, IE), S NSShS #21 and S NSR (A, IE); cp. also BmK 314 (IE, Sum di⁻m v. 'make, fashion').

2282. ?₂ ***tVmiVjsV** 'to gather, concentrate, condense' > HS: S *^o√tms[^] > Ar √tms[^] v. G 'gather, collect' ¶ BK I 208 **II IE** *dens-/*dn_s- □ 'dense' > Gk δασυ^o 'thick with hair\leaves\bushes, hairy' || L de⁻nsus 'dense, thick (with vegetation, etc.)' || Ht dassu-s 'massive, heavy, mighty' ¶ P 202-3, EI 574 [*densu-s / *dn_s-sou⁻-s 'thick'], F I 351, WH I 341-2, Ts. E III 259-66 ♦ ≠ BmK 308 [equating the IE √ with Eg dns v. 'be heavy', which goes back to N ***don'c'E** 'large, heavy' (q.v.)].

2283. □□ ***t'oINV** 'to appear' (→ 'to seem') > HS: S *^o√tnn v. 'be similar' > Ar tinn- 'semblable, pareil' ¶ BK I 208 **II K** *tan-/*tn- ({Fn. KW-1} *tan-) 'appear, be visible', *ten- 'become visible; be getting light' (× N ***ti?u** 'to shine, be seen', q.v. ffd.) > G tnev-/tni-/tn- 'an jem.\et. Gefallen finden, et. gutheißen, billigen', Mg ton-ua 'scheinen, erscheinen', Sv -ten-/tn- 'appear, become visible, be born; make visible, show; give birth' (aor. a⁻χten, msd. L {Dn.} li-ten 'show', UB/L li-tn-e, Ln li-ten-e 'give birth, be born', make visible) ¶¶ □ K 92, □ K² 68, Fn. KW-1 35 [#28] (G, Mg), Chx. 495, Ni. s.v. πο^oφ^oνι^oτ^oφ; Fn. KD (K *ton-/*tn-), FS 143, FS E 155-6, TK 434, GP 154 (UB litne 'give birth, be born'), Dn. s.v. ten (liten 'show', litne 'be born') **II D** *to⁻n_r- (= *to⁻n_d-) ({GS} *t-) v. 'be visible, appear, come to mind' (× N ***t.ogV** 'learn, inform') > Tm to⁻n_r-u, Kn to⁻r₋, to⁻r_u- id., 'come into existence', Ml tonnuka v. 'spring up, occur,

appear to the sight', Kt to-r- v. 'be visible', Td twrl- ~ twrt- 'be foreseen', twrr- id., 'be visible', Kdg to-nd-ici 'it (a sudden idea) came in a flash', Tu to-juni 'appear, seem, be seen', Tl to-cu 'occur in the mind, seem, appear', Krg to-pu 'that which strikes the mind, an idea; manifestation, appearance', Prj to-nd-, Gdb to-nd- v. 'appear', Knd to-r- v. 'appear, be seen', Kui to-nza v. 'appear, seem', Ku tonza-ai-yali v. 'appear' ¶¶ D #3566; the element *-r- is a sx.? ♦ Cf. Fn. KD #73 (K, D *to-r- 'appear, be seen').

¶ 2284. *tEngVl'V 'heavenly light in the night [star(s), moon]' > IE: NaIE *^odn_gl^hlo- > Gmc *tungal- > Gt tuggl, OSx tungal, OHG himil-zungal 'Gestirn', AS tunzol id., 'star, constellation', ON tungl 'Gestirn, Mond' ¶ WP I 792, Ho. 355, Ho. S 76, Vr. 60I II HS: C: Ag *cəngəlw- ({Ap.} *cəmgəlw-/ *cəmgər- w-) 'star' > Bln/Km {Ap.} s'əngərwā, Bln {R} s'inru'wā, Km {CR} s'ingī'rwā (pl. s'ingī'ru-t), Xm {R} s.əgluwa, Q {R} s'engeru'wā, Awn {R} segul'wā id. ¶ Ag *c- for the expected *t- still needs expalnation ¶ Ap. AC 20, R WB 326, CR K 252, ▢ AD SF 125-6 || ?φ NOm: Anf {C} c'igiro-, {MYTY} s.igro-, {Fl.} c.igero, Bsk {C} t.eqna-, Kf {C} t.o3'eno-, Mch {L} t.o3'3'o 'star' ¶ MYTY 119, AD SF 125-6, C SE III 116 & IV 509, L M 55, Fl. OWL || Ch: CCh: Bt {Mk.} tekeliē, Bc {Sk.} tu-ku'le', {ChL} tiku'le'y 'star' || ?φ WCh: Kfr {Nt.} d.a'gar id. : Sy Zk {Sh.} c'a-z'ur, Tule {Sh.} c'a-c'u-r id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Sh. SB 31, Nt. s.v. d.a'gar II D *tingkal, 'moon' > Tm, Ml tīkal, Td tīgl, Kn tīgal, Tu tīgol, u'moon', Kt tīgl id., tīgl, 'month', Kdg tīga 'month', Kui tīgal danzu 'crescent moon' ¶¶ D #3213 ♦ Blz. LNA #53 [suggested to equate IE with D; pN *tīka(IV) 'moon'].]

2284. ?? *to'p. 'E' head, top' (> 'hill') > HS: Eg fp tp 'head', Eg N tbn id. (+ AdS: N *t.a'peu' 'high place, top, hill') ¶ EG V 261, 263-72, Fk. 296 II A {SDM97} *t'op'E 'hill, top' > NaT *t_ljo'po'u' (> *t_ljo'pa') id. > OT {Cl.} to'pu' 'the top (head, summit, mountain, hill)', MQp tepe ~ depe, Cmn tebe, Chg to'pe Tk tepe, Ggz tepe, Az ta'pa, Tkm depe, Qry to'be d tebe d t'ob'a, VTt, Bsh tu'ba' (b> Chv tu'be), Nog, Qzq, Qq to'be, Qrg to'bo' ~ do'bo', Alt to'bo', Uz tepa, ET to'pa, Tv t'ey ({ADb.}: < **dhey < **depey) 'crown of head, hill, summit', MU tepe ~ to'pe, Xlj ta'pa' 'hill, summit, top of sth.', Yk to'po' id., 'head' ¶ In the T lgs. we may suppose mutual infl. of the paronymous roots *to'po'u' and *t_lja'pe (on the latter see s.v. N *t.a'p.eu' '†'). The attempts to unite these two T roots in spite of the phonetic differences (by postulating pT *t'a'p'o' [Dr. TM III #872 and DT 201], or by reconstructing ppT *t'e'p'e [Md.]) are superfluous ¶ Cl. 436, TL 201, BT 154, IS AD 42 [#23] || M *dobun 'hill' > WrM dobu, -n, HlM дов 'hill, mound, knoll', Ord {Ms.} d_{ow}oŋ 'monticule, colline', Kl {Rm.} down_o 'hill' d> WrM {Gl.} dobogun 'summit of a mountain, peak'; M b> Yk dobu 'Erhöhung'; the variant with t- (in Kl towxn_o < {Rm.} *tobu-qan) is probably a loan from T ¶ Kow. 1818, MED 255, Gl. III 177-8, SM 64, Ms. O 155, KW 97, 404 || Tg {DQA} *du' ~ *du'b- 'upper (on the mountain\hill); top' (× N *d_loyja 'place (within, below), inside') > Ewk dīw ~ dīyu' 'upper (on the slope), dī-l3' 'at the top', 'forest on the mountain slope', dīn 'upper part of the mountain', Lm da' 'mountain peak', d3-yi d d3-w d d3-x 'upper, found at the top', Neg dī- (+ppa.) 'top, peak', Orc dī-l3, Ud dīxi 'farther from the river bank', Ork dī-si 'up from the bank', dipti 'upper part of the tent', Ork duww3, Nn duy3 'the side from the river bank to the woods', Nn Nh duwuy 'farther', WrMc dele 'top' ¶ STM I 202-3 || pJ {S} *d_lipa' 'rock, cliff' > OJ i'pa', J: T iwa', K i'wa', Kg i'wa ¶ S QJ #1242, Mr. 429 ¶¶ ▢ SDM97 (A *top'E 'hill, top' > T, M), DQA #400 [A *t_ldu'ype' 'hill, top' > M, Tg, J] II IE: NaIE *^odoP- ~ *dub- 'tip, summit' (?) > Gmc *ta|opp- (~? *tupp-) > AS topp 'summit' (> NE top), OFrk *topp- 'summit' (b> OFr top 'pointe, sommet', topet 'sommets', Fr toupie 'top, spinning-top, peg-top'), NLG topp, Dt top 'summit', ON topp-r 'Spitze', MHG zopf 'tip', as well as possibly MHG zopf 'plait (of hair)', NHG Zopf id., ON toppr 'aufgebundenes Haar' and typpi 'end' (cf. N ▢▢ *tupfV 'tail, back' (q.v.) || Sl *diba-ti > Slk dibat', R Δ дьбат 'to tiptoe', Uk 'дибати' 'to walk on stilts' : ? Ltv {ME} duba 'a sheaf in a upright position' ('aufgestellte Garbe') ¶ Ptrs. H 70-1, ▢ P 227, AHD 1347, 1545, AHDI 69, Sw. 174, GH 562-3, Ho. 351, Vr. 595, ME I 508, Bern. I 249, Vs. I 557, ▢ ESSJ V 197-8 (does not distinguish Sl *diba-ti 'to tiptoe' from the homonymous verb *diba-ti 'to reel, stagger').

2285. ▢▢ *tupfV 'tail, back' > U: FU *tuppV 'back (dos), spine' > Chr: L/H туп, KB/U/B tup 'Rücken' : Vt тьбър 'back (dos), backbone', Vt Sr tibir, Vt Kz tǝbǝr 'back (Dorsum), spine' || Hg Δ top 'der dicke Teil der Schweinskeule oder des Schinkens', Δ tomp 'Oberschale des Rindes', Hg tompor 'buttock, haunch', † 'thigh (Schenkel)' ¶ UEW 538, MRS 599, Ep. 121, U3S 432 II HS: CS *√tbf 'be behind, follow' > Ar {Ln., BK} √tbf G 'follow', {BK} tabaf- 'foot (of quadrupeds)', ?σ Ug √tbf G 'go, depart' ¶ Ln.

293-6, BK I 190-1, A #243, OLS 461, Hnr. 184 || (+ext.) B * $\sqrt{d}fr \sim * \sqrt{d}fr$ 'hind' > Ah $d_{\text{øffər}}$ 'derrière', Gh $\sqrt{d}fr$ v. 'be behind, follow', Kb, Gd, ETwl, Ty, Rf, Izn, Mz, Wrg $\sqrt{d}fr$, CM $\sqrt{d}fr$, Shl {Z} $\sqrt{d}fr$ $\sqrt{d}t_{\text{fr}}$, Gd et $f_{\text{ər}}$ 'follow' id., Zng {TC} et $f_{\text{ər}}$ 'avoir une dette' (pf. $y_{\text{əffər}}$) ¶ Fc. 261, NZ 451-3, DCTC 285, TC Z 316 ¶ The variant * $\sqrt{d}fr$ is connected with N ***dub₁?** 'back, hinder part, tail' (q.v.) || Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} tifo 'behind' || NrOm Kf {C} tefo 'kidneys'; ? NrOm * $\sqrt{d}p$ > Bnc {Wdk.} da'b v. 'follow', Ym {C} dup^h-, {Wdk.} du'po' ~ du'po' v. 'hunt', Kf {C} dabbo 'caccia con la trappola\lacciuolo' ¶ Fl. OO 317, C SE III 72 & IV 424, 504, Wdk. BY 100, 121 || A {DQA} * $\sqrt{t}u'o'bV$ 'end, edge' (× N ***dubV** 'edge, end', q.v.) > Tg * $\sqrt{d}ube$ 'end (of an object), top' > Ewk duwz ~ duwz, Neg duwz, WrMc dube, duben id., 'point (of a sword)', Mc Sb {Y} duvə, duvu 'tip, point, end', {Mrm.} dube 'oberes Ende, Spitze, Schluß', Lm duwz 'top (of tree), point', Orc, Ul du(w)z, Ud, Nn duz 'end, edge; point' ¶ STM I 218, Krm. 229, Y #2604, Klz. MS 140 || pKo {S} * $\sqrt{t}u_i'h$ 'behind, back, North' > MKo $\sqrt{t}u_i$ / $\sqrt{t}u_i'h$, NKo $\sqrt{t}u_i$ ¶ S QK #367, Nam 168, MLC 517 || pJ {S} * $\sqrt{t}u'p_i$ 'finish' > OJ $\sqrt{t}u'p_i$ 'finish', J: T/K cu'i-ni, Kg cui'-ni 'atlast, finally' ¶ S QJ #37, Kenk. 2048 ¶ S AJ 71, □ DQA ##2264 [$\sqrt{t}u'o'bV$ 'end, edge' > Tg. Ko, J] ¶ The meanings of Tg * $\sqrt{d}ube$ and pJ * $\sqrt{t}u'p_i$ belong to the heritage of N ***dubV** || ?? IE: NaIE * $\sqrt{d}ubb$ - (if the original meaning was 'tail') [× NaIE * $\sqrt{d}op$ - ~ * $\sqrt{d}ub$ - 'tip, summit' < N ***to'p** 'head, top, hill' (q.v. ffd.)] > Ltv {ME} duba 'a sheaf (standing upright), aufgestellte Garbe' || Gmc * $\sqrt{t}uppa$ 'plait (of hair)' > MHG zopf, NHG Zopf id., ON toppr 'aufgebundenes Haar' ♦ The $\sqrt{}$ has phonetically irreg. variants suggesting some unclear ideophonic associations or contamination with other (paronymous) roots. Cf. N ***dVmpV** 'back, hinder part, tail'.

2286. aa?? * $\sqrt{t}u'u'p$ 'to blow, breathe' > HS: Eg fMK tpy '(Luft, Lebensatem) einatmen, atmen' ¶ EG V 296 || A: T {ADb.} * $\sqrt{t}u'b$ > OT $\sqrt{t}u'va$ 'a blow-pipe' ¶ Cl. 439 || D (in GnD) * $\sqrt{t}u'pp$ - ('GS' * $\sqrt{t}$?) v. 'blow' > Png $\sqrt{t}u'b$ - (p. $\sqrt{t}u'pt$ -) v. 'blow with the mouth', Knd $\sqrt{t}u'b$ - id., v. 'puff, blow out (lamp)' ¶ D #3388.

2287. aa * $\sqrt{t}ap$.ka 'to attack, obstruct, prevent' > HS: CS * $\sqrt{t}k.p$ v. 'overpower' (mt < ** $\sqrt{t}pk$ < [as] * $\sqrt{t}p.k$) > BHB Fqt $\sqrt{t}k.p$ v. G 'overpower, prevail, attack' (Eccl. 4.12), BA $\sqrt{t}k.p$ v. G 'grow strong' ¶ ESh MH III 1476, KB 1644 || U: FP * $\sqrt{t}awkV$ v. 'stop\cease (doing sth.), abstain from doing sth.' > F tauota / taukoa- v. 'discontinue, cease' : Lp N {N} duow'got v. 'be weaned; be ashamed to do sth.' : pPrm * $\sqrt{d}ug-d$ > Z $\sqrt{d}ugdi$ - v. 'cease doing sth.', Vt $\sqrt{d}ugdi$ - v. 'stop' (* $\sqrt{d}$ - is a Prm reflexive sx.) ¶ It. #48, Sm. 554 (FP * $\sqrt{t}e'wka$ 'stop'), LG 97, N I 600, ≠ UEW 422 (rejects the Prm cognate because of the alleged lack of corr. between Prm * $\sqrt{g}$ and F -k-, but in fact the voiced Prm * $\sqrt{g}$ is explained by as to the reflexive sx. * $\sqrt{d}$ -) || A: NaT $\sqrt{t}i'o'g$ (< ** $\sqrt{t}i'jawg$ < ** $\sqrt{t}i'jabg$ ** $\sqrt{t}i'japg$), {ADb.} * $\sqrt{t}o'g$ {Cl.} 'obstruction, barrier; obstructed' > OT {Cl.} $\sqrt{t}o'y$ 'stopper, obstruction to anyth.; dam; spurs (of a mountain)', ? Shor, Sg $\sqrt{t}o'y$ 'gelt (die noch nicht geboren hat)' (of a female animal), Sg, Qb $\sqrt{t}u'y$ 'eine gelte Stute', Qrg $\sqrt{t}u$ -, Qzq $\sqrt{t}y$ $\sqrt{t}u$ -, Qq $\sqrt{t}u$ 'barren' (of a female animal), Qrg $\sqrt{t}u'bas$ 'barren' (of a woman or a female animal) ¶ Cl. 463-4, RI. III 1157, 1430, Jud. 772, MM 352, KrkR 657 || D (in SD) * $\sqrt{t}ak-a$ - ('GS' * $\sqrt{t}$ -, *-g-?) v. 'stop, resist, obstruct' > Tm $\sqrt{t}akai$ id., Kn $\sqrt{t}aga$ 'delay, obstacle, hindrance' [unless < N ***ta'a** 'to attack, obstruct, prevent' (q.v.)] ¶ D #3006.

2288. * $\sqrt{t}e'q'u$ (or * $\sqrt{t}eq'u$?) 'to say, talk to' > HS: C {AD} * $\sqrt{t}x^w$ v. 'say, speak' > EC {Ss.} * $\sqrt{d}h$ -, {AD} * $\sqrt{t}Vh$ - v. 'say' > Sa {Wlm.} $\sqrt{d}h$ - / $\sqrt{d}eh$ - v. 'say' (imv. $\sqrt{d}eh$, p. $\sqrt{d}eh$), Af {PH} (e)- $\sqrt{d}he$ - / $\sqrt{d}h$ -, Sml {AD IPCV} $\sqrt{d}ih$ -, Sml N {Abr.} $\sqrt{d}eh$ - / $\sqrt{d}ah$ - / $\sqrt{d}i$ - / $\sqrt{d}ah(d)$ -, Sml C $\sqrt{ri}$ / $\sqrt{rih}$ / $\sqrt{rah}$ -, Rn {Sim} $\sqrt{d}eh$ - / $\sqrt{d}ah$ - ($\sqrt{d}ah$ 'he said', $\sqrt{d}eh$ 'he says'), {PG} $\sqrt{d}eh$ - / $\sqrt{d}ah$ / $\sqrt{d}ah$ - ($\sqrt{d}eh$ 'he says, does', 3s p. $\sqrt{d}ah$), pBn {Hn.} p.: * $\sqrt{d}ereh$ - / n.-p. * $\sqrt{d}erah$ - v. 'say' > Bn J $\sqrt{d}er$ - / $\sqrt{d}erah$ -, Bn K $\sqrt{d}ereh$ - / $\sqrt{d}erah$ - id. || ? Ag * $\sqrt{d}q^w$ -, {Ap.} * $\sqrt{d}eq^w$ - / * $\sqrt{d}aq^w$ - v. 'speak' > Bln/Q {Ap.} $\sqrt{d}q^w$ -, Xm {Ap.} $\sqrt{d}q^w$ -, Aw {Hz., Ap.} $\sqrt{d}q^w$ - (1s $\sqrt{d}q^w$ -) || Bj A {AD} $\sqrt{d}i$ - / $\sqrt{d}i$ - (prs. -n- $\sqrt{d}i$ -), Bj {Rop., R} $\sqrt{d}i$ - (p. 1s 'a-di, 2m te-'diy-a, 3m 'e-di; prs. 1s 'andi) pcv. 'say, name' ¶ AD SF 57, 321, AD IPCV §§ 1.2.3.2, 1.2.3.3, Ss. PEC 41, Hn. S 67, Hn. BD 35, 57, 144, PG 60, 148, Ap. AV 9, Rop. 78-9, R WBd 55, R WB 115, PH 94, 270-4, 282 || IE * $\sqrt{d}h_1eh$ - 'say' > Ht $\sqrt{t}e$ - {Frd.} 'sagen', {Ts.} '(autoritativ) sprechen' || NaIE * $\sqrt{d}h_1e$ - > Sl * $\sqrt{d}e$ - v. 'say' > OP $\sqrt{d}ie$ 'inquit', OCz $\sqrt{d}iet$, diem, Cz $\sqrt{d}i'ti$, HLs $\sqrt{d}z'ec'$, LLs $\sqrt{d}z'as'$, Slv $\sqrt{d}eja'ti$ v. 'say', OR $\sqrt{d}e'i$, $\sqrt{d}e'$, R $\sqrt{d}e$ - pc. of quoting (indirect speech), OUK $\sqrt{d}i$ 'namely', Uk $\sqrt{d}i$ 'namely, that is' ¶ Frd. HW 319, Ts. W 85-9, Ts. E III 143-7, 291, Vs. I 489-490, SPS III 106 (* $\sqrt{d}e$ as pc. of quoting), ≠ ESSJ IV 229-230, Ivn. OPA 80-1, SPS III 126-8 (does not distinguish between Sl * $\sqrt{d}e$ - v. 'place', * $\sqrt{d}e$ -ja- v. 'do' and * $\sqrt{d}e$ - v. 'say') || K: pGZ * $\sqrt{t}q^w$ - v. 'report, let know' > OG $\sqrt{t}q^w$ -, G $\sqrt{t}q^w$ - v. 'say, tell, report, let know', Mg $\sqrt{t}q^w$ - ~ $\sqrt{t}q^w$ - $\sqrt{t}q^w$ - 'say' ¶ K

184, K² 193, FS K 303-4, FS E 338, Chx. 131-2, Q 331 || **A**: T *t' e_{ly}- v. 'say' > OT te⁻, XwT XIV de- ~ te-, MQp XIII de⁻, Chg ≥XV de- 'say', MOg Tkm XIV {Cl.} de-di 'he said', Tkm diy-, ET de- ~ da⁻, Tk de-, Az, Ggz, Uz, Ln, CrTt, Qry, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt de-, VTt di-, Bsh, Qmn ti-, Tb tiy-, Xk ti-, Tv t'e-, Tf t'e-, SY ti-te-, Yk dia⁻, Chv te- ¶ Cl. 433-4, IS AD 39, Rs. W 467-8, ET VGD 221-4, Ra. 170-1, Jeg. 241-2, Fed. II 205, S AJ 182 [#70] || ?σ M *dayu-n 'sound' > WrM dagu(n), HIM дуу(н) ¶ MED 219 || Tg *de_{ly}- 'song; shamanizing' > Ewk dāwzy 'song', dāwzy- v. 'sing and dance an Ewenki dance', dāwzki- v. 'shamanize', Orc da⁻sango interj. (a refrain of shaman's songs), WrMc deyengu 'melody' ¶ STM I 228, 230 ¶¶ DQA #2235 [A *te⁻ 'to say, sound'] ♦ The glottalization of *t- in C and K is due to the Ir. *?; K *q < N *?q or *q? ♦ ■ IS MS 365 [*te'h^h 'say' > IE, T + *unc.* : K *tχo- v. 'ask' [actually from N *t.eywV 'to ask (for), beg'], BmK 318 (K, Sum dug⁴ v. 'say\|speak\tell').

2289. ±± ? *terV 'to tear, burst' > **HS**: S *^o√trr > Ar √trr (pf. tarra) 'éclater, partir (le noyau de la datte quand on la casse avec une pierre); être séparé' ¶ BK I 194 II ??σ **IE** *der-, *derH- v. 'split' [x (?) N *tu⁻Ri 'to pierce' x (?) N *tor⁻V 'to bark, to peel' x N *tar⁻qV 'to make an incision, dig'] > OI dar- (prs. dr_o.n.a⁻ti, pfc. da⁻da⁻ra) v. 'burst, cause to burst, tear', Av auua... dərəna^ç 'auseinanderspaltend', NPrs ndayrwa da⁻rr-ida⁻n ~ ndayrda da⁻r-ida⁻n 'to tear, rend, lacerate', {VL.} 'lacerare, discerpere', Av darədar- 'split' (pp. dərəto⁻ [= OI dr_o.ta-]) || W, Crn, Br darn 'piece, part' || Lt dir⁻ti (prs. deru⁻ ~ diriu⁻), Δ di⁻rti 'tear asunder, flay' | pSl *der-ti ~ *d̥ra⁻-ti (prs. de⁻r-o.) 'tear, flay [x N *tor⁻V '↑'] : [1] *der-ti > SCr {Tls.} дре⁻ти ~ {ESSJ} drije⁻ti, {Glh.} drije⁻ti 'tear, rend, flay', Slv dre⁻ti 'skin, flay', P drzec⁻ 'tear, rend', Slk driet⁻, Cz dr⁻ti 'flay'; [2] *d̥ra⁻-ti > OCS дьрати / prs. дєрж dero^ç 'skin, flay, lacerate', SCr de⁻rati, Slv de⁻rati 'tear asunder, rend, flay', Cz dra⁻ti, Slk drat⁻ 'rend, strip', R дра⁻□ 'tear, bark (a tree), Uk драти ~ дерти 'to tear asunder', Blg de⁻pa 'tear asunder, rend, flay' || Gt dis-tai⁻ran 'ρηγνυ⁻ναι, to tear up', OHG zerren, fir-zerren 'tear, tear up', NHG zerren 'to tear, pull, tug', AS teran 'to tear, lacerate', NE tear v. ¶ P 206-9, EI 567 (*der- 'tear off, flay'), M K II 59, M E I 701-3, VI. I 844, Sg. 517, Horn 125, LP § 12.1, YGM-1 163, ECCE 230, Hm. 143, Frn. 96-7, ESSJ IV 209, V 218-9, Bern. I 185, Vs. I 504-5, Glh. 191, Tls. 103, SJSS X 544, SPS V 231-5, Fs. 120, Ho. 346, Kb. 1248, OsS 1247-8, KM 880 || **D** *ter⁻ ({}GS} *t-) v. 'burst asunder, break, cut' > Tm ter⁻i vt. 'burst asunder; break, cut', Ml ter⁻ikka v. 'cut off', Kn tir⁻i v. 'cut, cut off', OTl treyyu v. 'be chopped\|cut off', trevvu v. 'be cut', Gnd tivv-, Knd tev- v. 'be broken', Png tre⁻z-, Mnd trey- v. 'cut (e.g. crops)' ¶¶ D #3437, Km. 399 [##650, 652] ♦ IS SS #2.11, IS MS 360 [пват□ *ter(H)A: IS, D + i ÷ K *tχar- v. 'dig'].

2290. □□ ? [± *t'o⁻Ru (*-r⁻?)—*t'o⁻ru] (€) tree, log' (→ 'board') > **HS**: EthS (€b C??): Tgr {LH} ÊR tor 'gable-beam in the roof', (d or cd?) ÊR⁻R tormor, {Abb.} ÊRμN torman 'cross-beam in the roof' ↳ Bj {R} tir⁻ma⁻n (pl. 'tirman') 'der Dachstuhl, Querbalken welcher das Dach stützt' ¶ LH 307, R WBd 232 || **K**: G taro 'Querblatt (an der Wand oder in einem Wandschrank)', {NCh.} 'shelf in the wall' ({DCh.} 'заставец') ¶ Chx. 463, NCh. 231, DCh. 554 || **IE** *deru- / *doru- / *dreu⁻ / *drou⁻ / *dru-, {EI} *doru / gen. *drou⁻s 'tree, wood' > Ht {Ts.} taru (ta⁻ru), Lw [±{Mlc.}] [ta⁻ru 'wood (Holz), tree', LycIs [StB] δε⁻ρβη (*derwa-) 'juniper' ([StB]: δε⁻ρβη ... ὅ ἐστι τῆ τῶν Λυκαόνων φωνῆ ἄρκευτοῖ) || NaIE: OI 'da⁻ru 'piece of wood, wood (Holz)' (nom. 'drun⁻a⁻, gen. 'dro⁻h⁻, 'drun⁻ah⁻), 'dru⁻ 'wood, wooden implement, tree', Av da⁻uru (gen. sg. draos⁻) 'tree trunk, piece of wood', NPrs r⁻d da⁻r 'wood (Holz), beam' || Gk δο⁻ρυ (gen. δο⁻ρατοῖ, Gk Hm δο⁻υροῖ) 'tree, tree trunk, plank\|beam', δρυ⁻ῖ 'tree, oak' || pAl {O} *druwa 'tree, wood (Holz)' > MAI {FB} dru⁻u 'lignum', Al: T dru, G dru⁻ 'tree, bark, wood (Holz)', SG/Be/Mn dru, P dru, dru⁻ni, U dru, druni, D/Kr dru⁻ || OIr daur (gen. daro) 'oak', MW derw-en snglt. (pl. derw), W da⁻r (pl. darwen), OBr {Flr.} coll. daeru, MBr {Ern.} deruenn (pl. deru), Br {Hm.} deruenn (coll. derv) 'oak' || Gt triu 'tree, wood (Holz)', ON tre, AS tre⁻o (> NE tree) 'tree', OSx trio 'tree, beam' || Sl *de⁻rvo 'tree' > OCS дрѣво dre⁻vo, P drzewo, Slv drevo⁻ id., SCr dre⁻vo, R дерево 'tree, wood (Holz)', Cz dr⁻evo, Slk drevo 'wood (Holz), timber'; Sl *dr̥va 'tree', pl. *dr̥va 'wood (Holz), fire-wood' > Blg др̥во, SCr dr⁻vo, Slk drvo 'tree', Slv dr⁻vo 'log, cudgel'; Sl *dr̥vo 'tree' > Blg др̥во, SCr dr⁻vo, Cz Δ, Slk drvo id., Slv dr⁻vo 'log (of fire-wood), club', pl. *dr̥va 'fire-wood' ({EI} < *dru⁻h_Ao/eh_A) > OCS др̥ва dr̥va, SCr dr⁻va, P drwa, R дро⁻ва, Blg др̥ва id. | Possibly words for 'resin, tar' (< *deru- 'tree?'): Ltv dar⁻va 'tar, pitch', Lt derva⁻ id., 'resin; resinous stump' || ON tjara 'tar' (< Gmc *terwo⁻n), ON tyrv, Nr tyri, Sw to⁻re ~ tyre 'resinous wood', MDt tar, Dt teer, MLG ter(e) (↳ NHG Teer) 'tar', NHG lc (in Kurhessen, Schwalm) (Wagen-)Zehr id., AS teoru 'tar, resin', NE tar ¶ P 214-7, EI 598, Frd. HW 267, Ts. W 88, Ts. E III 230-5,

[[*, Mlc. CL 218.]]M K II 36, M E I 721, Horn 116, F I 411-2, Fs. 480-1, Vr. 591, 597, 603, Ho. 346, 353, Ho. S 76, KM 775, SEv. 31, LP § 67, YGM-1 168, Flr. 128, Ern. 152, Hm. 152, Frn. 90-1, ESSJ IV 211-3 & V 141-2, SPS III 54-7, Gh. 207, O 76, Huld 56 (pAl *dru-na-) II A: pKo {S} *to'ri' > MKo to'ri', NKo tori 'cross-beam' ¶ S QK #373, MLC 465 || pJ {S} tu'ri'-(n)k3'i. 'ceiling beam' > OJ tu'ri'gi', J T curigi ¶ S QJ #385 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *t'o'r(g)e, □ DQA #2392 (A *t'i_o'rge 'support, beam', *incl.* Ko, J); the *err.* rec. of A *t'-is based of *unj.* comparison with Dg terkin 'dais' (in fact a loan from Mc) and Tg *turga 'prop, support' (in fact derived from Tg *torga- 'to prop up' < N *t.URga 'extend, stretch, hold') [[*II ? D *°ta-r- > Kn ta-r 'stem or stalk of corn, flowers, etc.' ¶ □ D #3185]] ♦ S AJ 289 [#312] (A *°t_l'jerV tree', IE), □ S NSR 4-6 [IE + A *t'i_or'e (with *err.* rec. of *t'-) + K: G dvire 'Balken'; on this basis he reconstructs N *d^w-].

[[* 2290. *tuRV 'back, back side' > HS: S *°-tu-r- 'turn back, return' (× *tu-r- 'turn' < N *tu°wrV ~ *tuwrE 'to roll, turn round, wind') > Ak -tu-r- G : inf. OAk, Ak A tua-ru(m), Ak OB ta-ru(m) 'sich umwenden, umkehren, zurückkehren', Ak NA/NB tu-ra 'komm zurück, wiederun' ¶ Sd. 1332-6, 1372 II IE: NaIE *dors-/°ders- > L dorsum 'back' || Ltv {ME} dir~sa 'der Hintere' (unless d from dirst 'to defecate') || OHG zers 'penis' (< *tail'?) ¶ WH I 373, ≠ WP I 798, 802, ME I 470, Kb. 1248 ¶ NaIE *-s- must be a sx. or an ext. II U: FU {UEW} *turya 'nape, back of the head' > F turja 'Hinterteil des Nackens', Es turi (gen. turja) 'nape, upper part of the back' || OHg tar, Hg Δ tarja 'Genick, Hinterkopf des Rindes; Schulterstück', tarko' 'nape, back of the head' ¶ UEW 538-9 ¶ Acc. to UEW, FU *-ya is a poss. ending ♦ The comparison between Latin and FU was suggested by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #6c).]]

2291. □□ ? *tu°Ri 'to pierce' > A *tu°ru- v. 'pierce' > M *du°ru- v. 'pierce, stick\push\shove into' > MM [S] du°ru- 'eindringen, hineinsetzen', WrM du°ru- to put\push\stick into; slip in, insert, thrust in', HlM д*py- id., Kl д*р- du°r- 'put\push\shove in, hineinstecken', Brt д*py- id., 'dip' ¶ H 39, MED 283, KW 105, KRS 220, Chr. 210 ¶¶ IS AD 47 ¶¶ i ÷ T *t'u°r- vi. 'string, thread (a needle)' (< N ? *t.u°ryV \ *t.uryE ~ *t.u°r°V \ *t.ur°E 'row, line; to string', q.v. ffd.) II D *tor_a- ~ *tora- 'hole' (× N *durV 'hole, hollow', q.v. ffd. × N *t.or°Vh'a 'to pass over; through'?) II HS: C: DhI {EEN} t_a-r-v. 'pierce, spear' (× N *t.or°Vh'a '↑') || EC: Sml to°rrey ~ to°rri, Sml {Abr.} to°rray ~ to°rri 'dagger', Rn {PG} to°r (pl. to°ra'r), Ya {Hn.} to°r (pl. to°ri) 'spear' || SC: Kz talangayo 'bleeding arrow', ?? {E}: SC ð Mb ito, itoro' 'spear' ¶ ZMO 396, Abr. S 239, PG 280, E SC 169 [#7] (*ta°r- v. 'spear, pierce with a weapon'), EEN 8 (Dhl ÷ Ya -tu°ra '?'), Hn. Y II 134 II ??σ IE: NaIE *der- v. 'prick, pierce' (× N *tor°V 'to bark, peel' × (?) N *terV 'to tear, burst' × (?) N *Ar°qV 'make an incision, dig') > Lt du°rti (prs. duriu°), Ltv dur°t 'to stab, thrust, prick', Lt dura° 'crow-bar' | pSl *der- / *dъr- > SCr u°-driti (prs. u°-drim) 'strike'; pSl *dira 'hole' > OCS дѣра dira 'hole, crack', SCr Δ di°ra ~ di°ra^d di°ra, R Δ дѣра, Blr ѣзирка, Cz di°ra 'hole'; pSl *dira 'hole' > OR дѣра dira 'hole, passage', R дѣра, Plb dara° 'hole' || OI darah. 'hole in the ground, cave' ¶ P 206-9, □ Frn. 113, M K II 21, Drd. 861, Vs. I 515, 559, ESSJ V 30-1, 205, Srz. I 765 ♦ IS MS 357 (*tura 'pierce'), IS SS 321 (in both papers A is equated with D).

2292. ?? *tu°wrV ~ *tuwrE 'to roll, turn round, wind' > HS: S *°-tu-r- (× S *°-tu-r- 'turn back, return' < N *tuRV 'back, back side') > Ar √twr G (pf. ta-ra, ip. -tu-r-) 'faire le tour, circuler autour d'un point', Ak -tu-r- G : inf. OAk, Ak A tua-ru(m), Ak OB ta-ru(m) 'sich umwenden, umkehren, zurückkehren' ¶ BK I 210, Sd. 1332-6 || C: Bj {R} √tr (p. 'a-trir, prs. a-tan°rir) 'drehen, wickeln' ¶ R WBd 232 II IE (+ext.): NaIE *derb^h- 'to twist\bind together' > OI dr. 'bhati 'strings\ties together, ties in a bunch', Av dərəwda- 'bundle of muscles', WlRn *(ham-)darb- v. 'sew' > Xuri dur-, dur-uft, Prc an-darf, Orm un-dərəw- id. || Sl *dorбъ > Blr 'дораб 'basket, box (Korb, Schachtel)', R Δ доро°бок 'box\basket of bast (короб)' || Arm to°n tor°n (< *dorb^h-n) 'σχοινί°ov, rope, cord, string, twine' || OHG zerben, p. zarpta (rf.) 'sich (um)drehen, wälzen', AS tearflian (< *tarbalo°n) vi. 'roll, wallow' ¶ WP I 808, P 211-2, EI 607 (*derb^h- 'turn, twist'), M K II 60, M E I 703-4, MW 491, ESSJ V 74, SPS IV 112-3, Kb. 1248, OsS 1230, Ho. 344, Sw. 171 ¶ *-b^h- is to be considered a root ext. II A *°tu|u°rV > NaT *t'u°r- v. 'roll up' > OT tu°r- v. 'roll up (a scroll, one's sleeves, etc.)', OOSm xv du°r- v. 'roll up', Tkm du°yr-, ET tu°r-, Yk tu°r- id., Tv t'u°r-, Tf t'u°r- 'roll up as a tube', Az du°r-ma°k 'some food rolled up in flat bread', Qzq, Qq, Qrg tu°r- 'roll up (sleeves, trouser-legs), raise (hem of a skirt)', Nog, VTt, Bsh, Alt, Xk tu°r-, VTt tь°r- id., 'wrap' ¶ Cl. 530-1, Rs. W 506, ET VGD 319-20, Ra. 178, Hüs. 118, Jud. 783, ADb. Ttd 61 [#12] || pJ {S} *tu°tu°m- 'wrap' > OJ tu°tu°m-, J: T cucu°m-, K cu°cu°m-, Kg cu°cu°m- ¶ S QJ #1120, Mr. 776 ¶¶ □ DQA #2283 [A *tu°ri 'to wrap, fold', *incl.* T, J].

2293. **uu** ***t**₁**u**ʳ^o**v** – ***t**₁**u**ʳ^o**e** 'full, filled' > **HS**: S *^o/trɪ > Ar /trɪ (pf. tarifa, ip. -traɪ) v. 'be filled, full' ¶ BK I 196 **II U** *tuʳ^e 'full' > Prm {Lt.} *tuʳ 'full, filled' > Vt, Z tir id., Z tir- v. 'be full, become filled', Vt tir- v. 'fill; become full, satt werden' : F tyrtʲ- 'bis zum Ekel satt werden', tyrehtʲ- 'stocken, sich stauen, gedämpft werden, gehemmt werden', pLp {Lr.} *tʰrɜ vi. 'stiffen, tighten' > Lp N {UEW} daʳraʳt 'steif werden, erstarren, hart weden', Lp Kld {TI} tʰrɜ- 'aufquellen, dicht werden (ein Spack gewordener Gegenstand in Wasser)' || Sm: Slq NP tiir 'voll, Füllung', Slq B/Kt/uo tiir-, Slq Tur {Lh.} tirti- v. 'fill' ¶ UEW 524, Coll. 64, Lr. #1214, Lt. 198, LG 293, Décsy UP 109 (*tiraʳ) **II A** *tir- 'thick, plenty' > Tg *di-ra-, di rami₁n₁ 'thick' > Ewk diram, Sln dirami, Lm dırəm, Neg diyam, Orc diyami, Ud deaʳmi^d diyami, Ul dirami, Ork jrami, Nn ʒʳami, WrMc giramin, Jrc {Kiy.} diramei₁ 'thick', Nn ʒʳala- (+ppa.) 'thickness' ¶ STM I 207-, Kiy. 135 [#692] ¶ **II DQA** #225 [A *tʰiʳi 'thick, plenty' > Tg] **II D** *tʰuʳ- v. 'be filled up' > Tm tuʳ, Ml tuʳuka id., ??ϕ Krx cuʳ-naʳ v. 'get obstructed, blocked up (as a rat-hole, pipe)' ¶ **II D** #3390, Pf. 43 [#245], 77 [#488] ♦ IS MS 356 s.v. 'полный' *tʰurɒ (U, D), BmK 278 (HS, U; *unc.* : S ÷ Kz tal- v. 'grow' and Dhl {E} t₁ar- v. 'collect together, mix').

2294. **uu** ? ***tar**ʳaʳ 'to drink' > **K** {K²} *ter-/tr- v. 'drink' > OG ter-/tr-, G tver-/tr- v. 'get drunk', Sv tr- v. 'drink' (msd. UB/LB/L/Ln litre 'to drink'); K 69 plausibly suggested that -v- in NG results from *mt* ter-v- > tver- ¶ K 95-6 (*tr-), K² 69, Schm. 114; FS K 149 & FS E 162 (*twēr-), TK 434, GP 154 **II A** *tara 'a kind of beverage' > NaT *t₁ar > OT tar [MhK] ({Cl.} taʳ) 'milk residue, that is the clotted milk which remains at the bottom when the pure butter has been melted and drawn off', Yk tar 'sour boiled milk that is fermented in summer and stored for the winter', 'frozen sour milk'; T b̄ WrM tarag, HIM tapar 'clabbered milk, sour milk' ¶ Cl. 528, JkR 375, Pek. 2654, MED 779 ¶ Cl.'s assumption of a long ā is based on the shaky argument of the Arabic spelling, but must be rejected on the clear ev. of Yk || ? M *darasun 'wine' > MM [IM, IsV] darasun id., WrM darasun, HIM дарс(ан) 'sweet wine made from fruit or grain', WrO {Krg.} darasun 'wine, drink', Kl дарасн darasʳn 'wine made of berries', Mnr H {SM} d₁zraʳsɜ 'genièvre, vin', {T} deraʳse, Dx darasun 'wine'; the strange preservation of the final -un in Dx and the unexpected long ā and ɜ (e) in Mnr suggest borrowing (at least in Mnr and Dx) ¶ Pp. MA 435, Lg. VMI 25, MED 232, Krg. 545, KRS 183, SM 49, T 329, T DnJ 117 **II D** *tar- ({GS} *t-) v. 'drink, swallow' > Tl traʳgu, traʳvu v. 'drink', Prj taʳr-, Gdb taʳrg- v. 'swallow' ¶ **II D** #3174, ≠ Km. 398 [#644] (i ÷ Tm aʳr- v. 'eat, drink' and Gdb K sark- v. 'drink water from the tank'; reconstructs *tar--*car-) ♦ BmK 300 (K, D). The presence of a N lr. is suggested by D *-r- (< N cns. clusters *-rɒ- reg.).

2295. **uu** ***tu**ʳrHV – ***tur**HE 'to be quiet, lie (liegen)' > **HS**: Ch: WCh {Stl.} *t₁ird- v. 'lie down, go to bed' > Ang {Flk.} teʳ v. 'cause to lie down, lie down' : Krkr {IL} taʳd.uʳ, {Lk.} taʳd.uʳ v. 'lie down', tɜd.u v. 'sleep', Gera {ChL} tɜd.iʳ v. 'sleep', Glm tɜʳ vi. 'sink, descend', Tng {J} ti.de v. 'sleep' ¶ Stl. ZCh 166-7 [#195], J T 153 || ? Eg G tɜh 'sich senken, sich ablagern (vom Schlamm einer Gewässers)' -d(?) Eg MK {Fk.} tɜh.t 'lees, dregs'; Eg N tɜh 'eintauchen' ¶ EG V 233, Fk. 294 **II K** *tir- > G tir- '(sich) beruhigen' ¶ Chx. 491 **II IE** *dreH-/drH₁- > NaIE *dre-/drə- v. 'sleep' > OI 'draʳti, 'draʳya-ti, -teʳ 'is asleep' || Arm tartam tartam 'irresolute, sluggish, idle, unsteady, cowardly, moving slowly' || Gk Hm (aor.) ἔδραʳον (< *e-dr₁-dʰ-om) 'he slept', prs. δαʳαʳvω 'fall asleep' ¶ P 226, M K II 76, Slr. 360-1, Ch. 253, F I 349-50, EI 526 (*dreH₁- 'sleep' = *der- + ext.) **II ? A** *tʰirga > M *zirga- > WrM zirga- v. 'set' (of the sun), ↑ 'sleep', Ord ʒʳirga- 'set' (sun, moon, stars), ↑ 'go to bed' ¶ MED 1059, Ms. O 202 **II D** (in GnD) *ter- ({GS} *t-) v. 'lie (down), sleep' > Mnd teʳr- v. 'lie, lie down', treʳp- v. 'lay down', Knd ter-p- v. 'put to sleep, cause to lie down, lay', Png treʳp- v. 'lay down, put (child) to sleep', Kui treppa- v. 'cause to lie down', Ku trip- v. 'lay down, make so. sleep' ¶ D #3425 ♦ IS MS 356 s.v. 'полный' *tʰurɒ (U, D).

2296. **uu** ***torg**E 'weak, loose' > **HS**: B *^o/trg > Ah ətrəgʳ 'lâcher librement (un animal)', ETwl, Ty ətrəg 'dénouer; détacher, lâcher librement; libérer, déboutonner' ¶ Fc. 1591, GhA 192 **II IE**: NaIE *dregʰ- **II A** 'be slack, loose, weak' > Lt druʳzʳ-ti (prs. druʳzʳuʳ) {Frn.} 'become weak', mano akis druʳzʳta 'I am gradually losing the sight' (but {PiesS} druʳzʳti 'get clouded, darken'), as well as possibly Lt {Frn.} drizʳtiʳ (prs. driʳzʳtuʳ) 'be timid, become miserable/weak' (→ 'be afraid?') || Gt trigo- 'λυπη ('distress' or 'reluctance'), ON tregi 'sorrow', AS treʳza 'grief, affliction', OHG traʳgi 'slow, lazy, sad', NHG traʳge 'slow, dull', OSx traʳg id., traʳgi 'Trägheit', OHG traʳgī 'weariness, sluggishness (tædium, pigritia, segnitie, torpor)' ¶ WP I 821ff., P 226-7 ('unwillig, verdrossen' ← 'schlaff, zähe sein?'), Frn. 106-7, Fs. 480, Vr. 597, Kb. 1028, OsS 950, Ho. 352, Ho. S 75 **II A** *tʰorgV > M *dorgumzi > WrM dorgumzi, HIM доргомж

'weak, feeble'; *dorgun > WrM dorgun, HIM доргон 'lack, deficit; insufficient'; M *dor₁ay₁u > WrM doru, {Rm.} doragu, HIM дор 'weak, impotent, incapable', Kl doru 'unterlegen, schwach, schlecht', M *doruyi > WrM dorui, HIM, Brt дорой 'weak, feeble, emaciated', MM [MA] doray kibe tu[~]ni 'weakened him', doraytu[~]lqu u[~]yle 'weakening work' ¶ MED 262, Kow. 1885-6, KW 96, Pp. MA 143, Chr. 196 || Tg: WrMc dorgolo- v. 'stop growing (cereals), bloom insufficiently, betoken bad harvest' ¶ STM I 216, Z 828, Hr. 120 (rejects the Mc word as a misinterpretation) || ? NaT *t₁'ju[~]r- ~ *t₁'jo[~]r- v. 'be(come) weak, emaciated, lean' > OT tu[~]r- v. 'be\become weak, emaciated', Xk tura par-, tura ka- v. 'be exhausted\tired', Yk {Pek.} tu[~]or 'emaciation', tu[~]or- 'get emaciated', tu[~]orxay 'weak'; T б>MM [S] tura- 'abnehmen, schwächer sein', turu- 'abmagern' ¶ Cl. 530, Pek. 2824, 2829, H 155, Rl. III 1446, BIG 240.

2297. *tæRp.V - *t.æRP.V 'tremble, shake' > **HS:** S *^o/t.rp > Sr √t.rp G {JPS} 'clap, flap, move', {Br.} 'percussit' ¶ Br. 290, JPS 182 || **IE:** NaIE *trep- > Psh -BrD dra'bzl 'to shake, press down' || Sl *trep- > Cz tr'epati 'to shake, flutter, clap, flap (one's wings)', Lls ts'epas', Hls tr'epac' 'swing'; d> *trep-etъ n. act. 'trembling, quivering' > OCS трепетъ trepetъ, Blg, R Øтрепет, SCr tre'pe't, Slv trepe't, P tzpiot id. ¶ P 1094, Vs. IV 98-9, Asl. 402, Mrg. 22 || **Æ:** M *derbe- > WrM derbe-, HIM дүрбү- v. 'flutter; struggle (as birds\fish)', Ord d_erwe- 'battre les ailes (oiseau), flotter au gré du vent (étouffe)', Kl {Rm.} derw- 'flattern (von Vögeln), zappeln (von Fischen)'; ds: MM [S] derbel- 'beben, erschütteln', WrM derbelze-, HIM, Brt дүрүлзү- v. 'flutter, flap in the wind', WrO derbeku[~]u[~]l- 'make fly in the wind' ¶ MED 252-3, Ms. O 141, H 36, Krg. 556, KW 90, Chr. 218 ♦ If the N etymon was *tæRp.V, IE *t- and S *t- (for IE *d- and S *t-) may be due to as (*t...p. > *t...p. > IE *t...p and S *t...p) and possibly to ideophony, but if the N rec. is *t.æRP.V, M d- defies explanation.

2298. *tor.V 'bark; to bark (remove the bark), to peel' > ? **HS:** Ch: pAG {Stl.} *(n)daram 'bark' > Su {J} d3'ra'm 'thick tree-bark', Tal {J} d3ram, Ywm {Sh.} nda'ra'm, Tmbs {Sh.} da'ra'm 'bark', Ang {Flk.} darm : Wrj {Gw.} tirhei 'skin' || Ech: Smr {J} ta'ri'n 'bark', Ke {Eb.} tīr3 'Schale, Haut', Tmk {Cp.} da'r 'human skin' ¶ JI II 8, 296, ChC, J S 62, Stl. ZCh 241 [#16], Cp. 52, Eb. 98 || **IE:** NaIE *der- 'to skin, flay, bark' (× N *tu[~]Ri 'pierce' × (?) N *terV 'to tear, burst' × (?) N *tAr'qV 'make an incision, dig') > Arm te@em ter'em 'I flay, skin' || Gk δε'ρω id., δε'ρω id. (*-yo-present), d> δε'ρμα 'skin, hide, leather' || Lt dir[~]ti (1s prs. Lt diriu[~] [*-yo-present], Lt Zh deru[~]) v. 'flay, bark' : pSl *der-ti ~ *d3ra[~]-ti (prs. de'r-o.) 'tear, flay' (× *terV 'to tear, burst', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 206-9, EI 567 (*der- 'tear off, flay'), F I 368-70, Frn. 96-7, ESSJ V 218-9, SJSS X 544, Bern. I 185, SPS V 231-5, Slt. 266-7 || **Æ:** *to[~]r.V > T *t₁'jo[~]r 'birch bark' > NaT *t₁'jo[~]z > OT toz 'birch bark', Chg, OOsM toz, VTt tuz, Bsh tuδ, Qzq, Qrg toz, Alt, Xk, Shor tos, Tv t'o's, Tf t'os, Yk tuos 'birch bark', Uz twos 'birch-bark used to trim saddles with' (a loan from a lge. with reg. -s?), ?? Az toz-ayac'i 'birch tree' (if ← *'birch-bark tree' rather than ← 'dust tree') ¶ Cl. 571, Rs. W 491-2, Ra. 174, TL 103, UzR 467, ADb. Ttd 58-9 and SRAE 79 (on distinction between pT *t[~]- and *t[~]-) ¶ For lack of reliable Og data and due to the discrepancies within Tv and Tf one cannot distinguish between T *t[~]- and *t[~]- || M *duru-sun > WrM durusun, HIM дүрс 'shell, bark', WrO {Krg.} dursun 'bast, bass', Kl дүрсн dursn_o 'bark (Baumrinde)', Brt дурхан 'lime bast (лүб)' ¶ MED 276, Krg. 576, KRS 216, Chr. 204, KW 103 || Tg *du[~]ri 'cradle made of birch bark' > Lm do[~]r[~]d dur, Neg duy, Orc dui, Ud du[~]i, Ul, Nn duri id., WrMc duri 'cradle' ¶ STM I 217, Pt. 49, Z 836 || pKo {S} *tursi[~] 'bucket, scoop' > Nko ture ¶ S QK #994, MLC 503 || pJ {S} *tu[~]ru[~]m₁pa[~]i[~] 'bucket, pail' > OJ tu[~]ru[~]be[~], J: T cu[~]rube, K cu[~]ru[~]be[~], Kg curu[~]be ¶ S QJ #409, Mr. 557 ¶¶ DQA #2263 [A *to[~]r'u 'birch bark, vessel made of birch bark'], KW 103 ♦ An alt. et. is N *dur'E > Ch (as above), M *duru-sun and T *ju[~]r 'to flay' (> OT ju[~]z, etc., f Cl. 984), but it fails to explain IE *der- ♦ AD NM #92, Vv. AEN 6, ≠ S CNM 14 (IE *der- 'to skin' i < N *teri 'to tear, burst'; rejects the IE cognate of the N etymon in question).

2299. aa *tVr.V 'to suffer, endure' > **HS:** C: Bj {R} √trm prs. md. (1s: p. a-'tra[~]m, prs. atta[~]rīm; prtс. te'ra[~]ma) id., 'tolerate' ¶ R WBd 231-2 || **U:** FV *tarkV v. 'endure' > F tarje-ta (prs. tarkene-) v. 'stand the cold', Es Δ tare-ta, targe-ma (prs. targe-n) {W} id., 'vertragen, sich getrauen' : Chr H: StChr H 'tərxas', Chr K 'tərxə-m, Chr Y 'to[~]rxə-m; StChr L tur'ka-s', Chr Y/U 'tu[~]rke-m 'endure', 'ausstehen, aushalten, dulden, ertragen' ¶ It. #46, SK 1235, W EDW 1120 || **Æ:** T *t'o[~]r- v. 'suffer, endure' > OT to[~]z- ({Cl.} to[~]z-), Chg to[~]z- id., XwT to[~]z- id., Tkm do[~]-δ-, Az do[~]z-, VTt tu[~]z- (b> Chv tu[~]-s), Bsh tu[~]-δ-, Qry to[~]z-[~]d tez-, Qzq, Nog,

Ln toːz- 'endure', Tk Ist doːz- id. ('katlanmak, tahammül etmek') ¶ Cl. 572, Jeg. 267, Rs. W 495, ET VGD 272-3, SDD I 471, ADb. Ttd 59 (in *CV̇z-stems the opposition *tː- ↔ *t- is neutralized).

2300. ¶ ? *tAr'qV 'to make an incision, dig' > HS: S *^o√trχ > Ar √trχ G 'scarifier le peau, y faire une légère incision' ¶ BK I 196 ¶ K: GZ *tq̄χar-/ *tq̄χr- v. 'dig' > OG, G tχar-/tχr- 'dig', Mg (n)tχo(r)- 'dig, bury', Lz tχor- v. 'plough, dig' [× K *^os'tχar / *^os'tχr- v. 'dig' < N *Sid₁χ₁VrV ~ *SidVr₁χ₁V 'to shovel, sweep'] ¶ Chik. 286, FS K 158 & FS E 171-2 (*tχar-/ *tχr-), K² 77-8, K 176-7 (*(s₁)tχar-/ *(s₁)tχr-) ¶ Within the "harmonious complex" *t + lr.\uvular the opposition between *q and *χ is neutralized. On the possible origin of the apparent "s'-mobile" see s.v. *Sid₁χ₁VrV ¶ ??σ IE *derH- 'sth. dug' (× ← *der-, *derH- v. 'split' < N *terV 'to tear, burst' [q.v.] × N *tuːRi v. 'pierce' × (?) N *torːV 'to bark, peel') > OI dara-h-, dari 'hole in the earth, cave' ¶ pSl *d̥r̥n̥ = {SPS} *dr̥no- (< NaIE *dr̥no-) > Slv dr̥n, Cz drn, R де̑рн, LLs dern, P darn 'turf, sod' ¶ P 206-9, ESSJ V 224-5, SPS V 50-1, ¶ M K II 21 ¶ D (in GnD) *taːrː-/tarː- ({GS} *t-) v. 'dig, scratch' > Gnd Δ tarːaːnā v. 'dig or scratch up, as pigs', taːrːk- d̥ tarːk- d̥ tark- v. 'scratch', Knd taːrː- v. 'scratch up earth, as rats', Mnd taːrː- v. 'scrape off (bark)', Kui taːrːa v. 'dig out, excavate, scratch out', Ku tarːz- ~ trːa3- v. 'scratch up (as dog, fowl, etc.)' ¶ D #3122 ♦ BmK 301-2 (IE, D, Sum dar v. 'split').

2301. ¶ ?? *tusV 'against, in the opposite direction' > IE [1] NaIE *dus- 'mis-, un-', 'bad' (as the initial component of cds) > OI dusː- ~ durː-, Av dusː- ~ duzː- id. ¶ Gk δυσ- id. ¶ Arm t- t- 'un-' ¶ L dis- 'un-' as in difficilis 'heavy' (lit. 'un-easy') ¶ OIr do-, du- px. 'un-, mis-, δυλ-, bad', W dy- 'bad' ¶ Gt tuz- in tuz-weːrjan 'to doubt', ON, AS tor-, OHG zur- 'un-' > NHG zer- 'un-, asunder' ¶ Sl *d̥b̥z̥d̥b̥ 'rain' = {SPS, ESSJ} *d̥b̥z̥d̥b̥ 'rain' (< {EI} *dus-dyus 'un-day', i.e. 'un-weather') > OCS дъждь d̥b̥z̥d̥b̥, Blg дъжд, SCr Δ daːz̥d̥ - daːz̥d̥, Slv deːz̥, R дождь, Uk дощ, P deszcz, OCz deːs̥c̥, Cz deːs̥t̥, P deszcz 'rain' ¶ [2] NaIE *deuːs- v. 'lack' > OI doːs̥ah 'fault, crime, vice, want' ¶ Gmc *tiuːzoːn > AS {Ho.} t̥ierian ~ t̥iorian 'nachlassen, aufhören, ermüden, müde sein', {Sw.} teːorian 'fail, not be up to the mark; be tired', NE v. tire ¶ WP I 816, P 219, 227, EI 43, M K II 54-5, 67-8, F I 425, WH I 354-5, Thr. § 365, Fs. 484, Vr. 595, Ho. 346-7, 351, OsS 1305, KM 880, Sl. 275-6, SPS V 194-6, ESSJ V 195-7 ¶ HS: S *√ts̥sy > Ar √tsy L (pf. išaːTa taːsaː) 'faire du mal à qn.'; cp. also Ar tuːs- 'maleur' (unless ← tuːs- 'nature?') ¶ BK I 199, 210 ¶ ?? U *tuːsV > Sm: Slq tiːti-qo v. 'swim\go against the stream' ¶ KKI 184 ¶ ? A: ?? M *tus 'opposite (gegenüber)' (× M *tus- 'straight?') > WrM {Gl., Rm.} tus 'gegenüber', {Kow.} tos 'contre, vis-à-vis, devant', Kl tus {Rm.} 'gegenüber', {KRS} 'opposite, face to face', Ord {Ms.} tːuːs, Mnr H {SM, T} tːus 'vis-à-vis, en face, vis-à-vis de, en face de', 'opposite' ¶ Valid unless it is a loan from NaT *tːusː 'opposite to, facing' (Cl. 558, Rl. III 1501, 1508-9) [< N *tuːː?oː 'two', q.v. ffd.]. The vl. *t- for the expected *d- defies explanation (other than the heritage of NaT *tːusː), ¶ KW 412, Kow. 1823, SM 437, T 367, Gl. III 180, Ms. O 683 ¶ T: It is worth paying attention to Osm tuːskuːruː 'zurück, zurückweichend' ¶ Rl. III 1579-80 ♦ The comparison with Slq was suggested by Hl. (p.c., 1976).

2302. ¶ ?? *tːuSV 'bush (shrub)' > HS: Ch: Ngz duːs 'densely wooded area of bush' ¶ Sch. DN 51 ¶ IE: NaIE *dus-(mo-) {Dv.} 'shrub (arbusto)' > OIr (WH, WP) doss 'Busch' ¶ OL dūsmus, L dūmus a thorn bush, bramble' ¶ MHG zuːsach 'bushes, underwood (Gestrüpp)', zuːse id., 'lock of hair' ([?] in Gmc contamination with another √ meaning 'zerreißen, zerfasern': OHG zir-zuːsoːn 'zerzausen', {Kb.} 'to free, dissolve', MLG toːsen 'reißen, zerren', etc.) ¶ Dv. #828, WP I 766-7, WH I 381, Lx. 341 ¶ ? A: T: Tv dːoːs 'bush, shrub' (unless ← Tv dːoːs 'root' < NaT *tːoːz id.) ¶ TvR 179.

2303. ¶ ?? *tVt.V 'point, finger' (= *tuːːt.V?) (or *ta.uːnt.V) > HS *^ot.VHtː- > eB *d̥aHd̥- > B *d̥aːd̥- (pl. *d̥uːd̥-) 'finger' > Kb {DL} aːd̥aδ (pl. iːd̥uδ-an), Snd {Prov.} t̥ad (pl. it̥uδan), {Bs.} t̥adi, Wrs {Bs.} 3ː5 d̥aδ (pl. ñː3v5Y id̥uδan), Hrw {Bs.} d̥5 d̥ad (pl. ñːdv5Y id̥uδan), Mz {CM} d̥ad, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} d̥ad (pl. id̥uδan), Izd {Mrc.} aːd̥ad (pl. iːd̥uδ-an), Ah {Fc.} aːd̥ad (pl. id̥aδwaːn), Ty/ETwl {GhA}, Tw U {Sdl.} ad̥ad, Gh {Nh.} aːd̥ad (pl. iːd̥aδwan), Ttq {Msq.} ad̥ad (pl. id̥ad̥uːen), BSn/Skn {La.} d̥aːd̥, Izn/SrSn/Rf {Rn.} d̥ad (pl. id̥aːuːdan), Tz {Stm.} 'ad̥aːd̥ (pl. iːd̥aδwaːn) id., Gd d̥uδaːn 'fingers', Si {La.} t̥aːd̥ (pl. it̥uːd̥aːn) ¶ DL 172, Fc. 255, Sdl. 278, Lf. II #0335, GhA 30, Mrc. 88, La. MChB 118, Rn. 311, Msq. 94, Nh. 152, La. S 227, Stm. 157, Prov. ZQS 111, Bs. ZOu 86 ¶ ??φ SC: Irq/Grw {Wh.} d̥iːc̥a, Irq {MQK} d̥iːc̥a, {E} d̥iːc̥a d̥iːc̥a, Alg/Brn {Wh.} d̥iːnc̥a (pl. d̥iːc̥o), Alg {E} d̥iːnc̥a, Brn {E} d̥iːnc̥a 'finger' ¶ Wh. IC 23, E SC 193 ¶ ??φ WCh: Hs d̥iːnc̥iː 'handful' ¶ Abr. H 216 ¶ Tk. PAA 5 (SC, Hs) ¶ D *tuti, *tut-a ({GS} *t-) 'point, sharp edge' > Tm tuti id., Kn tudi, Tu tudi 'point, end, extremity, top', Tl tudi 'end,

termination', tuda 'end, extremity, tip', Mlt tota 'point, pointed' ¶¶ D #3314 ¶ K: GZ *tit- 'finger, toe' > OG, G tit-i id., Lz *cd* titi-mc[˘].k.on- 'the little finger', ?? (*dis*?) Mg k.i(n)t-, Lz k.it- 'finger' ¶ K² 71-2, Chx. 489, Abul. 181, Ser. 72 ¶ ?? **Gil**: A t'adm / radm 'crown (of the head), top', ES t'adm 'crown of the head' ¶ ST 378, ST RN 204, Krn. N 353, 488 ♦ ≠ IS MS 352 ('**ОКОНЕЧНОСТ**' *duλλ, equates the D √ with U *tuz'ka- and K *dud- 'point, upper end'), IS SS 323 [#3.2] (the same comparison) ♦ In HS (or eB) there is *as* *t...t. > *t...t., while in K there is *as* in the opposite direction: *t...t. > *t...t ♦ *Qu.* because of seemingly irreg. sound corr. ♦ The data of SC and Hs (if belonging here) and Mg k.i(n)t- suggest a word-medial *n (N □ *ta.u[˘]nt.∇).

2304. *t'a'w∇ 'head' (→ 'oneself') > **HS**: ?φ NrOm: Sz {Fl.} tu-wi, {SWW} tu'í[˘] d[˘] tui[˘] 'head', Cha {Fl.} toya, {C} toya[˘] d[˘] toy a[˘] - toy 'head' (unless < *tok.a, cp. Gm {Hw.} té.k.o 'head of') ¶ Fl. OWL, SiW BA 49, C SE III 176, Blz. OLBP s.v. 'head', Hw. EG || SC: Irq {Mous} ti 'oneself; each other' (a rf. and reciprocal prn.): ino's ti c.arere? 'he will hang himself' ('he' + ti + 'hang' 3m), naṣ.ī ti al-ti'ina? 'the children run after each other' ('children' + ti + 'together-run' 3p) ¶ Mous 139-40 ¶¶ HS **tw-, prefix of reflexivization in derived verbs (← 'oneself' ← 'head') > B *tw- ~ *t-, prefix of passivization > Tw t- ~ tw-, Nf cw- ~ tw-, Rf, SrSn, Izn twa-, Kb cw-, Zng t-: Tw {Pr.} twəg'rw ~ twg'rw v. 'be found' (↔ əg'rw v. 'find'), tɛnkɛd 'être coupé' (↔ ənkəd 'couper'), Nf i-cw-akər 'he was robbed' (← akər v. 'rob'), Izn, Rf, SrSn twatəf 'être pris\saisi\emprisonné' (← ət.təf v. 'take, seize'), Kb {Dl.} imv. cwilqəð / pf yəcwəlqəð 'être ramassé' (← əlqəð 'ramasser'), Zng {Nic.} t.arat.um 'être relâché, payé, remboursé' ← art.um '[re]lâcher, ouvrir, défaire') ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 63-4, Beg. 68, Rn. 61, Nic. 55 || S prefix *t- and infix *-t- (following the first radical) with the reflexive (→ reciprocal, passive) meaning: the primary stem (> Ak p., Gz js., CS ip.): [1] the basic stem with the infix *-t- (so-called *GT*) *yiCtaCVC(-) > Ak iCtaCVC, Ar yaCtaCiCu (VIII form), JA yiCtə/Ce/iC, Sr nəCtə/CaC (in Aram/Sr with verbs *primae dentalis et sibilantis* only), [2] basic stem with the prefix *tV- (*T*) *yitCaCVC(-) > BA, JA yit_CəCi/eC, Sr net_Cə'CaC, Gz yətCaCaC, [3] geminated (4-consonantic) stem with an infix (*DT*) *yVtCaCCiC(-) > Ak uCtaCCiC, BHb yiCtaC'CeC, JA *yiCtaC'CaC, Sr nəCtaC'CaC (Hb, Aram and Sr *DT*-forms used with verbal stems *primae* t, d, t., s, z, c., s[˘] *et* s[˘] only), [4] geminated stem with a prefix (*TD*) *yVtCaCCaC(-) > BHb yit_CaC'CeC, JA yit_CaC'CaC, Sr net_CaC'CaC, Ar yataCaCCaCu (= V form), Gz yətCaCCaC; these forms underly those of the new WS perfective aspect: Ar *GT* (VIII form) ?iCtaCaCa, *TD* (V form) taCaCCaCa, BHb *TD* hit_CaC'CeC, A *T* h?it_Cə'CaC, *TD* h?it_CaC'CaC, Sr *T*?et_Cə'CeC, *TD* ?et_CaC'CaC, Gz *T* taCaC(a)Ca, *TD* taCaCCaCa, e.g. Ak *GT* imtaxs.u[˘] 'they faught each other' (← jmxs. v. 'fight'), *DT* uxtabbit 'he was robbed' (↔ *D* uxabbit 'he robbed'), BHb *TD* pf. cons. qZ4h2t6l%v@ wayyit_haz'zek 'and he strenghtned himself' (ip. 3pm uqZ^h2t6i% yit_hazzə'k.u[˘], pf. 3s qZ4h2t6e5 hit_haz'zek.) (← jhzk. *G* 'be\become strong'), *DT* pf. cons. 1s rm^4T2S6a3v! wa^es'tam'mer 'and I kept myself from' (← js'mr 'guard, keep'), BA *T* pf. 3f tr3z#G^t6e5 hit_gə'zeret 'was cut out', *DT* ip. 3m an^\$T2S6i% yis'tan'ne[˘] 'will be changed', *TD* juss. rq2^B2t6i% yit_bak.k.ar 'let search be made' (← *D* jbk.r), JA [Trg.] {Lv.} *T* pf. 1s tir%mlG6t6a5 ?it_gəma[˘]rit 'I was destroyed' (□ 109.23, Job 2.17), Ar *GT* ip. fiuritaoYa yaftarið_u 'opposes(\will oppose) himself', *TD* rubWkataYa yatakabbaru 'makes (will make) himself great', Gz *T* takadna ~ takadana 'covered himself, was covered', *TD* ta?ammara 'showed himself' ¶ Br. G I 528-31, Br. AG 38-9, Sd. G 120-2 [§ 22], 10*-46*, Rms. 101-6, 299-307, Lv. I 146, Di. G 137-9, Schlz. FSV 43 (an *unc.* hyp. driving back the S stems with *-t, *-t- to an analytical construction with *√?tw|y v. 'come') || C *-t-, reflexivizing affix of verbs, i.e. prefix of pcvs. and an element of the word-final complex in scvs. (< px. of aux. verbs): [1] prefix: Bj passivizing px. -tV-: {RHd.} p. -to[˘]-da[˘]r / prs. -to[˘]-dīr v. 'be killed' (from -dir v. 'kill'), p. -tdaba[˘]l / prs. -tdabīl v. 'be gathered' (from -dbil v. 'gather'), p. -tdaga[˘]y / prs. -tdagi v. 'be returned', vi. 'return' / -dgi ~ -digi vt. 'return'; Bj reflexivizing px. -t- in the forms of present, habitative and permissive "tenses": prs. -e[˘]tlīw (/ habitative and permissive -ītlīw-) v. 'burn oneself' (from -liw vt. 'burn', prs. -tdabīl vi. 'gather' (from -dbil vt. 'gather'), prs. -tdagi (/ habitative -tdig, permissive -tdiga) vi. 'return' (from -dgi vt. 'return'), EC: Sa -t-, prefix of the medium voice (autobenefactive ~ intransitivizing voice): it was still preserved as -t- in Sa I of the 19th cent. (as described by CR), but has been assimilated to the following cns. in modern Sa (as described by Wlm.): -iggidil (< *-i-t-gidil) vi. 'break', 'break sth. undeliberately' (↔ -igdil vt. 'break'), -iggiref- (< *-itgiref) v. 'be cut off' (↔ -igref- v. 'cut off'), Af -t- (interpreted by Clz. as reflexivizing and by Hw. as autobenefactivizing prefix): {Clz.} -utubəla

'vedersi' (p. 1s ʔu'tubəla, 2s/3f tu'tubəla, 3m yu'tubəla, 3p yu'tubəlan, etc.) ↔ -ubila v. 'see' (p. 1s ʔubila, 2s 'tubila, etc.), {Hw.} iḍ.ḍ.ihiḍ.e (< *itḍ.ihiḍ.e) 'sew sth. for one's own benefit' (↔ iḍ.hiḍ.e 'sew'), ettẹ.ḍ.ege 'know for one's own benefit' (↔ ẹ.ḍ.ege 'know') || [2] a reflexivizing (rf.) or autobenefactivizing (abf.) sx., *-t- of the word-final morphemic complex in scvs. (going back to a px. of the aux. verbs): EC: Af {Hw.} -it-, e.g. digir-it-e 'play for one's own benefit' (↔ digir-e 'play'), fahs-it-e 'boil sth. for one's own benefit' (↔ caus. verb fah-is-e 'boil sth.'), Sa {Wlm.} fakal-it- v. 'wash oneself', Sml -(a)t-, abf. sx.: s'ub-(a)t- v. 'pour for one's own benefit' [præt: 1s, 3m s'ubtay, 2s, 3f s'ubatay, etc.] (↔ s'ub- v. 'pour'), Rn abf. and rf. sx. -t- (waraḅa-t-ta 'she fetches water for herself' ↔ waraḅ-ta 'she fetches water', ḍix-t-a 'he washes himself' ↔ ḍix̣a 'he washes'), Or T {Mrn.} abf. -t- (> -ḍ.- [< *t-ʔ-] and -n- [< *t-n-] due to the infl. of the following person-number markers *ʔ- of 1s and *n- of 1p): 1s aubf. beḱaḍ.ḍ.e- (< *beḱ-at-ʔe-) 'I knew for my own benefit, I understood', 2s and 3f beḱatte- (< *beḱ-at-te-), 3s beḱate- (< *beḱ-at-ye-), 1p beḱanne- (< *beḱ-at-ne-), etc. (↔ basic voice 1s 'beḱe- 'I knew', 2s and 3f 'beḱte-, 3m 'beḱe, 1p 'beḱne, etc.), Sd {Mrn.} rf.-abf. -iḍ.- (as-iḍ.- v. 'make for oneself, make oneself' ↔ as- v. 'make', hayṣ-iḍ.- v. 'wash oneself', etc.); SC: Irq {Mous} -t (marker of the middle voice, having reflexive and sim. meanings): hameḱīt v. 'take a bath' (↔ hamaḱ- v. 'wash'), tuḱuḱ v. 'pull oneself out' (↔ tuḱ v. 'uproot'), duḱuḱ v. 'get married' (for a woman)' (↔ duḱ v. 'take out, marry [a woman]'), ḱīḱit v. 'sneeze'; the suffix -t may describe a situation, in which the body is central: ḱīḱit v. 'sneeze', iwīt v. 'sit', s'aḳaḱ v. 'be tired' ¶ AD KJ 93-6, P 243-4, 249-50, Mous 175-8, PG 31 || NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} -et-, passivizing\reflexivizing sx.: beḱ-et- ~ beḱ-t- v. 'be seen' (↔ beḱ- v. 'see'), yel-et- v. 'be born' (↔ yel- v. 'give birth'), ol-et- v. 'fight each other' [reciprocal < rf.] (↔ ol- v. 'fight'), Ym -t-, passivizing sx.: s'uk-t- 'essere sgozzato \ sacrificato' (↔ s'uk- 'sgozzare, sacrificare'), {C} qon-t- ({Wdk.} koḱnto) v. 'be born' (↔ {C} qon- v. 'give birth') ¶ AD KJ 93-6, Mrn. O 59-60, C SE III 33-4, Wdk. BY 144 || K: GZ *taw- 'head' > OG tav- 'head', G tav- iḍ., 'ear of cereals', Lz ti- 'head', Mg ti-s'a 'to himself, home' (lit. 'into head'); Sv s'da-ḱ s'ṭa- 'ear of cereals' [is due to a merger with N *s'æḍ'aḱwV - *s'æḍiḱwV] || 𐎠𐎡 'tip, end (extrémité)', q.v.] ¶¶ K 175 (*ṣiḱtaw-), K DE 358, 𐎠 K2 66 (*taw-), Q 242, Chik. 43-4 || IE: AnIE: HrLw -ti 'sich', Lw -ti, Lc -ti, reflexive pc., Ht -z, -za iḍ. ¶ Mer. HHG 129, Mlc. CL 226, Lar. 97, Mlc. L 72, Ts. W 107 ♦ ≠ IS I XIII (caus.-rf. *ṭa) tried to find a common origin between the HS marker of reflexivization, the passive sx. in BF and the causative sxs. in A, U and D (which is doubtful both for semantic reasons and because of a structural difference: in U, A and D this is a postverbal sx. that may go back to a N aux. verb, while in HS this is a prefix that is hardly explainable as an aux. verb in view of the syntactic structure of N).

2305. 𐎠𐎡𐎠 *tUwV 'rain; to sprinkle' > HS: S *°/twn (or WS *°/tw|ʔn?) > Gz tawan 'season of the small rains (Aprile - July), spring rain', ? Ug {Grd.} tʔant (*[tVʔan-|aḱt-]) 'rain' (not in A & OLS) ¶ L G 582, Grd. UT 49 || C: Ag: Bln {R} tuḡaḱn (*tʔḡaḱn) 'beginning of the rainy season, following the summer heat' ¶ R WB 342 ¶¶ Gz tawan may be of Ag origin || K {K} *(s')to- v. 'snow', {FS, K2} *tow- (× N *s'itawV 'cold weather', q.v. ffd.); cp. {K} *towḷ- 'snow' (< N *taḱlwa - *talwa 'cold season, rain') || ? D (in SD) *tuḱṿl- v. 'sprinkle' > Tm tuḱvu v. 'sprinkle, strew', Ml tuḱvuka v. 'be spilled', tuḱuka v. 'strew, spill, shower', Td tuḱf- v. 'spread (grain in sun to dry, etc.)', Tu duḱsuni v. 'sprinkle' ¶ D #3394; the D cognate is valid unless it goes back to **tuk- ♦ Fn. KD #97 (K, D).

2306. *tayhV (or *tagyV) 'to incline, bend, bend\move aside' > HS: [1] S *°-tīh- > Ar ḱtyh, -tīh- (pf. taḱha [< *tayaha], ip. ya-tīh-u) v. 'go astray', 'errer à l'aventure (sans savoir où l'on va), s'égarrer' ¶ BK I 213, Hv. 65 | or [2] ʔamb S *°/tʔyḱw > BHb eot ḱtʔyḱw (pf. taḱḱa, ip. yi-t-ḱe) 'reel, stagger' ('ʔiṣ ləḱeb-roḱ taḱḱu 'they have stumbled off, each his own way' [Is. 47.15], wub.aṣṣeḱaḱr taḱḱu 'sie taumeln vom berauschemdem Getränk' [Is. 28.7], taḱḱaḱḷḅaḱḅi 'mein Herz taumelt' [Is. 21.4]), 'wander about, go astray' (this last meaning is caused by the impact of the paronymous verb BHb eoy ḱtʔyḱw 'wander, stray, err' < *ḱṭyḱw), Ug {DrvG} tyy G (?) 'journey afar' (h. l.) ¶ KB 361, 1625-6, GB 884, DrvG 159 || U *taye- (or *toya-) vi. 'bend, decline, break' > F taipu- vi. 'bend, be bent, bow', Δ taimi 'Biegung', F taitta- vt. 'break, fold', Es {W} taibu- 'nicht steif oder unbeweglich sein', taivuta- 'biegen, krümmen' : pLp *ṭoḱye- 'break' > Lp: N {N} doaggje-, S {Hs.} doaḱjudh v. 'break off', L {LLO} taḱḍje- 'brechen, durchbrechen' || Sm: Ne O {Lh.} tuyo- 'das Kreuz schlagend und betend sich verneigen (vor dem Heiligenbid)', ?? Kms taylo- 'zerbrechen, niederreißen' ¶ UEW 505-6, Coll. 51, Lr. #1272, Lgc. #7951, Hs. 442, Db. OS x || 𐎠𐎡 *tay'aḱ > NaT *taya- > OT {Cl.} tayaḱ- v. 'lean against (sth.), prop (sth.)

up', Tk daya-, Ggz, Az, Tkm daya-, CrTt, Qry, Qmq, SbTt, Bsh, Qq, Qzq, Ln, Alt taya-id., Uz taya-, Yk taya- 'prop up'; rf. *t'aya-n- 'lean on, support oneself by' > OT tayan-, XwT, MQP, Chg ≥xv tayan- id., OOSm dayan- XVI-XVIII 'rely on', Tk dayan- 'lean against, rest on', Tkm, Az, Ggz dayan-, CrTt, Qmq, VTt, Uz, ET, Alt, Xk, Yk tayan-, Tv t'ayan- id. ¶ Cl. 567, 569, IS AD 45, Rm. W 455, ET VGD 125-7, ADb. Ttd 60 || Tg: WrMc {Z} daya- v. 'lean', ?σ dayanca- ~ dayaca- ~ dayaci- v. 'wave' ¶ Z 773-4, STM I 190 || M *dayi- > (1) MM [S] dayizi- 'abziehen, abfallen von jd.', (2) ?σ: M *dayiba-, *dayibVla- > WrM {MED} daiba-, HlM дайва- vi. 'wobble, totter, sway', WrM {Gl.} daibila-id., vi. 'shake', {Kow.} taibala-se balancer, chanceler, se remuer' (*err.* interpretation of the initial WrM letter ḏ as voiceless t-), WrM daibalza-, HlM дайвалза- v. 'totter, wobble, sway, rock', Brt дайбалза-, дайбагана- 'walk staggering', Kl д' вл- da'wl- 'stagger', {Rm.} 'sich zur Seite biegen, sich seitwärts bewegen; wellen, wogen' ¶ MED 221, H 31, Gl. III 2, Kow. 1549, KRS 187, KW 83, Chr. 181 ♦ Coll. 146 (U, A), IS SS 320 [#2.1] (U, A), IS MS 350 s.v. **наклон** ¶ *toja (U, A), AD GD 14. The Ar root ṭyh belongs here if the prm. (the stem of ip.) -tīh- is a secondary analogical back-formation from the verbal noun tayh- 'going astray' and from the pf. form ta'ha (< *tayaha). S ṭtyw is a cognate unless BHb ṭṣy is a deglottalized variant of S ṭty . Lack of lengthening of *a in T (evidenced by Tkm) speaks in favour of the N rec. ***tayhV**, because ***tagyV** would have yielded an A (and T) stem with a long vw.

2307. *ta'qg'ayu 'relative-in-law (person of the opposite moiety)' > IE *deh₂wer- > NaIE *da'we' / *da'wer- (gen. *da'w'r-es) 'husband's brother' > OI de'var- (de'va-) 'husband's brother; wife's brother (younger than ego)', Psh rv{L6 le'war, Ygn 'sewir, Oss I тѣу ti'w, Oss D tew 'husband's brother' (Ygn, Oss and some other East Iranian forms suggest an Elrn devoicing *dʰ- > *tʰ-) || Arm tajgr taygr ~ tagr tagr ~ tegr tegr id. || Gk δα'ν'ρ (< *δα'ν'ρ, {EI} *δα'ν'ρ) id. || L le'vir ~ laevir (gen. -i-) id. (a dialectal form ["Sabinism"] with l- for the expected *d-; e- [for ae] is a rusticism; the stem was presumably transformed due to the infl. of vir, -i'man') || OHG zeihhur, zeichur, zeihhor, AS ta'cor 'husband's brother', Frs ta'ker (presumably a merger with the Gmc cognate of Lt la'igonas 'wife's brother') || BSl (*i-stem transformed from the original consonantic stem, the consonantic stem being preserved in the Lt gen. diever's): Lt diever's, Ltv die'veris || Sl *de'v'ь > RChS дѣверь de'v'ь, R 'девер', SCr де'в'е'p dje've'r, OP, P Δ dziewierz ¶ WP I 767, P 179, EI 84 (*dai'ha'we'r), F I 338-9, WH I 787-8, M E I 743-4, M K II 64, Asl. 775, Mrg. 40, Ab. III 296-7, Kb. 1245, OsS 1239-40, Ho. 341, Frn. 95, Bern. I 198, ESSJ V 19, SPS III 179-80 (Sl *de'v'ь > *de'v'ь), Glh. 200, Sl. 58 ¶ *er- in the stem *deh₂wer- is an individualizing sx. of kinship names (as in *b'ra'ter- 'brother' etc.) || R: NaT *t'ayay 'mother's brother' > OT {Cl.} ta'ay 'maternal uncle', Cmn ta'ay, MQP t'āyā-, Chg ≥xv ta'ay ~ ta'ayī id., SY ta'ey ~ ta'ay 'mother's relative', MQP XIII t'āy, Tk dayi, Tkm da'yī, Az dayi, Ggz dayka (ADb.: < *dayi-ka) 'maternal uncle', Qq dayi id., 'relative from mother's side', Qrg {Jud.} tay 'matroclinous relationship', Tv t' a'y, Yk ta'y 'mother's brother (elder than ego)', NaT *t'ajy-iza 'mother's sister' (a *cd* with *a'za" [a √ represented in OOSm a'za" 'mother's sister']) > OOSm dayiza, diyaza, diyeze, Tk {Rl.} da'ya", Tk Δ dayza, diyeza id., Tkm dayda 'mother's female relative'; StAlt тайда-лар (< *tay-ada-lar) 'matroclinous ancestors' ¶ Dr. TM III #1176 believes that *tayay and Og *tay are different roots [while in many lgs. *ta'y(i) > *tay(i) go back to *tayay] ¶ The final -i in the Og lgs. and in Qzq may go back to the ppa. of 3s ('his, her') ¶ Cl. 474, ET VGD 127-9, Rs. W 455-6, TvR 139, TkR 243, BT 139, KrkR 157, Jud. 688-9, JkR 371, ADb. Ttd 60 [#7] || Tg *da- 'relative-in-law' > Ewk da-, Neg da'ḡta id., WrMc dancan 'relative-in-law, mother's wife's relative' ¶ STM I 183-4 || pJ {S} *di'a or *dai' 'elder sibling, elder relative' > OJ je ¶ It may alternatively belong together with K *i'uda 'sister' < N ***UdV** 'sister, woman' ¶ S QJ #813, Mr. 392 ¶ DQA # 2215 [A *ta'yV 'elder-in-law, elder relative'] || ??σ HS: amb B: Ah ti ~ tōy 'father, uncle, father-in-law', Ty ti- (pl. tōy-) +ppa., Twl s'i-/tōy- +ppa. 'father' (TY ti-s 'his father'), Tw D/U {Sdl.} ti- (pl. ta'y-) ¶ Fc. 1877, PrGG 336, Sdl. 259 ¶ The word is partialy or entirely a Lallwort. It belongs here unless the *LI*-factor is not the only origin of this kinship name ♦ IS MS 361 (*ta'H'ja 'a relative': IE, T).

2308. *toqUzV 'to plait, wattle' > K (in GZ) *tq'az-/tq'qz- v. 'plait (together), weave' > OG t'xz- v. 'plait', G t'xz- v. 'compose (poetry, music), fabricate', Lz (n)t'xoz- v. 'plait' ¶ K 97, K² 76-7, Chik. 285 II ? HS: Ch {JS} */tk'w's, v. 'tie' > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ta'k'w'si ~ tau'si, Bd {ChL} taksa^n id. || CCh: Glv {Rp.} ta'k'w's ¶ Sch. DN 156, JS 269 II IE *deH(y)- > NaIE *de-/da-, *de'i-/di(-) v. 'bind' > OI 'dyati 'binds', Av nī-dya-

'bind\tie fast' :: Gk Hm δε'ω (<*δε'jω) 'I bind, tie' | pp. *dā-to- > OI di'ta- :: Gk δετ'ο-ϑ 'bound, tied' | *de-mn- 'string, cord' > OI 'da-man- (nom. 'da-mā-) 'string, cord, fetter' :: Gk υ'πο'-δημα 'a sole bound under the foot, a sandal', δια'-δημα 'band, fillet; the band round the τι'ρα of the Persian king', Gk Mc de-de-me-no 'bound' ¶ WP I 771, P 183, EI 64 (*deh-), M K II 34, 69, M E I 716-7, Brtl. 761, F I 374-5, O 59 (shows that Al duaj 'sheaves of grain' and dell 'tendon' do not belong here) || U: FU *tosV 'a vessel, basket' (← *'wicker basket' ← *'sth. wattled') > pPrm *doz- or *do'z- '(kind of) vessel' > Z doz, dozy- 'vessel(s), box, bast basket', Z US dōz, Yz 'duz id., Vt duz 'wooden tub (кадушка)', Vt SW du'z id., 'bast vessels' :: pOs *to'ɬ > Os: Sr to'ɬ, Ty to'ɬ 'Kiste, Kasten', Os N {Ahl.} tul 'Köcher', Os O to't 'Zwischenwand' ¶ UEW 532, LG 94, Stn. D 1428 || R: 1: ?ϕ M *tagi 'cup' > WrM tagi, HMI тарш 'cup', Brt тарш 'tea cup, small cup'; M → Ewk taksi, Δ ta'ksɜ, taksi 'small cup' ¶ MED 766, STM II 154 ¶ The unexpected M *- (for *d-) is puzzling I ???σ: 2: It is less plausible to adduce here A {SDM95} *t'osV □ 'mat' > ??σ M *do'si 'anvil' > MM [IM] do'si, [MA] do'si, WrM do'si, HIM д'ш Mnr H {SM} d_o'sə ¶ Pp. MA 144, 436, MED 269, T 331, SM 62 ¶ A possible semantic prehistory: 'anvil' ← 'sth. undelying, mat' || NaT *t'o's'a v. 'spread out (as mat)' > OT to's'a'k, Tk do's'ek 'mat, mattress' (→ Chv tu'z'ek 'mattress, feather-bed'), do's'e v. 'spread out (as mat)', Qzq to'so' id.; acc. to SDM, NaT *-s- goes back here to *-sc- ¶ In *CEs'-roots the opposition *t' ↔ *t'- is neutralized (ADB. Ttd 57-8) || Tg *d'o.'sci v. 'lie (liegen)' > Lm: Ol/B/O/P dɜsci-, Sk do'ssi- ~ do'sci v. 'lie', Ol dɜscijɜk 'place to lie, bed' ¶ STM I 238 ¶¶ The adduction of pA *tosV is plausible only if its original meaning is 'mat, mattress' (as assumed in SDM95) rather than 'to spread, lie', which is *qu*. || D (in GnD) *toc- v. 'tie, bind, build' > Gnd toh-, doh-, to?', do?- v. 'tie', Knd tor- v. 'tie, bind, build', Kui tohpa, toht- v. 'tie, bind', Ku doh- id. ¶ D #3536 ♦ K² 77 connects the K √ with IE *tek-s- 'plait, compose' (P 1058-9), which deviates from reg. sound corr.

2309. ?? *tu'lyjɜ'V (or *tu'lyjɜ'V) '(ε) part of the arm/leg' > HS: *t'ic'iy- > Ak s'isitu(m) ~ tisitu ~ tis'itu, Ak A sisitu 'Hand-, Fußgelenk' ¶ Sd. 1250 || K: OG tezo ~ tezo 'thigh' [Abul.: 'barkali (Schenkel)', Jud. 3.16: = μρo'ϑ 'thigh'; Lev. 3.9: = ϑo'α], G tezo 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel' ¶ Abul. 180, Chx. 474 || IE: NaIE *dou_s- '(upper) arm, shoulder' > OI 'do's- 'arm, fore-arm', Av daos'- 'Oberarm, Schulter', eNPrs εvd do's', NPrs εvd du's' 'shoulder (humerus)' :: OIr doe' (< *dou_s-n-t-s) (gen. doat) 'arm' :: Ltv pa-duse 'armpit, bosom (Busen des Kleides)' : ? Sl *pa'zldjuxъ ~ *pazldjuxa (< **paz-dux-?) > Slv pa'zduha ~ pa'zdiha, pa'zuha ~ pa'ziha 'armpit', OCS пазoйxa pazuxa 'κο'λοϑ, μασχα'λη' ('bosom, armpit'), R, Uk, Blg Δ 'пazyxa 'bosom', SCr pa_zuha 'bosom, shoulder', OCz pazuch, Cz pazouch, pazoch, Slk pazu'ch, P pazucha id. ¶ WP I 782, P 226, EI 26, M K II 68-9, M E I 749-750, Vl. I 931, Sg. 544, Horn 130, Kar. II 7, Vs. III 186-7, SJSS XV 5, □ Glh. 472-3 || ?ϕ U *tu'z'lyV (or *s'u'z'lyV) > Sm *tu'y ({Jn.} *tu'y) 'sleeve' > Ne T τϑ, {Lh.} t'u', Ne F {Lh.} c'u', Ng {Cs.} t'ija, {Mik.} t'id'a, En. {Cs.}: X tiojo, B t'ijeijo; Slq d': Nr to'nak, MO to'nan, Ke tu'nan, NP tu'nnan, Ch/UO t'u'nan, B t'u'n'an, Yel/Kar tu'nan; Kms {KD} t'u' id. ¶ Jn. 167, Cs. 28, 89, 149, 199.